

OPERA OMNIA DESIDERII ERASMI

OPERA OMNIA
DESIDERII ERASMI
ROTERODAMI

RECOGNITA ET ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVCTA
NOTISQVE ILLVSTRATA

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IN HOC VOLVMINE CONTINETVR

PARAPHRASIS D. ERASMI ROTERODAMI
IN OMNEIS EPISTOLAS APOSTOLICAS

PARS TERTIA

ed. John J. Bateman

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PREFACE

This twenty-fourth volume in Erasmus's *Opera omnia* contains the *Paraphrases* on Hebrews—3 John.

The *Paraphrases* belong to the seventh of the nine 'ordines' into which Erasmus's works are divided. For this division, laid down by Erasmus himself, see *General introduction* in *ASD* I, 1, 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.

This volume containing the last part of the *Paraphrases* (*ASD* VII,6) is the first to appear in 'ordo' VII; the *Paraphrases* on the other books of the New Testament (*ASD* VII, 1–5) will be published later. The order of publication depends on when the respective volumes are finished.

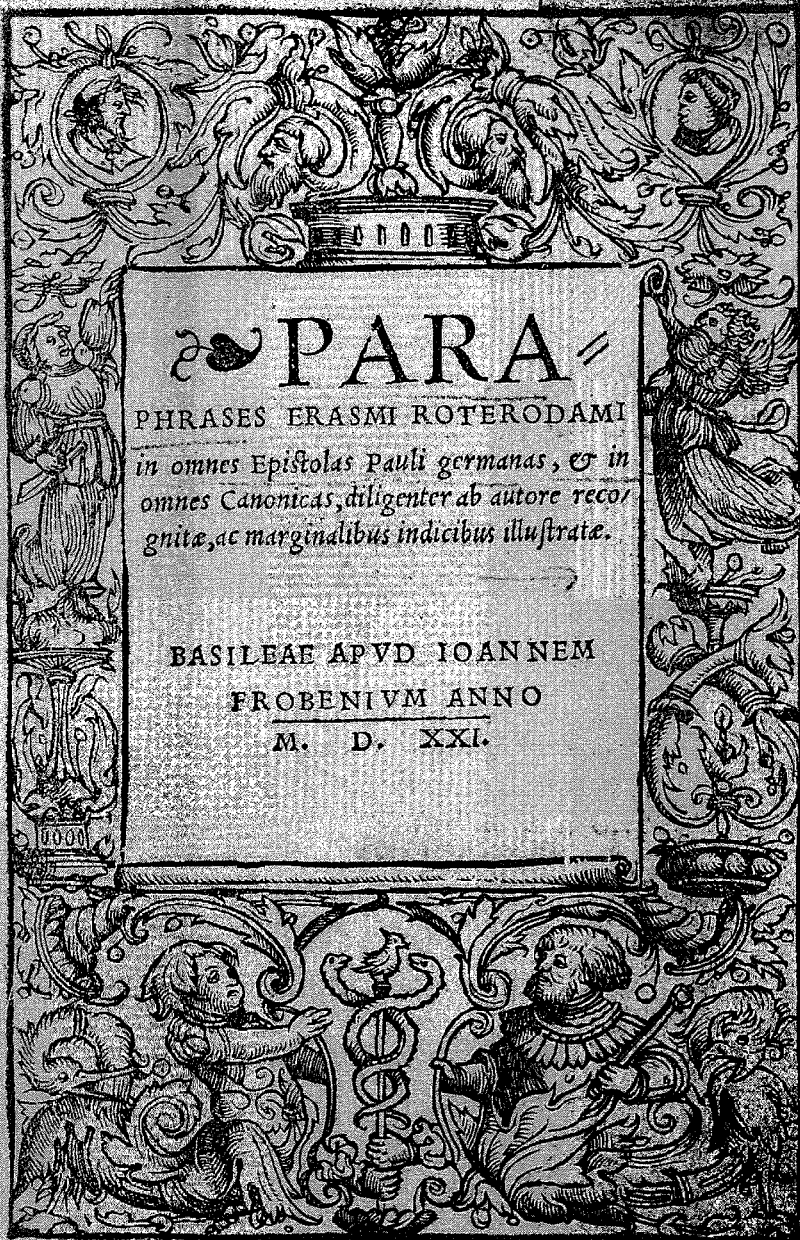
For the names of the members of the Editorial Board as from 1 November 1996 see the back of the title page.

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November 1996

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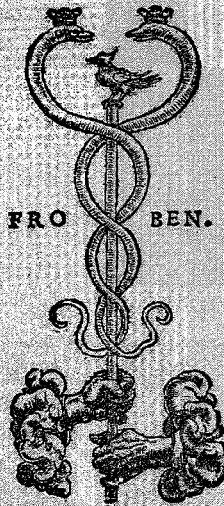
Paraphrases in omnes epistolas Pauli et in omnes Canonicas. Basileae, Ioannes Frobenius, mense Mart. 1521.

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TOMVS SECVNDVS

CONTINENS PARAPHRASIM D. ERASMI ROTERODAMI

In omneis epistolas apostolicas, summa cura denuo ab ipso au-
tore recognitam, emendatamq̃, tum ex archetypis,
tum eruditorum animaduersione, ita ut ac-
curatius fieri uix potuerit. Cætera
cognosces lector, inuer-
sa pagina.



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Beginning in 1517 with the Epistle to the Romans, Erasmus set out, in his words, to explicate the epistles of Paul and Peter through a paraphrase, that is, a restatement of their content in clearer, more copious language and in Latin in place of the original Greek.¹ This kind of elucidation was needed because of the difficulties presented to the reader by both the argument and the style of these epistles. They could not be easily understood without the aid of a commentary. But commentaries were often wordy, full of digressions and as likely to interfere with understanding as to help it. Readers on the other hand, whether students or accomplished theologians, clergy or laity, were, in Erasmus' eyes anyway, either too lazy to do the work required to grasp the content of the epistles, too preoccupied with the duties of their offices to have time for it or too fastidious in their literary expectations to put up with the style of the biblical text. The paraphrase was invented to remove all these problems and to enable the reader to converse directly with the biblical author as though with a friend.² Whatever the original scope of the Paraphrase may have been,³ Erasmus saw it from the beginning as an integral part of his program to restore the biblical foundation from which the road to true theology had to start.⁴

Erasmus adumbrates in the preface to the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans some of the difficulties facing the reader of Paul's epistles.⁵ Not only is Paul's thought inherently difficult but he has a habit of touching on important doctrines without developing them so that additional light needs to be thrown on them from other texts. The way Paul tends to express his thought produces gaps which must be bridged, rough places that have to be softened, confused statements which need to be brought into some kind of order, compressed ones which require unpacking, knots to be untied, obscurities on which light has to be shown. Moreover, the cultivated taste of the fastidious reader is offended by the 'foreignness' (*peregrinitas*) of his language and in particular by his frequent Hebraisms. Peter's style is even more complicated than

¹ See the preface to the Paraphrase on the epistle of James, p. 118, ll. 40–42 below; cf. also p. 117, ll. 4–8, and the preface to the Paraphrase on the epistles of Peter and Jude, p. 180, ll. 14–15.

² See Epp. 710 and 916, the prefaces to the Paraphrases on the epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians.

³ See Ep. 581, dated 10 May 1517, in which Beatus Rhenanus speaks of "paraphrasis apostolicarum epistolarum tua" (ll. 21–22). If "epistolae apostolicae" repeats Erasmus' own language, he seems to have had more in view than the epistles of Paul.

⁴ See Ep. 894, ll. 40–51.

⁵ Ep. 710, ll. 20–29. Cf. also Epp. 916, ll. 364–398; 1112, ll. 25–28 (p. 180, ll. 27–30 below). Even the otherwise lucid Epistle of James presented some problems; see Ep. 1171, ll. 37–43 (p. 118, l. 39 below).

that of Paul while his epistles and that of Jude too contain passages which demand an attentive and cautious reader.⁶ The Paraphrase is designed, then, to make Paul and Peter, and, we may add, the authors of the other epistles speak with the eloquence expected from a Roman without losing any of their authority and the plainness characteristic of the apostolic style.⁷ The author of a paraphrase is obliged:

“ita temperare παράφρασιν ne fiat παραφρόνησις, hoc est sic aliter dicere vt tamen non dicas alia, praesertim in argumento non solum tot modis difficillimo verum etiam sacro ac maiestati euangelicae proximo”.⁸

To restate the thought, the *sensus*, in different language is the essence of a paraphrase. This is an assumption of classical rhetoric: a given subject (*res*) can be treated (*tractari*) in a variety of ways (*modi*).⁹ Different words need not entail different meanings.¹⁰ Erasmus' immediate source is most likely Quintilian and, perhaps, Quintilian's student, Pliny the Younger.¹¹ The concept itself of the paraphrase is also probably derived from Quintilian who describes it as originally an exercise for school children to enlarge their vocabulary and to develop their capacity in written composition, but also as a useful exercise for mature speakers and writers.¹² There were in fact many models of the art of the paraphrase in both Greek and Latin literature, not to mention, as Erasmus would point out later in response to critics of the Paraphrases, the constant employment of paraphrases by the Church Fathers in their commentaries on biblical texts.¹³ The essential point, however, is that, whatever literary and rhetorical means Erasmus employed to achieve his object in any given passage,¹⁴ it is the content, the underlying thought which is being brought to light and restated in different, and, as he says, clearer terms. Hence Erasmus speaks of a paraphrase on (*paraphrasis in*) the epistle, not a paraphrase of it.¹⁵ In this respect the paraphrase may be used in place of a commentary (*in vice commentariū*); in fact, it is a species of com-

⁶ See the preface, p. 180, ll. 28–29 and 36–47 below.

⁷ See Ep. 710, ll. 41–42. The epistle to the Hebrews violates the rule in that its style is more rhetorical than apostolic; cf. the preface to the Paraphrase on James, p. 117, ll. 9–10.

⁸ For similar wordplays on the Greek terms cf. Ep. 726, l. 2; Ep. 741, l. 8.

⁹ It occurs as early as, perhaps originates with Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 7–9. The Latin terminology comes from Quintilian; see n. 11 below.

¹⁰ This question was later to become the subject of dispute between Erasmus and Alberto Pio; see Er. *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1116 A–1117 B; Sem Dresden, “Paraphrase” et “commentaire” d’après Erasme et Alberto Pio, Società, Politica e Cultura a Carpi ai tempi di Alberto Pio, Padova, 1981, pp. 207–224.

¹¹ Cf. Quint. *Inst.* X, 5, 4–11; Plin. *Epist.* VII, 9, 3–4.

¹² See *Inst.* I, 9, 1–3.

¹³ For the history of the paraphrase in antiquity see Michael Roberts, *Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, Liverpool, 1985, pp. 5–60.

¹⁴ For a list and illustration of many of these devices see Jacques Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*, Paris, 1981, I, pp. 590–604.

¹⁵ Contrast the construction used by Beatus Rhenanus: “Paraphrasis apostolicarum epistolarum tua” (Ep. 581, ll. 21–22).

mentary (*genus commentarii*),¹⁶ but one which gives direct access to the biblical author without interference from a third party (the ‘commentator’ in the usual sense) and can be read with simultaneous profit and enjoyment.¹⁷

The title page of the February 1522 edition of the Paraphrase on all the epistles (*E*) describes the paraphrase as a *liberior ac dilucidior interpretatio*.¹⁸ Whether the adjectives are comparative or relative in meaning, the interpretation is ‘free’ in the sense that the author is allowed to add, indeed is obliged to add something from his own stock.¹⁹ It is this freedom of expression which enables the paraphrast to make the meaning ‘more’ or ‘quite’ clear. Hence Erasmus can describe his work as teaching the biblical author *fusius et explanatius dicere*.²⁰ A paraphrase is not a translation, in which the translator must render faithfully the language of the original, “sed liberius quoddam commentarii perpetui genus, non commutatis personis”.²¹ The feature, the *differentia specifica*, of a paraphrase which distinguishes it from other kinds of commentary,²² is the uninterrupted exposition with no change between the persons of the original author and the commentator. This last element is probably the most striking feature of the paraphrase: the biblical author is the explicator of his own text.

This feature bothered Erasmus’ critics and still puzzles the modern reader.²³ Erasmus will assert in the preface to the Paraphrase on Luke and in his replies to his later critics that it is not he, but the biblical writer who is speaking.²⁴ Erasmus does not otherwise explain why he chose to adopt this stance in the Paraphrases though he was certainly aware of its novelty.²⁵ However, it did give

¹⁶ For the phrase *genus commentarii* see Epp. 1255, ll. 38–39 and 1333, l. 397; cf. Ep. 1381, ll. 421–422. However, the word *quoddam* in the definition quoted from Ep. 1274 suggests that the paraphrase is only like a commentary; hence the phrase *in vice commentarii*.

¹⁷ The idea of simultaneous utility and enjoyment, a concept of classical literary criticism, is developed at length in the preface to the Paraphrase on the Gospel according to Luke (Ep. 1381). By ‘profitable’ (*frugifer*; Ep. 916, l. 45) Erasmus means spiritually as well as doctrinally; cf. Ep. 710, ll. 44–48.

¹⁸ See Appendix II. The term *interpretatio*, though common in the commentary tradition, may in this particular context come from Quintilian; cf. *Inst.* X. 9, 3.

¹⁹ See Ep. 1274, l. 35–36: “in paraphrasi licet etiam de tuo addere quod auctoris sensum explanet”; cf. Er. *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, 1116 D. The idea that one should add to the original text (or, conversely, abbreviate it, a practice which Erasmus seldom follows) comes from Quintilian’s discussion in *Inst.* X. 5, 4–11. As illustrated in the introductions to the separate parts in this volume, addition or expansion, as I call it, is a major feature of the Paraphrases.

²⁰ Cf. *Paraphr. in epist. ad Hebr.*, praef., p. 40, l. 20; *Paraphr. in epist. Ioh.*, praef., p. 255, l. 4.

²¹ See Ep. 1274, ll. 37–39. The definition of the paraphrase and also the example Erasmus cites of Themistius’ paraphrases of Aristotle (ll. 36–37) are obviously tailored to the recipient of the letter, Luis Núñez Coronel, who had been at one time a member of the faculty of theology in Paris and was the author of books on logic and physics. See *CEBR* I, pp. 242–243.

²² Erasmus is not punctilious in his terminology. ‘Commentary’ is the *genus* whose species, for him, are the annotation, enarration, homily and paraphrase. For a discussion of the differences in these ways of treating a text see Er. *Enarrationes in psalmos*, ASD V, 2, pp. 9–14.

²³ Cf. *CWE* 42, pp. xvi–xvii; Chomarat (n. 14 above), pp. 658–662 (the depiction of Jesus); my article, *From Soul to Soul: Persuasion in Erasmus’ Paraphrases on the New Testament*, Erasmus in English 15 (1987–88), pp. 12–13.

²⁴ See Ep. 1381, ll. 425–428.

²⁵ Cf. Ep. 918, ll. 3–114.

him several advantages not shared by commentators of the more traditional type. By making the author of the epistle the expounder of his own teachings Erasmus set the context of the paraphrase in New Testament times and thus escaped the need to introduce into it later ecclesiastical practice and theological doctrine.²⁶ To be sure, since he depended to a considerable extent upon patristic commentaries and to a lesser extent upon medieval ones, he, almost unconsciously, incorporates their views of the meaning of the epistles into the paraphrase. Secondly, because the paraphrast cannot within the boundaries of the paraphrase discuss divergent interpretations of the meaning of the text but must select just one of them, he automatically escapes the labor of searching out and discussing alternatives, though, as the notes will show, Erasmus was quite adroit in working ambiguities in the Greek of the epistle or variants in the text into the unified texture of the paraphrase. Thirdly, the very fact that a paraphrase offered the opportunity to present to the reader a unified version of apostolic doctrine, as he calls it, may have been its most attractive feature. Finally, one should not overlook the authoritative tone lent by the device even though Erasmus would later assert that the paraphrase had no more authority than any other kind of commentary.²⁷

The Paraphrase on the Pauline epistles was completed in January 1520, at which point Erasmus may have intended to turn immediately to the epistles of Peter and Jude.²⁸ If so, that intention was frustrated by the publication in February of Edward Lee's *Annotationes in Annotationes Noui Testamenti Desiderii Erasmi* which contained material attacking Erasmus' character as well as his scholarship. Erasmus evidently felt that he had to respond to Lee's work and quickly. That task occupied him until the beginning of May of that year and it was not until the middle of the month that he was ready to attack the Paraphrase on the two epistles of Peter.²⁹ Illness slowed his progress or, at the least, reduced his energy so that the Paraphrases on 2 Peter and Jude are not as full as they might otherwise have been. The work, dedicated to Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, appeared in June or July and, Erasmus states, would have been his last venture in this kind of activity.³⁰ However, Matthäus Schiner, Cardinal-bishop of Sion, sometime in the autumn of 1520 urged Erasmus to write Paraphrases on the epistles of James and John and thus to provide a complete commentary on the Pauline and canonical epistles for the benefit of students of theology. Despite Erasmus' belief that these epistles did not require this kind of exposition he complied with Schiner's wishes. Following the traditional order, but also perhaps because it was easier work for him, he completed the Paraphrase on James

²⁶ For a contrary view of Erasmus' probable intention see Chomarat (above, note 14), pp. 662-665.

²⁷ Cf. Ep. 1333 (the preface to the Paraphrase on John), ll. 395-398; 1381 (the preface to the Paraphrase on Luke), ll. 421-422.

²⁸ See Ep. 1060, ll. 52-57.

²⁹ See Ep. 1102, ll. 19-20.

³⁰ See the preface to the Paraphrase on James, p. 117, ll. 4-8.

first, in December 1520, and the Paraphrase on the three epistles of John a few weeks later in January 1521. At this time another friend, or perhaps friends, persuaded him to add a Paraphrase on the epistle to the Hebrews so that he would have the credit for explaining in this way all twenty-one epistles. The paraphrase on Hebrews was the last to be written and put into print, and for that reason, or so Erasmus claims, it appears at the end of all the authorized editions rather than in its customary place, as in the present edition, at the end of the Pauline epistles.³¹

At some point in 1520, most likely about the time he agreed to complete the Paraphrase on the canonical epistles, Erasmus decided to issue a revised edition of the thirteen genuine epistles of Paul. He used for this purpose copies of the first editions which, except for the Paraphrases on 1 Timothy–Philemon,³² were all printed by Dirk Martens in Louvain. The five books were then sent to the Froben firm in Basel, separately perhaps from the three books containing the revised Paraphrases on the canonical epistles.³³ In a letter, which is undated but had to have been written between 25 December 1520 and 20 January 1521, Johann Froben informs Boniface Amerbach that he has received from Erasmus “Paraphrases omnes”. Froben could have meant by “omnes” the Paraphrases on both the Pauline and the canonical epistles, but there is a chronological problem here in that it seems impossible for the Paraphrases on the three Johannine epistles to have gone to press on or around 7 January and to be completed in time to arrive in Basel before 20 January. It is likely then that the three books with the revised text of the Paraphrase on the canonical epistles were sent separately.³⁴ Whether the idea of combining these Paraphrases into a single volume came from Erasmus or Froben, presswork was apparently begun before the arrival of the Paraphrase on Hebrews since this last work is not mentioned in the other title pages in the Basel edition of March 1521 (C).³⁵

³¹ The sequence of Paraphrases in the present edition follows the customary western order except that the Paraphrase on the epistle of Jude follows the Paraphrase on 2 Peter. The order of first publication of the Paraphrases is Romans (November 1517), 1 and 2 Corinthians (February 1519), Galatians (May 1519), 1 Timothy–Philemon (late November or early December 1519), Ephesians–2 Thessalonians (February or March 1520), 1 and 2 Peter and Jude (June or July 1520), James (December 1520), 1–3 John (January 1521), Hebrews (January 1521).

³² These were published by Michael Hillen in Antwerp because, according to Erasmus, Martens was busy with other work.

³³ An unrevised copy of the first edition of the Paraphrases on the epistles of Peter and Jude was sent to Froben in Basel sometime between the date of publication of Martens’ edition and December 1520. The title page of Froben’s reprint has the date December 1520, the colophon January 1521. Froben’s decision to reprint may have been stimulated by the appearance of the unauthorized Leipzig edition of Valentin Schumann.

³⁴ On this hypothesis Froben’s “Paraphrases omnes” would be an abbreviation of the title of the Paraphrases on Paul’s epistles which in C runs: *Paraphrases . . . in omnes Epistolas Pauli germanas*; see Appendix II.

³⁵ The month date, March, is found only in the colophon at the end of Hebrews. The title page and the colophons in the other two (or three) parts of the work are not dated. The arrival of the Paraphrase on Hebrews seems in fact to have caught Froben by surprise.

The book was designed so that it could be divided and bound in three parts at the discretion of its owner.³⁶ This plan was carried out more systematically in the next edition of July 1521 (*D*), which, as its title page proclaims, is arranged *per tomos* so that whosoever wishes may cut the complete work into ‘pocket books’ (*in formam enchiridii*). This idea may have emanated from Erasmus himself since it conforms to a recommendation which he had earlier made in the preface to the Paraphrases on 1 and 2 Corinthians. The recommendation is addressed to Erard de la Marck, to whom the work is dedicated, but it applies to every reader who now has in her or his possession Paul to carry about wherever you want to go so that he may converse with you like a friend in clear language and without any need for prolix commentaries – a conversation which will be as fruitful as it is pleasurable.³⁷

The two 1521 editions are thus in a ‘handy’ format, octavos in italic type, following the example first set by Aldus Manutius for the publication of classical and humanistic literature. The *editiones principes* of the Paraphrases on the epistles appeared in quarto format in roman type and were followed in this respect by the Basel reprints of them. But Froben had occasionally published the individual Paraphrases simultaneously in two formats, a quarto in roman type and an octavo in italic type. While intended, perhaps, to satisfy two different markets, the program met the needs of the two different kinds of reader Erasmus envisioned from the beginning. In the preface to the Paraphrase on Romans he distinguishes between those readers who are opposed to altering Scripture in any way but want to read it with the aid of a commentary and those who are not interested in or able to read Paul on his own terms but nevertheless want to absorb his thought in an easily understood and toilfree way.³⁸

This distinction between the ‘desktop’ edition for the scholar and the ‘portable’ edition for the general reader is carried further in the 1522 Basel editions which, beginning with a new edition of the Paraphrases on ‘all the epistles received by the Church’ (*E*) and the initial edition of the new Paraphrase on the Gospel according to Matthew,³⁹ appear in two different formats and sizes: a folio in roman type and an octavo in italic type. The folio edition matches in size and

³⁶ Romans–Philemon; the seven canonical epistles; Hebrews. An extra title page for 1 Timothy–3 John would also allow a slightly different division.

³⁷ See Ep. 916, ll. 41–45.

³⁸ Cf. Ep. 710, ll. 44–48. For an example of the second type of reader see Ep. 937, ll. 13–38. A modern analogue is the publication of the Nestle–Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* in two formats corresponding in size to Froben’s quarto and octavo editions.

³⁹ The Paraphrase on all the epistles (*E*) is referred to in the title of the first edition of the Paraphrase on Matthew. That may be only a publisher’s advertisement, but Erasmus, in a letter dated 21 March 1522, makes the same connection; see Ep. 1267, ll. 29–31. However, the possibility of a complete Paraphrase in two volumes had apparently not yet occurred to Erasmus at that time or to Froben if the idea was his. By 1524 he thought of all the Paraphrases as a single work which could be divided into two volumes at the discretion of the owner; see *Cat. lucubr.*, Allen, *Op. ep.*, I, p. 41, ll. 8–10; nevertheless, the only complete edition of the entire work in his lifetime was the octavo edition of 1534 (*J*).

typography the third edition of the *Nouum Testamentum* which likewise appeared in February or March 1522.⁴⁰ The scholar could thus have on his or her desk the volume of Greek text with Erasmus' Latin version, the volume of Annotations and the volume of Paraphrases to serve as commentary. The Annotations are keyed to the text of the Vulgate by lemmata, a standard practice which, beginning with the March 1521 edition, the Paraphrase imitates by placing short excerpts from the Bible in the margins adjacent to the paraphrase on the particular passage.⁴¹ At some point in 1523, probably after Erasmus had decided to write Paraphrases on all the Gospels, a revised edition of the Paraphrase on the epistles was issued in both folio and octavo formats and given the title it was to retain thereafter, *Tomus Secundus continens Paraphrasim Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami in omneis epistolas apostolicas*. The Paraphrases on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were to constitute the *Tomus Primus*.⁴² Up to this point in time (1524) the Paraphrases had generally been received with approbation.⁴³ But the following year attacks began to be made on them in print, first by Pierre Cous-turier, and later by Noël Béda and the faculty of theology at Paris. This led to reconsideration and refinement of several passages as well as the improvement of the grammar and style in numerous places. These revisions were incorporated into the text of the folio edition of 1532 (*H*¹). A few minor changes were made in the text of the 1534 octavo edition;⁴⁴ additional changes, including a few necessary emendations of the grammar, are also found in the posthumous folio editions of 1538 (*K*) and 1540 (*BAS*).⁴⁵

⁴⁰ The octavo version (*H*) for independent reading appeared a few months later in May. This pattern of folio and corresponding octavo publication was to prevail as long as the Froben firm continued to print the Paraphrases; the last folio edition appeared in 1556, the last octavo in 1557.

⁴¹ Cf. the title of the March 1521 edition in Appendix II. This function of the side notes is served in the present edition by the verse numbers in the headers on each page. The original side notes are collected in Appendix I.

⁴² There is no month date in either of the 1523 editions of the *Tomus Secundus* so that it is not possible to determine their chronological relation to each other or to the publication or printing of the Paraphrases on the Gospels of John, Luke and Mark, which were all printed in 1523 though Mark was not actually released until 1524. See R.A.B. Mynors, "The Publication of the Latin Paraphrases", *CWE* 42, pp. xx–xxix.

⁴³ Cf. *Cat. lucubr.*, Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 21, ll. 9–10: "Nec ... alius labor mihi minus inuidiae confluit quam Paraphraseon". Even those who otherwise detested his work approved; see Ep. 1060, ll. 52–53. Only some (unnamed) followers of Luther objected to his interpretation of *Rom.* 9 and perhaps other texts; see Ep. 1342, ll. 926–940, and Er. *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, *LB IX*, 801 C–D.

⁴⁴ This edition also contains numerous false readings so that it is not always possible to decide, especially in the case of omitted words and phrases, whether the variant reading is due to Erasmus or to the typesetter.

⁴⁵ As with the 1534 octavo (*I*) their clearly wrong readings outnumber the possibly good ones. Therefore, except for a few necessary emendations I have not accepted the readings of these three editions into the text and have only recorded them in the apparatus criticus. The text of the 1539 octavo edition is so corrupt as to be worthless and I have eliminated its variant readings, all false, from the apparatus.

*List of Editions*⁴⁶*Paraphrasis in epist. ad Hebraeos*

1. Louanii, Th. Martinus, mense Ianuario 1521. (A)
2. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, mense Martio 1521. (B)⁴⁷

Paraphrasis in epist. Iacobi

1. Louanii, Th. Martinus, mense Decembri 1520. (A)⁴⁸

Paraphrases in epist. Petri et Iudae

1. Louanii, Th. Martinus, 1520. (A)
2. Lipsiae, Val. Schumannus, 1520.
3. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, mense Ianuario 1521.⁴⁹ (B)

Paraphrasis in treis epist. Iohannis

1. Louanii, Th. Martinus, mense Ianuario 1521. (A)

Paraphrasis in omnes epistolas apostolicas

1. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, mense Martio 1521. (C)
2. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, mense Iulio 1521. (D)
3. Coloniae, Eu. Ceruicornus, 1522.
4. Moguntiae, Io. Schoeffer., mense Augusto 1522.⁵⁰
5. Lutetiae, Petr. Vidouaeus ... aere et imp. Conradi Resch, 1523.
6. Lutetiae, Petr. Vidouaeus ... aere et imp. Conradi Resch, 1523.⁵¹
7. Argentorati, Io. Knoblouchus, mense Martio 1523.
8. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, mense Febuario 1522. (E)
9. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, mense Maio 1522. (F)
10. Venetiis, Greg. a Gregoriis ... imp. Laur. Lorii, mense Iulio 1523.

Tomus secundus continens paraphrasim in omneis epistolas

1. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, 1523. (G¹)
2. Basileae, Io. Frobenius, 1523. (G²)
3. Basileae, Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1532. (H¹)
4. Basileae, Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1534. (I)
5. Basileae, Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1538. (K)
6. Basileae, Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1539.⁵²

⁴⁶ A complete list of all the extant and known editions, together with brief descriptions, may be found in Part I of this edition, *ASD* VII, 4.

⁴⁷ *BE*, p. 145, reports a 1522 Cologne edition without the name of the printer, but this is most likely a misidentification of a part of the Cologne 1522 edition of the *In omnes epistolas*, in which the Paraphrase on Hebrews has its own title page; cf. Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke*, no. 1530.

⁴⁸ *BE*, p. 143, lists an edition without place, printer or date, but this is again either a ghost or a report of the reprint in the 1522 Cologne edition which has a separate title page for the Paraphrase on James; cf. Bezzel, *ibid.*, no. 1530.

⁴⁹ The edition has *AN. M.D. XX* on the title page, *mense Ianuario Anno M.D.XXI* in the colophon.

⁵⁰ This and the Paris and Strasbourg editions (nos. 5–7) are reprints of the 1522 Cologne edition.

⁵¹ According to Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke*, no. 1535, this is a separate setting of edition no. 5.

⁵² The octavo counterpart to the 1538 folio edition (K). The title page has the date, 1539, the colophon, 1540. See J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, Gent, 1979, no. 573; Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke*, no. 1510.

7. Basileae, Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1540. (BAS)⁵³*History of the Text*⁵⁴

The Basel edition of March 1521 (C) is the starting point for the history of the text in the editions of the complete Paraphrase on the apostolic epistles. Apparently it sold out rapidly so that the Froben firm could contemplate a reprint only four months later. Erasmus took the opportunity to make a few revisions, very few in the Paraphrases on Hebrews and the Canonical Epistles. Thus for this part of the Paraphrase the July 1521 edition (D) is only a slight improvement on the March edition (C).

Erasmus' normal practice in revising the editions of the *Nouum Testamentum* was to make corrections and revisions in one copy of the printed text – a set of unbound sheets would best serve for this – which an assistant (*famulus*) would then transcribe into a second copy to be given to the printer.⁵⁵ There is no conclusive evidence that he followed this practice in revising any of the editions of the Paraphrase from the first editions (A) to the last lifetime editions (H¹ and I),⁵⁶ but if, as seems likely, he did, then there is obviously room for both mechanical and psychological error at two points, the transcription by the *famulus* and the setting of the type by the compositor. There is, however, no easy way to determine where an error may have occurred and often not even the probable source of a variant.⁵⁷ A particularly vexing mechanical error, for example, is the setting of *n* for *v* and *vice versa*. Unlike Martens and most sixteenth-century printers who had the letters *u* and *v* in their fonts and used the *v* at the beginning of a word, *u* within a word for both the consonant and the vowel, the Froben firm used only the *u* shaped letter in both its roman and italic fonts.⁵⁸ Whether arising from foul case or an upside down sort, the setting of *n* for *v*, and *vice versa*, in the first and second person plural pronouns, *nos* and *vos* and their oblique

⁵³ The publication of the *Opera Omnia* in 1540 triggered several unauthorized reprints of the Paraphrases which are not listed here.

⁵⁴ Details of the text of the individual Paraphrases are given in the separate introductions. Information about the individual editions and their typography is based on direct inspection of them. However, the collation of their texts was made mostly from photographic facsimiles provided by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Collected Works of Erasmus except for the 1539 octavo edition, a microfilm of which was secured for me by the Secretariat of the Amsterdam edition of the Complete Works of Erasmus.

⁵⁵ See *Resp. ad. coll. inv. geront.*, LB IX, 985 F–986 A.

⁵⁶ *K* and *BAS* seem to have been set from separate copies of *H*¹.

⁵⁷ Error could also result from mistaken corrections by the press corrector (*castigator*) and from accidents at the press (erroneous resetting of loosened type is the most common of these). Omission, addition (rarely) and transposition are probably the most common psychological errors exemplified in these Paraphrases. Compositors frequently spoke aloud the words they were setting; hence Froben's German-speaking compositors produced such errors as *diffisus* (E) for *diuisus*, *visus* (F) for *fisus*.

⁵⁸ However, only the *V* form was used for the capital letter.

forms, is a frequent occurrence. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the equivalent pronouns in Greek are homonyms and commonly confused in the manuscript tradition. Consequently, Erasmus' Greek text of the New Testament often has the pronoun in one person, the Vulgate in the other. The matter is further confused by the fact that a paraphrase, though developed usually from the Greek text or from Erasmus' Latin version of it, often reflects the variant text of the Vulgate whether deliberately or unconsciously. When we find a variation of *nos* and *vos* in the Froben editions, it is thus not always easy to decide which pronoun Erasmus actually wanted in his text.⁵⁹

The two 1522 editions (*E* and *F*) were set from a corrected and revised copy of *D*, possibly independently. *F* has most of *E*'s good readings but few, if any, of its distinctive and quite likely false variants.⁶⁰ *F* has a few good readings of its own,⁶¹ but it also introduces numerous erroneous readings which are perpetuated in *G*² and show that *F*, not a copy of *E*, served as the exemplar of that edition. *G*¹, however, was set from a copy of *E* as its typography clearly shows; it is at times a letter by letter, line by line reprint. A different kind of problem arises here. Did Erasmus make his corrections and revisions for *G* – its title pages proclaim it to be *summa cura recognitam et ex archetypis et eruditorum animaduersione ita ut accuratius fieri vix potuerit*⁶² – in a copy of *E* or of *F*, which has good readings not found in *E*? The latter might at first sight seem the more likely, but then it is hard to explain why *F*'s mistaken settings were not corrected. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that Erasmus worked with a copy of *E* and that his corrections and revisions were then transcribed into a second copy and also, perhaps, into a copy of *F*. But the choice of *F*, not *E*, as printer's copy for *G*² was much more likely to have been made by the printer, not by Erasmus, in which case the copying was done at the press and not by one of Erasmus' *famuli*.⁶³ The situation is further complicated by the fact that both *G*¹ and *G*² have variants not found in the other. The question will be discussed in the introduction to Part I of this edition, *ASD* VII, 4, where all the evidence may be more conveniently displayed. For the present it is enough to assert that the text of *G*² had no continuation because *H*¹ was unquestionably set from a corrected and revised copy of *G*¹. The main line thus runs, after *D*, from *E* through *G*¹ to *H*¹. For this reason *H*¹ has

⁵⁹ Cf., e.g., the paraphrase on 2. *Ioh.* 2, p. 289, l. 7, where *nobis* is read by *A-K*, *vobis* by *BAS* to be congruent, apparently, with *vobis* in the following sentence which is derived from Vg. Again in the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 12, 17, p. 98, l. 1254, where *E* has *nostro* for *vestro*. An error by the compositor or revision by the author?

⁶⁰ The only significant example is *successu* for *secessu* in the paraphrase on 1. *Ioh.* 2, 21, p. 268, l. 330.

⁶¹ If present in the revised copy of *D*, they were, presumably, overlooked by the compositor(s) of *E*.

⁶² The *ut* clause could be the printer's claim about his own work but I suspect that Erasmus, or whoever wrote the title, is talking about his own *recognitio*.

⁶³ That would also explain the retention in *G*² of so many of *F*'s evident but at first sight intelligible errors.

been chosen as the copy text for the present edition.⁶⁴ The apparatus criticus should, therefore, be read as a history of the variants from the first to the last editions and not as a display of the evidence for the text of *H*. Since the title pages and side notes in the various editions are a part of that history, they too are included but relegated to the appendices in order to avoid cluttering up the apparatus.

The *editiones principes* of the Paraphrases contained in addition to the text of the individual Paraphrase a letter dedicating the work to some prelate (in this volume Cardinals Schiner and Wolsey and Bishop Gigli) and an *Argumentum* or brief description of the content of the epistle. These materials are retained in the Basel editions and, therefore, form part of the present edition.⁶⁵ The letters, as well as expressing Erasmus' feelings toward his patrons, also serve as prefaces to the Paraphrases.⁶⁶ They may thus contain information about the authorship, place and date of composition, and the contents of the epistles, all of which requires comment to some extent. They may also contain statements about the reform of the Church and the schools, Christendom in general and certain abuses in particular such as the misuse of the authority to preach.⁶⁷

The *Argumenta* were written at the suggestion of Cuthbert Tunstall for inclusion in the second (1519) edition of the *Nouuum Testamentum*.⁶⁸ A copy, either the autograph or a fair copy of it, was sent to Basel on 22 October for inclusion in the forthcoming edition.⁶⁹ A second copy was given to Dirk Martens a few days later for a separate issue which appeared in November.⁷⁰ It is the latter which is the archetype for the text in the Paraphrase which differs slightly here and there

⁶⁴ Pursuant to the editorial policies of an *ASD* edition, I have silently expanded abbreviations, replaced digraphs by the equivalent diphthongs (ae and oe, including in words which were usually spelled with a simple *e*) and initial *u* everywhere by *v*, and have occasionally adjusted the orthography in the direction of the first editions when it is closer to Erasmus' own usage. In some cases, however, that would conflict with higher editorial policy which requires, for example, the adjective *euangelicus* to be spelled with a minuscule rather than the maiuscule *E* that Erasmus himself employed or, conversely, *Deus* instead of his preferred *deus*. I have not attempted otherwise to normalize or to make the orthography of *H* consistent. In any event that edition was set by at least two, if not more, compositors who worked on alternate sheets and whose spelling and punctuation differed somewhat. Lastly, the punctuation has been completely revised. Consequently, no notice is taken in the apparatus criticus of variation in the accidentals except in a few places where a change in punctuation results in a change of meaning.

⁶⁵ The letter to Gigli is omitted in *H* and, strictly speaking, is not part of the copy text. But since the omission in *H* might have been accidental rather than made on Erasmus' instructions, I have included it as part of the text.

⁶⁶ The letter prefixed to the Argument and Paraphrases on the epistles of John is something of an exception, though it does contain information on Erasmus' approach to his work.

⁶⁷ These ideas are only touched in the letters in this volume. They are much more frequent and detailed in the prefaces to the Paraphrases on the Pauline epistles (except Galatians), the Gospels and Acts; cf. Joseph Coppens, *Les idées réformatrices d'Érasme dans les préfaces aux Paraphrases du Nouveau Testament*, in E. van Cauwenbergh, *Scrinium Louaniense*, Louvain, 1961, pp. 344–371.

⁶⁸ See Ep. 886, ll. 17–19.

⁶⁹ See Ep. 885, ll. 1–3.

⁷⁰ See Allen, introd. Ep. 894, though his statement about the priority of the text in manuscript requires correction.

from the text in the *Nouum Testamentum*.⁷¹ Since all the Paraphrases, except that on Romans, were published subsequent to the first edition of *Argumenta*, I assume that Erasmus simply gave instructions to Martens to include them at the appropriate place between the preface and the beginning of the Paraphrase.⁷² Although Erasmus clearly considers his Arguments to be superior to those found in his Greek manuscripts and of Ps.-Jerome in the Latin, the modern reader is unlikely to share this opinion, certainly about those on the epistle to the Hebrews and the canonical epistles which, with the possible exception of 1 Peter, are perfunctory at best. According to Erasmus they were written in a few days when he was bound at home by illness. One gathers that his initial impulse and interest flagged toward the end of the work.

The Authorities for the Paraphrase

Allied to the assertion that it is not Erasmus but the biblical author who is speaking in the Paraphrase is the contention, again made in response to criticism, that he does not introduce his own ideas into the paraphrase, but every interpretation he advances is drawn from an approved authority, except, of course, where the authorities disagree. Then his criterion becomes what he himself believes to be the true meaning of the text.⁷³ In the *Praefatio in Annotationes* in the first two editions of the *Nouum Testamentum* Erasmus lists the authorities he consulted for the meaning of the biblical text: Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril (of Alexandria), Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary (of Poitiers) and Augustine.⁷⁴ Three names are added to the list in the third edition (1522): Basil, Theophylact and Bede.⁷⁵ Basil, Cyril and Hilary apart, the same list can stand for the authorities consulted for the Paraphrases on the epistles. Much the same list is given in the letter to Charles V which serves as a preface to the Basel edition of Erasmus' *Opera Omnia* where Beatus Rhenanus reports that in writing the Paraphrases Erasmus used to look, first and foremost, into the old interpreters, Ambrose (that is, Ambrosiaster), Jerome, Augustine and Hilary (of Poitiers) among the Latins, Chrysostom and Theophylact among the Greeks. Erasmus himself added only the style.⁷⁶ We may

⁷¹ I have not concerned myself with this question which is more pertinent to the edition of the *Nouum Testamentum*.

⁷² Compare his instruction to Johann Froben regarding the *Nouum Testamentum*, Ep. 885, l. 2. He seems to have relied on Beatus Rhenanus or one of the Amerbachs to see that Froben got it right. That would not have been necessary in Louvain.

⁷³ See Ep. 1333, ll. 390–392, the preface to *Paraphr. in Ioh.*

⁷⁴ See Ep. 373, ll. 31–38. Cf. Ep. 446, ll. 64–65.

⁷⁵ Erasmus does not say much about his authorities in the prefaces to the Paraphrases on the Epistles. He mentions Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) and Theophylact in the preface to the Paraphrase on Corinthians (Ep. 916, ll. 402–405); Bede and, indirectly, Nicholas of Lyre in the prefaces to the Paraphrases on the epistles of James, Peter and Jude (see p. 66, l. 69, and p. 113, ll. 30–35 below).

⁷⁶ Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 64, ll. 304–307. Bede evidently did not qualify as an 'old' interpreter.

take this last assertion *cum grano salis*; nevertheless, as the notes will make clear, Erasmus did strive to stay within the mainstream of the commentary tradition.

Beatus' language seems to imply that the consultation of the authorities for the Paraphrases was somehow different from the investigations whose results are recorded in the *Annotationes* and, according to Erasmus himself, incorporated into his Latin version of the Greek text.⁷⁷ Apart from what can be inferred from the text itself, there is no direct evidence or statements from Erasmus himself about his procedure in writing the individual Paraphrases. I have elsewhere advanced the suggestion, based on the work of Irena Backus, that in writing the Paraphrases Erasmus followed a practice common in sixteenth-century letter-writing.⁷⁸ He would have begun by making a draft of the argument, the thought or *sensus* of the epistle, unit by unit as he defined them, analogous to the rough draft (*précis, Konzept*) which writers of letters commonly made prior to the final version to be sent to the addressee.⁷⁹ This initial draft would then be elaborated with whatever detail seemed called for, including the elimination of the difficulties presented by the content or the style of the biblical text. Either prior to or in the course of the composition of the more polished draft(s) the authorities were consulted to ensure that the paraphrase was not distorting the thought (*paraphronesis*). Not only the thought but also the language of the authority could creep into the paraphrase as the notes will make amply clear. The incorporation of content from an authority could occur at more than one stage in the composition depending upon the number of drafts or revisions of the text before publication.⁸⁰ But in view of the limited time available for the writing of the Paraphrases on Hebrews and the canonical epistles consultation was very likely both minimal and rapid.

The main sources for the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Hebrews are John Chrysostom's Homilies and Theophylact's Exposition.⁸¹ Chrysostom certainly

⁷⁷ Cf. Ep. 860, ll. 39–42, which, while tendentious, need not be inaccurate.

⁷⁸ In *CWE* 44, pp. xiv–xvi. See Backus' review of *CWE* 42 in *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook Seven* (1987), p. 121, and especially her paper, *Deux cas d'évolution théologique dans les Paraphrases d'Érasme*, Actes du colloque international Érasme (Tours, 1986), Études réunies par Jacques Chomarat, André Godin et Jean-Claude Margolin, Genève, 1990, pp. 141–151.

⁷⁹ Erasmus does not describe this procedure in his manual on letter-writing, but it is similar to what he says about the unelaborated and the elaborated letter; cf. *De conscr. ep.*, *ASD* I, 2, pp. 214–215. The choice of which form to use is determined by the person and taste of the addressee; that is, it is a place for the employment of *accommodatio*. From this perspective the Epistle itself is the unelaborated version of the thought, the Paraphrase the elaborated one.

⁸⁰ For the Paraphrase on Matthew, there exists a fragment of chapter 1 (cf. Backus, *ibid.*, pp. 143–147), the much worked over autograph manuscript of the complete Paraphrase and the final version in print.

⁸¹ Erasmus does not at this time seem to be aware of the extent that Theophylact depended on Chrysostom; however, by 1527, he considered his commentaries to be largely an abridgement of Chrysostom's. See Ep. 1790, ll. 30–32). Cf. Beatus Rhenanus' term *imitator Chrysostomi* to describe Theophylact, Allen, *Op. ep.*, I, p. 64, l. 306.

and most likely Theophylact too would have been read in the Latin translations then in circulation.⁸² For the Canonical or General Epistles there were only two pre-medieval commentaries readily available: Bede's commentary on all seven epistles and Augustine's Tractates (that is, Homilies) on 1 John. Determination of the employment of these commentaries presents something of a problem. Theophylact's commentary is largely an abbreviation of Chrysostom's Homilies so that it is not always possible to determine whether the interpretation of a particular passage may derive directly from Chrysostom or through Theophylact. Similarly, Bede quotes extensively from Augustine; therefore, the interpretation in the paraphrase may come directly from Augustine or through Bede. The intertextual problem is further complicated by the fact that Erasmus may not have had Bede's commentary at hand when he wrote the Paraphrases on the epistles of James and John.⁸³ Since he had discovered that the *Glossa ordinaria* on the canonical epistles was taken almost entirely from Bede's commentaries, he may have used the *Glossa* in lieu of Bede. I have not tried to sort out these intertextual problems in every instance, which would have made the notes unduly complicated and have produced such strings as 'Augustine (with reference) quoted in Bede (with reference) as reported in the *Glossa* (with reference)'. For the most part I have preferred to quote or to refer to the text of the primary author. The industrious reader may then solve the intertextual problem to her or his own satisfaction.

Erasmus more often than not disparages rather than praises the medieval commentators although in the preface to the Paraphrase on the Epistles of Peter and Jude he does admit his debt to Nicholas of Lyre.⁸⁴ The three major commentaries whose work summarized medieval interpretation of the canonical epistles were the *Glossa ordinaria* and the *Postillae* of Hugo Carrensis and Nicholaus de Lyra.⁸⁵ In the absence of patristic commentaries Erasmus may have drawn more heavily on the medieval commentaries than would otherwise have been his habit. For the Paraphrase on the epistle to the Hebrews he had, in addition to the *Glossa* and the commentaries of Hugo and Nicholas, the exposition of Thomas Aquinas. Another figure who seems to have influenced the Paraphrase on Hebrews at par-

⁸² *Diui Iohannis Chrysostomi opera*, Basel, Io. Frobenius, 1517; cf. Allen, Ep. 575, n.l. 36. *Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini ... opera*, Paris, Io. Paruus, in 2 parts, 1518–1519; reprinted with revisions in 1520; see *Apolog. resp. lac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, pp. 492–493, n.l. 493. The 1520 Paris edition contains in the title the item: "Commentarii in epistolas Pauli qui a quibusdam adscribuntur Vulgario [i.e. Theophylacto]". The "quibusdam" is quite likely Erasmus himself who may have contributed this information after receiving or seeing a copy of the previous edition.

⁸³ He seems to have known Bede directly at this time only in a manuscript in Antwerp which he discovered while working on his responses to Edward Lee; see *Annot. in 1. Pet.*, 2, 2 ("rationabile sine dolo lac"), LB VI, 1045 C, and *Apolog. resp. lac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 255, n.l. 471.

⁸⁴ See p. 119, l. 67 below.

⁸⁵ There are numerous commentaries on the individual epistles extant in manuscripts, some of which may well have been available in private or conventual libraries in Belgium, but I have not attempted to search for evidence that Erasmus may have known or used any of them. See Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, Madrid, II v., 1950–1980.

ticular points was Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples whose commentary on the Pauline epistles is referred to several times in Erasmus' *Annotationes* on the New Testament. Erasmus' controversy with Lefèvre over the authorship of Hebrews and the meaning of *Hebr.* 2, 7 may have made him more attentive to Lefèvre's commentary on this particular epistle.⁸⁶

It would have been preferable to cite these commentaries in the editions which Erasmus had actually used in so far as they are discoverable. But pursuing the references would pose a formidable challenge to the reader. Therefore, I have facilitated the task by citing them in Migne's *Patrologia* or, as in the cases of Bede and Thomas Aquinas, in more recent editions.⁸⁷ The situation is different with the medieval commentaries. Erasmus appears to have owned and used for his *Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum* the *editio princeps* of the *Glossa*, but he also acquired by 1520 a copy of some volumes of the 1506–1508 Basel edition of the Bible which includes with the text of the Vulgate both the *Glossa* and the *Postillae* of Nicholas of Lyre.⁸⁸ He does not seem to have owned a copy of Hugo's *Postillae* and I do not know which editions he may have consulted at any given time. I have, therefore, referred to the Basel edition of this work.⁸⁹ Lefèvre's commentary exists in three editions: the first published in 1512, the second in 1516 or 1517 but dated 1515, the third in 1517.⁹⁰ Erasmus probably had the later editions in hand when he was preparing the *Nouum Instrumentum* and I have referred to it instead of the 1517 edition. The Bible is, of course, the ultimate authority. For Erasmus it was a complex document consisting of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint and Vulgate translations of the Old Testament, the Greek text of the New Testament as found in his own editions but also in the Aldine edition (February 1518)⁹¹ and the Complutensian Polyglott,⁹² the Vulgate and his own revised version of it. For the Paraphrases it is the Greek text and Latin version in the second (1519) edition of Erasmus' *Nouum Testamentum* and the Vulgate, especially when it differs from his Greek text, that are of primary concern. Again for the convenience of the reader the references to this 'Bible' in the present edition are to the more readily available editions. Hence 'Erasmus' Greek text' or similar language refers to the Greek text as reprinted in the Leiden edition of Erasmus' *Opera omnia*

⁸⁶ See *Paraphr. in Hebr.*, p. 48, n.ll. 97–98 below.

⁸⁷ An exception is the *Glossa ordinaria*, the text of which in Migne *PL* 114 is incomplete. Since the Migne edition is keyed to the modern verse system, the corresponding passage in the *Glossa*, if present, can be easily found there.

⁸⁸ See H. J. de Jonge, *Erasmus und die Glossa Ordinaria zum Neuen Testament*, NAK 56 (1975), pp. 74–75.

⁸⁹ *Biblia Latina cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto Charo*, 7 v., Basel, Io. Amerbach., 1498–1503.

⁹⁰ See A.W. Steenbeek in *ASD* IX, 3, pp. 60–64. There is a facsimile reprint of the 1512 edition, Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt, 1978. See also Henk J. de Jonge, *The Relationship of Erasmus' Translation of the New Testament to that of the Pauline Epistles by Lefèvre d'Étaples*, Erasmus in English 15 (1987–88), pp. 2–7.

⁹¹ See Allen, introd. Ep. 770.

⁹² Though released in 1520 a copy does not seem to have reached Erasmus until 1522; see Ep. 1213, n.l. 82.

(*LB*); the Greek text is otherwise cited from Nestle-Aland, *Nouum Testamentum Graece*. 'Erasmus' Latin version' refers likewise to the text in *LB*. Unless otherwise specified the 'Vulgate' (Vg.) always refers to the *Clementine* Vulgate since its text is probably closest to that, or, perhaps more accurately, those familiar to Erasmus.⁹³

⁹³ A text of the Vulgate was published in the fourth (1527) edition of the *Nouum Testamentum* alongside Erasmus' Latin version. Its text is often different from that used for the Paraphrases.

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- A*: ed. pr., Lou., Th. Martinus, 1520–1521.
B: ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Dec. 1520.
C: ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Mart. 1521.
D: ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Iul. 1521.
E: ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Febr. 1522.
F: ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Maio 1522.
G: consensus *G*¹ et *G*²
*G*¹: ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, 1523, in 2°.
*G*²: ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, 1523, in 8°.
H: consensus *H*¹, *I*, *K* et *BAS*.
*H*¹: ed. Basil., Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1532.
I: ed. Basil., Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus (*sic*), 1534.
K: ed. Basil., Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1538.
BAS: ed. Basil., Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1540.
LB: ed. Lugd. Bat., Petr. vander Aa, 1706, in Tomo VII.

I

IN EPISTOLAM PAVLI APOSTOLI AD
HEBRAEOS PARAPHRASIS

IN EPISTOLAM
PAVLI APOSTOLI
ad Hebræos paraphrasis per
Erasmū Roterodamū
extræma.

Nunc primum excusa.

Louanii apud Theodoricum Martinum Alo¹
stensem. Anno. M. D. XXI. Mense
Ianuario.

Non sine priuilegio.

Paraphrasis in Epistolam ad Hebræos, Louanii, Theod. Martinus, mense Ian. 1521.

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INTRODUCTION

1. *Background of the Paraphrase on Hebrews*

The Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Hebrews comes at the end of the series of Paraphrases in the Basel editions, beginning with the collected edition of March 1521. Noël Bédá suspected that this was a deliberate act on Erasmus' part and reflected his depreciation of this epistle compared to the other thirteen epistles of Paul.¹ Though Erasmus did in fact consider Hebrews to have less authority, at least with him, than the thirteen genuine epistles of Paul,² he denied that its position in the editions was deliberate. It was simply the last of the Paraphrases to be written and the printer put it at the end of the book. Erasmus had originally decided not to write a Paraphrase on Hebrews, presumably because its more elegant style did not require the kind of clarification needed for the other Pauline epistles.³ But there were some who argued that a Paraphrase on Hebrews ought not to be omitted so that the credit for the entire work would be his alone.⁴ Erasmus does not say who these persons were or when they advanced their argument;⁵ only that he complied.

It may have been a last minute decision and possibly not made until after he had shipped off the other Paraphrases to Froben in Basel. At any rate the text of the title page, which may have been supplied by Erasmus himself, and the list of contents at the head of the March 1521 edition (C) do not include the Paraphrase on Hebrews. It has its own title page, copied from Martens' edition (A), and in this respect it differs from the other title pages in the book, which are new settings.⁶ Whenever the copy arrived in Basel, it was apparently before the completion of the setting of the Canonical epistles because they end with gathering M and Hebrews begins gathering N. Had all the typesetting been finished, the compositor would have been more likely to have signed the first sheet of the Paraphrase on Hebrews with an A (or a). In any event only the colophon of Hebrews includes the month date, *Mense Martio*, which is omitted in the other colophons in the book.⁷

¹ See *Resp. ad notata per N. Bed.*, LB IX, 479 B, and *Elenchus*, *ibid.*, 511 B–C.

² Cf. *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 211, ll. 14–17: Paul's epistles to the Romans and Corinthians have more weight with me than the epistle to the Hebrews.

³ Cf. the letter to Schiner, p. 117, ll. 10–11 below.

⁴ See *Elenchus*, LB IX, 511: "Tandem exstiterunt qui contendebant Epistolam ad Hebraeos, cum esset vna, non praetermittendam vt totum opus mihi maneret".

⁵ Since Erasmus has a penchant for the figurative plural, there may in fact have been only one person.

⁶ There are separate title pages for Ephesians–2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy–3 John, and again for the Canonical epistles, 1 Peter–3 John.

⁷ Each section of the book has its own colophon and, except for the set of Paraphrases on 1 Timothy–Philemon, the printer's device on the verso. The purpose of this arrangement is

The suspicion voiced by Bédā was prompted by another and more important concern, Erasmus' contention that Paul was not the author of Hebrews. At the conclusion of the annotations on Hebrews in the first (1516) edition of the *Novum Testament*, or *Instrumentum* as Erasmus titled the work in that edition, Erasmus addresses a short essay to the Reader on the authorship of the epistle.⁸ He begins by carefully pointing out that what was at issue was the authorship, not the authority of the epistle. Its (canonical) authority was equal to that of the other epistles. On the question of authorship he advances several arguments which may be stated briefly: The epistle lacks Paul's name; it was not received by the Roman church at least to the time of Jerome; it contains some questionable and certainly non-Pauline statements; it is completely different in style from the other Pauline epistles; its most likely author is Clement of Rome. These arguments were attacked, first (at least in print) by Jacques Lefèvre, who argued for the traditional ascription to Paul and also for the assumption that the epistle was written originally in Hebrew and subsequently translated into Greek by Luke.⁹ Erasmus refuted Lefèvre's arguments and reinforced his own with additional evidence, chiefly from Jerome and Augustine, in his reply to Lefèvre's criticism of his translation and interpretation of the citation of *Ps.* 8, 5 in Hebrews 2, 7.¹⁰ There the matter seems to have rested (at least there are no revisions of the annotation in the third (1522) edition of the *Novum Testamentum*) until Bédā's criticism of Erasmus' position and subsequently the censure of it by the faculty of theology at Paris.¹¹ These controversies do not affect the Paraphrase, which assumes that Paul himself is interpreting and commenting on his own epistle, except in a rather odd way. As noted above, the title page of *C* makes no mention of Hebrews. This omission is corrected in the title page of *D*, most likely by Erasmus himself, by the insertion of the clause *et in eam quae est ad Hebraeos incerti auctoris* immediately after the words *Paraphrases ... in omnes epistolas Pauli apostoli germanas*. Whether Erasmus himself noticed the anomaly thus produced or it was pointed out to him, the question of the authorship of the epistle disappears from the subsequent editions (*E–H*).¹²

announced in the July 1521 edition, to allow the user to bind the book in parts (possibly also to buy it in parts).

⁸ See *Er. Annot. in Hebr.*, LB VI, 1023 D–1024 F.

⁹ This contention had been put into circulation by Jerome, if not earlier, to solve the problem posed by the difference in style between Hebrews and the other Pauline epistles.

¹⁰ See *Iac. Fabr. disputat. adv. annot. Erasmi*, LB IX, 78 B–79 A, and *Er. Apol. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ASD IX, 3, pp. 161–168.

¹¹ See *Resp. ad notata per N. Bed.*, LB IX, 479 C; *Elenchus*, *ibid.*, 497 B; *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.*, *ibid.*, 865 D–866 B. These controversies led to the insertion of additional material from Jerome and from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* into the annotation in the fourth (1527) edition of the *Novum Testamentum*. A final argument, that the interpretation of *Ps.* 8 in Hebrews 2 is contrary to Paul's method of interpretation, was added in the fifth (1535) edition.

¹² For a history of the dispute in the sixteenth century see Kenneth Hagen, *Hebrews Commenting from Erasmus to Bèze, 1516–1598*, Tübingen, 1981.

The Paraphrase is dedicated to Silvestro Gigli, bishop of Worcester and ambassador (*orator*) of Henry VIII at the papal court. In this capacity Gigli was prevailed upon or, if Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey were partly involved as seems to be the case, ordered to assist Erasmus in obtaining two papal dispensations which he desperately wanted to have in 1516.¹³ Copies of the two briefs, the texts of which were apparently not totally to Erasmus' liking, were sent to him by Gigli with a letter in which the bishop expressed his deep admiration for Erasmus' scholarship but which also apparently contained a hint that some additional money was desired.¹⁴ Erasmus characterized Gigli's letter as 'friendly' but he was obviously not happy with what he seems to have viewed as an attempt to extort more money from him. Consequently, his reply to Gigli, thanking him for his services, is rather perfunctory despite its somewhat fulsome flattery.¹⁵ From this letter we learn that Erasmus was known to Gigli only in appearance.¹⁶ It would seem that they had not been actually introduced and there is no evidence that either man had any abiding interest in the other.

No further reference to Gigli emerges from Erasmus' correspondence until March 1520 when Erasmus again thanks him, by letter, for the services rendered him in obtaining a papal diploma of some kind.¹⁷ In this letter Erasmus recalls Gigli's earlier efforts on his behalf and is clearly embarrassed by his failure to express his gratitude for them in any tangible way. He promises that within the next twelve months he will do something to show that he really does know how deeply indebted he is to Gigli.¹⁸ The fulfilment of the promise is evidently the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Hebrews, though it is highly unlikely that in March 1520 Erasmus

¹³ The dispensations, dated 26 January 1517, are contained in Epp. 517 and 518. Copies were sent to Erasmus by Gigli on 31 January (Ep. 521). Gigli's actions on Erasmus' behalf are referred to in Epp. 446, ll. 34-37; 466, 18-20; 478, ll. 14-15; 479 (cf. *LP* II. nos. 2394 and 2395); 483, which replies to 479; 498, ll. 5-15 and 23-24; 552, ll. 1-3 and 9 (cf. Ep. 447, n.l. 767).

¹⁴ The request for money seems to have been removed from the letter before Erasmus had it published; see Allen, introd. Ep. 521 and Ep. 552, ll. 1-3.

¹⁵ Ep. 567. If Ep. 649 was addressed to Gigli, as Allen, introd., believed, then Gigli seems to have desired some more tangible expression of Erasmus' gratitude. Though addressed to some prelate apparently resident in Rome at the time, September 1517, and despite the reference to Ammonio, Erasmus says things in the letter that would be strange in a letter to Gigli, who would, for example, scarcely need to be reminded of the favor shown Erasmus by Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey (ll. 14-16).

¹⁶ See Ep. 567, l. 7, "Erasmus vix de facie noto". Gigli resided in England from 1505 to 1512, was a member of the court of both Henry VII and Henry VIII, and a compatriot and patron of Andrea Ammonio in the latter's effort to replace Polydore Vergil as the papal sub-collector for England. See *CEBR* I, pp. 48-50 (Ammonio), and II, pp. 97-98 (Gigli).

¹⁷ See Epp. 1079 and 1080. Allen, Ep. 1079, n.l. 5, surmised that the diploma gave Erasmus permission to eat meat during Lent. Nothing further is known about the diploma or Gigli's actions in obtaining it for Erasmus, presumably through a request from one of his English friends or patrons since Ammonio had died in August 1517.

¹⁸ The promise is repeated in Ep. 1080, ll. 9-10, written on the same day as Ep. 1080, and addressed to Francesco Chierigati; see *CEBR* I, 301.

knew that it would be this work that he would be dedicating to Gigli,¹⁹ since, if we are to believe his statement to Cardinal Schiner, he did not intend to write Paraphrases on any of the non-Pauline epistles except those of Peter and Jude.²⁰

The dedicatory letter to Gigli, after a passage of fulsome praise typical in this kind of letter (though the elaboration may also reflect Erasmus' feeling of guilt over the neglect of his obligations to the bishop) and an equally elaborate development of the excuse he had offered in his earlier letter, turns to more substantive topics. Chronologically, these topics summarize Erasmus' earlier statements on the nature and purpose of the Paraphrases on the Pauline epistles, but in view of the initial position of the Paraphrase in the present edition merit some attention. Paul, says Erasmus, through his efforts has learned to speak both more copiously and more clearly. The two qualities, though normally differentiated in the literary and rhetorical tradition, are here closely combined and, in effect, sum up the function of the paraphrase. Secondly, Paul has learned to speak this way in Latin, the obvious implication being that he does not do so in the widely accepted (*vulgata*) version. There is a second, less obvious, implication: Paul's thought can be understood correctly and fully only in the 'Greek verity'. The sublimity of Paul's thought makes it difficult to understand in any case, but when it has to be pursued through the study of the original text, whether in the Greek or in a Latin translation, the task requires long, hard work even by the learned. Now thanks to Erasmus' industry even beginners in theology can understand that thought, provided, however, that they have mastered the rudiments of classical Latin.

One would have expected that Erasmus' efforts on behalf of all Christians and students of theology in particular would be widely welcomed and appreciated. Instead he is surrounded by critics – a pack of ignorant, impious potbellies – who are determined to deprive students of the fruits of his labors. However, they will not, he prays, cannot succeed. For the cause of humane letters is almost won; the achievements of the advocates of 'good letters' will not be reversed. However, the issue of church reform is still in doubt, with the battle likely to be a bloody one. But the battle will be won if only Christ will shed his grace on the leaders of the Church, especially those in Rome itself. For the success of both causes (and a third cause, that of international peace, which Erasmus does not mention here) depends ultimately on the actions and policies of the Pope, who must put the glory of Christ ahead of all other concerns.²¹ The same topics and the hopes are

¹⁹ On the same day, 15 March, Erasmus wrote an equally short letter (Ep. 1081) to Lorenzo Campeggi to send along with a copy of the Paraphrases on Ephesians–2 Thessalonians which he had dedicated to him. There may thus have been a, probably unconscious, connection in Erasmus' mind between Gigli and the Paraphrases. There is a further possible connection in that, as Erasmus certainly knew, Gigli was Cardinal Wolsey's agent in Rome.

²⁰ Cf. p. 117, ll. 4–8 below.

²¹ A splendid but ultimately hopeless prayer. For Erasmus' aspirations and the underlying motives for the Paraphrases see Ep. 566, ll. 36–40. The same request for papal action occurs in

expressed, *mutatis mutandis*, in the prefaces to the Paraphrases on the epistles of Peter, Jude and John.²²

2. *The Sources*

The commentaries on Hebrews cited most frequently in the *Annotationes* on this epistle are, in descending order, the Homilies of John Chrysostom, the expositions of Theophylact and Thomas Aquinas, and the commentary of Jacques Lefèvre.²³ All the references to Thomas and Lefèvre and about one-half of those to Chrysostom and Theophylact occur in the first two editions of the *Novum Testamentum*. But several new references to the two Greek commentators are added to annotations in the third edition of 1522. The annotations in the third edition also have side-notes, in which the names most frequently mentioned are Thomas and Faber (Lefèvre).²⁴ It is likely, then, that Erasmus was working with this material during the time he was writing or getting ready to write the Paraphrase on Hebrews, or, alternatively, the need to reread these commentaries for the Paraphrase encouraged him to review them for the third edition of the *Novum Testamentum*. There is a similar situation in the case of Bede's commentaries on the canonical epistles (see p. 181, n.ll. 30–31 below).

The commentaries of Chrysostom and Theophylact would have been read in the Latin translations then in print. Erasmus knew the Greek text of Theophylact from a manuscript in Basel and, through a misreading of the title, refers to it under the name *Vulgarius* in the first (1516) and second (1519) editions of the *Novum Testamentum*. But for the Paraphrase he was using the Latin translation of Christophorus de Porsena which circulated under the name of Athanasius.²⁵ For Chrysostom he probably employed the translation of Mutianus Scholasticus

his correspondence with Leo himself (e.g. Ep. 384) and later Pope Clement VII (Ep. 1414) as well as the papal diplomats, Cardinals Grimani (Ep. 710) and Campeggi (Ep. 1062).

²² The dedicatory letter to Gigli was omitted in *HP*, though whether by accident or deliberately, cannot be determined. A similar mystery surrounds the omission of the letter dedicating the Paraphrase on Acts to Clement VII in the 1534 edition of the complete Paraphrases (*I* in this edition of the *Tomus Secundus*); cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 1414. The other correspondence with Gigli, Epp. 521, 567, 1079, was kept in print either temporarily (Ep. 521) or permanently (Epp. 567 and 1079), so that the omission in *H* does not seem to be the result of any animus on Erasmus' part.

²³ The third most frequently cited work is a document called *Scholia Graeca* or *Graecanica*, which is probably the anonymous commentary in Basel ms. A. N. III. 11 (= N.-A. no. 7) that was later ascribed to Oecumenius. See *ASD* IX, 2, p. 195, n.l. 539, and *CWE* 50, p. 13, n. 1. The manuscript was not available to Erasmus when he wrote the Paraphrase so that any echoes of it would be either from memory or written excerpts; see the paraphrases on 4, 11 (p. 55, n.l. 263) and 6, 2 (p. 61, n.ll. 364–365).

²⁴ Most, though not all, of these side-notes first appear in the second (1519) edition of the *Nov. Test.*

²⁵ See *Apolog. resp. lac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 131, n.l. 437. It was Erasmus who discovered that the translation was actually Theophylact's commentary. See *CWE* 50, p. 15, n. 25.

which Froben had printed in 1517 together with the remaining works of Chrysostom in Latin translation.²⁶ He came to doubt the authenticity of the Homilies on Hebrews, but that was apparently some years later after he first became acquainted with Chrysostom in Greek.²⁷

Erasmus does not cite the *Glossa ordinaria* or any of the medieval commentators in the *Annotationes* on Hebrews.²⁸ However, he was certainly familiar with these works even if he did not use them systematically in the Paraphrase. They do represent a consensus of medieval opinion about the meaning of Hebrews and consequently provide, together with Thomas, a background for understanding the interpretations in the Paraphrase. Textual matters apart, Erasmus remains very much within the mainstream of medieval historical or literal exegesis. Except for an occasional comment made in passing, he eschews the other three senses – allegorical, tropological and anagogical – and seems to have deliberately avoided them even where the biblical text gave a handle for dilating on the spiritual meaning of the text. There is one other commentator whose influence is hidden. This is Haymo of Auxerre, whose commentary on the Pauline epistles, published in 1519, is never mentioned, so far as I have observed, in the *Annotationes*. Nevertheless, there are one or two places in the Paraphrase where Erasmus advances an interpretation which is recorded in Haymo, but not in the *Glossa*, Hugo or Nicholas of Lyre.²⁹

3. *Composition and Themes*

John Chrysostom's thirty-four Homilies on the epistle to the Hebrews are the foundation of all subsequent commentary on it in both the Greek and Latin traditions.³⁰ That Erasmus followed Chrysostom's exegesis so closely in the Paraphrase, despite any reservations he may have had about its quality, is thus no accident. Chrysostom perceived in the epistle one major theme – the demonstration of the ὑπεροχή of Christ³¹ or, as Hugo puts it, the superiority of

²⁶ Cf. Ep. 1052, n.l. 1. Erasmus seems to have owned the complete edition; cf. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 141 C. For his employment of the Latin translations see Ep. 1858, ll. 109–113.

²⁷ See Epp. 2253, ll. 17–19; 2261, ll. 51–52. Cf. *Apolog. resp. Jac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 141, n.l. 604. The passage in the annotation on Hebr. 4, 2 referred to there (LB VI, 995 D–E) is part of a lengthy discussion first added in the fourth (1527) edition.

²⁸ He does refer to numerous other authorities, most often Augustine, Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome and Lorenzo Valla, but these are mostly to substantiate readings or translations. The pertinent text will be cited wherever appropriate.

²⁹ There are numerous medieval commentaries, glosses and scholia on Hebrews, some in print, most extant only in manuscript. Some of these works could certainly have passed under Erasmus' eyes, but demonstrating that is outside the scope of this edition. Information about these commentaries can be extracted from Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, Madrid, 1950–1980.

³⁰ See Eduard Riggenbach, *Historische Studien zum Hebräerbrief*, Leipzig, 1907.

³¹ Various represented in the Latin tradition as *excellencia* or *praeccellencia*, *eminencia*, *diferentia*.

the Son over all created things – and two subsidiary themes, the consolation of the Christian Jews in their tribulations and Paul's self-defense against the charges made against him by the Jews.³² The main theme is nuanced in various ways by the medieval Latin commentators, but their exegesis is developed essentially on the basis of a comparison between the Old and New Testaments as documents, the words of Moses and the prophets *versus* the words of Christ, the Levitical priesthood and the new priesthood 'according to Melchizedec', the old law (of fear) and the new law (of love).³³ In every instance the 'new' surpasses the 'old'. There is at this last point a major difference among the Latin commentators: some, like Thomas, emphasize the development and succession from the old to the new; others (the *Glossa*, Nicholas of Lyre, Lefèvre) stress the discontinuity and replacement of the old by the new.³⁴ Erasmus in the Paraphrase vacillates between the two positions.³⁵ As a result of this comparative approach the commentaries are peppered with adjectives in the comparative degree. The Paraphrase is no exception in this respect. The new *vox Dei per Christum*, testament, priesthood, law are variously *amantior, certior, clementior, efficacior, felicitior, magnificentior, maior, melior, plenior, praestantior* than their counterparts in the old. Christ and his words simply *omnibus modis excellit*. The new covenant, to use a modern rendering of διαθήκη, is *aeterna*, not *ad tempus data*; *coelestis*, not *carnalis* and *crassa*; *perfecta*, not *imperfecta* and therefore *inutilis*; and made with all humans everywhere and not with just a few Jews in a tiny corner of the inhabited world.

To judge from his *Argumentum* Erasmus had little interest in the composition or structure of Hebrews. That he begins with the topic of consolation (chapter 11) probably reflects the influence of the preface to Chrysostom's Homilies as do the opening statements about the Jews.³⁶ The perfunctory description of the rest

³² Cf. *Act.* 21, 20–21, cited by all the commentators in this context.

³³ See Kenneth Hagen, *A Theology of Testament in the Young Luther. The Lectures on Hebrews*, Leiden, 1974, pp. 43–55. Hagen ignores (or overlooks) Haymo and Hugo Carrensis, and also the Paraphrase.

³⁴ See Hagen, *ibid.*, p. 54.

³⁵ Probably because of simple carelessness in his language about the Mosaic law, as, for example, in the *Argumentum* where he states that the 'shadows of the Mosaic law have ceased with the dawn of the gospel'. Called to task by Noël Bédard for such blanket statements, Erasmus replied that he meant only the ceremonial law — the standard view — but one would never know this from his statements about the Law in which he seems to imply that the entire Law has been abrogated by the new Law of Christ.

³⁶ For Chrysostom's, essentially hostile, attitude toward the Jews, see Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century*, Berkeley, 1983. Erasmus' attitude toward them is more complicated, and modern assessments of it vary considerably; cf. Guido Kisch, *Erasmus' Stellung zu Juden und Judentum*, Tübingen, 1969; Shimon Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews*, Chicago and London, 1986, with an afterword by Arthur A. Cohen; Harry S. May, *The Tragedy of Erasmus: A Psychohistoric Approach*, St. Charles, Missouri, 1975. I would say that Erasmus disliked, perhaps even hated, Jews. He certainly hated what he thought was Judaism and worked to eliminate what he believed was its pernicious influence on and in the church. But it is equally evident that he had no real knowledge of either Jews or their beliefs.

of the content of the epistle resembles more the summaries in the Greek Hypothesis printed in the *Novum Testamentum* (LB VI, 981–982) or the *Argumentum* in the *Glossa* (pp. 15r^o and v^o). But where they track the topics in sequence through the epistle, Erasmus is content to summarize (1) the demonstration (*declarat*), through a review of many texts from the Old Testament and accommodation of their content to Christ, that the shadow of the Law has ceased before the light of the gospel and (2) the instruction (*docet*) that salvation comes from faith, not the observance of the Law, which was temporary and imperfect. Since these two statements are followed by the observation that it was through faith that the readers' ancestors most pleased God (chapter 11), it is conceivable that Erasmus intended his first two statements to be descriptions of chapters 1–8 and 9–10 respectively.³⁷ The last sentence repeats the view of the *Glossa*: chapters 12 and 13 contain moral instruction.³⁸ What is striking, in view of the unanimous opinion of earlier commentators, is the omission in the Argument of any mention of the *excellencia Christi*. That, together with the elaborate explanation of the hostility of the Jews toward Paul, suggests that Erasmus did not give any serious thought to the content of the epistle. The same is probably true of the Paraphrase. Granted that it was written rapidly, Erasmus still seems to have preferred to skim over passages that were discussed at length in the medieval commentaries and to skirt the theological issues posed by the epistle.

As noted in the general introduction, in addition to restating the underlying thought of the text, a paraphrase also elucidates the text by expanding it. Paul has learned to speak *fusius* as well as *explanatius* (p. 3, l. 20). An examination of some of these expansions in the Paraphrase on Hebrews will throw light in turn on one of the major literary techniques of the paraphrase and illustrate some of Erasmus' theological concerns.

One of the recurring literary features of the paraphrase is the insertion of transitions where they are not found in the biblical text.³⁹ These transitions may range from a single clause or sentence to a complete paragraph, which becomes a bridge passage, summarizing the content of the preceding verses and leading

Hence both are for the most part symbols rather than historical realities in his writings, including the Paraphrases despite the effort to ground the latter in the history of the first century C.E. On this last point cf. *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.*, LB IX, 841 A–B and 843 A.

³⁷ The *Glossa* makes a division after chapter 3, or perhaps after 3, 11, and states that what follows (up to the end of chapter 9) is a declaration through numerous arguments and authorities (citations from *Vet. Test.*) that the grace of faith is to be preferred to the Law and the priesthood of Christ to be placed before that of Levi, the New Testament before the Old, the one sacrifice of Christ before the many of the levitical priests. Chapter 10 is a demonstration that the Old Testament is shadow, the New truth (*veritas*).

³⁸ Cf. the *Glossa*, p. 15v^o: "Circa finem vero moralem subdit instructionem". "Circa finem" is vague and the author may have considered 11, 1–12, 13 to be the unit on faith with the moral instruction beginning at 12, 14. Hugo, however, definitely has the moral instruction begin at 12, 1, which is also the view of Theophylact and Erasmus in the Paraphrase.

³⁹ Cf. the prefatory letter to the *Paraphr. in lac.*, p. 118, l. 39.

into the following section of the text. It is not always easy to know whether Erasmus has intended these generalizing summaries to be a conclusion or an introduction. An example is provided by the paraphrase on 12, 14–18, p. 56, ll. 319–325.⁴⁰ Picking up the author's exhortation to pursue peace and holiness, Erasmus develops, in his own language, a brief exposition of the consequences of rancor (*amarulentia*) and depravity (*pravae cupiditates* is his customary phrase), though here the concept is expanded with the words *libido* (here the pursuit of sexual pleasures) and *luxus* (gluttony, eating and drinking for the sake of pleasure), based on the example of Esau. Rancour destroys communal concord, depraved desires personal integrity. Whatever the author of Hebrews may have intended by his exhortation and biblical illustration, Erasmus makes the thought his own: concord and moral integrity (itself a harmony of the emotions within the soul) are indivisible. This is an axiom of the *philosophia Christi* and a major theme of the *Enchiridion*, as is the conclusion of this sermonette in the Paraphrase: 'let us not, like complete fools, exchange our heavenly inheritance for the delights of this world'. The biblical text becomes a springboard for launching a (to Erasmus) profound truth.

A different kind of expansion, not surprising in a commentary on Hebrews but found also in the Paraphrases on James and 1 John, is the introduction of biblical texts which are at most only alluded to in the passage being commented on. This is especially the case in the paraphrase on chapter 11 which, long enough in the original, becomes three times as long in the paraphrase. Most of the expansion is the result of the introduction of details, omitted by the author of Hebrews, from the accounts of the various heroes in the Old Testament.⁴¹ We need not dwell on these examples since the references to the relevant passages in the Old Testament are given in the commentary. One passage, however, in the paraphrase on chapter 11 deserves more detailed attention since it illustrates how Pauline as well as Old Testament texts are introduced into a paraphrase and the paraphrase itself culminates in an 'Erasmization' of the original thought, though later Erasmus denied that he did such a thing.⁴²

In 11, 12–16 the author of Hebrews summarizes the significance of faith in the actions of the patriarchs, or at least of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Jacob. Erasmus paraphrases the author's statements, first, by incorporating additional details from the Old Testament, and, secondly, by introducing material from Paul's letters. Both practices were probably justified in Erasmus' mind because

⁴⁰ I have made these lines into the introduction to verse 18, but they could equally well be treated as the conclusion to verse 17, with the new paragraph beginning with the words *Coelestia sunt* in l. 1252.

⁴¹ See in particular the treatments of Cain and Abel (p. 82, ll. 914–926), Noah (p. 83, l. 943–p. 84, l. 953), Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (p. 84, ll. 954–972), the birth of Moses (p. 88, ll. 1041–1049), the Judges and kings of Israel (p. 90, ll. 1086–1109), the holy men of God (p. 92, ll. 1110–1128), the Maccabean martyrs (p. 92, ll. 1135–1149). The same thing happens elsewhere; cf. on 9, 4, p. 70, ll. 627–633.

⁴² Cf. Ep. 1381, ll. 425–428; *Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii*, LB IX, III5 A–III6 C.

he was, in the one case, following the author's own practice, and in the other, was supporting the assumption of Pauline authorship. Thus, in the paraphrase on verse 12, after restating God's promise to Abraham that he would have innumerable offspring, Erasmus introduces Paul's explanation: all who will live *iuxta fidei imitationem* (Rom. 4, 13–25) though Paul would perhaps not have used quite this language. In the paraphrase on verse 13 Erasmus, first, introduces a psychological motive taken from Chrysostom – the greeting springs from desire – and then enlarges the reference to Psalm 39, which is, at most, only alluded to in Hebrews, and explains it with facts from the history of the entry and possession of the promised land down to the kingdom of David and his successors to substantiate the assertion, which is not actually made in Hebrews, that 'the earth' in this verse means not the promised land of Palestine but the entire world. In doing so Erasmus anticipates a development which he will make in the paraphrase on verse 16. The paraphrase on verses 14 and 15 restate in different, but significant, language the original text. Thus the patriarchs 'desiderated' a homeland, but because 'they were exiles in the whole world' they could not have longed for a homeland on earth. This 'universalizing' of the content is developed in the paraphrase on verse 16. The patriarchs become the prototypes of the Christian pilgrim whose life in the world must be lived as though it were not in the world, but aiming always for its true homeland. Similarly, the biblical God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob becomes in the paraphrase the creator of the universe and the lord of all who put their faith wholly in him – an Erasmian motif which will recur repeatedly in the Paraphrases. In return for their disdain for the world, another motif which will likewise reappear frequently, God has prepared a city in which they will reign happily with him forever.⁴³

Such expansions of the biblical text can be employed as a crude form of content analysis to identify texts and topics that were of special interest to Erasmus. Excluding the elaboration of the exposition by the incorporation of details from the Old Testament, especially in chapter 11,⁴⁴ and the short paragraphs on divine mercy and grace, concord and purity,⁴⁵ these expansions can be brought together for the most part under the topics of christology-soteriology,⁴⁶ Law (the shadow) and gospel (the truth),⁴⁷ perseverance⁴⁸ and, in chapter 11, faith.⁴⁹

Christology is a broader subject than soteriology, but in Erasmus' thought, as it appears in the Paraphrases, salvation is another way of describing the purpose

⁴³ Cf. *Mt.* 25, 34.

⁴⁴ See the paraphrases on 9, 4; 11, 4; 11, 7; 11, 9; 11, 23; 11, 32; 11, 33; 11, 37.

⁴⁵ See on 4, 14–16 and 12, 17–18.

⁴⁶ On, 1, 2–3; 2, 8–9; 9, 15; 9, 23–28, though this last passage incorporates several other theological topics as well.

⁴⁷ On 2, 1–4; 7, 18–19; 8, 5; 13, 8–11.

⁴⁸ On 3, 6; 3, 12–13; 6, 4–6; 10, 24–25.

⁴⁹ See 11, 1–2 and 12–16.

and events of the Son's past and future advent. The christology begins with the person of the Son in the Trinity; hence Hebrews' metaphors in 1, 2-3 are elucidated in the language of the Nicene Creed. Erasmus, however, seems to have little theological interest in the Trinity and his attention is centered almost entirely on the Son in the world, first, as God incarnate who willingly assumed with his human flesh all of the weaknesses of the human condition and humiliated himself to the point of dying a criminal's death, and, secondly, as Lord of all, whose resurrection, ascension and session at the right hand of the Father is evidence of the true majesty which will be revealed to all when he comes to judge the living and the dead. This 'divine plan', as Erasmus calls it, is proof of God's love of humanity because of which he sent his Son into the world to die in order to save us from the tyranny of sin, death and the Devil, the lord of this world, from whom Christ reclaimed God's people for himself. Although the entire formula occasionally occurs in the Paraphrases, it is more common to find the simpler statements, Christ died for our sins, or, Christ freed us from the tyranny of the Devil. There is a second, essentially human dimension to God's plan: the Son became human to show us the way to salvation. Thus in addition to the miracles which are proof of Christ's divine nature, there are his teachings, which constitute the new law of love, and his own behavior which gives us an example to imitate. Christ's death on the cross is essentially the sacrifice through which he expiated humanity's sin and reconciled God the Father to it; it is also, in purely human terms, an example of patience in suffering without recrimination. The exposition in the Paraphrase continually moves between these two levels or dimensions of the text, indeed interweaves them inextricably.

In the four passages where christology and soteriology provide the material for the exposition we find emphasized, in the paraphrase on 1, 2-3, the expression of God's love for humanity, the creative and sustaining power of the Word together with the lordship of Christ, the purpose of the passion and death in the movement from sacrifice to resurrection, exaltation and session; in that on 2, 8-9, the redemption of humanity through Christ's death which led to his lordship; in 9, 15, the focus is again on the passion and resurrection which abolished sin and death, but the human dimension also emerges in the statement that through the passion and resurrection Christ also revealed the inheritance which is waiting in heaven. In the paraphrase on 9, 23-28, the center of interest is the sacrifice of Christ in which he transferred all sin to himself and thereby redeemed humanity. This unique sacrifice is necessarily perfect and more efficacious than the sacrifices for sin under the Mosaic law. Here too the last event in the history of salvation is brought before the reader, the appearance of Christ at the last judgment, not in his prior humiliation but in his true majesty. Erasmus is following, and fairly closely, the thought of Hebrews in this paragraph but the antitheses through which he expresses it and the emphases he gives it are his own. What is perhaps most striking is that

in these reflections upon the two natures of Christ and the redemption of humanity nowhere does Erasmus employ Hebrews' own images of leader, high priest and intercessor though they appear, of course, in the briefer expositions of individual verses.

The second topic, Law and gospel, could be subsumed under the more general heading, following the lead of the author of Hebrews, as the opposition of shadow and truth, image and reality.⁵⁰ Though the Law has some positive features, it was carnal (*carnalis*) and crass (*crassa*), temporary (*ad tempus data*), and earthly (*terrena*), concerned primarily with justifications and promises of the flesh. Therefore, it was weak (*imbecillis*) and lacked the strength (*robur*) to bring one to true holiness. It was thus imperfect (*imperfecta*) and ineffective (*inutilis*) and destined to be abrogated, its 'shadows' to be dissipated by the light of the gospel.⁵¹ The gospel on the other hand is spiritual, eternal, heavenly, promising not some temporary peace and prosperity on earth but everlasting bliss in heaven. It was thus not an image of heavenly reality, but truth itself, brought now at last from God through the Son and eternal Word of God. What the Law did have – and presumably still does for those who study it – was a certain propaedeutic power to move the intelligence from a concern with *res sensibiles* to *res animi* and thus to inspire its students with that *melior spes* which is fulfilled in the promises given by Christ in the gospel. In this respect the teachings of the Law are the same as those of the gospel but in a different form.⁵² From Erasmus' Platonic perspective its shadows were icons in need of the daylight of an exegesis which sought the deeper meaning hidden behind the historical or literal meaning of the biblical text.⁵³

These ideas are pervasive in the Paraphrase on Hebrews, occurring at one point or another in almost every chapter; however, at four places Erasmus pauses to develop them at greater length.⁵⁴ In the last of these expanded explanations of the thought of Hebrews the difference between Law and gospel, Old Testament and New, Judaism (as Erasmus understood it) and a truly spiritual godliness (*pietas*) is grounded on the fundamental movement from works to faith, that is, on grace.⁵⁵ The Pauline argument is, naturally, at home in an epistle that, in the Paraphrase, was written by Paul, but it had already been developed at some length in the paraphrase on II, I, where the meaning of faith is the issue.

⁵⁰ Whatever the source of these images was for the author of Hebrews, they derive in Erasmus ultimately from Plato. See Payne, *Theology*, pp. 35–40 and 71–74.

⁵¹ Cf. the paraphrases on *Hebr.* 2, 2; 3, 5; 7, 5, 9, 11–17, 18–19, 28; 8, 2, 4–5, 8, 12–13; 9, 1, 8, 10.

⁵² Cf. the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 13, 9, p. 102, ll. 1333–1334.

⁵³ Cf. the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 5, 12–14.

⁵⁴ See on 2, 1–4 (p. 46, l. 66–p. 48, l. 95); 7, 18–19 (p. 64, l. 509–p. 65, l. 526); 8, 5 (p. 67, ll. 572–581); p. 102, l. 1329–p. 104, l. 1351).

⁵⁵ That faith, not the *excellencia Christi* was the central theme of Hebrews had already been advanced by Hugo, who stated that the main objective of the epistle was to move Christian Jews from the observance of the Law *ad solam fidem* (p. M7v^o).

In his annotation on 11, 1,⁵⁶ Erasmus calls the opening part of the chapter an “exordiolum” to the remainder of the chapter and explains that “fides” in this context does not mean “fides qua credimus credenda” but “qua speramus” and “ipsa fiducia”. Hence in the paraphrase the idea or concept of faith is rendered by *fiducia* at the beginning and the end of the paraphrase, both times with the adjective *certa*.⁵⁷ The exordium (verses 1 and 2 in the paraphrase) is an encomium rather than a definition of faith though a definition of sorts is advanced in the words, *fides ... est solida firmaque basis earum rerum quae nec sensibus nec rationibus humanis deprehendi possunt*. But the *res* are really God’s words (*dictis illius*) as found in Scripture (*diuinis libris* in the paraphrase on verse 3).

As often the paraphrase begins by stating what something is not, in this instance faith is neither a belief in the reality of perceptible objects and doubt about the existence of what is only conceivable nor is it the kind of credulity commonly associated with the uneducated.⁵⁸ Faith on the contrary is an unshakable belief in the existence of realities which cannot be apprehended by either sense perception or reason; it is hope which can make the invisible visible to the mind. This hope is grounded in a sure and certain belief in God who is the creator of the universe and the true author of Scripture. That faith and hope are not the product of human reason is established by introducing into the paraphrase on verse 2 the Pauline contrast of faith and works.⁵⁹ It is faith alone that makes one worthy of God’s approval. This statement seems odd in an introduction to a catalogue of works, but Erasmus obviously wants his reader to understand from the outset that the term ‘faith’ in this record of Hebrew achievement means total trust in God. The ‘works’ are the result, not the source of faith.⁶⁰

To return to the paraphrase on 13, 8–11. In developing the thought from verse 8 that Christ’s doctrine is as permanent and unchangeable as he himself,⁶¹ Hebrews’ warning about varied and foreign teachings is transformed into a comparison of the Law and the gospel. The teaching of both is identical but the clearer statement of that teaching in the gospel has effectively abrogated the Law. The teachers of the doctrines that are to be avoided are in effect Judaizers who are trying to bring back into force the obsolete provisions of the Law. This false

⁵⁶ *Annot. ad loc.* (“sperandarum substantia”), *LB VI*, 1012 D–F. In this annotation Erasmus had also scoffed at efforts to interpret *Hebr.* 1, 11 as a definition and was criticized for it by Edward Lee; see *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB IX*, 235 F–236 B. The expanded exposition was probably stimulated in part by Lee’s criticism; see the introduction to Part IV. Cf. also *Er. Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 242, l. 289–p. 244, l. 294, and notes, esp. n.l. 290.

⁵⁷ The paraphrase also picks up language from the preceding paraphrase on 10, 35–39. This way of making connections through verbal repetitions is a recurrent feature of the Paraphrases.

⁵⁸ For the rhetorical technique see Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique*, I, pp. 600–601.

⁵⁹ Though Erasmus no doubt admitted the theologians’ right to distinguish the three spiritual gifts of faith, hope and love, he seems to have believed that ultimately they are only three qualities or, perhaps, functions of the same gift, God’s saving grace.

⁶⁰ Cf. the other extended passage on faith in the paraphrase on 11, 12–16.

⁶¹ Erasmus probably has *Mt.* 24, 35 in view.

piety of works cannot justify; justification and true piety or godliness come from grace and faith. This is the foundation laid by Christ which alone enables the Christian to stand before God with a clear conscience; this is the reality of which the Law was only a shadow.

A topic whose mention in the Paraphrase on Hebrews (and elsewhere) is almost as frequent as the comparison of Law and gospel is perseverance. As an element in the exposition of a text the topic generally appears in one of two forms: one apodictic, based on *Mt.* 10, 22; the other paraenetic. The former is usually in the form of a proviso attached to some other statement: something will happen provided that one perseveres in what one has begun.⁶² Erasmus seems to mean by this somewhat vague phrase what in other contexts he calls the Christian's *professio* or, more concretely, the promise made at baptism to renounce Satan and his works and to adhere to Christ and a Christian way of life, none of which is possible without sanctifying and actual grace.⁶³ Since the epistle was written *exhortandi causa*, it is not surprising that the alternative, paraenetic form of the admonition to persevere is more frequent in the Paraphrase on Hebrews.⁶⁴ It takes the form of a command or exhortation to persevere in evangelical faith, love or similar activity. The importance of the topic to Erasmus is shown in the four passages where he develops it at some length.⁶⁵ The paraphrase on 3, 6 explicates the condition, "si fiduciam et gloriationem spei ad finem vsque firmam tenuerimus",⁶⁶ in the light of the Pauline epistles: confidence is a gift from the Spirit of Christ; to be a member of the church is to be a son of God and brother of Christ; hope is for the inheritance to come. Even the demand to remain in harmony in the house of God, that is the church, is a reflection of the Pauline metaphor of the body of Christ. In other words, the requirement to persist in faith and hope brings with it several other obligations. Perseverance is allied to patience and both in turn to obedience.⁶⁷ To fail to persevere is a form of disobedience and will have extreme consequences.⁶⁸ Perseverance also entails the

⁶² See the paraphrases on 3, 6, 12 and 14; 10, 23.

⁶³ In Erasmus' time the promise was made by the infants' godparents, but the Paraphrases depict the state of affairs in New Testament times when the baptizand was an adult capable of making the commitment on her or his own behalf. But Erasmus' readers were also adults; hence the statements about keeping the baptismal promise are a reminder as well as an historical reconstruction. For Erasmus' view of the sacrament of baptism see Payne, *Theology*, pp. 155–171. Erasmus reconstructs the practice in New Testament times in the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 6, 1–2, and adds the note on the necessity of grace in the paraphrase on verse 3.

⁶⁴ See the paraphrases on 4, 14; 6, 3 and 11; 10, 4, 23, 25; 12, 1–2, 13, 28; 13, 7 and 9. Doctrine and exhortation are combined in the paraphrase on 10, 38–39.

⁶⁵ See on 3, 6 and 12–13; 6, 4–6; 10, 24–25.

⁶⁶ Erasmus' Latin version retains for the most part the language of the Vulgate.

⁶⁷ See the paraphrase on 3, 12–13.

⁶⁸ Erasmus goes considerably beyond the typology of Hebrews.

⁶⁹ Erasmus seems to have the parable of the sower in mind (*Mt.* 13, 23). Cf. the image of the building (from *1. Pet.* 2, 5) in the paraphrase on 6, 3. It is not clear whether by 'seeds' Erasmus means that humans have an innate capacity for moral improvement, which would be, perhaps, evidence of his so-called semi-Pelagianism and synergistic view of grace and human effort; or whether, after

effort to increase one's godliness, to make the seeds of godliness grow and flourish.⁶⁹ Our effort (*industria*) must correspond to the abundance of God's grace.⁷⁰ The linkage of perseverance and charity, implicit in the paraphrase on 3, 6, is developed at length in the paraphrase on 10, 24–25. Using the Pauline image of the footrace,⁷¹ Erasmus interprets the text to mean that all must persevere in godliness and mutual love so that all may reach the goal of salvation. Evangelical love, the *lex amoris*, also entails that no one injure another through either a sin of omission, a neglected duty, or, even worse, a sin of commission. Perseverance in love expresses itself in constant encouragement. Erasmus gives no specific details about how this encouragement is to be carried out, but, the avoidance of sin apart, he evidently conceives of it as primarily a verbal act – *fraterna sollicitudine, gratulantes, fauentes* – such as, one might say, the epistle itself or the Paraphrase on it. Be that as it may, the admonition to persevere in a life governed by the gospel is warranted by the ultimate sanction, the Last Judgment, when it will be too late for contrition and repentance.⁷²

4. *The Text*

The side notes tell the tale – thirty-three in the entire Paraphrase compared to the sixty-one in the Paraphrase on 1 John or even the nine in the Paraphrase on Jude. The first edition (*A*) has only one side note in the first four chapters. Six were added before the book was sent to Basel to be used as the copy for the March 1521 edition (*C*). Five more were later added in *G*, one of which was omitted in *H*, probably by an oversight on the part of the compositor.⁷³ Apart from an error made by the compositor of *C*, which was not corrected until *BAS*,⁷⁴ there are no further additions or revisions in the twenty-four side notes in chapters 5–13.⁷⁵

This apparent indifference is also evident in the treatment of the text itself. There is only one significant revision in the authorized editions (*A*–*BAS*). First published separately in 1529 and then in *H*, it seems to be the result of a dispute with Noël Bédá about some of the language used in the paraphrase on 9, 1.⁷⁶

the infusion of sanctifying grace, presumably at baptism, and the corresponding diminishment of the will to imitate Adam, that is, the desire to sin, they are now capable of genuine virtue and godliness. The paraphrase on 6, 1–6, seems to support the latter, but in either case human effort is required.

⁶⁹ See the paraphrase on 6, 4–6.

⁷⁰ Cf. the paraphrase on 12, 12–15.

⁷¹ Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Gal. ad 6*, 9–10, *LB VII*, 966 A–B.

⁷² See p. 298, l. 139 in Appendix I. The new side notes in *G* do not appear in *G*.

⁷³ See Appendix I, p. 298, l. 775.

⁷⁴ Chapter II has no side notes, but Erasmus may have felt that the division into paragraphs sufficiently facilitated the location of the corresponding place in the epistle.

⁷⁵ And also in Er. *Annot. ad loc.* ("et sanctum seculare"), *LB VI*, 1005 F. See p. 69, n.l. 613–619 below.

All the other revisions in *C* through *H* are corrections of grammatical and typographical errors or minor improvements in the style. It is not always possible to determine whether these changes were due to Erasmus, a corrector at the press or a compositor. For example, in the paraphrase on 12, 1 (p. 94, ll. 1165–1166) the replacement of the temporal adverb *nunquam* by its spatial equivalent *nusquam* may seem apt in juxtaposition to *cursu*, but similar single-letter variants occur elsewhere in *G* where they are certainly mistakes made by the compositor(s).⁷⁷ Similarly, there are three omissions made in the text in *I* which have the appearance of authorial revision but could also have been due to eye-skip by the compositor.⁷⁸ These changes in the text are made for the most part in *C*, *E*, *G* and *H*.⁷⁹

The revisions in *C* look as though they were done hastily. Assuming they were made by Erasmus, he was not taking time to read his text carefully. At least two of them required later amendment.⁸⁰ The most interesting of the ten or so stylistic improvements are the five places in *E* where the normal Latin spelling of a noun is replaced by an hellenized one: *Rhaab* (p. 90, l. 1080),⁸¹ *Sampson* (p. 90, l. 1097), *braueo* and *braueum* (p. 97, ll. 1234 and 1240),⁸² and *Paraphraseos* (p. 106, l. 1399). It is quite likely that *Iephthe* (p. 90, l. 1100) was originally planned to be a hellenized spelling but the plan went awry.

Excluding orthographical variants and corrections of evident typographical errors, we find only the one major revision of the text, six corrections of the

⁷⁷ Cf. *Baracha*, p. 90, l. 1094; *districtis*, p. 92, l. 1125. *Ac* (p. 98, l. 1277) could be a similar mistake for the *ad* of the earlier editions. Somewhat different is the change of *voluerit* to *valuerit* in *H* (p. 76, l. 747). Though the replacement of *o* by *a* could have been done by the compositor, it looks more like a deliberate change on Erasmus' part to concord with previous statements about the inefficacy of the Jewish high priest compared to Christ; cf., e.g., p. 74, ll. 720–722.

⁷⁸ See p. 50, l. 131; p. 56, ll. 303 and p. 58, l. 308. There are two important corrections in *I* which suggest the hand of Erasmus though they could equally well have been made by a press corrector or a knowledgeable compositor, but there is an equal number of errors which were certainly made by the compositor.

⁷⁹ *D* has two improvements (p. 52, l. 188; p. 54, l. 242), but also one error (p. 70, l. 639) which could have been made by Erasmus in haste or may reflect a misunderstood correction. *F* makes one contribution, the addition of the verb *es* in the biblical quotation in the paraphrase on 7, 21 (p. 66, l. 532) but this could have been made by anyone familiar with the text of the psalm or its use in the mass. *F* is otherwise more noteworthy for its errors, many of which are copied in *G*.

