

OPERA OMNIA DESIDERII ERASMI



OPERA OMNIA  
DESIDERII ERASMI  
ROTERODAMI

RECOGNITA ET ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVCTA  
NOTISQVE ILLVSTRATA

ORDINIS NONI      TOMVS TERTIVS



MCMXCVI

ELSEVIER

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IN HOC VOLVMINE CONTINETVR

APOLOGIA AD IACOBVM  
FABRVM STAPVLENSEM

ed. Andrea W. Steenbeek

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## PREFACE

This twenty-third volume in Erasmus' *Opera omnia* (ASD) is the third volume of the ninth 'ordo', that is the 'ordo' of the Apologies. 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 (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. For the reason why the collected Apologies eventually became the ninth 'ordo,' see the Preface to ASD IX,2, p. vii).

The present volume contains the *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, edited by Andrea W. Steenbeek (Leiden). It is the slightly adapted version of her Leiden Ph.D. thesis (1994) which was supervised by Professor H.J. de Jonge.

The Conseil international pour l'édition des œuvres complètes d'Erasmus mourns the loss of the former director of North-Holland Publishing Company, Mr. M.D. Frank, who died on 9 november 1995. As early as 1964 he expressed his willingness to publish the new critical edition of *Erasmii Opera omnia*; after North-Holland was incorporated into Elsevier Science Publishers he kept a lively interest in the Erasmus edition. The Conseil will remember him with gratitude and respect.

For reasons of health Professor Maria Cytowska resigned from the Conseil, which she had joined in 1979. The Conseil wishes to express its gratitude to Professor Cytowska for all she did for the Erasmus edition. The Conseil welcomes as new members Professor Nicolette Mour (Leiden University) and Professor Harry Vredeveld (Ohio State University).

Professor Dresden and Professor Augustijn resigned from the Editorial Board. However, since they are staying on as members of the Conseil international, the Board will have every opportunity to avail itself of their advice and support. Dr. M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk was elected to the Editorial Board.

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.

Constantijn Huygens Instituut  
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April 1996

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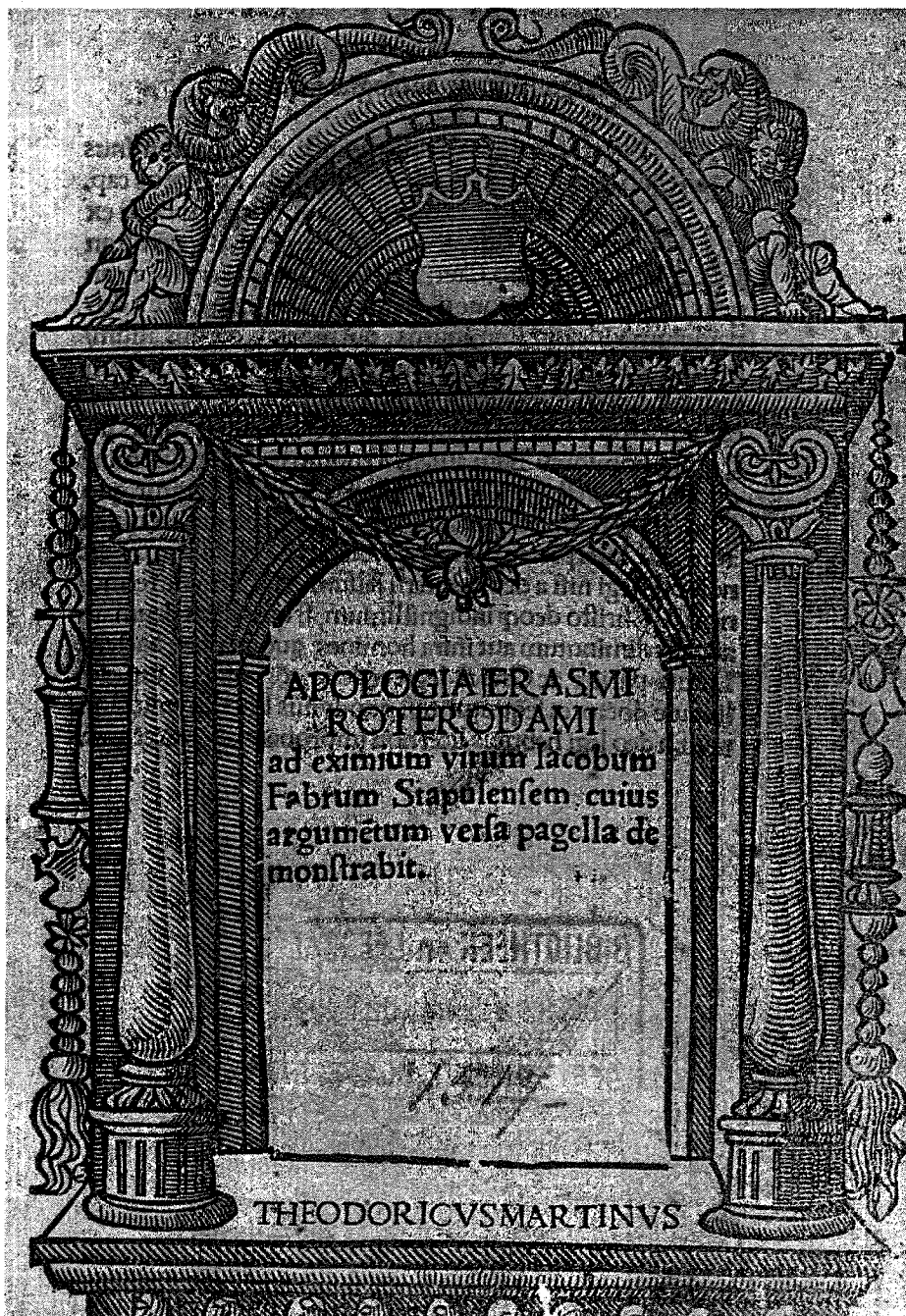
APOLOGIA AD IACOBVM  
FABRVM STAPVLENSEM

edited by

ANDREA W. STEENBEEK

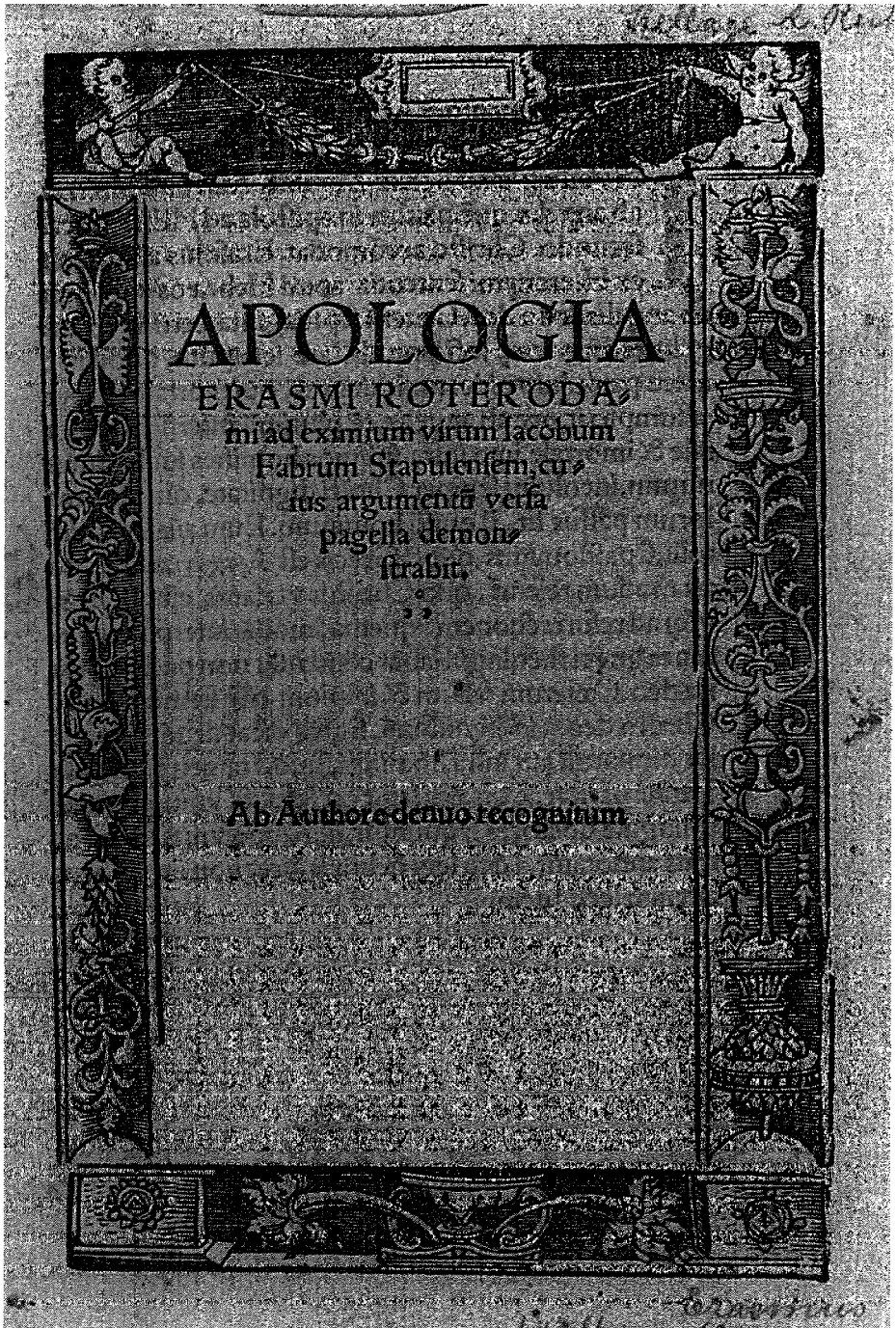
Leiden





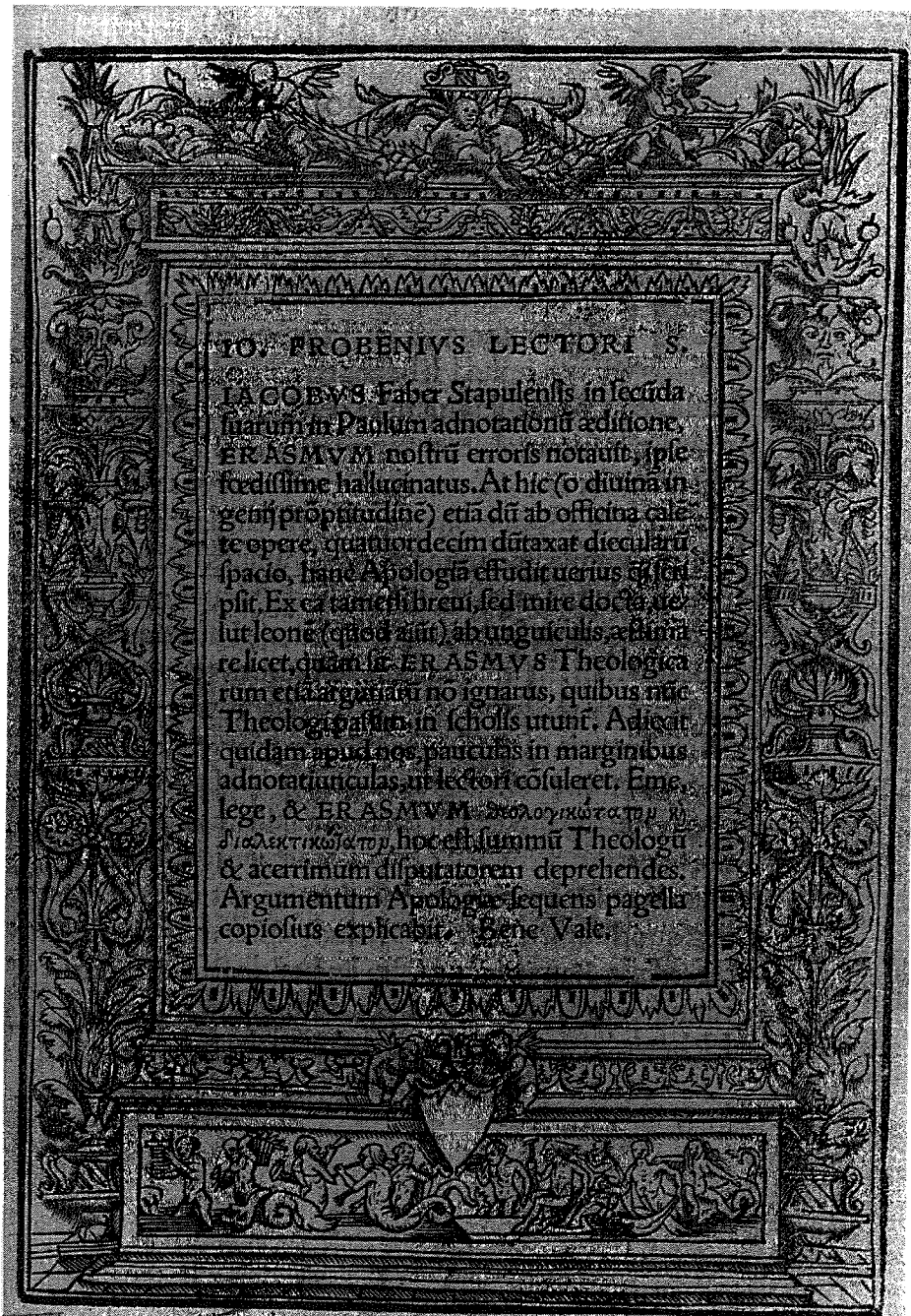
Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem, Louanii, Theodoricus Martinus, 1517.

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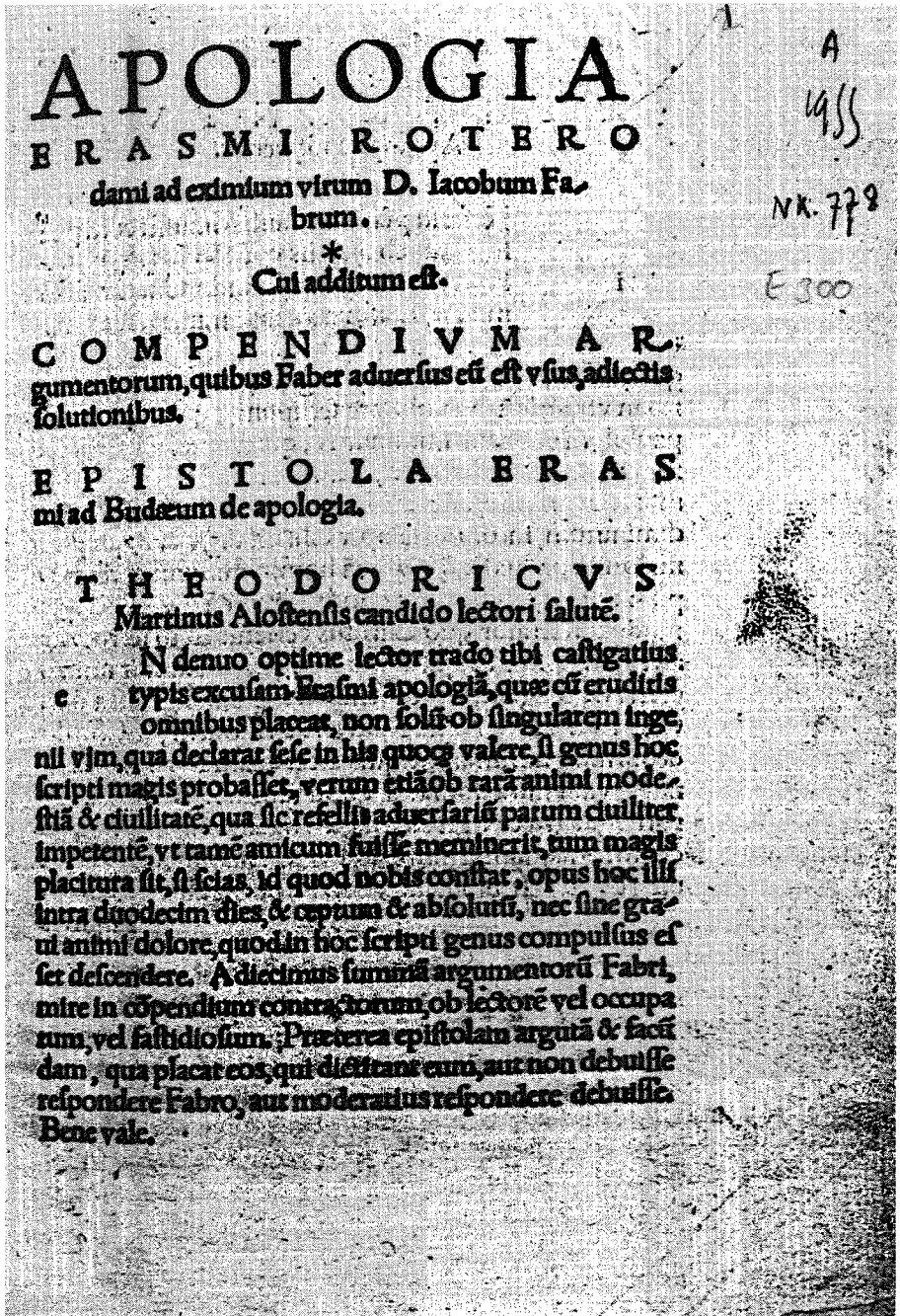
Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem, Argentorati. Matthias Schürer inter 31 Oct. 1517 et mensem Febr. 1518.

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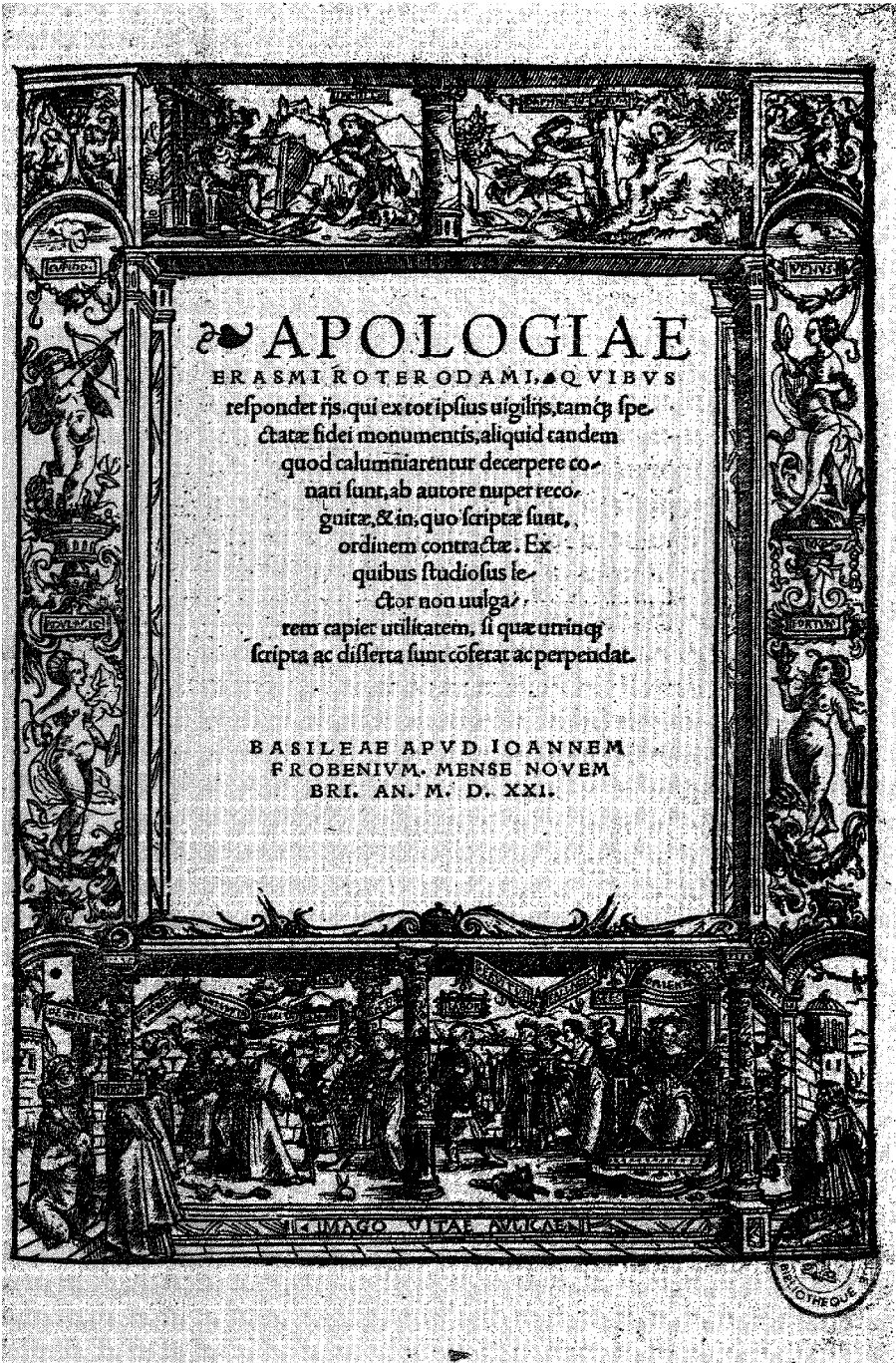
Erasmi Roterodami Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem, Ioannes Frobenius, mense Febru-  
 ario, 1518.

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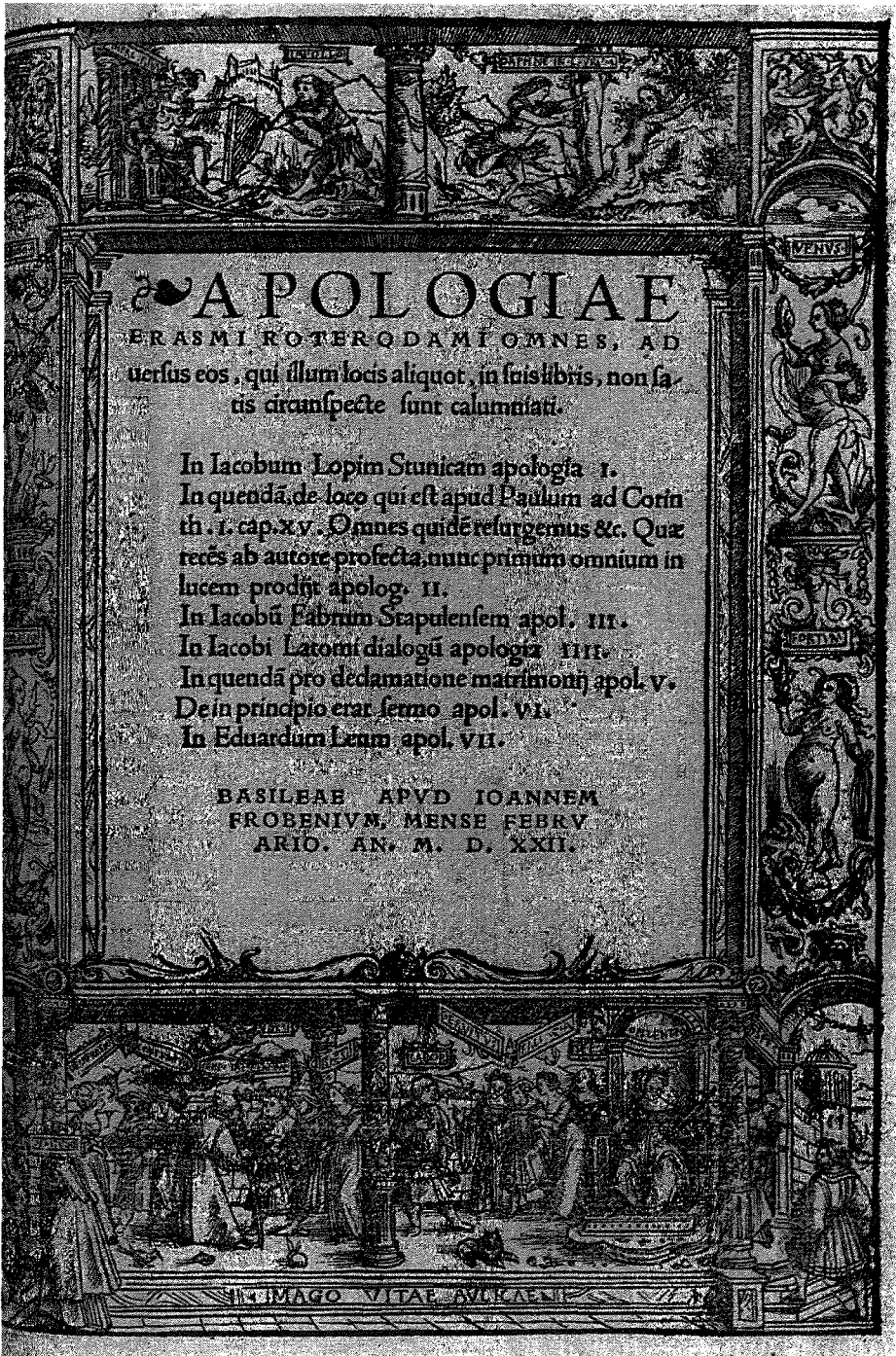
Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem, Louanii, Theodoricus Martinus, 1518.

Ex. Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles



Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami, Basileae. Ioannes Frobenius, mense Novembri, 1521.

*Ex. Bibliothèque Générale, Université de Liège*



Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami omnes, Basileae, Ioannes Frobenius, mense Februario 1522.

*Ex. Gemeentebibliotheek Rotterdam*





J. Faber Stapulensis. Quincuplex Psalterium, Parisiis, Henricus Stephanus, 1509.

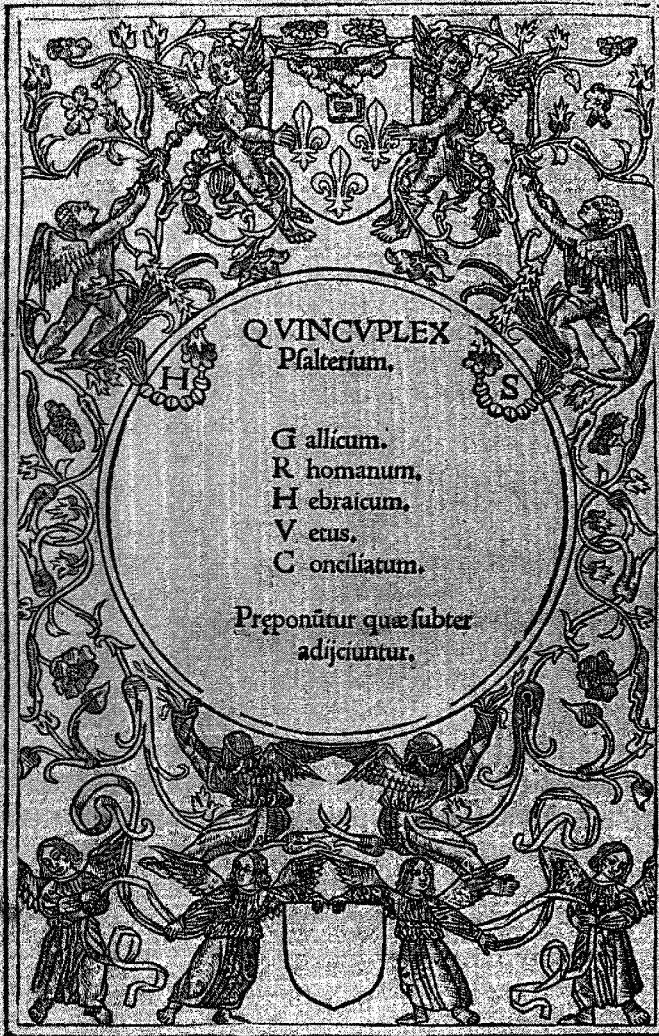
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Ad quid propria deuotione psalmi dicendi.		Epilogus psalmorum.
Te agnoscens a seruitute diaboli prepti	dic 115	Figura liberationis nra a diabolo.
Benignitate dei cogitans:	dic 114	Christus semper a patre auditus.
Immolare deo sacrificium vis:	dic 113	De extra Christi & eius calice.
Diuine in omnes dei misericordias laudare vis:	dic 112	Vocatio gentium ad laudem trinitatis.
Spem firmam & in deum rectam postulas:	dic 111	De lapide angulari Christo IHESV
Que sunt iudicia pietatis & vite posse vis:	dic 110	Oronarie spirituales meditationes.
Ne te lesiam penurie doctrinae linguas:	dic 109	De fugienda infidelitate.
Veri auxilii unde sit contempnans:	dic 108	De vera magnanimitate.
Te decidens a seruis melioris vite capiti:	dic 107	De vera voluptate.
Te mundi fastos fatigat:	dic 106	De charitate ad deum.
Superalit pericula supra vires:	dic 105	De confidentia in deo.
Cogitas angelos bonorum esse custodes:	dic 104	De vera spe.
Plagam comune amouit deus:	dic 103	De charitate ad proximum.
Quis cogitans in peccato alicuius non esse saluati:	dic 102	De vera fide.
Opus alicui dei timore & benedictione:	dic 101	De timore dei.
Sepe remans tibi insidias deitasti:	dic 100	De pio zelo.
Conspicui te corde & animo sentis:	dic 99	De oratione & penitentia.
Te propter hanc humilias:	dic 98	De vera humilitate.
Pacem & mansuetudine cum omnibus obseruas:	dic 97	De vera mansuetudine.
Inimicis voluntas irascens amarores versans:	dic 96	De fraterni visionis.
Accellus sit ad synagoga & sancta sanctorum:	dic 95	De sacrosancta synagoga.
Particeps sum familia:	dic 94	Beneficentia dei agnita.
Ad hunc:	dic 93	De eodem.
Te cogitans ex spiritualibus ad vana desit:	dic 92	Figura lapidum ex spiritualibus ad terrena.
Te sanctam lege percepisse recordaris:	dic 91	De nra & vrbis dei vrbis preceptis.
De presentia & predestinatione cogitas:	dic 90	Et presentia & intentione dei.
Et vbi pericula sunt doctrinae dogmata:	dic 89	De auersione ab hereticis.
Times ne in verbo offendas:	dic 88	Dei manus esse a peccato lenitas.
Amici & noni de te regnum teiora &	dic 87	De precepto Christi & deo ad hereticos.
Occidentiam agis:	dic 86	Oratio penitentis.
Victor castitatis de inimicis tuis:	dic 85	Peritio vt Christus mittit regnum.
Miam benignitate potentia & prouidentia dei cogitas:	dic 84	Laus a dei attributis.
Cogitas te moriturum:	dic 83	De laude & regno dei aeterno.
Potentia plenaria & bonitas dei mentis subit:	dic 82	Quod omne bonum ex puritate dei fit.
Post saluata bella & preliata incedit pax:	dic 81	De ciuitate pacis quod est piorum corpus.
Ordinem creaturarum in te agnas:	dic 80	Laus a celestibus & terrestribus.
Cernis antuc ecclesia obseruatur animo:	dic 79	Laus ab ecclesia inferiori.
Celestem & triplicem vrbis pulos collocas:	dic 78	Laus a superiori & celesti.

**ABSOLVTVM FUIT HOC QVINCVPVICIS PSALTERII OPVS IN**  
 comobio sancti Germani prope muros Parisienses anno a natali CHRISTI  
 domini 1509. Et in clarissimo Parisiorum Gymnasio ex chalcotypa  
 Henrici Stephanii officina e regione scholarum Decretorum  
 emisso anno eiusdem CHRISTI saluatoris omnium  
 1509 pridie Calendas Augusti Illi igitur  
 qui absoluit & absolutum in  
 publicum emittit  
 re dedit:  
**LAVS ET GRATIARVM ACTIO IN SECVLA SECVLORVM AMEN.**

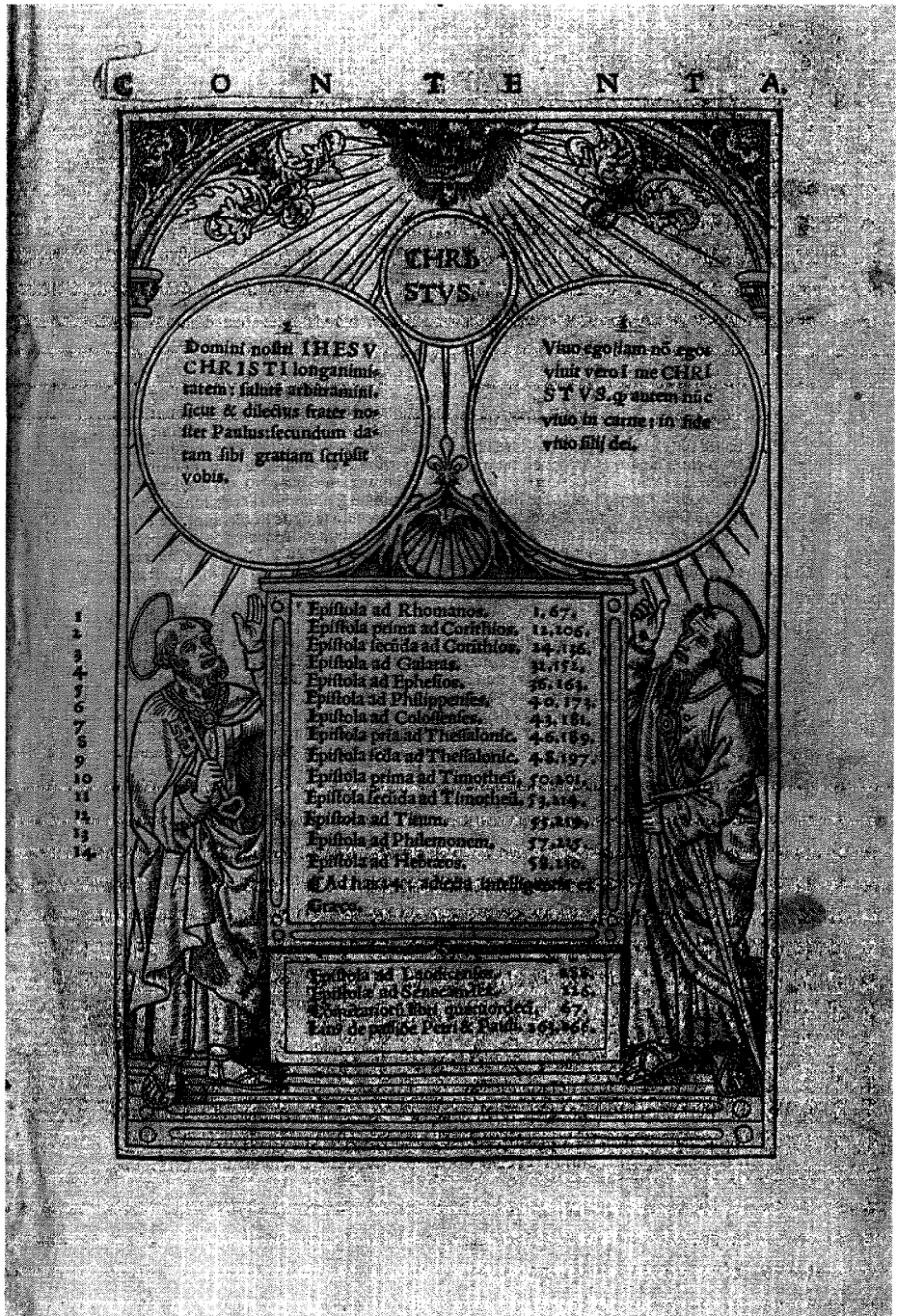
J. Faber Stapulensis. Quinplex Psalterium, Parisiis, Henricus Stephanus, 1509.  
 Ex. Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden

## SECUNDA EMISSIO.



Epistola.  
Epilogus disputationis psal. xxx.  
Appendix in psal. xxx.  
Prologi Hieronymi tres.  
Partitio psalmorum triplex.  
Indices psalmorum duo.





J. Faber Stapulensis [S. Pauli Epistolae XIV ex vulgata, adiecta intelligentia ex Graeco, cum commentariis] Parisiis, Henricus Stephanus, 1512.

Ex. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam

Hebr.

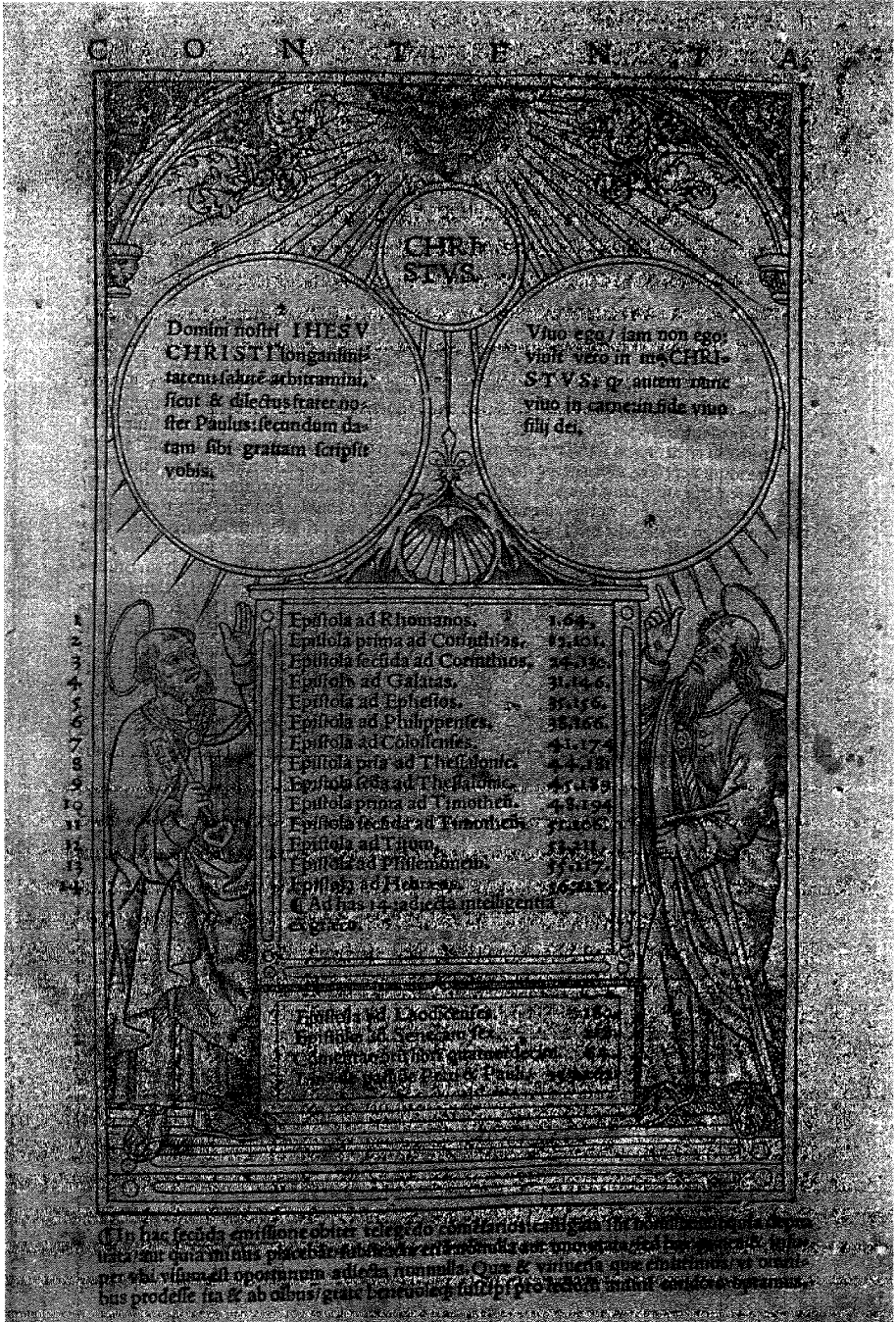
ius q̄ sciebat: vt in quodam loco de se testatur/ hoc pacto. Bonum certamen cursum consumaui/ fidem seruaui. quod reliquum est: reposita est michi corona iustitiae. De Hebraeis igitur videtur magis peruenire: vt ipse dicat confidimus q̄ de se. Attamen quibus magis placebit Pauli de se locuti: sequantur exēplaria habētia primā personā ἡχομεν. quibus autem magis placebit locutum de Hebraeis/ quorum iustitia precum postulat/ vt quos confidetur bonam habere conscientiam/ viatur exemplaribus habentibus ἡχετε secundam personam. ¶ **Vulgata editio.** Amplius autē deprecor vos. ¶ **Hic amplius non designat ceterum/ item/ praeterea/ vt plerumq̄ verus interpres capere solet: sed abundanti.** Vos: abundat. **Interpres Pauli.** περισσεύωσθε ἀεὶ παρακαλῶ. Et continuo subditur. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε/ hoc facete/ siue vt hoc faciatis. ¶ **Vulgata editio.** Faciens in vobis quod placet corā se. ¶ **Prima persona dicitur in nobis.** **Interpres Pauli.** ποιῶ ἐν ὑμῖν. τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπὶ πτωχῶν αὐτοῦ. ¶ **Vulgata editio.** Vt sufferatis/ verbum solaci). ¶ **Tamen** vocabulū hic posurū & consolationē & obsecrationē/ & exhortationē interpretari solēt: accommodat⁹ tamē hoc i loco exhortatio interpretari debere videtur. dedignantur enim multi exhortationē: qui aequo animo solacium admittūt & consolationem. **Interpres Pauli.** ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως. ¶ **Vulgata editio.** Item per paucis scripti vobis. ¶ **Dicitur** duobus vocabulis: per paucā. sed id ipse signū. Et quod verus interpres dicit scripti: designat epistolam scripti/ aut epistolium missi. **Interpres Pauli.** καὶ γὰρ λίγα βραχέων ἐπέστελλα ὑμῖν. ¶ **Vulgata editio.** Salutant vos: qui sunt de Italia fratres. ¶ **Frates** abundat. **Interpres Pauli.** ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰταλίας. Et continuo subditur. ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ἀμήν. gratia cum omnibus vobis. Amen. Quam & nobis pariter annuat Christus Ihesus in omnia & super omnia secula benedictus. Amen. Cui pro suo munere & exacto opere cum aeterno patre & infusore superbono spiritu: omnis honor/ virtus/ gloria/ & gratiarū actio in omnia seculorū secula. Apud Graecos huius epistolae subscriptio habetur. Ad Hebraeos/ scripta ex Italia. missa per Timotheum.

¶ **HOC OPVS ILLUSTRATORE CHRISTO QUI LVCEAT VBIQVE  
 ET SI NON CAPITVR : ABSOLVTVM EVIT IN COENOBIO  
 SANCTI GERMANI IVXTA PARISIOS ANNO CHRI  
 STI VITAE AVTHORIS MILLESIMO ET  
 DVODECIMO SVPRA QVINGENTE  
 SIMVM ET EODEM ANNO CIRCA  
 CANATALEM DOMINICI  
 DE PYRISSIMA VIRG  
 GINE NATIVITA  
 TIS DIEM EXORIT  
 FIGNA HENRI  
 RICI STE  
 PHANI EPH  
 MISSVM.**

¶ **DCEMBVS XV.**

1 5 1 2

J. Faber Stapulensis [S. Pauli Epistolae XIV ex vulgata, adiecta intelligentia ex Graeco, cum commentariis] Parisiis, Henricus Stephanus, 1512. Ex. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam



J. Faber Stapulensis [S. Pauli Epistolae XIV ex vulgata, adiecta intelligentia ex Graeco, cum commentariis] Parisiis, Henricus Stephanus, 1515 (real date of publication between November 1516 and 10 July 1517).

Ex. H.J. de Jonge, Leiden



**Epistole diui Pauli apostoli: cum commen-  
tariis preclarissimi viri Jacobi Fabri Stapulensi**

CHRISTVS.

Domini nostri IHSV  
CHRISTI longanimitate: salute arbitramini  
sicut & dilectus frater nos-  
ter Paulus (secundum da-  
tam sibi gratiam) scripsit  
vobis.

Vivite ego: tanquam non ego:  
vivite vero in me CHRISTVS. q̄ autem tunc  
vivo in carne in fide vlti-  
mo filij dei.

1	Epistola ad Romanos.	187
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3	Epistola secunda ad Corinthios.	19107
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**Venduntur Parrhisus in edibus Francisci  
Regnault: et Joannis de la Porte Bibliopolarum.**



J. Faber Stapulensis. Epistole diui Pauli apostoli cum commentariis, Parisiis, F. Regnault et J. de la Porte, 1517.

Ex. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag



# Liber XIII. Cap. XIII. fo. CCVIII

D habere confidentia. veantur exemplaribus habentibus. Et secundam personam. ¶ *Vulgata editio.* Amplius autem deprecor vos. ¶ *Hic amplius* non designat ceterum / *item pretere.* ut plurimum vetus interpres capere solet. sed abundantius. Vos abundat. *Interpres Pauli.* *ἵνα περισσοτέρως ὑμᾶς παρακαλέω.* Et continuo subditur. *ἵνα ὑμεῖς ἅμα hoc facite. sive ut hoc faciatis.* ¶ *Vulgata editio.* Facite vobis quod praecor coram se. ¶ *Prima persona dicitur in nobis.* *Interpres Pauli.* *ἵνα ὑμεῖς ἅμα ἵνα ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ.* ¶ *Vulgata editio.* Vt iusseratis verbum solati. ¶ *Tametsi* vocabuli hic positi & consolationis & obsecrationis & exhortatione interpretari solent. accommodatius tamē hoc in loco exhortatio interpretandum videtur. dedignantur enim multi exhortationem. qui se quo solatiū admittunt. & consolationem. *Interpres Pauli.* *ἐπεὶ ὅσα τῷ ἄλλοῦ τῶν παρὰ ἄλλους.* ¶ *Vulgata editio.* Etiam per paucos scripsi vobis. ¶ *Dicitur* duobus vocabulis. per paucos. sed id per exiguum. Et quod vetus interpres dicit. scripsi designat epistolam scripsi. aut epistolum missi. *Interpres Pauli.* *καὶ γὰρ διὰ βραχύων ἐγράψα ὑμῖν.*  
D *Vulgata editio.* Salutant vos. qui sunt de Italia fratres. ¶ *Frates* abundat. *Interpres Pauli.* *ἀπὸ τῶν ἰταλιανῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν τραπεζιτῶν.* Et continuo subditur. *Ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος ἠγάπησέν με ὑμᾶς.* gratia cum omnibus vobis. Amen. Quā & nobis pariter annuat Christus Iesus in omnia & sup omnia secula. Benedictus. Amen. Cui pro suo munere & ex dono operis aeterno patre & in fine super bono spiritus. omnis honor. virtus. gloria. & gratiarū actio in omnia seculorum secula. Apud Græcos huius epistolę subscriptio habetur. Ad Hebręos scripta ex Italia. missa per Timotheum.

ABSOLVTVM FVIT HOC OPVS IN COENOBIO DIVI GERMANI DE PRATIS IVXTA PARISIOS ANNO CHRISTI QVINGENTESIMO ET DVODECIMO SVpra MILLESIMVM IMPRESSVM VERO PARISIIS IMRENSIS HONESTORVM VLTORVM FRANCISCI REGINALDI ET IOANNIS DE PORTA ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QVINGENTESIMO DECI MO SEPTIMO.

LAVS DEO.

### CEX DAMASO PP. DE BEATISSIMI PAULI VITA PANEGYRIS.

Iam dudum Saulus proavorum dogmata zelans  
 Cum domino patrias vellet præponere leges/  
 Abnueretq; sacros CHRISTVM cecinisse prophetas  
 Dum faceret sanctę matris pia viscera cæcus:  
 Cædibus assiduus ardens deserpere plebem.  
 Post tenebras verum cepit cognoscere lumen.  
 Tentatus sensit quid posset gloria CHRISTI.  
 Sensibus vt domini vocem lucemq; recepit  
 Insinuitur mores: CHRISTI præcepta secutus.  
 Vt lotus placuit sancto de nomine Paulus:  
 (Mira fides rerum) subito trans æthera vectus.  
 Illi nosse datam: quid possent præmia vite.  
 Tertia lux coeli tenuit paradisonem tem.  
 Colloquiss domini fructus secreta referuat.  
 Gentibus ac populis prædicere vera iubetur.  
 Iactantq; maris noctemq; diemq; profundo:  
 Vixit. at hinc tantum mirum est superasse laborem.  
 Verbera vincula famem lapidesq; abiecit ferarum/  
 Carceris illum vitas tormenta. catenas/  
 Naufragium lachrymas serpentis diravenu/  
 Stigmataq; exultat portare in corpore CHRISTI  
 Credientesq; docet qua possint vincere mortem.  
 Digne deo vnus per secula omnia magister.  
 Verbis hinc breuiter lateor sanctissime doctor:  
 Ipse tuos Damascus voluit monstrare triumphos.



# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE HISTORICAL SITUATION IN WHICH THE *APOLOGIA AD IACOBVM FABRVM STAPVLENSEM* ORIGINATED

During the years 1516–1517, when his controversy with Lefèvre flared up, Erasmus had already established a reputation as an important scholar. Shortly before he began composing the apologia against Lefèvre, he had moved to Louvain, where he lived from circa 10 July 1517 until 28 October 1521. Before coming to Louvain, he had lived in Basel, from 1514 until May of 1516, except for several months spent in the Netherlands and a few weeks passed in London. The time spent in Basel had been agreeable and stimulating for Erasmus. In particular, he met many interesting people there, including Beatus Rhenanus, Bruno Amerbach and Ludwig Bär. Around 1516, then, Erasmus was happy and successful. In 1515 he had been relieved of several obligations which had burdened him as a member of the Augustinian order. He was granted further dispensations by the pope in January of 1517.<sup>1</sup> In 1515 he had also been appointed to the position of councillor of Charles V.<sup>2</sup> After his stay in Basel, he followed the imperial court in his function as councillor, first to Antwerp and then to Ghent and Bruges. At one point, Erasmus even had to consider the possibility of going to Spain:<sup>3</sup> he was invited by Charles V, who held him in high esteem,<sup>4</sup> to accompany him to Spain.<sup>5</sup> But Erasmus preferred to stay in Louvain, where he was elected as a member of the university in September or October 1517, without being charged with any teaching responsibility.<sup>6</sup> As an argument against going to Spain, he pointed to the quarreling in the court there.<sup>7</sup> In earlier writings, he had already made unflattering remarks about the mentality of the Spaniards.<sup>8</sup>

Erasmus probably left Bruges for Louvain at the beginning of July, 1517.<sup>9</sup> Initially, Erasmus had been uncertain as to where he should go. He first considered going to Brussels.<sup>10</sup> He had even secured lodgings there. At the time, Louvain did

<sup>1</sup> See Epp. 517–519, all written by Leo X on 26 January 1517.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 370 (written 22 November 1515, ll. 18–19) represents the first mention of Erasmus' appointment as a councillor to Charles.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Ep. 446, ll. 19–24.

<sup>4</sup> See Ep. 556, ll. 1–14.

<sup>5</sup> Epp. 694, ll. 4–17; 853, ll. 2–3.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. 694, ll. 1–5.

<sup>7</sup> Ep. 694, ll. 5–7.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. 545, ll. 15–17.

<sup>9</sup> See Allen, intr. Ep. 596.

<sup>10</sup> Ep. 470, ll. 9–12.

not seem very attractive to him. He thought that the students there would burden him with too much work, and the opposition of the Louvain theologians, such as Maarten van Dorp<sup>11</sup> and Jan Briart of Ath,<sup>12</sup> was something Erasmus was eager to avoid. On 6 October 1516, he wrote the following lines from Brussels to Andrew Ammonius<sup>13</sup> in London:<sup>14</sup>

“Hybernaturus sum Bruxellae ... Animus est a Louanio alienior. Illic mihi meo sumptu obseruiendum foret scholasticis. Obgannirent assidue iuuenes, ‘Castiga hoc carmen, emenda hanc epistolam’; alius hunc autorem flagitaret, alius alium: neque quisquam est illic qui mihi vel ornamento vel subsidio possit esse. Super haec omnia audiendum esset nonnunquam quid obganniant theologi, genus omnium insuauissimum: inter quos egregius ille N.<sup>15</sup> mihi propemodum tragoediam excitauit ....”

“I mean to spend the winter in Brussels ... I have turned somewhat against Louvain. If I were there, I should have to pay my own way and be the humble servant of the university people. The young men would be interrupting me all the time with their chatter: ‘Do correct these verses, just improve on this letter for me’; there would be constant demands for different authors; and there is no one there whom it would be any credit or any help for me to know. On top of all this I should have to listen sometimes to the chatter of the theologians, the

<sup>11</sup> Maarten van Dorp of Naaldwijk (1485–31 May 1525) “matriculated at the university of Louvain in 1501 ... It is fairly certain that before the end of 1504 he was appointed *legens* in philosophy ... He also became a successful teacher of Latin in the humanistic vein ... In 1510 he was introduced into the theological faculty and put in charge of several courses in Biblical exegesis ... He was appointed full professor in 1515 ... During Dorp’s final year as a student and his first as professor of theology (1514–1516) a scholarly controversy arose between him and Erasmus ... In Ep. 304, Dorp warned Erasmus to be very careful in his critical work on the Vulgate lest he undermine the very foundations of theology ... Erasmus defended his undertaking in Ep. 337 ... Dorp later distanced himself from this position, which he had adopted when he was about to obtain the titles of *doctor* and *magister noster* ... The reaction of the faculty of theology to Dorp’s subsequent change proves that he had had good reasons for warning Erasmus in Ep. 304 and for taking a scholastic stance himself at the time of his doctorate: on 30 September 1516 the faculty refused the annual renewal of Dorp’s certification as an academic teacher ... In 1517, however, Dorp regained the confidence of his faculty.” J. IJsewijn in: *Contemporaries* I, pp. 398–402.

<sup>12</sup> Jan Briart of Ath (1460–8 January 1520) “was later known in Louvain as *Athenensis* ... His lifelong association with the university of Louvain began with his matriculation on 30 August 1478 ... In 1506 Briart was appointed to a chair in theology ... Beginning in 1515, he occupied a position of prominence ... For the summer terms of 1516 and 1518 he was elected dean of the theological faculty ... When Dorp criticized Erasmus in 1515 and 1516, Erasmus believed that, as Dorp’s mentor, Briart was partly responsible for the attack ... But as his relations with Dorp improved, Erasmus also seems to have dropped his suspicions of Briart ... When he settled in Louvain in July of 1517 Briart was prominent among those who endeavoured to make him welcome and even co-opt him into the faculty of theology.” P.G. Bietenholz in *Contemporaries* I, p. 195.

<sup>13</sup> Andrea Ammonio of Lucca (c. 1478–17 August 1517) studied in Bologna, travelled to Rome and by 1506 had arrived in England. “In 1509 he became secretary to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and by 1511 he was Latin secretary to Henry VIII ... Ammonio was one of Erasmus’ closest friends in England ... Between 1511 and 1517 they exchanged over forty known letters ... Ammonio also assisted Erasmus in his quest for financial security and freedom from the bonds of his religious order, the canons regular of St Augustine.” T.B. Deutscher in: *Contemporaries* I, pp. 48–50.

<sup>14</sup> Ep. 475, ll. 12–20.

<sup>15</sup> I.e., Maarten van Dorp, see Allen, Ep. 275, n.l. 20; cf. Ep. 474, n.l. 17.

drearier sort of men, and among them the egregious x<sup>16</sup> has very nearly got me into trouble ....”<sup>17</sup>

The opposition of the Louvain theologians had begun in September 1514 with Dorp’s fierce criticism of both the *Laus Stultitiae* and Erasmus’ plan to produce a new Latin translation of the New Testament.<sup>18</sup> Until then, Dorp had seemed to be a fellow humanist, and indeed he later resumed this attitude and became friendly to Erasmus again, explaining his attack on Erasmus by saying that he had acted under pressure from the Louvain theologians who feared and rejected Erasmus’ New Testament work.<sup>19</sup>

Erasmus was in Brussels in December 1516 when he heard that the theologians were intending to examine his books.<sup>20</sup>

In spite of all this, Erasmus moved to Louvain in July 1517. This can be explained by the fact that, in January 1517, Erasmus had already received a very friendly letter from Dorp, in which he was invited to have dinner with Dorp and some other Louvain theologians.<sup>21</sup> This meeting seems to have resolved the tensions and improved the mutual relations. Two months later Erasmus himself wrote that the theologians insisted on his coming:

“Theologi nunc ambiunt etiam vt Louaniam commigrem ....”<sup>22</sup>

“The theologians are now actually trying to get me to move to Louvain ....”<sup>23</sup>

In July 1517, he settled in Louvain. He came by carriage, probably because he took his books with him.<sup>24</sup> In any case Erasmus told his friends John Oecolampadius, Cuthbert Tunstall and Peter Barbirius that in Louvain he had his luggage and his library at his disposal.<sup>25</sup>

He writes enthusiastically about the salubrious climate<sup>26</sup> in Louvain and, crucially, the warm reception offered by the theologians:<sup>27</sup>

“Louanium commigraui totus, cum theologis aliquot menses acturus, qui me satis benigne acceperint.”

“I have moved bodily to Louvain, intending to spend several months among the theologians, who have given me quite a kind welcome.”<sup>28</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See previous note.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. CWE 4, p. 94, Ep. 475, ll. 15–24.

<sup>18</sup> See Ep. 304, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> See Ep. 1044 (The Hague, 28 November, 1519), *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> Ep. 505, ll. 8–10.

<sup>21</sup> Ep. 509, Louvain, <January 1517>, ll. 5–8.

<sup>22</sup> Ep. 551, to Andrew Ammonius, Antwerp, 11 March <1517>, ll. 12–13. Cf. Ep. 584, ll. 39–41 to Thomas More, <Antwerp>, <30 May>, 1517, ll. 39–41: “Alioqui consilium erat Louanii actuare, theologis etiam id magnopere flagitantibus.”

<sup>23</sup> CWE 4, p. 283, Ep. 551, ll. 15–16.

<sup>24</sup> M.A. Nauwelaerts, *Erasmus à Louvain, éphémérides d’un séjour de 1517 à 1521* in ed. J. Coppens, *Scrinium Erasmianum* I, Leiden, 1969, pp. 3–24, see pp. 6–7.

<sup>25</sup> Epp. 605, l. 8; 607, l. 1; 608, l. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Ep. 625, l. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Ep. 597, to Thomas More, <Louvain>, <c. 10 July 1517>, ll. 25–26.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. CWE 5, p. 9, Ep. 597, ll. 28–29.

Erasmus registered at the university as *Magister Erasmus de Roterodamo, sacre theologie professor*.<sup>29</sup> This position did not imply any educational tasks.<sup>30</sup>

In 1515 and 1516, before moving to Louvain, Erasmus had been working on the new edition of Jerome and on a new Latin version of the New Testament, which was to be published with an edition of the Greek text side by side.<sup>31</sup> Froben had asked him to let him print this New Testament at his Basel printing office. Obviously, Froben had high hopes, both as a humanist scholar and as a businessman, for Erasmus' New Testament project. He was eager, therefore, to become the publisher of this first separate edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin.<sup>32</sup> Froben may also have hoped to anticipate Cardinal Ximenes' publication of the Complutensian Polyglot, although there is no evidence that he knew of that project. The New Testament portion of the Complutensian Bible edition was already in print in 1514, but the publication of the Bible as a whole had been withheld, supposedly to obtain papal permission, which was not forthcoming until 1520.<sup>33</sup>

The appearance of Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum*, the first Greek New Testament ever published was a landmark in the history of Biblical scholarship. Unfortunately, the Greek text in this edition is marred by many typographical errors; the work had been done too hastily, "precipitated rather than edited," as Erasmus himself said. The haste was presumably due to pressure from Froben.

Shortly before and during 1517, Erasmus also published many works on political issues, particularly on the problem of war and peace. In these writings – which include the *Institutio principis christiani* (1516), the *Adagium Dulce bellum inexpertis* (1515) and the *Querela Pacis* (1517) – he sought to convince political leaders to avoid war and to take interest primarily in their citizens. He appealed to Christian charity, but also to reason, arguing that war was pointless and went

<sup>29</sup> See H. de Jongh, *L'ancienne faculté de théologie de Louvain au premier siècle de son existence 1432–1540*, Louvain, 1911, p. 140, n. 11: "Matricule de l'université de Louvain de 31 août 1495 au 30 août 1526 (Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles, Ms. 3441) fol. 236 à l'année 1517: 'Magister Erasmus de Roterodamo, sacre theologie professor. Augusti penultima'. Une main postérieure a ajouté dans la marge: 'ille nominatissimus'. Le titre *theologie professor* n'indique pas qu'il ait été chargé de quelque enseignement ou ait été reçu dans la faculté: ces mots sont synonymes de *theologie doctor*."

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the quote from Ep. 475 where Erasmus voices his fear that the students would burden him with too much work.

<sup>31</sup> For an account of this project of Erasmus and its purpose, see H.J. de Jonge, *Novum Testamentum a nobis versum: the Essence of Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament*, in: *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 35, 2, 1984, pp. 394–413.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ep. 328 from Beatus Rhenanus, Basel, 17 April 1515, ll. 36–37: "Petit Frobenius Nouum abs te Testamentum habere pro quo tantum se daturum pollicetur quantum alius quisquam." Evidently Erasmus had not yet arranged for the printing of the New Testament (cf. Ep. 330). He may have hoped to have it printed in Italy and hence the frequent mention of a journey to Rome. Cf. Ep. 324, 27 n. See Ep. 384 intr.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. R.H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom*, London, 1970, p. 164.

against the interest of the citizens. Erasmus' idea of the *philosophia Christi* excludes the possibility of waging war for one's own profit.

The goal Erasmus pursued in both his philological works and his political writings was the promotion of the knowledge of the *philosophia Christi*. Erasmus considered the purity of the New Testament text and the readability of its translation important since, in order to know how to follow Christ and in order to learn what his commandments are, people have to read and to understand the New Testament. Christ's teaching and the exemplary way he lived form the basis for the *philosophia Christi*. Erasmus believed that, at the political level as well, people have to act according to this "philosophy". This conviction is expressed in Erasmus' dedication of his Paraphrases of the New Testament, which appeared around 1520–1522, to the four political leaders who dominated Europe: the paraphrase of Matthew to Charles V, that of John to Ferdinand, the ruler of the Italian realm, that of Luke to Henry VIII of England, and that of Mark to Francis I of France. To the last dedication, that of Mark to Francis I, Erasmus added the prayer that, as he had united their four names in the dedications of the paraphrases, so might their hearts be united in the Spirit of the gospel.<sup>34</sup>

In these writings on war, peace and politics, Erasmus' peace-loving nature is clearly apparent. It was not in accordance with this nature that he wrote such a fierce attack as the apologia against Lefèvre d'Étaples, published in 1517, that is, in the same year in which his *Querela Pacis* appeared.

Before the publication of the *Nouum Instrumentum* in 1516, Erasmus had already received many divergent reactions to this enterprise: words of encouragement as well as attempts to stop him. This is how, for example, John Becar of Borsselen expressed his eagerness to see Erasmus' new version of the New Testament:

"Nihil autem est quod mihi accidere possit hoc tempore gratius quam si quid eorum accipere possum quae tu in Noui Testamenti castigationem ...scripsisti."<sup>35</sup>

"There is, indeed, nothing that would give me greater pleasure now than to receive some portion of your own contributions to the critical revision of the New Testament ...."<sup>36</sup>

A similar sign of enthusiastic expectation came from Thomas More:

"Gaudeo Hieronymum ac Nouum Testamentum tam bene procedere. Mirum est quanto vndique desyderio expectantur ab omnibus."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ep. 1400, ll. 14–21.

<sup>35</sup> Ep. 291 from John Becar of Borsselen, Middelburg, 19 April, 1514, ll. 29–32. Cf. Ep. 371, from John le Molendino, Tournay, 23 November 1515, ll. 14–18: "Scribis Hieronymum tuum belle procedere. Vix ego verbis possum consequi quantopere illum videre, legere, osculari gestiam, cum tuis operibus reliquis et Nouo Testamento. Perge igitur, mi Erasme, et in has lucubrationes clarissimas viriliter incumbe, quae tibi nomen immortale et sempiternam gloriam pariturae sunt."

<sup>36</sup> CWE 2, p. 286, Ep. 291, ll. 30–32.

<sup>37</sup> Ep. 388, from Thomas More, <London>, <c. 17 February 1516>, ll. 162–163.

“I am delighted that Jerome and the New Testament make such good progress. It is remarkable how keenly they are awaited by everyone on all sides.”<sup>38</sup>

At the same time, Erasmus received negative reactions, for instance from Maarten van Dorp,<sup>39</sup> who undoubtedly spoke for many orthodox theologians. Dorp tried to convince Erasmus to cease working on the New Testament, in order to prevent the very foundations of theology from being undermined. During a rather long period prior to the publication of his New Testament, Erasmus knew that he was viewed with suspicion from several quarters.

This suspicion against Erasmus escalated after the publication of the *Nouum Instrumentum*. Erasmus himself was not very pleased with the edition: aware that his haste had led to misprints and other errors, he planned to bring out a new edition, but this was not to appear until 1519.

In 1517 and the following years, Erasmus was also involved in another project of great importance: the founding of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, an institute devoted to the study of Greek, Latin and Hebrew. It was financed from the estate of Jerome Busleyden, who died on 27 August 1517. In accordance with a plan worked out with Erasmus – who, by 1516, had become a close friend – Busleyden left a bequest to pay for both the salaries of a professor for each of the three languages and scholarships for eight students. Erasmus devoted a great deal of time to the organisation of the teaching. His task was to assess the candidates for the three chairs and to defend the college against the attacks of the conservatives who feared that its purpose was to dethrone the Vulgate as the authoritative translation of Scripture.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> CWE 3, p. 236, Ep. 388, ll. 172–174.

<sup>39</sup> Ep. 304, Louvain, <c. September 1514>, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> H. de Jongh, *L'ancienne faculté de théologie de Louvain au premier siècle de son existence 1432-1540*. Louvain, 1911, pp. 145-146.



## II. THE HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN ERASMUS AND LEFÈVRE

The first contacts between Erasmus and Lefèvre took place in Paris in 1511.<sup>1</sup> Erasmus spent some of that year in Paris and got to know members of the Faculty of Theology there, including Lefèvre d'Étaples. Erasmus and Lefèvre met and discussed each other's scholarly occupations, but strangely enough neither of them brought up his plan to undertake a new Latin translation of the New Testament. Erasmus writes about this mutual silence in his apologia against Lefèvre<sup>2</sup>, and also in a letter to Dorpius of May 1515:

“Porro Iacobus Faber commentarios illos iam tum habebat in manibus, cum nos hoc operis moliremur; ac parum commode euenit vt nec in familiarissimis colloquiis alterutri nostrum in mentem venerit de suo meminisse instituto. Nec ante cognoui quid agitasset ille, priusquam opus formulis excusum prodisset.”<sup>3</sup>

“Jacques Lefèvre had his notes in hand already when I was getting this work under way, and it happened, a trifle unfortunately, that even in our most friendly conversations neither of us thought of mentioning his plans, nor did I learn what he had been at until his work appeared in print.”<sup>4</sup>

Erasmus makes the same observation in a preface to his edition of Jerome of March 1515:

“Qua quidem in re nos quoque per idem tempus nauabamus operam, ac mire factum est vt cum vterque de altero nesciret, tamen ambo rem eandem eodem moliremur tempore, etiamsi [si] illius anteuortit editio.”<sup>5</sup>

“In this field too I was working at the same time, and by a strange coincidence, neither of us knowing about the other's work, we were both engaged simultaneously on the same enterprise, though his edition came out first.”<sup>6</sup>

In 1509, three years before Erasmus and Lefèvre met, Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium* appeared. The note on Ps. 8,6 included in this work, concerned the subject of the controversy that was to flare up in the years 1516–1517. The *Quincuplex Psalterium* contains, among other versions of the Psalms, Lefèvre's own translation into Latin. In Ps. 8,6 he translates “lower than God” instead of “lower than the angels.” In a note, he justifies this translation by explaining that even in his incarnation Christ had remained God, so that he could not have been placed below the angels. This note already shows some characteristic features of Lefèvre's christological views.<sup>7</sup> The divergence between Erasmus' and Lefèvre's christologies was at the heart of their controversy.

<sup>1</sup> For the content of the different writings in which Erasmus and Lefèvre carried on their controversy, see section “V. The Christologies of Erasmus and Lefèvre” of the present introduction.

<sup>2</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 95–101 and nn. ll. 95, 96–98 and 99–101.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 337, to Martinus Dorpius, Antwerp <May fin.> 1515, ll. 844–849.

<sup>4</sup> CWE 3, p. 137, Ep. 337, ll. 886–890.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 326, ll. 90–93.

<sup>6</sup> CWE 3, p. 71, Ep. 326, ll. 100–103.

<sup>7</sup> For Lefèvre's note on Ps. 8,6 in his *Quincuplex Psalterium*, see appendix I.

In his second publication on this subject – the note on *Hebr.* 2,7 in his translation, paraphrase and annotations of the epistles of Paul of 1512 – Lefèvre argued that in *Hebr.* 2,7 instead of “lower than the angels”, one should translate “lower than God.”

Beginning in the autumn of 1512, at the latest, Erasmus was indeed already preparing his own translation of the New Testament. His plan to make this new translation elicited different reactions. Some of these were encouraging, others sounded a note of warning and distrust. In his attempts to defend himself against his opponents, Erasmus repeatedly referred to Lefèvre as a scholar who had undertaken a project similar to his. But, although Erasmus and Lefèvre had many humanist ideals in common, Erasmus, in order to justify his own enterprise, sometimes allowed himself to speak less favourably of Lefèvre’s work on Paul, in letters that probably received widespread attention. He thus said for instance in one of the prefaces to his edition of Jerome (March 1515):

“Quae (sc. Lefèvre’s work on Paul, 1512) vtinam esset eiusmodi vt nostra quam paramus prorsus superuacanea videri possit.”<sup>8</sup>

“I only wish it (i.e., Lefèvre’s work on Paul, 1512) were of a quality that would render the edition I am preparing quite superfluous.”<sup>9</sup>

Erasmus expressed himself still less amicably with regard to Lefèvre’s work in a letter to Dorpius of May 1515. In this letter Erasmus defended his plan to improve the translation of the Vulgate:

“Porro quod admones sciebam, Laurentium Vallam ante nos hoc laboris occupasse, quippe cuius annotationes primus curarim euulgandas; et Iacobi Fabri in Paulinas epistolas commentarios vidi. Atque vtinam ab his sic esset elaboratum vt nostra industria nihil foret opus. ... Sed mihi nondum satis liquet cur hos duos obiicias. Num vt a re velut occupata deterreas? At apparebit me post tantos etiam viros non sine causa laborem hunc suscepisse. An hoc significas, nec istorum industriam probari theologis? Equidem quid Laurentio ad veterem illam inuidiam accesserit non video. Fabrum audio probari ab omnibus. Quid quod nec omnino simile negocium molimur? Laurentius tantum annotauit locos aliquot, idque, vt apparet, in transcurso leuique, quod dici solet, brachio. Faber in Paulinas duntaxat Epistolas aedidit commentarios, easque suo more vertit: tum si quid discrepabat, obiter annotauit. Nos vniuersum Testamentum Nouum ad Graecorum exemplaria vertimus, additis e regione Graecis, quo cuius promptum sit conferre. Adiecimus separatim Annotationes, in quibus partim argumentis, partim veterum autoritate theologorum docemus non temere mutatum ...”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ep. 326, Basel, March 1515, ll. 91–94.

<sup>9</sup> CWE 3, p. 71, Ep. 326, ll. 103–104. Cf. Ep. 334, to Domenico Grimani, London, <15 May> 1515, ll. 164–170: “... proxima aestate emissuri varias nec infrugiferas, vt opinor, annotationes nostras in Nouum Testamentum, vna cum Apostolicis epistolis sic a nobis versis vt intelligi possint; in quo labore ita puto me versatum, vt non sine causa post Laurentium Vallam, post Iacobum Fabrum, virum iuxta doctum ac diligentem, videar hoc negocii suscepisse.”

<sup>10</sup> Ep. 337, to Martinus Dorpius, Antwerp, <May fin.> 1515, ll. 835–866.

“Furthermore you tell me, but I knew already, that Lorenzo Valla had been active in this field before me, for I was the first to publish his annotations; and Jacques Lefèvre’s notes on the Pauline epistles I have seen. I only wish that they had finished off their works, so that my efforts might not have been needed. . . . But it is not yet quite clear to me why you confront me with these two names. Is it to deter me from the project as though I were already anticipated? But it will be clear that even after such good men I had good reason to undertake this job. Or do you suggest that their efforts, like my own, were unpopular in theological circles? Personally I cannot see that Lorenzo added to his existing unpopularity; and Lefèvre I hear is universally approved. I might add that we do not attempt an exactly similar task. Lorenzo only annotated selected passages, and those, it is clear, in passing and with what they call a light touch. Lefèvre published notes on the Pauline epistles only and translated them in his own way; then added notes in passing if there was any disagreement. But I have translated the whole New Testament after comparison with the Greek copies, and have added the Greek in columns side by side with the Latin, so that anyone may easily compare it. I have appended separate annotations in which, partly by argument and partly by the authority of the early fathers, I show that my modifications of the translation were not haphazard alterations . . .”<sup>11</sup>

In this passage, Erasmus suggests that Lefèvre set himself only a limited task: he only translated the Pauline epistles, not the entire New Testament. Furthermore, Lefèvre’s execution of this task was less thorough: he had not consulted the Greek manuscripts in order to offer a better text and so had failed to give the reader adequate information. In addition, the phrase: “He translated the Pauline epistles in his own way”, seems to reflect some reservation on Erasmus’ part as to Lefèvre’s translation method.

Erasmus seems no more obliging about Lefèvre’s translation of Paul in his letter to Henry Bullock of August 1516:

“Iacobus Faber Stapulensis, amicus noster, dudum id fecit in Paulum quod ego in totum Nouum Instrumentum. Cur hic demum tanquam ad rem nouam commouentur quidam? An aliis omnibus istud licere volunt, mihi vno non volunt? Atqui Stapulensis non paulo plus ausus est quam ego. Ille suam interpretationem veteri opposuit, idque in academiaram omnium regina Lutetia; ego recognitorem modo professus locos aliquot aut corrigo aut explico.”<sup>12</sup>

“My friend Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples some time ago did for St Paul what I have done for the whole New Testament. Why should certain people wait until now to rise in their wrath as though this were something new? Are they ready to give leave to everyone except me? Yet Lefèvre showed rather more enterprise than I did, for he set his new version opposite the old, and did so in Paris, the queen of all universities, while I set up as no more than a reviser, and either correct or explain a few passages only.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> CWE 3, pp. 137–138, Ep. 337, ll. 877–909.

<sup>12</sup> Ep. 456, to Henry Bullock, Rochester, <22?> August 1516, ll. 94–101. Allen suggests that this letter was perhaps revised for publication as a further defense of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, because it bears a general resemblance to the *Apologia* prefixed to that volume.

<sup>13</sup> CWE 4, p. 47, Ep. 456, ll. 105–112.

Here Erasmus is arguing that Lefèvre had acted more radically and had shown less reverence for the Vulgate than Erasmus. In particular, the wording: "... he set his new version opposite the old ... while I set up as no more than a reviser, and either correct or explain a few passages only," seems intended to direct the suspicion of the theologians away from himself toward Lefèvre.

Rumours about the content of the aforementioned letters are likely to have reached Lefèvre, since the letters under consideration received widespread attention and their subject-matter was of special relevance to Lefèvre. Moreover, Epp. 326 and 337 were certainly published before November 1516.<sup>14</sup> The passages about himself may have provoked him to attack Erasmus in his second edition of his commentary on the epistles of Paul; he had plenty of time to consider a reaction in the period between the dates these letters were written (March 1515; May 1515; August 1516) and the publication of his second edition of Paul (between November 1516 and 10 July 1517). Perhaps he sought revenge. The accusation of *impietas* that Lefèvre uttered against Erasmus (in reaction to Erasmus' assertion that the incarnate Jesus was humiliated below the most abject of human kind<sup>15</sup>) was liable to incite suspicion from the orthodox side, just as Erasmus' suggestions about Lefèvre's translation work in the letters cited above (Epp. 337 and 456) had the potential to cast doubt on the orthodoxy of Lefèvre.

Lefèvre ran the same risk of being suspected of heterodoxy by the traditional theologians as Erasmus. The former's situation may actually have been even more perilous than that of Erasmus. In 1515 Lefèvre had been summoned to be "amicably interrogated" about his support of Johann Reuchlin and about the fact that his name was used in Rome by critics of the theological faculty of Paris.<sup>16</sup> It is clear that, like Erasmus, Lefèvre had reason to fear orthodox opponents and to be irritated, therefore, by the letters of Erasmus quoted above.

Since both had reason to fear for their reputation and for the harm their conflict could do to the cause of humanist scholarship, it is remarkable that they proceeded to attack each other and injure each other's reputation.

In March 1516, Erasmus published his *Nouum Instrumentum*.

The second part of this work consists of the *Annotationes*. In the annotation of *Hebr.* 2,7, Erasmus criticizes Lefèvre for translating "lower than God" rather than "lower than the angels", and for interpreting "a little" as "a little in dignity" instead of as "for a while". Erasmus argued that Lefèvre's translation and interpretation ran counter to the traditional exegesis of the Church, represented by such authorities as Chrysostom and Thomas Aquinas.<sup>17</sup>

It was this annotation that prompted Lefèvre to react with his long note of no less than eight pages in folio, added in the second edition of his commentary on

<sup>14</sup> See Allen, intr. Epp. 326 and 337.

<sup>15</sup> See appendix III, ll. 22–24.

<sup>16</sup> J.K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France, the Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500–1543*, Leiden, 1985, p. 170.

<sup>17</sup> See appendix III, *passim*.

Paul's epistles, at *Hebr.* 2,7.<sup>18</sup> Lefèvre published this revised edition of his work on Paul some time between November 1516 and 10 July 1517.<sup>19</sup>

The central point in Lefèvre's counter-attack is that it is theologically inadmissible to assert that Christ was ever placed lower than the angels. Since "angels" is a rendering of a Hebrew word that normally means "God", the translation "God" has to be preferred in *Hebr.* 2,7 as well. As a result, there is no need to translate "a little" as "for a while": it should be taken to express that Christ, through the incarnation, became "only a little" lower than God, without ceasing to be God.

In response to what Erasmus called Lefèvre's "*disputatio*", Erasmus composed his *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*. This work appeared in Louvain between 23 and 28 August 1517. In it, Erasmus stood by his opinion that *Hebr.* 2,7 should be translated "You have lowered him for a little while below the angels." In support of this translation, Erasmus adduced all the philological evidence available. Furthermore, he argued that it was implausible that the Greek text of *Hebr.* and the entire exegetical tradition of the Church had been mistaken in reading "angels" here instead of "God". In particular, he explained at length that during his suffering Christ had indeed been humiliated far below the angels and even below the lowest of men. The reading "below the angels" thus was dogmatically unobjectionable: it reflected precisely the image of the suffering Christ in terms of which, according to Erasmus, Christ himself wanted to be remembered by his followers.

While preparing the *Nouum Instrumentum*, Erasmus had written many letters defending the work against opponents. He did the same in the case of the apologia against Lefèvre. Well in advance of its publication, he informed several correspondents of his intention to compose this defense, trying to justify his public reaction to Lefèvre's intervention.

In the relatively short period of four and a half years, from August 1517 to February 1522, Erasmus had his apologia against Lefèvre d'Étaples published no less than six times.<sup>20</sup> It was published four times in the six months from August 1517 to March 1518. In addition, he continually expanded the text. As a result, the text of the two issues of the fifth edition (1521, 1522; *E*<sup>1,2</sup>) is considerably longer than that of the *editio princeps* (1517; *A*). The question may be asked why Erasmus had this work published so frequently and in ever more augmented editions.

An important reason was no doubt that several publishers were keen on printing and publishing works authored by Erasmus and urged him to give them his

<sup>18</sup> This discussion, which Lefèvre inserted in his commentary on Paul of 1516/17, is often designated by Erasmus in his *Apologia* of 1517 as Lefèvre's *disputatio*.

<sup>19</sup> The date of publication of this book, according to its colophon, is 1515. This date cannot be correct. This problem will be treated in section VII of this introduction: The Date of the Second Edition of Lefèvre's *Epistole diui Pauli apostoli cum commentariis*.

<sup>20</sup> See *BE Rép.*, pp. 9–15. The apologia against Lefèvre was published six times during Erasmus' lifetime; four times in the years 1517–18 and twice in different issues of the collected *Apologiae*, Basel, Froben, 1521–22. See also the list of editions of this apologia, at the end of this introduction.

writings for publication.<sup>21</sup> Another reason, however, was that Erasmus had become nervous and uncertain when, after the first publication of the apologia against Lefèvre, the latter did not react and remained silent.<sup>22</sup> This becomes apparent, for instance, in the letter Erasmus wrote to Henry Bullock<sup>23</sup> in April 1518:

“Vos isthic pro me et Fabro inter vos iurgiis concertare doleo profecto. Scripsi nuper homini vt aut epistola quapiam edita testetur inter nos conuenire, si pudet παλινοδῆν, aut respondeat si quid habet quod defendat, modo temperet a tam amicis ac peramicis dictis quibus antea in me lusit: nunc illius silentio magis excitari dissidium, dum quisque pro suo animo suspicatur. Rixarum nullus est finis. Quod si hoc mali sic coniunctum est studiis vt distrahi non queat, mihi valebunt potius. Dormire prestat quam scribere.”<sup>24</sup>

“The news that in your part of the world you are at daggers drawn in support of Lefèvre or myself grieves me profoundly. I wrote the man lately, asking him either to publish some sort of letter to show that we are now in agreement, if he is ashamed to withdraw, or to write a reply if there is any point he wishes to maintain, provided he abstains from the friendly, indeed over-friendly, expressions with which he made game of me before. As things are, I said, his silence makes our disagreement more serious, for everyone harbours his own suspicions. Of quarrels there is no end. And if this plague is so closely connected with our studies that we cannot have one without the other, I would rather bid farewell to all my work. Doing nothing is better than scribbling.”<sup>25</sup>

In fact, Erasmus was afraid that Lefèvre was preparing a defense in response to his apologia. At the same time, Erasmus was embarrassed to hear nothing from Lefèvre. The reaction Erasmus was obviously hoping for was an acknowledgment that he was right.<sup>26</sup> He went as far as to threaten with a vehement offensive if Lefèvre refused to budge from his view. Early in 1518, Erasmus wrote William Nesen<sup>27</sup> that he might lose his self-control were Lefèvre to provoke him again.

“Quod si cuius instinctu denuo prouocabit odiosius, fortassis non quibo impere animo meo similem moderationem.”<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Epp. 575 and 581.

<sup>22</sup> Epp. 752, ll. 10–12, 766, ll. 9–21; 768, ll. 16–24; 775, ll. 16–18; 794, ll. 47–60.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Bullock (c. 1497–1526) studied in Cambridge, where he may have met Erasmus in 1506. Bullock invited Erasmus to Cambridge in 1516 and praised his recent edition of the New Testament (Ep. 449). In August of 1516, Erasmus replied with Ep. 456, a lengthy defense of his New Testament. In 1518 Erasmus sent him three letters, discussing the opposition to his New Testament. R.J. Schoeck in: *Contemporaries* I, p. 220.

<sup>24</sup> Ep. 826, from Erasmus to Henry Bullock, Louvain, 23 April 1518, ll. 9–17.

<sup>25</sup> CWE V, p. 398, Ep. 826, ll. 12–22.

<sup>26</sup> See Ep. 794, from Erasmus to Peter Barbirius, Louvain, 6 March 1518, ll. 47–48: “Apologia iam quater est impressa. Deleat ille suam insectationem, ego quoad possum premam Apologiam.”

“My Apologia has now been printed four times. Let him remove all traces of attack, and I will do what I can to suppress my defense.” CWE V, p. 342, Ep. 794, ll. 51–52.

<sup>27</sup> William Nesen of Nastätten (1493–1524) went to Basel for study in 1511 and worked as a corrector for Johann Froben in 1515–6. Michael Erbe and P.G. Bietenholz in: *Contemporaries* III, pp. 12–14.

<sup>28</sup> Ep. 768, to William Nesen, Louvain, 18 January 1518, ll. 22–24.

"If anyone stirs him up to provoke me still more unpleasantly, I may not be able to force myself to show the same moderation."<sup>29</sup>

Understandably, Erasmus was afraid that his apologia might meet with disapproval in humanist circles. After all, Lefèvre was a scholar of great renown.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, controversy within the humanist movement was sure to damage its intellectual and social respectability. Erasmus indeed heard from several people that they would have preferred a less violent tone in his apologia.<sup>31</sup> His uneasiness over this apologia is clear from the frequent and divergent explanations he gave for publishing it. In a letter to Cuthbert Tunstall<sup>32</sup> he justified his plan to bring out the apologia by saying that he wished to show that he was not so stupid as Lefèvre had imagined he was.

"Respondebimus, sed citra stomachum; non quo illius refellamus sententiam, quam in scholiis nostris recensuimus duntaxat, non reiecimus, verum ut ostendamus nos non vsque adeo stupidos esse quam ille facit ...."<sup>33</sup>

"I shall reply to him, but I shall keep my temper; not so much to prove him wrong – I only discussed his opinion in my own commentary and did not reject it – as to show that I am not so stupid as he makes out ...."<sup>34</sup>

In a letter to Wolfgang Capito, however, he explained that he had composed the apologia against Lefèvre in order to defend himself against the charges of impiety and blasphemy which Lefèvre had leveled against him.

"Ex quo legeram Fabri reprehensionem, inter quatuordecim dies absolueram meam apologiam: in qua tantum hoc ago, ut impietatis et blasphemie crimen, quod is nescio cuius instinctu impegerat, depellam."<sup>35</sup>

"After reading Lefèvre's criticisms I had my apologia finished within a fortnight, in which my sole object is to rebut the charges of impiety and blasphemy which someone, I know not who, had inspired him to bring against me."<sup>36</sup>

Repeatedly, Erasmus felt the need to emphasize that he was the victor in this controversy.<sup>37</sup> Finally, in June of 1518, Erasmus heard that Lefèvre had no intention of

<sup>29</sup> CWE V, p. 286, Ep. 768, ll. 27–29. Cf. Allen, Epp. 766, ll. 19–21 and 775, ll. 17–18 and 734, ll. 35–41.

<sup>30</sup> Ep. 787, ll. 22–23.

<sup>31</sup> Epp. 659, ll. 15–16; 724, ll. 7–9; 621, ll. 23–30; 731, ll. 33–35; 747, ll. 85–90.

<sup>32</sup> Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559) studied at Oxford and Cambridge. About 1499 he went to Padua and remained there for six years. Among the friends he made in Italy was Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. He returned to England about 1510. From 1515 to 1517 he lived primarily in the Netherlands. Tunstall helped Erasmus in the revision of the text of the New Testament and supported him in his controversies with Dorp and Lefèvre. James K. McConica in: *Contemporaries III, s.v.*, pp. 349–354.

<sup>33</sup> Ep. 607, to Cuthbert Tunstall, Louvain, 17 July <1517>, ll. 10–13.

<sup>34</sup> CWE V, p. 31, Ep. 607, ll. 11–14.

<sup>35</sup> Ep. 731, from Erasmus to Wolfgang Capito, Louvain, 6 December <1517>, ll. 3–6.

<sup>36</sup> CWE V, pp. 226–227, Ep. 731, ll. 2–6. Cf. Epp. 778, ll. 82–94 and 222–250; 608, ll. 22–26; 777, ll. 15–20; 659, ll. 1–15.

<sup>37</sup> For example in Epp. 653, ll. 14–17; 659, ll. 1–15; 608, ll. 22–26; 777, ll. 15–20; 794, ll. 36–45.

publishing a reply and even regretted ever having been the first to attack.<sup>38</sup> Lefèvre indeed never published a reaction, although he certainly did not accept Erasmus' interpretation of *Hebr.* 2,7. In 1517 Lefèvre published his third edition of his translation, paraphrase and annotations of the epistles of Paul. It contains his exposition against Erasmus in practically the same form as in 1516/17.<sup>39</sup>

In 1518, Erasmus brought out the fourth edition of his apologia (Louvain, Martens). At the end of the book, he included a long and detailed enumeration of the objections which Lefèvre had brought against him in 1516/7, with each objection accompanied by Erasmus' answer.<sup>40</sup> This long summary of the polemic was also incorporated into the note on *Hebr.* 2,7 in the second edition of the *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum* (Basel, 1519). From then on, the summary went almost unaltered through all later editions of Erasmus' *Annotationes*: Basel, 1521<sup>3</sup>; 1527<sup>4</sup>; 1535<sup>5</sup>.

In 1523, long after the controversy had begun, and some time after the two issues of the fifth edition of the apologia (*E*<sup>5,2</sup>: 1521–22) had appeared in Basel, Simon de Colines published Lefèvre's French translation of the New Testament in Paris.<sup>41</sup> The work appeared anonymously. In this work, Lefèvre translated *Hebr.* 2,7 as follows: "tu las fait ung peu moindre que les anges". This rendering of *Hebr.* 2, 7, however, does not reveal Lefèvre's real opinion about the meaning of the passage. Had he translated "moindre que Dieu", he had betrayed himself as the translator. This would have been a great risk, since the Inquisition was by no means in favour of translations of the Bible in the vernacular. In August 1523, the theological faculty of Paris debated the admissibility of translations of the Bible in the vernacular.<sup>42</sup> In August 1525, the publication of such translations was forbidden.<sup>43</sup> In 1523, then, Lefèvre had every reason not to reveal his identity as translator by writing "a Deo", a rendering everybody could recognize as his.

In 1524, Erasmus published his Paraphrase of the epistle to the Hebrews. His paraphrase of *Hebr.* 2,7 mirrors his unaltered view about the humiliation of Christ, but the genre of the paraphrase did not allow him to refer to the polemic with Lefèvre.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Ep. 849, ll. 15–17.

<sup>39</sup> See appendix IV, the *apparatus criticus*, for some slight alterations in comparison with the second edition of 1516/7 (to which Erasmus reacts in his apologia against Lefèvre).

<sup>40</sup> See appendix V.

<sup>41</sup> *J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, Le Nouveau Testament*. Fac-simile de la première édition Simon de Colines 1523, I–II, ed. M. A. Screech, Paris, The Hague, 1970. See B.T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-Language Editions of the Scriptures*, Geneva 1983, pp. 42–44, no. 31. Lefèvre's translation of the New Testament was reprinted numerous times.

<sup>42</sup> G. Bedouelle and B. Roussel, *La lecture de la Bible en langue vivante au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: chronologie de quelques textes et faits marquants*, in: I. Backus and F. Higman, edd., *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse*, Geneva, 1990, pp. 61–76, see p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> In a note to his English translation of the Paraphrase of *Hebr.*, at *Hebr.* 2 (CWE 44, Toronto, 1993, p. 357, n. 6), J.J. Bateman suggests that Erasmus did alter his view, because in his paraphrase *ad locum* he uses the words: "demisisti illum paulisper infra angelos." Bateman



In 1531, two new editions of Lefèvre's edition of the epistles of Paul appeared, one in Paris, the other in Cologne.<sup>45</sup> Both are based exclusively on the third edition. The long addition of 1516/17 directed against Erasmus figures in them without significant alteration.<sup>46</sup> Thus, judging from these two 1531 editions, Lefèvre remained convinced that Jesus could not be said to have been humiliated below the angels.

The fact that in 1531, fourteen years after the third edition of Lefèvre's Latin work on Paul, two re-editions appeared unexpectedly and almost simultaneously, may be due to the Parisian Faculty of Theology's decision, in 1531, to enlarge the possibilities for the publication of Bible translations and commentaries.<sup>47</sup>

The polemic between Erasmus and Lefèvre thus ended in 1517 with Erasmus' apologia, without leading to any agreement or resolution between the two opponents.

remarks that this paraphrase "avoids the accusation that Christ was inferior to the angels." But, in fact, the paraphrase expresses the idea that Christ incarnate was inferior to the angels not less clearly than the translation "fecisti eum paululo inferiorem angelis" given in the *Nouum Instrumentum*.

<sup>45</sup> In his bibliography of Lefèvre's works, E.F. Rice (*Prefatory Epistles*, p. 559) mentions four 1531 editions of this book, two of which appeared in Paris, and two in Cologne. For all four editions, Rice refers to libraries where copies of these editions are kept. Examination of the copies indicated by Rice has proven that they do not represent four, but only two different editions. One was printed in Paris by Jean Petit and published by François Regnault. Copies of this edition are in Cambridge, Peterhouse, and Oxford, Bodleian Library. The other was printed and published in Cologne by Eucharius Cervicornus. Copies of this edition are in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

<sup>46</sup> See the *apparatus criticus* to appendix IV.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. J.K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France, The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543*, Leiden, 1985, p. 180.

III. A SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ERASMUS AND  
LEFEVRE TO THEIR CONTROVERSY ON THE INTERPRETATION OF  
*HEBREWS 2, 7*

For the reader's convenience, the works and the portions of works by Lefèvre and Erasmus in which they carried on their dispute on *Hebr. 2,7*, are listed here in chronological order. Lefèvre's first two contributions (i.e., his note on *Ps. 8,6* in the *Quincuplex Psalterium* of 1509, and his annotation of *Hebr. 2,7* in his commentary on Paul of 1512) were of course a prelude to the controversy rather than a contribution in the strict sense.

In this list, only the first editions of the works concerned will be recorded. Second and later editions will not be mentioned here, unless they themselves make part of the controversy.

- 1509: Lefèvre's annotation of *Ps. 8,6* in his *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, 1509 (reproduced below in appendix I).
- 1512: Lefèvre's annotation of *Hebr. 2,7* in his *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512 (reproduced below in appendix II).
- 1516: Erasmus' annotation of *Hebr. 2,7* in his *Nouum Instrumentum*, Basel, March 1516 (reproduced below in appendix III).
- 1516/7: Lefèvre's annotation of *Hebr. 2,7* in the second edition of his *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, Paris, between November 1516 and 10 July 1517 (reproduced below in appendix IV).
- 1517: Erasmus, *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, Louvain, between 23 and 28 August 1517 (edited in the present volume according to the sixth edition, Basel, 1540).
- 1518: Erasmus, *Summa totius disputationis*, appended to the fourth edition of his *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*, Louvain, 1518, also included in his annotation of *Hebr. 2,7* in the second edition of his *Nouum Testamentum*, Basel, 1519 (reproduced below in appendix V).

#### IV. AN ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT OF ERASMUS' *APOLOGIA* AGAINST LEFÈVRE. ITS LITERARY GENRE

The *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem* has the form of a letter addressed to Lefèvre. It is a defense against Lefèvre's attack on Erasmus contained in the long note on *Hebr.* 2,7 which Lefèvre inserted in the second edition of his commentary on Paul (1516/7). In his apologia, a detailed and lengthy reaction, Erasmus tries to prove his case. I will first sketch the organization of the apologia, before going on to discuss some of the devices Erasmus uses here to win over his readers.

The apologia against Lefèvre displays no consistent overall literary structure. Sometimes Erasmus treats certain topics touched upon by Lefèvre, at other times he permits himself to make a digression. He discusses some of the arguments of Lefèvre in the order in which he had brought them up, and others out of sequence. Yet despite the apologia's poorly organized composition, the following parts can be distinguished:

First part: presentation of the problem at issue, ll. 2–18.

Second part: complaints about Lefèvre's ungrateful, unfriendly and cunning behaviour, ll. 21–259.

Third part: treatment of Lefèvre's arguments and objections, ll. 279–1669.

Fourth part: announcement of a summary of what precedes; continuation of the treatment of Lefèvre's arguments; rebuttal of three charges brought by Lefèvre, ll. 1670–2372.

Fifth part: critique of the second edition of Lefèvre's work, on the grounds that it does not make sufficient use of Erasmus' criticisms of the first edition, ll. 2373–2591.

The apologia begins with a short recapitulation<sup>1</sup> of the issue of the controversy. Lefèvre translates *Hebr.* 2,7: "You (God) have lowered him (Jesus) a little below God," instead of "... below the angels." Thus he prevents the biblical text from saying that Jesus was humiliated very deeply. Erasmus, however, prefers to translate: "You (God) have lowered him for a short time below the angels," since he believed that Jesus in his suffering unto death had indeed been humiliated severely.

The rest of the apologia is composed as a long letter to Lefèvre. Erasmus greets Lefèvre and begins with an introduction,<sup>2</sup> part two of the apologia. In it he explains that, when he was about to move to Louvain, he saw a copy of the second edition of Lefèvre's work on Paul, read the long passage inserted in the commentary at *Hebr.* 2,7, and was startled by its sharp tone. Erasmus here elaborates on the friendly way in which he himself had corrected mistakes made by Lefèvre

<sup>1</sup> *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 2–18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 21–259.

and on Lefèvre's cunning way of attacking Erasmus unexpectedly in an extension of his commentary, a passage in which he offends Erasmus so deeply that it compels him to answer.<sup>3</sup>

In the third and longest part,<sup>4</sup> Erasmus treats the objections raised by Lefèvre and answers them in detail. An important issue, in Erasmus' view, is that Lefèvre had attacked him and begun a polemic without reason, since in his *Nouum Instrumentum* Erasmus had only proposed two possible interpretations and rejected neither of them. In this context Erasmus states his conviction that in annotations one should be permitted to freely discuss all possible interpretations of biblical passages.<sup>5</sup>

It is true that in the *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, attributed to Jerome, the reading 'a Deo' is given, but, as Erasmus remarks, it is uncertain that this commentary is Jerome's. Furthermore, Jerome doubts whether the passage *Hebr.* 2,7, refers to Christ at all, whereas Lefèvre takes this for granted. Lefèvre presupposes that Paul wrote *Hebr.* in Hebrew, and asserts that Paul in *Hebr.* 2,7 quoted *Ps.* 8,6 in Hebrew and read *elohim*, meaning 'God'. Like Jerome however, Erasmus is sure neither that Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews nor that it was originally written in Hebrew. He argues at length that *elohim* almost always means 'angels' or 'gods' and only rarely 'God'. When Jerome quoted *Hebr.* 2,7 in his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians (undoubtedly written by him), he wrote 'ab angelis'.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, according to Erasmus, *paulominus* in *Hebr.* 2,7 must be interpreted as referring to the time of Jesus' suffering, not to the limited degree of his passion. It means 'for a while', not 'a little in dignity', because, in Erasmus' view, Jesus had suffered very much, but only for a short time.<sup>7</sup>

Lefèvre had suggested that Erasmus' reading 'below the angels' implied that Jesus had come into contact with evil, since certain angels were morally bad and sinned. Erasmus, however, has in mind the hardships and the pain that Jesus endured on earth. Angels never have to meet with the adversities of mortal nature. Therefore, Jesus has not been lowered a little but very much below the angels, at least with regard to his human nature, not, indeed, with regard to his divine nature.<sup>8</sup> Lefèvre wishes to see only the divine side of the incarnate Christ. Erasmus is convinced that emphasizing – or even overstating – the depth of Jesus' passion, including the statement that Jesus was humiliated below the most abject of humankind, contributes to his glory. The glorification of Jesus' might and majesty, which Lefèvre emphasizes, is something for the future life.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 231–242, 755–773 and 2222–2241.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 283–1669. Erasmus summarizes this part of the apologia in his second edition of the New Testament, *Annotations*, at *Hebr.* 2,7 (see appendix V).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 283–348, 1302–1317, 1676–1679.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 537–546, 1646–1669, 1802–1817, and 1911–2112.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1370–1466, and 1702–1713.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 462–470, 550–581, 846–935.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 774–982 and 1714–1730.

Erasmus succeeds in redirecting the crucial charge brought against him by Lefèvre – namely that Erasmus shows too little reverence towards Christ – against Lefèvre himself. He does so by explaining that by underestimating Jesus' humiliation, Lefèvre fails to appreciate sufficiently the greatness of what Jesus accomplished for the faithful.<sup>10</sup>

In the beginning of the fourth part of the apologia, Erasmus explains<sup>11</sup> the lack of order in the preceding part of the apologia as inevitable, since he had to follow the disorderly presentation of Lefèvre's attack in order to answer all its parts. But Erasmus announces a conveniently arranged summary of the foregoing. In what follows, however, he repeats a great deal of the argumentation of the preceding part of the apologia, and also expands the argumentation. In an important passage in this "summary", Erasmus paraphrases a tripartite charge brought against him by Lefèvre<sup>12</sup> and indeed answers it in three sections.<sup>13</sup>

In the last ten pages of the apologia,<sup>14</sup> Erasmus expresses his amazement that Lefèvre has done nothing with Erasmus' criticism of the first, 1512 edition of Lefèvre's *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*. Here he enumerates a number of Lefèvre's mistakes and makes a great deal of this.

Erasmus finishes his apologia by expressing the hope that Lefèvre will resume his former friendly contacts with him and by threatening him with a more severe offensive if Lefèvre refuses to do so.

In this apologia Erasmus tries to convince the readers by explaining *inter alia* how friendly he has always been towards Lefèvre. He declares that, accordingly, in this apologia, he will not pay back Lefèvre in his own coin: he will spare him, as he usually does. Erasmus has always favoured him and has often covered up Lefèvre's blunders.<sup>15</sup> He points out that, in the *Nouum Instrumentum*, he even did Lefèvre the favour of mentioning him in discussing the reading *a Deo*: he could have confined himself to quoting Jerome only. Moreover, he undergirded Lefèvre's opinion with Jerome's authority, while presenting his own opinion without quoting important authorities.<sup>16</sup>

Erasmus further tries to win the sympathy of the readers by stressing that he feels the responsibility to inform the readers completely about the different possible interpretations of *Hebr.* 2,7. He is willing to stand by this responsibility even to the detriment of his personal friendship with Lefèvre. Erasmus also likes to give the impression that he values the readers' judgement. In discussing a passage, he points out the different possible interpretations and leaves it to the readers to

<sup>10</sup> The return of the accusation of *impietas* is seen most clearly in *ibid.*, ll. 1333–1363.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1670–1675.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1918–1923.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1924–1946, 1947–2105, 2106–2182.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 2396–2591.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 48–202, 2113–2121, and 2396–2408.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 317–327.

choose. He claims that he does not condemn opinions different from his. He purports to refrain from attacking people who prefer another opinion, and from using his knowledge of rhetoric in criticizing other views.<sup>17</sup>

In discussing Lefèvre's attitude and character, Erasmus complains that Lefèvre treats him less amicably than he had treated Lefèvre. Lefèvre does not shrink from calling Erasmus 'insane' and from labelling Erasmus' opinion (that the incarnate Christ was humiliated below the most abject of human kind) 'impious' and 'unworthy of God and Christ.' Lefèvre acted as if there was a war on: he had attacked Erasmus without warning him beforehand. He makes abundant use of rhetoric. He distorts Erasmus' words in the *Nouum Instrumentum* with the result that they seem to be charges brought exclusively against Lefèvre. Lefèvre never does Erasmus the favour of quoting him in support of his own opinion. Erasmus considers Lefèvre's behaviour all the more unfair because Lefèvre is both a very influential scholar and older than Erasmus; the way he treats Erasmus might harm the latter's reputation.<sup>18</sup>

As to Lefèvre's attitude towards the reading public, he does not feel the obligation to inform his readers completely. This is clear from the fact that he corrected nothing in the passages of his work that Erasmus had criticized. Lefèvre claims too much authority: he does not leave it to the readers to judge; he decrees and dictates, and – what is worse – he denounces other opinions.<sup>19</sup> Lefèvre damages the interests of the humanist circle by starting a quarrel with Erasmus for no reason at all.<sup>20</sup> Lefèvre has too little respect for the tradition: he does not quote authoritative patristic authors for justifying his reading of *Hebr.* 2,7 and, moreover, condemns the reading the Church has always accepted in the liturgical lessons.<sup>21</sup>

Dealing with the epistle to the Hebrews in the apologia, Erasmus often uses Jerome as a witness in support of his views. Now Jerome was also the only authority Lefèvre could mention in support of his view. But Erasmus utilizes him for other purposes as well. He refers to him, for instance, as an example of a commentator who presents different possible interpretations of a given passage and leaves it to the reader to decide. For Erasmus, Jerome is also an example of an interpreter who, although preferring one reading, does not denounce the other. Furthermore, just as Jerome did not accept the accusations of those who attacked him, Erasmus does not tolerate the insults of Lefèvre. By thus using the authority of Jerome, the only witness Lefèvre could adduce for his view, in justification of his own interpretation of *Hebr.* 2,7 and of his whole defense, Erasmus was able to transform Lefèvre's sole witness into a witness supporting his own case.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 108–138, 290–378, 550–558, and 2235–2255.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 26–356, 462–478, 559–581, 745–773, 1351–1363, 1714–1750, 1888–1901, 1913–1923, 2222–2228, 2381–2408.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 479–606, and 2041–2050.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 21–79.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 317–517.

In summary, the rhetorical means used by Erasmus in his apologia against Lefèvre include the return of the charge, the emphasizing of his own moral integrity, the denouncement of his opponent's behaviour as morally dubious, the appeal to the judgement of the audience which is represented as sufficiently competent to decide, and the constant use of Jerome, Lefèvre's sole witness, in support of both the Erasmian view of *Hebr.* 2,7 and the Erasmian way of proceeding in this polemic as a whole.

## V. THE CHRISTOLOGIES OF ERASMUS AND LEFÈVRE

Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples had the same ideals about a better world, one that could be realised only if everyone were able to read the Bible and knew how to follow Jesus. Hence, both were convinced of the importance of the diffusion of knowledge of the Bible and of the significance of Bible commentaries and translations. They had a great deal of sympathy for each others' occupations.<sup>1</sup>

Differences, however, regarding their views on the translation and interpretation of *Hebr.* 2,7, forced them apart. Where Erasmus translated: "You (God) have made him (Jesus) for a little while lower than the angels,"<sup>2</sup> Lefèvre translated: "You have made him a little less than God."<sup>3</sup> A fierce controversy flared up, one that was primarily a dispute over their different conceptions of Jesus.

In this chapter, I begin by conveying the context of this quote from *Hebr.* and briefly pointing out the philological aspect of the translation problem. I then offer a survey of the Christological arguments that Erasmus and Lefèvre used in their controversy, before developing an account of their Christologies and ideas about *christiformitas* that is clearer than the picture that emerges directly from the controversy. And finally I will say something briefly about the background of their Christologies.

In *Hebr.* 1 and 2, the author appeals to his readers to remain faithful to the gospel that is preached to them. The sublimity of Christ is the argument for this purpose. After suffering and dying to release people from sin and death, Jesus was taken into heaven. He was granted a position far above the angels and was crowned with honour and glory.

In this argument about the height of the enthroned Christ, the author says in *Hebr.* 2,7 – using a quotation from *Ps.* 8,6 – that Jesus reached his glory after God had made him a little, or, for a little while, below the angels.

The translation problem is as follows: this passage, *Hebr.* 2,7, is a quotation from *Ps.* 8,6. The translations of Erasmus and Lefèvre are both possible as far as the original Hebrew of this psalm is concerned. The difference of opinion pertains to the translation of the Hebrew words "m'at" that can signify "for a little while" as well as "a little" and "elohim" that can be translated both with "God" and "angels". The original Greek of *Hebr.* 2,7, however, is ambiguous only in the case of βαχύ τι "for a little while" or "a little". Ἀγγέλους can obviously not be translated as "God" but only as "angels", "messengers" and so on.

Lefèvre nevertheless translated "Minuisti eum paulominus a Deo", Erasmus preferred: "Fecisti eum paululo inferiorem angelis." "Paulominus", and "paululo", in their Latin translations are still open to two possible interpretations: "for a little while" and "a little", "not much". But they were both quite clear with

<sup>1</sup> For Erasmus' opinion about Lefèvre, see, e.g., Epp. 531, ll. 571–576 and 541, ll. 70–71 and for Lefèvre's view on Erasmus: Epp. 445, ll. 36–43, and 621, ll. 19–23.

<sup>2</sup> *Nov. Instr.*, Basel, 1516, p. 134. Erasmus' note on *Hebr.* 2,7 is represented in appendix III.

<sup>3</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, f° 58v<sup>o</sup>.



respect to the following: Erasmus insists that in *Hebr.* 2,7 “paulominus” refers to the time that Jesus endured his humiliation<sup>4</sup>; Lefèvre insists that it refers to the degree of Jesus’ dignity while he was on earth.<sup>5</sup>

Incidentally, Lefèvre’s translation, “minuisti eum paulominus a Deo”, “you (God) made him (Jesus) a little lower than God,” produces a sentence structure that is remarkable and even incorrect. “You have made him a little lower than yourself” would have been clearer. Bedouelle solves this problem by reading Lefèvre’s translation as: “tu l’as fait un peu moindre qu’un dieu.”<sup>6</sup> But Lefèvre’s arguments in support of his translation convincingly show that by writing “a Deo” he meant God, not a lower god.<sup>7</sup>

Before turning to a discussion of Erasmus’ and Lefèvre’s Christological views in general, I shall give an overview of the Christological arguments they used in the writings that comprise this controversy.

The dispute began in 1509, with the publication of Lefèvre’s *Quincuplex Psalterium*, which provides five readings of the *Psalms* with paraphrase and commentary. Here, in an annotation of *Ps.* 8,6 Lefèvre translated “elohim” as “a Deo”, “below God”.<sup>8</sup> He did this contrary to the tradition, that read “ab angelis”, for only (pseudo) Jerome had done this before.<sup>9</sup>

Lefèvre preferred the *Psalterium Hebraicum* as a rule, partly because of his great admiration for Jerome and partly because of the importance that he saw in using the original text, in this case the Hebrew, as Jerome does throughout the *Psalterium Hebraicum*.

In this passage, however, Lefèvre had yet another argument for following the reading of the *Psalterium Hebraicum*: the dignity of Jesus. The thought that Jesus was humiliated below the angels was intolerable to him.

The Septuagint, however, had rendered the word “elohim” in *Ps.* 8,6 into  $\pi\alpha\rho' \ \alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . Lefèvre explained that this “error” of the interpreters of the Septuagint was due to their defective insight. They had not understood that this passage refers to Jesus. They thought it referred to the ordinary man and were afraid of giving him too much honour.

Using lots of biblical passages as references, Lefèvre tried to discredit the claim that the incarnate Jesus was deeply humiliated. He read the passages in the context of *Ps.* 8,6 (and *Hebr.* 2,7) as referring to the incarnate Christ, although they had traditionally been interpreted as references to the enthroned Christ, for example: “You have crowned him with honour and glory and have set him over the works of your hands.”<sup>10</sup> According to Lefèvre, the earthly Jesus retained full

<sup>4</sup> See appendix III, ll. 29–32.

<sup>5</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 278–349.

<sup>6</sup> See G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étapes et l'intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, 1976, p. 219.

<sup>7</sup> See Lefèvre’s *Disputatio* given appendix IV, *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, 1509, f° 14v° and r°.

<sup>9</sup> In Jerome’s *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, ed. P. Antin, CCSL 72, Turnhout, 1959, p. 191.

<sup>10</sup> *Ps.* 8, 5–6; *Hebr.* 2,7–8.

possession of his divine dignity. He did indeed descend a little below God, but he was absolutely not humiliated below the angels.

Lefèvre assumed that *Hebr.* had originally been written by Paul in Hebrew and subsequently translated by an interpreter into Greek. Already in 1509, he stated that the interpreter had followed the Septuagint in making the same mistake by rendering “elohim” into ἀγγέλους. Paul himself had, of course, intended “elohim” to mean “below God.” At the end of this annotation in the *Quincuplex Psalterium* Lefèvre made the appeal:

“... mendas codicum eluite ...”<sup>11</sup>

“remove the errors of the codices!”

It is noticeable that Lefèvre followed a line of thinking which was unorthodox in those days: not only did he consider the Septuagint reading as erroneous; he also denied the correctness of the New Testament canonical text of *Hebr.* This is something of which Erasmus was to take advantage of.