⁸⁰ See p. 54, l. 228 (*ac* for *ne*) and p. 96, l. 1203 (*haec* for *hoc*). In both places the original text is restored in *H*, from divination rather than collation with *A*.

⁸¹ The *h* represents the aspirated rho; it is not a mislocated heth, represented in the customary spelling *Rahab*.

⁸² The customary late Latin transliteration of Greek βραβεῖον is *brauium* with *u* and *i* representing the late Greek pronunciation of medial β and the diphthong ει. Erasmus' calque of late *v* and long *e* for the assumed classical sound of the diphthong is peculiar to say the least. For his interest at this time (1522) in the correct pronunciation and, it would seem, orthography of Greek loanwords in Latin see his *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 212, ll. 797–807, and my article, *The Development of Erasmus' Views on the Correct Pronunciation of Latin and Greek*, Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry, John L. Heller, ed., (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 58), Urbana, Ill./Chicago/London, 1969, pp. 46–65.

grammar (two of verb forms, four in the syntax),⁸³ two corrections in the quotation of biblical texts incorporated into the paraphrase,⁸⁴ and some ten instances of stylistic improvement. Most of these last were probably made to clarify and occasionally vivify the language, but in two instances the main concern seems to have been euphony.⁸⁵ There are also some seven or eight revisions which appear in *K* or *BAS* and could have been made by Erasmus in the copies of *Hⁱ* from which these two editions were set. Except for two necessary emendations first made in *BAS*,⁸⁶ I have not accepted them in the text but have recorded them in the apparatus criticus.⁸⁷ All and all, the changes in the text are few and of little significance – a further indication, perhaps, of Erasmus' lack of interest in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

⁸³ P. 52, l. 175, *labefactatam* (*E*) and *moriturus* (*G*), p. 86, l. 1025. Three of the four syntactical corrections are made in *Hⁱ*: *domui ipsi* (p. 51, ll. 163–164), *metuerunt* (p. 88, l. 1047), *effugit* (p. 90, l. 1072); the fourth is made in *I*: *facerent* (p. 96, l. 1201). A fifth correction appears first in *BAS* (p. 60, l. 382).

⁸⁴ *Offensus* for *infensus*, p. 52, l. 188; the addition of *es*, p. 66, l. 532.

⁸⁵ *Ac* is replaced by *atque* before words beginning with *p* (p. 66, l. 560; p. 96, l. 1221).

⁸⁶ *Sint* for *sunt* on p. 60, l. 382; the addition of *in* before *Abraham* on p. 64, l. 482.

⁸⁷ For *K* see p. 72, 679; p. 84, l. 966; p. 90, l. 1104; p. 104, l. 1374. For *BAS* see p. 60, l. 382; p. 64, l. 471; p. 64, l. 482; p. 78, l. 833; p. 96, l. 1201; p. 104, l. 1383. *BAS* also has the four variants in *K*. The omissions are no doubt errors by the compositor, but the other variants may be Erasmus' last thoughts on the text and deserve serious consideration.

R. P. AC D. D. SYLVESTRO EPISCOPO VVIGORNIENSI,
 SERENISS. ANG. REGIS PERPETVO APVD
 S. D. N. LEONEM X. ORATORI,
 ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

- 5 Meretur hoc tua pietas ac singularis quidam erga bonas litteras fauor, ornatissime
 praesul, vt tuum nomen omnium calamis posteritati commendetur, non quod
 tua modestia laudem vllam apud homines moretur, sed quod complures inciten-
 tur ad honesta studia si conspexerint egregios viros ac de republica christiana
 benemeritos non fraudari gloria – non expetita quidem illa, sed hoc magis debita.
 10 Merebantur hoc tua in me officia, vt nulla esset in nostris libris pagina quae
 Syluestri nomen non haberet. Sed hactenus grati hominis officium erga tuam
 amplitudinem optare magis licuit quam praestare. Malueram autem aliquanto
 praestare serius, modo plenius. Nunc quoniam video me indies pluribus obrui
 laborum molibus et iuxta Varronis adagium indies magis ac magis bullam fieri,

† *Epistolam totam om. H*

1 *R.P. ... VVigorniensi Ep.* 1181. There is no known reason for the omission of the letter to Gigli in *H*. A similar mystery surrounds the omission of the dedicatory letter to Clement VII in the Basel 1535 edition of the *Paraphr. in Act.* Both omissions may have been accidental. Gigli, who was born at Lucca in 1463, succeeded his uncle, Giovanni Gigli, in 1498 as bishop of Worcester and ambassador of Henry VII to the Holy See. In 1505 he was sent as papal nuncio to England and remained there until 1512, during which time Erasmus either met him or became known to him in some way (see *Ep.* 567, l. 7). He returned to Rome in 1512 to assist cardinal-archbishop Christopher Bainbridge who was at that time Henry VIII's ambassador to the Pope. When Bainbridge died in 1514, Gigli, who had in the meantime become an ally of Cardinal Wolsey, was again made the English ambassador and in 1518 the

papal collector for England. As a member of the papal court he was helpful to Erasmus in procuring some papal dispensations; see the next note. Gigli died on 18 April 1521, a few weeks after the publication of the *Paraphr. in Hebr.* in March. See *CEBR* II, pp. 97–98; *DHGE* XX, p. 1289; *DNB* VII, 1190–1191.

10 *tua ... officia* See *Epp.* 446, ll. 31–52; 517, 518, 521, 566, and 567, from which it appears that Gigli was instrumental in obtaining for Erasmus a dispensation which freed him from any penalties that might be imposed for not living as a regular and enabled him to receive ecclesiastical benefices and appointments. *Ep.* 1079 and 1353, l. 5, mention a diploma which seems to have freed Erasmus from the obligation to abstain from meat during Lent.

14 *Varronis adagium* See *Res Rusticae* I, 1, 1 and *Adag.* 1348 (*Homo bulla*), *LB* II, 500 A–503

- 15 visum est hanc lucubratiunculam tuo nomini dedicare, non in hoc, vt hoc officio me liberem aere alieno, sed vt tester pluribus nominibus obstrictum tibi quam vt vnquam soluendo fore me sperem. Et tamen si posthac dabitur vita, si dabitur occasio, conabor non vt e tuis diariis meum nomen dispungatur – quod ego sane nolim, cum nulli debeam lubentius – sed vt hominis ingrati notam effugiam.
- 20 Paulum tibi mitto, qui nostra opera didicit et fusius et explanatius dicere, idque Latine, non quod in illius eloquentia quicquam desyderem, sed quod nostra tarditas illius sublimitatem non assequabatur. Certe effeci vt frequentius teratur manibus quam antehac consuevit. Antehac vix intelligebatur ab eruditis sudantibus; nunc intelligitur et a semidoctis, modo ne sint omnino rudes sermonis Romani. Hic si nihil laudis debetur ingenio meo, si nihil eruditioni, certe nonnihil debetur industriae. Dum his meis laboribus aliis laborem adimo, licebat ociari, licebat dormire, licebat potare, licebat venari fortunam, licebat aliis auocamentis indulgere – quibus rebus quidam omne tempus impendunt, praeter hoc quod impendunt carpendis aliorum laboribus. Linguae ac bonae litterae prope-
- 30 modum eo loci deductae sunt vt spes sit in tuto fore, quanquam etiamnum grauiter obstrepunt veteris inscitiae propugnatores. Atque vtinam eadem esset spes de doctrina euangelica suae puritati simplicitatique restituenda. Verum hic cruenta adhuc pugna est; bona tamen victoriae spes est, si Christus per te tuique similes fauerit. Fauebit autem si nos illius negotium synceris animis egerimus. Ad
- 35 vtrunque vero plurimum adferet momenti, si Leo, summus religionis antistes, eius gloriae constanter fauerit cuius gerit vices. Bene vale, praesulum ornatissime. Louanii XVI. Calend. Feb. Anno M.D. XXI.

17 vnquam A–D E G H: nunquam F
28 praeter A–E G H: propter F

30–31 grauiter C–G H: gnauiter A

- A. Erasmus took the adage to be an illustration of the brevity rather than the fragility of human life.
- 20 *Paulum* For the *Paraphrasis* Erasmus adopts the traditional belief that Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. His own belief that Paul was not the author is reflected in the title page of *D*, the letter to Cardinal Schiner, p. 117, ll. 8–10 below, an appendix to the *Annot. in Hebr.*, LB VI, 1023 D–1024 F, and in his controversies with Lefèvre and other critics. *fusius ... dicere* A succinct description of the style (cf. Ep. 738, ll. 8–9) and function (cf. Epp. 456, ll. 83–85; 1274, ll. 33–39) of a paraphrase.
- 22 *sublimitatem* Despite the immediate context Erasmus means the sublimity of Paul's thought, not his style; cf. *Argumentum in Epist. ad Rom.*, LB VII, 777–778, ll. 27–44, and *Annot. in Eph.*, introd., LB VI, 831 B.
- 23–25 *Antehac ... Romani* Cf. Epp. 710, ll. 40–47 and 1672, ll. 141–143.
- 26 *Dum ... laboribus* A recurrent complaint; see the letter to Cardinal Schiner, p. 65, ll. 54–57 below.
- 29 *Linguae* The languages of the Bible and classical literature – Hebrew, Greek and Latin. In this absolute use *linguae* is virtually synonymous with *bonae litterae*.
- 30–31 *grauiter* Allen reads *gnauiter* with A, but the revision in C, if due to Erasmus, suggests that he was more disturbed by the vehemence than the pertinacity of his critics. Cf. *Paraphr. in Iac.*, p. 130, l. 253 below, for a later change in perspective.
- 31 *inscitiae propugnatores* Such as the sundry critics listed in the *Cap. argument. c. morosos quosdam ac indoctos*, LB VI, pp. **3v^o–***1r^o.
- 35–36 *si Leo ... vices* Pope Leo X. For the thought cf. *Axiom. pro causa Luth.* and the *Consilium cuiusdam cupientis esse consultum Romani Pontificis dignitati*, Ferguson, p. 337, ll. 26–27, and p. 352, ll. 2–5.

IN EPISTOLAM AD HEBRAEOS ARGUMENTVM,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

5 Nulla gens obstinatoribus animis repugnabat Euangelio Christi quam Iudaeorum, qui Paulo etiam peculiariter erant infensi, quod se gentium apostolum profiteretur quas Iudaei ut profanas et impias abominabantur quodque legem Mosai-
cam quam illi sacrosanctam habebant et Euangelii vice per uniuersum orbem
10 spargi cupiebant antiquare videretur, adeo ut essent inter hos quoque qui Christi doctrinam receperant qui putarent legis obseruationem cum Euangelio miscendam. Hierosolymis igitur qui crediderant variis calamitatibus afficiebantur ab iis
15 qui resistebant Euangelio (nam penes hos erat publica autoritas): coniciebantur in vincula, caedebantur, diripiebantur illorum bona. Hos itaque consolatur Paulus, partim exemplo veterum sanctorum, quorum plerique similibus aut grauioribus calamitatibus exerciti sunt quo virtus illorum esset exploratior spectatiorque, ac praecipue exemplo Christi; partim spe praemii coelestis. Deinde declarat

3 *Nulla gens* See the *Argumentum in Epist. ad Rom.*, LB VII, 774–775, third paragraph.

4–5 *quod ... profiteretur* Cf. *Rom.* II, 13 and Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Argument., Migne PG 63, 9. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 185, makes Paul's apostleship to the gentiles the reason for the Jews' hatred of him and notes that Jewish Christians likewise hated Paul because he denied the need for circumcision. Cf. *Paraphr. in Act.*, ad 21, 2–21, LB VII, 750 E–751 A.

5–7 *legem ... videretur* Cf. *Act.* 21, 20–21, which Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Argument., Migne PG 63, 10, quotes to explain the Jews' hatred of Paul.

6–7 *Euangelii ... cupiebant* Cf. *Mt.* 23, 15, though Erasmus' *Euangelii vice* goes beyond what Jesus says in that verse.

9–10 *Hierosolymis ... autoritas* Cf. *Hebr.* 10, 34 and Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Argument.,

Migne PG 63, 12. Chrysostom points out that the Jewish authorities were able to persecute the Christians even though Judaea was a Roman province.

10–11 *coniciebantur ... caedebantur* These details are imported from *Act.*; see the *Paraphr. in Act.*, ad 8, 1 and 3, LB VII, 697 D–698 C.

11 *Hos ... Paulus* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Argument., Migne PG 63, 12–14, believed that Paul's principal motive in writing to Jewish Christians in Jerusalem was to console them in their afflictions and to encourage them to remain in their faith. Paul, he says, effects his consolation and encouragement in three ways: by the example of the suffering of Christ, by a demonstration of the reward waiting for them, and by the lightness of their present adversity compared to that of their ancestors.

14–16 *Deinde ... accommodans* *Hebr.* 7 and 8.

- 15 coruscante iam Euangelio Christi cessasse vmbras legis Mosaicae, multa repetens
ex veteri testamento et ad Christum accommodans. Docet non ex obseruatione
legis ad tempus datae et imperfectae sperandam esse salutem, sed ex fide, per
quam veteres etiam illi probatae sanctimoniae viri, quorum memoria Iudaeis erat
sacrosancta, Deo potissimum placuissent. In fine tradit praecepta quaedam ad
20 mores Christianos facientia.

Finis

17-18 per quam *GH*: quam *C-F*: q *A* (*pro qua?*) 21 Finis *A-G*: *om.* *G H*

16-17 *Docet ... salutem* *Hebr.* 9 and 10.

17 *ad tempus datae* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 188 B, makes a similar point though in regard to the temple rather than the Law. The limited duration of the Law is a recurring theme in the *Paraphrases*

(see e. g. the *Argumentum in Epist. ad Gal.*, *LB VII*, 943-944, ll. 21-23) and is a commonplace in medieval Latin commentaries on the Pauline Epistles.

17-19 *sed ex fide ... placuissent* *Hebr.* 11.

19 *In fine* *Hebr.* 13.

PARAPHRASIS IN EPISTOLAM AD HEBRAEOS,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Cum olim Deus humano generi pro sua in nos pietate consulere studens multifariam multisque modis saepe locutus sit per suos prophetas, quibus nunc in
 5 nube, nunc in igni, nunc in aerae tenuis sibilo, nunc alia atque alia specie sese ostendit, nonnunquam per angelos, interdum arcano quodam mentis afflatu semet insinuans; tandem hisce temporibus extremis, quo certiore argumento declararet suam erga genus hominum charitatem quoque plenioribus nobis fidem faceret, loqui dignatus est nobis, non per angelum, non per hominem prophe-
 10 tam, sed per vnicum Filium suum Iesum Christum quem aeterno suo consilio instituit haeredem ac Dominum, non tantum Iudaicae gentis sed orbis vniuersi, vt pote verum et vnicum Filium eius, cuius sunt omnia quae condita sunt in coelo et in terra, quemadmodum et in psalmis ante promiserat. Nec mirum si voluit Filium habere secum commune dominium totius orbis cum per illum condiderit
 15 orbem vniuersum. Sermone condidit, ac Filius Patris aeterni sermo est aeternus; nec ille condidit mundum per Filium veluti per organum aut ministrum, sed vt eadem fuerit potestas condentis Patris ac Filii. Neque enim sic est Filius Dei Iesus

3 CAP. I *add. E F G*

3-4 *multifariam ... modis* Chrysostom and Theophylact for some reason do not comment on the words πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως in *Hebr.* 1, 1. Theodrt. *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, ad 1, 1, notes that God appeared in different ways to Abraham, Moses, and several of the prophets. The Latin commentators, beginning with the *Glossa*, p. 88v°, distinguish three main modes of divine communication with humans: dreams, direct speech, and hidden inspiration. Hugo, p. M8r°, recognizes fifteen different ways, including clouds (*Ps.* 99, 7), fire (*Ex.* 3, 2), angels (*Zch.* 1, 9) and secret inspiration as in the

visions of Daniel. None of the commentators refers to 1. *Rg.* 19, 12: "post ignem sibilus aerae tenuis" (Vg.). Since Erasmus cites this text in his *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V, 1, p. 67, ll. 763-764, he may well have had his own collection of texts about the various forms of divine communication. For his practice in this regard see *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 158, l. 33-p. 159, l. 10.

11 *non tantum ... vniuersi* Cf. *Rom.* 1, 3-5. The *Glossa*, p. 17v°, makes the same point: The Lord's portion is no longer Israel but all the nations of the world.

LB 1166 Christus quemadmodum homines pii nonnunquam dicuntur | filii Dei quod
 illius praeceptis obediant, sed quod a Deo Patre genitus Deus, atque ita genitus
 20 vt eadem sit illi natura cum Patre. Et tamen cum esset aeternus splendor pater-
 nae gloriae, veluti lux manans a luce, et imago expressa substantiae illius, per
 omnia similis et aequalis illi a quo nascitur, cumque non solum sit conditor
 omnium verum etiam condita moderetur ac verset nutu iussuque omnipotenti
 suo simul cum omnipotente Patre, videte quo se nostra causa demiserit. Assump-
 25 sit humanam naturam nostrae conditionis iniuriis obnoxiam, ac moriens, in cru-
 cis ara seipsum hostiam immolauit pro nostris peccatis; cumque antehac sacerdos
 Mosaicae legis pecudis sanguine soleat expiare peccata, hic suo sacrosancto san-
 guine expurgauit delicta totius humani generis, atque ex hac demissione sui tan-
 tam sibi parauit gloriam vt rediuius ac reuersus in coelum consederit dexter Dei
 30 Patris maiestati, in qua semper illi fuerat aequalis iuxta naturam diuinam. Sed
 huius maiestas ex humilitate magis inclaruit mundo adeo vt qui prius videbatur
 abiectus infra infimos homines, nunc maior sit et habeatur non solum prophetis
 verum etiam ipsis angelis, ac tanto maior quanto plus habet dignitatis filii nomen
 quam famuli. Siquidem angelus ministri vocabulum est et conuenit inferiori.
 35 Summa quidem dignitas angelorum, qui semper assistunt Patri, contemplantes
 faciem illius. Et in his alios alii praecedunt dignitate. Sed cui angelorum Deus
 vnquam tantum habuit honoris vt illum filii vocabulo dignaretur, cum in psalmo
 mystico ad hunc modum loquatur Christo: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te;*
 ac rursus: *Ego ero illi Pater, ille erit mihi Filius?* Siquidem angelos ex nihilo condi-
 40 dit, Filium e sua genuit substantia per omnia similem atque aequalem. | Rursus
 autem cum in psalmo mystico humano corpore vestitum inducit in orbem terrae,
 loquitur hunc ad modum: *Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei.* Nimirum honoran-
 tur famuli, sed adoratur Filius, qui Patri est aequalis. Caeterum vbi dignitatem
 angelorum exprimit Scriptura mystica, quid dicit? *Qui facit, inquit, angelos suos*
 45 *spiritus ac ministros suos ignis flammam.* Quod facti sunt angeli, hoc habent cum
 caeteris rebus a Deo conditis commune; quod facti sunt spiritus ac mentes a
 contagio corporis humani liberae quodque semper ardentes diuina charitate assis-
 tunt agiles executores diuinae voluntatis, hoc nimirum praecellunt nobis. At
 quanto magnificentiora sunt quae loquitur Filio? *Thronus tuus, Deus, in aeuum*
 50 *omne, sceptrum aequitatis, sceptrum regni tui.* Auditis dei vocabulum tribui
 Filio, auditis thronum regni tribui, auditis sceptrum tribui regni nunquam habi-
 taturi finem. Sequitur autem in eodem psalmo: *Dilexisti iusticiam, et odisti iniqui-*
tatem, propterea vnxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo exultationis ultra consortes tuos. Audi-
 tis hunc peculiarius vnctum a Deo Patre supra consortes omnes, siue homines

25 moriens, E G H: moriens A–D F G

18 *homines ... filii Dei* Cf. *Ioh.* 1, 12. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, pp. 669b–670a, discusses this use of the word *filius* and concludes that its meaning in *Hebr.* 1, 2

is essentially different from the metaphorical use.

21 *lux ... luce* The verb *nascitur* in l. 22 suggests that Erasmus has the words of the Nicene

- Creed in mind: "Et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, ... Genitum, non factum. Consubstantialia Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt". Cf. *Annot. in Hebr.* 1, 3 ("splendor gloriae"), *LB VI*, 983 C.
- 22 *similis et aequalis* This paraphrase on the term "substantia" (ὁπόστασις) in *Hebr.* 1, 3 again reflects the language of the Nicene Creed, that the Son is "consubstantialis" with the Father. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, pp. 671b and 675a, likewise interprets the phrase "figura substantiae" (Vg.) to mean that Paul is here stating that the Son is co-eternal, co-equal and consubstantial with the Father.
- 23 *moderetur ac verset* In *Annot. in Hebr.* 1, 3 ("portansque omnia verbo virtutis suae"), *LB VI*, 983 D, Erasmus, following Chrysostom [*Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.* II, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 23], states that in his opinion the participle φέρων does not mean "portans", the translation in Vg., but "agens" or "mouens ac moderans".
- 24 *demiserit* For the significance of this verb see the paraphrase on 2, 7, p. 9, n.l. 103 below.
- 25 *moriens* *E*, followed by the later editions, adds a comma after *moriens*, presumably to indicate that the prepositional phrase *in crucis ara* is to be taken with the verb *immolauit*, not *moriens*.
- 26-28 *cumque ... generis* Cf. *Hebr.* 9, 11-14.
- 34 *ministri vocabulum* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 674b: "Proprium nomen angelorum est quod dicuntur angeli, quod est nomen ministri". For Erasmus' view of this function of the angels see *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 5, p. 376, l. 292-p. 378, l. 326.
- 36 *alios ... dignitate* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, ad 1, 14, p. 682b, for a discussion of the different orders of angels.
- 37-38 *psalmo mystico* *Ps.* 2, 7. The epithet *mysticus* means that the psalm is to be read 'mystically', that is, in its spiritual rather than its literal meaning. Cf. Er. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 70, l. 13-p. 71, l. 19.
- 39 *Ego ... Filius* See 2. *Sm.* 7, 14. The paraphrase follows Erasmus' Latin version of *Hebr.* 1, 5b except that the paraphrase substitutes *illi* (from Vg.) for the "ei" of the version (the pronoun used in 2. *Sm.*, Vg.). In *Annot. in Hebr.* ("Ego ero illi in patrem"), *LB VI*, 984 D, Erasmus states that he has translated in this way in order to avoid any implication of adoptionism.
- 39-40 *angelos ... substantia* Cf. the formula in the Nicene Creed: "genitum, non factum". For Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.* III, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 28, this distinction between the created angels and uncreated Son is the supreme difference between them. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, f° 231^o, likewise stresses that God is not the begetter but the maker ("factor") of the angels.
- 41 *psalmo* *Ps.* 95, 7.
- 44-45 *Qui ... flammam* *Ps.* 104, 4. Erasmus retains in the paraphrase the Vg. translation "Qui facit" in place of his own translation "Qui creat" in his Latin version. But as the paraphrase makes clear, he takes the participle ποιῶν in this verse to mean 'create, bring into being', not 'appoint', which is the meaning preferred by the medieval Latin and most modern commentators; see Er. *Apolog. resp. Jac. Lop. Strun.*, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 238, ll. 220-225, and Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 38. The translation and interpretation of πνεύματα as 'spirits' rather than 'winds' is traditional; see Braun, *ibidem*.
- 47-48 *quodque ... voluntatis* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 676b: Angels are fire "in quantum ministri. Ignis autem inter omnia elementa est maxime actiuus et efficax ad agendum. ... Item ignis calorem causat, per quod designatur caritas". Likewise, Nicholas of Lyre in his commentary on *Ps.* 104, 4, observes that angels burn with love and are ever ready to execute the divine will.
- 49-50 *Thronus ... tui* *Ps.* 45, 6. Erasmus retranslates rather than paraphrases the Greek text of *Hebr.* 1, 8, replacing the Semiticism "in saeculum saeculi" with *omne aeuum* and "virga", which is found in both Vg. and Erasmus' Latin version, with *sceptrum*. He also keeps *aequitatis* from Vg.; his Latin version has "rectitudinis". The phrase "sceptrum rectitudinis" in the Latin version resembles Lefèvre's translation in his commentary on *Hebr.* 1, 8, f° 231^o. The omission of the "et" before *sceptrum* reflects, however, the reading of both Erasmus' Greek text and his text of the Vulgate.
- 50 *dei vocabulum* Cf. the reference to Chrysostom added to the third (1522) edition of *Annot. in Hebr.* 1, 8 ("thronus tuus, Deus"), *LB VI*, 984 D: "Chrysostomus annotauit [*Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.* III, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 29] et hic articulum esse additum, ὁ θεός: quae quidem annotatio non video quem habeat locum nisi accipiamus ὁ θεός dici Filio. Innuit enim Chrysostomus articulo significari verum Deum".
- 52 *psalmo* *Ps.* 45, 7.
- 54 *peculiaris* With this term and with the equivocating *siue homines siue angelos*, Erasmus sidesteps a long-standing dispute over whether the anointing, which was understood as a metaphor for the infusion of either

55 siue angelos. Et rursus alio <in> psalmo, vide quantum autoritatis tribuatur Filio. *Et tu, inquit, initio, Domine, terrae fundamenta iecisti, et opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli. Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanes, et omnes sicut vestimentum veterascent, ac velut amictum circumuolues eos, ac subito mutabuntur. Tu autem semper idem es, et anni tui non deficient.* Ad quem angelorum vnquam haec dicta sunt? aut
 60 illud quod alio in psalmo legitur: *Sede a dextris mihi donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.* Itaque nec condendi autoritas nec regni maiestas tribuitur angelis, sed omnes, quantumuis magni sunt, mentes sunt ministerio destinatae, qui nonnunquam in hoc emittuntur in terras, vt adsint his qui futuri sunt haeredes aeternae salutis. Atqui hi sunt discipuli Christi.

65

CAPVT II

Porro quod tot verbis demonstraui Seruatoris nostri dignitatem huc spectat, vt quo maior est ille quem Pater nostrae salutis causa misit in mundum, hoc attentius audiamus quae per illum dicta sunt nobis, ne quando excidant quae nobis per illum denunciauit Pater. Summus est qui misit et maiorem mittere non
 70 potest. Extremam hanc legationem esse voluit, nec est vlla salutis spes si hanc fuerimus aspernati, quemadmodum maiores nostri Mosen aspernati sunt et prophetas. Quo maior est legatus, quo maior est humanitas Dei erga nos, hoc grauior erit vel contumaciae vel negligentiae culpa nisi dictis paruerimus. Etenim si pondus habet quicquid hactenus Deus maioribus nostris mandauit per prophetas aut
 75 per angelos qui Mosi diuina iussa renuntiabant sique poenas iustas dederunt quicunque iussis per illos non obtemperassent – quod Deum aspernari videretur quicunque Dei nuncios aspernatur – quomodo nos effugiemus poenam si neglexerimus non Mosaica mandata sed tam paratam salutem, tam insignem, tam euidentem? atque eam quidem ad nos vltro delatam, non per Mosen, non
 LB 1168 per angelos aut prophetas, in quos vtcunque fingi | possit aliqua suspicio vanitatis, sed per ipsum Dei Filium, qui nobis non est loquutus procul e nube aut per
 81 somnium aut alia ratione in quam caderet suspicio fraudis aut praestigii, sed coram auditus est, conspectus est, contrectatus est, diu versatus est inter homines, plurimis ac maximis argumentis declarans sese verum Dei Filium ac perfectam
 85 salutem offerens vniuerso mundo per fidem euangelicam.

Huius tantae rei fides cum primum orbi tradi coepisset per ipsum Dominum Iesum Christum, qui non solum praeco fuit salutis aeternae verum etiam autor, post confirmata est ab eis qui testes fuerant omnium quae ille dixit ac gessit inter homines versans; ac ne horum praedicatio parum haberet ponderis, sermonem

55 in *addidi*: om. A–H

56 manuum A–E G H: manum F

66–67 vt quo A–E G H: quo vt F

the Spirit directly or his spiritual gifts, pertained primarily to the divine or to the human nature of the Son, and hence, whether the

companions referred to in *Hebr.* 1, 9 (*Ps.* 45, 7) were angelic or human. Cf. Theodrt. *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 82, 685–688;

Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 200; Hugo, p. M8v^o-N1r^o; Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, pp. 677-678.

- 55 *in* Although Erasmus sometimes uses the local ablative without a preposition, as with *initio* in the next line (though the omission of *in* here too may be accidental since it occurs both in Vg. and in Erasmus' Latin version of *Hebr.* 1, 10), he consistently uses *in* with *loco* elsewhere in the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 1. Hence the omission of the preposition here is most likely to have been a typographical error.
psalmo Ps. 102, 25-27.
- 56 *Et tu* Erasmus' Greek text and his Latin version erroneously incorporate into the second quotation the "et" (καί) which connects the two quotations.
- 58 *subito* This word, the choice of which may have been influenced by 2. *Pet.* 3, 10, forms an antithesis with the word *semper*, which is likewise added to the quotation from Scripture. The antithesis suggests that Erasmus took the verb ἐλξεις to mean 'turn around' (*circumuoluere*) rather than 'roll up'; cf. Lefevre's translation "conuolues", *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, f^o 232r^o. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 61, n. 130; Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 43-44. Vg. reads "mutabis" in both *Ps.* 102, 26 and *Hebr.* 1, 12, so that text and meaning were not problems for the medieval Latin commentators.
- 60 *psalmo Ps.* 110, 1.
- 62 *quantumuis ... sunt* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 682, who distinguishes among the highest, middle and lowest angels in their relations with humans. Even archangels serve humans. Erasmus, however, ignores the lengthy arguments in Thomas, pp. 682-683, and in the other Latin commentators on the question of how all the angels can be called "administratorii spiritus" since some, like the cherubim and seraphim, are not.
- 63 *ut adsint* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, III, 3, Migne PG 63, 30, refers to the numerous appearances of angels in the *Nou. Test.*, especially in *Act.*, where they communicate God's word or otherwise assist humans. However, the verb *adesse* suggests that Erasmus may have guardian angels especially in mind. In his *Annot. in Hebr.* 1, 14 ("in ministerium missi"), LB VI, 985 B he states that the participle ἀποστελλόμενα means "qui mittuntur", not "missi" as in Vg., and comments, "Mittuntur enim et hodie". Cf. *Paraphr. in Act.*, ad 12, 15, LB VII, 616 C.
- 66 *Porro* For the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 2, 1 cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.* III, 3, Migne PG 63, 31-32 and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 683. The latter comments: "Supra ostendit Apostolus multipliciter eminentiam Christi ad angelos; hic ex hoc concludit quod magis obediendum doctrinae Christi, scilicet Nouo Testamento, quam Veteri Testamento; et circa hoc tria facit. Primo enim ponit conclusionem intentam; secundo indicit rationem ad conclusionem intentam; tertio confirmat consequentiam rationis. ... Circa primum sciendum est, quod *Ex.* 23, datis praeceptis Legis iudicialibus et moralibus, subiungit vers. 20: 'Ecce ego mitto angelum meum, qui praecedat te et custodiat in via'; et sequitur: 'Oserua igitur et audi vocem eius neque contemnendum putes'. Si igitur mandatum angeli, per quem Lex data est, seruaretur, introitus disponderetur ad patriam; vnde et *Mt.* 19, 17 dictum est: 'Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata'. Oportet ergo seruare mandata illa Legis; ergo oportet magis obedire mandatis eius qui maior est angelis, per quos Lex data est".
- 68 *excidant* For this term see Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, III, 3, Migne PG 63, 31, who glosses the verb παραρῶμεν in *Hebr.* 2, 1 with ἐκπέσωμεν; cf. *Er. Annot. in Hebr.* ("perefluamus"), LB VI, 985 C.
- 71-72 *Mosen ... prophetas* For this way of designating the Old Testament cf. *Lc.* 16, 29-31 and *Ioh.* 1, 45; Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, III, 4, Migne PG 63, 32; Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 684a.
- 75 *per angelos ... renunciabant* See *Gal.* 3, 19, *Act.* 7, 38 and 53; and for the background of this belief, Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, pp. 54-55.
- 79-80 *non per ... prophetas* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, III, 4, Migne PG 63, 33: "οὐκ ἄνθρωπος αὐτὴν διεπόρθημευσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, οὐ κτιστὴ δύναμις [i. e. an angel], ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Μονογενὴς".
- 80-81 *in quos ... vanitatis* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, III, 4, Migne PG 63, 33: "How was it confirmed then? What if, he says, the hearers had invented it? Therefore, removing this objection and showing that the grace was not something human, he adds, 'with God bearing witness'. For God would not have witnessed for them if they had invented it".
- 83 *conspetus ... contractatus est* Cf. 1. *Ioh.* 1, 1, a text which Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 685a, likewise refers to in his commentary on *Hebr.* 2, 3.

90 illorum Deus ipse variis miraculorum signis ac prodigiis aliisque mirificis dotibus, quas Spiritus ille coelestis varie distribuebat suis vt ipsi visum est expedire salutem mortalium, confirmabat. Ex quibus omnibus abunde constitit totum hoc quod agebatur non esse virium humanarum sed diuinae virtutis, atque eum qui haec prodidit – primum ipse, deinde per suos discipulos – non fuisse simplicem
 95 hominem sed Deum humano indutum corpore. Ac ne angelum quidem fuisse declarat psalmus mysticus, ita de Christo testificans: *Quid est homo quod memor es eius, aut filius hominis quod curam habes illius? Demisisti illum paulisper infra angelos.* Ac mox: *Gloria et honore coronasti eum, et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum. Omnia subiecisti pedibus eius.* Antequam Deus conderet orbem
 100 terrae, iam tum decretum erat consilio diuino vt quicquid esset in orbe futurum subiiceretur pedibus Iesu Christi. Nulli vero angelorum legitur dominatum tribuisse totius orbis, in quo continentur et angeli. Etenim qui dixit omnia subiicienda nihil reliquit non subiiciendum. Atque huius psalmi vaticinium ex parte perfectum est, ex parte perficiendum futuro seculo. Nondum enim videmus illi
 105 subiecta esse omnia. Rebellatur adhuc ab impiis et grauis est conflictatio Ecclesiae cum mundo. Caeterum illud iam videmus perfectum quod Iesus – qui, cum hic affligeretur variis cruciatibus ac denique crucis supplicium subiret et id, quod est hominum iudicio amarissimum, hominum causa gustaret, sed ita gustaret vt tamen non absorberetur – videbatur esse factus inferior angelis qui nec morti nec
 110 vlli dolori sunt obnoxii, nunc tanta gloria et honore coronatus est vt mundus intelligat ipsum, immunem ab omni culpa, iuxta voluntatem Dei volentis humanae salutem consulere, subisse mortis supplicium. Siquidem mors illius non erat poena commissi per illum, sed erat fauor diuinus erga genus humanum, quod sua gratuita beneficentia redimi voluit per mortem innocentissimi Filii sui, Iesu
 115 Christi.

Atque vt non poterat nos euehere ad immortalitatis consortium nisi Deus esset, ita non conueniebat vt is, qui condidisset omnia et cuius moderatione gubernarentur omnia, sineret in totum perire quod condidisset. Vbi vero regnum

102 et C–H: *om. A*

91 *quas ... suis* Cf. 1. Cor. 12, 4–11, which is cited by Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, III, 5, Migne PG 63, 34; Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 685b; and Nicholas of Lyre, p. v3v°, in their commentaries on the words “Spiritus Sancti distributionibus” (Vg.) in *Hebr.* 2, 4. These commentators, and Erasmus, construe πνεῦμα τοῦ / *spiritus* as a subjective genitive; modern scholars (e. g. Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 67–68, Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 51) prefer to take it as an objective genitive – God imparts his spirit in various ways.

96 *psalmus Ps.* 8, 5–7 as quoted in *Hebr.* 2, 6–8. Erasmus for the most part retains the

text of Vg. except in the paraphrase *curam habes illius* for “visitas eum” (“inuisis illum” in his Latin version) and especially in the paraphrase on 7a which he had translated “Fecisti eum paulisper inferiorem angelis”.
 97–98 *Demisisti ... angelos* It is not immediately evident whether Erasmus intended these words to be a paraphrase or an alternative translation, but they indicate clearly enough his understanding of the meaning of the Greek (and perhaps Hebrew) text. Lefèvre, in the *Examinatio* section of his commentary on *Hebr.* 2, 7 (f° 233v°), had advised his readers that the person who had

- translated the epistle from Hebrew into Greek had taken the translation “ab angelis” from the Septuagint, but that since Paul had originally written it in Hebrew, he must have quoted the Hebrew text of the psalm which reads “a Deo”. Erasmus cited Lefèvre’s contention in his annotation on this verse in *Nov. Instr.*, but remarked that he preferred Thomas’ interpretation [*Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, pp. 687b–688a] and advanced the view that the Greek phrase βραχὺ τι referred to time, not to degree. Lefèvre himself had wavered somewhat on this point in the first edition of his commentary since he translates βραχὺ τι in one place by “parumper”, in another by “paulo minus” with Vg. However, in the revised second edition he criticized Erasmus’ explanation of the meaning of this part of the verse as faulty in both grammar and Christology. Erasmus responded with his *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, the essential content of which was subsequently summarized in a lengthy addition made to the annotation in the second (1519) edition of the *Nov. Test.*, beginning with the words “ex hoc loco Faber Stapulensis ... ansam arripuit conflictando mecum” (*LB VI*, 985 D). For the history of the controversy see A.W. Steenbeek’s edition of the *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.* in *ASD IX*, 3. Although Erasmus gave up no ground either in the controversy or in any revision of his translation, the paraphrase does remove the offensive “fecisti inferiorem” which could be taken to imply that the Son was subordinate to the Father. The paraphrase also emphasizes that, properly understood, the statement in the psalm refers solely to Christ’s short life on earth as a man.
- 98 *Ac mox* In *A* the sentence is pointed *angelos, ac mox gloria* etc. so that the words *ac mox* appear to be (and I think were intended) to be part of the paraphrased text of the psalm in order to emphasize the antithesis between the humiliation of the incarnation and the glory of the subsequent exaltation and session. The change in punctuation in *C* – *angelos. ac mox. Gloria* etc. – removes them from the biblical text and converts them into a connector between the two parts of the original sentence; cf. *ac rursus* in l. 39 above and the use of *ac mox* in the Argument to the *Paraphr. in 1. Ioh.*, p. 256, l. 8 below.
- 99 *pedibus* Vg. and Erasmus’ Latin version have “sub pedibus”. The omission of “sub” in the paraphrase is probably deliberate rather than accidental since *sub* with the ablative with the verb *subicio* is by classical standards a solecism; compare the construction in the following sentence of the paraphrase.
- 102 *et* The addition in *C* is evidently intended to show that *totius orbis* means the entire universe of heaven and earth, not just the inhabited earth as *Hebr.* 2, 5 and the continuation of the thought in *Ps.* 8, 7–8 might seem to suggest.
- 105–106 *Rebellatur ... mundo* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 688b: “[In verse 8b Paul] ostendit hoc nondum esse impletum quia infideles, peccatores et daemones nondum sunt ei subiecti – vide *Rom.* 10, 16, *Ex.* 10, 3 – et sic peccatores non sunt subiecti Christo per rebellionem voluntatis; sed per potentiam omnes subiiciuntur ei, modo quantum auctoritatem, sed in futuro omnes quantum executionem”.
- 109 *non absorberetur* That is, by death; cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, ad 3, 21, p. 206, ll. 573–575 Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, IV, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 39, makes the point that unlike us, who are thoroughly corrupted in the grave, Christ was only three days in the underworld. It is unlikely, however, that Erasmus had this particular notion in mind.
- 109–110 *qui ... obnoxii* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 210 A, who likewise contrasts the passion of Christ with the impassibility of the angels.
- 113–115 *quod ... Christi* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 5, 16, *LB VII*, 792 F–793 A. *Beneficentia* and *beneficium* are recurring paraphrases of the word *gratia* (χάρις); cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* 2, 9 (“gratia Dei”), *LB VI*, 991 D: “χάριτι θεοῦ, ‘per gratiam Dei’, hoc est, beneficio diuino”. See Robert D. Sider, “In Terms Quite Plain and Clear”: *The Exposition of Grace in the New Testament Paraphrases of Erasmus*, Erasmus in English 15 (1987–88), pp. 16–25.
- 116–118 *Atque ... condidisset* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, IV, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 40 – followed by Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 209 D and 212 A, and by Erasmus in his Latin version and annotation on *Hebr.* 2, 10 (“Decebat enim eum”), *LB VI*, 991 E – took the pronoun αὐτῷ in this verse to refer to God the Father (cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 82, Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 58). This interpretation is supported by the reading *consummare* in the majority of the manuscripts of Vg. Some manuscripts, however, read *consummari* on the assumption that the pronoun refers to the Son, which is also the reading and interpretation of Lefèvre, *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, f° 233r°.

120 Filii si solus esset apud Patrem? Itaque decere visum est ut Filius, autor ac prin-
 ceptus salutis omnium, exploratus ac probatus multis afflictionibus non solum ipse
 sibi pararet haereditatem aeternae gloriae, verum etiam multos alios filios secum
 adduceret Patri sua morte reconciliatos. Et ideo corpus humanum assumpsit ut
 homo hominem purificaret. Nam sacrificus Christus, qui purificat, et homines,
 LB 1169 qui purificantur, iuxta naturam humanam ex eodem parente primo ducunt | ori-
 125 ginem, ut communem Patrem habent in coelis. Unde Dei Filius in psalmis non
 erubescit homines pios appellare fratres cum ita loquitur: *Annunciabo nomen
 tuum fratribus meis, in medio ecclesiae laudabo te*. An non hic palam discipulos
 suos fratres appellat? Et rursus alio quodam in loco: *Et ego fiduciam meam ponam
 in eo*. Porro probati filii est toto pectore fidere patri. Atqui is quando promisit se
 130 omnia subiectorum pedibus Filii, dubium non est quin et illos servaturus sit cum
 quibus et in quibus regnet Filius. Rursus alio quodam in loco apud prophetam
 Esaiam Dominus discipulos appellat pueros suos cum ait: *Ego et pueri mei, quos
 dedit mihi Deus*. Auditis cognationis vocabula. Quandoquidem igitur hi fratres et
 hi pueri de quibus loquitur homines sunt constantes ex carne et sanguine, voluit
 135 ille, qui coelestis erat, assumere carnem humanam et hac parte similis illorum
 fieri quos erat asciturus in aeternae cognationis consortium, ut morte sua aboleret
 eum qui mortis habebat imperium, hoc est, Diabolum, ac liberos redderet eos
 qui metu mortis aeternae per omnem vitam obnoxii erant servituti Satanae, qui
 per mortem regnabat in omne mortalium genus. Nam quisquis peccato obnoxius
 140 est, idem morti est obnoxius. Nec enim cuiquam angelorum hoc honoris habuit
 Christus ut, illius assumpta natura, frater aut cognatus illi fieret. Sed iuxta pro-
 missionem diuinam semen Abrahae apprehendit. Iudaeus natus est ex Iudaeis,
 homo natus est ex homine, obnoxius omnibus nostrae naturae incommodis
 – siti, fami, aestui, frigori, lassitudini, dolori, morti – quo similitudo testaretur
 145 veram naturae cognationem et fidem faceret illum non deserturum eos pro qui-
 bus tantum malorum subiisset quosque sibi tam arcta necessitudine copulasset.
 Unde congruebat ut iis, quos sibi fratres esse volebat, per omnia similis reddere-
 tur, quo maiorem illis fiduciam praeberet impetrandae veniae, quod is, qui pon-
 tificis munus suscepisset ut apud Deum intercederet expiaturus peccata totius
 150 populi omneque mortalium genus illi reconciliaret, hoc argumento videretur
 misericors ac fidus futurus erga suos, quod non solum esset eiusdem naturae,
 verum etiam quod ipsi contigisset innumeris huius mundi afflictionibus explo-
 rari probarique, quo facilius videretur succursurus iis qui malis huius mundi
 vexarentur.

Quapropter, fratres, iam Filii sanguine purificati ac Dei gratuita bonitate ad hoc
 vocati, ut veniatis in consortium vitae coelestis, quo magis illius beneficiis
 respondeatis, considerate quanta dignitate praemineat apostolus ac pontifex ves-
 trae professionis, hoc est, evangelicae fidei, Christus Iesus, quamque pure atque

160 integre se gesserit erga Deum, a quo fuit constitutus in tota Ecclesia, quemad-
modum Moses laudatus est quod fidelem ministrum gesserit in tota synagoga
sua, quae est domus ac familia Dei. At Christus tanto plus honoris ac dignitatis
promeruit, quanto plus debetur honoris ei qui condidit domum quam domui
ipsi. Si quidem omnis domus aedificatur ab aliquo. Porro qui condidit omnia,
LB 1170 Deus est. | Moses igitur sic versatus est in domo Dei vt ipse pars esset domus,
166 non autor. Ac meretur quidem hoc Mosi pietas, vt apud nos magnae sit autoritatis

131 et in quibus *om. I*
130-134 hi *bis A-G*: hii *G H*

147 iis *A-G*: hiis *G H*
163-164 domui ipsi *H*: domus ipsa *A-G*

126-127 *Annunciabo ... te Ps. 22, 23* as quoted in *Hebr. 2, 12*. *Annunciabo* is Erasmus' replacement of the simplex *Nunciabo* in Vg. He probably intended the prefix *ad-* to represent the prefix ἀπ- in the verb ἀπαγγελῶ.

128 *quodam in loco* The absence of any identification of the source of the quotation in *Hebr. 2, 13* suggests that Erasmus, like the medieval Latin commentators, did not know that it is apparently from *Is. 8, 17 LXX*. They knew that Chrysostom referred to Isaiah in his commentary on *Hebr. 2, 18*, but the translation of *Is. 8, 17* in Vg. - "Et expectabo Dominum" - is so different from that in *LXX* that they were puzzled by the reference. The text of the quotation in the paraphrase is either a new translation of the Greek of *Hebr. 01*, or, more likely, a paraphrastic explanation of Erasmus' Latin version, "Ego ero fidens in illo". The initial *Et* in the paraphrase is intrusive and may have been caused by the repeated "et rursus" ("et iterum", Vg.) before the two quotations from Isaiah.

131 *alio ... loco Is. 8, 18*.

139-140 *Nam ... obnoxius Cf. Rom. 5, 12-14*.

141-142 *iuxta promissionem* This phrase suggests that Erasmus is thinking of *Gal. 3, 16-18*, where *Gn. 22, 17-18* is the starting point of Paul's argument, rather than of *Is. 41, 8 LXX*, the text which the author of *Hebr.* appears to be citing.

144 *siti ... morti* For this list of *incommoda*, and the assumptions on which it is based, see *Er. Disputatiunc.*, *LB V, 1276 F* and *1282 C-F*.

152 *ipsi contigisset* Erasmus has confused the verb πύσχω with the verb τυγχάνω. He thus translated the words πέπονθεν ... πειρασθείς in *Hebr. 2, 18* by "ipsi contigit tentatum esse". In his annotation *ad loc.* ("et tentatus"), *LB VI, 992 E*, he comments that in his

[clearly mistaken] judgment the participle πειρασθείς is equivalent to an infinitive.

158-159 *vestrae* Erasmus appears to be following a text such as that cited in the lemma of his annotation on *Hebr. 3, 1* ("pontificem confessionis vestrae"), *LB VI, 992 E*, instead of his Latin version of the Greek text which has "nostrae" as does the Clementine Vulgate and apparently most manuscripts of Vg.

159 *professionis Professio* is Erasmus' preferred translation of ὁμολογία. The gloss *fidei euangelicae* shows that he is following the lead of the interlinear *Glossa*, Hugo (though Hugo also adduces several alternative interpretations, p. N71^o), and Nicholas of Lyre, all of whom interpret the word "confessio" (Vg.) in *3, 1* to mean the Christian faith. The exact meaning of ὁμολογία in this verse is, however, disputed; see Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 107-108, Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 78.

160 *fuit constitutus* Erasmus translated τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν in *Hebr. 3, 2* by "ei qui eum constituit" in place of the "ei qui eum fecit" of Vg. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, *V, 2*, Migne *PG 63, 49*, comments on ποιήσαντι: "Making him what? Apostle and high priest. [Paul] says nothing here about essence or divinity but only about human positions". Theodrt. *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG 82, 697 B*, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG 125, 219 B*, make similar comments. The interlinear *Glossa*, Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre, however, take the verb "fecit" (Vg.) to be a reference to the incarnation: God the Father made him from the seed of David. Lefèvre on the other hand translates the participle by "praefecit", though without stating specifically what Jesus was put in charge of - presumably 'the whole house'. Like Erasmus, Lefèvre sees in *Hebr. 3, 1-2* an argument demonstrating the preeminence of Christ in his offices as apostle and high priest.

quod in tota domo Dei bona fide versatus sit, sed tanquam minister ac dispensator, non tanquam filius. Ille versabatur in domo aliena, hic in sua. Ac Moses
 170 typos tantum ac umbras rerum adferebat earum quas post Christus erat explicaturus. At Christus ut conditor ac Filius administravit suam ipsius domum, cuius domus sumus nos qui per euangelicam professionem aggregamur illius Ecclesiae, si modo perseuerauerimus in eo quod instituimus – hoc est, si in concordia domus permaneamus – et fiduciam, quam nobis tribuit Spiritus Christi simulque gloriosam spem, qua ceu germani filii Dei fratresque Christi coelestem haereditatem
 175 expectamus, ad finem usque firmam et illabefactatam tenuerimus. Nihil enim nobis proderit audisse doctrinam euangelicam nisi perseueremus viuere iuxta doctrinam euangelicam; imo hoc grauius puniemur, quo maior est qui per se nobis dignatus est loqui.

Quare meminisse oportet quod in psalmo mystico loquitur Spiritus Sanctus, adhortans populum ut obediat voci diuinae, ne prouocatus ille grauius illos
 180 puniat et a promissa requie secludat. *Hodie*, inquit, *si vocem eius audieritis, ne obduretis corda vestra*, sicut fecistis cum Deum exacerbaretis murmure ac rebellionem eo die quo patientiam vestram explorabat *in deserto; ubi*, inquit, *tentauerunt me patres vestri*, velut explorantes an is essem qui possem punire nocentes, et experti sunt iram meam; et qui dictis credere nolebant *viderunt opera mea*, idque
 185 *annis quadraginta*. Tantum enim temporis in deserto circumacti sunt cum ex Aegypto profugi peterent terram in qua promiseram illis quietem. *Quapropter offensus eram illi genti ac mecum dicebam: Hi semper errant corde*, sequentes suas cupiditates, *neque cognouerunt vias meas*. Atque ob hanc inobedientiam iratus
 190 *iuravi* nunquam fore ut ingrediantur terram in qua pollicitus sum illos requieturos ab laboribus itinerum.

Audistis, fratres, Deum patribus nostris comminantem non peruenturos ad terram promissam, ni perseuerassent obedire iussis ipsius. Ac nos quidem per
 195 baptismum liberati a delictis vitae prioris egressi quidem sumus ex Aegypto; nunquam tamen perueniemus ad immortalitatem promissam in coelestibus, nisi perstiterimus in obseruatione fidei et charitatis euangelicae. Sin respicimus Aegyptum relictam, hoc est, si relabimur ad pristinae vitae cupiditates, excludemur a consortio vitae coelestis. Videte igitur ne sit in vlllo vestrum cor prauum ac rebelle iussis euangelicis aut obnoxium incredulitati sic ut reflectens sese ad relicta
 200 vicia et mortis principem, Diabolum, desciscat a Deo viuente. Quin potius quotidianis hortatibus confirmate vos inuicem ad perseuerantiam in tolerandis huius vitae laboribus, quibus Deus explorat synceritatem fidei nostrae, quamdiu dicitur dies hodiernus – hoc est, quamdiu gerimus hoc mortale corpus et adhuc in huius mundi deserto non absque periculo peregrinamur – ne quis fractus huius vitae
 205 malis ab instituto itinere seducatur illecebra peccandi, quemadmodum olim Hebraei, maiores nostri, pertesi laborum diutinae profectionis desyderabant nidorem ollarum quas in Aegypto reliquerant. Sumus quidem insiti corpori Christi per baptismum ac fidei professionem, sed ita ut nostro vicio possimus excidere, nec aliter in haereditatem immortalitatis nobis promissam peruenturi

LB 1171 nisi felicitatis initium ac fundamentum, quod per Euangelium in | nobis iactum
 211 est, solidum et inconcussum tenuerimus vsque ad finem, semper proficientes in
 eo quod coeptum est, admoniti per hoc quod nobis semper dicitur: *Hodie si
 vocem eius audieritis, nolite obdurare corda vestra, sicut in exacerbatione.* Quidam
 215 enim audita voce Domini non obediens exacerbauerunt illum, indignationem
 illius in se prouocantes; at non omnes id fecerunt qui profecti fuerant ex Aegypto
 duce Mose, atque iis sane datum est peruenire ad terram lacte ac melle manan-
 tem. Quibus autem indignatus est annis quadraginta? nonne iis qui peccauerant?

170 suam ipsius domum *G H*: domum suam
 ipsius *A-F*
 171 domus *om. F*
 175 illabefactam *E-H*: illabefactam *A-D*

188 offensus *D-H*: infensus *A C*;
 Hi *A-F G² BAS*: Hii *G H-K*
 217 iis *G H*: his *A-G²*

172 *si modo ... instituimus* This qualification, based on *Mt.* 10, 22 and 24, 13, occurs repeatedly in the *Paraphrases* (cf., e.g., l. 196 below) and is a fundamental part of Erasmus' soteriology: salvation depends ultimately on one's response to God's grace.

179 *psalmo Ps.* 95, 8–11. Erasmus partly quotes, partly paraphrases his Latin version of the text of the psalm in *Hebr.* 3, 7–11. The paraphrastic expansions are evidently intended to elucidate the references to the events of the exodus. However, Erasmus does not seem to have in view specific texts such as *Ex.* 17, 1–7 or *Nu.* 20, 1–13, the accepted references, so much as texts like *Ex.* 16, 7–12 and *Nu.* 14, 20–35, which emphasize the murmuring and rebelliousness of the Hebrews. Thus he may be drawing upon a collection of texts having to do with disobedience rather than on the Old Testament directly.

186–187 *Tantum ... quietem* Cf. *Nu.* 32, 13.

188 *offensus* "Infensus" is the reading of the Clementine Vulgate in *Hebr.* 3, 10 and also of *Nov. Instr.* and the subsequent editions of Erasmus' *Nov. Test.*; *offensus* is the reading of the Vulgate text of *Ps.* 94 [95], 10 and of some manuscripts of *Hebr.* In *Annot. in Hebr.* 3, 10 ("offensus [see below] fui generationi"), *LB VI*, 993 C, Erasmus cites Suet. *Ner.* 2, 1 to show that *offensus* with the dative is good Latin and observes that *infensus* implies hostility whereas *offensus* suggests only annoyance. The latter, he asserts, is closer to the meaning of the Greek verb προσώχθισα and also of the Hebrew text of *Ps.* 95, 10. The revision of the text of the paraphrase in *D* thus reflects the argument made in the annotation. [The 1535 edition of *Annot.* replaces *infensus* by *offensus* in the lemma; hence the text in *LB*.]

Hi The pronoun comes either from *Ps.* 95, 10 Vg. or possibly from a text of *Hebr.* 3, 10 which reads *semper hi errant* as in the Amerbach-Froben editions of Hugo and the *Glossa*. Erasmus omitted the *Hi* (or *Li*, the form used in the *Annot.* cited below) in his Latin version because it does not occur in his Greek text. In the paraphrase he transposes *semper* and *hi* to indicate that the adverb *semper* is to be construed with the verb *errant*, not with *dicebam* ("dixi", Vg.); see *Er. Annot. in Hebr.* 3, 10 ("et dixi semper"), *LB VI*, 993 D. The substitution of the imperfect *dicebam* for the perfect "dixi" of Vg. (the Greek has εἶπον) may be intended to suggest that God said this to himself repeatedly; cf. *Nu.* 14, 22: "Et tentauerunt me iam per decem vices" (Vg.).

206–207 *desyderabant ... reliquerant* See *Ex.* 16, 3.

211 *semper proficientes* Cf. *Paraphr. in Gal.*, ad 3, 3, *LB VII*, 952 D–E, where the reverse process is described. That the Christian must continually advance from initial beginnings, howsoever these may be defined, toward perfection is a recurrent motif of the *Paraphrases*. Cf. the paraphrase on 6, 1–3 below, p. 59, l. 358–p. 60, l. 578.

213 *sicut ... exacerbatione* The paraphrase quotes Erasmus' Latin version of *Hebr.* 3, 15b, in which he replaced the "quemadmodum" of Vg. by *sicut* and omitted the demonstrative adjective *illa*; see *Annot. ad loc.* ("in illa exacerbatione"), *LB VI*, 993 E.

215 *at non omnes* See *Nu.* 14, 30–31. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VI, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 56, the *Glossa*, Hugo, Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 700b, and Nicholas of Lyre all make the same reference to *Nu.*

216–217 *lacte ... manantem* From *Nu.* 13, 28.

At isti non introierunt in requiem, sed horum cadauera prostrata sunt in deserto. Quibus autem sic indignatus est vt iuraret eos non ingressuros in requiem promissam nisi iis qui voci Dei non paruerant? Videmus itaque Deum vtrobique veracem fuisse, qui quidem et praestiterit morigeris quod promiserat et inobedientibus quod fuerat comminatus. Peruenerunt illi sua patientia, isti non potuerunt ingredi propter incredulitatem ac diffidentiam.

CAPVT III

225 Quod maioribus nostris tum erat Moses, hoc nobis nunc est Christus. Ac terrena requies erat, ad quam illi properabant; nos tendimus ad requiem coelestem. Metuamus igitur negligere vocem Dei quae nobis quotidie loquitur per Euangelium, ne, quemadmodum ex illis complures sua culpa frustrati sunt expectatione quietis promissae, ita contingat vt ex nobis etiam videatur aliquis esse frustratus
 230 nec assequatur ad quod ire coeperat. Siquidem nobis denunciata est longe feliciores requies quam illis, idque per legatum multo certiore quam illis. At illis nihil profuit accepisse promissionem quietis et hactenus audisse vocem Domini, propterea quod non crederent audita. Introimus enim in veram requiem, quae nescit vllos malorum tumultus, nos qui credidimus voci dominicae; quemadmodum
 235 contra negat ingressuros qui non crediderint, dicens: *Sicut iuravi in ira mea, si introibunt in requiem meam*; cum tamen prima Dei requies iam multis retro seculis praecessisset, nimirum operibus illius in orbe condendo perfectis, et in huius quietis memoriam Iudaei sabbatismum suum celebrent. Siquidem de prima quiete loquens, quae contigit die ab opificio mundi septimo, Scriptura dicit: *Et requieuit Dominus die septimo ab omnibus operibus suis*. Ac rursus hoc in loco quem adduximus e psalmo meminit secundae quietis quae refocillaret Hebraeos hospitio terrae Palaestinae longo itinere defatigatos, dicens: *Si introibunt in requiem meam*. Ex his igitur quoniam consequitur Deum primo introisse in suam
 240 requiem condito mundo et in secundam paucos ingressos fuisse propter incredulitatem et tamen vanam fore promissionem nisi populus aliquis ingrediatur, prioribus exclusis quibus in vmbra legis erat promissa requies, quam tamen non ingressi sunt quibus erat promissa – rursus psalmus mysticus per os Dauid post tot annos a possessa Palaestina praefinit alium diem quem non septimum, sed hodiernum vocat, quem | admodum saepe iam dictum est: *Hodie si vocem eius*
 LB 1172 *audieritis, nolite obdurare corda vestra*. Etenim si Iesus, Naue filius, quo duce quidam ingressi sunt Palaestinam, praestitisset Israhelitis requiem veram, nequaquam Deus per os Dauid alterius diei postea meminisset. Alioqui dicere poterant: ‘Quam nouam requiem nobis proponis cum promissam teneamus, regnantes in terra Iudaea?’. Restat igitur alius quidam sabbatismus populo Dei,
 255 restat alia requies, non in Palaestina sed in coelesti patria, quo properamus duce Iesu Christo; quod tamen non continget nisi sabbatismum euangelicum hic pure celebrauerimus, abstinentes ab operibus huius mundi. Quisquis enim ingressus est in hanc veram requiem Dei iam et ipse conqueiuit ab operibus suis

quemadmodum Deus conqueiuit a suis orbe condito. Siquidem perductus est in eam vitam quae nullum habet laborum aut dolorum tumultum.

Ergo dum adhuc in huius vitae deserto peregrinamur, ne restitemus, ne respectemus, sed iugibus studiis, sed ardentibus votis properemus in veram illam requiem ad quam vocat Iesus, dux noster; neque committamus vt aliquis nostrum

220 iis C–H: his A
228 ne A H: ac C–G

242 defatigatos D–H: fatigatos A C
247 rursus C–H: rursum A

218 *cadauera* This term is either a paraphrase on Erasmus' literal translation of *κῶλα* in *Hebr.* 3, 17 by "membra" or simply a retention of the translation in Vg. which takes the word "cadauera" from *Nu.* 14, 32–33. Cf. Er. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stum., ASD IX*, 2, p. 240, ll. 244–249.

229 *contingat* This verb appears to be a paraphrase on the Vg. text of 4, 1 where the conjunction *μήποτε* is translated "ne forte". Erasmus translated it by "ne quando".

231 *legatum* This word picks up the term *apostolus* from *Hebr.* 3, 1. *Legatus* is Erasmus' regular paraphrase for *apostolus*; cf. *Annot. in Hebr.* 3, 1 ("pontificem confessionis vestrae"), *LB VI*, 992 E; *Paraphr. in 1. Cor., ad 1, 1, LB VII*, 859 B; *Paraphr. in 2. Cor., ad 1, 1, ibid.* 915 A etc. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, f° 234^r, also uses *legatus* as the Latin equivalent of *ἀπόστολος* in his commentary on *Hebr.* 3, 1.

232–233 *propterea ... audita* Erasmus follows his Greek text which reads *συγκεκρασμένως*, modifying *λόγος* in 4, 2; cf. his extended discussion of the variant readings in *Annot. in Hebr. ad loc.* ("ex his quae audierunt"), *LB VI*, 993 F.

235–236 *Sicut ... meam* Ps. 95, 11 as quoted in *Hebr.* 4, 3.

239–240 *Et ... suis* Gn. 2, 2 LXX.

244–245 *incredulitatem* Although Erasmus knows that *ἀπειθεια* means 'disobedience' (cf. *Annot. in Rom.* 11, 32 ("Conclisit enim Deus omnia"), *LB VI*, 627 D, he retains the Vg. translation *incredulitas* both here and elsewhere. The omission in the paraphrase of the contrast in the text of *Hebr.* 4, 6 between the few who entered and the many who did not leads to some confusion. Obviously Erasmus did not want to imply that only a few entered the second rest because of their disbelief, but meant to say that because of the disbelief of the rest it was only a few who actually entered the promised land.

247 *rursus* Erasmus' Greek text and Latin version begin a new sentence at 3, 7 with *Ἰάλιν* and "Rursus" respectively. He evidently took

the adverb to be, as often, an indicator of a new citation from Scripture rather than, as in Vg., a modifier of the verb *ὀρίζε*. The result is to turn 3, 6 into an anacoluthon; cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 112.

250 *Naue* This form of the name of Joshua's father occurs in *Sir.* 46, 1 and is quite common in medieval Latin commentators (cf., e. g., Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 703b) and other works such as Ps. Philo, *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*. Erasmus presumably added it in the paraphrase to make it clear that the name *Iesus* in *Hebr.* 4, 8 refers to 'Joshua', not 'Jesus'.

254 *quidam* The adjective indicates that the word *sabbatismus* is being used metaphorically in 4, 9 for *requies*, which is itself a metaphor for eternal rest in heaven. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, f° 235^v, likewise understands 'sabbath rest' to be the rest which follows death. He develops at length the ethical and religious requirements for attaining that rest (f° 236), a topic which Erasmus only touches on in passing.

257 *abstinentes ... mundi* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VII, 3, Migne PG 63, 57, makes this point.

260 *quae ... tumultum* This echo of *Is.* 35, 10 also occurs in Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VII, 4, Migne PG 63, 58–59.

261–262 *respectemus* That is, to Egypt, the symbol of the old life which has been left behind through baptism.

262 *iugibus studiis* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VII, 1, Migne PG 63, 60, likewise stresses this signification of the verb *σπουδάζωμεν* in 4, 11 – great efforts are demanded (cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 116). The verb is translated "festinemus" in Vg., but "studeamus" in Erasmus' Latin version. The paraphrase thus conveys both meanings of the verb.

263 *neque committamus* See Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* 4, 11 ("in ipsum quis"), *LB VI*, 996 D: "Ac mihi quidem Graecorum verborum sententia videtur haec esse: Ne quis cadat vt illi ceciderunt in

265 concidat in via quemadmodum illi conciderunt. Nec enim erit nobis leuior
 poena si simili peccemus exemplo. Neque vero negligendum est quod minatur
 sermo Dei, Christus Iesus. Nam viuus est et efficax, ac penetrantior quouis gla-
 dio vtrinque incidente, neque solum incidens membra corporis, verum etiam
 270 intimos affectus animi adeo vt dissecet animam a spiritu, dissecet compages
 omnes ac medullas mentis, discretor cogitationum arcanarum et consiliorum cor-
 dis nostri; et adeo nihil illum fallit humanae cogitationis vt nulla sit vsquam
 omnino creatura, neque in coelo neque sub terra, quae illius oculis non sit mani-
 festa, sed omnia nuda sunt ac resupinata oculis eius cui nobis erit vitae nostrae
 reddenda ratio. Vt olim non fefellit Deum murmur Hebraeorum nec opus erat
 275 villo gladio ad perdendos illos nisi iussu diuino, ita non fallerit nunc Christum, qui
 professus euangelicam vitam furtim amat ea quae mundi sunt neque sincero
 affectu properat ad promissam requiem.

Cum igitur habeamus pontificem vere magnum, Iesum Christum, Filium Dei,
 qui peracto sacro pro nobis reconciliandis non ingressus est adytum templi mani-
 bus structi, sed penetrauit coelos nobis propiciaturus Patrem, perseueremus in
 280 professione nostra sequentes viam quam ille monstrauit et properantes ad ea quae
 ille promisit. Ne nos deterreat illius magnitudo, sed magis animum addat cle-
 mentia. Agit ille quidem in coelis, sed prius homo versatus in terris. Ne igitur
 imaginemur nobis esse pontificem qui non possit tangi sensu nostrae imbecillita-
 tis. Tentatus est ille omni genere malorum quibus obnoxia est vita nostra, at vic-
 285 tor repetiit coelos. Ne nos delassemur in afflictionibus; illius ope freti et infractis
 animis pertendamus ad requiem aeternae felicitatis ad quam ille peruenit. Nec
 enim ob aliud ille afflictus est, caesus est, consputus est, crucifixus est velut
 nocens, cum esset innocens, <quam> vt nos, qui vere nocentes eramus, purgaret
 ab omnibus peccatis. Non mutauit erga nos affectum suum, modo ne illum alie-
 290 nemus nostra peruersitate. Freti igitur illius clementia, accedamus ad thronum
 eius non terribilem sed placabilem, et ad iuuandum paratum, non ad perden-
 dum; accedamus cum fiducia nihil haesitantes vt consequamur misericordiam,
 295 quae nobis peccata nostra condonet, vt | gratiam, quae nos coelestibus bonis ins-
 truat et opituletur quoties res postulabit. Neque enim ab alio sunt nobis postu-
 landa praesidia quam vnde speramus praemia.

CAPVT V

Porro solenne est apud Iudaeos vt omnis pontifex ex hominum numero delectus
 constituatur in hoc, vt in his negociis quae inter Deum et homines aguntur inter-
 pellet pro hominibus ceu medius quidam inter vtrosque vt, si quid offensus sit
 300 Deus peccatis mortalium, is illum donariis ac victimis rite oblati reconciliet, qui
 propter autoritatem pontificiae dignitatis sic valeat apud Deum vt tamen non sit
 alienus ab humana imbecillitate, quo placabilior sit iis qui per ignorantiam erro-
 remque deliquerunt, propterea quod ipse sit obnoxius eidem imbecillitati ob
 naturam communem. Facilius enim alienis malis indolescent quos experientia

- 269 medullas mentis, discretor A–E G H: 288 quam *addidi*
 medullas, mentis discretor, F G 303 ipse A–H: *om. I*
 287 velut <i> *scripsi*

deserto, eodem exemplo incredulitatis et inobedientiae; et sicut illi ceciderunt ob incredulitatem, ut dicit psalmographus, ita isti perirent similiter, similiter peccantes”. Erasmus refers to the ‘Greek Scholia’ (cf. Oecumenius, *Comm. in Epist. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG, 119, 217 A) for this interpretation, but it is also found in Hugo: “Hoc dicit quia qui non festinat incidit in exemplum pro incredulitate ita ut exempletur aliis in poena quia punitur ut sit in exemplum aliis aeternae damnationis”. Cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 116.

- 266 *Christus Iesus* This interpretation of the phrase ‘word of God’ (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, “Dei sermo”, Vg.) in 4, 12 is found, with few exceptions, from Clement of Alexandria to Lefèvre, who asserts: “Hic sermo, haec vox, hoc verbum Christus Dominus est”, which God sent from heaven for the healing of all (*Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 236r). This interpretation is rejected by most modern commentators; see Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 117; Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 87).
- 267 *incidens ... corporis* The rhetorical antithesis is an easy one, but it occurs already in Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VII, 1, Migne PG 63, 61.
- 268 *animam a spiritu* Erasmus is probably thinking of Paul’s anthropology – or rather his understanding of it – in which body, soul and spirit are distinguished (see, e.g., 1. *Thess.* 5, 23), or perhaps Origen’s as reported in *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 52 sq. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 705a, distinguishes *anima*, that which gives life to the body, from *spiritus*, which, he says, is the “mens humana, scilicet intellectus et voluntas”.
- 272 *resupinata* Erasmus employs this word to translate the Greek participle τετραχλισμένα, whose meaning is in any case obscure in *Hebr.* 4, 13 (see Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 121). In *Annot. in Hebr. ad loc.* (“et aperta”), LB VI, 996 E, Erasmus cites Iuv. III, 112 [reading “aulam” for “auiam”] to support his (mistaken) view that *resupinare* can mean ‘to scrutinize’.
- 273 *reddenda ratio* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VII, 1, Migne PG 63, 62, advances this interpretation of the words ὁ λόγος in 4, 13. He is followed by Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 706b, who cites 2. *Cor.* 5, 10 and several other biblical texts, to support the view that the reference is to Christ, the judge of the living and the dead. Modern commentators question this identification; see Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 134, Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 117.
- 280–281 *properantes ... promisit* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VII, 2, Migne PG 63, 63, asserts that ‘confession’ in this context refers to the belief in the resurrection and in the rewards to be received in heaven.
- 284–285 *victor* Lefèvre, *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, ad 4, 15, p. 236v, likewise emphasizes the continuing effect of the incarnation – Christ’s victory is a continual source of grace to humans, especially through the eucharist: “Homo fuit et est, pro hominibus et in coelo et in terra. In coelo ut apertam det gloriam coelestibus; in terra ut nos peregrinos suo immortalis viatico deducat in coelum immortales. Tentari voluit ad similitudinem hominum ut tentati opem quaererent aut etiam superati non diffiderent a tentato misericordiam poscere. Victor semper fuit tentationum ut tentari ab eo petant victoriam. Semper insons, semper innocens et absque peccato ut sones et peccatores perditam ab eo recuperent innocentiam”.
- 287 *afflictus ... crucifixus est* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 237 A: ἐδιώχθη, ἐνεπτύσθη, ἐσυκοφαντήθη, ἀπηλάθη, τέλος ἐσταυρώθη. Theophylact likewise concludes that Christ suffered “so that you may persevere without sin in the midst of affliction”. *veluti* Erasmus prefers the form *veluti* before consonants other than *p*, *velut* before vowels.
- 288 *quam* The adverb is required after *nec ob aliud*; cf. ll. 294–295 below. There seems to have been some disturbance in the composition of this sentence either at the time of writing or, more likely, when it was being set in type.
- 289 *mutavit* One should perhaps read *mutabit*.
- 292 *nihil haesitantes* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VII, 2, Migne PG 63, 64, followed by Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 237, likewise interprets the words μετὰ παρησίας in *Hebr.* 4, 16 to mean μὴ δισταζόντες. To approach with confidence is to approach the throne of God with a clear conscience.
- 293 *ut gratiam* As the text stands *gratiam* must be construed with *consequamur*. It is more likely, however, that the verb “inueniamus” (Vg. and Erasmus’ Latin version) was accidentally omitted either by Erasmus at the time of writing or by the typesetter of A.

305 similibus malorum docuit misericordiam, ac lubentius succurrit aliorum erratis
 qui ipse labitur nonnunquam aut certe non abest a periculo lapsus. Atque hanc
 ob causam Mosaicus sacerdos, quemadmodum immolat hostiam pro peccatis
 populi, ita debet et pro suis peccatis immolare. Porro Christus sic habuit naturam
 nobiscum communem, doloribus mortique obnoxiam, ut tamen expers esset
 310 omnis peccati. Poenam expertus est peccati nescius. Ad haec, iuxta Mosaicos ritus
 nemo sibi ultro vindicat atque usurpat honorem pontificiae functionis, sed hunc
 tantum sumit qui huc iussu numinis asciscitur, quemadmodum ascitus est Aaron.
 Siquidem honore videtur indignus qui per arrogantiam ambit dignitatem, et
 parum idoneus est ad functionem qui semet ingerit. Atque hac quoque in parte
 315 Christus legitimi pontificis exemplum praebuit. Nec enim ultro vindicavit sibi
 gloriam pontificiae dignitatis, sed approbatus est a Patre qui primum agnouit
 Iesum verum Filium suum cum ait: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*. Mox
 etiam verum ac legitimum sacerdotem constituit cum ait: *Tu es sacerdos in aeter-*
num secundum ordinem Melchisedec.

320 Quomodo sit ordinatus habetis; nunc quomodo sit tentatus ac probatus, acci-
 pite. Cum adhuc mortale corpus gestaret in terris, preces et obsecrationes obtulit
 Deo Patri, qui poterat illum a supplicio crucis seruare nisi maluisset morte Filii
 mortalium saluti consulere. Obtulit autem ingenti affectu, cum valido clamore ac
 profusis lachrymis; et auditus est pro charitate simul et dignitate qua valet apud
 325 Patrem. Impetrauit quod voluit. Voluit enim non ut supplicium crucis effugeret,
 sed ut sua morte nobis pararet salutem. Sensit horrorem, sensit cruciatum mortis,
 sed vicit amor humani generis. Filius erat, et nihil non erat impetraturus a Patre
 si postulasset; sed ita visum est magis congruere nostrae saluti ut omnibus malis
 afflictus ad crucis usque supplicium praerberet suis perfectae obedientiae formam.
 330 Rogatis quid profecerit haec tolerantia sacerdotis nostri? Sic modis omnibus spec-
 tatus ac probatus ut nihil in eo desyderaretur, non solum seruauit seipsum, sed
 causa fuit salutis omnibus qui hoc obedientiae exemplum imitantur. Impetrauit
 enim a Patre ut quos habuisset socios afflictionum haberet et regni consortes. Ob
 335 hoc sacrificium rite peractum cognominatus est a Deo pontifex *secundum ordi-*
nem Melchisedec.

Quis autem fuerit Melchisedec et qua congruentia Filium Dei figurarit, multa
 nobis essent dicenda, sed omnia perdifficile fuerit enarrare vobis, eo quod aures
 vestrae parum capaces sunt huius sermonis atque imbecilliores quam ut sermo-
 nem tam arduum tamque prolixum ferre possint. Qua quidem in re studium ves-
 340 trum ac profectus ardorem desyderare cogor, qui cum tot annis iam sitis professi
 Christum ut pro temporis modo debeatis esse doctores aliorum; rursus opus sit
 vobis ut vos doceamus prima rudimenta ac velut elementa scripturae diuinae,
 quae ceu pueris tradi solent his qui per baptismum renascuntur Euangelio;
 quosque iam robustos ac firmos esse decebat in euangelica philosophia, velut
 345 infantes teneri infimae doctrinae lacte adhuc egeatis potius quam idonei sitis
 solido cibo sublimioris eruditionis. Adhuc haeretis ac veluti repitis in historia
 diuinae scripturae; necdum assurgitis ad sensum abstrusorem. Porro qui talis est

vt sit adhuc lacte fouendus, is rudis est et nondum satis firmus ad audiendum
 350 iusticiam euangelicam, quae non in historia, sed in allegoriis inuenitur. Et ideo
 non est capax sermonis, qui tradit nobis perfectam iusticiam, quia adhuc in
 Christo est infans, nuper insitus corpori Christi sic vt paulatim proficiat ad
 maiora. Porro solidus cibus sensus altioris adutorum est ac perfectorum, nempe
 horum qui longa assiduaque meditatione sensus habent exercitatos ad boni
 355 malique discretionem. Qui puer est ac lacte alitur, viuit quidem, at nondum vsu
 atque aetate sibi collegit robur vt ipse sibi deligat ex omnibus quod optimum est,
 nec expectet vt alius lac aut alioqui puerilem cibum praemansum in os inserat.

CAPVT VI

Quapropter nos, quos iam oportet desisse pueros esse in philosophia Christiana,
 omisso sermone qui rudes solet primis elementis instituere feramur ad perfectionem

308 peccatis *A–H: om. I*

311 vindicat *scripsi: vendicat A–H*

311 *vindicat* Though the spelling *ven-* instead of *vin-* occurs elsewhere (cf., e. g., *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 52, l. 27), the normal spelling in these *Paraphrases* is with *i*, not *e*, and I have emended the text accordingly.

312 *quemadmodum ... Aaron* See *Ex.* 28, 1.

317 *Filius ... te Ps.* 2, 7.

318–319 *Tu ... Melchisedec Ps.* 110, 4.

324 *charitate ... dignitate* These words are a paraphrase on the phrase ἀπό τῆς εὐλαβείας in *Hebr.* 5,7, the meaning of which is problematical; see Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 151–152, Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 143–144, and especially Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, pp. 114–117. The Vulgate translates *pro sua reverentia* as does Erasmus, omitting *sua* which has no counterpart in the Greek. In *Annot. in Hebr.* (“Pro sua reverentia”) *LB* VI, 997 E, Erasmus observes that *sui* would be better, that is, the reverence or respect of the Son for the Father and the Father for the Son is reciprocal, an interpretation of the word εὐλάβεια which occurs in Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VIII, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 70. In the same annotation he states that the Greek word also means *pietas*, a view that was strongly argued by Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, p. 238^v. The use of *charitas* instead of *pietas* may, however, reflect texts such as *Ioh.* 3, 25 and 5, 20.

325–326 *Voluit ... salutem* This explanation of the content of Christ’s prayer is given by Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VIII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 69–70 and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 244 B.

314 *Atque C–H: At A*

346 *veluti A–F: velut G H*

329 *praeberet ... formam* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, VIII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 70 likewise makes this point.

345 *infimae doctrinae* Thomas *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, pp. 711–713, develops at some length the contrast between the milk of the catechism and the solid food of theology. Lefèvre, however, *Comm. in Hebr.*, p. 237^v, takes ‘milk’ in this context to denote *historia* or the literal meaning of Scripture; ‘solid food’ then is the higher or spiritual meaning.

346 *veluti* See p. 57, n. 1. 287 above. The change from *veluti* to *velut* in *G* is most likely due to the typesetter who may have been influenced by the *velut* in the preceding sentence.

347 *assurgitis* The image suggests that Erasmus has 1. *Pet.* 2, 2 in mind.

349 *allegoriis* Cf. *Paraphr. in Gal.*, ad 4, 21–31, *LB* VII, 959 B–960 E, where Erasmus exploits a series of traditional contrasts to illustrate the greater significance of the spiritual meaning of Scripture. See also the passage in the *Enchir.* cited in n.l. 37 above.

355 *ipse ... est* This is an axiom of Erasmus’ pedagogy; see his *De rat. stud.*, *ASD* I, 2, p. 119, l. 17–p. 120, l. 2. The idea is taken from Quint. *Inst.* I, 1, 10.

359 *qui ... instituere* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, IX, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 75, who likewise makes the difference between elementary and advanced learning the basis of his exegesis of *Hebr.* 6, 1–3.

360 neque semper in hoc haereamus, vt subinde fundamentum iaciamus poenitentiae. Quandoquidem primus omnium gradus est ad Christianismum vitae superioris agere poenitentiam et a peccatis recedere; deinde, vt doceamur a Deo sperandam esse veram innocentiam ac salutem; mox, vt baptismo sacro purgemur a sordibus viciorum et innocentiae restituamur; sub haec, per manus impositionem accipiamus Spiritum Sanctum; vtque credamus futuram resurrectionem mortuorum simulque iudicium illud supremum quod alios addicet aeternae felicitati, alios aeternis cruciatibus. Haec semel didicisse satis est, semel professos esse satis est, semel credidisse satis. Absurdum autem fuerit si his traditis sic deinceps agamus vt necesse sit subinde nobis iterari quae in hoc traduntur, vt
 370 fundamentum sint aedificio superstruendo. Verum elementis huiusmodi semel acceptis, ardentibus studiis enitendum est vt euadamus quotidianis auctibus pietatis grandes ac perfecti et a semel iacto fundamento nobilis structura ex auro argentoque et lapidibus preciosis virtutum ac pie factorum surgat ad supremum vsque fastigium. Nostrum est huc eniti, vt quod conamur perficiamus si nobis
 375 conantibus affuerit prosper ac fauens Deus sine cuius praesidio nihil potest humanum studium. Hunc cursum posteaquam semel aggressi sumus, non est resistendum, non respectandum, non ad relicta redeundum, sed semper ad meliora proficiendum.

Stultissimum autem sit ad id recurrere quod iterari nec debet nec potest. |
 LB 1175 Siquidem ne potest quidem fieri vt, qui semel reliquerint tenebras vitae prioris
 381 illuminati per doctrinam euangelicam iamque per baptismum condonatis peccatis experti sint Dei gratuitam liberalitatem ac coeleste donum, quo sublatis semel viciis omnibus largitur innocentiam, deinde per impositionem manus sacerdotalis participes facti fuerint Spiritus Sancti, per quem fidere coeperunt felicibus
 385 promissis aeternae vitae iamque ceu praegustare virtutes seculi futuri, si per incuriam relabantur in dedecora vitae prioris, denuo renouentur per poenitentiam – id quod semel factum est in baptismo, in quo semel deponitur vetus homo cum actibus suis et exit e lauacro noua creatura. Siquidem qui postulant vt subinde relapsi in vitam pristinam denuo per baptismum innoentur, hi quid aliud agunt
 390 quam vt iterum sibi crucifigant Filium Dei ac veluti ludibrio exponant? Semel ille pro nobis est mortuus, semel cum illo mortui sumus in baptismo. Semel ille resurrexit nunquam iterum moriturus; et nos oportet sic in nouitatem vitae cum illo resurgere vt non relabamur in mortem vitae semel relictae, hoc acriorem prouocantes iram Dei, quo fuit uberior illius in nos liberalitas. Oportet enim vt
 395 diuinae erga nos benignitati nostra respondeat industria. Semina quaedam pietatis indit ille, quae vt adolescant nostra item cura est adhibenda. Nam terra quae pluuiam frequenter in se venientem combiberit ac progenuerit herbam vtilem his a quibus colitur, ea collaudatur a Deo quod sterilis non sit neque semen iactum absque fructu premar ac suffocet. At quae recepto bono semine produxerit spinas
 400 ac tribulos, reprobata est et affinis execrationi diuinae, cuius exitus huc tendit, non vt demetatur sed vt exuratur.

Atque haec exhortandi gratia loquimur, charissimi, non quod haec quae diximus de terra sterili in vos competant. Imo de vobis meliora nobis persuasimus

405 quae salutem vestram promittant, auxiliante Deo, potius quam exitium, tametsi similitudinem hanc produximus quo in vobis studium euangelicae pietatis exa-
 cuamus, ne relanguagescentes paulatim deueniatis ad extremum malorum. Aderit vobis Deus ad meliora nitentibus. Non enim ingratus est nec iniustus, vt obliviscatur benefactorum vestrorum susceptique laboris, non ob gloriam aut quaestum sed ex amore nominis ipsius quem ipsa re declarastis, qui et de facultatibus et

382 sint *BAS*: sunt *A–K*

- 362 *peccatis* For this paraphrase of 'dead works' (νεκρῶν ἔργων) in *Hebr.* 6, 1 cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, IX, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 78, and the *Glossa ad loc.*, p. x51^r, "peccata quae occidunt." Cf. l. 680 below, on *Hebr.* 9, 14.
- 364–365 *manus impositionem* The normal formula is *manuum impositio*; cf., e.g., *Act.* 8, 17; 19, 6. It is not clear whether the singular "manus" is only a stylistic variation in the manner of the Vulgate (see *Annot. in Act.* 18, 18 ["manus apostolorum"], *LB VI*, 466 F) or an allusion to a specific rite, such as that of the sacrament of confirmation, where the bishop lays a single hand on the recipient. There is similar use of the singular *manus* in l. 383 below where Erasmus employs the plural *manuum* in his annotation on 6, 2 ("Baptismatum doctrinae") *LB VI*, 998 F. There, following the 'Greek Scholia' (cf. Oecumenius, *Comm. in Epist. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 119, 332–333), he takes 'doctrines' as a separate item from 'baptism' and comments that 'After being baptized, catechumens are taught about the sacraments of our faith and are prepared for the reception of the Holy Spirit' – in confirmation presumably.
- 372–373 *ex auro ... preciosis* See *1. Cor.* 3, 12.
- 373–374 *ad ... fastigium* Cf. *Er. Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, ad 2, 2–5, p. 195, l. 252–p. 196, l. 256.
- 382 *sint* The correction to the subjunctive is required for the verb to concord with the other main verbs in this relative clause, "reliquerint" and "fuerint". The 'sunt' of *A–K* is probably a lapse on Erasmus' part under the influence of the indicatives in the Vulgate since he would otherwise have used *fuerint*, not *sint* here.
- 384–385 *felicibus ... vitae* Cf. *Ioh.* 6, 68 and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, 715b, who explains that the word of God is good because it is the word of eternal life.
- 385 *iamque ... futuri* See *Er. Annot. in Hebr.* 6, 5 ("Virtutesque seculi venturi"), *LB VI*, 999 D:
- 'In this age there is weakness but in that age power appears which begins already in the godly as a pledge of future immortality.' Erasmus appears to have in mind texts like *Eph.* 1, 13–14 and 2. *Cor.* 1, 21–22.
- 386 *per poenitentiam* See *Annot. in Hebr.* 6, 6 ("ad poenitentiam"), *LB VI*, 999 E: "Admonet Chrysostomus [*Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, IX, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 79] praepositionem εἰς vsurpatam vice ἐν et ἐν positum διὰ loco more Hebraeorum". This explanation is dubious as is the effort to introduce the notion of a second baptism into a text which makes no mention of baptism. For a history of the exegesis of this verse see Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 170–173, from which it is clear that Erasmus is in the mainstream of patristic and medieval understanding of the text.
- 387–388 *in quo ... creatura* Cf. *Er. Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 6, 3–6 and *Paraphr. in Eph.*, ad 4, 22–24.
- 389 *innouentur* A stylistic, though unclassical, variation on the verb "renouentur" which Erasmus takes from his Latin version of *Hebr.* 6, 6 (Vg. has "renouari").
- 390 *iterum* The Vulgate translates ἀνασταυροῦντας in *Hebr.* 6, 6 by *rursum crucifigentes*, which Erasmus in his version modifies by substituting *ab integro* for *rursum*. This interpretation of the meaning of the verb is likewise found in Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, IX, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 79, to which Erasmus refers in a section added to his annotation on the Vulgate translation "rursum renovari" in the 1519 edition of the *Nov. Test.*, *LB VI*, 999 E. This interpretation, which dominated exegesis until the eighteenth century, is questioned by modern scholars; see Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 168–169, and Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, pp. 153–154.
- 390–394 *Semel ... liberalitas* See *Rom.* 6, 3–11.
- 398–399 *semen ... suffocet* Cf. *Mt.* 13, 7 and parallels.
- 399 *recepto bono semine* Erasmus may have *Mt.* 13, 24–30 and 37–43 in mind.

410 officii vestris et olim subministrastis sanctis, per quos nomen Christi praedica-
tur, et adhuc etiam subministratis. Porro ea gratia haec diximus, quod cupimus
vt in eo quod facitis perseueretis omnes, inter quos sunt nonnulli languidiores
quam vellem; nec perseueretis modo, verum etiam vt magis ac magis indies pro-
ficiatis donec perueneritis ad perfectionem vt, quod nunc de vobis bene spero,
415 plane confidam videns vos semper in melius progredi proculque abesse a periculo
eorum qui segnescentes paulatim relabuntur in vitam pristinam, sed eorum
potius vestigiis ingredientiis qui fidentes Christi promissis tenacique spe praemio-
rum coelestium peruenerunt ad haereditatem immortalis vitae quam suis promisit
in regno coelesti.

420 Qui diffisi promissis Dei respectabant Aegyptum relictam, non peruenerunt
ad terram promissam; sed Abraham constanter fuis Dei promissis, etiam recla-
mante natura, consequutus est quod expectarat. Deus enim, quo certior esset
LB 1176 fides promissionis, iusiurandum interposuit, quod apud homines | certissimum
pignus esse solet. Iurauit autem per semetipsum eo quod non haberet maiorem se
425 per quem iuraret. Iurauit autem hunc in modum: *Per memetipsum iuravi, quia
fecisti hanc rem, et non pepercisti Filio tuo vnigenito propter me, benedicens benedi-
cam tibi, et multiplicans multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas coeli, et harenam quae
est in littore maris.* Deus igitur perspecta constantia senis nihil contantis etiam
filium occidere in quo videbatur omnis spes posteritatis esse sita iureiurando
430 confirmauit quod ante promiserat. Nam Deus cum homine agens humanum
morem imitatus est. Siquidem homines iurant per eum qui maior est quo grauius
sit iusiurandum. Atque iisdem si quid dubium est aut controversum, id soluitur
finiturque si iurisiurandi confirmatio accesserit. Atque hac de causa, cum Deus
vellet insigniter declarare firmitatem consilii sui haeredibus promissionis, iusi-
435 urandum interposuit ne quis suspicari posset Deum mentiturum, qui suam fidem
gemino vinculo astrinxisset – primum promisso, mox iureiurando – vtque certa
concepta fiducia firmam habeamus consolationem in huius mundi procellis, qui
non collocauimus felicitatem nostram in huius vitae commodis sed huc confugi-
mus vt spe proposita potiamur in futuro seculo, quam interim in his mundi tem-
440 pestatibus velut ancoram animae firmam ac tutam tenemus, vt quae nobis non in
rebus fluxis sed in coelo fixa est, nimirum porrigens sese vsque ad ea quae sunt
intra velum, vbi nullae sunt rerum vices sed aeterna stabiliaque omnia. Haec est
illa pars interior templi quam nos eo praecurrens viaeque monstrator ingressus est
Iesus Christus pro nobis interpellaturus Patrem, factus pontifex in aeternum
445 secundum ordinem, vt dicere coeperam, Melchisedec.

CAPVT VII

Iam quando nos ipse sermonis cursus reduxit ad mentionem Melchisedec, videa-
mus qualis ipse fuerit et qua ratione gesserit typum nostri sacerdotis. Nam hic
Melchisedec, rex ciuitatis dictae Salem, pontifex fuisse legitur Dei altissimi, qui
450 occurrit Abrahae reuertenti a caede trium regum eique benedixit ob rem fortiter

gestam, cui decimas etiam omnibus ex rebus suis impartit Abraham. Ac Melchisedec ex ipsa statim nominis interpretatione dicitur rex iusticiae; deinde ex regni titulo dictus est rex Salem – hoc est, rex pacis – dictus nec patrem habere nec matrem nec genealogiam nec initium dierum habens nec vitae finem habiturus. Sed de illo dictum est, quod vere competit in Filium Dei, quod maneat sacerdos in aeternum. Et hactenus quidem nihil non competit in Christum pontificem nostrum, qui iusticiae regnum statuit, qui pacis est princeps, qui iuxta diuinam naturam nec patrem habuit in terris, nec matrem; cuius genealogiam nullus hominum potest effari, qui nec esse coepit nec esse desinet, cuius sacerdotium manet in aeternum, purificans omnes ipsi credentes vsque ad finem seculorum.

Nunc eiusdem dignitatem contemplemur quantoque interuallo praecesserit Mosaicae legis sacerdotes. Abraham tantus patriarcha non solum dignatus est ab hoc recipere benedictionem post caedem | regum peractam, verum etiam de spoliis dedit illi decimas. Ac Mosi quidem lex hoc praescrispsit, vt qui genus ducerent a Leui succederent in functionem sacerdotii et decimas acciperent, sed duntaxat a fratribus suis, hoc est, Abrahae posteris, neque longius se porrigit ius ac dignitas Leuitarum. Verum Melchisedec, cum alienus esset a genere Iudaico, decimas

434 sui C–H: om. A

448 ipse H: ille A–G

410–411 *per quos ... praedicatur* Erasmus appears to have 3. *Iob.* 7 in mind; see p. 292, ll. 18–22 below. Patristic and medieval commentators uniformly understand ‘saints’ in *Hebr.* 6, 11 to be a synonym of ‘believers’.

421–422 *etiam reclamante natura* See the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 11, 11, p. 84, ll. 980–982 below.

423–424 *quod ... solet* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XI, 1, Migne PG 63, 91, for a similar view of the reliability of oaths.

425–428 *Per ... maris* See *Gn.* 22, 16–17.

430 *quod ... promiserat* Cf. *Gn.* 13, 14; 15, 4–6; 17, 15–20.

439 *vt ... seculo* See Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XI, 2, Migne PG 63, 91, Thomas *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* 720b–721a, and Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 190 for this interpretation of the words κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος (“ad retinendam propositam spem” Vg.) in *Hebr.* 6, 18.

443 *illa pars interior* The Holy of Holies; see *Hebr.* 9, 3.

445 *vt ... coeperam* At 5, 10.

450 *trium* *Gn.* 14, 9 speaks of and gives the names of four kings.

451 *omnibus ... suis* *Gn.* 14, 20 says, “Et dedit ei decimas ex omnibus” (Vg.), which in the context of verse 16 means all the goods captured from the four kings. The paraphrase

suggests that Erasmus understood “omnibus” here to mean all of Abram’s property, perhaps following the *Glossa, ad Gn.* 14, 20, which states that Abram gave Melchisedec a tenth of his property after the blessing just as according to the Law the people give a tithe to the priests who bless them. But cf. ll. 463–464 below.

457–458 *iuxta ... matrem* Erasmus states, too succinctly perhaps for complete clarity, the medieval exegesis of the words ‘without father, without mother’ in 7, 3. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 69, explains that Christ in respect to his birth on earth had no father since in so far as it pertains to the flesh he was born from the Virgin Mary alone, while in respect to his heavenly nativity he has no mother, for he is eternally generated from the Father in an ineffable and incomprehensible way. A similar explanation is given by Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 722b, and Nicholas of Lyre, p. x5r°.

458–459 *genealogiam ... effari*. See the passages of Theophylact and Thomas cited in the preceding note. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 722b, cites *Is.* 53, 8 and observes: “generatio Christi est ineffabilis”.

460 *purificans ... seculorum* Cf. 7, 25 and Spicq *ad loc.*, *Hébreux*, II, pp. 197–198.

464 *Mosi ... lex* See *Nu.* 18, 21–24.

470 accepit ab ipso gentis totius autore Abraham et benedixit ei vnde iuxta promissionem Dei proditura erat natio Iudaeorum. Extra controuersiam est autem id quod minus est ab eo quod maius est benedictionem accipere. Quisquis enim benedicit, velut autoritate sua comprobatur quod gestum est. Porro comprobandi ius penes superiorem esse solet, non aequalem aut inferiorem. Atque in genere quidem Leuitico decimas accipiebant ii qui et ipsi mortales sunt quorumque morte ius transit ad alios. At de Melchisedec dictum est quod viuatur ac maneat in
 475 aeternum, perenni sacerdotio praeminens. Denique cum a Leui principe ius exigendarum decimarum peruenerit ad sacerdotes, in hoc, quod Abraham decimas pendit Melchisedec, videtur et ipse Leui decimis soluendis obnoxius esse factus, cum is soleat ab aliis accipere. Vt igitur minoris habentur qui Leui soluunt decimas, ita Leui quoque fuit inferior Melchisedec, cui decimas dederit. Dicit aliquis: 'Quomodo dedit decimas qui nondum erat natus id temporis cum Melchisedec occurreret Abrahae?'. Sed quoniam posteritas quodammodo censetur esse in autore gentis, ideo dixi ad hanc rationem Leui in Abraham dedisse decimas Melchisedec.

485 Quod si perfecta religio penderet a sacerdotio Leuitico, quemadmodum videtur Iudaeis quod sub Aaron, qui tribus erat Leuiticae, lex lata sit, quid opus fuerat praeterea alium exoriri sacerdotem qui iuxta psalmum mysticum non secundum ordinem Aaron, sed secundum ordinem Melchisedec diceretur institutus? Etenim cum legis autoritas ratioque coniuncta sit cum ratione sacerdotii, necesse est ut in aliam formam translato sacerdotio commutetur et legis forma. Nam
 490 mutata tribus satis declarat mutandum esse sacerdotii genus. Is enim de quo loquitur psalmi vaticinium fuerat alienus a tribu Leuitica, sed ex ea tribu vnde nullus adhuc adstiterat altari, quando palam est quod Dominus noster Iesus exortus sit e tribu Iuda. At Moses cum institueret ritum ac ius sacerdotii nullam mentionem fecit huius sacerdotii quod cognationem haberet cum tribu Iuda. Porro
 495 sacerdotium de quo loquitur psalmus non esse eiusdem rationis cum sacerdotio Mosaico magis etiam ex illo fit perspicuum, quod euidenter addit vaticinium: *secundum ordinem Melchisedec*, videlicet sacerdotem indicans dissimilem Aaron ac similem Melchisedec, ut intelligamus non minus interesse inter personam ac personam quam inter ritum ac vim sacerdotii. Quid autem sibi vult *secundum ordinem Melchisedec*? hoc est, qui non immolet pecudes quas praescribit crassa lex et carnalis, sed per gratiam coelestem possit ad vitam aeternam perducere. Siquidem illa lotionibus ac variis lustrationibus purificabat carnem, haec efficaciore victima
 500 purificat animos. Quemadmodum Aaron non manet in aeternum, | ita sacerdotium illius non aeternum; et quemadmodum Melchisedec dictus est manere in aeternum, ita sacerdotium huius nullum est habiturum finem. Atque haec in Christum vere competere declarat psalmus mysticus, dicens: *Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedec*. Temporarium sacerdotium cedit aeterno et mortalis pontifex cedit immortalis.

510 Vt autem sacerdotium imperfectius concedit perfectiori, ita lex imperfecta locum dat legi euangelicae perfectiori per quam velut abrogantur scita Mosaica

veteris testamenti, eo quod nec satis haberent roboris nec adferrent vtilitatem quam oportuit. Voluit enim Deus nos reddi perfectos; at ea lex nihil adduxit ad perfectionem nec in hoc erat data, neque tamen frustra est data. Nimirum in hoc data est ad tempus, vt gradus quidam esset qui nos tandem perduceret ad spem meliorem. Siquidem illa promisit terram frugiferam, in qua tranquillam vitam agerent qui legis Mosaeicae praecepta seruassent. Crassa erat lex; crassum erat praemium. Sed ita consultum est crassis hominum ingeniis vt ex rebus sensibilibus paulatim assuescerent rebus animi. Praescribatur ne occiderent, ne furarentur, vt morticini contactum certis ritibus purgarent. Promittebatur terra in qua annos pauculos quiete degerent; nobis promittitur coelum in quo semper felices viuamus, et praescribitur interim vt inimicos etiam nostros diligamus. Illorum sacerdos, cum religiosissime versabatur in sacris interpellaturus Deum pro populo, recipiebat sese ad interiora veli. At noster sacerdos ipsos etiam coelos penetrauit causam nostram acturus apud Deum Patrem, cui nos admouemur per legatum nostrum, Christum Iesum, qui est caput Ecclesiae; nec potest abesse corpus vbi caput est. Atque hoc certior est spes nostra tali pontifice quam fuerit

470 *alt. est om. F G²*

471 *benedicit A–K: benedixit BAS*

473 *ii A–G²: hii G² H*

482 *alt. in BAS: om. A–K*

497 *sacerdotem indicans C–H: indicans sacerdotem A*

470–472 *Quisquis ... inferiorem* This apparently tautological paraphrase on 7, 7 appears designed to skirt the controversies discussed by Hugo, p. 010v^o, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 724b, about whether inferiors do in fact bless superiors both in the Bible and in everyday life.

485 *qui ... Leuiticae* See Ex. 4, 14.

486 *psalmum Ps. 110, 4*; cf. *Hebr.* 5, 6 above.

500–501 *hoc est ... perducere* This exegesis of *Hebr.* 7, 16, expressed in the Pauline contrast of Law and grace, seems to be influenced by Thomas' interpretation of the words "secundum virtutem vitae insolubilis" (Vg.): "Et patet quod pertinet ad nouum testamentum, quod non dispensatur per carnalia, sed consistit in spiritualibus; est enim secundum spiritualem virtutem, per quam generatur in nobis vita perpetua" (*Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 727a). Patristic and modern commentators, though likewise noting the implicit contrast between the flesh and spirit, interpret the phrase 'through the power of an indestructible life' quite differently; cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 104; Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 277 D–279 A; Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 211–212; Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, pp. 192–193.

506 *psalmus Ps. 110, 4.*

515–516 *in qua ... agerent* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 105, who sees a similar antithesis in the words 'better hope': "The Law too offered a hope, but not the same kind. For they hoped, if they pleased God, to take possession of a land, to suffer nothing terrible".

517–518 *ex rebus ... animi* Cf. *Rom.* 10, 4; *I. Cor.* 2, 10–16; *Gal.* 3, 24. In *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 69, ll. 2–7, Erasmus lays down the axiom: "Breuiter quicquid sentitur in corpore, id intelligendum est in anima. Ergo in hoc est iter ad vitam spiritualem ac perfectam, si sensim assuescamus abduci ab iis, quae vere non sunt sed partim apparent esse, quod non sunt, vt voluptas turpis, honor mundi, partim fluunt atque in nihilum redire festinant, rapiamurque ad illa quae vere sunt aeterna, incommutabilia, sincera". See also Payne, *Theology*, pp. 35–39.

518 *Praescribatur* See Ex. 20, 13 and 15, *Lv.* 5, 6–13.

520 *coelum* Likewise, Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 105, and, following him, Theophylact with a few additional details, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 279 D.

521 *praescribitur ... diligamus* See *Mt.* 5, 44.

521–523 *Illorum ... veli* See *Hebr.* 9, 7.

525 *legatum* See p. 55, n.l. 231 above.

caput Ecclesiae Cf. *Col.* 1, 18.

Iudaeis per suos, quod illorum pontifices absque iureiurando constituti sunt, nos-
 ter cum iureiurando, quod ideo Deus voluit intercedere, quo nobis certior esset
 fiducia de promissis, si sacerdos, cuius interuentu speramus promissam immorta-
 530 litatis felicitatem, iureiurando approbetur pontifex aeternus, idque a Deo, qui nec
 alioqui nouit mentiri. Sic enim loquitur in psalmo prophético: *Iurauit Dominus
 et non poenitebit eum, tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedec.*

Quantum igitur interest inter terram et coelum, inter temporaria et aeterna,
 inter mortales et immortales, inter humana et diuina, tanto melioris testamenti
 535 sponsor factus est Iesus pontifex noster; ac tanto certior, quanto certius est apud
 homines promissum iureiurando confirmatum promisso simplici. Quid, quod
 sub lege Mosaica necesse erat plures institui sacerdotes, vel vt statis vicibus fun-
 gerentur sacerdotio vel quod mors non sineret eosdem semper permanere in func-
 tione, et habet nonnihil incertitudinis sponsor subinde mutatus. At hic noster
 540 vnus est pro omnibus nec eget successore, sed quia manet in aeternum, perpetuum
 habet sacerdotium. Vnde, quos coepit saluos facere potest ad perfectam
 salutem adducere, quippe qui semper habeant paratum sacerdotem per quem
 adeant Deum. Siquidem semper viuit Christus in hoc, vt, quoties opus sit, pro
 suis Deum interpellat. Neque enim sic immolauit victimam vt paucis ad breue
 545 tempus prosit, sed vt omnibus et in omne tempus sit efficax ad placandum Deum.

Ergo, cum lex esset perfecta ac coelestis, decebat vt talis item esset pontifex:
 550 pius, expers doli, | impollutus, longe semotus a consortio peccatorum, euectus
 super coelos omnes, cui non sit necesse vt, quemadmodum faciebant sacerdotes
 Mosaici, quotidie offerat victimas pro peccatis propriis, deinde pro delictis
 555 populi. Quales enim reconciliatores erant illi, quibus ipsis opus erat reconcilia-
 tione apud eum apud quem deprecabantur pro commissis aliorum? Quale erat
 sacrificium quod pro aliis atque aliis delictis identidem erat iterandum? Noster
 pontifex, qui nullum habebat peccatum suum, totius mundi peccata in se trans-
 tulit ac semel pro omnibus victimam obtulit, non pecudem sed semetipsum.
 560 Nam Mosaica lex, vt erat imbecillis et imperfecta, sic pontifices constituebat
 obnoxios infirmitati. At sermo iurisiurandi, quem modo retulimus, qui declarat
 veteri legi meliorem successuram, non hominem quemlibet sed ipsum Filium Dei
 sacerdotem constituit in aeternum, semper paratum atque idoneum ad interce-
 dendum pro nobis vt quem neque mors intercipere possit nec vlla infirmitas obs-
 tet quo minus sit idoneus atque perfectus pro nobis deprecator.

CAPVT VIII

Caeterum eorum quae tot verbis disseruimus caput ac summa est, ne posthac
 admiremur pontificem Mosaicum cum habeamus tam modis omnibus excellen-
 tem pontificem, vt dexter assideat magnifico throno Dei in coelis vt rite peragat
 565 non sacra illa vmbratica quae praescripsit Moses sed sacra vera coelestiaque, ver-
 saturque intra tabernaculum, non illud vmbraticum quod fixerat homo, sed in
 adytis veri tabernaculi quod fixit Deus, coelestia dirimens a terrenis. Porro, cum
 omnis pontifex ad hoc soleat institui, vt donaria ac victimas offerat Deo, fieri non

570 poterat vt pontifex legitimus sit cui non sit quod offerat. Quod si datum esset illi pontificium terrestre quemadmodum caeteris, ne sacerdos quidem esset Christus, vt qui nihil obtulerit vnquam nec offerat earum hostiarum quae solent iuxta legis praeciptum ab aliis sacerdotibus immolari, quae nihil aliud sunt quam vmbrae ac typi quidam templi coelestis ac hostiarum coelestium. Quicquid enim Christus etiam in terris gessit, quoniam non iuxta carnem sed iuxta spiritum gestum 575 est et a coelo profectum ad coelum tendit, merito coeleste dicitur ad Mosaici sacerdotii crassitudinem collatum. Nam id significasse videtur Deus cum illi praescribens formam extruendi templi loquitur hunc in modum: *Vide vt facias omnia secundum exemplar quod ostensum est tibi in monte*. Viderat enim Moses spiritualibus oculis aliud sanctius templi genus, aliud victimarum ac sacerdotii 580 genus, ad quorum exemplar crassam aliquam rerum imaginem interim adumbraret donec veniret tempus quo visum esset vmbrae veris cedere.

Nunc igitur hoc adest tempus, habemus coelestem pontificem et illo dignum sacerdotium, hoc vtique praestantius, quo praestantius est euangelicum testamentum veteri Mosaico quoque sunt magnificentiora promissa noui quam veteris. Illic pecudum cruore purificabantur corpora, hic Christi sanguine purifican- 585 tur animi. Illic promittitur terra, hic promittuntur praemia coelestia. Atque in hoc testamento coelesti ritu intercedit inter homines ac Deum pontifex noster coelestis. Quod si prius illud testamentum tale fuisset vt in eo nihil desyderaretur quemadmodum existimant Iudaei, haud quaquam quaesitus fuisset locus 590 secundo. Superuacuum enim erat aliquid adiungere perfectis. Nunc Deus queritur

529 interuentu A–E G H: interuentus F

532 es F–H: om. A–E

539 et habet A: vt habet C–H: vt habeat I–BAS

547 euectus cett.: euectos I

560 atque G H: ac A–G

531 psalmo Ps. 110, 4.

537–538 vt ... sacerdotio Twice each year according to *Lc.* 1, 8–9. Erasmus seems to be responsible for introducing this notion into the commentary tradition. Patristic, medieval, and modern commentators prefer the reason given in the second *vel* clause.

539 et habet The change of *et* to *vt* in C, which is probably due to Erasmus, or of *habet* to *habeat* in I deprives the sentence of a main clause. I have, therefore, retained the reading of A even though the *et* is awkward.

543–544 pro suis ... interpellet Cf. *Rom.* 8, 34.

547 pius This is Erasmus' translation of ὁσιος in *Hebr.* 7, 26. Vg. has "sanctus", but Erasmus does not annotate this change in his version. *expers doli* See *Annot. in Hebr.* 7, 26 ("Innocens"), *LB VI*, 1003 E, and Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIII, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 106, who cites *Is.* 55, 9 to explain the meaning of ἄκακος in this verse.

565 vmbatica Cf. the paraphrase on 8, 5, (ll. 572–576) and 10, 1 (p. 76, ll. 747–749).

Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 246, explicates *Hebr.* 8, 1–5 in terms of the same contrast between shadow and reality and in similar language (*praestantius, vmbatile vs. verum*).

577–578 Vide ... monte See *Ex.* 25, 40.

583–585 hoc ... veteris Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 731b, and Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 246r^o, who likewise contrast the carnal rites and promises of the Old Testament (or Covenant) with the spiritual content of the New.

590–591 Deus ... fuisse In the biblical text the object of God's complaint is the people, not the covenant. In his annotation on *Hebr.* 8, 8 ("Vituperans enim"), *LB VI*, 1004 F, Erasmus, influenced by the repetition ἀμεπτos, μεμψόμενος in verses 7 and 8, transfers the object of God's complaint from the people to the covenant. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 247r^o, construed the dative pronoun αὐτοῖς with λέγει rather than with μεμψόμενος and thus assumed that the unexpressed object of the participle was the covenant.

prius illud inutile fuisse et pollicetur aliud efficacius ac melius, hunc in modum loquens apud Hieremiam prophetam: *Ecce dies veniunt dicit Dominus, consummabo super domum Israel et super domum Iuda testamentum nouum, non iuxta testamentum quod feci patribus illorum in die cum apprehenderem manum* 595 *illorum ut educerem eos ex Aegypto, quoniam ipsi non perstiterunt in testamento meo, et ego vicissim neglectui habui eos, dicit Dominus. Nam hoc est pactum quod paciscar cum domo Israel, dicit Dominus, cum leges meas non inculpsero saxi aut chartis quemadmodum frustra tentatum est, sed indidero mentibus illorum et cordibus illorum inscripsero. Et ero illis vere Deus et ipsi vicissim erunt mihi vere popu-* 600 *lus. Neque tradent per manus aliis alii vt cogatur quisque docere proximum suum et vnusquisque fratrem suum, dicens: Cognosce Dominum, propterea quod iam non solum pauci Iudaei, sed omnes vbique cognituri sint me, a minimo usque ad maximum, quod per Filii intercessionem propitius reddar, condonatis sceleribus ac peccatis illorum, nec inique gestorum ab illis recordabor amplius. Audistis verba pollicentis nouum testamentum eo quod vetus fuisset inutile. Porro quod nouum appellatur, id est, spirituale, significat abrogandum esse vetus, id est, carnale. Alioqui hoc nouum dici non posset nisi quod praecessit antiquetur ac veterascat. Porro quod antiquatur ac senescit, in propinquo est vt euanescat, nimirum paulatim vergens ad interitum.*

610

CAPVT IX

Dixerit aliquis: 'An vana fuit igitur veteris templi religio?'. Nequaquam. Olim quidem et vetus illud templum, cuius religio successione veritatis euangelicae iam euanuit, habebat ritus quosdam stasque ceremonias, lotiones ac victimas pecudum, quae obseruatae iustificandi purificandique speciem habebant, rebus quibusdam extrariis ac visibilibus typum sublimiorum ac spiritualium exhibentes 615 oculis hominum. Hi ritus potissimum peragebantur in ea templi parte quam

612 templum *A-F G H*: exemplum *G*²
613-619 ceremonias ... ita templi *H*: ceremonias, quae obseruatae iustitiae speciem haberent, habebat sanctimoniam quandam, sed

mundanam, nimirum in rebus extrariis, ac visibilibus sitam. Cuius nonnihil videtur et apud gentes. At templi *A-G*

592 *Hieremiam Ir.* 31, 31-34. Erasmus partly retains, partly paraphrases the text as it is given in *Hebr.* 8, 8-12.

593 *consummabo* The paraphrase omits, perhaps accidentally rather than deliberately, the "et" found before "consummabo" in both Vg. and Erasmus' Latin version. Cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, p. 202, l. 453 below.

595 *ex Aegypto* This is the text of Erasmus' Latin version in place of "de terra Aegypti" in Vg. although his Greek text has ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου.

596-597 *pactum ... paciscar* *Pactum* as in the Vg. text of *Ir.* 31, 33, but *paciscar* in place of *feriam* in imitation of the word-play διαθήκη διαθήσομαι in *Hebr.* 8, 10. The Clementine Vulgate has "testamentum disponam" which Erasmus retains in his Latin version. However, the omission of the phrase "post dies illos" in the paraphrase is probably accidental since it is included in the quotation of 10, 16 on p. 77, l. 792.

597-598 *cum leges ... tentatum est* The *Glossa*, p. x8v^o, comments: "non in tabulis lapidariis,

- non atramento, sed spiritu". Nicholas of Lyre, *ibidem*, and Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f° 246v°, develop the same antithesis. The latter adds the further point that Christ inscribed the new testament on the minds of the apostles and disciples through the living word.
- 601–602 *non solum ... omnes* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIV, 3, Migne PG 63, 113, alluding to *Act.* 26, 26, notes that the testament of the Jews 'was locked away in a corner'. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 296 A, picks up this comment and adds that few knew the Jewish law but the voice of the apostles went out to every land. Nicholas of Lyre, p. x8v°, takes the words 'all will know me' in *Hebr.* 8, 11 to be an allusion to the fact that Paul and the other apostles will disseminate the truth about God.
- 603–604 *condonatis ... illorum* This phrase could be an explanatory extension of the preceding clause, but is probably a paraphrase on the word "peccatis" in Erasmus' Latin version of his Greek text of *Hebr.* 8, 12 which reads ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁνομιῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ. In his translation Erasmus erroneously construed the genitive ἁμαρτιῶν with the adjective ἵλεως – "placatus ero super iniusticiis illorum et peccatis eorum" – instead of with the verb μνησθῶ. In either case, according to Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 296 B, the clause refers to the general expiation of sins through the crucifixion rather than the specific forgiveness of sin through baptism.
- 606 *significat ... vetus* This inference and the supporting argument in the next sentence are made by Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 754b.
- 611 *templi* This assimilation of the Tent ("tabernaculum" Vg.) with the Second Temple is common in the commentary tradition since Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XV, 1, Migne PG 63, 117 (on τὸ ἅγιον κοσμηκόν, *Hebr.* 9, 1), though some commentators, like Thomas, speak only of the Tent. In shifting back and forth between "templum" and "tabernaculum" Erasmus does not always make it clear which structure he has in mind. Thus in ll. 662–663 "aliud tabernaculum" refers to a part of the temple, not to a second tent as Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 249, thinks. Secondly, Erasmus seems to be supplying the noun σκηνή rather than διαθήκη with the adjective πρώτῃ in this verse although in his annotation *ad loc.* ("Habuit quidem et prius"), *LB VI*, 1005 F, he notes that the substantive 'the first' refers to the covenant.
- 613–619 *ceremonias ... ita* The revision of the text in *H* is quite likely the result of a dispute with Noël Bédá; see *Elenchus*, *LB IX*, 512 C–513 C. Bédá questioned in particular the clause *cuius nonnihil videtur et apud gentes* in *A–G*, which, he argued, implied that the rituals of the Old Law were not divinely ordained but merely human institutions. Erasmus countered by demonstrating the illogicality of Bédá's inference and by pointing out the obvious, that temples, priesthoods, sacrifices and other kinds of ritual prescribed by the Law were to be found among the gentiles (as usual, Erasmus does not go into details). However, he had to admit that this clause went beyond the biblical text – "quod praeter apostoli sermonem addo". This is probably the reason that the clause is omitted from the revision in *H*. However, in the first publication of the revised text, in the list of criticized passages (*loca notata*) appended to the second edition of the *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.* (Basel, 1529; see Allen, *introd. Ep.* 2095), Erasmus states that it was his failure to deal adequately with the meaning of the adjective κοσμηκόν that motivated the revision. The revision may have been made closer to the time of the dispute with Bédá in 1526; cf. *Ep.* 1804, ll. 71–72. The only difference between the 1529 text and that in *H* is the transposition of the pair of gerunds in l. 614. The 1529 version reads *purificandi, iustificandique*.
- 614 *quae ... habebant* This clause is a paraphrase on the Vulgate translation of δικαιώματα λατρείας in *Hebr.* 9, 1 by "iustificationes cultus", which was understood by the Latin commentators to be a reference to purification rituals. Cf., e.g., Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 735a: "In veteri enim fuerunt quaedam ablutiones per quas mundabantur ... a quibusdam irregularitatibus quibus impediabantur a cultu Dei ... Et ideo dicebantur iustificationes culturae, quia scilicet per ea fiebat idoneus ad cultum diuinum". Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f° 247r°, generalizes these "iustificationes" as "antiquae legis obseruationes".
- 614–616 *rebus ... hominum* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 295 CD, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 756b. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.* f° 247r°, states the matter succinctly: "Tabernaculum vetus totius mundi tam visibilium quam mutabilium figura erat".

Scriptura appellat sanctum seculare siue mundanum quod in hanc promiscue pateret aditus omnibus siue Iudaeis siue proselytis siue gentibus. Nam vt tabernaculi, ita templi structura talis erat vt alia pars haberetur alia religiosior donec
 620 veniretur ad eam quae sanctissima videretur. Siquidem primo loco factum est tabernaculum in quo seruabantur, non sine religiosa veneratione, lucernae, mensa sacrique panes septem, quos propositionis appellant quod in sacra mensa proponi soleant. Atque hanc templi partem appellant sancta tantum, quod sic abesset a profanis vt multum tamen abesset ab iis quibus praecipua sanctimonia tribuebatur.
 625 Post secundum autem velum, quod hanc templi partem a reliquis dirimebat, erat aliud tabernaculum, quod ob excellentiam religionis vocabatur sanctum sanctorum. Id continebat sacratiora quaedam monumenta: thuribulum aureum, arcam, quam testamenti vocant, laminis aureis vndique circumtectam, in qua
 LB 1181 inerat vrna aurea – hac seruabatur manna, monumentum miraculi veteris cum fame laborantibus Hebraeis nouum cibi genus e coelo deplueret – et virga Aaron
 630 quae inaudito prodigio, cum esset a stirpe resecta, fronderat ac turgentibus gemmis eruperat in flores et floribus successerunt amigdalae. Inerant et tabulae, quas testamenti vocant quod in his haberentur decem praecepta insculpta digito Dei. Supra arcam erant imagines alatae, Cherubim, repraesentantes maiestatem et glo-
 635 riam diuinam, quae alis suis obumbrabant propitiatorium – quae omnia significationem quandam habebant rerum sacratiorum quas post prodidit Euangelium. Sed prolixum sit de singulis horum quid sibi velint disserere; nobis sat erit summam totius negotii ad Christi sacerdotium conferre.

Itaque templo ad hunc modum distincto ac sacris monumentis in sua loca
 640 digestis in prius illud tabernaculum quotidie ingrediebantur sacerdotes quilibet qui sacrorum ritus peragerent. Caeterum in secundum illud sacratius solus pontifex, cui prima dignitas erat inter sacerdotes, semel duntaxat singulis annis ingrediebatur, non sine sanguine pecudis quem illic offerebat pro suis primum, deinde pro populi delictis per errorem et ignorantiam commissis. Quibus rebus, veluti
 645 per aenigmata quaedam, significabat Spiritus Sanctus id temporis nondum patuisse aditum ad ea loca quae vere sancta sunt neque quicquam habent terreni contagii. Cum enim solus pontifex ingrederetur secretius adytum caeteris exclusis maneretque adhuc prius illud tabernaculum quod imaginem gerebat illorum

625 dirimebat A–K: dirimit BAS

639 templo A C: cum templo D–H

617 *seculare siue mundanum* *Seculare* is the Vg. translation of κοσμικόν in *Hebr.* 9, 1; *mundanum* is Erasmus' translation.

617–618 *quod ... gentibus* This explanation is taken from Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XV, 1, Migne PG 63, 117, or Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 295 D sq. Cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* 9, 1 ("Et sanctum seculare"), LB VI, 1005 F, which was added in the 1522 edition of the *Nov. Test.*

621 *lucernae* This word is Erasmus' paraphrastic rendering of ἡ λυχνία in *Hebr.* 9, 2,

because, as he explains in *Annot. ad loc.* ("Candelabra") LB VI, 1005 F: "idem candelabrum multas sustineat lucernas".

622 *septem* According to *Lv.* 24, 5–9 there were twelve loaves. Erasmus may have confused the number of loaves with the seven lamps on the lampstand (*Ex.* 25, 27).

622–623 *quod ... soleant* The etymological explanation, based as it is on Latin, is incorrect. Cf. the allegorical explanation in Bede, *De tabernaculo et vasis eius*, VII, Migne PL 91, 411 D: "Qui (sc. panes) recte propositionis

- panes vocantur quia in propatulo semper esse debet vniuersis fidelibus sermo salutis ...".
- 627 *monumenta* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 736a, who observes that each of these objects was preserved in memory of either some event or a commandment.
- 627 *thuribulum* "Thuribulum" ('censer') is the Vulgate translation of θυμιατήριον in *Hebr.* 9, 4, and is retained by Erasmus in his Latin version. In his *Annot. ad loc.* ("thuribulum"), *LB VI*, 1006 E, he notes that the word also means incense-altar, which is the meaning preferred by modern commentators. The medieval Latin commentators were troubled by the fact that the *Vet. Test.* locates the incense-altar in the Holy Place, not in the Holy of Holies. Erasmus ignores these apparent inconsistencies between the Epistle and the Old Testament both here and elsewhere.
- 628 *quam ... vocant* See the Vulgate text of *Nu.* 14, 44 and *Ir.* 3, 16 for two instances. Cf. *Et. Annot. in Gal.* 3, 17 ("Testamentum confirmatum a Deo"), *LB VI*, 815 E, and *Annot. in Hebr.* 9, 16 ("Vbi enim testamentum"), *LB VI*, 1007 E, where, following Hier. *Comm. in Ir.*, ad 31, 31-32, Migne *PL* 24, 884 A, Erasmus states that ברית means 'covenant' (*foedus* or *pactum* in Vg.), not 'testament'. Nevertheless, he follows the Vulgate and the medieval commentary tradition in translating διαθήκη in *Hebr.* by *testamentum*.
- 629 *miraculi veteris* See *Ex.* 16, 1-18.
- 630 *virga Aaron* See *Nu.* 17, 8. The detail about cutting the staff from the trunk is not in the biblical text; compare the oath of Achilles in *Hom.*, *Il.* I, 235.
- 632 *tabulae* See *Ex.* 25, 16 and *Dt.* 10, 1-5.
- 634 *imagines alatae* See *Ex.* 25, 20; *Ios.*, *Ant. Iud.* III, 6, 5.
- 634-635 *repraesentantes ... diuinam* Patristic and medieval commentators treat the noun δόξης in *Hebr.* 9, 5 as the equivalent of an adjective meaning glorious or beautiful although Nicholas of Lyre *ad loc.* offers an alternative explanation, which he perhaps prefers: 'because they were glories of God whom they serve'. Cf. also Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 297 D: 'the cherubim serve God and belong to his glory'. Erasmus' interpretation is more exact and congruent with the use of the term 'glory' in *Hebr.* 1, 3. Cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 253, who translates "die Keruben der Herrlichkeit".
- 637 *prolixum sit* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XV, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 118: 'perhaps because they require a lengthy discussion'.
- 637-638 *summam ... conferre* Cf. the *Glossa*, p. 71^o, Hugo, pp. P4v^o-6r^o, and Lefevre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 247v^o-248r^o. They explain in detail how each of the items in the Holy of Holies prefigures in one way or another the priesthood of Christ.
- 639 *templo* It is difficult to believe that Erasmus would have used *cum* with an ablative absolute. I have given him the benefit of the doubt and have adopted the reading of *AC*.
- 640 *quotidie* Hugo, p. P6r^o, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 737a, refer to the daily offerings of incense (*Ex.* 30, 7-8). The interlinear *Glossa* and Nicholas of Lyre gloss the "semper" in *Hebr.* 9, 6 (the Vulgate translation of διὰ παντός) by *quotidie*.
- 641-642 *solus pontifex* See *Lv.* 16, 1-17.
- 644 *delictis ... commissis* Cf. *Nu.* 15, 22-6. The Vulgate reads variously "pro ignorantia" or "pro ignorantibus", which the medieval Latin commentators, beginning with Hugo, interpret as sins committed in ignorance. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 301 A, cites the opinion of 'some' that in so restricting the effect of the sacrifice, Paul wants to contrast the temporary effect of the annual sacrifices on the Day of Atonement with the universal and everlasting effect of the sacrifice of Jesus.
- 645 *aenigmata* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XV, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 118, who observes on *Hebr.* 9, 5, in regard to the constituents of the tabernacle cult, that they were not only visible objects but enigmas, that is, elements which require a figurative or allegorical explanation; cf. also his comments, *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXV, 1, *ad Hebr.* II, 19, Migne *PG* 63, 174. For Erasmus enigmas or riddles also have a psychological function in that they stimulate the desire to learn; cf. *Paraphr. in Ioh.*, ad 4, 10, *LB VII*, 526 E-F.
- 648-649 *illorum temporum* The phrase τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα ("temporis instantis" Vg.) was taken by Erasmus to mean *tempus quod instabat* and he accordingly translated it *pro tempore tum praesente*; see *Annot. in Hebr.* 9, 9 ("Temporis instantis"), *LB VI*, 1006 F. The language of *Hebr.* 9, 9 is difficult and its meaning disputed; see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 241-242. Patristic and medieval commentators were divided over whether 'present time' referred to the (past) time of the temple before the advent of Christ - Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XV, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 118; Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 301 C; Nicholas of Lyre, p. 72r^o - or, as Hugo puts it, to the present time of grace - the *Glossa*, p. 72r^o; Hugo, p. P7r^o; Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 738a. Erasmus evidently sides with Chrysostom and Theophylact.

650 temporum in quibus homines crassis quibusdam ceremoniis utcumque contine-
bantur in religione Iudaica ne in deteriora prolaberentur, in eo tabernaculo crassi
quidam ac plebei ritus peragebantur a vulgaribus sacerdotibus. Offerebantur
donaria, mactabantur pecudes, immolabantur hostiae, quae sic habebant speciem
aliquam purificationis ut tamen non possent eos qui his uterentur ad plenum red-
655 dere puros iuxta conscientiam et animum, ex quo nos aestimat Deus, etiam si
iuxta corpus et hominum aestimationem aliquid puritatis addere videbantur.
Quicquid enim illic agebatur, ad corpus potissimum pertinebat, situm in delectu
ciborum ac potus, cum cibus vere nec purificet nec inquinat animum, in variis
ablutionibus aliisque purgationibus carnis – quae nec in hoc erant instituta, ut
660 conferrent homini perfectam iusticiam, sed ut hisce rudimentis paulatim
asuescerent verae religioni et per umbras ducerentur ad veritatem fierentque
meliorum capaces quae suo tempore proferret euangelica doctrina.

Habetis summam totius religionis qua sibi tantopere placent Iudaei. Nunc
nostri pontificis dignitatem cum his conferamus. Christus enim – pontifex, spon-
sor, et autor non purificationis corporeae neque bonorum huius seculi quae
665 finem habent, sed aeternorum ac coelestium bonorum – non per velum manibus
hominum textum sed per aliud tabernaculum non manu factum, hoc est, non
huius structurae quam, ut erigunt homines, ita demoliri possunt, sed per ipsum
coelum ingressus est in loca vere sancta et ab omni mortalitatis contagio vere
semota, non adferens secum sanguinem hircorum ac vitulorum quo Deum pla-
670 caret, sed proprium sanguinem, quem in ara crucis pro nobis effuderat, quo non
vnum populum sed vniuersum hominum genus ab omnibus peccatis liberauit,
idque non vno anno sed in omne tempus usque ad finem mundi, modo resipis-
centes a prioribus vitae commissis Christum agnoscant ac pro viribus imi-
675 tentur. Quae enim collatio mutae pecudis ad Christum, Deum et hominem? Quod
si sanguis taurorum et hircorum aut cinis exustae vitulae aspersus inquinatis pur-
gat eos iuxta carnalem quandam et umbraticam sanctimoniam, quanto magis
sanguis Christi – qui, non per ignem corporalem sed Spiritum aeternum huma-
nae salutis sitientem, obtulit non pecudem brutam sed semetipsum, hostiam
puram et incontaminatam, Deo Patri – purificabit non corpora vestra sed
680 conscientiam vestram ab his operibus quae vere mortem adferunt animae.

Mors illius nos ab aeterna morte liberat et Spiritus illius purissimus nostrum
purificat spiritum prius inquinatum. Utrobique sanguis est, sed ingens discrimen.
Utrobique mors est, sed inaequalis. Utrobique spiritus est, sed admodum dispar.
Siquidem quod ibi gestum est per umbras ac simulacra quaedam, hoc Christus
685 vere praestitit. Quoniam enim is qui in veteri testamento medius intercedebat
inter Deum et homines non adferebat perfectam innocentiam, ideo Christus suc-
cessit, noui testamenti nouus intercessor, uti per mortem suam abolitis peccatis
quae per prius illud testamentum aboleri non poterant quaeque Deum alienabant
a nobis, iam per euangelicam doctrinam promissionem ac spem accipiant aeter-
690 nae haereditatis non Iudaei tantum sed quicumque vocati fuerint ad Christi
consortium. Etenim ubi testamenti vocabulum auditur, ibi mors testatoris intercedat

695 necesse est; alioqui testamentum non esset aut si esset, ratum non esset. Nam mors testatoris ratum facit testamentum, quod nondum certum habet robur quamdiu vivit qui condidit, vt cui liberum sit, si velit, mutare. Vnde quoniam vetus quoque illud testamentum est dictum, non est dedicatum absque sanguine et morte, sed pecudis et alioqui periturae. Nam quemadmodum legis in Exodi libro, cum Moses recitasset totam legem Dei populo et quid ex observata sperare praemii, quid ex neglecta metuere poenae deberent exposuissent, quo 700 ratum esset pactum inter Deum et populum, sanguinem vitulorum et hircorum miscuit in cratera vna cum aqua et intincta lana coccina atque hysopo aspersit simul ipsum librum, vnde recitauerat praecepta Domini, simul vniuersum

658 instituta *A–E G H*: institutae *F G*

679 et *A–H*: ac *K BAS*

656–657 *situm ... potus* Erasmus' Greek text of *Hebr.* 9, 10 reads καὶ δικαιώμασι and ἐπιχειρέμενα. He thus takes δικαιώμασι as a continuation of the series 'food, drink, baptisms' (or 'ablutions' as he translated the Greek βαπτισμοῖς) and construed the participle as modifying δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι, which he translated "dona sacrificiaque". *Situm* with *in* and the following ablatives is thus a paraphrase on his Greek text as he understood it; see *Annot. ad loc.* ("Impositis"), *LB VI*, 1006 F.

657 *cibus ... animum* See *Mt.* 15, 10–11.

659 *iusticiam* Erasmus translated δικαιώμασι σαρκός in *Hebr.* 9, 10 by "iustificationibus ('iusticiis' in Vg.; cf. 9, 1 above) carnis". "Iusticiam" thus picks up the notion of justification, which the ceremonies prescribed by the Mosaic law could not provide.

659–661 *hisce ... doctrina* Cf. *Gal.* 3, 23–25 and the *Paraphr. in Gal.*, ad 3, 23–25, *LB VII*, 955 E–F.

663–664 *sponsor* See *Hebr.* 7, 22.

667 *structurae* This is Erasmus' translation of κτίσεως ("creationis" Vg.) in *Hebr.* 9, 11, influenced perhaps by Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f° 248r°, who translates or paraphrases the Greek term by "huius aedificationis" and "humanae structionis" and explains it as referring to the 'tent of Moses' and the 'temple of Solomon'. In a similar way Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 303 C–D, Hugo, p. P7r°, and Nicholas of Lyre, p. y2r°, explain the phrase 'not made by hand' as a contrast to the work of Bezalel (*Ex.* 31, 1–5).

674 *Quae ... collatio* Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f° 248v°, makes this same point.

675 *cinis ... inquinatis* See *Nu.* 19, 5–19, a text which the *Glossa ad Hebr.* 9, 13, repeats almost in its entirety. Cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, ad 1, 19, p. 193, ll. 194–197 below.

677 *per ignem ... Spiritum* The antithesis occurs in Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XV, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 120, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 305 D. The latter connects the fire with the burning of the red heifer (*Nu.* 19, 5).

680 *quae ... animae* Cf. Nicholas of Lyre, p. y2v°: "ab operibus mortuis, id est, peccatis quae mortificant animam morte culpae et morte Gehennae". Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XV, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 120 sq., develops this point at length. Erasmus' paraphrase on 6, 1 (p. 60, ll. 361–363 above) likewise explains 'dead works' as sins, but without any further development of this idea.

693–694 *habet robur* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XVI, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 123; ... αὶ διαθῆκαι ... τὴν ἰσχὺν λαμβάνουσι [after the death of the testator].

694–696 *Vnde ... periturae* Cf. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f° 248v°: "At primum testamentum dicitur testamentum, et sanguis irrationalis primi sanguis testamenti [see *Zch.* 9, 11] quia secundi figura erat atque signum". Hier. *Comm. in Ir.*, ad 31, 31–32, Migne *PL* 24, 884 A: "Quod autem 'pactum' pro 'testamentum' ponimus, Hebraicae veritatis est, licet testamentum recte pactum appelletur, quia voluntas in eo atque testatio eorum, qui pactum ineunt, continetur".

697 *Exodi Ex.* 24, 4–8.

699–700 *sanguinem ... aqua* Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 742b, and Nicholas of Lyre, p. y31°, state that the blood was mixed with water.

populum, dicens: *Hic est sanguis*, testis et confirmator eius *testamenti* quod vobis praecepit Deus, vt obseruetis. Nec hoc contentus tabernaculum insuper et quicquid in hoc erat vasorum sacrorum quibus utebantur in sacrificiis similiter aspergebat sanguine. Quin in caeteris item ritibus quaecunq; purificabantur iuxta praescriptum legis Mosaicae sanguine purificabantur nec vlla fiebat remissio peccatorum nisi per effusionem sanguinis.

Atque ita sane congruebat vt in terris quae repraesentabant imaginem et vmbra rerum coelestium, huiusmodi crassis purificationibus peragerentur. Caeterum vbi veritas illuxit, decuit vt ipsa coelestia sacra et potioribus victimis peragerentur et veriore adferrent puritatem. Nam, vt dixi, coeleste est etiam totum hoc quod Christus gessit in terris. Neque enim Christus ingressus est in sancta manibus hominum fabricata, quae magis opinione quam re sancta sunt quaeque profanari possunt | nec aliud erant quam vmbrae quaedam rerum vere sanctarum. Sed in ipsum coelum ingressus est vbi habitat Deus immortalis cum aethereis mentibus atque in huius conspectu tanquam pontifex legitimus deprecatur pro totius mundi peccatis, commendans sese proprio sanguine, quem ex mera gratuitaque charitate effudit pro nobis, idque fecit hostia tam efficaci vt non fuerit opus quotannis repetere, quemadmodum veteris testamenti pontifex singulis annis ingrediebat secretius adytum. Nec mirum est hostiam illius non fuisse perinde efficacem cum et ipse obnoxius esset peccatis ac sanguinem offerret et pecudis et alienum. Quod si talis fuisset pontifex Christus, cum toties ab orbe condito recurrerent secula et anni, necesse erat illum frequenter immolasse victimam, quemadmodum faciebant veteris testamenti sacerdotes. Nunc autem talis fuit vt satis fuerit semel immolare semetipsum ac semel aspersione proprii sanguinis abolere peccata omnium seculorum vsque ad finem mundi. Idque factum est, non ab initio mundi sed instante fine cum omnibus constaret omnia viciata peccatis nec vllum esse remedium nisi a Deo, vt palam esset quam esset efficax sacerdos qui vnica victima tam immensum aceruum peccatorum expiaret relicto parato facillique remedio vt eadem hostia in annos innumeros satisfaceret omnibus qui sese non praeberent indignos. Transtulit enim in se non solum eorum peccata qui ante multos annos spem salutis in ipso posuerant, verum etiam eorum qui multis post seculis credituri essent eius Euangelio. Non est igitur quod mundus expectet alium sacerdotem aut aliam hostiam expiandis peccatis, sed, quemadmodum illud manet omnes homines, vt semel moriantur absque spe redeundi in hanc vitam, in qua et labimur subinde et expiamur, neque quicquam expectatur a morte singulorum nisi iudicium illud extremum quod aeterna praemia decernet siue piis siue impiis, ita et Christus, qui semel moriens pro omnibus oblatus est, omnium – quod in ipso fuit – peccata in se transferens vt pro omnibus poenas lueret, nihil superesse voluit nisi iudicium supremum in quo rursus conspicietur hominibus, non vt antea velut hostia deuota, veluti scelerosus homo et supplicio dignus, sed vt gloriosus et ignarus omnis peccati; salutaris autem et felix conspicietur iis qui nunc purificati per mortem illius perseverant in innocentia vitae donec iterum aduenerit non immolandum, sed iudex optabilis piis, formidabilis impiis.

- 702 *Hic est sanguis* This is Erasmus' translation of τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα in *Hebr.* 9, 20, and not just a paraphrase; Vg., imitating the Greek, has "Hic sanguis" without any verb. The Vg. text of *Ex.* 24, 8 reads "Hic est sanguis", and Erasmus has apparently introduced the *est* into his Latin version and hence into the paraphrase either from there or from *Mt.* 26, 28. In *Annot. in Hebr.* 9, 20 ("Hic sanguis testamenti"), *LB VI*, 1007 F, he comments: "Ad haec [verba] alluisse videtur Christus in coena, simili modo suum repraesentans sacrificium". Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XVI, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 124–125, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 311 A, the *Glossa*, p. 33^r, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 742b, all see a connection between, *Ex.* 24, 8, *Mt.* 26, 28, and *Hebr.* 9, 20, though the emphasis they put on it varies. In the *Glossa* Christ 'used' the words of Moses; for Thomas Moses' words only prefigure the words of the eucharist. Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 257–258.
- testis et confirmator* The punctuation and syntax of these words are ambiguous. They could be in apposition to the noun 'sanguis', or, if 'sanguis' is the subject of "est", they could be the predicate. I believe the first alternative is what Erasmus intended and have punctuated accordingly. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XVI, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 123, notes that a testament required a witness and, citing *Joh.* 8, 18, comments that Christ himself is a witness. The *Glossa* and the other medieval commentators took the verb "dedicatum est", the Vg. translation of ἐγκαινίσταται in *Hebr.* 9, 18, to mean *confirmatum* or *ratum*. Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 742: "'Hic est sanguis', ... scilicet confirmator testamenti. ... Iste enim sanguis fuit figura sanguinis Christi, per quem nouum testamentum confirmatum est".
- 705 *in ... ritibus* Erasmus overlooks or ignores the qualification of the statement in *Hebr.* 9, 22 by the adverb σχεδόν ("pene" Vg., "fere" in his Latin version). Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 742b, observes that not every unclean thing is purified with blood; however, sin, being spiritual, required purification with blood.
- 711 *ut dixi* Cf. the paraphrase on 9, 11, p. 72, ll. 665–669 above.
- 713–714 *quaeque ... possunt* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Cor.*, ad 3, 17, *LB VII*, 868. Erasmus may have had in mind the actions of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 *Mcc.* 1, 54, 59), Pompey the Great or the emperor Gaius (Jos., *Ant. Iud.* 14, 72 and 18, 261–2).
- 716 *mentibus* Cf. the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 1, 7, p. 46, l. 62 above.
- 727–728 *instante ... peccatis* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XVII, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 129: "Why 'at the end of the age'? After many sins"; and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 313 D: "Now when there have been so many sins [since the beginning of the world], it was reasonable that God appeared in order to remove sin".
- 730 *in annos innumeros* This phrase looks to the future rather than the past. Medieval Latin commentators, whose Vg. text read "in consummatione saeculorum", saw in this phrase the meaning 'the end or last of the ages' which is to endure until the second coming. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 744, noting that over a thousand years had passed since the writing of the epistle and comparing the ages of the world to the stages in the life of a human, observed that while prior ages of the world are determined, the last age, like human old age, has no specified end. It is the last age of the world because there will not be a second age of salvation.
- 739 *quod ... fuit* *Hebr.* 9, 28 says Christ was offered to take away the sins of 'many'. That Paul said 'many', not 'all' posed a question for Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XVII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 129, which he answered by stating that while Christ died for all, not all will be saved because not all believe. Erasmus repeats the qualification but not the argument. Cf. also Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 315 D–317 A.
- 741–742 *non ut ... peccati* This distinction between the two appearances of Christ – first in the 'flesh of sin', then in the 'flesh of glory' – is made by the *Glossa* (p. 33^v), and with the added detail about the ignominy of a death on the cross, by Hugo (p. P8^v), Thomas (*Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 745b), and Nicholas of Lyre (p. 33^v). Cf. also Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 317 A. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, p. 250^r, advanced the novel argument that the phrase χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας should be construed with the participle ἀπεκδεχομένοις – those who await him without sin – which might conceivably have influenced the remainder of Erasmus' paraphrase *qui ... aduenerit*.
- 744–745 *iudex ... impiis* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 317 A: 'He will come to save, but also to punish disbelievers and sinners'. The Latin commentators likewise insist upon both aspects of the last judgment, though the author of *Hebrews* does not seem to have this retributive feature in view, only the salvific results of Christ's death and return. Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 266, Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 287.

CAPVT X

Porro quo minus idem valuerit pontifex veteris testamenti, in causa est quod lex illa eo quod non obtineret viam ac veram imaginem bonorum sed vmbra-
 modo quandam quae designaret potius aliquid quam efficeret, vulgaribus pecu-
 750 dum hostiis, tametsi singulis annis continenter ab illis sacerdotibus offerrentur, nunquam poterat perfectos reddere qui per sacerdotes infirmos hostiis inefficaci-
 bus accederent ad Deum reconciliandum. Quod si fieri potuisset, nonne semel oblatae desissent iterari? Atqui in istis sacrificiis, quoties repetuntur, rursus fit commemoratio superiorum delictorum – quae res arguit illos parum fidere uni
 755 sacro. Quorsum enim attinebat in singulos annos renouare sacra si vna victima sic purgasset ab omnibus peccatis vt iam nulla resideret conscientia delicto|rum in iis qui semel immolassent ac semel essent purgati? Cum enim peccatum sit animi vicium, non corporis, non potest res crassa corporeaue, qualis est sanguis taurorum et hircorum, abolere morbum mentis. Solum id potest ad plenum coe-
 760 lestis ac spiritualis hostia Christi, quae per fidem ac baptismum sic semel omnia superioris vitae commissa delet, quantumuis multa, quantumuis atrocita, vt in conscientia nihil resideat metus aut remorsus, tantum si cauerimus ne in pristina flagitia reuoluamur. Intantum enim Deus huiusmodi multiplicatis hostiis non reddebatur propitius vt offensus potius vnum aliquod efficax et perenne sacrificium desyderaret. Sic enim loquitur Deo Patri Filius in psalmo mystico veluti mundum ingressurus vt proprii corporis hostia propiciaret illum humano generi: *Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti, sed corpus aptasti mihi; holocaustomata reliquasque hostias pro expiandis hominum peccatis offerri solitas non probasti. Tunc dixi: ecce adsum ipse* (quando me designat hostiam libri caput) *vt obsequar, Deus, voluntati tuae.* In his igitur verbis cum dicit: *Sacrificium et oblationem, et holocaustomata et pro peccato noluisti, neque probasti* quicquam eorum quae iuxta legem veterem offerri solent, et mox adiicit: *Ecce adsum vt obsequar, Deus, voluntati tuae,* offeramque hostiam quae grata sit animo tuo, tollit prius illud sacerdotium vt ingratum Deo vt statuatur posterius quo satisfaceret voluntati diuinae. Quae-
 775 nam erat ista voluntas Dei fastidientis sacra legitima veteris testamenti et nouum sacrificii genus flagitantis? Nimirum haec: quod ita visum esset gratuitae ipsius bonitati vt Filius coelestis, id est, Christus, indueret corpus humanum ac moriens pro peccatis omnium vnico sacrificio semel rite peracto purificaret omnes a peccatis suis sic vt posthac non sit opus aliis hostiis sanguinolentis.

780 Quisquis est veteris testamenti sacerdos cogitur quotidie assistere sacris easdem hostias identidem iterans quae, quantumuis multiplicatae, nunquam possunt ad plenum auferre peccata, vt vtrique sit inexplicabile negotium et offerenti et sacerdoti per quem offert. At Christus vnica hostia semel oblata pro peccatis omnium qui crediderunt, credunt, aut credituri sunt ipsius promissis, iam dexter sedet
 785 Deo Patri, nihil aliud expectans nisi quod solum superest, vt colligantur omnia membra corporis in vnum fiatque tandem quod promissum est in psalmo, vt *inimici ipsius,* qui rebelles sunt Euangelio, fiant *scabellum pedum eius.* At interea nihil est opus iterum immolare seipsum pro nobis quod vnica oblatione abunde

790 perfectos reddidit in perpetuum omnes qui per fidem meruerunt sanctificari, sic vt nihil omnino pristinorum scelerum nobis imputetur. Quod dico testatur et ipse Spiritus Sanctus, loquens per os prophetae ac multo ante praedicens futurum quod nunc factum conspicimus. *Hoc, inquit, est testamentum quod condam erga illos post dies illos, dicit Dominus, cum indidero leges meas cordibus illorum, et mentibus eorum illas inscripsero, nec amplius recordabor peccatorum aut iniquitatum*

747 *valuerit H: voluerit A-G*

767 *holocaustomata LB: holocaustoma A-H*

792 *condam A K BAS: quondam C-HI*

747 *valuerit* *Voluerit (A-G)* in 10, 1 picks up the verb *voluit* in 9, 28 (l. 740). The *a* could thus be a typographical error in *H*, but it is more likely a deliberate revision to emphasize the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice compared to the annual sacrifices of the high priests on the Day of Atonement.

759 *morbum mentis* The image of sin as a disease is traditional and occurs frequently in the *Paraphrases*, but Erasmus may here be influenced by Theophylact who, picking up a comparison made by Chrysostom in commenting on *Hebr.* 10, 1, *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XVII, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 130, uses medical imagery throughout his commentary on 10, 1-4 (Migne *PG* 125, 317 B-321 A). In the commentary on 10, 4 in particular he employs a medical comparison to illustrate the idea that the blood of bulls and goats cannot take away sin: "It is like a skilled physician who, on seeing mercury plant applied to someone with elephantiasis, were to say, 'It is impossible to cure elephantiasis with mercury plant'."

759-760 *Solum ... Christi* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* 746a: "Cum peccatum sit quoddam spirituale quod opponitur caelesti, oportet illud per quod mundatur peccatum esse spirituale et caeleste, et per consequens habere virtutem perpetuam".

765 *psalmo Ps.* 40, 6-8.

767 *holocaustom<ta>* The plural occurs in the repetition of the citation in l. 817, so that the omission of *ta* here is probably an error, though whether made by Erasmus in his autograph, a copyist, or the compositor of *A* it is impossible to say. On the other hand, the singular *holocaustum* occurs in the Vulgate text of the psalm (*Ps.* 40, 6), and Erasmus may be adapting the text of *Hebr.* 10, 6 to that of the psalm. Similarly "sacrificium" in l. 814 in place of the "hostiam" in *Hebr.* may reflect *Ps.* 40, 6 Vg., though "sacrificium" is used in Erasmus' Latin version and elsewhere the paraphrase

follows his Latin version of the text in *Hebr.* as, e.g., in the use of *adsum* for *venio* and *obsequar* for *faciam* in 10, 7.

769 *quando ... caput* In *Annot. in Hebr.* 10, 7 ("vt faciam Deus"), *LB* VI, 1009 E, Erasmus comments that the *vt* clause goes with *ecce adsum*; in other words he took "In capite libri scriptum est de me" to be a parenthesis. He does not otherwise comment on the meaning of these words, but the paraphrase suggests that he understood them in a way similar to one of the explanations in Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 747a: "Iste liber est Christus secundum humanam naturam, in quo scriptum omnia necessaria homini ad salutem". After reviewing some other possibilities, Thomas concludes: "Ergo 'in capite libri', id est in me, secundum diuinam naturam, 'scriptum est de me', secundum naturam humanam, 'vt faciam voluntatem,' scilicet tuam; id est, hoc praedestinatum est vt per gratiam tuam faciam voluntatem tuam, offerendo meipsum ad redemptionem humani generis".

779 *vt ... sanguinolentis* Cf. *Hebr.* 10, 18 and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 748b, who explains that the repetition of the sacrifice for sin would be an injury to Christ.

786 *psalmo Ps.* 110, 1.

787 *qui ... Euangelio* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XVIII, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 136 and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 323 C, who explain that Christ's enemies are the Jews, the infidels, and the demons.

791 *prophetae* That is, *Ir.* 31, 33-34.

794 *aut* There is no apparent reason for the change from the biblical text; sins and iniquities are not alternative actions. Vg. has "et" in both *Ir.* 31, 34 and *Hebr.* 10, 17; Erasmus has *atque* in his Latin version of *Hebr.* 10, 17. If Erasmus' autograph had *atque*, it could have been misread by a copyist or by the typesetter of *A* as *aut*.

795 *illorum*, tantum aberit vt velim vlscisci. Porro posteaquam semel condonata sunt
 LB 1185 in aeternum peccata omnia, quorsum opus est Iudaeorum hostiis quae peccatis
 expiandis adhibebantur?

Cum igitur, fratres, sublata peccatorum conscientia quae nos ab interpellando
 Deo deterrebat, data sit fiducia ingrediendi in sancta, freti sanguine Iesu, quem
 800 ille pro nobis reconciliandis effudit ac viam aditumque nobis aperuit a vetere illa
 longe diuersam, videlicet recentem ac nouam, viuamque et efficacem ac perpetuam,
 quae semel aperta postea claudi non queat, quam ille nobis auspicatus est,
 primus omnium ingrediens per velamen, hoc est, carnem suam qua ad tempus
 805 tegebatur apud homines illius diuinitas, eaque sublata in coelum patefacta sunt
 coelestia; cumque habeamus sacerdotem magnum a Deo promissum secundum
 ordinem Melchisedec, quem praefecit toti domui suae Deus, hoc est, Ecclesiae
 catholicae, quam non vt minister sed vt autor ac Dominus moderatur, adeamus
 eodem interim et nos quo nobis viam aperuit Christus. Adeamus autem non
 pedibus corporis in templum saxeam, sed in templum coeleste penetremus corde
 810 syncero cum summa fiducia impetrandi quod petimus, sed prius aspersi non
 iuxta corpus sanguine pecudis sed iuxta mentem ac spiritum sanguine Iesu
 Christi ac per hunc depulsa veterum peccatorum conscientia; ad haec, per bap-
 tismum abluti, etiam corpore, aqua pura et omneis abstergente sordes animi,
 815 superest vt perseueremus in eo quod semel sumus aggressi ac spem vitae immor-
 talis, quam professi sumus in baptismo, teneamus firmam nullaue ex parte
 vacillantem, hoc vno freti, quod Deus qui promisit certae fidei est nec potest fal-
 lere si velit, si modo nos in fide perstiterimus. Ad haec, quoniam facti sumus
 eiusdem corporis membra, mutua charitate consensuque cohaereamus, conside-
 rantes inuicem quantum quisque profecerit in euangelica professione, non vt
 820 inuideamus ei qui nos anteuertit aut aspernemur eum qui a tergo relictus est, sed
 vt mutuis exemplis, vt mutuis hortatibus prouocemus ad charitatem ac pia opera.
 Id fiet si fratris profectus nos extimulet ad ardentius studium pietatis et, si quem
 cessantem viderimus, eum fraterna sollicitudine extimulemus ad meliora, gratu-
 lantes praecedentibus et fauentes annitentibus, haud quaquam committentes vt
 825 quisquam destitutus pereat a grege nostro, quemadmodum solent quidam a rebus
 bene coeptis per occasionem deficere, sed modis omnibus alios alii stimulemus et
 inflammemus vt in eo quod institutum est pergamus vsque ad finem. Atque id eo
 magis faciendum est quod videtis imminere diem Domini, qui redditurus est pro
 suis cuique factis praemia nec iam locum relinquet sarcindi quod parum recte
 830 gesseris, sed quicquid gestum est exacto iudicio perpendetur.

Atque his quidem delictis, quae per errorem aut infirmitatem humanam com-
 mittuntur, facilis erit venia. Caeterum posteaquam per Euangelium cognouimus
 veritatem, edocti quid expectandum, quid fugiendum, et quae praemia maneant
 835 pios, quae impios, si volentes ac scientes reuoluamur in capitalia flagitia quae
 semel suo sanguine abluit Christus, cum ille semel duntaxat mortuus sit nun-
 quam iterum moriturus, non superest relapsis in veterem vitam hostia quae rur-
 sus per baptismum gratis condonet peccata. Quid ergo superest? Nimirum

LB 1186
841

formidabilis quaedam expectatio iudicii supremi, ac mox ignis saevus et infestus qui ad vindictam contemptae bonitatis diuinae deuoraturus est aduersarios. An putatis impune fore si quis legem euan|gelicam contempserit? Quo clementior est, quo plus adfert beneficii, hoc grauiores dabit poenas qui eam sciens ac volens habebit ludibrio. Habet autem qui semel ascitus in numerum filiorum Dei volens se coniicit in numerum seruorum Diaboli. Si tanta erat animaduersio apud Iudaeos vt, qui non obtemperasset sacerdoti proponenti legis Mosaicae praecepta,

833 expectandum A–K: expetendum BAS

- 796 *Iudaeorum hostiis* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 328, likewise states that ‘Jewish’ offerings are now superfluous.
- 799 *fiducia* The Vulgate uses this word to translate *παρηγορία* in *Hebr.* 10, 19. Erasmus translated it by ‘libertas’, but as his annotation on the following words in Vg., ‘In introitu’, LB VI, 1010 D, makes clear, by ‘the freedom to enter the sanctuary’ he means the confidence to do so. According to Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIX, 1, Migne PG 63, 139, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 328 C, this confidence is the result of the remission of sin.
- 802 *quae ... queat* Cf. the interlinear *Glossa* on ‘viventem’ (Vg.): ‘manentem quia postea nulli fidelium clausa est’. Erasmus seems to have the *Glossa* or a comparable text under his eyes.
- 803–804 *qua ... diuinitas* Cf. the interlinear *Glossa* on ‘carnem suam’ (Vg.): ‘caro velabat deitatem’. This is essentially the explanation of Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIX, 1, Migne PG 63, 139, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 329 A, Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 749a, and Nicholas of Lyre, p. 751^o. Theophylact and Nicholas add the further comment that the reference is specifically to the ‘crucified flesh’ of Christ. For a survey of modern efforts to explain the enigmatic ‘his flesh’ see Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 285–287, and Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 307–308.
- 804–805 *eaque ... coelestia* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XIX, 1, Migne PG 63, 139, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 329 A, make this point. Note that ‘sublata’ here means ‘taken up’, not ‘taken away’ as in l. 798 above.
- 806–807 *quem ... catholicae* Cf. 1. *Tim.* 3, 15 and the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 3, 5–6, p. 50, l. 165–p. 51, l. 175 above.
- 810 *summa ... petimus* Cf. 1. *Ioh.* 5, 14–15. Erasmus’ explication of the phrase *ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως* in *Hebr.* 10, 22, which he translated ‘in certitudine [plenitudine Vg.] fidei’ is novel, if not unique. It seems to be based on his assumption that the word *πληροφορία* denotes absolute or total conviction; see his *Annot. in Lc.* 1, 1 (‘Quae in nobis completae sunt, rerum’) LB VI, 217 C–218 B.
- 812 *ad haec* Erasmus appears to be thinking of the traditional sequence: faith first (the effect of the sacrifice of Christ), then baptism. Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 749. Secondly, he is evidently construing the participle *λελουσμένοι* with the verb *κατέχωμεν* rather than, as most commentators prefer, the preceding verb *προσερχώμεθα*.
- 815 *quam ... baptismo* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 332 A, who refers to the affirmation made at baptism and specifically to belief in the resurrection of the dead and eternal life.
- 817 *si ... perstiterimus* See *Mt.* 24, 13. The qualification recurs in various formulations; cf. e.g. l. 814 above.
- 833 *expectandum* Cf. *Paraphr. in 1 Ioh.*, ad 5, 20, p. 287, l. 844.
- 834 *capitalia flagitia* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 333 A, who likewise speaks of mortal sins in general as does by implication Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 751.
- 836–837 *rursus ... baptismum* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XX, 1, Migne PG 63, 143, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 333 A, who argue that *Hebr.* 10, 26 denies the possibility of a second baptism, though not necessarily the repentance and forgiveness of involuntary sins committed after baptism. Cf. also Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 751, and Erasmus’ *Annot. ad loc.* (‘Quae consumptura est’), LB VI, 1010 F–1011 A.

845 hoc est, qui iussus abstinere a carnibus suillis per contumaciam vesceretur, conuictus duorum aut trium hominum testimonio protinus absque misericordia tolleretur e medio; quanto grauius meretur supplicium qui non quemlibet sacerdotem sed Filium Dei Iesum conculcauerit? Conculcat autem eum, qui tantum illius beneficium aspernatur, qui non sanguinem pecudis sed sacrosanctum illius
 850 sanguinem, quo dedicatum est nouum testamentum, ceu rem profanam duxerit, praesertim quo semel fuit purgatus ab omnibus peccatis vitae prioris; qui Spiritum per quem euangelicam gratiam sit assequutus contumelia affecerit quod eo suis viciis expulso templum Dei prodiderit Diabolo. An ideo nobis promittimus impunitatem quod non statim animaduertitur ab hominibus in eos qui desciscunt a synceritate vitae euangelicae? Nouimus eum qui dixit: *Meum est vlcisci, ego rependam, dicit Dominus*, ac rursus alio in loco: *Dominus iudicabit populum suum*. Ne quis sibi blandiatur nocens si hominis vltoris manus effugit. Dei manus nemo potest effugere; sed horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viuentis.

Porro quo maiore cum laude coepistis euangelicam professionem, hoc maiore
 860 cum dedecore reciditis ad vitam priorem. Quod ne fiat, reuocate vobis ipsis in memoriam tempora superiora in quibus per euangelicam doctrinam ac fidem illuminati non simplex afflictionum certamen fortiter sustinuistis spe futurae vitae, partim dum et probris et molestiis affecti spectaculo fuistis omnibus qui Christi doctrinam execrantur, partim dum ob euangelicam charitatem vltro
 865 venistis in consortium probrorum et afflictionum quibus afficiebantur alii Christiani siue apostoli qui contempto mundo regulam euangelicam sectabantur. Siquidem afflictionum probrique, quod ex vinculis meis apud homines impios videbatur accidere, fuistis vltro participes, et alieno dolore doluistis, alienam contumeliam vestram esse duxistis; nec hucusque tantum praestitistis vos ingenuae Christianos, verum etiam direptionem facultatum vestrarum gaudentibus animis accepistis, nimirum re ipsa declarantes vos scire et credere quod habeatis potiores et meliores opes repositas in coelo, quas nec fur clancularius nec praedo violentus possit eripere. Imo crescunt illae iactura bonorum huius mundi quam ob Christi nomen patimur. Haec facta merito addebant vobis fiduciam assequendi promissa Christi. Debentur enim tam inuictae fidei summa praemia, et haud dubie persoluentur a Deo iusto ac benigno, sed suo tempore. Nunc certandi tempus est, post distribuentur coronae. Interim opus est vobis patientia vt, vbi constantibus animis obsecuti fueritis voluntati diuinae, victores reportetis promissam coronam aeternae gloriae. Nondum apparet ille dies quo sublato certamine dabuntur praemia; tamen haud procul abest, et imperator noster, qui ascensus in coelum pollicitus est sese denuo ad nos rediturum, *veniet nec diu morabitur*. | Interim *iustus ex fide sua victurus est*; quantumuis afflictus, quantumuis irrisus, quantumuis extinctus, tamen expectatione promissorum sustinebit fortem animum. *Quod si non persistit in fide, sed fractus desperatione subtraxerit sese ab euangelica professione, non probabitur animo meo*. Sed auertat Deus vt subducamus nos a bene coeptis in exitium ob diffidentiam. Quin potius fidem professi sumus, et in ea persistemus vt vitam ac salutem animae lucrificamus iuxta consilium Esariae dicentis: *Iustus ex fide viuuet*.

CAPVT XI

890 Nulla res aeque pios commendat Deo ac certa de illo fiducia. Siquidem argu-
mentum est animi optime de Deo sentientis nihil addubitare de dictis illius cum
nec appareant vsque humanis sensibus quae dicuntur nec humana ratione probari
queant. Vulgus inania somniisque simillima ducit ea quae, cum nusquam extent
895 oculis demonstrari. Atqui haec fides, per quam iustus vitam tuetur aliis pereun-
tibus, non est vulgaris aliqua credulitas, sed est solida firmaque basis earum rerum

881 est post pollicitus transposui: ascensus est A–K: est om. BAS

888 Esaiæ A–H: Habacuc LB

845 *abstinere ... suillis* See *Lv.* II, 7–8 and *Dt.* 14, 8. There was no actual penalty prescribed for eating pork and it is not wholly clear whether Erasmus means that people were penalized for the act of eating pork or for their contumacy.

853 *templum Dei* Cf. *1. Cor.* 3, 16 and 6, 19–20.

855–856 *Meum ... dicit Dominus* *Dt.* 32, 35.

856–857 *Dominus iudicabit ... suum* *Dt.* 32, 36.

857 *hominis ultoris* This contrast between human and divine judgment occurs in Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 336 C, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 753 b.

866 *siue apostoli* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXI, 1, Migne PG 63, 149, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 337 B, take the words τῶν οὕτως ἀναστρεφόμενων in *Hebr.* 10, 33 to refer to the apostles and to Paul in particular since they read τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου in 10, 34. The interlinear *Glossa* – “apostolis et aliis hominibus compassi” – apparently picks this up from Chrysostom. The paraphrase on 10, 34 thus expands on these connections.

872 *repositas in coelo* Erasmus’ Greek text reads ἐν οὐρανοῖς after ὑπαρξῆν; hence the allusion to *Mt.* 6, 19–20 (or parallels) in the following words is easy.

873 *Imo crescunt* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 754b: “scilicet alias diuitias, principaliores, quae augentur ex subtractione istarum quibus dicuntur meliores”.

879–880 *sublato certamine* Cf. *2. Tim.* 4, 8. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXI, 2, Migne PG 150, likewise employs the image of the contest in his commentary on 10, 37, but not to the same degree of elaboration as in the paraphrase here.

881 *est* I have transposed the verb after *pollicitus*. It is difficult to see what the text of A–K could possibly mean. The correction

in *BAS* moves in the right direction but the relative clause requires a verb somewhere. The thought also seems to be confused since the promise which Erasmus appears to have had in mind was made by the two angels after the ascension (*Act.* 1, 11).

881–882 *diu morabitur* This is a paraphrase, or perhaps an alternative translation, of χρονεῖ in *Hebr.* 10, 37; Vg. and Erasmus’ Latin version have “non tardabit”.

882 *sua* The adjective is taken from the Vulgate text of *Hab.* 2, 4. “Victurus est” is the form of the verb which Erasmus uses in his Latin version; his Vulgate read the present “vivit”. Similarly “non probabitur animo meo” is his alternative to the Vulgate’s “non placebit animae meae”.

888 *Esaiæ* A slip for Habacuc.

Iustus ... vivet Cf. *Rom.* 1, 17 and the paraphrase on this verse (*LB* VII, 781 B) where Erasmus introduces the adjective “meus” from the version of the text in *Hebr.* 10, 39.

890 *fiducia* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* II, 1 (“Sperandarum substantia”), *LB* VI, 1012 F: “Illud adiiciam, hoc loco ‘fides’ non usurpari proprie pro ea qua credimus credenda, sed qua speramus, hoc est, ipsa fiducia”.

891 *dictis* That is, God’s promises. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXI, 2, Migne PG 63, 151, followed by Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 339 D, uses the resurrection of the dead as an example. For Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 736, the object of faith is the beatific vision.

896 *solida ... basis* *Basis* here means foundation or support; it is a paraphrase on the noun ὑπόστασις. Cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* II, 1 (“Sperandarum substantia”), *LB* VI, 1012 D: “ὑπόστασιν dixit [sc. Paulus] certitudinem et id cui aliquid innititur ac fulcitur”; and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 759a: “substantia, id est fundamentum”.

900 quae nec sensibus nec rationibus humanis deprehendi possunt; sed eas firma spes
ita repraesentat animo, quasi coram cernerentur, quasi manibus tenerentur,
quaeque per se videri non possunt, eas persuadet esse certissimas, non argumen-
tis humanis sed certa fiducia erga Deum autorem. Iudaei fidunt operibus suis,
sed haec res est vna quae nos Deo probatos charosque reddat, neque nos solum,
verum, si quis repetat ab orbe condito, reperiet maiores nostros omnes, quorum
memoria celebris est ob laudem pietatis, fidei commendatione potissimum pro-
meruisse quod assequuti sunt.

905 Primum, quod intelligimus mundum hunc vniuersum cum his quae amplectitur
conditum fuisse verbo Dei soloque iussu conditoris, nonne fidei debemus?
Quis enim alioqui persuadeat ex inuisibilibus gigni visibilia aut ex his quae non
sunt, fieri quae sunt? Philosophi ratiocinationem humanam secuti mundum
910 putant ingenitum esse neque magis habuisse exordium quam habuerit opifex
ipse. Nos autem, quod nec videri potuit nec humanae mentis ratiocinatione col-
ligi potest, perinde credimus ac si videremus, nimirum freti libris diuinis qui nar-
rant mundum esse iussu Dei conditum, quem scimus nihil non posse nec posse
mentiri.

915 Abel primus omnium iusti cognomen promeruit atque hoc sane maiore cum
laude quod nullius exemplis prouocatus innocentem ac fidentem Deo se prae-
buit. At quae tandem res effecit vt hic charior esset Deo quam Cain frater? Nimi-
rum fides, qua totus pendebat ab eo, cum Cain ceu diffidens nec contentus iis
quae sponte fundebat humus in alimoniam innoxiae vitae terram proscinderet.
Vterque de suis facultatibus offerebat hostias Deo. Sed solius Abelis sacrificium
920 fuit acceptum Deo, quod vir innocens syncero pectore fideret illius bonitati
neque circumspectaret huius mundi commoda, sed pietatis suae mercedem expec-
taret in coelis. Non igitur hostia sed fide promeruit vt Deus igne de coelo
demisso complexus illius donaria testaretur eum esse iustum; atque hoc pulcher-
925 rimo elogio nunc etiam post tot annorum milia sic versatur in ore hominum vt
mortuus etiam viuere loquique videatur. Occiderat fratri, cum innocens esset
interfectus; at non occiderat Deo, cui sanguis eius adhuc clamabat de terra.

LB 1188 Nec obfuit Enoch pio, quod ex impio patre prognatus esset, sed huic diuinae
litterae testimonium | ferunt, quod cum Deo versatus sit etiam cum ageret in ter-
ris, videlicet fide sectans non ea quae videntur sed quae non videntur, hoc est,
930 aeterna coelestiaque; et ob hoc sublatus est viuus ad ea quae dilexerat mortique
subductus est. Sic enim vixerat antequam tolleretur ex hominum consortio vt in
coelis videretur viuere potius quam in terris et morte videretur indignus qui nihil
commisisset dignum morte, vt huius exemplo primum discerent homines per
innocentiam vitae perque fidem patere viam ad immortalitatem. Ideo sublatus est
935 quia placuerat Deo. Sed fide potissimum placuit, sine qua nemo illi placet, quan-
tumuis abundet alioqui factis. Quisquis enim illi velit esse commendatus, pri-
mum oportet credere Deum esse qui possit omnia quique velit optima; deinde
hunc agere curam rerum humanarum perque hunc nec pios, qui neglectis visibi-
libus huius mundi bonis Deum inuisibilem inquirunt, fraudari suis praemiis,

940 quantumuis affligantur in hac vita, nec impiis defutura supplicia etiamsi in hoc seculo videantur secundis ventis vti. Fidei igitur debet hoc seu gloriae seu felicitatis quod sublatu ex hominum contubernio viuut cum Deo.

945 Sed insignius etiam hoc exemplum fiduciae erga Deum praebuit Noe, qui, cum esset oraculo admonitus futurum vt inundatio deleret vniuersum animantium genus in terris nec apparerent argumenta quibus colligi posset quod praedicebat

905–906 amplectitur *G* *H*: complectitur *A–G*

900 *operibus* The ‘works’ prescribed by the law of Moses.

905–906 *amplectitur* *Complecti* is the verb normally used in a context such as the present one, though *amplecti* is also so employed but chiefly by poets. The appearance of “*amplectitur*” in both *G* and *H* is probably a coincidence and may have arisen from the same typographical error in both editions. *Amplecti* occurs far more frequently in the *Paraphrases* than *complecti*.

908 *Philosophi* The belief in an uncreated, eternal world is Aristotelian; cf. Aristot., *Phys.* 8, 1. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXII, 1, Migne PG 63, 154–155, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, pp. 757b–758a, employ a similar contrast between the statements of ancient philosophers and the Bible about the origin of the universe. Both cite the philosophical axiom that nothing is created from nothing.

914 *Abel* See *Gn.* 4, 3–7.

915 *nullius ... prouocatus* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXII, 1, Migne PG 63, 155, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 341 D, make this point. Theophylact asks, “Who could be a model of sinlessness? His parents? His brother?”

918 *terram proscinderet* Ios., *Ant. Iud.* 1, 54, offers a similar reason for God’s rejection of Cain’s sacrifice, but I have been unable to find an exact parallel to Erasmus’ explanation.

921–922 *mercedem ... coelis* This is a recurrent motif in the *Paraphrases*, but Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, ad 11, 4, Migne PG 125, 341 D, also makes this belief an element of Abel’s faith.

922 *Non ... fide* The antithesis is consonant with the assumption that Paul is the author of the epistle. But the interlinear *Glossa*, p. 21^r, likewise emphasizes that it was through faith that Abel was justified.

922–923 *igne ... demisso* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXII, 1, Migne PG 63, 155, Hier., *Lib. hebr. quaest. in Gn.*, CCSL 72, p. 6 sq., Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne

PG 125, 344 A. This explanation of how God testified to Abel’s righteousness is also mentioned in the interlinear *Glossa* and in the commentaries of Hugo, Thomas, and Nicholas of Lyre.

924–925 *sic ... videatur* This explanation of the words ἀποθανών ἔτι λαλεῖ (“defunctus adhuc loquitur” Vg.) is given by Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXII, 2, Migne PG 63, 155, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 344 A–B, the *Glossa*, Hugo, and Nicholas of Lyre. Thomas, however, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 759b, objected that it did not suit the context and recommended the second explanation based on *Gn.* 4, 10.

926 *sanguis ... terra* See *Gn.* 4, 10.

927 *Enoch* See *Gn.* 5, 21–24.

ex impio patre Erasmus has apparently confused Enoch, son of Jared, with Enoch, Cain’s son (*Gn.* 4, 17). The same confusion appears in the *Glossa ad Iud.* 17, p. L6^v.

933 *huius exemplo ... homines* This statement may be an allusion to *Sir.* 44, 16, which Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 760a, quotes in the form, “Enoch enim placuit Deo et translatus est in paradysum vt det gentibus sapientiam” [“poenitentiam” in Vg.].

938 *agere ... rerum* Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 760a, likewise makes this assumption the basis of belief in God’s remuneration.

941–942 *Fidei ... cum Deo* This sentence was criticized by Noël Bédá as smacking of Lutheranism, a charge which Erasmus vigorously denied. See Er. *Elenchus*, LB VII, 513 C–D.

943 *Noe* See *Gn.* 6–8.

944 *oraculo admonitus* See *Gn.* 6, 13.

945–946 *apparerent ... serenum* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 160, and Theophylact’s comment, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 345 A: “αἰθρίας οὐσης καὶ πάντων τρυφόντων καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδοκῶντων οὐδὲ γὰρ ὠρᾶτο οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ...”.

oraculum eo quod coelum esset serenum – homines securi conuiuantes et
 matrimonium celebrantes ridebant oraculi minas – ipse tamen indubitatum
 habens euenturum quod Deus euenturum praedixerat, apparauit arcam, qua
 simul et seruauit suam familiam et reliquos homines condemnauit, adeo diffi-
 950 dentes sermoni diuino vt adornantem fabricam in futurum diluuium velut insa-
 num irriderent. Neque solum seruatus est a diluuiio, verum etiam successit in lau-
 dem maiorum suorum, Abel et Enoch, qui celebres sunt ob iusticiam, quae per
 veram fidem commendat hominem Deo.

Iam Abraham quoties insignis erga Deum fiduciae dedit documentum? Pri-
 955 mum, cum nihil sit homini dulcius natali solo, tamen cum a Deo iuberetur
 relicta patria et affectibus suis commigrare in terram ignotam, nihil contatus obe-
 diuit voci diuinae, nullius exemplo prouocatus, nullis probabilibus argumentis
 spem facientibus fore vt relictis agris paternis terram nescio quam haereditate
 960 possideret, cuius neque nomen neque situm adhuc nouerat. Adeo certa erat illi
 fiducia fore quicquid Deus esset pollicitus. Eiusdem fiduciae fuit, quod, cum
 deuenisset in terram a Deo promissam neque succederet res ex animi sententia
 nec ipsi nec filio Isaac nec nepoti Iacob – cum tamen non Abrahae tantum sed
 posteris etiam illius esset promissa terrae huius haereditas, sed ipse subinde
 965 conflictari cogeretur cum hostibus et Isaac moleste negocium exhiberent Philis-
 taei et Iacob per Esau fratrem profligatus esset in Mesopotamiam vnde reuersus
 tandem coactus est paulum emere locelli vbi figeret tabernaculum – tamen nihil
 omnibus hisce rebus commotus est Abraham vt diffideret Deo pollicito terram
 neque questus est se exulem esse non haeredem neque flexit animum ad ea quae
 videntur in terris sed ad coelestia quae non cernuntur nisi oculis fidei. Sensit
 970 enim non hanc esse terram, de qua sensisset promissio diuina; quam adeo non
 magni fecit vt nec aedificium vllum aut oppidum in ea putaret extruendum, sed
 velut hospes mox alio migraturus in tabernaculis sese contineret cum suis. Quid
 igitur expectabat cum cerneret haec non apparere promissa? Nimirum expectabat
 aliam ciuitatem, stabilem ac perpetuam, vnde nunquam esset depellendus, longe
 976 dissimilem his quas et condunt | et demoliuntur homines, cuius opifex et condi-
 tor esset Deus.

Quin et huius vxor Sara, cum et maritum haberet vetulum et eo processisset
 aetatis vt matrici natua vis deesset ad semen virile attrahendum ac retinendum,
 tamen concepit et peperit Isaac, diffisa quidem naturae viribus sed confisa Deo,
 980 qui per angelum illi foetum masculum promiserat in annum proximum; non
 audiebat reclamantem naturam, tantum habebat persuasum Deum mentiri non
 posse.

Promiserat Deus Abrahae posteritatem parem stellarum numero, parem hare-
 nae littorali, nec vllam spem prolis dabat natura. Nihil tamen ille diffisus est.
 985 Atque ob id ex vno sene iam annis effoeto prognati sunt posteris tanto numero
 quanto sunt stellae coeli, quanto arena quae est in littore maris. Siquidem ille
 filios ac nepotes expectabat, non iuxta sanguinis cognationem sed iuxta fidei imi-
 tationem, quo nomine nos omnes posteris sumus Abrahae, qui fidimus promissis
 euangelicis. Ergo non Abrahae tantum sed et posterorum illius germanorum tam

- 955 *sit homini A-D G H: homini sit E F G²: homini post tamen add. E*
- 946-947 *homines ... minas* See *Mt.* 24, 37-39 and *Lc.* 17, 26-27. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 159, cites the version in *Lc.*, but the participles in the paraphrase suggest that Erasmus has *Mt.* in mind.
- 948-949 *qua ... condemnavit* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 159, observes that the story of Noah is a double example, of faith and of disbelief.
- 951 *irruerent* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 160: "Καίτοι γε ἐγελᾶτο τότε, καὶ ἀνειδίξετο καὶ ἐχλευάζετο".
- 951-952 *successit ... suorum* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 761b, in a list of alternative explanations of the word "heres" (Vg.) in *Hebr.* II, 7: "Sicut enim post mortem alicuius, aliquis succedit in hereditatem ... Vel sicut patres sui iustificati fuerunt per fidem, ita ipse factus heres est iustitiae, scilicet imitator per fidem paterna iustitiae". Chrysostom and Theophylact, however, see in the word 'heir' only a metaphor for the act of obtaining.
- 955 *cum ... iuberetur* See *Gn.* 12, 1.
- 957 *nullius ... prouocatus* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 160-161, or Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 345 C. Chrysostom begins his commentary on *Hebr.* II, 8 with the words, "Τίνα γὰρ εἶδεν ἵνα ζηλώσῃ, εἰπέ μοι; πατέρα Ἑλληνα εἶχε καὶ εἰδωλόατρη, προφητῶν οὐκ ἠρηκόμεν οὐδὲ ἤδει ποῦ ἤρχετο".
- 962 *nec ipsi ... Iacob* See *Gn.* 14 for Abraham, *Gn.* 26 for Isaac, and *Gn.* 27, 41-5, and 33, 19 for Jacob. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 161 observes: "Neither [Abraham] himself nor Isaac nor Jacob enjoyed the promise. For the one served for hire, the other was driven out, and he too was afraid and fell short."
- 965-966 *Iacob ... tabernaculum* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 347 A: "Ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐλαυνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Ἡσαῦ ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀνεληθὼν ἐξωνήσατο τὸν τόπον ἔθα ἔστησε τὴν σκηνήν".
- 967 *commotus est* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 161, who likewise observes that sight of his son and grandson dwelling in a land not their own left him undisturbed (καὶ οὐδὲν ἐθορυβήθη).
- 969 *ad coelestia ... fidei* Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 761a, commenting on the words "fide obediuit" (Vg.), cites *Rom.* I, 5 and
- 960 *quod A-H² K BAS: qui I*
- 966 *paulum A-I: paululum K BAS*
- remarks that "Per fidem enim informamur ad obediendum Deo de inuisibilibus".
- 972 *velut ... migraturus* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 345 D, who comments on the phrase "ἐν σκηνῶν κατοικήσας" in *Hebr.* II, 9 that Abraham dwelt in tents, which is the act of strangers who migrate to different places at different times since they have nothing of their own.
- 977-978 *cum ... aetatis* Cf. *Gn.* 18, 12 Vg., where Sarah says to herself that she has grown old and calls Abraham "vetulus". Erasmus' Greek manuscripts did not contain the adjective στεῖρα (cf. *Gn.* II, 30) and he did not believe that the equivalent term "sterilis" in Vg. was authentic; hence he ignores in the paraphrase this particular impediment to conception and concentrates on Sarah's menopause (cf. *Gn.* 18, 11). Cf. *Annot. in Hebr.* II, 11 ("Sara sterilis" and "in conceptione seminis"), *LB* VI, 1014 F. In the latter annotation he refers to Chrysostom's explanation (*Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 163), which he adopts in the paraphrase: Sarah received the power to accept and retain the seed. He evidently overlooked the fact that Chrysostom also read στεῖρα in this verse.
- 983 *Promiserat Deus* See *Gn.* 22, 17. The pluperfect, however, suggests that Erasmus has *Gn.* 17, 2-5 in mind as well (or has confused the two promises). The promise that Abraham's descendants would equal the stars and the sands of the seashore is made after the sacrifice of Isaac, not before his birth.
- 984 *Nihil ... diffusus est* Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 762b, observes that the 'faith' referred to in *Hebr.* II, 11 could be either Sarah's faith or Abraham's. Although, he says, it was impossible according to nature that a ninety year old woman be impregnated by a hundred year old man, nevertheless each believed God; that is, either Sarah or Abraham could be, grammatically, the subject of the verb "credidit" (ἠγήσατο). The paraphrase accommodates both possibilities.
- 987-988 *iuxta fidei imitationem* Cf. *Rom.* 9, 8. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 763a, likewise connects *Rom.* 9, 8 and *Hebr.* II, 12.
- 989 *posterorum ... germanorum* Chrysostom (*Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 161), Theophylact (*Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 350 B), the *Glossa* (p. 21vo), and Hugo (p. Q71o) - as do most modern commentators - take "all" in

990 constans fuit fiducia vt illis nec mors eam ademerit. Mortui enim sunt omnes hi,
cum nondum tenerent promissa sed procul ea fide viderent crederentque praeque
desyderio consalutarent, adeo non fidentes huic terrae, in qua nemini diu viuere
licet, vt sese confiterentur hospites ac peregrinos esse, non solum in Palaestina sed
995 tum, et in psalmo mystico Dauid profitetur se peregrinum in terra quemadmo-
dum fuissent omnes patres ipsius. Et tamen is regnabat in Palaestina et ciuitatem
condiderat. Atque haec sane regio finibus admodum angustis circumscribatur et
magna ex parte non cessit Hebraeis, Abrahæ posteris, eo quod pristinos posses-
sore non possent loco depellere. Nec hanc tamen ingressus est Moses, sed procul
1000 e monte conspectam salutauit moriturus neque desperauit tamen de promissis.
Itaque quum se fateantur esse peregrinos, satis declarant sese desyderare patriam.
Quam autem patriam inquirunt, quibus hic mundus totus exilium est? Chal-
daeam patriam reliquerant, cuius desyderium si illos cruciasset, non adeo procul
aberat quin possent eo commode redire. Non igitur illam patriam desyderabant,
1005 sed aliam hac meliorem, in qua liceret aeternum viuere prorsus exemptos ab
omni dolorum molestia. Haec erat illa patria coelestis in quam illos euocarat
Deus et cuius amore volebat eos sic in hoc mundo viuere quasi in mundo non
essent. Atque hac de causa Deus, cum sit conditor ac princeps omnium, tamen
peculiariter se vocat Deum Abraham, Isaac, et Iacob. Siquidem illorum proprie
1010 Deus est qui fiduciam omnem et omnia felicitatis praesidia in ipso collocarunt.
Ac talibus parauit ciuitatem non terrenam sed coelestem, in qua semper felices
regnant cum Deo, cuius amore contempserunt omnia.

An non et illud insigne fuit fidei documentum in Abraham, quod, cum Deus
explorans quam ex animo sibi fideret iussisset vt immolaret filium suum Isaac,
1015 cum is et vnicus esset et cuius nomine promissa fuerat posteritas (siquidem hic
erat sermo promittentis: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen*), nihil tamen contatus
aggressus est facere quod iussus est, nihil interim secum disputans: ‘Vnde mihi
posteritas si hunc occido in quo vno spes est posteritatis?’. Sed illud in animo
perpendebat, Deum qui promiserat mentiri non posse et, si libeat, vel a | mortuis
LB 1190 excitare posse filium extinctum generis propagatorem; et quia credidit resurrec-
1020 tionem mortuorum, idcirco datum est illi vt filium – quod in ipso fuerat –
extinctum domum veluti vitae redditum reduceret, iam tunc imagine quadam
adumbrantem futuram resurrectionem Iesu Christi.

Iam et illud erat euidens animi bene fidentis Deo documentum, quod Isaac
1025 moriturus, cum ipse nondum accepisset promissam a Deo felicitatem, tamen
ausus est eam polliceri filiis suis, Iacob et Esau, cum vtrique benediceret, prae-
uidens vtriusque vitam ac diuersum vtriusque praemium. Adeo res est oculata
fides vt ea quoque cernat veluti praesentia quae procul semota sunt a sensibus
corporeis.

1021 fuerat A–K: erat BAS

1025 moriturus G H: mortuus A–F

1026 eam G H: iam A–F

- Hebr.* 11, 12 to refer to all the previously mentioned patriarchs with the exception of Enoch. However, Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 763a, believes that the reference is only to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob since the promise was made only to them.
- 991 *crederentque* A paraphrase on the words καὶ πισθέντες in Erasmus' Greek text; cf. *Annot. in Hebr.* 11, 13 ("Et salutantes"), *LB VI*, 1014 F.
- 993 *ut ... esse* Abraham says this in *Gn.* 23, 4. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 351 A, cites this text and, following Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIV, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 168, also *Ps.* 39, 12. Theophylact, however, does not expand on the reference to David as Erasmus does in ll. 995–996.
- 995 *psalmo Ps.* 39, 12 Vg.
- 998 *magna ... Hebraeis* See *Iudic.* 1, 19–36.
- 999–1000 *procul ... moriturus* See *Dt.* 3, 27 and 34, 1–4.
- 1003–1004 *non ... aberat* For this spatial explanation of the term καιρόν ("tempus" Vg., "opportunitatem" Er.) in *Hebr.* 11, 15 cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 764a: "quia prope erant". Nicholas of Lyre, p. 210^o, characteristically adds the geographical detail, "quod non tamen distabant a Mesopotamia vel Chaldaea".
- 1007–1008 *cuius amore ... essent* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIV, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 168–169, expatiates at length on this theme.
- 1008–1009 *tamen ... Iacob* See *Ex.* 3, 6, 15, 16; *Mt.* 12, 26 etc. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIV, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 169, and, more succinctly, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 352 B–C, distinguish between God, the creator and ruler of the universe, and his special designation as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Chrysostom) or simply 'their God' (Theophylact). In *Annot. in Hebr.* 11, 16 ("Et siquidem illius meminisset"), *LB VI*, 1014 E, Erasmus states, "non confunditur Deus vocari Deus illorum' non potest nisi ad patriarchas accommodari. Dicitur enim Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob [*Ex.* 3, 6]".
- 1013–1014 *Deus ... Isaac* See *Gn.* 22, 1–2.
- 1014 *explorans ... fideret* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 351 D, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 764b, explicitly deny this explanation because an omniscient God does not require such information. God tempts people, Thomas says, so that they may come to know themselves. But Erasmus may have had the words of *Gn.* 22, 12 in mind, "Nunc cognoui quod times Deum".
- 1015 *unicus* That is, in respect to the promise made in *Gn.* 21, 12. Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXV, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 173, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 353 A.
- 1016 *In Isaac ... semen* *Gn.* 21, 12.
- 1018–1019 *illud ... perpendebat* For this explanation, which links *Hebr.* 11, 12–13 with 19a, see Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXV, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 172–173, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 765a. Thomas calls the argument of *Hebr.* 11, 19a 'extremely subtle' and comments on Abraham's belief that God can raise the dead, p. 765b: "Hoc ergo fuit argumentum fidei maximum, quia articulus resurrectionis est vnus de maioribus".
- 1020–1021 *credidit ... mortuorum* See the preceding note.
- 1021 *quod ... fuerat* Cf. Chrysostom's comment, *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXV, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 174, that Abraham had slain Isaac in intention (τῆ προαίρεσει), God therefore gave him to the patriarch. This statement appears in Hugo, p. Q8r^o, without attribution: "cum eum vellet immolare redditus est ei".
- 1022–1023 *iam ... Christi* Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Thomas focus on the sacrifice of the ram and, therefore, their typology is quite different: the sacrifice prefigures the crucifixion while Isaac represents the immortal divinity of Christ. Erasmus refers to this type in *Annot. in Hebr.* 11, 19 ("in parabolam accepit"), *LB VI*, 1015 D, but concentrates on the figure of Isaac: "quem viuentum reduxit [sc. Abraham] domum". Cf. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, p. 254^o, "Eum in similitudine accepit. At inquires, 'In qua similitudine?' In similitudine certe et morientis et resurgentis". Erasmus goes so far as to translate ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ ἐκομίσατο in *Hebr.* 11, 19 by "vnde illum etiam resurrectionis typo reduxit" in his Latin version.
- 1024–1027 *Isaac ... praemium* See *Gn.* 27, 27–40.
- 1027 *diuersum ... praemium* Erasmus is as vague as the author of Hebrews with his περὶ μελλόντων ("de futuris" Vg.) in verse 20. Chrysostom, Thomas, and Lefèvre see in this phrase a reference to the distant future when the gentiles, of whom Esau is the type, supplant the Hebrews as the true Israel. While Erasmus might seem to be rejecting this typological interpretation here, the following sentence could be understood as an oblique reference to it.

1030 Consimilis fiduciae fuit, quod Iacob moriens singulis filiis Ioseph benedixit non ignarus futuri, qui transuersis bracchiis dextram imposuit Effrem, qui sinister aderat, laeuam Manasse, qui dexter, nihil addubitans quin futurum esset quod diuinus Spiritus illi significaret euenturum. Sed longius etiam prospiciebat senis fides cum exosculans summam virgam filii Ioseph veneraretur in eo Christum
1035 omnibus imperaturum, cuius ille delatus ac proditus a fratribus imaginem gesserat. Ne Ioseph quidem degenerauit a fide maiorum suorum. Siquidem moriturus in Aegypto praeuidit futurum ope diuina, quod tamen id temporis non videbatur probabile, vt Israhelitae demigrarent ex Aegypto peruenturi ad terram promissam a Deo; adeoque non dubitauit de hac re vt simul de ossibus suis eo transferendis mandauerit.

1040 Quin Mosi recens nato parentum fides saluti fuit. Cum enim rex edixisset vt quicquid ex Hebraeis nasceretur sexus masculini statim interimeretur, parentes huius, vt conspexere puerum ipsa statim indole vultus magnum quiddam prae se ferentem, interpretantes Deo gratum esse vt infans bono publico populi seruaretur,
1045 neglexerunt regis edictum ac puerum apud se tribus mensibus occultarunt. Deinde scriniolo inclusum exponunt in ripa fluminis, non dubitantes quin Deus seruaturus esset puerum cui tantam gratiam offuderat. Magisque metuerunt offendere Deum quam tyrannum, nimirum intelligentes eos qui pietatem colunt, vtcunque res hominum cadunt, non posse destitui praemio suo.

1050 Sed haec laus debebatur parentibus Mosi; verum illa fuit huius propria, quod, posteaquam adoleuisset et adoptatus esset a filia Pharaonis, respuit honorem regiae cognationis maluitque palam professus Hebraeum esse se communibus malis affligi cum populo Dei quam ex impia simulatione capere commoda huius vitae, feliciores diuitias esse iudicans iam tum pro seruando populo ferre probra
1055 malorum in typum Christi, qui olim erat grauiora passurus pro salute gentis suae, quam vniuersos Aegyptiorum thesauros. Contempsit quod erat in manibus et fidei oculos vertebat in ea quae procul aberant a sensibus, Deo fretus qui non patitur hominum pietatem fraudari meritis praemiis.

1060 Idem Dei praesidio fretus ausus est his etiam maiora. Non dubitauit moliri fugam ex Aegypto secumque populum educere, nihil veritus tyranni ferocis iram. Contempsit regem quem oculis cernebat, neglexit minas tanti principis quem armatum videbat imminere ceruicibus suae gentis; nec aliter animo infracto fisus est inuisibilibus praesidiis inuisibilis Dei ac si eum coram oculis suis conspexisset.

1065 Eiusdem fiduciae fuit, quod, cum intellexisset fore vt angelus vltor obambulatorius per vniuersam Aegyptum et occisurus quicquid esset primigenitorum, suis Hebraeis nihil omnino metuerit, quibus id temporis sub exitum instituit solennem | ritum edendi paschalem agnum, e cuius sanguine conspergebant limen ac superliminare simulque postem vtrunque domus. At hoc signo freti nihil sibi metuebant in media caede Aegyptiorum.

1030 quod A–E G H : quo F G²

1047 metuerunt H: metuerint A–G

- 1030–1032 *Iacob ... dexter* See *Gn.* 48, 12–20.
- 1034 *exosculans ... veneraretur* See *Gn.* 37, 31 LXX.
- 1034–1035 *Christum ... imperaturum* Cf. the interlinear *Glossa*: “regnum Christi quod in illo [sc. fastigium virgae] significabatur futurum in gentibus”, and Thomas, *Hebr.* p. 765b, “Ad quod [adoration of the staff] motus fuit ex consideratione potestatis Christi, quam potestas Ioseph praefigurabat. Ipse enim tamquam praefectus Aegypto portabat sceptrum in signum potestatis Christi”. Cf. *Annot. in Hebr.* II, 21 (“Et adoravit fastigium virgae illius”), *LB VI*, 1015 D, where Erasmus surveys the alternative readings and interpretations of *Gn.* 47, 31.
- 1036–1040 *Stiquidem ... mandauerit* See *Gn.* 50, 23–24.
- 1041–1042 *Cum ... interimeretur* See *Ex.* I, 22.
- 1043–1045 *ut conspexere ... seruetur* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVI, 2, Migne PG 63, 180, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 356 C, and the interlinear *Glossa*, p. 22v^o, emphasize the supernatural beauty of the child which had to be due to God, not to nature, but Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 766a, comes closest to Erasmus’ paraphrase: “Credebant [sc. parentes Moysi] aliquem nasciturum qui liberaret eos ab illa seruitute. Vnde ex elegantia pueri aestimabant aliquam virtutem Dei esse in illo”. Cf. Lefèvre’s summary of *Ios.*, *Ant. Iud.* II, 9, 3, 215–216: “Amaramidi patri ab angelo nunciatur Moses aequoque populum suum liberaret a seruitute Aegyptiorum”.
- 1046 *Deinde ... fluminis* See *Ex.* 2, 3. Why Erasmus should call the *fuscilla scirpea* of the Vulgate a *scriniolum* is not clear. He may have been following a source which noted that תבה means ‘box’ in *Ex.* 2; 3 and 5 and was the word used for Noah’s ark, translated *arca* in *Vg.*, in *Gn.* 6–9.
- 1051 *adoptatus esset* See *Ex.* 2, 10.
- 1052 *palam ... esse* This clause appears to be a paraphrase on the words “egressus est ad fratres suos” in *Ex.* 2, 11 (*Vg.*).
- 1054–1055 *probra malorum* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVI, 3, Migne PG 63, 181, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 358 B, who see in *Ex.* 2, 14 the connection between Moses and the “improperium Christi” (*Vg.*) in *Hebr.* II, 25. Theophylact comments: “As those who received benefits from Christ afterwards insulted him and crucified him, so long ago those on whom Moses had conferred benefits branded him with ignominy”. Cf. also Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 766b.
- 1057–1058 *fidei oculos ... praemiis*. Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 766b: “aspiciebat, oculis scilicet fidei, in remunerationem, quam scilicet ex hoc sperabat.” Thomas also says, *ibidem*, that as a sick person chooses a bitter potion for the sake of a greater good, so the saints because of their hope of the ultimate end of eternal bliss choose sufferings and poverty before wealth and pleasure, which Thomas calls “bona exteriora”, Erasmus “commoda huius vitae”.
- 1059 *his etiam maiora* That is, the exodus. Commentators, ancient and modern, dispute whether the departure from Egypt mentioned in *Hebr.* II, 27 referred to Moses’ flight to Midian (*Ex.* 2, 14–15) or to the exodus (*Ex.* 13, 18–14, 29); cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 376, Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 359. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVI, 3, Migne PG 63, 181, took the reference to be to the flight to Midian and sought to explain away the apparent contradiction between *Ex.* 2, 14 – Moses was afraid – and *Hebr.* II, 27 – he did not fear the king’s wrath. Chrysostom is followed by Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 357 C–D, the marginal *Glossa*, p. 22v^o, and Hugo, p. Q8v^o. The interlinear *Glossa*, *ibidem*, refers to the exodus. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 767a, considers both possibilities but does not make an actual choice between them. Nicholas of Lyre, p. 22v^o, expressly rejects the reference to the flight to Midian and adopts the reference to the exodus, as does Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 255r^o. Whether Erasmus actually weighed the matter is unknown, but he has clearly chosen the exodus alternative. The words μη φοβηθεὶς τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ βασιλέως in *Hebr.*, which he translated “haud veritus ferociam regis”, seem to have been decisive for him.
- 1062–1063 *nec aliter ... conspexisset* Cf. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 255r^o, “Omnia enim fide toleravit Moses, tanquam eum qui videri non potest semper praesentem conspiceret eumque iugiter oculis suis haberet obuersantem.”
- 1064 *angelus ultor* See *Ex.* 12, 12 and 23.
- 1066–1067 *instituit ... ritum* See *Ex.* 12, 2–10 and 14.
- 1067–1068 *e cuius sanguine ... domus* See *Ex.* 12, 22, where the translation in the Vulgate – “tingite in sanguine qui est in limine” – could be taken to mean that the lintel and doorposts are to be sprinkled with blood from the threshold rather than, as the Hebrew reads, the blood in the basin.

1070 Mox simili fiducia, cum mare rubrum obstaret fugientibus atque id ictu virgae Mosaicae diduxisset sese, sic via relicta in medio vt tanquam per siccum iter euaderent Hebraei, totus populus Deo fretus incolumis effugit. Caeterum Aegyptii, cum ira praecipites sese credidissent eidem mari, mox coeuntibus vndis demersi sunt.

1075 Quae res autem effecit vt olim moenia Hiericho septimo die septies ambita subito corruerint, nullis impulsa machinis sed ad sonitum sacerdotalium tubarum populique clamorem sic vt Hebraeis vrbem cingentibus qua quisque steterat ingressus daretur? Nonne fides Iosue ducis ac populi? Persuaserat sibi nihil non posse Deum et haud dubie futurum quod ille facturum se promiserat.

1080 Quin et illud fidei non leue documentum fuit, quod Rhaab meretrix, quae prius missos exploratores exceperat hospitio, cum intellexisset eum populum esse Deo charum, maluit illis cum suae vitae periculo consulere quam apud ciues impios inire gratiam. Ac fidei suae mercedem tulit quod vna omnium cum sua familia seruata est ne periret cum iis qui suis viribus freti non crediderant Deum, 1085 vbi vellet, euersurum ciuitatem.

Sed cum inter tot prodigiosa facinora maiorum nostrum nihil omnino gestum sit insigniter absque fidei praesidio, quorsum attinet singula commemorando persequi? Tempus enim citius nos quam exempla deficient si pergam referre de duce Gedeone, qui fretus Dei praesidiis ausus est cum trecentis viris adoriri 1090 Madionitarum copias et viris et armis reliquoque belli apparatu instructissimas. Et immensum multitudinem fudit fugauitque clangore tubarum crepituque lagenarum et lucernarum miraculo sic vt Hebraeis non stringentibus gladium ipsi se hostes mutua caede conficerent.

De Barach, qui fretus vaticinio Delborae mulieris congressus est cum instructissima acie Cызare ducis et ad internicionem concidit omnes, rege Iabin in 1095 fugam acto qui mox manu foeminea confossus est.

De Sampson, qui fultus ope diuina multa prodigiis simillima gessit aduersus Philistaeos pro gente, quae nec a plurimis simul iunctis nec vlllo robore humani corporis geri poterant.

1100 De Iephthe, qui cum esset nothus et abiectae fortunae apud suos, tamen fretus auxilio Dei pulcherrimam victoriam retulit ab Ammonitis, hostibus populi sui.

De Daud, qui praeter tot victorias auxilio diuino partas, praeter tot vitata pericula seruatore Deo, non dubitauit adolescens congregari cum Goliad armato, inermis ipse, quem ictu fundae prostrauit vt victoriae gloria penes Deum esset, non 1105 penes hominem.