The next important event in the controversy was Lefèvre’s annotation of *Hebr.* 2,7 in the first edition, in 1512, of his translation, paraphrase, and annotations of Paul’s letters.<sup>12</sup> This is a much shorter note. Lefèvre referred in it to his *Quincuplex Psalterium* and said he did Paul’s intention justice by substituting the “ab angelis” of the Vulgate of *Ps.* 8,6 for “a Deo.”

“... quod dicitur *ab angelis* interpretis est, non Pauli, sed Pauli *a Deo*. Quare sententiam Pauli servantes *a Deo* diximus.”<sup>13</sup>

“... that it is said ‘below the angels’ is from the translator, not of Paul, but Paul’s reading is ‘below God’. That is why we, following the intention of Paul, said ‘below God’.”

Again he argues the sublimity of the incarnate Jesus by quoting passages that tradition considered to refer to the enthroned Christ.

At this point, in 1516, Erasmus raised issue with Lefèvre’s interpretation by his annotation of *Hebr.* 2,7 in the *Nouum Instrumentum*.<sup>14</sup> Although he admitted that Lefèvre had an advantage by having Jerome as an authority, Erasmus clearly stated that the translation “a Deo” was wrong. It had to be “ab angelis.” According to him Jesus was not merely humiliated below the angels, on the contrary, he was humiliated below the most abject of men:

“Etenim si de assumpto intelligas homine, quemadmodum necesse est, paululum fuit imminutus a Deo, imo infra abiectissimos etiam homines ....”<sup>15</sup>

“Truly, if you understand it as referring to his assumption of human nature, as is necessary, he was lowered for a short time below God, nay rather below the most abject of human kind ....”

<sup>11</sup> See appendix I, l. 93.

<sup>12</sup> *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad Hebr.* 2,7, f<sup>o</sup> 233v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> See appendix II, ll. 8–10.

<sup>14</sup> *Nov. Instr.*, Basel, 1516, pp. 585–586. See appendix III, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> See appendix III, ll. 22–24.

Jesus was already humiliated simply by becoming a human being, because the human bears no proportion to the divine. In addition, Jesus had been humiliated still further by all the suffering he underwent on earth. As support for his interpretation, Erasmus quotes *Ps.* 21,7: "I am a worm and no man, a shame to mankind and despised among the people," interpreted as a prophecy about Jesus in his misery.

Due to the gravity of Jesus' suffering the interpretation "a little" for βραχύ τι (or m<sup>c</sup>at in the psalm) was very problematical in Erasmus' view. He suggested that βραχύ τι be translated temporally, with "for a little while," as a solution, following Chrysostom<sup>16</sup> and Theophylact<sup>17</sup>. On this reading, Jesus had been terribly humiliated but only for a little while. Apart from this, Erasmus mentioned that those passages "You have crowned him with honour and glory and have set him over the works of your hands"<sup>18</sup> refer to the heavenly Christ, not to the earthly Jesus.<sup>19</sup>

Erasmus also drew attention to the fact that authoritative writers of the early Church had named Luke as the translator of *Hebr.*<sup>20</sup>. Luke, however, had been inspired by the Holy Spirit and thus could not have made the error Lefèvre ascribed to the translator of *Hebr.*, that is, the mistake of copying the Septuagint reading παρ' ἀγγέλους, without seeing that, in *Hebr.* 2,7, Paul is following David's *Ps.* 8,6 where "elohim" means "God".

Lefèvre's reaction came quite soon thereafter, as an annotation of *Hebr.* 2,7 in the second edition of his translation, paraphrase, and annotations of Paul's epistles, published between November 1516 and July 1517.<sup>21</sup> Lefèvre emphasizes, first of all, that it was impossible that Jesus was humiliated below the angels, because for angels – even for the beatific angels – the real possibility existed of sinning and being punished for it. Apparently, in Lefèvre's view, Jesus always remained far above the regions where evil had its influence.<sup>22</sup>

Lefèvre clearly stated that Jesus had indeed been placed a little below God, but only by his becoming a human being, not because of the misery he underwent on earth.<sup>23</sup> As Lefèvre put it:

"... imminutio ipsa prouenit quia cum humanitate est et in eadem hypostasi cum creatura."<sup>24</sup>

"... his humiliation occurs just because of his being clothed with humanity and being in the same person, with a creature."

<sup>16</sup> Chrysostom, *Enn. in Ep. ad Hebr., ad Hebr.* 2,7, Migne, *PG*, 63, 38 b1–7.

<sup>17</sup> Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr., ad Hebr.* 2,7, Migne, *PG*, 125, 208 b12–c9.

<sup>18</sup> *Ps.* 8, 5–6; *Hebr.* 2,7–8.

<sup>19</sup> See appendix III, ll. 33–36.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Clemens Alexandrinus, quoted by Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI, 14, 4.

<sup>21</sup> *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1516/7, *ad Hebr.* 2,7, f<sup>o</sup> 225<sup>v</sup>–229<sup>v</sup>. This note *ad Hebr.* 2,7 is given in appendix IV. For the date of publication of this second edition of Lefèvre's translation, paraphrase, and annotations of Paul's epistles, see the introduction, section VII.

<sup>22</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 6–76.

<sup>23</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 120–130 and ll. 312–329.

<sup>24</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 327–328.

On the contrary, according to Lefèvre, that misery meant a heightening, “exaltation.” It was on the cross that Jesus’ sublime divinity appeared. The suffering which made Erasmus call Jesus “abject,” made him in Lefèvre’s opinion “exalted.” The misery itself meant the exaltation.<sup>25</sup>

According to Lefèvre, it is also clear that during his stay on earth, Jesus was far superior to all other beings. Jesus revealed himself to be the very mighty Son of God. He performed miracles to show that his divinity was unaffected.<sup>26</sup>

Lefèvre emphasized further that βραχύ τι (in *Hebr.* 2,7) and “m<sup>e</sup>at” (in *Ps.* 8,6) absolutely could not be translated temporally, for it must be clear that Jesus had been humiliated only a little, and a temporal reading would leave open the degree of Jesus’ humiliation. In Lefèvre’s view, Chrysostom and Theophylact interpreted βραχύ τι temporally due to their ignorance of Hebrew. They had no other choice than to use the Septuagint, which read παρ’ ἀγγέλους. According to these Church Fathers, that awful image of Jesus humiliated below the angels had to be as short as possible and so they interpreted βραχύ τι temporally, by “for a little while.”<sup>27</sup>

Regarding Erasmus’ assertion that the earthly Christ had been humiliated below the most abject of men, Lefèvre wrote:

“... hunc sermonem, Christum scilicet *non paululum* imminutum fuisse a Deo, immo *infra abiectissimos etiam homines*, animose refutabimus tanquam impium et Christo Deoque indignissimum, tanquam Spiritui aduersantem et literae quae occidit adhaerentem.”<sup>28</sup>

“... we will eagerly refute this phrase, that Christ was ‘not a little lowered below God, nay rather below the most abject of human kind’, as impious, unworthy of God and Christ, opposed to the Holy Spirit and a case of sticking to the letter that kills.”

Lefèvre rejected the Christological interpretation of the quotation from *Ps.* 22<sup>29</sup> – “ego autem sum vermis et non homo”, “I am a worm and no man” – which Erasmus cited as a prophecy about Jesus in his misery. Moreover, it was impermissible to say that Jesus was not a man, since he was in fact the most real man, the true image and likeness of God, not as miserable as other people are. If it were true that Jesus said “I am a worm and no man”, it would refer to his future body, the Christian congregation. The “godforsakenness” that rings throughout the psalm could not have anything to do with Jesus’ own situation on earth.<sup>30</sup>

Lefèvre’s rejection of a Christological interpretation of this psalm seems contrary to his principal conviction about

<sup>25</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 390–394 and ll. 408–415.

<sup>26</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 634–654. As concerns Jesus’ sublime position on earth, Lefèvre is clearly influenced by Nicholas of Cusa. See R. Haubst, *Die Christologie des Nikolaus von Kues*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956, p. 198, and *ibid.*, pp. 155, 197–8, 219. Lefèvre edited Cusanus’ works.

<sup>27</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 293–359.

<sup>28</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 132–136.

<sup>29</sup> *Ps.* 22,7.

<sup>30</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 161–236.

“... Christus Dominus qui principium est et finis uniuersae huius psalmodiac  
....”<sup>31</sup>

“... the Lord Christ who is the beginning and the end of this entire Psalter ....”

Lefèvre was convinced that the entire Psalter refers to and is focussed on Christ. He generally interpreted the Psalms Christologically. But his belief that Christ could not have been humiliated very deeply, obliged him to reject the Christological interpretation of *Ps.* 21,7. Lefèvre’s decision was probably based on another principle, namely that of the unity and strong coherence of Scripture.<sup>32</sup> The rest of the Bible apparently shows more reverence for Christ than the description: “a worm and no man”.

Erasmus had to react to Lefèvre’s *disputatio*, if only because of the accusation of impiety. This was a serious charge, particularly at this time, when he was very vulnerable as a result of his publication of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, which had already caused so much religious indignation. His answer came in an apologia,<sup>33</sup> and seems to have been sufficient. Lefèvre never reacted.

In response to Lefèvre’s supposition of a translation error in *Hebr.*, Erasmus accused Lefèvre of blaming the whole ecclesiastical tradition for having used a wrong, even impious reading of *Ps.* 8,6 and *Hebr.* 2,7.<sup>34</sup>

Erasmus explained how unrealistic it is to think that Jesus would not have been humiliated by his suffering on earth and that he would have been made only a little less than God, and that he would have been humiliated solely by his incarnation. According to Erasmus, Jesus was first of all humiliated by his misery, not by his incarnation.<sup>35</sup>

For Lefèvre, the misery itself meant the exaltation; for Erasmus, the exaltation is the reward for Jesus’ exemplary attitude during his suffering. Christologically this reward came together with the enthronement, chronologically after Jesus’ passion.<sup>36</sup>

Jesus’ suffering was terrible, but all the more admirable was his attitude during that misery: loving, merciful and forgiving towards his fellow human beings and obedient to God. Erasmus thought he added to Jesus’ glory if he emphasized the misery that Jesus endured for our salvation.<sup>37</sup> In his apologia he wrote:

<sup>31</sup> *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, 1513, f<sup>o</sup> Aiiiv<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> This, of course, was the normal view in that period. That Lefèvre was convinced of the unity and coherence of Scripture first of all appears from his way of argumentation in his commentaries on the Bible: he is convinced of the possibility of simultaneously using passages of all different writings of the Old and New Testament. Cf. Guy Bedouelle, *La lecture christologique du psautier dans le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples* in: edd. O. Fatjo and P. Fraenkel, *Histoire de l'exégèse au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Geneva, 1978, pp. 136–137.

<sup>33</sup> Firstly published in: *Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad eximium virum Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem cuius argumentum versa pagella demonstrabit* (Louvain, Martens, 1517).

<sup>34</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 399–404 and ll. 479–546.

<sup>35</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 727–879.

<sup>36</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 846–879.

<sup>37</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 774–863.

“Equidem illud arbitrabar ad Christi gloriam pertinere si illius humilitatem quam sponte nostra causa subiit quam maxime exaggerassem.”<sup>38</sup>

“I for myself believe to contribute to Christ’s glory if I emphasize as much as possible the humiliation he voluntarily underwent for us.”

In Erasmus’ view it is clear, moreover, that Jesus himself wanted the people to think of him as he was then, in those humiliating circumstances, as is clear from the fact that he showed himself to the people in that quality during his stay on earth.<sup>39</sup>

Although Erasmus saw Jesus’ passion and humiliation as very important, he thought of them as being never so humiliating as to be contrary to Jesus’ own wishes and conviction.

M. Mann argues<sup>40</sup> that the subject of the controversy did not really affect Erasmus, as it did Lefèvre. She writes:

“Dans cette discussion, c’est Lefèvre qui croit combattre pour la pureté de la foi; Erasme sait bien que la foi ne dépend pas de cette question-là et qu’il ne combat que pour sauvegarder sa réputation. ... Evidemment, la question n’est pas aussi sérieuse pour Erasme que pour son adversaire: comme plus tard dans son débat avec Luther, l’un sent qu’il y va de la vie spirituelle, l’autre raisonne, calcule, cause. C’est que la vérité selon Erasme se trouve ailleurs; dans la morale, dans la foi qui agit plutôt que dans l’idée abstraite qui se discute .... Erasme, ici comme partout, suit la raison; pour lui il ne se présente qu’un problème d’exégèse.”

Erasmus did indeed want to defend his reputation against Lefèvre’s accusations, especially against that of impiety. To be sure, however, it was very important for Erasmus that the correct translation and interpretation of this passage, *Hebr.* 2,7, was well known. After all, Erasmus founded his ethics and thus his ideas about the necessity to imitate Jesus, on the deep humiliation of Jesus and his admirable attitude therein.

In Erasmus’ work, there is an important connection between philology and ethics. The faithful can find sufficient information about Jesus’ life and work in the New Testament to understand how they are to imitate Christ. This forms at least part of the importance Erasmus sees in the correct reading of the New Testament text.

Now I will try to give a more exhaustive description of the Christologies of Erasmus and Lefèvre and, connected with these, their ideas about *christiformitas*. In studying this subject, it became clear that there is no need to assume a chronological development in Erasmus’ and Lefèvre’s conceptions of Christology and *christiformitas*.

<sup>38</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 774–775.

<sup>39</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 811–812.

<sup>40</sup> M. Mann, *Erasme et les débuts de la réforme française (1517–1536)*, Paris, 1934, pp. 34–37.

I will begin with Lefèvre's thought about this theme.

Jesus is pictured by Lefèvre as a sublime, exalted, transcendent God, even during his incarnation.<sup>41</sup> It was necessary that Jesus remained God when he was on earth, because, as Lefèvre wrote in his commentary on *Phil.* 2:

"neque ... Dei patris gloria esset filium habere qui Deus non esset ...."<sup>42</sup>

"... it would not be to God's honour to have a son who is not God ...."

Sometimes Lefèvre even gave Erasmus the impression that he did not make a distinction between Jesus' human and his divine nature, but that he saw only his godly nature.<sup>43</sup> This was not the case, but for Lefèvre, Jesus' might and glory were on earth still divine, he was only made a little less than God himself because he had become a human being. Jesus was heightened, not humiliated by his passion.<sup>44</sup>

Lefèvre believed, in accordance with the consensus of his day, that Jesus knew neither sin nor evil and that it was impossible that he would sin. For Lefèvre those qualities must be accompanied by a very high and sublime position: Jesus was equal to God, or, due to his being incarnate, a little less than God.<sup>45</sup> It was impossible in Lefèvre's view, that Jesus' dignity would have been diminished below the level of the most abject of mankind.<sup>46</sup>

From Lefèvre's *disputatio*, discussed above, it becomes evident that Lefèvre thought that the use of words such as "abject" or "deeply humiliated" to describe

<sup>41</sup> See p. 45 and nn. Cf. H. Heller, *The Evangelism of Lefèvre d'Étaples* in: 'Studies in the Renaissance', vol. 19, 1972, p. 56: "... it was from Dionysius in particular that Lefèvre derived the conception of the *Deus absconditus* who could be defined in terms of the superlative and negative theology. It was this influence which in turn led him to stress the divine rather than the human element in Christ's personality. Thus, for instance, it caused him to change his reading of Psalm 8,6 from the traditional one of 'Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis' to 'Minuisti eum paulominus a Deo' and to challenge Erasmus's orthodoxy when the latter objected." Cf. R. Roques in: *DSAM*, s.v. 'Denys l'Aréopagite (Le Pseudo-)', col. 280: "Le Christ des *Areopagitica* présente tous les caractères de la divinité. Il est 'l'une des hypostases' de la Trinité ..., cause universelle, mesure de toute chose ..., providence et sauveur ... Mais, en même temps, il est véritablement homme. A l'exception du péché, le Verbe assume la totalité de notre condition ... ce qui fait de lui 'un homme véritable selon la totalité de l'essence [humaine] ... C'est l'inhumanation' ... ou la 'kenose' ... qui donne au Verbe une 'existence très divine selon la chair' ... Son activité revêt ainsi ce caractère nouveau que définit l'adjectif *ihéandrique* et qui n'est autre que l'activité propre au *Dieu fait homme* ...."

<sup>42</sup> *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad Phil.* 2, f<sup>o</sup> 175r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 827–836.

<sup>44</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 120–130, 312–329, 391–394, and 408–415.

<sup>45</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 6–76. Cf. K. Spiess, *Der Gottesbegriff des J. Faber Stapulensis*, Marburg, 1930, p. 93: "In der Christusgestalt spiegelt sich das Gottesbild.... Ganz naiv und unbekümmert setzt Faber Jesus Christus mit der höchsten Gottheit identisch, nicht davor zurückschauend, die höchsten transzendenten Aussagen über ihn zu machen. Das geht so weit, das man oft nicht unterscheiden kann ob von Gott oder Christus die Rede ist."

<sup>46</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 132–136. Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 161–236. Cf. K. Spiess *op. cit.* (see last note), pp. 102–103: "Das Band zwischen Gott und Natur besteht zwar, es ist die sachlich notwendige Verbindung von Schöpfer und Geschöpf. Aber durch den Fall ist der Abstand so ungeheuer gross geworden, das kaum noch – abgesehen vom Heilsgedanken und Christus – eine Verbindung zu bestehen scheint."

Jesus, implied an accusation on moral grounds. This emerges from his argument against the translation “ab angelis,” (“below the angels”) as well as from his torrent of abuse against Erasmus’ use of the word “abject” for the earthly Jesus. Erasmus understood where Lefèvre’s problem lay:

“... fortasse deiiciendi verbum tibi contumeliam sonat ....”<sup>47</sup>

“... perhaps the verb ‘humiliate’ for you sounds like an insult ....”

Lefèvre’s depiction of the incarnate Jesus is that of a person who is sure of his ground and who lets his divine might and position shine. Lefèvre cited biblical passages that he interpreted as a testimony to Jesus’ mighty position during his incarnation. This does not seem to be entirely consistent with Lefèvre’s emphasis on Jesus’ humble attitude, but this is in Lefèvre’s view a superior humility. He called Jesus a “sacratissimus martyr”<sup>48</sup> (“most sacred martyr”).

With regard to the relation of Jesus’ two natures, Lefèvre wrote in his commentary on *Phil. 2*:

“Duas in se naturas Christus verissime habet, diuinam et humanam; diuina forma dei, humana forma hominum est. Diuina veritas est, humana, diuinae imago et similitudo. Diuina: archetypus et exemplar, humana figura. Et humanam formam diuinae esse imaginem et similitudinem, quid aliud, diuinum testatur eloquium cum Deum inducit loquentem ac dicentem: faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram? Quomodo igitur Christus qui diuinae formae humanam formam coniunxit, qui in veritate et exemplari erat Deus, in similitudine et in figura non est inuentus homo? ... in Christo non est nuda similitudo, non est nuda figura vt in nobis, sed similitudo vera et exemplaris figura, immo quae est veritas et archetypus. Nam Christus homo vere Deus est ....”<sup>49</sup>

“Christ truly possessed two natures, the divine and the human; the divine is the form of God, the human is the form of men. The divine is the truth, the human is the image and resemblance of the divine. The divine is the original and the model, the human is the shadow. And the human form is the image and likeness of the divine, for to what else does the divine word testify, when it introduces God speaking and saying: ‘let us create man in our image and likeness’. How, therefore, would Christ, who connected the human form with the divine, who was truly and originally God, not have been a human being in likeness and in form? ... in Christ we find not a poor likeness nor a poor figure as in us, but a true likeness and the figure of the exemplar, nay, which is the true nature and the original, because Christ as a human being is truly God ....”

Lefèvre also answers the question why the incarnation occurred. According to him, although Jesus Christ was God, he came to earth in the form of a slave to be an example of true humility for people.<sup>50</sup> Lefèvre writes in his paraphrase of *Phil. 2*:

<sup>47</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 917–918.

<sup>48</sup> Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, Ep. 21, p. 71.

<sup>49</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae* ..., Paris, 1512, ad *Phil. 2*. f° 175r°.

<sup>50</sup> *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad *Phil. 2*, f° 175r°.



“Qui cum Deus esset formam serui induit vt nobis esset verae humilitatis exemplar qui est veritatis gloriae, .... Et qui natura dominus erat omnium, venit non dominari sed seruire natura serui.”<sup>51</sup>

“Jesus, who, while he was God, took on the form of a slave to be an example of true humility for us, he who is an example of the glory of the truth .... And who by nature was Lord of all, came not to reign, but to serve in the nature of a slave.”

Jesus’ humility was an essential point for Lefèvre. In his commentary on the gospels, at *Mt.* 26, the passage where it is narrated that Jesus prayed that the cup of his suffering might pass from him, Lefèvre strongly emphasized Jesus’ words, “not my will, but thine will be done.”<sup>52</sup> Clearly, Jesus’ obedience to God was very important for Lefèvre. Lefèvre also stressed Jesus’ humility in praying, in particular, Jesus’ prostrating himself. Lefèvre calls this a sign of very deep humility.<sup>53</sup> Lefèvre,<sup>54</sup> apparently, sees no real injury to Jesus’ dignity in this.<sup>55</sup>

They both were familiar with the humanist idea of Jesus as the teacher of a new law, the new evangelical doctrine. Lefèvre writes about this, although not extensively.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps, in his opinion, Jesus’ teaching barely contributes to his sublimity, although he was convinced that the way Jesus behaved on earth was a testimony of his divinity.

Lefèvre’s Christology is obviously connected with his ideal of the imitation of Christ, *christiformitas*.

Lefèvre drew a distinction between outer and inner *christiformitas*. By outer *christiformitas*, he meant living in accordance with the norms and rules of the Church. Lefèvre considered this of minor importance. He thought it sensible only if it helps the faithful to be directed towards Christ within the limits of the infirmity of the flesh.

<sup>51</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad *Phil.* 2, f<sup>o</sup> 175r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor euangelia* ..., Cologne, 1541, f<sup>o</sup> CC.: “Tunc ait (sc. Iesus) illis: Tristis est anima mea vsque ad mortem, sustinete hic et vigilate mecum. Et progressus pusillum, procidit in faciem suam, orans et dicens: Pater mi, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste. Veruntamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu. ... Christus ... coepit moestus esse et contristari vsque ad mortem, id est, tanta moestitia et tristitia affici, quantum circa mortem ferre potuit, id non humano, sed diuino spiritu ad satisfactionem prosequendam pro Adam et posteritate eius faciente ... adeo, vt dicente Luca, guttae sanguinis e pretiosissimo corpore eius in terram decurrerent et angelus Dei tantae compateretur angustiae. Et quid tunc faciebat? Orabat misericordiarum Patrem, vt transferret a se acerbam illam et nunquam in aliquo perceptam passionem. Veruntamen orabat non suam voluntatem fieri, qua vt homo illam (sc. passionem) natura refugiebat, sed solam Dei (sc. voluntatem). Nam suam voluntatem non quidem simpliciter, sed si id possibile foret, idque diuina voluntas. Dei autem voluntatem simpliciter fieri volebat et sic suam abiiciebat voluntatem ut sua voluntas non esset sua, sed Dei voluntas ... Hac omnibus salutem peperit: illa quae ex conditione (sc. humana) erat, nemini. Et cum orans, se prostrauit in faciem suam, formam praebuit orantis, pariter et indicium profundae humilitatis ....”

<sup>53</sup> See last note.

<sup>54</sup> *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad *Eph.* 2, f<sup>o</sup> 165 r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 391–394 and ll. 408–415.

<sup>56</sup> See, e.g., *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, 1513, f<sup>o</sup> 27v<sup>o</sup>, f<sup>o</sup> 239v<sup>o</sup>, f<sup>o</sup> 240v<sup>o</sup> and f<sup>o</sup> 248v<sup>o</sup>.

Inner *christiformitas*, on the other hand, is essential and salutary. It cannot be attained by following the doctrines of man, but it is the true imitation of Christ as he was on earth, but also as he is now, the exalted heavenly exemplar for the faithful. This is possible:

“Nam quicumque mortui sumus peccatis, gratia viuificati et mystice resuscitati de corpore Christi sumus, et iam in mysterio sedentes cum eo in dextera Patris ....”<sup>57</sup>

“Since we, who have died in our sins, are living by grace and are mystically risen from the body of Christ and are already in a mysterious sense sitting with him on the right of the Father ....”

In Lefèvre’s thought, inner *christiformitas* is promoted by the imitation of Jesus’ mercy, spirituality, humility, mildness and forbearance. The first condition for achieving *christiformitas* is humility, since Jesus wanted to be their example of humility. The faithful must take up their cross and follow him. They must consider their own human things as useless and their entire life must be lived in his service. Their words must be spoken and their works must be done in the name of Jesus Christ. All the good they can attain comes from imitating Christ.<sup>58</sup> And they must praise Christ in psalms and in hymns and in spiritual songs.

However, fortunate are those who are able to follow Christ worthily and to attain both inner and outer *christiformitas*.<sup>59</sup>

The notion of *christiformitas* in Lefèvre may be seen as an extension and deepening of the theme of the *imitatio Christi*. By *christiformitas*, Lefèvre refers to the formation of the believer into the likeness of Christ. The faithful must not only strive to follow Jesus in their love of God and their fellow men, and to obey his commandments – though this is certainly necessary for attaining *christiformitas* –

<sup>57</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad *Eph.* 2, f<sup>o</sup> 164v<sup>o</sup>–165r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad *Eph.* 5, f<sup>o</sup> 170r<sup>o</sup>: “Totum bonum nostrum est in imitatione Christi: vita enim eius exemplar nostrum est.”

<sup>59</sup> See *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad *Col.* 3, f<sup>o</sup> 186v<sup>o</sup>: “... non te, sed vel omnino vel praecipue Christum Dominum, totius bonitatis autorem, attende et sic etiam secundum carnis infirmitatem Christo eris conformis et interiorem adiuuabis (quae spiritum respicit) christiformitatem, non sequens doctrinas hominum sed exemplar quod in coelis est et coelestem habebis imitationem. Veruntamen vt non glorieris nisi in Domino, tuum cilitium, tuum ieiunium, tua abstinentia, tua verbera, tua oratio, tuae lachrymae, tuus squalor in puluere nichil sunt sed cilitium Christi, ieiunium Christi, abstinentia Christi, flagellatio Christi, oratio Christi, lachrymae Christi et squalor Christi. Non tamen illa putes tibi inutilia. Nam si illis, vt par est, et cum discretionem vteris, per ea secundum exteriora efficeris Christo conformis tollis crucem eius et sequeris eum. At quomodo Christum ducem sequeris preuentem nisi semper eum respicias? Si te respicias, ducem amittis et vitam perdis. Sed de his tantilla. Spiritus est qui viuificat. Haec bona est imitatio, sed ea melior quae est in imitatione misericordiae, benignitatis, spiritualis humilitatis, mansuetudinis, longanimitatis, mutuae supportationis, offensarum dimissionis, si quae contingant igneae dilectionis et pacis Dei in laetitia spirituali, in sermone Christi quod est euangelium aeternae pacis, in sapientia, doctrina et excitatione spirituali et quodam modo concertatione studioque vincendi in psalmis, hymnis et canticis spiritualibus in gratia Dei, in corde iubilando Deo et nichil faciendo aut sermone aut opere nisi in nomine nostri Domini Ihesu Christi, gratias iugiter per eum Deo Patri agendo. Vtraque haec imitatio et foelix qui in vtrisque digne potest Christum imitari, et intus et foris fieri christiformis.”

but they must also, gradually, become really identical in form with Christ, that is, they must become really one with him.<sup>60</sup>

Good human works serve as a preparation for *christiformitas*. Lefèvre compares doing good works with opening one's eyes to let the sun illuminate them. God wants to justify people as the sun wants to lighten.<sup>61</sup> Good works, therefore, are not only a preparation for *christiformitas* but also constitute a condition for attaining it.

Lefèvre's ethical theory is founded on his ideas about the *imitatio Christi*. Striving for *christiformitas* is necessary for Christians, to grow towards Christ, to see the celestial and to understand the Holy Scripture. To attain *christiformitas*, the faithful must be supported and aided by the Holy Spirit.

Although during their whole life on earth, Christians must try to attain *christiformitas*, this goal will remain unattained. Perfect *christiformitas* is only an eschatological possibility. But during their lives on earth the faithful must approach this ideal little by little, thus increasing their unity with Christ.

In the preface to his Latin edition of Ruysbroeck's *Die gheestelike brulocht*, Lefèvre describes the experience of communion with Christ and of true contemplation of Christ as the sweetest fruits of the contemplative life and states that this spiritual state is enjoyed perfectly by those fortunate spirits who have already put off the garment of mortality, while those who are still wearing this garment can enjoy that state, but only imperfectly and not on their own, but by God's approaching them.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad I Cor. 6, f<sup>o</sup> 114r<sup>o</sup>: "... qui adhaerebat Christo, Spiritu adhaerebat et Spiritus vnus efficiebatur, vt enim adhaesio carnis ad carnem, multo magis spiritus ad Spiritum ad vnitatem, nunquam enim ad vnitatem carnis vniuntur spiritus, sed erunt duo, inquit, in carne vna. Sed ad vnionem spiritus, vnitur et caro. Nos enim vnum corpus sumus et vnus spiritus in Christo. O si altum hoc mysterium de vnitate spiritus et corporis saperemus, vnitate, inquam, sancta et admirabili ...."

<sup>61</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, ad Rom. 2, f<sup>o</sup> 71v<sup>o</sup>: "Non enim opera iustificant quemquam, sed opera si bona sunt, praeparant ad Dei iustificationem suscipiendam, vt enim a sole illuminatio, sic a Deo iustificatio, glorificatio, immortalitas et christiformitas. Et vt reuelatio pupillae non est solis illuminatio, sed solum quaedam praeparatio ad illuminationem et ad quandam oculi soliformitatem, ita bonorum operatio non est iustificatio sed praeparatio ad diuinam iustificationem et diuini formitatem et, quemadmodum si quis non reuelat pupillam, a sole non illuminatur, hunc in modum si quis bona non operatur, a Deo non iustificabitur. Non quod hic iustificationis defectus a Deo pendeat, sed a nobis, cum aduersis tum impraeparatis ad diuinam iustificationem suscipiendam. Si quis enim sponte a sole se auertit et oculos claudit ne solis illuminationem spectet, hic illuminationis defectus non a sole sed ab eo qui se auertit et reddidit incapacem, procedit. Quid enim sol aliud vult quam illuminare? Et Deus quidnam aliud quam iustificare, cum ipse nulla proportionem magis iustus sit quam sol lucidus, est enim ipsa per se iustitia."

<sup>62</sup> See Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, p. 276: "Cum omnisparticularium religionum status ... sit quaedam mundi fuga et ad extramundana accessio, sit multorum et diuiduorum derelictio et ad vnum adhaesio, tantum igitur quaeque veritatis habet quantum extramundanis et illi vni quod est super omne vnum haeret. In qua vnione et haerentia vera consistit contemplatio et dulcissimus contemplatiuae vitae fructus. Qui a paucis cognoscitur, quippe qui non sine secretis immissionibus diuinisque visitationibus peragitur, ex quibus quantum homini mortali fas est, status spiritualis denudatur. Statum enim spiritualem perfecte viuunt animae beatae iam mortalitatis tunica exutae; qui autem nondum exuerunt, illo quidem viuere possunt sed nondum

In his argument for the necessity of the communion of the faithful with Christ, Lefèvre quotes Jesus' words written in *Mt.* 8: The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head. Lefèvre interprets Jesus here as condemning those who do not consistently follow him: they refuse to make room for him. When Christians do make room for him, he will live in them.<sup>63</sup>

To grasp the spiritual content of Scripture, Christians first need to be enlightened by Christ.<sup>64</sup> To understand Jesus' doctrine and message (his *lex noua et euangelica*), Christians do not in the first place need science or knowledge of Greek and Hebrew; the first necessary condition for gaining a full understanding of Scripture is to be illuminated by the divine Light, which is the *Verbum Dei*, that is, Christ.<sup>65</sup> The first condition for receiving this divine Light is to become directed towards the Divine and to leave the human behind.<sup>66</sup>

According to Lefèvre, therefore, the faithful must have a minimal spiritual level to understand Scripture: that is, the Holy Spirit must live in them.

Like Erasmus, Lefèvre wanted everyone to be able to read the Bible and learn about Jesus' life and doctrine.<sup>67</sup>

The constitution of the Christian congregation as the body of Christ, who is the head, implies and requires the *christiformitas* of Christians. They must be similar to Christ to ensure that the body of Christ (the Church) is in harmony with the head (Christ himself). Otherwise the body and the head would together constitute a monstrosity.<sup>68</sup>

perfecte, non ex se quidem sed ex diuino quodam aduentu. Vado (inquit saluator) et venio ad vos." (*Ioh.* 14, 28)

<sup>63</sup> *Ad Mt.* 8, 20, f° 64. Cf. G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, 1976, p. 228.

<sup>64</sup> See Hughes, *Lefèvre*, pp. 158–161.

<sup>65</sup> *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, 1513, *ad Ps.* 118, f° 196r°.

<sup>66</sup> Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, Ep. 134, pp. 436–7: "Credite (inquit) euangelio. Sed et prius respiscendum iussit, cum dixit, μετανοεῖτε, poenitentiam agite. Et merito quidem. Nam prius omnes carnem sapiunt quam Spiritum et quae humanum sunt, auidius amplectentur quam quae Dei, nec forsitan nulla causa, cum haec sint supra hominem, illa secundum hominem. Ergo ab illius respiscendum est, et caro et ea quae hominum sunt reiicienda sunt, vt credere possimus euangelio. Vincant itaque diuina, facessant humana quae ex euangelio lumen non habent, etsi sapientiam et pietatem prae se ferant; nam hic de verbo Dei, de fide, de puro Dei cultu agitur sermo, in quo nimirum sola veritas quae est verbum Dei saluat; quod autem tale non est, perdit."

<sup>67</sup> Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, Ep. 134, p. 435. This is the preface to Lefèvre's commentary on the Gospels (Cologne, 1541, f° a2): "Et hoc sit cunctis vnicum studium, solatium, desiderium: scire euangelium, sequi euangelium, vbique promouere euangelium. Atque hoc firmissime teneant omnes, quod maiores nostri, quod primaeva illa ecclesia sanguine martyrum subricata sensit: extra euangelium nihil scire, id esse omnia scire."

<sup>68</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* . . . , Paris, 1512, *ad Col.* 3, p. 185 v°: "Oportet enim membra totius corporis ad caput habere conformitatem, alioqui monstrosus esset. Haec autem conformitas in caeteris ratio et proportio dicitur, in Christi autem corpore christiformitas. Cum igitur in resurrectione Christi resurgant, etiam vita Christi viuunt. Vnde enim viuere membra et excellentissima quidem vita, nisi ex capite? Si autem vitam Christi viuunt et Christus sursum est (est enim sursum in dextra Patris sedens) quae sursum sunt quaerere debent, quae sursum sunt sentire, non doctrinas hominum, et ea quae sunt super terram, nam et nunc nos in statu spirituali in coelo versamur, etsi

“Nos enim vnum corpus sumus et vnus spiritus in Christo.”<sup>69</sup>

“For we are now one body and one spirit in Christ.”

According to Lefèvre, Christians must realize that they have to imitate Jesus’ loving, merciful attitude, even his entire life when he was on earth.<sup>70</sup> All their activities and their thoughts, especially in their life together and in the way they treat each other, must truly imitate Jesus.<sup>71</sup>

Lefèvre emphasized Jesus’ passion and the imitation of this passion, endured for the sake of Christians. On the cross, Jesus showed the faithful the height of his divinity. Suffering is sublime. Christians must always be prepared to suffer. Suffering in imitation of Jesus occurs according to the wish of the Father and helps Christians to be similar to Jesus.<sup>72</sup>

The communion with Christ is made possible by the Holy Spirit. There is no way for the faithful to attain this communion without the help of the Holy Spirit, which they can receive only by preparing themselves in faith and work.<sup>73</sup> As mentioned above, Lefèvre also writes that God lives in them who try to imitate Christ.<sup>74</sup>

Christians are dependent on God and must realize this. They also need him to grow towards him. God will change them and help them to want this, and to develop the proper state of mind. If the faithful desire to see the celestial, God will give them the necessary strength to achieve this.<sup>75</sup>

moribunda membra carnis nostrae circa terram repant, etsi hic status spiritualis oculis carnis videri non possit, et iis tantum sit manifestus quibus fiunt diuinae orases, id est spectacula in spiritu quod Paulo frequentissime fiebat et quo a Ihesu Christo doctus est modo ex quo et ipse nos docet.”

<sup>69</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad I Cor.* 6, f° 114<sup>r</sup>. Cf. n. 60.

<sup>70</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad Eph.* 2, f° 164<sup>v</sup>–165<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad Eph.* 5, f° 170<sup>r</sup>–171<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> See *Commentarii in epistolas catholicas*, Basel, 1527, *ad I Ioh.* 3, f° 51<sup>v</sup>: “Charissimi, nunc filii Dei sumus et nondum apparuit quid erimus. Scimus quoniam cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est. Haec est voluntas Patris vt perigrini filii eius imitentur Filium eius dum fuit perigrinus, dura patientem et aduersa, pii sint, mites, patientes, in omnibus Deo obediētes vsque ad mortem, etiam si oportet, confusissimam et iugiter crucem suam portantes, nihil a filiis mundi differentes, nisi sola conuersatione et innocencia vitae et parem cum Christo ad immortalitatis delicias sortientur exitium, de carcere mundi ad regnum lucis tandem translati, christiformes effecti, Deum ex praesentia cognoscentes et non amplius per velamen, vmbas et figuras, sicuti et nos a Deo cogniti sumus ... sanctificabimus nos in hoc mundo sicut ille sanctus est ... Quid est sanctificare se, nisi pura et sancta fidei opera facere et per Spiritum et gratiam eius purum se seruare et nihil inquinamenti mundi et concupiscentiarum eius admittere. Sicut Christus, exemplar nostrum, in hoc mundo vixit, sic et quoad nobis per gratiam licet, in imitatione eius in hoc mundo viuendum est.”

<sup>73</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad Rom.* 2, f° 71<sup>v</sup>. Cf. n. 61.

<sup>74</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad Rom.* 8, f° 87<sup>v</sup>. Cf. n. 64.

<sup>75</sup> *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* ..., Paris, 1512, *ad Phil.* 2, f° 175<sup>v</sup>: “Cum aliquid boni volumus, maxime quod diuinum et spirituale est et operamur voluntatem illam executioni demandantes: Deus est qui voluntatem illam et actum affectumque pro beneplacito suo in nos operatur. Nos autem Dei instrumentum sumus, neque enim oculus coelestia videt, nisi coelum in eo operetur quamuis oculus ad coelum vt animatus et coelum vt inanimatum. At mens nostra ad Deum vt inanimata, Deus autem vt animatus et superanimatus, Deus vt actus, mens vt materia. Cui igitur motionem et motionis

Now I shall turn to the Christology of Erasmus. As discussed above, Erasmus emphasized Jesus' role as an ethical model. Like Lefèvre, Erasmus used the words *archetypus* and *exemplum* in this connection.<sup>76</sup> Jesus' example was sublime because of his divine origin. It was different from the example of ordinary people, who can be exemplary only on occasion and with regard to some aspects of their lives, since Jesus' entire life forms a model for the faithful.<sup>77</sup> He is the only, unique and perfect example of piety. Christians are to orient themselves towards him only. All other activities have to serve this end.<sup>78</sup>

Erasmus' Christology also stresses the image of Jesus as a teacher. It is in this role that during his life on earth Jesus gave the people the ethical commandments found in the gospels.<sup>79</sup>

The superiority of Jesus as a teacher is explained in the *Paraclesis*: other important teachers, for example, the Greek philosophers, told truths springing from a human source; Jesus' truth derived from a higher source. Another difference is that Jesus is the only one who consistently lived in accordance with what he taught.<sup>80</sup> Besides providing this indication of the superiority of Jesus' doctrine, Erasmus also strengthens his argument with Biblical testimony.<sup>81</sup>

Erasmus describes Jesus as being very human, as a person more deeply humiliated than the most abject of humankind.<sup>82</sup> Erasmus emphasized the misery of

actionem tribuimus? Et humanae et diuinae philosophiae est ignarus, qui non actui sed potentiae tribuit operari. Deus igitur et voluntatem et energiam actumque ac operationem in spiritualibus operatur."

<sup>76</sup> For Erasmus' use of the term *archetypus*, see, e.g., *Ratio*, Holborn, p. 204, ll. 5–6: "Debent humanae leges ab hoc archetypo peti." *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 89, ll. 7–9: "Hoc est enim vnicum archetypum, vnde quisquis vel vnguem discesserit, a recto discedit atque extra viam currit." For Erasmus' use of the word *exemplum*, see, e.g., *Ratio*, Holborn, p. 264, ll. 21–23: "Venit Christus, humilitatis ac paupertatis exemplum, venit tyrannidis mundanae contemnendae magister, venit adhortator ac dux ad tollendam crucem." For the combination of these two references, see e.g., *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 91, ll. 13–17: "Exemplum nostrum Christus est, in quo vno omnes insunt beate viuendi rationes. Hunc sine exceptione licebit imitari. Ceterum in probatis viris eatenus vnumquodque in exemplum vocare conueniet, quatenus respondebit cum archetypo Christi." *Paraclesis*, Holborn, p. 146, ll. 13–15: "Siue viuendi formam requirimus, cur aliud nobis prius est exemplum quam archetypus ipse Christus?"

<sup>77</sup> See *Ratio*, Holborn, pp. 210–211: "Reperies fortassis in Platonis aut Senecae libris, quae non abhorreant a decretis Christi; reperies in vita Socratis, quae vtrumque cum Christi vita consentiant. At circulum hunc et omnium rerum inter se congruentium harmoniam in solo Christo reperies. Multa sunt in prophetis et dicta diuinitus et gesta pie, multa in Mose ceterisque viris vitae sanctimonia claris: orbem hunc in nullo reperies homine, qui quidem orbis a prophetis exorsus per apostolorum martyrumque vitam ac doctrinam in sese coit. Hi, quidquid Christus docuit, expresserunt, quidquid promisit, praestiterunt, eundem hauserant spiritum, eadem sonant ac docent quae Christus. Hactenus adoranda sunt omnia, cetera cum delectu iudicioque legenda aut etiam imitanda."

<sup>78</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, pp. 63–64.

<sup>79</sup> *Paraclesis*, Holborn, pp. 140–142.

<sup>80</sup> *Paraclesis*, Holborn, p. 140, l. 36–p. 141, l. 3: "Certe solus hic e coelo profectus est doctor, solus certa docere potuit, cum sit aeterna sapientia, solus salutaria docuit vnicus humanae salutis auctor, solus absolute praestitit, quicquid vnquam docuit, solus exhibere potest, quicquid promisit."

<sup>81</sup> *Mt.* 3, 16–17. *Paraclesis*, Holborn, p. 147, ll. 21–31.

<sup>82</sup> Sc. in Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum*, see appendix III, ll. 22–26.

Jesus in the belief that Jesus' perseverance in such circumstances encouraged people to imitate his example all the more.<sup>83</sup>

According to Erasmus, Jesus was not humiliated primarily by his becoming a human being, as Lefèvre believed, but by the suffering he underwent.<sup>84</sup> Erasmus writes:

“Dominus in se recepit non solum veritatem humanae naturae, verum etiam incommoda quae naturam prolapsam comitantur, exceptis iis quae vel non congruunt dignitati personae, quae simul erat et Deus et homo, vel excludunt, vt modo dicebam, gratiae plenitudinem. Neque enim recepit procliuatam ad peccandum, ac ne facultatem quidem, nec recepit errorem aut ignorantiam. Ea porro mala quae recepit, non ex necessitate naturae, sed volens nostra causa suscepit, vt dependeret quod nos commerueramus.”<sup>85</sup>

“The Lord admitted to himself not only the reality of human nature, but also the inconveniences that come along with that fallen nature, except those things that either do not agree with the dignity of the Person, who was simultaneously both God and man, or that, as I just said, exclude the fullness of grace. For he neither assumed a disposition to sin, nor even the possibility, nor was he subject to delusion or ignorance. Furthermore, those calamities he did admit, he did not receive by the necessity of nature, but voluntarily for our sake, as he paid what we deserved.”

Erasmus thought that Jesus' humility was consciously exemplary. Jesus revealed himself in his deep humility and he wants the faithful to think of him as he was in those circumstances, destitute but obedient to God and always merciful and forgiving towards his neighbours.<sup>86</sup> All Erasmus' reflections on Christ are references to the fact that his life should be followed in each respect.

Erasmus concentrates on illustrating and demonstrating all aspects of Jesus' humanity and humility. In the apologia against Lefèvre he focusses on Jesus' deprivations, but in the *Disputatiuncula de taedio, pauore, tristicia Iesu* – which he wrote circa 1500, after a discussion with Colet – Erasmus describes Jesus' fear of his passion and death as obvious and as belonging to human nature. Jesus was a human being and knew he would suffer. He prayed because he was afraid for his own sake. This was in contrast to Colet, who held that Jesus prayed out of fear that the Jews would be lost. But, as Erasmus writes, when Jesus prayed for the Jews (as recorded in the gospels) he did so explicitly, as when he bewailed the decline of Jerusalem. On the cross he clearly and explicitly prayed for those who were responsible for his death. In the situation described in *Mt.* 26, therefore, he undoubtedly prayed out of fear for himself.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 893–896.

<sup>84</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 727–879.

<sup>85</sup> *Expl. Symb.*, ASD V, 1, p. 243, ll. 134–141.

<sup>86</sup> See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 759–863.

<sup>87</sup> *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1267 D–F: “... si Christum hoc vnum tantopere angebat, quod mortem suam iudaicis aliquot exitium allaturam esse praeuideret aut, vt sensit Hilarius, quod ea videlicet offensos ac consternatos apostolos a se descituros praesciret, quum ista tum nihilo clarius prospexerit quam a momento conceptionis, nunquam non eodem modo oportuit angi. Nam si

Jesus knew that he would suffer and knew how he would suffer.<sup>88</sup> If he had not been afraid, he would not have realized, seen and understood the passion he was to endure,<sup>89</sup> since fear belongs to the nature Jesus had assumed. The more suffering is ascribed to him – and fear is part of that, too – the more this contributes to his glory and the more he is admired in the way he desired to be admired.<sup>90</sup>

Fear of death is not necessarily connected with guilt, and therefore Erasmus sees no reason why people hesitate to ascribe it to Jesus. Sin is against nature; people sin due to a corruption of nature. Death is a consequence of sin and hence goes against nature. Death is therefore certainly opposed to Christ's per-

causam perpetuam admittis, non potes non et effectum perpetuum admittere. Porro Iudaeorum exitium cur nunc demum deprecatur? Cur hoc potissimum tempore? Cur non aliis verbis? Defleuerat ante Hierosolymitanum excidium, sed verbis perspicuis. Orauit de cruce pro mortis auctoribus, pro blasphemantibus, sed verbis neutiquam ambiguis. Conueniunt circumstantiae. Hic neque in re neque in verbis, vel leuis est coniectura, quae pertineat ad interitum Iudaeorum, nisi impudentissime quis torserit. Nonne palam, inquis, orat, ne se Iudaei occiderent, quum ait: Transeat a me calix iste? Videlicet quod mihi sunt propinaturi? Imo si me verbis vrgeas, magis videbuntur ad Patrem propinantem quam ad Iudaeos pertinere. Id quod ex simili loco fit luce ipsa clarius, vbi Christus de morte sua loquens: Calicem, inquit, quem dedit mihi Pater, non bibam illum? Dat igitur Pater Filio bibendum calicem, Filius vt homo, et homo nostris malis infirmus, vere reformidat mortem instantem et Patrem orat, vt eum calicem a se transferat. Pro me facit et pronomen 'iste', quod non ignoras, vtro potius oporteat referri, ad Patrem cui loquitur an ad Iudaeos? Idem sonant verba Marci: Et orabat, vt, si fieri posset, transiret ab eo hora. Quae tandem hora nisi iam vrgentis supplicii? Deinde verba orantis subiicit: Abba, Pater, omnia tibi possibilia sunt, transfer calicem hunc a me."

<sup>88</sup> Erasmus uses *propassio* in the way Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) and earlier Jerome had spoken about it, namely, as referring to the beginning of fear and less confusing and drastic than fear. See Erasmus in: *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1271 E: "Et miramur illum tantum, sic sibi cognitum, talem mortem expauisse, quam non tantum animo prosagiebat, sed perinde atque oculis subiectam prospiciebat, cuius omnes cruciatuum numeros perfectissime praesentiebat. Qua de causa Hieronymus quam et Graeci, propatheian, propassionem nominat, quasi passionis initium. Sunt autem formidabilium rerum primi incursum acerbissimi." And *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1285 E–F: "Vnde non ita nimis me delectat illa Hieronymi interpretatio, qua dicit, hanc in Redemptore moestitiam, propassionem fuisse, non passionem, quae illum, iuxta diui Bernardi distinctionem, turbarit modo, non etiam perturbabit ..." Cf. *S. Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia* III, ed. P. A. Sepinski, Firenze, 1956, p. 63, where Bernard speaks about Jesus' fear as the beginning of fear: "Primo enim non timeret (sc. Iesus) timore naturali, licet talis timor non sit malus vel bonus, cum non sit sub libertate arbitrii constitutus; et hoc timore solet timere homo timore propassionis, sicut etiam fecit Christus. Vnde Marc. 14 cap., 33, scriptum est: *Coepit Iesus pauere et taedere*, et hoc quantum ad propassionem, propterea inquit: *Coepit*." Cf. Hier., *Comm. in Mt. ad Mt. 26,37*, CCSL 77, edd. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, pp. 253–4: "... quod Dominus, vt veritatem adsumpti probaret hominis vere quidem contristatus sit sed, ne passio in animo illius dominaretur, per propassionem coeperit contristari. Aliud est enim contristari et aliud incipere contristari. Contristabatur autem non timore patiendi qui ad hoc venerat vt pateretur et Petrum timiditatis arguerat, sed propter infelicissimum Iudam et scandalum omnium apostolorum et reiectionem populi Iudaeorum et euersionem miserae Hierusalem."

<sup>89</sup> *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1272 B–C: "Itaque non commoueri periculo mali prementis et instantis, animi est aut non intelligentis periculum aut bruti stupidique; non sentire malum iam praesens, stipitis est, adeoque non hominis, vt ne animantis quidem, neutrum certe sapientis. Nemo autem fortis qui stultus. Infantes, ebrii, furiosi, cum risu ferrum excipiunt. Cur ita? Nempè quia non intelligunt periculum. Neque hoc nomine fortes, sed miseri a nobis iudicantur."

<sup>90</sup> See the quote on p. 40: *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1289 E.



fect nature and obviously it is no shame for the Son of God to shun his own death.<sup>91</sup>

Like God, he wanted his death and at the same time he did not. Death does not please God, as it is punishment for guilt. According to this argument, God does not wish death upon anyone, just as he does not wish to allow sin. It is written in the Bible that God says: "I do not wish the death of a sinner,"<sup>92</sup> consequently God wants the death of a righteous person all the less. God, therefore, opposes death, as he opposes guilt, the author of death.<sup>93</sup>

If Jesus, like God, did not desire his death, then fear of death cannot have been contemptible and can without blasphemy be ascribed to Jesus. As is also clear from these passages, Erasmus wanted to emphasize Jesus' humility and his human, though sinless, behaviour on earth.

Contrary to Lefèvre, Erasmus did not idealize Jesus' passion and hence did not propagate the imitation of the passion. Erasmus did not consider Jesus' passion to be his exaltation, as Lefèvre did. Jesus' exaltation is his subsequent reward, in the form of the enthronement, for his exemplary attitude during his life on earth and the admirable way in which he endured the suffering he underwent.<sup>94</sup>

In Christ both natures are necessarily united:

"Iam et illud obseruandum erit, quibus argumentis Christus vtramque naturam Dei et hominis declararit. Siquidem a puro homine quis speraret veram salutem? Rursum purum Deum quis crederet pati quidquam?"<sup>95</sup>

"One must also take note of the arguments showing clearly that Jesus possessed the nature of God and of men. Because who would expect true salvation from a mere man? Again, who would believe that a true God suffered in any sense?"

<sup>91</sup> *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1270 E–1271 B: "... mortis reformidationem, quae et morte ipsa malum est nonnunquam acerbius, et sic humanae conditioni adhaeret, vt cum nulla culpa sit coniuncta, quid est cur tantopere formidemus adscribere Christo ... Peccatum quidem contra naturam est, et ad illud non impellimur, nisi naturae deprauatione. Pietas maxime secundum naturam est, nec ab ea resiliamus, nisi vitio corruptae conditionis primitiuae. Mors vero quoniam peccati filia est, et naturae quae semper appetit esse inimica, natura omnibus est formidabilis .... Nihil ... tam infensum naturae quam mors, cuius proprium est interitum adferre quem exhorrescunt omnia quae sunt. ... Nihil enim nos prius docet natura quam vt primum sensibus, deinde et animi iudicio refugiamus ea quae naturae lenitatem offendunt, multo magis quae totam perimunt ac modis omnibus, id quod sumus tueamur perficiamusque. Quod si nobis vitio aut deprauatione accideret, non esse, fateor, cum Christo communicandum. At minime conuenit, illi perfectam hominis naturam tribuere et id detrahere quo nihil est cum natura coniunctius."

<sup>92</sup> Ez. 33, 11; cf. 18, 23; 18, 32.

<sup>93</sup> *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1288 E: "Non placuit mors, tanquam poena culpae, quia ne culpa quidem ipsa placuit, nec placuit auctor culpae, diabolus, secundum hanc rationem tam non vult mortem Diuinitas quam non vult admitti peccatum. Audi iam non hominem, sed Deum. Nolo, inquit, mortem peccatoris, multo igitur minus iusti. Sed eatenus aduersatur mortem, quatenus culpam, mortis parentem."

<sup>94</sup> See the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 846–879.

<sup>95</sup> *Ratio*, Holborn, p. 215, l. 32–p. 216, l. 2.

Erasmus also stated that God did not pour out a part of his substance in his Son, but that he communicated with his Son his entire substance. The divine nature of Jesus is just as eternal and immortal as that of the Father.<sup>96</sup>

Erasmus stressed that Jesus assumed human nature without any lessening of or alteration in his divine nature and that only Jesus possessed the true and perfect human nature.<sup>97</sup>

Erasmus extended this doctrine of the unity of Jesus' divine and human nature, by drawing a distinction within human nature between the human body and the human soul. According to Erasmus, therefore, "tres substantiae" (his godly nature, human body and human soul) are united in Christ.<sup>98</sup> In his *Nouum Instrumentum*, Erasmus emphasized that Jesus suffered both in his human body and in his human soul.<sup>99</sup>

Thus, Erasmus did recognize the incarnate Jesus' divine nature, arguing that he was God and that his divine dignity was not decreased, though Erasmus considered this of minor importance and more appropriate to contemplate in the afterlife. Then Christ will be seen in his glory. After all, Christ himself will show that glory only later. As we have seen, Erasmus thought that in this life, he contributed most to Jesus' glory by emphasizing as much as possible the misery Jesus endured for the salvation of humankind. This argument also occurs in the *Disputatiuncula*:

"Hic mansuetudinis, patientiae, obedientiae parabatur exemplum, non animositatis. Exhibebantur argumenta humanitatis, non ostentamenta Diuinitatis. Proponebatur exemplum quod amaremus, quod aemularemur, non tantum miraremur ... neque quidquam in ea magis nos voluit admirari quam suam erga nos caritatem."<sup>100</sup>

"He provided the example of mildness, patience and obedience, not of boldness. Evidence of humanity is shown, not displays of Divinity. He presents us with an example that we love, that we try to equal, not only admire. And there is nothing he wanted us to admire more than his love towards us."

<sup>96</sup> *Expl. Symb.*, ASD V, 1, p. 228, ll. 678–682: "Nec enim Pater substantiae suae partem transfudit in Filium, sed eandem substantiam totam Filio communicauit, nec gignens et genitus constituunt duos deos, quemadmodum pater homo et filius homo faciunt duos homines, nec gignens tempore prior est genito, sed eadem est vtriusque aeternitas."

<sup>97</sup> See p. 39 and *Expl. Symb.*, ASD V, 1, p. 216, l. 306: "... veram et perfectam hominis in Christo naturam ...".

<sup>98</sup> *Expl. Symb.*, ASD V, 1, pp. 215–216, ll. 289–297: "Sed in Filio quoniam solus (sc. as opposed to the Father and the Holy Spirit) assumpsit humanam naturam, nulla ex parte diminuta aut mutata diuina, quum sit vna persona, triplicem tamen habet substantiam: diuinam, quam eandem habet cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, animam humanam et corpus humanum, qui quemadmodum ex Patre Deo natus est verus Deus, ita ex homine matre natus est verus homo. Huic adhaeret ecclesia veluti corpus hominis adhaeret capiti. Quemadmodum autem diuinus ille Spiritus conglutinat Patrem cum Filio, ita et ecclesiam Christo adglutinat arcano et indissolubili vinculo. Corpus igitur Christi mysticum quartam symboli partem occupat." (viz. the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and, the fourth mentioned, the body of Christ, the Church.)

<sup>99</sup> See appendix III, ll. 10–18.

<sup>100</sup> *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1289 E.

This misery was, moreover, necessary for salvation: “o rem horrendam si tam certo verum est quam tu (Lefèvre) firmiter asseueras, Christum nec paulum nec multum ab angelis fuisse deiectum!”<sup>101</sup> In other words, if Jesus had been humiliated only a little on earth he would not have suffered enough to save people from sin and death.

As in Lefèvre’s thought, Erasmus’ Christology is obviously connected with his ideal of the imitation of Christ. For Erasmus, *christiformitas* means first of all to be totally dependent and focused on God. People can only believe and have faith if they consider God as sublime and exalted above everything good. Christians must view everything in relation to God and must distance themselves from earthly and carnal things.<sup>102</sup>

In Erasmus, the imitation of Christ refers, furthermore, to the imitation of Jesus in his mode of life on earth and the observance of his commandments. The faithful must aim at a loving association with each other, as Christ lived and taught. Erasmus’ aim is a better world of Christians who treat the mystery of God’s descent to earth and the Bible with respect and treat each other with love, mercy and forgiveness.<sup>103</sup>

In the *Enchiridion militis christiani*, Erasmus offers a great deal of encouragement and help to persevere in the good Christian life. In this book, first published in 1503, Erasmus tries to encourage people to follow the Christian way of life, as he envisions it.

Erasmus asserts that the fervent study of Scripture will easily repel all temptation, however strong.<sup>104</sup> He does not mention any spiritual preconditions for reading and understanding of Scripture, but he is convinced that if people approach it with respect, veneration and humility, they will feel themselves inspired, moved, swept away, transfigured in an ineffable manner by divine power.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>101</sup> See the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 489–491.

<sup>102</sup> *Expl. Symb.*, ASD V,1, p. 294: “Dominus ipse nos docuit vniversa legis praecepta summatim vno contineri: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua et ex totis viribus tuis, et proximum sicut teipsum.* Nullus autem diligere potest Deum super omnia, nisi credat illo nihil esse pulcrius, melius, veracius, aut amabilius. Etenim qui credit illo quicquam ab eo diuersum esse praestantius aut aequale, non credit esse Deum. In hunc igitur qui se totum coniecit, nihil amare potest, nisi quod amet propter Deum, nihil timere, nisi quod timeat propter Deum. Atque hoc statim exordio: ‘credo in Deum’, resecantur aut certe mitigantur vniuersae carnis cupiditates, quarum si cui obtemperans negligis Dei praecepta, constat te tibi alium fingere deum, quicquid hoc est quod illi anteponis.”

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Padberg, *Erasmus als Katechet*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956, p. 114: “Taufe und neues Leben, Auferstehung mit Christus und die Teilhabe an seiner Himmelfahrt werden Argumente dafür, nach christlicher Vollkommenheit zu streben und die Welt zu verachten, das Himmlische dagegen zu lieben und zu ersehnen. Im Hintergrund steht tatsächlich die unverkürzte Heilsbotschaft in paulinischem Sinne, aber Ziel und Interesse des Erasmus gehen erstlich dahin, diese Wirklichkeiten auszumünzen, aus ihnen ethische Imperative zu schöpfen.”

<sup>104</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 30, ll. 26–30: “Crede mihi, ... nulla tam vehemens hostium impressio, id est nulla tam valida tentatio, quam ardens sacrarum litterarum studium non facile retundat, nulla tam tristis aduersitas, quam non reddat tolerabilem.”

<sup>105</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 33, ll. 18–22: “Primum est, vt de eis litteris digna sentias. Oracula mra (vt sunt) esse puta, de diuinae mentis adyto profecta. Afflari te numine, affici, rapi, transfigurari, ineffabili modo senties, si religiose, si cum veneratione, si humiliter adieris.”

The only road to happiness is first to know oneself and then to act, not according to the passions, but in all things according to the judgement of reason.<sup>106</sup> The faithful have to direct their minds to the admiration of heavenly things.<sup>107</sup> Just as in Lefèvre's view, Christ has to be the only aim. Erasmus advises Christians not to think of Christ as an empty word but as standing for charity, simplicity, patience, purity, in brief, all that he taught.<sup>108</sup> Jesus is the model of piety. Perfect piety is the attempt to progress always from visible things (which are usually imperfect or indifferent) to the invisible.<sup>109</sup>

If, due to the weakness of their minds, the faithful are not yet able to reach the required spiritual heights, they should nonetheless apply themselves with undiminished vigour to approach these as closely as possible. Here, Erasmus does not entirely exclude the possibility of realising the highest goal in one's earthly life, as Lefèvre does, probably because Erasmus' highest goal is easier to attain than Lefèvre's, namely, the unity with Christ and the contemplation of God, which is to be attained via the true *imitatio Christi*.

Christians must not be dissatisfied with themselves too soon.<sup>110</sup> On the other hand, they should not attribute anything to their own merits.<sup>111</sup> Like Lefèvre, Erasmus is convinced of the importance of Christians' felt dependence on God.

According to Erasmus, the faithful learn to know Christ through Scripture, where they can read about his life and doctrine, and from which they can acquire a complete and vivid image of him speaking, curing, dying, etcetera.<sup>112</sup>

As argued earlier, Erasmus was convinced that Jesus himself desired to be an example for Christians. In the *Disputatiuncula de taedio, pauore, tristitia Iesu*, we

<sup>106</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 46, ll. 22–24: "Haec igitur est vnica ad beatitudinem via, primum, vt te noris. Deinde, vt ne quid pro affectionibus, sed omnia pro iudicio rationis agas."

<sup>107</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. III, ll. 2–8: "Porro si per infantiam et imbecillitatem animi nostri nondum ad ista spiritalia licebit aspirare, nihilo tamen segnus danda erit opera, vt saltem in proximis consistamus. Alioqui vera compendiariaque ad felicitatem via est, si semel totam mentem ita ad caelestium rerum admirationem conuerterimus, vt veluti corpus vmbrae, ita amor Christi, amor aeternorum et honestorum natura secum adducat fastidium caducorum et odium turpium."

<sup>108</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 63, ll. 11–13: "Christum vero esse puta non vocem inanem, sed nihil aliud quam caritatem, simplicitatem, patientiam, puritatem, breuiter quicquid ille docuit."

<sup>109</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 67, ll. 22–25: "... in hoc vno constituas perfectam pietatem, si coneris semper a rebus visibilibus, quae fere vel imperfectae, vel mediae sunt, ad inuisibilia proficere ...."

<sup>110</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 112, ll. 17–19: "Si crebrius ac grauius ingruet in te tentationum procella, ne protinus tibi incipias displicere, quasi ob id Deo tuo vel curae vel cordi non sis aut parum pius aut etiam minus perfectus."

<sup>111</sup> *Enchiridion*, Holborn, p. 113, ll. 25–28: "Rursum cum vel post superatum instigatorem vel in pio quopiam opere senseris mentem tuam intus arcana quadam voluptate profundi, tum etiam atque etiam caueas, ne quid inde tuis meritis arroges, sed totum gratuitae beneficentiae Dei feras acceptum ...."

<sup>112</sup> See *Paraclesis*, Holborn, p. 149, ll. 2–12: "... nihil erit, quod Christum expressius ac verius repraesentet quam euangelicae litterae. Ligneam aut saxeam statuam amore Christi gemmis auroque decoramus. Quin haec potius auro gemmisque et si quid his pretiosius insigniuntur, quae tanto praesentius Christum nobis referunt quam vlla imaguncula? Siquidem illa, quid aliud quam corporis figuram exprimit – si tamen illius quicquam exprimit –, at haec tibi sacrosanctae mentis illius viam referunt imaginem ipsumque Christum loquentem, sanantem, morientem, resurgentem, denique totum ita praesentem reddunt, vt minus visurus sis, si coram oculis conspicias."

read that Jesus wanted all martyrs following his death to know that they need not be ashamed of their fear. He wished to set an example for them, so that they would know how to behave if they were threatened with suffering and death. He threw himself down prostrate teaching them not to rely on their own strength or merits but to be detached from themselves, that is, from their own bodies and emotions, and be directed towards their head, that is, Christ. And finally, Jesus put God's will ahead of his own in an exemplary fashion, saying, not my will but thine will be done.<sup>113</sup>

In conclusion, a few words need to be said regarding the backgrounds of Erasmus' and Lefèvre's Christologies.

As regards their education, Erasmus and Lefèvre had much in common. Both were obviously well acquainted with the pagan Classical authors, with the Church Fathers and the scholastic tradition. Both came into contact with the Modern Devotion movement and were key figures in the humanist circle.

A significant difference is that Erasmus detested the monastic life, while Lefèvre longed for it, but could not enter a monastery because of his poor health.<sup>114</sup> The monastic life is the most perfect way of life according to the conviction of the Modern Devotion.

In general Lefèvre gave the impression, more than Erasmus, of having been influenced by the Modern Devotion movement, as can be seen from his belief in the duty to imitate the passion of Christ, his idealization of that passion,<sup>115</sup> his appreciation of the monastic life,<sup>116</sup> and his attention to mysticism. He was greatly inspired by the mystics, as Hughes clearly explained in his biography of Lefèvre.<sup>117</sup> This influence is probably partly responsible for Lefèvre's Christology of a very transcendent, exalted Christ.

Although Erasmus and Lefèvre detested the scholastics and despite their idealization of the early Church,<sup>118</sup> it is possible to state that both Christologies have more in common with the scholastic tradition than with the Church Fathers' view of Jesus. This is convincingly shown by J.D. Tracy.<sup>119</sup> Tracy traces shifts in the interpretation of Jesus' human nature, especially of his human emotions. The

<sup>113</sup> *Disputatiuncula*, LB V, 1268 A: "Jesus volens tot martyrum milia, qui suam mortem erant imitaturi, exemplo suo instituere quomodo sese deberent gerere, ubi carnifex dirus vrgeret, ubi saeuos intentaret cruciatus, secretum captat locum orantibus idoneum, taedere coepit, ne sibi displicerent martyres similia patientes, abiicit sese humi, hoc facto docens, non expedire martyri supplicium adituro vllis suis inniti viribus aut meritis, verum de se penitus diffiso, ad capitis opem tantum oportere respicere. Orat Patrem in media tristitia, vt si fieri possit, mortem transferret. Sed vincit hunc affectum infirmitatis et se totum paternae voluntati submittit."

<sup>114</sup> See e.g. Hughes, *Lefèvre*, p. 11. A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494–1517)*, Paris, 1916, p. 204.

<sup>115</sup> See this introduction, p. 35.

<sup>116</sup> G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, 1976, pp. 17–23.

<sup>117</sup> P.E. Hughes, *Lefèvre*, pp. 38–51. See for the influence of Nicholas of Cusa, *ibid.*, p. 46 and G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, 1976, pp. 60–70.

<sup>118</sup> For Lefèvre's ideas about this, see Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, p. 434. For Erasmus, see Ep. 1334.

<sup>119</sup> In: *Humanists Among the Scholastics, Erasmus, More and Lefèvre d'Étaples on the Humanity of Christ*, in: Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook, 1985, pp. 30–51.

Church Fathers did not know how to cope with Bible passages that described Jesus having fear or pain, or being angry or sad. They did not understand how such emotions could be compatible with Jesus' divine nature. *Mt. 26*, in particular, generated great difficulties ("Let this cup pass from me"). In the early Church, it was not possible to believe that Jesus was really frightened by the prospect of his own suffering, since that would imply that he, as a human being, did not want what he as divine obviously must have desired.

At the Sixth Council of Constantinople in 680 "monothelism" – which taught that Jesus had only one, divine will – was forbidden. Gradually, it became possible to say that Jesus had been afraid or distressed. Both Erasmus and Lefèvre followed this line of thought. With respect to *Mt. 26*, they had no objection to attributing fear to Jesus. As mentioned above,<sup>120</sup> Erasmus discussed this theme around 1500 with Colet.

Both Erasmus and Lefèvre indicated the moment in their lives at which they decided to devote themselves wholly to Biblical studies, in 1504<sup>121</sup> and in 1509,<sup>122</sup> respectively. They both considered this an important decision in the light of their conviction of the necessity of Bible study.

Given this common evangelical aim, the fierceness of their dispute becomes more comprehensible. Although they shared the same goal, each came to see the other as an opponent, because for Erasmus and Lefèvre, respectively, the depth of Christ's humiliation and the inviolability of Jesus' divine position were essential and moreover mutually exclusive.

### Summary

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Erasmus and Lefèvre engaged in a polemic over the interpretation of *Hebr. 2,7*, which Erasmus translated: "you (God) made him (Jesus) for a little while lower than the angels." He did so in order to emphasize the depth of Jesus' humiliation. Erasmus described the incarnate Jesus as being very human – though sinless – and very humiliated. He aimed to increase admiration for Jesus' exemplary attitude throughout his misery, hoping that, if people admired Jesus, they would be more inclined to consider him an ethical example and a teacher, as he was on earth. In both functions Jesus acted in a divine fashion. In Erasmus' thought, *christiformitas* represents an ethical ideal. The faithful must feel dependent on God, have the attitude and disposition Jesus had as he was on earth, imitate his loving devotion towards his neighbours and obey his commandments. Erasmus regards Bible study as indispensable to the attainment of this goal.

<sup>120</sup> See this *Introduction*, pp. 37–39 and on p. 42–43.

<sup>121</sup> Allen, Ep. 181.

<sup>122</sup> See Lefèvre's preface to the first edition of his *Quincuplex Psalterium*, dedicated to Guillaume Briçonnet in E.F. Rice, *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Related Texts*, New York and London, 1972, Ep. 66, pp. 192–201.

Lefèvre's version was: "you made him a little less than God," with which Lefèvre called attention to the inviolability of Jesus' divine status. It was only the human form in which Jesus appeared on earth that made him a little less than God. Lefèvre described the incarnate Jesus as confident of his divine position. He thus saw Jesus' humble attitude on earth as not only exemplary but also sublime. In Lefèvre's thought, *christiformitas* is the formation of the faithful into the likeness of Christ, the goal of which is the communion with Christ. People can prepare themselves for this by doing good works and by imitating Jesus' merciful and humble attitude, even his passion, as he was on earth (Bible study is indispensable for the latter, but to understand the Bible, people must already be predisposed by the Holy Spirit). Christians must also be directed towards Jesus as their heavenly model. The Holy Spirit will help them to attain the highest goal, communion with Christ, but the perfect *christiformitas* is only an eschatological possibility.

Although, as typical humanists, both studied the Classics, the Church Fathers and the scholastics, Lefèvre's thought was clearly more mystical and devotional than that of Erasmus. Both scholars fully recognized the divine nature of the incarnate Christ. But Lefèvre felt attached to the sublimity and majesty of Christ and maintained, therefore, that the incarnation had detracted only very little from Christ's divinity. Erasmus preferred to stress the gravity of Jesus' suffering and humiliation, believing that such an image of Jesus would make it easier for Christians to identify with him and to follow him as an ethical example.

VI. THE HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT OF ERASMUS' *APOLOGIA*  
AGAINST JACQUES LEFÈVRE D'ETAPLES

The text of Erasmus' apologia against Lefèvre d'Étaples is available in six authoritative editions. The relationships between these editions are somewhat complicated and uncommon, because some editions are based on more than one earlier edition. Beginning with the second edition, many individual sentences were modified, but the most notable change was the increase in the number of references to Church Fathers and the addition of arguments.

In this chapter I discuss the six editions in chronological order. In each case, I begin with the place and date of its publication, the information given on the title page and the explanatory material added by the publisher. I then discuss the dependence of each edition on earlier ones and attempt to date the editions that appeared without a date of publication. Finally I address the question of why Erasmus published so many editions of his apologia in his effort to make each new edition more convincing than the previous one.

The first edition, *A*, was published by Martens in Louvain.<sup>1</sup> Erasmus may have chosen Martens as publisher because it was Gerard Geldenhouwer, an employee of Martens, who informed Erasmus of the appearance of the second edition of Lefèvre's translation of (and paraphrase and commentary on) Paul's epistles. For it was this second edition of Lefèvre's work which caused Erasmus to write his apologia.

The title page of *A* reads:

"Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad eximium virum Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem, cuius argumentum versa pagella demonstrabit."

"The apologia of Erasmus of Rotterdam against the distinguished Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. For its contents, see overleaf."

*A* contains the apologia and, after it, a short letter from Martens to the reader:

"Theodoricus Martinus Alostensis amico lectori salutem dicit.

Quoniam perpendebam non omnibus suppetere unde sibi magna volumina redimant, aut si suppetit, incommodum est circumferre, studui et hac parte consulere studiosis, adiectis locis ex vtriusque libris decerptis circa quos haec apologia versatur, videlicet annotatione Erasmi in secundum caput epistolae ad Hebraeos et Fabri ex eodem loco huius annotationis insectatione, si quis aut diligentior aut parum credulus causam omnem propius et exactius velit expendere.

Bene vale optime lector."

<sup>1</sup> Dirk Martens of Aalst (1446/7–1534) opened a press in Louvain in 1497. In 1502 he moved to Antwerp and met Erasmus not long thereafter. In that period he printed a number of works of Erasmus. In the summer of 1512 Martens returned definitively to Louvain. His books were essential to the diffusion of humanist studies at the time of the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense. (J. IJsewijn in: *Contemporaries* II, s.v., pp. 394–396).



“Dirk Martens of Aalst greets his dear reader.

Since I realized that not all have enough resources to buy big volumes for themselves, or that, if they have, it is inconvenient to carry them around, I wished to help the learned public also by adding the passages from both books which this apologia is about, namely Erasmus’ annotation on the second chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews and Lefèvre’s attack on this annotation, based on the same passage, in case an attentive or sceptical reader might wish to examine the whole matter more closely and more precisely.  
Farewell, dear reader.”

Martens’ letter is followed by a page of errata. After that one finds, as announced in Martens’ letter, Erasmus’ annotation on *Hebrews* 2,7 taken from the *Nouuum Instrumentum* (see appendix III) and Lefèvre’s *disputatio* (see appendix IV).

It is clear that *A* is the first edition since a number of passages clarifying the argument are found in the other five editions and yet are lacking in *A*. This applies, for example, to this apologia, ll. 522–525: “praesertim ... et caetera”, and *ibid.*, l. 1081: “aut Marcionis, opinor.”

*A* has no date on the title page, nor a dated colophon. The text of the apologia itself, however, is dated at the end (l. 2623) by Erasmus himself, namely “Louanii, nonis Augusti, anno MDXVII”, that is, 5 August 1517. This is undoubtedly the day on which Erasmus finished his apologia. This date was reprinted in all subsequent editions of the apologia that are reviewed here and also in *LB*. The *terminus post quem* of the date of publication of *A* is 23 August 1517. This is clear from Ep. 628 (Louvain, 23 August <1517>), a letter from Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus<sup>2</sup>, ll. 7–11:

“Demiror quid Iacobo Fabro venerit in mentem vt sic in me nugaretur, examinans Epistolae ad Hebraeos caput 2: cui respondimus abunde. Libellus ad te mittetur, si fuerit absolutus in tempore; iam enim non multum abest a meta, in manibus typographi Louaniensis.”

“I wonder very much what has come into Jacques Lefèvre’s head, that he should write all this nonsense against me in his discussion of the second chapter of Hebrews; but I have replied to him at length. The book shall be sent you, if it is finished in time, for it is now not far from its completion, in the hands of a Louvain printer.”<sup>3</sup>

The *terminus ante quem* is 28 August 1517, as appears from Erasmus’ letter of that date to Peter Gilles<sup>4</sup> (Ep. 637 Louvain, 28 August <1517>), l. 12:

<sup>2</sup> Beatus Rhenanus of Sélestat (1485–1547) went to Paris for study in 1503. Among his teachers was Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples. He returned from Paris to Basel in 1507 and remained there for the following 20 years. Erasmus arrived in Basel in about 1514 and when Erasmus returned to the Netherlands, Beatus was empowered to act on his behalf in editorial as well as in personal matters. (Beat von Scarpatetti in: *Contemporaries* I, *s.u.*, pp. 104–109).

<sup>3</sup> *CWE* 5, pp. 72–73, Ep. 628, ll. 10–14.

<sup>4</sup> By 1500 Peter Gilles of Antwerp (c. 1486–1533) was a corrector in the press of Dirk Martens in Antwerp where he probably met Erasmus. In 1516 and 1517 Gilles rendered Erasmus an important service by editing two collections of Erasmus’ letters. (M.A. Nauwelaerts in: *Contemporaries* II, *s.u.*, pp. 99–101).

“Mitto duas apologias, quarum alteram donabis M. Nicolao.”

“I am sending you two copies of my apologia; please give one to Master Nicholas<sup>5</sup>.”<sup>6</sup>

Consequently, *A* was published between 23 and 28 August 1517, the dates of Epp. 628 and 637 respectively.

Once *A* had come out, Erasmus sent a copy to the printer Schürer<sup>7</sup> in Strasbourg and a copy to Froben<sup>8</sup> in Basel, with the intention of encouraging these printers to undertake a reprint. He also sent a copy to Ludwig Baer.<sup>9</sup> Baer disapproved of the harsh tone of the apologia, probably because he was an old friend of Lefèvre. Moreover, he could not endorse Erasmus' theological treatment of the natures of Christ. He intimated his hesitations to Wolfgang Faber Capito<sup>10</sup>, an editorial adviser to Froben. Baer and Capito then wrote letters to Erasmus explaining their views. The carrier of their letters, however, did not arrive in Louvain until 5 December 1517 and left again on 7 December. In Epp. 730 and 731 Erasmus adduced the haste in which he was forced to reply as an excuse for making no further changes in the apologia. In these letters Erasmus touches upon only one theological point, namely, the relationship between the divine and the human natures of Christ. In Ep. 730 (Louvain, 6 December 1517) Erasmus wrote to Ludwig Baer, ll. 1–15:

“Hic nuncius postridie diluculo profecturus sub noctem me adiit; itaque non fuit ocium relegendae apologiae: tuo arbitratui permitto. Tamen nisi me fallit animi coniectura, non est tibi tota lecta, aut certe aliud agenti lecta. Christum non esse compositum ex duabus naturis didiceram ante annos ferme triginta. Proinde miror si illum vsquam compositum dixi; imo tota disputatione tueor hypostaseos simplicitatem, nec vsquam dico Christum accipi pro altera natura,

<sup>5</sup> Nicolaas van Broeckhoven (c. 1478–c. 1515) studied in Antwerp, where he subsequently worked for the printer Dirk Martens. He prepared many editions, e.g. Erasmus' translations of several dialogues of Lucian and Plautus. (C.G. van Leijenhorst in: *Contemporaries I*, s.v., pp. 204–205).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. CWE 5, p. 86, Ep. 637, ll. 14–15.

<sup>7</sup> Matthias Schürer of Sélestat (1470–before 1520) began to publish works by Erasmus in 1509, only a year after he had established his own press. He repeatedly asked Erasmus for copy. In 1517 Erasmus gave him the revised text of Quintus Curtius and the apologia against Lefèvre. (Cf. M.U. Chrisman in: *Contemporaries III*, s.v., p. 233).

<sup>8</sup> See Ep. 733, l. 15. Johann Froben of Hammelburg (c. 1460–1527) moved to Basel about 1490, supported by Johann Amerbach, who was already established in Basel as a successful printer. Erasmus came to Basel in 1514, probably invited by Froben, who was in need of a new academic director for the great edition of Jerome. Froben was an important publisher for the humanist movement. (P.G. Bietenholz in: *Contemporaries II*, s.v., pp. 60–63).

<sup>9</sup> Ludwig Baer of Basel (1479–1554) left Basel and arrived in Paris in 1496. Baer's chief interest lay in the field of formal theology in the tradition of Paris. Erasmus often sought reassurance in Baer's theological expertise, for instance, while preparing *De libero arbitrio* as well as the second and third editions of the New Testament. (P.G. Bietenholz in: *Contemporaries I*, s.v., pp. 84–86).

<sup>10</sup> Wolfgang Faber Capito (c. 1478–1541) was trained in the nominalist tradition, but he very early showed a preference for humanistic studies. Since 1515 he worked in Basel both as a cathedral preacher and as a university professor of theology. Erasmus frequently appealed to Capito as a Hebrew scholar in support of his translation of the New Testament. (J.M. Kittelson in: *Contemporaries I*, s.v., pp. 261–264).

nempe humana, immo potius accipi pro altera quam vtraque, quod vult Faber, nempe pro diuina, sed quae vnicit sibi humanam. Caeterum ais Christi vocabula, hoc est vocabula hypostaseos, frequenter accipi pro vocabulis naturarum. Quod si fecissem, non eram valde obiurgandus; et tamen declaro ne id quidem a me factum in annotationibus. Velim igitur vt libellum relegas per ocium, deinde communicato consilio cum Guolphango mutes pro tuo in me studio quae videbuntur ....”

“The bearer of this came to me at nightfall, with the intention of setting out at first light tomorrow and so I had no time to re-read my apologia; I leave it to your discretion. Although if I guess rightly, you have not read it all, or at least, if you read it, you were thinking of something else. That Christ was not a composite being of two natures is a fact I learnt some thirty years ago. I wonder therefore if I ever said he was composite; indeed all through my argument I maintain the singleness of his substance, nor do I say anywhere that Christ is to be taken as having one of the two, meaning human nature, but that he is to be taken as having one rather than both, as Lefèvre says; by which I mean the divine nature, but a divine which has united the human to itself. You say that the word Christ, that is, a word meaning the substance, is often taken as a word for the two natures. Had I done this, I should not deserve severe criticism; and yet I maintain that in my notes I never went even that far. I wish therefore you would re-read the book at leisure and then discuss it with Wolfgang, and make such changes as your kindness towards me may suggest ....”<sup>11</sup>

Erasmus sent a letter of identical import to Wolfgang Capito.<sup>12</sup> He suggested no modifications in his description of Jesus’ natures, nor were such alterations introduced in the edition that came from Froben’s press in 1518. It is not even clear whether Capito and Baer replied to Erasmus’ letters: no letters answering those of Erasmus are known to exist.<sup>13</sup>

The second edition, *B*, was published by Schürer in Strasbourg. Schürer frequently urged Erasmus to send him copy, and Erasmus had recently written to John Ruser, who worked as a corrector for Schürer, that he regretted he had nothing to give him for publication.<sup>14</sup> The title page of *B* reads:

“Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad eximium virum Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem, cuius argumentum vrsa pagella demonstrabit, ab auctore denuo recognitum”.

“The apologia of Erasmus of Rotterdam against the distinguished Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples. Revised by the author. For its contents, see overleaf.”

This edition contains the apologia, Erasmus’ annotation on *Hebrews* 2,7 from the *Nouum Instrumentum* and Lefèvre’s *disputatio*.

<sup>11</sup> CWE 5, p. 225, Ep. 730, ll. 1–17.

<sup>12</sup> Ep. 731, Louvain, 6 December <1517>, ll. 1–25.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. CWE 5, intr. Ep. 730, vol. 5, pp. 224–225.

<sup>14</sup> Ep. 606, <Louvain>, <July?> 1517, ll. 1–7.

*B* was published relatively long before the Froben 1518 edition, *C*, as is clear from Ep. 821 (Louvain, 22 April 1518), ll. 26–27 to Richard Pace:<sup>15</sup>

“Apologia qua Fabrum placo, nuper Basileae prodiit cum annotamentis; iam pridem excusa Argentorati.”

“The apologia in which I try to pacify Lefèvre has lately come out in Basel with notes, having some time ago been printed in Strasbourg.”<sup>16</sup>

In order to establish the relationship between *A*, *B* and *C*, it is also important to look at Ep. 731 from Erasmus to Wolfgang Capito (Louvain, 6 December <1517>), ll. 22–23, 27–30 and 36–37:

“Mitto libellum ante recognitum qualem miseram Schurerio, quando Berus scribit in<i>tium deesse ... De apologia fungere amici officio, vt soles, habiturus me tui vicissim studiosissimum. Misi exemplar simile isti ad Schurerium: potes illi mittere tuas annotationes, si Frobennius non excudit, vt addat exemplari a me misso. ... Sed amice facis quod premis: facillimum est ledere.”

“I send the book with the previous revisions, as I sent it to Schürer, for Baer writes that the beginning is missing ... In the matter of my apologia, let me have your friendly help, as you always do, and rely on me to do what I can for you in return. I have sent Schürer a copy similar to yours; you can send your comments to him, if Froben is not printing it, to be added to the copy I sent him. ... But it is kind of you to press the point, for one can very easily do harm.”<sup>17</sup>

From both the evidence quoted and a comparison between the texts of the three editions, *A*, *B* and *C*, it is clear that *B* and *C* are directly dependent on *A*. Quite often, *B* and *C* have the same additions of two or more words as compared with *A*. An exception is one passage, (the present apologia) l. 1591, where *C* has the following addition, lacking in *B*: “vertit etiam Hieronymus ad modum temporis”, “Jerome, too, translates it as a temporal adjunct”, meant as an additional argument. (*A* lacks ll. 1586–1595 as a whole, *D* has the addition, too, but *E* and *BAS* omit it again.) As Ep. 731 shows (see the last quotation), Erasmus sent a corrected copy first to Schürer, and then another corrected copy to Froben. For a short period of time, therefore, Erasmus had the possibility of adding material to the text which would go to Froben. Such additions would be too late, however, to be incorporated in *B*.

The date of publication of the second edition, *B*, is not mentioned on the title page or in the colophon of the book. In Ep. 693 (Louvain, 31 October 1517), ll. 6–9, however, Erasmus writes to Schürer:

<sup>15</sup> Richard Pace of Hampshire (c.1483–1536) first met Erasmus in 1508 when Pace was studying at Ferrara. Erasmus understood that Pace was collecting classical allegories and he left a number of his papers on the topic with Pace. This turned out to be a mistake, for Erasmus never saw most of the papers again. Pace spent the years between 1517 and 1519 in England acting as a secretary to Henry VIII. (S.E. Lehmborg in: *Contemporaries III*, s.v., pp. 37–39).

<sup>16</sup> CWE 5, p. 393, Ep. 821, ll. 27–28.

<sup>17</sup> CWE 5, pp. 227–228, Ep. 731, ll. 26–27, 31–35 and 42.

“Mitto ad te apologiam qua Fabro Stapulensi respondeo; quam ego non optarim alio animo propagatam, nisi ne quis existimet inter nos inimicam contentionem: etiam si ille parum amice lacessiuit. Si placet, accipe, et tui similis esto.”

“I ... send you the apologia containing my reply to Lefèvre d’Etaples; I should not like it to be published with any other purpose than to prevent people from thinking there is any hostility in our discussion, though it was he who provoked me in an unfriendly fashion. If you like it, take it; I know I can rely on you.”<sup>18</sup>

In Ep. 732 (Louvain, 6 December [1517]), ll. 29–31, Erasmus writes to Beatus Rhenanus:

“Apologiam a me recognitam Argentoratum miseram Schurerio, sed hac lege vt, si non placeret, mitteret Basileam.”

“I have sent the apologia, with my revisions, to Schürer in Strasbourg, on the understanding that if he did not like it, he should send it on to Basel.”<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, in Ep. 730 (Louvain, 6 December 1517), ll. 24–25, Erasmus writes to Ludwig Baer:

“Miseram Schurerio exemplar apologiae castigatum antequam tuae litterae mihi redderentur.”

“I had sent Schürer a corrected copy of my apologia, before your letter<sup>20</sup> reached me.”<sup>21</sup>

The copy sent to Schürer must have been a corrected version of *A* and not of *C* (Froben’s edition) since *C* is dated February 1518.

The *terminus post quem* of *B*, then, is 31 October 1517, the date of Ep. 693, the letter accompanying the copy of the apologia that Erasmus sent to Schürer. The *terminus ante quem* is (some time before) February 1518, the date of publication of *C*. Consequently, *B* was published between 31 October 1517 and February 1518. It is somewhat surprising that Allen<sup>22</sup> as well as P.G. Bietenholz<sup>23</sup> assumes that Schürer printed his edition of the apologia very soon after he received the corrected copy of *A*. Allen refers for this to *BE Rép.* (p. 114), but Vander Haeghen only says that he does not know whether *B* was published in 1517 or in 1518.

The third edition, *C*, was published by Froben in Basel in February 1518. The title page reads:

<sup>18</sup> CWE 5, p. 163, Ep. 693, ll. 7–11. CWE translates “attacked” instead of “provoked”.

<sup>19</sup> CWE 5, Ep. 732, p. 229, ll. 32–34. This message is remarkable, because Erasmus himself had already sent a copy of his apologia to Basel.

<sup>20</sup> CWE 5, p. 226, Ep. 730, n. l. 27 mentions that by “letter” Er. means the *Epistolae elegantes* of April 1517, which contained the earliest known letters exchanged between Erasmus and Baer (Epp. 488, 507).

<sup>21</sup> CWE 5, pp. 225–226, Ep. 730, ll. 26–27.

<sup>22</sup> Allen III, p. 116, Ep. 693, n.l. 6.

<sup>23</sup> CWE 5, p. 163, Ep. 693, n.l. 7.

“Ioannes Frobenius lectori salutem.

Iacobus Faber Stapulensis in secunda suarum in Paulum adnotationum aeditione Erasmus nostrum erroris notauit, ipse foedissime hallucinatus. At hic – o diuinam ingenii promptitudinem – etiam dum ab officina calente opere, quattuordecim duntaxat dieularum spacio, hanc apologiam effudit verius quam scripsit. Ex ea tametsi breui, sed mire docta, velut leonem, quod aiunt, ab unguiculis,<sup>24</sup> aestimare licet, quam sit Erasmus theologiarum, etiam argutiarum non ignarus, quibus nunc theologi passim in scholis vtuntur. Adiecit quidam apud nos pauculas in marginibus adnotatiunculas, vt lectori consuleret. Eme, lege, et Erasmus θεολογικώτατον και διαλεκτικώτατον, hoc est, summum theologum et acerrimum disputatorem deprehendes. Argumentum apologiae sequens pagella copiosius explicabit. Bene vale”.

“Johann Froben greets his reader.

In the second edition of his (sc. Lefèvre’s) annotations on Paul, Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples criticized our Erasmus for having made a mistake, while he himself was shamefully wandering in his mind. But – how divine is the promptitude of his (sc. Erasmus’) genius – when the work was still warm from the press, he poured forth rather than wrote this apologia within a period of merely fourteen days. From this writing, which, though short, is marvelously learned, one may immediately estimate how exceedingly Erasmus is acquainted even with theological subtleties, in which the theologians now indulge everywhere in the universities. Somebody of our firm added a few short notes in the margins to help the reader. Buy it, read it, and you will perceive that Erasmus is a very great theologian and a most acute disputant. The following page will explain more extensively what the apologia is about. Farewell.”

The colophon at the end of the book reads:

“Basileae apud Ioannem Frobenium mense Februario anno M.D.XVIII.”

“Basel, at Johann Froben’s, February A.D. 1518.”

Apart from Froben’s prefatory letter and the colophon, this edition contains only the apologia. However, a number of short annotations were added in the margins, notes that do not occur in *A* or *B*. As the title page indicates, someone belonging to Froben’s printing office added them, though it is not clear exactly who that was.

As noted above, both Schürer and Froben received a corrected copy of *A*. On the basis of these copies they produced *B* and *C* respectively. *B* was published considerably earlier than *C*. Examples of additions to *A* which *B* and *C* have in common are (the present apologia) ll. 1331–1332: “cuius ... conflictationibus” and (the present apologia) ll. 1586–1595 “Quid ... locus”.

Theoretically, since *B* was published earlier than *C*, the possibility cannot be ruled out that *C* was not only based on *A*, but also on *B*. The text of *C*, however, can be accounted for satisfactorily without reference to this. In a number of cases

<sup>24</sup> “Leonem ex unguibus aestimare” *Adag.* 834, *LB* II, 347 D–F; “to know a lion by its claws”, i.e., to form an idea of an entire subject from one single inference. R.A.B. Mynors in: *CWE* 32, Toronto/Buffalo/London, 1989, p. 200.

in which *B* deviates from *A* by clarifying *A*'s text, *C* does not switch from *A* to the more attractive reading of *B*, but continues to follow the less attractive reading of *A*. Examples of this phenomenon are the present apologia, l. 1227 and l. 1242, where *B* reads "inquit" and *A* and *C* do not.

As was observed above, *C* is dated February 1518.

The fourth edition, *D*, was published in Louvain by Martens between February 1518 and 6 March 1518. The title page reads:

"Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad eximium virum diuum Iacobum Fabrum. Cui additum est compendium argumentorum, quibus Faber aduersus eum est vsus, adiectis solutionibus, Epistola Erasmi ad Budaeum de apologia."

"The apologia by Erasmus of Rotterdam against the distinguished theologian Jacques Lefèvre, to which has been added a summary of the arguments Lefèvre had used against him, with refutations, and Erasmus' letter to Budé about the apologia."

*D* also contains a letter from Martens to the reader:

"Theodoricus Martinus Alostensis candido lectori salutem.

En denuo optime lector trado tibi castigatius typis excussam Erasmi apologiam, quae cum eruditis omnibus placeat, non solum ob singularem ingenii vim, qua declarat sese in his quoque valere si genus hoc scripti magis probasset, verum etiam ob raram animi modestiam et ciuilitatem qua sic refellit aduersarium parum ciuilliter impetentem, vt tamen amicum fuisse meminerit. Tum magis placitura sit, si scias, id quod nobis constat, opus hoc illi intra duodecim dies et ceptum et absolutum, nec sine graui animi dolore, quod in hoc scripti genus compulsus esset descendere. Adiecimus summam argumentorum Fabri mire in compendium contractorum ob lectorem vel occupatum vel fastidiosum, praeterea epistolam argutam et facundam, qua placat eos qui dictitant eum aut non debuissent respondere Fabri, aut moderatius respondere debuissent. Bene vale."

"Dirk Martens of Aalst greets his sincere reader.

Here I offer you again, dear reader, a corrected edition of Erasmus' apologia. I hope it will please all learned readers. For it shows the extraordinary force of the author's genius. Through this force he demonstrates that he would excel in this field, too, if he could appreciate this genre of writing more than he does. The apologia also shows the author's singular modesty and courtesy, for although his opponent attacked him most unkindly, he refutes him without forgetting that he was his friend. I hope that the book will please you the more if you know what we know as an established fact, namely that Erasmus undertook and completed this work within twelve days. Yet he wrote it sore at heart, for it pained him that he was compelled to engage in that sort of writing. We have added a survey of Lefèvre's arguments, admirably summarized for the benefit of the busily engaged or fastidious reader. Moreover, we added the penetrating and eloquent letter in which he allays the alarm of those who keep saying that he ought not to have replied, or ought to have replied in more moderate terms. Farewell."

This edition provides the apologia, and, as mentioned above, a synopsis of Lefèvre's objections entitled:

“Summa totius disputationis contracta in articulos, additis duobus verbis eorum quae obiiciuntur solutionibus.”

“A synopsis of the whole *disputatio* (sc. of Lefèvre) summarized and divided into short paragraphs. To the objections (of Lefèvre) we have added refutations, briefly worded.”

An edition of this synopsis will be included in this volume in appendix V. In *D*, the synopsis was followed by a letter, dated “Louanii octauo calendas Martias”, from Erasmus to Budé, Allen, Ep. 778, Louvain, 22 February <1518>.

*D* contains the same marginalia as *C*. As in *C*, the author of the marginalia is not mentioned.

*D* generally follows the reading of *C*, with occasional additions to the common text of *A*, *B* and *C*. This is the case, for example, at (the present apologia), l. 2373, where *D* adds “inter omnes” and at ll. 1997–2031, where *D* adds “Idem ... notatus.” It follows that *D* is later than *C*. An example of a passage in which *D* reads the same as *C* whereas *A* and *B* read somewhat differently, is (the present apologia), l. 613, where *C* and *D* read “verborum sophisticasque” but *A* “verborumque sophisticas” and *B* “sophisticasque verborum”.

In some cases, however, *D* prefers a reading of *A* or *B* to the variant reading of *C*. For example in (the present apologia), l. 2565, *C* reads “antecedente”, whereas *A*, *B* and *D* read “accedente”; and in (the present apologia) l. 2499, *C* reads “iudicare” whereas *D* follows *A* or *B* in the reading “indicare”.

It must be concluded from this that the editor of *D*, while basing his text generally on *C*, occasionally drew his reading from *A* or *B*. Whether his secondary source was *A* or *B* cannot be established with certainty, but it is probable that the editor employed by Martens used the Martens edition, *A*, rather than the Schürer edition, *B*.

Like *A*, *D* was printed by Martens in Louvain without a date of publication. In Ep. 794 (Louvain, 6 March 1518), addressed to Peter Barbirius,<sup>25</sup> l. 47, Er. writes:

“Apologia iam quater est impressa.”

“The *apologia* has now been printed four times.”

Allen believed that this was an error.<sup>26</sup> But in discussing the editions of this apologia, he only mentions those of Martens and Froben, obviously unaware of the edition printed by Schürer. The fourth edition referred to in Ep. 794, l. 47, must be *D*, for *E* and *BAS* are certainly of a much later date than this letter.

The *terminus post quem* of *D*, then, is February 1518, the date of publication of *C*, and the *terminus ante quem* 6 March 1518, the date of Ep. 794.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Barbirius of Arras (died 1551/1552) worked as a corrector for the Louvain printer Dirk Martens in 1513. In this circle he met Erasmus. Erasmus told him of his progress in preparing the second and third editions of the New Testament. Especially in the period of Barbirius' service in the curia of Adrian VI, Erasmus kept him fully informed of his troubles and controversies. (P.G. Bietenholz in: *Contemporaries* I, pp. 93–94).

<sup>26</sup> Allen, vol. III, p. 248, n. l. 47 and *ibid.*, pp. 220–221.



There are two identical printings of the fifth edition, *E*, both of which were published by Froben in Basel. The edition came out for the first time in November 1521 in a collection of Erasmus' apologetical writings entitled:

"Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami, quibus respondet iis, qui ex tot ipsius vigiliis, tamque spectatae fidei monumentis, aliquid tandem quod calumniarentur decerpere conati sunt, ab autore nuper recognitae, et in, quo scriptae sunt, ordinem contractae. Ex quibus studiosus lector non vulgarem capiet vtilitatem si quae vtrinque scripta ac disserta sunt conferat ac perpendat. Basileae apud Ioannem Frobenium, mense nouembri, anno M.D.XXI."

"The apologetical works of Erasmus of Rotterdam. In these he answers those who have tried to pick out something from his numerous learned works and from his books that testify to a proven faith, in order to calumniate it. These writings have recently been revised by the author. They have been collected here and arranged in the order in which they were written. They will be of great benefit to the studious reader, if he compares and considers what has been written and argued from both sides. Basel, at Johann Froben's firm, November 1521."

Some four months later, in February 1522, a second issue of the same edition was published under the following title:

"Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami omnes, aduersus eos, qui illum locis aliquot, in suis libris, non satis circumspecte sunt calumniati.  
 In Iacobum Lopim Stunicam apologia I.  
 In quendam, de loco qui est apud Paulum ad Corinthios I, capite XV, 'Omnes quidem resurgemus etc.,' quae recens ab autore profecta, nunc primum omnium in lucem prodit apologia II.  
 In Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem apologia III.  
 In Iacobi Latomi dialogum apologia IIII.  
 In quendam pro declamatione matrimonii apologia V.  
 De 'in principio erat sermo' apologia VI.  
 In Eduardum Leum apologia VII.  
 Basileae apud Ioannem Frobenium, mense Februario, anno M.D.XXII."

"All the apologetical works of Erasmus of Rotterdam against those who were so imprudent as to calumniate him in numerous passages in their writings.  
 The first apologia, against Diego Lopez de Zuniga,  
 The second apologia, against a certain person on Paul's words in 1 *Cor.* 15 'we shall all rise, etc.' This work has recently been produced by the author. It appears here for the very first time.  
 The third apologia, against Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples,  
 The fourth apologia, against Jacobus Latomus.  
 The fifth apologia, against a certain person in defence of the declamation on marriage.  
 The sixth apologia, on 'In the beginning was the Word'.  
 The seventh apologia, against Edward Lee.  
 Basel, at Johann Froben's firm, February 1522."

The second issue of *E* contains the same apologias as the first issue, with two additions. These two were placed at the beginning, presumably to give the vol-

ume the complexion of a new book rather than a re-issue of the edition of November 1521.<sup>27</sup> The first of the two newly-added apologias, against Diego Lopez de Zuniga, had first been published by Martens in Louvain in September 1521, under the title *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxauerat in prima Noui Testamenti aeditione*. The *Apologiae omnes* of February 1522 contain the second edition of this work (now in *ASD IX*, 2).

The other apologia that was added in February 1522 was directed against Nicholas Baechem alias Egmondanus.<sup>28</sup> Erasmus does not mention his adversary's name in this work. Its title is *Apologia de loco 'omnes quidem resurgemus'*. This apologia was printed here for the first time.

In a Cambridge copy of this second issue of *E*, Erasmus himself added some handwritten notes in the margins.<sup>29</sup> Only one of these notes occurs in the margin of the apologia against Lefèvre, namely *ad ll. 2485–2486*: “Qui potui temperantius? Hactenus annotatio mea”. Erasmus himself crossed out the words “Qui potui temperantius”, but “Hactenus annotatio mea” was incorporated in *BAS*.

In both issues of *E*, the apologia against Lefèvre d'Étaples is followed by the letter of Martens to the reader occurring in *A*, but with slight differences. Froben understandably omitted the opening words (“Theodoricus ... dicit.”)

*E* is dependent primarily on *D*, but in cases in which *B* has a different reading from *A*, *C*, and *D*, it sometimes follows *B*. Evidence of the dependence of *E* on *D* can be found at (the present apologia), l. 1941, where *A*, *C*, *D* and *E* read “tam”, whereas *B* reads “iam”, and at (the present apologia), l. 226 where *A*, *C*, *D* and *E* read “veros” but *B* “vero”. *E* follows *B*, not *A*, *C* and *D* at, for example, l. 1056, where *E* and *B* have the addition “inspiciamus” as compared to *A*, *C* and *D*. At l. 955, *E* and *B* read “hac est” whereas *A*, *C* and *D* read “hoc est”.

Both issues of *E* have short annotations printed in the margins. There are fewer of them, and they are not the same as the marginalia in *C* and *D*. The author of the marginalia in *E* is no more known than that of the marginalia in *C* and *D*.

The sixth edition of the apologia against Lefèvre d'Étaples is the one incorporated in volume IX of Erasmus' *Omnia Opera*, published by Froben in Basel in 1540, and is referred to here as *BAS*. The title page reads:

“Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Operum nonus tomus complectens ipsius apologias aduersus eos qui illum locis aliquot in suis libris aut non satis circumspecte aut malitiose sunt calumniati quarum nomenclaturam versa pagina demonstrabit.

Froben, Basileae in officina Frobenii, Anno M.D.XL.”

<sup>27</sup> Cf. L.-E. Halkin, *Une édition rarissime des apologies d'Erasmus en 1521* in: Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance XLV,2 (1983), pp. 243–249.

<sup>28</sup> L.-E. Halkin, *ibid.*, pp. 347–348.

<sup>29</sup> For an extensive discussion of these annotations, see H.J. de Jonge, *Aantekeningen van Erasmus in een exemplaar van zijn Apologiae omnes (1522)*, *NAK* 58 (1978), pp. 176–189.

“Ninth volume of the works of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, containing his apologetical writings against those who were so imprudent or malicious as to calumniate him in numerous passages in their works. For the titles of these apologetical writings, see overleaf.

Froben, at Froben’s printing house in Basel, 1540.”

In this edition, too, the apologia is followed by Martens’ letter to the reader, in the form in which it had been adopted in *E*. The editors also added Erasmus’ note on *Hebrews* 2,7 from the *Nouum Instrumentum* and Lefèvre’s *disputatio*.

Except for a few new additions which are certainly due to Erasmus and to which we shall return below, *BAS* is dependent only on *E*. There is no need to assume secondary influence of any other edition.

In *BAS* a few passages have been inserted that do not yet occur in *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* or *E*. Although *BAS* was published in 1540, after Erasmus’ death, these additions are certainly due to Erasmus himself. They contain material meant to corroborate the argumentation already given in the existing text. It is much more plausible that Erasmus himself collected this material and inserted it in a working copy of his apologia against Lefèvre d’Etaples than that someone else assembled this material. The additions include such passages as those at ll. 1628–1631: “quum ... illustrium” and ll. 2067–2076 “Origenes ... Hieronymus”. These passages make *BAS* the most recent edition of the apologia for which Erasmus was responsible.

The fact that someone from Froben’s press may have added something to the text after Erasmus’ death, is no reason for not taking *BAS* as the basis for this new edition. Erasmus did not hesitate to permit his publishers to change the text wherever they found it needed correction. See, for example, Ep. 730 (Louvain, 6 December 1517) to Louis Ber, ll. 1–2:

“Hic nuncius postridie diluculo profecturus sub noctem me adiit; itaque non fuit ocium relegendae apologiae: tuo arbitratui permitto.”

“The bearer of this came to me at nightfall, with the intention of setting out at first light tomorrow and so I had no time to re-read my apologia; I leave it to your discretion.”<sup>30</sup>

Cf. Ep. 731 (Louvain, 6 December [1517]) to Wolfgang Capito, ll. 27–30:

“De apologia fungere amici officio, vt soles, habiturus me tui vicissim studiosissimum. Misi exemplar simile isti ad Schurerium: potes illi mittere tuas annotationes, si Frobennius non excudit, vt addat exemplari a me misso.”

“In the matter of my apologia, let me have your friendly help, as you always do, and rely on me to do what I can for you in return. I have sent Schürer a copy similar to yours; you can send your comments to him, if Froben is not printing it, to be added to the copy I sent him.”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> CWE 5, p. 225, Ep. 730, ll. 1–3.

<sup>31</sup> CWE 5, p. 227, Ep. 731, ll. 31–35.

Nor is the possibility that Lefèvre d'Étaples was confronted with earlier editions of this apologia than that of *BAS* sufficient reason for not basing this edition on *BAS*. Lefèvre did not react to the apologia. For a correct understanding of any response of Lefèvre d'Étaples it is not necessary, therefore, to re-edit *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* or *E*: such a response simply was not forthcoming. The new edition in of this apologia could best be based, therefore, on the final version for which Erasmus can be held responsible, that is, on *BAS*.

Some passages in the apologia against Lefèvre d'Étaples deserve further examination. In (the present apologia), l. 1997, *E* has a passage that does not occur in *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* or *BAS*. The passage runs as follows: "Rursus Augustinus libro De ciuitate Dei sedecimo, capite vigesimo secundo." The next word is "Idem" but that refers to Jerome, not to Augustine. In the passage preceding the words added in *E*, Erasmus is speaking about Jerome. Probably, then, the passage which occurs solely in *E* has been omitted in *BAS* in order to restore the line of the argument. In the reading of *E*, "Idem" wrongly refers to Augustine. It is not necessary to assume that the reading of *BAS* here derives from an earlier edition than *E*.

The present apologia, ll. 2307–2372 "Si nullus" up to and including "magistros nostros" is a passage that is found only in *D*, *E*, and *BAS*. *A*, *B* and *C* do not contain it. At l. 2324, *BAS* omits eight words that do occur in *D* and *E*, namely "Nemo insectatur Hilarium quod Arrianos recusarit, nisi rebaptisatos." Neither the content of this passage, nor the line of thought in the context, can have been a reason for its omission. Since the next sentence begins with a capital N, however, the omission of the passage in question in *BAS* may be due to a *saut du même au même*.

## Conclusion

The apologia of Erasmus against Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples was published six times in editions revised or edited by Erasmus himself.

*A* was published by Martens in Louvain between 23 and 28 August 1517. Erasmus corrected two copies of this edition by hand and sent one to Schürer in Strasbourg and the other to Froben in Basel. In printing *B* Schürer followed the copy he had received from Erasmus, after 31 October 1517 and before *C* came out in February 1518. Froben used the other corrected copy for printing the edition that appeared in February 1518. *C*, *B* and *C* are dependent only on *A* and the corrections introduced in *A* by Erasmus. There is no reason to assume influence of *B* on *C*.

*D* was published by Martens in Louvain after the publication of *C* in February 1518 and before 6 March 1518. *D* is chiefly dependent on *C* but also reflects some influence from *A* or *B*.

*E* was published twice by Froben at Basel. A first issue appeared in November, 1521; the second, in February, 1522, with a new title page. *E* is primarily dependent on *D* but was also subject to some secondary influence from *B*.

A sixth edition appeared in *BAS*, that is, Erasmus' *Omnia Opera* published in Basel by Froben in 1540. The text of the apologia in *BAS* is dependent on *E* but includes additions introduced by Erasmus himself.

The publishers of *A*, *B*, *D*, *E* and *BAS* added several appendices to the text as helps for the readers. Editions *A*, *B*, *E* and *BAS* incorporate Erasmus' note on *Hebr. 2,7* from the *Nouum Instrumentum* (1516) and Lefèvre's *disputatio* from the second edition of his translation of, and paraphrase and commentary on, Paul's epistles (1516/7). In the case of *D*, the publisher added a synopsis of Lefèvre's objections, together with Erasmus' replies, and a letter from Erasmus to Budé (Ep. 778) that could serve as a defence of the apologia.

After the first edition had appeared in 1517, Erasmus continuously enlarged and improved his apologia. He even continued to expand the work after it had become clear that Lefèvre d'Étaples was not going to respond. Eventually the text in *BAS* was seven and a half percent longer than that in *A*. The additions consist predominantly of references to, or quotations from, patristic authors.

It is clear that the long text in *BAS* reflects the latest and most mature form that Erasmus gave the apologia. This was an important reason for basing the text of the new edition of this apologia on *BAS*.

Other factors that had to be taken into account were the length of the passages inserted in the second and later editions, and the desirability of keeping the text reasonably readable.

VII. THE DATE OF THE SECOND EDITION OF  
LEFEVRE'S *EPISTOLE DIVI PAVLI APOSTOLI CVM COMMENTARIIS*

The first edition of Lefèvre's translation, paraphrase and annotations of the epistles of Paul was published by H. Estienne in 1512. A second edition – containing the attack on Erasmus – was brought out by the same publisher in Paris, but when?

In a colophon at the end of the book, the place and date of publication are mentioned: Paris, 1515. The mention of Paris as the place of publication is doubtless correct, but distrust soon arose regarding the date. Erasmus commented upon it as follows:

... nonnihil demiror et illud, qui factum sit vt quum nostra aeditio fuerit absoluta Basileae in officina Frobenii anno ab orbe redempto MDXVI, tua annum habeat MDXV. Si prior est tua aut si aequalis, quo modo meam citat? Si posterior, quo cursu nostrae anteuertit, quae prior a linea discesserat? Quod certe aut typographorum errore factum sit oportet, qui, quum crebro peccent, faciunt vt nostra quoque commissa probabiliter in ipsos reiciamus; aut tui studiosus quispiam anteuertendum putauit, ne quid videreris ex meis lucubrationibus in tuas sumpsisse mutuo atque ita dum sedulo tuae gloriae consulit, aut non meminit aut non sensit illic prioris aeditionis nostrae factam abs te mentionem.<sup>1</sup>

... I also wonder very much how it can have happened that, while the printing of our edition was completed in Basel at Froben's printing office in the year 1516, your edition mentions 1515 as year of publication. If your edition was printed earlier or simultaneously, how can it quote mine? If it was later than mine, by what race did it come before mine, which had started earlier? No, this is certainly due to an error of the type-setters, who so often make a mistake that we credibly blame them for our own mistakes; or some adept of yours believed that your work had to have a date earlier than mine in order to avoid the impression that you had taken over something from my work into yours. Thus, trying to protect your reputation, he either forgot or failed to notice that you refer in your work to that earlier edition of mine.