De Samuele, qui nullo satellitio munitus per multos annos moderatus est populum Israheliticum, gratis administrans iudicis ac principis officium, videlicet certus a Deo rediturum praemium si quis quid recte gesserit.

1072 effugit *H*: effugerit *A–G*
1073 demersi *A–D* *I*: dimersi *E–H* *K BAS*

1080 Rhaab *E G² H*: Rahab *F G²*: Raab *A*
1094 Barach *A–F*: Baracha *G H*

- 1097 Sampsonē *E G H*: Samsone *A–D F G* Iepthe *G*
 1100 Iephte *E G H*: Iephtæ *A–D*, Iephtæ *F*: Iepthe *G*
 1104 cum *om. K BAS*
- 1070–1074 *cum mare ... demersi sunt* See *Ex.* 14, 13–29.
- 1070 *ictu virgae* Erasmus, or a source, seems to have confused Moses' action in *Ex.* 14, 16, where Moses is told to lift up his staff and stretch his hand over the sea, with the action described in *Ex.* 17, 5–6, perhaps under the impression that the words "qua percussisti fluiuium" in 17, 5 referred to the crossing of the sea.
- 1075–1078 *moenia Hiericho ... daretur* See *Ios.* 6, 15–20.
- 1079 *quod ... promiserat* See *Ios.* 6, 2–5. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 186, and especially Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 359 D, emphasize the act of faith on the part of Joshua and the people.
- 1080 *Rhaab* The reviser of *E* – Erasmus I assume – seems to have been interested in hellenizing the spelling of Greek words in Latin; cf. the treatment of *braueum*, for late Latin *brauium*, in ll. 1234 and 1240 below, of *Sampsonē* in l. 1087, and the note on *Iepthe* in l. 155. Erasmus was probably aiming at *Rhabab* for Ῥαββ (cf. Appendix I, *Paraphr. in Iac.*, l. 531). The usual Latin orthography was *Rahab* and *Samson*. For the story of *Rahab* see *Ios.* 2, 1–21 and 6, 25, and the *Paraphr. in Iac.*, ad 2, 25, p. 90, ll. 561–572. Erasmus eschews the moral and allegorical features which are the primary concern of the Greek and Latin commentators. Nor does he concern himself with the sins of Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah, which made the medieval Latin commentators wonder why they were chosen as exemplars of faith, but instead concentrates on their acts as demonstrations of their faith.
- 1089 *Gedeone* See *Iudic.* 7, 1–22.
- 1092 *lucernarum miraculo* *Iudic.* 7, 16 and 20 do not suggest that there was anything miraculous about the torches. Erasmus may have in mind some allegorical interpretation like the one he offers for David's use of a sling to slay Goliath, ll. 1105–1106 below. The *Glossa* on *Iudic.* 7, 16, e.g., sees in the torches a prefiguration of the miracles of Christian martyrs.
- 1094 *Barach* Βαράχ and *Barac* are the spellings in Erasmus' Greek text and Latin version, but *Barach*, a commonly found alternative in both manuscripts and printed editions (e.g. the Froben editions of Hugo, the *Glossa*, and Nicholas of Lyre; the manuscripts and sixteenth-century Basel editions of Ps. Philo, *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*) may have been his own spelling of the name. The false *Baracha* of *G* is doubtless a compositor's error. For the story see *Iudic.* 4, 6–24.
- Delborae* *Delbora*, like *Barach*, is a common alternative spelling of the name, found also in the Froben editions cited in the preceding note. In *Iudic.* 4, 4 she is identified as "prophetis vxor Lapidoth". Erasmus' *mulieris* may reflect an attitude like that of Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 769a, who depreciates Barak's victory because it was really due to a woman (*mulier*) or, since the Latin word is ambiguous, Erasmus may have shared Hugo's erroneous belief that Deborah was the wife of Barak (p. R1v^o).
- 1096 *qui ... confossus est* Erasmus confuses Jabin with his general Sisera; see *Iudic.* 4, 17–22.
- 1097 *Sampsonē* See *Iudic.* 14–16.
- ope diuina* That is, the inrush of the Spirit of the Lord; cf. *Iudic.* 14, 6, 19; 15, 14; 16, 28. Not all of Samson's feats are attributed to divine aid in *Iudic.*, but this is the view of the *Glossa*, p. 23r^o.
- 1100 *Iepthe* Erasmus' Greek text of *Hebr.* 11, 32 has Ἰεφθαίε, which he transliterated *Hiephthae* in his Latin version and in his *Annot. in Hebr. ad loc.* ("Iepthe"), *LB* VI, 1016 E, noted that the Greek word has four syllables. Cf. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, p^o 255v^o, who makes the same observation. I suspect that in his autograph Erasmus wrote *Iepthae*, the last two vowels of which the compositor of *A* set with the digraph *æ*. The change in *E* could thus be either a correction of the false diphthong or a return to the customary spelling with a single final *e*.
- cum ... apud suos* See *Iudic.* 11, 1–3.
- 1100–1101 *fretus ... Ammonitis* See *Iudic.* 11, 29–33. Erasmus ignores the episode of Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter, which vexed the patristic and medieval commentators.
- 1104–1105 *congregi ... ipse* See 1. *Sm.* 17, 37–50. Nicholas of Lyre, p. 23r^o, likewise singles out the victory over Goliath as David's principal achievement *ex fide*, but without the allegorical explanation of David's decision to use his sling instead of the weapons given him by Saul either in his commentary on *Hebr.* or on 1. *Sm.* Cf. Et. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 71, l. 10, where David's use of a sling to kill Goliath occurs in a list of texts which require allegorical explanation.
- 1107 *nullo ... munitus* This phrase and the *gratis administrans* in l. 1108 look more like comments on the customs of Erasmus' own

1110 Tempus, inquam, me defecerit si pergam huiusmodi exempla omnia percen-
 sere, ut sileam interim tot eximios prophetas qui Deo freti tyrannorum minas pro
 nihilo ducebant, tot religione celebres viros qui non opibus humanis sed praesi-
 dio Dei, in quo totam fiduciam collocarant, prodigiosa patrarunt et egregiis fac-
 1115 tibus sui memoriam posteritati reliquerunt. Etenim ut omissis vocabulis autorum
 rerum summa attingam capita, fidei illorum tribuendum est quod caeteris omni-
 bus rebus impares auxiliante Deo expugnarunt opulentissima regna nec vili ter-
 roribus potuerunt abduci ab obseruatione traditae legis, praemium expectantes a
 Deo; et, quoniam nulla dilatio promissorum minuit illorum fiduciam, tandem et
 LB 1192 compotes facti sunt eorum quae maioribus Deus promiserat. Impetrarunt a
 1120 Deo votis fidentibus quod iuxta naturae cursum fieri non poterat – erepti sunt e
 summis periculis, seruatore Deo; leones in alios inuictae saeuitiae aut vicerunt
 aut senserunt innoxios, velut ocluso ore aut alligatis unguibus laedere non pos-
 sent quos Deus volebat esse innocuos; in medium incendium coniecti sic illaesi
 perdurarunt quasi suis corporibus natiuam ignis vim extinguerent; e mediis ensi-
 1125 bus hostium in se dstrictis incolumes effugerunt protectore Deo. Atque eodem
 animo instaurante a summa rerum desperatione summum animi robur college-
 runt adeo ut paulo ante pro mortuis habiti subito fortiter se gesserint in bello et
 hostium incursiones strenue repulerint.

Quin illud etiam meruit mulierum fiducia ut matres liberos defunctos ad
 1130 vitam reuocari conspicerent. Alii distenti in eculis variisque tormentorum geni-
 ribus exanimati maluerunt in his exhalare animam quam obsequentes impiis
 principum iussis eximi a tormentis, ingenti fiducia vitam impendentes Deo,
 quam scirent se cum foenore recepturos in resurrectione mortuorum multoque
 1135 ob lucellum exigui temporis perdere vitam aeternam. Alii rursus ob veritatis ac
 iusticiae pertinax studium ludibrio fuerunt hominibus, derisi traductique velut
 amentes ac scelerosi. Neque probris tantum affecti sunt ob fiduciam quam habe-
 bant erga Deum, verum etiam flagris explorata est illorum synceritas insuper et
 vinculis et carcere. Lapidati sunt, dissecti sunt horrendo supplicio corporis mem-
 1140 bris in diuersa distractis. Denique quo genere malorum non sunt tentati? Caesi
 gladiis occubuerunt, persuasi nec morte pios a Deo diuelli posse. Porro quibus
 non contigit morte finire cruciatus, iis vita nihil aliud contulit quam ut longo
 martyrio cruciarentur. Exulabant ab aedibus suis; eiecti oppidis ferarum ritu
 oberrabant per solitudines vtcunque tecti pellibus ouillis et caprinis, laborantes
 1145 inopia rerum necessariarum, imminente vndique persecutorum saeuitia pressi
 variisque huius vitae incommodis affecti vsqueadeo non digni malis huiusmodi ut
 viris tam sanctis mundus ipse potius esset indignus, ut Deus vel ob hoc videri
 posset illos semouisse ab hominum consortio ne puri castique inter pollutos et
 inquinatos vitam agerent. Itaque vagabantur incertis sedibus per auios montes,
 1150 pro tectis speluncis vtentes ac terrae cauernis. Atque omnes hi, cum nondum
 assequuti sint promissam pietatis mercedem quae continget in resurrectione cor-
 porum, tamen ob fiduciae constantiam aeternam laudem meruerunt. Dicturus

est aliquis: 'Quur non statim a morte singulis redduntur sua praemia?'. Nimirum ita visum est Deo vt vniuersum Christi corpus simul accipiat gloriam immortalitatis. Omnes enim eiusdem corporis membra sumus et qui nos praecesserunt

1155

1114 sui A-E G² H: suis F G²
1125 destrictis A-F: districtis G H

time than exegesis, but he may be comparing Samuel's practice with that of his sons; cf. I *Sm.* 7, 15-17 and 8, 11-13.

1111 *prophetas* Erasmus appears to be unique among commentators in separating the term 'prophets' in *Hebr.* II, 32 from the preceding proper nouns and consequently taking the string of actions described in verses 33-38 to refer to the prophets and "religione celebres viros" - presumably non-prophetic figures like the three companions of Daniel (*Dn.* 24-27), the scribe Eleazar (2. *Mcc.* 6, 18-30), or the seven brothers of 2. *Mcc.* 7. Also, contrary to the impulse which has affected commentators from Chrysostom onward to match the actions described in verses 33-38 with the names of particular prophets or other Old Testament figures - Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 362 D-365 A, has perhaps the most complete list, but cf. also Spicq, *Hébreux*, pp. 362-363 - Erasmus, following the lead of the author of Hebrews, omits all names after Samuel though the paraphrase makes it clear that he too has in view several of these later figures.

1111-1112 *qui ... ducebant* Erasmus probably means Elijah and Micaiah (see I. *Rg.* 17-22), especially if he believed, as he seems to have, that the author of Hebrews is proceeding more or less in chronological order - for the exception see n.l. 1129-1130 - from the period of the Judges down to New Testament times; see p. 94, n.l. 1160. Few, if any, other commentators adopt this view; see e.g. Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 348-351.

1116-1117 *vllis ... legis* If this clause is intended to be an explanation of the phrase εἰργάσαντο δικαιοσύνην ("operati sunt iustitiam" Vg.), it appears to be unique. Patristic and medieval commentators explain these words as either the administration of public justice and generally refer them to the reign of David, or as the exercise of moral virtue. Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 769b; Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 393.

1121 *vicerrunt* Samson (*Judic.* 14, 5-7) and David (I. *Sm.* 17, 34-36) are mentioned by Nicholas of Lyre, p. 231^o, as well as Daniel.

1122 *senserunt innoxios* Daniel (*Dn.* 6, 22).

1150 hi A-F G²: hii G² H

1123-1124 *in medium ... extinguerent* See *Dn.* 3, 19-27.

1129-1130 *matres ... conspicerent* *Matres* and *liberos* show that Erasmus has in view the miracles of Elijah and Elisha narrated in I. *Rg.* 17, 17-24 and 2. *Rg.* 4, 20-37.

1130 *eculeis* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 771a: "... 'quidam distenti sunt' in equuleis sicut dicitur ... [2. *Mcc.* 6, 19 and 28]. If Erasmus has 2. *Mcc.* in mind, then the words "variis tormentorum generibus" probably refer to the deaths of the seven brothers described in 2. *Mcc.* 7.

1131-1132 *impiis ... iussis* To eat swine's flesh; cf. 2. *Mcc.* 6, 18 and 7, 1.

1133 *in resurrectione mortuorum* Cf. 2. *Mcc.* 7, 14, 23, and 29.

1139 *dissecti sunt* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* II, 37 ("Secti sunt"), *LB VI*, 1017 D, where Erasmus refers to the martyrdom of Isaiah, but in a way which suggests that he did not believe that the author of Hebrews had this event in mind here. The paraphrase reinforces this belief although it is not clear just what form of execution Erasmus is attempting to describe. For the story of Isaiah, who was cut in two with a wooden saw, see Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 15, 57, Migne *PL* 24, 546-547.

1140 *Denique ... tentati* This sentence is a paraphrase on the verb ἐπειρασθήσαν ("tentati sunt" Vg.) in *Hebr.* II, 37, though Erasmus elsewhere considered it an interpolation; see *Annot. in Hebr.* II, 37 ("Tentati sunt"), *LB VI*, 1017 D.

1153-1155 *Nimirum ... immortalitatis* This explanation of the clause 'God had provided something better' in *Hebr.* II, 40 is advanced by Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVIII, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 192, and, following him, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 365 D-368 A, the interlinear *Glossa*, Hugo, Thomas, and Nicholas of Lyre, though the Latin commentators introduce some qualifications (Nicholas, for example, places the Old Testament heroes in limbo until the last judgment). Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 772b, explains the final 'perfection' as the resurrection of the body and its reunion

libenter expectant vt toti cum corporibus sociis ac toto fratrum sodalitia pariter veniant in haereditatem aeternae gloriae suoque capiti simul copulentur.

CAPVT XII

1160 Cum igitur tanta turba ac veluti nube sepiamur eorum qui ferendis huiusmodi
 1193 malis testati sunt se toto pectore fidere promissis Dei etiam in veteri testamento,
 1165 nimirum horum exemplis animati curemus et ipsi vt abiecto onere sarcinaeque
 1170 rerum corporalium et cupiditatum | quae remorantur onustum curis animum ab
 expetendis coelestibus excussoque peccato quod nos vndique complectebatur,
 rerum coelestium spe inflammati strenue curramus in hoc nobis proposito certa-
 mine nec vllis afflictionibus aut auocamentis retardemur ab instituto cursu, nus-
 quam oculos dimouentes a Iesu Christo, qui vt nobis autor est huius de Deo
 conceptae fiduciae, ita quod coepit in nobis consummabit. Consideremus qua via
 sit ingressus ille et quo peruenerit. Cum innocenti liceret effugere mortem et tam
 abesse ab omni cruciatiu quam aberat ab omni peccato, tamen contemptis huius
 vitae gaudiis subiit mortem et quo malum esset grauius accessione ignominiae,
 subiit mortem crucis. Nam gloriosam mortem facilius perferunt homines.

Qua sit ingressus videtis. Nunc quo tandem peruenerit? Contemptu vitae huius
 assequutus est immortalitatem; contemptu ignominiae apud homines assequutus
 1175 est aeternam gloriam in coelis vbi nunc assidet dexter magnifico throno Dei
 Patris. Ad huius gloriae consortium cum per ignominiam variasque dolorum
 afflictiones properetis, ne quando defatigemini fractis animis a cursu proposito,
 reputate vobiscum quod dux vester nescius omnis peccati tamen vt nobis osten-
 deret exemplar verae tolerantiae, tantum probrorum, tantum ignominiae, tan-
 tumque criminationum perpessus est vt ad crucis vsque supplicium adigi sese
 1180 passus sit. Ne vos abiiciatis animum qui non immunes ab omnibus peccatis
 leuiora patimini.

Praestat millies mori quam in pristinam vitam relabi. At vos leuioribus adhuc
 malis affecti nondum vsque ad sanguinis effusionem restitistis peccato quod vos
 acriter impetit rebellantes, et statim arbitramini vos esse destitutos a Deo nec
 1185 venit in mentem quid vobis tanquam filiis propitius Pater loquatur in mysticis
 prouerbiis, consolans vos et ad animi magnitudinem blande extimulans: *Fili mi,*
inquit, noli negligere correptionem Domini, neque despondeas animum quoties ab eo
argueris. Quem enim diligit Dominus, eum huius vitae malis corripit, et flagellat
omnem filium quem recipit. Quod si castigationem huiusmodi patienter fertis,

1165-1166 nusquam *GH*: nunquam *A-F*

1184 arbitramini *A-D*: arbitrabimini *E-H*

with the soul in heaven. However, all the commentators emphasize the joy to be experienced in the common reunion of the members of the body in Christ.

1160 *etiam in veteri testamento* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVIII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 193:

"Witnesses, not only those in the New, but also those in the Old". Chrysostom, *ibid.*, XXVII, 2-3, Migne *PG* 63, 187, believed that some of the events mentioned in *Hebr.* II, 36-37 referred to the executions of John the Baptist, James the son of Zebedee, and Stephen; that is,

- the cloud of witnesses includes the martyrs mentioned elsewhere in the *Nov. Test.*
- 1162 *rerum ... cupiditatum* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 368 B, who explains the word ὄγκον (“pondus” Vg.) in *Hebr.* 12, 1 as the burden of “earthly affairs and the concerns associated with them”. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 63, 193, is more concrete: “Every burden. What? That is, sleep, negligence, vile calculations, all human things”. The *Glossa* and Nicholas of Lyre pass over the phrase in silence while Hugo, p. R2v°, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 773b, explain it as the weight of sin which depresses the soul.
- 1163 *quod ... complectebatur* Cf. *Annot. in Hebr.* 12, 1 (“Circumstans nos”), LB VI, 1018 C, where Erasmus explains the meaning of the adjective εὐπερίστατον: “quod facile circumstiat et haereat atque amplectatur quasi nolens abiici. Proinde nos vertimus ‘tenaciter inhaerente peccato’”. ‘Facile circumstiatere’ is one of Chrysostom’s two interpretations of the adjective; however, he preferred his second interpretation, “the easily endured circumstance [περίστασις], for if we want to, we can easily overcome sin”; see *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 193. The medieval Latin commentators offer a variety of interpretations none of which are identical with Erasmus’. The meaning of the adjective εὐπερίστατος, which is apparently not attested before *Hebr.*, is still disputed; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 355, Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 403, Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 385. Although, as Spicq points out, the meaning of the adjective cannot be determined with certainty, Erasmus’ explanation in the annotation and translation are probably correct. However, the reason for the use of the imperfect tense, *complectebatur*, instead of the present, as in *remorantur*, is not immediately evident. One would think that the presence of sin is continual, but the perfect participles in the ablative absolutes may be intended to refer to the removal of sin which occurred in baptism: with the old person stripped off, let us now run unimpeded.
- 1168–1169 *Cum ... peccato* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 193–194, who stresses that Christ was under no obligation to suffer and die because he was not subject to sin.
- 1169–1170 *huius vitae gaudiis* The *Glossa*, p. 24v°, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 774a, refer to *Ioh.* 6, 14–15. Thomas comments, “Istud autem gaudium fuit illud gaudium terrenum quo a turba quam pauerat quaerebatur vt facerent eum regem”. The medieval Latin commentators, who had *proposito sibi gaudio* without the preposition in their text of the Vulgate, defined the joy variously as the joy in prospect, that is, in the exaltation (the *Glossa*, Hugo) or the joy felt in the fulfilment of the Father’s will through the passion (Nicholas of Lyre). The phrase ἀντι τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς in *Hebr.* 12, 2 can be explained in a variety of ways, depending upon whether the preposition ἀντι is taken to mean ‘instead of’ or ‘for the sake of, in return for’. Most modern commentators prefer the latter meaning, though holding divergent views about the nature of the joy; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 357, Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 404–405, and Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 387.
- 1177–1178 *vt ... tolerantiae* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXVIII, 3, Migne PG 63, 194, who sees in Christ’s attitude an example to be followed by Christians.
- 1184 *arbitramini* The change to the future *arbitrabimini* in *E*, if it is due to Erasmus and is not a typographical error, was probably intended to convert the sentence from a statement of fact to a possibility – if sin should attack, you will think – but the Latin is not very elegant and I doubt that it fulfils Erasmus’ intention. Therefore, I have retained the reading of *A–D*.
- 1185 *quid ... loquatur* The indirect question seems out of place. Although Erasmus punctuates *Hebr.* 12, 5 as a statement in his Greek text and Latin version, he may have taken it as a question, as do some modern commentators; cf. Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 393. *Pater* The adjective *mysticis* signifies that Erasmus has the spiritual meaning of the text of *Prv.* in view. I believe, therefore, that “propitius Pater” means God the Father, not the human father who actually speaks these words in *Prv.*
- 1186 *consolans ... extimulans* Erasmus combines the two meanings of παρακλήσεως in *Hebr.* 12, 5. See his *Annot. in loc.* (“Consolationis”), LB VI, 1018 E: “Hic sane quadrabat ‘adhortationis’. Imo vtrumque bene habet”.
- 1186–1189 *Fili mi ... recipit Prv.* 3, 11–12. Erasmus paraphrases his version of the text in *Hebr.* 12, 5–6.
- 1189 *si ... fertis* Cf. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 112, ll. 17–30; the condition succinctly states the Eighth Rule. For the paraphrase itself on *Hebr.* 12, 7–8 cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXIX, 2, Migne PG 63, 203–204, or the summary in Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 372 D–373 A.

1190 agnoscit suos filios Deus seque vicissim illis offert vt Patrem propitium et aman-
 tem nec excludit haereditate vitae coelestis. An ideo vos putatis inuisos ac neglec-
 tos Deo quod affligimini malis huius mundi? Imo hoc ipsum argumento esse
 debet vos esse destinatos haereditati paternae. Quis est enim pater qui non corripiat
 aliquando filium suum, quem vt germanum agnoscit? Porro cum omnes pii,
 1195 qui Deo chari sunt aut fuerunt, afflictionibus temporariis eruditi sint ad veram
 pietatem, si vos immunes estis ab huiusmodi castigatione paterna, nimirum argu-
 mentum est vos nothos esse, non germanos filios. Quod si parentes nostros, ex
 quibus secundum corpus tantum sumus progeniti, non modo passi sed etiam
 reueriti sumus dum nos conuiciis ac virgis erudirent ad institutionem vitae com-
 1200 munitis, nihil illorum auctoritati reluctantes sed sic interpretantes quasi, quibus-
 cunque modis tractarent nos, amico id animo facerent, an non multo magis
 subiiciemus ac permittemus nos Patri coelesti qui non corporum tantum sed et
 spirituum est autor? hoc semel nobis habentes persuasum, quibuscunque malis
 ille nos patitur affligi, tamen paterno animo nostrae salutis consulere. Quemad-
 1205 modum pater corporalis non ita saeuit in filium vt occidat, sed vt seruet melio-
 remque reddat, ita Deus in hoc castigat nos in hoc mundo vt viuamus in aeter-
 num. | Atque illi quidem parentes pro suo arbitrato nos instituebant, non
 nunquam abutentes auctoritate sua, et instituebant ad breue tempus in rebus
 fluxis moxque perituris – nimirum in his quae ad rem familiarem parandam ac
 1210 tuendam pertinent – nonnunquam et suis commodis consulens vt obsequio nos-
 tro iuuarentur. At hic nostri non egens perpetuo consulit nostris commodis, nec
 his sane vulgaribus. Nec enim hoc agit vt terrenis opibus ditescamus nec vt in ali-
 quot iugerum haereditatem succedamus, sed vt sua coelestia bona nobis impar-
 tiat, hoc est, sanctimoniam in hoc mundo, in futuro seculo felicitatem aeternam.
 1215 Hunc fructum tam eximium qui suo cum animo reputabit, facile patietur tem-
 porariam huius vitae molestiam. Etenim cum caeteri parentes corripiunt liberos
 suos, habet ea castigatio non voluptatem sed molestiam in praesenti quidem; cae-
 terum vbi iam grandiores facti sentire coeperunt quanto bono sibi fuerit ille cru-
 ciatus, magnopere gaudent se fuisse caesos et obiurgatos, et cum risu gratias
 1220 agunt his quos ante lachrymantes ferebant. Sic huius mundi calamitas grauis qui-
 dem interim est sensibus nostris dum imminet atque premit haec mortalia corpo-
 ra. Caeterum hic dolor, ille tumultus, quo turbantur et animi nostri ob corpo-
 ris commercium, tranquillum ac suauem iusticiae fructum reddit suo tempore.
 Afflictio docet pietatem; pietas adfert gaudium bonae mentis; bona mens parit
 1225 immortalitatem. Proinde ne quem in hoc pulcherrimo certamine destituat ani-
 mus. Sudor est ingens, sed eximia praemia, sed fidus agonotheta. Imitemini
 fortes athletas et strenuos cursores; manus lassescentes excitate, genua soluta
 labantiaque surrigite; recto cursu properate ad metam propositam, neque pes huc
 aut illuc deflectens aberret a recta via. Imo si quid aberratum est, si quid cessa-
 1230 tum est, id alacritate noua sartiatur. Neque vero satis vobis vt quisque sibi certet
 securus aliorum; imo pax et concordia vos omnes ita iungat et conglutinet vt
 communi studio alii pro aliis solliciti sint curentque ne quis in communi cursu

1235 decidat a gratia Dei; ne quis, alienus a sanctimonia quae decet membra Christi et sine qua nemo videbit Deum, grauis sit corpori et indignus qui braueo proposito
 1240 potiat; ne properantibus ad coelestia radix aliqua amarulentiae suppullulans ac fruticans obturbet aliorum piis studiis eaque latius serpens complures inquinat suo contagio; ne quis sit inter vos scortator aut alioqui profanus gulae ventriculo deditus. Siquidem huiusmodi cupiditates remorantur cursum vestrum ac defleunt a recto tramite fitque vt, dum ad huiusmodi fucata bona respicitis, summum illud et aeternum braueum amittatis. Sic nimirum euenit Esau, qui famelicus ob vnus edulii voluptatem vendidit ius primogeniti, breui voluptatula perpetuam emens poenitudinem. Nam illud meminisse debetis, quo vobis sit exemplo, quod postea cum conaretur benedictione patris sibi restitui ius primo-

1201 id A–K: om. BAS; facerent I BAS: facere A–H K

1203 hoc A H: haec C–G

1221 atque G H: ac A–F G

1222 hic D–H: is A: his C

1234 braueo E G H: brauio A–D F G

1240 braueum E G H: brauium A–D F G

1201 *facerent* Although Erasmus does use an indirect statement construction with *interpretari* (cf. l. 1044 above and *Paraphr. in lac.*, p. 126, ll. 130–131), the addition of *quasi* requires the subjunctive; cf. *Paraphr. in 2. Pet.* 3, 15, p. 229, l. 327.

1203 *spirituum* The contrast with “corporum” here and in l. 1198 above suggests that Erasmus, like Thomas, takes ‘spirits’ in *Hebr.* 12, 9 to mean ‘souls’. See Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 776a: “‘spirituum’, id est animarum nostrarum quae dicuntur spiritus quia non sunt ex materia”; and cf. *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet. LB IX*, 890 E, where Erasmus paraphrases the words “qui Dominus est corporum sicut et spirituum” used by the Faculty of Theology at Paris by “qui corporum pariter atque animarum dominus est”. “Pater spirituum” is a title of God in *Vet. Test.* (cf. *Nu.* 16, 22; 27, 16) and in Jewish apocrypha. But what the author of Hebrews meant by it cannot be determined; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 362–363, Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 415–416, Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 394.

1222 *quo ... nostri* This contrast between mental pain that is the concomitant of suffering and the subsequent peace of a tranquil conscience as the fruit of righteousness is made by Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 373 D, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* 776b–777a. For Thomas that will occur in the future life, which may be the meaning of Erasmus’ “suo tempore” in l. 1223, but the phrase is ambiguous and could also mean in this life.

1226 *agonotheta* That is, God; cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 6, 12, LB VII, 1055 C.

1234 *corpori* The body of Christ, the Church.

1237–1238 *gulae ... deditus* Esau was the exemplar of gluttony and Erasmus may simply be anticipating the next words of *Hebr.* 12, 16. According to the medieval Latin commentators to be profane was to be subject to sins of the flesh (*peccata carnalia*), of which ‘luxury’ (*luxuria*), fornication and gluttony were primary instances. Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 778b: “[Paulus] monet vitare peccata contraria sanctimoniae cui specialiter opponuntur peccata carnalia, scilicet luxuria et gula, quae perficiuntur in delectatione carnali per quam mens inquinatur”.

1240 *Esau* See *Gn.* 25, 29–34.

1241–1242 *breui ... poenitudinem* The contrast between short-lived pleasure and everlasting regret or loss occurs repeatedly in the *Paraphrases*. Erasmus allegorizes the action of Esau to make him not just an example of a particular kind of sin but a symbol of what it means to lose one’s inheritance in heaven. Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 779: “Esau consilio Spiritus sancti reprobatus fuit, in quo datur intelligi quod nullus debet negligere dum adhuc viuere benefacere, quantumcumque sit reprobatus in praesentia diuina, quia post vitam ad hereditatem Dei, etiamsi desideretur naturaliter, non peruenitur”.

1242–1245 *Nam ... fecerat* See *Gn.* 27, 30–5.

1243 *quod postea* See *Gn.* 27, 30–40. *Hebr.* 12, 17 is not completely congruent with the story in Genesis; see Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 369–370, Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, pp. 401–403. Erasmus’ paraphrase creates a closer connection between the sale of Esau’s right of primogeniture

1245 geniti, reiectus est; nec profuit illi sera poenitentia, tametsi lachrymis profusis testaretur sibi dolere quod fecerat.

Amarulentia, quae nascitur ex odio, liuore et arrogancia, viciat fraternam concordiam; libido, luxus caeteraeque rerum sordidarum cupiditates viciant puritatem et sanctimoniam vitae. Atqui duas hasce res oportet inter vos esse saluas; nec altera sine altera constat. Nec enim est inter impuros grata Deo concordia
 1250 nec illic esse potest vera morum integritas vbi regnat discordia. Cauendum est igitur et nobis ne coelestem haereditatem cum huius mundi delectamentis stultissime commutemus. Coelestia sunt ad quae properamus; puri accedamus oportet, in euangelica luce versemur; tam sanctae professioni vitae san|ctimonia
 LB 1195 respondeamus oportet. Pontifici vestro atque huius legi respondere necesse est.
 1255 Non enim accessistis, quemadmodum olim maiores vestri cum Moses legem ferret, ad montem Sina, qui corpore contingi potest, et ad ignem incensum, qui sensibus humanis percipitur, ac turbinem et caliginem procellamque ac tubae sonitum, quae auribus atque oculis percipiuntur; nec ad vocem verborum, quae, licet aere pulso sentiri poterant auribus humanis ac tenuem modo imaginem
 1260 habebant vocis verae diuinae, tamen non carebant maiestate sua adeo vt populus qui audiebat, expauefactus horrore vocis, deprecaretur ne pergeret loqui Deus, sed ipse Moses sua voce pronunciaret quae mandasset ille. Alioqui terribior erat illa vox quam vt humanarum aurium imbecillitas ferre potest. Tantum autem habebant religionis ac formidinis quae per typum tantum euangelicae legis gerebantur vt a contactu montis procul arceretur populus et edicto publicaretur vt
 1265 bestia quae tetigisset montem lapidaretur aut iaculo configeretur. Nam vsqueadeo terrificata species erat rerum quae sensibus corporalibus exhibebantur vt ipse Moses expauerit ac tremuerit horrore spectaculi.

Ad huiusmodi igitur sensibile spectaculum vos non accessistis, quod vmbras ac
 1270 typum habebat rerum longe meliorum, sed accessistis ad res hoc veriores quod animo, non sensibus corporis percipiuntur – ad spiritualem montem Sion, qui spiritu contingitur, non manibus; ad ciuitatem Dei viuientis, Hierusalem coelestem vbi pax est aeterna; ad innumerabilium angelorum coetum, qui sunt huius ciuitatis proceres et indigenae; ad concionem filiorum Dei, qui cum Esau non
 1275 perdiderunt ius primogeniti, sed Christo adhaerentes conscribi meruerunt in coelis, facti ciues eiusdem ciuitatis; ad iudicem vniuersorum Deum, eius reipublicae principem, ac spiritus iustorum hominum, quos perfecta pietas coelesti contubernio copulauit ac iudicis assessores reddidit; ad noui testamenti pontificem, Iesum, qui non perdit sed reconciliat, et ad huius sanguinem, cuius aspersu

1254 vestro *A–D F–H*: nostro *E*

1277 ac *G² H*: ad *A–G²*

and the loss of his father's blessing than the text of *Hebr.* suggests. In *Gn.* 27, 34–36 Esau does not ask for the blessing given to Jacob but for a blessing of his own. Moreover,

Erasmus seems to imply that Esau's remorse was genuine, although patristic and medieval commentators argue that it was insincere or based on false grounds, and for that reason

- his appeal was unsuccessful. Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXI, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 214, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 380 B–C, Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 779.
- 1257 *turbinem ... procellamque* From the Vulgate translation of *Hebr.* 12, 18 – “turbinem et caliginem et procellam” – which Erasmus retained in his Latin version.
- 1260–1262 *populus ... ille* See *Ex.* 20, 18–19.
- 1264 *per typum* Cf. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f° 258r^o: “Quomodo igitur si non obiederimus [sc. voci Dei], euademus inulti cum ii qui Mosen mortalem quidem hominem non audiebant, illius solum vmbra et figuram, tam seuerè puniebantur? Quomodo si montem illum spiritualem offendimus, effugiemus cum siue homo siue bestia sensibilem montem Sinae et qui palpari potest morte moreretur?”. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 381 A–B, likewise states that ‘gloom’ and ‘darkness’ signify the adumbration in the Old Testament. Its types were obscure since their signification could not be known until the truth of the New Testament arrived.
- 1266 *iaculo configeretur* Cf. *Ex.* 19, 13 Vg.: “aut confodiatur iaculis”.
- 1273 *vbi ... aeterna* A paraphrase on the notion that the word Jerusalem means ‘vision of peace’; see Hier. *Lib. interpret. hebr. nom.*, *CCSL* 72, p. 121 (= Lagarde, p. 50, ll. 9–10).
- innumerabilium* This word is Erasmus’ translation of *ὑπεράσιν* in *Hebr.* 12, 22 in place of the “multa milia” in Vg. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.* f° 258v^o, likewise speaks of ‘innumerable’ angels but he is paraphrasing rather than translating. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 781a, stresses the vast number of the angels.
- 1275–1276 *Christo ... coelis* Cf. *Lc.* 10, 20b and *Phil.* 4, 3. Both of these texts are cited by the medieval Latin commentators in their commentaries on *Hebr.* 12, 23. These commentators identify the ‘firstborn’ with either the apostles or their first converts. However, Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 220, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 383 AB, speak simply of ‘all the faithful’. Theophylact also alludes to the Pauline idea of adoption (*υιοθεσία κατὰ πρόθεσιν*) – all believers are sons. Hugo, p. R5v^o, observes that the faithful will be enrolled as companions (“socii”) of the angels.
- 1276 *iudicem uniuersorum* Erasmus follows the word order in Vg. (“omnium iudicem”) although in *Annot. in Hebr.* 12, 23 (“Et iudicem omnium Deum”), *LB* VI, 1020 E, he points out that the order in the Greek is “iudicem Deum omnium”. For some reason Erasmus chooses not to comment on the judgment of God, emphasized in the Latin commentaries, or the universality of his rule, which Chrysostom and Theophylact stress.
- 1277 *ac* In his Latin version of *Hebr.* 12, 22–24 Erasmus is careful to repeat the preposition *ad* with each of the accusatives in this series (Vg. has only the initial “ad” with “accessistis” in 12, 22) in order to show that each of the head nouns, in the dative case in the Greek, are separate items. This *ad* is retained in the *Paraphrasis* in A–G. The *ac* of G may thus be only a typographical error. On the other hand the idea that these ‘just persons’ are the judge’s assistants (“assessores”) may have led Erasmus to combine the two phrases into a unit. As Erasmus says on numerous occasions in the *Annotationes*, I leave it to the reader to decide.
- perfecta pietas* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 221, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 383 B, speak variously of the souls of the ‘good’ [*τῶν εὐδοκίμων*; “animas piorum” in Er., *Annot. ad loc.* (“Et spirituum”), *LB* VI, 1020 F] or of the ‘glorified and perfected through faith’. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 781, paraphrases “the spirits of the saints, who are just and perfect”.
- 1278 *iudicis assessores* This may be a uniquely Erasmian explanation, grounded perhaps on medieval exegesis. The *Glossa* on *Hebr.* 12, 23 identified the ‘firstborn’ with the apostles. Erasmus seems to be combining this assumption with the statement of Jesus in *Mt.* 19, 28: “Amen dico vobis quod vos, qui sequuti estis me in regeneratione, quum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae, sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel” (Er. Latin version).
- 1279 *qui ... reconciliat* Cf. the paraphrase on 9, 15, p. 33, ll. 722–33 above. Erasmus translated *μεσίτη* in *Hebr.* 12, 24 by “ad conciliatorem”.
- 1279–1280 *cuius ... animae* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 384 C, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 781a, note the purificatory function of the blood. “The blood of Christ, sprinkled upon us, purified and sanctified us” (Theophylact).

1280 purgantur animae quique multo meliora loquitur quam sanguis Abelis. Siquidem ille flagitabat vltionem, hic impetrat remissionem.

Quo clementius et amantius sanguis eius loquitur pro nobis, hoc magis cauendum est ne aspernemur Christum sic nobis loquentem. Etenim si poenas non effugerunt contempti sermonis qui Mosen hominem in terra loquentem auersabantur, multo grauiores poenas dabimus nos si Christum e coelo nobis loquentem auersemur, cuius vox tum concussit terram vt sensibili terrore deterreret a peccando. At nunc quid e coelis comminatur se facturum per Aggaeum prophetam? *Adhuc semel*, inquit, *et ego mouebo non modo terram, verum etiam coelum*, vt expauescant non solum homines terreni, verum etiam coelestia. Porro illud quod dicit: *adhuc semel*, significat eorum quae concutiuntur translationem – vtpote quae facta sunt hominum manibus, quod genus sunt templum et ciuitas Hierosolymorum – vt maneant ea quae hominum manibus facta non sunt et ideo concuti non possunt cum sint aeterna. Gloriantur suo templo Iudaei, gloriantur sancta ciuitate, sed haec aliquando non erunt. Expectant regnum; videmus alio translatum. Quapropter nos, qui coepimus eniti ad regnum coeleste quod labefactari non possit idque beneficio Spiritus diuini, perseueremus in beneficio Dei. |
 1295 Itaque versemur in hoc templo coelesti, sic Deum cum reuerentia ac religione colentes vt puritate mentis illi placeamus qui non requirit posthac aliud sacrificii genus. Si religio erat olim in peragendis sacris quicquam admittere quod offenderet oculos hominum, quanto magis nobis obseruandum in hostiis spiritualibus ne quid offendant oculos Dei? Si olim periculum erat non rite adeunti loca religiosa, quanto plus erit periculi si parum puris mentibus adeamus ipsum Deum, qui non ignis est corporeus qui, vt accenditur, ita restingui potest, sed ignis est efficax, ad nihilum etiam redigens quae vult?

1305

CAPVT XIII

Perseveret apud vos fraterna charitas cum sitis eiusdem corporis membra. Neque solum eos amore complectamini qui vobiscum assidue viuunt, verum etiam eos qui hospites ad vos diuertunt. Neque enim mediocris laus est hospitalitatis apud Deum. Per hanc enim Abraham meruit vt angelos insciens exciperet hospitio

1287 Aggaeum H: Aggaeam G: Aggeam A–F G

1280–1281 *Siquidem ... remissionem* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 384 D, quotes Cyril of Alexandria to the effect that the blood of Abel cries out against his murderer but the blood of Christ speaks to the Father on our behalf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 781b, likewise sees the superiority of the blood of Christ in the difference between vengeance and forgiveness. Cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* 12, 4 (“Melius loquentem quam Abel”), LB VI, 1020 F.

1283 *Christum ... loquentem* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 385 A, identifies ‘the one who is speaking’ in *Hebr.* 12, 25a with Christ. The medieval Latin commentators, following the lead of verse 24, consider the blood of Christ to be speaking through the crucifixion in particular and the gospel or the New Law in general. Hugo, p. R6v^o, observes that this speaking is an appeal for compassion. 1283 *poenas* Chrysostom and Thomas are silent on this point. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad*

- Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 385 A asks *Τὶ οὐκ ἔφυγον; Τὴν τιμωρίαν, τὴν ἀπωλείαν.* Likewise the interlinear *Glossa*, Hugo, p. R6v^o, Nicholas of Lyre, p. z6v^o, and Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 258v^o, state that those who condemn the one speaking cannot escape punishment.
- 1284 *Mosen* This identification of the ‘speaker above’ in contrast to Moses who speaks on earth is made by Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXII, 2, Migne PG 63, 221, and, following him, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 385 A, though Theophylact observes that it is really God speaking through Moses. Erasmus seems to be making this latter assumption in *Annot. in Hebr.* 12, 25 (“Loquebatur”), LB VI, 1021 D, when he states that the verb *χορηματίζοντα* means “oracula reddebat”. Nec enim est simpliciter ‘loqui’ sed ‘ex oraculo respondere”. The addition of “hominem” in the paraphrase serves to emphasize the contrast between the human Moses and the divine Christ who speaks from heaven. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 258v^o, similarly contrasts Moses and Christ though in a different context. The interlinear *Glossa* and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 782a, on the other hand state that Christ is also the one who speaks both on earth (in the events of the Old Testament) and from heaven (through the New Testament). Most modern commentators identify ‘the one who is speaking’ with God simply; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 380.
- 1288 *Adhuc ... coelum* See Hgg. 2, 6.
- 1290–1292 *utpote ... Hierosolymorum* This explanation of the words *ὡς πεποιημένων* (“tamquam factorum” Vg.) runs counter to both patristic and medieval exegesis which saw in the ‘created things’ the present universe which was to be transformed into ‘future goods’ (Chrysostom) or the ‘new earth and the new heavens’ (Theophylact, Hugo and Thomas). Erasmus’ explanation, which is based to be sure upon the distinction between man-made and divine in Hebrews, may reflect an allegorical exegesis which appears in Nicholas of Lyre, p. z6v^o – the ‘things created’ are the institutions of the Old Law which were to exist only for a limited time; what is to remain immobile is the New Law which will last to the end of the world – and in Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 259r^o: “Quae mouentur? Vetera synagogae decreta. Peracta enim fuerunt adiuveniente Christo et vetera translata sunt in noua. Quae manent et immobilia sunt? Noua Ecclesiae a Christo data instituta quae sacrosancta ad finem vsque mundi continent et monstrabunt Euangelia”. This explanation is adopted by Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 412, who attributes it to Cajetan. Erasmus’ explanation is closer to that of Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 380–382, who notes the connection with the language of *Hebr.* 9, 11. Cf. also Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 444–445, who, however, rejects Erasmus’ explanation.
- 1296 *beneficio* The phrase *ἔχωμεν (u. l. ἔχομεν) χάριν* – “habeamus (u. l. habemus) gratiam” Vg. – is ambiguous in both languages and can mean either ‘have thanks’ (i. e. be grateful) or ‘have grace’. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 225, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 388 A, reading the subjunctive, take the words to mean ‘let us give thanks’ (*εὐχαριστῶμεν*). Theodrt., *Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 82, 780 A, simply quotes the phrase without a gloss, but he probably took it in the same sense as Chrysostom. The medieval Latin commentators, whether they read the subjunctive or the indicative, take the words to mean ‘have grace’, though Hugo, p. R5v^o, does note the meaning ‘give thanks’. Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 382–383, and Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 446, argue for ‘thanks’ as the meaning of *χάριν*; Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 413, for ‘grace’.
- 1299–1300 *quod ... hominum* That is, a victim with a blemish; cf. *Lv.* 1, 3, 10.
- 1301 *non rite* Although Erasmus’ language is general enough to apply to Greek and Roman practice, he probably means Hebrew ritual, in which case the danger would be of death as in the prescription in *Lv.* 10, 9 or the fate of the sons of Aaron, *Lv.* 10, 1–2, who violated the rule prescribed in *Ex.* 30, 9.
- 1306 *cum ... membra* That is, the body of Christ. Cf. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 260r^o, who likewise makes the fact that we are all brothers regenerated in Christ and sons of the same Father the basis of his definition of brotherly love. The exegesis is based on the assumption that the ‘body’ in 13, 3 refers to Christ’s body, a notion that is generally rejected by modern commentators.
- 1309 *Abraham* Cf. *Gn.* 18, 1–9. The example of Abraham is cited by Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 1, Migne PG 63, 225, Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 389 A, and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 784a. Cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.* 13, 2 (“Placuerunt quidam”), LB VI, 1021 E–1022 E.

1310 cum se crederet hoc officium in homines conferre. Postulat et hoc Christiana
 charitas, vt eorum qui in vinculis sunt ob Christi professionem calamitas vos
 aequae moueat ac si ipsi essetis in vinculis; et cruciatus eorum qui alioqui variis
 malis affliguntur sic vos afficiat vt appareat vos meminisse quod corpus habetis
 iisdem obnoxium malis nec alienos esse a sensu dolorum quos patiuntur eiusdem
 1315 corporis membra.

Coniugium, quod rite seruatum etiam apud ethnicos suum habet honorem, sit
 apud vos item honorabile neque cubile vllō stupri genere contaminetur. Cacte-
 rum scortatores et adulteros iudicabit Deus.

Vestri mores absint ab auaritia sic vt contenti sitis rebus praesentibus, velut in
 1320 diem viuentes absque sollicitudine futuri. Sic enim Deus ipse pollicitus est Iosue
 et in hoc omnibus ipsi fidentibus: *Non te desero neque derelinquo*, vt hoc freti
 fidentes dicamus quod in psalmo mystico dicit propheta: *Dominus mihi auxilia-
 tor est, nec timebo quid faciat mihi homo.*

Rationem habete eorum qui praesunt vobis, a quibus accepistis non humanam
 1325 doctrinam sed verba Domini, curateque ne quid illis desit rerum necessariarum.
 Horum verbis quemadmodum initio credidistis, ita vitam illorum veluti scopum
 intueamini ac fidem imitemini, considerantes qua constantia perseuerent in
 euangelica professione vsque ad vitae finem.

Euangelium semel recte traditum semper est constantissime tenendum. Vt
 1330 enim Iesus Christus et heri fuit et hodie est et semper futurus in omne tempus
 nec vnquam mutabitur, ita semper manebit illius doctrina. In hac igitur persistite
 stabiles ac firmi, neque ceu nullo certo fundamento nixi circumferamini doctri-
 nis subinde nouis ac variis. Non aliud docuit lex Mosaica quam docet Euange-
 lium, sed aliter. Stultum est autem vmbris inhaerere cum illuxerit veritas. Et
 1335 tamen non desunt qui veterem Iudaismum iam antiquatum renouent, in escis
 ciboque corporis pietatem constituentes, in quarum rerum obseruatione qui
 superstitione versati sunt nullum inde fructum iustitiae retulerunt. Qui solidam
 ac veram pietatem assequi velit, quae non tantum vmbram habeat iustitiae, sed
 animum ipsum bona conscientia confirmet apud Deum, in gratia fideque consi-
 1340 stat, huic fundamento quod iecit Christus innitatur, et non vacillabit Iudaicis
 LB 1197 superstitionibus. Sit | illis religiosum a certis abstinere cibis, etiam ab immolatis.
 Habemus et nos altare multo sacratius de quo non est fas edere iis qui adhuc
 addicti legalibus ceremoniis nesciunt gratiam euangelicam, verae salutis largitri-
 cem. Siquidem iuxta legis praescriptum animantium, quorum sanguis offerri

1316 *etiam apud ethnicos* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Hebr.*
 13, 4 (“honorabile connubium in omnibus”)
 LB VI, 1022 F: “ἐν πᾶσι, quod varie exponit
 Theophylactus [*Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne
 PG 125, 389 B–C]: ‘in omnibus’, vt subaudias
 ‘modis’, aut in ‘in omnibus aetatibus’, aut ‘in
 omni tempore’, denique ‘inter omnes’. Quod
 quidem postremum mihi maxime probatur,

quandoquidem et apud ethnicos honos habi-
 tus est matrimonii ob fauorem publici com-
 modi”.

1319–1320 *velut ... futuri* Cf. *Mt.* 6, 31 and
 Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.* 784b, who
 states that *sollicitudo* is the ground of *auaritia*.
 1321 *Non te ... derelinquo* This is a transla-
 tion, not a paraphrase of *Ios.* 1, 5 as cited in

- Hebr.* 13, 5. Erasmus read ἐγκαταλείπω and thought that ἀνῶ was likewise a present tense. See *Annot. in Hebr.* 13, 5 ("Non te deseram nec relinquam"), *LB VI*, 1022 F.
- 1322 *psalmo Ps.* 118, 6, with "auxiliator" substituted for "adiutor". Erasmus does not annotate this change from the Vulgate.
- 1325 *curateque ... necessariarum* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 392 B, referring to 1. *Thess.* 5, 13, takes *Hebr.* 13, 7a to be an admonition to support church leaders: "As they share the word, so do, if possible, aid them in their daily needs". Hugo, p. R7r^o, likewise takes 13, 7a as a proof-text for the support of the clergy. Cf. 1. *Cor.* 9, 14; *Gal.* 6, 6; 1. *Tim.* 5, 17-18.
- 1326 *veluti scopum* Cf. Theophylact, *ibidem*, who glosses ἀναθεωροῦντες by ἀκριβέστερον ἀνασκοποῦντες.
- 1327 *constantia* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 1, Migne *PG* 63, 226: "He calls steadfastness (τὸ βέβαιον) faith," but by steadfastness Chrysostom means orthodox beliefs about future things, which is for Erasmus presumably a part of *euangelica professio* though this expression looks more to behavior than to doctrine and is a paraphrase on ἀναστροφὴ ("conuersatio" Vg.) in *Hebr.* 13, 7. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 392 C, also takes ἀναστροφὴ to denote the moral life of the leaders.
- 1328 *vsque ... finem* The medieval Latin commentators took "exitum", the Vulgate translation of τὴν ἐκβασιν in *Hebr.* 13, 7, to mean 'death'. They thus understood the verse to mean 'take your dead leaders as models of faith', especially in their glorious martyrdoms (likewise Spicq, *Hébreux*, II, p. 421); cf. the interlinear *Glossa*, p. 27r^o, Hugo, p. R7r^o, Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 785a, and Nicholas of Lyre, p. 27r^o. Thomas, and following him Nicholas, observes that Paul has divided his instruction about leaders into two parts: one, verse 7, refers to deceased leaders; the other, verse 17, refers to living prelates. Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, p. 392, and Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 458.
- 1331 *ita ... doctrina* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 226, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 391 C-D, take *Hebr.* 13, 8 with what follows (Theophylact reports an alternative interpretation which takes it with verse 7). However, the *Glossa*, p. 27r^o, followed by Hugo, Thomas, and Nicholas of Lyre, connects verse 8 with either verse 6 or verse 7 as does Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 260v^o. Only Erasmus, who appears to be following *Mt.* 24, 35, identifies so explicitly the immutability of Christ with the permanence of the gospel. Nicholas by contrast, p. 27r^o, sees Christ's enduring presence in this world only in the eucharist. Cf. Lefèvre, *Comm. in Hebr.*, f^o 260v^o, who, commenting on 13, says, "Gratia quae confirmat cor' doctrina Christi est. Cibi in quibus qui ambulauerunt non profecerunt [sunt] variae doctrinae et peregrinae quae Dei sermonem non continent sed potius illi aduersantur. Nam (vt scriptum est) 'non in solo pane uiuit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit ex ore Dei' [*Mt.* 4, 4]".
- 1334 *Stultum ... veritas* Cf. Nicholas of Lyre, p. 27v^o, on the 'foods' in *Hebr.* 13, 9, which he takes to be a synecdoche for the general observance of the Mosaic law: "Talis autem obseruatio legalium fuit mortua a tempore passionis Christi, sed mortifera post praedicationem Euangelii".
- 1335 *non desunt ... renouent* Cf. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 785b-786a: "Sciendum est quod in primitiua Ecclesia fuit vnus error quod ad salutem necessaria erat obseruantia legalium quae praecipue consistebat in quibusdam cibis sumendis". Although all the patristic and medieval commentators, beginning with Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 226, connect the false doctrines of *Hebr.* 13, 9 with Judaism in one way or another, none are so precise as Thomas who has Paul's Jewish opponents in view. The meaning of verse 9 is in any case difficult and disputed; cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, pp. 394-396, and Braun, *Hebräer*, pp. 461-462.
- 1335-1336 *in escis ... constituentes* Cf. the *Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 4, 1-7, *LB VII*, 1046 F-1047 E.
- 1337 *fructum iusticiae* Cf. *Hebr.* 12, 11.
- 1339 *fideque* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 3, Migne *PG* 63, 229, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne *PG* 125, 393 A-B, likewise gloss 'grace' by 'faith' in this context. Cf. Hugo, p. R7v^o, "id est gratia fidei" and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 786a, referring to *Rom.* 3, 24: "Hoc [sc. cor] non stabilitur escis corporalibus sed per gratiam iustificantem".
- 1341 *etiam ab immolatis* Erasmus means the meat of the animals sacrificed on Yom Kippur (see 13, 11). Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 2, Migne *PG* 63, 227 and Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 786a.
- 1344 *legis praescriptum* See *Lv.* 16, 27.

1345 solet pro peccato per pontificem in tabernaculis quae dicuntur sancta, cadauera
 cremari iubentur extra castra, perinde quasi sanguis habeat aliquid sacri cum cor-
 pora ceu polluta deferantur foras in profanis locis exurenda; atque ob id ab his
 velut ab impuris abstinent cibis. Vmbrae habent isti, sed nos amplectimur id
 quod umbra significauit. Illi nihilo sanctiorem mentem habebant posteaquam
 1350 fuerant aspersi sanguine, nec puriores erant quod ab esu corporum abstinerent
 cum animi viciis maderent. Nos Iesum victimam nostram ac pontificem amplec-
 timur, qui, velut alludens ad legis imaginem ut proprio sanguine purgaret
 populum suum, extra portam Hierosolymitanae ciuitatis voluit crucifigi. Cuius
 exemplum oportet nos non superstitiose sed religiose imitari; id faciemus si et
 1355 ipsi sublata cruce nostra sequamur illum exeuntem e contubernio hominum veluti
 scelerosum. Egrediamur et nos a commercio mundi huius nobisque dulcius sit
 subire probrum pro Christo quam mundi gloria frui. Valeat nobis haec ciuitas
 terrena, qui non habemus hic manentem ciuitatem sed futuram ac coelestem
 aeternamque desyderamus. Exit autem ciuitatem quisquis affectus abiicit carnis
 1360 totoque studio coelestia meditatur. Intra moenia non immolatur hostia nostra;
 caeterum egressi cum pontifice nostro Christo semper offerimus et ipsi quandam
 hostiam per ipsum gratam Deo, non pecudem aliquam, non fruges agrorum, sed
 fructum laborum – laborum, inquam, non tam corporis quam animi, quibus
 agnoscimus Dei beneficium erga nos et commemorantes Christi crucem pro
 1365 condonatis peccatis, pro tot dotibus gratias agimus. Huius altaris non sunt partici-
 pates Iudaei, qui manentes intra muros nihil amant nisi carnale.

Iam accipite et aliud sacrificii genus dignum Euangelio, quo litare oportet
 assidue Deo. Beneficio iuuandus est proximus ac si egeat, facultatum subsidio
 subleuandus. Talibus enim hostiis conciliatur Deus citius quam Iudaicis obserua-
 tiunculis neglecto fratre. | Parete praefectis vestris, concedentes his etiam si mali
 1371 sint, modo ne pertrahant ad impietatem. Etenim cum suo funguntur officio,
 vigilant pro animabus vestris, saluti vestrae consulentes; atque id faciunt suo
 periculo, nimirum reddituri rationem Deo, a quo proficiscitur omnis potestas.
 1375 Horum onus aliqua ex parte leuabitis si vos morigeros et obtemperantes
 praebueritis, ut quod faciunt, faciant cum alacritate et gaudio potius quam
 gementes. Nam id quemadmodum illis est molestum, ita vobis est inutile. Illis
 taedio est labor sine fructu susceptus, vobis non expedit iram Dei prouocare in
 vos inobedientia.

Fratres, et nos precibus vestris Deo commendate, siquidem videor anume-
 1380 randus inter eos qui vobis bene praesunt. An omnibus prober nescio; certe confi-
 dimus quod sincere gessimus cum bona conscientia apud omnes qui cupiunt ad
 euangelicam regulam viuere. Quod ut faciatis, eo precor impensius, quo celerius
 possim vobis restitui. Interim vicissim precor pro vobis ut Deus, pacis autor, qui
 1385 reuocauit a mortuis summum illum ouium pastorem, Dominum nostrum Iesum
 Christum – qui rediuius per sanguinem suum ingressus est coelum pro nobis
 interpellaturus Patrem, quo sanguine consecrauit nouum et aeternum testamen-
 tum – perficiat vos et consummet in omni opere bono ut idonei sitis qui

- 1370 his C–H: iis A
 1374 morigeros A–I: et morigeros K BAS
 1375 cum A C E G H: eum D: tum F
- 1352 *alludens ... imaginem* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 363 C–D, notes that the rites of the Mosaic law referred to in *Hebr.* 13, 12–13 were shadows and figures of the passion of Christ. The ‘mystical’ contrast – “Ex ista ergo figura trahit apostolus mysterium” (Thomas) – is developed at length in the *Glossa*, p. 27^v, and by Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 786.
- 1355 *sublata ... illum* See Mt. 16, 24.
- 1356 *Egrediamur ... mundi* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 2, Migne PG 63, 227: “Ὡς ἐσταυρώθη ἕξω· μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ἡμεῖς αἰσχυνώμεθα ἐξέιναι ἕξω τοῦ κόσμου”, to which Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 396 A, adds: “καὶ τῶν τούτου λαμπρῶν καὶ ἀτιμία δοκῆ τοῦτο”.
- 1362 *non pecudem ... agrorum* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 4, Migne PG 63, 229, and the *Glossa*, p. 27^v, likewise contrast the ‘sacrifice of praise’ in *Hebr.* 13, 15 with the sacrifices prescribed by the Mosaic law.
- 1363 *non tam ... animi* Erasmus does not mean that silent prayer is preferable to vocal prayer – his language here echoes the Canon of the mass – but that prayer must be heartfelt and sincere.
- 1365 *gratias agimus* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIII, 4, Migne PG 63, 229–230, and Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 395 B, likewise consider ‘praise’ to mean thanksgiving. Theophylact, *ibidem*, comments that ‘we give thanks to the Father because he gave his own son for our sanctification’.
- 1366 *Iudaei ... carnale* Cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 396 C, who contrasts the Jews who do not believe with those who are sanctified.
- 1367 *aliud sacrificii genus* Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 787b, also begins his commentary on *Hebr.* 13, 16 in this way and is followed by Nicholas of Lyre, p. 28^r.
- 1368–1369 *Beneficio ... subleuandus* Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 395 D, and the *Glossa*, p. 27^vo, followed by the other medieval Latin commentators, define εὐποιίας καὶ κοινωνίας (“beneficentiae et communionis” Vg.) as charity though none of the commentators employs the contrast between Jewish observances and Christian love.
- 1376 inutile A–H: vile G²
 1383 Interim ... vobis om. BAS
- 1369–1370 *Iudaicis obseruatiunculis* The reference is obscure. Erasmus presumably means the various sin-offerings; see *L.v.* 4, 27–35; 6, 1–8.
- 1370–1371 *etiam ... sint* Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 63, 231, introduces this point and dilates at length upon it. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 397 A, distinguishes between leaders who are evil in matters of faith – they must be avoided – and those who are evil in behavior but must still be obeyed; cf. Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 473. The *Glossa*, p. 28^r, cites Haymo to the effect that prelates, even if immoral, are to be obeyed except in doctrinal error.
- 1373 *a quo ... potestas* Cf. *Rom.* 13, 1. Most commentators assume without question that the leaders who are to be obeyed in *Hebr.* 13, 17 are church leaders. Chrys., however, *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 63, 232, speaks of οἱ ἄρχοντες and appears to have secular rulers in view. Erasmus’ language would fit ecclesiastical and secular leaders equally well; cf. *Rom.* 13, 1–7; 2 *Tim.* 3, 1–2; *Tit.* 3, 1. See the next note.
- 1380 *praesunt* This verb is employed in the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 13, 7, p. 102, l. 1324 above. Erasmus may be distinguishing between “ii qui praesunt” (ecclesiastical leaders, including Paul) and “praefecti” (civil authorities?).
- 1381 *apud omnes* Cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, XXXIV, 2, Migne PG 63, 233: Ἄρα οὐκ ἐν ἐθνικοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν [i. e. you Jews]. He is followed in this interpretation of ἐν πᾶσιν in *Hebr.* 13, 18 by Theophylact, the interlinear and the marginal *Glossa*, and the medieval commentators, though Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 788b–789a, introduces various psychological subtleties. However, Erasmus’ qualification – “qui cupiunt ad euangelicam regulam viuere” – is not mentioned by these commentators. Modern commentators and translators prefer to understand πᾶσιν as neuter, ‘in all things’.
- 1384 *summum* Because Jesus is above all other shepherds; cf. Theophylact, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, Migne PG 125, 400 C. Thomas, *Exp. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, p. 789a, remarks: “Dicit autem ipsum ‘pastorem magnum’ quia omnes alii sunt vicarii eius, quia ipse pascit oues proprias, alii vero oues Christi”. Cf. the allusion to this verse in *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 209, l. 3.

1390 satisfaciatis voluntati ipsius; atque idem efficiat vt quod agitis acceptum sit in
 1395 conspectu ipsius, idque per Iesum Christum, qui semper adest commendans
 sacrificia nostra, cui debetur omnis gloria, non solum in hac vita sed in omne
 tempus. Amen. Nihil est quod nobis ex benefactis arrogemus; ipsius donum est
 quicquid facimus tale vt placeat oculis Dei.

1395 Haec exhortandi gratia scripsi vobis; id boni consuletis quod a nobis bono
 animo factum est. Scripsi paucis, vt ipse vos breui visurus. Scire vos volo quod
 1400 Timotheus in praesentia mihi non adest, sed alio dimissus est. Is si celerius redie-
 rit, hoc comite vos inuisam. Salutate meis verbis omnes qui praesunt vobis, sed
 et cum his omnem sanctorum gregem. Salutant vos Itali. Gratia fauorque Dei
 semper adsit vobis omnibus. Amen.

1400 Paraphraseos in Epistolam ad Hebraeos,
 per Erasmus Roterodamum, Theologiae Professore,
 Finis

1399–1401 Paraphraseos ... Finis *G* *H*: Finis
 Paraphrasis etc. *A–D*: Finis Paraphraseos etc.
E: om. *F G*

1394 vt ... *visurus* This explanation of the
 phrase διὰ βραχέων (“perpaucis” *Vg.*) in
Hebr. 13, 22b is, I think, unique. The closest
 parallel is Haymo, *Exp. in epist. Pauli, ad*
Hebr. 13, 22, Migne *PL* 117, 937 A. For a sur-
 vey of opinion about the phrase see Braun,
Hebräer, p. 482.

1395 *sed alio dimissus est* Haymo, *ibidem*, sur-
 mises that Paul had sent Timothy on a
 preaching mission. Other commentators
 advance other opinions, of which the most
 commonly accepted one, also in Haymo, is
 that Paul is informing the recipients of the

letter of Timothy’s release from prison. See
 Braun, *Hebräer*, p. 483.

1397 *fauorque* Cf. *Er. Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 16,
 24, *LB* VII, 832 A; *Paraphr. in 1. Cor.*, ad 16,
 23, *LB* VII, 914 A. *Fauor*, *beneficentia* and
beneficium are recurrent paraphrases of *gratia*.
Itali Cf. *Annot. in Hebr.* 13, 24 (“de Italia
 fratres”) *LB* VI, 1023 C.

1400 *Theologiae Professore* Cf. the title of Eras-
 mus’ commentary on *Ps.* 1, “Enarratio Primi
 Psalmi ... Auctore Erasmo Roterodamo,
 Sacrae Theologiae Professore”, *ASD* V, 2,
 p. 33, ll. 3–4, and the salutation of *Ep.* 396.

II

IN EPISTOLAM IACOBI
EPISCOPI HIEROSOLYMITANI PARAPHRASIS
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

IN EPISTOLAM
IACOBI

Episcopi Hierosolymitani Para-
phrasis, per Erasmum Rote-
rodamum.

Louanii apud Theodoricum Martinum
Alostensem, Anno M. D. XX,
Mense Decembri.

Cum gratia & privilegio.

101. Erasmi, 143

INTRODUCTION

1. *Erasmus and Cardinal Schiner*

In the letter dedicating the Paraphrase on James to Matthäus Cardinal Schiner Erasmus states that the Paraphrases on the epistles of Peter and Jude would have been the end of this kind of work on his part had not Schiner convinced him to write Paraphrases on the epistles of James and John. It was also Schiner who a year later, in June 1521, persuaded him to paraphrase the Gospel of Matthew and was thus the indirect cause of the Paraphrases on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. He was clearly a patron whom Erasmus could not refuse.

Just how, when or where Erasmus first met Schiner cannot be determined exactly.¹ If we exclude the *conuiuium* mentioned in Ep. 447, ll. 596–600,² the earliest reference to Schiner in the correspondence occurs in a letter from Andrea Ammonio, dated London, 20 October 1516, in which Ammonio informs Erasmus that he had just met and spoken to Schiner there.³ Ammonio writes as though he expected Erasmus to know of and perhaps be known to Schiner. If that is in fact the case, the only occasion on which Erasmus could have met Schiner in 1516 was the four-day stop, 4–8 October, which Schiner made in Brussels on his way to England. It was possible and even likely that Schiner conferred there with Cuthbert Tunstall, the English ambassador to the court of Burgundy. If Tunstall entertained the Cardinal, which is again quite likely, he may well have invited Erasmus who was in Brussels and close to Tunstall at that very time.⁴ At

¹ For Schiner's life and career see Albert Büchi, *Kardinal Matthäus Schiner als Staatsmann und Kirchenfürst*, in 2 parts, Zürich, 1923, and Freiburg-Leipzig, 1937 [= *Collectanea Friburgensia*, N. F., fasc. 18 and 23]; Peter Arnold, *Kurzbiographie von Matthäus Schiner*, in *Kardinal Matthäus Schiner und seine Zeit. Festschrift zum 500. Geburtstag*, Blätter aus der Walliser Geschichte, 14, 2, 1967–1968, pp. 5–59; *DHBS* VI, pp. 20–21; *LThK* IX, p. 404; *CEBR* III, pp. 221–223.

² Allen, introd. Ep. 447, doubts that this passage could have been written in 1516, the tentative date he assigns to Ep. 447. In Ep. 1164, n.l. 8, he opines that it was written in 1529 as part of the revision of this letter which was to be included in the *Opus Epistolarum* (Basel, 1529 = H in Allen's Table of Editions). In Ep. 1164, dated December 1520 by Allen, Erasmus describes this *conuiuium* as "nuper". Granting Erasmus' tendency to use this adverb loosely, it is odd to employ it of an event which supposedly occurred four years earlier. Cf., however, *Coll.*, Exequiae Seraphicae, *ASD* I, 3, p. 693, ll. 229–235, where *nuper* (l. 229) is used of an event – Schiner's death – which occurred nine years before this work was first published.

³ Ep. 478, ll. 32–34. Schiner was in London from 15 October to 8 November.

⁴ See Ep. 475 and 476. Cf. *LP*, II, nos. 2417, 2423; Büchi, *Kardinal Schiner*, II, p. 119.

any event Erasmus was invited to dine with Schiner on several occasions during the next three years.⁵ However, it is most unlikely that Erasmus' encounters with Cardinal Schiner were limited to conversations at meals.⁶

In 1520 Schiner joined the court of Charles V at Antwerp where the emperor was in residence from 23 to 28 September⁷ and remained with it thereafter until it returned to Brussels in June 1521.⁸ Erasmus was likewise in Antwerp at that time and seems to have traveled with the court to Mechelen on 29 September and from there to Louvain on 1 October where Charles remained until, on 8 October, he departed for his coronation at Aachen.⁹ Schiner could thus have had ample opportunity during this six-week period to have urged Erasmus to complete the task of paraphrasing the four remaining canonical epistles. The Paraphrases on Peter and Jude were in circulation by the beginning of August¹⁰ and Schiner could have obtained a copy either as a gift or by purchase.¹¹ Schiner's interest would have been immediate, for he was not given to inaction or reticence.¹²

In the closing months of 1520 Erasmus was engaged in almost daily conflict with his critics at Louvain. How these confrontations affected the Paraphrase on James will be described below. As noted above Schiner remained with Charles in Cologne after the coronation and then accompanied him on the journey to Worms where the Diet opened 21 January 1521. Though invited to attend the Diet Erasmus did not go because he did not wish to become involved in the attack on Luther and was also afraid of an outbreak of the plague.¹³ In his absence an information against him was laid before the Emperor, but forewarned by friends he thwarted the scheme through letters to several influential members of the court, including Schiner, all of whom, according to Erasmus, replied with expressions of support.¹⁴

⁵ See Epp. 584, ll. 23–27 (30 May 1517), 948, ll. 94–103 (22 April 1519); 1155, ll. 1–3 (8 November 1520) and 1164, ll. 8–9 (probably December 1520). The *prandium* described in Epp. 584 and 948 seems to refer to the same occasion while the *convivium* mentioned in Ep. 1164 might well be the *prandium* of Ep. 1155.

⁶ In a letter written from Basel on 26 August 1518 to the papal nuncio Antonio Pucci, then in Zurich, Erasmus expresses the hope that the Cardinal's fortunes will be restored (Ep. 860, ll. 81–83). He means by victory in Schiner's lawsuit with his opponents in the Valais. Erasmus had obviously heard more from the Cardinal than afterdinner stories.

⁷ Cf. *LP* III, 1, p. 362, a report to Cardinal Wolsey dated Antwerp, 23 September 1520.

⁸ Ep. 1255, ll. 24–29.

⁹ See Epp. 1146, 1147, 1152.

¹⁰ See the introduction to the Paraphrase on Peter and Jude, p. 166, n. 19 below.

¹¹ Other members of the court, Tunstall certainly, may also have had copies which Schiner could have seen.

¹² Allen, Ep. 1155, n.l. 1, thought that Schiner first urged Erasmus to continue the Paraphrases at a dinner (*prandium*) in Aachen or Cologne during or after Charles V's coronation (cf. also Ep. 1164, n.l. 8). Though possible such a late date would not leave Erasmus much time for the composition of the four new Paraphrases and the revision of the previously published ones.

¹³ Ep. 1342, ll. 45–51.

¹⁴ Cf. Ep. 1342, ll. 51–61; introd., Ep. 1195 introd.; Epp. 1197 and 1299, ll. 40–44. The letters to and from Schiner have not survived.

2. *Composition and Structure of the Epistle*

Bede¹⁵ does not analyze the structure of the epistle though he does give a brief sketch of its contents in very general terms (*CCSL* 121, p. 183, ll. 26–32). The *Glossa* likewise has nothing to say on the subject of composition. Hugo, however, records three different divisions of the epistle though he does not name the persons responsible for them.¹⁶ Nicholas of Lyre ignores this question and divides the epistle with utmost simplicity into a ‘proemium’, that is, the salutation (1, 1) and a ‘tractate’, all the rest of the letter (p. G8r^o). Beyond that he is silent about its themes and divisions. If the paragraphing at 1, 2 in *A* is due to Erasmus, then he was probably following Nicholas of Lyre in treating 1, 1 as an introduction and the remainder of the epistle as a collection of admonitions. Even the brief *Argumentum* is consonant with the medieval commentaries. But Erasmus evidently felt that more needed to be said about the contents and organization of the epistle.

In the dedicatory letter to Schiner he distinguishes nineteen *loci communes* and *alia id genus*. The *alia* presumably include passages like that on swearing (5, 12), the statement in 2, 10–13 which posed a problem for Augustine (p. 117, ll. 34–35), and other verses which do not fall neatly into the category of *locus communis* (e.g. 1, 7–8; 1, 16–18; 2, 10–13). In the paraphrase itself these verses are attached in one way or another to the antecedent context. Not all modern commentators would accept Erasmus’ characterization of the epistle, but most do in fact perceive minor or major divisions at the same places he does. Erasmus does not specify where each *locus* begins and ends, and my equivalences with the verse numbering are somewhat arbitrary. Also, like Nicholas of Lyre, Erasmus does not seek to assemble groups of *loci* or even the individual chapters under over-arching themes, but treats all the *loci* on an equal footing. The list of *loci* is in effect a table of contents.

Salutatio (1, 1 = p. 122, ll. 3–11)

Loci

1. Adversity is to be suffered patiently and reliance placed on God alone (1, 2–8 = p. 122, l. 12–p. 124, l. 87)
2. People become evil through their own fault, (1, 9–18 = p. 124, l. 88–p. 128, l. 219)

¹⁵ Unless Erasmus had contrived to borrow the manuscript of Bede’s commentaries in the Franciscan convent in Antwerp, it is unlikely that he had direct access to them when composing the Paraphrase on James (or the Johannine epistles) since there is no record of any visits to Antwerp in late 1520. Hence the references to Bede here and in the notes mean Bede as cited in the interlinear or marginal *Glossa*.

¹⁶ (1) A tripartite division based on the three kinds of worldly desire mentioned in 1. *Joh.* 1, 16; (2) a four-part division, which Hugo himself prefers, in which the epistle attacks the pursuit of worldly wisdom (Chapter 1), secular power (Chapter 2), fame and popularity (Chapter 3), and wealth (Chapters 4 and 5); (3) an essentially bipartite division into 1, 1–17 (which Hugo in turn subdivides into 1–12 on external suffering and 13–17 on internal temptation) and the rest of the letter, 1, 18–5, 20, whose subject is moral instruction.

3. Avoid hasty speech and anger (1, 19–21 = p. 129, l. 220–p. 130, l. 255)
 4. Christian faith must be displayed in both action and attitude (1, 22–24 = p. 130, l. 256–p. 181, l. 280)¹⁷
 5. Abuse and slander are not congruent with genuine religious feeling; true godliness is grounded in charity (1, 25–27 = p. 131, l. 281–p. 133, l. 347)
 6. People are to be judged by their virtues, not by their good fortune (2, 1–13 = p. 133, l. 249–p. 136, l. 447)
 7. Faith must be followed by godly deeds (2, 14–26 = p. 136, l. 448–p. 140, l. 546)
 8. No one should impetuously undertake the task of teaching (3, 1 = p. 140, ll. 548–562)
 9. An unbridled tongue gives birth to mortal peril while nothing is more beneficial than a good and controlled tongue (3, 2–12 = p. 140, l. 563–p. 144, l. 669)
 10. The difference between Christian and worldly wisdom is huge (3, 13–18 = p. 144, l. 670–p. 146, l. 734)
 11. Peace cannot exist unless human passions are removed from the soul (4, 1–3 = p. 146, l. 736–p. 148, l. 758)
 12. God and this world have nothing in common (4, 4–5 = p. 148, ll. 759–l. 790)
 13. God abandons the proud who rely on their own resources while he favors those who rely solely on him (4, 6–10 = p. 149, l. 791–p. 150, l. 828)
 14. One who condemns or judges a neighbor does wrong to God (4, 11–12 = p. 150, l. 829–p. 151, l. 841)
 15. This life's happiness is fleeting and evanescent (4, 13–17 = p. 151, l. 842–p. 153, l. 905)
 16. Those who do what they like with impunity in this life will pay a most bitter penalty in the next (5, 1–6 = p. 153, l. 907–p. 154, l. 941)
 17. Leave it to God to judge and punish evildoers (5, 7–11 = p. 154, l. 942–p. 156, l. 980)
 18. The prayers of the godly prevail with God (5, 13–18 = p. 156, l. 997–p. 158, l. 1026)
 19. God will forgive us if we forgive others and if we call back to the true path those who have gone astray (5, 19–20 = p. 158, l. 1027–p. 160, l. 1040)
- Omitted from this list is the verse on swearing or taking oaths (5, 12 = p. 156, ll. 981–p. 996), perhaps inadvertently, but more likely because its content is hardly a commonplace.

Each topic receives its due measure of attention, but certain ones clearly resonate longer in Erasmus' heart. Thus *loci* 3, 4, and 5 are developed in the paraphrase at much greater length than the others though 12 and 14 follow close

¹⁷ My division between verses 21 and 22 is arbitrary. The actual paraphrase on 22 could be taken equally well with what precedes or with what follows.

behind. *Loci* 1 and 2 receive somewhat slighter treatment as do 8, 9, and 10. In other words, one feels that only one-half of these topics truly engaged Erasmus' attention and, while the paraphrase on the other parts of the epistle is not exactly perfunctory, those parts did not stir him to the same degree. When we relate the *loci* to one another topically, we can see that Erasmus is primarily concerned with two major subjects: the abuse of language and speech, essentially a sin against charity; and the conflict between divine and worldly expectations. The latter theme had already been adumbrated by Hugo who saw in the epistle a divinely inspired condemnation of the pursuit of worldly wisdom, power, fame and wealth. For Erasmus this pursuit is a sin against faith since it reveals a fundamental lack of confidence (*fiducia*) in God and his promises.

Both themes recur in one form or another in virtually all the Paraphrases on the Pauline and the seven canonical epistles. But the energy devoted to the use of the tongue, a subject which would later be developed at length in the *Lingua* (*ASD* IV, 1A), was certainly aroused by one particular means of attack employed by his critics at Louvain and elsewhere, their use – Erasmus says, abuse – of the pulpit. He complains bitterly about this practice in the dedicatory letter (p. 119, l. 68–p. 120, l. 73). While he may have had several persons in mind, his ire was centered on Nicholaas Baechem of Egmond. In the long account, which he sent to Thomas More, of an interview which he had had with Baechem in the presence of Godschalk Rosemond, at that time rector of the University, Erasmus recurs no less than four times to this subject.¹⁸ The interview itself had arisen because Erasmus had complained in a letter to Rosemond that Baechem was maligning him in sermons (Ep. 1153). The issue is summed up in the words which Erasmus puts in Baechem's mouth: "Tu stilum habes, nos linguam habemus" (Ep. 1162, ll. 205–206). I should not want to say that the Paraphrase on James is part of this conflict between pen and tongue, but the epistle does offer both opportunity and ammunition which Erasmus certainly turns to good use.

The second theme – the conflict between God and the World – which likewise recurs in the Paraphrases on several of the other epistles, reaches a rhetorical peak in the paraphrase on 1, 25–27 (p. 131, l. 281–p. 133, l. 347). The point of departure is the Gospels which one hears read at mass.¹⁹ In good diatribe fashion, following the lead of the author of the epistle and perhaps anticipating 2, 1–13, Erasmus creates two contrary responses to the words of Christ in the Gospels: that of the true Christian whose eyes are fixed on Christ and whose behavior is totally governed by the model of Christ and the worldly Christian who forgets the words of Christ as soon as he hears them, defines piety by ceremonies and spends his life in the pursuit of worldly goods. This conflict between heavenly

¹⁸ Ep. 1162, 20–21, 58–62, 140, and 205. See also Epp. 1164 and 1172 where Erasmus complains to Rosemond about similar attacks on him from the pulpit by others; cf. Ep. 1173, 99–111.

¹⁹ Erasmus speaks in terms of hearing rather than reading. It is the congregation assembled in church that he has in view and not just the individual in his study.

aims and worldly ones reverberates through the Paraphrase. In articulating it Erasmus is no doubt following his own conception of the philosophy of Christ; nevertheless, as noted above, he is also following in the footsteps of Bede and the medieval commentators.

3. *Authorship of the Epistle*

Viewing the epistle as a collection of commonplaces has one advantage: it frees the commentator from the need to reconstruct the circumstances of its composition or to define its historical audience in detail. At one level the audience is every Christian past and present (p. 122, ll. 5–6), and in the Paraphrase this is the audience predominantly in Erasmus' mind. The immediate recipients of the epistle, however, were Jewish Christians who had fled Jerusalem in the persecution which followed the execution of Stephen.²⁰ They were members of James' own flock and it is in his capacity as their bishop that he writes to them (p. 121, ll. 3–5).

This identification of the author of the epistle is taken from Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 2, Herding p. 7, ll. 20–25, who states that immediately after the resurrection the Apostles consecrated James bishop of Jerusalem. Jerome identifies this James with James, the brother of the Lord, whom Paul mentions in *Gal.* 2, 9, and with James the Just, whose piety is described by Hegesippus (*De vir. illus.* 2, Herding p. 7, l. 29–p. 8, l. 9). Bede in his *Expositio in Act.* 1, 13 (CCSL 121, p. 10, ll. 129–148) accepts the identification with James the Just but denies that he was a different person from James the Apostle, that is, *Iacobus Minor*. For Bede there are only the two apostles, not three persons named James in the New Testament. He repeats this identification in his *Comm. in Iac.* 1, 1 and adds that James writes the letter as bishop to the circumcised in order to consol, instruct, criticize and correct Christian Jews (CCSL 121, p. 183, ll. 2–8). The *Glossa* (p. G8v^o) records the evidence for the three different persons named James, but Hugo (p. 04r^o) and Nicholas of Lyre (p. G8v^o) repeat Bede's identification and attribute to this James the same motive for writing the epistle. This identification of the author with James, the son of Alphaeus, called *Minor* to distinguish him from James *Maior*, the son of Zebedee and brother of John, continued to be the Catholic view of the authorship of the epistle down to this century.

The identification was assisted by the interpolation of the word *apostolus* after the name *Iacobus* in 1, 1 in some Mss. of Vg. Erasmus cast doubt on both the text of Vg. and the medieval identification of the author in the *Annot. in Iac.* 1, 1 (*"apostolus"*), *LB VI*, 1025 B, and again in a paragraph attached to the concluding annotation on 5, 20 (*"et operit"*), *LB VI*, 1038 C. In the first annotation he ques-

²⁰ Bede, citing *Act.* 2, 5 and 9, likewise expands the recipients of the epistle from the Christians who fled to Samaria and parts of Judaea (*Act.* 8, 1) to Jews in the Diaspora (CCSL 121, p. 183, ll. 8–26). But he also considers the epistle to be addressed to all "qui percepta fide Christi necdum operibus perfecti esse curabant" (ibid., ll. 14–15).

tioned the reading *apostolus* which did not occur in the Greek Mss. which he had seen or in the better (*emendatiores*) Latin Mss. In an addition made to the annotation on 1, 1 in the second (1519) edition of the *Nov. Test.* Erasmus points out that Jerome did not believe that the James who was the author of the epistle was an apostle.²¹ In the appendix to the final annotation on 5, 20, he remarks that even the ascription to James the Just was doubtful because the epistle does not sustain the tone of majesty and gravity expected from an apostle and lacks the degree of Hebraism in its language that one would otherwise expect in an epistle written by the bishop of Jerusalem. He ends both annotations with the statement that he himself refuses to debate the question of authorship, but accepts the (canonical) authority of the epistle.

It was perhaps this last reason which led him in both the *Argumentum* and the Paraphrase to sidestep the debate about which James was the bishop of Jerusalem and the question of authenticity of the epistle. The *Argumentum* describes the author simply as James, the bishop of Jerusalem. He is similarly identified on the title page of *A* as *Iacobi Episcopi Hierosolymitani*.²² In the *Peregrinatio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* Erasmus summarized what I assume are his mature views on the question of the number of men named James.²³ There were three: James the son of Zebedee whom Herod (Agrippa I) executed, James the son of Alphaeus (of whom Erasmus says nothing), and James who was called the brother of the Lord and given the epithet, the Just. According to Jerome he was the son of the sister, also named Mary, of the Lord's mother. Though not one of the Twelve Apostles, he was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem by them and, as is clear from the Acts of the Apostles and Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, he had great authority and held virtual primacy in Jerusalem.

4. *The Text*

Since the letter dedicating the Paraphrase begins on the verso of the title page and the text of the Paraphrase on p. 24r^o of *A*, Martens had the complete manuscript before he began printing. His title page is dated *Mense Decembri*; it is, therefore, likely that he began production shortly after 16 December, the date of the dedicatory letter, and probably finished in late December or early January. Erasmus does not say whether he himself read the proofs, but there is one erratum – *posthabuisset* for *protulisset* (p. 135, l. 424) on page 1 of sheet e – so that Erasmus presumably saw at least that sheet either in proof or in a revise before printing was complete. In addition to the erratum there are some fourteen

²¹ The *Glossa* had cited Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 17, 6 (Migne *PL* 24, 175 C) for evidence that Jerome considered James the Just the 'thirteenth' apostle, Paul being the 'fourteenth'.

²² In the separate title pages in *C* and *D* the epithet *episcopi Hierosolymitani* is omitted and the author is identified simply as *Iacobi*.

²³ See *LB* VI, 426 and VII, 654. In his remarks on James Erasmus combines without further discussion information from the *Nov. Test.*, Jerome, and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*

changes in the text of *C*.²⁴ There are virtually no changes in *D–G*.²⁵ The majority of the authentic revisions are made first in *H*.²⁶ Erasmus was either fairly well satisfied with the text as it stood or, and perhaps more likely, simply had little interest in the epistle of James despite what he had said about its authority.

²⁴ Six are corrections of the grammar and in four places a word is replaced by a synonym. There are also two minor additions and one transposition. It is possible that one or two of these changes may in fact be typographical errors rather than corrections made by Erasmus. See p. 140, l. 583; p. 150, l. 802. Two sidenotes are omitted in *C* (p. 124, l. 89; p. 156, l. 975), but these are as likely to be accidental as deliberate deletions.

²⁵ There is one grammatical correction in *D* and one transposition in *E* which is probably an error by the typesetter (p. 138, l. 522). There are three omissions in *G* which are continued in *H* (p. 119, l. 64; p. 151, l. 845; p. 156, l. 986), the first two of which look more like typographical errors than editorial revisions. There are also three, perhaps more typographical errors which produced viable words that remained uncorrected in *H*.

²⁶ There are two corrections of the grammar, six replacements of one word by another, and nine additions which are the most significant changes in the entire text.

REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO D. MATTHAEO
CARDINALI SEDVNENSI,
COMITI VALESII, ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

5 Iam videbar ad huius curriculi metam peruenisse et ipse mihi ferias destinebam
in hoc duntaxat genere studiorum, propterea quod omnes epistolas explicuissem
quas Pauli germanas esse iudicabam, quibus adiunxi Petri duas et Iudae vnam,
quod hae non solum consentirent cum Paulinis in vigore doctrinae euangelicae,
verum maioribus etiam tenebris quam illae essent inuolutae. Siquidem quae fer-
10 tur ad Hebraeos, praeterquam quod multis argumentis conici potest non esse
Pauli, cum stilo rhetorico verius quam apostolico sit scripta, non perinde multum
habet difficultatis; quemadmodum nec eae quae Iacobo Ioannique tribuuntur.
Nam Ioannes ipsa sermonis copia veluti sui ipsius interpres est et Iacobus fere
LB 1115 versatur | in locis communibus. Quod genus sunt: ob Christum fortiter tolerandas
res aduersas et in his Dei praesidiis maxime nitendum; homines non naturae

1-3 REVERENDISSIMO ... S. D. Ep. 1171.

2 CARDINALI SEDUNENSI Schiner was appointed cardinal-priest of the church of St. Pudentiana in Rome by Julius II on 10 March 1511. Ordained in April 1489, he was consecrated bishop of Sion (*Sedunum*) in October 1499 though he did not actually take possession of his see until the following January. See Albert Büchi, *Kardinal Matthäus Schiner*, pp. 57-71. Erasmus and his contemporaries regularly refer to Schiner as *cardinalis Sedunensis* or simply *Sedunensis*.

3 COMITI VALESII Since 899 A. D. the bishops of Sion were also counts of the Valais. Although Schiner was at this time margrave of Vigevano in the Duchy of Milan and bishop of Catania, 'Bishop of Sion' and 'Count of the Valais' appear to have been his preferred designation of his ecclesiastical and civil positions. Driven from the Valais in August 1517 by a popular uprising engineered by his

enemy Jörg uff der Flüe (Georg. Supersaxo), Schiner took refuge in Zürich where he resided until he joined the court of Charles V in September 1520. Erasmus' salutation could thus be read as an expression of his support as well as his respect for Schiner; cf. Ep. 860, ll. 81-83.

10 *stilo ... apostolico* The characteristic quality of the *stilus apostolicus* is *simplicitas* (cf. Ep. 860, ll. 35-37). Hebrews by contrast is more eloquent, that is, more rhetorical or ornamented, than the style of the other apostolic authors; cf. *Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae*, LB IX, 479 C, where in response to criticism of this statement Erasmus responds: "Quid autem piaculi si tribuo apostolis stylum simpliciorem. Ipse Hieronymus fatetur Paulum in hac [*sc. epist. ad Hebr.*] esse eloquentiorem quam in caeteris. Neque enim loquor de sententiis et spiritu apostolico sed de phrasi". See also *Elenchus*, LB IX, 511 E.

15 Deīue vicio, sed suapte culpa fieri malos siue saeuat fortuna siue blandiatur; non
 temere loquendum aut irae indulgendum; non satis esse verbotenus tenere pro-
 fessionem euangelicam nisi factis et affectibus exprimamus; inanem esse religio-
 nem quae cum intemperantia linguae sit coniuncta, veram pietatem sitam esse in
 officiis quibus proximum egentem misericorditer subleuamus; neminem aesti-
 20 mandum e bonis externis sed e veris animi bonis; fidei professionem inutilem
 esse ni piis factis comprobetur; nemini temere suscipiendam docendi prouin-
 ciam; praecipuam vitae pestem nasci ex lingua effreni, quemadmodum contra
 bona moderataque lingua nihil vtilius; plurimum interesse inter mundanam et
 christianam sapientiam; non constare pacem nisi submotis ex animo cupiditati-
 25 bus humanis; nihil conuenire huic mundo cum Deo; a Deo destitui qui elati suis
 fidunt opibus, cum iis faueat ille qui sibi diffisi ab ipso pendent; Deo facere iniu-
 riam qui condemnat ac iudicat proximum; euanidam ac fugacem esse praesentis
 vitae felicitatem; potentes, quibus hic impune licet quod libet, post acerbissimas
 datuos poenas; vindictam malorum Deo iudici relinquendam esse; preces pio-
 30 rum hominum plurimum valere apud Deum; hoc officio maxime flecti Deum, vt
 nostris peccatis ignoscat, si nos fratri in nos peccanti condonemus et si aberran-
 tem amanter in viam reuocemus; aliaque id genus, in quibus non potest admo-
 dum esse multum difficultatis in explicando, cum plurimum sit in praestando. Et
 tamen incidunt loca quaedam in quibus erat nonnihil luctandum, velut in illo in
 35 quo haeret Augustinus: *Quisquis offenderit in vno, factus est omnium reus*. Item,
 quod negat fidem valere absque factis, cum Paulus ex aduerso contendat Abrahae
 non ex factis sed ex fide contigisse vt iustus haberetur apud Deum et *amicus Dei*
 diceretur.

40 Iam quaedam etiam hiare videntur vt in connectendo nonnihil fuerit negocii.
 Sed haec vtcunque habent, cum primum hanc operam suscipere, non erat ani-
 mus hoc honoris impendere nisi duobus illis apostolorum et euangelicae philoso-
 phiae principibus, Paulo et Petro. Et ecce iam metam amplexum, iam spectantem
 ocium tua vox me reuocat ad stadium, etiam atque etiam hortans ne quam huius
 laboris portionem aliis relinquam, non solum ob hoc, quod iudicares studium
 45 hoc vel praecipuam vtilitatem allaturum euangelicae philosophiae candidatis,
 verum etiam quod cum his temporibus pene nihil sit intactum a sycophantarum
 morsibus, tamen hoc vnum opus adhuc Momis omnibus *ἄμωμον*, vt ita loquar,
 fuerit. Sequor quo tua vocat autoritas, reverendissime Domine. Non me clam est
 quam ex animo faueas doctrinae vere christianae in qua tu non paucos annos feli-
 50 citer es versatus, quam non fecte faueas Erasmo, quam sis ingenio perspicaci,
 quam certo, quam non vulgari iudicio. Quales si complures haberet Ecclesia
 Catholica, multo florentiores et aliquanto tranquilliores essent res christianae.

55 Quis autem spiritus agitet illos qui suae quoque famae et autoritatis dispendio
 cum iniuria sacrarum etiam concionum tam pertinacibus studiis conantur vt e
 nostris lucubrationibus minus fructus redeat ad studiosos, ipsi viderint. Me magis
 mouet aliorum iudicium quos et eruditio non vulgaris et morum integritas ab
 omni suspitione liuoris ac malevolentiae vindicat. Ego nullius obscuro gloriam,

neminem e cathedra sua depello, nullius obstrepto studiis; non ambio dignitates,
 non venor quaestum, sed quaecumque talentulum meum in commune profero.
 60 Cui mea non placent, liberum est abstinere. Nos haec gratis largimur. Si quis
 volet dare meliora, fauebimus vtroque pollice. Nulli me factioni vnquam admis-
 cui. Nemo meis scriptis vel pilo factus est nigrrior. Nullo seculo non licuit alicubi
 dissentire a quamlibet probatis autoribus. Si a solo Thoma dissentirem, videri
 possem in illum iniquior. Nunc et ab Ambrosio et ab Hieronymo et ab Augus-
 65 tino non raro dissentio, sed reverenter; in Thomam etiam candidior quam vt
 multis bonis et eruditis viris gratum sit. Sed hanc reverentiam non opinor me
 debere Hugonibus aut Lyranis omnibus, etiamsi Lyrano nonnihil debemus.

Nullum fuit seculum tam felix quin optima paucioribus placuerint. Sed haud
 scio an vlllo plus licuerit inscitiae, audaciae, impudentiae, stoliditati, linguaeque
 70 petulantiae. Libris diffidunt, qui tacita doctorum hominum iudicia subire

25 cum *H*: et *A-G*

26 ille *H*: *om. A-G*

26 pendent *H*: pendeant *A-G*

28 quod libet *E-H*: quodlibet *A-D*

25 cum Allen reads *et* with *A-G*; however, Erasmus usually writes *convenire cum* (cf., e.g., p. 148, l. 774, p. 266, l. 258 below). The revision in *H* was thus doubtless made by Erasmus.
 28 *quod libet* *A* has *qd libet* which could be read as *quod libet* or *quodlibet*. 'To do as one likes' (*quod libet* or *quod collubitum est*) is a recurrent motif in the *Paraphrases* (cf. e. g. the paraphrase on 1. *Pet.* 2, 25, p. 201, ll. 385-386). Hence I am inclined to believe that the correction in *E* is due to Erasmus and not to a decision by a compositor. (In *H* the words are divided between two lines without a hyphen - *quod | libet* - so that it is impossible to know whether this is intended to be the pronoun or the relative clause.)

35 *Augustinus* See *Epist.* 167, *CSEL* 44, pp. 586-609.

36 *Paulus* Cf. *Rom.* 4, 2-8 and *Iac.* 2: 17, 20.

47 *hoc unum opus* Cf. *Cat. lucubr.*, Allen I, p. 21, ll. 9-10, where Erasmus remarks: "Nec enim alius labor mihi minus invidiae conflavit quam Paraphraseon". In the *Apoloq. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.* (1525) Erasmus states that apart from a few Lutherans no one up to that time (1525) except Sutor (Pierre Cousturier) had slandered the *Paraphrases* (*LB IX*, 871, C-D); cf. also *Ep.* 1342, ll. 929-932.

47 *Momis* Cf. *Adag.* 474, (*Momo satisfacere et similia*) *ASD II*, 1, p. 546, l. 640-p. 548, l. 696.

53 *illos* Cf. *Ep.* 948, ll. 99-238, where Erasmus mentions several such critics in different

39-40 *negocii*. Sed ... habent, cum *A C H*: *negocii*: sed ... habent. Cum *D-G* (*negocii, E*)

64 *possem A-G*: *possim H*

countries, and *Ep.* 1164, l. 8, where Schiner himself is identified as the source of one such report.

55 *minus fructus* In *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB IX*, 283 A-B, this motive is ascribed to Edward Lec who, Erasmus alleges, was ready to sacrifice his own studies "dummodo efficiat ne quid fructus ex meis laboribus redeat ad studiosos".

61 *vtroque pollice* Cf. *Hor. Epist.* 1, 18, 66 and *Adag.* 846, (*Premere pollicem, conuertere pollicem*), *LB II*, 315 F.

63 *Thoma* See Jean-Paul Massaut, *Erasmie et Saint Thomas*, in *Colloquia Erasmiiana Turonensia*, vol. II, Paris, 1972, pp. 581-611, for a survey of Erasmus' views on Thomas Aquinas as a biblical scholar.

67 *Hugonibus aut Lyranis* Erasmus' comments on Hugh of Saint Cher and Nicholas of Lyre in the *Annot. in NT* are for the most part derogatory; see Rummel, *Annotations*, pp. 80-83. As the notes in this volume will show, Erasmus owes a larger debt to Hugh, at least in the *Paraphrases* on Hebrews and the seven Catholic epistles, than he here admits.

70 *tacita ... iudicia* Cf. *Epp.* 1155, l. 16; 1167, ll. 345-346. Allen, *Ep.* 1167, n.l. 343, quotes remarkably similar language from Johann Faber's *Consilium cuiusdam ex animo cupientis esse consultum et Ro. pontificis dignitati et Christianae religionis tranquillitati*. Erasmus seems to have been a silent collaborator in the writing of this work; see Allen, *introd.*

coguntur; res geritur linguis veneno tinctis, idque apud imperitam plebem, apud credulas mulierculas. In horum simplici credulitate tota victoriae spes illis sita est. O fortes viros, qui hoc vno telo formidabiles sunt quo metuuntur et scurrae! Et postea nobis imputant si qui peius de ipsis sentiant, si pauciores sese adiungant
 75 sacrosancto ipsorum gregi, cum ipsi publicitus etiam declarent ipsa re quanto propius absint ab impiis sycophantis quam a verae pietatis cultoribus. Sed illis continget aliquando sua Nemesis, videlicet ipsis suo sibi iumento malum accersentibus; et continget alicunde *malo nodo malus cuneus*. Neque enim consultum arbitror dimicare cum ventribus coniuratis, qui nec aures habent nec mentem. Et
 80 viro christiano dignius est ferre scurras quam imitari. Nos tuo tuique similium hortatu sed in primis auspice Christo pergemus et nos ipsos et alios huiusmodi vigiliis ad meliora prouocare. Bene vale, patrone cum primis colende.
 Louanii. XVII Calend. Ianuarias. Anno M.D.XX.

72 credulitate *cett.*: credulitati *G*²
 74 *alt.* si *A-F G*²: *om.* *G H*

76 verae *A D-F G*² *H*: vere *C G*
 78 nodo *A D-H*: modo *C*

Ep. 1149. For the point at issue see Ep. 1162, ll. 56-84 and Rummel, *Critics* I, p. 120.
 74-75 *pauciores ... gregi* Cf. Ep. 1183, ll. 131-134.
 76 *verae* Allen, who had not seen a copy of *A*, reads *vere* with *C* (Ep. 1171, l. 88), presumably because he thought it reflected Erasmus' own orthography, but since *A* has *verae* it is evident that *C*'s *vere* is due to the typesetter.

77-78 *ipsis ... accersentibus* Cf. *Adag.* 50, (suo iumento sibi malum accersere), *ASD* II, 1, p. 166, ll. 519-524.
 78 *malo ... cuneus* Cf. *Adag.* 105, (malo nodo malus quaerendus cuneus), *ASD* II, 1, p. 219, ll. 151-160.
 79 *ventribus coniuratis* *A* recurrent complaint at this time; cf Epp. 1166, ll. 13-17; 1167, ll. 13-27; 1174, ll. 4-6; 1177, ll. 11-12, 39-40; 1191, ll. 25-28.

IN EPISTOLAM IACOBI ARGUMENTVM,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

5 Iacobus, quoniam erat Hierosolymitarum episcopus, scribit et caeteris Iudaeis qui per omnes nationes sparsi habitabant, variis praeceptis vitam illorum formans atque instituens.

Argumenti Finis

6 Argumenti Finis A–F G²: om. G¹ H

3 *quoniam ... episcopus* See Hier. *De vir. ill.* 2. For the description of the contents of the epistle cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 1, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 183, ll. 5–8: “Quia ergo in circumcisionem

ordinatus erat apostolus, curavit eos qui ex circumcisione erant ... absentes per epistolam consolari, instruere, increpare, corrigere”.

IN EPISTOLAM IACOBI CANONICAM PARAPHRASIS
ERASMI ROTERODAMI

5 Iacobus – quondam Mosaicae legis cultor, nunc cultor et seruus Dei Patris qui post Euangelium proditum spiritualem requirit cultum, huiusque Filii, Iesu Christi, Domini nostri – scribit hanc epistolam cum omnibus qui christiana professione censentur, tum peculiariter iis quos ex omnibus Iudaicae gentis tribubus persequutionis, quae sub Stephani mortem coorta est, procella alios alio dispersit – propulso a patriis sedibus, at non depulso ab Euangelii consortio; eiectione aedibus suis, at non eiectione ab Ecclesia Christi – precans iis veram salutem, non hanc corporis tantum quam mundus optat, sed eam quam Christus suis, etiam in mediis exitiis ac mortibus, largitur.

10 Cum communis Euangelii professio, cum idem baptismus nos fratres efficiat, atque inter vere fratres oporteat laetorum pariter ac tristium esse societatem, vehementer discrucietur animum meum ista vestra calamitas nisi de vestra pietate confiderem. Neque enim nescio iis qui felicitatem huius vitae commodis metiuntur exilium esse morte grauius, miserrimum videri a charissimis diuulso ac possessionibus auitis excusso agere peregre. Vos autem, qui in vno Christo beatitudinis *puppim ac proram* collocastis, qui felicitatem vestram non in hoc mundo, |
 LB III8 sed in futuro seculo expectatis, oportet ab horum sententia longissime abesse.
 20 Siquidem ista non immittuntur a Deo irato sed maxime propitio, nimirum hoc agente, ut temporariis afflictionibus, quas immerentes patimini, et patientia vestra reddatur spectatior et praemium vestrum cumulatius, ut, quoties variis malorum procellis vndique tundimini, non solum intelligatis vos non oportere consternari animis quasi destitutos a Deo, sed potius toto pectore gaudendum
 25 esse quod hoc argumento Deo chari curaeque sitis exploranti tolerantiam vestram. Quae si perstiterit nec cesserit vllis malorum assultibus, nimirum liquebit esse solidum euangelicae fidei fundamentum. Nam nisi vobis penitus persuasum esset immortalitatis praemium esse paratum iis qui hic pro Christi gloria malis affliguntur, non tantum malorum volentes et alacribus animis toleraretis.
 30 Porro cum Deus nostram salutem fidei potissimum velit acceptam ferri, pertinet hoc ad Euangelii gloriam ut certis argumentis homines intelligant vestram

fiduciam non esse vulgarem aut vacillantem, sed firmam et inuictam. Etenim quod fucatum est aut vanum aut imbecille, ad ingruentem malorum procellam loco dimouetur. Verum ac solidum sit oportet quod nec exilio nec inopia nec ignominia nec carceribus nec flagris nec morte denique vincitur aut expugnatur. Admirabilis animi constantia habetur si quis aduersam fortunam infracto toleret animo. Caeterum vbi conspicient vos res per se graues et acerbis alacribus | etiam et gaudentibus animis perpeti, ignominiam ob Christi professionem inflictam pro summa gloria ducere, facultatum iacturam pro lucro opimo habere, molestos corpori cruciatus aeternae voluptatis pignus existimare, mortem, qua nihil horribilius, nihil aliud arbitrari quam limen et ingressum immortalitatis futurae, nimirum intelligent spem vestram, qua fulti ista contemnitis, non esse vulgarem nec ab humana duntaxat persuasione profectam, sed afflatu numinis confirmari. Caeterum vt fides nondum est probata nisi sese per vitae pietatem et officia erga proximos exerat, ita tolerantia non habebit laudem absolutam nisi, quemadmodum in malis tolerandis fortis est et alacris, ita in bonis operibus exercendis sibi constet.

Magnum est mala libenter perpeti, sed ob Christi gloriam duntaxat; perfectum est, cum ipse malis afficiaris, omnibus benefacere, non solum his qui promerentur verum etiam his a quibus affligeris. Sic enim fiet vt membra respondeatis capiti, discipuli praeceptorum, filii patri, si sitis vndique perfecti et integri neque quicquam in vobis desyderetur quod ad absoluendum euangelicae pietatis orbem pertinet. Hoc, fateor, non exigebat Mosi lex, hoc stultum etiam videtur huius mundi sapientibus, sed hanc nouam sapientiam nos docuit noua philosophia quam Christus coelestis doctor inuexit orbi. In ea si quis nondum satis confirmatus est, non est cur confugiat ad huius seculi philosophos, quorum doctrina dilutior est quam vt ad rem tantam praestandam sufficiat. Supra vires mortalium est quod praescribitur. Coelesti opus est praesidio. Proinde coeleste

49 his D-H: iis A C
50 his D-H: iis A C

58 praescribitur H: praestatur A-G

3-4 *quondam ... cultum* For the antithesis cf. Ex. *Paraphr. in Epist. ad Tit., ad 1, 1, LB VII, 1067 A*, and for a more elaborate version, *Paraphr. in Epist. ad Rom., ad 1, 1, LB VII, 779 A*; and for the temporal adverbs, *Paraphr. in Epist. 1. Pet., p. 186, l. 3 below*.

5-6 *cum omnibus ... tum peculiariter* A similar distinction between Jewish and gentile recipients of the epistle is made by the *Glossa, ad 1, 1*. Bede (see p. 121, n.l. 3 above) and Nicholas of Lyre, however, seem to consider it to be addressed to Jewish Christians and only incidentally to Christians of gentile origin.

12 *Cum* The medieval commentators divided the Epistle into two parts, the salutation (1,1)

and the body or *Tractatus* which began with the words *Omne gaudium* (1, 2 Vg.). In the *Paraphrasis* the *Cum* is printed with an ornamental initial in *A* and similarly in the Froben editions. It seems that Erasmus had somehow indicated in his manuscript that a new paragraph began here.

18 *puppm ac proram* Cf. *Adag.* 8, *ASD* II, 1, pp. 120-123.

53 *stultum* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 1, 23 and *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 39, l. 6-p. 40, l. 6.

54-55 *noua philosophia* I. e. the *philosophia euangelica*; see the *Epistola de philosophia euangelica* in *Nov. Test.*, *LB* VI, p. *4v° sq.; also *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 38, ll. 21-24 and p. 40, ll. 7-23; *Paracr.*, Holborn, p. 140 sq.

60 praemium paratum est. Qui res suas omnes huius mundi bonis ac malis metiuntur,
 si quando premuntur malis, ab hominibus consilium petunt, ab hominibus implo-
 rant auxilium. Vobis sapientiae coelestis praesidium a Deo poscendum est. Is
 enim impartit omnibus, non modo Iudaeis, verum etiam gentibus, et impartit
 pro sua benignitate affluenter nec exprobrat cuiquam suum beneficium. Non
 65 repositit a nobis gratiam, nec eget vllius officio. Natura bonus est, vltro cupiens
 omnibus benefacere. Ab hoc quisquis petet, non petet frustra. Vult omnibus
 benefacere et potest quicquid vult. Nihil moratur merita nostra, tantum fiduciam
 erga se requirit. Pharisaica vox est: 'Domine, fac quod peto quia ieiuno bis in
 sabbato'. Vere pius sic orat: 'Indignus sum tua munificentia, dignus ira; sed
 tamen respice famulum tuum quoniam natura bonus es ac misericors'. Proinde si
 70 quis ab hoc velit impetrare quod petit, petat nihil diffidens, nihil haesitans. Ne
 circumspectat afflictionum moles, ne vires expendat suas; tantum cogitet opti-
 mum ac potentissimum esse Deum, a quo pendet. Qui totus fidit opi diuinae,
 solidus est ac firmus. Porro quisquis haesitat ac circumspectat, sic a Deo pendens
 vt interim respiciat humana praesidia, neque toto pectore credit promissis diuinis
 75 sed velut ex parte diffidens argutationibus humanis secum disputat de rebus diui-
 nis, is haud quaquam stabilis est, sed quemadmodum vndae maris nunc huc,
 nunc illuc voluuntur ac reoluuntur ventorum et aestus arbitrio, ita hic rationi-
 bus humanis et opinionibus variis circumagitur, inaequalis ac dissimilis sui.
 Itaque qui talis est, fallitur si credit se quicquam impetraturum a Domino cum
 80 male sentiat de eo cuius auxilium implorat, diffidens ei quasi aut parum bene
 velit hominibus aut parum possit aut parum verax sit in promissis. Simplex est
 christiana fiducia nec vsque vacillat, semper illum vnum respiciens qui neminem
 sibi fidentem destituit, siue viuere contingat siue mori. Porro cuius animus bifa-
 85 riam diuisus est, hac parte Deum respiciens, illa mundum, is inaequalis | est et
 LB 1120 inconstans, non tantum in precibus suis sed in omnibus etiam quae agit, aliud
 habens in ore, aliud in pectore, proque tempore nunc hoc, nunc illo affectus
 modo.

Non oportet pro flatu reflatuque fortunae vertere animum quemadmodum
 vulgus hominum facit. Quin potius Christianus humilis ac variis malorum moli-
 90 bus pressus erigat animum et hoc nomine gloriatur, quod mundo contemptus
 non sit contemptus apud Deum, qui nihil offensus humilitate conditionis aut
 fortunae dignatus sit illum consortio sanctorum nec excludat ab haereditate regni
 coelestis. Contra diues hoc nomine sibi gratuletur, quod qui ob falsa huius
 mundi bona magni fiebat apud mundi cultores, nunc ob professionem Christi
 95 spretus est et contemptus; et quem ante tumidum inanibus bonis fastus agitabat,
 nunc apud homines deiectus et calcatus veris bonis ditescat apud Deum. Hoc
 pacto fiet vt nec pauperem sua deiiciat humilitas nec diuitem insolentem reddat
 sua fortuna, maxime si cogitet vterque et mala, quibus grauantur inopes, et bona,
 quibus sibi placent diuites, non esse diuturna sed celeriter euanescere, non aliter
 100 quam herbarum flosculos, qui, vt blandiente Fauonio ad vernum rorem subito
 proferunt sese, ita mox ad Boreae flatum ac solis ardorem emarcescunt atque

emoriuntur, adeo vt flosculum, qui natus ad solis exortum gratissimo colore blandiebatur oculis hominum, sol occidens videat morientem. Arbores, quoniam altis nituntur radicibus ac solido robore fulciuntur, diu virent, quaedam etiam perpetuo, nec ventorum iniuria nec brumae rigore viroris gratiam ponentes. At herba, quoniam iisdem rebus non fulcitur, mox, vbi sol efferbuit, succo suo destituitur quo temporariam illam floris gratiam alebat. Itaque caulis languescens iam florem suum nec alit nec sustinet, sed arescit, senescit, emoritur, collabitur quod paulo ante tanta gratia blandiebatur oculis hominum. Ne quis igitur in his quae nec solida sunt nec diutina Christianus gloriatur; magis ea spectet quae sunt aeterna, quae blandiuntur oculis Dei; magis studeat esse palma semper virens quam herba mox ad leuem iniuriam emoritura. Vides modo natum florem – qui decor, quae species, quae coloris, quae odoris gratia, quae foliorum virentium pompa, qui nitor, qui succus, quae iuuentus? At mox ad Austri flatum, ad solis aestum, qui languor, quod senium, quis interitus? Idem dies et nascentem conspicit florem et pubescentem et adultum et senescentem et mortuum. Huic adsimilis est diuitum

67–69 *Pharisaica* ... *misericors* *H*: *om.* *A–G*
 70 *haesitans* *A–E G H*: *haesitatis* *F*: *haesitatus* *G*
 81 *aut parum verax* ... *promissis* *H*: *om.* *A–G*

84 *diuisus* *A–D F–H*: *diffisus* *E*
 101 *ita* *H*: *et* *A–G*
 113 *species* *H*: *facies* *A–G*

67–69 *Pharasaica* ... *misericors* See *Lc.* 18, 14.

The prayer of the *vere pius* echoes *Ps.* 86, which was one of the psalms customarily recited by a priest before saying Mass. The additions in *H* respond to Noë Bédé's complaint that the preceding sentence (*Nihil moratur ... requirit*) unduly depreciated good works; see *Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae, LB IX*, 479 D.

69 *respice famulum tuum* *A* formula from the *Breviarium*.

70 *nihil ... haesitans* Cf. *Annot. in Iac.* 1, 6 ("nihil haesitans"), *LB VI*, 1026 C, where Erasmus observes that the participle διακρινόμενος can mean either *diuidicans* (*diffidens* in the paraphrase) or *haesitans*, the translation in *Vg.* which Erasmus retains in his Latin version. The paraphrase presents both meanings.

80–81 *aut parum ... promissis* Trust in God's fidelity is for Erasmus a major component in *fides* (see *Annot. in Rom.* 1, 17 ("ex fide in fidem"), *LB VI*, 562 F) and a recurring motif in the *Paraphrases* (cf., e.g., p. 137, ll. 487–490 below). The promises are in general all those made in the Bible (cf. e.g. *Paraphr. in Ps.* 3., *ASD V*, 2, p. 173, ll. 294–298); in the *Paraphrases* on the Epistles they are essentially two: eternal life for the godly (*pii*), eternal damnation for the ungodly (*impij*).

89–90 *Christianus ... pressus* The description and the promised reward are based on the first and eighth Beatitudes, *Mt.* 5, 3 and 10;

cf. the paraphrase on *Iac.* 2, 5, p. 134, ll. 374–376 below. The same connections are made, though not explicitly, by Bede, *In Iac.* 1, 9, *CCSL* 121, p. 185, ll. 103–104: "Omnis qui aduersa humiliter pro Domino suffert ab illo regni praemia percipiet".

92 *consortio sanctorum* Cf. *Eph.* 1, 18 and *Er. Paraphr. in Epist. ad Hebr.*, ad 9, 15, p. 72, ll. 689–691 above.

92 *haereditate regni coelesti* Cf. *Iac.* 2, 5

111 *palma semper virens* Bede, *In Iac.* 1, 11, *CCSL* 121, p. 186, l. 117 quotes *Ps.* 92, 12: "Iustus vt palma florebit", but the statement that the palm tree is *semper virens* comes from *Plin. Nat.* XVI, 33, 79.

113 *species* *Facies* in *A–G* is a paraphrase on τοῦ προσώπου in 1, 11, which is translated *vultus* in *Vg.*, but *aspectus* by Erasmus because he thought that the metaphor implied by the word *vultus* was too harsh. The change to *species* sustains his view, which had been criticized by Stunica; cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 246, ll. 324–326 and n.l. 325.

116 *diuitum* The plural is apparently intended to extend the thought of *Iac.* 1, 11 to the wealthy in general. The biblical text has the singular ὁ πλούσιος ("diues" in *Vg.*); hence *Qui* at the beginning of the following sentence in the paraphrase is singular instead of the expected plural.

felicitas. Qui nunc purpura conspicuus, auro lucens, gemmis refulgens, magnifico famulatio stipatus, supinus vehitur ac veluti numen quoddam inter homines colitur, si reflauerit fortuna, aut exutus bonis omnibus mendicabit exul aut plorabit in carcere aut sublatus in crucem pascet coruos aut, si nihil horum acciderit, certe mors inopina subito strepitum omnem auferet.

Gentium est huiusmodi bonis metiri felicitatem, quae – praeterquam quod a fortunae pendent arbitrio, praeterquam quod (vt nihil aliud) vna cum hac vita nos deserunt – nisi contemnantur, perniciem adferunt. Christianorum est ea sequi quibus aeterna parantur bona, in quae neque fortuna neque senium neque mors vllum ius habet. Non enim ideo beatus quisquam est quia diues, sed ita demum beatus erit si ob Euangelii professionem spoliatus iis quae possidebat, si spretis voluptatibus huius vitae quibus affatim fruebatur, pro Christo suffert cruciatus et carceres, si eius amore in malis omnibus ad mortem vsque perdurat infracto pectore, sic interpretans, quo pluribus huius mundi malis premitur, hoc se chariorem esse Deo qui ad | suam gloriam explorat cultoris sui tolerantiam, quo simul et aliis exemplo sit ad contemptum huius mundi et ipse, posteaquam se strenue gesserit in certamine veraeque virtutis ac fidei documentum dederit, palmam et coronam ferat, non quernam aut lauream – nam marcescunt et hae, quod genus accipiunt qui praemium ac laudem venantur ab hominibus – sed coronam immortalis vitae quam pollicitus est non homo quispiam qui fallere possit, sed Deus. Pollicitus est autem non iis qui plurimum opum congesserint, non iis qui corporis robore praecelluerint, qui plurimum hostium fuderint, sed qui ipsius amore huius mundi bona spreuerint, huius mundi mala fortiter per-

tulerint.

An syncerus sit amor Dei explorant huius mundi blandimenta, sed multo magis tumultus afflictionum. In nobis autem est situm vt Dei praesidio fulti nec blandimentis emolliamur nec terriculamentis frangamur. Quod si quem illecebrae seculi dimouent a recto mentis statu aut si quem afflictionum molestia deducit a vera pietate, non est quod imputet Deo. Qui vincit, Dei praesidio vincit; qui vincitur, suo vicio vincitur. Neque enim Deus praebet hominibus occasionem peccandi, sed quod ille largitur pro sua bonitate in materiam segetemque pietatis, hoc noster animus affectibus corruptus ac velut inescatus sibi vertit in occasionem exitii. Deus enim in hoc aliquando nobis donat rerum affluentia vitaeque commodis frui, vt ipsius benignitate prouocati gratias illi agamus. Rursus patitur aliquoties nos rebus aduersis affligi quo et nostram pietatem reddat spectatiorem et praemium augeat. Quod si res in diuersum cedit, nostra culpa est, non illius. Siquidem vt ipse natura bonus nullis malis sollicitari potest, ita neminem ad mala sollicitat. A nobis est illud quod nobis Dei bona vertit in malum. Largitur ille ciborum copiam, largitur vini liquorem vt moderate refecti laudibus vehamus autorem. An hunc in ius vocabit qui temulentus est? Nequaquam! Accuset animum suum cuius viciosa cupiditas illexit ac pertraxit ad ebrietatem. Ex primorum parentum vicio insita est animis nostris quaedam ad vicia procliuitas; ea ceu peccati seminarium est. Quod si in animum admissum

160 coaluerit, iam mens veluti concepit peccatum. Et ni viciosa cupiditas pellatur ab
 animo, paulatim grandescit et invalescit malus ille foetus donec pariaturo capitale
 peccatum. Quod vbi suis numeris fuerit consummatum, rursus incipit et ipsum
 gignere. Gignit autem foetum omnium pessimum, nempe mortem aeternam,
 atque hic est fructus longe tristissimus voluptatis illius in speciem blandae et nes-
 165 cioquid suave pollicentis dum mortiferum aes voluptatis esca praetexit.

Quemadmodum igitur hic mundus inferior nihil habet vndique purum ac
 perfectum, sed bona malis viciantur et quae laeta sunt tristium vicissitudine mis-
 centur – aerem viciat lues, corporum valetudinem infestat morbus et senium,
 lucis gratiam interrumpunt tenebrae – ita in nostris animis, donec his corporibus
 170 obnoxii sunt, vix quicquam est ex omni parte beatum ac purum quod non aliqua
 labe cupiditatum humanarum aut erroris et ignorantiae tenebris vicietur. Sed
 quicquid in nobis est mali, nobis imputare debemus, non Deo. Etenim si puris
 essemus affectibus, si toto pectore fideremus Deo, si totis visceribus ad aeterna
 coelestiaque aspiraremus, quicquid haec vita nobis obiiceret, seu triste seu lae-
 175 tum, verteretur in pietatis incrementum. Proinde, fratres dilectissimi, nolite

134 aut A-F G: ac G H

151 aduersis A-G I-BAS: aduersus H

117-119 *Qui ... colitur* In *Annot. in Iac.* 1, 11
 (“dies in itineribus suis”), *LB* VI, 1027 E,
 Erasmus wondered whether *πορλας*, which
 he translated “in abundantia”, should not be
 read for *πορτας* (“itineribus” in Vg. and his
 Latin version). The picture of the rich man
 ablaze with the accoutrements of wealth and
 being carried in a litter thus fuses the mean-
 ings of the Greek text and the suggested
 emendation. Unfortunately for Erasmus and
 the paraphrase there is no word *πορτα* with
 the meaning he would give to it; see *Apolog.*
resp. Iac. Lop. Stun., *ASD* IX, 2, p. 244, ll.
 320-321. The content of the paraphrase,
 except for the details, was probably suggested
 by Bede *ad loc.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 186, l. 143-p.
 144, l. 145: The rich man, surrounded by the
 marks of wealth, which symbolize his moral
 depravity or, as Bede puts it, his failure to
 take the straight road of the Lord, dies in the
 midst of his affluence while on a journey.
 121 *strepitum* See *Paraphr. in 1. Ioh.*, *ad* 2, 16,
 p. 266, n.l. 265.

130-131 *quo pluribus ... hoc se chariorem* Cf.
 Bede, *In Iac.* 1, 12, *CCSL* 121, p. 187, ll. 154-
 157: “... tanto amplius gaudere in temptatio-
 nibus oportet quanto certius claret Deum his
 quos diligit maius saepe temptationum pon-
 dus imponere ut scilicet per temptationum
 exercitium probentur in fide perfecti”.

134 *palnam* The word probably means here no

more than ‘prize’, but Erasmus may also have
 had *Ap. Ioh.* 7, 9 in mind.

134 *quernam aut lauream* A crown of oak
 leaves (the *corona civica*) was awarded the
 Roman soldier who saved the life of a fellow
 soldier in action, not for routing the enemy
 as the paraphrase suggests; cf. Gell. V, 6,
 11-15, Plin. *Nat.* XVI, 7. A crown of laurel
 was the award given to victors at the Pythian
 Games in Delphi. For the antitheses
 between perishable and imperishable,
 human and divine approbation cf. 1. *Cor.* 9,
 25 and 1. *Pet.* 5, 4.

158 *vicio Vitium* is a key term in Erasmus’
 anthropology; see e.g. *Enchir.*, Holborn,
 pp. 45, ll. 6-46, l. 25. For Erasmus’ view of
 original sin see *Annot. in Rom.* 5, 12 (“in quo
 omnes peccauerunt”), *LB* VI, 585 B; *Paraphr.*
in Rom., *ad* 5, 12-15, *LB* VII, 793 A-E; *Resp.*
ad collat. iuv. geront., *LB* IX, 984 E-993 B.
 Cf. Payne, *Theology*, 42 sq. and Robert
 Coogan, *The Pharisee Against the Hellenist:*
Edward Lee Versus Erasmus, RQ 39, 3 (1986),
 pp. 476-506.

166 *hic mundus inferior* That is, the region
 from the moon to the earth which, consist-
 ing of the four mutable elements of earth,
 air, fire, and water, is subject to contingency
 and change; cf. Aristot., *Cael.* III and IV,
 and D.J. Allan, *The Philosophy of Aristotle*,
 Oxford, 1952, pp. 57-60.

facere quemadmodum vulgus stultorum hominum facit, qui, quo suis viciis blandiantur, naturae conditorem in ius vocant velut autorem peccati. Procul absit hic error a vobis qui didicistis euangelicam philosophiam. | Vt Deus suapte natura
 LB 1122 pure summeque bonus est, ita nihil ab illo proficiscitur nisi bonum. Si quid igitur
 180 in nobis est viciorum, non Deo, sed nobis ipsis feramus acceptum; si quid bonae rei, si quid verae lucis, si quid illibatae sapientiae, id totum auctori Deo ascribamus. Si quid lucis habet hic orbis crassior, a coelestibus illis corporibus habet et potissimum a sole. Quicquid in nobis est verae cognitionis, quicquid puri syncerique affectus, id a nobis non oritur, qui alioqui nihil aliud sumus
 185 quam peccatores et ignorantes, sed e sublimi proficiscitur; ab autore bonorum omnium venit quicquid vere bonum est; a fonte totius perfectionis obtingit quicquid legitimum ac perfectum est taleque vt nos Deo commendet; quicquid vere lucidum est, id nobis ex sese mittit ille Pater et Princeps omnis verae lucis. Haec non impartit meritis nostris, sed gratuito nobis largitur, vt est natura benignus.
 190 Dona sunt verius quam praemia, liberalitas est potius quam merces. Fas igitur non est vt hinc quicquam nobis arrogemus; sed pro nostris malis Dei misericordiam interellemus, pro bonis non nostris illius liberalitati gratias agamus. Vt ille sua natura optimus est, ita non potest dare nisi quae sunt optima; vt incommutabilis est semperque sui similis, ita nihil est apud eum quod vlla vicissitudine
 195 caliginis offuscetur. Nostrum hunc diem nox succedens excipit, nubes intercedentes obducunt; humanam sapientiam obnubilant errores opinionum, humanam probitatem inficiunt malae cupiditates. Apud illum nulla malorum mixtura nec vllae caliginis vices.

Ad huius igitur simplicitatem oportet et nos pro viribus adniti, vt piis studiis
 200 praebentes nos magis ac magis capaces donorum illius velut in illum transformemur. Conuenit enim vt filii naturam parentis referant. Male reddidimus Adam, huius crassae corruptaeque natiuitatis principem. Is peccatorum tenebris obscuratus genuit nos tenebris obnoxios. Quod fastidimus coelestia, quod inhiamus terrenis, illius ingenium referimus. Quod caecutimus, quod hallucinamur, quod
 205 labimur, terreni parentis est. Sed felicius nos regenuit Pater ille coelestis vt iam veluti denuo conditi innocentia vitae ac veritatis aeternae cognitione nouae origini respondeamus. Ille seductus fallacibus promissis serpentis genuit nos tenebris. Hic rursus nos genuit, non ex corrupto semine terreni patris sed ex purissimo semine sermonis aeterni ac veridici. Mendax erat sermo serpentis et a statu
 210 innocentiae deiecit. Verax est sermo doctrinae euangelicae per quem cooptamur in haereditatem immortalitatis et asciscimur in consortium Iesu Christi, Filii Dei. Erat ille lux vera de summa luce profectus, cuius doctrina mentes hominum illustrauit et ab huius mundi tenebris asseruit. Tam efficax autem est sermo coelestis vt nos non mutarit solum, sed velut prorsus in alios homines transformarit execrantes iam quae prius adamabamus, adamantes quae prius execrabamur. Atque
 215 hoc honore dignatus est nos Pater coelestis non nostris meritis prouocatus, sed sua gratuita bonitate qua sic illi visum est ab aeterno vt inaudita ratione conderet in terris nouam creaturam, nosque huius nouae conditionis veluti primitias quasdam esse voluit, qui inter primos sumus ad euangelicam uocati doctrinam.

220 Hoc igitur honoris cum nobis Deus gratis impartierit, superest vt nos vicissim illius munificentiae pro virili respondeamus. Gratuito sumus admissi ad hanc felicitatem, sed a qua interim possumus nostro vicio excidere nisi quod gratuito donatum est piis studiis tueri studeamus. Frustra cooptati fuerimus per baptis-

183 verae A-G² H: vere G²

187 nos A-F G²: vos G² H

181-182 *id ... ascribamus* Bede, *In Iac.* 1, 17, CCSL 121, p. 189, ll. 229-31 makes the same point.

187 *nos* In view of the employment of the first person pronoun elsewhere in this sentence the *vos* of G², left unchanged in H², is more likely to be the product of a reversed sort or of foul case than of deliberate revision.

188 *Pater ... lucis* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 1, 17, CCSL 121, p. 189, ll. 232-233: "[Iacobus] eum (sc. Deum) Patrem luminum appellat, quia auctorem nouit spiritualium carismatum" and Hugo, p. 54^o: "... a Deo qui est auctor omnium spiritualium bonorum quae sunt lumina animae".

193-194 *incommutabilis* Augustine (*Civ.* XI, 21, and *De nat. boni* 24, CSEL XXV, 2, p. 866) and Hilary (*Trin.* 4, Migne PL 10, 101 B) cite *Iac.* 1, 17 as evidence that God is immutable; that is, they understand the term *transmutatio* in Vg. to be a description of the divine nature. Bede, *In Iac. ad loc.*, CCSL 121, p. 189, ll. 235-237, likewise comments: "Quia in Dei natura mutabilitas non est neque lumen eius sicut lumen huius mundi aliqua vicissitudinis vmbra intercidit". Cf. 1. *Cor.* 4, 7, which Bede cites in his commentary on 1, 17.

194-195 *vlla vicissitudine caliginis* The paraphrase presents in the two following sentences what is generally agreed to be the essential meaning of the mysterious phrase τροπής ἀποσκίασμα in *Iac.* 1, 17, which Erasmus translates "conuersionis obumbratio" (Vg. has "vicissitudinis obumbratio"); cf. Davids, *Epist. of James*, pp. 87-88, Martin, *James*, pp. 38-39. The exact meaning (and the text itself) of τροπή is disputed though Martin, p. 38, observes that "the images [in παραλλαγῆς, τροπή and ἀποσκίασμα] fit together to yield a picture of the alternation of day and night". The explanation Erasmus advances in his *Annot. ad loc.* ("vicissitudinis obumbratio"), LB VI, 1028 D, is as obscure as the original Greek: "Significat autem ab hac luce iaci vmbam, et solstitiis crescere ac decrescere nostrum solem". In any case Erasmus ignores this explanation in the paraphrase, which reverses the grammatical relationship of the nouns τροπή and ἀποσκίασμα and explains

their meaning, first, more or less literally in the two meteorological examples, and secondly, figuratively or tropologically, in the two psychological examples.

196-197 *humanam ... cupiditates* Cf. Nicholas of Lyre's comment on "vicissitudinis obumbratio" (Vg.), p. H1^o: "Nam in eo [sc. Deo] non sunt plures actus intelligendi et volendi sibi succedentes, sed vnico actu simplicissimo et eterno intelligit et vult se et omnia alia".

197-198 *Apud illum ... vices* Cf. 1. *Ioh.* 1, 5.

205 *regenuit* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 1, 18, CCSL 121, p. 189, ll. 241-245: "Quod ergo [Iacobus] dixerat 'omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum' a Deo descendere consequenter adstruit addendo quia non nostris meritis sed suae beneficio uoluntatis per aquam regenerationis de filiis tenebrarum nos in filios lucis mutauerit".

209 *sermonis aeterni et veridici* Cf. Nicholas of Lyre, p. H1^o, who glosses 'verbo veritatis' in *Iac.* 1, 18, by "per verbum incarnatum quod est ipsa veritas," and cites *Ioh.* 14, 6: "Ego sum via, veritas [sic] et vita".

212 *lux vera* Cf. *Ioh.* 1, 9 and the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 1, 3, p. 43, l. 21 above, with its allusion to the formulas in the Nicene Creed: "Lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero".

214 *prorsus ... transformari* An axiom of Erasmus' philosophy of Christ; see *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 33, ll. 20-22; *Paracl.*, Holborn, p. 139, l. 24-p. 145, l. 1; *Rat. Ver. Theol.*, Holborn, p. 180, ll. 22-24; Georges Chantaine, 'Mystère' et 'Philosophie de Christ' selon Érasme, Namur, 1971, pp. 184-188 and 221-224; M. A. Screech, *Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly*, London, 1980, p. 92 sq. and *passim*.

218 *nouuam creaturam* Cf. 2. *Cor.* 5, 17.

nosque In the mouth of James this should mean 'us Jews' as in Paul's 'the Jew first, then the Greek' (cf. e.g. *Rom.* 1, 16, 2, 9 etc.) though it could also mean 'us the first disciples' (cf. *Rom.* 16, 5, 1. *Cor.* 16, 15) since 'James', whether identified with James the Less or James the Just, remained with the other disciples after the Ascension (see *Act.* 1, 13-14).

225 mum et euangelicae doctrinae professionem in consortium Filii Dei nisi castis
 LB 1123 purisque moribus nostrae professioni respondeamus, vt, quemadmodum nobis
 aeterna lux illuxit per Filium Dei, ita | vita nostra omnis testetur quod ad lucis
 consortium pertineamus. Semel exuimus veterem hominem cum erroribus, cum
 affectibus, cum viciis suis; nunc aequum est vt diuersa sequamur.

230 Antehac maluistis videri magistri quam discipuli; nam id vobis persuadebat
 ambitio, quod doctior habeatur vulgo qui loquacissimus sit. Maluistis irasci recte
 momenti quam agnoscere culpam; maluistis obsequi libidini perniciosae quam ea
 sectari quae salutem adferunt. Nunc, fratres mei charissimi, quisquis vult haberi
 nouus homo, tardus sit ad loquendum, velox ad audiendum, paratus a quouis
 235 discere. Caeterum docendi partes ne quis sibi temere sumat neque praepropere.
 Et quemadmodum non abest a periculo lapsus qui praiceps est ad loquendum,
 ita vergit ad iniuriam qui facile commouetur animo. Oportet autem pios
 homines procul abesse non solum ab omni vindicta verum etiam ab omni male-
 dicentia. Tutior autem erit a conuitio qui nihil respondet; nulli faciet iniuriam
 240 qui nec lacessitus irascitur. Apud homines fortassis iustus videtur qui conuitium
 conuitio, qui maleficium maleficio retaliat; sed idem multum aberit a iusticia Dei
 qui per Filium suum nos docuit bene loqui de his qui nobis obtrectant, bene
 velle his qui nobis male volunt, bene mereri de male merentibus. Haec non facit
 qui linguae laxat habenas, membro volubili et lubrico, qui iram habet in consilio.
 Huiusmodi cupiditates vt obruunt ac suffocant semen diuini sermonis quo
 245 minus subolescens fructificet in vobis, ita obstant ne possit in animi segetem
 inseri. Non haeret in solo senticoso, non in palustri, non in harena fluitante;
 puram, purgatam ac solidam terram postulat. Proinde si vultis vt semen sermonis
 euangelici, quod semel iactum est, fructum adferat in vobis – fructum, inquam,
 non temporarium aut vulgarem, quo ad tempus reficiantur corpora, sed aeternam
 250 salutem animarum vestrarum – repurgate vestri pectoris aruum non solum a
 tumultu maledicentiae et iracundiae, verum etiam ab omnibus cupiditatibus qui-
 bus inquinatur animus humanus: a spinis auariticiae, ab harena temeritatis, a
 limo libidinis, a petris superbiae ac pertinaciae. Siquidem his rebus onusta mens
 non est capax sermonis euangelici, qui frustra pulsat tympanum aurium nisi alte
 255 subsidat in cordis penetralia.

Atque is si semel subsederit in animos vestros, haud quaquam fuerit sterilis,
 sed emerget ac proferet sese piis factis. Iudaei legem suam memoriter tenent, nec
 eam exprimunt vita. Philosophi ediscunt bene viuendi rationes et id satis esse
 260 putant, longe fallentes semetipsos cum non in lingua, sed in vita sita sit hominis
 felicitas. Vobis autem satis esse non debet, quod catechumeni audistis euangeli-
 cam doctrinam, quod baptizati admissi estis ad magis abstrusa euangelicae doc-
 trinae mysteria, quod vniuersam Christi philosophiam omnemque illius vitam
 perdidicistis, quod accepistis promissionem immortalis vitae. Quod Christus
 docuit, moribus est exprimendum; quod ille gessit, nobis est pro viribus imitan-
 265 dum. Mortui cupiditatibus huius mundi cum illo sepeliamur oportet, cum illo
 reuiuiscamus ad innocentiam, cum illo feramur in coelum, denique sic viuamus
 in terris vt ne indigni videamur praemiis coelestibus.

270 Vultis audire quam nullum fructum referat qui leuiter et incogitanter euange-
licum sermonem audierit? Simillimus est homini contemplanti faciem suam in
speculo. Contemplatur, sed contemplatur tantum. Nec enim potest mutare
faciem natiuam nec alius discedit a speculo quam accesserat. Imo quoniam ideo
LB 1124 tantum accessit vt videret qua forma esset, ne cogitat quidem de mutandis
for|mae viciis, sed simulatque recedit a speculo, ne meminit quidem qualem sese
conspexerit. At euangelicae doctrinae speculum non ostendit naevos aut tubera
275 corporis, sed omnes animi tui morbos tibi ponit ob oculos; nec solum ostendit,
verum etiam medetur. Lex Mosaica magis prodebat animi mala quam sanabat.
Erat enim lex iuxta litteram imperfecta et magis metu deterrebat a malis quam
efficiebat vt homines sponte recta sequerentur. At euangelica lex per charitatem a
volentibus ac liberis plus impetrat quam extorquebat illa, et quod incipit perficit,
280 quum illa nihil ad perfectum adduxerit.

Ad hoc igitur speculum quisquis diligenter contemplabitur et mentem et
vitam suam idque fecerit assidue nunquam dimouens oculos ab exemplo doctri-
nae Christi – hoc est, quisquis sermonem sacrum non sic leuiter audierit vt
mox ad curas huius mundi versus videatur oblitus quod audiit, sed ad eius nor-
285 mam vitam omnem componat piis operibus exprimens quod animi medullis
penitus infixit, hic demum beatus erit, non quod audierit, sed quod affectibus ac
moribus praestiterit. Audis a Christo supplicium gehennae manere illum quisquis
dixerit fratri suo: *Fatue*. Ac mox oblitus quod audieras, ad leue conuitium moues
arma. Audis negligendas opes tineis ac furibus obnoxias sed veras esse reconden-
290 das in coelo. Verum digressus a praedicatorum sic omnibus studiis pergis per fas
nefasque congerere diuitias, quasi crederes post hanc vitam non esse praemia pie-
tatis. Quod si quis inter vos abunde sibi religiosus videtur si manus contineat a

241 de his qui nobis obtrectant *H*: de nobis
obtrectantibus *A-G*

242 his qui nobis male volunt *H*: nobis
malevolentibus *A-G*

227 *veterem hominem* Cf. *Eph.* 4, 22 and *Col.*, 3,
8-9.

244 *suffocant semen* Cf. *Mt.* 13, 7 and 22.

253 *ac pertinaciae* Erasmus appears to have his
critics in mind; cf. p. 118, l. 54 above. *Pertina-*
cia is a characteristic of dialectical wranglers;
cf. p. 145, l. 694 below.

259-260 *non in lingua ... felicitas* For the
construction and the thought cf. *Paracl.*,
Holborn, p. 144, l. 35-p. 145, l. 1: "Hoc
philosophiae genus in affectibus situm verius
quam in syllogismis, vita magis est quam dis-
putatio, afflatus potius quam eruditio, trans-
formatio magis quam ratio".

276 *Lex Mosaica* Cf. *Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 7,
7-12, *LB VII*, 798 E-799 C.

277 *iuxta litteram* That is, the letter which kills
(2. *Cor.* 3, 6). This addition probably arose

245 possit *A-D G²*: possint *E F G H*

253 *ac pertinaciae H*: *om. A-G*

256 *is A-D G H*: *his E F*

277 *iuxta litteram H (litteram scripsi)*: *om. A-G*

from a controversy which originated with
Noël Béda and was continued by the Faculty
of Theology at Paris. Béda had objected to
what he considered an impious depreciation
of the Law of Moses on the part of Erasmus.
Erasmus replied that he was referring to that
part of the Law which concerns ceremonies,
the *lex carnalis* or *crassa* as he usually desig-
nates it in contrast to the spiritual law of the
Gospel, and which in his view was abrogated
by Christ. Cf. *Supputat. in calumn. Nat.*
Bedae, *LB IX*, 479 E and *Declarat. ad cens.*
Lutet., *LB IX*, 853 A-856 D.

283-284 *quisquis ... audiit* Cf. *Mt.* 13, 22 (*Mt.* 4,
18-19, *Lc.* 8, 14).

287 *Audis a Christo* Cf. *Mt.* 5, 22.

289-290 *Audis ... in coelo* Cf. *Mt.* 6, 19-
21.

furto et pugnis caeterisque viciis, sed interim non refrenans linguam suam ab
 obrectationibus, a conuitiis, a turpiloquiis neque cor suum a turpibus cogitatio-
 295 nibus, huius inutilis infrugiferaque religio est. Fortasse non punitur humanis legi-
 bus qui loquitur tantum adulteria, non etiam patrat; at is apud Deum iam adul-
 ter est qui animo patrauit adulterium. Non dat poenas hominibus qui rem
 alienam concupiscit, si liceat impune; sed apud Deum furti reus est qui furtum
 concepit in animo. Ex actis illis manifestis aestimamur apud homines, quibus
 300 animus non est conspicuus. Caeterum Deus intimos animi affectus intuetur et ex
 iis nos aestimat. Porro corruptus animus plerunque solet in linguam erumpere.
 Apud Christianos conuitium homicidii genus est, tantum abest vt cum linguae
 petulantia cohaereat vera pietas.

Neque vero sufficit ad christianam religionem abstinuisse a peccando, oportet
 305 et bonis operibus abundare. Siquidem a malo temperant et serui, nimirum sup-
 plicii metu, at filios decet charitas. Ea non est res ociosa sed efficax, in omne
 bonum opus sese promens vltro. At dixerit aliquis, 'Quaenam igitur sunt ista
 facta quae nos vere reddunt religiosos?'. Qui Iudaismum sapiunt religionis lau-
 dem constituunt in palliis ac phylacteriis, in delectu ciborum, in lotionibus, in
 310 prolixis precibus caeterisque ceremoniis, quae sic aliquoties aspernandae non sunt
 si per haec veluti signa commonefiamus eorum quae sunt propria pietatis; perni-
 ciosa vero si quis arbitretur per haec hominem fieri religiosum quae sola citius
 reddunt hypocritam. Attamen haec seruare religio videtur apud homines qui per-
 peram ponunt pietatem in rebus visibilibus, quae signa sunt fortasse pietatis non
 315 causa, quum per se neque bonae sint neque malae, nisi quod tales vel vsu vel
 hominum opinione videantur, cum vera pietas sit in ipsis animis atque aliis signis
 longe certioribus sese promat.

Vultis igitur audire quae sit vera religio apud Deum Patrem, qui non humano
 iudicio vos aestimat? Nimirum haec est pura et immaculata religio, vt, quemad-
 320 modum nos experti sumus Dei erga nos et misericordiam et beneficentiam, ita
 nos vicissim erga | proximum et misericordes simus et benefici idque non aliqua
 LB II25 spe redituri ad nos officii mutui sed ex mera synceraque charitate praemium offi-
 cii nostri non aliunde quam a Deo expectantes, qui sibi patitur imputari quic-
 quid in fratrem ipsius amore collocauerimus. Pius ac purus est apud Iudaeos qui
 325 morticinium non contigerit, qui lotus sit viuo flumine; apud Deum pius ac
 purus est qui orphanis ac viduis adfuerit afflictis, qui fratrem oppressum subleuarit,
 qui egentem pecunia iuuerit. Apud Iudaeos impurus est qui carnem suillam
 ederit; apud Deum impurus est cuius animus fuerit huius mundi cupiditatibus
 infectus et inquinatus. 'Sed quaenam', inquires, 'sunt illae cupiditates?'. Mundi
 330 iudicio vilis habetur quisquis pauper est, honoratior qui plus opum possidet;
 ideoque praecipuum illis studium vt quam maximam pecuniae vim sibi compa-
 rent. Ignauus et abiecti spiritus habetur qui ad iniuriam illatam obmutescit. Stul-
 tus habetur qui pro maleficio refert beneficium. Splendidus habetur qui luxui
 indulget; sordidus qui sectatur sobrietatem. Magnus habetur qui fastu turget, qui
 335 inferioris notae homines e sublimi despicit. Felix habetur cui res interim e sen-
 tentia succedunt, qui deliciis ac voluptatibus affluit, qui ventri gulaeque seruit.

Hae res sunt quae vere reddunt impium et impurum hominis animum; a quibus quisquis abfuerit, is demum vere religiosus est apud Deum Patrem, qui nos exemptos a terrenis euocauit ad coelestia, a perituris et caducis ad aeterna, docuitque nos vt veris bonis dignitatem hominis aestimaremus vtque in omnibus quae agimus non alio spectaremus quam ad ipsius gloriam, a quo solo speranda est benefactorum compensatio, qui verae pietatis officia non rependit fluxis ac mox perituris praemiis quemadmodum hic mundus solet, sed beatam immortalitatem largitur. Humilis est, tenuis est cui impendis officium, referre gratiam non potest; sed tamen in hunc longe praestat collocare quam in alium quamlibet diuitem aut potentem, a quo nullus fructus redire potest nisi vilis ac temporarius, quum pro tenui fratre subleuato Christus reponat vitam aeternam.

CAPVT II

Qui proximum amat propter Deum et qui Deum amat in proximo, non hactenus illum metitur quod potens sit aut diues aut nobilis, sed quatenus diuini bonis abundat. Caeterum ad hanc aestimationem nihilo potior est rex aut diues quamuis humili aut paupere. Pro omnibus ex aequo mortuus est Christus et omnes ex aequo vocantur ad immortalitatis haereditatem. Proinde, fratres mei, si vere fiditis promissis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, nolite facere discrimen personarum iuxta rerum mundanarum aestimationem. Christus iuxta mundum humilis fuit et pauper; et tamen hunc principem omnis gloriae voluit esse Pater. Non opulenti, sed pauperibus pollicitus est regnum coeleste. Iam si quis ingrediatur in consessum vestrum aureo insignis anulo aut splendida veste conspicuus ac simul ingrediatur pauper quispiam nec anulum gestans in digitis et veste vili sordidaque tectus et continuo coniectis in diuitem oculis non ob aliud nisi quod vestitu splendido pauperem obscurat, deferatis ei locum honoratiorem, dicentes: 'Tu sede hic bene'; rursus pauperi dicatis veluti contempto nec ob aliud quam ob

317 promat C-H: promit A

319 est A C H: om. E-G

324 ipsius amore H: om. A-G

326 ac H: et A-G

331 vt om. G²337 hominis A-G H: hominum G²342 verae A-E G H: vere F G²

347 quum ... aeternam H: om. A-G

296-297 at is ... adulterium Cf. Mt. 5, 27-28.

302 homicidii genus This notion is based on 1. Joh. 3,15. Cf. p. 274, ll. 505-506 below.

344-345 referre ... potest Cf. Lc. 14, 13-14.

347 quum ... aeternam In adding this clause Erasmus may have been influenced by Bede, who in his commentary on Iac. 1, 27, CCSL 121, p. 193, ll. 353-355, quotes the Lord's words in Mt. 25, 40: "Quamdiu fecistis vni de his fratribus meis minimis mihi fecistis".

352 quamuis Read quouis? Cf. p. 190, l. 104; p. 261, l. 129.

355-356 iuxta mundum humilis ... principem omnis gloriae. Cf. Er. Paraphr. in 1. Cor., ad 2, 1-8, LB VII, 864 B-865 B, and espe-

cially 865 B, where the phrase τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης in 1. Cor. 2, 8 is paraphrased "illum principem ac fontem omnis gloriae."

357 pollicitus est Cf. Lc. 6, 20.

363 illic Erasmus' Latin version has "tu sta illic aut sede hic" where hic translates ὧδε in his Greek text (the adverb is omitted in Vg.; cf. Annot. in Iac. 2, 3 ("aut sede sub"), LB VI, 1029 E. Unless it was an error by the typesetter of E under the influence of the preceding illic, the change was made to avoid confusion with the hic in the words addressed to the rich man and to reinforce the contemptuous tone of the speaker's words. If so, it is evidence that Erasmus made these minor revisions without reference to the biblical text.

365 vestem viliozem: 'Tu sta illic aut sede illic subter scabellum meum', quaeso an
 non statim animus vester reclamet et condemnet tacite factum vestrum, qui
 LB 1126 honorem qui virtuti debebatur per adulationem tribuatis auro et purpurae, ob
 harum rerum inopiam contemnentem eum qui Deo veris animi bonis multo
 commendatior est illo diuite? Illum vobis commendat digitulus anulo gemmaque
 nitens et corpus opertum serico; hunc vobis non commendat fidei synceritas,
 animi modestia, sobrietas, castitas caeteraeque dotes quae vere magnum ac splen-
 370 didum reddunt hominem? Cur vestrum iudicium dissentit a iudicio Dei? Aequis
 auribus audite, fratres mei dilecti, quod res ipsa clamat esse verissimum. Quan-
 tumuis mundus deferat diuitibus, Deus ipse praetulit pauperes, pauperes quidem
 iuxta mundum hunc, qui gemmas et aurum, qui magistratus et regna nec habent
 nec ambiunt in hoc seculo. Hos praeteritis diuitibus cum suo fastu delegit – prae-
 375 sentium quidem rerum inopia tenues sed expectatione regni coelestis et haeredi-
 tatis aeternae diuites ac potentes, nimirum fretos eo qui promisit, qui nec fallere
 potest si velit et praestare potest quicquid vult.

Quibus autem is promisit hanc admirabilem felicitatem? Num regibus aut
 opulentis? Nequaquam, sed iis a quibus vere diligitur, quicumque fuerint illi, siue
 380 servi siue liberi siue diuites siue tenues. Et vos – inuitato diuite ad honorificum
 consessum, paupere ad ima subsellia relegato – praetulistis eum qui Deo vilior est
 et contemptui habuistis eum qui Deo et diues est et honoratus. Illi habitus est
 honos qui fortasse diuitiis fraude quaesitis aut rapina partis sese venditat; hic
 contemptus est qui pauper esse maluit quam cum iactura pietatis ditescere, qui
 385 exhaustis in pauperum subsidia diuitiis vltro pauper factus est vt pietate ditiesce-
 ret. Non est quidem impius quisquis diues est; tamen haud temere diuitibus
 huius mundi conuenit cum euangelica pietate, verum ex hoc hominum genere
 potissimum existunt qui repugnant Euangelio Christi. Nam qui sunt tandem qui
 tyrannidem exercent in vos odio pietatis? Nonne diuites? Qui sunt qui vos per-
 390 agunt reos et pertrahunt ad tribunalia? Nonne diuites potissimum? Qui sunt qui
 male loquuntur et execrantur sanctum nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi, per
 cuius inuocationem vos assecuti estis salutem et in quo gloriimini? Nonne
 diuites? Qui intantum non fauent vestrae professioni vt nomen, quod vobis est
 salutiferum et adorandum, illis sit exitiabile et abominandum?

395 Sic autem professio nominis huius coepit vobis esse salutifera vt tamen vestro
 vicio possitis excidere a promissa salute. Rex praemium ostendit, sed ei qui factis
 praestiterit legem regiam. Ea neminem potest latere quum iam olim litteris sit
 prodita; est autem huiusmodi: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*. An proxi-
 mum ad hanc regulam diligit qui pio pauperi praefert diuitem impium? Euange-
 400 lica lex charitatis lex est. Quicquid aduersus hanc committitur, etiam si non sit
 nominatim vetitum, tamen peccatum est; et vos ipsa lex tacite redarguit quae
 praecepit omnibus et in omnibus diligendum proximum tanquam teipsum.
 Quisquis ab hac regula deflectit, legis transgressor conuincitur. Neque vero sibi
 quisquam ita blandiatur: 'leue est admissum, hac parte duntaxat lex est violata'.
 405 Imo lex euangelica talis est vt, ni tota seruetur, tota videatur esse violata. Cum

enim summa totius legis contineatur in charitate Dei ac proximi, quisquis excidit a charitate, quae radix est totius legis, nimirum totam legem violauit et legis autorem offendit cui hactenus factus est omnium reus quod qui semel aberrauit a scopo totius legis – quod quidem in ipso est – aberraturus videatur quoties se
 410 dederit occasio. Veluti quisquis in tenebris ambulat, non refert in dextrum aberret an in sinistrum, certe cuilibet errori expositus est qui semel excidit a luce.
 LB 1127 Proinde | qui per adulationem diuitem immerentem praetulit pauperi promerenti, quoniam hac in parte violauit legem charitatis, affinis est omnibus commissis quae solent aduersus proximi dilectionem patrari. Neque leuiter offendit
 415 Deum qui legem illius ausus est aliqua in parte violare. Qui semel praecepit charitatem, semel eadem opera vetuit quicquid pugnat cum charitate proximi. Etenim qui legem tulit: *ne moecheris*, idem statuit: *ne quem occidas*. Quod si abstinueris quidem ab adulterio, caeterum perpetraris homicidium, an ideo non violasti totam legem quod vna in parte violasti? Idem vtrunque vetuit et eadem
 420 causa vetuit, nempe quod aduersetur charitati proximi.

Sed non ea tantum vetuit quae legibus puniuntur etiam ethnicorum veluti furtum, homicidium et adulterium, sed omnia prorsus quae dissident ab euangelica charitate. Mosaica lex non puniret eum qui modestum pauperum superbo diuiti posthabuisset aut qui proximo male vellet, sed tamen hunc punit lex euangelica.
 425 Ad huius igitur normam non solum facta vestra, verum etiam sermonem et animi cogitationes componite, ne quid vnquam sit quod a proximi charitate discrepet. Lex est libertatis, non quod per eam liceat peccare, sed quod euangelica charitas vltro impetret a volentibus quod leges humanae metu poenarum extorquent a nolentibus. Ad hanc itaque legem vitam omnem componite, summum laturo
 430 praemium si quod praescriptum est praestiteritis; contra grauissimas daturi poenas si semel excideritis ab eo vnde lex tota pendet. Gratis vobis condonata sunt

363 *alt.* illic *E-H*: hic *A C*364 *reclamet A-G H*: *reclamat G*373 *nec A-E G H*: *ne F*396 *ei C-H*: *et A*409 *in D-H*: *om. A C*411 *excidit C-H*: *cecidit A*424 *posthabuisset A erratum C-H*: *protulisset A in contextu*425 *igitur repetit H*

364 *condemnet* Erasmus understood the Greek of the first part of 2, 4 to mean *in vobis ipsis*, that is, to internal judgment rather than to external discrimination as implied by the translation “apud vosmet ipsos” in Vg., the interpretation preferred by modern translators and commentators. Consequently, Erasmus took the second part of the sentence to mean ‘and become judges of your own wicked thoughts’; see *Annot. in Iac.* 2, 4 (“non iudicatis”), *LB VI*, 1029 E. Though he does not explicitly say so, he very likely connected the use of the verb διακρίνεσθαι in 2, 4 with that in 1, 6.

366–367 *Deo ... multo commendatior* Cf. Aug. *Epist.* 167, 18 (*CSEL* 44, pp. 605–606) and

Bede, *In Iac.* 2, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 194, ll. 32–34, both of whom assume that poverty is a virtue. 391–392 *per cuius inuocationem* At baptism, cf. *Act.* 2, 38.

394 *adorandum* Cf. *Phil.* 2, 10–11.397–398 *litteris ... prodita* In *Lv.* 19, 18.

406 *summa totius legis* Cf. *Mt.* 22, 35–40, *Er. Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 13, 9–10, *LB VII*, 821 E–22 A, and *Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 1, 4–9, *LB VII*, 1036 B–1037 C. The source of the exegesis of *Iac.* 2, 10 is Aug., *Epist.* 167 (*CSEL* 44, pp. 603–606), parts of which are quoted by Bede in his commentary on this verse (*CCSL* 121, p. 195, ll. 70–82).

427 *Lex est libertatis* See *Gal.* 5, 13.

vitae superioris commissa. Gratis collatum est donum Spiritus coelestis per quem
 estis non modo reconciliati verum etiam mutua conglutinati charitate. Quo plus
 vobis collatum est et collatum est gratis nihil promeritis, hoc acrius punientur qui
 435 tantam Dei misericordiam in se experti non se vicissim praebent mites ac miseri-
 cordes in proximum. Qua fronte petet a iudice Deo misericordiam, qui seruus in
 conseruum se praebuerit immisericordem? Quo ore postulabit a Deo diligi, qui
 proximum suum non diligit? Si vis iudicium nancisci dilutum misericordia, fac te
 440 praebes misericordem erga proximum vel peccantem vel egentem. Atque in
 hanc sane partem praestabilius est deflectere, vt misericordiae quam iudicio nita-
 mur. Cum enim pene totum sit misericordiae diuinae quod habemus magis
 quam iusticiae, potius adnitendum est vt Deum misericordem quam vt seuerum
 experiamur. Ille nos seruauit sua misericordia; aequum est et nos vicissim erga
 445 proximum ad misericordiam quam ad seueritatem esse propensiores. Nec enim
 paulo plures colliguntur lenitate, clementia, beneficentia quam austeritate, vt hoc
 nomine merito gloriatur misericordia praefereus sese iudicio, quod, qui iudicium
 experti fuerant perituri, misericordiae beneficio seruantur.

Nemo nostrum non labitur quotidie talem experturus Deum in condemnan-
 dis admissis suis qualem se praestiterit erga fratrem suum. An satis per se putan-
 450 dum est ad salutem consequendam solam fidei professionem? Quid autem est
 fides absque charitate? Porro res est viuida charitas. Non cessat, non est ociosa,
 exerit sese benefactis vbicumque est. Quae si desint, fratres mei, quaeso, an inane
 fidei nomen seruabit hominem? Infrugifera fides est, quae per charitatem non
 operatur; imo titulotenus duntaxat fides est. Quod dixi, clarius fiet exemplo col-
 455 lato. Si quis fratri aut sorori, cui vestis desit aut victus quotidianus, dicat blandis
 verbis: 'Abite cum pace, calescite et saturamini', atque haec loquutus nihil dede-
 rit eorum quae corpori sunt necessaria, nonne huius blandiloquentia inutilis erit
 460 egentibus? Nihilominus algebunt aut esurient ob huius orationem quae necessi-
 tati non opitulatur. Verbotenus subleuat, re nihil praestat. Sic nimirum inutilis
 erit fidei professio quae verbotenus constat neque quicquam agit sed veluti mor-
 tua torpet neque magis est dicenda fides quam cadauer hominis meretur hominis
 vocabulum. Quod corpori est anima, hoc est fidei charitas. Hac igitur subducta
 mortua quaedam et inefficax res est fidei vocabulum. Neque magis tibi profuerit
 465 apud Deum ore profiteri fidem ociosam quam proximo egenti oratio blanda cum
 re fuerit subleuandus. Rideri se putant quibus dicitis: 'Calescite, saturamini'; qui-
 bus neque vestis datur neque cibus. Ita Deum ridere videtur qui quotidie repetit:
 'Credo in Deum, credo in Deum', cum nulla praebet argumenta fidei. Vt inuti-
 lem habet charitatem qui verbotenus amat, ita superuacaneam habet fidem qui
 verbotenus modo credit.

470 Iam exorietur fortasse quispiam qui, separare cupiens ea quae natura coniunc-
 tissima sunt et quorum alterum ab altero diuelli non potest, dicat: 'Tu fidem
 habes, ego facta habeo; sit sua vterque portione contentus. Tibi sufficiat tua fides,
 mihi sat est quod adsunt benefacta'. Imo, neutri suffecerit sua portio. – Tu fide
 gloriaris. Eam, si veram habes, factis declares oportet; si mortuam habes, frustra

475 habes. — Tu facta iactas; nec ea sufficiunt ad consequendam immortalitatis cor-
nam nisi proficiscantur a charitate, quae fidei salutaris comes est indiuidua.
Quod in arbore sunt flores et frondes, hoc in nobis sunt officia charitatis, quae,
si prorumpunt suo tempore, declarant arboris radicem esse viuam, cuius succo
480 aluntur. Proinde ita demum proderunt benefacta si non praestentur ad inanem
gloriam, non ad humanam gratiam, non ob metum aut pudorem, non spe lucri,
sed ex viua fide quae nobis persuasit Deo praestari quicquid praestatur ob ipsum
proximo nec ab alio quam ab illo sperandum esse praemium. Tu tibi places, quod
persuasum habeas vnum esse Deum cum error paganorum credat innumeros esse
485 deos. Recte facis; nam istoc nomine praecellis. Sed frustra credis esse Deum et
esse Deum vnum nisi sic credas vt ab illo salutem consequatis. At id non facies
nisi fidei iungas charitatem et piis operibus testeris et quod credis et quod amas.
Si Deum credis esse, crede et salutis autorem esse, crede promissis illius, et ita
viuas vt illius dignus videre promissis. Promisit misericordiam, sed iis qui hic
490 misericordiam exercent in proximum. Promisit vitam aeternam, sed iis qui huius
mundi gaudia spernunt. Ita non solum credes vnum esse Deum, sed omnem
fiduciam in vno illo collocabis; alioqui quis erit fructus credulitatis tuae? Dae-
monia quoque credunt esse Deum, credunt Iesum esse Filium Dei et adeo

476 salutaris *H: om. A–G*

482 ab alio *BAS: alio (vel aliò) A–K*

436–437 *seruus in conseruum* See *Mt.* 18, 23–35.
439 *peccantem* Cf. p. 158, ll. 1013–1015 below.
439–440 *in hanc sane partem* At the Last Judgment; see *Mt.* 25, 31–46. Erasmus, following
Aug. Epist. 167, 20 (*CSEL* 44, p. 608, ll. 4–13;
quoted by Bede, *CCSL* 121, p. 197, ll. 135–143),
seems to envision a trial scene where classical
rhetoric would recommend resort to the plea
for mercy; see *Cic., Inv.* II, 35, 107 and *Rhet.*
Her. II, 17, 25

444–445 *Nec ... lenitate* *Aug. Epist.* 167, 19
(*CSEL* 44, p. 607, ll. 3–4) observes that
“plures per misericordiam colliguntur”. This
comment is quoted by Bede, *In Iac.* 2, 13,
CCSL 121, p. 196, ll. 125–129.

453–454 *quae ... operatur* Cf. *Gal.* 5, 6.

462–463 *Hac ... vocabulum* This statement initiated an ongoing dispute, first with Noël Bédá (*Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae., LB IX,* 479 E–80 A, *Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae., LB IX,* 697 D–F) and subsequently with the Faculty of Theology at Paris (*Declarat. ad cens. Lutet., LB IX,* 844 B–46 C). They argued that Erasmus’ view was contrary to the express statements of Paul in *1. Cor.* 13, 2 and James in 2,14, both of which imply that faith is distinct from love. Erasmus’ response can be boiled down to three propositions: (1) Faith in this context means justifying faith

(*fides iustificans et cor purificans*) which God does not give without at the same time giving love; (2) His view of faith is congruent with James and with that of many Doctors of the Church; (3) The distinctions made by Bédá and the Paris theologians arise later in the history of theology and are irrelevant to the explication of Scripture.

470 *Iam exorietur* etc. Cf. *Er. Annot. in Iac.* 2, 18 (“sine operibus”), *LB VI,* 1031 D, (the sentences from “Sermo videtur” to “carentem factis” were added in the third edition [1522] of the *Nov. Test.*) and *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei., LB IX,* 241 A–C. Erasmus’ construction of the dialogue in this verse has several modern supporters; see Martin, *James*, pp. 86–87.

476 *salutaris* I. e. *iustificans*; see n.ll. 462–463.

482 *ab alio* The correction in *BAS* is necessary. It is conceivable that Erasmus might have written *alio* (the adverb), intending to continue with *spectandum* (cf. l. 585), but then shifted to the construction with *sperandum* without correcting the *alio*, but it seems more likely that either he himself, writing hastily, omitted the preposition *or*, more likely still, that the typesetter of *A* overlooked the *ab*.

491–492 *Daemonia* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 2, 19, *CCSL* 121, p. 197, ll. 164–167, who cites *Ic.* 4, 41 in support of this assertion.

credunt vt contremiscant. Sed quoniam credunt tantum, non etiam amant, supplicium ab illo metuunt, praemium non sperant; et iustum sentiunt, misericordiam sentire non merentur cum ipsi crudeles sint in alios.

495 Quod si adeo stultus es vt adhuc tibi blandiaris inani fide, age proferam exemplum familiarius ac notius quod te doceat inutilem ac mortuam esse fidem quae per dilectionem non operetur. Abraham, quo generis autore potissimum gloriamur, primam ac praecipuam fidei laudem meruit apud Deum a quo tributum est
500 illi iusticiae elogium; sed in hoc fides haud quaquam sterilis fuit. Neque enim solum ore professus est se illius promissis fidere, verum etiam non dubitabat Isaac vnicum filium altari impositum mactare iubente Deo cum iuxta naturae ordinem non aliunde sperari posset illi posteritas. Sed fretus Dei promissis, quem sciebat et mortuos reuocare in vitam cum libet, nihil contatus est peragere quod iussus
LB 1129 erat. Ex factis igitur iusticiae laudem meruit, sed quae ex fide proficiscerentur. Sunt enim et opera legis Mosaicae, quibus frustra fidunt qui sunt expertes euangelicae fidei. Quid autem non facturus erat egregius ille patriarcha, qui promptus et alacer accedit ad mactionem vnici filii Isaac quem eo etiam tenerius diligebat, quod in extrema senectute natus esset quodque huius nomine promissa esset felix
510 illa posteritas? Pronunciatus est iustus et antequam immolaret, sed a Deo qui nouerat viuam et efficacem senis fidem nihil recusaturam si se dedisset occasio. Ergo res vtraque alteri fuit auxilio. Fides addebat animum vt non trepidaret immolare filium, quem non dubitabat mox iussu numinis reuicturum. Sed factum insigne, veluti colophonem, imposuit, etiam apud homines declarans Abrahæ fiduciam nec mortuam esse nec vulgarem. Neque enim fingit neque dubitat qui non contatur in vnico filio vnice charo periculum facere. An grauetur pecuniam pro Christo negligere qui filium patri chariorem quam ipse sit sibi promptus ducit ad mortem? Ex hoc igitur tam insigni documento fidei perfectum esse constat, quod dixit Scriptura: *Credidit Abraham Deo, et imputatum est illi ad*
520 *iusticiam et amicus Dei* vocatus est. Quod si Abraham fidei fructum et iusticiae laudem amissurus erat si grauatus fuisset ad Dei iussum immolare filium, an illi proderit sua fides qui iubente Deo grauatur impartire vestem argenti proximo, qui grauatur impartire cibum esurienti, potum sitiendi, quasi Deus passurus sit eum perire frigore aut fame qui de suis facultatibus aliquid erogarit in fratris necessitatem? Porro si priscis illis non contigit laus iusticiae nisi factis fidem comprobantibus, multo minus id sperandum est iis qui perfectae charitatis legem profitentur.

Tantum autem valet apud Deum misericordia ac beneficentia in proximum vt mulier, vt meretrix, vt alienigena hospitalitatis officio commendata meruerit in
530 catalogo piorum, in catalogo ciuium, in catalogo probatissimorum patriarcharum annumerari. Rhahab Iudaea non erat, meritorio diuersorio praefecta erat, quaestu non admodum probato victum parans. Et tamen in diuinis Libris iusticiae laudem promeruit, non ex fide tantum, quod persuasum haberet Deo remuneratore nulli sua benefacta perire, praesertim quod in bonos aut certe Dei respectu conferretur, sed ex eo, quod contempto periculo vitae suae exploratorum vitae

540 consuluit quod nuncios quos exploratum miserat dux Iudaeorum ne perirent fur-
 tim alia via emiserit. Poterat inire gratiam non mediocre apud suos si – quod
 ipsi erat in manu – prodidisset exploratores. Sed maluit seruire voluntati diuinae
 quam suo compendio; neque diffidebat quin ab illo praemium copiosius repen-
 deretur quam ab hominibus. Quemadmodum igitur Abraham non ex fide nuda
 iusticiae laudem promeruit, sed ex fide factis comprobata, ita et Rahab frustra
 credidisset Deum Iudaeorum esse verum Deum nisi, cum esset obiecta occasio,
 factis declarasset sese ex animo credere. Alioqui fides, vt dixi, quae friget ex cha-

522 proderit sua *F–H*: sua proderit *A–D*
 537 emiserit *A–K*: emiserat *BAS*

543 *alt.* ex *H*: absque *A–G*

- 496 *inani fide* The adjective may be an echo of Bede, *CCSL* 121, p. 198, l. 182, or taken from 1. *Cor.* 15, 10 (and 15, 14), where Erasmus translates κενή by “inanis” and in his *Annot. ad loc.* (“et gratia eius in me”), *LB* VI, 735 D, states that “inanis” in this context means “sterilis et infrugifera”. An ‘idle faith’ is a sterile faith.
- 498 *Abraham* Erasmus’ interpretation of James’ use of the example of Abraham follows in essence Bede’s exegesis of *Iac.* 2, 21–24 (*CCSL* 121, pp. 198–200). Bede sets out to prove that James and Paul do not contradict each other but that each emphasizes a different aspect of Abraham’s actions as narrated in *Gn.* 15, 1–6 and 22, 1–10: Paul Abraham’s faith in God and James his obedience and willingness to act upon that faith. Bede, since he believed that *Hebr.* was written by Paul, also draws upon *Hebr.* 11, 17–19 to reinforce his contention. Erasmus, despite any doubts he may have had about the authorship of *Hebr.*, likewise blends in the paraphrase here allusions both to *Hebr.* and to *Rom.* 4, 3 and 16. Compare the similar blending of material from *Iac.* and *Hebr.* in the paraphrase on the example of Rahab below.
- 502 *iuxta naturae ordinem* Cf. *Rom.* 4, 18 and *Gn.* 17, 17.
- 503 *quem sciebat* Cf. *Rom.* 4, 17 and *Hebr.* 11, 19.
- 506 *quibus frustra fidunt* The subject is presumably Jews in general; however, Bede, *In Iac.* 2, 21, *CCSL* 121, p. 198, ll. 206–208, makes a similar point about Christian Jews in his interpretation of *Rom.* 3, 28 – “Arbitramur enim iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis” – Paul said this “vt nemo arbitretur meritis priorum bonorum operum se peruenisse ad donum iustificationis quae est in fide”. The real implication of the paraphrase is that Christians who put their trust in ceremonies are deficient in evangelical faith.
- 510 *Pronunciatus est iustus* Erasmus is alluding to *Gn.* 15, 6 (cf. ll. 519–520), though strictly speaking, Abraham was not called ‘righteous’ (*iustus*). Compare the epithet given Abel in *Hebr.* 11, 4.
- 516–518 *An ... ad mortem* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 2, 21, *CCSL* 121, p. 199, ll. 226–229: “Quomodo autem tunicam vel escas suas pro diuino amore pauperibus dare differret qui filium quem senex acceperat heredem ad iussionem Domini statim morti dare non distulit?”
- 520 *amicus Dei* Erasmus does not comment on this phrase in his *Annot. in Iac.* 2, 23. Though God calls Abraham ‘my friend’ (2. *Chr.* 20, 7, *Is.* 41, 8), the phrase ‘friend of God’ (φίλος θεοῦ) does not occur in the Old Testament but only in apocryphal literature such as *Iub.* 19, 9; 30, 20; 4. *Ezra* 3, 14.
- 525 *priscis illis* Plural, because Erasmus, like Bede, has the heroes and heroines of *Hebr.* 11 in mind.
- 532–533 *iusticiae laudem* Erasmus’ language is a little loose. Nowhere in the Old Testament is Rahab actually called ‘righteous’. This language is used of her only in *Iac.* 2, 24 where she is said to have been justified from works. Bede, *In Iac.* 2, 25, *CCSL* 121, p. 201, ll. 288–294, interprets this statement to mean that her sins were forgiven.
- 535 *exploratorum* This term is taken from *Hebr.* 11, 31.
- 543 *vt dixi* In the paraphrase on 2, 14, p. 136, ll. 450–454 above. The change from *absque* to *ex* in *H* gives *friget* a progressive force: as love diminishes, faith grows cold; *friget absque*, however, gives a better sense. Love ‘enlivens’ faith; cf. *res est viuida charitas* in l. 451 above. This exegesis of *Iac.* 2, 26 was sharply criticized by the Faculty of Theology at Paris; see n.ll. 462–463 above.

545 ritate nec se profert cum res postulat, ne fides quidem est, tantum est inane fidei
nomen. Etenim quemadmodum corpus anima destitutum mortuum est et
inutile, ita fides, si desit charitas non ociosa, mortua est et inefficax.

CAPVT III

550 Magna est humanae linguae vtilitas si quis ea doceat quae pertinent ad veram
LB II30 pietatem; | sed periculosa functio est doctoris obire munus et hominem requirit
555 primum insigniter eruditum in his quae sunt euangelicae doctrinae; deinde pur-
gatissimis affectibus cuique non satis sit docere recta sed qui non alio spectet
quam ad Christi gloriam. Talis doctor vt plurimum prodesse valet si quod docet
etiam amet, ita cuius est corrupta doctrina aut cuius animus est corruptus prauis
cupiditatibus – odio, ira, vindicta, auaritia, ambitione, libidine – magno plebis
560 exitio doctoris locum occupat. Proinde, fratres mei, ne passim ambiatis esse
magistri. Tutius est auscultare quam loqui. Et pauci doctores sufficiunt pluribus
erudiendis. Proinde, qui locum episcopi ac doctoris capessit, etiam atque etiam
semetipsum excutiat an par sit oneri suscipiendo; atque illud in primis secum
cogitet, quod prouinciam aggreditur ingenti obnoxiam periculo, rationem exac-
tissimam redditurus supremo iudici si secus docuerit quam oportet. Siquidem
huius sermo hoc latius ac periculosius spargit suum venenum, quod autoritate
dicentis commendetur.

Nihil autem difficilius quam sic vndique moderari linguam vt nunquam labar-
ris. Etenim cum ea sit humanae naturae infirmitas vt nemo non quotidie labatur
565 in multis, si quis linguae lapsus omnes vitare potest, hic vir perfectus videri pos-
sit et idoneus qui totum etiam corpus veluti rationis freno moderetur postea-
quam membrum illud maxime lubricum potuit cohibere ne quid peccet. Ab hoc
periculo longius abest qui mauult discipuli quam doctoris vices gerere. Est ali-
quid imperare ventri, est nonnihil temperare oculis atque auribus, est aliquid
570 continere manus; sed omnium difficillimum est perfecte moderari linguam.
Pusillum est membrum lingua, sed a quo fere pendeat corpus vniuersum. Efficax
quaedam ac praepotens res est hominis oratio siue ad vtilitatem siue ad perniciem
multorum. Penetrat in animos auditorum, inserit aut exerit pestilentes opiniones,
excitat aut sedat odia, commouet ad bella, componit ad pacem et auditorem huc
575 aut illuc impellit. Sic frenos equis in ora immittimus vt nobis obediant ac exiguo
ferro totum corpus beluae pro nostro arbitratu circumagimus. Quod os frenatum
sessori, hoc lingua domita homini. Videtis quanta sint nauium moles. Hae, cum
passis velis miro impetu ventorum rapiantur in vndis, tamen minimo guberna-
culo circumaguntur quocunque naucleri temonem regentis animus inflectere
580 voluerit. Impellit arte clauum et tam ingens illa moles sentit minimae partis
imperium. Non est igitur contemnenda linguae moderatio. Pusillum est mem-
brum, sed turgidum et iactabundum lateque miscens exitium et ingentes excitans
tumultus ni freno animi cohibeatur. Haec totos populos, tota regna inter se
committit.

585 Libet intueri simillimum exemplum. Ecce quantulus ignis quam ingentem
materiarum vim incendit. Vnde saevum illud et latissime volitans incendium? Ex
vna scintilla natum est. Ea initio minimo negotio poterat opprimi; neglecta col-
ligit vndique vires et eo tandem euadit vt nulla vi possit obrui. Vt autem ingens
590 ac varius est usus ignis si recte adhibeatur, summa pernicietas si sinatur quo volet
evagari, ita ex hominis lingua plurima vtilitas et ex eadem extrema pernicietas
humanae vitae. An non videtis hoc ipsum naturae opificem significasse, qui lin-
guam hominis et specie et colore ignis esse voluerit nec aliter volubilem ac rota-
tilem quam est flamma? Nec tamen in hoc simplex est malum velut in aliis ferme
595 membris. Mundus est et congeries viciorum omnium. Quemadmodum enim exi-
gua scintilla veluti seminarium est totius incendii, ita, quicquid est malorum in
LB 1131 vita, ex mala lingua velut e mundo promitur. Et quemadmodum ma|teriarum
aceruo miscetur paulum ignis vt paulatim totam congeriem incendio misceat, ita
lingua sic admixta est membris corporis vt, ni coerceatur, inficiat et inquinat sua

551 qui C-H: om. A

583 se C-H: sese A

550-551 *purgatissimis affectibus* Cf. the para-
phrase on 3, 13, p. 144, l. 670-p. 145, l. 692
below. Bede, *In Iac.* 3,1, CCSL 121, p. 202,
ll. 16-17, refers to *Phil.* 1,17 and comments:
"Qui Christum adnuntiat non sincere, maius
iudicium damnationis meretur quam si solus
suo in scelere periret".

565-567 *si quis ... peccet* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 3, 2,
CCSL 121, p. 203, ll. 56-59: "Si quis lapsum
linguae qui paene ineuitabilis est cauet, hic
consuetudine fixa eiusdem continentiae
etiam cetera corporis membra quae facilius
castigari possunt ne a recto itinere diuertant
discit obseruare".

572 *hominis oratio* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Ioh.*, ad
1, 2, LB VII, 499 A-B and *Eccles.*, ASD V, 4,
p. 38, l. 89-p.40, l. 116. In developing the
paraphrase on *Iac.* 3, 2-13 Erasmus drew on
two equally long traditions of moral dis-
course: one treats speech as the mirror of the
mind, the other examines the virtues and
vices, especially the latter, of the tongue. For
the former see Wolfgang C. Müller, *Der
Topos 'Le style est l'homme même'*, Neophilo-
logus 61 (1977), pp. 481-494, and Herbert
Grabes, *The Mutable Glass. Mirror-Imagery
in the Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and
English Renaissance*, translated by Gordon
Collier, Cambridge, 1982; for the latter
Mark D. Johnston, *The Treatment of Speech
in Medieval Ethical and Courtesy Literature*,
Rhetorica 4, 1 (1986), pp. 21-46, and Elaine
Fantham, *The Tongue (Lingua)*, CWE 29,
introd., p. 252. Many of the themes adum-
brated in the paraphrase on 3, 1-13 reappear

in the *Lingua*; cf. ASD IV, 1A, p. 116, l. 961-
p. 135, l. 576.

583 *inter se* Although *sese* with *inter* is classical
(cf. *ThLL* VII 1, col. 2140 B, 1), Erasmus seems
to prefer the simple form of the pronoun in
this phrase (cf. e.g. p. 144, l. 679 below). The
change to *se* in C is, therefore, an authorial
correction.

586 *materiarum vim* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Iac.* 3,5
("Ecce quantus ignis"), LB VI, 1032 E, where,
following Hier. *Comm. in Is.*, ad 66, 15
(Migne PL 24, 664A), Erasmus argues that
materia is a better translation of the word
ὄληη in this verse than is *silva* in Vg. The
paraphrase suggests that he has something
like a pile of lumber or firewood in mind
rather than a forest, which, following Vg., is
the customary (though not necessarily cor-
rect) interpretation of the word in James.

594 *Mundus est et congeries* Vg. translated the
word κόσμος in *Iac.* 3, 6 by *uniuersitas*, but
Erasmus preferred to translate it by *mundus*
and observed in his *Annot. ad loc.* ("uniuersitas
iniquitatis"), LB VI, 1032 E: "Est autem ali-
quando *mundus* cumulus rerum simul reposi-
tarum; vnde mundum muliebrem dicimus".
The paraphrase develops this interpretation
of the Greek noun. Unfortunately for Eras-
mus' interpretation κόσμος, unlike *mundus*,
does not have this particular meaning, though
it can mean 'arrangement' or 'ornamenta-
tion', a meaning which some commentators,
influenced by its use in 1. *Pet.* 3, 3, believe
the word has here in James; see Martin,
James, pp. 114-115.

lue corpus vniuersum totamque hominis vitam ab incunabulis ad extremam
 600 vsque aetatem inflammet omni viciorum incendio. Porro vim huius mali non illi
 indidit natura quae vallo dentium et maceria labiorum admonuit oportere lin-
 guae vsum circumspectum esse ac moderatum, sed afflata est ex igni Gehennae
 vnde primum per impios spiritus inficitur animus et animi lues per organum lin-
 605 guae prorumpit in maius et hominem e malo reddit pessimum ac pestis contagio
 corripit et caeteros sic vt nulla vi, nulla ratione possit cohiberi malum impotens.
 Quid autem est vsquam tam impotens quod non aliqua ratione mansuefaciat
 humana cura? Nulla est fera tam fera, nulla est auis tam immanis, nullus serpens
 tam pestilens, nulla maris belua tam immitis quin hominum ingenio benefi-
 610 ciisque mansuescat. Cicurantur leones, mansuescunt tigrides ac dracones,
 seruiunt etiam elephanti. Subiguntur et crocodili, mitescunt aspides, redduntur
 familiares aquilae et vultures, ad amicitiam etiam alliciuntur delphini. Nulla
 adhuc ratio, nulla ars reperta est mortalibus quae linguam intemperantem doma-
 ret, cum et olim domitum sit et quotidie dometur omne genus animantium,
 quotquot habet terra, quotquot mare, quotquot aer; vsque adeo malum hoc est
 615 efferum ac violentum nec impotens modo verum etiam letali veneno tinctum.
 Vnguibus ac dentibus saeuiunt leones, at venenum non habent. Veneno sunt
 armatae viperae, caeterum nec vngues habent nec cornua. Sola lingua gemino
 modo noxia est, et feritate insuperabili et veneno letali quod procul etiam afflat
 quibus vult, cum scorpii non laedant nisi caudae cuspidem ictos, viperae non lae-
 620 dant nisi infixio denticulo fistulato.

Atque haec pestis minus esset formidabilis si simplex foret et vnico modo
 noxia. Nunc varium est malum et in omnem se vertens speciem quo grauius ac
 facilius laedat, saepe nocentius cum boni speciem prae se fert. Nihil melius, nihil
 625 apud omnes commendatius pietate. Huius praetextu laedit potissimum, ea mis-
 cens quae non possunt cohaerere. Neque enim potest esse pius in Deum, qui cru-
 delis et maledicus est aduersus proximum. Et tamen hoc organo laudamus
 Deum, Patrem illum appellantes, cum eodem vituperemus et infamemus proxi-
 mum ad Dei similitudinem conditum. Lingua canimus Deum omnium bono-
 rum autorem, quum eadem summis malis affligamus hominem quasi huius
 630 contumelia non pertineat ad Deum conditorem. Deus neque laudibus nostris
 honestatur neque conuitiis laeditur. Homo homini vel pestilens esse potest vel
 salutaris. Et quod in hunc praestiterimus, hoc Deus putat ad se pertinere.
 Proinde ne quis credat suos hymnos Deo gratos esse quos lingua promit, non
 635 animo, cum eadem lingua maledicentiae virus euomat in proximum. Quid enim
 pugnantius quam laus et vituperium? Tamen res tam diuersae ex eodem ore pro-
 ficiscuntur. Atque haec quidem geruntur inter impios; inter vos, qui professi estis
 euangelicam simplicitatem, non oportet haec eodem modo fieri, quibus turpe est
 aliud sonare lingua quam sentiat animus, qui didicistis amare Deum in proximo
 et proximum in Deo, qui didicistis adeo neminem esse laedendum linguae petu-
 640 lantia vt ad exemplum Christi iubeamini bene loqui illis qui vobis ingerunt
 conuitia. Leuius autem nocens est qui simpliciter et absque fuce malus est. Cae-

terum maledicentia pietatis imagine commendata, quid aliud est quam cicuta
 admixta vino, quo praesentius sit venenum quod | rei saluberrimae misceatur?
 LB 1132 Habent in ore: ‘Domine, miserere’, cum ipsi crudeliter lingua saeuunt in fra-
 645 trem. Habent in ore: ‘Pater noster’, cum assidue linguae spiculo proximum
 confodiant pro cuius salute confossus est Christus. Praedicant Dei bonitatem, qui

598 inficiat *A C D H*: inficiet *E–G*
 599 lue *A C H*: luce *D–G*

599 corpus vniuersum *C–H*: vniuersum corpus
 A

599 *totamque ... vitam* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 3, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 205, ll. 131–133: “Rotam’ autem dicit [Iacobus] ‘natiuitatis nostrae’ incessabilem vitae temporalis procursum quo a die natiuitatis vsque ad mortem velut semper currente rota curruli incessanter agimur”.
 603 *per impios spiritus* Bede, *In Iac.* 3, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 205, ll. 122–124, likewise explains the words “inflammata a gehenna” in Vg. as referring to the activity of demons.
 607–609 *Nulla ... mansuescat* Cf. Er. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 47, ll. 5–6.
 609–611 *Cicurantur ... delphini* That humans can train wild animals for various uses is a commonplace in classical literature; see, for example, Soph., *Ant.* 349–352, Lucr. V, 1297–1307. That wild animals could be pets is a recurring element in the descriptions of animals in Plin. *Nat.* (Erasmus’ primary source of information), and Ael. *Nat. an.*, though Erasmus probably did not know this last work directly. In his commentary on *Iac.* 3, 7 Bede, referring to Plin. *Nat.* (erroneously) and to Marcellinus Comes’ *Chronicon*, speaks of a pet asp and a pet tiger (*CCSL* 121, p. 206, ll. 146–151 [see M.L.W. Laistner, *Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 16 (1933), pp. 77–78, reprinted in: Chester G. Starr, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages. Selected Essays by M.L.W. Laistner*, New York, 1966, pp. 100–101]). Erasmus had his own interest in the history or at least in the literary history of animals as is evident from the *Conuiuium Religiosum* and the *Amicitia* (*ASD* I, 3, p. 702, ll. 69–p. 704, 135 and p. 236, ll. 181–p. 239, l. 251). However, in the present passage he appears to be expanding on the topic for rhetorical effect rather than to be alluding to particular texts. Plin. *Nat.* VIII, 25, 65, reports that tame tigers were first brought to Rome in the reign of Augustus. For tame *dracones* (presumably some kind of python or boa constrictor), cf. e.g. Suet., *Tib.* 72; for *elephantii*, cf. Plin., *Nat.* VIII, 2

and 5; Er. *Coll.* (*Amicitia*), *ASD* I, 3, p. 703, ll. 100–p. 704 l. 110; for *crocodili* (a paradoxical example since the crocodile is an animal “quo non alius hostis homini capitalior”, *ASD* I, 3, p. 238) cf. Er. *Coll.*, *ASD* I, 3, p. 702, l. 77; Plin., *Nat.* VIII, 25 and 38; Ael. *Nat. an.* IV, 44 and VIII, 4, 2; Max. Tyr. *Dissertatio* 8, 5; for *aspides*, cf. Plin. *Nat.* VIII, 25 and 65; Ael. *Nat. an.* XVII, 5; for *aquila*, cf. Aristot. *Hist. an.* IX, 32, 618 a; Plin., *Nat.* X, 6 and Er. *Coll.* (*Amicitia*), *ASD* I, 3, p. 704, ll. 113–114; for *delphini*, cf. Plin. *Nat.* IX, 8 and 26; Plin. *Epist.* IX, 33; Er. *Coll.* (*Amicitia*), *ASD* I, 3, p. 703, ll. 82–83, and Clericus, *LB* I, 874, Note 3. Trained vultures are unusual and I suspect that Erasmus has confused vultures with eagles or hawks and has attributed to vultures what Pliny has to say about eagles and hawks. In Plin. *Nat.* X, 6–10 the sequence of descriptions of raptors is tame eagle (6, 18), vultures (7, 19), and hawks, including the use of hawks for sport (9, 21–10, 23). In any case there is considerable confusion of eagles with vultures in ancient literature; see D’Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, London, 1936, s.vv. ἀετῶς and γύψ.

615 *impotens* A paraphrase on ἀκατάσχετον, the reading of Erasmus’ Greek text at *Iac.* 3, 8, where Vg. has “inquietum”, translating ἀκατάστατον; cf. *Annot. ad loc.* (“inquietum malum”), *LB* VI, 1032 F, where Erasmus translates ἀκατάσχετον by “incoercibile siue incohibile”.

640–641 *bene loqui ... conuiitia* Cf. *Lc.* 6, 28.

642 *cicuta* According to Plin., *Nat.* XXV, 95, 152, hemlock mixed with wine is fatal. There is a certain irony in the illustration since wine was thought to be the antidote to hemlock.

644 *Domine, miserere* That is, *Kyrie, eleison*. The allusion here as in that to the *Pater noster* in the next line is to the Mass rather than to Scripture.

646 *Praedicant* The abuse of the pulpit was very much on Erasmus’ mind at this time

sua clementia seruauit hominem, cum ipsi linguae veneno properent extinguere. Praedicant Christi bonitatem erga mortalium genus, cum ipsi aduersus exemplum Christi linguas acuant aduersus consortem. Efferunt laudibus Christi mansuetudinem qui placide responderit maledicis, cum ipsi mendaciis etiam incessant benemerentem. Profitentur sese angelos et praecones Christi, cum sint organa Diaboli. Pollicentur semen doctrinae coelestis, cum merum serant aconitum. Atque haec tam diuersa non solum faciunt eadem lingua, sed frequenter etiam ex eodem suggestu, a laudibus diuinis exorsi prorumpunt in infamiam proximi tanto perniciosius inficientes animos concionis, quod ficta specie religionis tegant ac dissimulent mortiferum venenum quod ex infecto corde per linguae organum depromunt. Quaeso, fratres, an non hoc prodigii simile videtur? Sunt fontes scatentes aquis salubribus, sunt quos gustasse mortiferum sit. Sunt qui suffundant aquam dulcem ac potabilem, sunt rursus qui praebeant aquam amaram salsamque. Nec id mirum videri potest cum per diuersas venas fluens liquor calcis, aluminis, sulphuris alteriusue metalli seu terrae dulcis saporem referat. At qui fit vt, quum ex eodem corde proficiscatur oratio, quum per eandem scateat linguam, adeo sit sui dissimilis, cum inter tot fontium discrimina nullus reperiatur qui simul ex eodem ore dulcem et amaram aquam proferat? An eadem arbor diuersi saporis foetus aedit? Videte, fratres mei. Num ficus natura dulcis producit amaras oleae baccas? Num vitis aedit ficus? Minime, sed suae quisque arbori fructus respondet et radices succum sapore refert. An non igitur monstri simile videtur eundem hominem ex eodem corde per eandem linguam pietatem et impietatem, veritatem ac mendacium, salutem et exitium depromere?

Itaque cum improba lingua nihil sit perniciosius, bona et erudita nihil salubrius cumque rarus inuentu sit qui membrum hoc modis omnibus queat moderari, etiam atque etiam e multis deligendus est qui doctoris prouinciam suscipiat. Huic oportet et animum esse ab omni cupiditatum tumultu tranquillum et vitam ab omni turpitudine semotam vt non solum ea doceat quae sunt verae pietatis, verum etiam cum omni mansuetudine doceat. Nam contentiosa pertinaxque doctrina nihil aliud gignit quam factiones et dissidia. Atque inter huius mundi sapientes is primas tenet qui pertinacissime disputat, qui linguae volubilitate nulli cedit. Nec hoc agitur vt auditor discedat melior, sed vt elatior qui vincit, deiectionior qui victus est. Vulgus interim variis studiis inter se distrahitur vt nec dicenti sit vllus solidus fructus nec audienti. Inter vos autem qui philosophiam euangelicam profitemini, quisquis vere sapiens est et scientia vera praeditus, ne fastu sermonisque contentione declaret sese sapientem, sed piis et integris moribus testetur qualis sit potius quam verbis. Vt enim inutilis est fides, vt inutilis charitas quae verbotenus praestatur, ita inutilis est sapientia quae non prius se probat mansuetudine morum. Hoc enim praecipuum est argumentum quo liceat humanam philosophiam ab euangelica dignoscere. Illa morosos, pertinaces ac feroces habet professores. Haec quo syncerior est, quo praestantior, hoc minus habet supercilii. Cuius praecipua vis sita est non in argutiis syllogismorum aut phaleris eloquentiae, sed in synceritate vitae, in lenitate morum quae cedit contentiosis

690 et allicit dociles nec aliud spectat quam salutem auditorum. Coelestis est sapientia; hanc qui docet mentem habeat oportet ab omnibus terrenis cupiditatibus repurgatam; e sincero vase depromatur necesse est.

Quod si habetis animos amarulenta inter vos aemulatione viciatos, si cor habetis contentione et perucaci vincendi studio invidiaque corruptum, cedite
695 potius docendi munus quam vt gloriae vestrae contentioneque seruentes mentiamini aduersus euangelicam veritatem quam nemo sincere tradere potest nisi cuius animus liber fuerit ab omnibus humanis affectibus. Proinde quisquis ad hanc professionem accedit, si senserit animum suum infectum amore aut odio humano, si liuore, si studio gloriae, si cupiditate pecuniae, si voluptatum amore,
700 prius diligenter expurget intima pectoris vt ad purissimam doctrinam purus accedat. Alioqui qui praeteritis iis quae vere faciunt ad pietatem fumos obiciunt perplexarum quaestionum, qui loquuntur ad gratiam principum, qui dicunt ad quaestum, qui doctrinam euangelicam detorquent ad ventris sui negocium, qui venantur gloriolas humanas, qui grauem sarcinam imponunt humeris aliorum
705 quam ipsi digitulo nolint attingere, <qui> pro diuinis praeceptis docent ceremo-

681 vera A-H: vere BAS

681 fastu A-H: fastus (*genetivus*) BAS

705 qui *addidi*

because of the actions of his critics at Louvain, especially the Dominicans Laurens Laurenzen, Vincentius Theodorici and Eustachius Sicheim, and most of all the Carmelite Nikolaas Baechem (Egmondanus). See e.g. Epp. 1144, ll. 23-38; 1147, ll. 64-83; 1164, ll. 24-39; 1166, 42-52, and Rummel, *Catholic Critics*, I, pp. 131-143, and II, pp. 4-7. Cf. also p. 66, ll. 54-56 and 72-74 above.

650 qui ... *maledicis* Cf. Mt. 27, 39-41, Lc. 23, 35-37.

651 *benemerentem* Erasmus himself; cf. p. 118, ll. 54-55 above.

652-653 *aconitum* According to Plin., *Nat. XXVII*, 2, 4, aconite was the deadliest of all poisons.

675 cum ... *mansuetudine Modestia* and *mansuetudo* are the companions of heavenly *sapientia*; see *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 40, ll. 12-13. That instruction should be communicated gently is a fundamental principle for Erasmus; see *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 223, l. 31-p. 227, l. 27.

681-683 *ne fastu ... verbis* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 3, 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 208, ll. 217-222: "... [Iacobus] ammonet vt si quis inter eos [*sc. doctores*] sapiens et disciplinatus vel sit vel sibi esse videatur, magis sapienter ipse ac discipline viuendo eruditionem suam quam alios docendo demonstrat. Qui enim mansueto corde et ore sereno bona quae valet operatur

euidens vtique dat animi sapientis indicium". Bede then creates for contrast a portrait of the 'foolish' teacher (ll. 222-226): "Qui vero ad praedicandum verbum quam ad faciendum procliuior est, plerumque per amorem iactantiae, per studium contentionis, per eloquentiae facilitatem, per inuidiam aliorum docentium, per ignorantiam catholicae veritatis, stultitiae reatum incurrit".

688-689 *praecipua vis ... vitae* Cf. p. 130, n.ll. 259-260 above.

692 *sincero vase* See Hor. *Epist.* I, 2, l. 54, and *Serm.* I, 3, l. 56, and in the *N. T. I. Thess.* 4, 3-5, and Erasmus' paraphrase on these verses, *LB VII*, 1023 A-B. Cf. Erasmus' comment on the qualifications of a preacher, *Eccles.*, *ASD V*, 4, p. 44, ll. 192-194: "Mea tamen sententia, nihil illi prius aut maiore studio curandum est, qui tam excellenti muneri sese praeparat, quam vt cor orationis fontem quam purgatissimum reddat".

701-702 *fumos ... quaestionum* Cf. *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 301 sq. The complaint occurs several times in the *Paraphrases*; cf. e.g. *Paraphr. in I. Tim.*, ad 1, 6, *LB VII*, 1036.

705 *quam ... attingere* Cf. Lc. 11, 46.

705 <qui> The pronoun is required for the anaphora, but it is impossible to know whether it was omitted by Erasmus in his autograph manuscript, by a copyist, or by the typesetter of A.

710 nias et humanas constitutiunculas, qui pro philosophia euangelica tradunt
 nouum Iudaismum, denique qui seipsos praedicant verius quam Christum;
 horum sapientia non est illa sapientia quam Pater nobis per Filium demisit e
 sublimi vt nos a terrenis studiis auocatos in coelum subueheret, sed crassa est
 atque terrena et ideo terram sapit; sed animalis est et ideo magis illa spectat quae
 715 conducunt ad hanc vitam quam ad vitam aeternam; sed daemoniaca est quia non
 est ex afflatu Spiritus Diuini, sed ab instinctu daemonum qui ea suggerunt quae
 nos alienent ab euangelica synceritate. Inter mundanae sapientiae professores
 videtis quanta sit aemulatio, quae pugnae, quae dissidia, quod vincendi studium,
 720 quanta opinionum ac morum inconstantia, et interim omnis vita quam omni
 viciorum genere contaminata. At e diuerso nostra sapientia, quae e supernis pro-
 ficiscitur a Spiritu Christi, primum casta puraque est, nullis prauis affectibus
 inquinata; deinde pacifica et ab omni studio contentionis abhorrens; ad haec
 modesta minimeque torua; praeterea tractabilis ac morigera neque grauate cedens
 725 ei qui doceat meliora; clemens et misericors erga lapsos et errantes, quos magis
 studet seruare quam perdere, leniter tolerans et nihil non tentans vt respiscant;
 plena fructibus bonis dum nunquam cessat de omnibus bene mereri, impios
 conuertens ad pietatem, errantes reuocans, indoctos docens, lapsos erigens, ces-
 santes extimulans, afflictos consolans. Nec interim quenquam damnat sanandi
 730 quam damnandi studiosior, nihil habens fuci neque simulationis, sed ex animo
 sincero bene volens omnibus. Ad hunc modum qui puram tranquillamque
 serunt doctrinam euangelicam, et sibi metunt fructum vitae aeternae et alios ad
 studium vitae coelestis adducunt, quos erant contentionibus ac saeuitia aliena-
 turi. Habet et mundana sapientia suum fructum, sed aut inanem aut mortife-
 735 rum. Caeterum fructus iusticiae, qui confert et hic innocentiam et post immor-
 talitatem, non seminatur per contentionem sed in concordia paceque iis qui
 pacem amplectuntur. Neque enim boni doctoris est odiose digladiari cum iis qui
 videntur obstinatiorum quam vt obtemperaturi sint euangelicae doctrinae. Hos
 praestat suae pertinaciae relinquere si spes non est fore vt respiscant. |

LB 1134

CAPVT IIII

736 Vobis omnibus modis adnitendum est vt concordibus animis agatis. Atqui id fieri
 non potest nisi cupiditates mundanas, concordiae pestem et dissidiorum semina,
 penitus ex animis vestris exigatis. An negabitis vos esse cupiditatibus huiusmodi
 740 obnoxios? Vnde igitur bella, vnde pugnae ac lites inter vos, vnde contentionum
 ac dissidiorum tumultus? Pacem et concordiam vos docuit Christus et vnde dis-
 sensio nisi ex eo, quod magis seruitis libidini cupiditatum humanarum quam
 charitati euangelicae? Eae nisi militarent et exercitum ducerent in membris ves-
 tris, neque lingua proximum laceraret neque manus fraudaret fratrem. Adhuc
 745 veteris vitae reliquiae deprehenduntur in vobis, nondum exuistis totum hominem
 veterem – alius concupiscit gloriam, alius inhiat lucro; hic studet regno, ille
 voluptatem venatur. Ac dum non assequimini quod quisque vehementer appetit,

709 est om. I

715 ac C-H: et A

707 *nouum Iudaismum* For this term see *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.*, LB IX, 889D: "Quoniam Iudaei plurimum tribuebant corporalibus obseruationibus, Iudaismum appello non impietatem Iudaicam, sed praescripta de rebus externis, veluti de veste, cibo, ieiunio, quae similitudinem quamdam habent cum Iudaeorum obseruationibus". 'Evangelical philosophy' by contrast is the teacher "verae pietatis quae in affectibus sita est". Cf. the long comparison between the activities of the 'flesh' and of the 'spirit' in the *Enchiridion*, Holborn, pp. 75-87.