Since in the second edition of his commentary on Paul, dated 1515, Lefèvre quotes Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum* of 1516, the book must have been antedated.

In his important 1902 study of Erasmus' first two editions of the New Testament, Bludau dates Lefèvre's second edition to 1517 and refers to Henke's eighteenth-century *Leben des Erasmus*, which assumed that no separate edition with the date 1515 had appeared, but that some copies of the 1517 edition incorrectly mention the date 1515.<sup>2</sup> This shows that Bludau and Henke did not com-

<sup>1</sup> *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 167–177.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902, p. 64, referring to H.Ph. Konrad Henke (tr. and ed.), *Das Leben des Des. Erasmus. Aus dem Französischen des Herrn von Burigny*, mit Berichtigungen und Zusätzen, Halle and Helmstädt, 1782, I, p. 347.

pare a copy dated 1515 with a copy of the 1517 edition, for the edition dated 1515 differs so markedly from the one dated 1517 that it is impossible to equate the editions.

P.S. Allen did not know the second edition and mistook the third, 1517 edition for the cause of Erasmus' furious reaction in his apologia.<sup>3</sup> That this cannot be correct appears from Erasmus' words cited above, which make clear that he was reacting to a book dated 1515. Moreover, the first and second editions were published by Henry Estienne in Paris and the third by Regnault and De la Porte, also in Paris. Since Allen mentions these last publishers, he obviously used a copy of the third edition (1517). Hughes,<sup>4</sup> Bedouelle,<sup>5</sup> and Feld,<sup>6</sup> who have written more recently about Lefèvre's conflict with Erasmus, repeatedly note that Lefèvre's second edition must have been antedated, but they make no attempt to educe the real date of publication of the work that aroused Erasmus' anger.

Yet, the date of Lefèvre's second edition of his translation, paraphrase and annotations of Paul's epistles can be established without great difficulty. The *terminus post quem* is the date of publication of Agostini Giustiniani's *Octuplex Psalterium*, which is the most recent publication Lefèvre quotes in his second edition:

Quod manifestissime is intelliget cui curae fuerit illam Psalterii nobilem octaplum legere, quam insignis vir multarum linguarum vtpote Latinae, Graecae, Hebraicae, Caldaicae et Arabicae gnarus, Augustinus Iustinianus, episcopus Nebiensis ordinis praedicatorii, hac nostra tempestate aeditit.<sup>7</sup>

And this (viz. that Lefèvre is right) will be perfectly understood by anyone who takes the trouble to consult the magnificent *Octuplex Psalterium*, recently edited by the distinguished, polyglot scholar and Dominican friar, Agostino Giustiniani, a man familiar with, e.g., Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, and also a bishop of Nebbio (in Corsica).

The *Psalterium Octuplex* of Agostini Giustiniani was published in November of 1516.<sup>8</sup> This date has to be considered the *terminus post quem* of Lefèvre's second edition.

The *terminus ante quem* is the date of Erasmus' letter to Thomas More of 10 July 1517. This is the earliest known letter written by Erasmus after he had seen Lefèvre's second edition:

Faber amicus haud admodum amice mecum egit in proxima editione Epistolarum Apostolicarum; odiosius enim tuetur suam sententiam, arrodens etiam nonnulla que ad ipsius causam nihil attinebant. Ilico animum tetigit, Homo est; cui mox edita epistola respondebo, sed stomacho temperans, ne contentio,

<sup>3</sup> Allen, vol. III, p. 5, n.l. 29.

<sup>4</sup> P.E. Hughes, *Lefèvre, Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1984, p. III.

<sup>5</sup> G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, 1976, p. 220.

<sup>6</sup> H. Feld, *Der Humanisten-Streit um Hebräer 2,7 (Psalm 8,6)*, in: *ARG* 61 (1970), pp. 5–35.

<sup>7</sup> See appendix IV, ll. 72–76.

<sup>8</sup> Allen, vol. III, p. 278, n.l. 356.

non disputatio, videatur. Si rem voles cognoscere, lege annotationes nostras in secundum caput Epistolae ad Hebreos et illius in eundem locum examinationes; sed secundam editionem illius agnosces ex subscriptione Fabri in prima statim pagina.<sup>9</sup>

“My friend Lefèvre has treated me in a very unfriendly fashion in the latest edition of his apostolic epistles; he clings obstinately to his own opinion and gets his teeth into some things that had nothing to do with his point. I touched him on the raw by saying ‘He (viz. Christ) is a man’; I shall answer him shortly in an open letter, but with strict control over my temper, so that it is clearly an argument and not a quarrel. If you wish to know what the point is, read my note on the second chapter of Hebrews and his criticisms of the same passage; you will know which is his second edition from the note by Lefèvre on the title page.”<sup>10</sup>

From the evidence quoted it can be concluded that the second edition of Lefèvre’s translation, paraphrase and annotations of Paul’s letters was published between November of 1516 and 10 July 1517.

Why was this book antedated? As quoted above, Erasmus suggested that the intention was to avoid the impression that Lefèvre had taken something over from him. Erasmus is supposing here that the second edition of Lefèvre’s work on Paul’s epistles is an improved edition of the work Lefèvre had published in 1512. Some alterations, indeed, could be due to Erasmus’ *Nouum Instrumentum* of 1516.

This interpretation of the false date ‘1515’, however, cannot be correct. In several passages of his second edition, Lefèvre reacts to the views Erasmus had expressed in the *Nouum Instrumentum*, but in these cases he almost always mentions Erasmus’ name. There is no reason to think that Lefèvre ever wanted to dissimulate his use of Erasmus’ *Nouum Instrumentum*.

The other explanation which Erasmus offered for the wrong date in the colophon of Lefèvre’s second edition, was that it was a type-setter’s error. This explanation is, indeed, much more plausible. The colophon in the first, 1512 edition, reads as follows:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ep. 597, ll. 32–40.

<sup>10</sup> CWE 5, p. 11, Ep. 597, ll. 37–45. The title page of the first edition (Paris, Henry Estienne, 15 December 1512) merely lists the contents: *Contenta. Epistola ad Romanos ...* The title page of the second edition does the same, but at the bottom of the page there is an introductory note beginning with the words ‘In hac secunda emissione ...’ This note is no longer included in the third edition (Paris, Regnault and De la Porte, 1517). Cf. CWE 5, p. 11, n.l. 44.

<sup>11</sup> J. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f<sup>o</sup> 262 r<sup>o</sup>.



HOC OPVS ILLVSTRATORE CHRISTO QVI LVCET VBIQUE  
 ETSI NON CAPITVR: ABSOLVTVM FVIT IN COENOBIO  
 SANC'II GERMANI IVXTA PARISIOS ANNO CHRI  
 STI VITAE AUTHORIS MILLESIMO ET  
 DVODECIMO SVpra QVINGENTE  
 SIMVM ET EODEM ANNO CIR  
 CA NATALEM DOMINICE  
 DE PVRISSIMA VIR-  
 GINE NATIVITA  
 TIS DIEM EX OF  
 FICINA HEN-  
 RICHI STE-  
 PHANI E-  
 MISSVM.  
 \*.  
 DECEMB.XV.  
 I 5 I 2

This is the colophon in Lefèvre's second edition:<sup>12</sup>

HOC OPVS ILLVSTRATORE CHRISTO QVI LVCET  
 VBIQUE ETSI NON CAPITVR: ABSOLVTVM FVIT  
 IN COENOBIO SANCTI GERMANI IVXTA PARI  
 SIOS ANNO CHRISTI VITAE AUTHORIS  
 QVINGENTESIMO ET DVODECIMO  
 SVpra MILLESIMVM ET EODEM  
 ANNO CIRCA NATALEM DOMI  
 NICAЕ DE PVRISSIMA VIR  
 GINE NATIVITATIS DIEM  
 EX OFFICINA HEN  
 RICHI STEPHANI  
 EMISSVM  
 DEINDE  
 ANNO  
 .M.  
 .D.  
 XV.

The similarity between these two colophons is remarkable. The difference between

anno ... millesimo et duodecimo supra quingentesimum

and

anno ... quingentesimo et duodecimo supra millesimum

is negligible. Up to and including the word "emissum" the type-setter of the second edition adopted the colophon of the first edition almost exactly. After the word "emissum", the number XV is the only element common to the two

<sup>12</sup> id., *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, ..., Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 258 r<sup>o</sup>.

colophons. Presumably the type-setter was somewhat inattentive in setting this passage and either took the figure XV over from the 1512 colophon where it signified the fifteenth of December, into the date of the 1516/7 edition where it became the year date, or he merely failed to put a 'I' or 'II' after 'XV', which resulted in MDXV instead of MDXVI or MDXVII.

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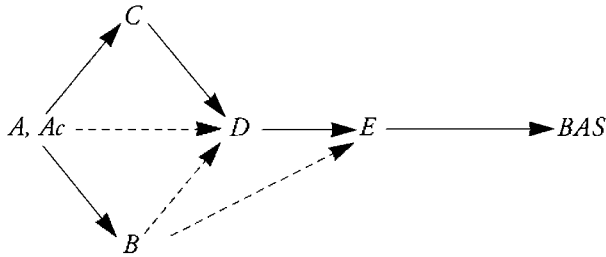
LIST OF THE EDITIONS OF THE  
*APOLOGIA AD IACOBVM FABRVM STAPVLENSEM*  
 up to and including 1540

1. ed. Lou., Theod. Martinus, inter 23 and 28 Aug. 1517 (*NK 777*). (=A).
2. ed. Argent., Matth. Schürer, inter 31 Oct. 1517 et mensem Febr. 1518). (=B).
3. ed. Bas., Ioa. Frobenius, mense Febr. 1518. (=C).
4. ed. Lou., Theod. Martinus, post mensem Febr. et ante 6 Mart. 1518 (*NK 778*). (=D).
- 5a. ed. Bas., Ioa. Frobenius, mense Nov. 1521 (in corpore quod inscribitur *Apologiae*). (=E).
- 5b. ed. Bas., Ioa. Frobenius, mense Febr. 1522 (in corpore quod inscribitur *Apologiae omnes*). (=E<sup>2</sup>).
6. ed. Bas. in tomo IX *Omnium Operum*, H. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1540. (=BAS).



## CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM AND STEMMA EDITIONVM

- A*: ed. pr., Louanii, Theodoricus Martinus, inter 23 et 28 Aug. 1517.  
*Ac*: tabula corrigendorum editioni principi *A* addita.  
*B*: Argentorati, Matthias Schürer, inter 31 Oct. 1517 et mensem Febr. 1518.  
*C*: Basileae, Ioa. Frobenius, Febr. 1518.  
*D*: Louanii, Theodoricus Martinus, post *C* (Febr. 1518) et ante 6 Mart. 1518.  
*E*<sup>1</sup>: Basileae, Ioa. Frobenius, Nov. 1521 (in corpore quod inscribitur *Apologiae*).  
*E*<sup>2</sup>: Basileae, Ioa. Frobenius, Febr. 1522 (in corpore quod inscribitur *Apologiae Omnes*).  
*M*: Marginalia manu ipsius Erasmi scripta ad oram exemplaris *Apologiarum* eius *Omnium* ed. 1522 (*E*<sup>2</sup>) quod nunc in Bibliotheca vniuersitatis Cantabrigiensis asseruatur, signatum Adu. a. 5. 1.  
*BAS*: Basileae, H. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1540 (in tomo IX *Omnium Operum* Erasmi).





DESIDERII ERASMI ROTERODAMI  
APOLOGIA AD IACOBVM FABRVM STAPVLENSEM

LB 17-18 Argumentum apologiae sequentis:

In versu psalmi octau: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, quem Paulus in epistola ad Hebraeos, capite secundo Christo accommodat, Erasmus annotarat ex  
5 Hieronymi sententia apud Hebraeos esse non *ab angelis*, sed *a Deo*, caeterum Septuaginta vertisse *ab angelis*. Sed in vtraque lectione obstare scrupum, quod nec a Deo paululum videatur imminutus, qui mortale corpus assumpserit, nec ab angelis, quum plurimum intersit inter mortale et immortale, imo infra infimos homines fuisse diminutum incolumi semper Christi dignitate, qui plus malorum  
10 passus sit quam quisquam hominum. Eum autem scrupum tolli si *paulominus*,

3 *versu Ps. 8, 6<sup>a</sup>*, according to the Psalterium Gallicanum incorporated in the Vulgate. This Latin version of the Psalter is Jerome's revision of an earlier Latin text, the Vetus Latina, which he compared with the LXX in Origen's *Hexapla*.

*Paulus* Erasmus was not at all convinced of the Pauline authorship of *Hebr.* His rejection of it was based on the epistle's late incorporation into the canon of the Western Church. Erasmus inferred this late acceptance from the fact that Ambrosiaster's commentary covered all the epistles of Paul except *Hebr.* Erasmus also quotes Jerome, who mentions that this letter was not generally incorporated into the canon of Scripture. Cf. this apologia, ll. 1989-2050 and ll. 2059-2099. In these two rather long passages, Erasmus quotes Church Fathers who were not convinced of the authority of *Hebr.* Cf. appendix III, ll. 56-59.

4 *capite secundo Hebr. 2, 7<sup>a</sup>*.

*Erasmus annotarat* In the annotation of *Hebr. 2, 7* in his *Nov. Instr.*, Basel, 1516. This annotation is reproduced in appendix III.

4-5 *ex Hieronymi sententia* Hier. *Comm. in Ps.*, CCSL 72, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout, 1959, p. 191.

9 *diminutum* Throughout this apologia, Erasmus uses "diminuere" (to break) in the sense of "deminuere" (to lessen, to diminish, to lower).

*incolumi ... dignitate* Lefèvre held that Christ's dignity remaining intact implied the impossibility of his being placed below the angels. See appendix IV, ll. 77-136. In Erasmus' opinion, however, Christ had been placed below the angels as far as his human nature was concerned, not as far as his divine nature was concerned. See this apologia, ll. 782-792.

10 *Eum ... tolli* In Lefèvre's view  $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\ \tau\iota$  must be translated as 'a little', not as 'for a short time', to make it clear that, because of his dignity, Christ could not have been placed much below God (appendix IV, ll. 120-132). Moreover, Lefèvre was convinced that  $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\ \tau\iota$  in Greek and 'm<sup>c</sup>at' in Hebrew never have a temporal sense (*ibid.*, ll. 278-349). Erasmus countered this argument in the present apologia, see ll. 1486-1620.

quod Graecis est βραχὺ τι, ad temporis modum referatur quo Christus versatus est in terris vsque ad resurrectionem, quemadmodum interpretantur omnes Graeci theologi.

15 Faber contendit non posse legi nisi *a Deo*, caeterum *falsum* et *impium* esse *sermonem* et *Christo Deoque indignissimum*, si quis dicat Deum ab angelis diminutum aut infra homines, quod tamen hactenus Latina pariter ac Graeca legit ecclesia et vniuersi vtriusque linguae doctores sequuntur, nisi quod vnus Hieronymus annotauit *a Deo* legi Hebraeis, licet non improbens alteram lectionem.

LB 17 Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus Iacobo Fabro Stapulensi insigni philosopho  
20 salutem dicit.

Quum essedum conscenderem, eruditissime Faber, Louanium commigraturus – id enim malui quam principem in Hispanias comitari – commodum submouit me quidam amicus commentarios in Paulum iterum abs te aeditos, in quibus mecum prolixa disputatione conflictareris, simulque locum indicauit,  
25 nempe epistolae ad Hebraeos caput secundum. Ego laetus ilico librum a bibliopola mihi curauī. Interea dum vehor, ita vt fit quoties noua res subito obiicitur, praesertim si quid ad nos attinet, auide lego tuam illam apologiam vel pugnam potius, qua tanto calore tantaque vehementia pro tuis aris ac focus dimicas vt non sat habeas quod a tuis rebus erat interuersum recepis, sed vltro etiam in  
30 meas possessiones incursas. Sicque tuas tueris copias vt parum tibi sit nostram aciem profligasse, verum ipso victoriae successu gestiens in mea castra procurris populabundus ac ferox velutique geminis trophaeis insignis, simul et tuis receptis et mihi detractis opimis spoliis. Legi vero, vir optime, nullo quidem stomacho sed tamen, vt ingenue quod res est fatear, non omnino nullo animi dolore, non  
35 quod grauate feram admoneri aut etiam reprehendi ab amico, praesertim autem ab amico tali, tam erudito, tam integro, sed quod optarim te in ea conflictatione cum homine, vt scribis, *peramico* paulo amicus fuisse versatum, neque id sane perinde mea causa atque tua vel aliorum potius.

40 Neque enim ipse quicquam addubito quin tu, siue tuopte iudicio negotium hoc sumpseris siue alieno impulsu susceperis, simplici puroque animo id feceris.

19 Desiderius *BAS*: *deest* in *A–E*.

30 tueris copias *E BAS*: copias tueris *A–D*.

31 ipso *BAS*: ipse *A–E*.

32 velutique *E BAS*: ac veluti *A–D*.

14 *Faber contendit* Lefèvre did this already in the first edition of the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, published in Paris by Henri Estienne, 31 July 1509 (F<sup>o</sup> 14); see appendix I. He restated his view in the first edition of his *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, published in Paris by Henri Estienne in 1512. Lefèvre's comments on *Hebr. 2*, 7 of 1512 are reproduced in appendix II. Erasmus reacted with his annotation on *Hebr. 2*, 7 in the *Nou. Instr.*, published by J. Froben,

Basel, 1516. This note is reproduced in appendix III. Lefèvre responded to Erasmus' criticisms in his second edition of the *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*. This second edition was published by Henri Estienne in Paris after November 1516, the date of publication of the *Psalterium octaplum* (see appendix IV, ll. 72–76, and n. l. 75) and before July 1517, when Erasmus mentioned in a letter to Thomas More (Ep. 597, <Louvain>, <10 July

- 1517>, ll. 32–35) that he had seen the book. The second edition is antedated 1515; cf. this apologia, ll. 167–177, where Erasmus himself notices that the book must have been antedated because it quotes his own *Nov. Instr.* of 1516. Lefèvre's note of 1516/7 (his second edition) was reprinted in the third edition of Lefèvre's translation and commentary of Paul's epistles, Regnault et de la Porte, Paris, 1517, without any significant alterations. A mere reprint of Lefèvre's first edition (1512) came out at Cologne, on 5 June 1515, printed by Martinus Werdensis.
- 14–15 *falsum ... indignissimum* Erasmus very often repeats these accusations leveled against him; see e.g., this apologia, ll. 481–482. He was accustomed to do this in the apologias he wrote; see e.g., the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 146, ll. 709–710, cf. R.H. Graham, *Erasmus and Stunica: A Chapter in the History of New Testament Scholarship*, in: Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook 10 (1990), pp. 9–60, p. 39. The accusations quoted here in ll. 14–15 can be found in Lefèvre's *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 134–136 and 146–148. In his note on Ps. 8, 6 in the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, 1509, f<sup>o</sup> 14 (reproduced in appendix I), Lefèvre explained the “wrong” translation παρ’ ἀγγέλους of the Septuaginta by saying that the translators were afraid to attribute to man more than is allowed. According to Lefèvre, they did not understand that Ps. 8, 6 refers to Christ. He thought that the translator of *Hebr.* (originally written by Paul in Hebrew) had committed the same error, under the influence of the LXX. See appendix I, ll. 9–11. Cf. appendix II, ll. 4–5: *interpres Pauli ... id ex Septuaginta desumpsit* and ll. 9–10: *sententiam Pauli seruantes a Deo diximus* (appendix IV, ll. 6–7 and ll. 11–12).
- 18 *non improbens* To be sure, Jerome did not explicitly disapprove of the translation ‘ab angelis’, but in the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, he himself translated *a Deo*; see *Sancti Hieronymi psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, ed. H. de Sainte Marie, Rome, 1954, p. 15.
- 21 *Quum ... commigraturus* Erasmus probably left Bruges at the beginning of July 1517, see Allen, introd. Ep. 596.  
*essedum* Cf. M.A. Nauwelaerts, *Erasmè à Louvain, ephémérides d'un séjour de 1517 à 1521* in ed. J. Coppens, *Scrinium Erasmianum* I, Leiden, 1969, pp. 3–24, see pp. 6–7. Nauwelaerts points out that Erasmus usually travelled by carriage when he did not feel well, and that he perhaps wanted to take his books with him. In any case, Erasmus told his friends John Oecolampadius, Cuthbert Tunstall and Peter Barbirius that in Louvain he had his luggage and his library at his disposal (Epp. 605, l. 8; 607, l. 1; 608, l. 10).
- 22 *id ... comitari* Erasmus was invited by Charles V, who held him in high esteem (see Ep. 556, ll. 1–14), to accompany him to Spain (Epp. 694, ll. 4–17; 853, ll. 2–3). But Erasmus preferred to work at the theological faculty of Louvain (Ep. 694, ll. 1–5). As an argument against a stay in Spain, he pointed to the dissension at the court there (Ep. 694, ll. 5–7). Earlier, he wrote rather critically about the mentality of the Spaniards (Ep. 545, ll. 15–17).
- 23 *quidam amicus* According to Allen (see Epp. 777, n. ll. 29–30 and 456, n. l. 281), this *amiculus* is Gerardus Godfrey of Graten in Limburg (died c. Sept. 1539), a Dutch stationer in Cambridge. Erasmus may at one time have lodged with him in Cambridge (Ep. 456, ll. 280–281). In the present apologia (see ll. 157–158), Erasmus described him as *bibliopola quispiam, amicus magis quam literatus*. He is probably the *bibliopola* (ll. 25–26) from whom Erasmus bought Lefèvre's book. On Godfrey, see C.F. Gundersen in: *Contemporaries* II, pp. III–II2, s.v. Garret Godfrey.  
*commentarios ... aeditos* The second edition: Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, H. Stephanus, Paris, 1516/7. See the present apologia, n. l. 14. Appendix IV reproduces the note on *Hebr.* 2, 7.
- 25–26 *bibliopola* See this apologia, n. l. 23.
- 28 *pro ... dimicas* Cf. Liv. 5, 30, 1 “pro aris focusque ... dimicandum fore”. For the phrase “arae focusque”, see Otto, 147.
- 29–30 *ut ... incursas* Cf. Ep. 607, ll. 6–8 “... non sat habet suam interpretationem tueri, sed nostram quoque subdiosè insectatur, arrodens etiam quaedam quae ad illius rem nihil atinebant”.
- 35–36 *amico ... integro* Cf. Ep. 778, ll. 143–144: “Amicus est Faber, sed qui sic incessit, amicus esse desiit.”
- 36–37 *sed ... versatum* This is an allusion to appendix IV, ll. 19, 29, 40 and 573.
- 38 *vel aliorum potius* Erasmus means that the controversy between Erasmus and Lefèvre could harm the cause of the humanist movement. Cf. this apologia, ll. 39–47 and n. l. 48.
- 40 *alieno impulsu* Erasmus often suggests that Lefèvre's fierce attack, his *disputatio*, was inspired by someone else or even by an evil genie, because Lefèvre's vehemence was not

Verum vt sunt plerique mortalium ad deteriora suspicaces, fortasse non deerunt qui interpretentur nonnullos aemulationis stimulos inter nos intercessisse et fortassis Hesiodium illud in nos torquebunt, fabrum inuidere fabro, atque eo magis quod casu in idem incidimus argumentum, praesertim cum illic legent quaedam  
 45 odiosius et acerbius ac τραγικώτερον abs te dicta quam vel res ipsa vel nostra postulabat amicicia, nonnulla extra id quod institueras velut ascita studio, quae mox suis locis indicabimus.

Atque adeo iam nunc accipio nonnullos offendi quod hoc loco nonnihil  
 LB 18 desiderare se dicant tuam illam synce|ritatem ac simplicitatem, toties a me  
 50 quoque praedicatam, quae tuam eruditionem hactenus vnice commendauit et ab inuidia, quae semper eximiam virtutem solet impetere, magna ex parte vindicauit. Quibus hic videris tui dissimilis et, vt aiunt, in Fabro Fabrum requirunt. Etenim quum tot iam aeditis voluminibus semper hactenus innoxius et incruentus fuerit stilus tuus, admirantur me potissimum tibi visum idoneum, in quem  
 55 primum calami tui mucronem stringeres cuiusque sanguine ingenii tui telum hucusque purum inquinare, praesertim a me non solum non lacessitus sed toties etiam praedicatus.

Quoniam autem hoc habet pura christianaque charitas quam Paulus ἀνυπόκριτον appellat, vt amicorum incommodis magis etiam commoueatur quam suis,  
 60 nolim vllam esse datam ansam vt quisquam hominum de Fabro deterius sentiat. Quod si iuxta Pauli doctrinam semper abstinendum non tantum a malis, verumetiam *ab omni specie* mali, quod quidem licet, id certe multo maxime praestandum est in tractandis arcanis literis quae, quantum fieri potest, talibus animis tractandae sunt qualibus sunt proditae. Neque conuenit illic humanos  
 65 affectus obstrepere vbi diuinum est, vbi coeleste est omne quod geritur, neque congruum est in his libris parum modestos et integros videri, qui soli omnium vere modestos ac probos reddunt. Id quum omnibus tum nobis praecipue fuit animaduertendum hac aetate in qua iam sit indecorum φιλοτιμιεῖσθαι aut νεκνεύειν, tum hac fama quam tibi iam olim tot aeditae lucubrationes tuo merito  
 70 peperere, mihi nuper et si tua minorem, meis tamen meritis longe maiorem, mea qualiscunque industria conciliauit.

Vtrique igitur velimus nolimus velut in proscenio consistimus, totius pene orbis oculis in nos coniectis. Neque clam nobis est quam sint fastidiosa multitudinis iudicia non profecto minus quam oculi spectatorum, quibus vix placent  
 75 etiam optima. Quo magis curandum vt scenae theatroque seruiamus neque quic-

45 et acerbius ac τραγικώτερον A B E BAS: ac acerbius, τραγικώτερον C D.  
 54 potissimum E BAS: deest in A-D.

61 non tantum BAS: non E, non solum A-D.  
 62 quidem BAS: deest in A-E.

in accordance with his normal kindness, cf. *tui dissimilis*, l. 52. See also Epp. 659, ll. 2-4; 652, ll. 17-18; 707, ll. 25-26, and 855, ll. 52-53. See also this apology l. 249 *alieno*

*instinctu*. For similar insinuations against other opponents, see H.J. de Jonge, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 63, n. ll. 39-40. Erasmus is somewhat more explicit in Ep. 800 (from Eras-

- mus to Paul Bombasius, Louvain, 14 March, 1518), ll. 15–20, where he attributes Lefèvre's animosity to the influence of theologians. Erasmus describes them as sycophants who judge about works they never read.
- 41 *plerique ... suspicaces* Cf. this apologia, ll. 2183–2208. Opponents of the humanist movement could take advantage of this controversy, probably without understanding the issue, to damage the reputation of the humanists and weaken their social standing. Cf. Ep. 659, from Erasmus to Lefèvre, Louvain, 11 September 1517, ll. 15–16: "Ex aduerso gaudent qui nobis ac rectoribus studiis male volunt." and also Ep. 724, from Erasmus to Lefèvre, Louvain, 30 November <1517>, ll. 7–9: "Vides plerosque ad maledicendi rabiem accinctos: ne demus ansam huiusmodi hominum generi." Other humanists had the same fear; see e.g., Peter Barbirius in Ep. 621, St Cybardeaux, 12 August 1517, ll. 23–30; and cf. Ep. 731, from Erasmus to Wolfgang Capito, Louvain, 6 December <1517>, ll. 33–35, from which it is clear that Capito had expressed fear about the bad impression this controversy would leave. See also Willibald Pirckheimer in Ep. 747, Nuremberg, 31 December 1517, ll. 85–90.
- 43 *Hesiodium ... fabro* Hes. *Erg.*, ed. F. Solmsen (Oxford 1983), p. 50 l. 25: Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεὶ κότεῖ καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων. *Adag.* 125 (Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro), *ASD* II, 1, p. 242. Erasmus used the same proverb rather loosely in Froben's letter to the reader, *Nou. Instr.*, f<sup>o</sup> aain<sup>o</sup>: καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονεῖ, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων, a conflation of Hes. *Opera*, ll. 25–26.
- 45 *res ipsa* Cf. this apologia, ll. 262–263. Although Erasmus is convinced that Jesus' humiliation is important for the salvation of Christians and has to be an example for them, the issue of Lefèvre's and Erasmus' controversy did not justify, in Erasmus' view, the hateful and polemic way Lefèvre had attacked him in his *disputatio*. See also ll. 62–67.
- 48 *nonnullos offendi* This was indeed the case. Cf. Epp. 601, ll. 34–49; 621, ll. 23–30; 680, ll. 1–24; 680A, ll. 1–31; 731, ll. 33–35.
- 49–50 *toties ... praedicatam* Cf. ll. 56–57 *toties etiam praedicatus*. Erasmus indeed spoke appreciatively of Lefèvre, except with reference to his attack in his *disputatio* (for this, see appendix IV), which Erasmus answers in the present apologia. Cf. Epp. 531, ll. 571–576 and 541, ll. 70–71. From his part, Lefèvre also expressed his esteem for Erasmus, see Ep. 445, ll. 36–43 and 621, ll. 19–23, except, naturally, with regard to Erasmus' point of view in their controversy. The man who handed Lefèvre a presentation copy of Erasmus' *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.* wrote: "Ille (i.e., Lefèvre) apud meam personam satis arguit Erasmi leuitatem" (Ep. 796, ll. 25–26; see also Ep. 778, ll. 295–297).
- 52 *tui dissimilis* Cf. this apologia, n. l. 40. Cf. Ep. 651, from Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus, Louvain, 7 September 1517, ll. 15–17: "Amo hominem (i.e., Fabrum) ex animo, sed hic tantum sui dissimilem, et in me vnum in quem minime oportuit."
- 56–57 *toties ... praedicatus* See this apologia, n. ll. 49–50.
- 58 *Paulus Rom.* 12, 9; 2 *Cor.* 6, 6.
- 61 *Pauli 1 Thess.* 5, 22.
- 62–64 *id ... proditae* That one should study Scripture in a spirit of piety and reverence for God is a view already expressed by Augustine: *Doctr. chr.* II, vii, 9–11. Erasmus voices it elsewhere as well, e.g., *Methodus*, ed. Holborn, pp. 150–151.
- 69 *νεανέειν* "to act rashly", but here also "insolently." *Adag.* 3083, *LB* II, 988 A–B. Liddell-Scott only give the form νεανιέεσθαι with an -ι- and as a *verbum deponens*.
- 72 *velimus nolimus* *Adag.* 245, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 358–359, Otto 1852. Cf. Ep. 768, from Erasmus to William Nesen, Louvain, 18 January 1518, ll. 26–27, where Erasmus writes with regard to this controversy: "Sed nemo pugnat acrius quam qui nolens et inuitus ad pugnam pertrahitur."
- 72–73 *totius ... coniectis* Erasmus was convinced that the whole world followed their polemic. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 2206–2208, Epp. 653, ll. 14–17; 814 and Huizinga, p. 155.
- 75–77 *Quo ... descendere* Erasmus often uses this imagery of the theater, especially for Lefèvre's part in their controversy; see Ep. 778, ll. 197–199: "At Fabri insectatio plusquam tragica est, ac plane demirror hominem huiusmodi tragoediis delectari ..." See also the present apologia, ll. 263–278, l. 422, l. 602, ll. 689–699, l. 749. Cf. *Adag.* 1439 (Tragice loqui), *LB* II, 564 E–565 A, *Adag.* 2154 (Tragoedias agere, aut insanire), *ASD* II, 5, p. 136, ll. 749–766, and *Adag.* 1791 (Tragoedias in nugis agere), *ASD* II, 4, p. 208, ll. 253–261.

quam committamus quod vel vt indecorum exhibetur, vel vt iuvenile rideatur. Atque haud scio an optimum fuerit in hoc theatrum non descendere. Certe posteaquam deus aliquis huc nos protraxit, superest vt pro viribus nos fabulae susceptae attemperemus.

LB 19 At ipse, inquires, lacessisti, qui prior a me tot lo|cis dissenseris. Si contumelia  
81 est dissentire, nihil deprecor nec recuso quantumuis iniquam talionem. Sin hoc  
in omni professionis genere semper liberum fuit, in hisce duntaxat rebus quae ad  
religionis nostrae dogmata proprie non pertinent, nec mihi fraudi vitioe verti  
par est. Et tamen hoc ipsum vide, quaeso, quam non fecerim affectate, imo quam  
85 inuitus, tum autem quam honorifice.

Quid enim mihi faciendum fuisse censes quum tu iam aeditionem occupasses  
et viderem non pauca mutata abs te perperam, neque me praeteribat quantum  
obtineres autoritatis apud patres simul et populum studiosorum? Res euidentior  
erat quam vt excusari posset et liber iam erat euulgatus. Quid facerem? Paterer  
90 lectorem impune labi? Sinerem errorem inolescere? Id opinor nec ipse dicturus  
eras, praesertim quum publica vtilitas cum nulla tui nominis nota esset con-  
iuncta, quandoquidem in huiusmodi labi et hallucinari nonnunquam adeo  
humanum est vt hactenus nemini mortalium licuerit effugere, perpauca exceptis,  
quorum literas non vt humanas excutimus sed vt diuinas veneramus.

95 Neque tua rursus aeditio ad hoc laboris capessendum nos impulit, vt  
quisquam cauillari possit tui reprehensionem a nobis studio quaesitam. Quin iam  
opus absolueram, iam cum typographis transegeram priusquam tua prodissent in  
vulgus. Quae simulatque prodierunt, saepe mecum admiratus sum quinam

85 tum autem quam *BAS*: quamque *A–D*, tum  
autem *E*.

88 et *E BAS*: ac *A–D*.

89 iam *E BAS*: *deest in A–D*.

77 *haud ... descendere* Here, Erasmus is saying that it is regrettable that everyone's attention is drawn to the controversy between Lefèvre and him; cf. Ep. 653, from Erasmus to <John Fisher>, Antwerp, 8 September 1517, ll. 15–17: "Verum ipse odi hanc necessitatem que me traxit in hanc harenam; odi victoriam quia vici hominem tam amicam." Not entirely consistent with the foregoing is the fact that Erasmus published the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.* four times within six months, though this becomes comprehensible in light of the requests that publishers made to Erasmus for texts they could print and publish, see Epp. 575 en 581. Other factors that may have led Erasmus to publish his apologia so often may have included his growing nervousness over Lefèvre's silence and his wish to augment his apologia with new arguments and new material. See e.g., Epp. 659, 724 and 814. Cf. Ep. 826 from Erasmus to Henry Bullock (Lou-

vain, 23 April, <1518>), ll. 10–14: "Scripsi nuper homini ... nunc illius silentio magis excitari dissidium, dum quisque pro suo animo suspicatur."

78 *deus aliquis* Cf. l. 2616 *cuilibet deorum*.

80 *qui ... dissenseris* This concerns the following passages in the *Nou. Instr.* where Lefèvre's name is mentioned: *Rom.* 1, 6; *Rom.* 8, 33; 1 *Cor.* 5, 4; 1 *Cor.* 6, 8; 1 *Cor.* 7, 31; 1 *Cor.* 12, 28; 1 *Cor.* 15, 45; 2 *Cor.* 6, 7; 2 *Cor.* 8, 9; 2 *Cor.* 9, 13; 2 *Cor.* 10, 16, *Eph.* 4, 14; *Eph.* 5, 18; *Col.* 2, 18 en 20; *Tit.* 1, 3; *Tit.* 1, 12; *Hebr.* 2, 7. In his translation or in his annotation Erasmus departs from Lefèvre's edition of 1512, but without criticizing Lefèvre's view explicitly at *Eph.* 6, 6; *Eph.* 6, 12; *Phil.* 1, 16–17 and *Phil.* 2, 30. At these passages Erasmus only mentions his disagreement.

80–81 *Si ... dissentire* Cf. Ep. 768, from Erasmus to William Nesen, Louvain, 18 January 1518, ll. 29–31: "Pene rursus absolui Nouum

- Testamentum in quo quoties quam honorifice Fabri facio mentionem: nisi prorsus contumelia est illi dissentire, cum ille dissentiat etiam ab omnibus."
- 82–83 *quae ... pertinent* Lefèvre was convinced, however, that the interpretation of *Hebr. 2, 7* concerned a matter of great dogmatic importance, namely, the dignity of Christ. Yet it is incorrect to suppose that Erasmus was not interested in the theological significance of *Hebr. 2, 7*. Cf. M. Mann, *Erasmus et les débuts de la réforme française (1517–1536)*, Paris, 1934, p. 34: "Dans cette discussion, c'est Lefèvre qui croit combattre pour la pureté de la foi; Erasme sait bien que la foi ne dépend pas de cette question-là et qu'il ne combat que pour sauvegarder sa réputation ..." Cf. Ep. 778, ll. 269–271 from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February 1518, where Erasmus complains: "inquiunt ... me nihil aliud quam rhetorulum esse, se philosophum, theologum, mystagogum cuius omnia dicta oraculorum instar essent ..." It is indeed a misrepresentation of his intentions to claim that Erasmus was only involved in the conflict as a philologist or rhetorician, not as a theologian. He wanted to use *Hebr. 2, 7* to present the humiliated but obedient Christ as an ethical example. Cf. this apologia, ll. 800–821 and ll. 959–967.
- 83 *raudi vitiose verti* Cf. Cic. *Fam. 7, 6, 1*: "ne sibi vitio verterent". The phrase also occurs in *Adag.* 2833 (Quod aliis vitio veritas, ipse ne feceris), *ASD II, 6, p. 528, ll. 296–300*.
- 86 *aeditionem* Lefèvre's first edition of his *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, Henri Estienne, Paris, 1512. For his note on *Hebr. 2, 7*, see appendix II.
- occupasses* "You were the first to come out with your edition", that is, earlier than Erasmus himself.
- 87 *mutata* In the Latin text of the Pauline epistles.
- 87–88 *quantum ... studiosorum* Cf. Erasmus in Ep. 787 to Richard Pace, Louvain, 5 March 1518, ll. 22–23: "Apologia male habet Fabritas quosdam, non quod improbent causam meam, sed quod ausus [sim] tanto viro responderem".
- 88 *patres* The civil, not the ecclesiastical authorities.
- 89–90 *Quid ... inolescere* Erasmus had not thought it acceptable to let his feelings of friendship for Lefèvre prevail over his fear of the risks of a mistranslation and misinterpretation of *Hebr. 2, 7*, being disseminated by the publication of Lefèvre's edition of Paul.

- Cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February, <1518>, ll. 304–305: "... vbi de fide Christiana agitur, impium etiam est causam aduersario trahere.", i. e. not to fight the matter out. Cf. Epp. 326, ll. 96–101 and 337, ll. 849–852 and this apologia, ll. 108–111.
- 95 *aeditio* Lefèvre's first edition of his translation, paraphrase and annotations of Paul's epistles, see n. l. 86.
- hoc laboris* Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.*
- 96–98 *Quin ... vulgus* This is incorrect. The first edition of Lefèvre's *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* appeared circa Christmas 1512; Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.*, not until 1516. It is true that Erasmus worked on his revision of the Latin text of the New Testament from 1512, before he had heard of Lefèvre's new commented translation of Paul's epistles. But by far the greatest part of the work that finally went into the *Nov. Instr.* was done in the years 1514–1516. Especially the annotations were written in a late stage of the production process. This is what enabled Erasmus to criticize Lefèvre repeatedly in the annotations, see n. l. 80. Negotiations with the firm of Froben about the publication of Erasmus' edition of the New Testament did not start until 1514 or 1515; the earliest evidence is from April–May 1515 (Epp. 330–331). It is clear that during the greater part of Erasmus' preparations for the *Nov. Instr.* Lefèvre's work on Paul was well known to him. With regard to the chronology of the origin of the *Nov. Instr.* and the relationship between Erasmus' and Lefèvre's work on the New Testament, see H.J. de Jonge, *The Date and Purpose of Erasmus's Castigatio Novi Testamenti*, in: A.C. Dionisotti, A. Grafton, J. Kraye, edd., *The Uses of Greek and Latin*, London, 1988, pp. 97–110, esp. p. 108. Moreover, if Erasmus' account here is correct, he would have to have made an incredible number of additions at the last moment, in particular, all criticisms of Lefèvre's work; cf. n. l. 80. Erasmus wrote Epp. 326, 334 en 337, in which he mentions Lefèvre's edition of 1512, long before the publication of the *Nov. Instr.* In Ep. 337, from Erasmus to Martin Dorp, Antwerp, <May fin.> 1515, ll. 844–848, Erasmus states explicitly: "Porro Iacobus Faber Stapulensis commentarios illos iam tum habebat in manibus, cum nos hoc operis moliremur ..." Erasmus had certainly not finished his work on the *Nov. Instr.* when Lefèvre's edition of 1512 came out.

100 euenerit vt in tam crebris, tam prolixis tamque familiaribus colloquiis, quibus  
Lutetiae fueramus conflictati, ne casu quidem inciderit vlla mentio quid vel  
meum vel tuum studium parturiret ac moliretur. Quod si in tempore sensissem,  
fortassis ipse destitisssem ab instituto et si quid forte nobis paratum fuisset quod  
operi tuo conduceret, impartissem amico. Non quod istud ingenium quoties in  
105 suo campo versatur meis egeat auxiliariis opibus, sed quod tu quum in exami-  
nationibus illis, sic enim vocas, versareris nec in tua propria arena esses nec in  
tuo foro, in quo ipse quamlibet caetera inferior, nec tibi videor aspernandus, ni  
fallor.

Caeterum rebus in eum locum adductis non exegisses, opinor, tantam tui  
110 nominis habendam esse rationem, vt in sacris libris plus apud me valeret amici  
studium quam ipsa veritas et publicam vtilitatem vnus famae posthaberem,  
etiam si, vt diximus, id citra famae tuae dispendium fieret. Imo sic de tuo inge-  
nio deque moribus tuis iudicabam vt crederem Erasum amicum vel hoc  
nomine fore amicissimum, si publicam vtilitatem, cui tu tantum vigiliarum  
impenderas, nostra quoque opella adiuuissem, praesertim quum sic vero succur-  
115 rerem vt ne tantulum quidem laederem amici existimationem adeoque non  
obscurarem illius gloriam vt, si qua fieri posset, lucis etiam aliquid adderem.

Scis enim ipse, si tamen nostra legisti, quam amice abs te dissentiam, multa  
interim dissimulans ac praetercurrens, quaedam quoad licet excusans ac leniens,  
120 nihil insectans aut naso suspendens, nusquam immorans aut vrgens, etiam si  
nonnulla erant tam manifesti lapsus, vt alius fortassis, suae gloriae quam chris-  
tianae modestiae tenacior, conuiciis fuerit exagitaturus, praesertim quum ista  
tanta cum autoritate praecipias.

Nec his contentus, age, quoties Fabrum cum honoris praefatione nomino?  
125 Quoties meis fulciendis tuam autoritatem reuerenter adduco? Id viuo tribuens,  
quod non omnibus defunctis tribuitur, quum a rogo liuor omnis emori soleat.  
Idque facio locis aliquot vbi nihil opus erat tui nominis patrociniis, velut in fron-  
tispicio epistolae ad Colossenses, quum tot autoribus euicissem Colossenses, ad  
quos scribit Paulus, in insula Rhodo non esse, ex superfluo tuam autoritatem  
adiungo. Rursus hoc ipso in loco quo mecum tam affectate digladiaris, quam ego  
130 affectate honorificam tui nominis mentionem ingero. Atque in hanc sane  
partem malui videri affectatior quam in alteram istam quae nescio quo consilio  
tibi magis placuit.

135 Super haec omnia vide quam nihil fucate, nihil ex insidiis fecerim aut molitus  
sim, quam simpliciter pureque omnia. Primum quum adornarem aeditionem  
ac mox in ipso iam operis cursu praemonui te literis fore vt in aedendis meis

101 Quod A-D BAS: Quid E.

105 propria A-D: proprie E BAS.

118 excusans A C-BAS: accusans B.

121 fuerit A B E BAS: fuerat C D.

127-128 *alt.* ad ... Paulus BAS: *deest in A-E.*

128 ex superfluo E BAS: *deest in A-D.*

130 honorificam E BAS: *deest in A-D.*

131 affectatior E BAS: affectantior A-D.

134 Primum E BAS: *deest in A-D.*

135 ac mox E BAS: atque A-D.



- 99–101 *evenerit ... moliretur* Erasmus offers the same rather improbable, but possibly correct account of the course of events in Ep. 326, ll. 90–101 and Ep. 337, ll. 844–849.
- 101–102 *Quod ... instituto* On the other hand, Erasmus states in Epp. 326, ll. 93–94; 334, ll. 167–170; 337, ll. 835–839 and in the *Apologia*, ed. Holborn, p. 174, ll. 1–5, that even after having seen Lefèvre's work on the New Testament he did not regard his own work as superfluous. Moreover, Lefèvre only dealt with the Pauline correspondence, whereas Erasmus dealt with the whole New Testament. Cf. Ep. 402, from Erasmus to Nicholas Ellenbog, <Baslc>, <April 1516>, ll. 1–3: "Nouum Testamentum praecipitatum est verius quam aeditum, et tamen sic cditum vt in hoc sane genere superiores omnes vicerimus."
- 104–106 *quod ... inferior* Cf. this apologia, n. l. 151. On the other hand, Erasmus often defends his work on the New Testament with the argument that Lefèvre had already done similar work on the New Testament, see Ep. 337, from Erasmus to Martin Dorp, Antwerp, <May fin.> 1515, ll. 857–862: "Fabrum audio probari ab omnibus. Quid quod nec omnino simile negocium molimur? ... Faber in Paulinas duntaxat Epistolas aedit commentarios, easque suo more vertit: tum si quid discrepabat, obiter annotauit." And Ep. 456, Erasmus to Henry Bullock, Rochester, <22?> August 1516, ll. 94–101: "Iacobus Faber Stapulensis, amicus noster, dudum id fecit in Paulum quod ego in totum Nouum Instrumentum. Cur hic demum tanquam ad rem nouam commouentur quidam? An aliis omnibus istud licere volunt, mihi vni non volunt? Atqui Stapulensis non paulo plus ausus est quam ego. Ille suam interpretationem veteri opposuit, idque in academiaram omnium regina Lutetia; ego recognitorem modo professus locos aliquot aut corrigo aut explico." See also *Apologia*, ed. Holborn, p. 174, ll. 3–5.
- 105 *in ... arena* For Erasmus' use of this image, see ASD IX, 2, p. 211, n. ll. 776–777.
- 105–106 *in tuo foro* Cf. *Adag.* 1190 (In alieno foro litigare), LB II, 480 B. Otto 712.
- 108–111 *Caeterum ... fieret* Cf. this apologia, n. ll. 89–90.
- 111 *vt diximus* See the present apologia, ll. 91–92 *praesertim ... coniuncta*. See *ibid.*, l. 346 *citra tui notam*.
- 117 *quam ... dissentiam*. At *Rom.* 1, 5; 2 *Cor.* 10, 16; *Col.* 2, 18 and *Tit.* 1, 3 Erasmus mentions an error of Lefèvre, but also moderates it a little. At *Rom.* 8, 33; 1 *Cor.* 5, 4; 1 *Cor.* 6, 8; 1 *Cor.* 7, 31; 1 *Cor.* 12, 28; 1 *Cor.* 15, 45; 2 *Cor.* 6, 7; 2 *Cor.* 8, 9; 2 *Cor.* 9, 13; *Gal.* 2, 13; *Eph.* 4, 14; *Eph.* 5, 18; *Col.* 2, 20; *Tit.* 1, 12 and *Hebr.* 2, 7 Erasmus criticizes Lefèvre's view without either malice or caution.
- 117–118 *multa ... praetercurrens* Erasmus is referring to those passages in the *Nov. Instr.* where, in his translation or in the annotations, he departs from Lefèvre without criticizing him explicitly. Cf. n. l. 80.
- 119 *naso suspendens Adag.* 722 (naso suspendere), LB II, 307 D–308 A. Otto 1198.
- 123 *contentus* This adjective qualifies the subject of *nomino*, i.e., Erasmus, *age* being only an interjection.
- 125 *a ... soleat* Cf. *Ov., Am.* 1, 15, 39: "Pascitur in viuis Liur, post fata quiescit".
- 126–129 *velut ... adiungo Nov. Instr.*, p. 543, *Annotat. ad Col.*, intr., where Erasmus argues that Colossae was a city in Asia Minor, not on Rhodos, adding the remark: "Nec ab hac sententia dissentit Faber Stapulensis."
- 128 *Rhodo non esse* Cf. ASD IX, 2, p. 218, ll. 880–884 and n.
- 129–130 *hoc ... ingero*. This concerns the annotation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 of 1516 (appendix III), where, in point of fact, Erasmus displays little respect in opposing Lefèvre's view.
- 130–131 *in ... partem* I.e., in the direction of praise.
- 131 *in alteram istam* I.e., in the direction of blame, cf. *affectate digladiaris*, l. 129. Lefèvre treats Erasmus in an unfriendly manner in his *disputatio*, the note on *Hebr.* 2, 7 in his second edition of his *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7. For the text of the *disputatio*, see appendix IV. Cf. Ep. 796 from Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus, Louvain, 13 March <1518>, ll. 26–28: "Non possum satis admirari quid acciderit homini, nisi sub illa specie modestiae <et> lenitatis latet aliquod naturae venenum."
- 133 *fucate* Cf. *Adag.* 452, ASD II, 1, pp. 525–526 (Fucum facere, pro eo quod est imposturam facere et artificiosa dissimulatione deludere ...).
- 133–134 *nihil fucate ... sim* Erasmus emphasizes this in contrast to Lefèvre's course of action; see this apologia, ll. 159–164 and n.
- 135 *literis* These letters seem to be lost. They do not occur in Allen, nor in Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*. In Allen, Ep. 434, from Jodocus Badius to Erasmus, <Paris>, 6 July 1516, l. 17, Badius says he passed a letter from Erasmus to Lefèvre. This may have been either the letter Erasmus refers to here, l. 135 *max ... cursu* or either one of the later letters mentioned in this apologia, l. 139. Lefèvre also points out that Erasmus invited him to react, see appendix IV, ll. 580–581 and n.

aliquot locis abs te dissentirem, sed amanter. Comprobabas institutum vel hoc argumento quod in literis ad me tuis, quibus laboribus nostris applaudebas, nulla fieret huiusce rei mentio.

140 Rursus alteris ac tertiis literis reddidi tibi facti mei rationem admonens futurum vt si qua ex his quae nos annotaucramus in tuis proxima aeditione mutare velles, ego item in proxima mearum annotationum aeditione loci castigati mentionem omitterem. Quod sicubi nobis non accederes, excusationem tuam, si recte dissentires, scripsi me libenter accepturum et si quid ipse lapsus essem, admonitionem tuam beneficii loco habiturum.

145 Atqui quum tam multi obtigerint qui literas ad me tuas efflagitarint etiam, quorum de numero sunt eximium illud religionis ac nobilitatis decus Stephanus Poncherius, episcopus Parisiensis, et ille literarum vnicus antistes Gulielmus Budaeus, nunquam tamen verbum vllum abs te factum, aut quid displiceret aut quid probares.

150 Ipse interim pro mea simplicitate tuum animum ex meo aestimans, nihil aliud suspicari potui quam ingenium tuum grauioribus studiis intentum. Quin de hac quoque proxima aeditione mirum vbique silentium, quae iam sesquiannum per omnes regiones volitat me vno omnium inscio, cuius maxime intererat scire, vt propemodum ridere libuerit illud in me satyricum: *dedecus ille domus sciet*  
155 *ultimus*. Ego securus omnium et omnia tranquilla credens traducebar ignarus et ceu *caudam trahens* obambulabam et hodie sic ornatus incederem risuique essem impune, ni me mihi forte fortuna bibliopola quispiam, amicus magis quam literatus, indicasset. Ac prorsus tale quiddam mihi accidit, quale solet his qui se proscriptos legunt priusquam proscriptionem timuerunt. In bello forsitan laudi  
160 ducitur hostem occupasse celeritate, oppressisse inopinantem, obrepisse improviso, ex insidiis adortum esse incautum et ante praelium inferre quam pugnae suspicionem praeberis. At longe alia militiae, alia sacrorum studiorum ratio. Quamquam egregii duces ne dignantur quidem dolis vt aduersus hostem viribus non arte gerentem bellum. Nec hoc dixerim quod suspicer id artificio tuo  
165 curatum, sed quod verear ne quis minus candidus quam nos sumus in hanc partem interpretetur.

Verum quando posterioris aeditionis mentio nos admonuit, nonnihil demiror et illud, qui factum sit vt quum nostra aeditio fuerit absoluta Basileae in officina

143 recte B-BAS: *deest in A*.

158 indicasset A-D BAS: rem indicasset E; 158 solet E BAS: *deest in A-D*.

137 *literis ... tuis* Perhaps Erasmus means Ep. 315, from Lefèvre to Erasmus, St. Germain's, Paris, dated (by Allen) to 23 October 1514. At that moment the *Nov. Instr.* was not yet published, but Lefèvre could have heard nonetheless that Erasmus pre-

pared a translation and annotations of the New Testament. Cf. Epp. 270, 291, 296, where Erasmus mentioned his work on the New Testament. But it is possible, of course, that when Lefèvre praised Erasmus' work in Ep. 315, he was not referring

- to Erasmus' studies of the New Testament.
- 139 *literis* These letters seem to be lost. They do not occur in Allen, nor in Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*. Cf. this apologia, n. l. 135.
- 145–148 *Atqui ... Budaeus* There appear to be no such requests in Gul. Budaeus, *Epistolae* [Latinae et Graecae], Paris, Jod. Badius, [1520]. Nor is there any mention of such requests made by Budé or Poncher in Allen or in: *La correspondance d'Erasmus et de Guillaume Budé*, traduction intégrale, annotations et index bibliographique par M.-M. de la Garanderie, Paris, 1967, or in Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*.
- 146–147 *Stephanus ... Parisiensis* See this apologia, n. ll. 760–761.
- 148–149 *nunquam ... probares* This is not correct, in light of Ep. 445, from Thomas Grey to Erasmus, Paris, 5 August 1516, ll. 31–49. In this letter, Thomas Grey writes that Lefèvre sends his compliments to Erasmus but that Lefèvre himself is too ill to write or dictate. Grey here also mentions that Lefèvre always speaks of Erasmus with esteem. Furthermore, he remarks that Lefèvre does not mind Erasmus correcting him, that on the contrary, he was even quite grateful, since Lefèvre himself had already noticed some errors in his commentary of 1512 before Erasmus had pointed them out in the *Nov. Instr.* Lefèvre, he continues, would also have published corrections of such errors if Erasmus had not anticipated him. It is remarkable, however, that in August 1516 Lefèvre spoke favourably about the *Nov. Instr.* and then shortly thereafter (that is, between November 1516 and 10 July 1517; see the present apologia, n. l. 14), in the second edition of his translation, paraphrase and annotations of Paul's epistles, he spoke so depreciatingly about Erasmus.
- 151 *gravioribus studiis* Erasmus probably means to say that at that time he thought that Lefèvre had returned to his earlier activities. Lefèvre enjoyed the fame of having opened up the true Aristotle by means of translations, commentaries and analytical studies. See G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des écritures*, Geneva, 1976, pp. 28–36. Cf. this apologia, ll. 103–107.
- 151–152 *hac ... aeditione* The second edition of Lefèvre's *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, published between November 1516 and July 1517, see the present apologia, n. l. 14.
- 152 *sesquiannum* The book cannot have been in circulation for a year and a half without Erasmus knowing of it. Erasmus had too many contacts within humanist circles, where much attention was paid to publications concerning the study of Scripture, to be ignorant of the book for such a long time. So *sesquiannum* is a rhetorical exaggeration. Possibly Erasmus here mentions the period of eighteen months to allude to the fact that Lefèvre's second edition had been antedated; see the present apologia, n. l. 14.
- 152–153 *per omnes regiones* Cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 82–84: "... quid me facere voluisses, posteaquam ille libris per orbem terrarum diuulgatis me tot atrocissimis dictis impetisset, blasphemiaeque et impietatis publicitus reum ageret?" and *ibid.*, ll. 164–167: "Neque spes est rem tectum iri posse, cum illius volumina iam per Hispanias, Gallias, Italiam, Germaniam ac Britanniam passim obambulent, ut iam nec illi sit integrum premere quod scripsit, neque mihi dissimulare defensionem." Cf. on the other hand Ep. 794, from Erasmus to Peter Barbirius, Louvain, 6 March 1518, ll. 40–41: "Passim mihi gratulantur Gallum deuctum Germani, Itali et Angli ..." Ep. 778 is dated 22 February and Ep. 794, only two weeks later, 6 March 1518.
- 154–155 *dedecus ... ultimus* *Iuv. Sat. X*, 342.
- 156 *caudam trahens* "made a fool behind my back", *Hor. Serm. 2, 3*, 53.
- 157–158 *bibliopola ... literatus* Cf. this apologia, n. l. 23.
- 159–164 *In ... bellum* For the imagery, cf. this apologia, ll. 27–33. In flagrant contradiction to the present apologia, ll. 163–164 (and ll. 39–40), Erasmus is now suggesting that Lefèvre had slyly plotted an unexpected attack, probably because Lefèvre had not first mentioned his criticisms by letter, but published them immediately in his *disputatio* (appendix IV) accusing Erasmus of *impietas* (appendix IV, ll. 132–136). Erasmus pretends that he himself did warn Lefèvre by letter about his criticisms of Lefèvre's work, see this apologia, ll. 134–136, 139–144 en ll. 148–149 and nn. Cf. Ep. 784, from Erasmus to <John Fisher> <Louvain>, <c. 5 March 1518>, ll. 37–39: "... cur non potius Fabro indignantur, qui amicum ex insidiis tam atrociter lacessierit, quam mihi qui me clypeo tantum defendo, non repeto telis, quod communi certe iure poteram?"
- 167–177 *Verum ... mentionem* Erasmus here suggests that Lefèvre himself had antedated his second edition to create the semblance of originality. If Lefèvre's work was actually published as early as 1515, he could not have taken

170 Frobenii anno ab orbe redempto MDXVI, tua annum habeat MDXV. Si prior est tua aut si aequalis, quo modo meam citat? Si posterior, quo cursu nostrae anteuertit, quae prior a linea discesserat?

175 Quod certe aut typographorum errore factum sit oportet, qui, quum crebro peccent, faciunt vt nostra quoque commissa probabiliter in ipsos reiiciamus; aut tui studiosus quispiam anteuertendum putauit, ne quid videreris ex meis lucubrationibus in tuas sumpsisse mutuo atque ita dum sedulo tuae gloriae consulit, aut non meminit aut non sensit illic prioris aeditionis nostrae factam abs te mentionem. Verum id quocunque casu acciderit, mea quidem haud magni refert. Neque enim sum adeo gloriae vel inops vel ieiunus vt in huiusmodi velim  
μικρολογεῖν.

180 At ipse, inquis, stimulos ad respondendum addidisti. Fateor, hortatus sum si quid esset operae precium vt libere dissentires, sed ita dissentires vt ego abs te dissenseram, vt ciuilitate, non criminaliter tuam causam ageres, abesset nasus, abesset procacitas. Quod etiam si ipse non vbique praestitsem, quum non deesset voluntas, tuum tamen erat praestare quod nos voluissemus, quippe vir tanto melior  
185 ac non melior tantum, verum etiam annis aliquot maior, etiam si ipse quinquagesimum iam excessi.

190 Caeterum si par pari referendum duxisti, erat nimirum tuae humanitatis, quam ego tuae gloriae non minimam partem esse puto, meam ciuilitatem non aequare solum, sed etiam vincere iuxta | praeceptum Hesiodi καὶ λώϊον reme-  
195 tiendo, praesertim cum ea res tibi foret in manu, ne quod apud eundem mox sequitur possis praetexere αἴκε δύνῃαι. In eruditione aut eloquentia, quoniam id haud est in nobis situm, non est semper turpe vinci. At in humanitatis officiis et superari turpe est et superare pulcherrimum, propterea quod hic tantum quisque praestat quantum animo collibuerit, neque plus requiritur facultatis sed plus bonae mentis.

Ego sic admisceo Fabri mei mentionem vt celebrandi nominis tui videri pos-  
sim affectasse occasionem, tam effusus in tui laudes quam parcus in reprehendendo, vt facile liqueat affectus esse mei quod te praedico, necessitatis quod dissentio. Iam etiam si quid alicubi per humanam incuriam efluxit quod nasum  
200 corrugare possit, si modo christiana charitas nasum haberet, non solum ab omni conuicio tempero verum etiam caui pro mea virili, ne quid effutirem quod in contemptus aut malevolentiae suspicionem rapi posset.

205 Quod si hoc ipsum te offendit, vllam esse tui nominis in meis libris mentionem, age vt primum licebit, prorsus abolebitur tui commemoratio, si quemadmodum Alexander Magnus non nisi Apellis penicillo pingi voluit nec nisi Lysippi manu fingi, ita tu non sustines a quouis scriptore nominari.

210 Sed qui factum istud tuum benignissime velit interpretari, causari fortasse poterit tibi hanc ansam esse quaesitam celebrandi nominis mei, quo vel hac parte mihi vicem officii reponeres. At si quid istiusmodi venabaris, tot erant loci in quibus indicaui lapsum tuum, quos si mutasti – nondum enim contuli praeter vnum et alterum – gratitudinis erat, hoc quicquid est officii, non solum

agnoscere verum etiam verbis exaggerare. Si non mutasti, quum sint omnino mutandi quidam, aut contemptus est non legere quod ad te pertineat, aut pertinaciae nolle corrigere quod intelligas esse corrigendum.

- 215 Si in his recipis admonitionem meam, cur nec agnoscis nec mutas? Si non recipis, cur non refellis abs te dissentientem et tua palam ingenueque corrigentem? Hic erat tibi nominandus Erasmus, si quid eiusmodi captabas ipsa re vltro praebente occasionem. Si qua gratia debetur vel honorifice praedicanti vel amice simpliciterque monenti, bellum profecto mihi repositum est praemium, 220 egregium amicitiae nostrae monumentum proditum abs te est posteritati.

171 prior *BAS*: prius *A-E*.

173 ipsos *BAS*: illos *A-E*.

174 studiosus *A-E*: studiosius *BAS*.

178 prius vel *A-C E BAS*: deest in *D*.

185 ipse *A-C E BAS*: deest in *D*.

189-190 remetiendo *BAS*: remetiens *A-E*.

191 αἴνε *E BAS*: εἶνε *A-D*.

196 mei *A C-BAS*: deest in *B*.

202 posset *BAS*: possit *A-E*.

217-218 Hic ... occasionem *E BAS*: deest in *A-D*.

something from Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.* of 1516. But presumably the wrong date in the colophon of Lefèvre's second edition crept in by an error of the compositor, who omitted an I or II and wrote XV instead of XVI or XVII. From Ep. 445, ll. 41-43 it is clear that Lefèvre himself acknowledged that his second edition came out after Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.* Cf. this apologia, n. ll. 148-149. What is more, in his second edition Lefèvre quotes Erasmus favourably. See this apologia, n. ll. 215-218.

170-171 *cursum* ... *linea* These metaphors are drawn from the language of athletics, see *Adag.* 557 (a *linea* incipere), *LB* II, 246 *A-C*.

179 *μικρολογεῖν* I.e., to split hairs, make a fuss about trifles. *Adag.* 1933, *ASD* II, 4, p. 297, ll. 378-379 and n.

180 *At* ... *addidisti*. Cf. this apologia ll. 142-144. At the end of Lefèvre's *disputatio* (that is, in his note on *Hebr.* 2, 7 in his second edition, appendix IV) he expresses the expectation that Erasmus will react positively to it, *cum ipse nobis stimulum respondendi addiderit*. Appendix IV, ll. 580-581.

182 *nasus* "haughtiness", "disdain", "condescension", see *sub Adag.* 581 (*Odorari ac similes aliquot metaphorae*), *LB* II, 253 *C*. Cf. Otto 1198.

187 *par pari Adag.* 35, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 150-151. Cf. the present apologia, n. l. 1060.

189-191 *καὶ λόγιον* ... *αἴνε δόνηται* *Hes. Erg.* 350. 196-199 *Ego* ... *dissentio* Cf. this apologia, n. l. 80 and n. l. 117.

199-200 *nasum corrugare* Cf. *Hor. Epist.* I, 5, 23 "corruget nares", "to cause disgust". See also the present apologia, n. l. 182.

205 *Apellis* Famous painter, living in the days of Alexander the Great. Indeed, according to tradition, Alexander wanted to be painted only by him. A. Rumpf, "Apelles 4", in: *Der kleine Pauly* I, Stuttgart, 1964, col. 422.

206 *Lysippi* Renowned sculptor of the same period. He also was the only one in his profession who was allowed to immortalize Alexander in stone. W.H. Gross, "Lysippos 2" in: *Der kleine Pauly* III, Stuttgart, 1969, col. 843-844.

207 *factum istud tuum* Lefèvre's *disputatio* against Erasmus in his *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, reproduced in appendix IV.

208 *ansam Adag.* 304 (*Ansam quaerere et consimiles metaphorae*), *ASD* II, 1, pp. 411-412.

209 *vicem officii* "a service in return", *Cic. Sest.* 4, 10.

210 *contuli* "I compared".

215-218 *Si* ... *occasionem* These words do not do justice to Lefèvre. In his second edition, Lefèvre corrected the note on 1 *Cor.* 5, 4 with due acknowledgement to Erasmus, who presumably did not notice it, for he ridicules Lefèvre's error at great length in this apologia (see ll. 2474-2487). As to Lefèvre's alleged failure to recognise Erasmus' merits, cf. also Ep. 607, from Erasmus to Cuthbert Tunstall, Louvain, 17 July <1517>, ll. 2-6. It is remarkable that Lefèvre did not alter his translation of 1 *Cor.* 5, 4. At 2 *Cor.* 10, 16, too, Lefèvre has rectified his note (here without mentioning Erasmus) but did not correct the translation. Erasmus did notice this alteration; see the present apologia, ll. 2511-2518).

Cur vno duntaxat in loco tibi succurrit *Erasmus amicus* et *peramicus*? An hoc vno in loco tantum abs te dissentio? Cur sic vrges, sic instas, sic immoraris, sic exquiris et excutis vt non oblata, sed quaesita videri possit occasio? Atque adeo, vt propius accedam ad rem, cur ibi fingis pugnam vbi nulla mihi tecum pugna est? Imo vbi pro te facio, id quod mox aperiam.

Ego veros lapsus aut lenio aut tegeo, tu vbi in re tranquillitas est, tuis verbis grauem excitas tempestatem. Neque dubito quin meam ciuilitatem hac quidem in parte satis tecum agnoscas. Caeteris autem malim eam parum probari quam, dum eam nimium diligenter approbare nitor, partem aliquam eius laudis amittere, quando bona ciuilitatis pars est non imputare ciuilitatem.

Ac Deum omnium conscium testor libenter et hoc dissimulaturus eram, nisi quaedam inculcasses odiosiora quam vt mihi integrum esset dissimulare, quae mox proferentur. Lenitatis ac moderationis est dissimulare conuicia, sed vsque ad aras, vt aiunt. Impietas est ad impietatis crimen esse mutum. Non quod tu id palam intendas, sed tamen aspergis nonnulla quae, sicunde interpretem iniquiorem nacta fuerint, efficient vt videaris me non solum stupidum et ἀγράματον facere, verum etiam *impium*. Quorum vt prius illud leuiter fero, ita posterius haud arbitror dissimulandum.

Accedit his et illud incommodi quod hic nec ipse tuam causam agere possum, si maxime velim. Etenim si candidius incipiam interpretari quae videntur inclementius abs te scripta, non effugiam quin videar ipse mihi blandiri. Vide quo me deieceris angustiae. At|qui haec ita habere mox, vt dixi, demonstrabimus.

Ea res, mi Faber, tametsi nonnihil molesta fuit, tamen non ita multum apud me valuit vt veterem meam de te opinionem mutarim, qua semper te virum literis ac pietate cum primis insignem esse iudicaui, sed tamen admonuit hominem esse te, ne quid ipse dicam aut suspicer inhumanius. Et haud scio an quicquid istud est stomachi tuorum affectibus dederis. Nam vt optimis nonnunquam principibus, ita mitissimis ingeniis hoc vitii solet adhaerere, quod se duci patiantur alieno instinctu. Neque enim me clam est quam multos habeas impendio tui studiosos, nec secus addictos tibi, quam si in tua verba iurassent, qui tua non secus atque oracula venerantur. Hi fortasse nephas esse ducunt vsquam abs te dissentire et protinus ad lapides prouocant, si quis verbo refragetur. Atque istorum sane studio non illibenter ignosco quod a charitatis ac beneuolentiae radice proficiscitur.

Caeterum aut omnino non noui te aut virum arbitror prudentiorem ac prorsus meliorem quam vt tuis commentariis tantum autoritatis deferri postules, quantum nec Augustinus postulat suis nec Ambrosius aut Hieronymus suis, praesertim quum ipse in hac tua *defensione* praesidium humanae autoritatis omne submoueas, quoties de veri inuestigatione agitur.

223–224 Atque adeo, vt *E BAS*: Imo vt *A B*,

Imo et *C D*.

226 veros *A C–BAS*: vero *B*.

229 approbare *C–BAS*: probare *A B*.

234 id *E BAS*: *deest* in *A–D*.

240 si maxime velim *E BAS*: *deest* in *A–D*.

250 iurassent *BAS*: iurarint *A–E*.

- 221 *Cur ... peramicus* See this apologia, n. ll. 36–37.
- 226 *Ego ... tego* Cf. this apologia, nn. ll. 80, 117 and 117–118.
- 226 *vbi ... est* Cf. this apologia, ll. 262–263 and n.
- 233–234 *vsque ad aras Adag.* 2110 (*Vsque ad aras amicus*) *ASD* II, 5, p. 112. The meaning is: “only as far as is appropriate”.
- 234 *Impietas ... mutum.* Cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 237–238: “... qui moderate ferre potest impietatis crimen, is leuiter pius est.” The accusation of *impietas* was a serious one because *impietas* had the connotation of heresy, see e.g., Ep. 778, ll. 174–175 “reputa ... quam sit odiosum hereseos et impietatis crimen ...” Cf. J.-P. Massaut, *Critique et tradition à la veille de la réforme en France*, Paris, 1974, pp. 63–64.
- 236 *videaris ... stupidum* Erasmus is referring to a passage in Lefèvre’s *disputatio* of 1516–1517; see appendix IV, l. 515.
- 236–237 ἀγοράματων In his *disputatio*, Lefèvre fiercely argues that the Hebrew *in’ac* and the Greek βαρῶν τι never have a temporal meaning, see appendix IV, ll. 293–349. Erasmus argued the opposite in the *Nov. Instr.*, see appendix III. Cf. this apologia, n. l. 10.
- 237 *impium* Cf. this apologia, ll. 14–15 and n. Lefèvre describes Erasmus’ interpretation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 – more specifically, his explanation that Jesus had been humiliated *infra abiectissimos etiam homines* (see appendix III, ll. 23–24) – as: ... *impium et Christo Deoque indignissimum, ... Spiritui aduersantem et litterae quae occidit adhaerentem. Caeterum id prorsus prophetae aduersatur ...*; appendix IV, ll. 134–137.
- 237–238 *Quorum ... dissimulandum* On the other hand, in Ep. 607, from Erasmus to Cuthbert Tunstall, Louvain, 17 July 1517, ll. 10–13 and Ep. 608, from Erasmus to Peter Barbirius, Louvain, 17 July <1517>, ll. 25–26, Erasmus justifies his writing this apologia simply with his desire to show that he was not as stupid as Lefèvre had suggested. Elsewhere, however, e.g., in Ep. 731, from Erasmus to Wolfgang Capito, Louvain, 6 December <1517>, ll. 4–6, he describes the aim of this apologia as the refutation of Lefèvre’s accusation of *impietas*; cf. this apologia, l. 234 and n. ll. 236–237.
- 242 *quo ... angustiae* “How difficult you have made things for me”, “how you have driven me into a corner”; *angustiae* is a partitive genitive, modifying *quo*. Cf. ll. 803–804: *declarant quo se humilitatis Sermo ... deiecerit.*
- 245–246 *admonuit hominem esse* Just as the slave whispered this in the ear of the Roman triumphator; cf. *ASD* IX, 2, p. 227, n. l. 24.
- 247 *tuorum affectibus dederis* “you gave in to the emotions of your friends.”
- 249 *alieno instinctu* For a similar insinuation, often used by Erasmus, see this apologia, ll. 39–40 and n.
- 250–251 *quam ... venerantur* Among Lefèvre’s students and adepts who reacted negatively to the present apologia are: William Budé, who wrote about this controversy to Erasmus in Ep. 810, Paris, 12 April <1518>, ll. 9–346; John Molendinus, see Ep. 755, from Erasmus to <John Molendinus>, <Louvain>, <c. January 1518>, ll. 13–24, from which it appears that John Molendinus reacted disapprovingly to the apologia; John Caesarius, see Ep. 680, from John Caesarius to Erasmus, Cologne, 22 September <1517>, ll. 1–24; Louis Ber, see Ep. 730, from Erasmus to Louis Ber, Louvain, 6 December 1517, ll. 29–40. Cf. H. Heller in: *Contemporaries, s.v. Lefèvre*, E. Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics, I 1515–1522*, Nieuwkoop, 1989, pp. 54–56 and M. Mann, *Erasmie et les débuts de la réforme française (1517–1536)*, Paris, 1934, p. 4. See also Ep. 726, from Erasmus to Thomas More, Louvain, 30 November <1517>, ll. 8–10: “Ab ipso (i.e., Fabro) nihil metuo, tantum vereor ne discipulus aliquis suborneretur, cum quo non digner digladiari.” In Ep. 890, from Erasmus to Henry Bullock, <Louvain>, <c. 23 October 1518>, ll. 1–3, Erasmus calls the “Fabristae” sycophants!
- 252 *ad lapides prouocant* “They incite to proceed to lapidation”. Cf. Epp. 541, ll. 65–66; 597, l. 57; 948, l. 61.
- 256–257 *ut ... Hieronymus suis* Cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 278–282: “Atqui si ipsi (i.e., Lefèvre) licet ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Hieronymo, imo semel ab omnibus antiquis ac probatis dissentire, mihi non licebit vel honorifice dissentire a Fabro? Et haec erit scriptorum conditio, vt quicumque a Fabro dissentiat, is euangelii et sacris eloquiis aduersetur?”
- 258 *defensione* Here Erasmus calls Lefèvre’s attack a *defensio* in accordance with Lefèvre’s own designation in his *disputatio*; see appendix IV, l. 27.
- 258–259 *praesidium ... submoueat* In Erasmus’ opinion, Lefèvre’s interpretation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 runs counter to almost the whole Christian tradition. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 16–18 and n. l. 18, and Ep. 778 as quoted in n. ll. 256–257.

260 Sed iam tempus est vt apologiae tuae altera respondeam apologia, quae mihi  
 sic temperanda est vt ita meam tuear existimationem, ne quid laedam amici vel  
 famam vel animum, quoad fieri poterit. Et quanquam facilis erat defensio vbi  
 causae nulla pene est controuersia, tamen hic non paulum negocii mihi addidit  
 tua disputatio, multis verborum laciniis vndique diffluens, siue quod hic tuus est  
 265 mos, siue quod ita tibi visum fuit in hoc ceu theatro specimen aedere, quantum  
 polleres eloquentiae viribus et orationis vbertate. Proinde quum non mediocris sit  
 negocii vel recensere quae sunt abs te disserta, quanto difficilius fuerit singula  
 refellere. Vsque adeo omnia dilatas et exaggeras ac pene iuxta prouerbium *ex*  
*musca facis elephantum.*

270 Quis enim non ipso statim in limine expectet magnificam aliquam tragoe-  
 diam, vt audierit te in exordio tam religiose implorantem coelestis auxilium  
 numinis ac rursus in calce disputationis tam accurate perorantem vsque ad per  
 omnia secula seculorum. Deinde iuxta rhetorum praecepta, credo quod tibi  
 videreris agere cum homine rhetorico, proponis quid conueniat cum aduersario  
 275 et quid in controuersia relinquatur, veluti committens hinc atque hinc instructas  
 acies. Tum perinde ac si apud Areopagitas de capite agatur, ita ad singulas capitis  
 partes mea dicta subscribis; credas Demosthenem aduersus Aeschinem proferre  
 testimonia.

Vt igitur carptim respondeam idque paucis nec ad omnia, sed ad ea potissi-  
 280 mum quae mihi parum aequus lector tui vero studiosior in meam calumniam  
 torquere possit, ne simul et molestus sim lectori et plus satis operae mihi percat  
 in hoc negocio, necessario quidem illo sed inamoeno, summam causae proponis  
 hunc in modum. *Verum hanc, inquis, sententiam nostram in hoc loco non accep-*  
 285 *tat amicus noster Erasmus neque beati Hieronymi sexti versus octauis psalmi, quem*  
*sic interpretatur: minues eum paulominus a Deo, gloria et decore coronabis eum,*  
*approbat interpretationem.* Obsecro te *νῆ τῆν ἀλήθειαν*, nonne hic protinus  
 controuersiam fingis, ne dicam fabricaris, vbi concordia est et praelium inducis  
 vbi pax est et defensionem paras quum nemo vocet in ius et nullo actore  
 temetipsum reum agis?

290 Relege totum eum locum in annotationibus meis, excute, vestiga num vllum  
 vsquam insit verbum reiicientis Hieronymi tuamque sententiam; tantum  
 recenseo duplicem lectionem, alteram Hieronymi cui tu subscribis, alteram Sep-  
 tuaginta et, vt quidam asserunt, Chaldaeorum quam et olim Graecorum et nunc  
 Romana sequitur ecclesia magno orbis consensu, cui subscribunt tot orthodoxi  
 23 nostrae | religionis doctores, non minus eruditione quam vitae sanctimonia macti  
 296 spectatique.

Equidem existimabam id licere, praesertim in annotationibus, diuersas diuer-  
 sorum opiniones recensere ac meam etiam, si visum esset, opinionem interponere  
 hac lege, vt nihilo secius liberum foret suum cuique iudicium neque cuiusquam  
 300 sententiae praeiudicaretur. Quum enim viderem eam esse libertatem commenta-  
 riorum ad quam saepenumero prouocat diuus Hieronymus et hoc colore causam  
 tuetur suam, arbitrabar multo magis idem ius mihi tribuendum in opere quod



305 praeter humiles ac pene grammaticas quasdam annotatiunculas nihil profiteretur, praesertim quum semel, imo non semel, sed crebro tester me annotationes scribere, non dogmata.

273 secula B-BAS: deest in A.

281 torquere A B E BAS: torqueri C D.

283 in hoc BAS: hoc in A-E.

262-263 *vbi ... controversia* Cf. this apologia, ll. 82-83 and n., and l. 226.

264 *tua ... diffluens* Erasmus has little right to reproach Lefèvre for verbosity: Erasmus' *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.* is approximately five times as long as Lefèvre's *disputatio* of 1516/7 (see appendix IV).

265 *theatro* For this image, see this apologia, ll. 75-77 and n.

268-269 *ex ... elephantum* *Adag.* 869, *LB* II, 359 A.

271-272 *in ... numinis* For Lefèvre's words to which Erasmus is referring here, see appendix IV, ll. 27-30. In this apologia, l. 231, Erasmus himself called upon God as a witness.

272-273 *in ... seculorum* For the ending of Lefèvre's *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 583-585.

273-275 *iuxta ... relinquatur* For the rhetorical rules Erasmus is referring to here, see H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* I, München, 1973, pp. 155-156, 163-164 en 425-426. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 264-266.

274 *aduersario* Cf. l. 342 and n.

276 *Areopagitas* Members of the supreme court in Athens.

277 *Demosthenem ... Aeschinem* These two Attic orators of the fourth century B.C. were very ill disposed to each other.

283-286 *Verum ... interpretationem* This is a quotation from the second edition of Lefèvre's commentary on Paul, see appendix IV, ll. 19-22.

283 *in hoc loco* Lefèvre's text reads *hoc in loco*.

285 *interpretatur* I.e., Jerome in his translation of the Psalms *iuxta Hebraeos*; *Ps.* 8, 6.

288 *defensionem* Cf. the present apologia, l. 258 and n.

290 *eum locum* Erasmus' annotation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 in the *Nov. Instr.* of 1516, appendix III.

291-292 *tantum ... lectionem* Cf. Hier. *Adv. Ruf.* III, *CCSL* 79, ed. P. Lardet, Turnhout, 1982, p. 83, ll. 9-11: "Hic est enim commentariorum mos ... vt opiniones in expositione varias persequantur ...". Cf. *ibid.*, I, pp. 14-15, ll. 15-22. For the function of *annotationes*, see the present apologia, nn. ll. 299, 304 and 306.

292-296 *duplicem ... spectatiue* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 16-18 and n. l. 18 and ll. 258-259 and n.

293 *Chaldaeorum* An Aramaic translation of the Psalms had recently been published by Agostino Giustiniani in his *Psalterium octuplex*, Genoa 1516. Lefèvre cites this work in his *disputatio* of 1516/7; see appendix IV, ll. 72-76.

297-298 *diuersas ... recensere* Cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 291-292.

299 *liberum ... iudicium* Cf. Hier. *Comm. in Ir.* (prologus) *CCSL* 74, ed. S. Reiter, Turnhout, 1960, pp. 1-2, ll. 9-12: "... leges commentariorum in quibus multae diuersorum ponuntur opiniones, vel tacitis vel expressis auctorum nominibus, vt lectoris arbitrium sit, quid potissimum eligere debeat, discernere ...", and Erasmus, *Apologia* (Holborn p. 170, ll. 33-35): "... in annotamentis varias [i.e., lectiones] referimus, aut indicantes quid nobis optimum videatur, aut tuo relinquentes arbitrio quid sequi malis."

304 *annotationes* Cf. Erasmus, *Capita argumentorum contra morosos*, *LB* VI, f<sup>o</sup> \*\*3v<sup>o</sup>: "Annotationes scribimus, non leges; et expendenda proponimus, non protinus habenda pro compertis"; cf. *ASD* IX, 2, p. 49, nn. ll. 193-195. See also the present apologia, n. ll. 291-292. Cf. appendix V, ll. 365-366.

Hieronymus aliquoties et haeticorum recenset opiniones nec reiicit sententias nec indicat autores, hic primum in ius trahatur si non licet referre quid senserint alii. At hic duas recenseo sententias quarum neutra sit haeretica, imo vtraque probata viris orthodoxis et recenseo, neutram conuellens aut labefactans, tantum indico quis scrupus obstrepere videatur vtramuis sequenti lectionem: nimirum hic quod Christus Iesus, quantum ad humanam naturam et vitae in terris actae speciem, non solum longe diminutus videatur infra Deum, verum etiam infra angelos et homines plerosque. Deinde tento rationes aliquot quibus ea difficultas possit explicari, nihil interim vel hic asseuerans sed, quod est commentantis ac multo potius annotantis officium, lectori cogitandi materiam suppeditans.

Proinde non solum neutram reiicio sententiam, quod tu ais, sed tuae videor etiam fauere vt quam primo recitem loco ac Hieronymiana autoritate corroborarem, indicans vnde petere possit si quis plenius super ea cupiat edoceri, quum alteram cui tu non faues nudam et inermem producam. Imo periclitor ne cui videar hoc loco tui nominis mentionem affectatius induxisse. Quorsum enim attinebat te huius sententiae autorem nominare, quum haud me praeteriret ante tot annos sic ex Hebraica veritate vertisse Hieronymum et eundem sic in commentariis suis annotasse? Si tamen hos Hieronymo tribuis, quos tamen mirum est in commentariis tuis abs te non fuisse citatos, quum illic tantopere contenderes docere *a Deo* legendum esse. Neque enim opinor te tam indiligentem vt scribens in Psalmos non curaris inspicere quid tantus autor dixisset.

Haec cum ita habeant, mi Faber, neque enim potest negari, vide, te quaeso, quam non ciuilliter proponas non contentus assumere quod tuam reiicerim sententiam sed, quo res esset dictu odiosior, addis etiam Hieronymianam interpretationem a me non approbari, cui tamen faueo aut certe non aduersor.

Nec id satis erat. Subiicis quod his quoque est odiosius. *Scripta*, inquis, *eius in annotationibus huius loci interdum subiiciemus quo facilius legentes et eius mentem et meae assertionis et Hieronymianae interpretationis, imo prophetae intelligentiae defensionem intelligant*. Videlicet haec eo tendunt vt non solum omnes tui studiosos, hoc est omnes, vt ita dixerim, Fabristas in me concites, verum etiam omnes quibus Hieronymi sacrosancta est autoritas, imo christianos vniuersos qui prophetae intelligentiae defensori fauent aduersus hostem. Si tu *Hieronymianae interpretationis* et *prophetae intelligentiae* defensor es, necessum est vt sit qui oppugnet. Hunc igitur hoc loco me facis, quum nihil sim minus. Atque hoc quidem est tuae disputationis vestibulum in quo puto te videre, quam parum *amicabiliter* agas cum *amico*, tuis enim verbis vtor. *Aduersarium* facis qui tuae sen-

306–307 sententias *E BAS*: *deest in A–D*.

309 probata *A B E BAS*: reprobata *C D*.

331 aut ... aduersor *E BAS*: *deest in A–D*.

341 est *BAS*: *deest in A–E*.

306 *Hieronymus ... opiniones* Cf. Hier., *Adu. Ruf.* I, *CCSL* 79, ed. P. Lardet, Turnhout, 1982, p. 21, ll. 14–18: "... et Origine dicente

contraria, nos ecclesiasticum sensum secuti sumus. Et quia commentatoris officium est multorum sententias ponere ... etiam Orige-

- nis, absque inuidia nominis eius, explanationem posui..." and the present apologia, n. ll. 291-292.
- 306-307 *nec reiicit sententias* Cf. on the other hand Hier., *Adv. Ruf.* III, *CCSL* 79, ed. P. Lardet, Turnhout, 1982, p. 83, ll. 8-9 (Here, Jerome discusses his own method): "... aperte confidentes quae sunt haeretica, quae catholica".
- 307 *nec indicat autores* For Jerome this was not a matter of principle, cf. Hier. *Comm. in Ir.* (prologus), *CCSL* 74, ed. S. Reiter, Turnhout, 1960, pp. 1-2, ll. 10-11: "... vel tacitis vel expressis auctorum nominibus ..." Erasmus himself does not consistently mention the authors he quotes; see the present apologia, n. l. 80 and E. Rummel, *Nameless Critics in Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament*, in: BHR 48 (1986) 41-57.
- 314-316 *quod ... suppeditians* Hier. *Adv. Ruf.* I, *CCSL* 79, ed. P. Lardet, Turnhout, 1982, p. 15, ll. 20-22: "... vt prudens lector, cum diuersas explanationes legerit et multorum vel probanda vel improbanda didicerit, iudicet quid verius sit ..."
- 317 *reiicio ... ais* In his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 19-22, Lefèvre had asserted that Erasmus rejected both his and Jerome's interpretations.
- 318 *Hieronymiana auctoritate* Lefèvre himself had already mentioned that he had Jerome's support for the translation *a Deo*; see appendix I, l. 4. In the first edition of the *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* (1512) Lefèvre referred to this note, see appendix II, ll. 7-8. Cf. below, ll. 362-363.
- 319 *indicans ... edoceri* See appendix III, ll. 7-10: Erasmus mentioned Jerome and Lefèvre as supporting the reading *a Deo*.
- 319-320 *quum ... producam* Erasmus on the contrary argues at length in favour of his preferred reading - *alteram cui tu non faues* (see appendix III, ll. 22-59) - and also mentions where one can find further information in support of his view, viz. in Chrysostom and Theophylact, appendix III, ll. 31-32 and in Aquinas, *ibid.* l. 36.
- 320 *inermem* The metaphor corresponds to the one earlier used in the present apologia, ll. 27-33; cf. ll. 159-164.
- 321-324 *Quorsum ... annotasse* For Erasmus' conviction that he quoted Lefèvre in a very honourable sense, see the present apologia, ll. 129-130.
- 324-325 *Si ... citatos* Erasmus is suggesting that, since Lefèvre does not quote Jerome's *Comm. in Ps.*, one could reasonably conclude that Lefèvre does not ascribe this work to Jerome. Erasmus himself doubts the Hieronymian authorship of the *Comm. in Ps.* See the present apologia, ll. 537-546 and n. ll. 542-546.
- quos ... citatos* Lefèvre does mention the precedent of Jerome in translating *a Deo* (see appendix I, l. 4), but he does not actually quote Jerome's *Comm. in Ps.* Cf. the present apologia, n. l. 318.
- 328-331 *Haec ... aduersor* Syntactically, this sentence is no success.
- 332-335 *Scripta ... intelligent* See appendix IV, ll. 31-33.
- 335 *defensionem* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 255-259 and n. l. 258.
- 335-338 *vt ... hostem* Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 249-252 and n. ll. 250-251. See, on the other hand, Ep. 653, from Erasmus to <John Fisher>, Antwerp, 8 September 1517, ll. 14-15 "Omnes vno ore theologi, omnes etiam Fabristae, mihi decernunt palmam." And Ep. 794, from Erasmus to Peter Barbirius, Louvain, 6 March 1518, ll. 36-37: "Multos, vt aiunt, terret Fabri male accepti exemplum, nam prostratum esse fatentur et ipsi Fabristae ..."
- 338 *hostem* Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 94-96 "Satius igitur esse duxi Gratiis alicubi non satisfacere quam Christi dignitatis labefactor et hostis videri: nam hac persona ille me produxit in theatrum."
- 338-339 *Hieronymianae ... defensor* See for these claims of Lefèvre, appendix IV, ll. 31-33.
- 341-342 *amicabiliter ... amico* See this apologia, ll. 36-37 and n.
- 342 *Aduersarium* See l. 1328 and l. 2227 and nn. Occasionally Erasmus also calls Lefèvre his *aduersarius*, see Ep. 794, from Erasmus to Peter Barbirius, Louvain, 6 March 1518, ll. 37-38: "... in quem (i.e., Fabrum) tamen viribus meis non sum vsus, fauens etiam, quoad licuit, aduersario." Cf. the present apologia, ll. 1002-1007.
- 342-343 *qui ... patrocinator* This presumably refers to the passage in which Erasmus observes that Lefèvre is in agreement with Jerome, appendix III, ll. 7-10. Erasmus likes to emphasize he could have cited Lefèvre less favourably: "Ego neutram sententiam nec in annotatione nec in Apologia refello, cum possem eam quam Faber solam vult esse piam, vt impiam ac falsam reiicere, idque applaudentibus, opinor, theologorum centuriis." Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 103-106.

tentiae patrocinator. Nam finge quod tu vis, nihil aliud legi posse nisi *minorasti eum paulo minus a Deo*. An paulum descendit qui Deus descendit ad hominem, quum humana natura infinitis partibus inferior sit diuina? Eamque difficultatem quum tu parum pudenter dissimules, ego citra tui notam amolior quod tuae interpretationi videbatur obstare. Et quum id faciam, *aduersarium* me fingis et *prophetae intelligentiae* impugnatores.

Sic lectore de summa causae edocto singulas annotationis parteis vellicas ac vexas, quasi singulos dedissem aphorismos, cum quaedam obiter ac velut e superfluo admisceam, quaedam assumam argumentantis iure, non autoritate definiens. Insidiosum videlicet et callidum oppugnationis genus, praesertim apud eos quibus res parum est cognita. Quod si quemadmodum in iudiciis causa cadere solet qui litem perperam intendit, itidem fieret in disputationibus, iam haec causa mihi perorata erat. Nunc pergamus ostendere quam caetera huic amicae propositioni respondeant.

*Ingenue fateris* admonuisse te apud Hebraeos haberi scriptum: *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*. Quid audio? *Fateris*, perinde quasi hoc tibi crimen intenderim? Imo si primus hoc admonuisses, gloriari poteras et ipse laudem hanc lubens tibi tribuissem. Quanquam quid erat ingenuitatis fateri quod libris aeditis vulgatum inficiari nullo modo poteras?

Mox velut alterum accusationis caput proponens, fateris esse in Hieronymianis commentariis quod illinc citaram, nisi quod ille idem dixit apertius. Nam id etiam obiter admonendus erat lector. Atque hic sane non solum ingenuus videri vis, qui fateris quod palam extat in aeditis voluminibus, verum etiam ciuilis et amicus, sic enim scribis: *et id tribuimus amico et sic habet veritas*. Quid est hic quod largiris amicitiae nostrae? Si cum hoste fidei ageres, quid aliud poteras quam fateri verum esse quod negari nec debet nec potest?

Iam ceu tertium accusationis caput facis quod scripserim te hac in parte *a Thoma dissentientem multis argumentis contendisse 'a Deo' legendum esse, non 'ab angelis'*, idque diuidis: partim agnoscens factum, sed vt recte factum defendens, partim factum inficians. *Et probe*, inquis, *mea sententia*. At quis intendit hoc perperam abs te factum? Nec hic erat inficiandum quicquam nec erat quod inficiari posses, nimirum libris euulgatis protinus tibi reclamaturis. Aio te *multis argumentis contendere*, non malis argumentis, nec sententiam tuam refellens nec argumenta tua vellicans, tantum lectori commonstro vnde posset petere si desideraret argumenta, simul ipse prolixam recitationem parum congruam annotatori declino.

In altera parte defendenda more rhetorum duplici vteris statu: primum negans te a Thoma dissensisse, deinde, vt id dones, contendis licere. Primum an non dissentit qui diuersum sentit nisi norit quid ille sentiat a cuius opinione dissentit? An ideo non sum dissimilis Petro quia nesciam qua ille sit forma? An nobis non

369 hac in A B E BAS: in hac C D.  
373 abs E BAS: a A-D.

374 tibi A C-BAS: deest in B.

- 343–344 *minorasti* ... *Deo* This is a translation of Jerome's: *Comm. ad Gal.* II, iv, ad 2, 14, Migne *PL* 26, 407 D7–8.
- 345–346 *Eamque* ... *dissimules* Lefèvre did try to solve this problem; see appendix IV, e.g., ll. 237–255.
- 346 *citra tui notam* Cf. the present apologia, l. III *citra famae tui dispendium* and l. 2449 *citra tui nominis notam*.
- 347 *aduersarium* Cf. the present apologia, l. 342, ll. 1328, 2227 and nn.
- 348 *propheticae* ... *impugnatorem* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 33 and 137. Cf. Ep. 777, from Erasmus to Henry Bullock, Antwerp, <c. 22 Februarii 1518>, ll. 17–19: "Verum non vsque adeo mihi est amicus vt in illius gratiam hostis dignitatis Christi, et propheticae intelligentiae subuersor, et ludeorum fautor esse debuierim ..."
- 349–350 *Sic* ... *vexas* Erasmus uses the same method in dealing with Lefèvre's work, namely, that of quoting and criticizing selected passages of which he did not approve.
- 350–352 *quasi* ... *genus* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 276–278.
- 350 *aphorismos* "positive assertions".
- 352 *Insidiosum* ... *genus* Erasmus considers Lefèvre's misrepresentation of Erasmus' argumentation to be unfair and devious.
- 352–353 *praesertim* ... *cognita* Cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 41–42.
- 353 *causa cadere* "to lose his case". *causa* is separative abl.
- 354–355 *qui* ... *erat* What Erasmus means is that if his argument against Lefèvre was as poor as Lefèvre suggested, then he had already lost his case and did not need to defend himself anymore.
- 354 *litem* ... *intendit* Cic. *De Or.* I, 10, 42.
- 355–356 *amicae propositioni* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 28–29.
- 357–358 *Ingenue* ... *Deo* Appendix IV, ll. 36–37.
- 357 *Ingenue fateris* See appendix IV, l. 37. Erasmus quotes these words with a touch of irony. Actually there was nothing to admit, since what Lefèvre had remarked – viz. that the Hebrew text reads "lower than God" – was simply a fact verifiable in printed and published books. Time and again in the present apologia Erasmus alludes to these words (*ingenue fateor*) ironically, see ll. 34, 1569, 1580, 2166–2167. Cf. l. 2444: *ingenuitatem requiro*.
- 358–359 *quasi* ... *intenderim* Cf. the present apologia, l. 362 *velut alterum accusationis caput proponens* and l. 369 *ceu tertium accusationis caput facis*.
- 359 *Imo* ... *poteras* Cf. the present apologia, l. 318 and n.
- 360 *fateri* Lefèvre used this expression in his *disputatio*, see the present apologia, ll. 357–358 and nn.
- libris aeditis* Erasmus is referring here to Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium* (see appendix I for the note at *Ps.* 8, 6) and the first edition of Lefèvre's translation, paraphrase and annotations of the Pauline epistles (see appendix II for the note at *Hebr.* 2, 7).
- 362–363 *fateris* ... *apertius* See appendix IV, ll. 37–40.
- 366 *et* ... *veritas* *Ibid.*, ll. 40–41.
- 369–371 *iam* ... *angelis* See appendix IV, ll. 42–45.
- 369 *scripserim* See appendix III, ll. 19–20.
- 370 *Thoma S. Thomae Aquinatis* ... *Super Epistolas S. Pauli Lectura*, vol. II, ed. P. Raphael Cai, Rome and Turin, 1953, at *Hebr.* 2, 7, pp. 361–362: "Vbi sciendum est, quod ordine naturae, corruptibilia et passibilia minora sunt incorruptibilibus et impassibilibus. Angeli autem secundum naturam sunt impassibiles et immortales. Vnde quando Christus dignatus est passionem et mortem sustinere, minoratus est ab ipsis."
- 371 *agnoscens factum* The *factum* is Lefèvre's disagreement with Aquinas, see appendix IV, ll. 46–65.
- 372 *factum inficiens* See appendix IV, ll. 66–70.
- Et* ... *sententia* See appendix IV, ll. 46–47.
- 374–347 *Aio* ... *contendere* See appendix III, ll. 19–20.
- 376–377 *lector* ... *argumenta* For Erasmus' methodology in his annotations on the New Testament, cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 304, 306–307, 307 and 314–316.
- 379 *more rhetorum* Cf. this apologia, ll. 264–278.
- duplici vteris statu* For the rhetorical rules to which Erasmus is referring here, see Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* I, München, 1973, pp. 418–419 and Quint. *Inst.* 3, 6, 10: "etiam si feci, recte feci, sed non feci."
- statu* "status", "type of defence according to the degree in which the case of the accused person is sustainable".
- 379–380 *primum* ... *dissensisse* See appendix IV, ll. 66–70.
- 380 *contendit licere* *Ibid.*, ll. 70–72.

dissentit alicubi Plato a M. Tullio quum ille nescierit quid hic sensurus esset? Certe nobis a Thoma dissentis quoties diuersum ab illo sentis, qui vtriusque  
 385 opinionem cum altera pugnantem cernimus. Nec hic attinebat anxie defendere quod a Thoma dissenseris, nisi, quod credo factum, quo gratiam inires apud huius sodales et apud eosdem me vocares in inuidiam. Ego nemini vnquam vitio verti quod a quoquam dissenserit, quantumlibet magni nominis autore, modo id faciat reuerenter erga eos quibus hoc honoris debetur, in quibus ego sane et  
 390 Thomam numero primum eruditionis deinde etiam sanctimoniae nomine.

Sed negas te tum *consuluisse* quid ille sentiret, magis autem quid dicerent *eloquia*, sic enim loqueris. Atqui operae precium erat, quum scriberes commentarios in Paulum, excutere quid ille sensisset, haudquaquam, vt opinor, aspernandus autor, a quo quanquam et ipse locis aliquot dissentiam, tamen id facio aliquanto  
 395 ciuilius ac reuerentius quam tu recenses: *neque Erasmus*, inquires, *ipse vt qui toties eum coarguat*. Miror non dixisse te: qui toties eum explodat atque exhibilet, quo fiat etiam atrocior. Neque consentaneum est Thomam non consuluisse quid dicerent sacrae literae, quum illa scriptis proderet.

Neque rursus id odiose aut suspiciose dictum est a me quod a Thoma dissentires, alioqui, si quid tale voluissem, addidissem potius ab Augustino dissentire te, nec dubito quin ab Hilario, ni pars ea commentariorum intercidisset, dixissem a Chrysostomo, dixissem a Theophylacto, dixissem ab omnibus orthodoxis vno excepto Hieronymo eoque incerto, dixissem a publica totius ecclesiae consuetudine tot iam seculorum vsu comprobata, si te inuidia voluissem onerare.  
 405 Nihil horum. Simpliciter ostendi quemadmodum tua sententia consentiret cum Hieronymiana, ita eandem abs Thomae opinione dissentire, caeterum Thomae sententiam Chrysostomi Theophylactique interpretationi congruere, praeterquam quod illi simpliciter ad humanam naturam referre videntur, hic ad corpus assumptum duntaxat arbitratur pertinere, lectori commonstrans neutri sententiae  
 410 suos deesse autores.

Hic vero Thomae causam sic agis vt non putes absoluendum nisi persuaseris illum simpliciter errasse et credidisse sic haberi apud Hebraeos. At mihi videtur Thomas nec tam supinus et oscitans vt, cum aederet commentarios in hunc locum, nec Hieronymianam interpretationem consuluerit nec eiusdem in hunc  
 415 psalmum commentationem excusserit. Imo vero propius est illum hac in parte plus tribuisse publicae ecclesiarum omnium consuetudini et orthodoxorum autorum tanto consensui, quam vnus Hieronymi ex ignota barbaraque lingua annotatione. Praesertim quum is paucis verbis sic indicauerit quid haberetur apud Hebraeos vt alteram tamen lectionem nec reiiceret nec insectaretur, id quod tu  
 420 gnauiter facis. Atqui vtinam Hieronymi magis placuisset exemplum. Etenim si Hieronymianam modestiam hic imitari voluisses, rectius tuae famae, mi Faber, consuluisses nec hanc amico suscitasses tragoediam.

Quod si Thomas diuinum illud et e coelo delapsum octaplum opus vidisset, forsitan ausus fuisset publicam lectionem immutare. Tanto enim apparatu mihi  
 425 citas scriptorem, vt ne quid aliud dicam recentem, ac si proferres oraculum e

- 400 addidissim *A-E*: edidissim *BAS*.  
 402 Theophylacto *BAS*: Vulgario *A-E*.  
 403 eoque incerto *B-BAS*: *deest* in *A*.  
 406 abs *E BAS*: cum *A-D*.
- 386–387 *quo ... inuidiam* For a similar insinuation, cf. the present apologia, ll. 335–338.  
 387 *me ... inuidiam* “you make me hateful”. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2, 24, 59.  
 387–388 *Ego ... verti* “I have never blamed anyone for ...”. For this expression, cf. the present apologia, l. 83 and n.  
 391–392 *negas ... loqueris* See appendix IV, ll. 47–48 and ll. 67–68.  
 394 *a quo ... dissentiam* E.g., at *Rom.* II, II, *Nov. Instr.*, pp. 444–445, at *Hebr.* 5, II, *ibid.*, p. 589 and at *Hebr.* 2, 7, see appendix III, ll. 10–18.  
 395–396 *neque ... coarguat* See appendix IV, ll. 48–49.  
 398 *quum ... proderet* “Since it was precisely his intention to shed light on the meaning of Scripture in his commentary.”  
 400–404 *ab ... comprobata* Erasmus here supposes a disagreement between Lefèvre and the Church Fathers. In his *disputatio*, Lefèvre had denied disagreeing with them; see appendix IV, ll. 350–359 and ll. 457–476. What Lefèvre meant was that these Fathers were incapable of understanding *Hebr.* 2, 7, since they knew only Greek. Within the limits of their knowledge, their interpretation was correct. If they had known Hebrew, Lefèvre argued, they would have understood the real meaning of *Ps.* 8, 6, which Paul had of course quoted correctly, and then would have shared Lefèvre’s point of view.  
 401 *pars ... intercidisset* B. Altaner, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1978<sup>8</sup>, p. 363, notes only that Hilary’s biblical commentary on Job is no longer extant. Further Altaner notes that a *Tractatus super Psalmos* remained unfinished. In this work Hilary treats *Ps.* 1 f.; 9; 13 f.; 51–69; 91; 118–150. Thus, it is unlikely that Hilary wrote commentaries on either *Ps.* 8, 6 or *Hebr.*  
 403 *Hieronymo ... incerto* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 537–546 and n. ll. 542–546.  
 409–410 *lectoribus ... auctores* Cf. Hier., *Comm. in Ir.* (prologus), CCSL 74, ed. S. Reiter, Turnhout, 1960, pp. 1–2, ll. 9–12 and the present apologia, ll. 299–300 and n.  
 409 *commonstrans* The participle qualifies the subject of *ostendi*, l. 405, i.e., Erasmus.
- 407 Theophylactique *BAS*: Vulgariique *A-E*.  
 407–408 *praeterquam B-BAS*: nisi *A*.  
 420 *Atqui E BAS*: atque *A-D*.
- 411–412 *Hic ... Hebraeos* See appendix IV, ll. 62–65 and ll. 459–476.  
 418–419 *Praesertim ... insectaretur* See the present apologia, n. l. 18 and Hier., *Comm. in Ps.*, CCSL 72, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout, 1959, p. 191.  
 420 *Atqui ... exemplum* Here Erasmus is suggesting that Lefèvre would have done well to leave the interpretation open, just as Jerome had done. According to Erasmus, a commentator is not obliged to decide. See the present apologia, n. ll. 291–292, n. l. 299 and ll. 300–302.  
 422 *amico* Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 36–37 and n. *tragediam* See *ibid.*, ll. 75–77 and n.  
 423 *diuinum ... opus* The *Psalterium octuplex*, written by Agostino Giustiniani (c. 1470–1536) of Genoa. It was published in November 1516 (Allen, Ep. 810, n. l. 356 and R.G. Hobbs, *Contemporaries* II, s.v.). Lefèvre recommends it in his *disputatio*; see appendix IV, ll. 72–76, possibly because Agostino Giustiniani quotes Lefèvre’s interpretation of *Ps.* 8, 6 with approval in the *Psalterium octuplex*, f° B ii. In the present apologia, Erasmus speaks about it sarcastically and slightly, ll. 423–441. He later regretted this; see Ep. 906, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 December, 1518, ll. 482–483: “... proinde dolet quod illius nomen in Apologia perstrinxerim.” In spite of this, Erasmus never altered the passage about Giustiniani in the present apologia. Remarkably, in Ep. 878, from Erasmus to <Hermann, Count of Neuenahr>, Louvain, 19 October 1518, ll. 2–3, Erasmus claims to have spoken positively about Giustiniani’s work. For more information, see Allen, Ep. 906, n. l. 483, *e coelo delapsum Adag.* 786 (Terraefilius), *LB* II, 329 B–C.  
 424 *apparatu* “with a great deal of fuss”, “with a flourish of trumpets”.  
 425 *recentem* Erasmus is speaking of Giustiniani with disdain, because the latter is not an ancient, but merely a modern author. Giustiniani was born in 1470. (R.G. Hobbs in *Contemporaries*).  
 425–426 *e tripode* Cf. Cic. *Nat.* 3, 16, 42. The reference is to the tripod of the Pythia, the priestess of Apollo in Delphi. *Adag.* 690 (Ex tripode), *LB* II, 297 E–298 C.

tripode redditum. Ego vt hominis istius studium insectari nolim, ita nolim rursus illius autoritate admodum grauari. Etenim quod attinet ad operis vtilitatem, iam aeditum erat Basileae psalterium tribus linguis idque satis, opinor, feliciter et emendate. Nec est vnde praesidium petamus nisi ab his linguis, si quid nos in  
 430 Psalmis torqueat. Nam vt fonteis nemo potest contemnere, ita Septuaginta interpretum omnibus semper fuit grauissima autoritas, nec quod Hieronymus Latine vertit ex Hebraica veritate reiicit ecclesia, etiamsi publicitus non vtitur. Quid autem refert, si posthac psalterium in sexcentas linguas transfusum nobis proponas? Etenim quod ad autoritatem attinet, haud ita multum interest Sueuicum  
 435 an Hybernicum an Gothicum psalterium mihi proferas, an Arabicum Armeniacumue.

Et quum res plurimum habeat fumi plurimumque ostentationis, vix vllum hic fructum video nisi forte vt hoc volumine discamus tot linguas praedicaturi Christum apud eas nationes. Nam si studemus vt hac ratione inter barbaros spargatur  
 440 euulgeturque christiana religio, propius ad rem faciebat euangelicam historiam et apostolicas epistolas totidem linguis producere quam psalterium.

Iam de annotationibus quas ex cabalisticis et talmudicis et rabbinis Iudaeorum adducit, primum paucas deinde plerasque etiam frigidas, in praesentia non disputabo pluribus. Hoc tantum fatebor, mihi quicquid vsquam adhuc hauriri  
 445 video ex apocryphis Hebraeorum libris, maxima ex parte aut suspectum haberi aut videri frigidum nec magnopere facere ad nostrum Christum. Porro quod ad eruditionem hominis pertinet, primum quam Graece Latineque calluerit, ex ipsius praefationibus facile deprehendet quisquis vtranque linguam perdidicerit. Iam qualis sit in caeteris, aliis coniectandum relinquo. Quorsum igitur attinebat  
 450 vt illius praefationem tot linguis legeremus, velut hoc argumento protinus credituri illum has callere linguas? At hoc opus non probant modo, verum etiam | suspiciunt ac mirantur duo praedicatorii sodalitiij fratres. Non adducam huc illud e triuio mutuum muli. Ista comprobatio plus habebit ponderis apud eruditos, si comprobatum sit istos, qui opus hoc comprobarunt, intellexisse quod probant.  
 455 Neque enim arbitror hanc tyrannidem in litterariam etiam politiam esse recipiendam, vt hic aut ille librum suo arbitratu nunc creta nunc carbone notet, etiam si nihil intelligat. Nam quid aliud est autoritas sine iudicio quam tyrannis? Et tamen hic vt Augustini tui studium non improbo, quod fauorem promereatur quisquis quocunque modo conetur illustrare sacras literas, ita tuum candorem,  
 460 mi Faber, amo proboque, sed miror cur hunc vni Erasmo non praestiteris, praesertim toties amico tum huc prouocatus.

Sed haec pluribus fortasse quam sat est. Illud haud dum scio, nunquid ad me pertineat quod ais *falsum* tibi videri *angelos nullis malis attingi posse*, quum et peccato fuerint obnoxii et poenam horreant. Quasi vero Christum cum impiis angelis conferam aut, cum malum dico, de peccatis aut poenis sentiam admissorum. De his malis illic ago quibus humana natura est obnoxia et mihi satis est quod angelus mori non potest, sitire non potest, crucifigi non potest. Neque vero, vt dixi, cum malis angelis Christum arbitror conferendum, sed cum his potius quo-



470 rum felicitas iam in tuto est, de quibus et absolute dictum verum arbitror nullis malis attingi posse.

Atque hactenus quidem non admodum cruenta fuit velitatio, dum nunc impetis, nonnunquam concedis ac parcis *aduersario*. At in his quae sequuntur

428 iam *A-C E BAS*: ita *D*.

435 *tert. an BAS*: aut *A-E*.

427-430 *Etenim ... torqueat* These words seem to suggest that in Erasmus' view Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium* of 1509 was not a very useful work either.

428 *psalterium tribus linguis* This Psalterium is incorporated in the *Opera Omnia* of Jerome, edited by Erasmus in co-operation with Conrad Pellicanus and published by Froben, Amerbach and Rechburgius in Basel in 1516. The Psalterium appears in it in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Both Jerome's Latin translation *iuxta Hebraeos* and his Latin translation *iuxta LXX* are included.