710 *animalis* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Iac.* 3, 15 ("animalis"), LB VI, 1033 E: "Sic enim aliquando vocat affectum humanum vt opponatur spiritui". Erasmus interprets the adjective ψυχική in *Iac.* 3, 15 in the light of 1. *Cor.* 2, 14 and 15, 44-46.

711 *daemonica* Vg. has *diabolica*, but Erasmus preferred *daemonica* as the translation of δαιμονιώδης in 3, 15 because, as he explains in his *Annot. ad loc.* ("diabolica"), LB VI, 1033 E: "Daemones Graecis dicuntur quasi δαίμονες, hoc est, scientes, et his antiqui tribuebant artium humanarum inventionem"; cf. Plat., *Crat.* 398 b and *Moria*, ASD IV, 3, p. 110, ll. 724-727. Hence 'demonic' means to be under the influence of "the spirit of this world" instead of the spirit of Christ. The paraphrase accordingly interprets the adjective in terms both of demons (devils) who inspire thoughts which turn people away from evangelical sincerity and of 'professors of mundane wisdom', that is, philosophy, for whom disputation is the normal method of investigation.

714-715 *quae pugnae ... inconstantia* These phrases combine the translation of Vg. with Erasmus' interpretation of the Greek text. Vg. translates ἀκαταστασία in *Iac.* 3,16 by "inconstantia", which Erasmus retains in his Latin version, but as he points out in his *Annot. ad loc.* ("ibi inconstantia"), LB VI, 1033 E, the Greek word means "tumultus" or "seditio". In the paraphrase the words *pugnae* and *dissidia* convey the idea of 'sedition' while *opinionum ... inconstantia* paraphrases the text of Vg. The notion that *inconstantia* denotes mental instability appears in Bede; see *CCSL* 121, p. 209, ll. 272-273: "Huius [sc. liuoris et contentionis] est prauum opus omne quamlibet rectum hominibus esse videatur propter inconstantiam mentis huc illuque fluctuantis, quia se ad vnam superni intuitus ancoram figere

neglexit". For modern views, which seem to favor Erasmus' belief that ἀκαταστασία refers to external disorder, see Davids, *Epist. of James*, p. 153, and Martin, *James*, pp. 132-133.

719-720 *neque ... meliora* This clause is a paraphrase on the words "bonis consentiens" in Vg. which are not found in the Greek text; cf. Er. *Annot. in Iac.* 3,17 ("suadibilis"), LB VI, 1033 F. Bede, *CCSL* 121, p. 210, ll. 282-283, followed by the *Glossa*, p. H4v°, and Hugo, p. g4r°, takes *bonis* as masculine; Nicholas of Lyre, p. H4v°, and the translators of the Douay-Rheims version take it to be neuter. Erasmus' paraphrase has it both ways.

724 *Nec ... damnat* This clause is a paraphrase on the text of Vg., "non iudicans", rather than the ἀδιάκριτος of the Greek text which, as Erasmus saw, means *nihil discernens*; cf. *Annot. in Iac.* 3,17 ("iudicans sine simulatione"), LB VI, 1033 F.

729-730 *mortiferum* For the significance of this adjective see *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 39, l. 34-p. 40, l. 6.

733-734 *Hos praestat* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Tit.*, ad 3, 11, LB VII, 1074 D.

737 *cupiditates* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Iac.* 4, 1 ("Nonne in concupiscentiis"), LB VI, 1033 F-1034 D: "Neque est 'in concupiscentiis', sed ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὑμῶν, id est, 'ex voluptatibus vestris' siue 'libidinibus', cum id sequimur non quod per se rectum est, sed quod animo collibuit". The paraphrase, however, follows the lead of Vg. as do modern commentators who interpret ἡδοναί in 4, 1 in the light of ἐπιθυμια in 1, 15-16; cf. Davids, *Epist. of James*, pp. 156-157 or Martin, *James*, p. 145. The latter comments: "ἡδονή ... is used here in the negative sense of 'sinful passion'".

739 *pugnae ac lites Pugnae* is Erasmus' translation of μάχαι in *Iac.* 4, 1 where Vg. has "lites".

743 *neque lingua ... fratrem* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 211, ll.4-6: "Concupiscentiae autem militant in membris cum ad ea quae mens improba prauae suggerit manus uel lingua uel ceterorum membrorum consensus intemperanter oboedit".

744-745 *hominem veterem* Cf. *Eph.* 4, 21-22.

745 *alius ... regno* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 211, ll. 9-11: "Possunt autem concupiscentiae etiam terrestrium bonorum in hoc loco dictae intellegi regni uidelicet appetitus, diuitiarum, honorum, dignitatum".

protruditis competitorem, inuidetis assequuto, decertatis cum eo qui videtur assequuturus. Animo discruciamini variisque curarum tumultibus distrahimini dum quod impense petitis non potestis adipisci. Ita nec vniquire secum pax est
 750 neque cum alio. Cupiditates tumultuantur in pectore; lingua, manus caeteraque membra pugnant ac belligerantur foris cum proximo. Atqui interim neque satisfit cupiditatibus vestris insatiabilibus et a veris bonis exciditis. A Deo postulandum erat si quid opus esset aut si quid ad veram felicitatem pertineret. A mundo petitis quod a Deo petendum erat; ab hoc aut non petitis aut si petitis, non petitis
 755 quod oportet neque quomodo oportet. Siquidem aut noxia petitis pro salubribus aut petitis diffidentes aut in vsum impium petitis, nimirum vt quod ex benignitate contigisset ad subleuandam vitae necessitatem aut egestatem proximi refocillandam, id explendis voluptatibus vestris insumatis.

Cum ista faciatis, quo tandem nomine vos compellabo? Christianos? Facta
 760 vestra reclamant. Titulum Christianorum audio, caeterum adulterorum et adulterarum facta video. Semel addicti estis sponso Christo, semel in illius verba iurastis; ille vos redemit a tyrannide viciorum, ille vos suo sacrosancto sanguine purgavit vt sibi exhiberet sponsam immaculatam. Et quomodo professionis obliti, obliti beneficii sponsi, obliti fidei coniugalis, in adulterinos huius mundi
 765 amores relabimini? An nescitis Deum zelotypum esse amatorem? Totus amari vult, solus amari vult; non patitur mundum riualet, a cuius amore vos tanto precio vindicauit, solus ille sufficit ad omnia praestanda. Quid igitur est quod a mundo petatis partem vestrae beatitudinis? An nescitis quod Deus odit vtroque genu claudicantes? Non tolerat ille seruum non contentum vnico domino. Quis
 770 est maritus tam patiens qui ferat inimicum riualet in vxoris consortium? Et vos existimatis fieri posse vt simul et mundo placeatis et Deo? An non intelligitis quod, quemadmodum sponsa si se iunxerit adultero protinus excidit ab amore mariti, ita Christianus si denuo tentet amicitiam habere cum mundo protinus suscipit inimicitiam cum Deo, cui nihil conuenit cum mundo? Illud igitur
 775 habete certum: quicumque studuerit esse amicus huius mundi, is eadem opera reddit sese inimicum Deo. Nihil est commercii luci cum tenebris, nihil Deo cum Belial. Sponsus homo non fert sponsam cum adultero colludentem, non patitur diuidi connubiales amores. Et tamen duxit dotatam, duxit ingenuam, duxit rebus
 LB II35 integris. Christus sponsam suam, quam seruauit ab exitio, quam asse|ruit a
 780 seruitute, quam abluit a peccatorum sordibus, quam vestiuit nudam, quam tot donis gratuitis abunde dotauit inopem, rursus patietur cum Diabolo adultero habere commercium? An putatis sine causa scriptum esse in sacris voluminibus, quod *Spiritus qui habitat in vobis concupiscit ad inuidiam*? In lege Mosaica non nihil dabatur humanis affectibus. Licebat, quatenus impune erat, odisse inimicum; fas erat studere parandis opibus; non habebatur iniustus qui vim vi, qui
 785 conuitium conuitio retudisset. Sed Spiritus euangelicus, qui nunc habitat in vobis, zelotypus est et, vt ita loquar, inuidus; plus exigit, vult redamari vehementer vsque ad vxoris, vsque ad liberorum, vsque ad vitae contemptum. Non fert domicilium mundanis cupiditatibus inquinatum. Pura requirit, requirit coelestia;
 790 resilit, aufugit, offenditur si mundi huius sordes in ipsius templum inuexeris.

Sed vt exigit a nobis eximium quendam amorem longeque puriorem quam lex Mosaica, ita confert vberiore gratiam. Difficillimum est praestare quod exigit, sed in hoc ipsum largitur vires, vt facile possimus. Amanti nihil est difficile. Hoc ipsum illius donum est, vt illum amemus vel redamemus potius. Attraxit nos charitate sua prior, auersos sibi reconciliauit. Augebit in nobis sua dona, si modo

795

755 neque C-H: et A

784 quatenus ... erat H: om. A-G

747 *inuidetis* Erasmus proposed emending the verb φονεύετε in *Iac.* 4, 2 to ὀφθαλμοφονεύετε. He is paraphrasing the emendation, which he adopted in his Latin version. The emendation is accepted by some modern commentators (e.g. Dibelius-Greeven, *James*, Philadelphia, 1975, pp. 217-218), rejected by others (e.g. Martin, *James*, pp. 140-141).

756-758 *nimirum ... insumatis* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 3, CCSL 121, p. 211, l. 24-p. 212, l. 7:

"Male petit et ille qui amisso amore supernorum infima tantum quaerit bona percipere et haec non ad sustentationem humanae fragilitatis sed ad redundantiam liberae uoluptatis".

762-763 *ille vos suo ... immaculatam* Cf. *Eph.* 5, 25-27.

765-766 *Totus ... solus ... vult*. Cf. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 58, ll. 32-34. This and the other correspondences with the *Enchir.* cited in the following notes suggest that Erasmus is drawing on one of his *niduli* or collections of scriptural texts illustrating a theological topic; cf. *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 291.

768-769 *utroque ... claudicantes* Cf. *Adag.* 2584 (*Utroque nutans sententia*), *ASD* II, 6, p. 383, l. 805; *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 58, l. 31; *Paraphr. in Gal.*, ad 5, 2, *LB* VII, 961 B. The phrase seems to have originated in an allegorical interpretation of *1. Rg.* 18, 21; cf. *Enchir.*, Holborn, pp. 51, ll. 27-29.

769 *seruum* See *Mt.* 6, 24, *Lc.* 16, 13, and *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 58, ll. 29-30.

776-777 *nihil ... Belial* Cf. *2. Cor.* 6, 15-17 and *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 58, l. 30.

778-779 *rebus integris* That is, a virgin. Erasmus fuses the New Testament image of the Church as the spotless bride of Christ with the Old Testament image of Israel as the unfaithful wife of God; cf. e.g. *Ex.* 16, 8-14 and *Hos.* 2, 2-7.

781 *Diabolo adultero* Cf. *Er. Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 58, ll. 34-35.

783 *Spiritus ... inuidiam* In *Annot. in Iac.* 4, 5 ("ad inuidiam spiritus concupiscit"), *LB* VI, 1034 E, Erasmus comments: "Mihi sensus hic potissimum probatur: spiritus hominis mundo deditus sibi inuidet, sed Deus copiosius impertit suam gratiam, quam ipsi cupiamus. Neque tamen liquet vbi reperiat hoc

scriptum". Modern scholars are equally perplexed about the source; cf. Martin, *James*, p. 149. The problem of the source is matched by the problem of what the text means; see Martin, pp. 149-152. The interpretation advanced in the *Annot.* has found modern champions, most notably H. Coppieters, *La signification et la provenance de la citation Jac. iv, 5*, *Revue biblique* n.s. 12 (1915), pp. 35-58. The paraphrase, however, takes a different tack and is closer to the view of the majority of modern scholars that the spirit which is the subject of the verb 'desires' is God's spirit, but in describing this spirit as *euangelicus* Erasmus evidently means the spirit of Christ or, as the allusions to Matthew and Luke in ll. 784-788 suggest, the *lex Christi* or content of the gospel. *in vobis* The paraphrase follows the text of Vg. Erasmus' Latin version has *in nobis* after the Greek text. He does not annotate this difference.

784 *quatenus ... erat* This addition was probably triggered by the criticism leveled by the Faculty of Theology at Paris against a similar assertion in the *Paraphr. in Mt.*, ad 5, 43 (*LB* VII, 34 C-D) which attributed the words 'you will hate your enemy' to the Law of Moses (erroneously in the view of the Faculty) and created a false distinction between the Old Law and the New Law (see *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.*, *LB* IX, 856 E). Erasmus responded that this view of what was permitted, even though not expressly commanded, by the Law of Moses is found in Augustine and Chrysostom and that his paraphrase therefore followed approved authors. He reinforces this contention with an extended argument that the word 'hate' in biblical speech does not always mean hate with the intention to injure, but to shun or avoid. Furthermore, this attitude was not commanded but only permitted to Jews as a concession to their *duritia* (*ibid.*, 856 E-857 F).

784-785 *odisse inimicum* See *Mt.* 5, 43.

788 *vsque ad uxoris ... contemptum* Cf. *Mt.* 10, 37, *Lc.* 18, 29.

789 *domicilium ... inquinatum* Cf. *2. Cor.* 7, 1.

790 *offenditur ... inuexeris* Cf. *1. Cor.* 3, 16-17.

nos illi vacuos ac totos praestemus, si ab ipso solo pendeamus, si nihil habeamus commune cum hoc mundo, nihil cum huius mundi principe, Diabolo. Cum mundum dico, nihil aliud sentio quam prauas cupiditates rerum visibilium quibus hic mundus falsam quandam felicitatem pollicetur. Magna sunt quae exiguntur, sed maiora sunt quae promittuntur. Qui largiri potest immensa, idem et robur addere potest. Qui summa largiri vult immeritis, idem et vires addere dignabitur infirmis. Tantum nostris et huius mundi praesidiis diffusi totam spem ac fiduciam nostram in illo collocemus. Destituit eos qui suis opibus arroganter fidunt; opitulatur iis qui sibi nihil tribuunt sed fidunt bonitati diuinae. Nimirum hoc est quod olim per Solomonem dixit Dominus: *Deus elatis ac ferocibus resistit, sed humilibus et abiectis impartit suum fauorem*. Deus vult vos sibi quam coniunctissimos esse; praebete vos illi morigeros quemadmodum sponsa obtemperat marito. Quod si vos Diabolus conatur ab huius amore seiungere, repellite adulterum cum suis praestigiis et desinet esse molestus. Metuet vos si viderit in amore sponsi firmos et constantes. Ab hoc igitur seiungite vos, siue terreat siue blandiatur, et piis studiis, sanctis castisque votis applicate vos Deo et ille vicissim applicabit se vobis.

Quocunque vergunt animi cupiditates, eo tenditis. Si affectus rapiunt ad honesta, ad coelestia, ad Deum acceditis; sin ad illecebras carnis, ad Diabolum properatis. Eodem perpetuo properandum est; non oportet nunc huc, nunc illuc vacillare. Si Christum sponsum agnoscitis, puri sitis oportet. Proinde qui adhuc estis peccatorum coeno obliti, emundate manus vestras abstinentes ab omni genere malefactorum; purificate corda vestra ne quid illic resideat impiarum cupiditatum. Qui nunc estis animo duplici partim amantes quae sunt Dei, partim quae sunt mundi, totum pectus vni Christo dedicate. Cur hic felicitatem quaeritis quae promissa est in coelis? Cur inanibus huius seculi voluptatibus deliniti negligitis aeterna gaudia? Si vultis vere felices esse, hic sitis afflictis; si vultis aeternum gaudere, hic plorate; si sine fine laetari, hic flete. Stultus iste et perniciosus risus vertatur in luctum salutarem, exitiale gaudium commutetur in salutiferum moerorem. Inanis ista celsitudo conuertatur in humilitatem. Nemo semet erigat in altum. Quin potius deiicite vos ipsos in conspectu Dei; ipse sic deiectos | eriget ac vere sublimes reddet. Quanto minus ipsi vobis arrogabitis, tanto maiora largietur ille.

Arrogantia comitem habet liuorem, ex liuore nascitur detractio. Sceleratissimum autem superbiae genus fratris famae detrahere quo tu videaris honestior, perinde quasi quis alienam faciem luto conspergat quo ipse videatur formosior, alienam vestem sordibus contaminet quo ipse videatur cultior. Quid autem turpius quam vt frater fratri detrahat, inter quos oportet omnia esse communia? An non secus quam si dextra manus sinistram mutilet quasi futura felicius si peius habeat socium membrum? Et tamen qui vitant adulterium, qui furtum, qui perjurium, detractionem non horrent, quasi leue sit crimen, cum hoc sit perniciosius quo se magis tegit specie religionis. Nam qui in aliena vicia debacchatur, primum videtur ab his viciis abhorreere quae in aliis detestatur; deinde simulat sese non

840 liuore, non odio commoueri, sed studio probitatis. Et habet hoc venenum suam
etiam blanditiem. Mutua detractio facit vt de vtrisque peius sentiant caeteri; nec
aliud venenum praesentius christianae concordiae.

Iam qui obtrectat fratri quie condemnat proximum non solum facit iniuriam
ei cui detrahit, verum etiam legi cui detrahere quamque condemnare videtur. Si
845 frater est innocens, si non est lege vetitum quod ille facit, qua fronte tu damnas
quod non damnat lex euangelica? Sin peccat, cur eum obtrectatrice lingua tradu-
cis quem oportebat lege puniri? Lex euangelica vetat ne nos vicissim iudicemus,
ne vicissim condemnemus; et sub legis praetextu nostris affectibus indulgemus.
Habebit is qui peccat suum iudicem; cur tu huius partes occupas ante tempus?
850 Non enim das operam vt corrigatur, sed vt traducatur. Itaque quisquis obtrectat
proximo, is aut legem condemnat quod non corrigat turpia aut detrahit veluti
nimium dilutae lentaeque, cuius officium occupat detractor. Habet mundus hic
publicas leges coercendis sceleribus. At christianae mansuetudinis est studere cor-
rigendis omnibus magis quam iudicandis. Vnus est legis conditor, qui potest et
seruare et perdere. An hunc putas latere quid quisque peccet? Tolerat ille fortasse
855 peccantem vt aliquando resipiscat, tolerat vt suo tempore grauius puniat. Cur tu
quilibet e plebe vindicas tibi iudicis partes? Cur ante tempus pronuncias? Monere
fraternum est, rogare charitatis, increpare benevolentis est, sed obtrectare pesti-
lens, iudicare superbum. Si legi obtemperas, cur legis vices arroganter occupas? Si
legi praeis, non es obseruator legis sed iudex. Qui legi praeit, praeit Deo, legis
860 auctori. Is non sinet quicquam inultum et nouit quid, quatenus sit puniendum,

802 Tantum C-H: Tantum vt A

833 An G H: om. A-F G

845 non G H: non tam A-F

846 nos A-H: quos BAS

847 indulgemus A-H: indulgemus BAS

802 *Tantum* For the correction cf. p. 289, l. 14 below.

805 *per Solomonem* In *Prv.* 3, 34 LXX. The paraphrase is based on the text of Vg. since this quotation is not found in *Er. Nov. Test.* The word *humilibus* is glossed by *abiectis* to show that the reference is to the humble in station, not the humble in heart; cf. *Annot. in Iac.* 4, 6 ("Maiorem autem dat"), *LB VI*, 1034 F: "*Humilibus, ταπεινοῖς*, quod ad conditionem pertinet magis quam animum".

813 *affectus* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 8, *CCSL* 121, p. 214, ll. 102-103: "Non enim regionibus longe est quisque a Deo sed affectibus."

820-821 *Cur hic ... in coelis* Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 9-10, *CCSL* 121, p. 214, ll. 123-129, employs this same antithesis between felicity on earth and the bliss promised in heaven.

842 *condemnat* For this paraphrase or rather translation of the verb *κρίνειν* in *Iac.* 4, 11 see *Er. Annot. in Mt.* 7, 1 ("et non iudicabimini"), *LB VI*, 39 F-40 D.

846 *Lex euangelica* Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 11, *CCSL* 121, p. 215, ll. 133-142, assumed that the 'law' mentioned in *Iac.* 4, 11 was the Law of Moses and illustrated the ways the Law might be detracted and judged by referring to *P.* 100, 5 and *Lv.* 19, 16-18. Erasmus, however, relates the law in 4, 11 to the statements made about the law in *Iac.* 1, 25 and 2, 9 (see p. 131, l. 281-p. 132, l. 303; p. 135, ll. 414-420) and interprets them consistently as referring to evangelical law, that is, the *Lex Christi*, or, as he puts it in the paraphrases on these verses, the *lex charitatis*. Consequently he incorporates several references to other N.T. texts in the paraphrase here; see the following notes. What the author of *Iac.* had in mind in using the term *νόμος* is not entirely clear; cf. Davids, *Epist. of James*, pp. 169-170 with Martin, *James*, pp. 163-164.

846-847 *ne nos ... condemnemus* See *Lc.* 6, 37, *Mt.* 7, 1-5.

848 *suum iudicem* See *1. Cor.* 4, 5 and 5, 12-13.

860 *Is ... puniendum* See *Rom.* 2, 1-2.

qui solus nulli crimini est obnoxius. Tu quis es qui iudicas alterum? Condemnas fratrem ipse grauioribus commissis obnoxius. Etenim tendis perdere quem seruare non possis. Postremo in seruum alienum ius tibi vindicas, haud citra contumeliam Domini communis. Relinque illum suo Domino, qui solus iuste

865 iudicat. Tu tibi iustum esse persuades quod tibi dictauerit ambitio, quod odium, quod ira, quod liuor; ac frequenter offenderis festuca in oculo fratris, cum trabem habeas in tuo. Nemo virulentius detrahit alienae famae quam qui longissime abest a vera laude. Nemo leuius fert alienam imbecillitatem quam qui plurimum in verae pietatis studio profecerit.

870 Iam qui tanto studio moliuntur ea quae sunt mundi neglectis bonis coelestibus, vel ipsa vitae huius incertitudine breuitateque debebant admoneri dementiam esse in his bonis collocare felicitatem, quae, vt contingant, tamen aliquoties arbitrio fortunae subito auferuntur aut, si illa non aufert fortuna possessori, mors ipsum possessorem eripit bonis. Hoc ita esse quum quotidianis discant exemplis,

LB 1137 tamen | velut horum omnium obliti somniant longaeuitatem et quasi semper victuri in plurimos annos sibi congerant opes vnde viuant – quum hoc ipsum sit

876 incertissimum, quamdiu victuri sint; certissimum autem sit non diu victuros – ac non potius viaticum sibi parant in eam vitam quae nunquam est habitura finem. Agite, stulti, quamam igitur fronte dicitis: ‘Hodie aut cras proficiscemur in hanc

880 aut illam ciuitatem, peracturi illic annum vnum facturique lucrum amplum quod sufficiat in multos annos’, quum incerti sitis quid futurum sit die postero? Vitam per se breuissimam tot casus, tot morbi reddunt etiam incertissimam et vos veluti pacti cum morte per maria volitatis ac terras quo viaticum paretis senectuti fortasse nunquam venturae, quum nemo sibi crastinum queat polliceri. Quid ita

885 vitae huic fiditis quasi rei firmae stabilique? Quae tandem est ista vita vestra, cui vni prospicitis, cui vni laboratis ac molimini? Nimirum vapor est ad breue tempus apparens ac mox euanescens. Absit igitur istiusmodi oratio ab ore Christianorum: ‘Ibimus, peragemus annum, mercabimur, lucrum faciemus’, quasi vobis in manu sit euentus futuri. Vos in diem potius viuite a Dei pendentes arbitrio,

890 dicentes: ‘Si Dominus voluerit et si nobis vitam superesse volet, hoc aut illud faciemus’. Leuiter curanda quae faciunt ad breuem iuxta et incertam corporis vitam, sed omnis sollicitudo conferenda est ad eas res quae faciunt ad vitam immortalem. Et tamen quum haec vita nihil habeat quo possitis tuto fidere, cum tot casibus, tot morbis sit exposita, cum tot erumnis sit obnoxia, cum tam sit

895 euanida tamque fugax, tamen, perinde quasi sitis immortales, sic erigitis animos et iuuentutis opumque fiducia turgetis. Diuini praesidii fiducia fortes et animosos esse rectum est; coelestium bonorum expectatione alacres esse pium est. Sed omnis ista exultatio qua vobis placetis de bonis primum falsis, deinde mox aufereudis, non solum impia est verum etiam stulta. Fortasse tolerabilius sit hoc in

900 his, quibus persuasum est a maioribus a rogo nihil hominis superesse, et excusatius tam auide fruuntur hac vita qui non expectant aliam. Vos euangelica philosophia docuit hanc vitam esse negligendam omnique studio properandum ad vitam illam coelestem, quae non opibus sed piis factis paratur. Porro grauius

905 peccat qui, cum ex euangelica doctrina sciat quid sit agendum, tamen corruptus malis affectibus sequatur eadem quae sequuntur ii qui Christum ignorant.

CAPVT V

Agite nunc, diuites, qui felicitatem vitaeque delicias quas aeternas oportebat expectare in coelis, hic in terris occupatis praepropere, ponite cantus, omittite voluptates et insana gaudia. Si mentem habetis, plorate et vlulate reputantes
 910 aeternas illas calamitates quae mox imminent vobis. Fingite iam aduenisse tempus, quod propediem est venturum, cum ablatis iis opibus quibus nunc stultissime fiditis sero sapietis agnoscentes praeclaras illas possessiones iam non esse vobis praesidio, sed pro fucata felicitate adesse veram et aeternam calamitatem. Vbi nunc sunt opes per fas nefasque congestae? Diuitiae vestrae putrefactae sunt,
 915 vestimenta vestra tineis obnoxia facta sunt. Aurum et argentum vestrum aerugine viciatum est apud parcum et sordidum haeredem. Eaque aerugo testabitur vestram impietatem, qui malueritis situ perire quam in vsus egentium expromere. Harum rerum impendio poteratis emere vitam aeternam. | Nunc defossi aeris aerugo exedet intima animarum vestrarum non secus atque ignis. Sero frustraque

915 vestrum *om.* G²

924 fraudatus A–H² K BAS: fraudatur I

863 *seruum alienum* See *Rom.* 14, 4, which Hugo, p. 66^o, and Nicholas of Lyre, p. H5^r^o, likewise cite in their commentaries on *Iac.* 4, 12.

866–867 *offenderis ... in tuo* See *Mt.* 7, 33–34, *Lc.* 6, 41–42.

875–876 *quasi semper victuri* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 215, ll. 154–156: “Multifariam in huius modi dispositione stultitiam inesse notat [Iacobus], quia uidelicet et de lucrorum augmento consilium agunt et se multo tempore uicturos arbitrantur”.

879 *proficiscemur* The future indicative follows the tense of the verb “ibimus” in Vg. rather than the subjunctives in Erasmus’ Greek text and Latin version. Similarly in l. 888 below he follows the text of Vg. which he thought (correctly) was there better than the Greek text. See his *Annot. in Iac.* 4, 15 (“Si Dominus uoluerit”), *LB* VI, 1035 E. Cf. also *Resp. ad. annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB* IX, 241 D.

899–900 *in his ... superesse* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 4, 14, *CCSL* 121, p. 216, ll. 169–171: “Haec [in *Sap.* 2, 2–3] enim illi ratiocinabantur qui nullam uitam nisi istam esse credebant dicentes cum Epicuro, ‘Post mortem nihil est, et mors ipsa nihil est’.”

916 *haeredem* A theme from classical literature but with an inversion of the classical portrait

of the frugal father and the prodigal heir; cf. *Hor. Carm.* IV, 7, ll. 17–20; *Epist.* II, 2, ll. 190–194; *Serm.* II, 3, ll. 118–128.

917 *qui ... expromere* Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 3, *CCSL* 121, p. 217, ll. 20–24, cites the example of people who were once wealthy lamenting because they did not share their wealth with the needy, though in his example the rich squander rather than bury their money.

918 *emere ... aeternam* *Emere* is perhaps a metaphor, but cf. *Er. Paraphr. in Lc.*, ad 16, 9, *LB* VII, 412 A–C, where similar language is used to describe the heavenly benefits of charity on earth.

918 *defossi* Erasmus probably means this literally; cf. *Paraphr. in Mt.*, ad 6, 19, *LB* VII, 38 E. The burial of money and other valuables to preserve them was a common practice in antiquity (cf. *Mt.* 25, 18). It would account for the presence of the rust and tarnish.

919 *intima animarum vestrarum* A paraphrase on “carnes vestras” in *Iac.* 5, 3; cf. Bede, *In Iac. ad loc.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 217, ll. 16–20: “Possunt etiam nomine carniū ipsae deliciae carnales intellegi quae erugo pecuniarum sicut ignis manducat, dum animam luxoriosam et extrinsecus saeuens flamma cruciat et non minus interius pungens suae tenaciae dolor accusat”.

920 macerabit vos male seruatae pecuniae poenitudo. Duplicabit infelicitatem vestram quod male parta male seruastis. Pro misericordia Dei, quam licebat opum iactura mercari, collegistis vobis iram et vltionem diuinam. Non solum non fuistis benigni in fratrem egentem, sed tenuem debita quoque mercede fraudastis. Ecce fraudatus sua mercede messor, qui sudans demessuit segetes vestras, clamat
 925 ad Deum et vindictam flagitat et ita clamitat vt vox illorum penetret in aures Domini Sabaoth, qui vobis etiam est formidandus. Non poterant illi vlscisci potentiores, non audiebantur ab homine iudice, qui fere fauet opulentioribus; obticescebant illi, sed ipsa impietas vociferatur apud iudicem Deum, qui nec metuit opulentos et oppressi pauperis iniuriam ad se pertinere putat. At vos nihil
 930 interim commouebat pauperum esurientium et sitientium calamitas. Alienus sudor vos alebat. Aliena fames ac sitis vos saginabat. Illi ringebantur, illi algebant, illi fame siti que enecabantur. Vos interim suauiter et in deliciis vitam transigebatis in terra, lasciuiebatis et omni voluptatum genere pascebatis animos vestros, agitantes quotidiana conuiuia non minus splendida quam alii solent festo die mactata victima. Neque contenti fraudasse pauperem condemnastis et occidistis
 935 innocentem non reluctantem. Putastis hoc vobis impunitum fore semper quod apud homines impune licebat. Homicidii genus est tenues suo fraudare victu. Nec ea tamen crudelitas sufficebat immanitati vestrae. Sitiiebatis illorum sanguinem et innocentum supplicii pascebatis animos vestros. Nunc rebus in diuersum versis illi fruuntur aeternis voluptatibus, vos breues et insanas delicias aeternis cruciatibus luitis.

Proinde, fratres, ne despondeatis animum; ne vos poeniteat sortis vestrae; ne diuitibus, quibus hic res videntur ex sententia succedere, inuideatis; ne quam moliimini vindictam in illos, sed toleretis vsque ad aduentum Domini. Nunc
 945 sementis tempus est, tunc metendi tempus erit. Nondum apparent praemia pietatis vestrae, sed tamen in tuto sunt suo tempore reddenda. Ecce qui terram colit, quantum laboris sumit suo interim impendio, nimirum expectans futurum vt terra suo tempore multo cum foenore reddat quod accepit. Et tamen terrae prouentus non vsquequaque certus est. Ni coelum faueat pluuia tempestiua, quae solum proscissum humectet, et serotina, quae grandescens segetem ab aestu tueatur, luserit operam agricola. Atqui quum hic bona spe fructus temporarii diuturnos toleret labores neque postulet vt protinus appareat quod seminauit, quanto magis aequum est vos ob immortalitatis fructum huius vitae incommoda patienter ferre, praesertim cum vestra merces in tuto sit, modo vos interim
 955 bonam sementem feceritis? Et vos igitur ad exemplum agricolae bona certa que spe confirmate et obdurate animos vestros, neque vindictae cupidi neque in piis operibus lassescentes. Aderit Dominus et impios vlturus et vos pro temporariis afflictionibus immortalitate donaturus. Nec procul abest ille dies, veniet citius expectatione.

960 Proinde, fratres mei, ne quis sibi videatur infelicio, quod pluribus malis affligitur, neue quis inuideat ei qui mitius habet. Nec enim ille qui grauiora patitur a Deo destitutus est, sed exercetur ad maiora praemia; nec hic ideo Deo charior

est, quod rebus vtatur tranquillioribus, sed esse vult aliquos quorum pietas subleuet aliorum calamitates. Ne sit igitur inter vos impius ille gemitus, index liuoris ac diffidentiae, vt ne condemnemini. Nam huiusmodi gemitus animi |

926 qui ... formidandus C-H: om. A
937 licebat C-H: liceat A
938 Sitiebatis A-E G H: Sciebatis F

944 toleretis H: toleratis E G¹: tolerate A-D F G²
960 sibi om. BAS
965 vt ne C-H: ne A

922 *vobis iram* These words do not occur in Er. *Nou. Test.* but are taken from the Vulgate text of *Iac.* 5, 3; cf. Erasmus' *Annot. ad loc.* ("Thesaurizatis vobis iram"), *LB VI*, 1035 F. 925 *illorum* An inadvertent recollection of the plural *operariorum* in *Nou. Test.*

926 *qui ... formidandus* See the summary description of 5, 4-6 on p. 118, ll. 28-29 above. Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 217, ll. 39-41: "Dominum sabaoth, id est dominum exercituum appellat ad terrorem eorum qui pauperes putant nullum habere tutorem". Cf. also *Is.* 5, 7-9.

931 *ringeantur* Erasmus may be creating a variation on the biblical image of clenching or grinding the teeth as a gesture of hostility (cf. *Iob.* 16, 10; *Ps.* 35, 16; *Act.* 7, 54), but in his vocabulary *ringor* is the opposite of *rideo* (cf. e.g. *Ep.* 1342, l. 855) and an image of annoyance or distress; cf. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 129, l. 25, where *ringi* is the contrary of *gestire*.

934-935 *quam ... victima* Erasmus' Greek text reads ὡς before ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σφάγγης in *Iac.* 5, 5. He thus took this phrase to be a simile and construed it with the preceding verbs; cf. *Annot. ad loc.* ("in die occisionis"), *LB VI*, 1036 D: "'Vt in die mactationis,' hoc est, in die festo, quo solent mactari victimae in epulum". Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 218, ll. 55-62, construes the phrase (without the "vt") with the verbs which follow it - "adduxistis, occidistis, non restitit" in *Vg.* - and thus understood the *dies occisionis* to be a reference to the Crucifixion.

936 *innocentem* Bede, *ibidem*, takes the 'righteous one' ("iustum", *Vg.*) to be Jesus, "Dominus Saluator". He is followed in this by the interlinear *Glossa*, p. H61^o, and Hugo, p. h11^o. Erasmus' view that the *innocens* - his standard paraphrase for *iustus* - is the *pauper* appears to be unique as is his notion that 'murder' in this context is a metaphor for depriving another of his livelihood. This latter idea, however, does have biblical precedent (cf. *Sir.* 34, 24-27) and Erasmus' interpretation is supported, though not explicitly, by Davids, *Epist. of James*, p. 179. The interpretation of

Iac. 5, 6 is in any case very much in dispute; see Davids, pp. 179-180, and Martin, *James*, pp. 181-182. Martin rejects the Erasmian view as unsupportable. Nicholas of Lyre, p. H61^o, though taking cognizance of the interpretation in the *Glossa* and Hugo, advanced the view that "iustum" was singular for plural, "quod frequenter fit in Scriptura", and explained *Iac.* 5, 6 as a reference to the persecution and murder of Christians in the days of the primitive Church. This view is substantially that of Davids and Martins though they differ on whether James' language is to be taken literally (Davids) or figuratively (Martin). Both agree, however, with Nicholas that 'the righteous one' is a "generic collective term" (Davids). Nicholas' interpretation quite likely underlies Erasmus' use of the genitive plural in ll. 938-939 below, though it may of be only an echo of the genitive plural in l. 925 above.

940 *fruuntur* The present tense may stand for the eschatological future, or Erasmus may be generalizing from the parable of the rich man and the beggar (*Lc.* 16, 22-25), which Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 218, ll. 47-49, and the medieval Latin commentators refer to in this context.

949-950 *pluuia tempestiua ... serotina* Cf. *Dt.* 11, 14, which Erasmus cites in his *Annot. in Iac.* 5, 7 ("donec accipiat temporaneum et serotinum"), *LB VI*, 1036 E. He explained the two temporal adjectives, correctly, as referring to the seasons of sowing and maturation of the crops, which from his north European perspective he viewed as spring and late summer.

953-954 *aequum ... ferre* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 7, *CCSL* 121, p. 219, ll. 89-94: "Accipietis etenim vos temporalem fructum vitam videlicet animae post mortem, accipietis et serotinum carnis incorruptionem in iudicio, vel certe temporaneum in operibus iusticiae, serotinum in retributione laborum iuxta illud apostoli: 'Habetis fructum vestrum in sanctificationem, finem vero vitam aeternam' [*Rom.* 6, 22]".

LB 1139 praeludia sunt vergentis ad desperationem. Consoletur vos ipsa temporis breuitas. Ecce iudex ad fores adsistit, in promptu sunt praemia sua cuique pro meritis actae vitae. Interim sanctorum patrum exemplis fulcite animos vestros. Si vobis solis ista contigissent, erat fortasse quod admiraremini. Grauiora passi sunt prophetae qui promebant impiis oracula Dei. Vt tum non ferebant impii diuites vaticinia prophetarum, ita nunc non ferunt doctrinam euangelicam, videlicet aduersam et pugnantem ipsorum studiis. Nemo tamen illorum sortem deplorat, nemo iudicat infelices, quod carceres et compedes perpassi sunt, quod variis cruciatibus enecti, sed felices ducimus Deoque charos, quod ob iusticiam occisi sint.

975 Audistis nobile patientiae exemplum Iob. Quantum malorum ille pertulit impetente Satana? Spectastis certantem, sed spectastis et vincentem praesidio Domini, cuius bonitate pro singulis malitia Satanae ereptis recepit dupla. Non destituerat Dominus athletam suum, sed obiectis tot malis testatam ac spectatam esse voluit illius patientiam. Sed misericors Dominus ac natura propensus ad clementiam

980 alienam maliciam nobis vertit in cumulum lucrumque felicitatis.

Sit animus vester purus ac simplex et animo respondeat oratio. Nemo fucatis verbis imponat proximo, sed in primis, fratres mei, nolite iurare, ne paulatim assuescatis peierare. Inter Iudaeos et ethnicos fidei causa interponitur iusiurandum. Inter Christianos, qui nec diffidere debent cuiquam neque velle fallere,

985 superuacaneum est iusiurandum. Affinis est autem peierandi periculo quisquis assuescit iurare. Neque solum religiosum vobis iurare per Deum in negotiis humanis et leuiculis, verum etiam ab omni genere iurisiurandi temperate ut neque per coelum neque per terram iuretis aut aliud quodcunque quod vulgo sanctum ac religiosum habetur. Quisquis audebit mentiri iniuratus, idem et iuratus audebit si libeat. Porro qui bonus est fidet etiam iniurato, qui malus diffidet etiam iurato. Inter vos autem euangelica simplicitate praeditos nec diffidentiae locus est nec fallendi studio. Sed sermo vester simplex non minus habeatur verax ac firmus quam quodcunque, quamlibet sanctum, Iudaeorum aut paganorum iusiurandum. Quoties confirmatis aliquid, ex animo confirmate et re praestate

995 quod dicitis. Quoties negatis aliquid, ex animo negate nec aliud sit in pectore quam sonat in ore ne sit in vobis simulatio quum sitis veritatis discipuli.

Quod si quis afflicto est inter vos, ne confugiat ad huius mundi remedia, ad anulos, ad incantamenta, ad balnea reliqua lenimenta moeroris; sed ad

966 vergentis C-H: om. A

976 certantem A-K: certamen BAS

986 religiosum G H: religiosum sit A-F G

954 vestra ... sit Cf 2. Tim. 4, 8.

970-971 Vt ... prophetarum Erasmus probably has Mt. 23, 29-35 in mind.

973-974 quod carceres ... enecti Cf. Hebr. 11, 36-37.

977 pro singulis ... dupla See Iob 1, 12-2, 7 and 42, 10.

992 sermo vester Erasmus is following the text of Vg. His Greek text does not have ὁ λόγος;

cf. Mt. 5, 37. See Annot. in Iac. 5, 12 ("est, est, non, non"), LB VI, 1036 F.

992 simplex The adjective describes the state of the speaker's mind, not the style of his speech. *Sermo simplex* is a statement made without ulterior or hidden motives. Cf. Annot. in Mt. 5, 37 ("est, est, non, non"), LB VI, 29 D-E, where Erasmus contrasts the opposite behavior of those, "qui quod pollicentur

non praestant et quod se negant facturos faciunt”.

993–994 *quodcunque ... iusiurandum* See *Mt.* 5, 34–36.

997–998 *afflictus est ... moeroris* Bede’s text of *Iac.* 5, 13 read “Tristatur aliquis vestrum? Oret aequo animo et psallar”. The combination of the translation of $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ by *tristatur* and the transformation of 13b into a response to the question posed in 13a led Bede and the medieval commentators who followed him to interpret the verse as a description of *tristitia* (‘depression’) or, according to Nicholas of Lyre (p. H6v^o), *acedia*. Chronic *tristitia* is a symptom of melancholy (see Cels. II, 7, 19, Plin., *Nat.* XXIV, 24). Medical literature prescribed for the treatment of melancholy, depending on the condition of the patient, a regimen of diet, physical exercise, cold or hot baths, music and the use of sundry internal or external medications; see Cels. III, 17–20 and Jackie Pigeaud, *Folie et cures de la folie chez les médecins de l’antiquité gréco-romaine, la manie*, Paris, 1987, pp. 189–219. Bede, whether following medical or Christian discussions of depression (cf. Peter Toohey, *Acedia in Late Classical Antiquity*, Illinois Classical Studies 15, 2 (1990), pp. 339–352), recommends a remedy (*medella*) of physical activity, prayer, and psalmody (*CCSL* 121, p. 221, ll. 145–156). Erasmus knew that the medieval text of Vg. was corrupt and recognized that James was concerned with the proper Christian response to adversity and prosperity – prayer in adversity, hymns of thanksgiving in prosperity –, not to mental or moral illness (see his *Annot. ad loc.* [“Oret aequo animo et psallar”], *LB* VI, 1037 C); nevertheless, he retains the medical remedies of the commentary tradition but only in order to contrast them with the proper Christian response. Compare the paraphrase on 5, 14 below.

998 *anulos* Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 883–844; Plin. *Nat.* XV, 124 and XXVIII, 57. However, the belief in the efficacy of rings to ward off or to cure disease was more widespread in Erasmus’ time than in antiquity; see Epp. 1480, ll. 115–122; 1595, ll. 112–114; *Poems*, No. 2, *CWE* 85, p. 20, ll. 142–153; and George Frederick Kunz, *Rings for the Finger*, Philadelphia and London, 1917, pp. 336–354. More often it was the gem stone set into the ring which was thought to be efficacious. Besides his signet ring which had a carnelian or, as he describes it, an onyx Erasmus received rings set with a diamond and sapphire as gifts

which he wore, or at least is depicted as wearing in the Holbein portraits of 1523 and 1524 now in Basel, Paris, and Longford Castle, England. The carnelian was effective against inflammation including inflamed mental states such as anger. A diamond protected its wearer against insanity and bubonic plague as well as poison. A sapphire was likewise thought to cure buboes and also diseases of the eyes. See G. F. Kunz, *Magic of Jewels and Charm*, Philadelphia and London, 1915, pp. 118–59, and *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, *ibid.* 1913, pp. 367–391. Erasmus also received a ring from Pirckheimer whose stone was supposed to protect a person from loss of blood due to an injury (see Ep. 1480, ll. 115–122). Erasmus may not have believed this particular superstition since this ring does not appear in the list of his rings which he drew up on 9 April 1534; see P. S. Allen, *Erasmus’s Money and Rings in 1534*, *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 2 (1920), pp. 143–144. An example of the kind of ring which Erasmus may have had particularly in mind here in the paraphrase on 5, 13 is the English cramp-ring which was thought to relieve epilepsy and similar illnesses; see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, New York, 1971, pp. 198–199. Erasmus was later given two of these rings by Thomas Lupset, one of which he in turn gave to the wife of Erasmus Schets (Epp. 1595, ll. 114–115 and 1654, l. 32).

998 *incantamenta* Pliny employs this word in reference to healing charms (*Nat.*, XVIII, 2); *incantatio* is the more common term and also the biblical word for spells or charms. It is the Latin equivalent of $\epsilon\pi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}$, the word employed by Hippocrates in his rejection of the use of magic in the treatment of epilepsy (*De morbo sacro* 2–4). Cf. also Plat. *Crat.* 405 ab, where music, charms, medications and baths are all mentioned in a passage on the treatment of mental and physical ills.

998 *balnea* See the passage in the *Cratylus* referred to in the preceding note. Galen recommended baths in the treatment of melancholy (see *Corp. med. graec.* VIII, 2, p. 146, ll. 17–20) as did Celsus (III, 18) and Caelius Aurelianus. The latter also suggests bathing in warm oil; see Pigeaud, n.ll. 997–998 above, pp. 205–206.

998 *lenimenta* Popular literature from Homer to Horace recommended wine and song. Bede’s remedy of psalm-singing, though inspired by the text of Vg., is in this tradition. In addition to baths and either vocal or instrumental music (see Aristot. *Pol.* 1342 ab

1000 preces versus erigat animum in Deum cum summa fiducia et experietur praesentaneum moestitiae leuamen. Rursum si quis est aequo animo in rebus prosperis, ne semet efferat insolenter aut inepte gestiat, sed sanctis hymnis celebret autoris Dei benignitatem.

LB 1140 Iam si quem affligit aduersa valetudo, ne confugiat ad magica remedia, ne vim immensam pecuniae consumat in medicos, quorum curatio frequenter est
1005 eiusmodi vt praestet aequo animo e vita decedere; sed accersat ad se seniores christianae congregationis. Hi fusis pro aegroto precibus ad Deum vngant eum oleo, non adhibitis precaminibus magicis quemadmodum ethnici solent, sed inuocato nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quo nullum est incantamenti genus efficacius. Adsit autem precibus fiducia et audiet Deus seruabitque laborantem.
1010 Neque solum restituetur ei sanitas corporis, siquidem expediat aegroto; verum, si forte fuerit peccatis obnoxius – vt plerunque morbi corporis ex animi malis oriuntur – remittentur ei ad seniorum preces, si modo fides commendet et hos qui precantur et illum pro quo deprecantur. Et quoniam vita humana non constat sine leuibis et quotidianis offensis, conueniet vti quotidiano remedio, vt
1015 vos vicissim mutuis precibus subleuetis suum quisque delictum agnoscentes. Ita demum valebit remedium si morbum agnoscas et opem implores. Superstitiosi putant occultam inesse vim incantamenti et precaminibus suis, sed reuera plurimum valet hominis iusti deprecatio quae per fidem nihil non impetrat a Deo. Hac lege nobiscum pactus est Christus, vt quicquid ipsius nomine petierimus
1020 cum fiducia impetremus, nisi tale sit vt expediat non impetrari. Quaeritis huius rei documentum? Helias homo purus erat, mortalis erat quemadmodum et nos et tamen ad huius preces non pluit super terram annos tres et menses sex. Rursus orauit vt plueret et mox coelum velut auditis precibus dedit pluuiam terraque produxit fructum suum. Si precibus vnus pii viri coelum obtemperat velut
1025 incantatum, mirum est si Deus ad ignoscendum facillimus placatur precibus multorum?

Iam illud perpendite, fratres. Si pium est, si christianae charitatis est communibus precibus subleuare morbum corporis alieni, quanto magis par est vt animi morbo laborantibus subueniamus? Neque enim magnum est hoc impetrare precibus, vt huic aut illi mors aliquanto serius accidat omnino tamen aliquando ventura, sed magnum est vitasse mortem animi. Itaque si quis extiterit inter vos, qui aberret ab euangelica veritate siue nimium adhuc adhaerens legi Mosaicae siue paganismi a maioribus traditi pertinax cultor, ne quis hunc existimet conuiciis exagitandum, sed huc potius oportet omnibus studiis adniti, vt conuersus

999 erigat C–H: vertat A

for the *locus classicus* on this topic and Pigeaud, n.ll. 997–998 above, pp. 154–161), physicians prescribed diet, exercise, various clysters, the application of compresses, poultices, or salves to different parts of the body, herbal infusions, and medicines such as hellebore and theriac (an analgesic).

1003 *aduersa valetudo* The *Glossa*, Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre, for whom *Iac.* 5, 14 is one of the scriptural foundations for the sacrament of extreme unction (the other is *Mc.* 6, 13), devote most of their commentaries to discussion of the sacrament and its administration. Bede, however, *In Iac.* 5, 14–15, *CCSL* 121,

- p. 221, ll. 157-165, connects verse 14 with verse 13 and sees them as dealing with mental and bodily illness respectively, though he too refers to the sacrament but as a contemporary form of treatment (ibid., ll. 168-172). Erasmus makes the same connection (already in the *Nov. Instr.*), and establishes it through the repetition of the verb *affligere*. (Note also the repetition of the phrase *aequo animo* in the paraphrase on 14.) Hence he employs the same contrast between the efficacy of Christian prayer and the inefficacy of magic and medical treatment that he uses in the paraphrase on verse 13. To drive the point home, the noun *preces* and its cognate verbs are repeated five times.
- 1003 *ad magica remedia* Cf. e.g. Plat. *Charm.* 155 d-156 a: For headache, place a leaf on the forehead while reciting a certain charm. The reference to magic in the paraphrase on verses 14 and 15, neither of which contain any such allusion, suggests that Erasmus has contemporary beliefs and practices more in view than those of New Testament times. For a succinct survey of magical healing in Erasmus' day see Keith Thomas (n.l. 998 above), pp. 177-211, with the bibliography cited. Thomas illustrates the confusion that tended to exist in the popular mind in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries between magic and ecclesiastical ritual.
- 1003-1004 *ne vim ... in medicos* Cf. *Mc.* 5, 26. For similar jaundiced comments about physicians see Er. *Moria*, *ASD* IV, 3, p. 111, ll. 744-748, and *Coll.* (*Funus*), *ASD* I, 3, p. 538 l. 52-p. 539, l. 84.
- 1005 *seniores* Both here and in l. 72 below Erasmus renders *πρεσβυτέρους* in *Iac.* 5, 14 by *seniores* rather than by *presbyteros*, the translation in Vg. which he retains in his Latin version. (The medieval commentators naturally assumed that the words "presbyteros ecclesiae" in Vg. referred to priests.) Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 14, *CCSL* 121, p. 221, ll. 162-165, takes James to mean the older men of the community. However, it is not clear whether by *senior* Erasmus means an older man or an elder in the sense of a person holding an ecclesiastical appointment; cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, *ad* 5, 1, p. 212, ll. 723-739 below. In any case, as he protested to Stunica in response to a criticism of his annotation on *Mc.* 6, 13 ("et vngabant oleo"), *LB* VI, 174 F), he never had any thought of calling into question the sacrament of extreme unction; see *Apolog. ad Strun. Concl.*, *LB* IX, 389 D-E, and Payne, *Theology*, pp. 216-219. Nevertheless, his use of the term *senior* was to excite controversy later; see Heinz Holeczek, *Humanistische Bibelphilologie als Reformproblem bei Erasmus von Rotterdam, Thomas More und William Tyndale*, (Leiden, 1975) pp. 323-331. The Council of Trent explicitly repudiated the interpretation 'older men' instead of 'priests' (Session XIV, Chapter 2) and declared anyone who held it to be anathema (Canon IV).
- 1008-1009 *inuocato ... efficacius* Cf. *Lc.* 10, 17, *Act.* 3, 6, 4, 10 etc. Bede was not sure whether the words "in the name of the Lord" in 5, 14 meant that the oil was consecrated in the name of the Lord or that the name of the Lord was to be invoked during the anointing; see *CCSL* 121, p. 221, ll. 169-175.
- 1010 *siquidem expedit* This phrase is virtually a technical formula. Cf. Thomas, *ScG* IV, 73, and the commentaries of Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre on *Iac.* 5, 14.
- 1011 *morbi ... malis* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 15, *CCSL* 121, p. 221, ll. 176-177: "Multi propter peccata in anima facta infirmitate aut etiam morte plectuntur corporis". Bede compares 1. *Cor.* 11, 30; see Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Cor.*, *ad* 11, 30, *LB* VII, 897 D-E.
- 1014-1015 *ut vos ... agnoscentes* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 16, *CCSL* 121, p. 222, ll. 185-187: "In hac autem sententia [sc. 5, 16] illa debet esse discretio ut cotidiana leuique peccata alterutrum coequalibus confiteamur eorumque cotidiana credamus oratione saluari". Erasmus added a reference to Bede's comment to his annotation on this verse in the third (1522) edition of the *Nov. Test.*; see *Annot. ad loc.* ("peccata vestra"), *LB* VI, 1037 D.
- 1019 *Hac lege* Cf. *Mt.* 21, 22 and *Ioh.* 14, 12-14.
- 1021 *homo purus* The adjectives *purus* here and *pii* (l. 1024), neither of which is used of Elijah in the Bible, are probably intended as paraphrases on the adjective "iusti" in *Iac.* 5, 16. Erasmus translated *ἐνεργουμένη* in this verse by "efficax" and explained that the participle connoted prayer that was uttered sincerely (*Annot. ad loc.* ["iusti assidua"], *LB* VI, 1037 D).
- 1024-1026 *unius ... multorum* Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 18, *CCSL* 121, p. 222, ll. 201-203, likewise makes a contrast between the prayer of 'one' person and that of 'many', though with a somewhat different emphasis.
- 1027-1029 *Si piuum ... subueniamus* Cf. Bede, *In Iac.* 5, 20, *CCSL* 121, p. 223, ll. 225-227: "Si enim magnae mercedis est a morte eripere carnem quandoque morituram, quanti est meriti a morte animam liberare in caelesti patria sine fine victuram?"

1035 resipiscat ab errore suo. Quisquis enim hoc fecerit, magno sacrificio demerebitur
 Deum, qui non optat mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut conuertatur et uiuat. Rem
 enim magnam praestat qui seruat animam a morte, fratrem liberans a peccatis
 per quae morti tenebatur obnoxius. Nec enim is carebit suo praemio, siquidem
 1040 Christus vicissim huic sua peccata condonabit etiam quamlibet multa, qui fra-
 trem ab exitio reuocavit.

Finis

1039 sua *om.* *BAS*

1038 *is ... praemio* Erasmus' Greek text in 5, 20 reads σώσει ψυχὴν without the possessive pronoun so that it is not clear just whose soul is being saved, the sinner's or that of the person who turns him from error; Vg. reads "animam eius", that is, of the sinner. Erasmus knew from Bede (*CCSL* 121, p. 223, ll. 227–231) that some manuscripts read "animam suam", referring to the soul of the corrector; see *Annot. in Iac.* 5, 20 ("et operit"), *LB VI*, 1038 C. The paraphrase compasses both readings and both interpretations.

1039 *sua* The omission of the possessive adjective in *BAS*, whether due to Erasmus or not,

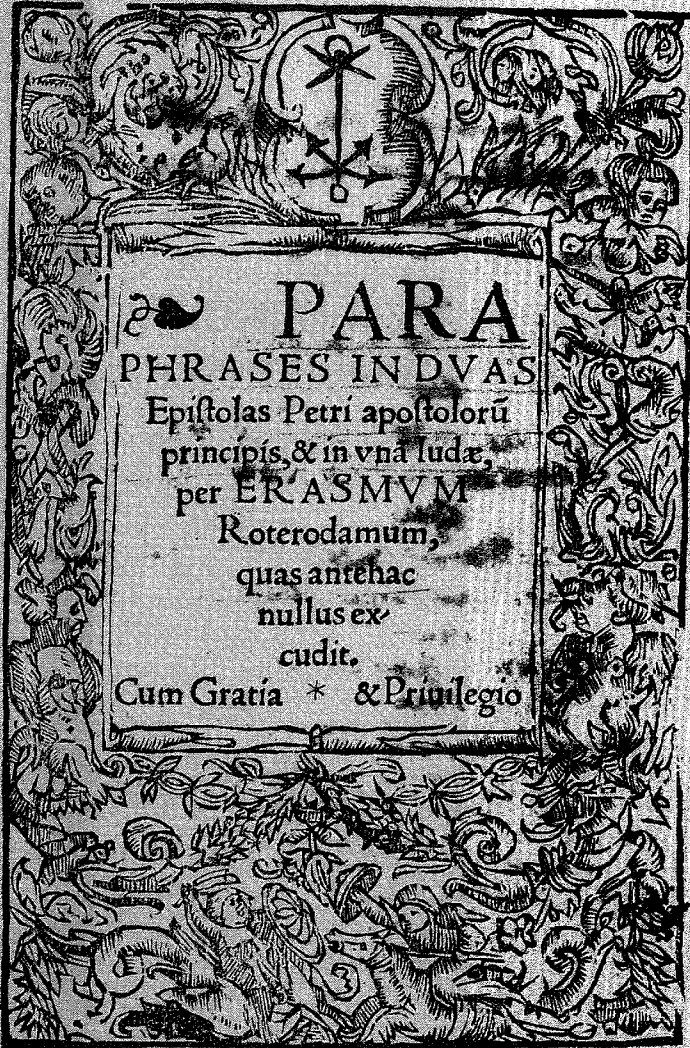
1041 *Finis H (om. BAS): Paraphraseos in epistola Iacobi finis D–G: Paraphrasis ... finis A C*

could have been intended either to correct the grammar – *sua* is incorrect by classical standards and in this context misleading – or to reflect the text of Erasmus' *Nov. Test.*; see the preceding note.

1041 *Finis* These endings originated with the compositors, but the change from *Paraphrasis* to the hellenized *Paraphraseos* in *D* was doubtless due to Erasmus. The shortening of the formula in *H*, where it is part of the last line of the text, was the result of the lack of space in the compositor's stick at this point.

III

PARAPHRASES IN DVAS EPISTOLAS PETRI,
APOSTOLORVM PRINCIPIS,
ET IN VNAM IVDAE



Paraphrases in duas Epistolas Petri et in vnam Iudae. Louanii, 1520.

Ex. Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent

INTRODUCTION

1. *Background*

Neither the dedicatory letter to Cardinal Wolsey nor the first edition (*A*) of the Paraphrases on the epistles of Peter and Jude carries a date; nevertheless, the time of composition and publication can be established fairly accurately. In the letter to Wolsey Erasmus tells the Cardinal that he had attacked the Paraphrases on these epistles immediately after having routed the forces of his detractors (p. 180, ll. 15–18). Despite the plural he has Edward Lee primarily in view.¹ The dispute with Lee came to a head with the publication of Lee's *Annotationes in Annotationes Noui Testamenti Desiderii Erasmi* in Paris sometime after 1 February, the date of Lee's letter to Erasmus (Ep. 1061), which is appended to the *Annotationes*. Erasmus did not see the book until later in the month;² after some initial dithering he replied with the *Apologia qua respondet inuectiuis Eduardi Lei*, dashed off, as he says, in two days.³ The response to Lee's *Annotationes* was a weightier matter and consumed somewhere between thirty and fifty days of Erasmus' time.⁴ The *Apologia* and the *Responsio* in two parts were printed by Michael Hillen in Antwerp.⁵ Thus Erasmus went to Antwerp at three different times to deliver the parts of his manuscript and to correct the proofs. He was back in Louvain on 5 May and quite likely turned to the Paraphrase on 1 and 2 Peter shortly thereafter,

¹ For a sketch of Erasmus' relations with Lee see Rummel, *Catholic Critics*, II, pp. 98–99. More detailed information may be found in August Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments*, Freiburg, 1902, pp. 86–125. See also Allen, introd. Ep. 1037 and Ferguson, pp. 225–234. Though the dispute turned largely on personal and philological matters, there were also some important theological issues at stake; see Cecilia Asso, *La Teologia e la Grammatica: La Controversia tra Erasmo ed Edward Lee*, Firenze, 1993, and Robert Coogan, *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate: The Shaking of the Foundations*, Geneva, 1992.

² After 21 February; see Ep. 1068.

³ See Epp. 1069 and 1072, ll. 4–6. The *Apologia* was printed in Antwerp by Michael Hillen. It has no month date, but a reprint by Eucharius Ceruicornus in Cologne is dated "mense Martio". Hillen's edition had to have appeared either late in February or, more likely, early in March.

⁴ Cf. Epp. 1102, l. 18 (a month's time); 1098, ll. 27–28 (almost forty days); 1134, ll. 25–26 (a month and a half); *Cat. lucubr.*, Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 22, ll. 21–22 (fifty days). This last figure is probably closest to the truth since the second part of the *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei* did not appear until the beginning of May. From the passage in the *Cat. lucubr.* we learn that Erasmus himself corrected the proofs. Since he was back in Louvain on 5 May (see Ep. 1099), the printing was presumably finished by then though folding and gathering may not have been completed until later in the month.

⁵ See Allen, introd. 1086; introd. 1091; *Op. ep.* I, p. 22, l. 22.

for on 15 May he informed Oecolampadius that he had completed the reply to Lee and was about to begin, in fact had already begun the Paraphrase on the two epistles of Peter, a task he much preferred to quarreling with the quarrelsome.⁶

An approximate *terminus ante quem* can be set by a letter to Joris van Halewijn, dated Louvain, 21 June, in which *inter alia* Erasmus informs Halewijn that, health permitting, he expects to see him in Brussels in two days.⁷ Because of this illness Erasmus had to dictate rather than write the letter himself. In a letter to Gerard of Kloster (Ep. 1116), written about the same time but unfortunately not dated, Erasmus sends Gerard a copy of the completed Paraphrases on the epistles of Peter and Jude and informs him that toward the end of the work he fell so ill that he was scarcely able to dictate the Paraphrase on the epistle of Jude and the dedicatory letter. The fever is gone but he is still weak. Finally, in a letter dated Antwerp, 25 June, to Germain de Brie, Erasmus excuses his failure to reply to some earlier letters of Germain's because of his illness, from which he is still recovering, and the pressure of other work. At the end of the letter he informs Germain, who was apparently an avid reader of the Paraphrases on the Pauline epistles, that he has just published a Paraphrase on the two epistles of Peter and the one of Jude – the description echoes the title of the work. Illness laid him low while he was doing this but he is slowly recovering.⁸ The three Paraphrases were thus not begun until about the middle of May and were finished by or during the third week of June. In the letter to Oecolampadius Erasmus speaks only of Paraphrases on the two letters of Peter, which may perhaps have been all that he intended to do at that moment. The decision to add a Paraphrase on Jude may have been prompted by a desire to enlarge the work. As it is, Erasmus seems to have been embarrassed by the size of the book.⁹

In a letter to Wolsey dated 1 February 1520,¹⁰ Erasmus, after informing him that the Paraphrases on the Pauline epistles were now complete, expresses the wish that he could have dedicated this work as a whole to the Cardinal, but the circumstances of its composition, in diverse parts and at different times, led to the dedication of the different parts to different persons. He promises to find a work that will have an equally long life which he can dedicate to the Cardinal. He may have already been thinking of a paraphrase on the two letters of

⁶ See Ep. 1102, ll. 18–22.

⁷ See Ep. 1115, 47–48.

⁸ Ep. 1117, ll. 10–17 and 123–127. Erasmus refers to his illness in several other letters which Allen assigns to this period, but none of them other than the two to Halewijn and Germain de Brie have dates; cf. Epp. 1111, 1113, and 1114.

⁹ In addition to the apologetic words at the beginning of the preface cf. also the description, "qualiscunque libellus", in a later letter to Cardinal Wolsey, Ep. 1132, l. 10.

¹⁰ Ep. 1060. The letter is actually dated 1519, but the statement in l. 52 that the Paraphrases on the (thirteen) genuine epistles of Paul are now complete shows that it belongs to 1520. The last of the Paraphrases, those on Ephesians to 2 Thessalonians, appeared in February 1520, if Martens printed the first edition, in March 1520 if Froben did. The letter (Ep. 1062) dedicating these Paraphrases to Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi is likewise dated February 1519, but could have been published only in 1520.

Peter,¹¹ but there is nothing in the letter that substantiates this surmise. In fact, he seems to be thinking of a work which would match in scale the entire set of Paraphrases on the Pauline epistles. What is certain is that Erasmus would like to have Wolsey's assistance in silencing his critics both in England and on the continent. Erasmus does not mention Lee in this letter,¹² but he may have already been anticipating the publication of Lee's book. He had long been seeking to have the English court bring pressure on Lee, and among the first persons to whom he sent copies of his *Apologia* and *Responsio* were Henry VIII and bishop Richard Foxe.¹³ From this perspective, whether the fulfilment of a promise or not, the dedication of the Paraphrases on the epistles of Peter and Jude to Wolsey was part of his campaign to discredit Lee.¹⁴ But Erasmus also wanted to remain on good terms with Wolsey, as indeed with all his English friends who found themselves being dragged, much against their will, into this dispute.¹⁵ He may also, despite his denial (p. 182, ll. 65–66), still have had hopes for some preferment from Wolsey.¹⁶

It was the furtherance of these purposes, whatever priority they may have had in Erasmus' mind, that led him to turn immediately to the Paraphrase on the epistles of Peter though he had other projects also in hand at the time. He had been invited to attend the meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII which was to take place at Calais near the beginning of June, indeed, he seems to have felt that Archbishop Warham had virtually commanded him to be present.¹⁷ If he had hoped to have been able to present Wolsey with the new book on that occasion, he was forestalled by illness; it was only in the following month that he was able to go to Calais, probably in the retinue of Charles V who met with Henry VIII there on 11–14 July.¹⁸ Erasmus apparently had hoped to have the opportunity of a

¹¹ This was Allen's opinion; see Ep. 1112, n. l. 57. This could be supported by Erasmus' statement in this letter that it had been his original intention to write paraphrases only on the epistles of Paul and Peter (p. 65, ll. 40–42 above), but the statement is probably tailored to its own context.

¹² Erasmus refers only to bishop Henry Standish and that indirectly in ll. 21–23. He later links Lee and Standish together as allies against him; see Epp. 1113, l. 8, and 1126, ll. 12–13.

¹³ See Epp. 1098 and 1099. Foxe was Lee's patron; see Allen, introd. Ep. 1037, and Ep. 973, l. 17.

¹⁴ Some of his actions do Erasmus no credit; see Ep. 1088 and cf. Allen, introd. Ep. 1083.

¹⁵ Cf. e.g., Epp. 1089 and 1090, from Richard Pace and Thomas More respectively.

¹⁶ Ep. 1138, dated 1 September 1520, to Wolsey's private secretary William Burbank, suggests that Erasmus was still open to a renewal of the offer made earlier by Henry VIII and the Cardinal; see Epp. 961, 962, 964, 966 and 967.

¹⁷ Cf. Ep. 1087, ll. 607–612; 1096, ll. 190–194; 1101, l. 12; 1106, ll. 93–98.

¹⁸ See Allen, introd. Ep. 1118. Plans for the meeting at Calais had been underway since the autumn of 1519 and Erasmus was doubtless aware of the prospect long before it first emerges in his correspondence. Erasmus potentially faced another problem though to what extent he was aware of it does not appear in the correspondence: the interests of England and those of his sovereign Charles V were strongly opposed. He may have felt that it was not politic to attend the meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; his illness gave him an excuse for his absence. That Erasmus was privy to some of the Emperor's plans may be suggested by a brief passage in the letter. In ll. 20–26 he advances the view that Wolsey, might imitate Peter the prince of the Apostles and carry out the restoration of the fallen church. Both the thought and some of the language occur in letters that he had earlier sent to Leo X. The words to Wolsey may be inciden-

private interview with Wolsey in which he might have presented him with a copy of the new Paraphrase, but the main thing on his mind was a defense of his position in his controversy with Lee. That hope was frustrated by the Cardinal's busy schedule.¹⁹ Though Erasmus continued on good terms with Wolsey the dedication of the Paraphrase seems never to have been acknowledged and Erasmus himself passes over it in silence when he speaks some years later of the patrons to whom he had dedicated the different Paraphrases on the books of the New Testament.²⁰

2. *Publication*

Like the other Paraphrases in this volume the Paraphrases on the epistles of Peter and Jude were first printed by Dirk Martens in Louvain (*A*). Unlike them it has no date on the title page, probably because Martens placed the title in an ornamental frame which had room only for the title and the printer's privilege.²¹ The writing of the work and the copy for the printer, if a separate one was made, were certainly complete by June 25, the date of the letter to Germain de Brie referred to above. In that letter Erasmus says "Aedimus proxima fetura Paraphrasim etc." *Aedimus* could and probably does mean no more than that Erasmus has done his part; at least there is no indication in the letter that he was sending a copy of the book to Germain, which of course he could have done without referring to the fact. On the other hand the book was available to be despatched to Gerard of Kloster, but the note that it accompanied it has no date or indication of where it

tal flattery, but it was only a few weeks later at Calais during the meeting with Henry VIII that the idea that Wolsey might be elected pope was first broached, and by Charles V, who was certainly not prone to spontaneous utterance. See J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968, pp. 74–81 and 107–110.

¹⁹ See Ep. 1132, to Wolsey, dated Antwerp, 7 August 1520, in which Erasmus says that he was not able to converse with Wolsey at length in Calais but his feelings about him are displayed in his book such as it is. The book, though no title is mentioned, is doubtless the Paraphrase on the epistles of Peter and Jude. That is confirmed perhaps by the fact that Erasmus moves directly from the mention of the book to the subject of Edward Lee (cf. Ep. 1129, ll. 15–21). Allen, introd. Ep. 1112, seems to assume that the book was sent together with Ep. 1132, but the bearer of the letter, a Greek monk from Mt. Sinai soliciting funds, is an unlikely messenger for this purpose. It is equally unlikely that Erasmus had waited until Wolsey had returned to England before sending him a copy. It seems more likely that the presentation copy was left with one of Wolsey's attendants or with one of their common friends such as Thomas More, Richard Pace or Cuthbert Tunstall, all of whom were at Calais and much closer to Wolsey than Erasmus was.

²⁰ Cf. *Cat. lucubr.*, Allen, *Op. ep.* I, p. 43–44. Wolsey is remembered only as the recipient of the translation of Plutarch's *De utilitate capienda ex inimicis*, an apt gift perhaps but one which had not made Erasmus a penny richer (ibid. p. 43, ll. 35–38).

²¹ Allen, introd. Ep. 1112, comparing the possibly analogous fortunes of the Plutarch and its prefaces (introd. Epp. 284 and 297), suspected that the omission of the dates in both the dedicatory letter and the book was "probably intentional". This is certainly possible, but not compelling. Nor do we in fact know that "Martens ... did his part punctually". The most that can be said is that the book was apparently in print and in Wolsey's hands by 7 August.

was written.²² The book is not otherwise mentioned until the letter to Wolsey of 7 August (Ep. 1132).

As with the Paraphrases on the Pauline epistles a copy was sent to Froben in Basel for reprinting (*B*). There are no substantive variants in the reprint, only typographical errors. The title page carries the date M.D.XX, but the colophon is dated "mense Ianuario Anno M.D. XXI". Unless an *I* was accidentally omitted on the title page (an unlikely event), it would seem that typesetting and machining began before the middle of December and were either suspended or delayed by the holidays until January.²³ In any event even if the edition was not removed from the market, it played no further part in the history of the text.

For the March 1521 edition (*C*) Erasmus sent a second copy of *A* with some thirty changes in the text.²⁴ These are almost entirely minor revisions in style or corrections of the syntax. The one significant change was the addition of the clause, *si cui de Roma commentum non probatur*, in the *Argumentum in 1. Pet.* (p. 184, ll. 25–26). There are similarly no significant changes in *D*, *E*, *F* and *G*, only a few minor improvements in style or grammar. One has the impression that, just as in the Paraphrases on the other Catholic epistles, Erasmus had scant interest in these particular Paraphrases until he decided to make a thorough revision of the text for *H*.²⁵

3. Structure and Themes

1 Peter

The *Argumentum* divides the letter into ten sections if we include the salutation (it is included implicitly in the opening sentence but not otherwise distinguished from the rest of the letter):²⁶

²² Allen, introd. Ep. 1116, infers from the mention of Erasmus' illness that the letter was written in Louvain c. 21 June. But this cannot be established with any degree of certainty since the letter to Germain de Brie of 25 June was written in Antwerp and contains a similar description of Erasmus' illness and convalescence (ll. 126–127). In Ep. 1116 Erasmus excuses his failure to visit Gerard of Kloster and instead invites Gerard to visit him. The gift of the book is, as it were, a peace offering. Apart from the letters to Gerard and Germain de Brie in June and to Wolsey in August no mention is made of the book in Erasmus' extant correspondence until the letter of 16 December 1520 (Ep. 1171) dedicating the Paraphrase on James to Cardinal Schiner.

²³ There is a similar change in the year dates of the 1539 octavo edition of the the *Tomus Secundus* which has 1539 on the title page, 1540 in the colophon. A reprint of *A* was also published in 1520 by Valentin Schumann in Leipzig, quite likely before Froben's edition appeared; see Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke*, no. 1437. Martens' edition has on the title page, *Paraphrases ... quas nullus antehac excussit*. Froben omits the relative clause; Schumann changes it to *secundis typis excussae*.

²⁴ Not all of these may have been due to Erasmus since some of the changes in orthography or semi-substantive punctuation could have been made by the press corrector or the compositor.

²⁵ The same can be said of the text of the Paraphrases on 2 Peter and Jude. There are in these two paraphrases only ten corrections of the grammar (five each in *C* and *H*) and nineteen essentially stylistic revisions (four in *C*, two in *D* and the rest in *H*). There is one omission of a word in *C*, which is retained in the following editions, and two similar omissions in *H*, all three of which are more likely to be errors made by the compositors rather than deletions made by Erasmus.

²⁶ The conclusion, by contrast, is marked by the reference *in calce* = 5, 12–14 (p. 184, l. 23).

- 1) 1, 1–2. The salutation
- 2) 1, 3–9. Exhortation to endure persecution
- 3) 1, 10–2, 12. Admonition to live a Christian life
- 4) 2, 13–3, 6. Admonition
 - a) To all to obey civil authorities (2, 13–17)
 - b) To slaves to serve their masters (2, 18–25)
 - c) To wives to stimulate their pagan husbands to convert (3, 1–6)
- 5) 3, 7. Admonition to husbands not to make sexual demands on their wives [3, 8–12 appear to be overlooked unless they were thought to be an extension of 3, 7.]
- 6) 3, 13–4, 2. A challenge to endure persecution and to repay evil with good
- 7) 4, 3–6. Exhortation to turn away from pagan value and to pursue a Christian way of life
- 8) 4, 7–19. Invitation to
 - a) Pursue Christian values (4, 7–11)
 - b) Be patient in persecution (4, 12–19)
- 9) 5, 1–11. Instruction of bishops and the people under their authority
- 10) 5, 12–14. Conclusion and valediction

This outline, though not perhaps the descriptions of the contents, concords with the views of modern scholars at most points.²⁷ There are three places, however, where Erasmus' analysis differs substantially from theirs. Modern commentators do not see a significant division between 1, 9 and 1, 10, but tend to treat 1, 3–12 as a unit, though some, like Michaels for example, subdivide it into shorter paragraphs.²⁸ They also prefer to take 10–12 with what precedes, not with what follows. Similarly whether they see a major division after 2, 10 or not, they prefer to take 2, 11 with the unit which follows it, not precedes it in the letter. Thirdly, modern commentators do not see any division at 4, 2, but prefer to take 4, 1–6 as a unit. Lastly, one significant pericope, 3, 8–12, appears to be omitted altogether. One may well wonder just how careful Erasmus was when he analyzed the content of the letter for the *Argumentum* in 1518.²⁹

In the *Paraphrase*, however, much more thought seems to have been given to the paraphrasing³⁰ and to the relationship of paragraph to paragraph, though the

²⁷ There is considerable dispute among modern scholars about the structure of the epistle arising from their divergent views of the historical and literary background of the letter. They also argue over whether it is a single, unified letter, or a composite of two or more original letters. See Michaels, *1 Peter*, pp. xxxiv–xl. These matters are by and large irrelevant to Erasmus' exegesis.

²⁸ Michaels, *1 Peter*, p. xxxvii, divides 3–6, 6–9, 10–12.

²⁹ The *Argumenta* on the Epistles were published by Martens in November 1518; see Allen, introd. Ep. 894.

³⁰ This statement is somewhat arbitrary on my part. With the exception of *Iac.* 1, 2 and *Hebr.* 11 there are no paragraphs or other divisions in the typography of the Martens and Froben editions other than the division into chapters. I have divided the solid text into paragraphs at points where the language seems to indicate in one way or another the conclusion of a topic or the beginning of a new one. There are a few passages such as 2, 18–25; 3, 18–22; 4, 7–11 and 12–19 where there may be no division into paragraphs or, as at 4, 12–19, a different division could be made.

latter is not always easy to define.³¹ For example, 3, 8–12, verses apparently overlooked in the *Argumentum*, clearly form a unit in the paraphrase. What is not so clear is whether Erasmus saw this unit as the conclusion of the preceding so-called house code (2, 13–3, 7);³² the introduction to the following section as might be inferred from p. 203, ll. 483–484; or, like the paraphrase on 2, 11–12 (p. 198, ll. 299–315) a transition between two larger sections of the letter. The opening comparative sentence is a paraphrase on the words τὸ τέλος (“in summa” in Erasmus’ Latin version; Vg. reads “in fine”) in 3, 8, which is clearly intended to be a transition between what precedes and what Erasmus may have perceived as a new topic – *concordia* – a topic central to the *philosophia Christi* and consequently one on which he would readily dwell. By contrast scant attention is given to verses 10–12 which serve simply as a testimony from Scripture establishing the importance of concord.

Since the paraphrast, that is to say, Peter explicating his own letter for the general reader, does not point out the major contours or significant divisions of his letter we must employ other means to discover them. This can be done most easily through a form of content analysis in which the amount of attention or space given to a verse or set of verses establishes its importance for the author of the Paraphrase. Obviously other factors may enter at any given point as in the paraphrase on 1, 1–2 where Erasmus is not only explicating these two verses but also giving the reader a survey of the major themes of the epistle. But here again the very topics he selects for mention suggest what he considered most important in Peter’s message.

Following this guideline we see that the major themes in Erasmus’ view are divine election, the Christ-event (as it would be called nowadays), salvation, grace, peace, and the responsibilities imposed on Christians, both clerics and laity, by their membership in the body of Christ. A recurring theme, not surprisingly, is the appropriate response of the Christian to suffering, but this theme is usually subsumed into the larger themes of christology and salvation. Two other topics receive more attention than might otherwise be expected: husbands’ respect for their wives (3, 7) and Christ’s descent into Hell (3, 18–22). The interest shown in the latter text is doubtless a result of Erasmus’ effort to explicate a difficult passage; see the dedicatory letter to Cardinal Wolsey, p. 180, ll. 36–38. The attention given to the former, though again a difficult text because of its metaphorical language, is more likely to have been the result of Erasmus’ controversy with Edward Lee since Lee not only criticized Erasmus’ exegesis of this verse but also, in Erasmus’ eyes, seriously misrepresented what he had written about it. Clarification, he may have felt, was needed on both points, though the controversy of course does not emerge in the paraphrase.

³¹ This was not always an easy task; cf. Erasmus’ comment on the difficulty of creating transitions in the Paraphrase on the epistle of James (p. 118, ll. 39–40).

³² See p. 202, ll. 441–443.

Each major theme incorporates several individual topics. Thus in the paraphrase on the word ἐκλεκτοῖς (“electis” Vg.) God’s call compensates for the exile suffered by the Jewish recipients of the letter. However, it is the universality of the election which is stressed, expressed as often elsewhere in the Paraphrases by the contrast between the Law and faith in Christ, which is itself God’s gratuitous gift to the elect. Election is next considered in the paraphrase on 1, 2a from the perspective of God’s foreknowledge with a another antithesis between Judaism and the gospel, the *lex Christi*, the proclamation of which has brought an end to the old Law, itself only a temporally limited shadow of the spiritual reality of the new Law. Because of Christ’s death on the cross this new Law can now impart true holiness when as a result of faith, not the observance of the Mosaic law, baptism removes sins and effects a rebirth in Christ. This is God’s new – to us – design for the salvation of humanity.

Grace and peace are the regular constituents of the salutation in a Christian letter.³³ As in the Paraphrases on the Pauline epistles³⁴ the formula gives Erasmus an opportunity for developing a brief statement of the theological significance of the terms grace and peace. Grace and faith alone are the ground of salvation; personal merits and the ceremonies of the Law are inefficacious. The antithesis will recur in some form or another almost every time the two words occur. ‘Peace’ is paraphrased by ‘concord’, which is defined as the refusal to do anyone injury but on the contrary to forgive all offenses and to repay injury or offense with good. This demand exists not only for Christians in their relations with one another but with all persons. These gifts from God place another demand upon the Christian, one which will be repeatedly referred to in the Paraphrase: to persist in what one has begun (that is, to remain in the state of grace effected at baptism) and to strive for perfection. Both activities are achieved through ‘pious efforts’ (*pia studia*) and ‘good works’ (*bona opera*), but the spur is the “hope for the immortality promised to those who satisfy God’s expectations. The source of this hope is the gospel of Christ and, as such, is present for all who believe.³⁵

The mention of evangelical hope leads to the second major theme (1, 3–5), salvation through Christ, who is both the source of salvation (through his death and resurrection) and the means to achieve it (through imitation of his journey to heaven). Salvation, more precisely the expectation (hope) of salvation, is grounded on the regeneration made available not through the Mosaic law but

³³ The epistles in this volume contain most of the exceptions to the rule. Hebrews and 1 John lack salutations, if they are in fact letters and not some other literary form. Jude replaces ‘grace’ by ‘mercy’ (ἔλεος) while 2 John expands the formula to ‘grace, mercy, peace’ (cf. 1. and 2. *Tim.* and *Tit.*). James follows normal Hellenistic practice and writes *χαίρειν*, the counterpart of the Latin *salutem dat.* The Elder omits the nouns or verb in 3 John, but the thought is no doubt implicit in his expression of Christian love (ἀγάπη).

³⁴ Cf., e.g., *Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 1, 7, *LB VII*, 779 D–780 A; *Paraphr. in 1. Cor.*, ad 1, 3, *LB VII*, 859 E–F.

³⁵ The theme of election returns in the paraphrase on 2, 4–10, but its constituent elements permeate the entire Paraphrase.

through the death of Christ which freed humanity from the tyranny of sin and death. As he died and rose again to be taken to heaven, so the members of his body – the Church – who imitate him will likewise attain immortality when they follow his example of patience in suffering and his moral integrity (cf. the paraphrases on 3, 13–17 and 4, 1–6). The inheritance of heaven is guaranteed to the faithful by Christ and the possession of his spirit by the members of his body on earth is the pledge of that guarantee. In the meantime God will protect his children. Though they may be temporarily oppressed and even tested by the fires of persecution, they will arrive safely at their destination to be displayed with Christ in all their glory at the last judgment. At that time the godly will receive the reward they have earned provided that they remain faithful to the end while the ungodly no matter how much they flourish on earth will receive the just payment for their ungodly behavior. These thoughts, though stimulated by the language of 1, 3–5, are essentially Pauline. Whether consciously or not, Erasmus persistently ‘paulinizes’ the text of 1 Peter. There are of course numerous places where Pauline ideas and language appear in 1 Peter, but nowhere quite as blatantly as the Paraphrase presents them. It is possible that the reference to “our brother Paul” in 2. *Pet.* 3, 15 as well as the traditional association of the two apostles encouraged Erasmus in this assimilation. As will appear in the notes to the Paraphrase on 1 John this kind of assimilation of different parts of the New Testament is a recurrent feature of the Paraphrases.

From this point (1, 6) the amount of attention given to each pericope tends to be fairly level with, by and large, no paragraph of the biblical text predominating over its neighbors. However, four topics, that otherwise fit under the themes of election and salvation through Christ do seem to have aroused a little more attention. They are 3, 8–12 on concord and brotherly love; 3, 13–17, 4, 1–6, and 4, 7–11, all of which are concerned in one way or another with what might be called the primary virtues of the Christian way of life, the exercise of which constitute the rehearsal (*meditatio* as Erasmus calls it) for future immortality. Related to the theme of Christian virtue is the topic of the reciprocal responsibilities of clergy and laity in the Church.

In the *Argumentum* the ‘Elders’ of 5, 1–4 are called ‘bishops’ (*episcopos*, p. 184, l. 23). This word does not occur in the paraphrase on these verses and indeed the paraphrase seems to waver between the meaning senior in age and senior in status. But as will be indicated in the notes the activities assigned to the Elders are those performed by the bishops of a later time.³⁶ The description of the responsibilities of the Elders occupies some forty lines of text in the Paraphrase. The corresponding paraphrase on 5, 5 – the duties of the ‘younger men’ – takes up ten

³⁶ The term ἐπίσκοπος appears only once, 1. *Pet.* 2, 25, where since it refers to Christ, the supreme shepherd, it is appropriately translated *curator* in Erasmus’ Latin version and thus retained in the paraphrase. Vg. has “episcopum”; cf. *Er. Annot. in 1. Pet.* 2, 25 (“et episcopum animarum”), *LB VI*, 1048 E.

lines.³⁷ Within the treatment of the Elders the topic – do not behave *αἰσχροκερδῶς* (“*turpis lucri gratia*” Vg.) – is, not surprisingly, the dominant motif. A bishop’s goal should not be gain in this present life but the reward, in the life to come, of the glorious crown of his office.

Commentators treat 5, 5a – Ὁμοίως, νεώτεροι, ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις – as part of the code defining the relations of the two age groups. With πάντες δέ in 5b they see a shift to a more general topic. That seems also to have been Erasmus’ view when he wrote the *Argumentum* since he speaks of the ‘people subject to their bishops’ as the subject of verses 5b or 6–11. As in the preceding paragraph the focus of the Paraphrase again seems to waver. At first sight the *omnibus* in the paraphrase (p. 147, l. 818), which picks up the ‘all’ of the biblical text, might seem to be similarly general in scope; however, the continuation shows that the ‘modesty which is to be implanted in all’ is primarily concerned with the attitudes of the ‘old’ and the ‘young’ to each other. Again the paraphrase on 5, 8 begins with the words, *Solet aetas iuuenilis*, which indicate that the ‘you’ of the paraphrase are really the young. Thus the paraphrase on verses 8 and 9 resembles, in content if not in language, that on 1. *Ioh.* 2, 13–14 (p. 265, ll. 233–237, and 266, ll. 247–251). But in the course of the paraphrase the thought seems to move away from the young and, more congruent with the biblical text, describes the contest common to all Christians. Thus at the conclusion the first person replaces the second and in a reprise, as it were, of the motifs of God’s protection and grace (*munificentia*), together with the warning to claim no credit for oneself, the paraphrase circles back to the opening of the letter.

To return to the paragraph of paraphrase on 5, 5–7. The thought of the paragraph moves from the submission of the young to the authority of the elders to the broader concept of mutual love (*charitas*) which leaves no room for *fastidium* on the part of the elders nor of *ferocia* on that of the young. The key topic is *modestia*, which is specifically located in the mind and thus has little or nothing to do with clothing or physical demeanor. Self-control will issue in a genuine Christian humility which in its turn makes mutual submission and respect possible. However, submission does not arise from fear of what might otherwise happen but from true confidence in the power and justice of God. 1 Peter speaks only of submission and humility, grounding the latter in divine justice. Erasmus evidently prefers to base submission on Christian love and modesty (or self-control). Humility, which could hardly be ignored in the paraphrase, is defined as the rejection of self-assertion (*ferocitas*). The refusal to exercise one’s rights, whether innate or appointed, is in turn grounded on faith in God’s justice. By taking verses 6 and 7 with verse 5, as most commentators do, Erasmus effectively diminishes the emphasis on humility which seems to be the main thrust of verse

³⁷ The ratio is similar to that in the paraphrase on 3, 1–7, where the description of the duties of wives, verses 1–6, takes thirty-eight lines while the single sentence addressed to husbands, verse 7, has seventeen lines devoted to it.

5b and replaces it with the moral virtue of self-control and the divine gift of faith.³⁸

Erasmus does not devote much energy or space to the so-called Household Code in 2, 13–3, 7 until he reaches 3, 7, the single sentence devoted to the duties of the head of the household. Each topic or paragraph is given the same number of lines (approximately six per verse); however, triple that is devoted to husbands, but, as suggested above, his attention does not seem to have been aroused by the inherent difficulty of the text. In fact, he does not seem to have thought the Greek was at all problematic. In his Latin version he translates it:

“Viri similiter cohabitent secundum scientiam, velut infirmiori vasi muliebri impartientes honorem, tanquam etiam cohaeredes gratiae vitae, ne interrumpantur preces vestrae.”³⁹

In response to criticisms from Edward Lee and to what Erasmus considered a gross misinterpretation of his interpretation, following Jerome, of the meaning of the words “vasi muliebri impartientes honorem” Erasmus, who had in the meantime decided that Jerome’s interpretation was *violentior*, nevertheless sets out to explain the text in a way that will at the same time defend Jerome’s interpretation:

“Præceperat Petrus vt et vxores obtemperarent maritis tanquam dominis. Rursus maritos admonet vt accommodent se suis vxoribus, vasculis infirmioribus, vtpote propensioribus ad ea quae sunt carnis ac magis obnoxii animi cupiditatibus, sed accommodent secundum scientiam, hoc est, cum iudicio, non per omnia obsecundantes illarum affectibus quemadmodum fecit Adam; neque sinant illas intemperanter seruire voluptati corporis, quin potius assuefaciant vt ea quae sunt animi sectentur et rebus honestioribus ac sacratoribus vacent; neque putent vxorum non esse alium vsum quam ad coitum cum sint cohaeredes gratiae vitae itaque aequum esse vt quando vocatae sunt ad idem praemium paribus etiam studiis cum maritis contendant ad ea quae sunt pietatis. Christianorum sacra sunt purae preces ad Deum; has oportet a puris, a vigilantibus, a castis frequenter immolari Christo. Proinde frequenter et si fieri potest in totum a coitu temperandum. Impedit enim luxur corporis sanctas preces.”⁴⁰

Since Erasmus states that he began the Paraphrase after completing his response to Lee (p. 112, ll. 16–17), we may assume that the paraphrase in the *Responsio* antedates the one in the Paraphrase. The dissimilarities in language show that he

³⁸ The de-emphasis of humility may also arise from the fact that Erasmus apparently failed to recognize that verse 5b contains a quotation from Scripture. The paraphrase seems to treat the quotation as though it was Peter’s own words.

³⁹ The translation is only a slightly revised version of the Vulgate with the participle *cohabitantes* replaced by the iussive subjunctive, *velut* for *quasi*, the vulgar *vaso* by the more elegant *vasi*, *ne* for *vti ne* and the more exact *preces* for the *orationes* of Vg. For detailed comment on some of these phrases see Er. *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 3, 7 (“honorem impartientes”), *LB VI*, 1049 D–E, (“tanquam cohaeredibus”), *ibid.*, 1049 E–F, and (“gratiae vitae”), *ibid.*, 1049 F.

⁴⁰ *Resp. ad annot. Ed Lei*, *LB IX*, 243 C–D.

was not simply rewording it while the similarities suggest that it was at least in the back of his mind when he wrote the paraphrase on 3, 7. Thus the controversy with Lee impelled Erasmus to retain Jerome's interpretation with its belief that 'imparting honor' was a euphemism for sexual relations. Otherwise he might very well have ignored this notion and centered his own interpretation on the Pauline concept that men and women are equal in Christ.⁴¹

The history of the interpretation of 1. *Pet.* 3, 18–20 or even an examination of Erasmus' various treatments of this passage is too large a question to enter into here; see nn.ll. 535–536 and 539–542. In a side note in *C* (Appendix I, p. 300, l. 535) – the only such note in the Paraphrase – he calls the passage a "Locus durus", the kind of text which he says in the letter to Cardinal Wolsey requires an 'attentive and cautious reader' (p. 180, l. 36). It is hardly surprising then that the paraphrase on it extends beyond the norm. Another factor which accounts for a part of the length is the corrupt text of Vg. at 3, 18–19 which triggered, to use Erasmus' language, a series of dreams in commentators from Bede onward; see *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 3, 18 ("mortificatos quidem carne"), *LB VI*, 1050 E–F. A paraphrast, however, unlike a commentator, cannot discuss the various problems and conflicting interpretations of a text, but must present a single and coherent solution. We may assume that this was Erasmus' intent in the paraphrase even though elsewhere he expresses some reservations about the traditional interpretation of Christ's descent into the underworld; see, e.g., *Explan. symboli*, *ASD V*, 1, pp. 257–259.

Historical and literary issues do not enter the Paraphrases though they may be discussed in the dedicatory letters and in the *Argumenta*. Erasmus, for example, does not discuss the authorship of 1 Peter; he clearly had no doubt that the author was Peter the apostle. He does discuss the circumstances of the letter, its probable date and place of composition. Following a tradition which appears first in Papias, both Greek and Latin commentators down through the middle ages had taken the name Babylon in 1. *Pet.* 5, 13 to be a metaphor for the city of Rome.⁴² Erasmus, for a reason which he never really makes clear, advanced in an addition to his annotation on this text in the third (1522) edition of the *Nov. Test.* the view that Peter was actually living in Babylon at the time he wrote this let-

⁴¹ See his statement in *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 3, 7 ("tanquam cohaeredibus"), *LB VI*, E: "Sed tamen, vt ingenue dicam, Hieronymi interpretatio mihi videtur esse violentior. Magis placet generalis sententia vt mariti deferant aliquid honoris vxoribus nec eas habeant vt concubinas aut ancillas; geminas enim causas adducit quare velit deferri vxoribus: vel ob imbecillitatem sexus quemadmodum corporis membra minus honesta magis habemus in honore vel ob dignationem Dei qui mulierem aequauit viro in Euangelii promissis". This statement was, to be sure, added to the annotation in the third edition of 1522 and could thus represent a change of mind after the publication of the Paraphrase in 1520. However, his comment at the end of his response to Lee, that he would not go into a discussion of Jerome's interpretation, implies that he himself did not agree with it (*LB IX*, 243 E). For the reference to Adam and the view that women are weaker because more prone to emotion than men see *Er. Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 2. 11–15, *LB VII*, 1042 D–1043 B.

⁴² See *Eus. H. E.*, II, 15, 2. Modern arguments supporting this interpretation may be found in *Selwyn, First Peter*, pp. 243 and 303–305; *Michaels, 1 Peter*, pp. 310–311.

ter.⁴³ He subsequently defended this opinion in a further addition to the annotation made in the fifth (1535) edition of the *Nov. Test.* He points out that Papias though not necessarily an unreliable witness was not someone whose judgment could be trusted in such questions; that Jerome likewise uses Babylon as a synonym for Rome is irrelevant; that Peter had no reason for disguising either his presence in Rome or the existence of a Christian community there.⁴⁴ Finally he deals with the criticism that placing Peter in Babylon removes one of the scriptural bases for the primacy of the bishop of Rome by pointing out that, according to Eusebius, Peter evangelized the northern part of Asia Minor and therefore could well be writing to these churches from Babylon.⁴⁵ The date of the epistle's composition cannot be determined and the fact that Peter calls himself an elder is more an indication of status than of age; therefore, he could have written the letter before his arrival in Rome. If the primacy of the pope depended on geography, well then, Peter had presided in Antioch before coming to Rome and the papacy itself had been transferred at one time to Lyons (*sic*). He ends by dismissing the whole issue as nonsense (*neniae*).

2 Peter

A comparable comment led to similar criticism and response in regard to the authorship of 2 Peter. As in the notes appended to the Annotations on Hebrews and James Erasmus reported Jerome's statement that many people doubted the ascription to Peter because of the great difference in style between 1 and 2 Peter.⁴⁶ However, he notes that Jerome wavered on this point and at times rejected the argument from stylistic difference on the ground that Peter employed a different translator (*interpres*) when he wrote the second letter (*Hier. Epist.* 120, 11). That Erasmus should cast doubt on the authorship of 2 Peter in this way was criticized by Noël Bédard and subsequently by the faculty of theology at Paris as one of his unnecessary and unsettling innovations.⁴⁷ The criticism he considered beside the point, but he was moved to add to the annotation in the fourth (1527) edition of the *Nov. Test.* a similar statement from Eusebius (*H. E.* III, 2) that many doubted the authenticity of the letter for stylistic reasons though they did not object to its being read in the churches. Erasmus himself, however, seems to have been convinced of the authenticity of the epistle by the statements made in it which attest

⁴³ See *Annot. ad loc.* ("in Babylone collecta"), *LB VI*, 1056 D–1057 A.

⁴⁴ These arguments, though without reference to Erasmus, have figured also in modern discussions of the question; cf. J.N.D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, London, 1969 and 1982, pp. 217–220.

⁴⁵ Erasmus presumably means that geography would favor a location in Mesopotamia rather than in Italy.

⁴⁶ See *Hier. De vir. illus. apud Er. Annot. in 2. Pet.* 3, 18, *LB VI*, 1068 B–C.

⁴⁷ The same criticism was later repeated by a committee of Spanish monks and finally by Alberto Pio; see *Er. Elenchus*, *LB IX*, 497 B and 511 C–D; *Declar. ad cens. Lutet.*, *ibid.* 865 A–868 B; *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, *ibid.* 1079 E–1080 B; *Resp. ad. ep. Alb. Pii*, *ibid.* 1169 D–F and 1170 E.

that Peter was its author – his presence at the transfiguration of Jesus, the reference to 1 Peter, and the mention of Paul. He is ready to accept Jerome's explanation of the difference in style and points out that Mark had been Peter's translator in the case of the gospel.⁴⁸ Otherwise we would be forced to assume that someone had inserted these identifying marks in order to make Peter appear to be the author.⁴⁹

Despite his apparent belief in the Petrine authorship of 2 Peter Erasmus does not seem to devote any special attention to it, perhaps because he was already feeling ill when he began to write. Even the four passages which require an attentive reader – 2, 4; 2, 11; 3, 5; 3, 10⁵⁰ – receive no more detailed exposition than the rest of the epistle. Not surprisingly, verses, 1, 1–3, are expansively treated, first, no doubt, simply because they open the epistle, but also because they contain topics of major interest to Erasmus and probably seemed to him to echo some of the themes of 1 Peter: the universality of salvation, God's gift of righteousness through the death of Jesus, the contrast of faith and Law, and the necessity of advancing in grace through godly action, concord and knowledge. The latter, of course, restates the recurrent theme of 'progress toward better things'. The content of verse 3 again gives a handle for developing the antithesis of faith and merit, grace and Law, which constitutes for Erasmus one of the fundamental axioms of apostolic doctrine. This topic in turn leads into a consideration of the meaning of Christ's death for the Christian vocation and inclusion in the body of Christ (cf. 1. *Pet.*, 2, 24). The paraphrase on these three verses is clearly based on the analogous opening of 1 Peter (1, 1–5). The topic – what is expected in one's response to God's call – recurs in the paraphrase on 1, 10–11, where Erasmus' synergistic view of grace emerges clearly. God provides his grace, both sanctifying and actual, but the recipients of that grace must show by their own actions that they deserve to reach the goal of salvation.⁵¹

Two other topics which receive extended treatment – the interpretation of the Old Testament (1, 19–21) and the danger posed by false teachers (2, 1–3) – are again topics which recur elsewhere in the Paraphrases and are obviously of special concern to Erasmus. A few other verses are given extended treatment but that appears to be more the result of literary than exegetical concerns. Peter's description of the transfiguration (1, 17–18) is expanded with elements from the descriptions in the Synoptic Gospels; the dialogue in 3, 4 is similarly expanded by the mention of other features of the second coming – resurrection, last judgment, the rewards to be paid to the godly and the ungodly – and by the addition of transitions from verse 4 and to verse 5. The same techniques are employed in the para-

⁴⁸ Erasmus is not totally honest with his reader here. This tradition rests on the evidence of Papias whose judgment he had questioned in regard to the place where 1 Peter was written.