430 *fonteis* Cf. *Adag.* 1087 (E dolio haurire), *LB* II, 442E-443B.

434-435 *Sueuicum ... Gothicum* Erasmus mentions the languages Swedish, Irish and Gothic ironically, as examples of very strange languages of barbarian countries.

435 *Hybernicum* "Irish". For Erasmus' view of the Irish, cf. *ASD* IX, 2, p. 181, n. l. 289.

437 *res* The content of Giustiniani's *Psalterium Octuplex*.

*fumi Adag.* 3783 (*fumus ... dicuntur promissa magna quidem, sed inania*), *LB* II, 1141 D-E.

438 *tot linguas* Giustiniani's work contains the Psalter in Hebrew, Greek and Arabic, with a Latin translation of each. It also contains an Aramaic Targum and rabbinic scholia.

442-443 *cabalisticis ... Iudaeorum* For Erasmus' negative opinion on these Jewish books, see also S. Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews*, Chicago and London, 1986, p. 73.

443 *frigidas* "insipid", "vain", "without point".

449 *coniectandum* "to draw their conclusions".

450 *praefationem tot linguis* The preface in Giustiniani's *Psalterium* is given in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic.

451-452 *suspiciunt* "they admire", "honor".

452 *duo ... fratres* These two Dominicans are Bernardus Granellus and Caspar de Varagine, who examined Giustiniani's *Psalterium* on behalf of the inquisition. They

442 *rabbinis B-BAS*: *rabbi A*.

469 *arbitror BAS*: *est A-E*.

are mentioned on the imprimatur on f° A4r°. They do not appear in J. Quetif and J. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum I-II*, Paris, 1719-1721.

452-453 *e triuio* "ex trivio", "off the street", "from the mob", "common", Cic. *Mur.* 6, 13.

453 *mutuum muli Adag.* 696, *LB* II, 300 A-D. (*Mutuuum muli scabunt. Vbi improbi atque illaudati se vicissim mirantur ac praedicant.*)

455 *politiam* Synonym of "res publica".

456 *creta ... notet Adag.* 454, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 527-528 (*creta notare pro eo quod est approbare et carbone notare quod est damnare.*)

457 *sine iudicio* Erasmus here refers to the authority of incompetent people as *sine iudicio*, because they assert their opinion about translations they cannot judge about.

458 *Augustini* Agostino Giustiniani, see the present apologia, n. l. 423.

460 *proboque* *Ov. Met.* 7, 20.

*miror ... praestiteris* Erasmus wonders why Lefèvre did not treat him kindly, although Erasmus favoured Lefèvre so much; see the present apologia, ll. 123-130. Erasmus complained about this already earlier in this apologia, see ll. 209-220, but see also n. ll. 215-218.

461 *tum* "And moreover".

*prouocatus* For Erasmus' claim that, in several letters, he tried to provoke a response from Lefèvre, see the present apologia, ll. 139-149 and n. ll. 148-149, l. 180 and n.

463 *falsum .. posse* See appendix IV, l. 53. Cf. the present apologia, n. l. 370 and appendix III, ll. 10-13. Lefèvre elaborates on the theme that angels can sin and be punished for it in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 52-61.

471 *velitatio* "wrangling dispute".

472 *aduersario* For Lefèvre's use of this word, cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 342-343.

*quae sequuntur* I.e., in Lefèvre's *disputatio*; see appendix IV, from l. 62.

nihil inter nos conuenit, perstrepunt classica, crudescit pugna, omni machinarum genere premor et vrgeor miser. Quo me vertam? Quem deum aut hominum  
 475 implorem, imbecillis, inermis et huius militiae rudis miles, cum tantus ac tam exercitatus bellator cominus vrgeat? Iam non de asini, quod dici solet, vmbra certamen est, de capite agitur, ferro petuntur vitalia atque, vt aptius dicam, mihi sane περὶ τῶν κρεῶν δρόμος.

Vt piaculum admissum insectaris quod scripserim: *verum siue legas a Deo siue*  
 480 *ab angelis, idem manet scrupus*. Quis, inquis, relinquitur scrupus si constat legendum esse *a Deo*? Si istud vsque adeo constat, doctissime Faber, et si altera lectio falsa, impia, haeretica et diuinae scripturae aduersa, quin hoc persuades orbi christiano? Quin synodum imploras vt tantus error ex omnibus ecclesiae codicibus aboleatur? Quin Ambrosii, Hilarii, Augustini, Chrysostomi, Theophylacti  
 485 et, ne persequar omnes, vniuersorum orthodoxorum, vno excepto Hieronymo, vicem deploras, qui per omnem aetatem sic legerint, sic scripserint, sic docuerint?

Christus, vt ais, nec paulum nec multum fuit imminutus ab angelis et tamen haec vox in omnibus Christiani orbis ecclesiis auditur, haec in scholis, haec in sacris concionibus publicitus resonat. O rem horrendam, si tam certo verum  
 490 est, quam tu firmiter asseueras, Christum nec paulum nec multum ab angelis fuisse diminutum. Atqui si tuam aspernatus sententiam huic adhaesissem, tamen haud merebar obiurgari si Septuaginta interpretum autoritatem quae Hilario, Ambrosio, Augustino ac pene doctoribus omnibus olim sacrosancta fuit, quam ipsi etiam apostoli non dedignantur aliquoties sequi et, si quid huic addit  
 495 momenti, aeditio Chaldaica, si vtriusque orbis Graecanici et Romani publicum in hac re consensum, si consuetudinem tot seculorum autoritate comprobata vnius Hieronymi annotationi anteponerem. Pudens, non impius videri poteram, si minus ausus fuissem a totius orbis populo pariter ac senatu dissentire, vnius Hieronymi secutus suffragium licet alias grauissimum.

Certe non fugit ecclesiasticos proceres quid verterit aut admonuerit diuus  
 500 Hieronymus et tamen tot iam aetatibus diuersam sequuntur lectionem idque tum publicitus, tum magno consensu. Nam quod hunc enarrans psalmum ceu classico hortaris ad eluendas e codicibus mendas, quid sibi velit non satis intel-  
 LB 27 ligo. Neque enim id sentis, opinor, lectionem hanc errore librariorum inductam  
 505 fuisse vt *mendum* appellari debeat. Quicquid habent Hebraei, certe *ab angelis* tradiderunt nobis Septuaginta idque hactenus constanter sequitur ecclesia, haudquaquam, opinor, factura ni iudicasset neutram lectionem cum impietate

484 Theophylacti *BAS*: Vulgarii *A-E*.

489 resonat *BAS*: praedicatur *A-E*.

499 suffragium *B-BAS*: autoritatem *A*; grauissimum *B-BAS*: grauissimam *A*.

473-476 *perstrepunt ... vrgeat* For Erasmus' metaphorical use of terms belonging to the world of warfare, cf. the present apologia, ll. 159-164 and n.

474 *miser* Cf. Ter. *And.* 649: "nescis quantis in malis vorser miser."

*Quo me vertam?* Ter. *Hec.* 516. Cf. the present apologia, l. 241-242: *Vide quo me deieceris angustiae?*

474 *deum* I.e., *deorum*.

476-477 *de ... est* *Adag.* 252, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 362-365.

- 478 *περὶ ... δόμος* For this use of *κρέας*, cf. Aristoph. *Equ.* 421 and 457. For this reproach, cf. the present apologia, ll. 335–338.
- 479–481 *Vt ... Deo* See appendix IV, ll. 77–79. Up until l. 148, Lefèvre argues that reading *a Deo* in *Hebr.* 2, 7 is christologically unobjectionable.
- 479 *scripserim* Lefèvre's rendition of Erasmus' opinion does no justice to Erasmus' own words. Erasmus had written: *videtur idem manere scrupus* (appendix III, l. 22), but Lefèvre quoted this as *idem manet scrupus* (appendix IV, ll. 77–78). Cf. the present apologia, ll. 546–549 and nn.
- 481–486 *Si ... docuerint* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 399–404 and nn. ll. 400–404.
- 482 *falsa ... adversa* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 116–119, ll. 132–136 and ll. 147–148.
- 484 *Ambrosii* Neither Ambrose nor Ambrosiaster quotes *Hebr.* 2, 7 with the reading 'ab angelis'. So Erasmus seems to intend passages as cited in the present apologia, ll. 880–900, where Ambrosiaster emphasizes Jesus' humiliation.
- Hilarii* I have not found a quotation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 in the form 'ab angelis' in Hilary; see, however, the present apologia, ll. 400–402 and n. l. 401, and ll. 910–911 and n.
- Augustini* Cf. ll. 532–536 and ll. 901–907.
- Chrysostomi* *Enarr. ad. Hebr.*, 2, 7, hom. iv, Migne PG 63, 38.
- Theophylacti* *Expos. ad Hebr.*, 2, 6–7, Migne PG 125, 208 B12–C9.
- 486 *vicem deplorat* "(Why do you not) lament the fate of ...".
- 487–489 *Christus ... resonat* Cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 400–404.
- 487 *Christus ... angelis* See appendix IV, ll. 81–84 and ll. 157–158.
- 488–489 *omnibus in ... resonat* The reading "ab angelis" is that of the Vulgate of both *Ps.* 8, 6 and *Hebr.* 2, 7. In Scripture lessons both passages could therefore only have the form "ab angelis", never "a Deo". The Psalter of the Roman Breviary, from which the complete Psalter was recited each week, is that of the Vulgate (i.e., the *Psalterium Gallicanum*). Consequently, in the Breviary, too, *Ps.* 8, 6 reads "ab angelis". The Psalter used in the fixed liturgical texts of the Mass and in the office of St. Peter in Rome is the *Psalterium Romanum*, but in this Psalter, too, *Ps.* 8, 6 reads "paulo minus ab angelis"; see R. Weber *Le Psautier Romain* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 10), Rome 1953, p. 14. Erasmus is correct, therefore, in stating that the only form in which *Ps.* 8, 6 occurred in ecclesiastical, liturgical practice was the form "ab angelis"
- 489–490 *si ... asseueras* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 511–512 *quam ... asseueras*.
- 494–495 *si ... momenti* This clause testifies to Erasmus' disparaging view of the targum. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 427–430, where Erasmus argues that it is unnecessary to use other versions than those included in the *Psalterium tribus linguis*, edited by Erasmus *et. al.* in 1516, and incorporated in Jerome's *Opera Omnia*. In 1516, however, Erasmus did use the testimony of the targum; see appendix III, ll. 47–48.
- 495 *aeditio Chaldaica* Erasmus here assumes that the targumim occasionally confirm the Septuagint reading of *Ps.* 8, 6. This is a correct supposition; see, for example, the targum at *Ps.* 8, 6, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Hagiographa, Chaldaice*, Leipzig, 1873 (reprint Osnabrück, 1967), p. 4, l. 29. The relevant Aramaic passage offers the same interpretation of "elohim" as the LXX: "the angels".
- 497 *vnus Hieronymi* Elsewhere in the present apologia, see l. 824, Erasmus even suggests that Lefèvre was the only author to hold the view that one should read 'a Deo' in *Hebr.* 2, 7, since Jerome's authorship of the *Comm. in Ps.* is questionable. But then Erasmus forgets that Jerome's translation of the Psalms *iuxta Hebraeos* (which is undoubtedly his work), *ad Ps.* 8, 6 also reads *a Deo*. For the suggestion that Lefèvre is the only interpreter who reads *a Deo*, see also the present apologia, ll. 537–546 and n. ll. 542–546.
- 499 *suffragium* "vote", "voice", hence "opinion".
- 503 *classico* Cf. *Adag.* 2488 (Bellicum canere. Receptui canere), *ASD* II, 5, p. 340, ll. 284–296.
- hortaris ... mendas* Lefèvre 1509, see appendix I, l. 93: *Mendas codicum eluite ...*
- 504 *librariorum* "of the scribes, copyists". Cf. Erasmus, *Apologia*, ed. Holborn, p. 165, l. 31 and p. 166, l. 18.
- 507–508 *haudquaquam ... esse* This argument is not conclusive, for the Church could also have followed the reading *ab angelis*, if it had rejected the reading *a Deo*. Probably Erasmus merely expressed himself infelicitously. He means to say that if the Church had considered the reading *ab angelis* impious, it would not have been accepted.

coniunctam esse, quod tu magnopere et sine fine contendis, nisi forte impium non est palam ac serio mentiri de Christo eaque publice in diuino cultu ac tem-  
 510 plis canere quae *propheticae intelligentiae*, quae diuinis literis, quae tibi nescio cur  
 vbique peculiari vocabulo dicantur eloquia, ἐκ διαμέτρου repugnant. Si tam con-  
 staret, quam tu constanter asseueras, apud Hebraeos nihil aliud accipi posse  
 quam *Deum*, tamen si quid nouasset Spiritus Sanctus siue per interpretes Septu-  
 515 cuiquam christiano contumeliose reiiciendum, quod nec ipse Hieronymus ausus  
 est facere duobus tantum verbis indicans quid legerent Hebraei, non damnans  
 quod vertissent Septuaginta.

At constat, inquis, quod Paulus sic adduxerit. Primum apud me certe non  
 constat hanc epistolam a Paulo scriptam Hebraice, etiam si plerique id opinentur.  
 520 Deinde si nusquam Paulus sequitur aeditionem Septuaginta, donabo fortassis  
 non videri probabile hic voluisse sequi. Quod si compertum est, vt est, eum aliis  
 locis frequenter vti ea, prodigiosum non sit si idem hic fecisset, praesertim  
 cum in Actis apostolorum cum Hebraeis agens Esaias locum non iuxta  
 Hebraicam veritatem, sed iuxta Septuaginta aeditionem adducat, *vade ad popu-*  
 525 *lum istum et dic ad eos: aure audietis et non intelligetis* et caetera. Sed hoc mox  
 propius et suo loco diligentius excutiemus.

Interim quod institueram persequar. Nihil video causae, Faber eruditissime,  
 cur mihi impingendum putaris quod vtranque lectionem recenseo neutra reiecta.  
 Nihil enim aliud hic de nobis queri potes. Et fauebam et faueo tuae  
 530 Hieronymique sententiae, sed mihi tum non est visum sic alteram recipere, vt  
 alteram velut impiam et haeticam repudiarem, quae talis non est visa sacro-  
 sanctis ecclesiae doctoribus et in primis Augustino qui hunc locum non veretur  
 ad hunc interpretari modum. Nam ipsius verba subscribam si forte requiris:  
*quandoquidem et angeli sunt opera manuum Dei, etiam super angelos constitutum*  
 535 *accipimus vnigenitum Filium, quem minutum paulominus ab angelis per humili-*  
*tatem carnalis generationis atque passionis* audiuimus et credimus.

Imo nec ipse Hieronymus, cuius vnus autoritate niteris, cum alias fre-  
 quenter, tum quartum edisserens caput epistolae ad Galatas, dubitat hanc sequi  
 lectionem ita scribens: *quod autem ait: sicut angelum, sicut Christum Iesum sus-*  
 540 *cepistis me et angelo Christum ostendit esse maiorem quem secundum dispensationem*  
*corporis minorem psalmista cantauerat dicens: minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis.*  
 Proinde Hieronymi autoritas eiusdem autoritate poterat refelli, qui tribus verbis  
 duntaxat annotauit apud Hebraeos haberi *a Deo* idque in eo opere de quo docti  
 vehementer addubitant num eius sit cui inscribitur. At idem in his libris, de  
 545 quibus nullus ambigit quin ipsius sint, eam lectionem amplectitur quam tu vt  
 Christo indignam iubes explodi. Vt sileam interim quod mea adducens pro eo  
 quod modestius scripseram, *videtur idem manere scrupus*, tu recitas: *idem manet*  
*scrupus*, quasi nihil intersit inter dubitantem inquirentemque et asseuerantem,  
 inter vestigatorem et dogmatistem.

550 Ego delectum lectionis suo cuiusque iudicio relinquens, aperio difficultatem quae videbatur obstare intelligentiae. Nam cum vtiq̄ue verum sit quod legimus Christum diminutum, aut secundum diuinam naturam imminutus intelligatur

522 frequenter *B-BAS*: *deest in A*.

522–525 praesertim ... et caetera. *B-BAS*: *deest in A*.

524 adducat *B E BAS*: adduceret *C D*.

508 *quod ... contendis* Lefèvre argues in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 116–192 that the reading *ab angelis* is impious.

*impium* Erasmus chooses this word because Lefèvre had used it against him, see appendix IV, l. 134.

510 *propheticæ intelligentiæ* See *ibid.*, l. 33.

511 ἐκ διακρίτων *repugnant* *Adag.* 945, *LB* II, 380 E–F.

512 *quam ... asseueras* See appendix IV, ll. 6–12.

513 *nouasset* “had changed”.

516–517 *duobus ... Septuaginta* Hier., *Comm. in Ps.*, *CCSL* 72, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout, 1959, p. 191.

516 *non damnans* Cf. the present apologia, n. l. 18.

518 *At ... adduxerit* See appendix IV, ll. 8–9.

518–519 *apud .. Hebraice* For Erasmus’ doubts about the Pauline authorship of *Hebr.*, see: *LB* VI, 1023 D–1024 F and Ep. 1171, from Erasmus to Matthew Schinner, Louvain, 16 December 1520, ll. 6–11. Cf. E. Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, I 1515–1522, Nieuwkoop, 1989, p. 208, n. 45.

524–525 *vade ... intelligetis* *Act.* 28, 26, a paraphrase of *Is.* 6, 9 LXX.

531 *impiam et haeticam* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre’s condemnation of Erasmus’ opinion that Jesus had been humiliated *infra abiectissimos etiam homines* (appendix III, ll. 23–24; appendix IV, ll. 132–136).

534–536 *quandoquidem ... credimus* Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 8, 11, *CCSI.* 38, edd. D.E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956, p. 54, ll. 7–11. This text reads “audimus” where Erasmus writes *audiuimus*. The *apparatus criticus* in Dekkers-Fraipont, *ad locum*, does not mention the variant reading *audiuimus*.

539–541 *quod ... angelis* Hier., *Comm. ad Gal.*, 2, 4, Migne *PL* 26, 407 D3–8. Migne reads “esse ostendit” where Erasmus reads *ostendit esse* and “minorasti” where Erasmus reads *minuisti*.

542–546 *Proinde ... explodi* Cf. *LB* VI, 988 F:

534 super *A-C E BAS*: supra *D*.

537–546 Imo ... explodi *E BAS*: *deest in A-D*.

539 angelum *BAS*: angeli *E*.

“... commentarii quos habemus in Psalmos aut non sint Hieronymi aut certe multis locis contaminati sint alienis emblematis ...” In his edition of Jerome’s work, Erasmus also put the authorship of the *Comm. in Ps.* into doubt, vol. I,  $\text{F}^{\circ}\gamma\text{v}^{\circ}$  (Allen, Ep. 778, n. l. 184). The authenticity of the *Comm. in Ps.* has actually been called into question by other scholars; see P. Antin in his introduction to the *Comm. in Ps.* of Jerome (*CCSL* LXXII, Turnhout, 1959), pp. 165–166. The authenticity of the *Comm. in Gal.*, however, has never been doubted. Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* III, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912, pp. 620 and 625. In the last edition of the *Annot. in N.T.* Erasmus added after *Hieronymus* (appendix III, l. 3), “... aut si quis alius fuit ...”, *LB* VI, 985 D. Cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 183–186, and the present apologia, l. 824 and n.

545–546 *quam ... explodi* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 134–135.

547 *videtur ... scrupus* See appendix III, l. 22. Cf. the present apologia, l. 479 and n. and l. 732 and n.

547–548 *idem manet scrupus* See appendix IV, ll. 77–78.

548–549 *quasi ... dogmatistem* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 302–305 where Erasmus emphasizes that what he wrote were *annotationes*, not dogmata. See also *ibid.*, n. l. 304.

550–551 *Ego ... intelligentiæ* Erasmus knows that this view on the task of commentators is supported by that of Jerome; see Hier. *Adv. Ruf.* I, *CCSL* 79, ed. P. Lardet, Turnhout, 1982, pp. 14–15, ll. 15–22. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 290–316 and nn.

551–553 *Nam ... humanam* Erasmus fails to mention here the possibility of Christ’s being humiliated with regard to his divine nature as well as to his human nature.

oportet aut secundum humanam. Si secundum diuinam, non fuit vlllo pacto inde  
 diminutus in quo semper fuit aequalis. Si iuxta humanam assumptam, opinor  
 555 non mediocre interuallum esse inter angelicam felicitatem et humanae vitae  
 calamitatem. Neque enim arbitror ob id tantum dici deiectum quod humanam  
 1.B 28 naturam assumpserit, sed quod | omnia ferme huius vitae incommoda, qua de re  
 mox aliquanto copiosius disseremus.

Quanquam sunt hic et alia abs te dicta, vt mihi videtur, parum attente, quae  
 560 tamen non sit operae precium diligentius refellere, velut illud quod sic mecum  
 agis quasi ego senserim scrupum in hoc esse situm *a Deo* legendum sit an *ab*  
*angelis*, quum palam explicem in hoc esse scrupum quomodo Filius Dei dici  
 possit paululum imminutus *a Deo*, quum humanae naturae cuius assumptione  
 565 paululum imminutus *ab angelis*, quum non mediocre sit interuallum inter  
 angelos immortales et carnem morti obnoxiam iuxta quam Christus dicitur ex-  
 inanisse se.

Deinde quod adducis, *quis enim in nubibus aequabitur Domino aut quis erit*  
*similis Deo in filiis Dei*, non hoc docet quod tu parum dialectice colligis, angelos  
 570 esse multo inferiores Deo. Neque enim quisquis aequalis aut similis negatur, is  
 protinus est multo inferior, quandoquidem fieri potest vt primo proximus sit qui  
 tamen aliquanto sit impar, veluti qui triginta natus sit annos non est quidem  
 aequalis annos nato triginta vnum, nec tamen multo est minor.

Vnde liquet et illud quam absurde colligas: *dilucidum igitur est*, inquis, *non*  
 575 *idem esse* siue *legatur 'paulo minus a Deo' aut 'ab angelis'*. Nam huiusmodi flosculis  
 omnis tuus scatet sermo. Neque enim simpliciter dictum est mihi nihil interesse  
 vtro modo legatur, sed nihil interesse quod attinet ad 'paululum', siue 'paulomi-  
 nus'. Quae sententia, si minus tibi probabatur, erat solidioribus argumentis  
 580 refellenda priusquam tanta cum autoritate aduersum nos ferres sententiam.  
 Quanquam huiusmodi permulta mihi dissimulanda sunt, ne cui vel molestus sim  
 loquacitate vel argutior videar quam candidior.

Verum hic obiter me flagellas, fortassis non omnino sine causa sed tamen  
 paulo superciliosius, mi iacobe, si quidem scriptis respondet animus. Refutas  
 enim ac reiicis velut impium quod dixerim aliquid intelligi posse *de homine*  
 585 *assumpto*, quod quae in Christum Deum et hominem competunt non oporteat  
 de altera natura enunciari. Quo quidem in loco multa repetis de summa vnitatem  
 hypostaseos Iesu Christi.

Adduci non possum vt credam te vsque adeo male sentire de Erasmo, vt me  
 putes adeo stupidum aut indoctum vt numquam legerim apud theologos Iesum  
 590 Christum vnam esse personam, eundem Deum et hominem, et quanquam  
 quaedam in illum competunt ratione diuinae naturae, quaedam humanae,  
 tamen vtrocunq; nomine de illo praedicari propter hypostaseos vnitatem, si ita  
 permittis me loqui, adeo vt recte Deus dicatur fleuisse, doluisse ac mortuus esse  
 et Dominus gloriae crucifixus, rursus homo dicatur aequalis Deo Patri. Haec si  
 595 me non docuissent sacri doctores Hieronymus, Hilarius, Ambrosius, Augustinus,

certe ex tertio libro Theologicarum sententiarum, quibus nihil est vulgatius, didicisse poteram, nisi forte credis et has mihi nunquam lectas. Itaque vehementer ineruditum me iudicas, si credis hoc me latuisse quod neminem fugit qui vel primoribus labris prima theologiae rudimenta attigerit. Rursum vehementer  
 600 impium, si quum id sciam, existimes me velle dirimere personae siue hypostasis, quae est Christus Iesus, vnitatem. Quod si neutrum horum arbitraris, quid est quod tam proluxa agis disputatione et verbis pene tragicis insectaris? *Refutamus*, inquis et rursum aliquanto post: *si igitur in illo Psalmorum loco Filium hominis et id quod ipsum refert intelligeremus de homine assumpto et non de hypostasi contra*  
 605 *consuetudinem diuinarum scripturarum et intelligentiam Spiritus, irrationabiliter faceremus quod nequaquam est admittendum.*

Non dubito quin tibi recognoscenti minus placeant ista, quam ea scribenti pridem calor quidam et feruor animi commendabat. Nam more hominum fit vt

574 inquis *E BAS: deest in A-D.*

578 probatur *A C-BAS: probatur B.*

591 competunt *BAS: competant A-E.*

593 Deus *E BAS: et Deus A-D.*

553-554 *Si ... aequalis* See, on the other hand, the present apologia, ll. 586-594, where Erasmus contends that one is allowed to say that God suffered and was crucified, because Christ was both God and man.

558 *max ... disseremus* See the present apologia, ll. 791-796.

568-569 *quis ... Dei* See appendix IV, ll. 80-81. This is a paraphrase of *Ps.* 88, 7.

574 *absurde colligas* This wording may have some connection with Lefèvre's use of the word *absurdum* against Erasmus in his *disputatio*, cf. appendix IV, l. 106.

574-575 *dilucidum ... angelis* See appendix IV, ll. 88-89.

576-578 *nihil ... paulominus* Erasmus means that, no matter whether one translates *a Deo* or *ab angelis*, it is impossible in either case to maintain that Christ was humiliated only a little (*paululum* or *paulominus*); see the present apologia, ll. 550-557 and appendix III, ll. 21-22 and n.

579 *tanta cum autoritate* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 255-259.

583 *si ... animus* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 607-610, where Erasmus even supposes that Lefèvre already regrets the tone of his *disputatio*.

*Refutas* See appendix IV, l. 96.

585-586 *quod ... enunciari* See appendix III, ll. 22-38.

586 *multa repetis* See appendix IV, ll. 95-127.

593-594 *adeo ... crucifixus* Erasmus cannot

have learned this "patripassionism" from the authors mentioned in ll. 594-596, since they reject it as a heresy. See also A. Michel, *Idiomes (Communication des)*, DTC VII, 1, Paris, 1927, pp. 595-602.

593 *Deus* The first four editions of this apologia, *A-D*, here read "et Deus". This was altered in *E* and *BAS* into "Deus", perhaps to emphasize the unity of the Father and the Son.

594 *Dominus gloriae* 1 *Cor.* 2, 8.

596 *ex ... sententiarum* See *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in iv libris distinctae*, Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, Grottaferrata, Rome, 1981, iii, 6, 2, pp. 50-52 and iii, 9, pp. 68-71.

598-599 *qui ... attigeret* "who was acquainted only superficially with the basic principles of theology", cf. Cic. *Nat.* 1, 8, 20: "quae ipsi rhctores ne primoribus quidem labris attigissent".

600 *impium* See appendix IV, l. 134.

602 *verbis pene tragicis* For Erasmus' use of the imagery of tragedy and theatre for the controversy between Lefèvre and himself, cf. the present apologia, ll. 75-77 and n.

*Refutamus* See appendix IV, l. 96.

603-606 *si ... admittendum* See appendix IV, ll. 116-119.

607-610 *Non ... iudicare* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 583: *si quidem scriptis respondet animus.*

608 *feruor animi* Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 10, 24.

LB 29 quae commentanti veniunt in mentem nobis veluti partus ingenii nostri impen-  
 611 dio blandiantur, neque enim eiusdem est gignere et iudicare. | Primum non  
 diuinis circumspecte et religiose loquendum, tamen anxie ac putide non puto  
 oportere, praesertim apud te qui captiones istiusmodi verborum sophisticasque  
 λογομαχίας soles negligere.

615 Certe quid sentirem satis intelligebas ex iis quae praecesserant, quum aio:  
*Thomas refert hunc locum ad humanitatem Christi qui minor angelis factus sit, non*  
*iuxta animam sed iuxta corpus assumptum.* At quod hic dixi referri ad *humani-*  
*tatem Christi*, paulo post commutatis verbis dico intelligi *de homine assumpto*.  
 620 Quid enim aliud est *assumptus homo* in Christo nisi *humanitas Christi*, vt interim  
 explicandae rei gratia humanitatis vocabulo abutamur. Quid aliud est intelligere  
 locum psalmi de ea, quam intellectu quod dictum est ad eam referre? Quod si  
 nullo modo permittis nobis sic loqui, cur non et prior ille locus aures tuas  
 offendebat quo sic loquor referri ad *humanitatem Christi*? Nihilo magis enim dici  
 conuenit humanitatem *a Deo* diminutam, quam hominem assumptum *a Deo*  
 625 diminutum. Neque enim cum alterutri naturae quippiam tribuimus, ita  
 tribuimus quasi sit sola in Christo, sed quasi cum altera ὑποστατικῶς coniuncta  
 vel vnita potius, vt et sic interim loquamur. Sed tamen eidem Christo varia  
 tribuentes alio atque alio respicimus, haudquaquam plures ex vno dissecto  
 facientes sed pro diuersitate rerum non eodem referentes quod tribuimus, veluti  
 630 Nepotianus in eodem Heliodoro diligebat auunculum, venerabatur episcopum,  
 imitabatur monachum, non ex vno plures faciens sed in vno diuersa considerans.

Quid autem vetat quippiam enunciare de altera natura, quod idem simpliciter  
 in Christum competat? Age, si dicam: 'humanitas Christi nos docuit humana  
 contemnere, diuinitas euehet ad aeterna', rursum 'ab homine discamus modes-  
 635 tiam ac tolerantiam, a Deo speremus immortalitatem', quaeso num cuiusquam  
 offendentur aures? Imo quid vetat etiam si singulis quae in Christo sunt *substan-*  
*tiis*, nam hoc verbo vsus est hic Augustinus, tribuamus quod idem in Christum  
 competat? Caro Christi plagis afflicta est pro commissis nostris, anima Christi  
 doluit pro nostris malis, diuinitas Christi vicit mortem. Nec minus, opinor, pie  
 640 dixerim his modis et fortassis efficacius quam si dicam: 'Christus secundum  
 carnem afflicta est, Christus secundum animam doluit, Christus secundum  
 diuinitatem vicit mortem'. Nec enim offensurus sit, opinor, te qui 'hominem  
 assumptum' dixerit pro 'humanitate' siue 'humana natura assumpta', quandoqui-  
 dem hanc sermonis formam et publicus Latinorum vsus approbat, nec veretur vti  
 645 solenniter ecclesia nec refugiunt sacri doctores. Nam qui minus dicamus 'assump-  
 sit hominem' quam 'exiit hominem' pro his: 'coepit esse homo' et 'desiit esse  
 homo'?

Fateor non apposite dici 'Christus est humanitas' cum recte dicatur 'homo',  
 quod 'humanitas' naturae sit vocabulum, 'homo' suppositi, quando hoc verbi  
 650 recentioribus theologis arridet, veteribus inaudita vox. Tibi, vt videtur, impense  
 placet hypostaseos vocabulum, olim Hieronymo suspectum odio, opinor,



655 Arianorum a quibus ea vox profecta videbatur. Caeterum hominis nomen vtroque modo vsurpatum reperies apud autores probatissimos, frequenter ita loquentes: Christus iuxta hominem filius virginis, iuxta hominem mortalis et iuxta hominem assumptum, pro eo quod est iuxta humanam naturam. Et chorus ecclesiasticus canit: *tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem.*

609 veluti *A B E BAS*: velut *C D*.

613 verborum sophisticasque *Ac C-BAS*: verborumque sophisticas *A*, sophisticasque

verborum *B*.

646 coepit *C-BAS*: cepit *A B*.

654 et *B E BAS*: *deest in A C D*.

609 *commentanti ... nobis* The grammatical incongruity is remarkable.

610 *neque ... iudicare* Cf. *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, *LB IX*, 1100 D: "nec enim eiusdem est, iuxta Socratem, parere et de partu aedito ferre iudicium." (I owe this reference to Professor C.L. Heesakkers, Leiden). I have not found Socrates' words in Diogenes Laertius, Stobaeus, Leutsch-Schneidewin, Erasmus' *Adag.* and *Apophth.*

611 *rationes enunciandi* "a system for making pronouncements". *rationes* seems to refer to Lefèvre's *irrationabiliter* occurring in the quotation in l. 605.

612 *putide* "too precisely". Cf. Cic. *de Or.* 3, 11, 14.

614 *λογομαχίας* Cf. 1 *Tim.* 6, 4.

615-623 *Certe ... Christi* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 42-52, where Lefèvre indeed does not object to the expression *humanitas Christi* in the quotation from Aquinas which Erasmus gives (next note.) In l. 323, Lefèvre speaks about the *humanitatis assumptio* of Christ. In ll. 95-100, Lefèvre rejects the designation *homo assumptus* for the incarnated Christ.

616-617 *Thomas ... assumptum* See appendix III, ll. 10-13.

616 *Thomas S. Thomae Aquinatis ... Super Epistolas S. Pauli Lectura*, vol. II, ed. P. Raphael Cai, Rome and Turin, 1953, at *Hebr.* 2, 7, pp. 361-362: "Vbi sciendum est, quod ordine naturae, corruptibilia et passibilia minora sunt incorruptibilibus et impassibilibus. Angeli autem secundum naturam sunt impassibiles et immortales. Vnde quando Christus dignatus est passionem et mortem sustinere, minoratus est ab ipsis."

618 *paulo ... assumpto* See appendix III, ll. 22-28.

621 *locum Psalmi* Ps. 8, 6.

626 *ὑποστατικῶς* "in one and the same person".

630 *Nepotianus ... Heliodoro* Heliodorus (330/40-407), bishop in Altino, was a friend and correspondent of Jerome (A. Frutaz, in: *LThK V* (1960), col. 212). With regard to the mutual affection between Heliodorus and Nepotianus, see Hier. *Epist.* 60, written as a consolation upon the death of Nepotianus, *CSEL* 54, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna and Leipzig, 1910, pp. 548-575

636-637 *substantiis* E.g., Aug. *Trin.* 2, 11, 20, *CCSL* 50, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1968, p. 107, ll. 4 and 20 and *Epist.* 187, *De praesentia Dei liber*, *CSEL* 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1911, p. 91, l. 14 and p. 92, l. 15.

642-645 *Nec ... doctores* See the present apologia, n. ll. 615-623.

642 *te qui* *te* is not the antecedent of *qui*. The relative *qui* has an included antecedent: "is qui".

649 *suppositi* "concerning the individual substance" or the "essence". Suppositum seems to translate *ὑπόστασις* here, see ll. 659-660: *pro vna natura posuit, non pro hypostasi.*

651-652 *hypostaseos ... videbatur* Hier. *Epist.* 15, *Ad Damasum*, *CSEL* 54, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna and Leipzig, 1910, p. 64, l. 12-p. 67, l. 13.

654 *filii virginis* Cf. *Is.* 7, 14; *Mt.* 1, 21-23; *Lc.* 1, 31.

656 *tu ... hominem* From the *Tē Deum*, see *Cantuale Romano Seraphicum*, ed. altera, Paris, 1929, pp. 251-252.

Hoc quoque durius est quod dixit Augustinus libro De Trinitate secundo, capite sexto: sicut assumptus est Filius hominis, pro eo quod est, sicut assumpta est natura humana. Si Filius hominis Christi nomen est, certe Augustinus pro  
 660 vna natura posuit, non pro hypostasi, quod tu putas esse sacrilegium. Idem epistola tertia ad Volusianum: *sic autem quidam reddi sibi rationem* postulant *quomodo Deus homini permixtus sit, ut vna fieret persona Christi*. Nonne hominem  
 LB 30 dixit pro natura humana? Idem epistola LVII: *neque enim ipso die in coelo | futurus erat homo Christus Iesus*, an non dixit *homo Christus* pro eo quod erat Christus  
 665 secundum humanam naturam? Ac mox: *restat igitur ut si secundum hominem dictum est: hodie mecum eris in paradiso*. Quin ibidem subinde repetuntur haec verba, *secundum hominem, secundum Deum*. Atque is sermonis color adeo solennis est apud sacrosanctos theologos vt vix reperias aliter locutos.

Quamquam totum hoc, quod hactenus disputatum est, non pertinet proprie  
 670 ad sensum meum. Neque enim illic tam hominem assumptum dixi naturam humanam in Christo quam ipsam naturae humanae assumptionem. Opinor et hanc sermonis formam agnoscere ab omnibus qui Latine sciunt. Conferam exemplum quo quod loquor fiat apertius: si quis laudet quempiam quod prudentissime se gesserit et alter quispiam non satis intelligenti interpretetur ac dicat: 'de  
 675 bello vitato sentit', is non dicit bellum vitatum esse prudens, sed in hoc sitam esse prudentiae laudem quam illi tribuebat, quod bellum vitarit. Rursum quum dicimus: 'exprobrat epotum dolium', non ipsum dolium opprobrat, sed dolii epotationem. Et, 'cruciat hunc amissus liber' pro eo quod est 'excruciat hunc amissio libri'. Ita quum hic propheta dicat Christum *a Deo fuisse diminutum*,  
 680 ostendo eam diminutionem nihil aliud fuisse quam assumptionem humanae naturae. Atque ad hunc modum locutus est diuus Hieronymus enarrans epistolae ad Ephesios caput quartum: *sed sic, inquit, vnum et Dei et hominis Filium confitemur ne dispensationem assumpti hominis qua saluati sumus ex parte credentes, in parte truncemus*.

Arbitror iam satis demonstratum nec in verbis meis esse quod pias aures vlllo pacto debeat offendere. Et tamen si quid etiam fuisset simplicius aut parum circumspecte dictum, quum, vt eleganter ab Hilario dictum est, sensus, non sermonis fiat crimen, non erat hoc tui candoris tot verbis, imo conuiciis insectari praesertim in annotationibus. Alioqui quam multa, quaeso, reperiemus in Ambrosii,  
 690 Hieronymi, Augustini, Gregorii libris quae liceret ad istam rationem calumniari.

Quis enim nunc laturus sit, si quis in Christo mixturam inducat naturarum aut compositionem, vt vnum hoc exempli gratia producam? Atqui is in epistola tertia quam scripsit ad Volusianum, quoties id facit? *Quomodo, inquit, Deus homini permixtus sit*. Ac rursum: *in illa ergo persona est mixtura animae et corporis, in hac persona mixtura est Dei et hominis*. Mox item: *quum enim Verbum Dei permixtum est animae habenti corpus, simul et animam suscepit et corpus*. Iterum paulo post: *ac per hoc Verbi Dei et animae credibilior debuit esse permixtio quam animae et corporis*. An non iniquum sit ex mixturae vocabulo tragoedias excitare, quum intelligamus illum recte sentientem mixturae nomine abusum pro  
 700 vnione.

Olim crassius forte loquebantur theologi, nunc quidam fortasse loquuntur subtilius, at viuunt ac sapiunt crassius. Nisi forte Deum morosum quempiam et captiosum facimus et hominum quorundam similem cum qualibus nemo libens habeat commercium, de quo difficillimum sit verba facere vt non offendas, vt non capiaris. Inter vere pios facile de verbis oportet conuenire quoties de re controuersia non est, praesertim quum et frequenter excuset diuus Hilarius quod rerum huiusmodi sublimitatem nullus hominum sermo satis explicet, nec de iis veteres eodem balbutiant modo, imo ne nunc quidem satis inter theologos conueniat. Augustinus in commentariis suis dominicum hominem appellarat Christum, atque eum sermonem post corrigit ac vitat. Si

660–668 Idem ... locutos *E BAS: deest in A–D.*  
 670 illic tam *B E BAS: tam illic A C D.*  
 681–684 Atque ... truncemus *E BAS: deest in A–D.*  
 682 inquit *BAS: deest in E.*  
 691–700 Quis ... vnione *E BAS: deest in A–D.*  
 694 mixtura *BAS: mixtura est E.*

703 et ... cum *B–BAS: deest in A; qualibus B E BAS: deest in A, quibus C D; nemo B–BAS: deest in A.*  
 704 libens *E BAS: deest in A, liberis B, lubens C D; habeat commercium B–BAS: deest in A.*

658–659 *sicut assumptus ... humana* Cf. Aug. *Trin.* 2, 6, *CCSL* 50, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1968, pp. 93–94.  
 660 *una natura* I.e., the human nature.  
*hypostasi* The person possessing both the divine nature and the human nature.  
 661–662 *sic ... Christi* Aug. *Epist.* 137, *Ad Volusianum*, *CSEL* 44, 3, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1904, p. 109, ll. 15–16. This edition reads “flagitant” where Erasmus has *postulant*. The critical apparatus *ad locum* in Augustine does not give the variant reading *postulant*.  
 663–664 *neque ... Iesus* *Epist.* 187, *ad Dardanum*, *CSEL* 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1911, p. 84, ll. 13–14.  
 665–666 *restat ... paradiso* *Ibid.*, p. 85, ll. 13–14.  
 667 *secundum hominem* *Ibid.*, p. 84, l. 10 and p. 85, l. 13.  
*secundum Deum* *Ibid.*, p. 88, l. 19.  
 682–684 *sed ... truncemus* Hier. *Comm. ad Eph.*, lib. ii, cap. iv, Migne *PL* 26, 531 D4–7. Migne reads “hic” where Erasmus has *sic*.  
 687–688 *sensus ... crimen* Cf. Hil. *Trin.*, 7, 38: “Sed forte intelligentiae sensus in crimine sit.” *CCSL* 62, ed. P. Smulders, Turnhout, 1979, p. 305, ll. 13–14.  
 688–689 *praesertim in annotationibus* I.e., Lefèvre’s *annotationes* in his second edition of the *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* (1516/7). Earlier in the present apologia (ll. 145–149), Erasmus complained that Lefèvre had not first warned him by letter, but had immedi-

ately attacked him in a widely circulated publication; cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 130–131: “... ac mediis suis commentariis infulserat ...”  
 692 *is* I.e., Augustinus.  
 693–694 *Quomodo ... sit* Aug. *Epist.* 137, *Ad Volusianum*, *CSEL* 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1904, p. 109, ll. 15–16. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 617–618.  
 695 *in ... hominis* Aug. *Epist.* 137, *Ad Volusianum*, *CSEL* 44, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1904, p. 110, ll. 3–4.  
 695–696 *quum ... corpus* *Ibid.*, p. 110, ll. 9–11.  
 697–698 *ac ... corporis* *Ibid.*, p. 110, ll. 16–18.  
 698 *tragoedias* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 75–77 and n.  
 701–702 *Olim ... crassius* Cf. Ep. 1334, ll. 360–380; *Declarat. ad cens. Lut.*, *LB IX*, 918 D–E, 926 E; *Paracl.*, Holborn, p. 142, l. 28–p. 143, l. 3.  
 706 *quoties ... est* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 82–83 and n.  
 706–708 *diuus ... explicet* Hil. *Liber de Patris et Filii vnitatem*, Migne *PL* 10, 885 A5–C6.  
 709–710 *Augustinus ... Christum* Aug. *De sermone Domini in monte*, 2, 6, 20, *CCSL* 35, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, Turnhout, 1967, p. 110, l. 437.  
 710 *atque ... vitat* Aug. *Retractiones* 1, 19, 8, *CCSL* 57, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, Turnhout, 1984, p. 59, l. 110–p. 60, l. 119.

hoc tanto accidit viro, docendus eram, non obiurgandus, si mihi simile quippiam vsu venisset praesertim aliud agenti, maxime si tibi liquebat quid sentirem. Neque enim ego de Christi hypostasi aliud sentio atque tu. Atque haec excusarem si quid etiam excidisset quod vere reprehendi posset.

LB 31 Verum, vt ad alia pergamus, negas inter nos ver|sari quaestionem *vtum forma*  
 716 *serui in Christo siue homo assumptus parum vel multum sit imminutus a Deo*, tuis enim verbis vtar, *sed an Filius hominis imminutus sit a Deo et id etiam quippiam parum*. Inter nos sane nulla quaestio versabatur, nec ego *hominem assumptum dixi imminutum a Deo*. Tuus iste sermo est, non meus, id quod modo satis declaratum est. Nam si *imminutum* sic accipias vt sit participium, diuinitas potius videri  
 720 possit imminuta quae descendit ad hominem, quam humana natura quae euecta est ad consortium diuinitatis. Sin ita vt sit nomen et perinde valeat ac si dicas 'inferior Deo', non negabis, opinor, humanam naturam in Christo longe inferiorem fuisse diuina natura. Quod si donas, consequetur Christum quatenus erat  
 725 homo longe inferiorem fuisse Deo Patre et, vt Augustinus audet loqui, *etiam seipso* quatenus erat Deus. Quod si multo fuit inferior, videbatur excutiendum quomodo prophetae dicatur 'imminutus paululum'. Rursus si mihi dabis humanam naturam quatenus est doloribus et morti obnoxia, longe esse infra dignitatem ac felicitatem angelicam, consequetur Christum quatenus erat homo  
 730 mortalis et naturae incommodis obnoxius, aliqua ex parte fuisse inferiorem angelis, certe iuxta corpus. Id si verum est, nimirum manet in vtraque lectione par difficultas, quam tuum agens negocium sic conor explicare vt βραχύ τι ad tempus pertineat, non ad modum dignitatis. Quod si recipimus, vt receptum est ab orthodoxis aliquot et magni nominis theologis, nihil fuerit in vtraque lectione  
 735 absurdum et liberum erit vtram voles sequi. Nec hic cuiquam prae eo nec hanc aut illam sententiam vel approbo vel reiicio, quod tu tamen toties inculcas a me factum. *Siue isto*, inquis, *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis, quem posteriorem interpretandi modum approbare videtur Erasmus*. Ac rursum, *nam iuxta Septuaginta aeditionem ait: minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis, quam etiam approbat interpretationem*. Iam illud videbatur mihi parum prudenter abs te factum  
 740 quod, quum βραχύ τι ad temporis modum relatum omnem explicet difficultatem, tu perinde quasi iam euiceris eo referri non posse ita triumphum agis, ita nobis insultas. Atque id quidem post conaris oppugnare, sed quam efficaciter mox videbimus.

745 Certe quum hoc in ambiguo reliquisses, non erat cur huiusmodi conuiciis veluti prostrato iam et iacenti insultares. *Subruetur igitur*, inquis, *propheta quomodocunque siue a Deo siue ab angelis interpretemur, quare hic sermo seipsum elidit et falsum esse ex omni parte manifestat*.

750 Iam illud magnis tragoediis exagitas quod scripseram Christum quum ob humanam naturam assumptam, tum ob humanae conditionis suscepta incommoda, non solum infra angelos, verum etiam *infra abiectissimos homines* fuisse deiectum. Atque hic tu miro supercilio: *hunc*, inquis, *sermonem animose refutabimus tanquam impium et Christo Deoque indignissimum, tanquam Spiritui aduersantem et literae quae occidit adhaerentem*.

755 Huiusmodi multa sunt, mi Faber, in tua ista praeclara et amica disputatione quae me compulerunt ad purgandam famam abs te tam atrociter petitam. Absit vt ego sciens quippiam in te scribam istiusmodi. Quod si quid humanitus

716–717 tuis ... vtar *E BAS: deest in A–D.*

740 prudenter *B BAS: pudenter A C–E.*

741 quod *BAS: vt A–E.*

749 quum *B–BAS: deest in A.*

711–712 *si ... venisset* Erasmus here seems to imply the possibility of his having made a mistake in the interpretation of *Hebr. 2, 7*.

712 *aliud agenti* What Erasmus means here is that he was not dealing specifically with the dogmatic issue of the relation between the natures of Christ; he was only writing some notes on the N.T. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 302–305.

713 *Neque ... tu* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 82–83 and n. Erasmus is stressing that he knows full well that the man Jesus Christ possessed divine nature.

*hypostasi* The person Christ, in whom both divine nature and human nature are united.

715–718 *negas ... parum* See appendix IV, ll. 121–124. After *hominis*, l. 717, Erasmus omits *sine quod est apud Paulum, Christus Iesus qui exinaniuit semetipsum formam serui accipiens* (*Phil. 2, 7*).

720 *participium* I.e., as a verbal form.

722 *consortium* “community”.

*nomen* I.e., an adjective.

725–726 *etiam ... Deus Aug. Trin. 1, 7, 14, CCSL 50*, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1968, pp. 45–46.

727 *prophetae* I.e., David (in *Ps. 8, 6*).

727–729 *si ... angelicam* On this point Lefèvre did not agree with Erasmus, see the present apologia, ll. 462–470 and n. l. 463 and ll. 568–573 and n. ll. 568–569 and cf. Aquinas’ view, n. l. 370.

731 *certe iuxta corpus* This quite nearly amounts to a concession to Aquinas, who held that Christ had suffered with regard to his body, but not with regard to his spirit; for Aquinas’ opinion, see n. l. 370. In the *Nov. Instr.* of 1516, however, Erasmus contradicted Aquinas in the note at *Hebr. 2, 7*; see appendix III, ll. 10–18.

732 *tuum agens negocium* “to help you to solve the problem”. Erasmus is convinced that the reading *a Deo*, preferred by Lefèvre, necessarily raises the problem of how Christ, being God, could have been humiliated below God only a little by becoming a human being. In the last edition of the *Annot. in NT*, Erasmus even argues: “... is scrupulus grauius obstabit si legamus eum paulum diminutum

‘a Deo’ quam si ‘ab angelis’ ...” *LB VI*, 986 D. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 560–567.

733–734 *vt ... theologis* Lefèvre admitted this in his *disputatio*; see appendix IV, ll. 350–359. But according to Lefèvre, the theologians in question were misled by the LXX which reads *ab angelis*, a reading they assumed to be correct. Supposing that a humiliation of Christ below the angels was in fact impossible, they took *βραχύ τι* as relating to time, in order to make the period of the humiliation as short as possible. Cf. appendix III, ll. 29–32.

735 *absurdum* Erasmus is probably thinking of Lefèvre’s affront, see appendix IV, l. 106.

*liberum ... sequi* For Erasmus’ conviction underlying this idea of *libertas*, cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 291–292, ll. 299–300 and n., nn. ll. 304, 306–307, ll. 314–316 and n.

735–737 *Nec ... factum* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 283–296 and appendix IV, ll. 19–23.

737–738 *Sive ... Erasmus* See appendix IV, ll. 130–140.

738–740 *nam ... interpretationem Ibid., ll. 144–145.*

742 *tu ... agis* For Lefèvre’s arguments for not taking *βραχύ τι* as an adjunct of time, see the present apologia, n. l. 10.

746–748 *Subruetur ... manifestat* See appendix IV, ll. 146–148. Where Erasmus reads *ex omni parte*, Lefèvre has *omni ex parte*.

749 *magnis tragoediis* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 75–77 and n.

749–752 *Christum ... deiectum* See appendix III, ll. 22–28.

752–754 *hunc ... adhaerentem* See appendix IV, ll. 132–136. After *sermonem*, l. 752, Erasmus omits: *Christum scilicet non paululum immixtum fuisse a Deo, imo infra abiectissimos etiam homines.*

755 *praeclara* This is an allusion to Lefèvre’s claims about the clarity of his *disputatio*; cf. appendix IV, ll. 28–33. See especially l. 29: *aperta veritatis luce.*

*amica* See appendix IV, ll. 28–29 and the present apologia, ll. 36–37 and n., and n. ll. 1160–1161.

756 *quae ... petitam* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 237–238 and n. and l. 770.

excidisset parum consentiens cum doctrina Christi, tuum erat *amicum* errantem  
 amice monere. Nunc haec omnes prius scire voluisti quam me, quem nec episto-  
 760 lio nec per amiculum quempiam dignatus es submonere, quum tamen episcopus  
 Parisiensis, quum hic regis sui nomine legatione fungeretur, inter colloquia nar-  
 rarit audisse ex te quod, quum fatereris te multis in locis recte monitum a me, in  
 nonnullis tamen scripto conflictaturus sis mecum. At si vera est typographi  
 inscriptio iam tuum hoc opus erat aeditum.

765 Inscitiam, errorem aut si quid aliud est humanum, impingi mihi facile patiar,  
 at impietatem et indignitatem in Deum caeteraque huiusmodi impingi mihi, pati  
 nec possum nec debeo. Neque tamen vices referam vt tam asperam crimina-  
 LB 32 tionem criminatione repellam. Efficiam vt quod non minus scite quam pie | dixit  
 optimus ille Cyprianus, pudor christianus potius quam dolor loqui videatur.  
 770 Mihi in praesentia sat fuerit tantae impietatis crimen a me depulisse, nec luto  
 repetam qui me luto conspersit, contentus abstersisse ne rursus aliam mihi labem  
 contraham dum labem contumaciter eluo fiatque vt dignus etiam videar hac con-  
 tumelia, si contumeliam contumelia retaliaro.

Equidem illud arbitrabar ad Christi gloriam pertinere si illius humilitatem  
 775 quam sponte nostra causa subiit quam maxime exaggerassem, praesertim quum  
 Paulus ausus sit dicere: *exinaniuit semetipsum* et a propheta *vermis* siue, vt  
 quidam vertunt, quorum est Ambrosius, *scarabeus* appelletur et huiusmodi habitu  
 pingatur ab Esaia, et cum ipse in euangelio dicat: *vulpes foueas habent et volucres*  
*coeli nidos, Filius autem hominis non habet vbi caput suum reclinet*, et alibi se  
 780 comparet *grano sinapis* condendo in terram multaque id genus alia quae summam  
 Christi humilitatem nobis declarant. Quicquid enim hic accumulatur, hoc nobis  
 illius erga nos ineffabilem charitatem commendat.

Nec hoc sentio quod videris interpretari Christum aut simpliciter inferiorem  
 aut ita fuisse angelis hominibusue inferiorem vt esset deterior, sed tamen aliqua  
 785 parte fuisse his inferiorem. Certe mihi videtur hoc nomine multum descendisse  
 ac deiecisse sese infra angelos quod assumpserit corpus et animam morti, crucia-  
 tui doloribusque obnoxiam. Haec opinio si *impia* est, si *Deo Christoque indignis-  
 sima*, si *Spiritui aduersatur*, si *litterae quae occidit adhaeret*, vt tu praedicas, fateor  
 errorem meum. Ita hactenus sensi, libenter tamen mutaturus opinionem vbi  
 790 fuero meliora doctus.

Deinde quod non contentus nostram assumere naturam, Dei Filius omnes  
 pene huius vitae calamitates in se recepit: labores, dolores, sudores, famem, sitim,  
 lachrymas, taedium, probra, vincula, flagra, crucem, quum plurimi mortales his  
 malis careant qui tamen his malis digni sunt, videbatur mihi aliqua ex parte  
 795 descendisse et infra infimos homines, non quod interim desineret esse summus ac  
 felicissimus, sed quod haec nostra mala sua sponte vt homo in se reciperet.

Nec enim arbitror ad rem pertinere si quae plurima de Christi dignitate con-  
 geris coner refellere. Latissimus erat campus omnia persequi quae Christi decla-  
 rant sublimitatem ac rursus recensere quae testentur eiusdem humilitatem siue, vt  
 800 Paulus loquitur, exinanitionem. Scis plura esse in diuinis libris quae nobis Verbi

Dei inexplicabilem magnitudinem praedicent, verum si his quoque multo plura essent, nos tamen illius celsitudinem haud vnquam vel oratione vel animo possumus assequi. Sunt item innumera loca quae mire declarant quo se humilitatis

763 conflictaturus sis *BAS*: conflictaturum *A-E*.  
773 contumelia *B-BAS*: *deest* in *A*.  
779 *se* *A C-BAS*: *deest* in *B*.

784 tamen *E BAS*: *deest* in *A-D*.  
801 inexplicabilem *A B E BAS*: explicabilem *C D*.

758–759 *amicum ... amice* See ll. 36–38 and n. 759 *Nunc ... me* Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 150–164 and n. ll. 152–153.

759–760 *quem ... submonere* Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 133–138, ll. 151–164 and n. ll. 159–164.

760–761 *episcopus Parisiensis* See *ibid.*, ll. 146–147: *Stephanus Poncherius, episcopus Parisiensis* (1446–1525). He was bishop of Paris from 1503 to 1519, M.-M. de la Garanderie, *Contemporaries* III, pp. 111–112. Cf. Ep. 778, l. 25 and Ep. 522, l. 109, where Erasmus mentions him.

763–764 *At ... aeditum* This remark seems to be superfluous. Erasmus already argued at length in the present apologia that the *typographi inscriptio* of Lefèvre's book does not give the real date of publication. Cf. n. l. 14 and ll. 167–177.

765–767 *Inscitiam ... debeo* Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 234–238 and n. l. 234.

766 *impietatem ... Deum* See appendix IV, ll. 134–135, and cf. the present apologia, ll. 237–238 and n.

767 *vices referam* Ov. *Ars* I, 370.

769 *Cyprianus ... videatur* *T.C. Cypriani epistolae*, 59, *CSEL* III, 2, ed. G. Hartel, Vienna, 1871, p. 679, ll. 15–16: "... nec tam dolor apud nos debeat quam pudor loqui." Cf. Erasmus in Ep. 784, from Erasmus to <John Fisher>, <Louvain>, <c. 5 March 1518>, ll. 23–25: "Et tamen contraxi frena iusto dolori, multumque dedi vel amicitiae nostrae vel pudori Christiano."

770 *Mihi ... depulisse* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 755–757.

772 *labem contumaciter eluo* Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2, 10, 24: "animi labes ... elui potest".

776 *exinanivit semetipsum* *Phil.* 2, 7. Vg.: "... semetipsum exinanivit ..."

776 *propheta* i.e., David.

776 *vermis* *Ps.* 21, 7.

777 *scarabeus* Ambr. *Expos. in Luc.* X, 113, *CSEL* 32, 4, ed. C. Schenkel, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1902, p. 498, ll. 2–3: "vermis in cruce, scarabaeus in cruce. et bonus vermis,

qui hacsit in ligno, bonus scarabaeus, qui clamauit e ligno." (Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 4–14.) Pace Erasmus, I have not found any passage in Ambrose replacing *vermis* with *scarabaeus* in a translation of *Ps.* 8, 6. But Ambrose does call Jesus a *scarabaeus* in *Expos. in Ps.* CXVIII, 3, 8, *CSEL* 62, 5, ed. M. Petschenig, Vienna and Leipzig, 1913, p. 45, l. 23.

778 *Esaia* Erasmus is perhaps referring to such passages as *Is.* 50, 6, or *Is.* 52, 14. Lefèvre claims that one cannot conclude from these passages that Jesus was really humiliated. According to Lefèvre, these passages do speak of Jesus' humiliation, but he stresses that Jesus was only seemingly humiliated; see appendix IV, ll. 177–192.

778–779 *vulpes ... reclinet* *Lc.* 9, 58, cf. *Mt.* 8, 20.

780 *grano sinapis* In *Mt.* 13, 31, *Mc.* 4, 31, *Lc.* 13, 19, the Kingdom of God and in *Mt.* 17, 19 and *Lc.* 17, 6 faith is compared with a mustard seed. Jesus himself is not compared with a mustard seed in the Bible.

783–787 *Nec ... obnoxiam* For the way Erasmus understood Jesus' humiliation below the angels, cf. the present apologia, ll. 462–470 and n. l. 460.

786–787 *animam ... obnoxiam* These words imply that, in Erasmus' view, the souls of angels cannot suffer torments and pain. Perhaps Erasmus has in mind Lefèvre's remark in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 58–65, that angels can suffer more seriously from punishments than human beings, because the souls of angels are larger.

787–788 *Haec ... adhaeret* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 132–136.

794 *videbatur mihi* See Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.*, appendix III, ll. 23–24; and for Lefèvre's indignant reaction, see appendix IV, ll. 132–148.

800 *exinanitionem* *Phil.* 2, 7.

803 *quo se humilitatis* "To what degree of lowness". Cf. l. 241–242: *Vide quo me deieceris angustiae*, and n.

Sermo diuinus nostra causa deiecerit, nec hanc partem vlla mens humana satis  
805 explicet aut etiam cogitatione percipiat.

Et quanquam vtrouique est mirabilis Christus, tamen haud scio an haec portio  
magis ad nos pertineat, quod illa magnitudinis admiratio potius ad futuram  
vitam pertinere videatur. Tibi placet Christi sublimitatem attollere laudibus, alii  
810 fortassis magis cordi est in humilitatis assumptae contemplatione versari et tamen  
difficile dictu sit vtrius studium magis pium sit, hoc fortasse fuerit interim salu-  
brius. Et haud scio an ipse hac sese nobis spectari malit qua se nobis potissimum  
exhibuit, post maiestatis gloriam exhibiturus. Certe Paulus gloriatur se inter suos  
nihil scire *nisi Iesum Christum et hunc crucifixum*, hoc est non sublimem illum  
sed humilem.

815 Nec ob id ilico tuus erit *aduersarius* qui hac parte Christum contempletur,  
nec tu illius quem magis capit sublimitatis admiratio. Vterque vnum eundemque  
Christum veneramini sed alter altera ex parte. Nec tu, celsitudinis ac maiestatis  
admirator, officis humilitatis laudibus nec hic, humilitatis contemplator, quic-  
quam illius sublimitati detrahit, quod vtraque res in Christum competat ob  
820 diuinam naturam in qua semper fuit Deus et ob humanam infirmitatem quam  
dignatus est assumere in tempore.

Infra angelorum naturam diminutum Christum ob corpus doloribus et morti  
1B 33 obnoxium ausi sunt dicere ante nos viri probatae tum sanctitatis, tum | eruditio-  
nis, a quibus tu primus et solus omnium dissentis, etiam si in causa simili illos  
825 excusas vt potes sed tamen, vt lapsos esse velis, me atrociter obiurgas quod non  
solum idem ausus sim dicere, verum etiam quod adiecerim *infra abiectissimos  
etiam homines* diminutum fuisse. Is sermo videtur grauiter offendisse tuas aures  
perinde quasi deroget celsitudini Christi, quum magis attollat illius sublimitatem  
quando bonitatem eius et sapientiam nobis exaggerat, quibus ille nobis non  
830 minus magnus est quam sua potentia. Tu clamas Christum, Dei Filium, infinitis  
partibus excellere omnem creaturam. Ego, quum istuc maxime fatear et amplec-  
tar, aio eundem Christum, virginis filium, aliquando infra angelorum sortem  
nostra causa descendisse, nec id solum, verumetiam infra multorum hominum  
sortem descendisse, qui non solum naturam assumpserit, siti, fami, lassitudini,  
835 probris, dolori mortique obnoxiam, verumetiam tot humanae vitae iniurias, hoc  
est nostris peccatis debitas poenas in se receperit.

Atque vt sic auderem loqui, diuus Paulus mihi fiduciam tribuit qui in epistola  
ad Philippenses videtur huiusmodi gradus in Christo subnotare, cum deiecti  
exemplum nobis proponens ait: *qui quum in forma Dei esset non rapinam*  
840 *arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinaniuit formam serui accipi-*  
*ens, in similitudine hominum factus et habitu inuentus vt homo.* Hactenus indicat  
quatenus infra angelos descenderit. Mox aperit quatenus se deiecerit infra  
homines: *humiliauit semetipsum factus obediens vsque ad mortem, mortem autem*  
*crucis.* Pauci homines ad mortem vsque se humiliant, pauciores ad mortem  
845 crucis.

Tu sic faues Christo vt nolis eum esse deiectum, nisi paululum idque *a Deo*, at  
Paulus exinanium dicit vt vel ipso verbo statim intelligas eum multum esse



850 diectum. Deinde fatetur Paulus ob hoc ipsum exaltatum quod sese plurimum humiliaverit: *propter quod et Deus exaltauit illum et donauit illi nomen supra omne nomen*. Sic exaltatus est vt nihil accederet diuinae gloriae, sic humiliatus est vt eidem nihil decesserit et tamen vere humiliatus est, vere exaltatus est. Si qui semet humiliat, sese deiicit; et qui humiliatus est, aliquo modo inferior est; alioqui nec humiliatus dicitur. Et si ob id humiliatus dicitur quod veluti seruus obedierit *vsque ad mortem et mortem crucis*, et ad eas poenas descenderit quas

815 tuus A-C E BAS: tutus D.

826 idem A C-BAS: eadem Ac, deest in B; sim Ac B-BAS: sum A.

849 supra E BAS: super A-D.

853 nec A C-BAS: neque B.

854 obedierit A B E BAS: obediret C D.

804 *Sermo diuinus* In his *Nov. Instr.* of 1519 Erasmus had replaced "Verbum", the reading of the Vulgate in *Ioh.* 1, 1, with "Sermo". This alteration elicited many vehement objections. As a result, Erasmus altered the translation again in the *Nov. Test.* of 1522, restoring the Vulgate reading. The apologia he wrote in response to these objections, entitled *Apologia de In principio erat Sermo*, was first published by Martens in 1520. It was re-published by Hillen in the same year. Both editions appeared after the first four editions of the apologia against Lefèvre. Erasmus did not deem it necessary to replace "Sermo" with "Verbum" in this passage in the two editions of this apologia, E and BAS, which were published after the *Apologia de In principio erat Sermo*.

806-807 *haec portio* Jesus' humiliation is contrasted here with his *magnitudo*, ll. 807-808, which people will admire in life after death.

812 *post* "later on", adverb.

812-813 *Paulus ... crucifixum* I *Cor.* 2, 2.

815 *aduersarius* See this apologia, l. 342 and n., l. 347 and n., l. 1323, and n. l. 1328.

824 *primus ... dissentis* As early as 1516, Erasmus noticed that Lefèvre could use Jerome's text (*Comm. in Ps.*) to support the translation *a Deo* (see appendix III, ll. 7-10). But to weaken Lefèvre's position, he mentions in the present apologia, ll. 537-546 (see also the n. at ll. 542-546, cf. n. l. 497), that the Hieronymian authenticity of the *Comm. in Ps.* is uncertain and moreover that Jerome follows the reading *ab angelis* in his *Comm. in Gal.*, a work whose authenticity is beyond doubt. Consequently, in Erasmus' opinion, Lefèvre could not use Jerome in support of the translation *a Deo*: Lefèvre's interpretation and translation contradicted the whole authoritative tradition. On the other hand, however, Erasmus asserts that his quoting Lefèvre for the interpretation

*a Deo* (in 1516, appendix III, ll. 7-8) was a great honour to Lefèvre, since Erasmus could have confined himself to citing Jerome only. See the present apologia, ll. 320-324.

824-827 *etiam ... fuisse* Lefèvre did not agree that Erasmus, on the one hand, and Aquinas and the Church Fathers, on the other, were in a *causa similis*, and this for two reasons. First, Erasmus knew Hebrew, whereas the Church Fathers did not; consequently, they were not able to read *Ps.* 8, 6 in Hebrew. If they could have read it in Hebrew, they would, Lefèvre thought, have preferred the reading *a Deo*; see appendix IV, ll. 68-72, ll. 350-359, ll. 457-476. Secondly, Erasmus went further than the Church Fathers by contending that Jesus had been humiliated below the most abject of men; see appendix III, ll. 23-24. For Lefèvre's reaction to Erasmus' view on these matters, see appendix IV, ll. 132-136. Aquinas indeed does not literally say that Jesus had been humiliated below the most abject of men, but he does say that Jesus had been humiliated even below man; see the present apologia, n. ll. 369-370.

827 *offendisse tuas aures* Cf. *Cic. Or.* 44, 150: "offendunt aures", although with a different meaning.

839-841 *qui ... homo* *Phil.* 2, 6-7.

841 *similitudine* The Vulgate has "similitudinem", but Erasmus also reads "similitudine" in his translation of *Phil.* 2, 7 in the *Nov. Instr.* (p. 97).

841-842 *indicat ... angelos* In fact, Paul does not speak of angels at all, let alone of Jesus' humiliation below the angels.

843-844 *humiliauit ... crucis* *Phil.* 2, 8.

846 *Tu ... Deo* See appendix IV, ll. 122-124.

849-850 *propter ... nomen* *Phil.* 2, 9. Where Erasmus reads *supra* the Vulgate reads "super".

853-854 *Et ... crucis* See *Phil.* 2, 7-8.

855 nemo mortalium aut passus est aut fortasse pati possit, quid habet impietatis hic sermo si dicatur *infra abiectissimos etiam homines* abiecis se? Graue onus paupertas, ille voluit esse pauperrimus. Dura res dolor, ille summos in se recepit cruciatus. Acerbissima rerum mors et mors adacta, denique talis mors et hanc in se recepit. Morte quoque acerbior est ignominia; conspui et probris obrui voluit.

860 Quod humanam assumpsit naturam, hactenus aequalis fuit caeteris hominibus; quod pauper, quod in summis laboribus vixit, hactenus infra multos homines fuit; quod mortalis erat, hoc nobis erat aequalis; quod talem mortem pro nobis delegit, infra vulgus hominum sese deiecit. Nec ea res quicquam, opinor, detrahit dignitati Christi qua semper est Patri aequalis, non profecto  
865 magis quam illius felicitati derogat siue, vt quidam loquuntur, beatificae fruitioni quod in anima pariter ac corpore summos pati voluit cruciatus. Nec enim ob id Christum facimus infelicem, quod et carere voluit his commodis quibus hominum vulgus se felices putant et nostrae conditionis incommoda perpeti, eaque perferre ob quae vulgus infelices vocat, etiamsi tuus Aristoteles ista partem  
870 aliquam felicitatis et infelicitatis atque adeo plusquam dimidium facit.

Ac ne quid forte cauilleris, quum plerique recentiores humiliationem siue exinanitionem Christi non ad dolores susceptos sed ad naturam hominis assumptam referant, me perperam hoc de meo addidisse, primum vides ipsum Paulum insignite distinguere naturam a malis susceptis non solum hoc loco quem modo  
875 citauimus, verumetiam in epistola ad Hebraeos quum ait: *eum autem qui modicum quam angeli minoratus est, videmus Iesum propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum*. Ac paulo inferius: *in eo enim in quo passus est ipse et tentatus potens est et eis qui tentantur auxiliari*. Audis non naturae sed passionis mentionem.

880 Quod si quis attentius excutiat Ambrosianam interpretationem, comperiet hanc quoque humiliationem non tantum ad naturam assumptam, verumetiam ad susceptas naturae contumelias referre, siquidem hunc edisserens locum, quem paulo ante citauimus, ait: *Christus igitur sciens in forma Dei se esse, aequalem se ostendit Deo sed vt humilitatis legem doceret; Iudaeis se comprehendentibus non solum non repugnauit sed semetipsum exinaniuit, hoc est potestatem suam ab opere  
885 traxit vt humiliatus ociosa virtute infirmari videretur formam serui suscipiens dum tenetur et ligatur et verberibus agitur vsque ad crucem factus obediens Patri cui se aequalem sciebat, non sibi defendit aequalitatem sed subiecit se. Hanc patientiam et humilitatem imitari nos docet vt non solum aequalibus nos non antepoamus verumetiam inclinemus nos, auctoris nostri secuti exemplum*. Ac mox: *serui autem formam accepisse dicitur dum quasi peccator humiliatur. Serui autem ex peccato fiunt sicut Cham, filius Noe, qui primus merito nomen serui accepit*.

Atque hactenus quidem audis Ambrosium mecum haud obscure facientem. Is Christi humiliationem exaggerat quo insignius sit exemplum quod nobis in se  
895 expressit quodque nominatim iussit imitari: *discite a me quod mitis sum et humilis corde*. Tu Christum paululum quiddam humiliatum esse vis, homo misericors, opinor, qui nolis Christum durius accipi. Iam quae sequuntur apud

900 Ambrosium dilucidius etiam pro me faciunt. *Non enim, inquit, mihi sicut quibusdam videtur, sic formam serui accepisse dum homo natus est.* Ego ad vtrunque retuli Christum diminutum, iste tantum ad vitae nostrae contumelias referri vult.

Diuus Augustinus quanquam magis spectare videtur assumptam hominis naturam, tamen passionis mentionem adiungit quum ait: *quem minutum paulo*

858 hanc *Ac B-BAS: deest in A.*  
859 est *BAS: deest in A-E.*  
863 sese *A-C E BAS: se D.*

886 infirmari *A B E BAS: informari C D.*  
895 quodque *E BAS: quod A-D.*

855-856 *quid ... sermo* For Lefèvre's accusation of *impietas* against Erasmus, see appendix IV, l. 134.

856 *infra ... se* See appendix III, ll. 23-24.

865 *quidam* Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, pars tertia, quaestio 8,3, art. 5 *ad* 9: "Per calicem duo possunt significari: vno modo ipsa passio quae repraesentatur in hoc sacramento et secundum hoc, per partem in calicem missam significantur illi qui adhuc sunt participes passionum Christi. Alio modo potest significari fruitio beata quae etiam in hoc sacramento praefiguratur. Et ideo illi quorum corpora iam sunt in plena beatitudine significantur per partem in calicem missam." Cf. *A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas* by R.J. Deferrari e.a. p. 449 *ad* "fruitio": "... fruitio beata: the blessed enjoyment or the enjoyment of the blessed in heaven..."

869-870 *etiamsi ... facit* Erasmus seems to mean that, according to Aristotelian doctrine, misfortune is only the extent to which someone's fate is on the negative side of the mid-point between good fortune and misery. Erasmus may have thought that such a relativizing definition of misfortune was justified in light of Aristotle's arithmetical treatment of the notion of justice in *Eth. Nic.* V, 3-4, 1131a10-1132b21.

869 *tuus* Erasmus is alluding to Lefèvre's intensive Aristotelian studies; see the present apologia, n. l. 151.

871-873 *plerique ... referant* Petrus Lombardus, *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in iv libris distinctae*, Collegium S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, Grottaferrata, Rome, 1981, iii, 6, 5, p. 58.

874 *hoc loco* *Philip.* 2, 7-9.

875-877 *eum ... coronatum* *Hebr.* 2, 9.

877-878 *prius in ... auxiliari* *Hebr.* 2, 18.

882-883 *locum ... citauimus* I.e., in the present apologia, ll. 839-844: *Phil.* 2, 6-8.

883-890 *Christus ... exemplum* Ambrosiaster *Comm. ad Phil.*, cap. ii, v. 7-8, *CSEL* 81, 3,

ed. H.I. Vogels, Vienna, 1969, p. 140, ll. 1-12. For *traxit* in l. 886, Vogels reads "retraxit" (variant reading: "retrahit"); for *suscipiens*, in l. 886, Vogels reads "accipiens"; for *obediens* in l. 887, Vogels reads "obaudiens" (variant reading oboediens); for *aequalibus* in l. 889, Vogels reads "coaequalibus".

886 *ociosa* "quiet", "without fierce emotions". Cf. *Adag.* 2858 (*Ociosus esto*), *ASD* II, 6, p. 537, ll. 518-527.

886 *infirmari* *A, B, E* and *BAS* have this reading, whereas *C* and *D* read "informari". These two different readings also occur in the textual tradition of this passage of Ambrosiaster. Perhaps the *varia lectio* in *C* and *D* can be explained from the textual variation in Ambrosiaster.

890-892 *serui ... accepit* Ambrosiaster, *Comm. ad Phil.*, cap. ii, v. 7-8, *CSEL* 81, 3, ed. H.I. Vogels, Vienna, 1969, p. 140, ll. 13-15. For *nomen serui* in l. 892, Vogels reads "serui nomen".

895 *nominatim* "expressly".

895-896 *discite ... corde* *Mt.* 11, 29. Where Erasmus reads *quod*, the Vulgate has "quia". The word *quod* is probably due to a stylistic correction by Erasmus himself; it is not recorded as a variant reading in the apparatus of Wordsworth-White, *ad loc.*

896-897 *Tu ... accipi* See appendix IV, ll. 122-127.

*homo misericors* I.e., Lefèvre. Erasmus means that Lefèvre is merciful, because he does not want to believe that Jesus was humiliated very deeply. The phrase is ironic.

898-899 *Non ... est* *Ambr. Comm. ad Phil.*, cap. ii, v. 7-8, *CSEL* 81, 3, ed. H.I. Vogels, Vienna, 1969, p. 140, ll. 15-17.

902-904 *quem ... credidimus* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 534-536, where Erasmus quotes this passage and its preceding context; see Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 8, 11, at 8, 6-7, *CCSL* 38, edd. D.E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956, p. 54, ll. 10-11.

minus ab angelis per humilitatem carnalis generationis atque passionis audiuimus et credidimus, quandoquidem carnalem generationem appellat naturam hominis assumptam, passionem naturae contumelias. Ac paulo superior: *de quo propter infirmitatem carnis, quam sapientia Dei gestare dignata est, et passionis humilitatem recte dicitur: minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis.* Rursus duo coniungit, naturam assumptam et afflictionem, et passioni nomen humilitatis accommodat, quam tu vis *exaltationem* dici, etiam si non inficior Christi humilitatem esse gloriosam, quandoquidem, vt inquit Hilarius, illius *humilitas nostra nobilitas est, illius contumelia honor noster est.*

Vides mihi nec hac in parte scriptorum illustrium deesse patrocinium. Quo si maxime destituerer, non arbitror flagitium si quid ipse noui commentus fuissem, praesertim quum id probabiliter ex Pauli verbis colligatur et ad Christi gloriam faciat, non ad contumeliam, ad nostram salutem conducat, non ad perniciem. Proinde si sententiam meam tibi probaui, non arbitror aequum esse tantopere offendi te quod dixerim illum deiecisse se *infra abiectissimos homines.* Et fortasse deiiciendi verbum tibi contumeliam sonat. Dicitur descendisse, dicitur humiliatus, dicitur diminutus, dicitur inferior, dicitur minor, denique Paulo dicitur exinanitus, et cur est quod nos offendat deiiciendi verbum aut si quod aliud est huic simile?

Neque puto te tam rudem Latini sermonis, vt existimes abiectos aut deiectos tantum dici qui suo merito malis obnoxii sunt. Quum enim ait Ouidius: *quamuis abiectus et infra te quoque sim,* non mores suos accusat, sed sortem duram et grauem indicat. Absit enim vt non dicam me, sed quemquam christianorum huc impietatis vel potius *amentiae* prolapsum existimes, vt Christo vitium aut indignitatem aut ignominiam asscribat et animi malis cum abiectissimis, hoc est sceleratissimis hominibus conferat. An non laboriosos, pauperes, contemptos iuxta mundum abiectos dicimus? Et an non vere aliqua | in parte humiles abiectique sunt? Cum sic abiectis hominibus Christum similiter abiectum compono, nisi quod quae illi saepe adacti necessitate patiuntur, hic volens nostra causa tulit. Non eum cum latronibus confero, sed cum martyribus et si illum cum suis latronibus conferam, quod indigniora quam illi passus sit, cum illis vera crimina non opprobrentur, hic innocens tot probris affectus sit, non opinor me impie facturum.

At dicis: ista quae Christus in se volens recepit mala non sunt nec reddunt deteriorem sed potius meliorem, atque hoc loco nonnihil a Peripateticis tuis desciscens ad Stoicos prouocas. *Si etiam philosophos,* inquis, *interrogemus an vir fortis vt victoriam pariat populiue salutem, quod ad flagra, ad vulnera, ad ipsam denique mortem sciens volensque descendat, an, inquam, inferior abiectiorque habeatur, dicent procul dubio quod multo etiam superior multoque honorabilior.* Et in eandem sententiam de martyribus philosopharis.

Primum ad quod genus malorum pertineant quae iuxta tuum Aristotelem non sinunt hominem adipisci perfectam felicitatem nihil mea refert, mihi satis est esse in aliquo malorum genere. Socrates nihilo deterior erat quum cicutam biberet,

quum compedes gestaret in carcere quam quum aureus staret in foro. Et tamen illic aliquo modo deiectus erat, hic euectus et honoratus. Si quis rex, mendici pannis tectus, famem, exilium, carcerem vltro subeat quo consulat reipublicae, nonne recte dixeris hunc a regia fortuna deiecisse se *infra abiectissimos etiam homines?*

At hoc ipso maior est, inquis, quod ad ista descenderit. Si quo modo fateris descendisse, aliquo modo inferiorem fatearis oportet. Sed alia ratione inferior est, alia melior et honoratior. Si sortem et cruciatus attendas et cum pristina gloria conferas, multum se deiecit; si virtutem animi, multo seipso melior est. Martyr hac parte qua ad iussum regis ceruicem porrigit et tyranno se submittit, hac est

910 illius ... est *E BAS: deest in A-D.*

955 *alt. hac B E BAS: hoc A C D.*

905-907 *de ... angelis Ibid., p. 54, ll. 2-5.*

After *propter* Augustine reads "ipsam".

908-909 *quam ... dici* See appendix IV, ll. 253-254, where Lefèvre, referring to *Ioh. 12, 32*, "et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum", asserts that Christ called his *passio* an *exaltatio*.

910-911 *illius humilitas ... est* Hil. *Trin. 2, 25, CCSL 62*, ed. P. Smulders, Turnhout, 1979, p. 61, ll. 16-17: "Humilitas eius nostra nobilitas est, contumelia eius honor noster est."

916-917 *tantopere offendi te* See appendix III, l. 24, appendix IV, ll. 132-136.

917 *quod ... homines* See appendix III, l. 24.

920 *exinanitus Phil. 2, 7.*

922-923 *Neque ... sunt* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 247-277 and the Introduction pp. 28-30.

923-924 *quamuis ... sim* Ov. *Trist. V, 8, ll. 1-2*: "quamuis abiectus, vt infra te quoque sim".

925-928 *Absit ... conferat* Cf. *Ep. 778*, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 180-183, "... ita lacesisset (i.e., Lefèvre) vt, nisi me defendere, Augustinum, Ambrosium, Athanasium, Chrysostomum, breuiter ceteros orthodoxos omnes atque ipsum adeo Hieronymum in communi crimine fuerim deserturus."

926 *impietatis* See appendix IV, l. 134.

926 *amentiae* Cf. *ibid.* l. 515.

927 *animi malis* "on account of wickedness of heart". *malis* is ablative of cause rather than an ablative of quality.

932-933 *suis latronibus* I.e., the two robbers or criminals crucified together with Jesus, *Mc. 15, 27; Mt. 27, 38; Lc. 23, 32; Ioh. 19, 18.*

933-934 *cum ... opprobrentur* "since they were not blamed for their real crimes".

936-937 *ista ... meliorem* See appendix IV,

ll. 250-254 and 273-275.

937 *Peripateticis tuis* For Lefèvre's study of Aristotle, see the present apologia, n. l. 151.

938 *ad Stoicos prouocas* Erasmus' intention is explained by the next sentence. Obviously Erasmus means that Lefèvre's view, according to which Jesus' suffering and dying for others made him noble rather than ignoble, derives from Stoic philosophy.

938-941 *Si ... honorabilior* See appendix IV, ll. 261-264.

941-942 *in ... philosopharis* *Ibid.*, ll. 264-268.

943-944 *ad ... felicitatem* According to Aristotle, one cannot be perfectly happy if one's circumstances are not sufficiently favourable: in order to be happy, one has to be in good health, to have enough food and other indispensable goods, and to enjoy a certain degree of prosperity. See *Eth. Nic. X, 8, 1178 b 34-1179 a 4*. Moreover, one cannot be happy without leisure; if one has to make war or be politically active, one cannot be perfectly happy. See *Eth. Nic. X, 7, 1177 b 4-17*. The *mala* referred to in l. 943 thus are: bad health, hunger, poverty, and lack of leisure. Aristot. *Eth. Nic. II, 7, 1107 a33-1108 b10*.

946 *aureus ... foro* Cf. *Adag. 715, LB II, 306 B-C*, (Aureus in Olympia stato). Erasmus is thinking of a golden statue erected for someone of great merit. He used the same idiom in the *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., ASD IX, 2, p. 202, l. 650*; see n. l. 650.

949-950 *infra ... homines* In his *Nov. Instr.*, Erasmus used this phrase to describe the position of Jesus during his passion, see appendix III, l. 24. For Lefèvre's reaction in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 132-136.

inferior, cum pietate sit illo longe superior. Et quemadmodum martyr in suppliciis amore Christi et eius exemplo sese humiliat, ita eiusdem exemplo *gloria et honore* coronatur, vt qui socius fuerit deiecto, idem socius sit euecto et regnanti.

960 Neque tamen nos vsquam Christum abiectum aut abiectiorem diximus, quod tu repetis in hac argumentatione, neque quisquam illi abiectionem aut impropriū obicit quod, vt ais, infidelium est ac Iudaeorum. Imo vtrunque in illo adoramus et exosculamur, et quod exaltatus est super omnia, et quod nostra causa sic sese deiecit. In altero videmus quid nobis sit imitandum, in altero quid sperandum. Adoramus sublimem sedentem ad dextram Patris et eundem adora-

965 mus vagientem in cunis, adoramus consputum, adoramus infami sententia damnatum, adoramus etiānum crucis et plagarum pro nobis susceptarum seruantem vestigia.

Cur tibi solum placet exaltationis vocabulum, quum ne possit quidem exaltari qui non aliquo modo fuerit inferior? Si recte inferior dicitur in imo subsellio

970 sedens vir optimus eo qui summo thoro recumbit nequissimus, an non aliquo modo inferior est qui tot humanae vitae iniurias in se recepit? Nec enim quisquis aliquo modo inferior est, statim et simpliciter est inferior.

Non loquor, inquis, de homine assumpto sed de Iesu Christo qui est Deus ac Filius Dei. Atque ego de eodem loquor homine, et hominis Filio et homine crucifixo tot mala pro nobis passo. Si Iesus Christus tantum est Dominus et Filius Dei, qui intelligitur diminutus? Si idem est hominis Filius et hactenus seipso minor, quid absurdi sit huc referre diminutionem? Et haud scio an probabilius sit *Christum et Christi nomen*, sic enim loqueris, quum duas significet naturas, pro vna duntaxat accipi non pro duabus, vt tu vis, aut, quod est absurdius, e

980 duabus composito, etiam si quum Filius hominis diminutus dicitur, quoniam comparatio ad duo refertur, sermo videtur ad vtranque naturam respicere, assumptam et assumptam.

Alioqui cum dico: Christus assumpsit humanam naturam, vtrum Christi vocabulum pro vtraque natu|ra positum videtur an pro altera, nempe diuina? Et

LB 36 985 quum Augustinus ait: Dei Filius assumpsit Filium hominis, cum vtrunque sit hypostaseos vocabulum, tamen apparet vtrunque pro altera natura accipi. Proin tu videris an quaecunque aliquo modo duo significant, statim in enuntiationibus pro duobus accipiantur. Nisi forte cum 'album' dico, quoniam ea vox substantiam significat simulque colorem inhaerentem, 'album' recte pro vtroque dicitur

990 accipi. Aut quia 'Pater' in diuinis duas significat personas, alteram in recto, alteram in obliquo, protinus pro duabus accipietur. Aut quia 'caecus' significat oculis captum atque obiter etiam visum, pro vtroque accipietur.

Et tamen quod hactenus a me dictum est argumentando duntaxat, est dictum vt eo peruenirem quo tendebam, βαχχὺ τι ad tempus esse referendum. Tu perinde nos oppugnas quasi hic esset disputationis meae cardo. Sed operaepreacium est audire quanto molimine excusas quod Christus in Psalmis dixerit se *vermem et non hominem, opprobrium hominum et abiectiōnem plebis*, nam hunc forte locum adduxeram. Quasi vero periculum esset ne Christus crederetur vere fuisse vermis, nisi te famae suae patronum esset nactus.

1000 Nihil offendit pias aures quod *vermis* dicitur, non magis quam quod *lapis* dicitur aut *agnus* aut *leo* aut *vitis* aut *granum sinapis* aut aliud simile. Atque hic putas

970 recumbit *BAS*: recumbat *A-E*.  
 971 iniurias *Ac B-BAS*: incurias *A*.  
 976 seipso *BAS*: se *A-E*.  
 978 duas *A B E BAS*: duas vtcunque *C D*.  
 979 vt tu vis, aut *A B E BAS*: aut vt tu vis *C D*.

957-958 *gloria ... coronatur* Cf. *Hebr.* 2, 9.  
 959-960 *quod ... argumentatione* See appendix IV, ll. 247-250.  
 960-961 *abiectionem aut improprium* *Ibid.*, ll. 358-359.  
 961 *vt ... iudaeorum* *Ibid.*, ll. 248-249 and 272.  
 962 *exaltatus ... omnia* Cf. *Phil.* 2, 9.  
 964 *sublimem ... Patris* *Mc.* 16, 19, *Col.* 3, 1, *Hebr.* 10, 12.  
 965 *vagientem in cunis* Although the image may be reminiscent of *Lc.* 2, 7, the language is Cicero's: *Cato* 23, 83 "in cunis vagire", *Rep.* 2, 11, 21 "in cunabulis vagientem", etc. *consputum* *Mc.* 14, 65; 15, 19, *Mt.* 26, 67; 27, 30.  
 965-966 *infami sententia damnatum* *Mc.* 14, 53-64, *Mt.* 26, 57-66.  
 966 *crucis et plagarum* *Mc.* 15, 15-25, *Ioh.* 19, 18-23, *Mt.* 27, 26-35, *Lc.* 23, 33.  
 968 *Cur ... vocabulum* Erasmus asks this because of Lefevre's formulation in appendix IV, ll. 253-254.  
 973-974 *Non ... Dei* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 96-97: *neque de assumpto homine intelligimus ... sed intelligimus de Christo Domino qui est Filius Dei*. The subject of *loquor* is Lefevre.  
 976-977 *idem ... minor* Erasmus probably has in mind Augustine's phrase, already quoted in the present apologia, ll. 725-726 and n. l. 726.  
 977 *quid absurdi* Cf. appendix IV, l. 106.  
 977-982 *Et ... assumptam* "It is probably less recommendable to take 'Christ' and (to use your words) 'the name of Christ', terms which signify two natures, to refer, rather than to only one nature, to two, as you do, or, what is still more absurd, to a composite of the two, in spite of the fact that the expression 'the Son of man was humiliated', implying a comparison of two aspects of Christ's being, seems to refer to both natures, the divine nature, which takes on humanity, and the human nature assumed by Christ's deity."  
 978 *Christum ... loqueris* See appendix IV, l. 110.  
 979-980 *e duabus composito* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 692-698, where Erasmus cites

979 quod est absurdus *E BAS*: *deest* in *A-D*.  
 991 accipietur *B-BAS*: accipi *A*.  
 992 visum *A B E BAS*: amissum visum *C D*; accipietur *B-BAS*: accipi *A*.  
 995 nos *B-BAS*: *deest* in *A*.

passages from Augustine in which he speaks about a *mixtura* of Jesus' natures.  
 985 *Augustinus ... hominis* Cf. *Aug. Trin.* 2, 6, *CCSL* 50, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1968, p. 93, l. 132-p. 94, l. 16.  
 986 *hypostaseos vocabulum* "a name of the person" or "a word designating the person" (i.e., of Christ).  
 986-988 *Proin ... accipiantur* "It is up to you, therefore, to consider whether all words that signify two things, when they are used in statements, should immediately be taken to refer to both of them." *videris* is subjunctive of the perfect active. It expresses the idea that an action is left to someone else, or for another moment, to be executed. It has the value of a jussive. A. Ernout and F. Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, Paris, 1953, 268, quote Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 118: "sed de te tu videris ..., à toi d'aviser ..." For the same phrase, see the present apologia, l. 1012: *tu videris an*. See also l. 1642 *ipse videris* and l. 2532 *tu videris*.  
 990 *duas significat personas* "Pater" can signify the person who speaks or acts, or the person to whom one speaks; that is, it can be a nominative or a vocative.  
 990-991 *recto ... obliquo* "nominative ... an oblique case."  
 992 *oculis captum* "someone bereft of his eyesight".  
*obiter ... visum* "someone seen in passing", i.e., only vaguely.  
 995-999 *Sed ... nactus* See appendix IV, ll. 161-238.  
 997-998 *nam ... adduxeram* See appendix III, ll. 25-26.  
 999 *vermis* *Ps.* 21, 7.  
 1000 *lapis* 1. *Petr.* 2, 7, *Eph.* 2, 20, *Mt.* 21, 42, *Mc.* 12, 10, *Act.* 4, 11.  
 1001 *agnus* *Ioh.* 1, 29 and 36; *Ap. Ioh. passim*.  
*leo* *Ap. Ioh.* 5, 5.  
*vitis* *Ioh.* 15, 1-5.  
*granum sinapis* Jesus himself is not called a mustard seed in the Bible; see the present apologia, n. l. 780.

tibi Tenediam bipennem repertam qua omnes huiusmodi nodos disseces, si omnia quae in hanc formam de Christo leguntur in diuinis literis non ad veritatem, sed ad *Iudaeorum* pertineant existimationem siue, vt tu loqueris, *aestimationem*, visque totum illum psalmum qui *derelictionem, deiectionem et confusionem* sonat *secundum aestimationem et iudicium sacerdotum, scribarum et pharisaeorum* esse intelligendum. Atqui si sic accipi poterat, cur non mea verba sic interpretaberis? Christum aestimatione Iudaeorum fuisse diminutum *infra abiectissimos homines*? Minus est abiectum esse infra homines quam appellari *vermem*, quam probrum, quam reiectamentum? Et si haec pie possunt intelligi, cur in meis suspicaris impietatem?

Sed tamen tu videris an verum sit quod ais, totum illum psalmum ad existimationem Iudaeorum pertinere, nisi forte quod inibi legitur, *foderunt manus meas et pedes meos*, item illud: *omnes videntes deriserunt me* et caetera existimationis sunt, non veritatis. Quid quod recentiores etiam theologi negant Christum moriturum fuisse, ni diuinitas humanum corpus aliquo modo dereliquisset. Quod si verum est, non opinione, sed re fuit derelictus.

Quum autem constet appellatione *vermis* nihil aliud significari quam summam Christi humiliationem, eaque humiliatio sita sit in malis quae nostra causa assumpsit, si vere mala nostra recepit et passus est, vere fuit humiliatus et hactenus vere *vermis*. Certe quod caesus est flagris, quod consputus, quod victus, quod accusatus, quod damnatus, quod probris affectus, quod inter sceleratos crucifixus, veritatis est, non existimationis Iudaeorum et tamen ob haec *vermis* dicitur, ob haec dicitur humiliatus ac diminutus, ob haec exinanitus. Sed immerens ista tulit. Fateor, verum ista hoc sunt indigniora si accidant immerenti.

Atque aliquanto inferius hoc agis vt quod *vermis* appelletur ad nos pertineat, non ad Christum, quod *vermis* terrenus sit, Christus autem *coelestis* dicatur apud Paulum. Et tamen diuus Augustinus hunc enarrans locum ausus est ad ipsum Christum referre. *Quare, inquit, vermis? Quia mortalis, quia de carne natus, quia sine concubitu natus*. Atque haec cum vere in Christum competerent, non iuxta hominum existimationem, quomodo tibi existimatione tantum *vermis* dicitur? Tametsi hoc quidem in loco quod apud Augustinum sequitur mihi non admodum probatur, qui sic interpretatur *non hominem* dictum quod Deus esset. *Quare, inquit, non homo? Quia in principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum*. Id enim argutius videtur dictum quam verius. Nec enim ideo Christus homo non erat quod Deus esset, nec absque tropo dictus est *non homo*. Tametsi sic propemodum | argutatur et Ambrosius enarrans apud Lucam Petri negationem, quasi sic dixerit Petrus *non noui hominem* quod Deum agnosceret.

Sed vt ad rem redeam, idem Augustinus edisserens primum caput euangelii Ioannis scribit hunc in modum: *si enim ipse Dominus dicit: ego autem sum vermis et non homo, quis dubitat hoc dicere quod scriptum est in Iob: Quanto magis homo putredo et Filius hominis vermis, putredinis* appellationem ad nos referens, *vermis* ad Christum? Neque vero Paulus ideo Christum *coelestem* vocat quod corpus



1045 terrenum non haberet, sed quod a contagio terreni Adae abesset, quandoquidem illic duos fecit Adam, alterum peccandi principem, alterum innocentiae principem. Certe diuus Augustinus non veretur Christo terreni cognomen tribuere epistola 147 ad Consentium: *Dominus*, inquit, *ad hoc terrenus factus est quum esset coelestis, ut eos qui terreni erant faceret coelestes*. Quod si solus Christus  
 1050 *coelestis* est, caeteri omnes *terreni*, igitur *vermis* appellatio in martyres non iuxta existimationem malorum, sed vere competet iuxta tuam interpretationem. Quod si hic quoque valere vis *κησφύγετον* opinionis, cur addis *scribarum et pharisaeorum*? An apud istos tantum passi sunt martyres aut apud hos tantum contempti?

1004 ad *BAS*: *deest* in *A-E*.

1005 visque *A-E*: vixque *BAS*.

1010 possunt *BAS*: possint *A-E*.

1013 inibi *B-BAS*: *deest* in *A*.

1018 significari *A B E BAS*: significare *C D*.

1002 *Tenediam bipennem Adag.* 892, *LB II*, 345 F–346 D (Conueniet aut in eos qui nimium seuerie iudicant ac puniunt aut qui celeriter expediunt controuersias et litium ambiguitates).

*nodos disseces* Cf. *Adag.* 6 (Nodum soluere), *ASD II*, 1, pp. 118–119.

1003–1007 *omnia ... intelligendum* See appendix IV, ll. 161–194.

1004–1005 *aestimationem* See appendix IV, l. 211.

1005–1007 *totum ... intelligendum* *Ibid.* ll. 234–236.

1008–1009 *infra abiectissimos homines* See appendix III, l. 24.

1009–1010 *vermem ... reiectamentum* Cf. *Ps.* 21, 7.

1011 *impietatem* See appendix IV, l. 134.

1012 *tu videris an* See the present apologia, n. ll. 987–989.

1012–1013 *ais ... pertinere* See appendix IV, l. 211.

1013–1014 *foderunt ... meos* *Ps.* 21, 17.

1014 *omnes ... me* *Ps.* 21, 8. *Vg.*: “omnes videntes me deriserunt me ...”

1015–1016 *recentiores ... dereliquisset* Petrus Lombardus, *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae ...*, Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, Grottaferata, Rome, 1981, iii, 21, 1, pp. 130–134.

1021–1023 *Certe ... crucifixus* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 965–968 and nn.

1026–1028 *hoc ... Paulum* See appendix IV, ll. 219–228.

1026 *vermis* *Ps.* 21, 7. See Introduction, pp. 26–27.

1027 *coelestis* 1 *Cor.* 15, 48.

1028 *hunc ... locum* *Ps.* 21, 7.

1027 dicatur *B E BAS*: dicitur *A C D*.

1036–1037 nec ... homo *Ac B-BAS*: *deest* in *A*.

1047–1049 Certe ... coelestes *E BAS*: *deest* in *A-D*.

1029–1030 *Quare ... concubitu natus* Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.*, 21, 2, 7, *CCSL* 38, edd. D.E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956, p. 125, ll. 6–7.

1034–1035 *Quare ... Verbum* *Ibid.* p. 125, ll. 7–9.

1036 *tropo* “Figure of speech”, viz. synecdoche, or “amplificatio”, i.e., an exaggerated description.

1037–1039 *Ambrosius ... agnosceret* *Expos. in Lc.* 10, 84, *CCSL* 32, edd. C. Schenkel and H. Schenkel, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1902, p. 487, ll. 16–19.

1038 *non noui hominem* *Mt.* 26, 72, cf. *Lc.* 22, 57.

1041–1043 *si ... hominis vermis* Aug. *Tract. in Iob.* 1, 13, *CCSL* 36, ed. D.R. Willems, Turnhout, 1954, pp. 7–8, ll. 25–28.

1042–1043 *Quanto ... hominis vermis* *Iob* 25, 6.

1044 *coelestem* 1 *Cor.* 15, 47–48.

1046 *illic* 1 *Cor.* 15, 47.

1048–1049 *Dominus ... coelestes* Aug. *Epist.* 205, 12, *CSEL* 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1911, p. 333, ll. 18–20.

1050 *vermis* *Ps.* 21, 7.

1051 *competet* “will apply”.

1051 *iuxta tuam interpretationem* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 941–942 and n.

1052 *hic quoque* Also in *Iob* 25, 6.

1052 *κησφύγετον* “place of refuge”, hence “resort”, also “subterfuge”. Erasmus used the same word in *Apol. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 132, l. 485.

1052–1053 *scribarum et pharisaeorum* See appendix IV, l. 167. Lefevre deals extensively with this subject in *ibid.*, ll. 161–228.

Iam commentum quod adducis de *non homo* cum addis: *vnus enim Deus et vnus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus, qui sic homo est quod omnium hominum maxime* homo et *vere homo*, quale sit dispiciamus. Hic si tibi res esset cum homine sophistico, vide quo pacto tueri possis Christum omnium maxime vere hominem esse, quum iuxta tuum Aristotelem magis et minus non cadat in substantiam, vt Christus magis homo dici possit etiam si melior cunctis hominibus dici debeat. Non referam hoc loco par pari vt summo, quod aiunt, iure tecum contendam et de voculis cauiller, posteaquam mihi satis liquet quid senseris.

Iam *opprobrium hominum et abiectiorem plebis* cur vereris Christo accommodare, sed in alios homines detorques, quum Paulus non vereatur eum *peccatum* et *maledictum* dicere? Haec verba si pie dicuntur de Christo, quae impietas est dicere Christum infra homines diminutum, modo id sentiat quod de Christo sentire cum primis est pium? Si verbis offenderis, his magis offendi oportuit, si sententia, nihil hic est *impium* nisi si quis impie interpretetur. Si dixissem Christum humiliasse se infra humillimos homines, non abhorrerem, opinor. Cur vociferaris impietatem si dixi abiectum *infra abiectissimos homines*, quum recte humiliatus dicatur qui se humiliarit et nihil aliud sit abiectus quam humiliatus?

Quod si vocis nouitas sola te offendit, vsus est ea ante nos de Christo Augustinus, hunc psalmi locum exponens: *quare*, inquit, *ergo sic se abiicit, vt diceret vermis?* At dices: abiicit se oratione. Fateor, sed vera tamen, opinor, non vana aut ficta, vnde consequitur vere fuisse abiectum.

Iam quod scribis Christum *opinione Iudaeorum* fuisse derelictum a Patre non solum frigidulum est, verumetiam ab omnium veterum interpretum sententia dissentiens, quasi hoc Christus illic queratur Patri quod Iudaei male de se sentiant, pro quibus paulo ante orauerit. Et haud scio an praestiterit, mi Faber, hucus hoc existimationis in totum non tangere, ne cui minus incipiat displicere Marci cuiusdam aut Marcionis, opinor, haeresis qui, vt autor est Augustinus, docuit Christum non vere sed putatiue passum.

Iam quod me rogas, qui conueniat *eum qui est primogenitus omnis creaturae et supra omnem creaturam dici vermem et eum dici non hominem, de quo dicit Apostolus: vnus enim Deus et vnus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus*, rectius ab ipso propheta scisciteris, imo ab ipso Christo qui se per os prophetae *vermem* dixit. Neque vereor ne ob id mihi succenseat Christus, si ipsius vtar verbis in eum sensum in quem ille dixit, si qua fides tot orthodoxis interpretibus. Atque inter hos est diuus Hieronymus, vnus multorum instar, qui exponens secundum caput epistolae Pauli ad Titum pallas Christum *vermem* appellat et amplius ausus *peccatum* et *maledictum* audet dicere.

Quod autem Pauli testimonio doces Christum *hominem* dici, fateor, risi sedulitatem tuam, quasi vero periculum fuisset ne quis alioqui Christum negasset hominem nisi vnum Pauli locum nobis obiecisses, quum ipse toties in euangelio se vocet *Filium hominis*. Porro quae citas e diuinis libris docens Christum non fuisse vere derelictum, non minus faciunt pro me quam pro te. *Non spreuit*

Deus neque despexit deprecationem pauperis. At qui deprecatur quoniam implorat opem, aliquousque videtur derelictus, alioqui quid implorat si nihil desiderat? Ac mox: *et quum clamarem ad eum, exaudiuit me*. Quid clamat qui nulla re destitutus est? Aut quomodo liberantur qui nullo pacto sunt derelicti?

1100

1056 quale sit dispiciamus *BAS: deest in A C D, inspicimus B E*.

1074 non vana aut ficta *Ac B D-BAS: deest in A C*.

1075 consequitur *A-C E BAS: sequitur D*.

1081 aut Marcionis, opinor *B-BAS: deest in A*.

1054 *non homo Ps. 21, 7.*

1054-1056 *vnus ... sic homo Appendix IV, ll. 195-198.*

1058-1059 *quum ... substantiam Aristot. Categ., 5, 3 b33-34.*

1060-1061 *Non ... cauiller Cf. Ep. 597, from Erasmus to Thomas <Louvain>, <c. 10 July 1517>, ll. 35-36: "... cui (i.e., Lefèvre) mox edita epistola respondebo, sed stomacho temperans, ne contentio, non disputatio, videatur."*

1060 *referam ... par pari Adag. 35, ASD II, 1, pp. 150-151. Cf. l. 262.*

1060-1061 *summo ... iure Cf. Cic. Verr. 2, 5, 2, §4: "non agam summo iure tecum"; and especially Cic. Caec. 23, 65: "... aequum et bonum habere quod defendant; si contra verbis et litteris, et, vt dici solet, summo iure contenditur." Summo iure here means "applying the law with utmost rigor". In l. 1061 it means: "(to fight against you) with utmost vigour."*

1063-1064 *Iam ... detorques Cf. appendix IV, ll. 161-167.*

1064-1065 *peccatum 2 Cor. 5, 21.*

1065 *maledictum Gal. 3, 13.*

1065 *quae impietas See appendix IV, l. 134.*

1067-1069 *Si ... abhorrere Lefèvre did indeed hold that Jesus descended to earth to be an example of true humility; see the S. Pauli epistolae XIV, ad Phil. 2, 7, Paris, 1512, f<sup>o</sup> 175r<sup>o</sup>.*

1070 *vociferaris... homines See appendix IV, ll. 132-136.*

1072 *vocis nouitas Cf. this apologia, l. 2192: Neminem fere non offendit nouitas and n.*

1073-1074 *quare ... vermis Aug., Enarr. in Ps. 21, 2, 7, CCSL 38, edd. D.E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956, p. 125, ll. 3-4.*

1076 *opinione Iudaeorum See appendix IV, ll. 248-249. Cf. ibid. ll. 168-172.*

1076 *derelictum a Patre See Mt. 27, 46.*

1077-1078 *ab ... dissentiens Erasmus tries to weaken Lefèvre's position by claiming that*

1089 *qui B E BAS: deest in A C D.*

1096 *faciunt pro me BAS: pro me faciunt A-E.*

1097 *At qui Ac B-BAS: Atqui A.*

1099 *nulla re F BAS: nulla in re A-D.*

1100 *sunt BAS: sint A-E.*

Lefèvre cannot cite authoritative authors in favour of his view. Erasmus used the same tactics in the present apologia, l. 824.

1079 *pro ... orauerit Lc. 23, 34.*

1079-1081 *Et ... haeresis "and I fear, dear Lefèvre, that this argument concerning the Jews' opinion may create the problem of leading some people to consider the heresy of a certain Marcus or Marcion less objectionable ..."* The expression "tangit (h)ulcus", which means "it touches the sore spot" (*Adag. 579, LB II, 252 E-253 A*) is constructed here with a dependent clause introduced by *ne*.

1081-1082 *Marci ... passum* The reference is to Marcus the gnostic. Aug. *De haeresibus*, XIV, CCSL 46, edd. R. Vander Plaetse and C. Beukers, Turnhout, 1969, p. 296. On Marcus the gnostic, a pupil of Valentinus, active in the Rhône valley in the middle of the second century A.D., see *ODCC*, s.v. Marcianos, p. 871, and F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1925, pp. 126-133.

1083-1085 *qui ... Iesus Appendix IV, ll. 194-197.*

1086-1087 *vermem Ps. 21, 7.*

1090 *vermem apellat* This is not to be found in Jerome's commentary on *Tit.*, but in his commentary on *Eph.*: Hier. *Comm. in Eph.*, ad 2, 10, Migne *PL* 26, 501 D 4-5.

1091 *peccatum Hier. Comm. in Eph.*, ad 2, 1, Migne *PL* 26, 496 A 7.

*maledictum Hier. Comm. in Tit.*, ad 2, 9-10, Migne *PL* 26, 620 B 2.

1092 *Pauli ... dici I Tim. 2, 5. See appendix IV, ll. 193-198.*

1094-1095 *ipse ... hominis* Jesus calls himself "Filius hominis" in e. g. *Mt. 8, 20* and *9, 6*.

1095-1096 *citans ... derelictum* See appendix IV, ll. 172-177.

1096-1097 *Non ... pauperis Ps. 21, 25 Vg.*

1099 *et quum ... me Ps. 21, 25 Vg.*

Et ne singula persequens fiam loquacior, et illud quod addis: *nam et virgo Maria aderat et dilectus discipulus et Magdalene et mulieres Iesum sequutae, quae multa compassione et Deo et angelis grata pietate flebant super eum, virginis autem cor gladio passionis eius confossum est et anima eius transuerberata pro nobis facit.*  
 1105 Cui compatiuntur? Quem misericordia prosequuntur? Nam id, opinor, dicis pietatem, licet vulgate magis quam erudite. Num Verbum Dei Patri semper aequale? An hominem pro omnibus dira patientem? Quem flebant? Num excel-  
 1110 siores creaturis omnibus? An abiectum et infra latrones? Etsi idem vnusque est Christus in quem haec tam diuersa competunt. Vides vt haec nostrae sententiae astipulentur etiam, non solum nihil officiant, vt ne illud excutiam, quod  
 1115 Christus apud Lucam seipsum *viride lignum* appellat, innocentiae magis esse quam dignitatis. Quod miror cur adducendum putaris, nisi forte periculum erat ne quis nostrum Christum scelerosum hominem iudicaret. Aut si propositum erat colligere quae illius dignitatem indicant, cur e tam multis paucula quaedam  
 adducis? Si volebas refellere quaecunque Christi humilitatem sonare videntur, cur vix vnum aut alterum locum attingis? Vides igitur totum hunc locum tibi extra causam esse declamatum.

Post haec pergis excutere an quod ad haec mala descenderit Christus, ob id fuerit *in se* diminutus. Belle me hercle proponis, quasi a me vsquam sit dictum  
 1120 illum *in se* fuisse diminutum, quanquam hoc *in se* quid sibi velit non satis intelligo. Si *in se* accipis pro vere, dicam in se fuisse diminutum qui vere fuerit diminutus. Fateris assumpta natura humana susceptisque cruciatibus Christum fuisse diminutum. Vere autem eam assumpsit vereque fuit afflictus, vere igitur  
 1125 fuit diminutus. Sin quum *in se* dicis, sentis absolute, simpliciter et per se, fateor absolute summum et ne nihil videar ex tuis libris hausisse, plusquam infinite summum.

Iam nec illud satis intelligo quid sibi velit, quod negas Christum in euangelio seipsum dicere *vermem*, sed *lucem mundi*, sed *viride lignum* aliaque quae dignitatis sunt, nisi forte innuis prophetae verba non satis apud nos habere ponderis et  
 1130 par esse vt euangelicae cedant autoritati. An vt Christum credamus recte *vermem* dici, non satis est nobis quod a propheta *vermis* sit dictus? Quasi vero non bona pars euangelicae historiae Christi nobis humilitatem decantet aut quasi propheta non alias adoret ac stupeat eius sublimitatem quem hic *vermem* appellat et reiectamentum plebis. Quum legis cunas, quum *praesaepe*, quum legis vagientem,  
 1135 quum circumcisum, quum *fatigatum*, quum ob famem accurrentem ad ficum, quum assumptum ac tentatum *a diabolo*, quum legis *Filium hominis*, quum legis non habentem vbi caput suum reclinet, quum interim nec vulpibus sua desint latibula nec auibus nidi, cum lachrymantem legis et infrementem, quum indigna audientem, denique quum totam passionis historiam recenses, quaeso, quid  
 1140 aliud legis quam Filium Dei infra omnes homines diminutum vt supra omnia exaltaretur? Quum legis deformatum, *despectum*, *nouissimum virorum*, quum *agnum coram tondente* se obmutescentem, an paululum quiddam diminutum legis? Quae omnia quum Christo tribuantur non offensa illius ineffabili

LB 39 dignitate, qua semper fuit hominibus pariter atque angelis adorandus – neque  
 1145 enim, vt inquit Hilarius, potestatis dignitas amittitur, dum carnis humilitas ad-  
 oratur, quod ob diuersas naturas diuersissima in eum competant – nihil erat cur  
 celsitudinis admirator humilitatis commemoratione offendatur. Neque enim ideo  
 non vere seruus dictus est quod vere Dominus fuerit omnium. Si minister est qui  
 1150 sordido etiam ministerio fungitur, ille lauans discipulis pedes aliquo pacto mi-  
 nister erat, at nihilo secius eorundem Dominus.