⁴⁹ Erasmus points to the parallel of the person who wrote many things "titulo Clementis"; that is, in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*.

⁵⁰ See the letter to Wolsey, p. 180, ll. 38–42.

⁵¹ Compare the sermonette on the dangers of backsliding in the paraphrase on 2, 20–22.

phrase on 3, 8–10. The motif of the need to be vigilant because the day of the Lord cannot be predicted is imported from Paul; likewise the thought of the reliability of God and also of his patience. The explanation of the destruction of the world by fire (3, 10) is enlarged by the anticipation of the conception of the new world advanced in 3, 13.⁵² The object, as always, is to elucidate the biblical text; the solutions to the exegetical problems posed by it are simply subsumed into the Paraphrase without further comment.

Jude

Erasmus viewed the epistle of Jude as virtually a compendium of 2 Peter, in which, as he says in the letter to Wolsey, the author sets out 'to interpret some of Peter's statements' (p. 180, ll. 45–47).⁵³ He does not discuss anywhere the identity of the author nor the canonicity of the epistle though he notices Jerome's report that some had rejected the epistle because of its citation of 1. *Enoch*.⁵⁴ Bede had identified the author with the apostle Jude who was in turn identified with the apostle Thaddaeus in Matthew and Mark.⁵⁵ The compound name in the paraphrase is thus a statement of this identification. The epistle itself is viewed as substantially a letter of rage against the false teachers who, blinded by their own desires, pervert the gospel (verses 3–19). Though a source of anxiety to the congregation there is nothing to be feared from them since their appearance was both predestined by God and foretold by the other apostles. It concludes with an admonition to the addressees to prepare for the second coming and with instructions on how to deal with the false teachers by either coercing them through rebuke or saving them through admonition (verses 20–24). The analysis, though not as detailed, resembles that of Hugo who divides the epistle into six parts: the salutation (1–2), the body, consisting of four parts (3–4, 5–6, 7–16 and 17–23) and the conclusion (24–25).⁵⁶ Erasmus goes through the last half-dozen verses (20–25) very quickly, but that may well be the result of his illness and the need to complete the work quickly.

As in the Paraphrase on 2 Peter attention and energy are lavished on the initial verses, especially 3 and 4, which, as in 2 Peter, allow the development of some favorite themes: love as the motive for assistance to others; the need to preserve

⁵² Compare the way the statement about the letters of Paul in 3, 15–16 is expanded in the paraphrase.

⁵³ Both the identity of the author and the relationship of Jude to 2 Peter are still disputed. The current consensus seems to be that it was written before 2 Peter and the author, whether actual or putative, is the brother of James the Just; in other words Jude is likewise a brother of Jesus. See Bauckham, *Jude*, pp. 13–16.

⁵⁴ See Er. *Annot. in Iud.* 9 ("imperet tibi Deus"), *LB VI*, 1090 E–F.

⁵⁵ *Mt.* 10, 3; *Mk.* 3, 18.

⁵⁶ P. 041^o. Nicholas of Lyre, p. L51^o, divides the letter into three parts: the salutation (1–2), the body, or prosecution as he calls it (3–23), and the conclusion (24–25).

the purity of apostolic teaching and of the faith; grace and justification and the importance of preserving and enhancing one's righteousness; the need to persevere to the end. Interspersed with these, essentially Pauline, topics is the description of the false teachers who have crept into the flock under the pretext of false religiosity. Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre identified the false teachers with the antichrists attacked in 1 John, but Erasmus, though he does not say so explicitly, seems to have the false prophets of 2 Peter in view. Thus grace has freed the readers from servitude to the Law which the false teachers would reimpose under the appearance of their (false) piety. In doing so, they abuse their new-found liberty from the Law to sin with impunity and to deny both God and Christ. However, it is the moral depravity rather than the doctrinal perversity of the false teachers which seizes Erasmus' imagination.⁵⁷ This comes out in the paraphrase on 12–13, which rests on the antithesis of pretended and true virtue, and in the paraphrase on verse 16 with its contrast of inner turpitude and outer eloquence and its description of the hypocritical attitude of the false teachers toward the wealthy on the one hand and the poor on the other. Whether done consciously or not, the language is reminiscent of Erasmus' criticism of the mendicant orders – the *πτωχοτύραννοι*, *mendicotyranni*, as he frequently calls them in his correspondence at this time.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Cf. the paraphrase on 2. *Pet.* 2, 3 (p. 223, ll. 160–169) and 2, 10–16 (p. 224, l. 196–p. 226, l. 231).

⁵⁸ Cf. *Epp.* 998, n.l. 59; 1113, ll. 37–38; 1215, 8–9; 1141, n.l. 15.

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC DOMINO
 D. THOMAE S. R. E. TT. S. CECILIAE PRESBYTERO CARDI-
 NALI, ARCHIEPISCOPO EBORACENSI, ANGLIAE PRIMATI,
 AC TOTIVS REGNI CANCELLARIO SVMMO,
 ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS S. D.

5

10

Cum frequenter circumspectassem quam studiorum meorum foetura magnitudi-
 ni tuae responderem, quae me hactenus sane deterruit ne quid lucubrationum
 mearum auderem tibi dedicare, tandem mihi visus sum bis ineptus: primum
 quasi sit aliquid in meis litteris ingenioe quod, etiam si me rupero, tuam ampli-
 tudinem possit aequare, siue spectemus dignitatis istius fastigium, siue hoc fasti-
 gio dignissimas animi tui dotes, siue officia quibus quotidie tua benignitas oner-
 at non tam me quam ipsa bonarum litterarum ac verae theologiae studia; aut
 quasi tu is esses qui librum voluminis magnitudine magis quam vtilitate soleas
 aestimare. Quanquam igitur nondum perfunctum prouincia paraphraseon, quibus

2 S. R. E(cclesiae) H: S. R. S(edis) A-G

11-12 onerat non tam me H: non tam me
 onerat A-G

1-2 REVERENDISSIMO ... THOMAE Ep. 1112

2 S.R.E. Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae S.E.R. or, as here, S.R.E. is the usual formula when referring to cardinals, which probably explains the change from S(edis) to E(cclesiae).

3-4 ARCHIEPISCOPO ... SVMMO Thomas Wolsey was appointed archbishop of York in September 1514 and cardinal a year later in September 1515. He succeeded William Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, as lord chancellor on 24 December 1515. See DNB XXI, pp. 796-814.

7-8 quae ... dedicare Erasmus has either forgotten or has chosen to ignore the 'little gift' (*xeniolum*) of his translation of Plutarch's *De vtilitate capienda ex inimicis* which he had intended to present to Wolsey as a New Year's gift on 1 January 1514. Illness seems to

have prevented him from doing so and consequently he had it published in Basel by Froben in August of that year. See Epp. 284, 287, and 297. Language apart, Erasmus employs in ll. 6-14 the same topos he had used in the dedicatory letter for the Plutarch (Ep. 284, ll. 1-6).

11 officia The language is vague but Erasmus is probably alluding to Wolsey's various benefactions and other actions to reform Oxford University; see Ep. 1111, ll. 33-36, which was written about the same time as Ep. 1112; see also Epp. 965, ll. 10-13; 967, ll. 24-34; 970, ll. 15-17. Cf ll. 67-69 below. Wolsey loaded Erasmus with much praise and promise but few tangible benefits.

14 nondum ... paraphraseon Erasmus means while he was at work on the *Paraphrases* on the shorter Pauline epistles, *Eph.* - *Phm.*

15 epistolas Paulinas, certo germanas duntaxat, explicui, fatigatis etiamnum viri-
 bus, mox exciperet dimicatio cum obtrectatoribus, tamen illis tumultuario milite
 profligatis, iisdem statim copiis aggressus sum duas epistolas apostoli Petri et
 vnam Iudae, simul illud mecum cogitans, quod diuis offertur aut viris summati-
 20 bus, aptum esse oportere magis quam aequale. Siquidem olim absurde facere
 visus fuisset, si quis Musis offerret hecatomben aut hederaceas corollas Marti.
 Itaque primum illud mihi visum est congruere si ad tam eximium religionis anti-
 stitem iret Petrus, incomparabilis ille Christianae religionis princeps, vt, quemad-
 modum illo duce nata est ac propagata syncera vereque euangelica philosophia,
 ita tua pietate, quae se magis ac magis Indies exerit, nonnihil collapsa restituatur;
 25 vt est natura rerum humanarum semper in deterius prolabantium ni magno stu-
 dio nitamur in diuersum.

Quod si quid etiam commendationis adiungit operis difficultas, multo plus
 hic fuit negotii quam pro voluminis modo. Facit hoc partim Petri phrasis, multo
 quam Paulina perplexior; partim quod in his non perinde subleuamur veterum
 30 commentariis. Nam quos hodie habet Glossa quam vocant Ordinaria, ex Bedae
 vestri commentariis ad verbum desumpti sunt, viri profecto nec indocti nec indi-
 gentis quantum illa ferebat aetas; idque miro artificio factum est. Pars com-
 mentariorum subducta est in spacium marginis, pars resecta est in interuallum
 quod versus epistolae dirimit. Titulus in totum fere ademptus est, haud scio quo
 35 consilio.

Insunt in omnibus loca nonnulla quae lectorem attentum et cautum requirant,
 velut in prima de Christo qui in spiritu praedicarit spiritibus in carcere constitu-
 tis, qui olim fuissent increduli; item de Euangelio mortuis etiam praedicato. In
 secunda, de daemonibus in iudicium seruatis, de maledico iudicio quod nec
 40 angeli ferunt aduersum se, tametsi nos locum hunc aliter sumus interpretati a
 Beda dissimulatum; de terra ex aqua et per aquam condita, de coelis et elementis
 incendio soluendis. Quibus ex locis nonnulli hauserunt occasionem erroris. In
 epistola Iudae, de iudicio blasphemiae, qui locus desumptus putatur ex apocry-
 phis Enoch, ex quibus et paulo post adducitur vaticinium, cum is non legatur
 45 quicquam scripsisse. Hanc autem ideo subiecimus, quod cum epistola Petri pos-
 teriore, non solum stilo ac sententiis verum etiam verbis mire congruat, quaedam
 illius velut interpretans – quod genus illud de iudicio blasphemiae.

De priore Petri nunquam fuit dubitatum; de posteriore fuit, tametsi mentio-
 nem facit transfigurati Domini, cui rei non plures tribus discipulis testes adfuerunt.

21 si *H*: vt *A-G*

31 desumpti *A-F*: desumpta *G-H*

34 fere *H*: *om.* *A-G*

40-41 tametsi ... dissimulatum *C-H*: *om.* *A B*

45 epistola *D-H*: epistolae *A-C*

46 ac *A-I BAS*: at *K*

47 illius *H*: *om.* *A-G*

48 tametsi *H*: etiam si *A-G*

Hebr. was not to be included because it was not written by Paul. Erasmus did not doubt the authenticity of any of the other thirteen Pauline epistles.

16 *obtrectatoribus* Erasmus may be referring to his numerous critics in Louvain, but he has primarily Edward Lee in view, as Wolsey was expected to know. Lee's *Annotationes*

- in *annotationes Novi Testamenti Desiderii Erasmi*, after some delay, which Lee attributed to Erasmus' machinations, was published in Paris in February 1520. The book also contained two 'Invectives', as Erasmus calls them, in which Lee presented his version of the affair. Erasmus counterattacked immediately, first, with the *Apologia qua respondet duabus invectivis Eduardi Lei*, published in March, and subsequently with the *Responsio ad annotationes Lei*, published in two parts in April and May. See Ferguson, pp. 225–234. The theological implications of the controversy with Lee are discussed by Cecilia Asso, *La Teologia e la Grammatica: La Controversia tra Erasmo ed Eduard Lee*, Firenze, 1993.
- 24 *nonnihil collapsa* Cf. Ep. 384, ll. 22–26, where a similar statement, supported by the same axiom about the effort required to prevent the inevitable deterioration of human affairs, is made about *Christiana pietas*.
- 30–31 *Glossa ... desumpti sunt* This fact, which is substantially correct, appears to have been discovered by Erasmus when he consulted a manuscript of Bede's *In epistolas septem catholicas* in the library of the Franciscan convent in Antwerp; cf. *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 2, 2 ("rationabile sine dolo lac"), *LB VI*, 1045 C, and *Apolog. resp. lac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 255, n.l. 471. Erasmus does not seem to have known of the Venice, 1506, edition of Bede's commentaries on the Catholic epistles. For Erasmus' use of the *Glossa* see H. J. de Jonge, *Erasmus und die Glossa Ordinaria zum Neuen Testament*, Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis 56 (1975), pp. 51–77.
- 34 *Titulus ... ademptus est* Neither Bede's prologue to his commentary on the Catholic epistles nor any ascription of the excerpts from his commentary appear in the *Glossa*. Hence the fact that both the interlinear and the marginal glosses are taken from Bede's commentaries would be unknown to the readers unless they were familiar with the original work in manuscript (or in the *editio princeps*) as Erasmus evidently was not until the spring of 1520.
- 37–38 *de Christo ... constitutus* 1. *Pet.* 3, 19–20.
- 38 *de Euangelio ... praedicato* 1. *Pet.* 4, 6.
- 39 *de daemonibus ... servuatis* 2. *Pet.* 2, 4.
- 39–40 *de maledico ... aduersum se* 2. *Pet.* 2, 11.
- 40–41 *tametsi ... dissimulatum* Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 2, 11, *CCSL* 121, p. 273, ll. 164–172, comments: "Quod ait 'Vbi' significat in eo quod dominationem contemnunt [cf. 2, 10], quod audaces, quod sibi placentes sunt, quod hereses, id est sectas, faciunt, quod blasphemant. Haec namque faciendo angeli daemonia fieri ac poenas suae superbiae soluere meruerunt. Neque enim spiritualis eorum natura patiebatur concupiscentiae carnalis obscenitate pollui, nisi forte cum ad hanc homines illicitum pro ea quoque illos sicut et pro ceteris quae hominibus mala agenda persuadent iudicandos esse significat." As Erasmus says, Bede conceals rather than reveals the meaning of the verse, which is in any case obscure; see Bauckham, *2 Peter*, pp. 261–263. Erasmus, following the Vulgate, took the pronoun αὐτῶν to be reflexive, not anaphoric, and translated it by "aduersum sese" while he thought the adjective βλάσφημος was being used for δόσφημον and meant 'hateful' to the angels; cf. *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 2, 11 ("execrabile iudicium"), *LB VI*, 1063 F. His Greek text also has παρά Κυρίῳ, not παρά Κυρίου. Consequently, he translated: "Quum ipsi angeli, qui sunt robore ac virtute maiores, non ferunt aduersum sese apud Dominum maledicum iudicium".
- 41 *de terra ... condita* 2. *Pet.* 3, 5.
- 41–42 *de coelis ... soluendis* 2. *Pet.* 3, 10.
- 43 *de iudicio blasphemiae* *Iud.* 9.
- 43–44 *ex ... Enoch* Cf. *Er. Annot. in Iud.* 9 ("imperet tibi Deus"), *LB VI*, 1091 E–F, where, in an addition made in the second (1519) edition of the *Nov. Test.*, Erasmus cites Hier. *Comm. in Tit.* [ad 1, 12, Migne *PL* 26, 573 D–574 A] for this information about the use of 1. *Enoch* by Jude. But Jerome was referring to the citation from 1. *Enoch* in verses 14–15, not verse 9 which draws on some other source for the statement about the body of Moses; see Bauckham, *Jude*, pp. 65–76. In a second addition to the annotation made in the fourth (1527) edition of the *Nov. Test.*, Erasmus cites Origen, *De principiis* III, [2, 17], for the information that Jude's source was the *Assumptio Moysi* (see Bauckham, *Jude*, pp. 73–76), but Erasmus seems to have thought that this latter work was part of *Enoch*.
- 44 *ex quibus ... vaticinium* *Iud.* 14–15; cf. 1. *Enoch* 1, 9.
- 44–45 *cum ... scripsisse* Erasmus presumably means that in Scripture (*Gn.* 5, 21–25) Enoch is not reported to be the author of any book.
- 46–47 *quaedam ... interpretans* Since Erasmus, in the *Paraphrasis* at least, considers Peter the apostle to be the author of 2. *Pet.*, he evidently assumes that 2. *Pet.* is prior to *Iud.* The current consensus seems to be that Jude is prior; see Bauckham, *2 Peter*, pp. 138–143.
- 48 *de posteriore fuit* Cf. Hier. *De vir. ill.* 4; *Er. Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.*, *LB IX*, 866 F.
- 48–49 *mentionem ... Domini* See 2. *Pet.* 1, 16–18.
- 49 *tribus discipulis* Peter, James and John.

50 Vnde si Petri non est, oportuit esse alicuius qui se Petrum haberi voluerit. Epistola Iudæ serius obtinuit auctoritatem quod adducat testimonium e libro qui inscribitur Enoch, in quo ferunt haberi quaedam non satis consentanea doctrinae catholicae. Sed quid vetat sic ex apocryphis adducere nonnihil in loco, quemadmodum Paulus ex Epimenide citat testimonium? Caeterum cum in priore Petrus
55 testetur se scripsisse per Syluanum et in posteriore aperte testetur eam esse secundam, *Hanc*, inquit, *ecce vobis, charissimi, secundam scribo epistolam*, non video qui res possit explicari, nisi aut posterior Petri non sit aut Syluanus eam scripserit iussu Petri. Quod si haec ab ipso Petro scripta est, videtur tres scripsisse, quarum prima interciderit.

60 De tempore ac loco nihil habetur comperti, nisi quod coniectant priorem Romae scriptam, quam in fine Babylonem appellauit, imperante Claudio Caesare.

Sed ne longior sit opere praefatio, magnopere cupimus vt hanc industriam nostram, si quo pacto meretur, R. T. D. candido calculo commendet studiosis,
65 non quod ipsi venemur aliquid apud celsitudinem tuam, cum nec hic animus vnquam nec nunc haec aetas faciat ad ambitionem, sed quod ex eorum fauore iudicioque qui summa dignitate praerminent mirus ardor ac stimulus addatur studiosis. Praeter multos absolute doctos subolescunt in vestra Britannia tuae benignitatis auspiciis complures optimae spei iuuenes, qui olim et maiora praestabunt
70 et felicius, si studium illorum inflammarit aura tui fauoris. Atque vtinam huc incumbant posthac nostra studia, vt ad optimas disciplinas animi mortalium et breuitatis et facilitatis illecebra pelliciantur potius quam, dum nos affectata difficultate prolixitateque studemus videri magnifice docti, optima quaeque ingenia a rebus optimis alienentur. Id praestabunt felicius alii permulti, non dubito; at
75 maiore fide quam nos fecimus, non adeo multi. Quod si huiusmodi sanctissimis conatibus, ita vt instituit, fauere perget amplitudo tua, tum apud Deum egregiam laudem sibi parabit, tum apud posteros honestissimam sui memoriam relinquet. Eam nobis diutissime seruet incolumem Christus Optimus Maximus.

50 Vnde ... voluerit *H: om. A-G*

55 aperte *H: om. A-G*

56 Hanc ... epistolam *H: om. A-G*

57 eam *H: om. A-G*

58-59 Quod si ... interciderit *H: om. A-G*

60 coniectant *C-H: coniectent A B*

72 pelliciantur *A-D BAS: pelliceantur E-K*

73 a *A-G² BAS: om. G-K*

50 *Vnde ... voluerit* Erasmus does not develop this idea further anywhere that I know of. It is the assumption of most modern commentators.

51 *Epistola ... auctoritatem* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 14-15, *CCSL* 121, p. 340, l. 228-p. 341, l. 233: "Vnde et haec eadem Iudæ epistola quia de apocrypho libro testimonium habet primis

temporibus a plerisque reiciebatur, tamen auctoritate iam et vetustate et vsu meruit vt inter sanctas Scripturas computetur maxime quia tale testimonium de apocrypho Iudas assumpsit quod non apocryphum ac dubium sed vera luce et lucida esset veritate perspicuum". Actually Jude was an approved

- work as early as the second century and came under question only in the fourth century. See J. Chainé, *Les épîtres catholiques*, Paris 1939, pp. 263–267.
- 53–54 *quemadmodum ... testimonium* See *Tit.* 1, 12.
- 54–55 *in priore ... testetur* 1. *Pet.* 5, 12.
- 55 *in posteriore* 2. *Pet.* 3, 1.
- 57 *nisi ... Petri* Cf. *Er. Annot. in 1. Pet.* 5, 12 (“per Sylvanum”), *LB* VI, 1056 C, where Erasmus explains that the phrase “per Sylvanum” could mean either that Sylvanus wrote the present letter at Peter’s direction or that Sylvanus carried it to the addressees. Both explications are advanced by modern commentators; see Michaels, *1 Peter*, pp. 306–307.
- 58–59 *Quod ... intercederit* See the paraphrase on 5, 12, p. 214, n.ll. 801–803 below. Erasmus has apparently construed the clause “vt arbitror” in this verse with the adverb “breuiter” instead of with the words “fidelem fratrem”. He may have been influenced to do so by Vg. where the pronoun “vobis” follows rather than precedes (as in the Greek text and Erasmus’ Latin version) the phrase “fidelem fratrem”, thus separating it from the qualification “vt arbitror”. Secondly, he has taken the verb “scripsi” (ἔγραψα) as an historical rather than, as modern commentators prefer, an epistolary tense.
- 60–61 *priorem ... scriptam* *Eus. H. E.* II, 15, 2, attributes this assumption to Papias. It appears to be the virtually unanimous belief of subsequent commentators up to Erasmus. Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 259, ll. 120–131, whose commentary on 5, 13 is excerpted in the *Glossa*, Hugo, and Nicholas of Lyre; see p. 215, n.l. 807 below. See the *Argumentum*, p. 185, n.ll. 25–26.
- 61 *in fine* 1. *Pet.* 5, 13.
- 61–62 *imperante ... Caesare* Claudius ruled from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54. Cf. Bede’s comment on the words “Marcus filius meus”, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 260, ll. 133–138: “Vnde patet quia prius quam Marcum Alexandriam de Roma ad euangelizandum mitteret epistolam antea scripsit. Tempore autem Claudii principis et Petrus ac Marcus Romam venerunt et ipse Marcus descripto Romae Euangelio suo Alexandriam missus est. Vnde colligitur quia epistolam hanc Petrus dum quaeritur vbi vel quando scripserit, locus erat Roma, tempus Claudii Caesaris”.
- 65 *non quod ... tuam* This may have been true at the time this letter was written, but the statement is somewhat ingenuous. See *CEBR*, III, p. 461, and Cecil H. Clough, *Erasmus and the Pursuit of English Royal Patronage in 1517 and 1518*, *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook One* (1981), pp. 126–139.
- 69 *complures ... iuuenes* Erasmus probably has in mind the six readerships in the Humanities which Wolsey established at Oxford in 1518. One of the first holders of these appointments was John Clement (see *CEBR*, I, 311–312); he was succeeded in late 1520 by Thomas Lupset (*CEBR*, II, 357). Lupset was the recipient of Ep. 1053 in which Erasmus described the affair with Edward Lee up to that time, an account which Lee attacked in the second of his two ‘Invectives’.
- 72 *breuitatis ... illecebra* This was one of the functions of the *Paraphrasis*; see Ep. 710, ll. 44–48 (the dedicatory letter to the *Paraphr. in Rom.*) and *Er. Supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae*, *LB* IX, 658. ‘Pretended difficulty and prolixity’ are, by contrast, the characteristics of scholastic theologians.

IN EPISTOLAM PETRI PRIOREM ARGVMENTVM,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Petrus, quemadmodum et Iacobus, Iudaeis scribit sparsim incolentibus gentium
 regiones epistolam profecto dignam apostolorum principe, plenam autoritatis ac
 5 maiestatis apostolicae, verbis parcam, sententiis differtam. Hortatur autem ad
 tolerantiam malorum quae ob Euangelii inuidiam perpetiebantur spe praemio-
 rum. Ad haec, admonet vt iuxta prophetarum oracula ad tantam dignitatem
 vocati gratis vitam praestent sua professione dignam. Christianismum enim non
 in titulo aut baptismo tantum, sed in morum innocentia situm esse; alioqui quod
 10 affliguntur malis non cessurum ad gloriam Christi si ob malefacta poenas dare
 videantur. Insuper admonet ne freti Christianismo detrectent parere magistrati-
 bus, licet ethnicis, ne prouocati illi nec conuertantur ad Christum et acrius sae-
 viant; item ne serui negent officium suum heris, licet ethnicis – Christianae boni-
 tatis esse omnia perpeti; item ne mulieres Christianae viros suos, licet ethnicos,
 15 contemnant, sed moribus suis ad meliora studeant prouocare. Maritos admonet
 vt vxoribus suis deferant, vt a coitu nonnunquam temperent quo magis vacet
 orare. Deinde exemplo Christi prouocat ad tolerantiam malorum ne conentur
 iniuriam iniuria pensare, sed mansuetudine et benefactis vincere studeant male
 meritos. Atque haec agit tribus primis capitibus et initio quarti. Post haec hortatur
 20 ad nouitatem vitae, dehortans a viciis gentium. Inuitat ad sobrietatem, ad
 vigilantiam, ad preces assiduas, in primis ad mutuam charitatem, ad hospitalita-
 tem, ad officia mutua; rursus ad patientiam persecutionum ob Christi nomen
 illatarum. Mox episcopos instituit et his subditum populum. In calce testatur sese
 et alteram epistolam ad eosdam scripsisse per Sylyanum quae intercidit. Hanc
 25 scriptam apparet ex Babylone; nam huius ecclesiae verbis iubet eos saluere, si cui
 de Roma commentum non probatur.

Finis

7 vt A-E G-H: et F

11 Insuper H: Ad haec A-G

3 *Iudaeis* Cf. Hier. *De vir. ill.* 6, where Jerome describes the recipients of the letter as those “qui de circumcissione crediderunt”. This passage is quoted by Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 1, 1, CCSL 121, p. 225, ll. 12–16, though in commenting on the term “aduenae”, he seems to consider the addressees to be gentiles who had earlier become proselytes and had been circumcised. Bede’s view is adopted by the *Glossa*, Hugo, and Nicholas of Lyre, though Hugo also introduces the comparison with the epistle of James, who wrote, he says, “fidelibus conuersis de duodecim tribubus”. Luther, however, considered the addressees to be gentiles who had been converted directly to Christianity, which is the position taken by many, but not all, modern commentators; see Selwyn, *First Peter*, pp. 42–44.

5 *Hortatur* In 1, 3–9.

7 *admonet* In 1, 10–2, 12.

11 *Insuper admonet* In 2, 13–17.

13 *item ne serui* In 2, 18–25.

14 *item ne mulieres* In 3, 1–6.

15 *Maritos admonet* In 3, 7.

17 *Deinde exemplo Christi* In 3, 8–4, 2.

19–20 *Post haec hortatur* In 4, 3–6.

12 illi H: om. A-G

25–26 si ... probatur C-H: om. A B

20 *Inuitat* In 4, 7–11.

22 *rursus ad patientiam* In 4, 12–19.

23 *Mox episcopos instituit* In 5, 1–11.

In calce 5, 12.

24 *alteram epistolam* See p. 183, n.ll. 58–59. above and the paraphrase on 1. *Pet.* 5, 12, p. 214, ll. 801–803 below.

25–26 *si ... probatur* The ‘someone’ (*cui*) is Erasmus himself. He added to the *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 5, 13 (“in Babylone collecta”), LB VI, 1056 D, in the third (1522) edition of the *Nov. Test.* the statement: “Sunt qui ‘Babylonem’ hic interpretentur ‘Romani’, quod mihi sane non vsquequaque probatur. Magis arbitror Petrum id temporis vere Babylone vixisse”. He gives no reasons for this opinion, but in a lengthy addition made to the annotation in the fifth edition of 1535 he, first, discredits the testimony of Papias (see p. 183, n.ll. 60–61 above) and then lists the reasons, which are in themselves valid, why Peter could have been in Babylon. He then tackles the critical issue – that 1. *Pet.* 5, 13 was a proof-text for the primacy of the pope – by dismissing it as an unnecessary assumption.

PARAPHRASIS IN EPISTOLAM APOSTOLI PETRI PRIOREM,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Petrus – ille quondam discipulus et conuictor, nunc legatus et apostolus Iesu Christi – omnibus qui sparsim habitant in minoris Asiae regionibus, Ponto, Galatia, Cappadocia, eaque parte quae est Ephesiorum ac proprie sibi nomen Asiae vindicat, Bithyniaque, quos vel olim bellorum procellae alios alio dispulerunt vel nuper eorum saeuitia quibus Christi nomen erat inuisum patriis sedibus exegit innoxios, atque ideo | nunc extorres inter peregrinas nationes velut exulant, exclusi quidem hominum metu a solo natali, at non ideo semoti nec exules aut abdicati ab Euangelii munere quod Deus omnium princeps ita largitus est primum terrae gentique Iudaicae vt tamen omnibus velit esse commune quoscunque delegerit ipse. Nam vt frustra nati sunt ac viuunt Hierosolymis qui Iesu Christi doctrinam aspernantur, ita nulli futurum est fraudi quod inter gentes incircuncisas ac profanas habitat, si modo pro lege Mosaica gratiam euangelicam amplectatur. Neque enim legis obseruatio, qua tument Iudaeorum vulgus, praestat veram salutem neque genus aut locus sed gratuita numinis electio. Ille vere Iudaeus est qui quodcunque solum incolens, quocunque genere natus, Iesum Christum agnoscit verae salutis autorem, qui non vni genti mortuus est sed orbi terrarum vniuerso.

Vt autem hunc agnoscamus, non debemus obseruatae legis merito sed gratuita Dei bonitati, qui ex omni natione deligit vocatque ad Euangelii munificentiam quoscunque ipsi visum est asciscere. Neque enim hoc illi temere nuper venit in mentem vt hac ratione seruaret vniuersum genus mortaliu[m] neque nostris benefactis impulsus hoc ceu praemium nobis ita meritis reponit, sed aeterno consilio fuerat hoc Deo Patri decretum, vt non Iudaeis tantum sed vniuersis gentibus aperiret portum salutis, non per circumcisionem neque per sabbatismos neque per ciborum delectum neque per alias Mosaicae legis ceremonias quae corporales sunt et, rerum spiritualium vmbrae duntaxat quaedam, ad tempus datae sunt, sed per veram sanctificationem Spiritus quem nobis impartit lex euangelica spiritualis, qua vere purgamur ab omnibus peccatis nostris, non ex eo quod obseruauimus legis veteris praescripta sed quod simpliciter prompteque fidimus

15 qua ... vulgus *H: om. A-G*
21 deligit *A-HT: delegit K BAS*

- 3 *legatus* See p. 55, n.l. 231 above. "Legatus et apostolus" is a tautology, perhaps to balance the preceding pair, "discipulus et conuictor", though "conuictor" conveys information which is not implicit in the term "discipulus."
- 4 *omnibus ... habitant* The identification of the addressees as Jews has disappeared though it is implicit in the description of them as exiles. Nevertheless, the universality of the gospel and hence of the epistle which commends it is emphasized in the conclusion of the sentence.
- 5-6 *proprie ... vindicat* Erasmus probably means by this phrase the Roman province of Asia of which Ephesus was the capital. Cf. the *Paraphr. in Act.*, ad 18, 19: "Ea ciuitas [sc. Ephesus] est maritima Asiae minoris in ea parte, quae proprie nulloque additamento vocari solet Asia." By "additamento" Erasmus means the adjective *minor*. The variation in word order, *Asia minor* or *minor Asia*, suggests that he took *minor* to be an epithet rather than a part of the name Asia Minor, which is not attested until Orosius. The phrase *Asia quae proprie vocatur*, though meaning Asia Minor in contrast to the continent, occurs in Plin. *Nat.* 5, 27, 28. For the history of the ancient names of the Anatolian peninsula see Demetrius J. Georgacas, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula*, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, NF 8, Heidelberg, 1971, pp. 27-38.
- 6 *vel olim* The reference is not immediately clear. Bede and the medieval Latin commentators speak only of the Christians who fled Judaea after the death of Stephen and later; see the next note. Erasmus seems to have in mind the flights from Jerusalem during the wars with Syria; cf. Tac. *Hist.* V, 8, which appears to be the immediate source, and 1. *Mcc.* 1, 32-38; 2. *Mcc.* 11, 29-30.
- 7 *vel nuper* The reference is to the persecutions following the death of Stephen; cf. *Act.* 8, 1, and Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 1, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 121, ll. 22-24.
- 8 *extorres ... exulant* Although this clause follows readily from the previous description of the addressees, it is probably intended to be a paraphrase on the word *aduenae* (παρεπιδημοίς) in 1, 1, which would otherwise be unexplained. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 1, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 225, ll. 2-11, thought that *aduenae* meant 'proselytes' and assumed that the addressees were 'God-fearers' who had been converted from Judaism to Christianity on Pentecost (*Act.* 2, 11 and 41). He is followed by the *Glossa*, Hugo (though

24 ita meritis *H: om. A-G*

- he also presents an alternative interpretation), and, perhaps, Nicholas of Lyre. Erasmus rejected Bede's interpretation and stated that the addressees are converted Jews "because Peter was the apostle to the circumcised" (*Gal.* 2, 7); see *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 1, 1 ("aduenis dispersionis Ponti"), *LB VI*, 1041 C-D.
- 10-11 *primum ... Iudaicae* Cf. *Rom.* 1, 16.
- 17-18 *Iesum ... autorem* Cf. *Rom.* 4, 16; *Gal.* 3, 9.
- 21 *deligit* The perfect (*K BAS*) would mean those whom God has predestined and now calls (as in l. 12 above), but here choosing and calling form a single idea while the notion of prior choice appears in the perfect *visum est* in the subordinate clause. Erasmus translates πρόγνωσιν ("praescientiam", Vg.) in 1, 2 by *praefinitionem* in his Latin version and *praedestinationem* in his annotation ("secundum praescientiam"), *LB VI*, 1041 E, where he comments: "Caeterum haec particula, 'iuxta praescientiam', referenda videtur ad id quod praecessit, 'electis', vt intelligamus electos non temere neque fortuito sed destinato decreto consilioque Dei; alioqui non video quo pertineat". In the 1522 edition of the *Nov. Test.* he adds, "Bede, an author not to be spurned, agrees with me", by which he means that Bede too takes the prepositional phrase to modify "electis aduenis"; cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 1, 2, *CCSL* 121, p. 226, l. 36. Cf. *Rom.* 8, 29-30 and Erasmus' annotation *ad loc.* ("quos praesciuit"), *LB VI*, 606 C-F.
- 23 *hac ratione* That is, through the incarnation in all its aspects and the gospel as described in ll. 29-36 below.
- 26-27 *per circumcisionem ... delectum* These lists of Jewish 'ceremonies' are a recurring feature of the *Paraphrases* on the Epistles. Cf., e.g., *Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 9, 32, *LB VII*, 810 A; *Paraphr. in Gal.*, ad 5, 3, *LB VII*, 961 D; also *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 199, l. 5 sq.
- 28 *rerum ... quaedam* Cf. the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 8, 1, p. 66, ll. 562-567 above.
- ad tempus* This description of the Mosaic law is likewise a recurring motif; cf. *Paraphr. in Gal.*, ad 3, 19, *LB VII*, 954 F.
- 31-32 *fidimus ... promissis* This statement is a paraphrase on the words εἰς ὑπακοήν in 1, 2; cf. Erasmus' annotation *ad loc.* ("in sanctificationem"), *LB VI*, 1041 E: "Sentit enim illos hoc ipsum debere Deo, quod delecti sint ad fidei gratiam, quam hic 'obedientiam' vocat, vt per hanc purgarentur a peccatis aspersione sanguinis Iesu". Erasmus evidently connects

euangelicis promissis; non ex asperso vituli sanguine, quemadmodum hactenus iuxta legis ritum factitari consuevit, sed ex aspersione preciosi sanguinis illibatae Deoque gratissimae victimae, Iesu Christi, cuius immerita mors nobis semel
 35 omnia vitae veteris commissa delet ac per baptismum velut in ipsum renatos nouae vitae restituit.

Quos quoniam baptismus exemptos huic mundo coelesti municipio inseuit, non precabor ea bona quibus parandis et accumulandis sibi felices videntur mundi cultores, sed ea potius quae nos a terrenis contagiis purgatos coelesti prin-
 40 cipe Christo dignos reddunt: videlicet gratiam vt vestris ipsorum meritis diffisi, diffisi etiam legis cerimoniais e sola gratuita Dei munificentia fiduciaque Euan-
 gелиi veram expectetis salutem; ad hoc, pacem vt Deo per Christum reconciliati gratis concordiam et inter vos habeatis et cum caeteris omnibus, non solum
 45 neminem laedentes verum etiam aliorum admissa condonantes et malefacta benefactis repensantes. Quorum bonorum sortem, vt gratis accepistis a Deo, ita piis studiis adnitendum est vobis vt bonorum operum vsura magis ac magis dites-
 catis, non modo persistentes in eo quod coepistis verum etiam indies in melius progredientes donec ille venerit dies quo praemium immortalitatis exhibebitur, cuius nunc certam spem hausistis ex Euangelio Christi, ne quid hinc laudis nobis
 50 arrogemus.

Ob hoc tam immensum beneficium laudanda benignitas eius, a quo nobis per Christum proficiscitur quicquid vere beatos reddit. Is est non Moses sed Deus ipse, et idem Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui parum feliciter natos ex Adam – nimirum natos peccato, natos morti – denuo genuit nos innocentiae, genuit
 55 immortali vitae nullis meritis nostris prouocatus sed vltro sua misericordia, qua summus est, extimulatus. Idque fecit non praesidio legis Mosaicae sed impendio proprii filii Iesu Christi, quem mortem subire voluit vt nos alioqui deploratos a peccati mortisque tyrannide liberaret; quem mox a morte reuocauit ad vitam vt interim mortui cupiditatibus mundanis et ad illius exemplum morum innocentia
 60 resurrectionem veluti meditantes certam et alacrem spem habeamus fore vt nos quoque aliquando his exempti malis vna cum Christo pertingamus ad aeternam illam haereditatem quam, vt assequutus est ille, caput nostrum, ita consequemur omnes quicumque Christi membris insiti illius imitatione meremur illius dici fratres et eiusdem Patris filii vt, quemadmodum afflictiones sunt nobis cum illo
 65 communes, ita sit et cum illo commune praemium. Quamdiu fuimus filii peccatoris Adae, manebat | nos infelix haereditas. Posteaquam facti sumus filii Dei, ad coelestem haereditatem properamus. Decet enim vt e coelo nati coelestia spectemus vt ex Deo nati non nisi diuina sectemur. Qui mundo militant, caduca praemia fluxamque mercedem ambiunt; nos post has temporarias afflictiones manet
 70 illa felix haereditas, quae neque morte possit corrumpi neque tedio molestiae contaminari neque senio situue marcescere. Non est quod metuamus ne quis hanc tam opimam haereditatem nobis interuertat. Habemus certae fidei promissorem. Apud illum nobis in tuto est conseruaturque in coelis, sed ita vt interim certa spes ac veluti pignus quoddam sit penes homines in terris, non penes quoslibet homines sed penes vos vestrique similes quibus Christi Spiritus arrabonis
 75

vice datus est quique, licet interim variis malorum procellis vndique tundamini quibus humana imbecillitas prorsus ex se sit impar, tamen Dei praesidio, qui nihil non potest, seruamini, non vestris meritis sed fide fiduciaque qua non dubitatis quin Deus, etiam si patiatur vos interim velut opprimi, tamen incolumes vos sit exhibiturus in extremo tempore, post quod non erit amplius ista rerum humanarum confusio sed mali addicti suis suppliciis neminem laedere poterunt et boni ab omnibus malorum incuribus tuti aeterno fruuntur ocio. Nunc enim latent praemia et saepe iuxta vulgarem aestimationem peius habent qui meliores sunt et perire videntur qui maxime sunt incolumes et florere videntur qui maxime pereunt. Hic exercendae pietatis tempus est; praemio suum praescriptum est tempus, quod non oportet anteuertere. Nobis interim sit satis quod aeterna felicitas nobis est in tuto, quam nullus hominum aut daemonum possit interceptare, modo ne nos deficiat fides qua neglectis rebus mortalium toti pendeamus e coelo.

Sint interim feroces qui Deo rebelles fidunt mundi praesidiis. Insultent interim quasi victis ac destitutis; caeterum vbi venerit ille dies versis in diuersum

40 reddunt *H*: reddant *A-G*

41 munificentia *H*: beneficentia *A-G*

58 mox *H*: om. *A-G*

60 et alacrem *H*: om. *A-G*

62 ille *H*: Christus *A-G*

91 quasi ... destitutis *H*: om. *A-G*

1. *Pet.* 1, 2 with 2. *Thess.* 2, 13-14. He then adds the Pauline thought, "Porro 'sanctificationem Spiritus' opposuit [sc. Petrus] operibus legis Mosaicae a quorum fiducia vult eos abducere".

32 *ex asperso ... sanguine* Cf. *Hebr.* 9, 12-19. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 1, 2, *CCSL* 121, p. 226, ll. 40-46, observes that Peter speaks of 'sprinkling' in the manner of the Old Testament where the blood of victims was sprinkled on objects to sanctify them. Bede contrasts the blood of Christ with the blood of the passover lamb as does Hugo, but Hugo also quotes *Hebr.* 9, 19 which describes the sacrifice and sprinkling of the blood of the goats and calves on the people at Mt. Sinai. The latter seems to be the text that Erasmus has in view here.

34-36 *cuius ... restituit* The language and thought are Pauline; cf. *Rom.* 6, 10-11; *Eph.* 4, 20-23; *Col.* 3, 8-9; *Tit.* 3, 5.

37 *inseuit* Another Pauline metaphor, but with a somewhat unusual complement, *municipio* instead of *corpori Christi*.

41 *munificentia* Since *beneficentia* (*A-G*) is a common paraphrase for *gratia* (hence the epithets *sola* and *gratuita*), Erasmus may have felt that its employment here was tautological. Cf. the variation between *beneficentia* and *benignitas* in ll. 287-288 below.

41-42 *fiduciaque Euangelii* That is, *ex fide vestra*

43 *concordiam* Cf. *Paraphr. in Iud.*, p. 232, ll. 11-12.

44-45 *malefacta ... repensantes* Cf. *Lc.* 6, 27-28 and *Mt.* 5, 38-39.

46 *bonorum ... usura* Cf. *Mt.* 25, 27.

53-54 *parum ... morti* Cf. *Rom.* 5, 14.

60 *et alacrem* This addition appears to be a paraphrase on the participle ζῶσαν ('vivam', Vg.). Erasmus has either forgotten that the word "certam" is an explanation of the adjective "vivam" (cf. Nicholas of Lyre *ad loc.*) or wished to add the idea of liveliness or alacrity to that of certainty.

62 *ille* The revision was probably made to avoid the triple use of the name *Christus*. The identification of *ille* is clear from the words in apposition, "caput nostrum".

65-66 *Quamdiu ... hereditas* Cf. *Rom.* 5, 12-19.

70-71 *tedio ... contaminari* Cf. Bede's comment on "inmarcescibilem" (Vg.); *In 1. Pet.* 1, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 227, ll. 72-76: "... 'inmarcescibilem' quia nec in ipsis beatorum hominum mentibus ex longo vsu caelestis illa conuersatio valet aliquando vilescere quo modo praesentis saeculi luxur et deliciae solent non numquam diutina consuetudine et vsu in fastidium verti".

75-76 *quibus ... datus est* Cf. *Eph.* 1, 13-14.

88-89 *modo ... coelo* A variation on the theme of perseverance; cf. *Mt.* 10, 22, which Nicholas of Lyre quotes in his commentary on 1, 5.

rerum vicibus affligentur illi, vos exultabitis victores; imo nunc etiam exultare debetis indubitata tantae felicitatis expectatione. Neque enim debet vobis videri magnum aut graue si per breues ac mox desituras afflictiones molestiasque peruenitis ad nunquam interituram beatitudinem. Forsitan et persecutionum harum aliquando finis erit, quae tamen, quoties ingruunt, spe vitae futurae magno infractoque animo ferendae sunt ob Dei gloriam. Sic enim permittit sapientia Dei vestris consulens commodis vt fidei vestrae synceritas constantiaque variis malorum incursibus exploretur. Etenim si aurum – res alioqui et perdita et peritura – non solum exploratur per coticulam, verum etiam per ignem examinatur vt, eo magis deinde sit in precio, quo fuerit exactius repurgatum, multo magis Deus vult fidem vestram variis experimentis probari, cui tantum honoris debetur vt, cum ex his malorum et afflictionum incendiis emicuerit longe purior ac fulgentior quouis auro purgatissimo, pretiosa sit apud Deum resque omnis tandem in diuersum exeat: nimirum vt quod hic videbatur illatum ad dedecus cedat in laudem, quod ad ignominiam vertatur in gloriam, quod ad dehonorendum vos vertatur in cumulum honoris eo die quo Iesus Christus, cuius vis nunc agit in vobis occultis rationibus, palam sese proferet omnibus suum cuique praemium pro meritis rependens. Quid enim gloriosius quam ore Christi laudari cum audietis: *Venite, benedicti Patris mei?* Quid honorificentius quam a Deo Patre recipi in consortium regni coelestis vna cum Filio? Haec autem gloria, quanquam erit omnium piorum communis, tamen copiosior continget iis qui maiora pro Christo passi sunt in | terris. Quae praemia si nunc apparerent, non esset admirabile fidei robur. Nunc in hoc est praecipua laus bonorum, quod Christum, quem corporeis oculis nunquam vidistis, tamen oculis fidei conspectum amatis; cumque dolorum vis palam ac praesens vrgeat, praemia vero quae sunt in diem nondum appareant, tamen illius promissis fidei non alio animo toleratis ista quam si coram adesset parata gloria, nec toleratis modo fortiter, verum etiam in mediis afflictionibus exultatis inenarrabili gaudio pleni gloriae apud Deum, videlicet bene sperantis conscientiae, pleni certa fiducia quod ista praeter meritum tolerantis volente Deo reportabitis abunde magnum fructum fidei vestrae, nimirum aeternam salutem animarum vestrarum. Ingens enim lucrum est cum iactura caduci corporis seruetur immortalis anima.

Sic visum est aeterno consilio Dei vt his rationibus salutem consequerentur homines quibus et Christus ipse peruenit ad aeternam beatitudinem. Neque enim haec fortuito geruntur sed quod nos factum vidimus, id prophetae veteres, qui multo ante nos vaticinati sunt fore vt per fidem et euangelicam gratiam absque legis Mosaicae praesidio seruaremini, diligenter exquisierunt ac scrutati sunt, non contenti tanquam per nebulam videre quod esset futurum sed illud etiam pia curiositate sciscitati sunt a Spiritu Christi, qui iam tum illis arcano afflatu significabat quid esset passurus Christus ac mox ad quantam gloriam euendendus, tum quo vel quali tempore id esset futurum. Siquidem ingenti desyderio salutis huius tenebantur illorum animi. Quibus et illud patefactum est, quod haec quae futura praesagiebant ipsorum temporibus non essent exhibenda sed vestris quaeque suis vaticiniis prodebant vobis proderent, non sibi. Optassent

quidem illi videre quod vobis videre contigit. Sed ideo praecesserunt illorum vaticinia quo certior esset fides nobis apostolis, qui nunc eadem vobis annunciamus facta quae praedixerant illi futura. Quoque minus dubitetis, idem Christi Spiritus tacitis afflatibus illos docuit olim quid facere decreuisset, qui nos nuper in igneis linguis e coelo delapsus instruxit vt eorum quae gesta sunt in toto terrarum orbe simus praecones. Praedicamus enim Christum nostrae omnium salutis causa factum hominem, versatum in terris, probis et cruciatibus afflictum, denique cruci suffixum pro nobis obisse mortem, mox reuocatum ad vitam, subuectum in coelum, vbi nunc cum Patre praefulget maiestate gloriaque qui prius videbatur in terris vilis et abiectus, eodem subuecturus et suos. Haec tam ineffabili Dei consilio gesta non mirum si prophetae concupiscebant cernere cum ipsis etiam angelis sit admodum iucundum gratumque spectaculum cuius contemplatione non queunt expleri.

101 vt, eo *H*: quo *A-G*

119 pleni *G H*: plénique *C*: plenoque *A B D-F*

121 reportabitis *H*: reportetis *A-G*; nimirum *C-H*: videlicet *A B*

128 diligenter *C-H*: diligentes *A B*

130-131 a Spiritu ... afflatu *om. C*

132 tum *H*: *om. A-G*

137 nunc *H*: *om. A-G*

92 *exultabitis* The future tense is taken from the Vulgate. Erasmus' Greek text has ἀγαλλιάσθε, which he rendered by "exultatis", but in his annotation *ad loc.* ("exultabitis"), *LB VI*, 1042 D, he notes that the Greek verb is ambiguous and could be either the present indicative or the imperative. The next clause – *imo ... debetis* – is thus a paraphrase on the Greek and preserves its ambiguity. For the problem posed by the verb see Selwyn, *First Peter*, pp. 258-259, and Michaels, *1 Peter*, p. 34. *victores* The interlinear *Glossa* explains *exultabitis* by "sicut triumphatores", which Hugo, quoting *Is. 9, 3*, transforms into "vt victores". Cf. *Paraphr. in 2. Pet.*, p. 220, l. 71.

93-95 *Neque enim ... beatitudinem* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet. 1, 6*, *CCSL 121*, p. 227, ll. 103-105: "Modicum' autem dicit quia vbi merces aeterna retribuitur breue videbitur ac leue totum fuisse quod in saeculi tribulationibus graue videbatur et acerbum". Bede, *ibid.*, ll. 101-103, also notes that eternal joys can be reached only through sorrow and suffering. 108-109 *suum ... rependens* Cf. *Mt. 16; 27, Rom. 2, 6; 2. Cor. 5, 10*.

110 *Venite ... mei* *Mt. 25, 34*, a verse which Bede, *In 1. Pet. 1, 7*, *CCSL 121*, p. 22, ll. 115-128, likewise cites.

119 *pleni* The reading of *AB*, *plenoque gloriae*, is close to the biblical text, "gaudio ineffabili et glorificato". It looks as though *plénique* in *C* was a typographical error which was corrected in *D*. *Pleni* in *G* appears to be a stylistic revision,

made without reference to the biblical text, to create an anaphora with the following *pleni fiducia*.

121 *reportabitis* Erasmus commonly uses the subjunctive in noun clauses introduced by *quod*. The future indicative may be an adjustment to the context or simply influenced by the future tense in 5, 4.

nimirum To avoid the repetition of *videlicet* in the same sentence

122 *vestrarum* Erasmus is following a text of the Vulgate which read "animarum vestrarum".

"Vestrarum" is not found in his Latin version.

135 *vobis* The second person pronoun comes from the Vulgate. Erasmus' Greek text and Latin version have the first person, "nobis", which is paraphrased by *nobis apostolis* in the sentence, *Sed ideo* etc.

140-141 *in ... praecones* Cf. *Act. 2, 1-4*. This explanation of the phrase ἀποστολέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ("emissum de coelo", Er. Latin version) appears in Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre, but not in Bede or the *Glossa*. *In toto terrarum orbe* is thus a paraphrase on the idea of speaking in other tongues, which Nicholas and Erasmus believed meant to speak in other languages, a gift needed to fulfil the instruction in *Mt. 28, 19* to 'go and make disciples of all nations'.

147 *spectaculum* For the metaphor cf. *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 209, l. 3. Bede, *In 1. Pet. 1, 12*, *CCSL 121*, p. 229, ll. 169-174, followed by the medieval Latin commentators, takes the object of the angels' desire to be the beatific

Quo maius est beneficium quod vobis offertur, hoc avidius est vobis amplec-
 tendum ne vestro vicio fiat vt non assequamini. Certum est praemium, sed
 150 interim vestrae partes sunt ita vos gerere ne videamini indigni promissis. Aderit
 ille dies inexpectatus, qui proferet in apertum piorum et impiorum praemia. Is
 quandocunque veniet, laetus et felix veniet iis quos paratos offenderit; contra for-
 midabilis iis quos diffidentia torpentes repperit et oscitantes. Quoniam autem
 155 Christus incertum esse nobis voluit diem illum, non oportet vos vnquam esse
 securos sed semper accinctos animi lumbis ceu paratos in occursum aduentantis
 Domini, vigilantes ac sobrios, certa firmaque semper erectos ac suspensos expec-
 tatione felicitatis aeternae, quae nunc offertur omnibus qui obtemperant Euan-
 gelio sed tum demum possidebitur cum palam ostendet maiestatem suam cunc-
 160 tis hominibus et | angelis ac daemonibus Dominus noster Iesus Christus. Verum
 ad eam immortalitatem non peruenient nisi qui hic eam quodammodo fuerint
 meditati atque ad exemplum Iesu mortui cupiditatibus huius mundi cum illo
 reuixerint ad innocentiam atque in ea constanter perstiterint, tanquam legitimi
 verique filii, fidentes promissis Dei Patris et illius praescriptis obtemperantes nec
 165 vnquam relabentes in veterem vitam tum ob ignorantiam euangelicae doctrinae
 mundanis obnoxiam cupiditatibus. Conuenit enim vt, a quibus dissidetis profes-
 sione, ab iisdem dissideatis affectibus ac moribus. Mundus malus est, a quo iam
 pridem estis exempti, Christo iusto sanctoque et innocenti insiti, ad hoc delecti
 vocatique a Patre, sanctitatis omnis fonte, vt vos quoque, quemadmodum estis
 170 sancti professione, ita sitis et omni vita factisque puri, integri, et inculpati. Non
 enim agnoscet Pater filios nisi sui similes. Nimirum hoc sensit cum loqueretur
 maioribus nostris Leuitici capite xix: *Sancti estote, quia ego sanctus sum, Dominus
 Deus vester*. Non vobis suffecerit Mosaica puritas vt abstineatis a contactu cadaue-
 rum, vt lotos habeatis pedes, vt abstineatis a concubitu; totam vitam ac totum
 175 pectus nostrum Deus vult procul abesse ab omnibus viciorum inquinamentis.
 Siquidem haec sunt quae nos vere reddunt impuros coram oculis Dei; quem
 etiam si Patris nomine compellatis in omnibus implorantes opem illius, non est
 tamen quod impure viuentes speretis illum vobis fore propitium aut pro filiis
 agniturum, qui non aestimat quenquam ex genere aut fortuna sed tantum ex
 180 vitae meritis. Nec enim ille purus erit Iudaeus si vita, si animus fuerit inquinatus;
 nec hic erit impurus praeputatus si piam, si innocentem vitam egerit. Superest
 igitur vt qui Patrem hunc cupitis habere propitium, illius ineuitabile iudicium
 semper habentes prae oculis donec agitis in exilio, sic moderemini vitam vestram
 ne sit ob quod offensus Pater vos ceu degeneres parumque morigeros filios ab
 185 haereditate patriae coelestis merito secludat.

Quo maius est precium quo vos Christus gratis redemit, hoc magis cauendum
 est ne volentes et ingrati in pristinam seruitutem reuoluamini. Nulla seruitus
 miserior quam mancipium esse viciorum. Qui pauculo aere liberantur a seruitute
 heri et ex seruis fiunt libertini modis omnibus aduigilant ne ob ingratitude-
 190 possint in relictam retrahi seruitutem. Et vos committetis vt in veterem tyranni-
 dem recidatis, vt denuo Mosaicae legis velitis esse mancipia malisque seruire

vanis obseruatiunculis a maioribus vobis per manum traditis quam obtemperare
 Euangelio Dei, cum sciatis vos ab illis semel esse liberatos, non precio vulgari
 velut auro argentouae, sed hostia longe sacratiore quam norit lex Mosaica? Non
 195 enim asperso sanguine vituli purgati estis, sed precioso cruore Iesu Christi qui
 velut agnus omnis maculae nescius purus ac illibatus ab omni viciorum inquina-
 mento pro nostris peccatis immolatus est in ara crucis. Neque vero id factum est
 fortuito, sed ab aeterno et ante conditum mundum destinatus est huic sacrificio
 Dei Filius vt sua morte nobis reconciliaret Patrem. Caeterum diuinae mentis
 200 consilium ac decretum, quod multis seculis orbi fuit incognitum, nunc tandem
 his extremis temporibus patefactum est et oculis hominum exhibitum nouum
 spectaculum, quod in mente diuina nouum non erat. Exhibitum est autem ves-
 trae salutis gratia quibus Christus homo factus, mortuus ac praedicatus hoc
 praestat, vt qui ante frustra fidebatis legis ceremoniis, nunc vobis diffisi fidatis
 LB 1087 Deo Patri qui, | vt eum mori voluit expiandis peccatis vestris, ita suscitauit ex
 206 mortuis proque toleratis huius vitae laboribus dedit immortalitatis gloriam vt
 quod credidistis ab illo factum aemulantes speretis et vobis idem praemium;
 videlicet autore Deo freti, qui quod in Filio praestitit haud dubie praestaturus est
 in omnibus qui sic vixerint vt inter Christi membra numerari mereantur, in cuius
 210 corpus estis insiti posteaquam per baptismum in eum fuistis renati.

165 tum *H*: om. *A–G*

177 etiam *C–H*: om. *A B*

178 tamen *C–H*: om. *A B*; impure viuentes *H*:
 om. *A–G*

181 hic *C–H*: om. *A B*

189 libertini *C–H*: liberti *A B*

195 purgati estis *H*: om. *A–G*

197 vero *H*: enim *A–G*

vision; see Asso, *Teologia e Grammatica*, pp. 211–214. “Hacc ... gesta” suggests that, like some modern commentators (cf. Selwyn, *First Peter*, pp. 138–139), Erasmus takes it to be the events of salvation history. However, there are problems with this interpretation; see Michaels, *1 Peter*, p. 48–49.

154 *diffidentia* Cf. *Eph.* 5, 6 Vg.

155 *Christus ... illum* See *Mt.* 24, 36 and 42.

156–157 *paratos ... sobrios* Cf. *Mt.* 25, 10; 1. *Thess.* 5, 6.

172–173 *Sancti ... vester* *Lv.* 19, 2.

173 *Mosaica puritas* For the list that follows see *Lv.* 21, 1–12 (avoidance of dead bodies), *Ex.* 30, 17–21 (washing the feet), *Lv.* 18, 1–23 (abstinence from intercourse) – all of which exemplify for Erasmus the ‘Jewish’ concern for corporal (carnal) purity.

177 *etiam si* Erasmus evidently took *καί* in 1, 17 to mean ‘even’, not ‘and’. Cf. Selwyn, *First Peter*, p. 142, though Selwyn prefers the meaning ‘and’.

184–185 *Pater ... secludat* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 1, 17, *CCSL* 121, p. 231, ll. 222–227: “Pater autem Deus tantae iustitiae et pietatis est vt ... eos qui filiorum nomine videntur hono-

rabiles pro culpa inoboedentiae prorsus hereditatis perpetuae reddat exsortes”.

186–187 *Quo ... reuoluamini* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 1, 18–19, *CCSL* 121, p. 231, ll. 234–236: “Quanto maius est pretium quo redempti estis a corruptione vitae carnalis, tanto amplius timere debetis ne forte ad corruptelam vitiorum reuertendo animum vestri redemptoris offendatis”.

189 *libertini* Either someone pointed out to Erasmus or he himself realized that *libertinus*, not *libertus* is the correct term here. Cf. *OLD*, p. 1025, s. v. *libertinus*.

189–190 *ne ... seruitutem* Cf., e.g., Plat., *Leg.* 915 a; Suet., *Claud.* 25, though Erasmus may have had other texts in mind. See Thomas Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*, Baltimore-London, 1981, pp. 53–56, and for the legal issue, William L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 25–26.

195 *asperso ... vituli* See p. 189, n.l. 32 above.

196 *omnis ... nescius* Cf. *Ex.* 12, 5 Vg.

203 *ac praedicatus* Cf. *Hebr.* 1, 25.

207 *aemulantes* Erasmus apparently means both by dying with Christ in baptism and by following him through suffering.

Antehac obtemperastis cupiditatibus vestris vtpote carnales vmbrae rerum pro
 veris amplectentes; nunc, posteaquam purificastis animas vestras, non obserua-
 tione lustrationum Mosaicarum sed ex eo quod per fidem obedistis euangelicae
 215 veritati quae Spiritu Christi purgavit animos vestros, adnitendum est vt et inno-
 centia vitae capiti Christo et vehementi planeque fraterna minimeque fucata inter
 vos charitate concordiae corporis respondeatis vt, quemadmodum Christus vos
 dilexit non amore vulgari neque carnali, ita vos inuicem spirituali charitate pro-
 sequamini. Noua cognatio nouum desyderat affectum. Antehac Iudaei Iudaeos
 diligebatis affectu carnali; nunc longe alio modo renati, non ex semine mortali
 220 terrenoque iuxta corpus sed ex semine immortalis coelestique per sermonem Dei
 viuientis ac permanentis in aeternum, cuius Euangelio credidistis, fratres coelesti
 charitate prosequimini. Mosi lex ad tempus erat data; sermo Dei nobis prodidit
 euangelicam legem nunquam desituram. Quod ab hominibus profectum est tem-
 porarium est; quod e coelo venit aeternum est quemadmodum praedixit Esaias:
 225 *Omnis caro veluti foenum, et omnis hominis gloria quasi flos agri. Exaruit foenum,
 et flos eius decidit, at verbum Domini manet in aeternum.* Hic est sermo Dei Patris
 aeternus aeterni quem olim legis prioris vmbrae vobis deliniarunt, caeterum nunc
 per Euangelii praecones aperte praedicatur, non vobis solum sed omnibus qui
 Christum syncera fide recipiunt.

230

CAPVT II

Quoniam nuper estis per euangelicam doctrinam coelesti generatione renati prorsus
 abiectis omnibus veteris vitae viciis – si quid erat maliciae, si quid doli, si
 quid simulationis, si quid inuidientiae, si quid obtreactionis aut maledicentiae –
 posthac velut infantes recens nati auide concupiscite lac illud non corporis sed
 235 animi, lac doli nescium et aptum aetati vestrae innoxiae magis quam robustae, lac
 institutionis euangelicae. Habet enim euangelica doctrina sua rudimenta, habet
 infantiam suam, habet pabulum accommodum imbecillae aetati, habet et profec-
 tus suos, demum habet aetatem perfectam. Non sunt illa prima fastidienter hau-
 rienda, sed auide, sed sitienter; nec in his tamen persistendum, sed ab his vsque
 240 proficiendum ad perfectiora. Siquidem et absurdum fuerit, si quis e matre natus
 semper infans nihil aliud quam lac expetat. Oportet et vos grandescere donec
 adolescatis ad perfectam salutem, neque semper haerere in fundamentis sed pau-
 latim assurgere ad perfectam structuram domus. Siquidem iuxta psalmographi
 consilium *gustastis quod suavis sit Dominus* Iesus; oportet hoc gustu accendi ad
 245 appetenda maiora.

In humanis aedificiis lapides nec commutant locum suum nec accrescunt. In
 hoc aedificio – quod constat viuus lapidibus, cuius praecipuus et omnia continens
 lapis est Iesus Christus viuus et aeternus, pridem iuxta psalmographi vaticinium
 LB 1088 ab hominibus reiectus (nimirum a pharisaeis qui suo templo | perituro freti struc-
 250 turam hanc coelestem non nouerant), sed Dei iudicio selectus multoque in pre-
 cio habitus – nihil obstat quominus paulatim ad structurae perfectionem

proficiatur. Igitur ad Christum lapidem viuum, lapidem electum, lapidem in oculis Dei preciosum, oportet vos virtutum profectibus accedere vt ipsi quoque tali

214 et A-H: K BAS: om. I

221-222 fratres ... prosequimini C-H: om. A B

225 veluti A-F: velut G H

227 olim H: om. A-G; nunc H: om. A-G

231-232 prorsus H: prorsusque A-G

234 velut C-H: veluti A B

240 et D-H: vt A-C

249 nimirum H: om. A-G

211-212 *pro veris* Supply *rebus*; cf. p. 186, ll. 27-29.

212-213 *observatione* ... *Mosaicarum* See *Lu.* 15.

219-220 *non* ... *corpus* The antithesis is an easy one to make, but it also occurs in Bede, *In* 1.

Pet. 1, 23, *CCSL* 121, p. 231, l. 250-p. 232, l. 252.

221-222 *fratres* ... *prosequimini* This clause looks like a makeshift effort to supply a main clause for the sentence missing in *A B*. Cf. 1. *Pet.* 1, 22b, which Erasmus translated, "cum charitate fraterna, ab omni simulatione aliena, ex puro corde vos inuicem diligite impense". But it is not clear whether the clause was accidentally skipped by the compositor of *A* or whether Erasmus himself failed to complete the sentence in his autograph. Since he had already paraphrased the verse in the preceding sentence, he may well have lost the thread in all this verbiage.

225-226 *Omnis* ... *aeternum* *Is.* 40, 6-8 as quoted in 1. *Pet.* 1, 24, but with some improvements and adjustments in the direction of the Vulgate text of Isaiah. Thus: "veluti" for "vt" in 1. *Pet.*; "hominis" in place of "eius" because Erasmus' Greek text has ἀνθρώπου instead of αὐτοῦ; "quasi flos agri" from *Is.*; the addition of "eius" with "flos", presumably for clarification; "at" for "autem" to heighten the contrast.

226 *sermo* *Sermo* is Erasmus' preferred term for the Word (cf. the *Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo* and the *Paraphr. in loh., ad* 1, 1-2, *LB* VII, 499 B-D), although in 1. *Pet.* 1, 25 the Greek is ρῆμα, not λόγος, and Erasmus has "verbum" in his Latin version. In the paraphrase he is obviously interpreting the language of Isaiah in the light of verse 23, which has λόγος - with some justification, perhaps, if the kerygma is identified with the content of the gospel; cf. Michaels, 1 *Peter*, p. 79.

234 *illud* The demonstrative translates the article τὸ in τὸ ... γάλα; cf. *Annot. in* 1. *Pet.* 1, 1 ("rationabile sine dolo lac"), *LB* VI, 1045 D. Erasmus means 'the milk and no other.'

235 *aptum* ... *innoxiae* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 3, 1-2; *Hebr.* 5, 12-14.

240 *et* The *vt* of *A-C* suggests that Erasmus had originally written a comparative sentence

with *oportet et* introducing the main clause (for *et* in comparative sentences cf. the reading *et* in *A-G* at *Paraphr. in lac.*, p. 124, l. 101 above), but this fact, if it is one, was disguised by the punctuation of *A* which turned the *oportet* clause into an independent sentence and left the *vt* clause hanging. The correction of *vt* to *et*, presumably meaning *etiam*, may improve the grammar but hardly the style.

241-242 *donec* ... *salutem* This thought is taken from the Vulgate which reads "crescatis in salutem" (αὐξήθητε εἰς σωτηρίαν) in 2, 2. Erasmus' Greek text and Latin version omit the prepositional phrase. In his annotation *ad loc.* ("crescatis in salutem"), *LB* VI, 1045 D, Erasmus states that the concept of salvation does not fit the metaphor of growth: "Si quidem salui sunt et infantes, verum adolescent hoc lacte in virum perfectum in Christo". In his annotation on 2, 1 ("rationabile sine dolo lac"), *LB* VI, 1044 F-1045 D, he offers a tropological explanation of the metaphor of growth: "Gradus aetatum sunt profectus virtutum". This idea governs the paraphrase on 2, 1-5; cf. "virtutum profectibus" in l. 253.

244 *gustastis* ... *Dominus* *Ps.* 34, 8 Vg. Erasmus retains the language of the Vulgate in the psalm (1. *Pet.* has "dulcis" for "suavis"), except that he substitutes "quod" for "quoniam" and "sit" for "est". In his Latin version he translated χρηστός by "benignus" and in his annotation *ad loc.* ("quoniam dulcis est Dominus"), *LB* VI, 1045 D, explained that the Greek adjective means courteous, one who is not austere or harsh. This opinion was later criticized by Stunica; cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 248, ll. 371-378.

246 *humanis aedificiis* Bede, *In* 1. *Pet.* 2, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 233, ll. 39-44, employs the same antithesis between human and spiritual edifices.

251 *ad* ... *perfectionem* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 3, 1-14; *Eph.* 2, 19-22 and 4, 12-16.

253-254 *tali fundamento* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 3, 11, which Bede quotes in his commentary on 2, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 234, 54-55.

255 fundamento nixi paulatim superstruamini donec efficiamini templa spiritualia longe
 sacratoria templo quo gloriantur Iudaei, et in quibus sacerdotium exerceatur
 multo sanctius quam in illo consuevit. Siquidem in illo Leuitae et sacerdotes
 pecudes immolabant; in his spiritualibus templis vos ipsi spirituales hostias offer-
 tis longe gratissimas Deo, qui, vt spiritus est non corpus, ita spiritualibus hostiis
 260 delectatur. Ne quid desyderetis Mosi ritus per Euangelium Christi iam antiqua-
 tos, pro variis animantium generibus mactatis affectus mundanos brutosque –
 libidinem, superbiam, iram, inuidiam, vindictae cupiditatem, luxum, auaritiam –
 pro thymiamate puras preces e sinceri pectoris ara subuolantes in coelum. Haec
 sunt sacrificia quae nunquam non immolantur in templo spirituali, quae nun-
 quam non sunt grata Deo. Iam pridem enim Mosaica illa in nauseam abierunt vt
 265 testatur Esaias propheta. Horum iugis est gratia per Iesum Christum, cuius com-
 mendatione grata sunt Patri Christianorum obsequia. Non est quod diffidatis
 donec inhaeseritis capiti vestro, donec innixi fueritis eximio et immobili lapidi
 Christo, de quo dixit olim Deus per os Esaias: *Ecce pono in Sion lapidem in*
 270 *summo collocandum angulo, probatum, electum, preciosum. Et qui fisus illi fuerit,*
non pudefiet. Quod praedixit ille iam videmus exhiberi. Idem ille lapis aliis pre-
 ciosus fuit ac salutaris, aliis noxius ac pestilens. Vobis merito preciosus est qui illi
 innitimini, qui fiditis aduersus omnes tempestatum procellas tuti eius praesidio.
 Caeterum iis qui Mosi maluerunt inniti quam huic, qui hunc reiecerunt nolentes
 eum poni in aedificio quod ipsi parabant aedificare, versus est in probrum ac per-
 275 niciem. Etenim quem illi suo aedificio dignati non sunt, hunc Deus in suo aedi-
 ficio voluit esse caput anguli, quo ceu parietem vtrunque, hoc est, populum
 vtrunque, gentium ac Iudaeorum, complecteretur et contineret, cuius muni-
 mento tuta esset aduersus omnes insultus structura et in quem suo malo impin-
 gerent et incurrerent quicumque aduersarentur huic nouo aedificio. Impingunt
 280 autem quoscunque offendit sermo euangelicus neque credunt illi, cum huc eos
 praepararit lex Mosaica, vt crederent Euangelio simulatque vere praestaretur quod
 adumbrasset illa. Proinde qui reprobauerunt Christum, hos vicissim reprobauit
 Deus. Vos autem, quos illi cum Christo reiciunt, fecit genus illud electum de
 quo locutus est olim Moses, gentem illam sanctam, populum peculiarem, quem
 285 sibi Deus eximio precio vindicauit vt, quemadmodum olim populus Hebraeo-
 rum duce Mose liberatus ab Aegyptia tyrannide perque tot rerum discrimina per-
 ductus ad terram diu speratam diuinam erga se beneficentiam orbi praedicauit,
 ita et vos memores illius erga vos gratuitae benignitatis celebretis apud omnes
 admirabilem Dei potentiam, qui noua ratione deuictis hostibus salutis vestrae
 290 eruit vos ab ignorantiae viciorumque tenebris in admirabilem lucem suam euan-
 gelicae veritatis per quam omnes et gentium errores et Iudaeorum vmbrae discu-
 tiuntur. Vobis igitur contigit hoc honoris quod illi sibi promiserant qui Christum
 persequebantur, ac versis rerum vicibus euenit quod Osee futurum praedixit:

259 Mosi scripsi: Moysi A-H
 262 sinceri cett.: synceris B
 269 fisus A-E G² H: visus F G²

276-277 hoc est, populum vtrunque H: gen-
 tem vtramque (vel vtrunque) A-G
 292 illi H: om. A-G

- 254 *templa* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 6, 19 and Er. *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 2, 5 ("in sacerdotium"), *LB VI*, 1045 E.
- 258 *ut spiritus est* Cf. *Ioh.* 4, 24.
- 259 *desyderetis* As Jews, the addressees have a natural longing for the rituals of the Mosaic law and the (second) temple, which have now been made obsolete ("antiquatos") through the gospel; cf. *Hebr.* 8, 13 Vg. *Mosi Moysi* is found here in all editions, but like "vendicat" in the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 5, 4, p. 58, l. 311 above, it is probably due to the typesetter of *A. Moyses* (for Μωσής) is the preferred spelling in Vg. and hence probably more familiar to compositors in biblical contexts. Erasmus himself, however, seems to have preferred the dissyllabic spelling, which is the form which occurs elsewhere in these *Paraphrases* except at *Iud.* 11, p. 236, l. 82 below. A comparison of the text of Erasmus' Latin version and the parallel Vulgate in the 1527 edition of the *Nov. Test.* is instructive. The Vulgate uniformly has the spelling with *y*; Erasmus' version has *Mos-* and *Moys-* in 3, 2 (1), *Mos-* in 3, 16; 7, 14; 8, 5; 11, 24; and 12, 21; *Moys-* in 3, 5; 9, 19; 10, 28; and 11, 23. The variation is doubtless due to the typesetters.
- 260 *mactatis affectus* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 12, 1, *LB VII*, 817 B-D. The seven passions listed are the sources of the seven capital or deadly sins; cf. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 120, l. 30-134, l. 10. In Erasmus' list *cupiditas vindictae* is always substituted for *acedia*; in the traditional list vindictiveness appears as an alternative to anger (*ira*).
- 265 *Esaias* See 1, 11-14.
- 267 *immobili* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in 2. Tim.* 2, 19, *LB VII*, 1062 B.
- 268-270 *Ecce ... pudefiet* *Is.* 28, 16, in Erasmus' translation of the Greek of 1. *Pet.* 2, 6, except that the epithet "probatum", which does not occur in Erasmus' Latin version, is taken from Vg. In the paraphrase "collocandum" is substituted for "ponendum" and "fisu illi fuerit" for "crediderit in illo" in his Latin version, both of which appear to be stylistic variations rather than efforts to clarify the text.
- 268-269 *in summo ... angulo* In his annotation on 1. *Pet.* 2, 6a ("propter quod continet Scriptura"), *LB VI*, 1045 F, Erasmus notes that the stone may be either the cornerstone which holds the entire building together or the outstanding (*eximius*) stone in the structure. *Summus* may be intended to cover both meanings although the adjective itself is taken from Vg., which reads "lapidem summum angularem". The meaning of the adjective ἀκρογωνιάτων is in any case disputed; cf. Selwyn, *First Peter*, p. 163; Michaels, *1 Peter*, p. 103.
- 270-271 *preciosus* This is Erasmus' translation of the noun τιμή in 2, 7, which, he says in his annotation *ad loc.* ("Vobis igitur credentibus honor"), *LB VI*, 1046 C-D, he used to prevent the reader from falling into the kind of error made by Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre who explain that believers will have honor in heaven. Unfortunately, Erasmus, who is followed in this interpretation by the Authorized Version and many English versions, is most likely in error; cf. Er. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 248, l. 385-p. 250, l. 401, and n.l. 396. See Michaels, *1 Peter*, p. 104: "The honor is final vindication ... before God, the equivalent of never being put to shame," which is also the view of Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 2, 7, *CCSL* 121, p. 236, ll. 136-137.
- 273-275 *Caeterum ... perniciem* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 2, 7, *CCSL* 121, p. 236, ll. 139-145, whose explanation is very close to that of Erasmus except for the interpretation of "honor credentibus" (Vg.); see the preceding note.
- 276-277 *populum vrunque* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 2, 7, *CCSL* 121, p. 236, ll. 146-147: "... 'caput anguli' quia videlicet sicut lapis angularis duos parietes coniungit, ita Dominus Iudaeorum plebem et gentium in vna sibi fidei societate copulauit".
- 282 *reprobauit* Bede too, *ibidem*, ll. 143-144, notes that the rejection of the disbelievers is permanent, though he does not identify them so explicitly with the Jews.
- 283-284 *de quo ... Moses* The phrase "genus electum" does not occur in *Ex.* 19, 5-6, but in *Is.* 43, 20. Bede, however, *In 1. Pet.* 2, 9, *CCSL* 121, p. 237, l. 164-165, describes all four of the designations in 1. *Pet.* 2, 9 as though they came from *Ex.*
- 284 *peculiarem* Cf. *Ex.* 19, 5: "Eritis mihi in peculium" (Vg.).
- 285-287 *quemadmodum ... praedicauit* According to Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 2, 9, *CCSL* 121, p. 237, l. 186-238, l. 189, the words "ut virtutes annuntietis eius" in 1. *Pet.* 2, 9 Vg. are an allusion to *Ex.* 15, 1-18. Bede also, *ibid.*, p. 238, l. 192, interprets the "tenebrae et tribulationes" encountered in the flight from Egypt to be "persequentia nos peccata sed in baptisate deleta". Underlying the paraphrase on this verse is the traditional typological interpretation of the exodus. The "noua ratione" of l. 289, then, is the incarnation, passion and exaltation of Jesus; cf. p. 186, n.l. 23 above.
- 292 *illi* The Jews and more specifically the Pharisees; see l. 249 above.
- 293 *Osee* Cf. *Hos.* 1, 6, 9-10; 2, 23.

LB 1089 Populus qui prius erat abiectissimus vt|pote a Deo alienus nunc est populus
295 Deo peculiaris. Et populus quem Deus reicerat vt indignum sua misericordia
nunc expertus est Dei misericordiam absque circuncisionis aut legis adminiculo
per solam fidem euangelicam receptus in consortium Filii Dei.

Postquam igitur agnoscitis Dei singularem erga vos beneficentiam quos sanguinis precio redemerit, quos Filii morte sibi reconciliarit, quos Vnigeniti sui
300 membra, quos coelestis structurae lapides viuos esse voluerit, quos in filiorum ius
adoptatos ad immortalitatis haereditatem vocarit, obsecro vos, charissimi, vt vitae
sanctimonia et dignitati vestrae et benignitati diuinae et tanto praemio respondeatis. Coelo renati estis; hic velut hospites ac peregrini eo properate vbi vobis est
305 patria, vbi reposita est coelestis haereditas. Ne quid ab hoc studio vos auocent terrenae
crassaeque cupiditates quae machinis omnibus militant ac belligerantur
aduersus spiritum rebus coelestibus inhiantem. Congruat vita professioni vt vestri
mores et alios alliciant ad Christum quos habet paganismus, inter quos viuistis,
quibus intantum non oportet vllam praebere ansam vt iure male sentiant de
doctrina euangelica, si conspexerint vos ad communem vitae consuetudinem
310 nihilo meliores caeteris, vt obtrectationem illorum, qua de vobis maledicunt odio
Christi quem ignorant et odio religionis quam existimant esse maleficam superstitionem,
refellat integritas morum vestrorum atque in omnes beneficentia – quibus rebus
compertis respicient et illi agnoscentes errorem suum, afflati misericordia Dei
cum illi visum fuerit et illos attrahere qui vos delegit – iamque glorificent
315 eum ex vestris piis operibus quem ante ignotum detestabantur.

Habet et hic mundus ordinem suum qui per occasionem religionis turbandus non est,
quatenus id licet incolumi Christi gloria. Ita Christus vos voluit esse liberos a peccatis
vt tamen vltro nihil non feratis ob Euangelii negocium obtemperantes ac submittentes
vos non modo Christianis verum etiam ethnicis magistratibus – siue rex sit ille,
320 obediendum est tanquam autoritate publica praemi-nenti; siue praesides per quos
in prouinciam missos rex administrat res publicas, obtemperandum est. Neque vos
moueat quod ethnici sunt, quod idololatrae sunt; sed agnoscite functionem illorum
necessariam rei publicae quae constat e diuersis hominum ac religionum generibus.
Praesident enim isti cum autoritate vt nocentes ac scelerosos suppliciorum metu
325 coerceant ac probos praemiis inuident ad officium. Non est vobis opus illorum metu,
qui sponte praestatis plus quam exigunt leges humanae; non est opus humana laude,
quos inflammat coeleste praemium. Sed tamen oportet et hos cum caeteris agnoscere.
Sic enim vult Deus summus ille princeps vester ne quam ansam praebentis illorum
imprudentione qua possint probabiliter in crimen vocare professionem euangelicam
330 si senserint suam autoritatem a vobis negligi. Quod alii praestant metu legum,
id vos vltro ex animo praestate cumulatius etiam quam alii quo vos vere liberos
declaretis. Nam liber est is qui sponte ac volens recte facit. Absit enim vt euangelicae
libertatis praetextu abutamini ad licentius peccandum. Non debetis seruitutem
335 hominibus, sed quoniam estis serui Dei, ob huius gloriam submittetis vos omnibus
lubentes ac volentes. Si quid igitur officii, si quid honoris debetur etiam

ethnics, vel ob munus publicum quod gerunt vel ob affinitatem, id persoluite omnibus ne quid offensi reddantur alieniores ab Euangelii professione; peculiari tamen charitate par est prosequi quos | communis professio fratres vobis reddidit. Deum timete, cuius oculos nemo fallit; regem non est quur metuatis, qui non est formidabilis nisi maleficis. Sed tamen auctoritatem illius agnoscite in iis quae citra iacturam pietatis exigit a vobis. Exposcit vectigal, soluite. Exigit tributum, date.

Quod liberi praestare debent magistratibus, licet ethnics, hoc serui praestare debent heris suis, a quorum obsequio non liberat illos baptismus. Imo hoc maiore cum reuerentia debent illos agnoscere, non solum si boni sint ac modesti, verum etiam si difficiles et asperi, ne forte offensi moribus vestris incommodioribus incusent professionem et ab ea reddantur alieniores ad quam oportebat illos vestra probitate pellici magis et inuitari. Dicit aliquis: 'Durum est ferre principum tyrannidem, durum est perpeti saeuitiam dominorum. Illi spoliant, exigunt, affligunt; hi flagris et colaphis conscindunt innoxios.' Recte viderentur haec non ferenda si hoc illis tribueretur ac non potius Deo. Non meretur hoc illorum impietas, vt tolerentur; sed ita est Dei voluntas vt vestra bonitas illorum maliciam vertat in gloriam Christi. Nam ita demum Deo grata est vestra patientia cum praeter meritum afflicti tamen aequanimiter toleratis non metu hominum sed ob Dei gloriam. Vulgo nihil est impatientius contumeliae quam innocentia. At inter Christianos longe secus est, apud quos, vt quisque est optimus, ita Deo cupit esse gratissimus. Atque hunc quo diligit impensius, hoc alacrius perpetitur quicquid ad illius pertinet gloriam. Quid autem laudis fuerit si, cum ob malefacta colaphis caedimini, suffertis? Docet hoc mali conscientia, vt quisque commeritas poenas tacitus ferat. Verum cum pro benefactis illata mala patienter toleratis, gratiam initis apud Deum, cuius causa volentes perpetimini. Indignetur innocentia vestra nisi Christus innocens grauiora passus est pro nobis. Haec est vestra professio,

312 atque *H*: et *A–G*

321 rex *H*: *om. A–G*

351 *prius non A B D–H*: nos *C*

297 *per ... euangelicam* Cf. *Gal.* 5, 5–6; *Rom.* 9, 30–33.

311–312 *maleficam superstitionem* Cf. *Plin. Epist.* X, 96, 8; *Tac. Ann.* XV, 44, 4; *Suet. Ner.* 16, 2.

314 *cum ... delegit* This clause is a paraphrase on the words ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς ("in die visitationis", Vg.). Cf. *Er. Annot. in 1. Pet.* 2, 12 ("in die visitationis"), *LB VI*, 1046 F. This interpretation occurs in the *Glossa*, Hugo, and Nicholas of Lyre, but not in Bede. Modern opinion about the meaning of the phrase in *1. Pet.* varies considerably; cf. Selwyn, *First Peter*, p. 171, Michaels, *1 Peter*, pp. 119–120.

320 *rex* The Roman emperor; cf. *Er. Annot. in 1. Pet.* 2, 13 ("siue ducibus tamquam ab eo missis"), *LB VI*, 1046 F. However, the pronoun "eo" in the phrase "ab eo missis" was interpreted in the *Glossa* to refer to God.

Erasmus admits this possibility in the annotation (*LB VI*, 1047 D), but the addition of *rex* (l. 321) in *H* shows that he believes Peter is speaking solely about civil authority.

333–334 *euangelicae ... peccandum* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 2, 16, *CCSL* 121, p. 241, ll. 295–299, who argues that being freed from our servitude to the Devil, does not give us a license to sin.

340–341 *qui ... maleficis* Cf. *Rom.* 13, 3.

342 *Exposcit ... date* Cf. *Mt.* 22, 21. In the annotation cited in n.l. 320 above Erasmus suggests these actions as examples of proper compliance with civil authority, but with the reservation that they pertain to ancient times. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 2, 17, *CCSL* 121, p. 241, ll. 303–305, followed by Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre, likewise refers to *Mt.* 22, 21.

hac lege asciti estis in corpus illius, ut exemplum tolerantiae quod ille vobis reli-
 quit sequamini et iisdem vestigiis ingressi grassemini ad aeternam gloriam, qua ille
 365 peruenit. Quid ille malorum non pertulit qui cum latronibus crucifixus est?
 Quid eodem innocentius, qui adeo nullum admisit facinus ut nec in lingua illius
 sit vllus vnquam repertus dolus? Cum in illum congererent acerba conuitia, non
 regessit maledicta; quin potius Patrem obsecrauit ut illis ignosceret. Cum vincire-
 tur, cum caederetur, cum crucifigeretur, non minitabatur vindictam sed omnem
 370 vindictam reliquit Patri, qui non ex affectu sed iuste iudicat, ipse deprecatorem
 interim agens, non instigatorem.

Nos tametsi nunc sequimur innocentiam, tamen sceleribus nostris commerue-
 ramus olim vltionem Dei. At Christus, cum ipse nulli peccato esset obnoxius,
 tamen sarcinam peccatorum nostrorum, quo nos oneratos subleuaret, sustulit in
 375 proprio corpore et in ligno crucis velut holocaustum pro nostris sceleribus immo-
 latus est suaque morte immerita nobis debitam mortem depulit ut illius mortem
 ac resurrectionem interim imitemur ac mortui pristinis peccatis cupiditatibusque
 quibus addicti seruiebamus, posthac viuamus innocentiae cui nos ille consecrauit,
 omnis innocentiae fons, qui nostram impietatem in se transtulit ut nobis suam
 380 conferret iustitiam. Nos offenderamus, ille vapulauit; nostra erat culpa, in illum
 saeuit animaduersio. Proinde iuxta vaticinium Esaiae nos illius liuore sanati
 sumus. Huic igitur acceptum ferre debetis innocentiam vestram; quod pristinae
 vitae peccata non imputat Deus, huius vinculis, huius plagis, huius vulneribus,
 1091 huius cruci, huius morti debetis. | Nam ante velut oves palantes absque duce alii
 385 alio aberrabatis, quo quemque sua ducebat cupiditas, existimantes licere quicquid
 liberet; sed ab errore pristino nunc conuersi estis ad Christum Iesum, pastorem
 et curatorem animarum vestrarum. Hunc si sequamini ferendis praeter meritum
 afflictionibus malorum, illo duce peruenietis ad immortalitatis gloriam.

CAPVT III

390 Iam quemadmodum liberi principes ac magistratus publicos, serui dominos
 priuatos debent obsequio, quod vbique parit beneuolentiam, ad Euangelii fauo-
 rem pellicere aut certe per occasionem non irritare si forte sanabiles non sunt, ita
 debent et vxores maritis suis morigeras praebere sese, non modo Christianis
 verum etiam iis qui doctrinam euangelicam nondum sunt amplexi. Siquidem
 395 fieri potest ut quos non commouet nostra praedicatio, eos vxoris integritas, pie-
 tas, modestia, temperantia, castitas, tolerantia peruincat atque permolliat ac
 denique Christo lucrifaciat. Etenim cum conspexerint eas a baptismo commuta-
 tis esse moribus, cum in eis viderint exemplar verae virtutis, fortassis inflamma-
 buntur – huc etiam nonnihil appellente affectu maritali – ut qui thori consortes
 400 sunt velint et professionis esse socii. Habet enim perquam acres stimulos syncera
 probitas, quae saepenumero propius animaduersa facit ut carnalis amor vertatur
 in spiritualem. Illum excitat formae venustas et formae gratiam adiuuans cultus,
 hunc excitat mentis integritas pulchritudo relucens in moribus. Quamobrem

405 vxoribus quae Christum professae sunt non oportet hoc esse studium vt iuxta vulga-
 tam consuetudinem compositis arte capillis, vt additis gemmis auroe et purpu-
 reo amictu reliquoque corporis cultu qui foris exhibetur sese commendent oculis
 virorum. Quid enim aliud fiat hisce rebus nisi vt corpus vxoris adamant ad libi-
 dinis vsum? At quota portio hominis est corpus? Illud magis debet esse studio, vt
 410 morum ornatu prouocati mentem animumque latentem adamant, si eam
 conspexerint puram nulloque viciorum naeuo contaminatam, si praeter morem
 communem nihil viderint in muliere muliebrium affectuum, nihil intemperan-
 tiae, nihil iracundiae, nihil inuidiae, nihil ambitionis, nihil arrogantiae, nihil pro-
 cacitatis, sed spiritum mitem, placidum, tractabilem ac mansuetum. Hic est cul-
 tus magnificus ac splendidus in oculis Dei. Hoc ornatu potissimum demerendus
 415 est maritorum animus. Hoc lenocinio et olim sanctae mulieres aliquot, quae
 spem suam fixerunt non in rebus fluxis atque caducis sed in Deo, commendebant
 se viris suis, non auro gemmisue aut purpura sed modestia et obsequio quo facil-
 lime lenitur virilis ingenii ferocitas. Sic Sara obediebat Abrahae dominum eum
 420 Nam quanquam non competit viro dominatus in vxorem, est tamen autoritas,
 qua etiam sicubi abutatur, est tamen modestiae muliebris obsequundare in loco.
 Porro sicut Abrahae germani verique filii sunt qui fidem illius sequuntur, ita vos

368-369 vinciretur *ABGH*: vinciretur *C*: vin-
 ceretur *D-F*

394 nondum *A-CH*: non *D-G*

401 propius animaduersa facit *H*: facit propius

368 *quin ... ignosceret* Cf. *Lc.* 23, 34.

370-371 *ipse ... agens* Cf. *1. Ioh.* 2, 1 and Er.
Paraphr. in Rom., ad 8, 34, *LB VII*, 805 A-B,
 for the legal imagery.

381 *iuxta ... Esaias* Cf. 53, 5.

387 *curatorem* *Curator* is Erasmus' translation of
 ἐπίσκοπος in 2, 25 ("episcopus", Vg.), pre-
 sumably because a *curator* exercises a *cura*, a
 responsibility. In his annotation *ad loc.* ("et
 episcopum animarum"), *LB VI*, 1048 E, Eras-
 mus remarks that *episcopi* are called by this
 name because they look out for (*prospicere*)
 the needs of others. The *Glossa*, followed by
 Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre, explain the
 Greek word as equivalent in construction and
 meaning to Latin *superintendens*.

395-396 *integritas ... tolerantia* Cf. *Tit.* 2, 4-5;
 Er. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 55, l. 15, lists the spe-
 cial virtues of women as "pietas, modestia,
 sobrietas, pudicitia".

405-406 *compositis ... cultu* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in 1.*
Tim., ad 2, 9, *LB VII*, 1042 B-C: "Absit autem
 vt christianae mulieres eo cultu prodeant in
 coetum sacrum quo vulgus profanarum
 mulierum solet ad nuptias aut theatrum exire,

animaduersa *A-G*

404 hoc *om. G*

410 contaminatam *A-C GH*: contaminatum
D-F

quae se multo studio prius ornant ad speculum
 arte contortis crinibus aut auro intertexto aut
 pendulis ab auribus colloque margaritis aut alio-
 qui holoserica purpureae veste ..."

purpureo amictu As in the paraphrase on *1.*
Tim. 2, 9 (n.ll. 405-406 above), Erasmus
 enhances the biblical text with images drawn
 from other biblical and classical texts; cf.,
 e.g., *Lc.* 16, 19; *Hor. Carm.* II, 16, 7; *Verg.*
Aen. II, 163. As these passages indicate, the
 combination of gold and purple was a sym-
 bol of the ostentatious display of wealth and
 in that respect unbecoming a Christian. Cf.
 Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 3, 3, *CCSL* 121, p. 243, ll.
 9-12, who summarizes Cyprian, *De hab. virg.*
 10 (*CSEL* III, 1, p. 194-195) to the effect that
 women clad in silk and purple can not put
 on Christ; adorned with gold, pearls, and
 necklaces they have destroyed the ornaments
 of their hearts.

418-419 *dominum ... vocans* Cf. *Gn.* 18, 12, but
 Erasmus also seems to have *Gn.* 12, 11-16 in
 mind.

422 *Abrahae ... sequuntur* Cf. *Gal.* 3, 7 and Eras-
 mus' paraphrase on this verse, *LB VII* 953 B.

estis Sarae filiae quae mulieris optimae mores et masculinum animi robur refertis, bonis operibus ornantes vosmetipsas ac fiduciam omnem collocantes in Deo, cuius praesidio fretae non est quod quicquam expauescatis imbellicitate muliebri.

Atque ut matronarum officium est obsequio casto sanctisque moribus ac mansuetudine deuincire maritos suos, ita vestrae partes sunt, o viri, nequaquam abuti vestra autoritate, veluti tyrannidem agentes in vxores vestras quod vobis se submittant; imo hoc minus sitis in illas domini, quod se faciunt ancillas. Sociae sunt fortunarum ac rerum omnium. Sentiant vos commodos conuictores; vestraque sapientia subueniat imbecillitati sexus foeminei. Quo plus valetis animi corporisque viribus, hoc magis oportet opitulari mulierum infirmitati ut vestra institutione vestraque moderatione reddantur meliores ac veluti sexu posito mascullescant ad euangelicam pietatem. Neque enim christiani mariti sunt qui vxores tantum habent ad vsum coitus; imo magis adnitendum est ut sociae fiant ieiuniorum, eleemosynarum, vigiliarum, precationum quo quae vocatae sunt ad commune praemium aeternae vitae communibus etiam studiis huc contendant. In Christiano coniugio nihil aut certe quam minimum dandum est voluptati, pietati plurimum. In qua, si consensus erit et subinde temperabitis a coitu, non interruptentur vestrae precationes, quo sacrificio oportet quotidie litare Deo.

Ut igitur sunt aliorum alia peculiaria officia, ita sui quenque hoc magis decet meminisse, quod qui Christum professus est debet in his quae probitatis sunt caeteris antecellere. Caeterum illud est omnium commune officium, ut quemadmodum eadem omnibus est professio, sicut per baptismum eidem estis insiti corpori, ita per concordiam sit idem omnium animus. Non vos aetas, fortuna, conditio patriae diuersa disiungat, quae res apud alios saepenumero ministrant odiorum ac dissidiorum seminaria. Vos oportet esse coniunctissimos quos idem baptismus regenuit Deo, qui Patrem in coelis habetis eundem, qui pendentes ab vno capite Christo estis eiusdem corporis membra, quos euangelica professio fratres ex aequo reddidit, et ob id ad idem immortalitatis praemium absque discrimine Pater ille coelestis vocauit omnes, siue pauperes siue diuites, siue seruos siue dominos, siue maritos siue vxores, siue Iudaeos siue gentes. In hac parte nullum est discrimen; ideo non debet esse dissensio neque supercilium. Multo plus impetrabit christiana charitas sese submitbens quam autoritas exigens. Neque enim conuenit inter arrogantes, feroces, suique amantes. Si in corpore animantis membra sibi vicissim subsidio sunt et, si quid vni cuiquam accidit commodi aut incommodi, id singula suum esse ducunt; si quos sanguinis propinquitas coniungit cognatorum commodis atque incommodis pariter gaudent et indolescunt, quanto magis conuenit vos tot modis coniunctos hunc praestare consensum ut alienis bonis ac malis non minus tangamini quam propriis. Ita demum praestabitis vere fraternam charitatem si qui feliciores sunt non fastidiant infortunatos, sed malis illorum indolentes pro viribus opitulentur; si qui potentia praeminent et autoritate non premant ac despiciant humiliores, sed consuetudinis comitate affabilitateque semet inferioribus accommodent ut sit aequalitas et quos fortuna separauit coniungat christiana charitas. Absit autem a vobis vindictae libido,

quorum est alere concordiam, non solum cum piis ac fratribus verum etiam, si fieri possit, cum omnibus. Cum bonis oportet officiis certare, cum malis tolerantia aut etiam beneficentia, qua vt vincuntur et ferae, ita mollescit aliquoties deplorata hominum malicia. Ne velitis igitur iniuriam iniuria retaliare aut conuitium conuitio. Sic enim fiet vt et ipsi mali sitis qui malos imitemini. Quin potius iniuriam officio, maledicentiam benedicendo pensate vt vestra insuperabili bonitate vincatis et obruatis illorum maliciam. Neque enim in hoc vocauit vos Deus, vt malefactis ac maledictis superetis, sed benefaciendo omnibus, bene loquendo cunctis mereamini audire vocem illam optabilem: *Venite, benedicti | Patris mei; possidete regnum.* Bonis malefacere plus quam ferinum est, in benedictos esse maledicum plus quam scurrarum. De male merentibus bene mereri, de maledicentibus et obtrectantibus bene loqui christianae virtutis est. Hoc si cui durum videtur, audiat psalmographum diuino afflatum Spiritu idem praecipientem: *Qui vult, inquit, vitam diligere et dies videre bonos, coerceat linguam suam a malo, cohibeat labia sua ne loquantur dolum; declinet a malo et faciat bonum; quaerat pacem et persequatur eam. Quoniam oculi Domini super iustos, et aures illius intentae sunt ad preces eorum. Rursus aspectus Domini super eos qui faciunt mala.*

Proinde si Deum volumus in nos esse beneficum, simus ipsi benefici in omnes. Si volumus illius vltionem effugere, ne quem omnino laedamus. Nec audio quod hic forsitan obmurmurabit affectus humanus: 'Ni propulsaro iniuriam, impunitas inuitabit plurimos ad laedendum'. Imo nihil vos reddet tutiores ab iniuria quam si vel toleretis vel officio pensetis etiam. Nullus est laedendi finis quoties misera vicissitudine conuitium conuitio, iniuria conduplicatur iniuria. Si nemo repugnet, conquiescet aut certe languescet improbitas. Quis enim cupiat vos laedere si studueritis omnibus benefacere, laedere neminem? Quod si qui reperiuntur adeo caeci vt odio virtutis aut errore vos persequantur, quaeso, qua in re

447 *seminaria H: seminarium A-G*

453 *ideo H: et ideo A-G*

463 *non C-H: ne A B*

476 *De male merentibus bene mereri D-H:*

De bene merentibus male mereri A-C

432-433 *vestra institutione* See *Inst. christ. matrim.* LB V, 690 F-692 D, for an example of what Erasmus means by this phrase.

439 *si consensus erit* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 7, 5.

subinde ... coitu Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 3, 7,

CCSL 121, p. 244, ll. 34-36: "Si abstinemus

nos a coitu, honorem [mulieribus]

tribuimus". Bede then, *ibidem*, ll. 36-43,

quotes 1. *Cor.* 7, 5 and comments: "Impediri

ergo orationes officio coniugali commemorat

[sc. Petrus] quia quotiescumque vxori debi-

tum reddo, orare non possum". Cf. also Er.

Annot. in 1. Pet. 3, 7 ("honorem impar-

tientes"), LB VI, 1049 D, and *Resp. ad annot.*

Ed. Lei, LB IX, 242 C-243 E. See Asso,

Teologia e Grammatica, pp. 156-158.

451-452 *siue pauperes ... gentes* Cf. *Gal.* 3, 28.