Iam non video quid tibi velis quum collectionem meam calumniaris quasi  
 parum argute ratiociner. *Et quod*, inquis, *nulla proportio sit naturae humanae ad*  
*Deum, id non efficit quod inde dicatur vermīs*, alioqui et cherubim vermes appel-  
 landos quod nec ad hos vlla sit Dei proportio. Quaeso te, sic argumentor  
 1155 vsquam? Imo vt doceam *infra abiectissimos homines* diminutum Christum,

- 1101–1104 *nam ... transuerberata* Appendix IV, ll. 189–192. Erasmus reads *Magdalene* (l. 1102) where Lefèvre has “Magdalena” (appendix IV, l. 190).
- 1111 *viride lignum* Lc. 23, 31, cf. appendix IV ll. 206 and 208.
- 1116 *totum hunc locum* I Tim. 2, 5. See the present apologia, l. 1092 *Pauli testimonio*, l. 1094, *vnum Pauli locum*, and ll. 1083–1085 and n.
- 1116–1117 *extra causam* Cf. Cic. *Caecin.* 32, 94.
- 1118–1119 *ob ... diminutus* See appendix IV, ll. 246–247.
- 1127–1128 *negas ... lignum* See appendix IV, ll. 199–215.
- 1128 *vermem* Ps. 21, 7.
- 1128 *lucem mundi* Ioh. 8, 12; 9, 5.
- 1128 *viride lignum* Lc. 23, 31.
- 1129 *prophetae* I.e., David.
- 1129 *non ... ponderis* Viz., for providing a conclusive argument in a theological debate.
- 1129 *nos* The theologians in general.
- 1131 *vermīs* Ps. 21, 7.
- 1133–1134 *reiectamentum plebis* Sec Ps. 21, 7: “abiectio plebis”.
- 1134 *cunas* Lc. 2, 7.  
*praesaepe* Lc. 2, 7–13.  
*vagientem* E.g., Mt. 4, 18; 19, 1, Mc. 1, 16; 7, 24; 31, Lc. 7, 11; 13, 22; Ioh. 4, 4.
- 1135 *circumcisum* Lc. 2, 21.  
*fatigatum* Ioh. 4, 6.
- 1137 *interim* E BAS: *deest* in A–D.
- 1139 *recenses* E BAS: *deest* in A–D.
- 1140 *supra* E BAS: *super* A–D.
- 1144–1146 *neque ... adoratur* E BAS: *deest* in A–D.
- 1149 *aliquo pacto* E BAS: *deest* in A–D.
- ob ... ficum* Mt. 21, 18–9; Mc. 11, 12–13.
- 1136 *assumptum ... diabolo* Lc. 4, 1–13, Mt. 4, 1–11; Mc. 1, 13.  
*Filium hominis* E.g., Mt. 12, 32; 16, 13.
- 1137–1138 *non ... nidi* Mt. 8, 20; Lc. 9, 58.
- 1138 *lachrymantem* Ioh. 11, 35.  
*infrementem* Ioh. 11, 33.
- 1138–1139 *indigna audientem* Mt. 27, 39–45; Mc. 15, 29–33.
- 1141 *deformatum* (“deformare” h. l. means “to dishonor”), cf. e.g., Mt. 26, 67–68; 27, 27–31.  
*despectum* Is. 53, 3.  
*nouissimum virorum* Ibid.
- 1142 *agnum ... obmutescentem* Is. 53, 7; Act. 8, 32
- 1144–1146 *neque ... adoratur* Although this precise formulation is not to be found in Hilary, Erasmus may be thinking of the words in Hilary cited in the present apologia, ll. 910–911.
- 1146–1147 *nihil ... offendatur* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 815–821.
- 1148 *seruus* Phil. 2, 7.  
*Dominus ... omnium* Rom. 10, 12; Act. 10, 36.
- 1149 *lauans discipulis pedes* Ioh. 13, 1–20.
- 1151–1154 *collectionem ... proportio* See appendix IV, ll. 237–239.
- 1152 *naturae humanae* Lefèvre’s text reads *humanae naturae*.
- 1155–1156 *doceam ... testimonium* Erasmus (1516), appendix III, ll. 22–26. The *testimonium* is Ps. 21, 7.

adduco prophetae testimonium. Quid autem attinebat argumento probare quod ipse per prophetam loquitur Christus? Iam quod subiicio, *nulla enim proportio* humanae creaturae ad Deum, eo pertinet quod praecesserat, Christum non paulum imminutum *a Deo*, quod tu nolebas. Siquidem eas partes sic tracto, vt  
 1160 nunc ad hanc, nunc ad illam respiciam. Dic mihi, *ὃν φίλιον*, vtrum istuc est amice disputare cum amico, an cauillari potius? Verum his omissis, ad id quod erat institutum recurrat oratio.

Ad eandem rationem tuebor quod impugnas: humanae naturae ad diuinam nulla est proportio. At Christi, inquis, ad diuinam naturam est proportio, nempe  
 1165 *identitatis et aequalitatis*. Simulatque proportionis facta est mentio, video me plane *τὸν ἴππον εἰς πεδίον* prouocasse. Quare tecum hoc quidem loco non admodum pugnabo, cum homine in disciplinis mathematicis pene detricto. Verum vt demus *aequalitatis* esse *proportionem* aliquam, quis vnquam audiuit *proportionem identitatis*? Aut quis vnquam proposuit proportionem infiniti ad infinitum?  
 1170 Etenim vt Aristoteles negauit finiti ad infinitum esse proportionem, ita sensit nec inter infinita duo esse proportionem, si quid credimus interpretibus.

Porro quod apud Paulum legimus Christum *aequalem Deo*, non opinor constitui proportionem, sed negari minorem ac maiorem potestatem. Sed vt haec arguta magis quam ad rem nostram facientia mittamus, vt ere tuo arbitratu *proportione* vel *identitatis* vel *aequalitatis*. Vtrum hanc solam in Christo vis esse an  
 1175 praeter hanc aliam quampiam? Si solam, nec a Deo fuerit diminutus Christus, quod tu tamen non negas, modo id sit paululum quiddam. At iuxta *identitatis proportionem* ne tantulum quidem fuit diminutus. Proinde qui verum est quod ipse dicit in euangelio, *Pater maior me est*? Vbi audis minor et maior, alia  
 1180 quaedam propositio sit oportet quam *aequalitatis*. Si tu ex euangelii loco, *ego et Pater vnum sumus*, recte colligis *proportionem aequalitatis*, qui minus ego ex euangelii loco, *Pater maior me est*, colligo proportionem inaequalitatis? Ea si sumitur ex comparatione rerum in infinitum inter se distantium, aut profer ex tua mathematica quaenam sit ista *proportio*, aut mecum fatere nullam esse proportionem.

Quod si iuxta hanc comparationem Christus dicitur minor Patre, aut finitis gradibus minor est aut infinitis. Non, opinor, dices finitis quum ipse fatearis inter creaturam et creatorem nullam esse proportionem. Sin infinitis, quomodo tu defendis eum paululum quiddam fuisse diminutum quum paulominus siue paulum contendas non ad temporis spacium, sed ad dignitatis modum esse referendum?  
 1185 An tibi quod infinitum et immensum est paululum quiddam dicitur? Ego impius qui iuxta hanc rationem scripserim *non paululum*, sed plurimum *imminutum a Deo*?

Opinor si vnquam alias, hic te medium teneri, nec tamen vrgebo molestius nec insultabo capto, etiam si id mereri videbatur qui alteri de nihilo struit calumniam. Nec excutiam interim haec tua verba, ne te retaxare videar non me tueri,  
 1195 quibus agis Filii hominis ad Deum esse *proportionem identitatis*. Si Filii | hominis, quatenus est Filius hominis, ad Deum est *aequalitatis proportio*, cedo qua ratione minor est? Si quatenus Deus est, *aequalis Deo* dicitur, quid noui dicitur? Aut quis istuc negat?  
 LB 40

1200 Non enim digladior interim cum iis qui volunt in euangelio sic Patrem maiorem Filio dictum vt tamen Filius non sit Patre minor. Mihi satis est quod Augustinus non veritus est dicere: Filium Patre inferiorem et inferiorem seipso. Atque id sane cum aliis locis compluribus, tum in epistola tertia ad Volusianum. Ad hoc, libro de Trinitate primo, capite septimo. Rursum eiusdem libri 1205 capite vndecimo atque iterum libri secundi capite nono.

1191 sed *A-D BAS*: sc *E*.

1198 dicitur *A-C E BAS*: dicitur *D*.

1200-1202 Non ... seipso *B-BAS*: *deest in A*.

1156-1157 *quod ... Christus* Erasmus means *Ps.* 21, 7: "ego autem sum vermis et non homo".

1157-1158 *nulla ... Deum* See appendix III, l. 26.

1160 *ἡ τὸν φίλον* Cf. Pherecr. 96. The "friendly one" intended is Zeus, the god of friendship.

1161 *amico ... amico* See the present apologia, ll. 36-38, l. 755 and l. 1312 and nn.

1163-1165 *impugnans ... aequalitatis* See appendix IV, ll. 237-241.

1166 *τὸν ... πῆδιον* *Adag.* 782, *LB* II, 327 F-328 B. "Quoties quis ad id prouocatur in quo plurimum valet quoque vel maxime gaudet".

1167 *homine ... detricto* In the field of mathematics, Lefèvre was indeed a prolific author. See Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, pp. 543-545. In Ep. 607 (Louvain, 17 July <1517>), ll. 13-14 Erasmus writes to Cuthbert Tunstall about Lefèvre: "... homo mathematicus sed ita vt multum habeat τοῦ ματαίου".

1170 *Etenim ... proportionem* *Aristot. Cael.* I, 6, 274 a 7, *ibid.* I, 7, 275 a 13.

1170-1171 *ita ... proportionem* *Aristot. Phys.* VIII, 1, 252 A 13

1172 *aequalem Deo* *Phil.* 2, 6.

1174-1175 *proportione ... aequalitatis* cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 1163-1165.

1179 *Pater ... est* *Ioh.* 14, 28.

1180-1181 *Si ... aequalitatis* See appendix IV, ll. 239-242.

1180-1181 *ego ... sumus* *Ioh.* 10, 30.

1183-1184 *tua mathematica* Cf. the present apologia, l. 1167 and n.

1186-1187 *quum ... proportionem* See appendix IV, ll. 239-240.

1187-1188 *quomodo ... diminutum* *Ibid.*, ll. 128-130.

1188-1190 *quum ... referendum* *Ibid.*, ll. 332-333.

1191 *impius* See *Ibid.*, l. 134.

1193 *medium teneri* *Adag.* 396 (medium teneris); *ASD* II, 1, p. 472; cf. *ASD* IX, 2, p. 137, n. ll. 552-553, and p. 243, n. l. 262.

1193-1194 *nec ... capto* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 1060-1061 and n.

1200 iis *B E BAS*: ii *C D*.

1203-1205 Atque ... nono *E BAS*: *deest in A-D*.

1194 *de nihilo* In contradistinction to Erasmus, Lefèvre believed that the dignity of Christ was at stake in their controversy. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 45-46 and n. and ll. 82-83 and n.

1200-1201 *qui ... minor* Erasmus means that there is no point in arguing with people who, like Lefèvre, admit that in his earthly life Jesus was made a little lower than God, but who at the same time refuse to accept that Jesus was humiliated, and try to prove that Jesus' power and dominion on earth were still divine. According to Erasmus, such a position is inconsistent and too paradoxical to be taken seriously.

1202 *Filium ... seipso* *Aug. Trin.* 1, 7, 14, *CCSL* 50, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1986, pp. 45-6.

1203 *aliis locis* E.g., *Epist.* 170, ed. A. Goldbacher, *CSEL* 44, 3, Vienna and Leipzig, 1903, p. 629: "propter quam serui formam non tantum patre verum etiam seipso et spiritu sancto minor factus est".

1203-1204 *epistola ... Volusianum* Erasmus is probably thinking of Augustine's second letter to Volusianus, now *Epist.* 137 in A. Goldberger, ed., *CSEL* 44, 3, Vienna and Leipzig, 1903, pp. 111-112: "Iesum Christum ... minorem ... patre secundum carnem, hoc est secundum hominem." In Goldbacher's edition there are only two letters to Volusianus, 132 and 137, not a third one.

1204 *libro ... septimo* *Aug. Trin.* I, vii, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, *CCSL* 50, Turnhout, 1968, p. 45: "... dicunt minorem filium esse quam pater est ... veritas autem ostendit secundum istum modum etiam seipso minorem filium."

1204-1205 *eiusdem ... undecimo* *Aug. Trin.* 1, xi, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, *CCSL* 50, Turnhout 1968, p. 60: "secundum formam serui quam accepit et minor est patre ...; minor est se ipso quia de illo dictum est: semetipsum exinaniuit."

Item quod scribis: *ob id quod Verbum et Filius Dei diuinae est conditionis eiusdemque cum Deo naturae, nam creatura non est perinde ac neque Deus*, hic rursus distinguis Filium Dei a Deo dicensque eum non magis esse *creaturam* quam ipsum Deum, opinor Patrem, vt Pauli modo loquutus vidcaris. Atqui Pater nullo modo  
 1210 creatura est, Filius Dei, si nullo modo est creatura, consequetur nec hominem esse. Ad haec, si Filius Dei non est creatura, loquor iuxta communionem idioma-  
 tum, quomodo dicitur diminutus Filius Dei? Quod ne tu quidem negas. At Ioannes non veretur dicere *Verbum caro factum est*. Et Paulus non veretur eum  
 1215 dicere *factum ex semine Dauid*. Et rursus, *misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege*. Hic audis factum carnem, *factum ex semine*, et vereris aliquo pacto dicere creaturam?

Tametsi disputationis huius periculum nihil ad me pertinet. Ego enim Christum creaturam esse neque aio neque nego. Tu istuc de tuo addidisti. Sed,  
 1220 inquires, Augustinus, Hilarius et Ambrosius negant Christum esse creaturam. Quid si iidem alibi vocant creaturam? Quid enim sentit Augustinus cum ait in sermone natalicio: *admirabile mysterium quia creator mundi voluit esse creatura*. Rursus enarrans Christi sermonem in monte habitum: *voluit esse creatura qui est creator*. Idem epistola quinquagesima septima: *Proinde quod ad Verbum attinet, creator est Christus, omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt, quod vero ad*  
 1225 *hominem, creatura est Christus*.

Liberius etiam diuus Hieronymus edisserens eum Pauli locum qui est in epistola ad Ephesios, capite secundo: *ipsius enim sumus factura*, inquit, *creati in Christo Iesu. Et quia semel ad nomen creaturae venimus, et sapientia in prouerbiis Solomonis dicit se creatam initium viarum Dei multique timore ne Christum creaturam dicere compellantur, totum Christi mysterium negant et dicunt non Christum in hac sapientia, sed mundi sapientiam significari. Nos libere proclamamus non esse periculum eum dicere creaturam quem vermem et hominem et crucifixum et maledictionem, tota spei nostrae fiducia profitemur, maxime quum ex duobus versiculis qui praecedunt ipsa sapientia promittat se esse dicturam quae post secula sunt. Quum autem Christus secula fecerit et quae deinceps loquitur ea sint quae post secula dicturam se esse promiserat ad incarnationis mysterium, non ad naturam Dei referenda sunt quae sequuntur*.

Hactenus Hieronymus. Audis Christum quatenus incarnatus est *creaturam* recte dici. Simul illud obiter admonendus es Christum Hieronymo sic *vermem* dici vt dicitur *homo* et *crucifixus*, non *opinione Iudaeorum* sed re ipsa, quod tibi videtur impium et blasphemum.

Itidem Damascenus: *Christus*, inquit, *est creatus et increatus, passibilis et impassibilis*. Atque idem rursus: *non scandalizatur ad nomen creaturae qui se seruum aut vermem aut granum, natum de virgine nominat*. Quid quod nec is qui  
 1245 congescit sententias theologorum tractans hanc quaestionem libro tertio, distinctione xi negat Christum recte dici *creaturam*, sed simpliciter dici non vult, hoc est secundum hominem dici vult, secundum Deum non dici. Porro quod alias negant creaturam esse Christum quum aduersus Arianos dimicant, sic negant



1250 esse creaturam quemadmodum Arius esse volebat, qui solum Patrem verum Deum, solum Patrem vere increatum docebat.

LB 41 Quid quod ipse tui oblitus quem hic creaturam negas, alibi creaturam facis quum ais: hominis qui Christus est nulla intelligitur distantia, *quum eam ad Deum habeat approximatio|nem et vnionem qua creaturae ad Deum nulla potest esse*

1217 huius *Ac B-BAS: deest in A.*

1223 est *A-C E BAS: erat D.*

1223-1225 Idem ... Christus *E BAS: deest in A-D.*

1227 inquit *B E BAS: deest in A C D.*

1242 inquit *B E BAS: deest in A C D.*

1249 Arius *BAS: Arrianus A-E.*

1205 *libri ... nono* Aug. *Trin.* II, 1, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, *CCSL* 50, Turnhout 1968, p. 81: "dei filius ... non solum patre sed etiam spiritu sancto, neque hoc tantum sed etiam seipso minor inventus est."

1206-1207 *ob ... Deus* See appendix IV, ll. 325-326.

1207 *creatura ... Deus* "he (i.e., the Son of God) is just as little something created as God is". Deus is a second subject, not the subject complement of a nominal predicate. The predicate is *creatura non est*. Erasmus criticizes the ambiguity of the clause; see ll. 1268-1271, and ll. 1879-1883, where Erasmus explains why the clause is ambiguous.

1211-1212 *loquor ... idiomatum* For Erasmus' opinion about *communicatio idiomatum*, see above, ll. 588-594. Cf. *ODCC*, pp. 321-322 "...the doctrine propounded by several of the Fathers, e.g. Cyril of Alexandria, that while the human and divine nature in Christ were separate, the attributes of the one may be predicated of the other in view of the union in the one Person of the Saviour. The doctrine received conciliar authority by its inclusion in the 'Tome' of St. Leo (449), but in later times it was sometimes understood in a heterodox fashion especially in some Lutheran circles". Erasmus also refers to it in his *Apolog. ad Leum*, *LB IX*, 229 A-D.

1213 *Verbum ... est Ioh.* I, 14.

1214 *factum ... Dauid Rom.* I, 3 ("Factus est ei ex semine Dauid").

1214-1215 *misit ... lege Rom.* I, 3-4, 2 *Tim.* 2, 8.

1217-1218 *Iametsi ... nego* For Erasmus' fundamental reluctance to pronounce upon dogmatic questions, see the present apologia, ll. 304-305 and n. l. 304, and ll. 1845-1849; ll. 2077-2079 and ll. 2134-2135.

1221 *admirabile ... creatura* This passage does not occur in Augustine's works.

1222-1223 *voluit ... creator* This passage does not occur in Aug. *De sermone Domini in*

*monte*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, *CCSL* 35, Turnhout, 1967.

1223-1225 *Proinde ... Christus* Aug. *Epist.* 187, III, 8, *CSEL* 57, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1911, p. 87, l. 22-p. 88, l. 2.

1226 *locum Eph.* 2, 10.

1227-1228 *ipsius ... Iesu* Hier. *Comm. in Eph.*, ad 2, 10, Migne *PL* 26, 501 A 15-16.

1228-1237 *Et ... sequuntur Ibid.* 501 C. 12-502 A 4.

1229 *Solomonis* Jerome's text in Migne reads "Salomonis".

*initium viarum Dei* Cf. *Prov.* 8, 22.

1230 *et dicunt* Jerome's text in Migne reads "vt dicant".

1235 *Christus secula* Jerome's text in Migne reads "saecula Christus".

1235-1236 *dicturam* Jerome's text in Migne reads "dicturum".

1236 *promiserat* Jerome's text in Migne reads "promiserit".

1240 *non opinione Iudaeorum* See appendix IV, ll. 248-249, cf. *ibid.* ll. 183-189.

1240-1241 *quod ... blasphemum* See appendix IV, ll. 132-136.

1242-1243 *Christus ... impassibilis* John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa* III, 4, Migne *PG* 94, col. 998.

1243-1244 *non ... nominat* I have not found this passage in John of Damascus.

1244-1250 *Quid ... docebat* Petrus Lombardus. *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, III, xi, Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, Grottaferrata, Rome, 1981, vol. II, pp. 77-80.

1246 *vult* The subject is Petrus Lombardus.

1249-1250 *quemadmodum ... docebat* See A.M. Ritter in *TRE* 3, Berlin and New York, 1978, pp. 700-703.

1252-1254 *hominis ... maior* See appendix IV, ll. 404-405.

1253 *ad Deum* After *Deum* Erasmus omits *et cum Deo*.

1255 *maior.* Si Christus nullo modo creatura dicitur, quid agitur hoc sermone? Nisi forte naturam humanam creaturam esse fateris, Christum vt hominem creaturam esse non vis? Quod si tuo exemplo de verbis cauillandum est, quid sentis cum ais Christum *vnionem* habere *ad Deum*? An Christus hic tibi naturam humanam significat? Et licebit ita loqui: Deus Christum assumpsit? Alioqui quomodo Christus vnitur Deo quum sit ipse Deus? Et vbi est in quo nos ridebas, qui vide-  
1260 mur Christi nomen pro altera natura vsurpare? Eriam atque etiam te rogo, Faber, vide quantam fenestram aperueris in teipsum, qui sic odiose mecum de verbis cauilleris.

Deinde quid sentis quum ais *Verbum et Filium Dei diuinae esse conditionis*, cum conditum esse negent omnes christiani, certe quatenus est Verbum et Filium  
1265 Dei. Quis enim dixit Filium Dei conditum? Non quod interim me fugiat te conditionem pro ratione naturaue vsurpasse, sed ostendere volui quam facile sit de verbis in alium cauillari, si tuum mihi placeret exemplum. Atque hic rursum dissecas Filium Dei et Deum, quasi Filius Dei Deus non sit, vt ne quid notem omnino fugiendam amphibologiam, si vsquam erat fugienda, in hisce verbis  
1270 quum ais: *nam creatura non est perinde ac neque Deus.* Videris enim dicere Filium nec creaturam esse, nec Deum.

Quod si tu more rhetorum vel tuo potius tibi permittis de Deo loqui, cur nos tam moleste taxas circumspectius loquentes te? Sin a nobis recentium theologorum  
1275 anxietatem exigis, cur tu nec veterum eruditionem nec recentium praestas argutiam? An ignorabas quam iniquam in sese legem statuatur qui aliorum censor esse velit? Verum huiusmodi persequi nec animus est nec ocium.

Fateor Christum quaedam esse et non esse, cum idem sit Patri aequalis iuxta diuinam essentiam, Patre minor iuxta naturam humanam. At quod minor est  
1280 Patre aut, si pateris sic nos loqui, *seipso*, quaero vtrum finitis partibus minor est an infinitis? Non dices finitis, quod si infinitis, non impie dicemus, opinor, Christum iuxta naturam assumptam nullam habere proportionem ad diuinitatem. Quod si euinco, vbi est quod tu tantopere asseueras a solo Patre fuisse  
1285 diminutum atque id sane perpusillum? Nisi forte sophisticis argutiis hic mecum acturus es, vt quemadmodum qui quinque nummos habet is et vnum habet, ita qui multum sit diminutus idem et paulum diminutus dici possit. Quod si libeat ad istum argutari modum, Christus nec exaltatus dicitur nec diminutus. Quid enim maiestatis accedit ei qui semper *aequalis* est Patri aut quid diminui potuit cuius diuinitati nihil decessit, humanitas etiam euecta est? Verum haec ad viuum  
1290 exigere non est huius instituti, quum satis interim habeam impietatis notam a me depellere.

Porro quantum e tua perpetua disputatione colligitur, nec tua magni refert vtrum Christus angelis dicatur inferior an hominibus, hoc est, vtrunque aequae  
1295 putas impium, quod semper fuerit pro sua dignitate vtrisque pariter adorandus. Sed inferiorem angelis quantum ad humanam naturam et afflictionem fecerunt, vt ipse fateris, Athanasius, Chrysostomus, Theophylactus et Augustinus, nisi forte aliud censes imminutum esse, aliud inferiorem. Sed hos viros,

1300 quoniam non putasti conuiciis insectandos, sic excusas vt dicas eos Septuaginta interpretatione deceptos et ratos sic esse apud Hebraeos simpliciter errasse. Esto, nescierint quid legerent Hebraei, homines Graeci Latinique. Caeterum qui factum est vt tantam impietatem, quantam vis inesse in hac interpretatione, non senserint tanti christianae religionis proceres?

1305 Cur vnus ego male audio velut autor huius sententiae, qui eam nec primus protuli et tantum recenseo nec defendo? Imo qui diuersae sententiae magis fauere videor, si sum in alterutram propensior? An tantum admisi facinus quod non totus ac protinus iuerim in tuam sententiam et altera probata alteram explodam atque euerberem ac pene lapidibus insecter? Quid enim aliud quam *lapides*

1254 dicitur *A C-BAS*: dicitur est *B*.

1265–1267 Non ... exemplum *E BAS*: *deest in A-D*.

1270 Videris *BAS*: Videberis *A-E*.

1280 dices *A B E BAS*: dicis *C D*.

1287 quid *BAS*: qui *A-E*.

1294 quantum ad *BAS*: quo ad *A-E*; humanam naturam *B-BAS*: carnem *A*.

1295 Theophylactus *BAS*: Vulgarius *A-E*.

1304 fauere videor *E BAS*: fauco *A-D*.

1261 *fenestram aperueris* *Adag.* 303 (*Fenestram aperire*), *ASD* II, 1, pp. 410–411.

1263 *Verbum ... conditionis* See appendix IV, ll. 325–326.

1264 *conditum ... christiani* From the first century A.D. on, Christians denied Jesus' being created, cf. R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I, Leipzig, 1908, p. 95.

1269 *ambibologiam* Erasmus will explain this ambiguity ll. 1879–1881. Cf. l. 1207.

1270 *nam ... Deus* See appendix IV, ll. 326–327.

1272 *more rhetorum* For a similar criticism of Lefèvre's rhetoric, see the present apologia, ll. 273–276 and n.

1278–1279 *At ... seipso* This is a reminiscence of some passages in Augustine, already quoted by Erasmus in the present apologia; see ll. 725–726 and n. and ll. 1202–1205 and nn.

1280 *impie* Erasmus probably uses this word because Lefèvre had accused him of *impietas*, see appendix IV, l. 134.

1281–1282 *Christum ... diuinitatem* Erasmus stated something similar in appendix III, l. 26. Lefèvre did not reject this statement of Erasmus of 1516 (nor did he call it *impious*), but he replied ... *licet id verum sit quod humanae naturae ad Deum nulla sit proportio, Filii tamen hominis de quo hic agitur sermo est proportio, nam identitatis et aequalitatis*. See appendix IV, ll. 239–241.

1282 *euinco* "demonstrate", "succeed in proving", cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2, 3, 250.

1282–1283 *tu ... perpusillum* See appendix IV, ll. 123–124.

1287 *diminui* Erasmus appears to use this verb here and elsewhere as a synonym of *deminui*; see n. l. 9.

1288 *cuius ... est* This is a response to Lefèvre's remark of 1516/7, see appendix IV, ll. 197–198: *Qui* (i.e., Jesus) *sic homo est quod omnium hominum maxime vere homo et perfectione humana supra omnem hominem et insuper hominum veritas*.

1288 *euecta* "taken away", "denied".

1288 *ad viuum* *Adag.* 1313 (*Ad viuum resecare, dixit pro eo quod est rem exactius quam sat est ac morosius excutere*), *LB* II, 527 *A-B*. Otto 1933.

1289–1290 *quum ... depellere* For Erasmus' intentions in writing the present apologia, see also l. 234 and n. and ll. 237–238 and n.

1295 *vt ipse fateris* See appendix IV, ll. 350–361 and 464–473.

1295–1296 *Athanasius ... Augustinus* Lefèvre explained in his *disputatio* that these Church Fathers were unable to interpret *Hebr.* 2, 7 correctly because they did not know Hebrew. If they had had the possibility to read the original Hebrew text, they would have preferred the translation *a Deo*; see the present apologia, ll. 733–734 and n. and ll. 824–827.

1303–1304 *tantum ... propensior* This is a serious misrepresentation of Erasmus' discussion of *ab angelis* in the *Nov. Instr.* The same was the case in l. 320, see n.

1306 *lapidibus insecter* Plaut. *Capt.* 593 ("nos insectabit lapidibus").

LB 42 *loquitur*, iuxta dictum Plautinum, qui istiusmodi verba intonat: *Christo Deoque indignissimum* et *Spiritui aduersantem* et prophetae mentem subruentem. Ac rursum illud: *et sic*, inquis, *qui non litera sed spiritu ducuntur, exponunt fideles*. Quid igitur? Qui secus exponunt, carne ducuntur et infideles sunt? Quis non metuat haec verba potius quam vllos lapides? Atqui huiusmodi dictis et his etiam atrocioribus oneras amicum tuum in hac beneuola tua disputatione, amico animo suscepta. Quis posteriorum mihi vitio vertisset, si saxis quibus immerentis caput impetis te relapidassem? Et tamen christianae modestiae memor admonuisse te sat habui, quanquam, vt dixi, non satis intelligo quid senseris quum ais *Christo Deoque indignissimum*. Si Deum Patrem intelligis, de hoc non sum loquutus, sin Filium, quomodo coniunctione separas Deum a Christo?

1315 Si me stupidum, si lapidem, si beluam, si peponem, si bliteum, si quiduis aliud facias, nec admodum commouebor, nec admodum refragabor, ignosce mihi, vnum hoc conuiciorum genus ferre non possum. Quis enim ferat ea quae scribis in hunc modum, *et si tum propter haec, tum propter alia improperia multa, non negem Christum Dominum multum abiectum et diminutum Iudaeorum opinione et aduersarii sermone, cui mea sententia non pertinaciter haeret, non tamen ita res in se habebat*. Quocunque animo tu haec scripseris, quomodo putas interpretaturos, qui legent? Me amicum cum Iudaeis male de Christo sentientibus coniungis, quum tu interim Christi defensor stes inter pios homines et ais Christum meo sermone deiectum ac diminutum ac, si pertinaciter haeream, videris denunciare periculum meque *aduersarium* appellas, qui hac in re pro te faciebam, nisi forte Christi facies aduersarium et, quo sit odiosius, satanam appellabis. Haec, mi Faber, non recenserem nisi quo liqueret omnibus quam inuitus ad hanc apologiam descenderim, cuius ingenium a nulla re magis abhorret quam ab huiusmodi conflictationibus.

1325 Et addis: *ecce suam passionem vocat exaltationem, non deiectionem, nec in malam notam humiliationem*. Quorsum haec? (Pene dolor anteuertens effutierat, sed reprimam me.) Egone *deiectionem* aut *humiliationem in malam notam* Christo tribui, quem vt fontem omnis gloriae adoro? Et huiusmodi beneuolis et candidis dictis tua disputatio respersa est. Quis vero non exosculetur tam amicam cum amicissimo conflictationem? Atque haec mea praeconia ne interciderent, mediis commentariis tuis admiscuisti et, quasi id parum esset, ne verbulo quidem nos admonendos putasti, ne si rescissem, in tempore me purgarem, ne priusquam virus late serpsisset, adhiberem antidotum. Sic enim interpretabuntur posterius tua fortassis lecturi.

1340 Non hic insectabor quam parum erudite, imo quam impie colligas Christum non fuisse humiliatum supplicio crucis quod corpore exaltatus sit a terra, hoc est, in crucem suffixus, quum Paulus hanc vocet *humiliationem*, quemadmodum ante demonstraui. Imo Filius sic humiliatus illustrauit Patrem et Pater vicissim resurrectione illustrauit Filium. Gloriam merebatur humilitas, etiam si nostra gloria crux est Christi, nisi forte quum Paulus ait: *propter quod Deus exaltauit illum et dedit illi nomen supra omne nomen* et caetera, rursum illum adegit in crucem.

1350

Verum vt ad id quod coepimus redeamus, si Athanasium, Chrysostomum, Augustinum, imo doctores omnes excusatos haberi vis quod auctoritatem Septuaginta,

1313-1315 Quis ... habui *E BAS: deest in A-D.*  
 1315 vt dixi *E BAS: deest in A-D.*  
 1326 stes *BAS: stas A-E.*  
 1331-1332 cuius ... conflictationibus *B-BAS: deest in A.*  
 1336 tribui *BAS: tribuam A-E.*

1342 tua *B-BAS: nostra A.*  
 1343 imo quam impie *E BAS: deest in A-D.*  
 1344 corpore *E BAS: deest in A-D.*  
 1346 illustrauit *B-BAS: clarificauit A.*  
 1347 illustrauit *B-BAS: clarificauit A.*  
 1351 coepimus *E BAS: cepimus A-D.*

1307 *iuxta dictum Plautinum* Plaut. *Aul.* 152.  
 1307-1308 *Christo ... aduersantem* With regard to this insulting language of Lefèvre's towards Erasmus, see appendix IV, ll. 134-136.  
 1308 *prophetae mentem subruentem* *Ibid.*, l. 137 and 146-147.  
 1309 *et ... fideles* *Ibid.*, ll. 328-329.  
 1311 *lapides* Cf. the present apologia, l. 1306 and nn.  
 1312 *beneuola tua disputatione* See the end of Lefèvre's *disputatio: Et hic nostrae disceptationis cum viro quidem peramico beneuole susceptae finem facimus*; appendix IV, ll. 573-574.  
 1312-1313 *amico animo suscepta* See the present apologia, ll. 36-37; l. 755 and ll. 1160-1161 and nn.  
 1313 *vitio vertisset* For this formula, see the present apologia, n. l. 83.  
 1316 *Christo Deoque indignissimum* See ll. 1307-1308 and n.  
 1316-1317 *Si ... Christo.* This is of course nothing but sarcasm and rhetoric.  
 1318-1320 *Si ... possum* Erasmus is not very consistent in mentioning the principal motives he has for writing his apologia; cf. ll. 237-238 and n.  
 1321-1324 *et ... habebat* See appendix IV, ll. 247-250.  
 1323 *aduersarii sermone* "in the language of an enemy (of Christ)."  
 1323 *haeret* The subject is Erasmus.  
 1326 *Christi defensor* For this claim on the part of Lefèvre, see his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 31-33 and for Erasmus' feelings about it, the present apologia, l. 258 and ll. 338-340.  
 1328 *denunciare periculum* Cf. Cic. *Mil.* 1, 3: "periculum ... denunciant".  
*aduersarium appellas* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre's words just quoted: *Christum ... diminutum Iudaeorum opinione et aduersarii sermone*, scc ll. 1322-1323 and appendix IV, l. 143 and ll. 248-249. Lefèvre, however, does not call Erasmus an enemy of himself at all, at least not directly, let alone of Christ. He only says that the language that *Ps.* 21

uses to describe Jesus' humiliation is the language reflecting the view of an enemy of Christ, whereas Christ's "humiliation" was in fact an exaltation. Erasmus' suggestion that Lefèvre calls him "an enemy", whether of Lefèvre himself or (as Erasmus is suggesting in the next sentence) of Christ, is baseless. See n. l. 2227, and nn. ll. 342 and 347.  
*qui ... faciebam* Again and again Erasmus depicts himself as unselfishly helping the man who has attacked him in such a horrible way. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 111-116, ll. 129-130, ll. 224-225 and ll. 317-319.  
 1329 *Christi* That is, not of Lefèvre, but of Christ.  
*facies* The object "me" must be taken from *meque* in l. 1328.  
 1330-1332 *quam ... conflictationibus.* Cf. the present apologia, nn. ll. 72-73 and 75-77.  
 1333-1334 *ecce ... humiliationem* See appendix IV, ll. 253-254.  
 1336 *beneuolis* Erasmus uses this word because Lefèvre claimed to have written his *disputatio* "beneuole"; see appendix IV, l. 573.  
 1337-1338 *amicam ... conflictationem* Cf. ll. 36-37, 755, 1160-1161 and 1312-1313.  
 1339 *mediis* Cf. l. 2181 in *medio voluminis*.  
 1339-1341 *ne ... antidotum* Earlier in the present apologia, Erasmus already expressed his irritation about the fact that Lefèvre had published his criticisms directly without warning Erasmus in a letter, see ll. 21-33, l. 152 and n., ll. 133-164 and cf. ll. 2180-2182.  
 1343-1344 *Non ... crucis* Cf. Lefèvre's accusations against Erasmus in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 132-136. For Erasmus' conviction as to the necessity of Jesus' deep humiliation, see the present apologia, ll. 489-491.  
 1344 *corpore ... terra* The phrase is reminiscent of *Ioh.* 12, 32.  
 1345 *Paulus* *Phil.* 2, 8.  
 1346-1347 *Filius ... Filium* Cf. *Ioh.* 13, 31-2; 17, 1.  
 1348-1349 *propter ... nomen* *Phil.* 2, 9-10.  
 1351-1355 *si ... recenseam* For the same argument, see the present apologia, n. ll. 824-827.

qui a Christo fuerunt alieni, sequuti sint, cur mihi blasphemiae crimen impingitur, qui virorum orthodoxorum sequar autoritatem, imo qui illorum  
 1355 sententiam tantum recenseam? Si sacrilegum est dicere diminutum infra homines Christum quod hominibus semper fuerit adorandus, non aberit a sacrilegio Christum diminutum dicere infra angelos siue ab angelis – nihil enim hic refert quibus verbis rem eandem explicemus – quod his semper fuit adorandus. Quod si pie vereque dicitur ab angelis diminutus ob carnis nostrae fragilitatem et huius  
 1360 vitae incommoda quae nostra causa in se recepit, quod his nullus angelorum sit obnoxius, opinor haudquaquam impie dici Christum ad tempus infra plerosque, imo omnes homines diminutum, qui plus afflictionum in se receperit quam  
 LB 43 hominum quisquam vnquam sit passus aut perpeti possit.

Quorsum vero pertinet illud, quod ex tribus vnum facis et Athanasium,  
 1365 Chrysostomum ac Theophylactum vnus hominis vice supputas? Finge solum Athanasium hoc dixisse, an vnus esset leuis autoritas? Quod si numero suffragiorum pondus accedit, hanc opinionem nemo non sequitur vno excepto Hieronymo, quanquam et ipse sequitur videlicet locum hunc subinde adducens iuxta aeditionem Septuaginta.

Tandem descendis ad illud quod proposita prius disputationis meae summa statim in initio labefactatum oportuit. *Proinde mihi videtur*, inquam, *illud ‘paulominus’, quod Graece est βραχύ τι, non ad dignitatis imminutae modum esse referendum, sed ad temporis modum quo versatus est Christus in terris, quasi dicas: ad breue tempus diminutus est ab angelis.* Huc videlicet tendebat disputationis meae  
 1370 summa, vt docerem βραχύ τι, quod interpretes reddidit *paulominus*, non ad humiliationis, sed *ad temporis modum* esse referendum.

Id si tu non videbas, quid caecius? Sin videbas et dissimulabas, quid impudentius? Nam operae precium fuerit aliquantisper repetere quibus rationibus superius mecum egeris: *nam ingenue colligitur*, inquis, *Filius hominis imminutus est infra abiectissimos etiam homines et abiectissimi homines imminuti sunt multum ab angelis, igitur et Filius hominis multo fortius imminutus est ab angelis. Si multum, non igitur parum, sunt enim haec pugnancia, quod nihilominus iuxta aduersantis sententiam intendit propheta. Nam iuxta Septuaginta aeditionem ait: minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis, quam etiam approbat interpretationem. Et si multum imminutus ab angelis, tanto fortius multum a Deo. Subruetur igitur propheta quomodocunque siue a Deo siue ab angelis interpretemur. Quare hic sermo seipsum elidit et falsum esse omni ex parte manifestat.*  
 1380  
 1385

Hactenus tua recensuimus in quibus vt negligam sermonis ineptias et prodigiosam balbutiem, cogor non dialecticem modo, in cuius studio per omnem vitam tibi sudatum est, verumetiam sensum communem desiderare. Ego colligebam Christum non parum fuisse diminutum sed *paulisper*, hoc est multum sed *ad breue tempus*, atque ita lectionem vtranque constare *siue legas a Deo siue ab angelis*. Tu ex his nouo syllogismo ratiocinaris me sensum prophetae subruisse, vtrouocunque modo legatur.  
 1390

Quis non miretur acumen istud plusquam Chrysippeum, quis effugiat κεράτινον τουτονί intento cornu vtrinque minantem? Quis non fateatur istam operam  
 1395

tot annis in dialectices studium pulchre tibi collocatam? Talibus argumentis doces amicum impie loquutum. Ob istam disputationem Deum e coelo deuo-  
cabas, ob eandem omnis lucis infusori gratias agis in secula seculorum.

1400 Hic iterum atque iterum appello conscientiam tuam, mi Faber, quum haec  
tecum recognoscis, ecquid tui te pudet? Si ista tibi serio scripta sunt, non  
dicam: vbi est tua philosophia, cuius fortasse me rudem putas, sed vbi mens  
hominis? Si ioco, dic mihi per Gratias, siccine ludis in amicum? Si ex animo ad  
1405 istum ratiocinarius modum, quid fingi potest delirantius? Si me derides, vbi est illa  
nostra peramica amicitia? Non eadem, opinor, decent Fabrum et circulatorem.  
Vsque adeo nihil referre putas quid chartis tuis illinas? Vsque adeo male sentis de  
huius seculi ingeniis vt istas ineptias vel ferant vel non sentiant? Quis hic non

1354 sequar *B-BAS*: sequor *A*.

1365 Theophylactum *BAS*: Vulgarium *A-E*.

1396 τούτου *B-BAS*: istum *A*.

1401 tibi *A B E BAS*: deest in *C D*.

1403 Si *D BAS*: sin *A-C E*.

1405 peramica *B-BAS*: deest in *A*.

1353-1354 *cur ... impingitur* Lefèvre accuses Erasmus of *blasphemia* in his *disputatio*; see appendix IV, ll. 132-136. See also the present apologia, l. 234 and n.

1354-1355 *imo ... recenseam* This misrepresents Erasmus' discussion of *a Deo* in the *Nov. Instr.*; cf. l. 320 and n.

1355-1356 *sacrilegium ... adorandus* This is a faithful summary of Lefèvre's view; see appendix IV, ll. 252-255.

1356-1357 *non ... angelis* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 925-928 and n.

1358 *his* i.e., *angelis*.

1364-1365 *quod ... supputas* See appendix IV, ll. 350-352.

1367-1369 *uno ... Septuaginta* In the *Comm. in Ps.*, Jerome prefers the translation *a Deo*, but in the *Comm. in Gal.*, he follows the translation *ab angelis*. Jerome's authorship of the *Comm. in Ps.* is doubtful, but the *Comm. in Gal.* are certainly his work; cf. the present apologia, ll. 537-546 and n. ll. 542-546.

1371-1374 *Proinde ... angelis* See appendix III, ll. 29-31, also cited by Lefèvre, see appendix IV, ll. 278-281.

1379-1387 *nam ... manifestat* See appendix IV, ll. 140-148. This long quotation is meant to show that Lefèvre ignores Erasmus' point, which is that "a little" should be taken as a predicate of time, not as "a little in dignity".

1390-1393 *Ego ... angelis* See appendix III, ll. 21-32.

1393-1394 *Tu ... legatur* See appendix IV, ll. 77-94 and 137-148.

1395 *Chryssippeum* Chrysippus of Soli or Tarsus in Cilicia (282-209 B.C.), successor of Clean-

thes as head of the Stoic school, gradually became the second founder of that school by elaborating its doctrines in hundreds of works. As a result it was said: *Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στωά*. Cf. F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie des Alterthums*, Berlin, 1867, p. 189. Erasmus' comparison of Lefèvre with Chrysippus must be understood as ironic, since the latter ranked as a truly great thinker and distinguished philosopher.

1395-1396 *κεράτινον ... minantem* "that horned creature which, with its raised horn, threatens its adversaries on both sides." *κεράτινος* is an adjective. It must mean here "horned", a meaning not recorded in Liddell-Scott. For Chrysippus and the 'horn dilemma' cf. Diog. Laert. VII, 187.

1397 *in dialectices* Lefèvre edited Georgius Trapezontius' work on dialectics in 1508. In 1517, when the present apologia was published for the first time, this edition had appeared four times. Cf. Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, p. 555. Erasmus may also be referring here in general to Lefèvre's Aristotelian studies.

1398-1399 *Ob ... seculorum* Erasmus sneered at this earlier in the present apologia; see ll. 271-273 and nn.

1405 *peramica amicitia* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 36-38 and n.

1405 *circulatore* "a mountebank". Said of noisy philosophers: Sen. *Epist.* 29, 7.

1406 *chartis tuis illinas* Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1, 4, 36 "chartis illeverit".

fatebitur optimo iure tua verba in teipsum retorquenda: *quare hic sermo seipsum elidit et falsum esse omni ex parte manifestat?*

1410 Verum interim hoc meo iure nolim vti, mihi sat est te tibi ostendisse ne pergas posthac ad eundem nugari modum. Si tamen hoc nugari est, huiusmodi verborum praestigiis amicam impietatis accusare et prophetici sensus facere subuersorem. Quid autem tibi vis cum ais: *iuxta aduersantis*, hoc est meam, *sententiam* prophetam in hisce verbis, *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, sensisse Christum multum *ab angelis* fuisse diminutum? Quum palam eloquar sensisse *ad breue*  
 1415 *tempus* fuisse diminutum. Porro multum an parum fuerit imminutus non hic agebatur. Neque rursus simpliciter tibi donarim, quod tu ceu confessum assumis, abiectissimos homines infra angelos multum esse diminutos. Nam fieri potest, vt abiectissimus homo, vt hic accipio 'abiectissimum', sit aliqua ratione maior  
 1420 angelis.

Iam ipse finem facturum eram refellendi, si tu impetendi finem facere posses. Quasi hactenus parum ineptieris, pergis ac subiicis: *et non minus eadem ratione propriae assertioni aduersatur id quod subnectit hoc modo: ne ab angelis quidem paululum fuit imminutus qui usque ad famem ac sitim, usque ad flagra, ad*  
 1425 *crucem, usque ad mortem denique descenderit. Si non ab angelis paulum quidem fuit diminutus, quomodo approbatur in propheta legendum esse: minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis? Pugnantne 'paulo minus' et 'non paulo minus', 'paululum' et 'non paululum'?*

Vt hic gestis, vt exultas, vt tibi places, quam ridiculum teipsum praebes dum  
 1430 me derides. Quis negat paulum et non paulum inter se pugnare? Istuc, opinor, non vidisses nisi tot annos versatus esses in Aristotele, quod vel caeco, vt aiunt, sit perspicuum. Atqui non pugnant alicubi paululum et diu; non pugnant diu et non multum. Neque enim haec coniungo, Christus paululum fuit diminutus et non paululum fuit diminutus, sed Christus multum fuit diminutus ab angelis,  
 1435 at non diu. Aut Christus paulisper fuit imminutus prae angelis, at non paululum.

Hoc erat tibi refellendum, priusquam istam inires ouationem, ne quis Graecum illud posset obiicere πρὸ τῆς νίκης ἐγκώμιον. At tu perinde quasi tibi debellatum esset, incipis lasciuire facetiis, homo festiuus ac salsus. *Verum id*, inquis, *libens tribuerim, Filium hominis non paulum fuisse diminutum ab angelis, quando-*  
 1440 *quidem ab angelis nullo pacto diminutus fuit.* At non sentis interim, dum maxime negare vis Filium hominis fuisse diminutum ab angelis, te fateri *diminutum ab angelis*. Si dixisses: Filius hominis non fuit diminutus paulum ab angelis, fortasse consistere poterat non omnino fuisse diminutum. Verum quum ais: non paulum diminutus est, propositionem reddis affirmatiuam, quod negatio *non* nihil agat  
 1445 in praedicatum, *diminutus* est, sed in aduerbium *paulum*. Neque enim refert hic quo loco sit negatio, sed quo referatur. Quod si contendis ad vtrunque referri, reclamabunt tibi omnes qui Latine intelligunt. Nisi forte cum dico: 'Petrus non parum te amat', accipi possit te nec multum nec parum a Petro diligi, aut si dicam: 'hic non multum dedit', accipi queat nihil dedisse. Secus  
 1450 esset si diceres: Christus ne paululum quidem fuit imminutus, negares enim vllo modo fuisse imminutum. Vides quam circumspectum esse oporteat qui paret alterum irridere, multo magis qui paret impietatis criminari.



Verum his tricis omissis redeamus ad id quod sero tandem incipis conuellere, nimirum illud quod scripseram βραχὺ τι *ad temporis modum* referendum quo  
 1455 Christus versatus est in terris vsque ad resurrectionem. Ac primum vide, mi Faber, quam nec hic quicquam asseuerem, sed veluti tentans ac vestigans loquar. *Proinde mihi videtur*, inquam. Quam opinionem, vt dixi, demiror cur tantopere putaris impugnandam, quum adeo non officiat tuae sententiae vt adiuuet etiam, nisi forte libuit tibi tota hac disputatione nusquam a me non dissentire.  
 1460 Siquidem vt iam euiceris legendum esse *paulominus a Deo*, non *ab angelis*, altera te circumstat difficultas et nihilo secius in vado haeres, quomodo paulum descendisse dici queat qui Deus ad humanam naturam et ad humanae naturae iniurias et, si mauiis Hilarii verbum, *contumelias* descenderit. Quae difficultas si tibi non est animaduersa, acumen istud tuum solitum in te desidero, si dissimulas, ingenuitatem requiro. Impius tibi videor, si scrupum hunc indico, si excutiendum propono, qui nisi tollitur nec tua stabit interpretatio? Tot testibus, tot argumentis docui non paulum, sed multum fuisse diminutum.

1424 *alt.* ad A-C E BAS: vsque ad D.

1432 *prius* diu Ac B E BAS: non diu A, multum C D.

1444 non Ac B-BAS: non non A.

1446 hic A-C E BAS: *deest* in D.

1448 *prius* te B-BAS: *deest* in A.

1454 nimirum illud BAS: *deest* in A-E; referendum E BAS: esse referendum A-D.

1457 inquam B-BAS: *deest* in A.

1460 ab A-C E BAS: *deest* in D.

1462 qui A-C E BAS: quid D.

1408-1409 *quare ... manifestat* See appendix IV, ll. 147-148; cf. the present apologia, ll. 1386-1387.

1411-1412 *verborum praestigiis* Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 4, 27, 74 "praestigia verborum", "deceptive use of words".

1412 *amicum* See the present apologia ll. 36-38 and n.

1412 *impietatis accusare* Lefèvre accused Erasmus of *impietas* in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, l. 134.

1412-1413 *propheticis ... subuersorem* *Ibid.* l. 137.

1413-1415 *iuxta ... diminutum* *Ibid.*, ll. 143-145.

1413 *aduersantis* See appendix IV, l. 143, and cf. the present apologia, n. l. 1328.

1417-1420 *Neque ... angelis* Cf. appendix IV l. 141. This is a reaction to Lefèvre's implicit assumption that terms as *abiectissimus* and *diminutus* had not only a negative social meaning but also an unfavourable ethical meaning, cf. the present apologia, ll. 1320-1337, cf. Introduction pp. 30-31.

1422-1428 *et ... paululum* See appendix IV, ll. 149-154.

1431 *vel caeco* *Adag.* 793 (Vel caeco appareat), *LB* II, 331 B-E.

1434-1435 *sed ... paululum* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 1390-1393 and n.

1435 *prae* "compared with".

1437 *πρό ... ἐγκώμιον* Cf. *Adag.* 655, *LB* II, 283 D-E.

1438-1440 *Verum ... fuit* See appendix IV, ll. 155-158. After *Filiium hominis* (the present apologia, l. 2054) Erasmus omits: *de quo loquitur propheta, qui vsque ad famem ac sitim, vsque ad flagra, ad crucem, vsque ad mortem denique voluntarie pro omnium salute descendit*, appendix IV, ll. 155-157.

1439 *paulum* Lefèvre's text reads *paululum*.

1451-1452 *Vides ... criminari* Here Erasmus expresses a totally different view on Lefèvre's intentions from the one mentioned earlier in this apologia; see ll. 39-40 and ll. 234-235.

1454 βραχὺ ... referendum See appendix III, ll. 29-31.

1456 *quam ... loquar* For Erasmus' reluctance to pronounce upon dogmatic questions, see ll. 304-305, and n. l. 304, l. 1217, and ll. 1845-1849 and l. 2077.

1457 *Proinde mihi videtur* See appendix III, l. 29.

1458-1459 *vt adiuuet etiam* Erasmus makes the same claim to having supported Lefèvre rather than opposed him in ll. 114-116, l. 225 and ll. 342-348.

1461 *in vado haeres* Cf. Curt. IX, 9, 19: "in vado haerebat."

1463 *contumelias* Erasmus refers to the aforementioned quotation from Hilary, see ll. 910-911 and n.

1465 *ingenuitatem requiro* See the present apologia, ll. 357-368 and n. l. 357.

1466-1467 *Tot ... diminutum* See appendix III, ll. 14-38.

At finge me praesidiis omnibus nudatum vno tantum telo tecum agere, quod ipse Paulus mihi porrigit dicens *exinaniuit semetipsum*. Quo te vertes? Qua  
 LB 45 techna elaberis? An sic interpretaberis: *exinaniuit*, id est: paululum quiddam  
 1471 humiliavit? At quis istam interpretationem non statim explodat, exhibilet et tota  
 Anticyra dignam iudicet, si quicquam omnino dignum Anticyra? Perinde quasi  
 sermonem hunc, 'voluptas extinguit animi vigorem', sic interpretetur aliquis:  
 1475 'voluptas paululum minuit animi vigorem', aut si quis internicionem exercitus  
 paucorum interitum exponat. Quid sonet 'exinanire' Latinis satis est cognitum,  
 Quintus Curtius vsurpauit pro 'exhaurire'. At Paulo dictum est ἐκένωσεν, id est  
 'inaniuit' et, vt ita loquar, 'in nihilum redegit', vt nullo verbo magis potuerit  
 summam Christi humiliationem attollere et diminutionis hyperbolen exprimere.  
 Tu contra laboras vt quam minimum fuerit humiliatus, καὶ παντοῦς γενόμενος  
 1480 quicquid insignem humiliationem sonat ad hominum impiorum existimationem  
 detorques. Ego contra vt exemplum humilitatis in Christo insigne esse volo, sic  
 verissimum fuisse contendo. Quanquam nihil erat cur in his angustiis ipse te tor-  
 queres, si nostrum βραχύ τι sequi quam calumniari maluisses, siquidem iste qui  
 te vrgebat nodus propemodum explicatur hac mea, imo veterum Graecorum  
 1485 interpretatione.

Atque hic Graecorum simul et Hebraeorum praesidiis me aggredieris. De  
 Hebraeis mox videbimus, interim quod a Graecis adfers aduersus opinionem  
 meam cuiusmodi sit dispiciamus. *Non crediderim*, inquis, *nam βραχύ τι apud*  
 1490 *Graecos et linguae quidem peritos Graecos non temporis, sed potius dignitatis aesti-*  
*mationisque modum dicit. Eustathius enim id Homericum exponens Iliados: δέκα δὲ*  
*χρυσοῖο ταλάντα, αἶτ, εἰ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ταλάντου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶ, βραχύ τι ἐστὶ.*  
 Atque hac autoritate satis existimas probatum βραχύ τι Graecis ad tempus referri  
 non posse. Primum illud mihi subridiculum videtur te ad Eustathium, Homeri  
 1495 interpretem, confugere quo doceas βραχύ pro 'pusillo' poni, cum id ex quibusuis  
 autoribus demonstrare sit promptissimum. Nec enim opinor id abs te factum  
 ambitiosius, ne videlicet nesciremus te in Homeri rhapsodiis versari. Atqui  
 Eustathius vt Homeri interpretes legitur, non vt autor recte loquendi, perinde  
 quasi ego docere volens Latine dici 'fregit nauim', exemplum proferam e Beroaldi  
 aut Badii commentariis potiusquam e Cicerone aut Terentio. Quanquam quid  
 1500 omnino erat necesse probare quod nemo neque nescit neque negat? Caeterum  
 vt obiter excusare accusantem, suspicor istud non lectum tibi sed aliunde ex  
 annotamentis sublectum.

Sed qui consequitur βραχύ siue 'pusillum' si quando ad aestimationem per-  
 tineat, non posse idem ad tempus aut aliud quiduis accommodari? Vt si recte  
 1505 dicatur 'paululum nummorum', non possit recte dici 'paululum temporis'? Aut  
 si Latine dicamus 'breuem vestem', non possit Latine dici 'breuem diem'? Sic  
 enim tu ratiocinaris, qui me paulo post in Anticyras mittis, quod tibi parum  
 dialectice colligere quiddam videor, qua de re suo dicetur loco.

Ego nec hic nec vsquam imitabor quod a christiana modestia videatur  
 1510 alienum. Tantum hoc loco dialecticam istam desidero quam tu annis, ni fallor,

plus viginti vel didicisti vel docuisti, desidero mathematicum acumen. Et vide, obsecro te, charissime Faber, quo te calor iste disputationis abripuerit. Doces nos διδασκαλικῶς ceu sumpta ferula Graece loqui et leges novas praescribens ais: si tempus significandum sit, potius dicendum ἐπὶ ὀλίγον, sic enim fere loqui  
1515 philosophos, aut μικρόν, quod etiam in euangelio tempore accommodatur.

Vt ne cauller quod philosophos recte loquendi autores facis, quis negat μικρόν et ὀλίγον temporis moram significare si χρόνον vel addas vel subaudias? Sed eadem 'aurum' aut 'agrum' aut, si mauis, 'asinum' significabunt si quid horum vel addas vel subaudias. Quaeso te, quid dicturi sunt eruditi grauesque viri qui haec  
1520 in tuis libris legerint, praesertim eo in loco quo amicum impietatis reum facis? Quem nasum, quos ronchos, quas sannas tollent quidam, qui solent et bene dicta

1469 te A-C E BAS: deest in D.

1475 paucorum Ac B-BAS: pauciorum A.

1477 inaniuit Ac B-BAS: exinaniuit A.

1484 vrgebat A C-BAS: vrgeat B.

1497 non vt Ac B E BAS: vt non A C D.

1499 aut Badii E BAS: deest in A-D.

1500 Caeterum E BAS: Quanquam A-D.

1505 dicatur BAS: dicetur A-E.

1508 colligere A-C E BAS: colligi D.

1512 te A C-BAS: deest in B.

1469 exinaniuit semetipsum *Phil.* 2, 7. The Vulgate reads "semetipsum exinaniuit".

1469 *Quo te vertes?* Cf. l. 474: *Quo me veritam?* (l'ér. *Hec.* 516).

1470-1471 exinaniuit ... humiliavit Cf. *Phil.* 2, 7-8.

1471-1472 tota ... dignam "totally insane". Lefevre used the same expression in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, l. 547 and n.

1476 *Quintus* ... exaurire Curt. IV, 13, 34.

1479 παντοῖος γενόμενος "you try everything (to present my words as the view of impious people)". Cf. *Plut. Mar.* 30: παντοῖος γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ σωσαι τοὺς ἀνδρας (Plut. *Vitae Parallelae*, ed. K. Ziegler, Leipzig, 1971, p. 241, r. 8).

1480-1481 quicquid ... detorques See appendix IV, ll. 161-215.

1481 vt ... volo Cf. the present apologia, ll. 82-83 and n. This is a very essential reason for Erasmus to prefer the translation *ab angelis*: Jesus' admirable attitude in his suffering.

1488-1491 Non ... ἐστὶ See appendix IV, ll. 332-335.

1490 *Iliados* After *Iliados* Erasmus omits *Iota*.

1491 εἰ γὰρ ... ἐστὶ Lefevre and Erasmus appear to be thinking of Eustathius ad *Il.* IX, 122, II, p. 673, ll. 2-3 van der Valk, but the text is from *Etym. mag.* 744, 46 sqq. Gaisford.

1498 Beroaldi Filippo (I) Beroaldo of Bologna (1453-1505) composed a commentary on *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius and a commentary on

Suetonius, among other writings; A. Grafton, *Contemporaries* I, p. 135.

1499 Badii Josse Bade of Ghent (1461-1535) was a student of Filippo I Beroaldo. His oeuvre includes works on grammar, morality and Latin poetry; G. Guilleminot *ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

1501 *istud* The note on ζεαχὶ τῆ in Eustathius, but see n. l. 1491.

1507 in *Anticyras mittis* "you call me crazy"; see appendix IV, l. 547. Cf. Otto 117, and *Adag.* 752 (Nauiget Anticyras), *LB* II, 318E-319B. Cf. n. ll. 1920-1922.

1508 *qua* ... loco Erasmus does this in the present apologia, ll. 2106-2154.

1510-1511 *Tantum* ... docuisti For Lefevre's exertions in this field, see the present apologia, l. 1397 and n.

1511 *mathematicum* See above, n. l. 1167. His first work on mathematics appeared in 1496. Thus, he had been working in this field for more than twenty years when Erasmus wrote this apologia.

1514-1515 *si* ... accommodatur See appendix IV, ll. 338-342.

1520 *quo* ... facis *Ibid.*, l. 134.

1521 *nasum* "scorn", "condescension", see *Adag.* 581 (Odorari et similes aliquot metaphorae), *LB* II, 253 C. Otto 1198. For this expression, cf. the present apologia, l. 182.

*ronchos* ῥόγγος, ῥωχμός, "wheezing", "sneering", as an expression of disapproval; cf. *Mart.* III, 82, 30.

calumniari? Si quid huiusmodi priuatim ad me scripsisses, caelassem honoris tui gratia, nunc ceu rem lectu dignam et tibi gloriae futuram studio vulgasti. |

LB 46 Nec his contentus pergis et ais: Septuaginta si tempus intelligi voluissent,  
1525 dicturos fuisse ἡλάττωσας ταχύ, quod ταχύ sonet 'paruam moram'. Quid ego audio? Qui senserit aliquem hominem ad breue tempus vixisse Graece dicit ταχύ ἔζησεν, hoc est 'cito vixit'? An potius 'cito mortuus est'? Sic enim tu vertendum putas *minuisti eum cito ab angelis*. Pudet horum, mi Faber, ita me Deus amet, vel tuo nomine. Et vtinam in istam arenam quae proprie, vt dixi, tua non est, aut  
1530 non descenderes tam libenter aut non tantopere immorareris, fortassis in rebus maioribus felicior.

Fac Eustathium docuisse βραχύ ad tempus non pertinere, id quod non docuit, num existimas Athanasium aut Chrysostomum minus calluisse Graece quam Eustathium, viros vsque ad eloquentiae Graecanicae miraculum celebres? Ego  
1535 nihil dubitem horum vtrumuis vel tribus Eustathiis opponere. Age, quid si tibi profero locum ex ipso Luca vbi palam βραχύ τι ad tempus refertur, num erit etiam quod tergiueris? En ipsum accipe sic loquentem in Actis apostolicis, capite quinto ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω βραχύ τι τοὺς ἀποστόλους ποιῆσαι. Num hic putabis ita vertendum: iussit foras apostolos paulominus aliquid facere? Nihil hic praetexi  
1540 potest quin βραχύ τι ad breue temporis spacium pertineat, in quem sensum vetus interpres transtulit et nos vertimus: iussit vt paulisper secederent foras apostoli. Nec ipse sensus patitur alio detorqueri quam ad tempus. I nunc et praecipe nobis βραχύ τι Graecis ad tempus referri non posse, Septuaginta in eum sensum non vsurpasse, Athanasium, Chrysostomum, Theophylactum, Augustinum atque  
1545 ipsum adeo Hieronymum, nam hac quidem in parte nobiscum facit, βραχύ τι perperam ad tempus retulisse.

Vides, optime Faber, quanto consultius sit aliquoties prudenter dubitare quam fortiter asseuerare, quam in partem tu mihi nonnunquam aliquanto videre vehementior, plus satis abhorrens ab Academicis. Atque idem Lucas qui sine con-  
1550 trouersia scripsit Acta nonnullis creditus est huius interpres epistolae.

Quid quod hoc ipso in loco Paulus satis indicat se de temporis modo sensisse, quum subiicit: *eum autem qui modicum quam angeli minoratus est videmus Iesum propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum*. Quod homo esse coepit, nunquam esse desiit, atqui cito desiit esse mortalis. An tibi paululum diminui  
1555 videtur qui vsque ad supplicium mortis descendit? Quod si nec tu dicis, vt opinor, quo tandem referes βραχύ τι nisi ad tempus, quo tot tantique Graeci scriptores retulerunt? Neque enim tibi magnopere profuerit haec verba, *propter passionem mortis*, in tua translatione e suo loco in alium transtulisse, ne possent ad suum referri participium. Sic enim tu legis: *videmus tamen Iesum, qui paulominus a Deo minoratus est, gloria et honore coronatum propter passionem mortis*. Nihil enim non torques, nullum non moues lapidem quo filiam istam, tuam nouam opinionem, tuearis, atqui vide ne tuus partus tibi plus satis blandiatur.

Quid quod etiam, velut Aristarchus quispiam, loquendi regulam nobis praescribis, si Musis placet: *caeterum*, inquis, *cum vocabula 'multum' et 'parum' et*

1565 *similia iunguntur vocabulis aucionem diminutionemue designantibus, nequaquam significare solent tempus. Hic autem 'paulo minus' iungitur vocabulo 'minuisti' quod imminutionem significat, secus autem esset si iungeretur particulae designanti tempus.* Quod ego audio enthymema? Soloecismus igitur erit si dixero: 'extulisti me paulisper tuis laudibus', quanquam ingenue fateor Latinis quaedam peculiariter  
 1570 ad tempus pertinere, quod genus sunt 'paulisper', 'aliquantisper', alia non item vt 'multum', 'parum' nisi tempus addas. Atqui non est eadem apud Graecos distinctio et sicuti nobis addendum est temporis vocabulum, ita Graecis saepenumero

1524 his *Ac B-D BAS: is A, iis E.*  
 1534 vsque *BAS: vel vsque A-E.*

1544 Theophylactum *BAS: Vulgarium A-E.*  
 1553 coepit *E BAS: cepit A-D.*

1524–1525 *Septuaginta ... moram* See appendix IV, ll. 342–349.

1529 *istam ... est* Regarding Lefèvre's former field of study, see the present apologia, l. 151 and n.

1529 *arenam* For Erasmus' use of this metaphor, see this apologia, n. l. 105. Cf. *Apol. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 210: "Stunica ... non versatur in sua harena".

1533 *Athanasium aut Chrysostomum* See Introduction pp. 25–26.

1536 *Luca* Luke as the author of *Act.*; cf. ll. 1549–1550.

1538 *ἐκέλευσεν ... ποιῆσαι Act. 5, 34*, Textus Receptus. Modern critical editions read βραχύ instead of βραχύ τι.

1540–1541 *vetus interpres* The translator whose version we have in the Latin Vulgate.

1548 *videre* I.e., videris.

1549 *Academicis* I.e., the later Academy, which taught epistemological scepticism.

1550 *nonnullis* Clem. Al. apud Eus. *H.E.* VI, 14, 2–3. See also n. l. 2324, the preface to *Hebr.* which mentions Luke as the translator of *Hebr.*

1552–1553 *eum ... coronatum Hebr. 2, 9.*

1554 *prius esse "exist"*. Erasmus seems to mean that, in comparison with the eternal existence of Christ, Jesus' incarnation, passion and death lasted only a short time. Since, in *Hebr. 2, 9*, *modicum quam angeli minoratus* refers to Jesus' incarnation, passion and death, the adverb *modicum* (Vulgate: *modice*) is best taken, Erasmus is saying, as an adjunct of time. Although Erasmus' exegesis of *modicum/-co* is correct, his argumentation is of course not conclusive. Lefèvre would not have been impressed by it.

1559 *participium* I.e., *minoratus*.

1559–1560 *videmus ... mortis* Lefèvre indeed translated *Hebr. 2, 9* this way (Iac. Faber

*Stapulensis, S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 56 v<sup>o</sup>). In this translation, Lefèvre tried to clarify the meaning of *Hebr. 2, 9* by changing the order of the words. The Vulgate reads: "eum autem qui modico quam angeli minoratus est videmus Iesum propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum." Lefèvre's translation is: "videmus tamen Iesum qui paulominus a Deo minoratus est, gloria et honore coronatum propter passionem mortis". Erasmus holds that "propter passionem mortis" has to be taken with "modico quam angeli minoratus est", and that Lefèvre had wrongly connected it, in his version, with "gloria et honore coronatum". Erasmus argues that by transposing the words of *Hebr. 2, 9* Lefèvre made this passage say that Jesus' suffering and death were the reason why he was exalted, whereas, according to Erasmus, *Hebr. 2, 9* makes Jesus' suffering and death the events in which one can see his humiliation. Lefèvre's translation certainly expresses the meaning of *Hebr. 2, 9* more faithfully than does the interpretation given here by Erasmus

1561 *nullum ... lapidem Adag. 330* (Omnem mouere lapidem), ASD II, 1, pp. 429–430.

1561–1562 *tuam nouam opinionem* Erasmus often notes Lefèvre's disagreement with the tradition. See, e.g., the present apologia, n. l. 824.

1563 *Aristarchus* The great Alexandrian philologist, 216–144 B.C. Cf. n. l. 1605.

1564–1568 *caeterum ... tempus* See appendix IV, ll. 308–311.

1568 *enthymema* "A conclusion drawn from the contrary". Cf. Erasmus, *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I, 2, p. 389, ll. 4–11 and n. l. 10. See J. Chomarat *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*, II, Paris, 1981, p. 1122 and Erasmus' *Ecclesiastes*, ASD V, 4, p. 251 n. l. 121.

1569 *ingenue fateor* Cf. above, l 357 and n.

1575 apponitur. Frequenter etiam subauditur quod nos quoque nonnunquam imita-  
 1580 mur, ita loquentes: 'breui veniam', nimirum tempore. Non quod hoc factum  
 LB 47 velim in praesenti loco, ἡλλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι, sed quod existimem nomen  
 neutri generis aduerbii | vice positum eodem modo, sicut paulo ante ex ipsius  
 Pauli verbis docuimus.

Iam quod ex Hebraeorum autoritate producis paucis excutiamus. Locos  
 aliquot citas ex Hebraeorum libris, in quibus *meat* non ad temporis modum sed  
 1580 ad aliud quippiam referatur. Ingenue fateor me in hisce literis iudicem esse non  
 posse, neque te puto eo progressum vt postules nos hac in re autoritati tuae  
 cedere, nec Hebraei, nescio cuius, quem nobis obiicis, tam grauis est apud nos  
 autoritas vt nefas sit ab eo dissentire. Et tu tot locis productis tantum doces  
 1585 'meat' aliquando ad aliud quam ad tempus pertinere, at non doces ad tempus  
 pertinere non posse. Neque mirum sit aut nouum vocem ad multa communem  
 ad alia quoque nonnunquam referri quam ad vnum aliquod. Quid si quis tibi  
 proferat locum vbi palam ad tempus refertur, quid facies tuae nouae regulae? En  
 tibi psalmo trigesimo sexto, *et adhuc pusillum et non erit peccator*, Hebraeis est  
 1590 *meat*, nec potest accipi secus quam de breuitate temporis. Item psalmo centesimo  
 octauo, *fiant dies pauci*, pro *pauci* Hebraeis est *meatim*. An negabis hic *meat* ad  
 temporis breuitatem pertinere? Rursus psalmo secundo, *cum exarserit in breui  
 ira eius*, an non Hebraeis est *bimeat*? Nec dubito quin triginta loca possint colligi,  
 si cui vestigandi non desit ocium, quando haec e Psalmis duntaxat occurre-  
 1595 runt. Nam is liber Hebraice excusus mihi forte tum aderat, quamquam ad  
 labefactandam praeeptionem tuam vel vnus sufficere possit locus.

Quod si conuenit tam anxie disputare de verbis, quaerendum erat quid Latinis  
 sonaret 'paulominus'; profecto nihil aliud quam 'prope' aut 'propemodum'. Sic  
 enim vsurpauit Suetonius in Nerone: *talem principem paulominus quatuordecim  
 annos perpassus terrarum orbis, tandem destituit*. Ac rursus in Tiberio: *et cito  
 1600 mortem etiam obiturus quod paulominus euenit*. Iterum in eodem: *verum liberatus  
 metu, ciuilem admodum inter initia ac paulominus priuatum egit*. Vides auctori tam  
 graui *paulominus* nihil aliud esse quam 'pene' et consimili figura Apuleius dixit  
*minimo minus* pro 'penissime', quomodo Graeci dicunt μικροῦ δεῖν cum 'paulu-  
 lum abesse' significant quo minus fiat aliquid.

1605 Quum sis tantus sermonis Graeci et Hebraei Aristarchus vt loquendi leges  
 praescribas mundo, quum sic offenderis oculis vt his Christum deiici dicas,  
 demiror hanc vocem in tua interpretatione tibi non esse mutatam, quum omnem  
 sensum prophetae inuertat. Nisi forte idem sonant 'pene diminui' et 'paulum  
 diminui', quum hic aliquantulum intelligatur diminutus, illic intelligatur non  
 1610 fuisse diminutus etiam si parum abfuit vt diminueretur. An forte quemadmodum  
 Augustinus negat Balaam diuinum ad asinae sermonem obstupuisse quod mon-  
 stris assueisset, ita nec tu istiusmodi sermonis portentis quicquam offenderis?

1615 Multa sciens praetereo ne bis molestus sim lectori, si res per se molestas et  
 inamoenas prolixa disputatione reddidero molestiores, velut illud quod, quum  
 indico Thomam propemodum sensisse cum Chrysostomo quod admoneat

‘paulominus’ bifariam accipi posse, vel vt pertineat ad quantitatem vel vt pertineat ad durationem, sic illum excusas quasi ego hoc in illius odium adduxerim. Et ni suspicionem hanc excluderet mihi spectata synceritas tua, subolebat non-nihil quum haec scriberes tibi Thomistam aliquem in consilio fuisse, qui Thomam aliquanto ciuilius tractes quam Athanasium aut Chrysostomum.

1620

- 1586–1595 Quid ... locus *B–BAS*: *deest in A*.  
 1591 temporis breuitatem *B E BAS*: breuitatem temporis *C D*; psalmo secundo *B E BAS*: Psalmo ii vertit etiam Hieronymus ad modum temporis *C D*.
- 1576 paulo ante Sec ll. 2216–2233.  
 1577 Pauli verbis I.e., *Hebr.* 2, 9.  
 1578–1580 lam ... referatur See appendix IV, ll. 297–320.  
 1580 ingenue fateor Cf. above, l. 357 and n.  
 1587 quid ... regulae “What are you going to do with that new rule of yours?” *tuae* ... *regulae* is dative; see Lewis and Short, *s.u.* “facio”, p. 717 under *ita*, with examples from Cicero and Horace.  
 1588 et ... peccator *Ps.* 36, 10 *Vg.*  
 1590 fiant dies pauci *Ps.* 108, 8 *Vg.*  
 1591–1592 cum ... eius *Ps.* 2, 13 *Vg.*  
 1594 liber Hebraice excusul Erasmus is probably referring to the Psalter in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, included in Jerome’s *Omnia Opera* printed by Froben in Basel in 1516 (see ll. 428–430), or to the polyglot Psalter edited by Agostino Giustiniani and printed at Genoa in 1516 (see ll. 423–427 and ll. 437–461) or to the Hebrew Psalter printed by Froben in Basel in 1516, with a preface by Conrad Pellican.  
 1598–1599 talem ... destituit Suet. *Ner.* 40, 1.  
 1599–1600 et ... euenit Suet. *Tib.* 39. After *paulominus* Erasmus omits “*utrumque*”.  
 1600–1601 verum ... egit Suet. *Tib.* 26, 1. After *paulominus* Erasmus omits “*quam*”.  
 1602–1603 Apuleius ... penissime *Apul. Met.* I, 4, 4, ed. R. Helm, Leipzig, 1931, p. 4.  
 1605 Aristarchus Cf. l. 1563. Erasmus means Aristarchus of Samothrace, the famous Alexandrian grammarian (216–144 B.C.). Cf. *Adag.* 457, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 530–534; see esp. 534 ll. 354–368 (... hoc ipsum Aristarchi cognomen in proverbium abiit ...). In *Adag.* 457 Erasmus mentions the following classical sources for the proverbial use of the name of Aristarchus: *Cic.*, *Att.* I, 14, 3 and *ibid.*, 16, 11, 1, *Cic. Fam.* 9, 10, 1, Varro, *Ling. lat.* 8, 63 and Hier. *Epist.* 50, 1.
- 1593 quando *B E BAS*: quum *C D*; e *C–BAS*: *deest in B*.  
 1595 possit *C–BAS*: poterat *B*.
- 1607 hanc vocem I.e., *paulominus*.  
 1611–1612 Augustinus ... assueuisset Aug. *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum libri VII*, IV, *CSEL* 28, 2, ed. I. Zycha, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1895, p. 356.  
 1611 Balaam ... obstupuisse *Num.* 22, 28–30.  
 1614–1617 quum ... durationem See appendix III, ll. 36–38. In this passage, however, Erasmus does not contend that Chrysostom too had said “*paulominus*” *bifariam accipi posse*. In ll. 31–32 of appendix III, Erasmus states that Chrysostom took *paulominus* as an adjunct of time.  
 1617 sic ... adduxerim See appendix IV, ll. 42–72, particularly ll. 68–70. Cf. also *ibid.*, ll. 350–359, where Lefèvre excuses Chrysostom and Theophylact for taking *βραχύ τι* as a predicate of time and ll. 457–473 where Lefèvre again excuses Aquinas for asserting that *paulominus* can be interpreted in two ways (*ad quantitatem* and *ad durationem*).  
 1618 spectata synceritas tua Regarding the basis for this ironic flattery, cf. the present apologia, ll. 48–49 and n. ll. 49–50. Cf. n. l. 1569. Erasmus is irritated by Lefèvre’s frequent claims to sincerity, for which see, e.g., appendix IV, ll. 25–30, l. 37, and ll. 578–579.  
 1619–1620 qui ... Chrysostomum Erasmus remarks that Lefèvre is less critical of Aquinas than of Athanasius and Chrysostom, as can be seen in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 459–460, where Lefèvre asserts: *Thomas ... eo magis venia dignus quod magnos sequebatur authores*. But Lefèvre excuses all the Church Fathers as well as Aquinas for misinterpreting *Hebr.* 2, 7, i.e., for reading *ab angelis* instead of *a Deo*, on the ground that they knew no Hebrew. See the present apologia, l. 1617 and n.

Verum vt ad reliquas apologiae, hoc est criminationis tuae partes respondeam, ais a me scriptum: *sunt qui Lucam putent interpretem fuisse, quam opinionem si recipimus, is interpres in ius vocari non potest.* Quid hic est, mi Faber, quod te  
 1625 tatur praefatio quam in hanc epistolam habent nostri codices? Eam vt donemus  
 non esse Hieronymi, certe, siue Bedae est siue Isidori siue alterius, apparet  
 LB 48 hominis esse non omnino indocti et publico christianorum vsu comprobatur, ne  
 interim ex aliis argumenta proferam, quum idem quod in hoc argumento legi-  
 tur referat Eusebius, Ecclesiasticae historiae libro 6, capite 11 ex autoritate  
 1630 Clementis Alexandrini. Nec dissimulat Hieronymus in Catalogo scriptorum  
 illustrium.

Atqui quum incertus sit interpres, qua fretus autoritate tanto supercilio pron-  
 uncias non esse Lucam? An quia sequutus est aeditionem Septuaginta? Quid  
 mirum si hoc faciat Lucas interpres, quum idem aliquoties faciat Paulus, et in  
 1635 aliis epistolis in quibus ipse sui interpres est? Et tamen feci tibi liberum, vtrum  
 eam opinionem recipere velles an non. Quod si non recipis, nihil est quod  
 mecum litiges. Certe verum est, si ea vera est opinio, interpretem in ius non esse  
 vocandum, nisi forte Lucam in ius trahendum putas. Et tamen subiicis: *caeterum  
 non oportet hic auctoritatem scribentis, quicumque is fuerit, sed veritatem facere victo-  
 1640 riam.* Ex animo, ne Faber optime, tibi dicuntur ista an ioco? Quicumque fuerit  
 autor aut interpres huius epistolae, nihil ne habebit momenti autoritas, ne si  
 Paulus quidem ipse fuerit aut interpres Lucas? Quid hic senseris ipse videris, certe  
 nulli obscurum esse potest quid his verbis expresseris. Verum hic non vrgebo te  
 tuis dictis, quando satis coniecto te sensisse non magnopere referre quis fuerit  
 1645 interpres, quum tibi constet Lucam non fuisse.

Post haec illud exagitas quod ex annotationibus eorum qui literas Hebraicas  
 profitentur indicarim, 'Eloim' apud illos vtroque numero poni, tum *πολύσημον*  
 esse vocem. Idque tibi non omnino displicebat cum scriberes in hunc psalmum,  
 quandoquidem pluralitatem numeri trahis ad tres personas, Patrem, Filium et  
 1650 Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc vero nouam regulam, quam, opinor, Hebraeus aliquis  
 suppeditauit, nec approbo, nec refello. Certe nullus Hebraeorum negat 'El'  
 proprium esse 'Deo', 'Eloim' nunc poni pro 'El', nunc pro 'Deo' adiuncto con-  
 sortio, sicut in condendo mundo *faciamus*, inquit, *hominem*, nunc pro 'ange-  
 lis', nunc pro 'primatibus' aut 'iudicibus', nunc pro 'diis'. Hoc tantum volunt  
 1655 interesse inter 'Eloim' et 'Malachim', quod 'Malachim' dicantur angeli quoties ad  
 functionem aliquam mittuntur, 'Eloim' quoties dignitas et eminentia declaratur.  
 Ais autem Septuaginta quoties 'Eloim' vsurpatur absque nota pluralitatis, semper  
 vertisse 'Deum'. Id si verum est, et hoc loco vertissent 'Deum', cum absit ea nota  
 quemadmodum ais. Certe nomino quem hic sim sequutus et cui tu quoque, ni  
 1660 fallor, plurimum tribuis. At is eadem docet in operis nuper aediti libro tertio,  
 citatis aliquot diuinae scripturae testimoniis.

Vide vero vt vere tuus sermo sese elidat. Ais Septuaginta sic vbique vertisse et  
 hic fatere secus vertisse, perinde ac si dicas cygnum totum esse candidum et idem



- 1628–1631 quum ... illustrium *BAS*: *deest in A–E*.  
 1645 constet *A B BAS*: constat *C D F*.  
 1651 *ult. nec A–E*: ne *BAS*.  
 1651–1656 Certe ... declaratur *B–BAS*: *deest in A*.  
 1652 adiuncto *B D–BAS*: adiuncta *C*.
- 1622–1623 *sunt ... potest* See appendix III, ll. 41–42 (and n. l. 41), cited by Lefèvre in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 477–478, and criticized *ibid.*, ll. 478–483.
- 1625 *praefatio* This *argumentum* (mentioned by S. Berger. *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate*, Paris, 1902), occurs in *Biblia integra*, Basel, 1491, in 8°, GW 4269. Erasmus possessed a copy of this edition, see F. Husner, p. 257. See also *Erasmus en zijn tijd*, exhibition catalogue Rotterdam, 1969, no. 188: *Biblia integra: summata: distincta: superemendata: vtriusque testamenti concordantijs illustrata*, Basel, Joh. Froben, 27 June 1491, 8° Bibl. GW 4269. ("Tradition has it that John Froben presented this Bible to Erasmus and that the latter used it ever since ....") The *argumentum* to *Hebr.* runs as follows: "Imprimis dicendum est cur apostolus Paulus in hac epistola scribenda non servauerit morem suum, ut vel vocabulum nominis sui vel ordinis describeret dignitatem. Hec causa est, quod ad eos scribens qui ex circumcissione crederant quasi gentium apostolus et non Hebraeorum, sciens quoque eorum superbiam suamque humilitatem ipse demonstrans meritum officii sui noluit anteferre. Nam simili modo etiam Iohannes apostolus propter humilitatem in epistola sua nomen suum eadem ratione non praetulit. Hanc ergo epistolam fertur apostolus ad Hebraeos conscriptam Hebraica lingua misisse, cuius sensum et ordinem retinens Lucas euangelista post excessum apostoli Pauli Greco sermone composuit. Explicit argumentum. Incipit epistola Pauli ad Hebraeos."
- 1626 *Beda* Bede the Venerable (672–735) wrote, among many other studies, several commentaries on the New Testament. Cf. H. Roiston Loyn, in *TRE* 5, Berlin and New York, 1980, pp. 397–402.
- 1626 *Isidori* Isidorus of Sevilla (died 636) wrote *inter alia* some exegetical works, e. g. *In libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti proemia*, cf. R.J. Howard Collins in *TRE* 16, Berlin and New York, 1987, pp. 310–315.
- 1629–1630 *Eusebius ... Alexandrini* Eus. *H.E.* VI, 14, 2.
- 1630–1631 *Nec ... illustrium* See Hier. and Genadius, *De vir. ill.*, V, ed. C. A. Bernoulli, Freiburg im Breisgau and Leipzig, 1895, p. 10.
- 1653 *consortio B E BAS*: quasi consocio *C D*.  
 1654 *Hoc B E BAS*: et hoc *C D*; volunt *B E BAS*: voluit *C D*.  
 1660 *At F. BAS*: Atque *A–D*.
- 1632–1633 *tanto ... Lucam* See appendix IV, ll. 478–483. Erasmus is suggesting that Lefèvre did not want to admit that Luke was the translator of *Hebr.* because Luke was the author of two New Testament books and as a canonical author could not be supposed to be responsible for a mistake in the translation of Paul's text of *Hebr.* 2, 7.
- 1638–1640 *caeterum ... victoriam* See appendix IV, ll. 481–483.
- 1640 *Ex ... ioco?* "Do you say this in earnest or in jest, my dear Faber?"
- 1647–1648 *indicarim ... vocem* See appendix III, ll. 42–49, partially quoted by Lefèvre in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 484–486.
- 1648–1650 *scriberes ... Sanctum* See appendix I, ll. 78–79: *Et mysterium continet ea vocis pluralitas, non diuinitatis, sed diuinarum hypostaseon pluralitatem insinuans.*
- 1648 *hunc psalmum Ps. 8, 6.*
- 1650 *Hebraeus aliquis* Erasmus means of course a converted Jew, to whom Lefèvre would be indebted for the Christian interpretation of the plural of *elohim* as referring to the Trinity. But the ascription of this interpretation to "some Jew" may be no more than an expression of Erasmus' contempt for the theory at issue, which he no doubt regarded as utterly baseless.
- 1653 *faciamus ... hominem Gen. 1, 26.*
- 1653–1654 *nunc ... diis* Cf. appendix III, ll. 42–49.
- 1654–1656 *Hoc ... declaratur* Erasmus probably received this information from Matthaues Adrianus, professor of Hebrew at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain from 1517 to 1519. See appendix V, ll. 268–272 and n. l. 268.
- 1657–1658 *Ais ... 'Deum'* See appendix IV, ll. 488–491.
- 1659 *Certe ... sequutus* I.e., Johannes Reuchlin (Erasmus means the note in: *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, Pforzheim, 1506, p. 55), see appendix III, ll. 48–49 and n. l. 49. *Certe nomino* These words imply criticism of Lefèvre's vagueness with regard to his sources.  
*tuus ... elidat* Erasmus chooses this expression because Lefèvre had used it against him in his *disputatio*; cf. appendix IV, ll. 147–148.

1665 fatearis cygnum rostro esse nigro. Mirum vero non esset si nos pingues in huiusmodi subtilitatibus laberemur; te tantum dialecticum sic hallucinari mirum est, praesertim cum huiusmodi erratula in amici scriptis rigidus censor insecteris. Mihi igitur probabile est Septuaginta vidisse et hic 'Eloim' posse numero multitudinis accipi, attamen, quoniam 'Deum' non sunt ausi dicere, nec visum est ponere 'deos', 'angelos' verterunt.

1670 Existimo nihil a me praetermissum quod non diluerim argumentis clarissimis et in quo non tibi quoque satisfecerim. Verum quoniam omnis disputatio tua carebat ordine, quod singulas annotationis meae partes vt incidebant conuelleres, et mihi necesse fuit in respondendo tuum ordinem sequi, fortassis lectori sermo videbitur confusior et ob id parum dilucidus, non alienum fuerit ceu per epilogum rei totius summam in compendium contrahere.

1675 Primum igitur demonstratum est de summa rei mihi tecum nullam esse controuersiam, imo dum mecum pugnas te tibi ipsi aduersari. Recenseo duplicem lectionem, quarum vtraque tantis nititur autoribus vt non putarim hanc aut illam contumeliose repudiandam et alias quoque probe vtranque consistere, si modo  
1680 'Eloim' Hebraeis vtriusque numeri est et modo 'Deum', modo 'deos', modo  
LB 49 'iudices', modo 'angelos' sonat, quemadmodum an|notatum est ab iis qui literas Hebraicas profitentur, quanquam id partim annotatum est et a Magistro sententiarum, vt vocant, libro primo, distinctione tertia, si forsitan huius autoritas te magis commouet. Nam quod tu tantopere demiraris, quum 'Eloim' bis centies  
1685 septuagies quinquies ac rursus bis centies septuagies quater positum reperitur numero singulari, qua fronte quis audeat posthac numero multitudinis accipere; vicissim ipse demiror qua fronte tu audeas ista praecipere. Quid enim vetat sic alicubi vsurpari etiam si bis milies aliter sit vsurpatum? Nisi forte quia 'puer' in literis diuinis plus sexcenties aetatem significat, nefas esse ducis eandem vocem  
1690 pro 'famulo' vsurpare.

Neque minus friuolum est quod addis de particula *col* quae nisi accesserit, negas 'Eloim' plurali numero posse intelligi, quod ea locis aliquot addatur. Atqui in eo Psalmorum loco quem ipse Christus adducit apud Ioannem, *ego dixi dii estis*, numero multitudinis vertit etiam Hieronymus et tamen 'col' abest hac certe  
1695 in parte. Rursus *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum*. Item *dii fortes terrae vehementer eleuati sunt*. Iterum *abiicite deos alienos*. Sed quid ego haec? Toties legis in Veteri Testamento 'deos', nec apponitur tuum illud *col*, quam tu vis ita pluralitatis esse notam vt, ni adiiciatur, merito in ius trahendus sit qui 'Eloim' secus verterit quam 'Deum'. Perspicuum igitur est haec quae adducis, haud scio quem sed non  
1700 optimum autorem sequutus, quisquis fuit, nihil ob stare quo minus hoc loco *Eloim* numero multitudinis accipiatur et aliud sonet quam 'Deum'.

Caeterum quoniam obstabat in vtraque lectione aduerbium *paulominus* siue *paululum*, magis autem in ea quam tu solam vis esse, quod, vt donemus non multum esse interualli inter angelicam naturam et corpus mortale, tamen fatendum est inter diuinam naturam assumptam et humanam assumptam immensum esse discrimen, nec potest Christus minor Patre dici nisi iuxta harum inter  
1705

se comparationem, eam difficultatem amolior interpretans *paulominus: ad breue tempus*, vt plurimum diminutus intelligatur sed paulisper, maxime, si diminutionem siue humiliationem susceptis vitae nostrae malis metiamur, quod  
 1710 facit Ambrosius et mihi magis probatur. Porro βραχύ τι ad temporis modum referri posse, tametsi per se liquebat Graecae linguae gnaris, ex ipso Luca docui, imo ex ipso Paulo, atque adeo ex hac ipsa epistola docui, si tibi leuis est Chrysostomi caeterorumque Graecorum autoritas.

Atque hactenus quidem quae inter nos versantur ad summam causae perti-  
 1715 nent, caetera aut de tuo addidisti aut arripuisti ex his quae obiter a me in ipso disputationis cursu sunt dicta vel augendae rei vel fulciendae gratia, quorum

1674 non *B-BAS*: fortasse non *A*.

1675 contrahere *A B E BAS*: trahere *C D*.

1707 ad *E BAS*: pro ad *A-D*.

1713 caeterorumque *B-BAS*: et *A*.

1716 augendae *Ac B-BAS*: agendae *A*.

1670–1675 *Existimo ... contrahere* Erasmus here announces a conveniently organized summary of the foregoing.

1670 *clarissimis* Possibly an ironic allusion to Lefèvre's claim to explain things clearly in his *disputatio*; see appendix IV, ll. 31–33.

1672 *singulas ... conuelleres* Erasmus here criticizes the misrepresentation Lefèvre gives in his *disputatio* of Erasmus' note on *Hebr.* 2, 7 in the *Nov. Instr.* by attacking isolated parts of it. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 349–356 and nn.

1674 *non alienum fuerit* Here Erasmus' sentence becomes an anacoluthon.

1676–1677 *de ... controuersiam* Unlike Erasmus Lefèvre was convinced that their controversy about the translation and interpretation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 concerned the dignity of Christ; see ll. 45–46 and n. and ll. 82–83 and n.

1679 *et ... consistere* "and I think that otherwise, too, both readings fit well". *consistere* "apply", "to be applicable". Cf. *ASD* IX, 2, p. 89, n. l. 573; p. 153, n. l. 797b, p. 197, n. l. 549; p. 217, n. l. 860.

1682–1683 *Magistro ... tertia* The reference is not correct: *tertia* must be "secunda": *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in uo libris distinctae*, lib. I, dist. ii, cap. 4, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, Grottaferata, Rome, 1971, p. 65.

1684–1686 *Nam ... accipere* See appendix IV, ll. 495–499.

1691–1692 *Neque ... addatur* See appendix IV, ll. 491–494.

1691 *col* I.e., כּל.

1693 *eo Psalmorum loco* Ps. 81, 6. *apud Ioannem* Ioh. 10, 34.

1694 *numero ... Hieronymus* I.e., at Ps. 81, 6 in the Psalterium *iuxta Hebr.* as well as in the *Vg.*

1695 *Deus ... deorum* Ps. 81, 1 *Vg.*

1695–1696 *dii ... sunt* Ps. 46, 10 *Vg.*

1696 *abiicite deos alienos* Gen. 35, 2.

1696–1697 *Toties ... col* See the present apologia, ll. 1686–1695 and nn. In Ps. 8, 6, too, "col" is lacking.

1699–1700 *haud ... fuit* Erasmus is suggesting that Lefèvre's grammatical observation at issue is not based on any authority in the field and is entirely unfounded.

1703 *magis ... esse* Consequently, in proposing to take βραχύ τι temporally, Erasmus actually supported Lefèvre rather than opposing him. See the present apologia, l. 732 and n.

1703 *in ea* I.e., the reading *a Deo*.

*solam vis* Erasmus disliked categorical decisions in exegesis. For Erasmus' opinion about the task of commentators, see the present apologia, ll. 290–305 and nn.

1703–1704 *ut ... mortale* In fact Erasmus thinks the distance between angels and human beings is very large; see appendix III, ll. 26–28 and the present apologia, ll. 7–8, and ll. 565–566.

1706 *harum* I.e., of the two natures of Christ; see ll. 1704–1706.

1709–1710 *quod facit Ambrosius* See ll. 880–900.

1711 *ex ipso Luca* See ll. 1536–1542. The reference is to *Act.* 5, 34.

1712 *ex ipso Paulo* See ll. 1551–1553. The reference is to *Hebr.* 2, 9.

1712–1713 *si ... autoritas* For the passages from these Church Fathers that Erasmus has in mind here, see the present apologia, l. 484 and nn.

illud erat praecipuum quod adieceram Christum et *infra abiectissimos homines* fuisse diminutum. In quibus verbis adeo nihil est quod Christo sit indignum, vt magnopere hic sermo faciat ad Christi gloriam, ad Pauli mentem cui dictus est exinanitus, ad prophetarum oracula quibus *vermis et non homo* dictus est, ad nostram salutem, quibus expediebat humilitatis exemplum quam maxime insigne minimeque fictum exhiberi per eum qui ipsa est *veritas*. Praesertim quum huiusmodi exaggeratio humiliationis nihil officiat illius celsitudini, quod vt idem mortalis et immortalis, afflictissimus et felicissimus dici potuit, ita summus et infimus dici potuit diuersa ratione, nimirum ob diuersissimas naturas in eadem hypostasi vnitas et maxime ob summos cruciatus, quos supra mortales omnes in se recepit. Ad quos ego sane iuxta diui Ambrosii sententiam quae de Christo exinanito dicuntur referri malim quam ad naturam assumptam, propterea quod, si haec ad carnem assumptam simpliciter referantur, quum et hodie Christus homo sit, iuxta hanc rationem dici possit in immensum a Deo diminutus.

Quae quum ita habeant, nemini potest obscurum esse contumelias quibus me petis cum ais: *et hunc sermonem*, videlicet indicans caeteros eiusdem esse notae, *Christo Deoque indignissimum, literae quae occidit adhaerentem, Spiritui* qui viuificat *aduersantem*, subuertentem | *prophetae intelligentiam*, deiicientem Christum vna cum impiis Iudaeis aliasque id genus, neque dignas esse quae vel abs te vel in me dicerentur, nec admodum sapere mitissimum illum Christi Spiritum qui viuificat, non lancinat et medetur erroribus humanis, non lacerat, praesertim pie et ex orthodoxorum patrum sententia loquentem.

Iam quod ea quae in prophetis literis eximiam Christi humiliationem declarant, partim ad impiorum hominum opinionem detorques, partim nobis accommodas, tum idoneis argumentis, tum grauissimis autoribus docuimus vere in ipsum Christum competere. Deinde quae verbosissime persequeris de dignitate Christi, demonstratum est nihil obstare summae eiusdem humiliationi. Neque enim ideo Christus non aliqua ratione minor angelis fuit quod ab angelis iubetur adorari, vt nec ideo nulla ratione parentibus ipse fuit superior quod eis subditus fuisse dicitur apud Lucam euangelistam. Quod si ideo non potest aliquo pacto angelis inferior dici quod nullus angelorum excitarit mortuos, sanarit aegrotos, vt interim taceam et per angelos aedita fuisse miracula, consequetur Christum discipulis suis fuisse minorem quod vt ipse facturos testatur maiora his fecerint.

Etenim quod adiicis de autoritate, Christus quoque suorum operum autoritatem Patri transscribit: opera Patris mei facio, vt mandauit mihi Pater, sic facio et *sermo quem audistis non est meus sed eius qui misit me Patris et mea doctrina non est mea*. Rursum quod negas Christum dici creaturam, etiam si nusquam a me dictus est, declarauis summis viris fuisse dictum creaturam.

Itidem quod *aequalitatis proportionem* asseris in Christo et ob id *vermem* dici non posse, euici in eodem et alteram esse proportionem iuxta quam non a me, sed a propheta dictus sit *vermis*. Etenim quod velut absurdissimum colligebas, cherubim quoque ad Deum collatos vermes dici posse, nihil equidem repugnarim, praesertim si hoc nominis illis tribuant prophetarum libri. Quanquam

huiusmodi permulta in ipso disputationis cursu dissimulaui, quod genus illud, cruciatus corporis tantos esse posse vt non queant inueniri maiores. Quantumuis

- 1719 faciat *A-C E BAS*: facit *D*.  
 1735 id *Ac B-BAS*: id id *A*.  
 1735-1736 vel abs te vel *BAS*: abs te dicerentur neque quae *A-E*.
- 1717 *infra abiectissimos homines* See appendix III, l. 24. Lefèvre's criticism of these words can be found in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 132-137.  
 1718-1719 *vt ... gloriam* For this conviction of Erasmus, see the present apologia, ll. 774-782.  
 1720 *exinanitus* Cf. *Phil.* 2, 7.  
*ad prophetarum oracula* Erasmus mentions this probably because Lefèvre had stated that Erasmus' view (i.e., *Christum et infra abiectissimos homines fuisse diminutum*) prorsus prophetæ aduersatur, see appendix IV, l. 137. Moreover Erasmus may be responding here to Lefèvre's opinion that the characterization of Christ as a worm in *Ps.* 21, 7 reflected only the view of pharisees and scribes, not that of the prophet David or Christ himself. See appendix IV, ll. 183-185, 234-236.  
*vermis ... homo* *Ps.* 21, 7.  
 1721 *humilitatis exemplum* See this apologia, l. 1481: *exemplum humilitatis in Christo insigne esse volo*. Cf. Introduction pp. 27-28 and 36-37.  
 1722 *minimeque fictum* What Erasmus means is that Christ's humiliation was not only interpreted as such by his adversaries; in Erasmus' view it was objectively a real humiliation.  
 1722 *qui ... veritas* Cf. *Ioh.* 14, 6: "Ego sum via et veritas et vita".  
 1722-1723 *huiusmodi ... celsitudini* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 797-821 where Erasmus argues that people who want to emphasize Jesus' humiliation and people who rather want to stress his glory need not regard each other as enemies, since Jesus' majesty is not diminished by emphasizing his suffering and humiliation. Moreover, Jesus himself wanted to be remembered as he was then, in those humiliating circumstances, for that is why he showed himself to the people as a humiliated man.  
 1727 *iuxta ... sententiam* For the opinion of Ambrose, see ll. 880-900.  
 1732-1734 *et hunc ... intelligentiam* See appendix IV, ll. 132-136.  
 1733-1734 *Spiritu qui viuificat* Cf. *2 Cor.* 3, 6.  
 1734-1735 *deicientem ... Iudaicis* See appendix IV, ll. 347-349. For Erasmus' reaction to this accusation, see the present apologia, ll. 960-1011.  
 1737-1738 *praesertim ... loquentem* This clause belongs to *me* in l. 1736, not to *Spiritum* in l. 1736.  
 1739 *in prophetis literis* Erasmus means *Ps.* 21, 7: "Ego autem sum vermis et non homo".  
 1740-1741 *partim ... accommodas* Lefèvre did this quite extensively, see appendix IV, ll. 161-250.  
 1741 *idoneis argumentis* I.e., in the present apologia, ll. 1018-1160.  
*grauissimis autoribus* See ll. 1028-1091.  
 1743 *demonstratum ... humiliationi* See ll. 797-821.  
 1743-1745 *Neque ... adorari* These words of Erasmus' are of course in flagrant contradiction with what Lefèvre argued in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 283-292.  
 1744-1745 *ab ... adorari* I.e., according to *Hebr.* 1, 6.  
 1746 *apud Lucam euangelistam* *Lc.* 2, 51.  
 1746-1748 *ideo ... aegrotos* For this argument of Lefèvre, see his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 446-453.  
 1748 *et ... miracula* E.g., *Act.* 12, 6-10.  
 1749-1750 *ipse ... fecerint* *Ioh.* 14, 12.  
 1751 *adiicis de autoritate* Lefèvre quotes a great number of passages from the Bible to prove Jesus' power and authority, see appendix IV, ll. 410-453.  
 1752 *opera ... alt. facio* Cf. *Ioh.* 14, 31. For similar phrases, see *Ioh.* 10, 25 and 10, 37.  
 1753 *sermo ... Patris* *Ioh.* 14, 24.  
 1753-1754 *mea ... mea* *Ioh.* 7, 16.  
 1754 *negas ... creaturam* See appendix IV, ll. 326-327.  
 1755 *declarauit ... creaturam* I.e., in the present apologia, ll. 1219-1250.  
 1756-1757 *aequalitatis ... posse* See appendix IV, ll. 237-241.  
 1757-1758 *euici ... vermis* See the present apologia, ll. 1154-1159.  
 1758-1759 *colligebas ... posse* See appendix IV, ll. 238-239.  
 1759-1760 *repugnarim ... tribuant* The subjunctives express "unreal cases": "I would not object, especially if the books of the prophets gave them this name"-which is not the case.  
 1762 *cruciatus ... maiores* Erasmus is probably referring to appendix IV, ll. 62-65: *Hac igitur ratione passibilitatis parum colligitur Christum*

exaggeres corporis cruciatus, certe acerbiores reddentur si paribus animi cruciatus conduplicentur.

1765 Porro quod vehementer execrabaris hypostaseos nomina pro altera natura accipi, primum docui istud nusquam a me factum, nisi quod tu huc mea detorques ac deprauas, quod etiam sicubi fecissem veterum orthodoxorum exemplo facturum fuisse. Nisi forte quum diuus Augustinus libro De Trinitate secundo, capite sexto scribit hunc in modum: *quia non sic est assumpta creatura*  
 1770 *in qua apparet Spiritus Sanctus, sicut assumptus est Filius hominis*, non accipit Filium hominis pro altera natura. Quanquam obiter et illud ostendi, tutius esse hypostaseos vocabula pro altera natura accipi quam quod tu vis, pro vtraque nimirum pro diuina humanae vnita, licet duas naturas significant. Ex superuacuo probatum est hoc quoque non solum de singulis naturis, verum etiam de quauis  
 1775 trium in Christo substantiarum, siue rerum, aliquoties posse enunciari, quod idem per hypostaseos vocabulum de Christo possit enunciari. Arbitror ex his liquere quam tu non satisfeceris, quum abunde satisfecisse tibi videaris per syllogismos in quibus abunde multum est conuiciorum, efficacium argumentorum nihil. Sed reliqua persequamur.

1780 Iam in his quae sequuntur sic vrges nos ac premis, vt necesse habeam fateri cautius ac circumspectius fuisse loquendum si iudices tam iniquos eram sortiturus. Sed imposuit mihi primum argumentum humilium annotationum et in hoc genere veteribus semper vsurpata libertas. Non expectabam tam oculatum et iniquum cauillatorem. Arbitrabar haec non lecturos nisi mei similes.

1785 Verum vt simplicitatis crimen agnosco, ita amentiam quam impingis deprecor. Primum enim in ea sum sententia vt existimem eos commentarios nec esse Hieronymi, nec ab vno homine collectos. Cur igitur, inquires, citas Hieronymi  
 1.B 51 nomine? Aliquo | titulo citandi erant et illic aliud agebatur quam de illorum autore. Et scis Hieronymum Paulo tribuere huiusmodi quandam, vt ita  
 1790 dicam, vafriciem, quod quaedam ad suum torqueat negocium et nonnunquam apud illum pugnent verba sacrae scripturae quae suis locis non pugnant, quemadmodum in epistola ad Titum Epimenidis prophanum dictum ad Christi trahit negocium. Et in Actis quod Aratus de Ioue dixit, Paulus ad Deum trahit et  
 1795 ibidem prophanum et impium arae titulum commutatis aliquot verbis detorquet in argumentum fidei. Etenim quum inscriptio sic haberet 'diis Asiae et Europae Africaeque', 'diis ignotis et peregrinis', tamen is ita torquet vt narret sibi conspectam aram quae titulum haberet 'ignoto deo', sicut autor est Hieronymus enarrans epistolam Pauli ad Titum. Neque te fugit, opinor, quam veteres ferme omnes sibi indulgeant in allegoriis, praesertim Ambrosius, Origenes et  
 1800 Hieronymus, in quibus labi negant periculosum si modo ad pios mores accommodentur.

Et tamen vide quanto alio tu mea verba detorques atque ego sensi atque etiam explicui, si quis Latine sciat. Non enim dixi haec non competere in Christum, sed *non videri admodum probari Hieronymo quod proprie Christo tribuantur*. Tu,  
 1805 vt apparet, *proprie* perinde valere putas ac si dixissem 'vere'. Ego sentio ea proprie

tribui Christo, quae sic tribuantur vt in neminem alium competant. Neque enim primus psalmus ideo non competit in quemuis hominem pium quod eum sacri doctores de Christo interpretentur. Quod ius si hic quoque nobis permittas, verum fuerit haec proprie non esse tribuenda Christo, quae iuxta tropologiam et  
1810 in caeteros homines competant. Nihil autem est, mea quidem sententia, in eo

1770 accipit *A-C E BAS*: accepit *D*.

1775 aliquoties *B-BAS*: deest in *A*.

1777-1778 per syllogismos *B-BAS*: deest in *A*.

1786 commentarios *A C-BAS*: in commentarios *B*.

*minorem factum angelis et maxime quo ad passionem corporis ... cum poenae corporis tantae esse possint quantae eae quae sunt animae, quare neque tantae, quantarum angeli sunt capaces.*

1765-1766 *vehementer ... accipi* See appendix IV, ll. 96-132.

1766 *primum ... factum* See the present apologia, ll. 826-841. There, however, Erasmus does not explicitly assert that he has never done this.

1766-1768 *quod ... fuisse* See ll. 582-599.

1769-1770 *quia ... hominis* Aug. *Trin.* II, vi, ll. 3-4, *CCSL* 50, edd. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1968, p. 93.

1773 *Ex superuacuo* "superfluously", cf. *Liv.* 2, 37, 8.

1775 *trium ... substantiarum* I.e., *caro Christi, anima Christi* and *diuinitas Christi*, see the present apologia, ll. 636-639. Erasmus is using here Augustine's term "substantia", see ll. 636-637 and n.

1778 *conuiciorum* "abusive language", "insults".

1782 *imposuit* "deceived".

1782-1783 *in ... libertas* See see nn. ll. 291-292 and 299-300.

1783-1784 *tam ... cauillatorem* For Erasmus' assessment of Lefevre's attitude towards Erasmus as reflected in his *disputatio*, cf. ll. 159-164 and n.

1785 *amentiam quam impingis* See appendix IV, l. 515. According to Lefevre it would be *amentia* to believe with Erasmus that Jerome's words "hunc locum (i.e., *Ps.* 8, 5-8) Apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos super Christo interpretatur" imply that Jerome held that *Ps.* 8, 5-8 did not pertain to Christ. For the remark of Erasmus, see appendix III, ll. 54-55.

1786-1787 *existimem ... collectos* For the authority of the *Comm.* in *Ps.*, see the present apologia, n. ll. 542-546.

1787 *vno homine A-E*: homine *BAS*; igitur *E BAS*: deest in *A-D*.

1790 nonnunquam *Ac B-BAS*: deest in *A*.

1794 *arae BAS*: curiae *A-E*.

1797 sicut *E BAS*: vt *A-D*.

1787 *vno BAS* does not include this word, but the editions *A-E* do. It seems better to include it.

1789-1798 *Hieronymum ... Titum* Hier. *Comm.* in *Tit.* ad I, 12-14, Migne, *PL* 26, 605 C-609 C.

1790 *vafriciem* Cf. Erasmus, *Ratio*, ed. Holborn, p. 223, ll. 34 sqq. and Erasmus *Annot.*, *LB* VI, 501 E: "Ignoto deo) Et hic Hieronymus indicat Paulum pia quadam usum vafritie, quod nonnihil mutauit in titulo, non pauca omisit, quo commodius detorqueret ad exordium praedicandi Christum ... Quam equidem ciuilitatem imitandam arbitror iis, quibus studium est ethnicos, aut principes mala educatione deprauatos ad pietatem adducere ..." See also Erasmus, *Spongia*, *ASD* IX, 1, p. 154, l. 822. "Vafricies" is not recorded in Lewis-Short, nor in the *Oxf. Lat. Dict.* It is a synonym for "vafritia", "cleverness", "ingenuity". Cf. Hoven, *Lexique*, p. 376.

1792-1793 *in ... negocium Tit.* I, 12.

1792 *Epimenidis* Epimenides, *De onaculis* or *περὶ χρονημῶν*. Cf. Erasmus, *Annot. in N.T.* at *Tit.* I, 12, *LB* VI, 968 D.

1793 *in ... trahit Act.* 17, 28.

1793 *Aratus* I.e., in *Phainomena* 5.

1795-1797 *Etenim ... deo* Cf. *Act.* 17, 23.

1797-1798 *Hieronymus ... Titum* Hier., *Comm.* ad *Titum*, ad *Tit.* I, 12, Migne, *PL* 26, 607.

1798-1801 *veteres ... accommodentur* Erasmus is not referring to any particular passage in the Fathers mentioned, but characterizing their exegetical method in general.

1803-1804 *Non ... tribuantur* This is indeed what Erasmus argued, see appendix III, ll. 54-55.

1804-1805 *Tu ... vere* Erasmus is referring to appendix IV, ll. 507-517.

1810-1811 *eo psalmo Ps.* 8.

psalmo quod citra haeresim in omnes pios non possit accommodari. Videtur enim illic iuxta sensum infimum propheta mirari singularem Dei erga nos beneficentiam, qui cum sit excelsior coelis, tamen hominum in terris agentium curam agat, tantoque dignetur honore vt hominem vniuersis animantibus praefecerit, ad  
 1815 verbum pene referens quod est in Genesi: *replete terram et subiicite eam et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus coeli et vniuersis animantibus quae mouentur super terram*, ac propemodum coelitibus aequauerit raris animi dotibus.

Etenim quum ait: *quid est homo*, videtur humilitatem humanae conditionis intelligere. Quum addit: *minuisti illum paulum ab angelis*, ostendit quo subuectus sit munere diuino. Nam quod nos interpretamur de homine diminuto, id illic  
 1820 apparet dictum in diuersum sensum. *Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis*, hoc est: pene illum aequasti angelis. Dices: *somnium* adfers. Imo sic olim somniauit Arnobius, haud pessimus autor, qui totum hunc psalmum non ad Christum, sed ad Christi membra accommodat. Certe quod sequitur, *omnia subiecisti sub*  
 1825 *pedibus eius, oues et boues vniuersas insuper et pecora campi, volucres et caetera*, non videtur in Christum proprie competere sed in nos potius. Quid enim magni si Christus praefectus sit pecudibus, piscibus et volucribus? Et vides interpretem epistolae ad Hebraeos hucusque adduxisse testimonium psalmi, *omnia subiecisti sub*  
 1830 *pedibus eius*, omissis iis quae non aequae commode faciebant ad id quod tum agebat, et absolutum fecisse quod illic commemoratione sequenti videtur adstringi *oues et boues*. Alioqui qui conuenit vt sentiens de imperio Christi, quo regnat super omnem creaturam terrestrem ac coelestem, ea tantum nominatim recenseat quae sint infima pars imperii? Neque vero me fugit haec ad allegoriam trahi ab interpretibus, nec eam sane reiicio, licet aliquanto coactiorem  
 1835 nimirum a coactis.

Huiusmodi quippiam quum id temporis cogitarem et hoc agerem vt omnia tentans et velut hostiatim pulsans lectori variam cogitandi commentandique materiam subministrarem, id quod annotatoris est officium, visum est hoc  
 1840 ciuilitate indicare. Sunt enim quaedam quae magis indicanda sunt quam explicanda, quod a vetustissimis theologis factitatum videmus. Ac ne recentiores quidem prorsus eadem loquuntur in scholis et inter eruditos priuatim, aut si eadem dicunt, non eodem dicunt modo. Caeterum huiusmodi exagitare verbis et apud imperitum ac malignum vulgus traducere mihi parum ciuile videtur, nedum  
 1.B 52 amicum.

Quod si sermonis habitum animaduertas quo haec loquor, facile apparet quaerentis esse et tentantis, non asseuerantis. Videtur, inquam, *non admodum probasse*. Videntur quae non sunt eiusmodi, sed tamen speciem aliquam praebent. Atque hoc quoque mitigo, addens *non admodum*, hoc est 'non vsque-  
 1845 quaque'. Sed, inquires, vbi species ista quae faciat vt hoc videatur? Primum sic autorem nominat vt pondus probationis in eum reiicere videatur. Deinde quid  
 1850 magni est si Paulus hunc locum super Christo interpretetur, quum ipse Hieronymus totum eum psalmum ad Christum trahat?

Id paucis ac cunctanter monui lectorem vt excuteret, si quid illic esset excutiendum. Neque vero vlla dubitatio est an hic psalmus in Christum competat,



1855 sed an proprie, hoc est in solum Christum competat sic vt ad caeteros homines accommodari non possit, quum tamen totus ille psalmus iuxta communem sensum ad humanum genus pertinere videatur, cui Deus subiecit quicquid rerum aut animantium terra producit et tamen is animi diuinitate coelestia contemplatur. Certe diuus Augustinus sic de Christo exponit vt nobis etiam  
1860 attemperet, in Christo renatis. Magnum vero piaculum, si id duobus verbis lectorem admonitum esse volui.

1822–1824 Dices ... accommodat *BAS*: *deest in A–E*.

1829 omissis *Ac B–BAS*: amissis *A*.

1830 illic *A–E*: illi *BAS*.

1812 *propheta* I.e., David.

1815 *referens* This participle qualifies *propheta* (l. 1812).

1815–1817 *replete ... terram Gen. 1, 28*.

1818 *ait* I.e., *propheta* (see l. 1812).

1818 *quid est homo Ps. 8, 5*.

1819 *minuisti ... angelis Ps. 8, 6*.

1822 *somnium* "nonsense". Otto 1674. *Adag.* 1062 (Somnium, rem futilem, inanem et nihili). *LB II*, 430 C.

1823–1824 *Arnobius ... accommodat* *Arnob.*, *Comm. in Ps.*, ad *Ps. 8*, *CCSL* 25, ed. K.-D. Daur, Turnhout, 1990, p. 10.

1824 *Christi membra* I.e., the Christians, cf. *1 Cor. 12, 27*.

1824–1825 *omnia ... volucres Ps. 8, 8*.

1828–1829 *omnia ... eius Hebr. 2, 8*.

1829 *omissis iis* With *iis* Erasmus is referring to *oues ... volucres* (l. 1825).

1830–1831 *absolutum ... boues* "(you see that) he has given a general, unrestricted sense to what there, in the psalm, seems to be restricted by the subsequent mention of sheep and oxen".

1833 *recenseat* In view of the clause "he mentions the lowest range of his dominion", i.e., sheep and oxen, the subject of *recenseat* is the author of *Ps. 8*.

1833 *haec Ps. 8, 8–9*.

1834 *interpretibus* E.g., Ambr. *Expos. in psalmos CXVIII*, at *Ps. 8, 8–9*, *CSEL* 62, ed. M. Petschenig, Vienna and Leipzig, 1913, pp. 153–155. And Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* at *Ps. 8, 8–9*, *CCSL* 38, edd. D.E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1961, pp. 54–57.

1834–1835 *licet ... coactis* "although their allegorical exegesis is rather forced and far from being a strict interpretation." Erasmus is playing with the opposite meanings of *coactus*: "forced" and "strict", "accurate"; see Lewis-Short, s.v. "cogo", p. 363, *sub b* and *c*.

1837 *hostiatim pulsans* "going from house to house, knocking on doors". Quint. 5, 10, 122:

1835 nimirum a coactis *B–BAS*: *deest in A*.

1843–1844 nedom amicum *B–BAS*: *deest in A*.

1858 is *E BAS*: *deest in A–D*.

"neque ... scrutanda singula et velut ostiatim pulsanda". "Exploring every single possibility, one by one." *hostiatim=ostiatim*.

1838 *quod ... officium* For Erasmus' view on the task of commentators, cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 290–292, ll. 297–307 and nn. ll. 299–300 and 306–307.

1842–1843 *apud ... vulgus* Erasmus often gives the impression that he thought that everyone was interested in this controversy; see the present apologia, ll. 72–73 and n. He also feared the reaction this controversy might elicit from adversaries of the humanist movement. Cf. this apologia, ll. 41–42 and n.

1844 *amicum* See appendix IV, ll. 28–29. Cf. above, ll. 36–37, 1160–1161, 755, 1312–1313, 1337–1338, 1404–1405, 1412 and 1931.

1845–1847 *Quod ... probasse* Cf. Ep. 1581, from Erasmus to Natalis Beda, Basle, 25 June 1525, ll. 777–780: "Videtur, opinor, inter Fabrum et me plurimum esse discriminis. Ille fortiter asseuerat, ego nihil aliud quam disputo, iudicium aliis vbique deferens." Cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 290–292, ll. 297–307 and nn. ll. 299–300 and 306–307.

1846–1847 *Videtur ... probasse* See appendix III, l. 53.

1850 *autorem* The author of *Hebr.*

*nominat* The subject is Jerome.

1858 *is* I.e., "homo", man in general. It refers back to *humanum genus* in l. 1857; the grammatical incongruity is due to the fact that *humanum genus* paraphrases "homo" in *Ps. 8, 5*.

1858–1859 *coelestia contemplatur* A paraphrase of *Ps. 8, 4*: "videbo coelos tuos; opera digitorum tuorum, lunam et stellas quae tu fundasti". This verse, Erasmus is suggesting, describes the greatness of man in general, not of Christ alone.

1859–1860 *Certe ... renatis* Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.*, ad 8, 1, *CCSL* 38, edd. D.E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956, p. 50.

Iam vt illud attingam obiter, admiscens huius versiculi interpretationem, *quid est homo quod memor es eius aut Filius hominis quoniam visitas eum? Caeterorum, inquis, hominum non est nisi quaedam Dei memoria et, vt sic dicam, absentia* 1865 *quaedam quod id insinuat, quid est homo quod memor es eius? Siquidem memoria absentium est. Filii autem hominis, id est Christi, iam visitatio et praesentia vnionis et tantae quidem vnionis vt ea sit hypostatica et qua nulla maior esse potest. Quod et id insinuat, aut Filius hominis quoniam visitas eum, et huiusmodi Dei visitatio, praesentia, vnio, non hominem minuit, sed sic etiam eleuat super omnia vt paulo* 1870 *minutus sit a Deo et minui paulo minus a Deo est super omnia alia exaltari et omnia alia illi subiecta esse. In eo enim ait Apostolus: quod omnia ei subiecit nihil dimisit non subiectum ei, praeter eum qui subiecit ei omnia et de illa visitatione, vnione et a diuinitate apprehensione circa finem huius capituli subdit Apostolus: nusquam enim angelos apprehendit sed semen Abrahae apprehendit, quod quidem semen Abrahae* 1875 *alio loco interpretatur qui est Christus.*

Hactenus tua recensuimus. Primum, quid sibi vult hic sermo, *caeterorum hominum non est nisi quaedam Dei memoria? Vtrum sentis homines esse memores Dei an Deum esse memorem hominum? Deinde vtrum sentis homines absentes an absentem Deum? Sed hac amphibologia periculosior est illa, quae tibi* 1880 *superius excidit, quum ais: Verbum et Filius Dei diuinae est conditionis eiusdemque cum Deo naturae. Nam creatura non est perinde ac neque Deus. Vtrumque enim potest accipi, Deum Patrem non esse creaturam aut Filium Dei non esse Deum. Ad haec cum ais: Filii hominis, id est Christi, esse visitationem, vtrum intelligis Christum visitasse hominem an visitatum a Deo? Quod si visitationem* 1885 *appellas assumptionem humanae naturae, quomodo Christum dicis visitatum? An quemadmodum pie dicimus 'Deus assumpsit hominem', ita recte dicemus 'Deus assumpsit Christum'?*

Atqui hic ipsissimus est sermo ob quem paulo ante vapulabam abs te, non quod sic loquutus sim, sed quod sic loquutum putaras. Rursus quum ais: *non* 1890 *minuit hominem, nonne hominem, quod est hypostaseos vocabulum, pro humana accipis natura, quod ante fieri vetuisti? Ad haec quum ais de illa visitatione, vnione et apprehensione a Deo, demiror te in nostro sermone nodum, vt aiunt, in scyrpo quaerere, quum tibi permittas sic balbutire de rebus ineffabilibus. Quis enim sic vnquam locutus est, apprehensio a Deo, ne quid insecter intolerabilem vbique βαττολογίαν. Praeterea quum pergis et ais hac vnione Christum* 1895 *paulum imminutum a Deo, sed ita vt exaltatus sit super omnia, | si hoc erat exaltari super omnia, visitari a Deo et visitatus est qui assumptione vnitur, mox vt incarnatum est Verbum, Christus exaltatus fuit super omnia. Vbi est igitur, quod ait Paulus, Iesum paululum imminutum a Deo et mox ob passionem gloria et honore coronatum? Atque iterum, propter quod exaltauit illum Deus et dedit illi nomen* 1900 *et caetera, non ob natiuitatem sed ob crucis supplicium exaltatum declarans.*

Insuper quum ais: *apprehendit semen Abrahae qui est Christus, nonne videris Christum apprehensum dicere? Opinor enim hic apprehendi tibi nihil aliud esse quam 'assumi'. Item quod sequitur, sed nec vllum alium hominum apprehendit* 1905 *subaudis, opinor, 'quam Christum'. Perspicias, vt puto, quanta sit cauillandi*

materia, si quis tuo exemplo velit cauillari. Quanquam Augustinus, vnde istius interpretationis occasionem mutuatus es, non ait Christum visitatum a Deo sed ceu duos facit homines, veterem peccatorem cuius tamen meminerit Deus, huc quoque porrecta illius beneficentia qua prospicit et brutis animantibus, ac  
1910 nouum ad pietatem renascentem atque in hoc dicit hominis esse *visitationem*.

Hic quoque sciens ac prudens ad multa conniueo, ne quod coactus facio, videar cupide facere. Sed iam plane iuxta Graecorum prouerbium ἐπὶ τὰ Μανδραβούλου res nostrae procedunt. Nam crimen vnum aliud crimen excipit et  
1915 semper grauius, siquidem annotationis meae coronidem grauiter oppugnans in qua subieci: *et de autore eius adeo fuit dubitatum vt sero recepta sit a Romana ecclesia,*

1882 aut *A-C E BAS*: at *D*.

1888 Atqui *A C-BAS*: Atque *B*.

1889 sim *B-BAS*: sum *A*.

1862–1863 *quid ... eum Ps.* 8, 5.

1863–1875 *Caeterorum ... Christus* See appendix IV, ll. 386–399.

1871–1872 *quod ... subiectum ei Hebr.* 2, 8.

1872 *praeter ... omnia 1 Cor.* 15, 27.

1873–1874 *nusquam ... alt. apprehendit Hebr.* 2, 16.

1874 *semen Abrahae* Lefèvre's text reads *Abrahae semen*.

1879 *amphibologia* Erasmus has already discussed this case of *amphibologia* ll. 1269–1271. Cf. n. l. 1207.

1880–1881 *Verbum ... Deus* See appendix IV, ll. 325–326.

1888–1889 *non ... putaras* For earlier instances of Erasmus accusing Lefèvre of misrepresenting his argument, see ll. 546–549 and ll. 559–567, ll. 715–720 and ll. 1802–1805.

1891 *quod ... vetuisti* See appendix IV, ll. 116–119.

1891–1892 *de ... apprehensione* See the present apologia, ll. 1872–1875. Lefèvre's text reads: *de illa visitatione, vnione et a diuinitate apprehensione*.

1892–1893 *nodum ... quaerere Adag.* 1367, *LB* II, 546 F–547 A. Cf. *Plaut. Men.* 247 and *Ter. And.* 941.

1893 *ineffabilibus* The word has a religious connotation. For a similar reproach of an irreverent way of speaking leveled at Lefèvre, see l. 1343 (... *quam impie colligas* ...). Cf. appendix IV, l. 134, where Lefèvre accuses Erasmus of *impietas* and for Erasmus' reaction on it, see l. 234 and n.

1895 *βαττολογίαν βαττολογία*, "repetitive talk". *Adag.* 1092 (*Battologia*, *βαττολογία* Graecis multiloquium vocatur, a Batto quopiam inepto poeta qui hymnos quosdam conscripsit prolixos in quibus eadem crebrius iterabantur), *LB* II, 444 B–C. Cf. Erasmus, *Lingua*, *ASD* IV,

1891 accipis *A B E BAS*: accipit *C D*.

1903 tibi *B-BAS*: deest in *A*.

1905 sit *B-BAS*: deest in *A*.

1A, ed. J.H. Waszink, p. 39, n. l. 411: "Dans *Annot. in Mt.* 6, 7 (*LB* VI, 35 E) Erasme traite de la 'battologia', se référant au poète Battus 'qui conscripsit hymnos, in quibus eadem subinde inculcauit'. Puis il cite *Ov. Met.* II, 702–703."

1895–1896 *ais ... omnia* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre's words in appendix IV, ll. 391–394. For Erasmus' reaction on this, see also the present apologia, ll. 1343–1350.

1897 *mox vt* Here begins the main clause: "then Christ was exalted as soon as (*mox vt*) the Word was made flesh."

1899–1900 *Iesum ... coronatum* Cf. *Hebr.* 2, 9.

1900 *propter ... nomen* Cf. *Phil.* 2, 9.

1902 *apprehendit ... Christus* See appendix IV, l. 397–399.

1904–1905 *sed ... apprehendit* See appendix IV, l. 399.

1906–1910 *Augustinus ... visitationem* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 1040–1049 and *Aug. Enarr. in Ps.* 8, ad 8, 10, *CCSL* 38, edd. D.E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956, pp. 53–54. For the term *visitare* and its explanation, see *ibid.* p. 53, l. 23 and p. 54, l. 41.

1911 *quod coactus facio* For Erasmus' disinclination to write this apologia, see ll. 72–73, 75–77 and nn., and ll. 1330–1332.

1912–1913 ἐπὶ τὰ Μανδραβούλου *Adag.* 158 (*Mandrabuli more res succedit ... hoc est, indies in peius labitur*), *ASD* II, 1, p. 272. Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 77; II, p. 114. See also *Ep.* 785, l. 10: "valetudo indies ἐπὶ τὰ Μανδραβούλου προχωροῦσα."

1913 *excipit* "follows after", "succeeds".

1914 *coronidem* "the conclusion", "the end".

1915–1918 *et ... inueniantur* See appendix III, ll. 56–59, quoted by Lefèvre in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 523–526.

*quandoquidem in hanc vnam omnium nihil commentatus est Ambrosius et Hieronymus ait a nonnullis non fuisse receptam ob id, quod in ea nonnulla recitentur quae apud Hebraeos non inueniantur.* Hic vero trifariam me criminaris. Primum stulticiae, qui haec adiecerim quum ad rem institutam nihil attinerent; 1920 deinde vanitatis, qui dixerim sero receptam quae semper fuerit recepta; tertio inscitiae imo, vt tu loqueris, insaniae et tantae insaniae vt totis Anticyris egeat, quod irata dialectica ridicule collegerim ideo sero fuisse receptam a Romanis, quod in hanc vnam nihil sit commentatus Ambrosius.

Verum vt ad singula paucis respondeam: si haec coronis ad id quod agebatur 1925 nihil pertinebat, cur tu meam stulticiam imitari voluisti, qui excutias quae ad tuam causam nihil attineant? Propositum erat tuam tueri sententiam, id iam absolueras, quorsum attinebat longius euehi? Nisi forte erat animus meas annotationes omnes excutere. Finge me subito mihi excidisse et superiorum omnium oblitum atque, vt Graecis est in prouerbio, ab asino delapsus repente in alio, 1930 quod aiunt, fuisse mundo, quid istud ad tuam causam attinebat? Posteaquam euiceras quod volebas, erat tuae ciuilitatis hanc amiculi tui delirationem dissimulare ac tegere, non saeuis verbis exagitare ac voluminibus vulgatis traducere.

Nullus est ferme mortalium, cui id aliquando non accidat. Nec deerant 1935 causae, quibus hoc ciuilitatis datum oportuit, etiam si nostra non postulasset amicitia. Vnus geminum negocium sustinebam, Hieronymi castigationem et Noui Testamenti, vtrumque difficillimum. Res compluribus praelis accelerabatur et valetudinem meam non ignoras. Mirabantur illi me tantum potuisse scribere quantum vel legisse laboriosum fuisset. Mirabar ego vicissim illos e schedis 1940 notatis verius quam descriptis posse quicquam excudere. Et vides me in ipso statim opere pollicitum tumultuariae aeditionis recognitionem. Haec certe iudicem aequiorem promerebantur, praesertim te tam amicum, si quid alicubi delirassetem.

Sed tamen ne me credas omnino delirasse quum illa subiicerem, existimabam nonnihil ad rem pertinere. Etenim proposita difficultate, quae 1945 vtrinque vrgebat, tentabam exitum, si qua liceret inuenire, ac videbar aliquam ostendisse rimam, si demonstrassem βραχύ τι ad temporis modum pertinere.

Quod si cui ista non satisfacerent ne quid intentatum relinquerem, et illud admonere volui, diu de huius epistolae autore fuisse dubitatum, praesertim apud 1950 LB 54 Latinos. Quod si esset dubitatum et merito dubitatum, certe leuius torqueret nos eius autoritas et liberius esset ad eius interpretationem respondere, nec adeo 1955 necesse foret vniuersam culpam in miserum interpretem reiicere. Verum hic, scio, ita videbor stulticiae crimen deprecatus vt impietatis incurram, quasi studeam eleuare pondus epistolae cuius autoritas orthodoxis omnibus sacrosancta est. Bona verba, doctissime Faber. Imo magno emptum cupiam vt ecclesia Christi eiusmodi complures haberet epistolas, quocunque autore ad nos profecta est.

Quod si mihi penitus constaret quid ecclesia de ea censeret, promptissime accederem eius iudicio. Atque adeo nunc, si parum est certum mihi quo animo hanc epistolam receperit ecclesia, tamen illud certissimum est, quicquid illa

1960 decreuit me toto pectore sequi velle et si quid etiam secus videretur, semper animi mei sensum illius iudicio submittere, modo ne protinus ecclesiae calculum interpreteris quicquid cuius theologo aut fortasse non theologo visum fuerit. Si vere iudicavit hanc esse Pauli atque ita nos iubet credere, credo et clamo esse Pauli. Sin recepit vt dignam quae legatur a christianis, cuiuscunque autoris sit,

- 1920 fuerit *A-C E BAS*: fuit *D*.  
 1922 receptam *A C-BAS*: recepta *B*.  
 1929 atque *B-BAS*: et *A*.  
 1931 euiceras *Ac B-BAS*: viceras *A*.  
 1933 aliquando non *BAS*: non aliquando *A-E*.
- 1918 *trifariam* The three corresponding sections of Erasmus' apologia begin on ll. 1924, 1947 and 2106 respectively.  
 1918-1919 *Primum ... attinerent* I.e., in appendix IV, ll. 526-532. Erasmus in his turn accused Lefèvre of the same, see Ep. 607 from Erasmus to Cuthbert Tunstall, Louvain, 17 July 1517, ll. 6-8: "... non sat habet suam interpretationem tueri, sed nostram quoque subdoscose insectatur, arrodens etiam quedam quae ad illius rem nihil attineant."  
 1920 *deinde ... recepta* See appendix IV, ll. 533-538.  
 1920-1923 *tertio ... Ambrosius Ibid.*, ll. 538-547.  
 1921 *vt ... egeat* "that it will need the whole of Anticyra to be cured"; Anticyra was an island that produced a herb used as a medicine against insanity, cf. ll. 2106-2112 and l. 1507.  
 1922-1923 *quod ... Ambrosius* See the present apologia, ll. 1915-1916.  
 1928 *mihi excidisse* "I lost control of myself". Lewis-Short, *s.v.* "excido", II, B, b.  
 1928 *superiorum omnium* "all that precedes, all the above".  
 1929 *ab asino delapsus* *Adag.* 630, *LB* II, 273 E. In Greek: ἀπὸ ὄνου χαταπεσών, Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 47; II, p. 299.  
 1929-1930 *in ... mundo* *Adag.* 197, *ASD* II, I, p. 300: "de ... quibus omnia noua videntur".  
 1931-1932 *erat ... traducere* Cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 144-146: "Etiamsi vcre lapsus essem, erat hoc purae amicitiae tegere probrum amici et priuatis literis admonere."  
 1931 *amiculi* Cf. above, n. l. 1844 and ll. 36-37 and nn.  
 1932 *saeuis verbis exagitare* Erasmus is hinting at Lefèvre's vehement language in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 132-136; cf. this apologia, l. 234 and n.  
 1941 tam *A C-BAS*: iam *B*.  
 1943 subiicerem *A-D BAS*: subiicere *E*.  
 1944 Etenim *B-BAS*: Etenim cum *A*.  
 1949 leuius *A-C E BAS*: leuis *D*.
- 1932 *voluminibus vulgatis* For Erasmus' anger about the publication and wide circulation of Lefèvre's insulting *disputatio* before he was informed about Lefèvre's criticisms, cf. ll. 152-153 and n.  
 1935-1936 *Vnus ... Testamenti* Both Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.* and his first edition of Jerome's *Opera Omnia* were published in 1516; cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 326, introd. Ep. 396, introd. Ep. 373 and introd. Ep. 384.  
 1935 *Hieronymi castigationem* Erasmus' edition of the works of Jerome.  
 1936-1940 *Res ... recognitionem* This is an account of the printing of the *Nov. Instr.* in 1515-1516. Similar accounts of the same enterprise occur elsewhere in Erasmus' apologias and correspondence, usually meant as an excuse for the shortcomings of the *Nov. Instr.* as "praecipitatum verius quam aeditum", see H.J. de Jonge, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 61, n. l. 24, cf. p. 173, n. l. 144; see also p. 92, ll. 647-649; p. 138, l. 573 and p. 199, n. l. 599.  
 1936 *praelis* "presses".  
 1937 *illi* The printers.  
 1938 *schedis* "leaves", "sheets of paper".  
 1939 *excudere* "to print".  
 1939-1940 *in ... opere* In the introduction to the *Annotationes* on Mark, in the *Nov. Instr.* of 1516.  
 1943-1944 *existimabam ... pertinere* In contrast to what Lefèvre said in reply to Erasmus' words to the same effect; see appendix III, ll. 56-59. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 1918-1923.  
 1944-1945 *proposita ... urgebat* Cf. ll. 562-567.  
 1946 *rimam* Cf. *Adag.* 2175 (*Reperire rimam*), *LB* II, 764 C-D. Otto 1542.  
 1947 *Quod si* See n. l. 1918.  
 1952 *stulticiae crimen* See ll. 1918-1919 and n.  
 1952 *impietatis incurram* Lefèvre indeed accused Erasmus of *impietas*, see appendix IV, l. 134.

1965 rem amplector, de autore nihil disputo. Si vult huius auctoritatem parem esse cum caeteris Pauli epistolis, nihil refragor, sequor lubens quocunque me vocarit ecclesiastica auctoritas.

1970 At impium est, inquis, de his dubitare quum iam vbique receptissima sit Pauli nomine. Si impium est conuellere, quod publicus ecclesiae comprobauit vsus, quid receptius, quid decantatius ea lectione quam tu vt falsam ac mendosam et  
1975 Christo indignam insectaris, *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*? Tibi licebit errorem vocare quod tam multis seculis ecclesia legit et sequitur, quod omnium pene orthodoxorum auctoritas magno consensu approbat et mihi non licebit ciuilitate addubitare quo animo ecclesia hanc epistolam receperit, praesertim cum eam serius ac contantius receperit? Obiicis mihi synodi auctoritatem, profer synodum quae nominatim hanc pronunciarit esse Pauli. Quod si feceris, tuo telo te repetam et locum hunc tibi vicissim impingam synodi auctoritate comprobatum, quem tu non veritus es vt *impium* et Christo indignum incessere. Nihil est enim quod ad Hebraeos confugas vt donemus Hebraice scriptam. Certe nullus ausus est dicere se hanc Hebraice scriptam vidisse, quae Lucae tempore iam inter-

1980 ciderat, vt complures autumant.

Quaecunque synodus hanc approbauit, eadem hanc approbauit lectionem quam tu falsam et impiam esse contendis. Nisi forte dicturus es synodo fuisse codicem emendatum in quo scriptum fuerit *paulo minus a Deo* ac postea subito  
1985 libros omnes Graecos et Latinos fuisse deprauatos. Quod si tu possis ita perfricare faciem vt haec dicas, haud tamen scio an quisquam tam stultus futurus sit vt credat. Ego de autore duntaxat aio dubitatum. Fieri potest vt paulina non sit et tamen paulinis etiam melior. Et addo contantius receptam a Romanis. Verum hoc tu fortiter reiicis et negas fuisse dubitatum.

1990 Aequum est, mi Faber, mihi dari veniam hac in re diui Hieronymi ac diui Augustini auctoritatem sequenti. Certe apud Hieronymum crebra huius rei mentio, qui sic aliquoties adducit ex hac testimonia vt pene liberum faciat aduersus quem agit, seu velit recipere seu nolit.

Sed ad manum est interim vnus atque alter locus qui satis sit ad absolendum me mendacii crimine. Is enim edisserens Hieremiae caput trigesimum primum, *hoc*, inquit, *testimonio Paulus apostolus, siue quis alius scripsit epistolam, vsus est ad Hebraeos*. Et tamen hic agit Hieronymus cum orthodoxis. Si constabat esse Pauli, ridicule adiecit *siue quis alius scripsit epistolam*. Idem in epistola ad Dardanum: *illud*, inquit, *nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos non solum ab ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro Graeci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabae vel Clementis arbitrentur, et nihil interesse cuius sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Graecorum quidem ecclesiae Apocalypsim Ioannis, eadem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos vtramque suscipimus nequaquam huius temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerunque vtriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non vt interdum de apocryphis facere solent, quippe qui et*

1995  
2000  
1.B 55  
2005

gentilium literarum non raro vtantur exemplis, sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis. Hactenus Hieronymi verba recensuimus. Nemo nescit quam violentus sit Hieronymus quum pugnat. Hic quum omnibus modis agat vt huic epistolae plurimum sit autoritatis, tamen fatetur suo seculo non fuisse receptam a Latinis inter canonicas, vt iam non solum de autore epistolae, verum de doctrina dubitarint.

Quod si nullus de ea dubitauit praeter Ebionitas, Marcionitas et horum similes haereticos, vt ais, consequitur Latinos ferme omnes haereticos fuisse et quidem pessimos.

Porro quod Hieronymus scribit se vtramque suscipere, quasi nec Latinus sit nec Graecus, non de synodi autoritate sed de scriptorum ordine loquitur, quibus hic mos est, vt quicquid vndecunque liceat arripere ad suum trahant

1965 lubens *A-C E BAS*: libens *D*.

1972 mihi *B-BAS*: nihil *A*; licebit *Ac B-BAS*: libebit *A*.

1980 vt complures autumant *BAS*: deest in *A-E*.

1989 ac *A B E BAS*: aut *C D*.

1993 atque alter *E BAS*: deest in *A-D*.

1996 agit *A C-BAS*: ait *B*.

1997 epistolam *A-D BAS*: epistolam. Rursus

Augustinus libro *De ciuitate Dei* sedecimo, capite vigesimo secundo *E*.

1997-2031 Idem ... notatus *D-BAS*: deest in *A-C*.

2014 vt ais *BAS*: deest in *D E*.

2017 non de synodi autoritate, sed *BAS*: deest in *D E*.

1967-1968 *impium ... nomine* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 523-572.

1969 *falsam ac mendosam* Cf. appendix I, l. 93.

1970 *Christo indignam* See appendix IV, l. 134.

Lefevre thought it unworthy of Christ to say that Christ *non paululum fuit imminutus a Deo, imo infra abiectissimos etiam homines*, as Erasmus said; see appendix III, ll. 23-24.

1974 *contantius* I.e., cunctantius, cf. n. l. 1987.

1980 *complures* It is unclear to whom Erasmus is referring here. Possibly, the supposition of the *complures* is nothing but Erasmus' own conclusion drawn from the common *argumentum* to *Hebr.*; see ll. 2043-2049, esp. 2047-2049.

1984-1985 *perfricare faciem* "to rub one's face in order to make one's blushes disappear", hence "to lay aside all sense of shame", cf. Quint. II, 3, 160. *Adag.* 747, *LB* II, 316 A-E. Otto 631.

1986 *Ego ... dubitatum* I.e., in appendix III, ll. 56-59, see also n. ll. 58-59.

1987 *Et ... Romanis* Appendix III, ll. 56-57. *contantius* I.e., "cunctantius", "with delay", cf. n. l. 1974, and l. 2046.

1988 *negas fuisse dubitatum* I.e., in appendix IV, ll. 533-538. Cf. the present apologia, l. 1920.

1989 *diui Hieronymi* Jerome repeatedly records the existing doubts as to the canonical authority

of *Hebr.* In *Epist. ad Dard.* 129, 3 he declares: "The custom of the Latins does not accept it as being one of the canonical Scriptures of St. Paul". "Very many rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews" (*Epist. ad Paul.* 53 (103), 8; cf. *De viris illustribus* 5; *Epist. ad Euang.* 73 (126), 4; *Comm. in Mt.* 26, 8, 9; in *Is.* 6, 2; 8, 16-17). See further this apologia, ll. 1993-2025 and nn.

1989-1990 *diui Augustini* Augustine leaves the question of the canonicity of *Hebr.* uncertain in *Inchoat. Expos. Epist. ad Rom.*, 11. For Augustine's uncertainty about the authenticity of *Hebr.*, see further the present apologia, ll. 2032-2034 and ll. 2036-2040.

1995-1996 *hoc ... Hebraeos* Hier. *Comm. in Hieremiam*, ad 31, 31-34, CCSL 74, ed. S. Reiter, Turnhout, 1960, p. 319.

1998-2007 *illud ... ecclesiasticis* Hier. *Epist.* 129, §3, CSEL 56, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna and Leipzig, 1918, p. 169, ll. 7-19. Cf. this apologia, n. l. 1989.

1999 *retro* After *retro* Erasmus omits "ecclesiae". 2007 non Hilberg's edition does not include this word.

2011-2012 *de doctrina dubitarint* This does not appear from the passage quoted.

2013-2014 *nullus ... haereticos* See appendix IV, ll. 558-564 and n. l. 561.

negocium, quandoquidem in argumentorum agmine valent et apocryphorum et  
 2020 ethnicorum testimonia. Rursum cum ait: *quasi canonicas*, satis fatetur illas non  
 vere canonicas fuisse.

Idem exponens Matthaei caput 26 ita scribit: *nam et Paulus in epistola quae*  
*inscribitur ad Hebraeos, licet de ea multi Latinorum dubitent.* Non dixit multi  
 haeticorum, sed multi Latinorum. Item enarrans Esaiæ caput 50: *dicitur,*  
 2025 *inquit, et in epistola quae fertur ad Hebraeos.*

Origenes homilia in Matthaëum 26 sic adducit huius epistolæ testimonium vt  
 non ausit tamen ab aduersario flagitare vt Pauli videatur, ac propemodum remit-  
 tit vt sit eo loco quo liber apocryphus qui inscribitur *Secreta Esaiæ*. Quod si tibi  
 Origenes est haeticus, certe non hac parte notatus est ab Hieronymo quod  
 2030 libros canonicos reiecerit. At ecclesia comprobat Origenem in iis in quibus ab  
 Hieronymo non est notatus.

Rursum Augustinus libro *De ciuitate Dei* 16, capite 22 citaturus hanc  
 epistolam, praefatur in hunc modum: *de quo in epistola quae inscribitur ad*  
*Hebraeos, quam plures apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant* et caetera.  
 2035 Non dixit: orthodoxi dicunt esse apostoli Pauli, haetici negant, sed: *plures*  
*dicunt, quidam negant*, numerum distinguens, non fidem. Atque idem Augusti-  
 nus, quum alias Pauli testimonia solitus sit adducere cum honorifica eius nominis  
 praefatione, ex hac ferme sic allegat: *scriptum est in epistola ad Hebraeos, sic*  
*intellectum est in epistola ad Hebraeos.* Et: *de illo etiam in epistola legitur quae*  
 2040 *inscribitur ad Hebraeos*, vt appareat nec Augustino de autore satis constitisse.

Tibi constat ab Apostolo scriptam, constat Hebraice scriptam, de solo inter-  
 prete non constat quod in hunc visum est omnem conferre culpam et istud  
 impune fore putares. Atqui quisquis is fuit qui in hanc addidit argumentum,  
*hanc, inquit, epistolam fertur Apostolus ad Hebraeos conscriptam Hebraica lingua*  
 2045 *misisse, cuius sensum et ordinem retinens Lucas Graeco sermone composuit.* En quam  
 hic contanter loquitur, quam suspensio incedit gradu. Cur e duobus quae pariter  
 hic refert, alterum tibi constat, alterum reicitur? Atque illud obiter adiciam, si  
 epistola Hebraice scripta extabat, quorsum addit *cuius sensum et ordinem retinens*  
*Lucas*. Si iam interciderat Hebraica, mirum est tantam tantis de rebus epistolam  
 2050 tam cito interciderat, quum Hierosolymis esset frequens ecclesia.

Vides omnino fuisse qui de huius autore dubitarint, nec admodum constitisse  
 fuisse Hebraice scriptam. Nec mirum te nihil addubitare, hominem adeo credu-  
 lum, vt insulsissimam rabulae cuiuspian epistolam qua iubet versiculos *gloria*  
*Patri* et caetera accini singulis psalmis, plane credas esse diui Hieronymi tantum  
 2055 quod titulum habeat Hieronymi, qui Pauli ad Senecam inscriptas epistolas vere  
 credas esse Pauli, qui frigide confictum ad Laodicenses epistolium adiunxeris  
 reliquis illius epistolis ceu *γνήσιον* ac germanum. Caeterum parum tutum est his  
 2060 credere qui tam | facile credunt. Malim ego iudicio ac delectu credere quam  
 omnia credere. Atqui diuus, inquis, Hieronymus hanc citat Pauli titulo et alicubi  
 contendit esse Pauli. Citat nomine Pauli quod a plerisque legebatur hoc titulo,  
 nec erat vbiuis de autore digladiandum. Contendit alicubi esse Pauli, sed non hac



in re tantum vafer et a seipso dissentiens Hieronymus, quem facile crediderim huic fausse epistolae vt eruditae pariter ac piaae et, vt non omnino abhorruit a

- 2020 canonicas *E BAS*: canonicis *D*.  
 2032 Rursum *BAS*: Rursus *A–D*, *deest in E*; Augustinus ... 22 *A–D BAS*: *deest in E*.  
 2038 ex hac *Ac B–BAS*: ex hoc *A*.
- 2022–2023 *nam ... dubitent* Hier. *Comm. in Mt.*, ad 26, 8–9, *CCSL* 77, edd. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1969, p. 247, ll. 1025–1027.  
 2022 *Paulus* After *Paulus* Erasmus omits “apostolus”.  
 2023 *inscribitur* The edition of Hurst-Adriaen reads “scribitur”.  
 2023 *de ea multi* The edition of Hurst-Adriaen reads “multi de ea”.  
 2024–2025 *dicitur ... Hebraeos* Hier. *Comm. in Is.*, ad 50, II, *CCSL* 73A, ed. M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1963, p. 557, l. 15.  
 2026–2028 *Origenes ... Esaiiae* Orig. *Comm. in Mt.*, ad 23, 37–39, *GCS*, Origenes II, edd. E. Klostermann, E. Benz and U. Treu, Berlin, 1976, p. 50, ll. 26–28.  
 2027 *aduersario* See *ibid.*, p. 24, ll. 6–7: a possible opponent.  
 2028 *Secreta Esaiiae* In reality, Origen is not referring to a specific book entitled *Secreta Esaiiae*, but to unspecified apocryphal books on Isaiah in general, which, according to Origen, might contain an account of Isaiah’s martyrdom as referred to in *Hebr.* II, 37. Such an account occurs indeed in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (2nd cent. A.D.), on which see *ODCC*, s.v. ‘Isaiah, Ascension of’, and H.D.F. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 775–812.  
 2032–2034 *Augustinus ... negant* Aug. *Civ.* XVI, c. 22, ll. 10–11, *CCSL* 48, edd. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Turnhout, 1955, p. 524.  
 2034 *apostoli Pauli* The edition of Dombart-Kalb reads *Pauli apostoli*.  
 2038 *scriptum ... Hebraeos* Aug. *Civ.* XVI, c. 28, ll. 17–18, *CCSL* 48, edd. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Turnhout, 1955, p. 533.  
 2038–2039 *sic ... Hebraeos* Aug. *Civ.* XVI, c. 32, ll. 28–29, *CCSL* 48, edd. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Turnhout, 1955, p. 536.  
 2039 *intellectum est* After *intellectum est* Erasmus omits “et”.  
 2039–2040 *de ... Hebraeos* Aug. *Civ.* XVI, 22, l. 10, *CCSL* 48, edd. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Turnhout 1955, p. 524.  
 2053 iubet *D–BAS*: testatur *A–C*.  
 2056 confictum *Ac C E BAS*: confectum *A B D*.  
 2058 ac delectu *B–BAS*: *deest in A*.
- 2039 *illo* I.e., Melchizedek.  
 2042–2043 *est ... puiores* The inconsistency in the use of tenses is remarkable.  
 2044–2045 *hanc ... composuit* For the source of this quotation, see the present apologia, ll. 1624–1625 and n. l. 1625.  
 2046 *contanter* I.e., “cunctanter”. Cf. n. ll. 1974 and 1987.  
 2046 *suspensio ... gradu* “he steps on tiptoe”, i.e., “most cautiously”. For the expression, see Ter. *Phorm.* 867; Ov. *Fast.* I, 246; in figurative speech, Sen. *Dial.* 7.25.7.  
 2053–2054 *vt ... Hieronymi* Cf. J. Lefèvre d’Etaples, *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Facsimile de l’édition de 1513, Geneva, 1979, f° aiiii “Prologus beati Hieronymi in Psalterium Romanum” and see S. Berger, *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate*, Paris, 1902, p. 42, n. 81.  
 2053 *rabulae* “a brawling, wrangling advocate”.  
 2055–2056 *qui ... Pauli* Lefèvre even edited the correspondence of Paul and Seneca, see the table of contents in: Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512.  
 2056–2057 *qui ... germanum* Lefèvre included the pseudo-Pauline epistle to the Laodiceans in his *S. Pauli Epistolae XIV* of 1512.  
 2059 *Atqui ... titulo* See appendix IV, ll. 535–537.  
*hanc* The epistle to the Hebrews.  
 2060 *Citat nomine Pauli* Hier. *Adv. Iov.* I, Migne *PL* 23, 247 A7–8: “de quo Paulus apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos plenissime docet”; Id., *Comm. in Math.* III, ad 21, 35, ll. 1575–1578, *CCSL* 77, edd. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1969, p. 197: “Legamus epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos”. Also *Comm. in Is.* V, 24; VII, 14.  
 2061 *Contendit ... Pauli* Erasmus is referring to Hier. *Epist.* 129, 3 *ad Dardanum*, *CSEL* 56.3, ed. Is. Hilberg, Vienna and Leipzig, 1918, p. 169, ll. 14–15: “Tamen nos utramque suscipimus ...”; see the present apologia, l. 2004. In his *Comm. in Gal.* ad 1, 1, Migne *PL* 26, 336 B 3–13, Jerome takes Paul’s authorship of *Hebr.* simply for granted.

Platonis et Origenis sententia vulgus aliquando fallendum esse modo suo fallatur  
 2065 bono, ita voluisse credi Pauli quo maiori cum fructu legeretur. Caeterum quid  
 apud se senserit incertum, imo si quis illius omnia legat attentius, non vsqueadeo  
 incertum. Origenes Ecclesiasticae historiae libro 6 non negat a multis assertum  
 eam epistolam non esse Pauli, licet ipse dissentiat. Porro sermonis politiem alii  
 2070 putarunt additam a Clemente apostolorum discipulo et Romanae vrbis episcopo,  
 alii rursus a Luca euangelista. Hieronymus in Catalogo scriptorum diligenter  
 admonet multum esse congruentiae Clementis epistolae quam scripsit ad  
 Corinthios et ei quae sub nomine Pauli fertur ad Hebraeos. In Caio vero haec  
 scribit: *epistolas, inquit, Pauli tredecim enumerans, decimam quartam, quae fertur*  
*ad Hebraeos dicit non eius esse.* Huic Caii sententiae propemodum subscribens  
 2075 Hieronymus addit: *sed et apud Romanos vsque hodie quasi Pauli apostoli non*  
*habetur.* Hactenus Hieronymus.

Ego sane de autore nihil interim pronuncio, mihi sat habeo, si non mentior  
 olim de autore fuisse dubitatum et dubitatum a nonnullis orthodoxis, quosdam  
 etiam negasse esse scriptam a Paulo quod modo tot autorum inter quos  
 2080 Augustinus ac Hieronymus testimonio docuimus, quum tu asseueres hoc nullos  
 fecisse fideles sed tantum *Ebionitas, Marcionitas et id genus pessimorum haereticorum.*  
 Sic enim loqueris quasi parum esset haereticos dici nisi addidisses *pessimos,*  
 vt ne quid interim cauiller de sermonis vicio quo quum volueris diuersum  
 haereticorum genus intelligi, idem genus expressisti quum ais: *id genus pessimo-*  
 2085 *rum haereticorum* pro 'id genus haereticos', etiam si iam parum concinne cohaeret  
 'pessimos'.

Eandem veniam merebar quum aio sero receptam a Latinis, et hac in re  
 Hieronymum autorem sequutus qui, quod non nescis, alicubi scribit epistolam  
 ad Hebraeos non recipi a Latinis nec Apocalypsim a Graecis. Quod si aetate  
 2090 Hieronymi non recipiebatur a Romanis, sero recepta est, vtpote post annos ferme  
 quingentos. Tu fortiter asseueras ab orthodoxis semper receptam, a solis haereticis  
 refutatam. Istuc facile auferes, si modo Hieronymus illic Latinorum  
 nomine sentit haereticos tantum. Nec tamen protinus refutat qui non recipit,  
 nam non recipit etiam is qui nondum pronunciat. Haeretici reiiciunt hanc epi-  
 2095 stolam ceu parum piam et fateor partim horum argumenta esse quae recitat  
 Hieronymus, nam et hoc addis, quorum sententiae absit vt quisquam subscribat  
 christianus, etiam si fieri potuit vt ob locos aliquot prima sermonis specie sus-  
 pectos, quasi quibusdam haereticis fauere videantur, etiam orthodoxis nonnullis  
 aliquandiu suspecta fuerit.

Quod si tibi constat esse Pauli, si constat a sacra synodo comprobata, cur  
 2100 audes vel iota conuellere idque tum primus, tum solus mortalium? Interpretem,  
 inquis, accuso, non autorem. Quasi vero synodus aliam viderit interpretationem  
 quam hanc qua vtitur ecclesia. Quod si sic legit synodus et epistolam approbavit,  
 mirum ni et hanc approbavit lectionem quam tu vt mendosam et impiam iubes  
 2105 eradi.

Porro crimen inscitiae, quod mihi extremo loco impingis, adeo leuiter com-  
 mouit vt iuuerit etiam ac voluptati risuique fuerit. Variis salibus eludis hanc

meam argumentationem. *Ambrosius nihil in hanc epistolam commentatus est, igitur aut non est recepta aut sero recepta a Romana ecclesia. Sane, inquis, eodem iure dicam epistolam Iacobi, duas Petri et reliquas sero ab ecclesia Romana fuisse receptas,*

- 2110 2067–2076 Origenes ... Hieronymus *BAS: deest in A–E.*  
 2079–2080 tot ... Hieronymus *BAS: Augustini A–E.*
- 2064–2065 *Platonis ... bono* See, e.g., Plato, *Rep.* III 389 b-c and Orig. *Contra Cels.* IV, 9; I, 42, 13; III, 53; IV, 71. For Erasmus' view that it is sometimes better not to tell the truth, see *Ep.* 1119, Erasmus to Spalatinus, Louvain, 6 July 1520, l. 40 "Nec semper est proferranda veritas"; *Ep.* 1167, Erasmus to L. Campeggio, Louvain, 6 December 1520, ll. 164–173: "Siquidem, vt veritati nunquam phas est aduersari, ita celare nonnunquam expedit in loco ... Plato perspexisse videtur, multitudinem promiscuam et imperitam non posse contineri in officio nisi nonnunquam fuco doloque bono fallatur". Cf. *Ep.* 1225, Erasmus to Barbirius, Bruges, 13 August, 1521, ll. 166–167: "Et mihi sane adeo est inuisa discordia vt etiam displiceat veritas seditiosa," and especially *Spongia*, *ASD IX*, 1, pp. 184–186, ll. 500–549.
- 2064–2065 *suo ... bono* "for their own advantage".
- 2067 *Ecclesiasticae ... 6* Eus. *H.E.* VI, 25, *GCS*, Eusebius II, 2, ed. E. Schwartz, Leipzig, 1908, p. 550, ll. 1–15. Here, Eusebius quotes Origen's comment on the Pauline authorship of *Hebr.*; see next n.
- 2068–2070 *Porro ... euangelista* Cf. W.G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1978<sup>9</sup>, p. 346: "Origenes (bei Eusebius, *KG VII*, 25, II ff) hielt ihn für paulinisch, freilich nur mittelbar: ein Schüler (die Tradition nenne Clemens Romanus und Lukas) habe die Gedanken des Apostels auf seine Art erklärend niedergeschrieben ..."
- 2068 *sermonis politiem* "the refinement of the language".
- 2068–2070 *alii ... alii* Their views are mentioned by Origen in Eus. *H.E.* VI, 25.
- 2070–2072 *Hieronymus ... Hebraeos* Hier. *De vir. ill.* 15, ll. 7–13, Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften, II, ed. C. A. Bernoulli, Freiburg im Breisgau and Leipzig, 1895, p. 17.
- 2072–2076 *In ... habetur* *Ibid.* 59, ll. 5–8, pp. 35–36. Bernoulli's edition reads: "... epistulas quoque Pauli tredecim tantum enumerans quartam decimam, quae fertur ad Hebraeos, dicit non eius esse; sed apud Romanos vsque hodie quasi Pauli apostoli non habetur."
- 2074 *dicit* I.e., Caius.
- 2080–2082 *hoc ... haereticorum* See appendix IV, ll. 558–564 and n. l. 561.
- 2088–2089 *Hieronymum ... Graecis* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 2002–2004.
- 2091 *quingentos* This number betrays the vagueness of Erasmus' chronology of the life of Jerome (ca. 350–420).
- 2091–2092 *Tu ... refutatam* See appendix IV, ll. 558–564.
- 2094–2096 *Haeretici ... Hieronymus* Jerome doubted both the identity of the author of Hebrews and the orthodoxy of the doctrine contained therein. For Jerome's arguments, see the present apologia, ll. 2011–2012.
- 2096 *hoc addis* See appendix IV, ll. 558–564.
- 2101 *primus ... mortalium* Although, in the *Comm. in Ps.*, Jerome had already translated *a Deo*, Erasmus thinks he can say that Lefèvre was the only one to read *a Deo* because the authorship of the *Comm. in Ps.* is doubtful. Moreover, in the *Comm. in Gal.*, which is undoubtedly by Jerome, *Hebr.* 2, 7 is quoted and read as "ab angelis". For Erasmus' argument, see the present apologia, l. 824 and n.
- 2101–2102 *Interpretem ... autorem* Lefèvre indeed condemns the translator of *Hebr.* and maintains that by reading *a Deo* in *Hebr.* 2, 7, he does justice to Paul's intention; see appendix IV, ll. 10–12.
- 2106 *Porro* See n. l. 1918.
- crimen ... impingis* Lefèvre accuses Erasmus of ignorance in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 538–547, see the present apologia, ll. 2106–2112, and ll. 1920–1923.
- 2108–2112 *Ambrosius ... Anticyra* Apart from some slight alterations, these lines are a quotation from Lefèvre's *disputatio*; see appendix IV, ll. 542–547 For *Anticyra*, cf. n. l. 1921 and l. 1922.

LB 57 *quandoquidem Ambrosius nihil in eas est commentatus. Quam rem si hac ratione  
pertinaciter defendere voluero, | explodam, irridebor, tota dignus videbor Anticyra.*

2115 Excute omnes meas annotationes in quibus abs te dissentio et optimo iure dis-  
sentio et vide num vsquam eiusmodi salibus ludam in te. Vno tantum in loco vbi  
lapsus erat manifestarius ac plane pudendus, nisi tam esset omnium hominum  
commune labi, nihil aliud asscribo quam *demiror ei viro tam profundum obrepisse  
somnum*. Non aliud comperies vsquam dictum in te asperius. Atqui qui potui  
humanius quam manifestissimum lapsum *somnum* obrepentem appellare, nec  
omitto tamen interim honoris praefationem quo mitigem admonitionem  
2120 addens *ei viro*.

Equidem non iacto dialecticam, etiam si puer eam vtcunque didici. Quod si  
nec Aristoteles mihi lectus fuisset nec Boethius, quorum vtrumque, ne quid aliud  
dicam, certe legi, tamen vel Ciceronis nostri Topica vel Quintilianii Institutiones  
me tantum docere poterant non consequi necessario: Ambrosius non est in eam  
2125 commentatus, ergo Romana ecclesia non recepit. Neque enim tam stupide col-  
ligo quam tu proponis, declarans vere dictum a Terentio: nihil tam esse rectum  
*quin male narrando possit deprauari*. Sic enim a me scriptum est: *et de autore eius  
adeo fuit dubitatum vt sero recepta sit a Romana ecclesia, quandoquidem in hanc  
vnam omnium nihil commentatus est Ambrosius*. Neque enim non esse receptam  
2130 colligo ex eo quod Ambrosius in eam non scripsit, vt tu putas, sed coniecturam  
adglutino coniecturae iuxta prouerbum linum lino connectens quo firmior esset  
*συναθροισμός*.

Etenim vbi res a coniecturis pendet et desunt argumenta necessaria, coacer-  
uatis probabilibus argumentis ratiocinari mihi fas est, opinor, praesertim quum  
2135 nihil asseuerem. Sero fuisse receptam, vt docui, testatur Hieronymus, a Romanis,  
inquam. Siquidem hic Romanam ecclesiam voco, non catholicam omnium, vt  
nunc vocamus, sed ipsos Romanos, vt vocat Cyprianus. Item de autore dubita-  
tum fuisse palam est et paulo ante significaram inesse locos aliquot qui nonnul-  
los offendissent. Et ad caeteras coniecturas velut in aceruum adiicio Ambrosium  
2140 Latinum, cum in omnes caeteras scripserit, in hanc vnam non scripsisse. Nec est  
simile 'Ambrosius non scripsit in epistolas Petri, ergo sero sunt receptae'. Et  
quum Ambrosius Latinus in omnes Paulinas epistolas scripserit hac vna prae-  
terita, omnium maxima et disertissima, probabilius est et illum de autore  
dubitasse, quod ex aliis quoque argumentis colligitur. Verum illud fuerit similis:  
2145 'Dionysius nominatim recenset ac numerat ecclesiae sacramenta et vnus matrimo-  
nii non meminit, ergo probabile est aut matrimonium id temporis nondum  
inter sacramenta connumeratum aut Dionysium septimum sacramentum igno-  
rasse' aut si quid his inferre potes probabilius, sit enim hoc exempli gratia  
propositum. Aut: 'si rex omnibus officiis suis donaret aliquid vno praeterito, certe  
2150 *εὐχόμενος* esset regem huic non perinde vt caeteris fauere'.

Haec argumentatio tametsi non colligit necessario, tamen vbi res a coniecturis  
ducitur, non est, opinor, vsque adeo explodenda vt totam Anticyram postulet,  
praesertim quum multae simul coniecturae sese vicissim fulciant. Sic enim iocaris  
in amicum, homo festiuus et meris leporibus ac gratiis concretus. Alioqui quis

2120 addens *B-BAS*: *deest in A*.

- 2113–2114 *Excute ... te* Erasmus was convinced that he had not criticized Lefèvre as sharply and sarcastically as Lefèvre had criticized him. Erasmus repeatedly emphasizes, on the contrary, that he had treated Lefèvre honourably. Cf. ll. 114–122 and nn. and Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 146–149: “Nec ipse vnquam ab illo dissensusuram iram in Nouo Testamento, nisi iudicasset hic nullam illius gloriae labem aspersum iri. Etiam si ipse nec lesus ac prouocatus amicitiam violauit; nec vnquam, quantum erit in me violaturus sum.”
- 2116–2117 *demirror ... somnum* Erasmus, *Nov. Instr.*, at *Tit. 1*, 3, p. 578. For a more extensive treatment of Lefèvre’s blunder at *Tit. 1*, 3, see the present apologia, ll. 2535–2546 and nn.
- 2121 *Equidem ... dialecticam* This is primarily a reaction to Lefèvre’s remarks *Id certe nullo argumento esse potest, ... Qua enim argumentationis lege efficitur ...?*; see appendix IV, ll. 540–542. At the same time, however, Erasmus is mocking Lefèvre’s dialectical method of argumentation in his *disputatio* and his earlier studies in the field of dialectics; cf. ll. 1396–1398.
- 2121 *etiam ... didici* This is true; see C. Augustijn, *Erasmus*, Baarn, 1986, p. 22.
- 2125–2126 *Neque ... proponis* See ll. 2108–2112 and n.
- 2126–2127 *dictum ... deprauari* Ter. *Phorm.* 696–697: “nil est ... quin male narrando possit deprauari”, edd. R. Kauer, W. M. Lindsay and O. Skutsch, Oxford, 1973.
- 2127–2129 *et ... Ambrosius* See appendix III, ll. 56–57, quoted by Lefèvre in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 523–525. Cf. the present apologia, ll. 1915–1923 (and nn.), where Erasmus already complains about Lefèvre’s criticism of this argument.
- 2131 *linum lino connectens* *Adag.* 759 (Linum lino nectis), *LB* II, 321 B–E.
- 2132 *συναθροισμός* “the combination”, “the cumulative argument”. The word occurs as a technical rhetorical term in Quint. 8, 4, 27, but with an entirely different meaning. Cf. *ASD* I, 6, p. 53 n. 1, 515, p. 220 n. ll. 579–586 and *ASD* V, 5 pp. 64–65, n. ll. 253–256.
- 2133–2134 *coaceruatis probabilibus argumentis* Cf. Cic. *Part. Or.* II, 40.
- 2134–2135 *praesertim ... asseuerem* In the present apologia, Erasmus repeatedly asserts that as a matter of principle he avoids making dogmatic assertions. For this cliché in Erasmus, see ll. 1217–1218 and n.
- 2135 *Sero ... Hieronymus* See appendix III, ll. 56–59.
- 2135–2136 *a Romanis, inquam* *Ibid.*, l. 56.
- 2137 *Romanos ... Cyprianus* *Cypr. Epist.*, 60, 1, *CSEL* 3, 2, p. 692, 6–7: “Dum apud vos vnus animus et vna vox est, ecclesia omnis Romana confessa est.” Here *Ecclesia omnis Romana* is the Church of the city of Rome, not the Catholic Church.
- 2138–2139 *paulo ... offendissent* See appendix III, ll. 53–55, where Erasmus remarks that Jerome did not believe that *Ps.* 8, 5–8 applied directly to Christ, in spite of the way in which *Hebr.* 2, 6–8 applied it to Christ.
- 2139–2140 *adiicio ... scripsisse* See appendix III, ll. 56–57.
- 2140 *hanc vnam* Erasmus means *Hebr.*
- 2145–2146 *Dionysius ... meminit* In his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Pseudo-Dionysius deals with the following sacraments: baptism, eucharist, extreme unction, ordination to priesthood, monastic ordination, and consecrations and prayers for the deceased. Matrimony is not mentioned. See R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, II, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 297–298.
- 2145 *Dionysius* Erasmus is probably using Dionysius the Areopagite as an example because of Lefèvre’s naïve view of him: Lefèvre was convinced that the author of the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite was really the convert of Paul, mentioned in *Act.* 17, 34. Moreover, Lefèvre worked extensively on Dionysius and held him in high esteem, see e.g., *S. Dionysii Areopagitae opera omnia cum Iacobi Fabri scholiis*, Paris, 1499. Cf. Hughes, *Lefèvre*, pp. 6–11 and Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, p. xxi (intr.) and pp. 549–550.
- 2151 *colligit* “is conclusive”. This use of “colligere” is not in accordance with classical Latin usage.
- 2152 *Anticyram* See appendix IV, ll. 546–547. Lefèvre here says that if he defended Erasmus’ way of reasoning, he would deserve to be sent to *Anticyra*, i.e., he would be crazy. *Adag.* 752 (Nauiget Anticyras), *LB* II, 318E–319B. Otto 117. Cf. ll. 1471–1472, 1507, 1921, and 2112, with the nn.
- 2154 *amicum* See the present apologia, ll. 36–37 and n. Cf. l. 1844 and n, and appendix IV, ll. 28–30.
- 2154 *gratius* “pleasantry”.

2155 feret istam collectionem quam recenset praeter rhetores et Boetius: 'qui potuit non amasse si rapuit'? Aut hanc: 'si mater est, diligit filium'. Aut qui ipse tueberis hanc, qua hoc ipso in loco vteris: haec aeditio fuit ante Hieronymum, ergo ante Hieronymum fuit recepta a Romanis. Quasi vero nihil interesset inter aedi et recipi. Aut hanc mox ibidem: vtitur hac Hieronymus aduersus haereticum, 2160 ergo recepta fuit a Romanis. Ista ratione sic colligam: 'vtitur testimonio euangelii Nazarenorum aduersus haereticos, ergo fuit ab ecclesia receptum' aut: 'Paulus vtitur Epimenidis et Arati testimonio, ergo recepti sunt horum libri ab ecclesia', 'theologi passim vtuntur Aristotelis libris aduersus haereticos, receptus est igitur ab ecclesia'.

2165 Coniecturae quas aliquot adduxeram satis erant idoneae non vt inde quicquam affirmem, sed vt lectorem admoneam esse quod excutiat. Quanquam, vt ingenue fatear, si tum aut monitus fuisset abs te aut ipse per ocium rem propius attentiusque perspexissem, aut omissem hoc loco huius rei mentionem aut aliquanto circumspectius induxissem. Verum huiusmodi lapsus quos aut incuria fudit aut 2170 humana parum cauit natura, alias libenter sarciamus dabimusque sedulo operam ne quam ansam praebeamus calumniosis, quando video te quoque caetera tam candidum et humanum, haec tam odiose exagitare, idque quum ad tuam causam, vt ais, nihil attineant. Et tamen videri vis coactus ad hanc disputationem descendisse, quum totius rei summa in hoc sit quod legendum esse contendis *a* 2175 *Deo* et non *ab angelis*. Id quum ego non refellam, quid supererat quod te cogeret aduersus nos scribere? Deinde si maxime refellissem tuam sententiam, si minus ipse merebar istam ciuilitatem, tamen tui ingenii fuerat ab atrocibus dictis temperare vel aliorum gratia, ne quis aut de tuis moribus aut de mea doctrina deterius sentiat. Atque vtinam mihi licuisset hoc respondendi labore supersedere et hanc operam iucundioribus in rebus collocare. Nunc toties vrges dictis adeo 2180 saeuus idque in medio voluminis aediti, ne vel casu possit intercidere, vt silentium conscientiae crimen videri possit.

Stomacho vt potui temperaui et vt ingenue libereque meam defendi innocentiam, ita a contumeliis cohibui calamum perpetuo cohibiturus, si per te 2185 licebit. Quod si quid offendit hoc ipsum quod respondeo non mihi debes imputare, sed iis potius qui tui ingenii simplicitate ad hanc fabulam agendam sunt abusi, quo commissis nobis inter nos ipsi nostro dolore suam pascerent voluptatem. Scis verissime dictum ab Aristotele *improbitali* tantum *occasione esse opus*, neque nescis quanto plures sint improbi, quam probi, iuxta Graeci sapientis apophthegma. Complures hoc ingenio nati sunt vt vel gratis malis gaudeant 2190 alienis atque ita demum sibi melius esse credant si male sit aliis. Nonnullis omnes sunt inuisae literae, plerisque bonae. Neminem fere non offendit nouitas. Hi

2157 qua hoc *Ac B C E BAS*: qua hac hoc *A*,  
quo hoc *D*.

2183 Stomacho *Ac B-BAS*: Stomachum *A*.

2155 *collectionem* "argumentation".

*Boetius* Erasmus considered him a great authority in the field of dialectics; see l. 2122.

Erasmus probably takes Boethius as an example because Lefèvre had published studies on, and edited works of, Boethius; see Rice,

- Prefatory Epistles*, pp. 543–545 and Hughes, *Lefèvre*, p. 4. The examples of false syllogisms given by Erasmus in ll. 2155–2156 do not seem to occur in Boethius' extensive dialectical works included in Migne *PL* 64.
- 2156–2158 *Aut ... Romanis* See appendix IV, ll. 533–535.
- 2159–2160 *utitur ... Romanis* Lefèvre used this as an argument to prove that Jerome believed in the authenticity of *Hebr.*, see Appendix IV, ll. 535–538.
- 2160–2161 *euangelii Nazarenorum* This book was presumably written in the first half of the second century. It was used by Syrian Christians. See W. Schneemelcher, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* I, Tübingen, 1990, pp. 128–138.
- 2161–2162 *Paulus ... testimonio* See the present apologia, ll. 1792–1793 and nn. There, too, Erasmus mentions Paul's use of pagan testimonies. Here Erasmus wants to prove that Jerome's use of *Hebr.* does not imply that it was previously accepted by the Western Church.
- 2163 *theologi ... haereticos* Erasmus uses this example for the same purpose, see previous note. He may also be referring to Lefèvre's earlier occupation with Aristotle; see n. l. 151. Lefèvre attributed an important educational role to the study of Aristotle; see *Politicorum libri octo*, ed. Lefèvre d'Étaples, Paris, 1506, ff. 123v–124r, cf. Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, pp. 535–541, 548–549, 552–555, 560–561, and Hughes, *Lefèvre*, pp. 27–28.
- 2165–2166 *non ... excutiat* For this principle of Erasmus, cf. the present apologia, ll. 290–292 and n., ll. 299–300 and n., n. l. 304 and ll. 306–307 and n. and n. ll. 1455–1456.
- 2166–2167 *ut ingenue fatear* Cf. above, l. 357 and n.
- 2167 *per ocium* "at leisure".
- 2173 *ut ais* i.e., in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 526–531, where Lefèvre notices that the uncertainty of the Pauline authorship of *Hebr.* has no bearing upon the subject in question, namely, the interpretation of *Hebr.* 2, 7.
- 2174–2175 *totius ... angelis* Lefèvre in appendix IV, ll. 528–531, states that the question at issue is whether or not the translator was right in translating the original text of *Ps.* 8, 6 by *ab angelis*, that is, whether one should read now *ab angelis* or *a Deo*.
- 2178 *vel aliorum gratia* Erasmus is saying that, in the interest of the whole humanist movement, Lefèvre ought to have tempered his anger, cf. the present apologia, l. 38 and n. But Lefèvre considered his indignation justifiable, because, in his view, Erasmus' interpretation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 affected the dignity of Christ; cf. ll. 45–46 and n. and ll. 82–83 and n. See also l. 38: *causa ... aliorum*.
- 2180 *hanc ... collocare* In July 1517 Erasmus had undertaken the translation of *De linguae Graecae institutione*, liber secundus, of Theodorus Gaza. This project was interrupted by the composition of the present apologia against Lefèvre. Cf. Allen, intr. Ep. 771. See also Ep. 616 from Erasmus to Peter Gilles, <Louvain>, <c. 1 August 1517>, ll. 11–12: "Dum cum Fabro litigo, dies perdididi iam octo."
- 2180–2182 *Nunc ... possit* For the reproach that Lefèvre published his attack without warning Erasmus beforehand, cf. the present apologia, ll. 150–164 and nn. and ll. 1931–1932 and nn. For *in medio voluminis*, cf. l. 1339 *mediis commentariis tuis*.
- 2181 *ne ... intercidere* "with the intention that there be no chance of it being lost." Unlike a manuscript work, a printed book appears in so many copies that its content cannot be lost. The subject of *possit* is *volumen*.
- 2183 *Stomacho ... temperavi* For his intention to spare Lefèvre disrepute, often stressed by Erasmus, cf. the present apologia, ll. 260–262.
- 2186–2188 *sed ... voluptatem* For the *alieno impulsu* cliché, see l. 40. See also next n. and ll. 2604–2605 and n. For Erasmus' fear that opponents of the humanist movement could abuse this controversy, cf. the present apologia, l. 38 and n. and ll. 72–75.
- 2186 *tui ingenii simplicitate* See n. l. 40.
- 2188–2189 *Scis ... opus* Cf. Ep. 939, from Erasmus to Duke Frederick of Saxony, Antwerp, 14 April 1519, ll. 49–50: "Nam iuxta Graecorum prouerbum, improbis praeter occasionem nihil deest ...". *Adag.* 1068 (Occasione duntaxat opus improbitati), *LB* II, 432 A–D. Cf. Allen, Ep. 939, n. l. 49.
- 2188 *Aristotele* Aristot. *Rhet.* I, 12, 23. J.E. Sandys, ed., *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, Cambridge 1877, p. 238: ὡς περ γὰρ ἡ παροιμία, προφάσεως δέονται μόνον ἢ πονηρία.
- 2189–2190 *plures ... apophthegma* The Greek sage is Bias of Priene, one of the Seven Sages. According to Diogenes Laertius, he declared: "Most people are morally unsound", οἱ πλείστοι κακοί. Erasmus did not include this saying in his *Apophthegmata*, although Bias figures there with four dicta.
- 2192 *Neminem ... nouitas* Cf. Ep. 407 from Erasmus to Willibald Pirckheimer, Basel, 12 May, 1516, l. 12: "... nouitatem omnem obnoxiam esse inuidiae."

omnes ad occasionem inhiant, mi Faber, quo magis erat cauendum ne ea a nobis illis porrigeretur et ex ipso, quod aiunt, boue lorum ministraretur.

2195 Quum enim vtilitatis publicae respectu prouinciam inuidiosam vtrique susceperimus, consultum erat parteis nostras concordia et syncretismo, quod aiunt, fulcire. Quod si senserint nos inter nos mutuis collidi dissidiis, non solum conduplicabimus inuidiam, verum etiam omnem studii nostri fructum tot vigiliis expetitur amittimus. Etenim qui nunc magnis clamoribus insectantur quod in  
2200 oratione dominica pro *dimitte nobis debita nostra* mutare sim ausus *remitte nobis debita*, quid dicturos existimas si conspexerint nos ceu par gladiatorum in harena commissos mutuis vulneribus inuicem confodere et Balatronem ac Nomentanum referre, qui apud Horatium alternis diceriis in sese debacchantur ridentibus interim conuiuis. En, inquit, egregios correctores, quibus autoribus  
2205 oporteat nouari tot seculis comprobata aeditionem. Qui fidemus illis si inter ipsos non conuenit? Ita fiet vt fabula mundi simus et in conciliabulis, in foris, in computationibus, in aulis, in tonstrinis, in essedis et nauibus Erasmi Fabrique nomen obambulet. Tot exantlatis laboribus hoc praemii denique feremus.

2210 Quare te rogo, charissime Faber, per amicitiam nostram, hactenus a me syncere pureque cultam, per studiorum amorem, quo communiter ambo ducimur, etiam si tu felicius, quocunque casu hoc accidit, redi ad tuum ingenium, redi ad tuos mores. Nos hactenus te non laesimus, ne sic quidem prouocati. Sine me mei similem esse. Id fiet si tu sis tui hac in parte dissimilis ac veterem illum Fabrum praestes, quem hactenus et coram et literis omnibus  
2215 praestitisti.

Quod factum est dissimulari non potest, liber est aeditus, excusari potest. Ipse modis omnibus fauebo purgationi, quemuis praetextum accipiam. Excidit vnum hoc parum attento, effluxit calore quodam, humanum est. Aut huc perpulit instigator improbus, impositum est simplicitati tuae. Quod si nihil horum placet vel  
LB 59 in Aten aliquam huius mali causam reiciamus, quemadmodum apud Homerum facit Agamemnon. Praestat recurrere quam pergere cursum male institutum.  
2220

Odi ipse, ita me Deus amet, hanc meam necessitatem vel potius infelicitatem qua coactus sum ad hoc scripti genus descendere. Non deerat quod agerem et quauis in re malim horas meas collocare. Si literis ad me priuatim scriptis effudisses stomachum tuum, aut dissimulasses aut priuatim me tibi purgasses; si ingenii crimen intendisses, neglexisses calumniam. Nunc quum libris euulgatis me tuum facis *aduersarium* vbi pro te facio et ita facis *aduersarium* vt tu Christi dignitatem attollas, ego deiiciam, tuus sermo sanctus ac pius sit, meus *Christo Deoque indignissimus*; tuus christianorum et eorum qui Spiritu ducuntur, meus  
2225 *Iudaeorum* et infidelium ac literae occidenti adhaerentium, quum haec non contentus semel dixisse toties inculces et infulcias tota disputatione: quid,  
2230

2202 mutuis A-D: mutis E, multis BAS.

2203 sese BAS: se A-E.

2206 fabula A C-BAS: in fabula B.

2230 et A B E BAS: ac C D.

2231 inculces BAS: inculcas A-E; infulcias BAS: infulcis A-E.



- 2194 *ex ... lorum Adag.* 177, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 288–289 (Ex ipso boue lora sumere dicuntur qui, quo laedant quempiam, id ab ipso quem laedunt accipiunt).
- 2195–2196 *prouinciam ... susceperimus* Cf. Cic. *Cael.* 26, 63. *Adag.* 1241 (Capere prouinciam, Tradere prouinciam, Tradere prouinciam figura prouerbiali dicuntur qui negocium aliquod curandum committunt. Capiunt suscipiunt prouinciam qui rei curandae onus in se recipiunt), *LB* II, 535 F–536 A.
- 2196 *syncretismo* “renewed friendship”, *Adag.* II, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 125–126.
- 2199–2201 *qui ... debita* In his *Nov. Instr.* Erasmus had ventured to alter *Mt.* 6, 12 “dimitte nobis debita nostra” into “remitto nobis debita nostra”. This new translation had been attacked by an anonymus Carthusian monk, now identified as John Batmanson, a deacon of the bishop of London. His attack on Erasmus was answered by Thomas More in a pamphlet of 1520. See H.J. de Jonge, in *ASD* IX, 2, p. 5; E. Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics* I, Nieuwkoop, 1989, pp. 118–119; C.F. Gunderson and P.G. Bietenholz, “John Batmanson” in: *Contemporaries* I, pp. 99–100; and Erasmus, *Ep.* 541, ll. 85–86; *Ep.* 948, ll. 107–108, 114–115 and Allen, *Ep.* 1479, n. l. 40.
- 2201 *quid dicturos existimas* For this fear of the reaction of outsiders to this controversy, cf. the present apologia, ll. 41–47 and n. l. 41.
- 2202–2204 *Balatronem ... conuiuus* Hor. *Serm.* II, 8, ed. S. Borzsák, Leipzig, 1984, pp. 226–229.
- 2205 *tot ... aeditionem* That is to say: of the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament.
- 2206–2208 *Ita ... obambulet* For Erasmus’ idea that the whole world was interested in this controversy, cf. this apologia, ll. 72–73 and n.
- 2211–2212 *redi ... mores* For this appeal to Lefèvre to end the polemic and to resume his former disposition, cf. the present apologia, ll. 48–57 and nn.
- 2212 *Nos ... laesimus* Erasmus did not always spare Lefèvre: he sometimes used language that could damage Lefèvre’s reputation; see the present apologia, n. ll. 104–107. But in the passages of the *Nov. Instr.* where Erasmus criticizes Lefèvre’s views, he indeed does not offend him; see ll. 117–118 and n.
- 2213 *tui ... dissimilis* Cf. this apologia, l. 52 and n.
- 2214 *coram et literis* “in personal communication and in your works”. Cf. this apologia, ll. 244–245: ... *semper te virum literis ac pietate cum primis insignem esse iudicauit. omnibus* is dative.
- 2216–2217 *Ipse... accipiam* In fact, however, Lefèvre never offered either apologies or a response; cf. the present apologia, n. l. 77.
- 2218–2219 *instigator improbus* See n. l. 40.
- 2219 *simplicitati tuae* For other references to Lefèvre’s naïvety, cf. ll. 39–40, ll. 234–235 and l. 2186. These allusions are inconsistent with other suggestions of Erasmus according to which Lefèvre had attacked him with cunning and malice; see e.g., ll. 159–164 and n.
- 2220 *Aten* Ἄτην, the goddess of mischief, author of rash actions; the personification of infatuation or moral blindness.
- 2220–2221 *quemadmodum ... Agamemnon* Hom. *Il.* II, III and XIX, 88, 91.
- 2222–2224 *Odi ... collocare* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 1307–1332, where Erasmus enumerates the insults of Lefèvre which forced him to overcome his natural reluctance to write this apologia. Cf. *Ep.* 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 112–114: “Infelicitatem meam agnosco, qui in hoc certamen sibi coactus descendere, a quo semper abhorruui, ...” Cf. l. 72 and n. and l. 77 and n.
- 2223–2224 *Non ... collocare* Erasmus prefers any other occupation to composing this apologia; cf. ll. 2179–2180 and n. l. 2180.
- 2226 *libris euulgatis* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre’s second edition of Paul’s epistles, in which he had incorporated the *disputatio* against Erasmus as a note at *Hebr.* 2, 7.
- 2227 *tuum facis aduersarium* See above l. 342 and n., n. l. 347, l. 1323 and n. l. 1328.
- 2227–2230 *ita ... adhaerentium* See Lefèvre’s *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 132–136. Moreover Lefèvre called his *disputatio* a *propheticae intelligentiae defensio* (see appendix IV, l. 33). Cf. this apologia, ll. 332–340. See especially ll. 338–340: *Si tu Hieronymianae interpretationis et propheticae intelligentiae defensor es, necessum est ut sit qui oppugnet. Hunc igitur hoc loco me facis quum nihil sim minus.*
- 2228 *pius* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 134–135 *impium et Christo Deoque indignissimum.*
- 2229 *qui Spiritu ducuntur* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 135 *Spiritui aduersantem.*
- 2230 *Iudaeorum* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 163, 184–185, 188, 206, 211.
- infidelium* Cf. appendix IV, l. 193 *infidorum. literae ... adhaerentium* Cf. appendix IV, ll. 135–136 *literae quae occidit adhaerentem.*

quaeso, factum oportuit? An debebam istas tuas notas tacitus agnoscere, praesertim quum ipse non solum nihil istiusmodi cogitassem, verum ne in verbis quidem lapsus essem?

2235 Quod si tibi videor liberius meam egisse causam, cogita nihil esse liberius innocentia. Si qua videbuntur indulta dolori, cogita quam multa dolori non permiserim. Videor mihi satis moderationis praestitisse si contumeliam et talem contumeliam argumentis refello, non conuiciis. Meus stilus nullius ad huc cruore imbutus est, patere mihi hanc laudem esse perpetuam. Hactenus vtcunque frenos  
2240 inieci iusto dolori. Homo sum, quid in posterum ferre possim, incertus. Furor fit laesa saepius patientia.

Aut si tibi cordi est nos impetere, eiusmodi criminibus vrge in quibus dissimulandis aut excusandis lenitas laudi ducitur. Hoc eius generis est vt si me purgem, cogar amicum laedere; sin obticescam, culpam agnoscere pro qua depellenda pulchrum est et mortem oppetere. Si ista est propria et ineuitabilis studiorum conditio, vt necesse sit aut excutiendis aliorum libris alienam famam incessere aut dum te purgas nunc cum hoc, nunc cum illo digladiari, valebunt mihi potius. Aut mutus dormio aut mihi cano et Musis. Quid enim est tam circumspecte scriptum quod non queas aliqua ex parte cauillari? Quid rursus est  
2245 tam incogitanter scriptum quod non aliquo praetextu possit defendi? Quod si certum est omnia veterum scripta tueri pariter, omnia recentium ad istum calumniari modum, prorsus abstinendum est a calamo. At quanto rectius est, veteres sic reuereri vt non desit iudicium, recentiores sic excutere vt non absit candor. Quum homines hominum scripta legimus, ad multa conuiuendum est, quaedam  
2255 commodius interpretanda.

Alioqui quid magni sit in meis, qui nihil sum, commentariolis reperire quod iniquus interpres ad calumniam detorqueat, quum plurima sint in Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Cypriani, Augustini et Gregorii scriptis quae sub iniquo iudice nullo pacto defendi possint? Nam quo tandem colore tueberis, ne nullum exemplum  
2260 proferam, quod diuus Ambrosius excusans Petri negationem scripsit: *nam qui dixit: nescio hominem, aequum erat vt interrogatus vtrum esset ex discipulis hominis, diceret: non sum. Itaque non Christi discipulum se negauit, sed hominis negauit esse discipulum. Itaque et Petrus et Paulus hominem negauerunt quem Dei Filium fatebantur.* Obsecro, si scriptorem hic suis verbis vrgeas, quid magis impium dici poterat quam Christum non esse hominem idque autoribus Petro et Paulo? Huic affine est quod scribit Augustinus in psalmum octauum: *Quare vermis? Quia mortalis, quia de carne natus, quia sine concubitu natus. Quare non homo? Quia in principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum.* Quis ferret ideo Christum negari hominem esse quod Deus sit? Rursus quod scripsit in  
2265 opere De Trinitate, apostolos Christo ascensuro in coelum hoc tantum credidisse quod videbant, nonne blasphemia videatur in sanctos apostolos, quasi nondum  
2270 Deum esse credidissent, quum Peltrus tanto ante confessus sit Filium Dei viui et Thomas apertius Dominum ac Deum suum agnouisset? Haec et huiusmodi per multa si pie scripta credimus, si commode interpretamur in tantis autoribus, cur

2275 tam morosi et iniqui sumus in recentiorum libris? Balbutiunt vt possunt de rebus  
 diuinis eloquentissimi et sermo noster ad vnguem exigitur? At non idem  
 tribuimus, inquires, Erasmo quod Augustino. Certe quo ille maior, hoc mihi for-  
 tasse minus autoritatis, sed tamen plus veniae tribuendum erat. Quanquam hoc  
 2280 ipsum viris eruditis indignum arbitror, scriptorum autoritatem annis metiri, non  
 rebus.

Sed vt quo coeperat, pergat oratio, si fidei synceritas constat, inhumanum  
 est in verbis excitare tragoedias. Quid quod non solum ab humanitate alienissi-  
 mum est, verum etiam impium et cum christiana charitate pugnans, omissis tuis  
 2285 rebus in alienis scriptis obambulare et Momum quendam seu potius sycophan-  
 tam agere, haud animaduertentem quam iniquam legem interim in teipsum sta-  
 tuas. Nisi forte putas omnia tibi tam circumspecte vbique dicta vt nihil omnino  
 possit reprehendi, quum in hac vna disputatiuncula tam multa sint quae vel

2243 eius generis *BAS*: id generis *A-E*.

2256 Alioqui *A-D BAS*: Aliqui *E*.

2257 in *A C-BAS*: *deest in B*.

2264 hic *A-C E BAS*: his *D*.

2266 psalmum octauum *A-D*: psal. VIII *E*,  
 psalmo octauo *BAS*.

2271 nonne *BAS*: non *A-E*.

2276-2281 At ... oratio *D-BAS*: *deest in A-C*.

2281 coeperat *E BAS*: ceperat *D*.

2245-2248 *Si ... potius* Cf. Ep. 826 from Eras-  
 mus to Henry Bullock, Louvain, 23 April  
 <1518>, ll. 15-17: "Rixarum nullus est finis.  
 Quod si hoc mali sic coniunctum est studiis  
 vt distrahi non queat, mihi valebunt potius.  
 Dormire prestat quam scribere."

2248 *mutus dormio* "I shall say and do nothing  
 anymore".

2248 *mibi ... Musis* Otto 1178, citing Hier.  
*Epist.* 50, 2. See also Erasmus *Ep.* 785, l. 9:  
 "Postea propemodum est animus mihi canere  
 et Musis" and cf. *Adag.* 2480 (Sibi canere),  
*ASD* II, 5, p. 336, l. 212.

2260-2264 *nam ... fatebantur* Ambr. *Expos. in*  
*Luc.*, X, 84, *CCSL* 32, edd. C. Schenkel and  
 H. Schenkel, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig,  
 1902, p. 487.

2261 *nescio hominem* *Mt.* 14, 71; cf. *Mt.* 26,  
 72 and *Lc.* 22, 57.

2261-2262 *interrogatus ... sum* *Ioh.* 18, 17.

2266-2268 *Quare ... Deus erat Verbum* Aug.  
*Enarr. in Ps.* 21, 2, 7, *CCSL* 38, edd. D. E.  
 Dekkers and I. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1956,  
 p. 125, ll. 6-9.

2270-2271 *apostolos ... videbant* Aug. *Trin.* I,  
 ix, ll. 1-3, *CCSL* 50, edd. W.J. Mountain and  
 Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1968, pp. 53-54.

2272 *Petrus ... viui* *Mt.* 16, 16.

2273 *Thomas ... agnouisset* *Ioh.* 20, 28.

2276 *ad vnguem* "exactly", "perfectly", "in detail".

Cf. Hor. *Ars*, 294: "carmen decies castigare  
 ad vnguem". *Adag.* 491, *ASD* II, 1, p. 562.  
 Otto 1827.

2282 *tragoedias* For this recurrent metaphor  
 for Lefèvre's treatment of Erasmus' note on  
*Hebr.* 2, 7 in the *Nov. Instr.*, cf. this apologia,  
 ll. 75-77 and n.

2283 *impium* Here Erasmus reproaches Lefèvre  
 once again with *impietas*, in response to  
 Lefèvre's accusation in his *disputatio*, appen-  
 dix IV, ll. 132-136. Erasmus did so earlier; see  
 ll. 1343-1345.

2283 *cum ... pugnans* For the argument that  
 the tone of Lefèvre's *disputatio* is in conflict  
 with Christian charity, cf. this apologia,  
 ll. 1735-1738.

2284 *Momum* *Adag.* 474 (Momo satisfacere  
 et similia, ... Hesiodus in Theogonia et  
 Momi cuiusdam meminit, quem ait Nocte  
 matre, Somno patre progenitum. Huic deo  
 mos est ipsum quidem nihil operis acdere,  
 sed aliorum deorum opera curiosis oculis  
 contemplari et, si quid est omissum aut per-  
 peram factum, id summa cum libertate  
 carpere), *ASD* II, 1, pp. 546-548. Otto 1129.  
 Cf. *ASD* IX, 2, p. 187, n. l. 399.

2284-2285 *sycophantam* Cf. *Adag.* 1281, *LB* II, 515  
 F-516 D (sycophanta .... Convicium prover-  
 biale in calumniatores, et quamuis pusilla de  
 causa litem mouentes).

aequum lectorem offendant. Nisi forte bellum tibi spectaculum videtur Hieronymus cum Ruffino tot libris dimicans aut cum Augustino conflictans, etiam si  
 2290 cum hoc postea rediit in gratiam, sed non prius quam omissa disputatione. Adeo nullus est qui velit *ingenio cedere* iuxta Martialis sententiam. Aut nisi magnificum facinus esse credis quod decem Pici conclusiones expugnauimus vel vexauimus magis ac tam felix ingenium a iuuandis sacris literis auertimus, ac probas pertinacem illam et odiosam insectationem qua iam annos complures aduersus  
 2295 Reuchlini libellum, nescio quem obscurum, belligerantur tot scholae theologorum totusque praedicatorum populus.

Mihi pro nostra amicitia vehementer molestum fuit quod te quoque a crabronibus istis impeti sentirem. Nam Basileae legi epistolam qua cardinalis Senogallensis tuam agebat causam aduersus eos qui calumniabantur te psalmo  
 2300 trigesimo annotasse ex sententia cardinalis Nicolai Cusae, animam Christi apud inferos passam esse cruciatus. Et sic agebat causam tuam vt satis haberet si te ab haereseos nota liberaret. Quin et ipse audiui viros eruditos ac magnos inquirentes in tuos commentarios, quosdam etiam annotasse quaedam calamo. Quod si probas istam morosam et iniquam diligentiam, quaeso quis erit aut finis aut fructus?  
 2305 Nusquam non erit quod calumnietur quisquis in hoc librum sumit in manus vt calumnietur.

Si nullus est veterum qui non alicubi cum venia legendus sit, in recentiores tam inique exquirere liuor est, non diligentia. Connuemus ad id quod Hieronymus non fortiter solum defendit, sed contumeliose etiam propugnat,  
 2310 posse sacerdotem esse qui ante baptismum maritus, baptizatus priore defuncta, duxerit alteram; et eorum sententiam qui hoc defendunt quod nunc et pontificum leges et theologorum scholae praecipunt, *cainam haeresim* appellat, vt ex multis vnum locum exempli gratia proferam.

Non est fraudi sanctissimo viro Ambrosio quod enarrans prioris ad Corinthios epistolae caput septimum, affirmat viro ius esse repudiata vxore adultera ducere alteram, negans idem ius esse vxori. Ipsius verba subscribam: *quia viro licet ducere vxorem si dimiserit vxorem peccantem, quia non ita lege constringitur sicut mulier. Caput enim mulieris vir est.* Ridiculum vero planeque frigidum quod Sententiarum coaceruator sic excusat Ambrosium, vt dicat haec verba a falsariis  
 2320 esse subdita, cum et librorum summus consensus sit et congruat stilus.

2307–2372 Si ... nostros D–BAS: *deest in A–C.*

2308 Connuemus D BAS: conuiuemus E.

2315 viro D BAS: vno E; repudiata D BAS: repudiato E.

2318 enim E BAS: vnum D.

2288–2290 *Hieronymus ... disputatione* For an account of these conflicts of Jerome with Rufinus of Aquileia and with Augustine, see P. Nautin, "Hieronymus" in *TRF* 15, Berlin and New York, 1986, pp. 307–309. Cf. the present apologia nn. ll. 2288–2290 and 2289.

2288–2289 *Hieronymus ... dimicans* Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 345–410) is mainly important for his translations of Greek theological works into Latin. He translated, *inter alia*, Origen's *De principiis*, with the intention of proving Origen's orthodoxy. This translation involved Rufinus in a bitter polemic with Jerome, who

- criticized him in the *Apologia ad libros Rufini* (401–402 A.D.).
- 2289 *cum Augustino* Jerome and Augustine polemized on the necessity of a new translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin; see Jerome's correspondence, ed. I. Hilberg, *Epp.* 56, 112, 114. F. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulgata*, Mainz, 1868, pp. 185–188; P. de Labriolle, *The History and Literature of Christianity*, London, 1924, pp. 356–360.
- 2291 *ingenio ... sententiam* Martial., *Epigrammata* VIII, 18, 10 edd. W. Heraeus and I. Borovsky, Leipzig, 1976, p. 179.
- 2292 *Pici conclusiones* "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, 24 February 1463–17 November 1494 ... Pico had written his nine hundred theses which he offered to debate with any challengers in the manner of the medieval *quodlibetals*. This was published by Eucharius Silber as *Conclusiones sive theses DCCCC* (Rome, 7 December 1486) ... On 20 February 1487 a papal commission ... was created and on 2 March it began to examine the *Conclusiones*. Thirteen of the nine hundred theses were found objectionable ... The condemnation was based on Averroistic statements and deviations from Church tradition inspired by the Cabbala ... Pico's reply, the *Apologia*, published 31 May 1487, defended his position. But on 31 July he declared his submission to the Church. However, Innocent VIII, who had been shown a post-dated copy of the *Apologia*, condemned all the theses on 5 August 1487 and published a bull of condemnation on 15 December." C. Trinkaus in: *Contemporaries* III, pp. 81–84. According to Guy Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, 1976, p. 232, Lefèvre felt sympathy and perhaps also admiration for Pico. Possibly this was a reason for Erasmus to mention the problems Pico had to endure because of his writings.
- 2292 *expugnaimus vel vexauimus* Erasmus is referring to the condemnation of thirteen theses of Pico by the papal commission in 1487.
- 2293–2296 *pertinacem ... populus* Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) published *De rudimentis hebraicis* in 1506. In 1509 the emperor issued an edict ordering the confiscation of all Hebrew books opposed to Christianity. Reuchlin protested in a long letter of 1510. This resulted in a polemic of the Dominicans and the Cologne theologians against Reuchlin. In 1511 Reuchlin published *Augenspiegel* as a defense. This work was condemned in 1514 by the faculties of Cologne and, finally, in 1520 by Pope Leo X. Cf. Guy Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, 1976, pp. 83–84; H. Scheible, "Johann Reuchlin" in *Contemporaries* III, 145–150.
- 2298–2299 *cardinalis Senogallensis* Erasmus is referring to the Franciscan Marco Vigerio of Savona (1446–18 July 1516), cardinal-bishop of Senigallia, and author of an apologia in defence of Lefèvre. This apologia disappeared after Vigerio's death, cf. G. Bedouelle, *Le Quincuplex Psalterium, un guide de lecture*, Geneva, 1979, pp. 160–161. A. Renaudet, *Préforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494–1517)*, Paris, 1916, p. 654, mentions a letter from Hummelberg to Beatus Rhenanus (in: A. Horowitz and K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, Leipzig, 1886, Epist. 51, p. 78) Rome, 29 May 1515, in which Vigerio's apologia is mentioned: "Apologiam cardinalis Senogalliensis pro Fabro, nostro Stapulensi, non indignam putavi tua lectione ... Numerosa tamen cohors est illorum, qui quum ex sese nihil praestans edere possint, eruditis et primi nominis viris student oblectare .... Cujusmodi sunt, qui Fabrum haereseos insimulare conantur ...."
- 2302–2303 *viros ... calamo* Fierce criticisms arose, especially from the Louvain theologians, after the publication of Lefèvre's translation, paraphrase and annotations of Paul's epistles, because, in this book, Lefèvre dares to make corrections on the Vulgate, to assert that the Vulgate was not the work of Jerome, and to oppose Jerome and other Church Fathers occasionally in his commentary; see J.-P. Massaut, *Critique et tradition à la veille de la réforme en France*, Paris, 1974, pp. 49–50.
- 2308–2313 *Connivemus ... proferam* *Adag.* 750, *LB* II, 317 C–D (Connivere). It is probably no coincidence that, in enumerating the Church Fathers who made serious mistakes, Erasmus mentions Jerome first, since Jerome was the only Church Father whom Lefèvre could cite in support of his interpretation of *Hebr.* 2, 7.
- 2309–2312 *Hieronymus ... appellat* *Hier. Epist.* 69, 1–2, *CSEL* 54, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna and Leipzig, 1910, pp. 679–680.
- 2316–2318 *quia ... est* Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in Cor.* ad 1 *Cor.* 7, 10–11, *CSEL* 81, 2, ed. H.I. Vogels, Vienna, 1968, pp. 74–75, see especially p. 75, ll. 9–11.
- 2317 *constringitur* After *constringitur* Erasmus omits "vir".
- 2319–2320 *Sententiarum ... subdita* Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, lib. IV, dist. 35, c. iii, 2, ed. Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, Protaferata (Rome), 1981, t. II, p. 469.

Non officit Cypriani merito nobis sacrosanctae memoriae quod constanter censuerit rebaptizandos baptizatos ab iis quos inquinaret haereseos suspicio. Atqui haec vna res Donatistas et Rogatianos fecit haereticos, quum in caeteris essent orthodoxi vel ipso confitente Augustino.

2325 Nullus Augustinum in ius vocat quod scripserit Iesu matrem ea nocte qua cap-  
 1.B. 61 tus est et mox passus est filius, nonnihil in | fide vacillasse, licet leuius caeteris  
 apostolis. Locus est in quaestionibus Veteris ac Noui Testamenti, quaestione 73,  
 si quis requiret. Si cui non vacabit, ipsius verba subscribam: *quod autem, inquit,*  
 2330 *adiexit dicens: et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius vt reuelentur multorum*  
*cordium cogitationes, hoc vtiq̄ue significauit quia etiam Maria per quam gestum est*  
*mysterium incarnationis Saluatoris in morte Domini dubitaret, ita tamen vt in re-*  
*surrectione firmaretur. Nemo scribit illi dicam, quod Petro apostolorum principi,*  
 etiam post Spiritum Sanctum datum, tribuit maliciosam simulationem et peruer-  
 sum onerandi gentes studium. Sic enim scribit enarrans epistolam ad Galatas:  
 2335 *Petrus autem quum venisset Antiochiam obiurgatus est a Paulo, non quia seruabat*  
*consuetudinem Iudaeorum in qua natus atque educatus erat, quanquam apud gentes*  
*eam non seruaret, sed obiurgatus est quia gentilibus eam volebat imponere. Idem*  
 libro De agone christiano, capite trigesimo factum hoc Petri *superstitiosam simu-*  
*lationem* appellat et caeteris illius peccatis diffidentiae, pugnae et abnegationis  
 2340 admiscet. Atque adeo paulo post in eodem capite durius etiam *prauam* Petro  
 tribuit *simulationem*: *hos, inquit, ecclesia catholica materno recipit sinu, tanquam*  
*Petrum post fletum negationis per gallicantum admonitum aut tanquam eundem post*  
*prauam simulationem Pauli voce correctum. Atque haec adeo non retractauit, vt*  
 post Hieronymum ad palinodiam prouocarit qui prauitatem noluerit Petro  
 2345 tribuere, quam ne tum quidem credibile est in eo fuisse cum Christi doctrinam  
 nondum intelligeret. Quicquid enim vnquam peccauit Petrus, non destinata  
 malicia peccauit, sed aut affectu sedulo, licet errante, aut subito terrore aut  
 humana fragilitate. Quod idem de Paulo sentiendum existimo.

Nemo Chrysostomum in ius vocat quod virgini matri tribuerit eiusmodi affec-  
 2350 tum quo matrum vulgus imperiosum in liberos ex illis famam ac laudem cap-  
 tat. Is enim edisserens Matthaei caput duodecimum inter caetera scribit in hunc  
 modum: *quamuis et ex facto matris nonnihil importunitatis quoque accessit. Consy-*  
*dera igitur tam matris quam fratrum importunitatem. Nam cum debuissent intrare*  
 2355 *atque cum turbis simul audire aut saltem expectare foris sermonis finem ac demum*  
*accedere, ambitione quadam ac ostentatione commoti foras eum in praesentia*  
*omnium euocauerunt* caeteraque quae sequuntur in hanc sententiam. Idem  
 enarrans Ioannis euangelistae caput secundum, vt clarius ita durius eadem praed-  
 icat hisce verbis de Maria proprie loquens: *optabat enim vt iam hominum gratiam*  
 2360 *conciliaret et ipsa clarior filii gratia efficeretur et fortasse aliquo humano afficiebatur*  
*affectu, quemadmodum et fratres eius quum dixerunt: ostende teipsum mundo,*  
*cupidi eius miraculis sibi famam comparare. Ac paulo post idem agens: siquidem*  
*non adhuc debitam de ipso opinionem habebant, sed more matrum Maria iure*  
*omnia se filio praecepturam censebat, quum tanquam Dominum colere et reuereri fas*  
 esset. Hactenus Chrysostomus.

2365 Iam vero quid commemorem id quod est omnium veterum commune, soli Christo tributium perpetuam immunitatem a peccato originis? Graue crimen,

- 2324 Augustino *BAS*: Augustino. Nemo insecatur Hilarium quod Arrianos recusarit nisi rebaptizatos *DE*.
- 2339 *alt. et BAS*: *deest in DE*.
- 2340–2341 Petro tribuit *BAS*: *deest in DE*.
- 2321–2323 *Cypriani ... haereticos* Under Cyprian's guidance, the Church decided that a valid sacrament could not be administered by a cleric in a state of sin. W.C.H. Frend, *The Encyclopedia of Religion* IV, edd. M. Eliade et alii, New York, 1987, pp. 420–422.
- 2323 *Donatistas* "Theologically the Donatists were rigorists, holding that the Church of the saints must remain 'holy'... and that sacraments conferred by *traditores* were invalid .... The Church maintained that the unworthiness of the minister did not affect the validity of the sacraments, since, as Augustine insisted, their true minister was Christ. The Donatists, on the other hand, went so far as to assert that all those who communicated with *traditores* were infected, and that, since the Church is one and holy, the Donatists alone formed the Church. Converts to Donatism were rebaptized, a proceeding repeatedly condemned by orthodox synods." *ODCC*, edd. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, Oxford, 1983<sup>3</sup>, p. 419.
- 2323 *Rogatianos* By the end of the 4th century the Donatist movement fell apart in radical and more moderate elements. One of the more moderate leaders was Rogatus, bishop of Cartenna. His followers were the Rogatists or *Rogatiani*. See L. Ueding s.v. "Donatisten" in *LThK* 3 (1959), col. 505–506.
- 2323–2324 *quum ... Augustino* Cf. H. Chadwick, *The Early Church*, Middlesex, 1986, pp. 221–222.
- 2325–2332 *Augustinum ... firmaretur* Ps. Aug. *Quaestiones Veteris ac Novi Testamenti* LXXVII (LXXIII), 2, CSEL 50, ed. A. Souter, Vienna and Leipzig, 1908, p. 131, ll. 12–16.
- 2330–2331 *est mysterium* Souter's edition reads "mysterium est".
- 2331 *in resurrectione* Souter's edition does not read *in*.
- 2335–2337 *Petrus ... imponere* Aug. *Comm. in Gal.* I, ad 2, 11–16, Migne *PL*, 35, 2113, ll. 49–53.
- 2337 *gentilibus* The text in Migne reads "gentibus".
- 2345 *quam E BAS*: *quamvis D*.
- 2349–2350 *affectum E BAS*: *quendam affectum D*.
- 2356 *sequuntur E BAS*: *subsequuntur D*.
- 2362 *habebant E BAS*: *habebat D*.
- 2338–2339 *superstitiosam simulationem* Aug. *De agone christiano* 30, 32, CSEL 41, ed. I. Zycha, Prague, Vienna, Leipzig, 1900, p. 135, l. 7.
- 2339 *diffidentiae* *Ibid.*, p. 135, ll. 4–5.
- pugnae* *Ibid.*, p. 135, l. 6.
- abnegationis* *Ibid.*, p. 135, ll. 6–7.
- 2340–2341 *prauam ... simulationem* See the present apologia, nn. ll. 2340–2343.
- 2341–2343 *hos ... correctum* Aug. *De agone christiano* 30, 32, CSEL 41, ed. I. Zycha, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1900, p. 135, ll. 15–18.
- 2341 *recipit* Zycha's edition reads "recepit".
- 2344 *post* Adverb: "later".
- palinodiam* Cf. *Adag.* 859 (*Palinodiam canere, Παλινοδεῖν, ... est diuersum ab his quae prius dixeris dicere atque in contrarium vertere sententiam*), *LB* II, 356 A–D. Otto 1323.
- 2345 *quam* i.e., *prauitatem*.  
*in eo* i.e., *Petro*.
- 2345–2346 *cum ... intelligeret* Erasmus means that Peter did not fully understand Jesus' teaching until after his resurrection; cf. *Mc.*, 9, 9–10; *Ioh.* 2, 22.
- 2347 *affectu sedulo* "out of zeal, enthusiasm". See e.g., *Ioh.* 13, 9 and 18, 10.
- 2347 *subito terrore* *Mc.* 9, 6, *Mt.* 14, 30.
- 2348 *humana fragilitate* *Mt.* 26, 40.
- 2349–2356 *Nemo ... euocauerunt* Chrys. *Hom. in Mt.* 44/45, at *Mt.* 12, 46–49, Migne *PG* 57, 464, l. 46–465, l. 3.
- 2356–2361 *Idem ... comparare* Chrys. *Hom. in Ioh.* 20/21, at *Ioh.* 2, 3, Migne *PG*, 59, 129, l. 46–51 and 130, ll. 31–51.
- 2360 *ostende ... mundo* *Ioh.* 7, 4.
- 2361–2364 *siquidem ... esset* Chrys. *Hom. in Ioh.* 20/21, at *Ioh.* 2, 4, Migne *PG* 59, 131, ll. 7–11.
- 2365–2366 *soli ... originis* Erasmus himself considered it preferable to follow the conviction of the Church (after the Council of Basel in 1439) and to believe in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, see L.-E. Halkin, *La mariologie d'Erasmus*, in: L.-E. Halkin, *Erasmus, sa pensée et son comportement*, London, 1988, pp. 39–43.

si quidem hoc tam contumeliosum est in virginem matrem quam videri volunt Scotidarum familiae. Neque vero referimus haec hoc agentes vt veterum lapsus vulgo traducamus, sed vt declarem quam sit iniquum in recentiorum scriptis nihil non excutere, detorquere ad calumniam quae simplici pioque dicuntur animo: hoc haeresim sapit, hoc male sonat, hoc scandalo esse posset, hoc suspectum est, hoc parum reuenter dictum in magistros nostros.

Quin potius ea lex nobis placet inter omnes quam diuus Augustinus in omnibus scriptis suis ratam esse vult. Sic enim loquitur libro De Trinitate primo, capite tertio: *proinde quisquis haec legit, vbi pariter certus est, pergat mecum; vbi pariter haesitat, quaerat mecum; vbi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me; vbi meum, reuocet me. Ita ingrediamur simul charitatis viam tendentes ad eum de quo dictum est: quaerite faciem eius | semper, et hoc, inquit, placitum, pium atque tutum coram Domino Deo nostro, cum omnibus interim qui ea quae scribo legunt, et in omnibus scriptis meis, maximeque in his vbi quaeritur vnitas Trinitatis.*

Quanto consultius hoc, mi Faber, quam mutua reprehensione et nostrum et aliorum perdere studium, imo iuxta Paulum, dum *inui cem mordemus* et mordemur, alium ab alio confici. Equidem arbitror ne Christo quidem esse gratum sic suam defendi dignitatem vt christiani famam indigne laceremus. Pacis autor est, concordia suorum potissimum oblectatur, siue quid est officii, siue quid est contumeliae in se admissum ducit quod in fratrem admiseris. E quamlibet leui scintilla dissidium nascitur, at semel natum late spargit incendium. Accurrunt hinc atque hinc qui fauent, qui amant, qui oderunt, qui inuident. Hic frigidam, vt aiunt, suffundit, ille oleum camino adiicit, bellum repente fit quod erat monomachia, nec finis donec res in rabiem exeat. Fit interim iactura charissimae possessionis, quam ego in amicis sitam arbitror. Mihi succensent tui, tibi fortasse nonnulli meorum indignantur. Quanto placabilius erat communicatis inuicem amicis conduplicato lucro ditescere? Si fieri potest vt, quemadmodum ait Hieronymus, *in scripturarum campo sine nostro dolore ludamus*, age mutua conflictatione vel doceamus aliquid vel discamus.

Sin hostis est tibi qui quocunque modo abs te dissenserit, si talibus saxis petitur, excedo campo, hac lege non congregior. Gladiatorum ista pugna est, non theologorum. Est humanus error, est et christiana correptio. Ego sic lapsus tuos correxeram vt gratiam etiam me sperarem initurum. Et apud me sane iniret qui sic admoneret. Neque vereretur ipsum Hieronymum si viueret, si sic lapsus fuisset, itidem admonere, nec dubitarem quin is boni consulturus esset. Ignoscendus error si nimium bene de te sensi, siquidem tu maluisti regerere crimen quam emendare monitus erratum. Ego tantum adnotaram in voculis aliquot esse lapsum te, nihil vltra exaggerans. Tu vbi nihil commissum est, impietatis crimen impingis. Sic charitatis officium officio pensas. Diuus Augustinus non dedignatur reuocari quum lapsus est. Tu quum nondum episcopus sis, imo nec in theologorum, opinor, senatum allectus, turpe putabas si proxima aeditione quaedam mutasses, ac maluisti tam multos tecum errare quam tuum errorem agnoscere?

Nondum contuli singula, sed tamen in aliquot incidi loca in quibus demiror quid tibi volueris, vt ex animo loquar, mi Faber.



- 2367 volunt *D BAS*: voluerit *E*.  
 2373 inter omnes *D-BAS*: deest in *A-C*.  
 2379 interim *E BAS*: inierim *A-D*.  
 2384 defendi *A-C E BAS*: defendere *D*.  
 2385 suorum potissimum *A-C E BAS*: potissimum suorum *D*.
- 2368 *Scotidarum familiae* "the various groups of Scotus' followers (want it to be considered)". Duns Scotus (ca. 1265-1308) was famous for his fervent defence of the doctrine of Maria's Immaculate Conception. See *ODCC*, p. 431, s.v. "Duns Scotus".
- 2375-2380 *proinde ... Trinitatis* Aug. *Trin.* I, 3, *CCSL* 50, ed. W.J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie, Turnhout, 1968, p. 32, ll. 1-8.
- 2377 *meum* i.e., *errorem*.
- 2378 *quaerite ... semper* Ps. 104, 4; 1 *Chr.* 16, 11.
- 2379 *cum omnibus* This is an adjunct to *ingradiamur simul* in l. 2377.
- 2382 *iuxta Paulum* Gal. 5, 15.
- 2384 *famam indigne laceremus* See Sall. *Iug.* 38, 54.
- 2384-2385 *Pacis autor est* Subject is Christ.
- 2385 *officii* "a kindness", "favor".
- 2385-2386 alt. *siue ... admiseris* Mt. 25, 40.
- 2387 *nascitur* *BAS* reads "nescitur". All other editions, *A-E*, read "nascitur" which is preferable. "nescitur" makes no sense in this context; see also *natum*, l. 2387.
- 2388-2389 *frigidam ... suffundit* "aquam frigidam suffundere", "to pour cold water on (someone)", "to calumniate", "inveigh against". Cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 35. *Adag.* 951 (*Frigidam aquam suffundere ... Plautus in Cistellaria videtur vsurpasse pro eo quod est instigare clanculum*), *LB* II, 382 B-E. See Otto 137 n. (Otto does not consider it a proverb but rather a metaphor.)
- 2389 *oleum camino adiicit* "oleum camino adicere", "to add oil to the fire", "to aggravate an evil". Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2, 3, 321. *Adag.* 109 (*Oleum camino addere, pro eo, quod est: malo fomentum ac velut alimoniam suppeditare, quo magis ac magis augecat*), *ASD* II, 1, p. 221. Otto 1283.
- 2391 *Mibi succensent tui* "Your friends have become angry with me". Cf. n. ll. 250-251.
- 2391-2392 *tibi ... indignantur* See, e.g., Ep. 601 from Thomas More to Erasmus, London, 16 July <1517>, ll. 34-36: "Sed illius alterius boni senis non possum satis demirari sententiam, qui pius scilicet ac modestus tam immodeste dimicat pro gloria: qua si sic insistet, totus excidet."
- 2394 *Hieronymus ... ludamus* Hier. *Epist.* 115, 1, *CSEL* 55, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna and Leipzig, 1912, p. 397, ll. 4-5: "in scripturarum, si placet campo sine nostro invicem dolore ludamus."
- 2396-2397 *saxis petitur* Ps. Ov. *Nux* 2.
- 2398 *Est ... error* Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 12, 2, 5: "cuiusvis hominis est errare". Otto 821.
- 2398-2399 *Ego ... initurum* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 111-122 and n. ll. 117-118, ll. 225-226 ll. 317-324, ll. 345-347. And cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budé, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 275-278: "... alii iudicant offensum illum, quod a se in Annotationibus meis locis aliquot ausus sim dissentire, hunc loliginis succum in me vicissim effudisse; videlicet pro officio, pro quo par erat gratiam reponere, summam contumeliam rependisse."
- 2401-2402 *Ignoscendus ... sensi* "I deserve to be forgiven for my mistake, if I had too favourable an opinion of you", that is, if Erasmus was wrong in assuming that Lefèvre would take his criticisms well. Cf. ll. 49-50 and n. and ll. 56-57 and ll. 244-245.
- 2402 *regerere* "to retort". Cf. Sen. *Phaedra* 720: "Regeramus ... crimen" and Seneca maior, *Controversiae* 7, praef. 6: "omnia crimina regereret".
- 2403-2404 *Ego ... exaggerans* Cf. the present apologia, n. ll. 117-118.
- 2404 *vbi ... est* Unlike Erasmus, Lefèvre holds that Erasmus' interpretation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 affects the dignity of Christ. Cf. the present apologia ll. 45-46 and n., ll. 82-83 and n., ll. 226-227, ll. 262-263 and n.
- 2404 *impietatis crimen* For this accusation of Lefèvre against Erasmus, see his *disputatio*, appendix IV, l. 134 and for Erasmus' feelings about it, see this apologia, l. 234 and n.
- 2405 *charitatis officium* Cf. ll. 2398-2399 and n. *officio* is meant ironically.
- 2405-2406 *Divus ... est* For an example of this, see ll. 709-710 and nn. Of course, Erasmus is referring to Augustine's *Retractiones* in general.
- 2406-2407 *nec ... allectus* Lefèvre had no theological degree and had apparently never studied in a department of theology. Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*, intr., p. xiv.
- 2409 *contuli* "I compared".

In epistola ad Colossenses, capitulo secundo, indicaram te lapsum in verbo καταβραβεύετω, quumque rem Hieronymi et Graecanicorum scholiorum, postremo et Ambrosii autoritate demonstrassem, subiicio: *ex his satis liquet quantum absit a vero Iacobi Stapulensis, hominis alioqui eruditi, hoc in loco sententia.*

2415 Vide num qua sit hic insectatio, num quid simile tuis *refutamus animose* vt *Christo Deoque indignissimum*. Quin vltro excuso lapsum tuum addens: *verum hunc in errorem induxit Valla qui putat καταβραβεύειν esse 'ad brabium euocare' siue 'brabium ostentare'*. Et tamen ne sic quidem admonitus putasti locum hunc mutandum, etiamnum legitur in tua translatione: *nullus vos ad brabium vocet*  
2420 *volens*. Adhuc mordicus tenes tuam coactissimam enarrationem ab omnium veterum interpretatione dissentientem. Tantum addis in examinatione: *nemo vos brabio frustret aut nemo vos ad brabium vocet. Sunt enim qui vocabulum*  
καταβραβεύετω *hic positum hoc potius significare putant, iuxta quorum intelligentiam interpretati sumus*. Primum nihil interest vtrum 'frustrare brabio' dicas an  
2425 'interuertere brabium'? Deinde tantum valet apud te Laurentii autoritas vt hunc vnum quam theologos veteres omnes et in his Hieronymum sequi malueris? Praesertim quum Valla nullius autoritate confirmet quod dicit. Iam illud mihi vide,  
LB 63 te rogo, quum ista tractares, quum publicam mundi lectio|nem mutare velles, indignum tibi visum est dispicere quid legeret Ambrosius, quid annotasset  
2430 Hieronymus, harum rerum haud quaquam incuriosus, quid prodidissent Graeci interpretes? An res tam seria tibi tam leui brachio neglectimque videbatur agenda? Nec haec dixerim, optime Faber, quo te criminer sed vt in posterum reddam attentio-  
rem, quandoquidem et in commentariis quos in Psalmos aedidisti, mallet paulo diligentius obseruasses quid sensissent superiores interpretes, quo-  
2435 rum maxima turba est.

Rursus in epistola ad Ephesios, capitulo quarto, vbi pudendo lapsu ex κυβεία κυβείαν nescio quam feceras, quoniam nullo modo poteras tergiuersari, in translatione quidem pro *turbatione* reposuisti *nequitiam*, caeterum in expositione reliquisti *turbationem* nec mutas ridiculam et coactam interpretationem. In examinatione vero pristinam annotationem sustulisti nec tamen exponis quid sibi velit  
2440 κυβεία, perinde quasi *nequitia* Graecam vocem exprimat. Si nihil hic erat annotandum, cur annotaras in priore aeditione? Si erat, cur hic praetermittis? Si non placebat quod ego adduxeram, quin tu melius aliquid adferebas?

Iam non postulo vt agnoscas monitorem sed in docendo requiro ingenuitatem,  
2445 etiam si hic magis eram tibi nominandus quam illic, vbi nihil ad te pertinent quae scribo. Quid istuc, quaeso, pudoris est, ne dicam supercilii? Vsque adeone turpe putas παλινοιδεῖν?

2415 quid B-BAS: aliquid A.

2417 errorem A-C E BAS: errore D.

2443 aliquid D-BAS: deest in A-C.

2411 In ... secundo Col. 2, 18.

2411-2413 indicarim ... demonstrassem Erasmus  
Nov. Instr., p. 546.

2411 te lapsum Lefèvre had not understood the meaning of the word καταβραβεύετω: he

translated: "nullus vos ad brabium vocet volens", Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 44r°. In his commentary Lefèvre wrote: "vocabulary hic positum potius significat excitare et vocare ad brauium", *ibid.*, f° 185v°.

- 2412 *καταβραβεύετώ καταβραβεύω* “to deprive one of the prize”, “deprive one of one’s right”, *Col.* 2, 18.
- 2412 *Graecanicorum scholiorum* I.e., Pseudo-Oecumenius, whose *Comm. ad Col.* is included in Migne *PG* 119. Cf. *ASD* IX, 2, p. 195, n. l. 539.
- 2413–2414 *ex ... sententia* Erasmus *Nov. Instr.*, at *Col.* 2, 18, p. 546.
- 2414 *hoc in loco* In the *Nov. Instr.*, p. 546, Erasmus wrote “in hoc loco”.
- 2415–2416 *refutamus .. indignissimum* See appendix IV, ll. 134–135. Lefèvre’s text reads: *aniose refutabimus tanquam impium et Christo Deoque indignissimum*.
- 2416–2418 *verum ... ostentare* Erasmus *Nov. Instr.*, at *Col.* 2, 18, p. 546.
- 2417 *Valla* For the reference, see the present apologia, n. ll. 2426–2427.
- 2419–2420 *nullus ... volens* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 42v<sup>o</sup>.
- 2420–2421 *Adhuc ... dissentientem* Nor did Lefèvre alter it in his third edition, Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 35 e3v<sup>o</sup>.
- 2420 *mordicus tenes Adag.* 322 (Mordicus tenere), *ASD* II, 1, p. 426.
- 2421–2424 *nemo ... sumus* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 177v<sup>o</sup>. Lefèvre retained this addition in the third edition, Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 145 11r<sup>o</sup>.
- 2426 *Hieronymum* Jerome did not write a commentary on *Col.* Erasmus is referring to the translation of *Col.* 2, 18 in the Vulgate, although neither Erasmus nor Lefèvre believed that the translation in the Vulgate is Jerome’s.
- 2426–2427 *Praesertim ... dicit* Laurentius Valla, *In Nouum Testamentum ex diuersorum vtriusque linguae codicum collatione annotationes cum primis vtilis*, ed. Des. Erasmus, in: Laurentius Valla, *Opera Omnia* I, Torino, 1962, reprint of Basel 1540, p. 880.
- 2428–2432 *quum ... agenda* It is not the first time in this apologia that Erasmus reproaches Lefèvre for having consulted too few or none of the authorities; see ll. 391–394.
- 2431–2432 *leui ... agenda* “leui” (or “mollis”) “bracchio agere aliquid”, “to do something superficially, negligently”. *Adag.* 327 (Molli brachio, leui brachio), *ASD* II, 1, p. 428. Otto 270.
- 2436 *in ... quarto* *Eph.* 4, 14. Here the Vulgate has “nequitia”. In 1512, Lefèvre replaced this by “turbatione”, defended this reading in his exposition, and in a note in the “examinatio” of the passage. In 1516/7, after Erasmus had criticized the change, Lefèvre restored “nequitia” to the text, retained “turbatione” in the exposition, and dropped the note from the “examinatio” without replacing it by something else, and without mentioning Erasmus.
- 2436 *pudendo lapsu* Lefèvre made this translation error in his *S. Pauli epistolae*, Paris, 1512, f<sup>o</sup> 38r<sup>o</sup>. In his “examinatio” he noted: “Vulgata aeditio: in naequitia hominum, potius: in turbatione hominum”, *ibid.*, f<sup>o</sup> 169r<sup>o</sup>. All editions of this apologia have *κυβεία* in the nominative, not in the dative as one might expect after *ex*. *κυβεία* “game of dice”. *Eph.* 4, 14: ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, “by the trickery of men”.
- 2437 *κυβείαν κυβεία*, “confusion”, “disturbance”.
- 2437–2438 *translatione ... nequitiam* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 36v<sup>o</sup> (“in nequitia hominum”). At this point the third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 30v<sup>o</sup>, follows the second.
- 2438 *nequitiam* “vileness”, “wickedness”.
- 2438–2439 *expositone ... interpretationem* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 160v<sup>o</sup> (“in turbatione hominum”). The same information is given in the third edition, *id.*, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 131 r3v<sup>o</sup>.
- 2439–2440 *examinatione ... sustulisti* Lefèvre removed the note from the commentary in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 161v<sup>o</sup>, and also omitted it in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 132 r4v<sup>o</sup>.
- 2444–2446 *Iam ... scribo* Cf. Ep. 607, from Erasmus to Cuthbert Tunstall, Louvain, 17 July, <1517>, ll. 2–8: “Faber Stapulensis nobis nouum peperit negocium, qui suos commentarios in Paulum rursus edidit, multis locis emendatis ex nostro admonitu, nec vsquam vlla nostri mentio, nisi vno in loco, nempe in secundo capite Epistolae ad Hebraeos, vbi non sat habet suam interpretationem tueri sed nostram quoque subdiosse insectatur, arrodens etiam quedam quae ad illius rem nihil attinebant.”
- 2444 *ingenuitatem* Erasmus uses this word as an allusion to the vain *id ego ingenue fateor* of Lefèvre in his disputation. Erasmus ridiculed this formulation excessively. See the present apologia, l. 1580 and n.
- 2445 *illic* *Hebr.* 2, 7. Cf. ll. 1918–1919 and 1924–1925.
- 2447 *παλινωθεῖν* Cf. *Adag.* 859 (Palinodiam canere, Παλινωθεῖν, ... est diuersum ab his quae prius dixeris dicere atque in contrarium vertere sententiam), *LB* II, 356 A–D. Otto 1323.

Ad haec in epistola ad Philippenses, capite secundo, vbi pro παραβουλευσά-  
 2450 μενος vertisti *ex deliberatione positurus est animam*, quum ego citra tui nominis  
 notam indicarim Graeci participii vim, tu tamen pertinaciter adamas tuum illud  
*ex deliberatione positurus*. At primum, quis vnquam dixit 'ex deliberatione' pro  
 'consulto'? Deinde quum Graece sit παραβουλευσάμενος participium indefinitum,  
 qui possit esse *positurus*? Magis vertendum erat 'tradita' siue 'periculo exposita  
 2455 vita'. Rursus quis hominum dixit 'ponere' pro 'periculo exponere'? Nam quod  
 Christus ait: ego *animam meam pono*, 'ponere' dixit 'deponere'.

Sed quemadmodum in annotationibus meis prudens plura dissimulaui, quo  
 paucis annotatis te redderem cautiorem, plura indicaturus si fors hoc a me literis  
 tuis flagitasses, ita non est animus hic omnia persequi. Sed tamen erat tuae fidei  
 quum rursus euulgares opus, eradere quaedam quae docti nec sine risu nec sine  
 2460 stomacho lecturi sunt. Quod genus est illud in epistolae ad Ephesios capitulo  
 sexto, *aduersus spiritualia nequitiae in coelestibus*, vbi doces legi posse *in coelestes*, id  
 est aduersus coelestes, cum Graece sit ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, quasi vero praepositi-  
 tio ἐν vlllo pacto Graecis sonare possit 'aduersus', quemadmodum facit εἰς. Haec,  
 mi Faber, quum scribis, quid aliud quam teipsum pueris quoque deridendum  
 2465 propinas? Huic simile est quod κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλείαν vertis *ad oculum seruitio*,  
 quasi non multo latinus interpres vertisset: *ad oculum seruientes*.

Item quod in epistolae prioris ad Corinthios capite septimo παράγει γὰρ τὸ  
 σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου et vertis et annotas *decipit figura huius mundi*, non attendens  
 2470 παράγει neutrum esse verbum, quod vel ex aliis locis poteras colligere, praesertim  
 quum toties legas in Euangelio ὑπάγε ὀπίσω, *vade retro*. An non istud erat  
 mutandum, praesertim quum id solus produxeris omnibus retro scriptoribus tuae  
 sententiae refragantibus? Et tamen vides quam nec hic exagitem te in annota-  
 tionibus meis, quum optimo iure possim.

Rursum eiusdem epistolae capite 5 συναχθέντων, reclamantibus omnibus  
 2475 tum Graecis, tum Latinis atque ipsa etiam Graeca grammatica, vertis et annotas  
 vertendum esse: *condolentibus vobis*, pro *congregatis vobis*. Quid hoc lapsu  
 foedius et tamen hoc loco vide quam honorifice quamque reuerenter abs

2455 deponere A C-BAS: pro deponere B.

2460 capitulo BAS: capite A-E, cap. E.

2462 est A C-BAS: deest in B.

2467 Item D-BAS: Iterum A-C.

2470-2471 erat mutandum A-C E BAS:  
mutandum erat D.

2473 possim D-BAS: possem A-C.

2474 omnibus Ac B-BAS: deest in A.

2476 vertendum Ac B-BAS: verrendum A.

2477 foedius A B E BAS: verius C D; tamen Ac  
B-BAS: tum A; quam Ac B-BAS: deest in A;  
quamque B-BAS: quam A.

2448 *epistola ... secundo Phil. 2, 30*. In the  
*Nov. Instr.* the note on this passage has been  
 placed at the beginning of caput three, p. 539,  
 but the Greek text and translation, as usual at  
 the end of caput 2, p. 98. Erasmus did not  
 name Lefèvre in this passage, on p. 539.  
 Lefèvre has not altered his translation and his  
 n. *ad locum* in the second and third edition.  
 2448-2449 *vbi ... animam* Iac. Faber Stapu-

lensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512,  
 f<sup>o</sup> 41v<sup>o</sup>.

παραβουλευσάμενος παραβουλεύομαι, "to  
 venture, to risk". The verb occurs in the *tex-  
 tus receptus* of *Phil. 2, 30*. Critical editions  
 read παραβολ-. See H.J. de Jonge, *Ein Konjek-  
 tur Joseph Scaligers zu Philipper II 30*, in:  
*Novum Testamentum 17* (1975), pp. 297-302.

2449-2450 *quum ... vim* Erasmus, *Nov. Instr.*,

- p. 539: "Tradens animam suam: παραβουλεύσάμενος. Ambrosius Graecam vocem propius expressit: *in interitum tradens animam suam*. Est autem παραβουλεύεσθαι male consulere et non habere rationem alicuius. Sentit enim Paulus illum ope diuina seruatum fuisse. Alioqui ipse se praecipitauerat in exitium vitae."
- 2449–2450 *citra ... notam* Cf. the present apologia, l. III, *citra famae tui dispendium* and l. 346, *citra tui notam*.
- 2450–2451 *tu ... positurus* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 40<sup>r</sup>. He retained this translation in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae*, 1517, f° 33 eiv°.
- 2452 *indefinitum* "aoristi".
- 2455 *ego ... pono* Ioh. 10, 15: "Et animam meam pono pro ouibus meis". Cf. Ioh. 10, 17.
- 2456 *in ... dissimulauit* Cf. for the same pretension, the present apologia, ll. 117–118 and n.
- 2460–2461 *epistolae ... sexto* Eph. 6, 12.
- 2461 *aduersus ... caelestibus* In discussing Eph. 6, 12 in his *Nov. Instr.*, Erasmus does not criticize Lefèvre's opinion.
- 2461–2462 *vbi ... coelestes* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 173<sup>r</sup>. Lefèvre corrected this neither in his second edition, see id., *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 165<sup>v</sup>, nor in his third edition, id., *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 135<sup>v</sup>. But in the translation in all three editions, he translates "in coelestibus": f° 39<sup>v</sup>, f° 38<sup>r</sup> and f° 31<sup>v</sup>, respectively.
- 2465 *propinas* "deliver", "give". Cf. Ter. *Eunuchus* 1087: "hunc ... vobis propino ... deridendum".
- quod ... seruitio* Eph. 6, 6; Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 39<sup>v</sup>. Erasmus mentions neither Lefèvre nor his remark on the phrase at issue when dealing with Eph. 6, 6 in the *Nov. Instr.*, p. 534. Lefèvre's translation remained unaltered in his second edition, id., *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 38<sup>r</sup> and in his third edition, id., *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 31<sup>v</sup>.
- 2466 *ad ... seruientes* This is the wording of the Vulgate. *interpres* refers to the translator to whom these words in the Vulgate are due.
- 2467 *epistolae ... septimo* I Cor. 7, 31. Erasmus criticizes Lefèvre's note on this passage in the *Nov. Instr.*, p. 467.
- 2468 *vertis* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 16<sup>v</sup>.
- annotas* *Ibid.*, f° 118<sup>r</sup>: "Vulgata aeditio: praeterit enim figura huius mundi, potius: decipit enim figura mundi huius".
- 2469 *neutrum* "intransitive". Cf. Erasmus' note in the *Nov. Instr.*, at I Cor. 7, 31, p. 467: "Praeterit enim figura. παράγει. Faber Stapulensis emendat: 'decipit', quod ipsa vox videatur
- ita sonare, παράγειν, quasi 'seducere' siue 'a via abducere'. Verum huius verbi composita saepenumero et neutralia vsurpantur, vt ὑπάγω, et magis quadrat ad Pauli sententiam."
- 2470 *toties ... retro* This phrase occurs e.g., in *Mt.* 16, 23 and *Mc.* 8, 33.
- 2470–2471 *An ... mutandum* Lefèvre did not alter his translation of I Cor. 7, 31 in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 16<sup>v</sup>, nor in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 13 b5 r°, nor did he correct his annotation, *S. Pauli epistolae*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 112<sup>v</sup> and *S. Pauli epistolae*, Paris, 1517, f° 43 m5<sup>v</sup>.
- 2471–2472 *praesertim ... refragantibus* Erasmus is suggesting once again that Lefèvre's opinion conflicts with orthodox tradition, cf. the present apologia, ll. 399–404, ll. 542–546 and n., ll. 822–824 and n. l. 824 and n. ll. 1077–1078. Cf. also Ep. 765 from Erasmus to Edward Lee, <Louvain>, <c. January 1518>, ll. 2–6 and Ep. 766 from Erasmus to Henry Glarcanus, Louvain, 18 January 1518, ll. 22–37. In these two letters, Erasmus emphasizes that Lefèvre's opinion that Christ resurrected after three days, not within three days, conflicts with the orthodox tradition.
- 2471 *retro* "of former times".
- 2472–2473 *quam ... possim* For this benevolence of Erasmus towards Lefèvre, cf. this apologia, ll. 117–122.
- 2474 *eiusdem ... 5* I Cor. 5, 4.
- 2475 *ipsa ... grammatica* Erasmus is referring here to Greek grammar in general. In the *Versandliste* (F. Husner, p. 242, nr. 317), however, a "Grammatica Chrysolorae grae." is mentioned. Chrysoloras (c. 1350–c. 1414), a Byzantine humanist and diplomat, composed *inter alia* a Greek grammar. Information about the declension of the participles of ἀπάγειν occurs in Ἐρωτήματα τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, Venice, 1528, p. 116.
- vertis* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 15<sup>r</sup>.
- 2475–2476 *annotas vertendum esse* *Ibid.*, f° 113 r°: "Vulgata aeditio: in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi congregatis vobis et meo Spiritu. Potius dicendum: condolentibus aut contristatis vobis et meo Spiritu ... verbum enim ἀχθομαι tristor significat, cuius compositum συνάχθομαι". Lefèvre's proposal represents a serious mistake of course, συναχθέντων being the participle passive aorist of συνάγομαι, "to meet".
- 2476–2480 *Quid ... potuit* For the same claims, cf. ll. 114–130 and nn.
- 2477–2478 *hoc ... dissentiam* I.e., in Erasmus, *Nov. Instr.*, p. 462. For the note at issue, see the present apologia, ll. 2483–2485.

te dissentiam. Nihil hic in homine tui studiosissimo desiderare potes, nisi quod  
 LB 64 tecum non sentit et quod tui nominis mentionem facit, quando alioqui nec  
 2481 amanti nec honorificentius fieri potuit. Et tamen vt fieret, res ipsa compelle-  
 bat. Id ita esse facile perspiciet cordatus lector qui tua cum meis attentius con-  
 tulerit. Atque adeo, quoniam non est quibuslibet copia voluminum, mea sub-  
 scribam: *Faber, inquam, Stapulensis, amicus noster, hunc locum mutauit volens*  
 2485 *συναχθέντων deduci a συναχθομαι, cuius in hac quidem parte non subscribo iudicio,*  
*etiamsi alias eruditissimo pariter ac diligentissimo viro lubens assentior.* Hactenus  
 annotatio mea. Lapsus excusari non potest ac ne tegi dissimulariue possit abs te  
 ipso curatum est.

Et quanquam in diuinis libris nullus error non magnus est, huius voculae  
 mutatio, praeterquam quod inanem et frigidum sensum inducit, tollit id quod  
 2490 graues probatique interpretes annotandum duxerunt, nempe Paulum quum esset  
 apostolus ab ipso Christo institutus haud tamen sibi sumere vt solus veluti suo  
 nomine sententiam pronunciet, sed eam a communi ecclesiae consensu vult  
 proficisci; secus quam hodie faciunt episcopi quidam, meram tyrannidem exer-  
 centes in suos, cunctaque gerentes non ex publico consilio sed ex animi libidine.

2495 Deinde monebat hic locus propalam conuincendum et emendandum, si quis  
 id forte commeritus fuerit, non priuatim aut clanculum, partim vt huius vnus  
 exemplo caeteri deterreantur a peccando, partim ne quis oppressum aut iniuste  
 damnatum queat calumniari. Hanc tam salubrem admonitionem sustulit tuum  
*condolentibus.* Ergo cum operae precium esset indicare lapsum tuum et id pu-  
 2500 blica suaderet vtilitas, qui fieri potuit amanti aut honorificentius aut syncerius  
 quam a me factum est?

I nunc et tuam istam beneuolam disputationem, si libet, cum mea reprehensionem  
 componito, si modo haec reprehensio dici debeat. Nihil hic aceti, nihil  
 puris, nihil stomachi, nihil ostentationis. Sic medeor errori vt foueam amicum,  
 2505 quum tu amicum nec lapsum, nec contra te facientem toties aceto perfundas in  
 vnica disputatiuncula. Neque vero tanta erat tua autoritas vt hanc meam ciuili-  
 tatem aliquis possit metum interpretari, aut tanta felicitas vt praemii spe videri  
 possim adlatus. Charitatis erat hic pudor, non assentationis aut timoris.

2510 Sed vt pergamus, in epistola ad Corinthios secunda, capite sexto, quis, oro te,  
 laturus est voces istas nihil omnino significantes 'secundorum et aduersorum'? Et  
 tamen nec admonitus mutasti. Rursum eiusdem epistolae capite decimo, quum

2478 homine *A C-BAS*: nomine *B*.

2480–2481 compellebat *A C-BAS*: compellabat  
*B*.

2485–2486 Hactenus annotatio mea *BAS*: *deest*  
*in A-E*, Qui potui temperantius? Hactenus

annotatio mea *M*, sed Erasmus ipse verba Qui  
 potui temperantius? *deleuit*.

2491 sumere *B-BAS*: sumit *A*.

2497 oppressum *A B D-BAS*: oppressam *C*.

2499 indicare *A B D-BAS*: iudicare *C*.

2481–2482 *qui ... contulerit* For this emphasis on  
 the contrast between Erasmus' benevolence and

generosity towards Lefèvre and Lefèvre's harsh-  
 ness and intolerance towards Erasmus, cf. the

- present apologia, ll. 114–130 and nn., ll. 159–164 and n., ll. 342–348, l. 1328 and n., ll. 1458–1459, ll. 2113–2114 and n. and ll. 2499–2501.
- 2483–2485 *Faber ... assentior* Erasmus, *Nov. Instr.*, p. 462.
- 2485–2486 *Hactenus annotatio mea* As appears from the critical apparatus, these words were added in *BAS*. They occur also as a manuscript note in the margin of a copy of *E*<sup>2</sup>, now in Cambridge, were Erasmus himself wrote: “Qui potui temperantius? Hactenus annotatio mea”. Erasmus crossed out “Qui potui temperantius?”, but left the phrase “Hactenus annotatio mea”. For this addition see *Intr.* p. 56.
- 2486–2487 *ne ... est* “and you yourself are responsible for the fact that it cannot be covered up or ignored”, since Lefèvre himself called attention to his alteration in the translation by devoting an explanatory note to it. Lefèvre did not correct his translation in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 151<sup>o</sup>, nor in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 12 b4<sup>o</sup>. Erasmus does not mention and probably did not notice that Lefèvre had corrected his rendering in his *expositio*, id., *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 107<sup>o</sup>. This correction was taken over in the third edition: *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 89 m1<sup>o</sup>. In his *examinatio*, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 107<sup>o</sup>–108<sup>o</sup>, Lefèvre stated: “Vulgata aeditio: ‘in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi congregatis vobis et meo Spiritu’. ‘Congregatis vobis’: sic probe stat a verbo συναγομαι quod ‘congregor’ et ‘conuocor’ significat, vt amicus noster Erasmus diligenter annotauit. Et hac in parte libens eius subscribo iudicio.” The same passage appears in the third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 89 m1<sup>o</sup>.
- 2489 *tollit* “destroys”, “abolishes”.
- 2490 *interpretes* E.g., Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in Epistolas Paulinas*, CSEL 81, 2, ed. H.I. Vogels, Vienna, 1968, ad 1 *Cor.* 5, 5: “nam omnium consensu et praesentia, sed et virtute domini Iesu, id est sententia, cuius legatione fungebatur apostolus, abiciendum illum de ecclesia censuit”.
- 2490–2491 *Paulum ... institutus* *Gal.* 1, 12.
- 2491–2493 *haud ... proficisci* 1 *Cor.* 5, 4.
- 2493–2494 *secus ... libidine* For criticism of the bishops’ selfishness and lust for power, cf. *Enchir.*, ed. Holborn, p. 13, ll. 19–22; p. 18, ll. 4–5: “Episcopos mox ambitionis et auaritia morbus corripuit”; *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, pp. 170–172, ll. 739–752.
- 2495 *monebat* I.e., Paulus (see l. 2490).  
*hic locus* 1 *Cor.* 5, 4–5.
- 2499–2500 *id ... vtilitas* For Erasmus’ sense of responsibility with regard to the spread of both the correct reading and the correct interpretation of the biblical text, cf. the present apologia, ll. 89–90 and n. and ll. 108–111.
- 2500–2501 *qui ... est* Erasmus is convinced that his behaviour towards Lefèvre was much more courteous than that of the latter towards Erasmus; cf. ll. 2481–2482 and n.
- 2502 *beneuolam* Erasmus uses this word because, towards the end of his *disputatio*, Lefèvre claimed he had composed his apologia in a friendly spirit (*beneuole*): *Et hic nostrae disceptationis cum viro quidem peramico beneuole susceptae finem facimus*, appendix IV, ll. 873–874.
- 2503 *aceti* *Adag.* 1252 (Acetum habet in pectore), *LB* II, 506 C–D; Otto 9.
- 2504 *puris* “pus” used as a metaphor of malice. *stomachi* Otto 1697 (stomachus). Here used by Erasmus in the sense of “irritation, anger.” Cf. *Adag.* 2894 (Tacite stomachari), *ASD* II, 6, p. 548.
- 2509 *epistola ... sexto* 2 *Cor.* 6, 7. Lefèvre had translated διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν, “per arma iustitiae secundorum et aduersorum”; see his *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f<sup>o</sup> 27<sup>o</sup>. In his *examinatio* he wrote, *ibid.* f<sup>o</sup> 142<sup>o</sup>: “Vulgata aeditio: ‘per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris’. Sic ex Paulo ‘per arma iustitiae dextrorum et sinistrorum’, verum quia perinde est ac ‘secundorum et aduersorum’ et haec forte clariora, loco ‘dextrorum et sinistrorum’, maluimus dicere ‘secundorum et aduersorum’”.
- 2510 *voces istas* I.e., δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν.
- 2511 *nec admonitus mutasti* Indeed, Lefèvre did not alter his translation of 2 *Cor.* 6, 7 in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* (Paris, 1516/7, f<sup>o</sup> 27<sup>o</sup>), either in the translation proper or in his *examinatio* (*ibid.*, f<sup>o</sup> 136<sup>o</sup>). Nor did he correct his mistake in his third edition, either in his translation or in his *examinatio*; see *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> 21<sup>o</sup>, and f<sup>o</sup> 112<sup>o</sup> respectively.
- admonitus* Erasmus *Nov. Instr.*, at 2 *Cor.* 6, 7, p. 491: “a dextris et a sinistris: Faber Stapulensis hoc loco mutat pro ‘dextris ac sinistris’, ‘secundorum et aduersorum’. Quod, quid sibi velit prorsus non intelligo ...”
- eiusdem ... decimo* 2 *Cor.* 10, 16: εἰς τὰ ὑπερέκεινα ὑμῶν εὐαγγελίσεσθαι (Authorized Version: “to preach the gospel in the regions beyond you”).

ridicule ex vno aduerbio, siue mauis praepositione, ὑπερέκεινα duas voces feceris, ὑπέρ ἐκεῖνα – neque enim aliter dicitur ὑπερέκεινα quam ἐπέκεινα, quod ἐπί saepe polleat idem quod ὑπέρ – verterisque *quae supra illa vestra sunt*. Non mutas  
 2515 versionem, tantum in examinatione quod ante magis arridebat, *quae ultra illa vestra sunt*, vertis in *quae ultra vos sunt* et Graece loquendi regulam de ὑπέρ, quoniam aliquis, opinor, admonuit palam esse falsam, cum ὑπέρ κεφαλῆς Graeci dicant pro ὑπεράνω τῆς κεφαλῆς, omisisti in proxima aeditione. Quod omisisti laudo, quod unguibus ac dentibus alterum illud retines, quum plane ridiculum sit omnibus qui Graece sciunt, non laudo.

Atque item in epistolae ad Ephesios capitulo quinto, quum vnus omnium et Graecorum et Latinorum *ex luxuria facis insalubritatem*, nonne ex Apostolo medicum facis? Ac ne id quidem admonitus mutandum putasti. At finge ἄσωτιαν dici a σῶος, etiam si iuxta etymologicos a σέσωται dicitur, non continuo significabit ἄσωτος ‘insalubrem’ sed ‘perditum’; et perditum luxu dicuntur etiam Terentio. Tu videris ‘luxuriosum’ pro ‘libidinoso’ siue ‘effoeminato’ accipere. Deinde versus ad iocos certamen vocabuli relinquis grammaticis, quasi cum haec excutis non sumas tibi partes grammatici, et addis bellam facetiam, grammaticos diligentius exquirere vocabulorum origines quam philosophi caput Nili, opinor, vt  
 2530 eximas te a grammaticorum numero et in philosophorum ordinem asseras. An grammatici te in suum recipiant gregem, nescio et an philosophi de Nili capite torqueant sese, tu videris. Vnum hoc scio magis ad rem pertinere, an Paulus hic intellexerit ‘luxum’ ‘frugalitati’ et ‘sobrietati’ contrarium, an insalubritatem medicorum curam, quam vnde Nilus caput suum proferat.

Rursum in epistola ad Titum ἐν κηρύγματι ὃ ἐπιστεύθη ἐγώ quod tu vertis: *cui creditus* siue *commissus sum ego*, non solum monitus non corrigis tam pudendum errorem, verum etiam conduplicas in posteriore aeditione, testans te reliquisse veterem translationem et addens idem pollere ‘quae credita est mihi’ et ‘cui creditus sum ego’. Hic appello, mi Faber, conscientiam tuam, quum ista scriberes, non cogitabas quo risu lecturi essent eruditi? An idem pollet Graecis ὃ ἐπιστεύθη et ᾧ ἐπιστεύθη? Atqui ipse legis ὃ ἐπιστεύθη? Quanquam etiam si quis legat ᾧ ἐπιστεύθη, ostenderam tamen eundem esse sensum sed Graecis duntaxat. Aut nihil refert Latinis vtrum dicas ‘commissus est mihi Petrus’ an  
 2540

2518 dicant *A B E BAS*: dicunt *C D*.

2525 etiam *B–BAS*: et *A*.

2525–2526 Terentio *A C–BAS*: a Terentio *B*.

2534 medicorum curam *B–BAS*: *deest in A*.

2541 Atqui *D–BAS*: Atque *A–C*.

2541–2542 etiam ... legat *BAS*: si legatur *A–E*.

2542–2543 eundem ... duntaxat *BAS*: Graecis sensum hic eundem esse *A–E*.

2512–2513 *duas* ... ἐκεῖνα Lefèvre’s annotation of 1512 runs as follows: “Vulgata aeditio: ‘etiam in illa quae ultra vos sunt euangelizare’. Abundat ‘etiam’ et potius dicendum: ‘supra illa quae vestra sunt’ quam ‘quae ultra vos sunt’ ... Praepositio enim ὑπέρ cum ‘supra’ significat accusatiuo iungitur, non genitiuo.”

Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f<sup>o</sup> 146v<sup>o</sup>.

2514 *verterisque ... sunt* I.e., in: Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f<sup>o</sup> 29v<sup>o</sup>.

2514–2515 *Non mutas versionem* Lefèvre changed his translation neither in his second



- edition, Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 29r°, nor in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 24r°.
- 2515–2516 *tantum ... sunt* I.e., in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 140v° and in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 115 p3r°.
- 2515 *tantum in examinatione* This is not entirely correct: in his second and third edition Lefèvre also altered his *expositio* on this passage, see *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 140r° and *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 115 p3r°. But Lefèvre did not correct his translation; see n. ll. 2514–2515, *Non mutas versionem*.
- 2516 *Graece ... ὑπέρ* Lefèvre stated: “Praepositio enim ὑπέρ cum ‘supra’ significat, accusatiuo iungitur, non genitiuo”, *S. Pauli epistolae*, Paris, 1512, f° 146v°.
- 2518 *omissisti ... aeditione* In his second edition, Lefèvre indeed omitted the rule about ὑπέρ (cf. n. l. 3608); see *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 140v°. The third edition conforms to the second, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 115 p3r°.
- 2519 *vnguibus ac dentibus* Cf. *Adag.* 323 (‘Toto corpore, omnibus vnguiculis’), *ASD* II, 1, p. 426: “A feris sumpta metaphora, quae dentibus, vnguibus totoque corpore retinere solent, quod nolint extorqueri”, with a reference to Lucian. *Dial. mort.* II, 4 ὁδοῦσι καὶ ὄνυξι.
- 2519 *alterum illud* I.e., the wrong translation, see the present apologia, l. 2514.
- 2521 *epistolae ... quinto* *Eph.* 5, 18.
- 2522 *ex ... insalubritatem* Lefèvre indeed translated ἀσωτία this way, see *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 39r°. In his *examinatio* he wrote, *ibid.*, f° 171v°: “Vulgata aeditio: ‘Et nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria’. Sunt qui aequae dici malunt: ‘in quo est insalubritas’. Paulus καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνω, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀσωτία. Siquidem ἀσωτία sit [sic, subjunctive] a nomine σώς quod ‘saluus’, siue σώος quod et ‘saluus’ et ‘sospes’ significat, recte ‘asotos’ ‘insaluber’ et ‘asotia’ ‘insalubritas’ interpretabitur ...”
- 2523 *ne ... putasti* Indeed, Lefèvre did not correct his translation in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 37v°, nor in his third edition, Paris, 1517, f° 31r°. Lefèvre expanded the note in his *examinatio*, see n. l. 2522, as follows: “An translaticium sit, cum illud [i.e., ἀσωτος] ‘luxuriosum’ et hoc [i.e., ἀσωτία] ‘luxuria’ interpretatur? quod luxuriosi elanguidi et morbidi esse soleant, quippe qui cum in proprium corpus peccant, propriam substantiam prodigunt et dissipant. Sed hoc de verbulo certamen. Siue ‘luxuriam’, siue ‘luxum’, siue ‘insalubritatem’ proprie significet missum faciamus grammaticis, qui curiosius origines vocabulorum quam philosophi Nili caput inquirunt.” Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 164r°. He retained this addition in the *examinatio* in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 134v°.
- admonitus* Erasmus corrected Lefèvre in his *Nov. Instr.* on p. 533.
- 2525–2526 *perditi ... Terentio Ter. Ad. 760* “adolescens luxu perditus”.
- 2529 *caput Nili* The expression “quaerere caput Nili” was proverbial for “searching for the solution of an insoluble problem”; see Lucan. II, 68; Hor. *Od.* IV, 14, 45; cf. Tibul. I, 7, 23–24. R. Häussler, *Nachträge zu Otto*, Darmstadt, 1968, p. 25. The source of the Nile was a problem of natural philosophy since antiquity; see e.g., Hdt. II, 28–34; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* VI, 181–182; Strabo XVII, 880, and H.W. Helck, s.v. “Nil” in *Kleine Pauly* IV, p. 129. The problem was only solved by discoveries in the 19th century.
- 2535 *epistola ... ἐγὼ Tit.* 1, 3.
- 2539 *cui ... ego* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 55v°.
- 2536–2539 *non solum ... ego* Lefèvre translates the passage in the same way in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 53v° and in his third edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 44 f4v°.
- 2536 *monitus* Erasmus *Nov. Instr.*, p. 578: “Quae credita est mihi: ὃ ἐπιστεύθη ἐγὼ, quod Faber Stapulensis ita vertit: ‘cui commissus sum’. Demiror autem ei viro tam profundum obrepisse somnum, vt non agnosceret figuram Graeci sermonis, qua ita loquuntur: ‘hanc rem ego commissus sum’, quoties sentiunt ‘haec res commissa est mihi’, praesertim cum haec loquendi formula toties sit obuia in Paulo. At conitcere mihi videor, quid imposuerit Fabio nostro nimirum ᾗ articulus postpositiuis, dandi casu positus, cum accusandi casus magis conueniret. Verum id factum est ob nomen quod antecessit eodem casu κηρύγματι, cum quo concordat ᾗ, iuxta Graeci sermonis idioma, dissidens a suo verbo.”
- 2537–2539 *testans ... ego* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 212r°–v°; third edition: *id.*, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, f° 172 y4r°.

‘commissus sum Petro’? Sic enim doces. Quod tam insignite lapsus esses, ego  
 2545 *somnum* obrepentem vocavi. Caeterum quod amice monitus ista non corrigis,  
 rogo quo tandem appellabo nomine?

Iam eodem in loco carmen illud, *gnosius vsque loquax, mala bestia, viscera  
 pigra*, profecto demiror tibi tam obstinate placere.

Praeterea in epistola ad Corinthios priore, capite duodecimo, quid opus erat  
 2550 annotare καὶ οὗς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ verti posse *et suos quidem posuit  
 Deus in ecclesia?* Quum palam sit οὗς illic vsurpatum pro τοὺς, non pro ἐοὺς,  
 qui sermonis typus, quum plus decies sit obuius in Nouo Testamento, non debe-  
 bat tibi videri nouus.

Huiusmodi permulta cum essent in tuis commentariis et quaedam indicassem,  
 2555 erat tuae vigilantiae in posteriore aeditione caetera ex te ipso perpendere et  
 ridendi materiam adimere nasutis. Atque ista qui indicat et indicat amice putas  
 hostem et tali dignum gratia qualem mihi in tua disputatione retulisti. Atque vti-  
 nam in totum ab ista vertendi annotandique prouincia temperasses, quae, vt dixi,  
 non erat tui negotii. Maiora poteras, haec quantumuis humilis est, tamen  
 2560 vtriusque linguae peritiam poscebat. Qua quidem in re quantum valeas nihil  
 attinet dicere, quum scripta tua palam testentur.

Rursum in epistola ad Philippenses, capite primo admones οἱ μὲν ἐξ  
 ἐπιθείας, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀγάπης potius vertendum fuisse *‘qui’ quam ‘quidam’*. Nec anim-  
 aduertis esse articulum praepositium distribuentem, non οἱ postpositiuum  
 2565 accedente tono, vt ne dicam interim nullum omnino sensum existere si legas  
*qui*.

Iam illud tibi perpetuum est in examinationibus quod, quicquid codex tuus  
 Graecus habuit, Paulo incontanter adscribis, quasi vero non alicubi varient  
 Graeci codices aut nusquam deprauati sint, quum in bellissimo quodam exemplari

2551 sit *E BAS: deest in A-D*.

2556 ista qui *A-C E BAS: qui ista D*.

2544–2545 *ego ... vocavi* Erasmus, *Nov. Instr.*,  
 p. 578; for the whole text of this correction,  
 see the present apologia, n. l. 2536.

2547 *eodem in loco* I.e., *Tit.* 1, 12, cf. Epi-  
 menides, *De Oraculis*, see H. Diels, *Die Frag-  
 mente der Vorsokratiker*<sup>6</sup>, Berlin-Grunewald,  
 1951, I, pp. 27–37, especially pp. 31–32, no 1.  
 For Erasmus’ note on this passage, see his  
*Nov. Instr.*, p. 580.

2547–2548 *gnosius ... pigra* In 1512 Lefèvre trans-  
 lated *Tit.* 1, 12 in accordance with the *Vg.*  
 version: “Cretenses semper mendaces malae  
 bestiae ventres pigri”, Iac. Faber Stapulensis,  
*S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 561<sup>o</sup>. But in  
 his *expositio* (*ibid.*, f° 220<sup>o</sup>) and in his *exami-  
 natio* (*ibid.*, f° 221<sup>o</sup>) he translated: “Gnosius  
 vsque loquax, mala bestia, viscera pigra”  
 (“Gnosius”, i.e., “Cnosius”, “Cretan”). Eras-  
 mus reacted to this in his *Nov. Instr.*, p. 580:

“In quo sane demiror Stapulensem laborasse  
 vt carmen carmine redderet, idque ad hunc  
 modum: ‘Gnosius vsque loquax, mala bestia,  
 viscera pigra’. Nec enim idem est loquacem  
 esse et mendacem. Et vt hominem cibo de-  
 ditum ‘ventrem’ dicimus, non item ‘viscera’  
 dicimus.” In Lefèvre’s second edition (*S. Pauli  
 epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7) he does not cor-  
 rect the note either in his *expositio* (f° 212<sup>o</sup>)  
 or his *examinatio* (f° 213<sup>o</sup>), but now he even  
 incorporates into the main text the modified  
 translation of *Tit.* 1, 12 that he had proposed  
 in his *expositio* and in his *examinatio* and  
 to which Erasmus objects in this apologia,  
 ll. 2547–2548 (*ibid.*, f° 53<sup>o</sup>). All this remained  
 unaltered in Lefèvre’s third edition, *S. Pauli  
 epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1517, translation: f° 44  
 f4<sup>o</sup>, *expositio*: f° 172 y4<sup>o</sup>, and *examinatio*:  
 f° 172 y4<sup>o</sup>.

- 2549 *epistola ... duodecimo* 1 *Cor.* 12, 28. Erasmus deals with this passage in the *Nov. Instr.*, p. 475.
- 2550–2551 *annotare ... ecclesia* Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 126r°: “Vulgata aeditio: ‘Et quosdam quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia’. Legi potest: ‘et suos quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia’ ... vocabulum enim ὅς quo hic vitur Paulus pro ‘qui’ et ‘suus’ vsurpari solet.” Lefèvre did not alter this in the second edition, but he added: “alioqui cui id non placet, sequatur interpretis sententiam. Nolim enim in re tantilla contentiosus videri.” Iac. Faber Stapulensis, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 120v°.
- 2552 *qui ... typus* I.e., ὅς as a demonstrative pronoun. As a possessive pronoun ὅς is Homeric and poetic, but it does not occur in this function in the New Testament.
- 2556 *nasutis* ‘scorners, sarcastic critics’. Cf. *Adag.* 581 (Odorari ac similes aliquot metaphoræ), *LB II*, 253 C.  
*amice* This is an allusion to Lefèvre’s promise to deal in a “friendly” manner with Erasmus. See the present apologia, ll. 36–38 and n., and appendix IV, l. 573.
- 2556–2557 *putas hostem* Cf. l. 342 *Aduersarium facis*. In reality, however, Lefèvre had not called Erasmus his enemy at all. Lefèvre had only argued that the unfavourable terms in which *Ps.* 8 speaks of Christ, and which Erasmus took as an adequate description of Jesus’ humiliation, were in fact labels applied to Jesus by his adversaries. See n. l. 1328; n. l. 2227; n. l. 347 and l. 1323.
- 2557 *tali dignum gratia* Erasmus is convinced he deserved thanks for the friendly tone of his criticism of Lefèvre in the note on *Hebr.* 2, 7 in his *Nov. Instr.*, cf. ll. 114–122, ll. 196–199, ll. 317–324. Erasmus also found he had helped Lefèvre by solving the problem raised by Lefèvre’s translation; see ll. 342–348; ll. 551–558; ll. 560–567 and ll. 731–735 and n. l. 732.
- tali ... retulisti* Erasmus received small thanks, he means, for his pains; see ll. 159–164 and ll. 471–478.
- 2558 *ab ... temperasses* “had abstained from”.
- 2562 *epistola ... primo Phil.* 1, 16–17. Erasmus did not criticize Lefèvre’s translation and explanation of this passage in his *Nov. Instr.*
- 2562–2563 *admones ... ‘quidam’* Lefèvre indeed said this in his *examinatio, S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1512, f° 174v°. He translated: “Qui autem ex contentione ... qui vero ex dilectione”, *ibid.*, f° 40v°. He did not correct this in his second edition, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV*, Paris, 1516/7, f° 39r° and f° 167r°, nor in his third edition, f° 32v° and f° 136v°.
- 2565 *accedente tono* “accentuated”.
- 2567 *codex tuus Graecus* In his commentary on Paul, Lefèvre cites several readings from Greek manuscripts, without identifying them precisely. In 1752 these Greek witnesses were listed as a single item in the list of Greek New Testament manuscripts drawn up by J.J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum II*, Amsterdam, 1752, p. 12, nr. 13. Lefèvre’s Greek sources were included in the same way in F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Cambridge 1883, p. 264: “Manuscripts of St Paul’s Epistles”, no 13, and in C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 295, no 13. In 1908, however, Lefèvre’s Greek manuscripts were removed from the list of New Testament textual witnesses, because they had not been identified; see C.R. Gregory, *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 187, no (13 in p). They are not recorded any more in K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1963, except as “aus der Liste gestrichen”, pp. 321–322. The task of identifying Lefèvre’s Greek manuscripts of Paul seems feasible (he must have relied on manuscripts that were in Paris), but is still outstanding.
- 2568 *incontanter* I.e., “incunctanter”, immediately.
- 2569–2572 *quum ... ἡλίπισαμεν* Cf. Erasmus’ note in his *Nov. Test.* of 1519 *ad 2 Cor.* 8, 5: “Et non sicut sperauimus) καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἡλίπισαμεν, id est, multo amplius quam sperare audebamus, ne putemus id accidisse Paulo praeter spem. Proinde nos vertimus ‘quatenus’. Hoc loco ridiculum quiddam incidit in exemplari Corsendoncensi, codice alioqui perquam eleganti, sed pulchro verius quam emendato. Scriptor, vt facile licet conicere, cum reperisset a studioso quopiam annotatum quiddam in spacio marginali, credens a scriba praetermissum, transtulit in medium versus ad hunc modum, δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρηται, καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἡλίπισαμεν. Siquidem is indicans ἡμᾶς in plerisque non addi, in aliis rursus addi, ascripserat haec: ‘In plerisque exemplaribus sic inuenitur’. Ea verba scriptor indoctus medio Pauli sermoni admiscuit.” The Greek manuscript to which Erasmus is referring is minuscule 3 of the Greek New

2570 sic compererim scriptum in epistola ad Corinthios secunda δεόμενοι ἡμῶν τὴν  
 χάριν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἐν  
 πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρηται, καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἠλπίζαμεν, videlicet com-  
 pluribus verbis ex marginali spacio in medium contextum translatis ab illiterato  
 scriba. Quod quo perspicuum sit et his qui Graece nesciunt, vertam: *orantes ut*  
 2575 *gratiam et communicationem ministerii in sanctos acciperemus nos, in multis exem-*  
*plaribus sic inuenitur, et non quemadmodum sperauimus.* Palam est haec verba, *in*  
*multis exemplaribus sic inuenitur*, ab alio quopiam in margine fuisse annotata.  
 LB 66 Parum igitur tutum statim fidere codici tuo, nec protinus | erat pronunciandum  
 nisi circumspicis omnibus.

2580 Haec, mi Faber, atque huiusmodi innumera si curasses proxima aeditione cor-  
 rigenda, consulisses honori tuo atque interim meo quoque, vel quod amicorum  
 communia sint omnia, vel quod in simili negotio tam insignis error tuus mihi  
 quoque fidem abrogat apud imperitiores. Nunc adeo nihil horum tibi curae fuit,  
 vt videri possis non ob aliud istam aeditionem accelerasse nisi vt amicum  
 2585 incesseres. Sic enim omnino video quosdam interpretaturos. Quid ni enim huc  
 torqueant reprehensionem tuam tam verbosam et accuratam, qui laudes etiam  
 meas, quibus me in calce disputationis ornas vel potius meum caput demulces,  
 sinistre interpretantur? En, inquit, tribuit vigilantiam, tribuit eloquentiam, lin-  
 guarum peritiam, sedulitatem erga literarum studiosos; bonum virum nusquam  
 2590 audet dicere, hoc est, industriam et ingenium modo praedicat, cum praecipua  
 laudum pars sit vita moresque laudati.

Postremo non theologum me vocas sed *theologiae professionis assertorem*. Quid  
 aliud est, inquit, theologiae professionem asserere quam arrogare sibi ac vindic-  
 care? Atqui nihil est quod mihi minus asseram quam theologiae professionem,  
 2595 etiam si pridem ita perpellentibus amicis quibusdam nomen dedi ordini theo-  
 logico. Vbi in scriptis iacto nomen theologi? Quis vnquam vel in familiaribus  
 colloquiis audiuit me mihi hoc nomine placentem? At tuas laudes quam plena, vt  
 aiunt, manu effundo? Quam non parce? Quam candide? Sed tu fortasse metue-  
 bas ne praestare cogereris quod mihi tribuisses, iuxta vetus prouerbium ἐγγύα  
 2600 πάρα δ' ἄτη.

Verum hic ipse nihil queror, plus satis est quod largiris, tantum molestum est  
 istis datam esse ansam, vt huiusmodi nobis obganniant. De laudibus meis non  
 soleo gloriari, nostram amicitiam in omnibus literis, in omni confabulatione  
 iactare soleo. Hanc, vt apparet, gloriam aliquis mihi inuidit, cuius oratio te ad  
 2605 amicam istam disceptationem incitauit. En, inquit, frui tuo Fabro, habes  
 amicum cuius synceritatem, cuius modestiam, cuius sanctimoniam nunquam  
 satis praedicasse tibi videbaris. Tot tuas annotationes vnica notatione retaliauit  
 vere, vt ipse inquit, *abunde*.

Sed expostulationis et querimoniarum iam finis esto. Quod factum est, his  
 2610 rationibus infectum fieri non potest. Superest vt vtrique communi malo quan-  
 tum licet medeamur. Si tibi dolet quod responderim, mihi magis dolet quod  
 huc sim coactus. Malebam hanc operam vel falsis laudibus ornando amico  
 impendere quam veris rationibus refellendo. Et me duntaxat purgauī, non sum

2563 ἐπιθείας *BAS*: ἐπιθείας et *A-E*; fuisse *A-C*  
*E BAS*: fuit *D*.  
 2565 accedente *A B D-BAS*: antecedente *C*.

2569 sint *A C-BAS*: sunt *B*.  
 2610-2611 quantum *BAS*: quod *A-E*.

Testament, now in Vienna, National Library, Gr. suppl. 52. It contains the four Gospels, Acts, the Catholic Epistles and Paul's Epistles. It belonged once to a convent at Corsendonck near Turnhout and was lent to Erasmus for his second edition in 1519, as he testifies on the first leaf; see F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Cambridge 1883<sup>3</sup>, p. 179; C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 128. Cf. J.J. Wetstenius, ed., *Nouum Testamentum Graecum*, Amsterdam, 1751-2, II, p. 197 and H.J. de Jonge, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 191, n. l. 461.

2570 *epistola ... secunda 2 Cor.* 8, 4-5.  
 2579 *nisi circumspicis omnibus* Theoretically, a correct requirement; in practice, however, unfeasible, given the great number of mss. of Paul, many of which were still unknown and inaccessible in the 16th century. Erasmus himself used four mss. of Paul for his first edition (1516), namely minuscules 1, 2 (now 2815), 4 (now 2816) and 7 (now 2817), and one further ms. for his second edition (1519), viz. min. 3. Previously, he had used min. 69 in England.

2581-2582 *amicorum ... omnia Adag.* 1, *ASD II*, 1, pp. 84-86.  
 2584-2585 *videri ... incesseres* For this suggestion, cf. this apologia, ll. 159-164 and ll. 471-478.  
 2586 *verbosam* The reproach that Lefèvre was verbose in his criticism is inappropriate, in light of the fact that the present apologia of Erasmus is about five times as long as Lefèvre's *disputatio*. Cf. this apologia, l. 264, where Erasmus already blamed Lefèvre for using too many words.  
 2587 *meum caput demulces Adag.* 1037 (*Demulcere caput ... pro blandiri*), *LB II*, 725 D-E. Cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 762.  
 2589 *bonum virum* "a man morally good".  
 2592 *Postremo ... assertorem* See appendix IV, ll. 576-577. Lefèvre, however, meant these words as a compliment and as a conciliatory gesture.  
 2594 *nihil ... professionem* Erasmus repeatedly dissociated himself from the *ordo theologorum*, usually because he disliked their ignorance and lack of education. Yet he often called himself a theologian, thus, e.g., in the dedicatory letter to More, preceding the *Laus*

*Stultitiae*, *ASD IV*, 3, p. 68, l. 23. See also Ep. 305 (the address), Ep. 497, l. 2, Ep. 507 (the inscription) and Ep. 1126, l. 200. On the whole subject, see H.J. de Jonge, in *ASD IX*, 2, p. 205, n. l. 685 and p. 143, n. ll. 619-620.

2594-2597 *nihil ... placentem* Cf. this apologia, ll. 304-305 and n. l. 304.  
 2595-2596 *pridem ... theologico* Erasmus took his doctorate in theology in Turin on 4 September 1506. That he took it at the instigation of friends, as Erasmus suggests both here and in a letter to the prior of Steyn (Ep. 200, ll. 8-9), is nothing other than apologetics and false modesty.  
 2596 *Vbi* See the passage mentioned in n. l. 2594.  
 2597-2598 *tuas ... candide* Cf. the present apologia, ll. 49-50 and n. and ll. 56-57 and ll. 114-130 and nn.  
 2597-2598 *plena ... manu Adag.* 1016, *LB II*, 413 B-C. Otto 1050.  
 2598-2600 *Sed ... ἄτη* "But perhaps you were afraid that you would be forced to stand by and substantiate the praise you might have given to me, according to the old proverb 'make a vow, but the bane is nigh'".  
 2599-2600 *ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτη* Proverb in Thales, Stob. III, 1, 172. Diog. Laert. I, 73. *Adag.* 597 (*Sponde, noxa praesto est*), *LB II*, 260 E-261 A. Leutsch-Schneidewin I, p. 394; II, 70. The paroemiographical sources read ἄτη, not ἄτη; see also the previous note.  
 2601 *largiris* Used ironically.  
 2604-2605 *Hanc ... incitavit* For this *instinctu alieno* cliché, cf. l. 40 and n., nn. ll. 2186-2188 and 2218-2219 and n. l. 2186.  
 2605-2608 *En ... abunde* Erasmus did receive such reactions; see the present apologia, l. 48 and n. But the way Erasmus is here flouting his feeling of being wronged is not exactly an edifying spectacle.  
 2608 *vi ... abunde* See appendix IV, l. 583.  
 2611-2612 *Si ... coactus* Cf. the present apologia, n. l. 77.  
 2612-2613 *Malebam ... refellendo* Cf. Ep. 627 from Erasmus to Louis Ber, Louvain, 23 August 1517, ll. 15-16: "Dispeream ni maluissem ingens volumen illo laudando quam refellendo occupare."  
 2613-2614 *me ... tua* Erasmus is suggesting that, unlike himself, Lefèvre had gone further than was necessary to "clear himself". Cf. ll. 27-33 and ll. 2235-2241.

2615 insectatus tua, qua quidem in re, mi Faber, nolim te quid possim experiri. Si posthac sensero te talem qualem semper tum habui, tum praedicaui, casum hunc vnum vel fatis vel Eridi vel Atae Homericæ vel alii cuiilibet deorum aut hominum imputabo. Sin pergis incessere amicum non amice, cogar et ipse meam de te mutare sententiam.

2620 Sed bona verba potius. Confido te facturum quod et ipse opto maxime et magis ex re vtriusque, denique Christo longe gratius futurum est. In hanc partem habebis me per omnia facilem ac fauentem, in altera qualis sim futurus nescio. Bene vale, Faber eruditissime et, si pateris, etiam amicissime.

Louanii, nonis Augusti, anno MDXVII.

2625

## APOLOGIAE AD IACOBVM FABRVM FINIS

2625 APOLOGIAE ... FINIS *E BAS*: Apologiae finis *A B*, Apologiae Desiderii Erasmi Rote-

rodami ad insignem philosophum Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem finis *C D*.

2614 *nolim ... experiri* For this threatening attitude of Erasmus towards Lefèvre, cf. ll. 755–756 and n. l. 755 and ll. 2219–2241.

2615 *qualem ... praedicaui* Erasmus indeed spoke of Lefèvre appreciatively; cf. ll. 49–50 and n. and ll. 56–57.

2616 *Atae Homericæ* See ll. 2219–2221 and nn.

2616 *cuiilibet deorum* Cf. l. 78 *deus aliquis*.

2619–2620 *quod ... est* The grammar of this clause is surprisingly poor: Erasmus first uses *quod* in the accusative as the object of *opto* but then continues by using the same *quod* as the subject of *est*, as if it were a nominative.

2620 *denique ... est* For this conviction of Erasmus, cf. ll. 61–64 and nn. and ll. 1736–1738.

2621 *nescio* Cf. l. 2240 *quid in posterum ferre possim, incertus*.

APPENDIX I  
 ANNOTATIO IACOBI FABRI STAPVLENSIS  
 IN PSALMVM 8,6  
 (1509)

5 Sexto versu, *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, Hieronymus ex Hebreo: *minues eum paulominus a Deo*. In ceteris tralationibus habetur *ab angelis*, in Hebraica autem, quemadmodum et Daud scripsit, *a Deo*. Hic recte, illic perperam.

10 Sed septuagintaduo interpretes dicentes *ab angelis* veriti sunt dicere *a Deo*, ne plus homini quam par est tribuerent, non intelligentes hunc locum non intelligi debere de simplici homine, sed de Deo homine. Simili errore lapsus est qui epistolam Pauli ad Hebreos Hebraico sermone scriptam, vertit in Grecum. Vtebatur enim vocabulo Paulus quo et Daud, et *a Deo* dicebat.

SIGLA

1509 first edition, Paris, H. Estienne, 1509.  
 1513 second edition, Paris, H. Estienne, 1513.

1515 third edition, Rouen, P. Olivier for M. Angier, bookseller in Caen, 1515.

This annotation of Ps. 8, 6 is to be found in the first edition of Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum*, Paris, 1509, f° 14, and in the second edition of this work which was published in Paris, 1513, f° 10 (reprint Geneva, 1979). A third edition appeared in Rouen, 1515. In what follows, I will refer to these editions by their year of publication.

1513 and 1515 show only eight slight differences with 1509 (see the *apparatus criticus*). In two cases out of these seven it can be proved that the third edition, 1515, depends on the first, 1509, and not on the second, 1513. In these passages (ll. 30 and 67 in this appendix) 1515 follows the reading of 1509 and not that of 1513 (see the *apparatus criticus*). In the other cases, the deviation of 1515 is not sufficiently significant to contribute anything to the establishment of the relationship between 1515 and the earlier

editions. It may be concluded that 1515 and 1513 both depend directly on 1509.

4 *sexto versu* I.e., of Ps. 8.

*Hieronymus ex Hebreo* I.e., in the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* 8, 6, see *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, ed. H. de Sainte Marie, Rome, 1954, p. 15; cf. Hier., *Comm. in Ps.*, CCSL LXXII, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout, 1959, p. 191.

9-10 *qui ... Grecum* The view that *Hebr.* was first written in Hebrew and subsequently translated into Greek was widely current in the middle ages. It can be found in, e.g., the *Glossa Ordinaria*, see K. Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting from Erasmus to Bèze 1516-598*, Tübingen, 1981, p. 21. It was, however, rejected by Erasmus, *ibid.*, p. 7. Cf. Lefèvre (1512), appendix II, ll. 4-9.

11 *dicebat* The subject of *dicebat* is Paul.

Quomodo enim *ab angelis* diceret, cum hunc locum vbique intelligat de Christo? Et de eo ad Hebreos dicat: *sedet ad dexteram maiestatis eius in excelsis, tanto melior angelis effectus quanto pre illis differentius nomen hereditauit. Et cum*  
 15 *introducitur primogenitum in orbem terre dicit: et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei.* Quomodo igitur legendum est *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*? Sed quia *cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est se esse equalem Deo, exinaniuit semetipsum formam serui accipiens.* Idcirco recte dicitur minoratus *paulominus a Deo.*

Preterea ad Ephesios de Patre et eo locutus, *constituens*, inquit, *ad dexteram*  
 20 *suam in celestibus super omnem principatum et potestatem et virtutem et dominationem.* Quomodo igitur minoratus iure scribetur *ab angelis* qui constitutus est *super omnem principatum et potestatem et virtutem et dominationem*? Sunt enim principatus, potestates et virtutes angelis superiores. Adde quod adiungit: *et super omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc seculo, sed etiam in futuro, ne credas eum*  
 25 *minorem thronis cherubim aut seraphim.*

Ceterum Ioannes de Christo loquens: *qui de sursum venit super omnes est et Pater diligit Filium et omnia dedit in manus eius.* Qua igitur ratione qui *super omnes est* et cui *Pater dedit omnia*, minor asseratur *angelis*?

Ad hec, si Paulus in epistola ad Hebreos scripsit *minuisti eum paulominus ab*  
 30 *angelis*, qui fit vt dicat *omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius, in eo enim quod omnia ei subiecit, nichil dimisit non subiectum ei*? Et ad Corinthios: *omnia ei subiecit sub pedibus eius. Cum autem dicit: omnia subiecta sunt ei*, proculdubio *preter eum qui subiecit ei omnia.* Vides igitur non velle eum minoratum paululum *ab angelis* (alioqui ruit eius argumentatio), sed vbique legendum esse *a Deo.* Quid enim  
 35 *absonum ei qui paulominus a Deo minoratus est, subiecta esse omnia preter eum qui subiecit ei omnia*, id est Patrem et diuinitatem ipsam, et qua paulominus minutus est ab eo *qui subiecit ei omnia*, illi subiectum esse?

Vides etiam quomodo non passibiliter, non carnaliter diuinus Paulus intelligit *oues et boues* et quod sequitur, sed viuifice et intellectualiter, vt par rationabileque  
 40 *est pro celestibus, terrestribus et infernis.* Alioqui non colligat ex hac propheta *omnia ei subiecta esse, preter eum qui subiecit ei omnia.*

At dicet forsitan quispiam contentiosus: minutus est *paulominus ab angelis* secundum humanitatem. Verum illum nosse oportuit Filium hominis hypostaseos et persone nomen esse, non nature. Sic apud Mattheum Dominus de se:  
 45 *Dominus enim est Filius hominis, etiam sabbati.* Et in Marco: *vt autem sciatis quia Filius hominis habet potestatem in terra dimittendi peccata, ait paralytico: tibi dico, surge, tolle grabatum tuum et vade in domum tuam. Et statim surrexit ille et sublato grabato abiit inde coram omnibus.* Et in Luca: *et tunc videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nube cum potestate magna et maiestate.* Et in Ioanne de se dicit ad  
 50 *Nicodemum: nemo ascendit in celum nisi qui descendit de celo Filius hominis qui est in celo.*

Si ergo puram naturam dicit, non hypostasin, quomodo dicit *Filius hominis qui est in celo*? Cum secundum humanitatem et in terra esset et loqueretur in terra et nondum conscendisset in celum. Et cum se nominat *Filius hominis*, nos



55 illuminat ad intelligendas scripturas et prophetias *Filium hominis* continentes, non de puro homine, sed de se intelligi debere. Certum est igitur *Filium hominis* de persona intelligi debere et nullo pacto quadrare posse quod dicitur *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*.

60 Sed et de natura vide ne etiam id, *paulominus ab angelis*, non congruat. Legimus enim in Apocalypsi: *dignus est qui occisus est accipere virtutem et diuinitatem et sapientiam et fortitudinem et honorem et gloriam et benedictionem et omnem creaturam que in celo est, et super terram et sub terra et que sunt in mari et que in eo. Omnes audiui dicentes: sedenti in throno et agno benedictio et honor et gloria et potestas in secula seculorum*. Quid enim per *sedentem in throno* nisi diuinitas; et  
65 per *agnum* nisi humanitas designatur? Cui nichilominus *omnis creatura in celo, in terra et mari* dat *benedictionem, honorem, gloriam et potestatem*.

Qui fit igitur vt aliter quam Spiritus sanctus per prophetam locutus est, dicamus: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, qui adoratur ab omnibus angelis, et non potius dicamus, vt veritas habet, *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*?

30 qui fit vt dicat 1509 1515: quomodo quadrabit quod subiungit 1513.

34 alioqui 1509 1513: alioquin 1515.

40 Alioqui 1509 1513: Alioquin 1515.

67 Qui fit igitur 1509 1515: Quomodo igitur fiet 1513.

13-14 *sedet ... hereditauit* Hebr. 1, 3-4.

13 *eius* Lefèvre has added *eius* to the text of the Vulgate.

14 *pre illis differentiis* The Vulgate reads: *differentius pre illis*.

14-15 *Et ... Dei* Hebr. 1, 6.

14 *cum* After *cum* Lefèvre omits "iterum".

16 *minuisti ... angelis* Ps. 8, 6; Hebr. 2, 7.

16-18 *cum ... accipiens* Phil. 2, 6-7.

17 *se esse* The Vulgate reads "esse se".

17-18 *exinaniuit semetipsum* The Vulgate reads: "sed semetipsum exinaniuit".

18 *paulominus a Deo* Ps. iuxta Hebr. 8, 6.

19 *locutus* I.e., Paul.

19-21 *constituens ... dominationem* Eph. 1, 20-21.

21 *ab angelis* Hebr. 2, 7; Ps. 8, 6.

23 *adiungit* The subject is Paul.

23-24 *omne ... futuro* Eph. 1, 21.

25 *cherubim ... seraphim* These are types of angels.

26 *qui ... est* Ioh. 3, 31.

27 *Pater ... eius* Ioh. 3, 35.

27-28 *super omnes est* Ioh. 3, 31.

28 *cui ... omnia* Cf. Ioh. 3, 35.

*asseretur* I.e., asseretur.

*angelis* Hebr. 2, 7; Ps. 8, 6.

29-30 *minuisti ... angelis* Hebr. 2, 7.

30-31 *omnia ... ei* Hebr. 2, 8.

31-32 *omnia ... eius* I Cor. 15, 26.

31 *ei* The Vulgate reads "enim" in stead of *ei*.

32-33 *Cum ... omnia* I Cor. 15, 26.

32 *proculdubio* The Vulgate reads: "sine dubio", not *proculdubio*.

35 *subiecta ... omnia* I Cor. 15, 26. The Vulgate reads: "cum autem dicat omnia subiecta sunt".

35-36 *preter ... omnia* I Cor. 15, 26.

37 *qui ... omnia* *ibid.*

37 *illi subiectum esse* Cf. I Cor. 15, 26 and 28.

38 *diuinus Paulus* Lefèvre means that when Paul wrote, in I Cor. 15, 26, that God subjected everything under Christ's feet, he was giving a spiritual interpretation of *oues* et *boues* in Ps. 8, 8.

39 *oues et boues* Ps. 8, 8.

40 *celestibus ... infernis* A circumscription for "omnia", borrowed from Phil. 2, 10.

41 *omnia ... subiecta* I Cor. 15, 26-27.

*preter ... omnia* *ibid.*

45 *Dominus ... sabbati* Mt. 12, 8.

45-48 *vt ... omnibus* Mc. 2, 10-12.

48-49 *et ... maiestate* Lc. 21, 27.

50-51 *nemo ... celo* Ioh. 3, 13.

57-58 *minuisti ... angelis* Hebr. 2, 7; Ps. 8, 6.

60-64 *dignus ... seculorum* Ap. Ioh. 5, 12-13. After *dignus est*, ll. 88-89, Lefèvre omits "agnus".

68 *minuisti ... angelis* Hebr. 2, 7; Ps. 8, 6.

*qui ... angelis* Cf. Hebr. 1, 6: "et cum iterum

introducitur primogenitum in orbem terrae dicit: et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei".

69 *minuisti ... Deo* Ps. 8, 6.

70 At forte rursus insurges: vbi habemus *angelis*, Hebraice *Elohim* habetur, quod nomen Dei plurale est. Quare 'diis' potius quam *Deo* erit dicendum. Nosse etiam oportet consuetudinem esse translatorum, siue vnice siue pluralitue nomen Dei ponatur, per singularem numerum transferre, vt psalmi 44 versu 9: *propterea unxit te Deus*, vbi *Deus Elohim*; psalmi 50 versu 11: *cor mundum crea in me Deus*;

75 psalmi 66 versu 6 post *benedicat nos* continuo duobus in locis subiungitur *Elohim* et psalmus 71: *Deus iudicium tuum regi da*, ab illo vocabulo incipit. Vides igitur quomodo *Elohim* singulariter transferunt, non pluraliter.

Et mysterium continet ea vocis pluralitas, non diuinitatis, sed diuinarum hypostaseon pluralitatem insinuans. Quo quidem sacramento nichil fuerit ab orthodoxe fidei integritate alienum, si hoc in loco exinanitus paulominus a pluribus, Patre scilicet et Spiritu Sancto, Filius designetur, quorum neuter carnem assumpsit, sed solus Filius.

Vnde insani heretici Noetiani et Sabelliani et qui Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum in vnâ hypostasin confundunt et eque Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum vt

85 Filium natum et passum volunt, redarguuntur et eorum retunditur insania. Nam alioqui et Pater et Spiritus imminuti essent formam serui accipientes, aut Filius non esset parumper imminutus ab eis.

Quid igitur vetabit quo minus legere audeamus: *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*, vt et veritas habet et Spiritus Sanctus per prophetam intonuit? Quare vos

90 per Ihesum et hoc dulce et benedictum nomen oro, vt a modo in ecclesiis et congregationibus sanctorum psallatis sapienter: *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo, gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum*. Mendas codicum eluite et ad incudem locum beatissimi Pauli ad Hebreos reuocate, legentes: *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo* et paulopost: et *eum autem qui*

95 *modico a Deo minoratus est videmus, Ihesum propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum*. Audete, nichil vereamini, facessat vetus error. Ei vero qui largitus est intelligentiam omnis honor et gloria per immensa secula. Amen.

#### FABRI ANNOTATIONIS FINIS

83 Sabelliani 1509 1513; Scabelliani 1515.

86 alioqui 1509 1513; alioquin 1515.

73-74 *propterea ... Deus Ps. 44, 8.*

74 *cor ... Deus Ps. 50, 12.*

75 *benedicat nos Ps. 66, 7*

76 *Deus ... da Ps. 71, 2*

80 *exinanitus Cf. Phil. 2, 7.*

83 *Noetiani* These heretics are named after Noëtos of Smyrna, who lived at the end of the second century. He is the father of patripassionism. His doctrine came to Rome via the deacon Epigonos. B. Kotter in *LThK* VII, Freiburg 1962, col. 1018.

*Sabelliani* So named after Sabellius, an early

86 *prius* et 1509 1513; *deest in 1515.*

97 *secula 1509: seculorum secula 1513 1515.*

third-century representative of Monarchianism, a movement which attempted to maintain the unity of God but denied the independent subsistence of the Son. See *ODCC*, p. 929, sub 'Monarchianism', and p. 1218, sub 'Sabellianism'.

88-89 *minuisti ... Deo Ps. iuxta Hebr. 8,6.*

91-92 *minuisti ... tuarum Ps. 8, 6-7.*

93-94 *ad incudem ... reuocate* "Put it back on the anvil (*incus*)", i.e., "renew its form", "reshape it".

94-96 *eum autem ... coronatum Cf. Hebr. 2, 9.*

APPENDIX II  
 ANNOTATIO IACOBI FABRI STAPVLENSIS  
 IN HEBRAEOS 2, 7  
 (1512)

5 Vulgata aeditio: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*. Sic habet interpres Pauli.  
 Verum id ex Septuaginta desumpsit et non interpretatus est quod dicebat Paulus.  
 Nam certum est Paulum hanc epistolam Hebraice scripsisse et in forma verbum  
 hymnologiae Dauiticae adduxisse vbi *Deus* habetur, vt in expositione Pentapli  
 psalterii super octauum psalmum, quantum Deus concessit, monstrauius. Ergo  
 quod dicitur *ab angelis* interpretis est, non Pauli, sed Pauli *a Deo*. Quare senten-  
 10 tiam Pauli seruantes *a Deo* diximus.

SIGLA

1512 first edition, Paris, H. Estienne, 1512.

1516/7 second edition, Paris, H. Estienne,  
 1516/7.

1517 third edition, Paris, F. Regnault et J. de la  
 Porte, 1517.

7 Dauiticae 1512: Daudicae 1516/7 1517.

This annotation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 occurs in the first edition of Lefèvre's translation, paraphrase and annotations of the epistles of Paul, Paris 1512, f° 233 v°. The text of this annotation was not only altered in several places but also considerably expanded in the second edition of Lefèvre's commentary (Paris 1516/1517). In the third edition, Paris, 1517, the text of this passage as printed in the second edition was left unaltered. The longer text will be given in full in appendix IV. In the present appendix the text of 1512 is reproduced with, in the *apparatus criticus*, the changes that were introduced in this text, as far as extent in 1512, in the editions of 1516/1517 and 1517.

4 *minuisti ... angelis* *Hebr.* 2, 7 and *Ps.* 8, 6. *Ps.* 8, 6 *iuxta Hebr.* reads "minues eum paulominus a Deo".

*interpres* The person who translated *Hebr.* from Hebrew into Greek. For further information about this *interpres*, see Lefèvre (1509), appendix I, n. ll. 9-10.

5 *Verum ... desumpsit* Cf. Erasmus, *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. ll. 14-15.

6 *Hebraice scripsisse* The view that *Hebr.* had been written in Hebrew was widely held in the middle ages. It can be found in, e.g., the *Glossa ordinaria*, K. Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting from Erasmus to Bèze 1516-1598*, Tübingen, 1981, p. 21. It was rejected, however, by Erasmus, *ibid.*, p. 7.

*in forma "correctly"*.

7-8 *Pentapli psalterii* I.e., Lefèvre's *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, H. Estienne, 1509; for the note on *Ps.* 8, 6, see f° 14; this note is reproduced in our appendix I.

Adde quod et pugnare videtur quod *omnia* subiecerit *sub pedibus eius* et quod *nichil* dimiserit *Deus non ei subiectum* et minor sit *angelis*. Et tota Pauli ex interpretatione subruitur ratiocinatio. Non igitur recte interpretatur. Dirigendus igitur hic interpres, etsi aeditio LXX interpretum causam erroris praeberit excusabilem.

15

Interpres Pauli: ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, vbi potius vertendum fuerat παρὰ τὸν θεόν.

FABRI ANNOTATIONIS FINIS

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12–13 interpretatione 1512: interpretatione ab angelis 1516/7 1517.

13 interpretatur 1512: videtur interpretatus 1516/7 1517.

11 *omnia ... eius* *Hebr.* 2, 8. The Vulgate reads: "omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius".

12 *nichil ... subiectum* *Hebr.* 2, 8. The Vulgate reads: "nihil dimisit non subiectum ei".

14 causam 1512: causam ei 1516/7 1517.

13 *interpretatur* The subject is the translator (*interpres Pauli*), mentioned in l. 4.

14–15 *etsi ... excusabilem* Cf. this appendix, l. 5.

16 *Interpres* See this appendix, n. l. 4.

## APPENDIX III

ANNO TATIO DESIDERII ERASMI ROTERODAMI  
IN SECVNDVM CAPVT EPISTOLAE AD HEBRAEOS  
EX IPSIVS OPERE DECERPTA

5 QVAM IACOBVS FABER STAPVLENSIS IMPVGNAT

(March 1516)

10 *Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis.* Admonet hoc loco Iacobus Faber Stapulensis apud Hebraeos haberi *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*. Atque ita prorsus indicavit Hieronymus psalmo octauo pro *angelis*, qui illis vocantur מְלַאכִים, *malachim*, haberi אֱלֹהִים, *heloim*. Thomas refert hunc locum ad humanitatem Christi qui minor angelis factus sit non iuxta animum, sed iuxta corpus assumptum per quod mortalis et doloribus obnoxius erat, cum angeli nullis malis attingi possint.

15 Cuius equidem sententiam approbo, nisi quod prudenter accipiendum est quod dixit Christum secundum animam humanam non fuisse inferiorem angelis.

This annotation appeared in Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.*, Basel 1516, *Annotationes*, pp. 585–586. In later editions the passage was altered and expanded. The changes will not be recorded here. For these changes, see A. Reeve, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament. Galatians to the Apocalypse*, Leiden, 1993, pp. 706–713. The title and final sentence of this appendix are taken from *BAS*, in which this passage was included as background information to illustrate Erasmus' apologia against Lefèvre; see vol. IX, p. 58. It has also been published in *LB IX*, 67–68.

5 *quam impugnat* i.e., in Lefèvre's *disputatio*, i.e., the note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in Lefèvre's second edition of his translation of, and commentary on, the Pauline epistles. That note is included in appendix IV.

7 *Minuisti ... angelis* *Hebr. 2, 7*.

7–8 *Admonet ... Deo* Lefèvre did so already in his note on *Ps. 8, 6* in the first edition of his *Quincuplex Psalterium* of 1509. That note is given in appendix I, see ll. 9–10. He made the same observation in his note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in the first edition of his translation of, and commentary on, the Pauline epistles, of 1512. This note is given in appendix II.

8–10 *Atque ... heloim* Hier., *Comm. in Ps.*, *CCSL* 72, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout 1959, p. 191.

10–13 *Thomas ... possint S. Thomae Aquinatis...* *Super Epistolas S. Pauli Lectura*, vol. II, ed. P. Raphaelis Cai, Turin and Rome, 1953, pp. 361–362. See also Erasmus, *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. l. 370.

Nam si nullus doloris sensus ad ullam animae partem pertinebat, non potuit esse acerbissimus in Christo dolor, quem ipse tamen Thomas vult proximum fuisse cruciatibus damnatorum apud inferos.

Ac Faber hoc loco dissentiens a Thoma multis argumentis contendit a Deo legendum esse, non ab angelis, quae recensere longius sit nec admodum necessarium, cum liber extet formulis semel atque iterum excusus. Verum siue legas a Deo siue ab angelis, videtur idem manere scrupus. Etenim si de assumpto intelligas homine, quemadmodum necesse est, non paululum fuit imminutus a Deo, imo infra abiectissimos etiam homines, quemadmodum ipse de se testatur in psalmis: *ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio pleebis*. Nulla enim proportio naturae humanae ad diuinitatem. Ne ab angelis quidem paululum fuit diminutus qui vsque ad famem ac sitim, vsque ad flagra, ad crucem, vsque ad mortem denique descenderit.

Proinde mihi videtur illud *paulominus* quod Graece est βραχύ τι, non ad dignitatis imminutae modum esse referendum, sed ad temporis modum quo versatus est Christus in terris, quasi dicas: ad breue tempus diminutus est ab angelis, quemadmodum interpretatur Chrysostomus et Vulgarius.

Neque vero refellit huius partis sensum id quod sequitur: *gloria et honore coronasti eum, omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius, oves et boues* etc. Siquidem prius illud pertinet ad Iesu vitam actam in terris et passionem, hoc posterius ad glorificationem ad quam vt homo subuectus est. Neque vero prorsus hoc fefellit Aquinatem, qui indicat paulominus bifariam accipi posse, vel vt pertineat ad quantitatem, sic enim loquitur, vel vt pertineat ad durationem.

Stapulensis in ius trahit interpretem epistolae, qui quidem quisnam fuerit incertum est, vt parum probabile sit ipsam epistolam a Paulo fuisse conscriptam. Sane sunt qui Lucam putent interpretem fuisse. Quam opinionem si recipimus, is interpres in ius vocari non potest, praesertim cum apud Hebraeos haec vox אֱלֹהִים, *heloim*, πολύσημος habeatur, quippe quae vtrovis numero singulari aut plurali Deum aut deos declaret, nonnunquam angelos aut homines etiam admiratione dignos. Interdum principes aut iudices vt illic: *principi populi tui non maledices*, et Exodi capite vicesimo primo: *offerat eum dominus diis et applicabitur ad ostium*, quo loco Hebraei *diis* interpretantur *iudicibus*. Et Chaldaica interpretatio sic extulit: *adducat eum magister suus ad iudicem*, quemadmodum annotauit et Capnion noster in Rudimentis Hebraicis.

Verum haec ad praesens institutum proprie non attinent, nisi quatenus exigit lectionis ratio. Proinde paucis indicasse sat esse duximus. Alioqui erant in hac epistola diligentius excutienda permulta quae non nisi verbosa disputatione possint explicari. Vnum illud addam, Hieronymum videri non admodum probasse quod haec proprie tribuantur Christo cum ait: *hunc locum Apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos super Christo interpretatur*.

Et de autore eius adeo fuit dubitatum vt sero recepta sit a Rhomana ecclesia, quandoquidem in hanc vnam omnium nihil commentatus est Ambrosius. Et

Hieronymus ait a nonnullis non fuisse receptam ob id, quod in ea nonnulla citarentur quae apud Hebraeos non inueniantur.

- 21 *cum ... excusus* This is an exaggeration: when Erasmus wrote this, the book in question had appeared only once, in 1512. Lefèvre's second edition appeared shortly after the publication of the *Nov. Instr.*
- 24 *infra ... homines* Thomas Aquinas, too, points out that Christ had been made lower even than people of the lowest sort, *loc. cit.*, this appendix, n. ll. 10–13 and adds the same biblical proof-text, *Ps.* 21, 7, as Erasmus in the present passage, ll. 25–26, *ego ... plaebis*, by way of illustration.
- 32 *Chrysostomus* I.e., in his *Enarr. in Epist. ad Hebr.*, ad *Hebr.* 2, 7, Migne *PG* 63, 38 B 1–7.
- 32 *Vulgarius* I.e., Theophylact (cf. H.J. de Jonge, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 92, n. l. 643), see his *Expos. in Epist. ad Hebr.*, ad *Hebr.* 2, 7, Migne *PG* 125, 208 B12–C9.
- 33–34 *Neque ... etc.* Erasmus is referring to the passage in Lefèvre (1512), appendix II, ll. 11–13.
- 33 *sequitur* I.e., in *Hebr.* 2, 7 and *Ps.* 8, 6.
- 33–34 *gloria ... eum* *Ps.* 8, 6, *Hebr.* 2, 7. *omnia ... eius* *Hebr.* 2, 8. *omnia ... boues* *Ps.* 8, 8.
- 34 *prius illud* I.e., *Ps.* 8, 6a: “minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis”.
- 35 *hoc posterius* I.e., *Ps.* 8, 6b and 8: “gloria ... eum” and “omnia ... boues”. See this appendix, ll. 33–34.
- 36–38 *Aquinatem ... durationem* Aquinas, *loc. cit.* (see this appendix, n. ll. 10–13).
- 39 *Stapulensis ... epistolae* Lefèvre (1512), appendix II, *passim*.
- 41 *Sane ... fuisse* Erasmus mentions this theory because Luke is the author of two books of the Bible. He cannot be supposed, therefore, to have made a translation error. Erasmus' point here is that, on the supposition that Luke translated *Hebr.*, the reading “lower than the angels” in *Hebr.* 2, 7 cannot be taken to be an error. That Luke translated *Hebr.* from Hebrew into Greek is a view of Clem. Alex. quoted by Eus. *H. E.* VI, 14, 2. This theory was common knowledge in the sixteenth century because it was mentioned in the “argumentum” preceding *Hebr.* (*incipit*: In primis dicendum est cur ...) in many editions of the Vulgate, e.g., that of Froben, Basel, 1491, and those of which Albertus Castellanus was the editor, e.g., Venice, 1511 and Lyon, 1524, cf. Erasmus, *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1622–1631 and nn.
- 45 *illic* *Ex.* 22, 28.
- 46–47 *offerat ... ostium* *Ex.* 21, 6.
- 47 *Hebraei* E.g., Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164), ed. A. Weiser, *Perushe ha-Tora le rabbenu Abraham ibn Ezra*, Jerusalem, 1976, vol. 2: Shemot; and Gersonides (R. Levi ben Gershon, 1288–1344), *Commentarius in Pentateuchum*, Venice, 1547, f° 81b.
- 47–48 *Chaldaica interpretatio* Both the Babylonian Targum (i.e., Onkelos, editio princeps Bologna 1482) and the Palestinian Targum (version, the Ps.-Jonathan as well as version, the Neofiti 1, the latter still unknown in the 16th century) on the Pentateuch interpret *elohim* in *Ex.* 21, 6 as “judges”, see J. Drusius, in J. Pearson *et alii*, edd., *Critici Sacri*, Amsterdam, 1698, I, col. 468, on *Ex.* 21, 6, and R. le Déaut, *Targum du Pentateuque*, t. II, Paris, 1979 (SC 256), p. 173, where Ps.-Jonathan on *Ex.* 21, 6 is translated as follows: “son maître le conduira devant les juges ...”
- 49 *Capnion* Johann Reuchlin of Pforzheim, Baden (1454/5–1522). In 1506 he published an Hebrew grammar with a dictionary, *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, Pforzheim, 1506; see H. Scheible in: *Contemporaries*, III, pp. 145–150. The note referred to can be found in *De rudimentis Hebraicis*, p. 55.
- 54–55 *hunc ... interpretatur* Hier. *Comm. in Ps.*, CCSL LXXII, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout, 1959, p. 191.
- 58–59 *Hieronymus ... inueniantur* *Comm. in Is.*, lib. III, CCSL LXXIII, ed. M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1963, p. 92, ll. 47–49.

APPENDIX IV  
DISPVLTATIO IACOBI FABRI ADVERSVS  
SVPERIOREM ANNOTATIONEM  
DESIDERII ERASMI ROTERODAMI  
EX EIVSDEM FABRI COMMENTARIIS  
IN SECVNDVM CAPVT EPISTOLAE AD HEBRAEOS  
(after November 1516 and before July 1517)

Vulgata aeditio: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*. Sic habet interpres Pauli. Verum id ex Septuaginta desumpsit et non interpretatus est quod dicebat Paulus. Nam certum est Paulum hanc epistolam Hebraice scripsisse et in forma verbum hymnologiae Daudicae adduxisse vbi *Deus* habetur, vt in expositione Pentapli  
10 Psalterii super octauum psalmum, quantum Deus concessit, monstrauius. Ergo quod dicitur *ab angelis* interpretis est, non Pauli, sed Pauli *a Deo*. Quare sententiam Pauli seruantes *a Deo* diximus.

Adde quod et pugnare videtur quod *omnia* subiecerit *sub pedibus eius* et quod *nichil* dimiserit Deus *non ei subiectum* et minor sit angelis. Et tota Pauli ex inter-  
15 pretatione *ab angelis* subruitur ratiocinatio. Non igitur recte videtur interpretatus. Dirigendus igitur hic interpres, etsi aeditio LXX interpretum causam ei erroris praeberit excusabilem.

Interpres Pauli ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, vbi potius vertendum fuerat παρὰ τὸν θεόν.

Verum hanc sententiam nostram hoc in loco non acceptat amicus noster Eras-  
20 mus. Neque beati Hieronymi sexti versus octauī psalmi, quem sic interpretatur: *minues eum paulominus a Deo, gloria et decore coronabis eum*, approbat interpretationem. Sed tralatio Septuaginta, quae sic habet: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, magis ei placet et rectius hic haberi *ab angelis* quam illic *a Deo*. Quan-  
25 quam in annotationibus illius psalmi plurimas rationes adduximus quas credidimus posse sufficientem eius rei facere fidem, nichilominus nulla maleuolentia sed sola tutandae veritatis gratia sententiam fouentes.

Dominum nostrum, ob cuius honorem hoc defensionis munus suscipimus, supplices orabimus quo sic dicendis aspiret vt noster sermo sine offensione cur-  
30 sit ad pietatis aedificationem.



Scripta eius in annotationibus huius loci interdum subiiciemus quo facilius legentes et eius mentem et meae assertionis et Hieronymianae interpretationis, immo propheticae intelligentiae defensionem intelligant. Quod si negotii arduitas nos cogat esse prolixiores non satis annotationis habita ratione, boni consulant lectores id necessitati tribuentes.

Primum igitur dicit me admonuisse apud Hebraeos haberi: *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*. Id ego ingenue fateor. Deinde subdit: *atque ita prorsus indicauit Hieronymus psalmo octauo pro angelis, qui illis vocantur Malachim, haberi Elohim*. Apertius Hieronymus, cuius verba sunt haec: *in Hebraeo pro eo quod est ab angelis, qui dicuntur Malachim, Deum habet, hoc est Elohim*. Et id tribuimus amico et sic habet veritas.

Mox subnectit: *Thomas refert hunc locum ad humanitatem Christi qui minor angelis factus sit, non iuxta animum sed iuxta corpus assumptum per quod mortalis et doloribus obnoxius erat*. At Faber hoc loco dissentiens a Thoma multis argumentis contendit a Deo legendum esse.

## SIGLA

1512 first edition, Paris, H. Estienne, 1512.

1516/7 second edition, Paris, H. Estienne, 1516/7.

1517 third edition, Paris, F. Regnault and J. de la Porte, 1517.

1531P fourth edition, Paris, F. Regnault, 1531.

1531C fifth edition, Cologne, Eucharius Cervicornus, 1531.

9 Daudicae 1516/7 1517 1531P 1531C: Dauticae 1512

15 ab angelis 1516/7 1517 1531P 1531C: deest in 1512.

15–16 videtur interpretatus 1516/7 1517 1531P 1531C: interpretatur 1512.

16 ei 1516/7 1517 1531P 1531C: deest in 1512.

19–585 Verum ... Amen 1516/7 1517 1531P 1531C: deest in 1512.

This *disputatio* was published for the first time in the second edition of Lefèvre's translation, paraphrase and annotations of the Pauline epistles, Paris, Henry Estienne, after November 1516 and before July 1517, fo. 225v<sup>o</sup>–229v<sup>o</sup>. The title and the final sentence of this appendix are taken from *BAS*, in which this exposition was taken over; see vol. IX, f<sup>o</sup> 59–68. It was also reprinted in *LB IX*, 67–80.

In 1517, F. Regnault and J. de la Porte (Paris) published the third edition of Lefèvre's work on Paul. It contains the long addition directed against Erasmus in practically the same form as the edition of 1516/7 has.

In 1531 two new editions of the book were published, one in Paris, by F. Regnault, and the other in Cologne, by Eucharius Cervicornus. Both are only based on the third edition (1517). Readings in which the third (1517) and later editions (1531) differ from the second edition (reproduced in this appendix) are recorded in the *apparatus criticus*.

6–18 *Vulgata ... θεός* This passage is almost identical with Lefèvre's annotation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 of 1512, given in appendix II.

6 *minuisti ... angelis Hebr.* 2, 7, *Ps.* 8, 6. *Ps.* 8, 6 *iuxta Hebr.* reads "minues eum paulominus a Deo".

7 *Verum ... desumpsit* See Introduction pp. 25–26.

8 *in forma* "correctly".

13 *omnia ... eius Hebr.* 2, 8. The Vulgate reads: "omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius".

14 *nihil ... subiectum Hebr.* 2, 8. The Vulgate reads: "nihil dimisit non subiectum ei".

16–17 *aeditio ... excusabilem* See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. II. 14–15.

20 *interpretatur* I.e., Jerome.

21 *approbat* I.e., Erasmus.

36 *dicit* See appendix III, ll. 7–8.

37–38 *atque ... Elohim Ibid.*, ll. 8–10.

39–40 *in ... Elohim Hier., Comm. in Ps., CCSL* 72, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout 1959, p. 191.

42 *Thomas refert S. Thomae Aquinatis ... Super Epistolas S. Pauli Lectura*, vol. 2, ed. P. Raphael Cai, Turin and Rome, 1953, pp. 361–362. See Erasmus, *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. I. 370.

42–44 *Thomas ... erat* See appendix III, ll. 10–12.

44–45 *Faber ... esse Ibid.*, ll. 19–20.

Neque id inficias eo me contempsisse multis argumentis a Deo legendum esse et probe mea sententia. Et quid Thomas sentiret neque me contempsisse neque tunc consuluisse, sed quid sentire viderentur eloquia. Neque ego in placita Thomae iuravi neque Erasmus ipse, vt qui toties eum coarguat, imo et eo in loco quem hic citat, qua ratione Thomae videretur Christus animo impassibilis nullisque doloribus obnoxius fuisse, quod nequaquam putat Erasmus neque equidem puto. Nam illi assertioni id aduersatur: *tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*. Immo et id falsum arbitror angelos nullis malis attingi posse, quia iuxta eloquium *et in angelis suis reperit prauitatem* et illi dant aut daturi sunt poenas, vt et clamant in Matthaeo: *quid tibi et nobis Ihesu Fili Dei, venisti huc ante tempus torquere nos?* Et Petrus: *angeli fortitudine et virtute cum sint maiores, non portant aduersum se execrabile iudicium*.

Sed et angeli aeterna Dei visione beati si auersi fuissent, poterant enim, et ipsi obnoxii poenarum acerbitati fuissent, et maiorum quidem quam sint mortalium animae capaces. Et hanc contra se durissimam tulissent sententiam: *discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius*.

Hac igitur ratione passibilitatis parum colligitur Christum minorem factum angelis et maxime quo ad passiones corporis, de quibus ait Thomam dumtaxat locutum, cum poenae corporis tantae esse possint quantae eae quae sunt animae, quare neque tantae, quantarum angeli sunt capaces.

Quod igitur piaculum contraxissem si dissensissem a Thoma, nisi telis valentioribus vso? Quanquam et ipse non dissensi vt quem nunquam hac in re legissem, sed in eius sententiam non incidi. Neque Thomam arguo. Nam ex suppositione commentabatur legendum esse *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, sicque putabat Hebraice haberi. Verum illi qui Hebraice norunt, etsi alioqui Thomae addicti, non solum ratione doctrinae sed et habitus et vitae professione, ab eo hoc in loco dissentiant et Hieronymo et deinde nobis accedunt. Quod manifestissime is intelliget cui curae fuerit illam Psalterii nobilem octaplum legere, quam insignis vir multarum linguarum vtpote Latinae, Graecae, Hebraicae, Caldaicae et Arabicae gnarus, Augustinus Iustinianus, episcopus Nebiensis ordinis praedicatorii, hac nostra tempestate aedidit.

Subsequenter adiicit Erasmus: *verum siue legas a Deo siue ab angelis, idem manet scrupus*. Sed quomodo? Si certe constet et definitum sit legendum esse a Deo, nullus amplius relinquatur scrupus, nequaquam legendum esse ab angelis. Nam si parum minutus est a Deo, angeli autem multum, sicut scriptum est: *quis enim in nubibus aequabitur Domino?* aut *quis similis erit Deo in filiis Dei?*, recte fit vt is qui parum minutus est a Deo, non minutus sit ab angelis neque quidem parum neque multum, immo multo maior, quandoquidem angeli multo minores sunt Deo. Quod et de Christo veteres Hebraei super id Esaiiae, *ecce intelliget seruus meus, exaltabitur et eleuabitur et sublimis erit valde*, fatentur exponentes id de Messiah, id est de Christo Domino, hoc pacto: *ecce prosperabitur seruus meus Messiah, exaltabitur plusquam Abraham et eleuabitur plusquam Moses et sublimis erit valde plusquam angeli superiores*. Dilucidum igitur est non idem esse, si legatur *paulominus a Deo* aut *ab angelis*.

90 Sed attendamus qua ratione dicat eundem manere scrupum. *Videtur*, inquit, *idem manere scrupus*. Etenim si de assumpto homine intelligas, quemadmodum necesse est, non paululum fuit imminutus a Deo, immo infra abiectissimos etiam homines, quemadmodum ipse de se testatur in psalmis: ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis.

95 Id primum quod dicitur, *etenim si de assumpto homine intelligas, quemadmodum necesse est*, refutamus. Nam neque de assumpto homine intelligimus neque intelligi necesse est, sed intelligimus de Christo Domino qui est Filius Dei, quemadmodum sacer Paulus statim in principio dicit: *multifariam multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis, nouissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio*.

100 Et de eius imminutione alio loco ait: *exinaniuit semetipsum formam serui accipiens et habitu inuentus ut homo*, quemadmodum et ipsemet Dominus ait, apud Ioannem, Nicodemo hoc pacto de seipso loquens: *nemo ascendit in coelum nisi qui descendit de coelo, Filius hominis, qui est in coelo*.

105 Ergo cum dicitur: *quid est homo quod memor es eius aut Filius hominis quoniam visitas eum*. *Minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*, absurdum esset *Filium hominis* aliter accipi quam sacra continent eloquia et relatiuum *eum* illic *Filium hominis* bis referentem, non accipi pro hypostasi sed pro natura vna hypostaseos, pro homine, inquam, assumpto, quem beatissimus Paulus *formam serui* appellat.

110 At quis vnquam Christum et Christi nomen pro natura vna accepit? Etsi eorum quae de ipso enunciantur, quaedam ei ratione vnus naturae competant et

50 qua 1516/7 1517 1531P: quod 1531C.

64 possint 1516/7: non possint 1517 1531P 1531C.

III enunciantur 1516/7 1517 1531C: enunciat 1531P.

46 *inficias eo* "I deny".

52–53 *tristis ... mortem* Mt. 26, 38; Mc. 14, 34.

53 *angelos ... posse* Aquinas, *loc. cit.* (see the present appendix, n. 1. 42).

54 *et ... prauitatem* Iob 4, 18.

55–56 *quid ... nos* Mt. 8, 29. The Vulgate reads: "quid nobis et tibi ..."

56–57 *angeli ... iudicium* 2 Petr. 2, 11.

60–61 *discedite ... eius* Mt. 25, 41.

66 *si ... Thoma* See the present appendix, ll. 42–45 and nn.

73 *illam* I.e., editionem.

75 *Augustinus Iustinianus* Agostino Giustiniani of Genoa (c. 1470–1536) published his *Psalterium octuplex: Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldaicum cum tribus Latinis interpretationibus et glossis* in November 1516 (cf. R.G. Hobbs in: *Contemporaries*, II, pp. 102–103 and Allen, Ep. 810, n. 1. 356). On f° B ii Agostino Giustiniani quotes Lefèvre's annotation on Ps. 8, 6 with approval.

77–78 *verum ... scrupus* Cf. appendix III, ll. 21–22. Erasmus writes: ... *videtur idem manere scrupus*. Some lines further down, in

the present appendix ll. 90–91, Lefèvre quotes this passage of Erasmus correctly.

80–81 *quis ... Dei* Ps. 88, 7.

84–85 *ecce ... valde* Is. 52, 13.

86–88 *ecce ... superiores* Midrash Tanchuma, Toledot 14, edition, translation and commentary by Ets Josef and Anaf Josef, Wilna and Grodno, 1831, reprint Jerusalem 1974, f° 37b.

90–94 *Videtur ... plebis* See appendix III, ll. 21–26.

93–94 *ego ... plebis* Ps. 21, 7.

98–100 *multifariam ... Filio* Hebr. 1, 1–2.

101–102 *exinaniuit ... homo* Phil. 2, 7. The Vulgate reads: "semet ipsum exinaniuit formam serui accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inuentus ut homo".

103–104 *nemo ... coelo* Iob. 3, 13.

105–106 *quid ... Deo* Ps. 8, 5–6.

106 *Minuisti ... Deo* Cf. the present appendix, n. 1. 6.

107 *relatiuum* The pronoun (*eum*).

109 *formam serui* Phil. 2, 7, see the present appendix, n. ll. 101–102.

quaedam alterius ratione. Vt id apud Ioannem: *ego et Pater unum sumus*, ratione diuinae. Id vero apud Marcum: *oportet Filium hominis pati multa et reprobari a senioribus et summis sacerdotibus et scribis et occidi et post tres dies resurgere*, ratione humanae.

Si igitur in illo Psalmorum loco *Filium hominis* et id quod ipsum refert, intelligeremus de homine assumpto et non de hypostasi contra consuetudinem diuinarum scripturarum et intelligentiam Spiritus, irrationabiliter faceremus, quod nequaquam est admittendum.

Caeterum quod subnectitur: *non paululum fuit imminutus a Deo, immo infra abiectissimos etiam homines*, non versatur quaestio vtrum forma serui in Christo, siue homo assumptus, parum vel multum sit imminutus a Deo, sed an Filius hominis, siue, quod est apud Paulum, Christus Ihesus, qui *exinaniuit semetipsum formam serui accipiens*, imminutus sit a Deo et id etiam quippiam parum. At quid Filius hominis, quid Christus Ihesus nisi Dei Filius, Deo coequalis atque consubstantialis, *qui*, vt inquit Apostolus, *cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo?*

Quis igitur non dicet eum paululum imminutum fuisse a Deo ob *formam serui* acceptam in qua *humiliauit semetipsum* semper manens quod erat, vere Deus semper existens et insuper vere homo, quod non erat. Quomodo igitur stabit quod in contrarium adductum est, *non paululum imminutum fuisse a Deo, immo infra abiectissimos etiam homines?* Nequaquam sane id fieri potest. Verum et hunc sermonem, Christum scilicet *non paululum imminutum fuisse a Deo, immo infra abiectissimos etiam homines*, animose refutabimus tanquam impium et Christo Deoque indignissimum, tanquam Spiritui aduersantem et literae quae occidit adhaerentem.

Caeterum id prorsus prophetae aduersatur quomodocumque ipsum interpretemur siue hoc modo, *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*, siue isto, *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, quem posteriorem interpretandi modum approbare videtur Erasmus. Nam ingenue colligitur: Filius hominis imminutus est *infra abiectissimos etiam homines* et abiectissimi homines imminuti sunt multum ab angelis, igitur et Filius hominis multo fortius imminutus est *ab angelis*. Si multum, non igitur parum, sunt enim haec pugnancia, quod nichilominus iuxta aduersantis sententiam intendit propheta. Nam iuxta Septuaginta aeditionem ait: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, quam etiam approbat interpretationem. Et si multum imminutus *ab angelis*, tanto fortius multum *a Deo*. Subruetur igitur propheta quomodocumque siue *a Deo* siue *ab angelis* interpretemur. Quare hic sermo seipsum elidit et falsum esse omni ex parte manifestat.

Et non minus eadem ratione propriae assertioni aduersatur, id quod subnectit hoc modo: *ne ab angelis quidem paululum fuit diminutus qui usque ad famem ac sitim, usque ad flagra, ad crucem, usque ad mortem denique descenderit*. Si non *ab angelis paululum quidem fuit diminutus*, quomodo approbatur in propheta legendum esse: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis?* Pugnante paulominus et non paululum, paululum et non paululum?

155 Verum id libens tribuerim, Filium hominis de quo loquitur propheta, qui  
*vsque ad famem ac sitim, vsque ad flagra, ad crucem, vsque ad mortem denique*  
 voluntarie pro omnium salute descendit, non paululum fuisse diminutum ab  
 angelis, quandoquidem ab angelis nullo pacto diminutus fuit, sed vt propheta ait  
 et cum propheta verus huius loci interpret Hieronymus: imminutus fuit et id  
 160 quidem parum a Deo.

Sed id, inquit, de seipso testatur in Psalmis cum ait: *ego sum vermis et non*  
*homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis*. Nequaquam id vult quod hic obi-  
 citur, quod nec etiam ipsi Iudaei de puro homine psalmum intelligentes tribue-  
 runt, qui id exponunt, *ego sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio*  
 165 *plebis* aestimatione hominum dictum, vt totum psalmum, vbi derelictionem,  
 deiectionem et confusionem Christi sonare videtur, secundum aestimationem et  
 iudicium sacerdotum, scribarum et pharisaeorum intelligamus.

Et cum Christus in cruce clamat: *Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquisti*  
*me*, id aestimatione scribarum et pharisaeorum dictum est, quemadmodum scrip-  
 170 tum est: *quia dixerunt inimici mei michi, et qui custodiebant animam meam, consi-*  
*lium fecerunt in unum dicentes: Deus dereliquit eum, persequimini et compraehen-*  
*dite eum, quia non est qui eripiat*. Ecce aestimatione eorum derelictus erat a Deo.  
 Sed se reuera non fuisse derelictum aperit in eodem psalmo, dicens: *timeat eum*  
*omne semen Israel, quoniam non spreuit neque despexit deprecationem pauperis. Nec*  
 175 *auertit faciem suam a me et cum clamarem ad eum, exaudiuit me*. Rursum cum in  
 eodem psalmo ante dicebat: *in te sperauerunt patres nostri, sperauerunt et liberasti*  
*eos. Ad te clamauerunt et salui facti sunt, in te sperauerunt et non sunt confusi*. Si ex  
 hoc intelligunt eum se dicere confusum, id etiam iudicio et aestimationi homi-  
 num tribuendum est. Quod ex Esaia cognoscitur in eius persona dicente: *corpus*  
 180 *meum dedi percipientibus et genas meas vellentibus. Faciem meam non auerti ab*

127 esse se 1516/7 1517 1531C: esse 1531P.

112 *ego ... sumus* Iob. 10, 30.

113–114 *oportet ... resurgere* Mc. 8, 31.

116 *illo Psalmorum loco* Ps. 8, 5–6.

120–121 *non ... homines* See appendix III,  
 ll. 23–24.

123–124 *exinaniuit ... accipiens* Phil. 2, 7, see  
 the present appendix, n. ll. 101–102.

126–127 *qui ... Deo* Phil. 2, 6.

129 *humiliauit semetipsum* Phil. 2, 8.

131–132 *non ... homines* Cf. the present appen-  
 dix, ll. 120–121 and n.

135 *litterae ... occidit* Cf. 2 Cor. 3, 6.

137 *prophetae* I.e., David.

138–139 *minuisti ... angelis* Cf. the present  
 appendix, n. l. 6.

143 *quod* I.e., *parum*.  
*aduersantis* I.e., of Christ.

144 *ait* The subject of *ait* is Erasmus.

150–151 *ne ... descenderit* See appendix III,  
 ll. 26–28.

161–162 *ego ... plebis* Ps. 21, 7. The Vulgate  
 reads: “*ego autem sum ...*”.

163 *Iudaei* E.g., D. Kimchi, see *The Longer*  
*Commentary of R. David Kimchi on the*  
*First Book of Psalms*, edd. R.G. Finch and  
 G.H. Box, London, 1919, pp. 97–99.

168–169 *Deus ... me* Mt. 27, 46; Mc. 15,  
 34.

170–172 *quia ... eripiat* Ps. 70, 10–11.

173 *eodem psalmo* This is not correct, see the  
 following note.

173–175 *timeat ... exaudiuit me* Ps. 21, 25.

176–177 *in ... confusi* Ps. 21, 5–6.

179–182 *corpus ... confusus* Is. 50, 6–7.

*increpantibus et conspuentibus in me. Dominus Deus meus, auxiliator meus et ideo non sum confusus.*

Quis igitur non videt id quod versus illos 21 psalmi continuo sequitur: *ego sum vermiformis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis*, aestimatione illorum perfidorum Iudaeorum dictum fuisse, de quibus continenter subiungit: *omnes videntes me locuti sunt labiis et mouerunt caput, sperauit in Domino, eripiat eum quoniam vult eum*. Et non omnino vniuersaliter hoc intelligitur, sed vniuersaliter de illis, Christo Deoque odibilibus Iudaeis, tam perfidis scribis quam pharisaeis eorumque complicitibus qui aderant. Nam et virgo Maria aderat, dilectus discipulus, Magdalena et mulieres Ihesum secutae quae multa compassione et Deo et angelis grata pietate flebant super eum. Virginis autem cor gladio passionis eius confossum est et anima eius transuerberata.

Manifestum est igitur ratione infidorum illorum qui Christi crucifixo fuerunt, illa fuisse dicta. Et quomodo conuenit eum qui est *primogenitus omnis creaturae* et supra omnem creaturam dici *vermem* et eum dici *non hominem*, de quo dicit Apostolus: *vnus enim Deus et vnus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Ihesus*? Qui sic homo est quod omnium hominum maxime vere homo et perfectione humana supra omnem hominem et insuper hominum veritas.

Neque Christus sua sententia in euangelio loquens se dicit *vermem et non hominem*, sed inquit: *Niniuitae surgent in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabunt eam, quia poenitentiam egerunt in praedicatione Ioniae et ecce plusquam Iona hic. Regina Austri surget in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabit eam, quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis et ecce plusquam Salomon hic*. Et apud Ioannem: *ego sum lux mundi*.

Et procedens ad passionem mulieribus flentibus super eum comparabat se *ligno viridi*, Iudaeos autem et filios eorum *ligno arido*, dicens: *filiae Hierusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros*. Et subdit: *quia si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet*? Et iterum apud Ioannem: *nunc autem quaeritis me interficere, hominem qui veritatem vobis locutus sum*. Hic ex sententia et in veritate se dicit hominem.

Aestimatio igitur erat humana et caecorum Iudaeorum quod dicitur: *ego sum vermiformis et non homo*, qui eum non plures aestimabant quam *vermem*, non plures quam *non hominem*, cum esset *plusquam Iona, plusquam Salomon, lux mundi*, etiam angelis superior et homo caeteris etiam hominibus simul et verior et melior.

At esto, quispiam contendat haec verba, *ego sum vermiformis et non homo*, de saluatore dici et commiserationem erga Patrem praetendere. Haec certe commiseratio erga Patrem potius pro genere humano efflagitaretur ab eo quam pro seipso, qui haec volens pro omnibus redimendis patiebatur. *Oblatus est enim*, vt ait propheta, *quia ipse voluit*. Et nomenclaturae hae, *vermis et non homo*, magis humano generi quam Christo competunt, nisi hae sumantur iuxta Dionysium Areopagitam secundum diuinam quandam anagogen et transcendentem intelligentiam in qua nichil infimum, nichil humile cogitari potest. Et quod nuncupatio *vermis*

225 magis humanum genus deceat, dilucidum est. Nam et terrenum est et e limo ter-  
rae, de quo et vermes, plasmatum et rediens in terram depastio vermium. At  
Christus non terrenus. *Primus*, inquit eloquium, *Adam de terra terrenus et secun-*  
*230 dus de coelo coelestis*. Sed nec rediit in terrae corruptionem et in vermium depas-  
tionem, sicut scriptum erat: *nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem*.

Et quod *non homo* magis etiam humano generi accommodabile sit, non ab re  
videtur. Nam quid est homo nisi in carne creatura *ad imaginem et similitudinem*  
*230 Dei* efformata. *Faciamus*, inquit, *hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*.  
Modo vniuersi, saltem quos praeuia benedictio non protexit, imaginem Dei et  
similitudinem in se corruperunt. Quare iam quodammodo non homines, com-  
parati iumentis insipientibus et illis iam facti similes et ideo Deo dissimiles. Ergo  
*235 si Christus haec ad commiserationem dicebat, potiore iure pro suo futuro corpore*  
*quam pro seipso, qui corporis sui caput est, dicebat*.

Et quod nulla proportio sit humanae naturae ad Deum, id non efficit quod  
inde dicatur *vermis* aut *non homo*. Nam ea ratione et cherubim et seraphim  
vermes dicantur, cum ipsorum ad Deum nulla sit proportio. Et licet id verum sit  
*240 quod humanae naturae ad Deum nulla sit proportio, Filii tamen hominis de quo*  
*hic agitur sermo, est proportio, nam identitatis et aequalitatis. Ego, inquit, et*

193 est igitur 1516/7 1517 1531P: igitur est 1531C;  
Christi 1516/7 1517 1531P: Christo 1531C.

206 Hierusalem 1516/7 1517 1531P: Ierusalem  
1531C.

183–184 *ego ... plebis Ps. 21, 7*. The Vulgate  
reads: “ego autem sum ...”.

185–187 *omnes ... eum Ps. 21, 8–9*, The Vul-  
gate reads: “omnes videntes me deriserunt  
me, locuti sunt libiis et mouerunt caput,  
sperauit in Domino, eripiat eum, saluum  
faciat eum quoniam vult eum”.

187 *hoc* See the present appendix, ll. 185–187  
*omnes ... eum*.

189–190 *Nam ... secutae Ioh. 19, 25–26, Mt.*  
*27, 55–56*.

191–192 *gladio ... transuerberata Cf. Lc. 2, 35*.

194–195 *primogenitus omnis creaturae Col. 1,*  
*15*.

196–197 *vnus ... Ihesus 1 Tim. 2, 5*.

196 *et vnus mediator* The Vulgate reads: “vnus  
et mediator”.

199–200 *vermem ... hominem Ps. 21, 7*.

200–203 *Nineuitae ... hic Mt. 12, 41–42*.

204 *ego ... mundi Ioh. 8, 12*.

206 *ligno viridi Lc. 23, 31*.

*ligno arido* See *ibid*.

206–207 *filiae ... vestros Lc. 23, 28*.

207–208 *quia ... fiet Lc. 23, 31*.

208–209 *nunc ... sum Ioh. 8, 40*.

211–212 *ego ... homo Ps. 21, 7*, see the present  
appendix, n. ll. 183–184.

213 *plusquam Iona ... mundi Cf. ll. 199–204*  
and nn.

219–220 *Oblatus ... voluit Is. 53, 7*.

221–222 *Dionysium Areopagitam* According to  
Lefevre, the works ascribed to him were by  
the first-century disciple of Paul, see *Act. 17,*  
*34*. In reality, the works ascribed to Diony-  
sius the Areopagite are fourth- or fifth-cen-  
tury forgeries. For the theology of Dionysius  
the Areopagite, see Gerard O’Daly, *TRE 8,*  
pp. 774–776.

222 *anagogen* A mystical mode of interpretation.

226–227 *Primus ... coelestis 1 Cor. 15, 47*. The  
Vulgate reads: “primus homo de terra ter-  
renus, secundus homo de coelo coelestis”.

228 *nec ... corruptionem Ps. 15, 10*.

230 *ad ... similitudinem Gen. 1, 26*. Cf. *Gen.*  
*1, 27*.

231 *Faciamus ... nostram Gen. 1, 26*.

237 *nulla ... Deum* See appendix III, l. 26.  
Erasmus used this as an argument for the  
immensity of the distance between God and  
the earthly Jesus.

238 *cherubim et seraphim* Types of angels; see  
e.g., *Hebr. 9, 5; Is. 6, 2*. They are frequently  
mentioned together in liturgical texts.

241–242 *Ego ... sumus Ioh. 10, 30*.

*Pater unum sumus. Et alibi Apostolus: qui cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinaniuit, formam serui accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inuentus ut homo.*

245 Sed nunc id videamus: vtrum quod *vsque ad famem ac sitim, vsque ad flagra, ad crucem, vsque ad mortem denique descenderit*, sic in se Dominus deiectus et diminutus fuerit. Et si tum propter haec, tum propter alia impropria multa non negem Christum Dominum multum abiectum et diminutum Iudaeorum opinionione et aduersarii sermone cui, mea sententia, non pertinaciter haeret, non  
250 tamen ita res in se habebat. Verum vt ipse opera faciens quae omnes videntes conuertebant in stuporem, non ideo erat maior, sic nec omnia illa patiens ideo erat minor, sed et forte dicendus maior. *Oportet, inquit, exaltari Filium hominis. Et si exaltatus fuero, omnia traham mecum.* Ecce suam passionem vocat exaltationem, non deiectionem, nec in malam notam humiliationem. Sed cum haec pate-  
255 retur, nunquid minus erat rex angelorum ac hominum? Quemadmodum Pilato dicenti: *ergo rex es tu*, ipse respondere dignatus est: *tu dicis, quia rex sum ego.* Verum haec omnia pro nobis miseris iuxta oracula pati debebat, et videri admirandus super omnes et videri abiectus et humiliatus, quemadmodum in Esaia scriptum est: *sicut obstupuerunt super te multi, sic inglorius erit inter viros aspectus eius et forma eius inter filios hominum.*

Si etiam philosophos interrogemus an vir fortis vt victoriam pariat populique salutem, quod ad flagra, ad vulnera, ad ipsam denique mortem sciens volensque descendat, an, inquam, inferior abiectiorque habeatur, dicent procul dubio quod multo etiam superior multoque honorabilior. Et an gloriosi martyres in tormentis crudelissime excogitatis poenas acerbissimas fortissime tolerantes, ideo  
265 minores erant et *infra abiectissimos etiam homines*? Immo maiores et gloriosiores ipsis regibus purpura, ostro, auro gemmisque fulgentibus, quorum iussu torquebantur.

Quid igitur dicendum putabimus de gloriosissimo inuictissimoque rege nostro, qui sua fame, siti, flagris, cruce et denique morte maximam omnium fecit victoriam et potestates hominibus superiores deuicit, captiuauit elisitque funditus, qui et omnes homines saluos fecit se sequi volentes? Iudaei et infideles illa ei impropertant vt eius abiectioem et impropertium. Nos autem qui misericordia eius fideles sumus nequaquam, sed exaltationem et gloriam ducimus et vere quidem ducimus. *Nos autem, inquit diuinus Paulus, praedicamus Christum crucifixum, Iudaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam, ipsis autem vocatis Iudaeis atque Graecis Christum, Dei virtutem atque sapientiam.*

At nunc sequentia videamus. Subdit itaque: *proinde michi videtur illud paulominus, quod Graece est βραχύ τι, non ad dignitatis imminutae modum esse referendum, sed ad temporis modum quo versatus est Christus in terris, quasi dicas: ad breue tempus diminutus est ab angelis.* Sed quo pacto ad temporis modum quo Christus versatus est in terris; et eo tempore quo versatus est in terris diminutus est ab angelis? Cum Paulus dicat: *et cum iterum introducit primogenitum in orbem terrae, dicit: et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei.* Si omnes angeli iubentur adorare



285 eum in orbem terrarum introductum, non igitur eo tempore quo versatus est in  
 terris diminutus est *ab angelis*. Et nonne etiam angeli ipsum in paupere tugurio  
 existentem et in praesepe supra pauxillum foeni iacentem, vocant *Dominum*, vt  
 ait, apud Lucam, angelus ad pastores: *nolite timere. Ecce enim euangelizo vobis*  
*gaudium magnum quod erit omni populo, quia natus est vobis saluator, qui est*  
 290 *Christus Dominus. Et hoc vobis signum: inuenietis infantem pannis inuolutum et*  
*positum in praesepio*. Non erat ergo imminutus *ab angelis* quo tempore versatus  
 est in terris, vt qui adoratur ab angelis et Dominus appellatur.

Sed an vocabulum quod *paulominus* Latinus interpres vertit apud Hebraeos et,  
 quemadmodum propheta scripsit, notet tempus, inquirendum est. Illic veritas et  
 295 Hebraica litera vocabulum habet *meat*, quod nequaquam significare tempus solet.  
 Vt alibi apud eundem prophetam psalmo 36: *melius est modicum iusto super diui-*  
*tias peccatorum multas*. Vbi hic dicitur *modicum*, Hebraice habetur *meat*, quod  
 opponitur ad multum et id quod dicitur *diuitias multas*, et perspicuum est non  
 significare tempus. Et cum in Geneseos 24 dicitur: *pauxillum aquae michi ad sor-*  
 300 *bendum praebe de hydria*, et 43: *reuertimini et emite nobis pauxillum escarum*, et  
 eodem numero: *deferte viro munera modicum mellis et modicum resinae*, vbi his in  
 locis dicitur *pauxillum* et *modicum*, semper Hebraice habetur dictio *meat* nequa-  
 quam tempus significans.

Manifestum igitur quod et in illo octauo psalmi versiculo, quem iuxta aeditio-  
 305 nem Septuaginta verterunt *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, eadem dictio *meat*  
 non significat tempus. Quare neque  $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\ \tau\iota$  neque *paulominus*, quae dictionem

259 inglorius 1516/7: ingloriosus 1517 1531P 1531C.  
 263 habeatur 1516/7 1517 1531C: habetur 1531P.  
 284 adorent 1516/7 1517 1531C: adorant 1531P.  
 284–285 adorare eum 1516/7 1517 1531C: adorare

1531P.  
 302 dictio 1516/7 1517 1531C: dicti 1531P.  
 306 neque paulominus 1516/7 1517 1531C: paulo-  
 minus 1531P.

242–244 *qui ... homo* Phil. 2, 6–7.  
 245–246 *vsque ... descenderit* See appendix III,  
 ll. 27–28.  
 249 *cui ... haeret* The meaning of this clause is  
 not clear. One possible reading is: “to which,  
 in my opinion, he (Erasmus) does not keep  
 consistently”. Erasmus himself, in his *Summa*  
 of this apologia, see appendix V, ll. 138–139,  
 interpretes Lefèvre’s words as follows: *pericu-*  
*lum denunciat si meis dictis pertinaciter haer-*  
*erem*.  
 252 *Oportet ... hominis* Ioh. 3, 14. The Vul-  
 gate reads: “exaltari oportet Filium hominis”.  
 253 *Et ... traham* Ioh. 12, 32. The Vulgate  
 reads: “et ego, si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia  
 traham ad me ipsum.”  
 256 *ergo ... tu* Ioh. 18, 37.  
*tu ... ego* Ioh. 18, 37.  
 259–260 *sicut ... hominum* Is. 52, 14.  
 275–277 *Nos ... sapientiam* 1 Cor. 1, 23–  
 24.

277 *virtutem atque sapientiam* The Vulgate reads:  
 “virtutem et Dei sapientiam”.  
 278–281 *proinde ... angelis* See appendix III,  
 ll. 29–31.  
 283–284 *et ... Dei* Hebr. 1, 6.  
 287 *Dominum* See the present appendix, ll.  
 289–290 and n. ll. 288–291.  
 288–291 *nolite ... praesepio* Lc. 2, 10–12.  
 289–290 *vobis ... hoc*. The Vulgate reads: “vobis  
 hodie saluator qui est Christus Dominus in  
 ciuitate Dauid. Et hoc”.  
 294 *propheta* I.e., David.  
 295 *meat* I.e.,  $\text{מֵאֵת}$ , *m’at*, “a little”.  
 296–297 *melius ... multas* Ps. 36, 16.  
 299–300 *pauxillum ... hydria* Gen. 24, 17.  
 300 *reuertimini ... escarum* Gen. 43, 2.  
 301 *deferte ... resinae* Gen. 43, 11. The Vulgate  
 reads: “... modicum resinae et mellis”.  
 306 *quae* I.e., “dictiones”. The feminine gender  
 of this supposed noun explains the feminine  
 gender of the following *illa* and *ista*.

illam *meat*, illa apud Graecos, ista apud nos interpretantur, tempus indicabunt. Caeterum cum vocabula ‘multum’, ‘parum’ et similia iunguntur vocabulis auctionem diminutionemue designantibus, nequaquam significare solent  
 310 tempus. Hic autem *paulominus* iungitur vocabulo *minuisti* quod imminutionem significat. Secus autem esset si iungeretur particulae designanti tempus.

Sed et interpretes Hebraeorum nichil in expositione huius versus de temporis conditione intelligunt, vt Dauid Quinchi, commendatus apud eos expositor, exponens id, *minuisti eum paulominus ab Elohim. Ab Elohim*, inquit, *id est ab*  
 315 *angelis, ob id quod hominis anima angelicae conditionis est. Nam corpus non est, perinde ac neque angeli. Et imminutio ipsa prouenit quia cum corpore est.* Ecce, quomodo haec imminutionis paucitas, Hebraeorum etiam sententia, non tempus, sed dignitatis imminutae modum respicit. Et inter Hebraeos eius sententia, qui circa linguae Hebraicae et vocabulorum Hebraicorum proprietatem suo tem-  
 320 pore probatur fuisse vigilantissimus. Verum ipse carnaliter et passibiliter de simplici homine hunc locum intelligebat. Quem si viuificasset gratia Christi et intelligentia Spiritus vt hunc octauum psalmi sextum versiculum de Verbo et Filio Dei imminuto ob carnis, id est humanitatis assumptionem, intellexisset, non interpretatus fuisset hic: *Elohim, id est Malachim*, sed potius ita in analogia dixisset:  
 325 *minuisti eum paulominus ab Elohim*, id est a Deo, ob id quod Verbum et Filius Dei diuinae est conditionis eiusdemque cum Deo naturae. Nam creatura non est perinde ac neque Deus. Et imminutio ipsa prouenit, quia cum humanitate est atque in eadem hypostasi cum creatura. Et sic qui non litera sed Spiritu ducuntur, exponunt fideles.

At Septuaginta dicentes ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ’ ἀγγέλους id volunt  
 330 et βραχύ τι, quod dicimus *paulominus*, significare temporis modum paruumque tempus. Non crediderim, nam βραχύ τι apud Graecos et linguae quidem peritos Graecos non temporis, sed potius dignitatis aestimationisque modum dicit. Eustatius enim id Homericum exponens Iliados Iota: δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα, ait, εἰ  
 335 γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ταλάντου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶ, βραχύ τι ἐστὶ. Si, inquit, de talento Graecorum est, exiguum quippiam est. Ecce *brachy ti*, quid exiguum aestimatione, valore, dignitate significans.

Et equidem arbitror Septuaginta si tempus indicare voluissent, potius dixisse ἐπ’ ὀλίγον, quod apud philosophos frequenter paucum tempus significat, aut  
 340 μικρόν, quod manifeste in sacris literis paruum tempus significare dinoscitur, vt id apud Ioannem: *modicum et non videbitis me et iterum modicum et videbitis me.* Ecce in hoc loco, vbi dicitur μικρόν, nos habemus *modicum*. Aut dixissent ἡλάττωσας ταχύ, quod quidem vocabulum ταχύ cognoscitur paruam moram designare, vt psalmo 36: sicut *foenum velociter arescent et quemadmodum olera herbarum cito decident.* Quod hic dicitur *velociter* et *cito*, Septuaginta dicunt ταχύ. Si  
 345 autem dixissent ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν ταχύ παρ’ ἀγγέλους, sic verti potuisset: ‘minuisti eum cito ab angelis’, atque ita praebuissent temporis intelligentiam. Verum nec sic dixerunt, nec temporis intelligentiam insinuare voluerunt, quam nec apud Hebraeos inueniebant.

350 Sed quid dicemus de Chrysostomo et Vulgario? Id sane: optimum et doctissimum Chrysostomum sequutum fuisse Athanasium; Vulgarium vero sequutum vtrumque, qui tres non nisi vnus sunt, et Septuaginta praeuisse erroris causam, cum dixerint *ab angelis* vbi *a Deo* fuerat dicendum. Athanasius et deinde Chrysostomus et Vulgarius crediderunt sic, id est *ab angelis*, ex Hebraco haberi et  
 355 accommodarunt vtcunque potuerunt literae Septuaginta interpretum intelligentiam. Et cum illam imminutionem *ab angelis*, vt dignitatis modum dicit, accommodare Christo non possent, pressi difficultate intelligentiae ad id, vt dictio βραχύ τι breue tempus significaret confugerunt, vt Christus diminutus *ab angelis* breui tempore, vt quo mortalem degeret vitam, diceretur. Quod neque oportebat  
 360 neque verum est, vt iam quoque supra ostensum est sufficienter. Et aperte insuper euangelia et prophetae declarant. Nam Christus versatus in terris nunquam dixit vllum se maiorem, nisi Patrem. *Vado*, inquit, *ad Patrem, quia Pater maior me est*. Vt vel sic intelligamus eum dumtaxat imminutum et parum quidem *a Deo*, non autem *ab angelis*. Et Ioannes, praecursor Domini, de Christo cum in terris  
 365 versaretur dicebat: *qui de sursum venit super omnes est, qui de terra est de terra loquitur*. Si super omnes, certe super angelos et nequaquam imminutus ab angelis. Et Esaias: *paruulus enim*, inquit, *natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis et factus est principatus super humerum eius et vocabitur nomen eius admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus, fortis, pater futuri saeculi, princeps pacis*. Et iterum: *ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel* quod interpretatur  
 370 *Matthaeus nobiscum Deus*.

Ecce igitur nomina Christi vel in cunis vagientis ex primo oraculo, *consiliarius, Deus, fortis, pater futuri saeculi, princeps pacis*, et ex secundo, *filius virginis* et

312 interpretes 1516/7 1517 1531P: interpret 1531C.

313 Quinchi 1516/7 1517 1531C: Quimih 1531P.

327 ac neque 1516/7 1517 1531C: atque 1531P.

330–331 volunt et 1516/7 1517 1531C: volunt 1531P.

340 dinoscitur 1516/7: dignoscitur 1517 1531P 1531C.

341 et iterum 1516/7 1517 1531C: iterum 1531P.

367 Esaias 1516/7 1517 1531P: Isaias 1531C.

313–316 *Dauid ... est David* Quinchi (Kimchi, c. 1160–1235), *op. cit.* (the present appendix, n. l. 163), p. 52.

320 *ipse* Kimchi.

327 *perinde ... Deus* “no more than God (is a creature)”.

330 ἡλάττωσας ... ἀγγέλους Ps. 8, 6 in the Septuaginta.

334–335 δέκα ... τι ἐστί. See Eust., *Comm. in Hom. II*, I. l. 122, ed. M. van der Valk, vol. 2, Leiden, 1976, p. 673, ll. 1–6.

341–342 *modicum ... me* Ioh. 16, 16.

341 *modicum et non* The Vulgate reads: “modicum et iam non”.

344–345 *foenum ... decident* Ps. 36, 2.

350 *Sed ... Vulgario* Cf. appendix III, ll. 31–32 and n. Cf. Erasmus, *Annot. in NT*, ad *Hebr.* 2, 7, *LB VI* 988 F: “... Vulgarium et Athanasium

duos facit cum commentarii in epistolas Pauli, qui circumferuntur versi a quodam priore S. Balbinae, Vulgarii sint, seu potius Theophylacti Bulgariensis Episcopi, non Athanasii. Quod protinus deprehendet qui Graeca contulerit.”  
 351 *Athanasium* *Expos. in Ps.*, viii, Migne *PG* 27, 81 C4–8.

352–353 *Septuaginta ... dicendum* See the *Apolo- log. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. ll. 14–15.

356 *dicit* The subject is Erasmus.

362–363 *Vado ... est* Ioh. 14, 28.

365–366 *qui ... loquitur* Ioh. 3, 31. The Vulgate reads: “qui desursum venit supra (super) omnes est, qui est de terra de terra est et de terra loquitur”.

367–369 *paruulus ... pacis* Is. 9, 6.

369–370 *ecce ... Emmanuel* Is. 7, 14.

371 *nobiscum Deus* Mt. 1, 23.

*nobiscum Deus.* Non est igitur nomen eius in terris id: minor angelis siue minu-  
 375 tus *ab angelis*, sed *Deus nobiscum* et angelorum Deus ac Dominus cui sit honor et  
 gloria. Quod autem insuper adiicitur: *neque vero refellit huius partis sensum id*  
*quod sequitur: gloria et honore coronasti eum, omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius,*  
*siquidem illud pertinet ad Ihesu vitam actam in terris et passionem, hoc posterius ad*  
 380 *glorificationem ad quam vt homo subuectus est,* etsi secunda particula illi intelli-  
 gentiae etiam non aduersaretur, veritas tamen, vt iam abunde monstratum est,  
 illius particulae eam intelligentiam quam nichilominus praetendit defendere, id  
 est Christum in hoc mundo minoratum fuisse ab angelis, prorsus eliminat peni-  
 tusque refellit. Et si quis diligenter perpendere velit, autumo et sequentem et  
 praecedentem particulam illi intelligentiae qua diceretur Filius hominis imminu-  
 385 tus ab angelis aduersari, praecedentem quidem qua dicitur: *quid est homo quod*  
*memor es eius aut Filius hominis quoniam visitas eum.* Nam caeterorum hominum  
 non est nisi quaedam Dei memoria et, vt sic dicam, absentia quaedam, quod id  
 insinuat: *quid est homo quod memor es eius,* siquidem memoria absentium est.  
 Filii autem hominis, id est Christi, iam visitatio et praesentia vnionis est et tan-  
 390 tae quidem vnionis vt ea sit hypostatica et qua nulla maior esse potest. Quod et  
 id insinuat, *aut Filius hominis quoniam visitas eum.* Et huiusmodi Dei visitatio,  
 praesentia, vnio, non hominem minuit sed sic etiam eleuat super omnia vt pau-  
 lominus minutus sit a Deo. Et minui paulominus a Deo est super omnia alia  
 exaltari et omnia alia illi subiecta esse. In eo enim, ait Apostolus, *quod omnia ei*  
 395 *subiecit, nichil dimisit non subiectum ei praeter eum qui subiecit ei omnia.*

Et de illa visitatione, vnione et a Diuinitate appraehensione circa finem huius  
 capituli subdit Apostolus: *nusquam enim angelos appraehendit, sed semen Abrahae*  
*appraehendit,* quod quidem Abrahae semen alio loco interpretatur *qui est Chri-*  
*stus.* Sed nec vllum alium hominum appraehendit, proinde dicit Paulus ad Gala-  
 400 *tas: Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius, non dicit: et seminibus, sed*  
*quasi in vno et semini tuo qui est Christus.* Et cum Deus angelos nusquam appraeh-  
 enderit, neque ea sit ad eos diuinac visitationis appropinquatio qua maior esse  
 non potest, intelligitur iam quaedam Dei ab angelis distantia, hominis autem qui  
 Christus est nulla, cum eam ad Deum habeat approximationem et vnionem qua  
 405 creaturae ad Deum et cum Deo nulla potest esse maior. Praecedens igitur par-  
 ticula manifeste declarat iis qui Spiritus intelligentiam sequi possunt, non esse  
 consequenter legendum *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis,* sed legendum *a Deo.*

Sed etiam si in hoc mundo *gloria et honore coronatus est et omnia ei subiecta*  
*fuerunt,* nonne secunda particula illius octauae versus etiam primae particulae  
 410 refellit intelligentiam qua interpretaretur *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis?* Sed  
 nonne is qui a Deo in hoc mundo rex gentium, haeres et possessor terminorum  
 terrae constituitur *gloria et honore coronatur?* Cum autem Christus in hoc mundo  
 talis fuerit (*ego, inquit, constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion montem sanctum eius,*  
*praedicans praeceptum eius*), certe in hoc mundo *gloria et honore* prae omnibus  
 415 etiam regibus terrae a Deo coronatus est.

Cui enim regum terrae aliquando dixit Deus: *postula a me et dabo tibi gentes*  
*haereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae?* Quod si tunc mortalium

oculorum infirmitas cognosci non permittebat, cognoscebant tamen angeli et prophetae et sancti Dei. *Exulta satis*, inquit Zacharias, *filia Sion, iubila, filia Hierusalem*. *Ecce, rex tuus veniet tibi, iustus et saluator*. Et Ioannes: *et vidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre*. Qui pauper aspectui hominum apparerat, sed diues super omnes aspectibus angelorum ac sanctorum. Quem vt vidit Petrus in sua gloria aut potius gloriae suae adumbratione transfiguratum, facie tanquam sole fulgida et vestimentis candidioribus niue, prae admiratione gloriae in ἐκστάσει factus dixit: *Domine, bonum est nos hic esse. Si vis, faciamus hic tria tabernacula, tibi vnum, Moysi vnum et Heliae vnum*. Et cum Christus in terris clamaret: *Pater, clarifica nomen tuum, venit vox de coelo dicens: et clarificauit et iterum clarificabo*. Quae vniuersa gloriam et honorem eius in terra significant, exuperantem etiam omnem gloriam et omnem honorem omnium regum terrae. Et cum fuerit rex a Deo constitutus in tanto honore, clarificatione et gloria, quid ni intelligamus constitutum fuisse super opera manuum eius et omnia fuisse ei in terra subiecta? Quod satis innuit diuinus Christi praeco apud Ioannem dicens: *Pater diligit Filium et omnia dedit in manu eius*. Et Paulus in hac epistola: *non enim*, inquit, *angelis subiecit Deus orbem terrae futurum de quo loquimur*, sed vult orbem terrae futurum ei subiectum esse, de quo scriptum est: *omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius*, et is procul dubio est Christus. Et orbis terrae futurus intelligitur orbis a Christi Domini aduentu, vt ait Esaias, *et vocabitur princeps pacis, pater futuri seculi*.

Et non solum orbis terrae subiectus fuit Christo, sed et omnia illi fuisse subiecta ipse mirificis in terra operibus declarauit, caecos a natiuitate illumi-

405 cum Deo 1516/7 1517 1531C: Deo 1531P.

419–420 Hierusalem 1516/7 1517 1531P: Ierusalem

1531C.

426 Moysi 1516/7 1517 1531C: Mosi 1531P.

376–379 *neque ... est* See appendix III, ll. 33–36.

377 *gloria ... eum* Hebr. 2, 7; Ps. 8, 6.

377 *omnia ... eius* Hebr. 2, 8; Ps. 8, 8.

377–378 *eius, siquidem illud* Erasmus writes: *eius, oues et boues etc. Siquidem prius illud* (appendix III, l. 34).

381 *praetendit* The subject is Erasmus.

385–386 *quid ... eum* Ps. 8, 5.

394–395 *quod ... subiectum ei* Hebr. 2, 8.

395 *praeter ... omnia* I Cor. 15, 27.

397–398 *nusquam ... apprehendit* Hebr. 2, 16.

398–399 *qui est Christus* Gal. 3, 16.

400–401 *Abrahae ... Christus* Gal. 3, 16.

400 *seminibus, sed* The Vulgate reads: “seminibus quasi in multis, sed”.

405–406 *Praecedens ... particula* Ps. 8, 5; Hebr. 2, 6 “quid est homo quod memor es eius aut Filius hominis quoniam visitas eum”. Cf. the present appendix ll. 385–386.

407 *minuisti ... Deo* Cf. n. l. 6.

408–409 *gloria ... fuerunt* Hebr. 2, 7–9; Ps. 8, 6–8; I Cor. 15, 27.

409 *secunda ... versus* Lefevre refers to the words “gloria ... ei” in Hebr. 2, 7–8 and Ps. 8, 6–8. *octauus versus* i.e., of Ps. 8; cf. ll. 454, 521–522, and 528–529.

411–412 *haeres ... terrae* See the present appendix, ll. 416–417 and n.

413–414 *ego ... praeceptum eius* Ps. 2, 6, Vg.: “Ego autem constitutus ...”

416–417 *postula ... terrae* Ps. 2, 8.

419–420 *Exulta ... saluator* Zach. 9, 9.

420–421 *et vidimus ... Patre* Ioh. 1, 14.

422–426 *Quem ... vnum* Mt. 17, 1–9; Mc. 9, 1–8; Lc. 9, 28–36.

425–426 *Domine ... Heliae vnum* Mt. 17, 4.

427–428 *Pater ... clarificabo* Ioh. 12, 28.

427 *venit vox* The Vulgate reads: “venit ergo vox”.

432 *praeco* John the Baptist.

433 *Pater ... eius* Ioh. 3, 35.

433–434 *non ... loquimur* Hebr. 2, 5.

435–436 *omnia ... eius* Hebr. 2, 8; Ps. 8, 8.

437–438 *et ... seculi* Is. 9, 6. Cf. the present appendix, n. ll. 367–369.

440–441 *caecos ... illuminando* See Ioh. 9, 1–7.

nando, surdis auditum reparando, claudis gressum, mortuos suscitando et imperiosa voce Lazarum ab inferis reuocando, naturas rerum transmutando vt aquam in vinum, quatuor milia hominum praeter paruulos et mulieres ex panibus septem et paucis pisciculis saturando, daemonia subiiciendo, mari et ventis imperando et in omnia se habere potestatem manifestando.

445 Et haec quidem omnia, dum versabatur in terra. Quis angelorum caecos natos illuminauit, quis illuminare potest, mortuos suscitare, creaturas transmutare, imperare inferis, propria autoritate legem dare mari, ventis ac procellis, quis septem panibus et duobus pisciculis tantam hominum multitudinem saturare? Nul-  
450 lus certe neque hominum neque angelorum, sed solus Christus qui haec omnia in terris potuit et fecit, vt vel sic intelligatur pro eo tempore quo versabatur in terris non fuisse imminutus *ab angelis*, sed angelis superior, cui *a Patre omnia tradita sunt eique subiecta omnia*.

Pugnat igitur posterior illa sexti versus octauae psalmi particula illi prioris intelligentiae qua diceretur *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*. Legendum igitur et vere legendum *a Deo*.

Quod subiungit: *neque vero hoc fefellit Aquinatem qui indicat paulominus bifariam accipi posse, vel vt pertineat ad quantitatem, sic enim loquitur, vel vt pertineat ad durationem*, Thomas, mea quidem sententia, eo magis venia dignus quo  
460 magnos sequebatur authores, Athanasium, dico, atque Chrysostomum. Ex quorum lectione hanc sibi effinxit duplicem vocabuli acceptionem, quamuis eam nulla ratione fulserit. Effinxit autem, similiter et alii, vt huius loci *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis*, quem sic omnino haberi apud prophetam putabant, ingentem et pene inextricabilem effugerent expositionis difficultatem. Verum, vt  
465 iam dilucide ostensum est, non modo non effugerunt, sed noua se difficultate implicuerunt. Et quid aliud potuisset Thomas, alioqui vir bono ingenio qui ea temporum infoelicitate natus est in quibus bonae literae omnes et Latinae et Graecae et Hebraicae tanquam sepultae et emortuae ignotae iacebant. In tanta tamen temporum caligine pleraque non aliis sui temporis deterius, immo melius  
470 et vero vicinius vidit. Si vero et Athanasius, Chrysostomus et Thomas intellexissent prophetam in propria Hebraicaque lingua habuisse *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo*, non ita maligno erant ingenio quin toto animo amplexati fuissent Deo ex corde de tam magnifica Deoque digna intelligentia gratias exsoluentes. Vt et suscipiunt alacriter omnes qui intelligentiae Spiritus sunt amatores, qui et  
475 Christo Deoque pro tam magnifica dignaque prophetae intelligentia gratias ex corde similiter agunt.

Adiicit praeterea: *sunt qui Lucam putent interpretem fuisse, quam opinionem si recipimus, is interpres in ius vocari non potest*. Non sane recipimus Lucam fuisse huius epistolae interpretem, cum omnes hanc sentiant incerto authore fuisse  
480 translata, tum quia Lucas spiritualis erat, quem minime latebat sensus Spiritus, cui vt Spiritum Dei habenti et euangelium commissum est exscribendum. Caeterum non oportet hic auctoritatem scribentis, quicumque is fuerit, sed veritatem facere victoriam.

485 Sed dicit: *interpres in ius vocari non potest, praesertim cum apud Hebraeos haec vox Elohim habeatur quippe quae utrius numero singulari aut plurali 'Deum' aut 'deos' declaret.*

490 Non eo inficias apud Hebraeos vocabulum 'Elohim' homonymum esse, quod πολύσημον καὶ πολλαχῶς λεγόμενον iure dici potest. Sed et vocabulum habemus homonymum atque polysemum ei respondens: Deus et dei. Loco cuius qui bene vertunt si simpliciter et sine pluralitatis nota dicatur, semper ponunt 'Deum' aliquo casu singulari. Cum vero sumitur cum pluralitatis nota ut *col Elohim*, semper efferunt pluratiue ut 'omnes dii' aut 'omnes deos', quemadmodum id psalmo 95: *quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia* et psalmo 94: *quoniam Deus magnus Dominus super omnes deos.*

495 Cum igitur sine nota pluralitatis inueniatur a propheta Dauid positum in Psalmis bis centies septuagies quinquies et bis centies septuagies quater interpretatum inueniatur singulari numero 'Deus', qua fronte igitur in hoc octauo psalmo *Elohim* sine pluralitatis nota repertum non vertit singulari numero 'Deus' ac dixit *a Deo*? Quomodo is *interpres in ius vocari non potest*? Cur toties alibi in Psalmis ubique *Deus*, nusquam autem 'dii' aut 'angeli', hic vero *ab angelis*? Certe *a Deo* dicere debuerat, nisi merito vellet in ius vocari.

500 Et quod translatio Chaldaica, quae verius paraphrasis quam translatio dici posse videtur, habeat *ab angelis*, nichil obest neque id sufficienti argumento est, cum pleraque alia aut errore paraphraetae aut posteriorum deprauatione a fideli reicienda, peruersa aut viciata contineat et cum iam lucida veritate perspectum sit legendum esse *a Deo*, non *ab angelis*.

443 paruulos 1516/7: paruos 1517 1531 P 1531C.

447 quis 1516/7 1517 1531C: qui 1531P.

464 effugerent 1516/7 1517 1531P: effingerent 1531C.

473 digna 1516/7 1517 1531C: digno 1531P.

474 intelligentiae 1516/7 1517 1531P: intelligentia 1531C.

492 id 1516/7: in 1517 1531P 1531C.

504 fideli 1516/7 1517 1531C: fidei 1531 P.

441 surdis ... reparando See Mt. 9, 32–34; Mc. 9, 16–28.

claudis gressum See Mt. 15, 30.

mortuos suscitando See Lc. 7, 11–17; Mc. 5, 41–42.

441–442 imperiosa ... reuocando See Ioh. 11, 43–44.

442–443 aquam in vinum See Ioh. 2, 1–11.

443–444 quatuor ... saturando See Mt. 15, 29–39.

444 daemonia subiuciendo See, e.g., Mc. 1, 34, 39; 3, 15.

444–445 mari ... imperando See Mt. 8, 23–27.

452–453 a ... sunt Mt. 11, 27; Lc. 10, 22.

453 subiecta omnia I Cor. 15, 27–28.

455–456 minuisti ... Deo Cf. the present appendix, n. l. 6.

457–459 neque ... durationem See appendix III, ll. 36–38

457 vero hoc Erasmus wrote: *vero prorsus hoc Aquinatem Loc. cit.* (the present appendix, n. l. 42). See Erasmus, *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. l. 370.

477–478 sunt ... potest See appendix III, ll. 41–42.

484–486 interpres ... declaret *Ibid.*, ll. 42–44.

487 eo inficias "I contest".

488 πολλαχῶς λεγόμενον Cf. Aristot. *Top.* 158 b 10 and *Pol.* 1276 a 23.

491 col Elohim I.e., כֹּל אֱלֹהִים, kôl Elohim, "all gods (or: lords)".

493 quoniam ... daemonia Ps. 95, 5.

493–494 quoniam Deus ... deos Ps. 94, 3

494 super The Vulgate reads: "Dominus et rex magnus super".

502 translatio Chaldaica I.e., of Ps. 8, 6. See appendix III, n. ll. 47–48.

Dicit insuper: *unum illud addam, Hieronymum videri non admodum probasse quod haec proprie tribuantur Christo, cum ait: hunc locum Apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos super Christo interpretatur.* Immo equidem oppositum crediderim: eo ipso scilicet quod sacer Hieronymus dicit, *hunc locum Apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos super Christo interpretatur,* ipsum sacrum ecclesiae doctorem admodum et omnino approbasse quod haec proprie Christo tribuantur. Nunquid enim credi consentaneum est, quia Apostolus hunc locum de Christo interpretatur, iccirco Hieronymum sensisse hunc locum non proprie Christo esse tribuendum? Id profecto credere amentia esset. Et si id non sentiret Hieronymus propter Apostolum, sentiret tamen hunc psalmum proprie de Christo esse ex ipsius Christi testimonio ex hoc psalmo prophetiam super se citantis.

Cum enim pueri Hebraeorum clamarent in templo ac dicerent in laudem saluatoris: *osianna filio David* et principes sacerdotum et scribae indignati dicerent ei: *audis quid isti dicunt? Ihesus dixit eis: utique, nunquam legis quia ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem?* Qui est tertius huius octavi psalmi versus. Is autem de quo agitur eiusdem est sextus.

Et calci annotationis suae adiungit: *et de authore eius adeo fuit dubitatum ut sero recepta sit a Romana ecclesia, quandoquidem in hanc unam omnium nichil commentatus est Ambrosius. Et Hieronymus ait a nonnullis non fuisse receptam ob id, quod in ea nonnulla citarentur quae apud Hebraeos non inueniantur.* Id, inquam, calci adiectum ad id quo de agitur momenti nichil habet. Nam id in quaestione non versatur, quisnam fuerit epistolae author, sed an prima particula sexti versus octavi psalmi probe fideliterque reddita sit ab interprete sic efferente: *minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis,* an potius vertere debuerit: *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo.* Quem sane posteriorem modum debuisse, si fidelis esse voluit interpres, iam satis superque monstratum est.

Et quanquam ita est, non tamen satis constat id verum esse, sic de hac epistola addubitatum fuisse ut sero recepta sit a Romana ecclesia. Nam ea Latina tralatio qua vitur ecclesia, Hieronymi praecessit tempora. Et Hieronymus aduersus Iouinianum de Enoch citat in hac epistola Apostolum dicens: *de quo Paulus apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos plenissime docet.* Quae si non fuisset recepta, non utique aduersus haereticum reuincendum ipsius vteretur testimonio. *Sero,* inquit, *recepta est a Romana ecclesia, quandoquidem in hanc unam omnium nichil commentatus est Ambrosius.* Id certe nullo argumento esse potest, ipsam epistolam sero fuisse a Romana ecclesia receptam, siue commentatus fuerit Ambrosius, quod nescitur, siue non commentatus. Qua enim argumentationis lege efficitur: Ambrosius nichil est in hanc epistolam commentatus, ergo non est recepta aut sero recepta a Romana ecclesia? Sane eodem iure dicam epistolam Iacobi, duas Petri et reliquas sero fuisse a Romana ecclesia receptas, quandoquidem nichil in eas Ambrosius est commentatus. Quam rem si hac ratione pertinaciter defendere voluero, explodari, irridebor, tota dignus videbor Anticyra.

Verum etiam certo cognoscitur argumento ante Ambrosium receptam ab ecclesia fuisse, quoniam Ambrosius in suis scriptis eius vitur testimonio ut in epistola 82, quae est ad Versellensem ecclesiam, circa medium inquit: *unde nos*



apostolus Paulus eorum vult esse imitatores, qui per fidem et patientiam possederunt reppromissiones Abrahae. Et ad Clementianum circa principium de apostolo loquens: et licet, ait, ad Hebraeos ipse dixerit, quia testamentum non valet nisi mors intercedat testatoris. Hoc epistolae ad Hebraeos capite 9, illud capite 6. Et innumera epistolae ad Hebraeos tunc in ecclesia receptae ac approbatae, reperiantur testimonia, tum in Ambrosii, tum in Hieronymi opusculis et etiam in primitiua ecclesia, vt in Dionysii Diuinis nominibus, si desiderantur antiquiora.

Et si fuerunt aliqui qui hanc refutantes epistolam diffiterentur esse Pauli, nequaquam ii fuerunt Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, quandoquidem huius epistolae vtuntur authoritate, non Athanasius, non Chrysostomus qui in eam commentati sunt, non vlli fideles. Sed illi fuerunt Ebionitae, Martionitae et

521 lactentium 1516/7 1517 1531C: lactantium 1531P.  
527 calci 1516/7 1517 1531P: in calce 1531C.

534 tralatio 1516/7: translatio 1517 1531P 1531C.

507–509 vnum ... interpretatur See appendix III, ll. 53–55.

510–511 Hieronymus ... interpretatur Hier., loc. cit. (see the present appendix, n. ll. 39–40).

519 osianna filio Dauid Mt. 21, 15.

519–520 principes ... ei Cf. Mt. 21, 15–16.

520–521 audis ... laudem Mt. 21, 16,

520 Ihesus dixit The Vulgate reads: "Iesus autem dixit".

523–526 et de ... inueniantur See appendix III, ll. 56–59.

525–526 Hieronymus ... inueniantur Hier. Comm. in Is., lib. 3, CCSL 73, ed. M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1963, p. 92, ll. 47–49.

529–531 minuisti ... Deo Cf. the present appendix, n. l. 6.

536–537 de ... docet Hier., Adv. Iou., I, Migne PL 23, 247 A7–8.

538–540 Sero ... Ambrosius See appendix III, ll. 56–57, cf. the present appendix, n. ll. 523–526.

538 inquit The subject is Erasmus.

540 Ambrosius I.e., Ambrosiaster, cf. H.J. de Jonge in ASD IX, 2, p. 144, n. ll. 664–665. The objection in ll. 544–546 is inadequate, because Ambrosiaster wrote his commentary only on the Pauline epistles.

547 tota ... Anticyra "I shall seem to be crazy". Otto 117, Adag. 752 (Nauiget Anticyras), LB II, 318 E–319 B.

548 receptam I.e., epistolam ad Hebraeos.

550–552 unde ... Abrahae Ambr. Epist. 14, CSEL 82, ed. M. Zelzer, Wenen, 1982, p. 261.

551 fidem ... possiderunt The text of Ambrosius reads: "fidem, inquit, et patientiam possident". Ambrosius is referring to Hebr. 6, 12–13.

553–554 et ... testatoris Ambr., Epist. 75, Migne PL 16, 1312 C8–11. Ambr. is referring to Hebr. 9, 16–17.

556 Ambrosii See e.g., the present appendix, n. ll. 552–554.

Hieronymi See e.g., Epist. 17, Migne PL 30, 186 B4–5.

557 Dionysii Diuinis nominibus See e.g., Migne PG 3, 836 D14. Lefèvre regarded the works of Dionysius the Areopagite as genuine and as written in the first century A.D. Cf. this appendix, n. ll. 221–222.

559 Augustinus See e.g., Epist. 177, CSEL 44, 3, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna and Leipzig, 1904, p. 680.

560 Athanasius Lefèvre is referring to Theophylact, translated into Latin by Porsena, cf. H.J. de Jonge, ASD IX, 2, p. 131, n. l. 437; see e.g., Athanasius, ... commentarii in epistolas Pauli ... quae omnia ... Latina facta Christophoro Porsena ... , Paris, 1519. The note on Hebr. 2, 7 can be found on P CCXIX Diii. It is indeed a translation of a note in Theophylact, Migne PG 125, 208 B12–C9. In Porsena's translation, however, the text quoted from Hebr. 2, 6–7 includes also the final clause of v. 7: "constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum". Chrysostomus See his Enarr. in Epist. ad Hebr., Migne PG 63.

561 Ebionitae A sect of Jewish Christians in the early centuries of the Christian era. Some of them did not believe in the virgin birth of Christ. They are said to have rejected the Pauline epistles. H. Chadwick, *The Early Church*, Middlesex, 1986, p. 23. ODCC, pp. 438–439.

561 Martionitae Followers of Marcion (ca. 150 A.D.) who denied the identity of the New Testament God and the Creator God revealed in the Old Testament. Marcion also rejected the real incarnation of Christ. He accepted only ten epistles of Paul, H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–39; ODCC, pp. 870–871.

id genus pessimorum haereticorum, quorum nonnulli negabant Christum fuisse Deum, alii vero negabant fuisse hominem, quorum omnium ex hac epistola manifeste conuincebatur insania, qui et falso calumniabantur. Non autem Hieronymus, qui illorum verba recitat: *quod nonnulla in ea citarentur quae apud Hebraeos non inueniantur*. Nam si non iniuria interpretis id factum sit, nichil prorsus autumo in ea citatum quod apud Hebraeos inueniri non possit et omnium fide probari, vt nullus posthac diffidat hanc sanctam et diuinam epistolam, etsi solum per interpretem eam habeamus, ex Paulo fuisse et eminentissimam vitae atque Spiritus continere intelligentiam, omni populo fideli et toti mundo vel maxime necessariam. Quam et sacrosanctae synodi et canones ecclesiastici approbauere.

Et hic nostrae disceptationis cum viro quidem peramico beneuole susceptae, finem facimus. Quam eo libentius suscepi quo materia ipsa discussione visa est dignissima et ad eum virum qui michi charissimus est. Et quod auget dilectionis affectum, qui doctissimus est, vigilantissimus, eloquentissimus et clarus theologiae professionis assertor, plurium linguarum probe gnarus ac de re literaria vniuersa quam optime meritus. Qui, puto, boni consulet quod ad plenius agnoscendam veritatem, et eam quidem veritatem in qua errare periculosum et probe nosse pulcherrimum est, nostra hactenus cura insudarit, praesertim cum ipse nobis stimulum respondendi addiderit. Quem etiam oratum velim vt pro foecundiore ingenio et dicendi gratia ad nostra adiiciat, si illi non satisfacisse videbor. Quamuis et rear hac in parte fecisse satis vel abunde. Idque praestante Domino nostro Ihesu Christo veri lucisque infusore, qui magnus est super omnia Deus. Cui sit honor et gloria in saecula. Amen.

IACOBI FABRI STAPVLENSIS DISPUTATIONIS IN ANNOTATIONEM  
DESIDERII ERASMI ROTERODAMI FINIS

565–566 *quod ... inueniantur* Cf. appendix III, ll. 58–59) and cf. the present appendix, n. ll. 525–526. In fact, however, Jerome does not assert in this passage that the reason why heretics rejected *Hebr.* was because it contains elements not found in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Elsewhere Jerome does write that some of the heretics did not accept *Hebr.*; see his *Comm. in Epist. ad Tit.*, lib. i, prologus, Migne *PL* 26, 589 B1–C5. But in that case, he does not say that they rejected *Hebr.*

because it contains elements missing in the Hebrew Old Testament.

580–581 *ipse ... addiderit* Erasmus did this request not in the annotation of *Hebr.* 2, 7 in Erasmus' *Nov. Instr.*, but in letters which he sent to Lefèvre before publishing his *Nov. Instr.* In these letters, which are not extant, Erasmus expresses his disagreement with several statements that Lefèvre made in the first edition of his translation, paraphrase and annotations of Paul's epistles. See Erasmus' *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 135 and 137 with nn. and ll. 142–144.

APPENDIX V  
SUMMA TOTIVS DISPUTATIONIS CONTRACTA  
IN ARTICVLOS, ADDITIS DVOBVS VERBIS EORVM  
QVAE OBIICIVNTVR SOLVTIONIBVS

(1518)

5 Ex hoc loco Faber Stapulensis, vir cum primis probus ac doctus, ansam arripuit  
conflictandi mecum, siue id fecit instinctu alieno, siue quo meum animum  
exploraret, siue affectu quodam humano, vt nullus adhuc hominum extitit qui  
omnibus horis sapuerit. Sed quoniam illius insectatio commentariis intermixta  
passim legitur, neque commodum est visum nostram apologiam, qua illi copio-  
sius respondeo, in hunc infulcire locum, capita rerum duntaxat annotabo lectori.  
10 Primum, quod facit me reiicientem suam sententiam ac Hieronymianam  
interpretationem, res ipsa declarat longe secus esse, cum vtranque recenseam, nec

This *Summa totius disputationis* appeared in the fourth edition of Erasmus' *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, printed by Martens in Louvain in 1518, f° m4r<sup>b</sup>-o3r<sup>o</sup> (i.e., 15 pp.). It was inserted after the apologia. It is announced on the title page of the book as a whole, which reads: *Apologia Erasmi Roterodami ad eximium virum D. Iacobum Fabrum. Cui additum est compendium argumentorum, quibus Faber aduersus eum est usus, adiectis solutionibus.*

Subsequently, Erasmus incorporated this *Summa* in the *Annotat. in Nov. Test., ad Hebr. 2, 7*, printed by Froben in Basel in 1519. He appended it to the note on *Hebr. 2, 7* that had already appeared in the *Nov. Instr.* This *annotatio* was included in its entirety (i.e., the note on *Hebr. 2, 7* as occurring in the *Nov. Instr.*, enlarged with the *Summa*) in all subsequent editions of the *Nov. Test.* from 1519 onward, without changes of any importance. The minor alterations introduced in 1519 and in later editions of the *Annotat. in Nov. Test.* will not be recorded here. For these alterations, see A. Reeve (ed.), *Erasmus' Annotations on the*

*New Testament. Galatians to the Apocalypse*, Leiden, 1993, pp. 707-713.

4 *hoc loco Hebr. 2, 7.*

4-5 *Faber ... mecum* Lefèvre did this in his *disputatio*, i.e., his note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in the second edition (1516/17) of his translation and paraphrase of, and commentary on Paul's epistles. For Lefèvre's note on *Hebr. 2, 7*, see appendix IV.

4 *ansam Adag.* 304 (*Ansam* quærere et consimiles metaphoræ), *ASD* II, 1, pp. 411-413.

5 *instinctu alieno* For this suggestion, and for the identity of the persons Erasmus may have suspected, see the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, l. 40 and n.

7 *omnibus horis* See *Adag.* 1329, *LB* II, 532 B-D.

9 *in hunc ... locum* I.e., in the *Annotat. in N.T., ad Hebr. 2, 7.*

10-11 *facit ... interpretationem* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre's words in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 19-22. For a more elaborate reaction of Erasmus on this passage, see his *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 283-331 and nn.

hanc nec illam reiiciens, sed tantum indicans scrupulum qui videatur in vtraque lectione obstrepere. Eumque conor amoliri, per hoc et Fabri parteis adiuuans, nam is scrupulus grauius obstat, si legamus eum paulum diminutum a Deo  
 15 quam ab angelis.

Deinde, quod hanc disputationem mecum susceptam vocat propheticæ intelligentiæ defensionem, ad me certe non pertinet, cum ego propheticam intelligentiam pro virili adiuuem, non impugnem. Nec hic sine contumelia me facit intelligentiæ propheticæ aduersarium, etiamsi constaret prophetam hoc sensisse  
 20 quod ille vult, cum nec Fabro aduerser et Hieronymianam annotationem nominatim etiam adducam.

Deinde, quod dixeram illum hac in parte a Thoma dissentire, id ita defendit quasi criminis vice intenterim, cum nihil tale sit in scriptis meis. Solus Hieronymus admonuit de *Eloim*, caeteri omnes, tum Graeci, tum Latini legunt *ab angelis*.  
 25 Cum his consentit Thomas, nisi quod addit distinctionem de corpore et anima Christi. Id quoniam habebat peculiare, nominatim illius feci mentionem. Quid enim magni erat, si dixissem Fabrum hic dissentire a Thoma, vbi dissentit ab omnibus orthodoxis, imo ab ipso Paulo, quem putat huius autorem epistolæ, et a publica ecclesiæ lectione tot seculis recepta comprobataque?

Quarto loco, sic mecum argumentatur, quasi iam constaret ac definitum esset legendum *a Deo*, non *ab angelis*, cum id versetur in quaestione, imo maxime ver-  
 30 tatur in dubium, quod ille veluti certum et confessum assumit, an legendum sit *a Deo*, quod semel duntaxat annotauit Hieronymus et vnus et paucis verbis, nec improbans tamen receptam lectionem, et aliis locis adducens hunc psalmum  
 35 iuxta id quod nos vulgo legimus.

Quinto loco, velut impie dictum reiicit ac refutat quod obiter scripserim, id quod in psalmo legitur, *minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis*, de homine assumpto intelligendum, perinde quasi his verbis distraxerim Christi hypostasim aut quasi  
 40 Christi vocabulum pro vna duntaxat natura vsurparim, cum nihil tale sermo meus habeat, qui neque a Latinae linguae consuetudine, nec a veterum scriptis, nec a sacris literis abhorret, nisi palam calumniari velis. Quod diminutus dicitur Christus, vtique pertinet ad naturam humanam assumptam, iuxta quam diminutus est. Et tamen ostendo ex superuacuo non absurde aliquid posse enunciari de altera naturarum quæ sunt in Christo. Sed hæc copiosius disseruntur in apologia,  
 45 nam paucis annotari non possunt.

Sexto, quod ille velut absurdum execratur, Christi vocabulum pro vna accipi natura, demonstro recte accipi iuxta vulgatam scholarum opinionem, nempe pro diuina vnita humanæ, etiamsi negem id a me factum, idque doceo clarissimis  
 50 argumentis.

Septimo, quod ille toties infulcit, homo assumptus fuit imminutus a Deo, constat Fabri sermonem esse, non meum.

Octauo, quod diximus Christum non solum infra angelos descendisse sed *infra abiectissimos etiam homines*, Faber atrociter eum sermonem refutat, *tanquam impium et Christo Deoque indignissimum, tanquam Spiritui aduersantem et literæ*

55 *quae occidit adhaerentem*, tanquam prophetae repugnantem, cum ego multis modis demonstrarem hunc sermonem cum primis esse pium, concinentem oraculis

- 12–13 *scrupulum ... obstrepere* I.e., the problem that Jesus, who had been humiliated so deeply, was said to have been humiliated only a little, cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 562–567: ... *palam explicem in hoc esse scrupulum quomodo Filius Dei dici possit paululum imminutus a Deo, quum humanae naturae cuius assumptione diminutus dicitur ad diuinam assumptentem nulla sit proportio, aut quomodo paululum imminutus ab angelis, quum non mediocre sit interuallum inter angelos immortales et carnem morti obnoxiam iuxta quam Christus dicitur excinansisse se.*
- 13 *Eumque conor amoliri* Erasmus had tried to solve the problem in his note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in the *Nov. Instr.* by proposing to interpret βραχυότι as an adjunct of time instead of as an indication of the degree to which Jesus had been humiliated; see appendix III, ll. 29–31.
- 14–15 *is ... angelis* If βραχυότι is taken to refer to distance and dignity, as Lefèvre took it, it is more problematic to say that Jesus was humiliated only a little below God, than that he was humiliated only a little below the angels.
- 16–17 *Deinde ... defensionem* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre's own description of his *disputatio* as a *propheticae intelligentiae defensio*; see appendix IV l. 33. For Erasmus' opinion on this, see the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 332–348 and nn. By "prophetica intelligentia", Lefèvre has in mind the "meaning of *Ps. 8, 6a* according to its author, the prophet David".
- 22–29 *Deinde ... comprobataque* This section summarizes the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 369–410.
- 22 *dixeram ... dissentire* Erasmus observed this in his note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in the *Nov. Instr.*, see appendix III, ll. 19–20.
- 23–24 *Hieronymus ... Eloim Hier. Comm. in Ps., ad 8, 6, CCSL 72*, ed. P. Antin, Turnhout, 1959, p. 191.
- 25–26 *Cum ... Christi S. Thomae Aquinatis ... Super Epistolas S. Pauli Lectura*, vol. II, ed. P. Raphaelis Cai, Turin and Rome, 1953, pp. 361–362.
- 30–31 *sic ... angelis* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre's formulation in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 6–11. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 479–526.
- 32–35 *quod ... legimus* Erasmus also deals with this in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 527–546.
- 36–39 *velut ... usurparim* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre's wording in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 95–97 and 116–119: ... *quod dicitur, etenim si de assumpto homine intelligas, quemadmodum necesse est, refutamus. Nam neque de assumpto homine intelligimus neque intelligi necesse est, sed intelligimus de Christo Domino qui est Filius Dei ... Si igitur in illo Psalmorum loco Filium hominis et id quod ipsum refert, intelligeremus de homine assumpto et non de hypothesisi contra consuetudinem diuinarum scripturarum et intelligentiam Spiritus, irrationabiliter faceremus, quod nequaquam est admittendum.* Erasmus reacts more extensively to this in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 615–647.
- 43–45 *ostendo ... possunt* Erasmus deals with this subject in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 586–594.
- 46–47 *quod ... natura* Erasmus refers to Lefèvre's *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 110–115.
- 47–49 *demonstro ... argumentis* I.e., in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 586–594.
- 50 *quod ... Deo* Erasmus refers to Lefèvre's awkward wording in his *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 121–122.
- 51 *constat ... meum* Erasmus deals with this blunder of Lefèvre more extensively in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 715–722.
- 52–55 *quod ... repugnantem* Erasmus reacts at great length to this accusation of Lefèvre in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 749–773, ll. 783–790, and ll. 1731–1738.
- 52–53 *diximus ... homines* Erasmus wrote this in the note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in his *Nov. Instr.*, see appendix III, ll. 22–24.
- 53 *Faber ... refutat* I.e., in his *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 120–148.
- 53–55 *tanquam ... repugnantem* See Lefèvre's *disputatio, ibid.*, ll. 132–137.
- 55–56 *cum ... pium* Erasmus argued this in his note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in the *Nov. Instr.* appendix III, ll. 24–26 and in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 774–782 and ll. 825–870.
- 56–57 *concinentem oraculis prophetarum* Erasmus is thinking of *Ps. 21, 7*: "ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis", quoted in his note on *Hebr. 2, 7* in the *Nov. Instr.*, see appendix III, ll. 24–26. In his *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, l. 778, Erasmus also refers to Isaiah for this image of the earthly Jesus, probably meaning *Is. 50, 6* or *Is. 52, 14* or *Is. 53*.

prophetarum, congruentem cum interpretatione orthodoxorum, cum primis consentientem cum verbis Pauli. Praesertim si modum deiectionis aestimemus non iuxta naturam hominis assumptam duntaxat, verum etiam iuxta naturae corruptae iniurias plerasque, potissimum autem iuxta speciem hominis nocentis quam nostra causa gessit ad tempus iuxta quam crucifixus est inter duos facinorosos, velut et ipse damnatus ob scelera sua. Nam iuxta hunc sensum potissimum placet Ambrosio intelligi quod ad Philippenses scribit Paulus, *exinaniuit semetipsum*, et caetera.

65 Nono, quod inibi ratiocinatur Faber, si propter naturam humanam assumptam paulum est imminutus a Deo, cum Deus esse perseuerarit, non consistit abiectum fuisse infra abiectissimos homines, palam est omnibus non agere Fabrum dialectice, dum assumit aduersum me βραχύ τι hic referri ad modum dignitatis, vt opponatur 'multum', cum ego doceam referri ad tempus, vt  
70 opponatur 'diu'. Neque pugnant 'plurimum esse diminutum' et 'paulisper esse diminutum'.

Decimo, quod in calce huius particulae adiicit me intendere hunc esse sensum prophetae, Christum non paulum fuisse imminutum ab angelis ac tanto minus a Deo, et ex his consequi multo magis a Deo diminutum si multum fuit diminutus ab angelis, atque ita denique prophetae sensum vtroque modo subruui, siue legamus a Deo, siue legamus ab angelis, satis opinor ex superioribus liquet hoc illi non sine causa, verumetiam sine mente in me dictum esse. Eiusdem farinae est illa clausula, *quare hic sermo seipsum elidit et falsum esse omni ex parte manifestat*. Nulla enim pugna in meo sermone, sed in iis quae Faber ex sese comminiscitur, tota haec pugna est.

Porro, quod undecimo loco subiicit non consistere sermonem quo scribo Christum ne ab angelis quidem paululum fuisse diminutum, qui ad mortem vsque crucis descenderit, nemo non videt ita dictum, vt aut ipse non perpenderit quid diceret aut amicum voluerit irridere. *Si non ab angelis*, inquit, *paulum quidem fuit diminutus, quomodo approbatur in propheta legendum esse minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis? Pugnantne paulominus et non paulominus, paululum et non paululum?* Non animaduertit Faber hanc enunciationem, *ne ab angelis quidem paululum fuit diminutus*, affirmatiuam esse, non negatiuam, quae significat *diminutum*, sed non paulum, imo multum. Secus esset si dixissem: 'ne paululum quidem fuit diminutus'. Liquet igitur nihil hic esse quod secum pugnet.

Duodecimo loco, quae nos adduximus e Psalmis, *ego sum vermis et non homo*, similiaque Christi testantia humilitatem, negat vere in Christum competere, sed tantum iuxta aestimationem impiorum. Atqui cum interprete Augustino, imo veteribus omnibus haec Christo tribuantur ob humanam naturam assumptam et naturae nostrae iniurias, postremo ob afflictiones, quas vt homo nocens perpeusus est, ne haec quidem in illum vere competent. Imo quia Christi humiliatio nobis humilitatis exemplum praescribit, opinor magis conuenire vt hoc exemplum vt summum ita verissimum esse credamus. Quod si appellatio *vermis* et in membra Christi competit, non statim consequitur in ipsum non competere.

100 Decimo tertio, quod adducit Mariam, matrem Iesu, dilectum discipulum, Magdalenam ac reliquas multa compassione fleuisse Christum, magis pro me facit. Etenim si nihil in illo erat non magnificum ac felix, quid super illo flebant?

105 Decimoquarto, quod rogat qui conueniat eum dici *vermem*, qui sit *primogenitus omnis creaturae* et superior est omnibus creaturis, vicissim eum rogabo, qui conuenerit olim Christum dici Deum et hominem, mortalem et immortalem, Filium hominis et Filium Dei, mortuum et viuum? Quis enim non videt diuersissima in eundem competere ob naturarum diuersitatem, quas eadem hypostasis complectitur.

110 Decimoquinto, quod dicit Iesum ita fuisse hominem vt omnium maxime vere fuerit homo, nihil ad me pertinet. Mihi satis est quod ipse sese vocat *non hominem*. Neque enim quisquam ita insanit vt accipiat illum non fuisse vere hominem, sed quemadmodum quae contemptissima sunt, dicuntur non esse, ita delectissimos homines non homines dicimus. Porro an Christus magis fuerit

- 57 *congruentem ... orthodoxorum* See Erasmus' note on *Hebr.* 2, 7 in the *Nov. Instr.*, appendix III, ll. 29–32, where Erasmus mentions Chrysostom and Theophylact as authors who took βραχὺ τῆ in *Hebr.* 2, 7, as an adjunct of time.
- 58 *consentientem ... Pauli* The reference is to *Hebr.* 2, 7b–8, see appendix III, ll. 33–36 and nn.
- 62–64 *iuxta ... semetipsum* Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 774–777: *Equidem illud arbitrabor ad Christi gloriam pertinere si illius humilitatem quam sponte nostra causa subiit quam maxime exaggerassem, praesertim quum Paulus ausus sit dicere: exinaniuit semetipsum et a propheta vermis siue, vt quidam vertunt, quorum est Ambrosius, scarabeus appelleretur. ...* For the reference to Ambrose, see Ambr., *Expos. eu. Lc. X*, II3, CSEL 32, 4, ed. C. Schenkel, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1902, p. 498, ll. 2–3: “vermis in cruce, scarabaeus in cruce. et bonus vermis, qui haesit in ligno, bonus scarabaeus, qui clamauit e ligno.” (Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 4–14). Ambrose also calls Jesus a *scarabaeus* in *Expos. Ps. CXVIII*, 3, 8, CSEL 62, ed. M. Petschenig, Vienna and Leipzig, 1913, p. 45, l. 23.
- 63–64 *exinaniuit semetipsum* *Phil.* 2, 7. *Vg.*: “... semetipsum exinaniuit ...”
- 65–67 *quod ... homines* Erasmus is referring to Lefèvre's *disputatio*, see appendix IV, ll. 128–132.
- 66 *consistit* “it applies”, “it is applicable”; cf. H.J. de Jonge in *ASD IX*, 1, p. 89, n. l. 573; p. 153, n. l. 797; p. 197, n. l. 549; p. 217, n. l. 860.
- 68–71 *assumit ... diminutum* See appendix IV, ll. 149–154. For a more detailed reaction on this, see the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1421–1435.
- 72–76 *quod ... angelis* See appendix IV, ll. 137–147. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1378–1409.
- 77 *non sine causa* In *BAS* this phrase has been corrected to “non modo sine causa”.
- 78–79 *quare ... manifestat* Appendix IV, ll. 147–148. Erasmus himself adduced this very sentence against Lefèvre in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1408–1409.
- 81 *consistere* See n. l. 66.
- 84–87 *Si ... paululum* Appendix IV, ll. 149–154.
- 91–93 *quae ... impiorum* Appendix IV, ll. 161–179. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1320–1329.
- 93 *interprete Augustino* Erasmus quotes Augustine more extensively in support of his own conviction that Jesus was humiliated and suffered in his incarnation, in his *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 901–911.
- 100–101 *quod ... Christum* See Lefèvre's *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 189–191. Erasmus also reacts to this in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1101–1108.
- 103–104 *eum ... creaturis* See appendix IV, ll. 194–197.
- 103–104 *primogenitus ... creaturae* *Col.* 1, 15.
- 106–108 *diuersissima ... complectitur* For Erasmus' discussion of this subject, see the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 797–911.
- 109–110 *quod ... homo* Appendix IV, ll. 197–198. Erasmus gave his opinion about this statement of Lefèvre more clearly in the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1054–1062.
- 110–111 *ipse ... hominem* I.e., in *Ps.* 8, 6.

homo quam caeteri, dialecticis disputandum relinquo. Ego vt summum hominem fuisse profiteor, ita non ausim affirmare maxime omnium fuisse hominem.

Decimosexto, quod Christus, vt ait in euangelio, non asscribit sibi nomen verm<sup>is</sup>, sed ea potius quae sunt dignitatis, primum mihi satis est quod se in propheta *vermem* dixerit. Neque vero quae in sacris literis testantur Christi dignitatem, derogant illius assumptae humilitati, vt neque retrorsum quae declarant humilitatem, derogant celsitudini.

Decimoseptimo, negat Christum verm<sup>em</sup> dici posse, quod terrenus non sit sed iuxta Paulum caelestis. Imo et caelestis erat et terrenus. Iuxta illud dicitur Filius Dei, iuxta hoc Filius hominis, siue Adae. Porro quod addit de proportione identitatis aut aequalitatis, an vlla talis sit, ipse viderit. Sed si hanc solum ponit in Christo, non erit vilo pacto imminutus a Deo, quod tamen fatetur Faber. Quod si iuxta assumptam naturam dicitur inferior Deo Patre, proferat ille si quam nouit proportionem inter creatorem et rem creatam.

Decimo octauo, quod ratiocinatur et seraphim ad Deitatem collatos vermes dici posse, nihil ad me pertinet. Neque vero sic argumentor, inter hominem et Deum nulla est proportio, igitur homo verm<sup>is</sup> est. Verum ita colligo, Christus se verm<sup>em</sup> dicit et non hominem, opprobrium et reiectamentum plebis, igitur non fuit paululum ab angelis diminutus, sed plurimum, etiam infra vulgus hominum.

Decimonono, quaestionem mouet an ob iniurias susceptas Christus fuerit *in se* diminutus. Exponat quid dicat *in se* et nihil fuerit negotiū illi respondere. Neque ratio vetat Christum, quo plura passus est, hoc merito fuisse maiorem et tamen interim vere humiliatum. Vt dissimulem hic quod me facit *aduersarium* suum, qui pro ipso faciam, quod meum sermonem coniungit cum opinione Iudaeorum, qua Christus multum fuit diminutus, quod periculum denunciat si meis dictis pertinaciter haererem. Ego vero mea facile recantabo, si prior recantet Paulus quod scripsit, *exinaniuit semetipsum*.

Vigesimo loco, negat mortem Christi dicendam humiliationem, sed magis *exaltationem*, cum ipse dicat: *cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me*. Eadem ratione latrones poterant dici exaltati. Imo Paulus ipse Christi passionem diminutionem interpretatur in hac ipsa epistola, exaltationem resurrectionis et immortalitatis gloriam. Atque hoc loco videtur sibi parum constare Faber. Cum enim omnibus machinis hoc agat Faber ne Christus dicatur vere humiliatus fuisse, sic concludit passionem illius non vocandam humiliationem in malam notam. Fatetur igitur esse humiliationem in bonam notam, atqui in optimam notam nos illi tribuimus. Quis enim aliter tribuat Christo nisi prorsus impius?

Vigesimo primo, ait Christum cum ista pateretur, nihilo secius fuisse regem angelorum, velut absurdum sit dicere illum humiliatum infra angelos, qui rex sit angelorum. Atqui ea ratione non fuit inferior Deo, cum fuerit Deus. Et tamen hoc certe dat Faber.

Vigesimo secundo, sic ait: *verum haec omnia pro nobis miseris iuxta oracula pati debebat, et videri admirandus supra omnes et videri abiectus et humiliatus*, nimirum innuens non humiliari qui immeritus affligitur, imo hoc magis se deiecit quo



magis innoxius pro indignis ea pati voluit. Et, ni fallor, sicut vere visus est admirandus, ita vere visus est abiectus et humiliatus, non simpliciter, sed, quod mihi satis est, aliquo modo.

160 Vigesimo tercio, quod proponit de martyribus, pro me facit. Humiliantur illi cum ceruicem praebent lictori, exaltantur gloriosae mortis tum memoria, tum praemio.

Vigesimo quarto, negat βραχύ τι ad temporis modum posse referri, quo Christus versatus est in terris, cum eum mox iubeantur adorare omnes angeli. Mirum  
165 vero, si iubentur adorare qui Deus est. Nec tamen ideo consequitur non aliqua parte fuisse inferiorem qui fuerit mortalis, cum illi sint immortales.

Vigesimo quinto, fortiter negat apud Hebraeos 'meat' sonare spatium temporis, sed quantitatis siue magnitudinis, et locis aliquot productis putat se rem factam habere. Quasi vero consequatur, vt si 'meat' alicubi sit vsurpatum apud  
170 Hebraeos vt non declaret breuitatem temporis, non possit vsquam ad temporis significationem accomodari. Certe psalmo tricesimo sexto, *adhuc pusillum et non erit peccator*, Hebraeis est *meat*. Item psalmo centesimo octauo, *Fiant dies eius pauci*, rursus est *meatim*. Rursum psalmo secundo, *cum exarserit in breui ira eius*, est *bimeat*. Nec dubito quin centum loca produci queant, si quis hoc agat. Vide  
175 quid est, rem dubiam vt exploratam asseuerare.

Vigesimo sexto, quis non videt praeceptionem nihil ad rem pertinere qua docet haec vocabula, 'multum' ac 'parum' similiaque quoties iunguntur vocabulis auctorem diminutionemue designantibus, nequaquam solere significare tempus, sed *paulominus* adiungitur verbo *minuisti*. Non enim hic agitur rectene verterit  
180 Latinus interpres, sed quid Graeca vox βραχύ τι declaret. Quis enim Latinus

116-117 *quod ... dignitatis* See appendix IV, ll. 199-209. Cf. n. ll. 106-108.

118 *vermem* Ps. 21, 7.

121-122 *negat ... Paulum caelestis* See appendix IV, ll. 223-227.

123 *addit* I.e., Lefèvre.

123-124 *addit ... aequalitatis* See appendix IV, ll. 240-241. For Erasmus' reaction to this phrase of Lefèvre, see the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1163-1205.

128-129 *ratiocinatur ... posse* See appendix IV, ll. 238-239. For Erasmus' opinion about this, see the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1151-1162.

131 *vermem ... plebis* Ps. 21, 7.

133-134 *quaestionem ... diminutus* See appendix IV, ll. 246-247.

136 *me ... aduersarium* See appendix IV, ll. 248-249. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, l. 342 and n.

137 *meum ... Iudaeorum* See appendix IV, ll. 247-249: ... *non negem Christum Dominum multum abiectum et diminutum Iudaeorum opinione et aduersarii sermone* ... See further the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 960-962; ll. 1000-1007; ll. 1076-1079 and ll. 1325-1332.

138-139 *periculum ... haererem* See appendix IV, ll. 248-250.

141-142 *negat ... me* See appendix IV, ll. 252-254. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 969-983.

145-148 *Cum ... notam* See appendix IV, ll. 253-254. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1333-1342.

150-152 *ait ... angelorum* See appendix IV, ll. 254-255.

154-155 *sic ... humiliatus* See appendix IV, ll. 257-258.

160 *proponit de martyribus* See appendix IV, ll. 264-268. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 936-959.

163-164 *negat ... angeli* See appendix IV, ll. 284-286.

167-169 *fortiter ... habere* See appendix IV, ll. 293-308. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1578-1612.

171-172 *adhuc ... peccator* Ps. 36, 10.

172-173 *Fiant ... pauci* Ps. 108, 8.

173 *cum ... eius* Ps. 2, 13.

177-179 *docet ... minuisti* See appendix IV, ll. 308-311.

vnquam dixit 'paulominus' pro 'paululum'? Quod magis sonat 'propemodum'. Quod si βραχύ τι Graecis ad tempus pertinet, non vertendum erat 'paulominus' aut 'paululum', sed 'paulisper'. Neque quicquam vetat ita loqui, 'paulisper auxisti rem meam', 'paulisper deiectus fuisti'.

185 Vigesimo septimo, conatur et Graecorum autoritate probare βραχύ τι non posse ad tempus referri, quod Eustathius, Homeri interpres, de talentis loquens βραχύ τι dixerit, non tempus indicans sed magnitudinem aut aestimationem. Primum plus tribuendum arbitror Athanasio, Chrysostomo, Origeni, viris vsque ad eloquentiae miraculum Graece peritis, quam Eustathio, alienorum commentario-  
190 rum rhapsodo. Ad haec qui consequitur: 'Eustathius βραχύ τι accommodauit ad magnitudinem, igitur non potest ad temporis modum pertinere'? Vt quoniam 'breuem fustem' dicimus, non liceat dicere 'breue tempus'.

Vigesimo octauo, quod docet si quis tempus volet significare, dicendum esse ἐπ' ὀλίγον aut μικρόν, quod posterius est apud Ioannem, haec non significant  
195 tempus nisi quia subauditur χρόνον, 'asinum' significatura si subaudiatur ὄνον, quemadmodum vsu venit et in βραχεῖ, cum dicimus ἐν βραχεῖ, id est 'breui', nimirum tempore.

Vigesimo nono, docet si interpretes Septuaginta tempus intelligi voluissent, dicturos fuisse ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν ταχὺ παρ' ἀγγέλους, idque ita Latine vertendum  
200 fuisse 'minuisti eum cito ab angelis'. Verum quis ita loquitur 'cito vixit' pro 'non diu vixit', licet 'cito mortuus est' apte dicatur qui non diu vixerit, 'Christus cito exaltatus fuit', quia non diu fuit humiliatus.

Tricesimo, Vulgarium et Athanasium duos facit, cum commentarii in epistolas Pauli, qui circumferuntur versi a quodam priore Sanctae Balbinae, Vulgarii sint,  
205 non Athanasii. Quod protinus deprehendet qui Graeca contulerit.

Tricesimo primo, cum Faber asseueret hanc lectionem esse impiam atque adeo haereticam, si quis contendat tueri, paulisper imminutus ab angelis, tamen Chry-  
210 sostomum ac caeteros orthodoxos omnes non aliter excusat, quam quod decepti per Septuaginta, qui verterint ab angelis, putarint sic esse apud Hebraeos ac difficultate loci constricti huc confugerint vt βραχύ τι ad temporis modum detorquerent, sed falso. Mallem illum de tantis ecclesiae columnis paulo ciuilius fuisse locutum, praesertim cum nemo sit omnium qui non cum illis sentiat, ipse denique Hieronymus, sicut ante docuimus, idque in opere non suspecto, cum commentarii quos habemus in Psalmos aut non sint Hieronymi aut certe multis  
215 locis contaminati sint alienis emblematis. Vt omittam quod tot saeculis magno consensu sic legit, sic cantat, sic docet ecclesia, quae vt labi possit alicubi, certe sensum haereticum non amplecteretur tot aetatibus.

Tricesimo secundo, quae adducit ex euangelio de dignitate Christi, contra me non faciunt, qui sic illi tribuo pro tempore assumptam humilitatem, vt dignitati  
220 non derogem. Vno, inquit, Patre minor dicitur. Verum, sed eidem Patri fuit aequalis. Ita secundum aliquid inferior fuit angelis, non simpliciter inferior.

Tricesimo tertio, multis verbis docere nititur hominem vnitum Diuinitati hoc ipso sic exaltatum fuisse super omnia, vt paulum esset imminutus a Deo. Atqui quod Faber hic vocat exaltationem, Paulus vocat exinanitionem. Et addit *formam*

225 *serui accipiens*, quod ipse quoque Faber superius interpretatur humanam naturam. Certe Faber inaequalitatem ponit in Christo secundum quiddam, quae si sumitur iuxta comparationem diuinae naturae et humanae, quomodo secundum haec dici potest paulum diminutus?

230 Tricesimo quarto, expatiatur in campum late patentem multa colligens de excellentia Christi, quibus adeo nihil detraho vt ad illius dignitatem mihi ieiunc parceque dicta videantur. Sed vt ante demonstratum est, haec non officiant iis quae de eiusdem humilitate sunt dicta iuxta naturam assumptam.

235 Tricesimo quinto, quando Faber vsque adeo mordicus tenet Christum non nisi paululum fuisse imminutum a Deo, vel illud expediat quo sensu Paulus dicat eundem exinanisse se. An exinanire significat paululum quiddam diminui, quod nobis pene sonat, in nihilum redigere? Perinde quasi dicas: 'exanimauit hominem' et interpreteris, 'id est leuiter commouit'.

185–187 *conatur ... aestimationem* See appendix IV, ll. 333–337, and cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1486–1502.

193–194 *docet ... Ioannem* See appendix IV, ll. 338–342.

198–200 *docet ... angelis* See appendix IV, ll. 342–349. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1524–1531.

203–205 *Vulgarium ... Athanasii* See appendix IV, ll. 350–353. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1364–1365.

204 *quodam ... Balbinae* This prior is Christophorus Porsena, who translated Theophylact's commentary on *Rom.* in 1469. The translation was published in Rome in 1477. The edition mentions the name of the translator as follows: "F. Christophorus de persona [sic] Romanus, Prior Sancte Balbine de Vrbe, ..." See K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome, 1926, p. 233, and H.J. de Jonge in *ASD IX*, 2, p. 131, n. l. 437 and p. 193, n. l. 493.

204 *sint* The first edition (1518) reads *sunt*. According to Reeve, all later editions have *sint* here. Cf. l. 212 *cum memo sit*, and ll. 213–214 *cum ... sint*.

206–211 *cum ... falso* See appendix IV, ll. 333–359. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1294–1301.

211 *columnis* Cf. *Gal.* 2, 9.

212–213 *ipse ... suspecto* Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 537–541: *Imo nec ipse Hieronymus, cuius unius auctoritate niteris, cum alias frequenter, tum quartum edisserens caput epistolae ad Galatas, dubitat hanc sequi lectionem ita scribens: quod autem ait: sicut angelum, sicut Christum Iesum suscepistis me et angelo Christum ostendit esse maiorem quem secundum dispensationem corporis minorem psalmista cantauerat dicens: minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis.*

213–215 *cum ... emblematis* Erasmus also expressed his doubts about the authorship of the *Comm. in Ps.* in his edition of Jerome's work, vol. I, f<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup> (Allen, Ep. 778, n. l. 184). The authenticity of the *Comm. in Ps.* has repeatedly been contested over the years; see P. Antin in his introduction to the *Comm. in Ps.* of Jerome (CCSL 72, Turnhout, 1959), pp. 165–166. The authenticity of Jerome's *Comm. in Gal.*, however, has not been questioned. Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur III*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1912, pp. 620 and 625. In the editions of the *Annot. in N.T.* from 1527 onward, on *Hebr.* 2,7, after *Hieronymus* (see appendix III, l. 9), Erasmus added: "... aut si quis alius fuit ...", *LB VI*, 985 D. Cf. Ep. 778, from Erasmus to William Budaeus, Louvain, 22 February <1518>, ll. 183–186 and the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, l. 824 and n.

216 *cantat* See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.* n.ll. 488–489.

218 *quae ... Christi* See Lefèvre's *disputatio*, appendix IV, ll. 359–371. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 797–821.

222–223 *multis ... Deo* See appendix IV, ll. 390–394. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1895–1898.

224 *exinanitionem* I.e., in *Phil.* 2, 7.

224 *addit* I.e., Paulus.

224–225 *formam serui accipiens* *Phil.* 2, 7.

225–226 *quod ... naturam* See appendix IV, ll. 237–244.

229–230 *expatiatur ... Christi* See appendix IV, ll. 394–453.

233–234 *Faber ... Deo* In his *disputatio, passim*, see, e.g., appendix IV, ll. 391–394.

Tricesimo sexto, non satis amice patrocinator Aquinati, qui Graece Hebraiceque ignarus, secutus sit aliorum errorem. Atqui si Christus nullo modo fuit  
 240 angelis inferior, manifesta blasphemia est illum angelis facere inferiorem. Id certe vel citra linguarum peritiam sentire poterat Thomas, vir non omnino stupidus.

Tricesimo septimo, quoniam Faber omnem culpam reiicit in interpretem, sic argumentabar, si Lucas est interpres huius epistolae, hunc non oportet reum agere. Id, inquit, non recipimus, cum omnes sentiant incerto autore translata.  
 245 Imo quisquis est cuius extat argumentum in hanc epistolam, testatur Lucam plusquam interpretem huius epistolae fuisse, qui memor sensus et ordinis post obitum Pauli, ex sua memoria Graece illam descripserit. Non asseuerat, inquis, sed testatur ita multos sensisse. Quod si prorsus incertus est interpres, vt fateris, quomodo tu certo negas esse Lucam?

Tricesimo octauo, iam adiicit in fine: *caeterum non oportet auctoritatem scribentis, quicumque is fuerit, sed veritatem facere victoriam*. Id si verum est, quomodo Faber vnam vnus Hieronymi annotationem secutus de re tanta tam constanter pronunciat? Deinde, quid si Lucas sit autor, nam id assumpsi, non erit huic aliquid deferendum?  
 250

Tricesimonono, fatetur 'Eloim' Hebraeis polysemum esse et respondere duabus vocibus Latinis, 'Deus' et 'dii'. Verum est quod fatetur et negari non potest. Caeterum hoc adiiciendum erat quod constat Eloim non solum sonare 'deos', verum etiam 'primates', 'iudices', denique et 'angelos'.  
 255

Quadragesimo, hoc ait interesse quod 'Eloim', quoties absque pluralitatis nota ponitur, 'Deum' sonat, atque ita semper transtulerunt Septuaginta, rursum quoties 'deos' sonat, additur 'col', pluralitatis nota. Id nihil opus est aliunde petitis argumentis refellere, cum ipse sermo *ψευδόμενος* seipsum refellat. In hoc psalmo non additur 'col' et tamen non verterunt 'Deum'. Rursum Exodi vigesimo secundo, *diis non detrahes*, non apponitur 'col' et tamen verterunt *deos*.  
 260

Quadragesimo primo, flagellat interpretem huius epistolae, qui in psalmo non verterit *Eloim* 'a Deo', cum idem fecerint Septuaginta, quibus magis conueniebat hoc imputari.  
 265

Quadragesimo secundo, Adrianus Matthaeus, homo mea sententia non vulgarter exercitatus in suis literis, ait hoc interesse inter 'Eloim' et 'malachim', quod angeli quoque, quoties de dignitate agitur quod assistunt deo, 'eloim' vocantur, vbi de functione, hoc est cum aliquo mittuntur, 'malachim' vocantur. At hic dignitatis fit collatio.  
 270

Quadragesimotertio, eleuat paraphrasin Chaldaeorum, quae iuxta Septuaginta translationem pro *eloim* habet *malachim*, id est *angelos*. Cui ego in hac sane parte puto nonnihil tribuendum, praesertim cum consentiat cum auctoritate Septuaginta, quam fere sequuntur et apostoli.  
 275

Quadragesimoquarto, vt censor seuerus obiurgat me et amentiae accusat, qui scripserim quod Hieronymus non videatur admodum probasse hunc psalmum proprie tribui Christo, sic detorquens quasi *proprie* dixerim 'vere', cum Latine, vt  
 280 opinor, dixerim 'proprie' tribui, quod ita tribuitur, vt in alium neminem competat.

Permulta sunt in Psalmis, quae nobis cum Christo sunt communia. Nihil igitur in his meis verbis quod tam acriter debuit inesse.

285 Quadragesimo quinto, procul reiicit meam coniecturam, quod collegerim ideo videri non admodum probari Hieronymo haec proprie tribui Christo, quod scripserit: *hunc locum Apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos super Christo interpretatur*. Fateor grauem autorem Paulum, sed primum incertum an is huius epistolae sit autor. Deinde fatetur Hieronymus hunc scripturas aliquando ad victoriam detorque. Postremo non video quomodo possit totus hic psalmus Christo accommodari. Solemus autem in autorem reiicere, si quando ipsi fidem dictorum praestare

238–239 *non ... errorem* See appendix IV, ll. 459–470. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 409–419.

243 *argumentabar* I.e., in the *Nov. Instr.*, see appendix III, ll. 41–42.

244 *Id ... translata* See appendix IV, ll. 478–480.

245–247 *Imo ... descripserit* See for this argumentum, the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. l. 1625.

250–251 *caeterum ... victoriam* See appendix IV, ll. 481–483. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1638–1645.

255–256 *fatetur ... dii* See appendix IV, ll. 488–489. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1646–1661.

259–261 *hoc ... nota* See appendix IV, ll. 489–494. Erasmus also sneers at these grammatical remarks of Lefèvre in his *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1691–1701.

264 *diis non detrahes* Ex. 22, 28.

265–267 *flagellat ... imputari* See appendix IV, ll. 495–501.

268 *Adrianus Matthaeus* Matthaeus Adrianus, a baptized Jew of Spanish origin, was called to Louvain in the autumn of 1517 to be the first professor of Hebrew in the newly founded Collegium Trilingue. Erasmus thought highly of his knowledge of Hebrew and appears to have been the driving force behind Adrianus' appointment (Epp. 686, 687, 689–691, 699). He was pleased to announce the appointment (formalized in February 1518) to his friends in France, England, Germany and Spain (Epp. 707, 721, 722, 731, 777, 794). I. Guenther and P.G. Bietenholz in: *Contemporaries I*, pp. 9–10. Matthaeus Adrianus is said to have written a Hebrew grammar, entitled *Introductio in Hebraicam linguam* and published in 1501, 1508 and 1512 in Venice by Aldus Manutius and in 1518 and 1520 in Basel by Froben (see *Contemporaries I*, p. 9 and H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*, I, Louvain, 1951, p. 242). A.A. Renouard

(*Annali delle edizioni Aldine*, Bologna, 1953, p. 31) mentions that in 1501 *Aldi Manutii Romani Rudimenta grammatices Latinae ... Introductio perbrevis ad Hebraicam linguam* was published. The same short Hebrew grammar was incorporated in grammars printed by Aldus Manutius in 1508 and 1512 (see A.A. Renouard, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 and 58). Whether the *Introductio perbrevis ad Hebraicam Linguam* contained in these editions is really by Matthaeus Adrianus is questionable, but the information attributed to Adrianus and mentioned by Erasmus in ll. 268–271, is not to be found in this *Introductio* anyhow. J. Priejs, *Die Basler Hebräischen Driicke (1492–1866)*, Olten and Freiburg i.Br., 1964, pp. 17–18, mentions an *Introductio utilissima Hebraice discere cupientibus*. This book includes a reprint of the above mentioned grammar as well as three Christian prayers translated into Hebrew by Matthaeus Adrianus. Consequently this book does not contain Matthaeus Adrianus' view as to the difference of meaning between *Eloim* and *malachim* either. This probably did not stem from a book at all. In 1518, when Erasmus wrote the *Summa*, both Erasmus and Matthaeus Adrianus were in Louvain. Erasmus can easily have consulted Adrianus there and obtained the suggestion recorded in ll. 268–271 in the form of personal communication.

273–274 *eleuat ... angelos* See appendix IV, ll. 502–506.

277–279 *obiurgat ... vere* See appendix IV, ll. 507–517. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1802–1817.

278–279 *scripserim ... Christo* I.e., in Erasmus' note at *Hebr.* 2, 7 in the *Nov. Instr.*; see appendix III, ll. 53–55 and n. ll. 54–55.

283–285 *procul ... interpretatur* See appendix IV, ll. 509–517.

287–288 *fatetur ... detorque* Cf. *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1714–1722 and nn.

290 nolumus. Verum id quoniam paucis annotari non potest, ex apologia qui volet, reliqua petat. Neque hic quicquam affirmo, tantum aio videri.

Quadragesimo sexto, quod Christus in euangelio citat versiculum ex hoc psalmo, *ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem*, non arguit necessario psalmum hunc proprie in Christum competere, imo sententia potest esse genera-  
295 lis, quam adducit.

Quadragesimo septimo, stultitiam impingit, qui scripserim vsque adeo dubitatum de autore huius epistolae vt sero recepta sit a Romanis, cum hoc ad rem propositam nihil attineat. Certe hactenus pertinebat vt si Pauli non est, minus nos eius vrgeat autoritas.

300 Quadragesimo octauo, negat constare, quod hanc Rhomani sero receperint. Neque mihi constaret, nisi Hieronymus hoc literis prodidisset, testans sua aetate Apocalypsim non fuisse receptam a Graecis, epistolam ad Hebraeos a Latinis. Nam hanc Graeci libentius receperunt in odium Arianorum. Comperiet hoc non esse meum somnium qui legerit epistolam ad Dardanum de terra repromissionis,  
305 vbi fatetur a Latinis non fuisse receptam cum maxime vellet esse receptam. Legat eiusdem commentarios in Esariae caput sextum, rursus eiusdem in caput octauum clarius etiam, rursus in Matthaei caput XXVI.

Quadragesimo nono, arguit eam fuisse receptam a Romanis iam olim, quod haec translatio praecesserit tempora Hieronymi. Vt hoc donemus esse verum,  
310 tamen hinc nihil aliud confici potest quam hanc epistolam translata fuisse ante tempora Hieronymi. Neque enim statim quod translatum est, receptum est.

Quinquagesimo, existimat eidentissimum esse argumentum, epistolam hanc fuisse receptam a Rhomanis quod Hieronymus vtatur eius testimonio aduersus Iouinianum. Si ideo fuit recepta, quod huius vtitur testimonio, receptus fuit et  
315 Pythagoras, cuius aduersus eundem vtitur testimonio.

Quinquagesimo primo, suauiter irridet argumentationem meam, vt minime dialecticam: 'sero fuit recepta quia in hanc nihil commentatus est Ambrosius', quasi consequatur pari ratione: 'in quemcunque librum non scripsit commentarios Ambrosius, eum sero fuisse receptum a Rhomana ecclesia'. Ac vere praedicat  
320 hoc enthymema non vnus dignum Anticyris, si quis ad eum colligat modum. At ego in re coniecturali synathroesmo sum vsus. Primum quod sero recepta sit, teste Hieronymo, deinde quod quaedam in ea citentur ex Hebraeorum voluminibus, quae illic non reperiantur. Addo in cumulum coniecturarum quod Ambrosius cum in caeteras omnes scripserit, in hanc vnam non scripserit. Erant  
325 et aliae coniecturae, quas hic velut aliud agens non putavi recensendas. Nec est necesse vt ex singulis coniecturis nascatur certa conclusio. Satis est si ex multis congestis argumentis conflatur probabilis suspicio.

Quinquagesimo secundo, existimat argumentum irrefutabile, 'hanc epistolam fuisse receptam quod Ambrosius ac Hieronymus in libellis suis vtantur illius testimonio'. Id argumento est sic fuisse receptam, vt iam tum a multis legeretur  
330 veluti Pauli, non autem fuisse receptam autoritate publica velut partem scripturae canonicae, de qua non liceret dubitare.

335 Quinquagesimo tertio, iam ad argumentum quod adducit ex Dionysio, qui in libris De diuinis nominibus adducat huius epistolae testimonium, respondeo quoniam incertus est ille Dionysius, fieri posse vt aliquanto posterior fuerit Ambrosio.

340 Quinquagesimo quarto, fortiter asseuerat nullos vnquam de hac epistola dubitasse, praeter Ebionitas, Marcionitas et horum similes haereticos. Quod si doceo Hieronymum et Augustinum de hac epistola dubitasse sicut mox et in calce huius epistolae docebimus, ex regula Fabri consequetur eos esse haereticos, qui nobis certe sunt orthodoxi nec dubito quin et ipsi Fabio.

345 Quinquagesimo quinto, ait Hieronymum cum ait illic quaedam citari quae non compareant apud Hebraeos, haereticorum recitare calumnias, non suam sententiam. Quid senserit Hieronymus de hac epistola, mihi non satis liquet, nam is vafer est et in hac fuit opinione vt non protinus euulgandum sit quod apud te senseris, quando Christus turbis per parabolas locutus est, solis discipulis aperiens regni mysterium. Quod si apud Hebraeos ea reperiuntur, cur Hieronymus non indicat?

290 *apologia* See the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1802–1861.

292–295 *quod ... adducit* See appendix IV, ll. 518–522.

296–298 *stultitiam ... attingat* See appendix IV, ll. 523–532.

300–327 *negat ... suspicio* Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 2108–2164.

300 *negat ... receperint* See appendix IV, ll. 533–534. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1911–1923.

301–303 *Hieronymus ... Arianorum* See the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1911–1923 and ll. 1993–2012 and nn.

304–305 *epistolam ... receptam* See the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1997–2007 and n.

306 *eiusdem ... sextum* Hier., *Comm. in Is.* III, vi, 9.10, *CCSL* 73, ed. M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1963, p. 92, ll. 47–49.

*rursus ... octauum* Hier., *Comm. in Is.* III, viii, 16. 17–18, p. 118, ll. 18–20.

307 *clarius ... XXVI* See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 2022–2023 and n.

308–309 *arguit ... Hieronymi* See appendix IV, ll. 533–535. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 2156–2164.

312–314 *existimat ... Iouinianum* See appendix IV, ll. 535–538.

316–319 *irridet ... ecclesia'* See appendix IV, ll. 538–547. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1836–1988 and ll. 2107–2164.

320 *enthymema* See *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, l. 1568 and n.

*non ... Anticyris* “deserving more than one Anticyra”, i.e., completely mad. Cf. appendix IV, l. 547 and n., and the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, n. ll. 1920–1921. Otto 117.

321 *synathroesmo* Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, l. 2132.

328–330 *existimat ... testimonio* See appendix IV, ll. 548–556. For Erasmus' reaction on this argument, see the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 2059–2099.

333–334 *argumentum ... testimonium* See appendix IV, l. 557.

337–338 *asseuerat ... haereticos* See appendix IV, ll. 558–564. Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 2013–2015.

342–344 *ait ... sententiam* See appendix IV, ll. 564–566.

347–348 *Quod ... indicat* In his *disputatio*, Lefèvre had contended that the reason why certain heretics had rejected *Hebr.* was that it contained O.T. quotations of passages which did not occur in the Hebrew O.T. text (appendix IV, ll. 558–572). Lefèvre had emphasized that this was an argument brought forward by heretics, and was not accepted by Jerome himself, who only mentioned it without approval. Erasmus, however, now suggests that Jerome must have subscribed to the heretics' argument, since otherwise he had shown that the O.T. passages in *Hebr.* the heretics claimed to be missing in the Hebrew O.T., did in fact occur there.

350 Quinquagesimo sexto, in calce concludit de hac non esse dubitandum, quandoquidem sacrosanctae synodi et canones eam approbarunt. De synodorum approbatione mihi non constat, nunc certe constat receptam. Quo animo recepta sit, mihi nondum constat, an vt Pauli, an vt cui debeat par autoritas cum caeteris. Quibuscunque legibus recepta est, eam accipio, tantum illud dicam, Apocalypsis si non fuisset in canonem recepta, nihilominus consistere potuisse fidem  
355 christianam. Porro si sacrosancta synodus approbavit epistolam ad Hebraeos, cur audet Faber in ea locum taxare velut impium et Christo indignum? Nisi forte synodo fuit exemplar emendatum et mox ab approbatione repente totius orbis Graeci pariter ac Latini codices omnes deprauati sunt, adeo vt a nemine sciri potuerit quid ea synodus legisset.

360 Quinquagesimoseptimo, quidquid est incommodi aut offenciculi, id in interpretem reicit, sed meo iudicio parum pudenter in tanto Graecorum ac Latinorum codicum consensu, praesertim cum nemo veterum hoc lemmate sit vsus, tamen incertum sit an Lucas sit interpres. Verum hac de re nihil contendo, tantum tribus verbis admoneo lectorem quo illi cogitandi quaerendique materiam  
365 suppeditem, quod quidem maxime conueniebat huic argumento quo profitemur annotationes, non definitiones.

Summa rerum capita paucis annotauimus fastidioso lectori. Qui volet rem plenius cognoscere, legat apologiam nostram qua Fabro respondemus. Imperitiae crimen facile agnoscam, impietatis in Christum nec debeo, nec possum agnoscere. Cui soli fateor omnem deberi gloriam, longe maiorem quam omnis humana  
370 praedicatio queat illi tribuere. Nec est contumelia quod illi tribuimus humilitatem, cuius crucem, cuius flagra reuerenter adoramus etiam, cuius ignominia nostra est gloria. Atque vtinam Faber dum suam tuetur sententiam, non impetisset simplicem ac syncerum amicum tot dictis odiosissimis, quod illo viro dignum  
375 erat, etiamsi quid illi fuissem aduersatus. Et tamen quod ad contumeliam attinet, facile vel negligo, vel amicitiae condono, vel homini denique ignosco. Praesertim cum quicquid hic criminis aut erroris impingit, sit mihi cum probatissimis ecclesiae doctoribus, imo cum publico totius ecclesiae iudicio commune. Caeterum

349–350 *concludit ... approbarunt* See appendix IV, ll. 571–572.

351–353 *Quo ... caeteris* Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1956–1966.

355–356 *Porro ... indignum* Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1967–1988.

356–359 *Nisi ... legisset* Cf. the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1982–1986.

363 *tamen ... interpres* Cf. Erasmus' note on *Hebr.* 2, 7 of 1516 (appendix III, ll. 39–42) and the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 1632–1645.

366 *annotationes, non definitiones* For Erasmus' view on the genre of *annotationes* he wrote,

see *ASD IX*, 1, p. 49 with nn. 193–195; *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ll. 304–305 with n. l. 426.

372–373 *cuius ... gloria* Cf. Hil., *Trin.*, 2, 25, *CCSL* 62, ed. P. Smulders, Turnhout, 1979, p. 61, ll. 16–17: *Humilitas eius nostra nobilitas est, contumelia eius honor noster est.*

374–375 *quod ... aduersatus* "this (i.e., not attacking Erasmus with so many hateful words) would have befitted the man, even if I had opposed him to a certain extent."



380 non opinor tantum esse tribuendum amico, vt in illius gratiam haberi velis blasphemus et impius in Christum, vbi non sis. Et hanc tamen calumniam sic a me depuli, vt, quoad licuit, non laeserim amici famam, vt nemini dubium esse possit quin necessitatis fuerit quod me defendi, Christiani pudoris quod a talione abstinui.

FINIS

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>add.</i>	addidit, addiderunt
<i>alt.</i>	alterum
cf.	confer
<i>Comm.</i>	<i>Commentarius, -ii</i>
crit. app.	critical apparatus
ed(d).	edited by
ed. pr.	editio princeps
e.g.	exempli gratia, for instance
<i>Enarr.</i>	<i>Enarrationes</i>
Ep(p).	Epistola(e) (referring to Erasmus' letters only)
<i>epist.</i>	<i>epistola(e)</i>
<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alii</i>
<i>Expos.</i>	<i>Expositio</i>
f <sup>o</sup>	folio(s)
h.l.	hoc loco
<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ibidem</i>
id.	idem
i.e.	id est
in marg.	in margine
intr.	introduction
l(l).	line(s)
<i>loc. cit.</i>	<i>loco citato</i>
Ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n(n).	note(s)
n(n). l(l).	note(s) to line(s)
N.T.	New Testament
<i>op. cit.</i>	<i>opere citato</i>
O.T.	Old Testament
p(p).	pagina(e), page(s)
ps.	pseudo
r <sup>o</sup>	recto
sc.	scilicet
s.d.	sine dato
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermo(nes)</i>
s.l.	sine loco
s.v.	sub voce
t.	tomus
tert.	tertium
<i>Tract.</i>	<i>Tractatus</i>
viz	<i>videlicet</i> , namely
v <sup>o</sup>	verso
vol(s)	volume(s)

## CLASSICAL AND PATRISTIC AUTHORS

Ambr.	Ambrosius
Apul.	Apuleius

Aristoph.	Aristophanes
<i>Equ.</i>	<i>Equites</i>
Aristot.	Aristoteles
<i>An. post.</i>	<i>Analytica posteriora</i>
<i>An. pr.</i>	<i>Analytica priora</i>
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>De caelo</i>
<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Categoriae</i>
<i>Eth. Eud.</i>	<i>Ethica Eudemia</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>
<i>Phys.</i>	<i>Physica</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>
Arnob.	Arnobius
Athan.	Athanasius
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De ciuitate Dei</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>
<i>Contra Acad.</i>	<i>Contra Academicos</i>
<i>Doct. chr.</i>	<i>De doctrina christiana</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De Trinitate</i>
Bernardus	Bernardus Clareuallensis
Boeth.	Boethius
Chrys.	Iohannes Chrysostomus
Cic.	Cicero
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Pro Archia poeta</i>
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Balb.</i>	<i>Pro L. Balbo</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>
<i>Caec.</i>	<i>Pro A. Caecina</i>
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>Pro M. Caelio</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carminum fragmenta</i>
<i>Catil.</i>	<i>In Catilinam</i>
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Cato maior de senectute</i>
<i>De or.</i>	<i>De oratore</i>
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De diuinatione</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>De domo sua</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>
<i>Fat.</i>	<i>De fato</i>
<i>Fin.</i>	<i>De finibus</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>Pro L. Valerio Flacco</i>
<i>Font.</i>	<i>Pro M. Fonteio</i>
<i>Inv.</i>	<i>De inuentione</i>
<i>Lael.</i>	<i>Laelius de amicitia</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De legibus</i>
<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Pro T. Annio Milone</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	<i>Pro L. Murena</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orator</i>
<i>Part. or.</i>	<i>Partitiones oratoriae</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>In M. Antonium oratio Philippica</i>
<i>Pis.</i>	<i>In L. Pisonem</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De prouinciis consularibus</i>
<i>Q. Rosc.</i>	<i>Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo</i>
<i>Quinct.</i>	<i>Pro Quinctio</i>

<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>
<i>Sest.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sestio</i>
<i>Sull.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sulla</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>
<i>Tull.</i>	<i>Pro M. Tullio</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
Clem. Al.	Clemens Alexandrinus
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromateis</i>
Curt.	Q. Curtius Rufus
Cypr.	Cyprianus
Democr.	Democritus
Demosth.	Demosthenes
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Epict.	Epictetus
Eus.	Eusebius
<i>H.E.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
Eust.	Eustathius
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hes.	Hesiodus
<i>Erg.</i>	<i>Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι</i>
Theog.	Theogonia
Hier.	Hieronymus
<i>Adv. Iou.</i>	<i>Aduersus Iouinianum</i>
<i>Adv. Ruf.</i>	<i>Aduersus Rufinum</i>
<i>Brev. in Ps.</i>	<i>Breuiarium in Ps.</i>
<i>Comm. in Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarioli in Psalmos</i>
<i>De vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus</i>
<i>Quaest. Hebr.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim</i>
Hil.	Hilarius
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De Trinitate</i>
Hom.	Homerus
<i>Hymn. Hom.</i>	<i>Hymni Homerici</i>
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Ilias</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssea</i>
Hor.	Horatius
<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars poetica</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
<i>Carm. saec.</i>	<i>Carmen saeculare</i>
<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi</i>
Iren.	Irenaeus
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Aduersus haereses</i>
Isocr.	Isocrates
Iust.	Iustinus
Iuv.	Iuuenalis
Liv.	Liuius
Lucan.	Lucanus
Lucian.	Lucianus
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchus</i>
<i>Char.</i>	<i>Charidemus</i>
<i>Conuiu.</i>	<i>Conuiuium</i>
<i>De sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis</i>
<i>Dial. mort.</i>	<i>Dialogi mortuorum</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i>
<i>Fug.</i>	<i>Fugitiui</i>

<i>Herc.</i>	<i>Hercules</i>
<i>Herm.</i>	<i>Hermotimus</i>
Martial.	Martialis
Orig.	Origenes
<i>Contra Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
Ov.	Ovidius
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
<i>Nux</i> (Ps. Ov.)	<i>Nux elegia</i>
<i>Trist.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
Pherecr.	Pherecrates
Plato	Plato
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>
Plaut.	Plautus
<i>Capt.</i>	<i>Captivi</i>
<i>Aul.</i>	<i>Aulularia</i>
<i>Cist.</i>	<i>Cistellaria</i>
<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menaechmi</i>
Plin.	Plinius maior
<i>Nat. Hist.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i>
Plut.	Plutarchus
<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Vita Marii</i>
Quint.	Quintilianus
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
Sall.	Sallustius
<i>Iug.</i>	<i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>
Sen.	Seneca (minor)
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogi</i>
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Ner.</i>	<i>Nero</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tibullus</i>
Ter.	Terentius
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andria</i>
<i>Heaut.</i>	<i>Heautontimorumenos</i>
<i>Phorm.</i>	<i>Phormio</i>
<i>Ad.</i>	<i>Adelphoe</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecyra</i>
Stob.	Stobaeus
Tib.	Tibullus
Varro	Varro
<i>Ling. lat.</i>	<i>De Lingua latina</i>

## BIBLE

## 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>Dr.</i>	<i>Deuteronomium</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	<i>Iosua</i>
<i>Iudic.</i>	<i>Iudices</i>
<i>Rth.</i>	<i>Ruth</i>
1,2 <i>Sm.</i>	1,2 <i>Samuel</i>
1,2 <i>Reg.</i>	1,2 <i>Reges</i>
1,2 <i>Chr.</i>	1,2 <i>Chronici</i>

<i>Esr.</i>	<i>Esra</i>
<i>Neh.</i>	<i>Nehemia</i>
<i>Esth.</i>	<i>Esther</i>
<i>Iob</i>	<i>Iob</i>
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Psalmi</i>
<i>Prv.</i>	<i>Prouerbia</i>
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>
<i>Ct.</i>	<i>Canticum Canticorum</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>Isaias</i>
<i>Ir.</i>	<i>Ieremias</i>
<i>Thr.</i>	<i>Threni Ieremiae</i>
<i>Ez.</i>	<i>Ezechiel</i>
<i>Dn.</i>	<i>Daniel</i>
<i>Hos.</i>	<i>Hoseas</i>
<i>Ioel</i>	<i>Ioel</i>
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amos</i>
<i>Ob.</i>	<i>Obadia</i>
<i>Ion.</i>	<i>Ionas</i>
<i>Mch.</i>	<i>Michaeas</i>
<i>Nah.</i>	<i>Nahum</i>
<i>Hab.</i>	<i>Habacuc</i>
<i>Zph.</i>	<i>Zephania</i>
<i>Hgg.</i>	<i>Haggaeus</i>
<i>Zch.</i>	<i>Zacharias</i>
<i>Ml.</i>	<i>Malachias</i>
<i>Idth.</i>	<i>Iudith</i>
<i>Sap.</i>	<i>Sapientia Salomonis</i>
<i>Tob.</i>	<i>Tobias</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Iesus Sirach</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
1,2,3,4 <i>Mcc.</i>	1,2,3,4 <i>Macchabaei</i>

LXX *Septuaginta*

#### 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>

## ERASMUS

<i>Adag.</i>	<i>Adagiorum chiliades</i>
<i>Annot. in Nou. Test.</i>	<i>Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum</i>
<i>Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem</i>
<i>Apolog. adu. Iac. Lop. Stun.</i>	<i>Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iac. Lop. Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione</i>
<i>Apolog. adu. monach. hisp.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus monachos quosdam hispanos</i>
<i>Apolog. adu. rhaps. Alb. Pii</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus rhapsodias Alberti Pii</i>
<i>Apolog. de In princ. erat sermo</i>	<i>Apologia de In principio erat sermo</i>
<i>Apolog. de loco Omnes resurg.</i>	<i>Apologia de loco Omnes quidem resurgemus</i>
<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Apophth.</i>	<i>Apophthegmata</i>
<i>Coll.</i>	<i>Colloquia</i>
<i>Conc. de puero Iesu</i>	<i>Concio de puero Iesu</i>
<i>Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.</i>	<i>Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas</i>
<i>De conscr. ep.</i>	<i>De conscribendis epistolis</i>
<i>Disputatiunc.</i>	<i>Disputatiuncula de tedio, pauore, tristitia Iesu</i>
<i>Enarrat. in Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i>
<i>Enchir.</i>	<i>Enchiridion militis christiani</i>
<i>Explan. symboli</i>	<i>Explanatio symboli</i>
<i>Hyperasp.</i>	<i>Hyperaspistes</i>
<i>Inst. hom. christ.</i>	<i>Institutum hominis christiani</i>
<i>Methodus</i>	<i>Methodus</i>
<i>Moria</i>	<i>Moriae encomium</i>
<i>Nov. Instr.</i>	<i>Nouum Instrumentum</i>
<i>Paracel.</i>	<i>Paraclesis</i>
<i>Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laurentii Vallae</i>
<i>Querela</i>	<i>Querela Pacis</i>
<i>Ratio</i>	<i>Ratio verae theologiae</i>
<i>Spongia</i>	<i>Spongia aduersus aspergines Hutteni</i>

## LEFEVRE

<i>disputatio</i>	Lefèvre's long annotation of <i>Hebr.</i> 2,7 in the second edition of his [ <i>S. Pauli epistolae XIV</i> ] containing his attack on Erasmus.
<i>S. Pauli epistolae XIV</i>	[ <i>S. Pauli epistolae XIV ex Vulgata, adiecta intelligentia ex Graeco, cum commentariis</i> ], Paris, 1512 <sup>1</sup> , 1516/7 <sup>2</sup> , 1517 <sup>3</sup> .

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ASD	Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Opera omnia</i> , Amsterdam, 1969– .
BAS	Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Omnia opera</i> , Basel, 1540, 9 vols.
BB	<i>Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas</i> , edd. F. Vander Haeghen and M.-Th. Lenger, Brussels, 1979, 2 vols.
<i>BE Rép.</i>	F. Vander Haeghen, <i>Bibliotheca Erasmiiana, répertoire des oeuvres d'Erasmus</i> , Gand, 1893 (reprint Nieuwkoop, 1961 and 1972).
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> , Turnhout, 1954– .
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CS	<i>Critici Sacri</i> , ed. J. Pearson et al., Amsterdam, 1698 <sup>3</sup> .
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- CWE  
DSAM  
DTC  
Ep(p).  
GCS  
GW  
Holborn  
Hoven, *Lexique*  
Hughes, *Lefèvre*  
Huizinga  
Husner  
Kleine Pauly  
Lampe  
Lausberg  
LB  
Leutsch-Schneidewin  
Lewis-Short  
Liddell-Scott  
LThK  
Migne PG  
Migne PL  
NK  
ODCC  
Otto  
*Oxf. Lat. Dict.*  
Rice, *Prefatory Epistles*  
SC  
*Thes. Graec. ling.*  
*ThLL*  
TRE  
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## JOURNALS

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| ARG          | Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte        |
| BHR          | Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance  |
| CH           | Church History                           |
| HZ           | Historische Zeitschrift                  |
| JHI          | Journal of the History of Ideas          |
| JTS          | The Journal of Theological Studies       |
| NAK          | Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis |
| RQ           | Renaissance Quarterly                    |
| Vig. christ. | Vigiliae christianae                     |
| ZKG          | Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte        |

## INDEX NOMINVM

This index includes names occurring in the Latin texts of the *Apologia* and the appendices. Some names of very frequent occurrence, such as Erasmus, Lefèvre, Jerome, Augustine, and those of the authors of the books of the Bible are not included, except in the case of a few noteworthy occurrences.

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