453 *ideo* For the omission or perhaps deletion

of *et* before *ideo* in *H* cf. *Paraphr. in Hebr.*,

p. 68, n.l. 593 above; for its retention cf.

Paraphr. in 2. Pet., p. 222, l. 133.

456 *membra ... sunt* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 12, 26.

468 *vt ... ferae* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Iac.*, p. 142,

ll. 607-611; *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 47, ll. 5-6.

474-475 *Venite ... regnum* Cf. *Mt.* 25, 34.

476-477 *de ... bene loqui* Cf. *Lc.* 6, 27-28.

478-482 *Qui ... mala* Cf. *Ps.* 34, 12-16, as

quoted in 1. *Pet.* 3, 10-12. The paraphrase

follows Erasmus' Latin version except that, to

create a stylistic balance, he replaces "et"

before "labia" by "cohibeat", and replaces the

"aures eius ad deprecationem illorum" of the

Latin version with language that is closer to

Vg., which has "aures eius in preces eorum".

possunt laedere? Auferent pecuniam mox alioqui relinquendam, affligent corpus, occident breui alioqui morituros. Haec omnia, quoniam ob pietatem inferuntur, adeo nullum damnum adferunt vt lucro etiam augeant. His malis augent vobis
 495 aeternae felicitatis praemium. Qui bonae mentis afficitur dispendio, is vere laeditur; ea incolumi lucrum est quicquid mundus putat esse damnum. Beatitudo est quicquid istis videtur calamitas. In vobis igitur situm est efficere ne qua vis malorum vobis noceat. Quicquid hominum improbitas ademerit, id diuina largitas immenso cum foenore restituet. Proinde Deo fretos nihil est quod terreant hominum
 500 minae aut perturbet malorum violentia. Ne in mediis quidem afflictionum procellis animo turbemini, tanquam ope diuina destituti. Neque maledicatis hominibus qui vos per ignorantiam affligunt; quin potius glorificate Dominum Deum in cordibus vestris, qui suis famulis omnia vertit in bonum siue laeta accidunt siue aduersa. Semper itaque laudandus est; si voce non semper licet, certe
 505 cordis affectu nusquam non licet. Huius hostes non sunt exacerbandi conuictiis, verum vbicunque offeret se spes aliqua posse illos ad Christum pertrahi, sitis faciles promptique ad respondendum quibuslibet cupientibus cognoscere qua fiducia quaque spe contemnatis huius vitae commoda et incommoda toleretis. Idque facite non indignabundi, non contumeliose velut illis infensi, sed cum
 510 omni mansuetudine ac reuerentia freti nimirum vestra conscientia bona etiam si non possitis illis persuadere. Neque enim satis est Christianis vt vera loquantur et Christo digna, sed ita loquantur vt ipsa sermonis ratio declaret vos non vestrum negocium agere sed Christi gloriam et illorum quibus loquimini spectare salutem. Hoc erit certissimum argumentum quo pudefiant ii qui vitam vestram,
 515 quam agitis iuxta Christi doctrinam, calumniantur vt fucata ac maleficam. Nam fucata virtus, quanquam alias fallit praestigio, tamen vbi ventum est ad afflictiones, erumpit ac prodit sese. Sola mens sibi bene conscia totaque pendens a Deo potest alacriter ferre omnia et adeo non moliri vindictam vt iis etiam benefacere conetur a quibus affligitur. | Neque vos moueat quod innocentes nocentium supplicia patimini; imo hoc nomine leuius ferendum est quicquid inferitur. Praestat enim vobis vt, si Deo visum fuerit ista vos pati, benefacientes perpetiamini quam malefacientes. Etenim qui pro malefactis punitur, tantum luit quod
 520 commeruit; vestrae afflictiones cedunt in gloriam Christi vestraeque felicitatis cumulum.

525 Gloriosum est vobis imitari principem vestrum. Sic ille gloriam Dei Patris illustravit – totus innocens captus est, vinctus est, caesus est, consputus est, crucifixus est, pro nostris peccatis mortuus est cum ipse nullum haberet peccatum. Iustus pro iniustis, insons pro sontibus poenas dedit libenter obediens voluntati paternae, quo nos, qui peccatores eramus, puros et illibatos exhiberet Patri vt et
 530 ipsi sequentes illius exemplum inter nocentes viuamus innoxii ac boni pro malorum salute patiamur. Semel ille duntaxat mortuus est pro temporaria afflictione vita donatus aeterna ne nos semel exempti a peccatis ad eadem relaberemur. Expiauit autem nos Christus morti traditus ob imbecillitatem humani corporis quod assumpserat, sed reuocatus ad vitam virtute spiritus qui nullis afflictionibus

535 vinci poterat. Siquidem eo tempore quo corpus illius exanime sepulchro clau-
 batur, spiritu viuens penetrauit ad inferos et, quemadmodum apud homines
 mortali corpore circumdatos ipse corporeus praedicauit euangelicam doctrinam
 cui qui crediderunt salutem sunt assequuti, qui credere recusarunt damnationis
 540 aeternae cumulum sibi accersierunt, ita corpore posito adiit eos spiritus qui et
 ipsi corporibus exuti debebant apud inferos eisque praedicauit iam adesse tempus
 quo praemium caperent suae pietatis, quod olim veriti iusticiam Dei nec se sint
 vlti de malis et innoxii vixerint inter nocentes; ac denunciauit eos se digna pas-
 suos qui temporibus Noe, cum appareretur arca et expectaretur diluuium

492 auferent A–C K BAS: auferant D–I
 492 affligent A–H² K BAS: affligant I
 504 alt. semper H: om. A–G
 513 quibus loquimini H: om. A–G
 526 totus H: om. A–G

535–536 claudebatur H: clauderetur A–G
 539 eos H: om. A–G
 542 innoxii A–H² K BAS: noxii I
 542–543 eos se digna passuros G H: se digna
 passuros iis A–F

492 *Auferent ... corpus* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 3, 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 245, ll. 70–71: “De his dicit quae nobis ab aduersariis ... per damna rerum temporalium, per tormenta corporis accedunt”.

497–498 *In vobis ... noceat* Cf. Bede, *ibidem*, ll. 76–78: “Si quis autem huius modi aduersus victus deficit, non huic ille qui malum intulit sed ipse sibi qui hoc patienter ferre recusauit nocuit”.

533–535 *Expiauit ... poterat* Erasmus’ exegesis of 3, 18 anticipates what appears to be the consensus of recent commentators; cf., e.g., J.N.D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, London, 1982, pp. 150–151; Michaels, *1 Peter*, pp. 203–205; Selwyn, *First Peter*, pp. 196–197.

535–536 *Siquidem ... inferos* In a side note (see Appendix I) Erasmus calls verses 19–22 a *locus durus*. Cf. Kelly, *op. cit.* n.ll. 565–7, p. 152: “[Verses 19–22] present the most difficult and controversial problems in the letter”. See also W.J. Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3, 18–4, 6*, Rome, 1965. Erasmus’ dichotomy between the lifeless corpse in the tomb and the living spirit follows patristic exegesis; however, he ignores, perhaps deliberately, the question whether ‘spirit’ here means Christ’s human soul (Origen, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria) or his human soul and divine spirit in union (Epiphanius, Augustine). Without committing himself to the second view, Erasmus nevertheless seems to reject Origen’s position; cf. *Annot. in Rom.* 1, 3 (“ex resurrectione mortuorum Iesu Christi”), *LB* VI, 556 C, and *in 1. Pet.* 3, 18 (“Mortificatos quidem carne”),

LB VI, 1050 F. The text of the medieval Vulgate is quite different from the Greek and consequently Bede and the later commentators were led seriously astray in their efforts to explain the passage allegorically and are sharply criticized by Erasmus in the annotation *ad loc.*

539–542 *adiit ... nocentes* Erasmus continues to follow patristic precedent in connecting Christ’s journey in 1. *Pet.* 3, 19 with the descent into the underworld (here *ad inferos*) in the Apostles’ Creed. Hence the ‘spirits’ of 3, 19 are all the godly who lived and died before the incarnation and whose souls were imprisoned in the *limbus patrum*, while the ‘disobedient’ of verse 20 are the sinners exemplified by the disbelievers of Noah’s time. If the distinction between the two kinds of spirits in the paraphrase is based upon this disjunction, it is of course inaccurate regardless of its other merits. For Erasmus’ conception of the ‘Harrowing of Hell’ see *Carm.*, No. 112 (*Carmen heroicum de solemnitate paschali atque de triumphali Christi resurgentis pompa et descensu eius ad inferos*), *ASD* I, 7, pp. 385–404, especially p. 394, l. 162–p. 395, l. 171, and p. 396, l. 188–p. 397, l. 219; *Explan. symboli*, *ASD* V, 1, p. 257, l. 544–p. 259, l. 594; *Enarrat. in Ps.*, *ASD* V, 2, p. 332, ll. 106–113, and 3, p. 394, ll. 772–801. This interpretation of 1. *Pet.* 3, 18–22, which derives ultimately from Clem. Al., *Adumb. in 1. Pet.* 3, 19; *Strom.* VI, 6, 44–46, is for the most part rejected by recent twentieth-century commentators; see Kelly, *op. cit.* n.ll. 565–7, pp. 152–157; Michaels, *1 Peter*, pp. 205–211.

immittendum a Deo mortalium sceleribus irritato, non crediderunt sed abusi
 545 sunt lenitate diuina cum viderent id quod minitabatur in annos aliquot proferri.
 Itaque diluuium irruens perdidit omnes exceptis perpauca, nimirum octo dun-
 taxat, qui se iuxta Noe consilium commiserunt arcae nec absorpti sunt diluui-
 Et illis itaque temporibus fides non caruit suo praemio. Nec enim siuit Deus per-
 ire sibi fidentes toto pectore. Nec increduli possunt effugere vindictam Dei etiam
 550 si vos non sitis vltiores. Vobis enim satis est quod obeditis Deo, caeterum impio-
 rum vltionem illi relinquit.

Iam quod fuit illis arca Noe, hoc vobis est baptismus; quod illis diluuium, hoc
 impiis aeternum supplicium praedicatum iis qui non obediunt Euangelio. Satis
 erat Noe denunciassse venturum diluuium; satis erat ostendisse quo pacto liceret
 555 effugere periculum si poenitentia placassent iram Dei, quam in se suis sceleribus
 prouocarant. Vobis quoque satis sit innocentia vestra; satis sit aliis denunciassse
 quod praemium paratum sit credentibus Euangelio, quae poena maneat incred-
 ulos. Si pauci seruantur per fidem, vobis non imputabitur. Si bona pars hominum
 perit incredulitate, suo pte vicio perit. Sic Deo visum est aperire discrimen bono-
 560 rum ac malorum. Baptismus rite acceptus seruat ab exitio ac diluit sordes non
 corporum sed animorum. Repudiatus perdit in aeternum ac scelerum grauioribus
 vndis inuoluit. Itaque quod aliis saluti est accedente fide, hoc incredulis ac rebel-
 libus adfert exitium. Neque tamen vobis satis est quod per baptismi diluuium
 periere peccata, periere pravae cupiditates pristinae vitae nisi adsit conscientia per
 omnem deinde vitam respondens beneficio diuino. Mortuus est Christus, | sed
 566 semel duntaxat, resurrexit nunquam moriturus; ac nobis per baptismum ita
 semel occiduntur scelera vitae per Christi mortem vt post in illo rediuiui inno-
 centiae nunquam relabamur in peccata – quod quidem in nobis est. Id fiet si
 veluti deposita mortalitate totis animis ad coelestem illam vitam aspiremus, cuius
 570 haereditas manet obediens Euangelio. Sic enim resurrexit Iesus Christus vt
 deinde non sit moratus in terris sed a mortalium consortio sese subduxerit in coe-
 lum, atque illic fruens immortalitatis gloria assidet Patri dexter, non quidem sine
 corpore, sed in quod iam nullum ius habet mors, quae, dum absorbere conatur
 innocentem, prorsus absorpta est dumque sibi praedam opimam pollicetur, ipsa
 575 praeda fuit. Porro Christi victoria nostra est victoria et quod in illo praecessit glo-
 riae nobis ostenditur, si modo perseueremus in eo quod coepimus et illius vesti-
 giis inhaereamus. In illum nihil valuerunt improborum afflictiones; imo his tole-
 randis vicit, triumphat ac regnat sublimis sedens in coelis, superior angelis
 omnibus aut quicquid est alioqui virtutum ac potestatum. Vobis aperuit vitam in
 580 coelum vt eadem via qua ille ingressus est vos quoque eodem grassemini. Parata
 certaue est haereditas, cuius ille pro vobis quoque possessionem adiit, si modo
 vos ea praestetis dignos, hoc est, si innocentiae quam ille gratis donauit iunxerit-
 is studium benemerendi de omnibus, etiam de malis et affligentibus vos – quod
 quidem sit in vobis.

585

CAPVT IIII

Cum igitur Christus, princeps et caput vestrum, non obsequutus sit huius vitae voluptatibus, sed per temporarias corporis afflictiones peruenerit ad coelestem gloriam cumque tolerantiae armis deuicerit aduersarios, aequum est vt qui profitemini vos illius discipulos simili animi proposito vosipsos armetis. Tutissima est armatura vitae innocentia. Inexpugnabile munimentum est patientia christiana. Hac quisquis cinctus est non potest a quoquam laedi. Quisquis Christo commortuus fuerit iuxta carnem sic destitit a peccatis vitae prioris vt humanis cupiditatibus plane sit mortuus, vt iam non titilletur auiditate gloriae, non irritetur vindicandi libidine, sed quicquid est reliquum aetatis quod datur in hoc corpusculo, id totum viuat voluntati Dei, cui vni placere desyderat, a quo expectat bonae conscientiae praemium, cui relinquit improborum vindictam. Quisquis ad martyrium paratus est non tangitur huius mundi voluptatibus. Sic enim apud se cogitat: 'Absit vt semel cum Christo meo suffixus in crucem descendam ad relicta vicia, semel destinatus aeternae felicitati reuoluar ad huius mundi non minus breues quam insanas delicias. Abunde satis est quod praeteritum tempus adhuc alienus a Christo impenderim insanis cupiditatibus quibus gentes profanae turpiter seruiunt, addictae deditaeque lasciuuis, concupiscentiis, vinolentiis, comessionibus, comotationibus ac nefariis simulacrorum cultibus'. Haec gaudemus a tergo reliquisse Christi beneficio et quoties respicimus, inhorrescimus tantam vitae foeditatem, tantam ignorantiae caliginem. Nunc pro libidine placet castitas, pro luxu frugalitas, pro vinolentia sobrietas, pro superstitioso simulacrorum cultu vera pietas religiosusque cultus Dei viui, cui gratissimum sacrificium est animus ab omni viciorum inquinamento purus et illibatus. Quos adhuc habent suae

595

600

605

551 relinquit *H*: relinquentes *A-G*
 552 fuit illis *F-H*: illis fuit *A-E*
 553 impiis *C-H*: vobis *A B*
 556 Vobis *D-H*: Vos *A-C*
 560 prius ac *C-H*: et *A B*

564 periere peccata *om. I*
 572 quidem *H*: *om. A-G*
 573 habet *G H*: habeat *A-F G*
 603 comotationibus *A-F G*: *om. E G H*

545 *annos aliquot* One hundred years according to Bede; cf. *In 1. Pet.* 3, 19, *CCSL* 121, p. 249, ll. 228-231.
 550-551 *caeterum ... relinquit* See the paraphrase on 4, 5, p. 208, ll. 617-624.
 573-574 *quae ... absorpta est* This clause and what follows are a paraphrase on the reading of Vg. - "deglutiens mortem, vt vitae aeternae heredes efficeremur", - which is not found in Erasmus' Greek text; see Metzger, pp. 693-694. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 3, 21, *CCSL* 121, p. 251, ll. 278-280, likewise refers to 1. *Cor.* 15, 54 to illustrate Peter's statement.

596-597 *ad martyrium* Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 4, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 251, ll. 15-16, employs the same comparison; he also explains that to be crucified with Christ means to be dead to sin (ll. 34-37).
 603 *comotationibus* This word could conceivably have been deleted by Erasmus as an unnecessary repetition of "comessionibus", but it is more likely to have been accidentally omitted by the typesetter of *E*, who was extremely negligent.
 607 *gratissimum sacrificium* Cf the paraphrase on 1. *Pet.* 2, 5, p. 195, l. 252-p. 196, l. 259.

tenebrae, mirantur istam tantam in vobis animorum ac vitae mutationem et indignantur vestra frugalitate damnari luxum ipsorum, vestra integritate notari vitam
 610 ipso|rum omni intemperantiae genere superfluentem. Amarent socios turpitudinis
 LB 1096 suae; nunc ob vitae dissimilitudinem obtrectant vobis, sed non est quod horum conuitiis commoueamini nec sunt vicissim conuitiis insectandi. Vobis
 615 satis sit mens sibi bene conscia apud Deum. Si qua potestis illos ad meliora conuertere, conandum est, sed ita vt a vestra synceritate non recedatis. Si respiscunt, gratulandum est; si obdurati conuitiis etiam insectantur bene volentes, relinquite vindictam Deo, cuius iudicium nullus mortalium potest effugere. Is enim suo tempore iudicabit omnes, non viuos tantum verum etiam mortuos – viuos quos aduentus Christi deprehenderit viuentes in corpore, mortuos qui ante
 620 Christi aduentum iam excesserint e viuis. Quanquam non vere viuit nisi qui viuit pietati. Qui seruiunt viciis foedisque cupiditatibus Deo mortui sunt. Huic iudici reddituri sunt rationem isti vere mortui si nolint a suis viciis respiscere. Ille pro vobis poenam sumet de illis vobisque vestrae tolerantiae praemia persoluet aequissimus iudex. Cupit ille quidem omnes reuiuiscere ad pietatem euangelicam
 625 et hac gratia voluit Euangelii gratiam praedicari non modo Iudaeis iuxta Mosi legem religiose viuentibus, non solum gentibus iuxta naturae legem probe degentibus, verum etiam mortuis omnique viciorum genere prorsus sepultis. Et horum tenebris voluit ingeri lucem euangelicam, hos voluit cum omni mansuetudine tolerantiaque doceri vt et ipsi tandem expergiscentes, contemptis his in quibus
 630 nunc caeci collocant felicitatem suam, apud homines quidem habeantur veluti corpore mortui quod nullis corporis affectibus tangantur, sed apud Deum viuant spiritu. Non enim vere viuit Deo iudice nisi qui sic mortuus est.

Nihil autem hic diuturnum, et omnium rerum breui finis aderit. Et illos cito relinquent suae voluptates et vestrae afflictiones mox finientur. Deinde vos manet
 635 aeterna felicitas, illos aeternum supplicium. Proinde modis omnibus aduigilandum ne vos ille dies offendat dormitabundos et oscitantes crapula socordiaque. Quin magis perpetuo praeparetis vosmetipsos aduersus eum diem, sobrii ac vigilantes in assiduis precationibus. Veniet enim inexpectatus – sic Christo visum est – sed in his si deprehenderit, non poterit non venire felix. Grata est Deo sobrietas; tutum est vigilare; libens audit Deus preces temperantia vigiliaque commendatas. Sed illud multo omnium gratissimum, vt iugi vehementique charitate vos
 640 inuicem complectamini mutuis officiis inuicem subleuantes vt qui vigilantior est expergefaciat oscitantem, qui doctior erudiat indoctiorem, qui attentior admonet cessantem, qui feruentior extimet frigentem, qui perfectior est condonet per infirmitatem erranti. Nam haec charitas ardens in proximum operit multitudinem peccatorum quibus obnoxii sumus Deo. Quod in illum deliquimus optime diluitur collocandis in proximum beneficiis. Vt cuique facultas obtigit, ita hac studeat prodesse fratri. Cui res est, hospitalem sese praebeat ac largiatur iis quibus opus est, non grauate neque cum murmure sed libens et alacer, existimans
 650 se beneficium accipere cum dat et huiusmodi facultatum dispendium ingens esse compendium apud Deum omnia cumulatissime remetientem.

Quin et illud cogitate, quicquid iuuando proximo impenditis, Dei beneficium esse in hoc donatum, vt hac veluti sorte credita ditescatis vsura piorum operum. Aliis alias dotes distribuit Deus. Nemo sibi vindicet quod habet, cogitet Dei munus esse quod per uos distribui vult in alios vt ex mutuis officiis magis ac magis adglutinetur inter vos | mutua charitas et singulis per occasionem crescat praemium pietatis. Nemo sibi displiceat quod hac aut illa dote non sit praeditus. Nemo sibi placeat quod dotibus praecellat alios. Sic visum fuit diuiti benignoque Deo varie partiri sua munera. Nemo dominus est eius quod accepit. Dispensator est tantum; Domini res est quam dispensat. Id si bona fide, si alacriter, si sollicitè facit, ne mercedem expectet ab homine quum sit recepturus a Deo. Si cui contigit doctrina sacra, si cui donum eruditae linguae, non abutatur ad quaestum, ad fastum, ad inanem gloriam, sed ad proximi salutem Christique gloriam. Sentiant auditores esse Dei sermones, non hominum, et eum qui loquitur nihil aliud esse quam organum diuinae vocis. Si quis magis valet functione quam doctrina, sic administret dotem suam vt non sibi vindicet autoritatem, sed Deo transcribat, qui vim et robur suppeditat vt efficaciter obeat quod agit. Ita fiet vt ex dotibus varie distributis, ex muniis varie obitis vndique glorificetur Deus, a quo ceu fonte

619 in corpore *H: om. A-G*

620 iam *H: tum G: om. A-F G*

625 Mosi *A B: Moysi C-H*

627 omnique *H: et omni A-G*

629 et *om. I*

646 deliquimus *A-I: delinquimus K BAS*

650 facultatum *H: rei A-G*

654 sibi repetit *G*

661 quum sit *H: om. A-G*

619 *in corpore* Cf. 1. *Thess.* 4, 15-17, and Erasmus' comments on this verse in the *Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.*, LB IX, 437 E-438 B. The addition of "in corpore" and "iam" in *H* appears to have been made in order to emphasize the literal interpretation of 1. *Pet.* 4, 5-6 in contrast to the tropological interpretation which follows in ll. 620-632 and in effect dominates the paraphrase on these verses.

626 *iuxta naturae legem* This paraphrase seems to reflect one of the alternative interpretations of the words "secundum homines in carne" (Vg.) in the *Glossa*, p. 14v^o: "vel iudicent secundum homines, id est, secundum rationes quas Deus dedit hominibus" - that is, according to natural law. This interpretation occurs also in Hugo, p. k2v^o, but is ignored by Nicholas of Lyre.

627 *omnique ... sepulchris* This tropological or moralizing interpretation of 'the dead' occurs in Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 4, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 252, l. 53-253, l. 61. In the passage in the *Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.* cited in n.l. 619 Erasmus calls this kind of interpretation "arcanis ludere tropologiis".

633 *omnium rerum* Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 4, 7, *CCSL* 121, p. 253, ll. 62-66, followed by the *Glossa*, Hugo (as one of several alternative interpretations), and Nicholas of Lyre, takes "omnium" (Vg.) to be masculine gender, 'of all persons', and consequently interprets the 'end' ("finis") to be the day on which each person must die because, as Bede says, *ibidem*, l. 66, "in hac mortali vita diu subsistere nequeunt". Modern commentators and translators agree with Erasmus and note, as he does, that the verb ἡγγιζειν in 4, 7 contains an allusion to the second coming; cf. Selwyn, *First Peter*, p. 216; Michaels, *1 Peter*, p. 245.

636 *ne ... dormitabundos* Cf. *Lc.* 21, 34-36.

638 *Veniet ... inexpectatus* Cf. *Mt.* 24, 36 and 42; *Mc.* 13, 32-37.

651 *omnia ... remetientem* Cf. *Lc.* 6, 38 and Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 4, 8, *CCSL* 121, p. 254, ll. 93-95, who refers to the parallel version in *Mt.* 7, 2 or *Mc.* 4, 24.

659 *varie ... munera* Cf. *Rom.* 12, 6-8; 1. *Cor.* 12, 4-10 and 28-30.

662 *doctrina sacra* Theology and, in particular, the knowledge of Scripture and the ability to teach it to others; cf. *Rom.* 12, 7 and 1. *Cor.* 12, 28.

670 nobis fluunt omnia – non per Mosen sed per Iesum Christum, per quem, vt vnicum Filium, nobis largitur quicquid largitur Pater. Huic igitur acceptum referet qui officio fratris adiutus est, huic gratias aget qui suo ministerio gaudet adiutum fratrem. Summa igitur omnis gloriae vndiquaque ad Deum Patrem redit ac Filium, cui iugis est gloria et imperium nullo aeuo finiendum. Amen.

675 Nobis non est hic quaerenda gloria; tantum oportet officii nostri meminisse quo placeamus Deo. De praemio viderit ille cui fidimus. Ille persequentium maliciam vobis vertet in bonum, cruciatus mutabit in gaudium, ignominiam in gloriam. Proinde, charissimi, ne interim ceu re noua perturbemini si coelestis regni consortes futuri temporariis afflictionibus exploramini velut aurum igni. Nouum vobis videri non debet quod olim praecessit in probatis prophetis, quod 680 nuper in Christo. Leuius ferendum est quod videtis cum omnibus Deo probatis viris vobis esse commune. At quod hac in parte discipuli praeceptorem, membra caput refertis Iesum Christum, gaudere etiam ac vobis gratulari debetis, quod, vt nunc vos habet dignos quos velit esse socios afflictionum, ita post, cum aperuit omnibus maiestatem suam, pudefactis et attonitis qui illum et illius odio vos 685 affligerunt, exultabitis ineffabili gaudio quod sentiri potest, verbis exprimi non potest. Interim si probris vos afficiunt homines, non ob vestra flagitia sed ob professionem Christi, quantumuis affligimini corpore, tamen hoc nomine estis beati, quod in mediis etiam cruciatibus, in mediis ignominiiis gloriosus ille Spiritus Dei refocillatur in vobis ob animum innoxium sibi que bene conscium. Dulce est pati cum Christo, gloriosum est pati pro Christo. Nam, quod in ipsis est, probro afficiunt Christum, sed vestra innocentia, vestra tolerantia facit vt id cedat in illius gloriam. Absit autem vt quisquam vestrum affligatur ob homicidium aut furtum aut conuitium aut curiositatem eorum quae nihil ad vos pertinent. Non enim cruciatus martyrem facit sed causa. Quisquis autem patitur non ob aliud nisi 695 quod Christianus dicitur non est quod pudeat supplicii. Furem appellari turpe est, Christianum appellari gloriosum est. Beati sunt quibus vel sic licet effugere supplicia gehennae, quibus per momentarias afflictiones datur aditus ad aeterna gaudia. Ad haec non admittit Deus nisi multa malorum tolerantia spectatum probatumque. Olim exercebit formidabile iudicium vbi misericordiae tempus fuerit exactum, vbi pro meritis sua cuique reddentur praemia. Interim mitius est | 700 iudicium cum temporariis cruciatibus ad purum examinati reddimur idonei consortio Christi, qui nihil admittet nisi purgatissimum ac defecatisimum. Iam tempus est vt hoc iudicium exerceatur quo magis sit euidentis qui vere fidant Deo, qui vere diligant Christum. Res prosperae tranquillaeque non arguunt veram pietatem. Mosaicas ceremonias seruare potest et hypocrita; at iacturam rerum, probra, carceres, flagra, mortem nemo fert aequo animo nisi qui fidem inuictam cum euangelica charitate coniunxerit. Ad haec se parent qui volunt olim regnare cum Christo. Iudicium hoc incipiet a domo Dei, quae est Ecclesia. Quod si tanta purgatione nobis opus est qui credimus Euangelio et viuimus innocenter, quis 705 finis, quod iudicium, quae poena manet illos qui diffidentes Euangelio Dei persistunt in suis flagitiis? Si sic examinantur qui simpliciter obediunt Euangelio

715 relictis omnibus huius mundi deliciis tradiderunt sese studio pietatis, quid futurum est iis quos Euangelii praedicatio reddidit etiam deteriores? Et si qui iuste viuunt nullius mali sibi conscii non sine periculo negocioque perueniunt ad portum aeternae salutis, qua spe comparebunt impii ac scelerosi in iudicio tam exacto tamque formidando? Itaque tantum abest vt illic sibi sperent vllam salutem vt hi quoque, qui non ob malefacta sed ob voluntatem Dei crucientur in hoc mundo, non debeant sibi fidere, sed pro viribus exercentes opera pietatis hoc pacto deponant animas suas apud Deum conditorem, cuius bonitas non sinet

669 *alt. per H: om. A-G*

670 *igitur H: om. A-G*

676 *vertet A-E G H: vertit F G*

685-686 *quod sentiri ... non potest H: om. A-G*

672-673 *ac Filium* This formulation suggests that Erasmus took the doxology in 1. *Pet.* 4, 11 to refer to God and Jesus Christ alike, though he does not otherwise comment on the syntactical problems posed by the Greek text nor does Bede. See Michaels, 1 *Peter*, p. 253, for discussion of the ambiguity in the Greek.

685 *exultabitis ... gaudio* This paraphrase, in which the circumstantial participle "exultantes" (Vg.) becomes the main verb, is influenced by the expression "exaltatis gaudio ineffabili" (Er. Latin version) in 1. *Pet.* 1, 8, but also perhaps by the translation quoted from Cyprian, *Epist.* IV, 6, - "gaudentes exultetis" - which was added to the annotation ("sed communicantes"), *LB* VI, 1053 D-E, in the second (1519) edition of the *Nov. Test.* The expansion in *H* may be a reflection of the distinction made in the *Glossa*, p. 14^r, and in Hugo, p. k3^v, where "gaudeatis" is referred to the feeling of joy in the mind, "exultantes" to its physical expression.

690-692 *Nam ... gloriam* The text paraphrased here is not in Vg.; see *Er. Annot. in 1. Pet.* 4, 15 ("nemo autem vestrum pati"), *LB* VI, 1053 F-1054 C, and Metzger, p. 695.

693 *conuictium* This word is a paraphrase on the term "maledicus" in Vg. in 4, 15. It is not in Erasmus' Greek text and Latin version. It was, he thought, an erroneous translation of *κακοποιός*; cf. *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 4, 15 ("aut fur"), *LB* VI, 1054 C.

694-695 *non ... dicitur* The paraphrase accommodates the text of Vg., which reads "in isto nomine" in 1. *Pet.* 4, 16. Erasmus' Greek text reads *μέρει* in place of *ὀνόματι*. In his annotation *ad loc.* ("in isto nomine"), *LB* VI, 1054 D, Erasmus explains that Peter is making a distinction between glory in suffering itself and

693 *enim om. B*

717 *hi C-H: hii A B; crucientur H: cruciantur A-G*

glory in suffering for Christ, implying that only the latter is truly glorious. Erasmus evidently believed that a Christian in the Roman empire could be executed simply for being a Christian without any other charge; cf. the dilemma described in *Plin. Epist.* X, 96, 2. The meaning of *ὡς Χριστιανός* in 4, 16 is in any case problematic; see Michaels, 1 *Peter*, pp. 268-269.

708 *quae ... Ecclesia* Cf. *Col.* 1, 18 and the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 3, 6, p. 52, ll. 170-171.

708-711 *Quod si ... flagitiis* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 4, 17, *CCSL* 121, p. 255, ll. 155-156: "Si enim flagellantur filii, quid debent sperare serui nequissimi?"

713-714 *Et ... viuunt* In an annotation added in the 1522 edition of the *Nov. Test.* ("et si iustus saluabitur"), *LB* VI, 1054 D, Erasmus noted that Bede (*In 1. Pet.* 4, 19, *CCSL* 121, p. 256, ll. 166-167), followed by the *Glossa* and Hugo, had said that this sentence (v. 18) was taken from *Prv.* (11, 31). The paraphrase seems to overlook this fact and to treat the words as Peter's own.

718 *exercentes ... pietatis* Erasmus translated *ἐν ἀγαθοποιίᾳ* in 4, 19 by "benefaciendo"; Vg. has "in benefactis". Thus the participial construction is a paraphrase on the Greek text, as he understood it, while the words "benefactis immoriantur" in l. 720 pick up the rendering of Vg.

719 *deponant* This word is Erasmus' translation of the verb *παρὰτιθέσθωσαν* in 1. *Pet.* 4, 19. Erasmus may have 1. *Tim.* 1, 12 in mind, in which case he is employing the image of God as a banker with whom one deposits one's good deeds, or, as here, one's soul or life. The clause "cuius ... quod condidit" is thus a paraphrase on the adjective *πιστῶ* ("fidelis" Vg.).

720 perire quod condidit, si benefactis immoriantur sique suis diffisi meritis ab illius
benignitate praemium expectent.

CAPVT V

Hoc agite, fratres, et seorsum singuli et in commune omnes vt Christi vestigia
sequentes ad illius consortium perueniatis. Sed par est vt qui praecellunt aetatis
725 autoritate, praecellant et studio pietatis. Ab horum exemplo, ab horum doctrina,
ab horum autoritate pendent reliquus grex, quibus haud quaquam satis est si
suam tueantur innocentiam ni multitudinis etiam curam agant. Nam his autori-
tatem addit canicies; prudentiam, rerum vsus; fidem, integritas diu probata spec-
tataque. Vos igitur appello seniores, populi custodes, senior et ipse, qui quod
730 doceo re factisque praestiti, quippe pro Christi nomine carceres et flagra perpes-
sus, ad crucem etiam paratus vbi volet Deus, atque idem optimam spem habens
fore vt quem ille dignum habuerit vt pro ipso perpeteretur, eundem sit ad gloriae
coelestis consortium admissurus simulatque venerit ille dies quo declarabit orbi
maiestatem suam et finitis certaminibus proferentur praemia. Obsecro vos per
735 Christo pro vobis toleratos cruciatus, per meas afflictiones quibus Dominum
meum pro virili sequor, praebete vos vere pastores multitudinis quae cuique forte
obtigit. Vigilate, obambulate, dispicite, curate ne quid desit gregi, pro quo mor-
tuus est Christus, ne consolatio sancta, ne doctrina salutaris, ne vitae euangelicae
exemplum. Episcopi vocamini, re praestate quod appellamini. Pascite, curate,
740 regite, custodite ne quid pereat, ne quid aberret. Idque facite non grauate veluti
coacti metu aut pudore aut officii necessitate, sed prompte, sed libenter, sed ex
animo nihil aliud spectantes quam quid Deo sit gratum. Illius negotium agitis,
ab illo recepturi mercedem aeternam. In hac vita ne quaerite praemium. Turpe
LB 1099 est quaestus gratia curare populum Christia|num, quod nemo cum laude facit
745 nisi qui sponte et gratis facit. Excidit a praemio coelesti qui venatur hic officii
mercedem ab hominibus. Huic proximum est si quis lucri quidem contemptor
est, sed tamen ambit honorem ac dignitatem, gaudet imperare, gaudet coli; nec
huic erit praemium apud Deum. Tulit hic mercedem suam. Multum abest epi-
scopi munus a dominatu. Non est tyrannis sed administratio. Ideo praesidet epi-
750 scopus, non vt plus auferat lucri, non vt regnet vtque illi plus liceat, sed vt plus
prosit. Memineritis igitur, seniores, officii vestri; sic gerite vos in omnibus vt ves-
tra vita populo sit exemplar vitae euangelicae. Discant ex vestris moribus lucrum
negligere, discant aspernari fastum, discant officiorum suorum a Christo sperare
mercedem nec aliud interim spectare nisi quia sic est honestum, sic Deo gratum.
755 Interim vel gratis agite bonos pastores. Quanquam id quidem haud fiet gratis;
imo cum die praefinito proferet sese princeps pastorum, Iesus Christus, qui semet
totum impendit ouibus suis quarum custodiam nobis concredidit, tunc pro vili
mortalique praemiolo percipietis gloriosam officii vestri coronam quae nunquam
marcescet. Nolite igitur vobis sumere quod oportet a principe vestro expectare,
760 nolite diem antevertere, quem ille nobis incertum esse voluit.

Quemadmodum autem seniorum partes sunt vt sese patres praebeant iunioribus, ita iuniores vicissim oportet se morigeros et obsequentes praeberere senioribus. Et quemadmodum seniores sese submittunt per euangelicam charitatem omnibus quo magis prodesse queant, ita iuuenes non debent abuti modestia facilitateque

723 commune A-C H: communi D-G
736 forte A-G: sorte H(?) I-BAS
755 quidem H: om. A-G

763 per euangelicam charitatem C-H: ex euangelica charitate A B

724–725 *aetatis auctoritate* Vg. translates *πρεσβυτέρους* in 5, 1 by “seniores”, which could mean either ‘older men’ or ‘elder’ in the technical sense. Erasmus preferred “presbyteros” as a better representation of the Greek word, which he understood to mean ‘elder’, the head or bishop of a local congregation; cf. his annotations on 5, 1 (“seniores ergo”), *LB VI*, 1054 E, and on 5, 3 (“non dominantes in cleris”), *ibidem*, 1055 C. The paraphrase accommodates both meanings, but it is evident that it is the old men’s role as bishops that predominates; see l. 739.

729 *seniores* I have construed this word as a predicate with “vos”. It could, however, be a vocative, in which case the predicate would be “populi custodes”.

730–731 *quippe ... perpessus* See *Act.* 4, 3; 5, 18, 40; 12, 3–4. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 256, ll. 3–5, explaining the words “testis Christi passionum”, advances the alternative, “Vel certe quia et ipse propter nomen Christi carcerem, vincula et verbera passus est vt in actibus apostolorum legimus”. For “pro Christi nomine” see *Act.* 4, 10, 18 etc.

731 *ad crucem* This detail does not occur in Bede and the medieval Latin commentators, but they did connect verse 2 – “Pascite ... gregem Dei” – with Jesus’ injunction to Peter in *Ioh.* 21, 15–17. From there it is an easy step to the story of Peter’s crucifixion; see Er. *Paraphr. in Ioh.* 21, 19 *LB VII*, 648 D.

732–733 *eundem ... admissurus* Bede *1. Pet.* 5, 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 256, ll. 6–9, and, following him, the medieval Latin commentators assumed that the word “gloriae” in this verse referred either to the ‘glory’ displayed at the transfiguration (cf. Selwyn, *First Peter*, pp. 228–229) or the ‘power’ of Jesus revealed in the ascension. Erasmus evidently rejects this consensus just as he appears tacitly to reject the view, which they held, that Peter was a witness to the crucifixion.

736 *forte* If the initial letter of this word in H is a long s – it was read as s by the compositor of

I – and not an f, then Erasmus is presumably generalizing the procedure described in *Act.* 1, 26. It is possible, however, that the letter is actually a poorly inked f since there is a small swelling at the point in the stem where the crossbar which distinguishes an f from a long s in the Froben font would be (there is no other difference between the two sorts). A similar s-like f appears in the initial letter of *formadibile*, p. 210, l. 699 = H, p. 337, last line, and in *foeda*, p. 218, l. 27 = H, p. 341, second line from bottom. But regardless of the reading, the rest of the paraphrase generally follows Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 2, *CCSL* 121, p. 256, l. 13, and the medieval Latin commentators who understand “in vobis” in this verse to mean *vobiscum*. However, in his Latin version Erasmus had translated the Greek *ἐν ὑμῖν* by “quantum in vobis est”, though he also took note of the meaning *vobiscum*; see his annotation *ad loc.* (“quae in vobis est”), *LB VI*, 1054 F. The expansion in the next sentence is probably intended to communicate the sense of ‘to your fullest extent’.

738–739 *consolatio ... exemplum* Comfort, instruction, and being a model of righteous conduct are in Erasmus’ eyes the three major responsibilities of a bishop; see José Ignacio Tellechea, *La figura ideal del Obispo en las obras de Erasmo*, *Scriptorium Victoriense* 55 (1955), pp. 201–230.

739 *curate* For this paraphrase on the verb “pascite”, see the paraphrase on 2, 25, p. 201, n.l. 387 above.

740 *regite* See *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 5, 2 (“pascite”), *LB VI*, 1054 E, where Erasmus cites *P.* 2, 9 LXX as an instance of the translation of *ποιμανεῖς* by “reges”.

748–749 *Multum ... a dominatu* Cf. Er. *Annot. in 1. Pet.* 5, 3 (“non dominantes in cleris”), *LB VI*, 1055 C, where Erasmus suggests that Peter’s words be inscribed in letters of gold in the palace of every bishop.

760 *quem ... voluit* Cf. the paraphrase on 1, 13, p. 192, l. 155.

765 seniorum; imo hoc promptius conuenit illis obsequi, quo minus abutuntur auto-
 ritate sua. Vbi vera charitas est, ibi nec autoritas habet fastidium nec iuuentus
 ferociam. Qui dignitate praeminet hoc tantum agit, vt aliis sit vsui; qui subditus
 est vltro plus praestat quam ille exigit. Sit igitur omnibus penitus infixa animi
 770 modestia; ea faciet vt neque grauis sit senioribus sua sollicitudo neque iuuenibus
 molesta sit illorum autoritas. Odit Deus in hominibus animi ferocitatem, delec-
 tatur animis submissis ac deiicientibus sese. His libenter impartit suas dotes qui
 sibi nihil tribuunt. Elatos repellit et auersatur vt indignos suo beneficio. Qui sese
 demittunt, hos euehit; qui semet efferunt, hos deiicit; qui suis fidunt viribus, hos
 775 non dignatur ope sua; qui suis praesiis diffisi toti pendent ab illius nutu, hos
 fouet ac tuetur. Submittite igitur vosmetipsos, non ob metum hominum sed freti
 potenti manu Dei. Non est periculum ne conculcemini perpetuo; ille vos euehet
 in altum et attollet cum venerit dies ille praemiorum. Ne circumspicite, ne diffi-
 dite, nolite metuere ne malorum vndis indefensi neglectique inuoluamini quo-
 780 niam ille, qui nihil non potest, nihil non videt, curae vos habet nec patietur quic-
 quam vestri perire.

LB 1100 Solet aetas iuuenilis esse propensa ad voluptates, ad luxum, ad lasciuiam. Vos
 autem estote sobrii, | vigilate animis, semper attentis, semper circumspecti. Non
 enim dormit ille vestrae salutis aduersarius sitiens hominum exitium, sed obam-
 bulat veluti leo famelicus ac rugiens, vndique captans quem deuoret, nullum non
 785 aditum tentans in vos, nunc insidians per voluptates, nunc oppugnans persecu-
 tionibus. Ne date locum illi, sed infractis animis obsistite. Dicetis: 'Vnde vires
 aduersus tam potentem?'. Potentior est qui curam habet vestri. Illi modo fidite
 totis animis, nihil poterit aduersarius. Erga diffidentes robur habet, erga fidentes
 imbellis est. Si hunc aut illum impeteret, fortassis esset iure grauis afflictio. Nunc
 790 vniuersum piorum gregem pari impugnat odio; Christum in vobis persequitur;
 inuidet saluti omnium. Quo leuius erit ferenda communis omnium afflictio et
 concordibus animis standum aduersus hostem communem. Ista breui finem
 habitura sunt. Nec interim vos destituet Deus, vnde proficiscitur omnis benefi-
 centia; imo quod coepit in vobis perficiet. Dedit istos animos vt ob amorem
 795 ipsius non dubitetis adire cruciatus per quos vocauit vos ad aeternam gloriam
 suam. Non sinet vos excidere a palma si fortiter certetis; aderit certantibus vosque
 fulciet, roborabit ac stabiliet vt ad breue tempus afflicti perueniatis ad coronam
 immortalitatis. Illius praesidio vincimus, illius munificentia capiemus praemium.
 Non est quod nobis arrogemus laudem. Soli Deo debetur omnis gloria, non
 800 solum in hoc mundo verum etiam in omnia saecula. Amen.

In praesentia non agam vobiscum pluribus; nam hac ipsa de re vobis, opinor,
 nuper scripsi, licet paucis, per Syluanum, fratrem fidelem, qui non dubito quin
 epistolam bona fide reddiderit. In ea vos obsecrabam et obtestabar vt in eo quod
 coepistis perseueretis ne qua res dimoueat animum vestrum. Verissimam ad salu-
 805 tem viam estis ingressi. Huc vsque progressi estis Dei beneficio. Persistite fortiter
 eiusdem praesidio donec pertingatis ad palmam vitae immortalis. Saluere vos
 iubet congregatio Christianorum quam vna vobiscum Deus sibi delegit Babylone,
 quae in medio impiorum idololatrarum euangelicam sequitur pietatem, in

810 medio corruptissime viuentium amplectitur vitae puritatem. Soli non estis;
 vbique habet Deus suos electos, pauculos quidem illos, sed exquisita seminaria
 olim latius propagandae Ecclesiae. Salutatur vos Marcus, qui mihi filii est vice.
 815 Salute vos inuicem osculo, non vulgari quod ex more datur, non ex animo, sed
 sancto, puro, vereque christiano, quod ab animo non dissideat, quod caste syn-
 cereque amantis sit, non mendax symbolum. Atque vt epistolam indidem finiam
 vnde sum exorsus: Gratia et pax vobis omnibus semper adsit, qui insiti corpori
 Jesu Christi illius Spiritu viuistis, vt illa Deo vos copulet, haec vos mutua conglu-
 tinet concordia – quod faxit Deus Optimus Maximus.

Finis

- 767 ferociam *H*: ferocitatem *A-G*
 769 sit *A-G*: *om. H*
 772 elatos *H*: illos *A-G*
 775 ac *A-D G-H*: hac *F*
 778 nolite metuere *C D F-H*: noli metuere *E*:
 ne metuere *A B*
- 772 *Elatos repellit* Cf. *Jac.* 4, 6. As in the para-
 phrase on 4, 18, p. 211 above, Erasmus ignores
 the fact that these words are a quotation.
 772-773 *Qui ... deiicit* Cf. *Mt.* 23, 12.
 784-786 *nullum ... persecutionibus* The change
 in metaphor from the lion in search of prey to
 an attacking force seeking a weak point in the
 defense is influenced by the quotation from
 Cyprian, *De zelo* 10, 2-3, in Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5,
 8, *CCSL* 121, p. 258, ll. 81-98. Of the eight
 means of attack listed by Cyprian Erasmus
 selects two, pleasure and persecution.
 796 *palma ... certetis*. The punctuation of the edi-
 tions varies considerably so that it is not entirely
 clear whether the *si* clause belongs with what
 precedes or with what follows. *A-C* have com-
 mas after both *palma* and *certetis*; *D F G* have
 a comma after *palma*, a colon after *certetis*;
E G H have a colon after *palma*, a comma
 after *certetis*. Since each clause otherwise
 begins with the verb, I assume that Erasmus
 originally intended the clause to begin with
aderit, not *si*, and have punctuated accord-
 ingly. *E* is in any case an unreliable witness.
 798 *vincimus* The present tense is the reading
 of all the editions, but one expects the future
 and *vincemus* may have been what Erasmus
 originally wrote.
 802 *nuper scripsi* See p. 182, ll. 58-59 above.
 803 *obsecrabam et obtestabar* Cf. *Vg.* "obsecrans
 et contestans" in 5, 12; Erasmus translated,
 more accurately, "adhortans ac testificans".
 804-805 *verissimam ... viam* That is, through
 suffering. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 12, *CCSL* 121,
 p. 259, ll. 111-115, citing *Act.* 4, 12, likewise
 suggests that the word 'grace' in this verse
 implies the means of salvation, the grace of
 Christ: "Gratia enim Christi eorum fit gra-
 tia qui hanc mundo corde suscipiunt".
 807 *Babylone* For the symbolic significance of
 the name 'Babylon' – a place of confusion –
 cf. *Hier. Lib. interpret. hebraic. nom.* 3, 18,
CCSL 72, p. 62, and Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 13,
CCSL 121, p. 259, ll. 121-122: "propter confu-
 sionem multiplicis idolatriae in cuius medio
 sancta Ecclesia ... fulgebat". For Babylon as a
 symbol of immorality cf. *Ap. Ioh.* 17, 4-5.
 811 *filii est vice* Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 13, *CCSL* 121,
 p. 259, l. 131-260, l. 133, takes the term 'son'
 to be a metaphor for 'convert'; cf. Michaels,
1 Peter, p. 312. Erasmus, however, seems to
 be taking the word as a term of affection;
 cf. Selwyn, *First Peter*, p. 244.
 813 *sancto* This term is taken from *Vg.*, which
 reads "in osculo sancto". Erasmus' Greek text
 reads φιλήματι ἀγάπης, which accounts for
 the description "caste syncereque amantis". Cf.
 Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 14, *CCSL* 121, p. 260, ll. 139-
 140: "osculo vero, osculo pacifico, osculo
 columbino, non ficto, subdolo, polluto".
 814-815 *vt ... exorsus* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Pet.* 5, 14,
CCSL 121, p. 260, ll. 145-146: "A gratia
 coepit epistolam, in gratia consummauit".
 815 *Gratia et pax* The paraphrase combines the
 reading of the Greek text – Εὐχάρις – and
 that of *Vg.* – "Gratia". The combination of
 the two readings reinforces the *inclusio* or cir-
 cle back to the beginning of the epistle.

IN EPISTOLAM
 PETRI APOSTOLI POSTERIOREM ARGVMENTVM,
 PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Hanc, vt apparet, scripsit admodum senex et iam morti vicinus quandoquidem
 5 de obitu suo meminit. Scribit autem promiscue Christianis omnibus, adhortans
 ad vitae puritatem et veterum exemplis ac terrore iudicii extremi deterrens a
 turpibus, vehementer insectans eos qui simplicium animos peruersa doctrina
 corrumpent negantes aduenturum Christum.

Argumenti finis

1-2 IN EPISTOLAM PETRI APOSTOLI
 POSTERIOREM D-H: IN EPISTOLAM
 PETRI SECVNDAM A-C

9 Argumenti Finis D-F G² H: Finis A: om. B
 C G

5 *Christianis omnibus* Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 1, CCSL 121, p. 261, ll. 4-6, followed by the *Glossa* and Nicholas of Lyre, believed that 2. *Pet.* was written to the same persons as 1. *Pet.*,

that is, to christian Jews in Asia Minor. Hugo, however, thought that it was addressed to all Christians without distinction, or, as Erasmus says, *promiscue*. See p. 217, ll. 7-9 below.

PARAPHRASIS IN EPISTOLAM PETRI
APOSTOLI POSTERIOREM,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

5 Symeon Petrus – quondam Mosaicae legis cultor, nunc seruus ac legatus Iesu
Christi, cuius Euangelium veluti lux discutit ac dispellit omnes vmbas veteris
testamenti – absque delectu seu gentis seu religionis seu sexus seu status aut
conditionis omnibus scribo. Omnes enim nobis cognatos ac coniunctissimos
ducimus quicumque nobis aequari meruerunt in euangelicae fidei professione, per
10 quam nobis contigit vera iusticia – non per circuncisionem aut legis hostias, sed
per bonitatem Dei nostri perque mortem Seruatoris nostri Iesu Christi, qui
gratis condonauit nobis vetera peccata vt posthac sequamur iusticiam euangeli-
cam, quae sita est non in ceremoniis sed in vera animi pietate et habet quiddam
longe perfectius iusticia Iudaica, quae verae iusticiae vmbra duntaxat est. Precor
autem vt, quemadmodum hactenus abunde profecistis in euangelica gratia sem-
15 per aliquid addentes pietatis incrementis et Indies arctius astringentes fraternam
inter vos concordiam, ita consummare dignetur diuina benignitas in vobis sua

2 POSTERIOREM D–H: SECVNDAM A–C
4 Symeon *cett.*: Simeon E

8 in *om.* G²
11 condonauit C–H: donauit A B

4 *Symeon* Erasmus both in his Latin version and in the paraphrase here retains the form of the name in the Greek text. In *Annot. in Act.* 15, 14 (“Simon narravit quemadmodum”), LB VI, 491 E, he states that it is the Hebrew form of the name. In his annotation on 2. *Pet.* 1, 1 (“Simon Petrus”), LB VI, 1057 A, he observes that the name had various pronunciations in Greek, but he gives no examples. For modern speculations on the use of this form of the name in 1, 1 see Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 166–167. *legatus* See *Paraphr. in 1 Pet.*, p. 187, n.l. 3 above.

9 *non per circuncisionem* The same antithesis between the works of the Old Law and grace

(“bonitatem Dei”) appears in Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 1, CCSL 121, p. 261, ll. 9–11. For the contrast between the victims of the Mosaic law and the death of the Savior cf. the *Paraphr. in Hebr.*, ad 9, 13–14, p. 72, ll. 674–680 above.

13 *iusticia Iudaica* See *Paraphr. in Hebr.*, ad 9, 1, p. 68, ll. 611–616 above.

14 *abunde profecistis* Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 2, CCSL 121, p. 261, ll. 21–24, inferred from the use of “adimpleatur” here compared to “multiplicetur” in 1. *Pet.* 2, 1 that Peter wrote his first epistle to those who were beginners, the present epistle to those who had advanced in faith.

munera, quae bona hoc magis vobis accrescunt, quo magis promouetis in agnitionem Dei Patris et huius Filii, Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quos vere agnoscere vita est aeterna. Est enim caput salutis autorem salutis agnoscere, ne quid hinc
 20 arrogemus meritis ac viribus nostris aut praescriptis Mosaicae legis, cum quicquid ad veram vitam, quicquid ad veram pietatem pertinent, illius diuina virtus nobis largita sit absque praesidio circumcisionis, tantum per fidem qua agnoscimus Deum Patrem, a quo proficiscuntur omnia, et Iesum Christum, per quem vnum nobis donantur omnia. Non haec praestantur meritis nostris sed illius gratuita
 25 munificentia, quae vltro vocauit nos ad beneficium salutis et ingloriis ac virtute vacuis impartiuit suam et gloriam et virtutem vt qui nostris viciis addicti veluti sordida foedaque mancipia seruiebamus idolis, insiti Christo redderemur et puri et gloriosi sublatis sceleribus quibus foedabamur. Nostram ignominiam in se transtulit vt vltro in suae gloriae consortium cooptaret; nostra commissa in se
 LB 1102
 30 recepit vt nos illius innocentia gauderemus.

Iam haec ipsa maxima sunt, at longe maiora magnificentioraque sunt quae nobis promittuntur in posterum, non per Mosi legem, vt saepe iam diximus, sed per agnitionem Iesu Christi. Quid autem promittitur? Nimirum vt etiam si ad genus Iudaicum non pertinetis, tamen efficiamini pariter consortes diuinae naturae, allecti in numerum filiorum Dei, possessuri haereditatem immortalis vitae, si
 35 modo hic interim incorrupta vita quandam immortalitatem meditemini ac refugeritis ab omni corruptione viciorum et cupiditatum quibus infectus animus ad mortem tendit aeternam. Innocentiam semel gratis largitus est Deus; eam non satis est tueri, sed omni studio adnitentes satagite vt benefactis locupletemini ne fides sit ociosa, sed hanc comitetur probitas ne quid agatur dicaturue nisi quod honestum est. Probitatem excipiat scientia vt non solum sequamini quae recta sunt, verum etiam perspiciatis quid, quo loco, apud quos, quatenus et qua ratione sit agendum. Scientiam comitetur temperantia vt animus inuictus aduersus omnes illecebras mundi sine deflexu constanter sequatur id quod optimum
 40 esse iudicauit. Temperantiae iungatur patientia vt dum benefacitis, mala fortiter toleretis. Nam quos blandimenta mundi non emolliunt, hos aliquoties frangit impatientia malorum. Patientiae adsit pietas vt quicquid agitis aut patimini ad Dei gloriam referatis. Pietatem comitetur fraterna charitas vt quemadmodum Deum amatis propter ipsum, ita illius gratia diligatis omnes qui Deum profitentur. Fraternali charitatem augeat cumuletque dilectio, quae bene mereri studeat de omnibus, non solum de piis et Christianis verum etiam de impiis. Hi sunt fructus euangelicae fidei, qui, si vobis adsint atque etiam exuberent, efficient vt quod per fidem agnouistis Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum non fuerit vobis inutile atque infrugiferum, etiam si sitis a circumcisione alieni. Siquidem in his
 55 sita est summa Christianae pietatis, quae si cui defuerint, is frustra Christum professus est cum ab euangelica luce relabatur in veteres tenebras; nec aliter quam
 LB 1103
 60 caecus manu viam tentans per ambages cupiditatum mundanarum circumagitur neque cernit viam qua perueniatur ad Christi consortium, ingratus etiam Christi beneficio, a quo, cum sit semel gratis purgatus a pristinis commissis, tamen velut oblitus huius tantae clementiae rursus in eadem relabatur.

65 Quapropter, fratres, ne vos securos et oscitantes reddat quod diuina bonitas vos nihil promeritos vocauit ad professionem euangelicam semel condonatis prioris vitae peccatis omnibus; imo tanto magis adnitamini ne Dei bonitas, qua vocauit vos, qua delegit, vobis vertatur in perniciem et cumulum damnationis, si benignitatis illius immemores eo reuoluamini vnde vos sua morte redemit. Quin potius ambite benefactis ne Deus vos videatur frustra vocasse ac delegisse. Huius

20 praescriptis C–H: scriptis A B
37 et H: ac A–G
43 vt H: et A–G

51 Hi D–H: Hii A–C
52 efficient H: effecerint A–G
63–64 ne ... vobis H: vt ... ne vobis A–G

- 17–18 *agnitionem* Vg. translates ἐν ἐπιγνώσει in 1, 2 by “in cognitione”; Erasmus, however, preferred to render the noun by *agnitio*, the verb by *agnoscere*. See *Annot. in Rom.* 1, 28 (“et sicut non probauerunt”), *LB VI*, 566 C; cf. Bauckham, *2 Peter*, pp. 169–170.
- 18–19 *quos ... aeterna* Cf. *Ioh.* 17, 3, which Bede quotes in his commentary on 2. *Pet.* 1, 2, *CCSL* 121, p. 261, ll. 28–30.
- 21 *virtus* This translation of δυνάμειος in 3, 1 is retained from Vg. in Erasmus’ Latin version. Oddly enough, in his annotation on the second occurrence of the word in 3, 1, where “virtute” translates ἀρετῆ, (“propria gloria et virtute”), *LB VI*, 1059 D, Erasmus criticizes Bede for apparently taking “virtute” here to mean ‘power’ instead of ‘virtue’; see Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 3, *CCSL* 121, p. 262, ll. 54–56: “...non in nobis aliquid meriti boni pro quo saluaremur inuenit [*sc.* Dominus noster], quin potius infirmos et ingloriosos cernens sua nos virtute recuperavit et gloria”.
- 25–26 *ingloriis ... vacuis* Cf. *Er. Annot. in 2. Pet.* 3, 1 (“propria gloria et virtute”), *LB VI*, 1059 D: “Sentit ... Petrus, quum nos essemus obstricti vitiis, Deum nobis impartisse suam iustitiam; quum essemus abiecti, contulisse nobis suam gloriam”.
- 27 *seruiebamus idolis* The addressees of 2. *Pet.* are clearly thought of as converted gentiles, not Jews as in 1. *Pet.* Cf. l. 34 below.
- 32 *vt ... diximus* Erasmus means, evidently, in 1. *Pet.* as well as what was said in l. 20 above.
- 33–34 *ad ... pertinetis* Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 262, ll. 64–72, likewise saw in the ‘sudden’, as he puts it, shift from the first person pronoun “nobis” to the second person verb “efficiamini” a contrast between Peter and his fellow disciples, who were Jews by birth, and the gentile addressees.
- 39–40 *ne ... ociosa* Cf. *Iac.* 2, 20, which Bede likewise alludes to in his commentary on 1, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 263, ll. 95–97: “[Bona conuersatio] ... fidei rectae iungenda est ne sine operibus otiosa sit et mortua”.
- 50 *dilectio* See *Er. Annot. in 2. Pet.* 1, 7 (“amorem fraternitatis”), *LB VI*, 1059 F, where Erasmus explains that “dilectio”, his translation of ἀγάπη (Vg. translates by “charitas”), is a broader feeling than brotherly love and encompasses not only love for the brethren but love for everyone, including non-Christians, or as he says in the paraphrase ‘even the ungodly’ (*impiis*). Whether the author of 2. *Pet.* had precisely this in mind is another matter (see Bauckham, *2 Peter*, pp. 187–188), but it is Erasmus’ normal definition of christian love (*christiana caritas*); cf., e.g., *Paraphr. in Col.*, ad 3, 14, *LB VII*, 1013 C; *Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 6, 11, *LB VII*, 1055 B; *Paraphr. in 2. Tim.*, ad 3, 11, *LB VII*, 1064 B.
- 57 *manu ... tentans* Cf. Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 9, *CCSL* 121, p. 264, ll. 131–132, commenting on the words “manu temptans”, the translation of μωπάζων in Vg.: “gressus in iter quod non praeuidet attollit”. Erasmus was in any case poorly informed on the etymology of the Greek verb which in his Greek text is spelled with ο instead of ω and in which he thought the letters μωο- were derived from the word μῶς. In his annotation *ad loc.* (“et manu tentans”), *LB VI*, 1060 D, he suggests that the Greek word is a metaphor derived from the behavior of mice who follow a wall or a plaque or anything else in their way until they reach their holes. Thus the words “per ambages ... circumagitur”, which are of course at home in the image of the ‘way’, may have been suggested by the scurrying mouse.
- 65 *sua morte Christi* obviously, not *Dei*. Reference is made only to Christ in 2. *Pet.* 1, 8–11, but Erasmus has evidently let the customary formula – *Deus deligit ac vocat* – impose itself in the paraphrase on the words τὴν κλησιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν (“vocationem et electionem”, Vg. and *Er.*, Latin version).
- 66 *benefactis* This is a paraphrase on the words “per bona opera” in Vg.; they do not occur in Erasmus’ Greek text.

rei nonnulla pars in vobis quoque sita est. Etenim si cogitaueritis vnde vos vocarit Deus, ad quae vocarit, quae praemia proposuerit, et si ad haec iis rationibus contenderitis quas paulo ante commonstravi, nusquam a recto pietatis cursu prolabemini. Siquidem hac contendentibus aderit abunde diuinum auxilium suppedabitque vobis opem suam vt tandem victores huius mundi perueniatis in aeternum regnum Domini et Seruatoris nostri Iesu Christi, potituri cum illo bonis coelestibus, cuius amore terrena contempsistis. Amplissimum est praemium, sed summo conatu ambiendum.

75 Quapropter non cessabo vos vnquam hisce de rebus commonefacere, tametsi non arbitror esse necesse cum et faciatis et meminertis quid vobis sit agendum, iamque longo progressu pietatis confirmati etiam sitis in iam diu cognita veritate quam hucusque constanter sequimini semel amplexi. Sed tamen quo magis ac magis vigiletis in eo quod coepistis, partes meas arbitror vt – memor praeepti
80 Domini mei qui iussit vt ipse conuersus confirmarem fratres meos quamdiu vobiscum versor hospes super terram in huius corpusculi tabernaculo – expergefaciam atque extimulem studium pietatis in vobis, atque eo sane magis quod sciam breui futurum vt exutus huius corpusculi domicilio terrae exilium coeli municipio commutem. Nam id mihi significauit Dominus noster Iesus Christus,
85 cui hactenus milito in hoc tabernaculo.

Nunc igitur dabo operam vt haec interim sic infigantur animis vestris crebra admonitione vt possitis et post obitum meum meminisse cum non licebit vos admonere voce. Cum enim certissimum sit quod a nobis accepistis, non oportet ab eo deflectere. Neque enim doctrina nostra talis fuit qualis philosophorum qui
90 fabulis arte compositis et humanis argutiis persuadere conantur quod ipsi non intelligunt inter se quoque dissentientes. Nos haud quaquam ista sequuti patefecimus vobis potentiam et aduentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et illius maiestatem, quam his oculis conspeximus, vobis praedicamus. Dignatus est enim suis aliquot ante mortem suam specimen aliquod exhibere quanta cum potentia
95 quantaque cum gloria sit olim venturus, iudex viuorum ac mortuorum, et quam admirabilem felicitatem sit largiturus iis qui illum constanter diligunt. Cum enim Deus Pater illum totum gloria ac decore conuestisset adeo vt vultus illius solis instar luceret ac vestimenta niuis candorem superarent intantum vt humanus obtutus non ferret coeleste spectaculum, accessit et paternae vocis multo honorificentissimum testimonium, quae ad hunc delata est e sublimi a magnifica maiestate Patris. Erat autem huiusmodi: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, qui complacuit animo meo; ipsum audite.* Nullum poterat aedi testimonium neque plenius neque
100 magnificentius. Atque id proditum est, non a propheta quopiam sed ab ipsa Patris maiestate. Haec oculis nostris aspeximus, haec auribus hausimus cum praesentes essemus illi in monte sancto Thabor.
105

Si maximum pondus apud vos habent prophetarum oracula qui per aenigmatum inuolucra vaticinabantur de Christo, grauius esse debet ipsius Patris de Filio tam euidens praeconium. Prophetae cum Patris voce consentiunt, si modo quis recte interpretetur. Hi suis promissis veluti praeparant animos ad veritatem euangelicam dum adumbrant ac veluti delineant quod palam exhibet euangelica
110

praedicatio. Proinde non improbo quod Iudaei vehementer intenti vaticiniis prophetarum scrutantur illic aduentum Messiae. Est enim nonnullus gradus ad fidem

77 in iam *A B*: in *om. C-H*

81 super terram *H*: in terris *A-G*

81-82 expergefaciā atque extimulem *H*: expergefacerē atque extimulare *A-G*

69 paulo ante Cf. the paraphrase on 1, 5-7, p. 218, ll. 38-51 above.

69-70 *prolabemini* Erasmus translated *πταίσητε* by "labemini", which is, perhaps, less ambiguous than "offendetis" in Vg. Cf. Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, p. 191.

71 *victores ... mundi* Cf. 1. *Ioh.* 5, 4, and *Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, ad 1, 6, p. 190, l. 92.

77 in I take the omission of the preposition in *C* to be an error of the compositor of *C*. To be sure, Erasmus could have deleted the *in* in order to create two balanced phrases with anaphora - *iam ... pietatis* and *iam ... veritate* - a common stylistic feature of the *Paraphrasis*, but if he did so, he falsified the meaning of the biblical text.

79 *praecepti* See *Lc.* 22, 32.

81 *hospes ... terram* Cf. *Hebr.* 11, 13, a text which Nicholas of Lyre likewise cites in his commentary on 1, 13.

83-84 *terrae ... commutem* Cf. Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 14, *CCSL* 121, p. 266, ll. 192-194: "Solam namque sibi domum propriam, solum municipium, solam patriam norunt in caelis". Bede then quotes 2. *Cor.* 5, 1 to substantiate his point.

85 *milito* The military metaphor occurs in Bede, *ibidem*, ll. 190-191, and, following him, Hugo.

86-87 *crebra admonitione* Erasmus construed the adverb *ἐκαστοτε* in 1, 15 with *σπουδάσω* rather than with *ἔχειν ... ποιῆσθαι* as most commentators and translators construe it. See Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 201-202, for a survey of the interpretations of this somewhat obscure verse.

89-90 *philosophorum ... conantur* This statement is a paraphrase on the participle *σεσοφισμένοις* in 1, 16; see Erasmus' annotation *ad loc.* ("non enim indoctas fabulas"), *LB VI*, 1060 F: "Tales erant olim philosophorum argutae magis quam salubres disputationes et hodie nonnullae theologorum altercationes". Neither Bede nor the medieval Latin commentators, who read variously "indoctas" or "doctas", saw any allusion to philosophical disputes. Nor do modern commentators; see Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 213-214.

97-98 *vultus ... instar* Cf. *Mt.* 17, 2.

98 *nivis candorem* Cf. *Mt.* 17, 2 Vg.

98-99 *intantum ... spectaculum* This enhance-

91 dissentientes *C-H*: dissidentes *A B*

108 tam evidens *H*: *om. A-G*

110 delineant *H*: deliniant *A-G*

ment is not in the Gospels; Erasmus may be making an inference from *Lc.* 9, 32a.

101-102 *qui ... animo meo* This rendering seems to be based directly on *Is.* 42, 1 rather than the versions of the text in 2. *Pet.* 1, 18 or *Mt.* 17, 5.

105 *Thabor* The *Glossa* and Hugo list Thabor along with the Mount of Olives as possible locations of the transfiguration. Origen, *Selecta in ps.* (ad 88, 13), Migne *PG* 12, 1548, seems to be the earliest extant reference to this belief, which has been popular since the fourth century.

106 *prophetarum oracula* The words *ἔχομεν βεβαιώτερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον* ("habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem" Vg.) have puzzled commentators since antiquity; see Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 223-224, for a list of modern interpretations. In his annotation *ad loc.* ("et habemus firmiorem"), *LB VI*, 1061 E-F, Erasmus advanced three considerations. First, the comparative form of the adjective did not necessarily mean that there is a comparison. (Here he was on the right track, but since he retains "firmiorem" in his Latin version and includes a comparison ("esse gravius") in the paraphrase, he evidently did not take this possibility seriously.) Secondly, Peter did not say that the word of the prophets was absolutely stronger, but that it had now become more certain because the voice of the Father attested to the sayings of the prophets. Thirdly, the Father himself was in a sense the prophet and herald ("praeco") of the Son, proclaiming that everything which the Son was going to say or do would please him. He concludes: "Atque hic sermo propheticus [sc. Patris] firmior erat sermone prophetarum quos illi [the Jews presumably, but possibly the addressees of the epistle] venerabantur; id quod Petrus non improbat modo intelligat prophetias eas esse spiritualiter [i. e. Christologically] interpretandas, non more Iudaico".

106-107 *per ... inuolucra* See the paraphrase on *Hebr.* 9, 8, p. 71, n.l. 645.

108 *praeconium* That is, the words of the Father in v. 17.

110 *delineant* But cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Ioh.*, p. 266, l. 275.

euangelicam credere Christum venturum. Nam citius credet venisse cui iam certo
 persuasum fuerit venturum esse. Bona spes est igitur de eo qui nondum illustra-
 115 tus euangelica luce prophetis attendit ceu lucernae apparenti in obscuro loco.
 Praestat enim habere quaecumque lumen quam nullum donec aduentante sole
 dies illucescat qui dispellat omnem caliginem et obscuret etiam ipsam lucernam,
 iamque exoriatur in cordibus vestris lucifer ille praedicationis euangelicae qui
 solem ipsum adesse nunciat. Prophetarum vaticinia ita demum erunt vsui si qui
 120 legunt meminerint scripturam propheticam figurarum inuolucris obscuram esse
 nec intelligi posse absque interpretatione. Ea interpretatio non est cuiuslibet nec
 arbitraria cuius. Siquidem prophetae qui vaticinia prodiderunt non e suo sensu
 animique arbitrio prodiderunt, sed cum essent homines sancti purique ab omni-
 bus humanis cupiditatibus, Spiritus Sanctus afflauit illorum animos ac velut
 125 organo abusum per illos nobis suam mentem vtcunque significauit. Quod
 homines humano sensu proferunt, id potest humano ingenio percipi. Caeterum
 quod afflatu diuini Spiritus proditum est, id requirit interpretem simili afflatum
 Spiritu. Qui quod de Christo dictum est ad mundanum aliquem regem accom-
 modant, quod de coelesti vita ad huius mundi felicitatem trahunt, quod de bonis
 130 animi dictum est interpretantur de commodis huius seculi, multum aberrant a
 mystico sensu prophetiae. Nec his facile persuadetur venisse Christum cum ex
 falsa prophetiae interpretatione terrenum quendam Messiam sibi finxerint qua-
 lem ille non praestitit. Et ideo non agnoscunt illum, non quia dissideat ab ima-
 gine spirituali prophetiae, sed quod discrepet ab idolo falsae interpretationis.

135

CAPVT II

Quisquis ex sui animi affectu vaticinatur, falso nomine prophetae dicitur. Quis-
 quis prophetae vaticinium ad suas cupiditates interpretatur, falsus est interpres.
 Fuerunt et olim apud Iudaeos pseudoprophetae qui vel ad principis gratiam vel
 ad quaestum vel in odium aliorum vaticinabantur, non quod dictabat Spiritus
 140 Dei, sed quod ipsi sibi confinxerant. Hi se pro veris prophetis gerentes decipie-
 bant stultos ac veris prophetis obstrepebant suis mendaciis. Sic et post obitum
 meum exorientur qui se falso nomine iactabunt esse doctores euangelicos cum
 futuri sint magistri falsitatis. Hi deflectentes ab euangelica doctrina inducent
 hominum commenta; pro salutari veritate ingerent sectas perniciosas, ad suum
 145 quaestum, ad suam gloriam ac tyrannidem spectantes potius quam ad negocium
 Christi; atque eo vesaniae progredientur vt ingrati Dominum suum Iesum, cuius
 LB 1105 sanguine redempti | sunt, cui semel dedere nomen, non vereantur abnegare, sce-
 leratiores etiam ethnicis qui Christum nunquam professi sunt. Quibus factis irri-
 tabunt in se diuinam vltionem, et non solum nihil eis proderit semel fuisse
 150 Christum professos, verum etiam accersent sibi celerem interitum a vindice Deo.

At parum erat si soli perirent qui iam perditum sunt; multos etiam secum per-
 trahent in exitium. Inueniet enim falsa doctrina suos discipulos. His freti aude-
 bunt obtrectare euangelicae veritati quam a nobis accepistis neque syncere tracta-
 bunt sermonem euangelicum quem vident ad suas cupiditates nihil conducere,

155 sed intenti priuatis lucris suis, fictis sermonibus imponent simplicitati vestrae,
 non hoc agentes vt vos lucrifaciant Christo sed vt ex vobis sibi quam plurimum
 auferant lucri. Vident enim euangelicam doctrinam parum esse plausibilem iis
 qui capiuntur huius mundi deliciis; vident non esse rem delicatam – id quod nos
 facimus – per omnes mortes constanter aduersus impios tueri synceritatem euan-
 160 gelicae doctrinae. Proinde viciabunt illi veram Christi doctrinam proque hac
 docebunt quae sunt crassis auditoribus blanda magis quam salutifera quaeque
 ipsis rem et gloriam concilient apud mundum, non apud Deum. Malent enim ob
 temporariam gloriam ac voluptatem aeternum exitium et sibi parare et aliis quam
 per momentarias afflictiones corporis ad immortalem felicitatem eluctari. Cauete
 165 ne hos duces sequamini nisi recta velitis abire in exitium. Neque vos fallat quod
 hic fastu praeminent, quod ditescunt, quod suauiter viuunt. Haud diu fruentur
 hac vsura falsae felicitatis. Vt enim piis breui contingent praemia sua iam olim
 apud Deum decreta, ita his sua decreta poena prorsus accelerat neque dormitat
 illorum pernicies, subito securos et oscitantes oppressura.

147 sunt C-H: sint A B

162 Malent A-E K BAS: Mallent F-I

163 parare A-I: parere K BAS

165 recta C-H: recte A B

167 breui A B D-H: breuis C; contingent
 praemia sua H: sua praemia contingent A-G

168 his C-H hiis A B; poena prorsus C-H:
 poena. Prorsus A B

118 *lucifer ... euangelicae* The paraphrase is as
 obscure as the original Greek; see Bauckham,
2 Peter, p. 226. Three explanations occur in
 Bede and the medieval commentaries. The
 morningstar is (1) Christ (cf. *Ap. Ioh.*, 22, 16.
 Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 1, 19, *CCSL* 121, p. 267, l. 232,
 found this explanation inadequate); (2) the
 light of understanding which precedes faith;
 (3) divine love. All three would be possible for
 Erasmus just as for Bede and Hugo, but the
 qualification *praedicationis euangelicae* sug-
 gests that the morningstar is the gospel, the
 rising sun the second advent of Christ pre-
 dicted by it.

128 *Qui* That is, Jews (cf. the annotation
 quoted in n.l. 106) or exegetes who like them
 lack spiritual inspiration and are therefore
 incapable of grasping the spiritual meaning
 of the Law and the Prophets. For Erasmus'
 view of spiritual in contrast to literal reading
 of Scripture see *Enarrat. in Ps.*, *ASD* V, 2,
 p. 36, l. 88 and p. 102, ll. 187–191, and *Eccles.*
ASD V, 4, p. 182, ll. 948–958.

138 *pseudoprophetae* As Nicholas of Lyre remarks
 in his commentary on *2. Pet.* 2, 1 (p. κττ^o),
 there are many such figures in *Sm.*, *Rg.* and
Chr. Hence, which false prophets Erasmus
 may have view is not immediately evident.
 Balaam (in *2. Pet.* and *Iud.*) is the example of
 a prophet motivated by greed; cf. also *Is.* 5,

23. In *2. Rg.* 22, 5–12 all the prophets except
 Micaiah speak what the king wishes to hear.

152 *exitium* Erasmus' printed Greek text has
 ἀπωλείαις, which he translated by "exitia", in
 place of ἀσελγείαις in 2, 2. In his annotation
ad loc. ("eorum luxurias"), *LB* VI, 1062 D, he
 claims that ἀπωλείαις is the reading of the
 Greek manuscripts which he has seen, but
 that is either an error or a falsehood on his
 part; cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX,
 2, p. 251, n.l. 418.

162 *malent* The subjunctive "mallent" does not
 suit the tone of denunciation and is not con-
 gruent with the future tense of the verbs in
 the preceding sentence. The second *l* is thus
 more likely to be a dittography on the part of
 the compositors of *F* and *G* than an authen-
 tic revision.

163 *parare Parere* is more vivid than *parare*, and
 if the correction of "mallent" to "malent" in
K is due to Erasmus, then he was likely to
 have been responsible for *parere* as well. But
 since that cannot be proved, I have retained
 the reading of the earlier editions.

168 *accelerat* The verb is a paraphrase on οὐκ
 ἄργεῖ in *2. Pet.* 2, 3, which Erasmus took to
 be a litotes and translated "non tardat". The
 paraphrase retains, indeed enhances the per-
 sonifications of the biblical text.

169 *subito ... oppressura* Cf. *1. Thess.* 5, 3.

170 Hominum iudiciis poterunt imponere, Deum fallere non poterunt. Vt illis
 ignoscant homines apud quos valent autoritate, Deus non ignoscet qui nullius
 magnitudinem veretur. Cur enim his nunc parcat qui olim nec ipsis pepercit
 angelis qui peccarant, sed e coelo praecipitatos, vinctos aeternae noctis catenis in
 175 tartari carcerem detrusit, seruatos in hoc, vt extremo iudicio damnati dedantur
 aeternis suppliciis? An in hominibus feret impune superbiam qui non tulit in
 angelis? An his erit impune quod faciunt post euangelicam lucem patefactam,
 post tot beneficia gratis collata? qui nec rudi ac prisco mundo pepercit, sed offen-
 sus hominum viciis orbi sceleribus inquinato diluuium induxit deletis omnibus
 180 excepto Noe quem octauum ex tam immensa mortalium multitudine voluit esse
 incolumem quod caeteris contempta Dei lenitate solus extracta arca testaretur
 sese metuere vindictam omnipotentis. An hos non puniet qui tot ciuitates ac tam
 florentem regionem Sodomorum et Gomorreorum sulphurea pluvia redegit in
 cineres atque ita funditus euertit vt nihil supersit praeter horrendum ac pestilen-
 tum lacum qui testetur quae poena maneat illos qui similibus flagitiis in se
 185 prouocarint iram Dei? Atque vt illis sua impietas fuit exitio, ita Loth sua inno-
 centia saluti fuit, cui cum homines nefarii vim pararent et abominandis libidini-
 bus suis castum ac iustum virum opprimerent, Deus illum eripuit e commercio
 sceleratorum inter quos erat illi grauissimum viuere. Cum enim esset ipse et ocu-
 lis et auribus purus castusque, graue supplicium erat animo pio audire quotidie,
 190 videre quotidie quae toto pectore detestabatur. Ex his satis declaratum est nun-
 quam committere Deum vt cuiquam sua innocentia sit frustra aut vt cuiquam
 LB 1106 sua impietas sit impunita, | etiam si ad tempus leniter fert aliquos vt aliquando
 resipiscant. Etiam si patitur suos ad tempus aliquando tentari, tamen cum tem-
 pus adest, nouit ab afflictionibus eripere pios; contra nouit impios reseruare
 195 puniendos aeternis suppliciis in diem extremi iudicii.

Nullum genus iniusticiae sinetur impunitum. Sed praecipue poenas daturi
 sunt qui ceu diffisi promissis euangelicis hic sequuntur quicquid corpori collubi-
 tum sit, seruientes foedis libidinibus quibus vndique conspurcant omnem vitam.
 Quoque sceleratiores sint, turpitudinem violentia conduplicant, contemnunt
 200 autoritate publica praeditos – audaces, praefracti, qui dignitate praeminentes non
 verentur conuitiis incessere. Et haec audent homunculi cum angeli longe prae-
 stantes viribus ac robore, licet alias impii, non tamen eo sint audaciae progressi vt
 sustinerint Deo maledicere; et qui in caeteris neglexerunt Dei voluntatem, in
 hoc tamen veriti sunt illum offendere deferentes autoritati diuinae. At isti spiriti-
 205 bus impiis sceleratiores, ceu bruta pecora nata in hoc ipsum, vt capiantur ac per-
 dantur, cum non vereantur praefectis suis obtrectare ac maledicere, ignorantes
 interim illud ipsum cuius gratia de illis maledicunt. Quemadmodum corruptis
 suis moribus accersunt sibi perniciem, ita pecudum ritu peribunt, percipientes
 impiae vitae dignam mercedem – qui quidem existimant suauem ac magnificam
 210 esse vitam si prorsus exuto omni pudore luci quoque luxui foedisque voluptati-
 bus indulgeant. Nam nonnullus adhuc pudor habet illos qui haec noctu faciunt.
 Quis istos credat homines? Labes sunt verius et maculae, qui in foedis illis suis
 commessionibus, in quibus miserabili errore ponunt summam felicitatis, vobis

- 178 *orbi sceleribus inquinato* C-H: mundo inquinato A B
180 *solus* C-H: solus Noe A B
- 175 *superbiam* The author of 2. *Pet.* does not say what sin the angels committed (cf. Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 248-249), but pride was traditionally considered the source of the fallen angels' sin; cf. e.g. Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 2, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 270, ll. 59-60: "... ipsam superbiae iactantiam qua angelicus spiritus contra eius conditorem intumuit".
- 177 *rudi ... mundo* Cf. Er. *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 2, 5 ("originali mundo"), *LB VI*, 1062 E: "Sentit enim priscum mundum ac recens conditum". Cf. the argument of Bede, cited in n.l. 290 below, that the appearance of the original world was altered by the deluge.
- 178 *orbi ... inquinato* Cf. *Gn.* 6, 11-12. Erasmus' Latin version, following Vg., has "mundo"; "orbi" is perhaps only a stylistic variation.
- 181 *tot ciuitates* There were four cities destroyed according to *Dt.* 29, 23; the fifth city, Zoar, was spared. Erasmus ignores the kind of question that bothered Hugo *ad loc.*: If four cities were destroyed, why does Peter mention only two of them?
- 182 *florentem* Cf. *Ios. Ant. Iud.* 1, 9, 171: "Σοδομίταις ἦνθει τὰ πράγματα". Cf. also *Gn.* 13, 10 and the paraphrase on *Iud.* 7, p. 234, ll. 60-64 below.
- 183 *euertit* "Subuertit" is the verb used by Vg. in *Gn.* 19, 25 and 29. This text probably influenced Erasmus' use of *subuersione* in place of Vg.'s "euersione" in his Latin version of 2. *Pet.* 2, 6. "Euertit" returns, in effect, to the language of Vg.
- 183-184 *praeter ... lacum* The *Glossa*, p. 119^o, likewise includes the inundation of the Dead Sea as part of the penalty imposed on the cities of the plain, but its main focus, like that of Bede, Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre, is on the reduction of the four cities and their territories to ashes. The description of the Dead Sea - *horrendum ac pestilentem* - is not biblical, but derived from *Plin. Nat.* V, 15, 71 and *Tac. Hist.* V, 6.
- 184 *quae poena* In Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 2, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 271, ll. 117-124, and the medieval Latin commentaries, it is the fire and the smoking land, together with its ashy and fetid fruit, which provide the example of future punishment. Erasmus' statement that it is the Dead Sea which is the example of divine punishment is perhaps more the result of abbreviation of the traditional commentary on this verse than deliberate innovation.
- 186-187 *homines ... opprimerent* See *Gn.* 19, 4-9.
- 195 *puniendos* The paraphrase follows the text of Vg. rather than the Greek text which has a present participle and seems to imply that sinners are continually punished rather than reserved for future punishment; see Er. *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 2, 9 ("seruare puniendos"), *LB VI*, 1063 C, and Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, p. 254.
- 200 *autoritate ... praeditos* Erasmus believed that the nouns *κυριότητος* and *δόξας* in 2, 10 denoted persons of high position in church or state. Cf. his annotations *ad loc.* ("dominationemque" and "sectas non metuunt"), *LB VI*, 1063 D-E. The medieval Latin commentators took *dominatio* to be abstract for concrete and understood the word to refer to the Lord (cf. Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, p. 255), while the reading "sectas" in place of "glorias", which they understood to mean 'heresies', understandably took them in a quite different direction. Erasmus' view of *δόξας* persuaded Luther and Calvin and many modern scholars as well, although others believe that the 'glories' are heavenly powers of some kind; cf. Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 261-262.
- 202 *licet ... impii* Erasmus seems to have the sinning angels of 2. *Pet.* 2, 4 in mind. Despite the pride which led them to rebel against their creator they could not bring themselves to malign him.
- 211 *Nam ... faciunt* Cf. Er. *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 2, 13 ("diei delicias"), *LB VI*, 1064 D: "[Petrus] vult hoc turpiorem videri luxum illorum quod etiam interdium commessentur quum iuxta Paulum 'qui ebrii sunt, nocte ebrii sint' [1. *Thess.* 5, 7]". Cf. *Paraphr. in Rom.*, *ad* 13, 12, *LB VII*, 822 B.
- 213 *commessionibus* Vg. reads "conuiuuiis", translating *ἀγάπαις*, in 2, 13 for *ἀπάταις*, which Erasmus translated "erroribus". The paraphrase combines both readings. See Er. *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 2, 13 ("In conuiuuiis suis"), *LB VI*, 1064 D. Evidently he either did not see or did not want to see any reference to the christian agape or love-feast in this verse.
- 213-214 *vobis insultant* Despite the word order of the Greek text of 2. *Pet.* 2, 13, Erasmus preferred to construe the pronoun *ἡμῖν* with *ἐντροφῶντες* rather than, correctly, with *συνευωχούμενοι*. Consequently he took *ἐντροφῶντες* to mean 'insult', a meaning that this verb can have when used with the dative case. See Er. *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 2, 13 ("luxuriantes vobiscum"), *LB VI*, 1064 D-E.

insultant velut insanis qui praesentis vitae commodis non fruamini. Atque
 215 interim luxus inuitat libidinem cumque vino madent, oculos habent libidinantes
 neque quicquam aliud cogitantes quam adulterium aut alia flagitiorum genera.
 Neque enim semel excussa ratione, semel inflammati vino norunt a peccando ces-
 sare, sed a flagitio properatur in flagitium adeo vt non sat habeant si ipsi perditae
 220 viuant ni et aliorum animos nondum virtute confirmatos ad suam turpitudinem
 pelliceant atque inescant.

Iam fortasse tolerabilius sit si tantum luxu libidineque peccarent. Nullum vicii
 genus abest. Vt turpiter prodigunt quod habent, ita turpiter parant quod pro-
 fundant, habentes animum et ingenium ad auariciam, ad fraudem, ad rapinam
 exercitatum, quaestus gratia nihil non facientes, ob lucrum male precantes piis ac
 225 bonis, et pecunia corrupti deflectunt a via recta et in hoc referentes patrem suum
 Balaam, filium Bosor, qui cum sciret optima, tamen iniqua mercede corruptus
 maledicere studuit iis quibus propitius erat Deus; eoque caecitatis illum perduxit
 auaricia vt ab asina corriperetur, et, cum homo vesanus mentem exuisset huma-
 nam, brutum animal humana voce loquens coercuit prophetae dementia, plus
 230 cernens corporeis oculis quam ille cernebat oculis animi, videlicet exoculatus
 pecuniae cupiditate.

Hi sunt qui miram quandam ac nouam doctrinam pollicentur, cum nihil adfe-
 rant dignum euangelica professione, similes fontibus aqua carentibus ad quos si
 sitiens accurras, praeter sordes ac lutum nihil reperias; similes nebulis quae huc et
 235 illuc impelluntur procella ventorum ac spem faciunt pluuiiae terrae sitiendi, cum
 interim ne gutta quidem ab illis destillet doctrinae salutiferae. Promittunt euan-
 gelicae doctrinae lucem et inuoluunt tenebris errorum, quos aeternae manent
 tenebrae apud inferos. | Cum enim verbis mendacibus magna quaedam pro-
 240 fessi sint atque hac spe pellexerint et inescarint eos qui coeperunt ad meliorem
 frugem resipiscere, deceptos inuoluunt carnis cupiditatibus et huius vitae volup-
 tatibus, pollicentes se liberaturos alios ab errore cum ipsi versentur in summis
 erroribus, promittentes aliis libertatem a viciis cum ipsi serui sint turpitudinis.
 Etenim a quo quisque superatus est, cuius arbitrio viuit, huic iure seruus dicitur.
 Neque enim illis prodest semel gratis ereptos fuisse a viciorum seruitute si suapte
 245 sponte eodem relabuntur; imo hoc foedior est seruitus, hoc miserior, quia post
 gustatam libertatem vltro accersita.

Quod commissum est ante praedicatum Euangelium, magna ex parte datur
 errori, datur ignorantiae. At qui semel agnito per Euangelii praedicationem
 Domino et Seruatore nostro, Iesu Christo, per baptismum aufugerunt ab iniqui-
 250 tamentis huius mundi ac vitam puram coelestemque professi sunt, si rursus
 superati cupiditatibus inuoluuntur, iis non solum nihil opitulatur baptismus,
 verum etiam peiore in statu sunt quam fuerint antequam Christum agnoscerent.
 Leuius enim peccat cuius peccatum subleuat ignorantia. Grauius damnabuntur
 qui crimen impietatis ingratitude vicio cumularunt. Itaque praestiterat illis
 255 omnino non nouisse doctrinam euangelicam, quae docet innocentiam ac purita-
 tem, quam post cognitam et acceptam desciscere a sancto praecepto quod illis
 semel traditum fuit. Quid enim aliud istis accidit quam quod vere solet prouerbio

dici? Canis resorbens id quod semel euomuit, et sus lota reuertens ad volutationem in coeno. Frustra canis repurgauit vomitu stomachum si repetit quod eiecit. Frustra sus limpidis aquis abluit coeni foetorem si mox a lauacro redit ad sordes relictas.

CAPVT III

Pluribus verbis haec inculco, charissimi, atque adeo iam alteris hisce litteris eadem de re vos commonefacio, non quod dubitem de synceritate mentis vestrae, sed vt quod scitis ac tenetis magis ac magis memineritis et quod facitis faciatis alacrius constantiusque. Minus erit periculi ab illorum scelerata doctrina si memores fueritis hoc praedictum olim a sanctis prophetis qui monuerunt hoc hominum genus esse cauendum sique memineritis idem esse praeceptum a nobis qui sumus apostoli Domini et Seruatoris, Iesu Christi, qui vetuit ne quis huiusmodi qui pro veritate euangelica perniciosam adferunt doctrinam aures praebeat. Illud igitur in primis scitote venturos olim non praedicatores sed illusores instructos praestigiis et imposturis quibus fallant incautos; qui non sequentur ea quae nos docuit Christus, sed vt viuent pro cupiditatibus animi sui, ita etiam pro libidine sua docebunt quae tali vitae congruent. Quoniam illis turpiter viuentibus non erit optabilis aduentus Domini, idcirco persuadebunt tum sibi tum aliis nunquam rursus aduenturum, dicentes: ‘Vbi est promissa resurrectio? vbi iudicium?’

220 pelliceant *G H*: pelliciant *A–F G²*
234 nebulis *C–H*: nebulas *A B*

258–259 volutationem in coeno *C–H*: volutabrum coeni *A B*

220 *pelliceant* For the spelling cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Ioh.*, p. 281, l. 690.

226 *Balaam* See *Nu.* 22, especially verses 7 and 17–18. “Bosor” is the form of Balaam’s father’s name in Erasmus Greek text and in Vg.; see Metzger, p. 704.

237 *aeternae* The adjective is introduced from *Iud.* 13.

258–259 *Canis ... coeno* Cf. *Prv.* 26, 11 and *Adag.* 3513 (*Canis reuersus ad vomitum*), *LB* II, 838 E–F, for the first adage and *Adag.* 4362 (*Sus in volutrabo coeni*), *ibidem*, 1017 D–E, for the second.

ad volutationem In *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 2, 22 (“in volutabro luti”), *LB* VI, 1065 F, Erasmus translates εἰς κωλισμόν by “ad volutationem” though he has “volutabrum” (from Vg.) in his Latin version. He is quite likely simply selecting an alternative translation – in this instance from Ambrose – for the paraphrase.

263 *alteris ... litteris* In the paraphrase on 3, 1 Erasmus leaves open the question of what the first letter was, but his paraphrase on 3, 3 suggests that he means 1. *Pet.* For his view that there were three letters see the dedicatory letter to Wolsey, p. 182, ll. 58–59, and

the *Argumentum in 1. Pet.*, p. 184, ll. 23–24. Cf. Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 285–286, for the varying views of modern commentators.

267–268 *prophetis ... cauendum* The reference is vague, but cf., e.g. *Ez.* 13; *Am.* 9, 10. See Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 287–288.

268 *nobis* The precise reference of the term ἀποστόλων in 2. *Pet.* 3, 2 is disputed; see Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 287–288. Erasmus is evidently interpreting it in the light of *Iud.* 17; cf. the *Paraphr. ad loc.*, p. 173, n.l. 132. The apostles would thus be primarily Paul and Peter himself, but also perhaps Jude, (though Erasmus considered *Iud.* to be written later than 2. *Pet.*), and John (cf. 2. *Ioh.* 10–11, though Erasmus may have considered John the Elder to be the author of this epistle).

269–270 *ne ... praebeat* See *Lc.* 21, 8.

271–272 *instructos ... imposturis* This is a paraphrase on the words “in deception” in Vg. which are not in Erasmus’ Greek text.

276 *promissa resurrectio* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 15, 12–18 and Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 3, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 276, ll. 5–6: “Illudentes uidelicet fidei et spei Christianorum quod tempus sibi resurrectionis futurum frustra promittant.”

vbi praemia diuersa pro vitae meritis? vbi aduentus eius in dies singulos frustra expectatus?'. Existimabunt enim nunquam futurum quod aliquandiu differtur. 'Quod,' inquit, 'vestigium resurrectionis? Mortem obierunt alii post
 280 alios patres nostri, neque quisquam adhuc reuixit. Et quemadmodum ab orbe
 LB 1108 condito | morientium ac nascentium vicibus propagantur omnia, ita huc vsque
 manet idem cursus naturae' – cum ex mutatione mundi quae praecessit colligere
 liceat nouationem futuram. Et vt illa accedit non expectantibus iis qui pro sua
 libidine viuebant, ita haec eueniet siue credimus siue non credimus. Nam illud
 285 latet istos aut (quod magis reor) scire se dissimulant quod olim conditi sunt coeli
 simulque terra, quam aliqua ex parte nudabant aquae quibus prius operiebatur
 magna item aquarum vi in sublimi pendente. Cumque genus humanum passim
 esset inquinatum viciis, Deus offensus immisso diluuiio perdidit illius temporis
 mundum seruatis octo duntaxat qui coluerant innocentiam. Hoc vniuersale iudi-
 290 cium Deus tum exercuit per aquam purgans terram et innouans. Porro coeli sicut
 conditi sunt hactenus perseuerant, qui reseruantur incendio per quod et ipsi pur-
 gabuntur in die iudicii cum per ignem perdentur impii quemadmodum olim per
 aquam perierunt.

Cum igitur certissimum sit venturum diem illum, non refert admodum serius
 295 an maturius veniat. Illud tantum curandum nobis, ne quandocunque venerit,
 offendat nos imparatos. Nobis pro nostro animo quaedam longa videntur, quae-
 dam breuia. At Deo nihil est neque breue neque longum. In suis promissis non
 sequitur cupiditatem nostram sed suum aeternum et immutabile consilium, cui
 nihil est neque praeteritum neque futurum sed omnia praesentia. Nobis autem
 300 quicquid promisit exhibet tempore quod ipse sibi praescrispsit. Alioqui nihil apud
 illum interest siue intercesserit vnus dies siue mille anni. Eadem fide praestat
 quod serius praestat qua quod maturius. Iam enim quod ad ipsum pertinet,
 praestitit quicquid decreuit praestare. Non enim mutato consilio hominum
 contorum more recrastinat ac prorogat sua promissa quemadmodum falso opi-
 305 nantur quidam, Deum e suis moribus metientes. Sed aliquando spacium longius
 praescribit vestra causa, pro lenitate ac mansuetudine sua nolens quenquam per-
 ire – quod quidem in ipso est – sed cupit omnes aliquando respiscere ne qui per-
 eunt causari possint sibi temporis spacium defuisse mutandae in melius vitae.
 Aderit autem ille dies inexpectatus nec aliter obrepet mortalibus quam fur noc-
 310 turnus obrepet dormientibus. In eo tanta vis erit incendii vt coeli magno impetu
 transituri sint in aliam speciem. Caeterum elementa, quibus inferior hic mundus
 constat, aestu soluentur. Porro terra quaeque in ea continentur exurentur igni
 totaque rerum natura purgabitur.

Quod si tunc oportet vsque adeo omnia esse pura vt haec etiam dissoluenda
 315 sint quae non peccant, quantopere vobis adnitendum est vt dies ille vos omni
 vitae sanctimonia, omnibus pietatis studiis integros ac purgatos reperiat? Id
 interim agendum magna celeritate, quo semper parati sitis quandocunque vene-
 rit ille dies Dei cuius exactum iudicium nemini licebit effugere, qui vsque adeo
 nihil feret impurum vt coeli ardentes soluendi sint, vt elementa aestuantia

320 colliquescere cogenda. Post haec iuxta promissum illius expectamus coelos novos ac
 terram nouam, quae nihil habeant corruptionis, nihil noxae, vt nos, in quibus
 nihil erit corruptae mentis, fruamur illis incorruptis.

LB 1109 Quapropter, fratres charissimi, iudicium hoc tam rigidum semper prae oculis
 325 habentes, date operam vt Dominus adueniens vos reperiat puros et inculp[pa]tos,
 non apud homines tantum, quorum iudicia saepenumero falluntur, verum etiam
 apud ipsum. Nam is demum purus est qui Deo iudici purus est. Et si forte dies
 ille serius aduenerit, nolite sic interpretari quasi venturus non sit, sed hanc
 Domini lenitatem, qua facit omnibus spacium ad poenitentiam, existimate

295 nobis *H*: vobis *A–G*
 309 nec *A C–H*: ne *B*

317 celeritate *A–D G H*: celeriter *F*
 324 inculpatus *A–D G H*: inculpatus *F*

285 *scire ... dissimulant* For this paraphrase on the participle θέλοντας (“volentes”, *Vg.*) in 3, 5 cf. the *Glossa ad loc.*: “... dicunt omnia eodem modo perseruare quod vel vere nesciunt vel fingunt se nescire vt vos decipiant”. Bede does not comment on “volentes”; Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre follow the *Glossa* though with some slight modifications.

286 *simulque* Erasmus presumably means this in a general way – the sky and the land were both created long ago –, not that the land was created on the same day as the sky.

quam ... operiebatur Cf. *Gn.* 1, 9 for this paraphrase on the words ἐξ ὕδατος (“de aqua” *Vg.*) in 2. *Pet.* 3, 5.

287 *magna ... pendente* Cf. *Gn.* 1, 6–7. The clause is evidently intended to be a paraphrase on the words δι’ ὕδατος in 3, 5. The phrase puzzled Bede and the medieval commentators. Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 3, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 277, ll. 24–30, thought it referred to veins of water running through the earth and keeping it moist, an explanation which Erasmus obviously rejects just as he does the variant reading that he reports from Bede (*ibidem*, ll. 30–34) in *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 3, 5 (“caeli erant prius”), *LB VI*, 1066 E. In sum, Erasmus substitutes the account in *Gn.* 1, 6–7 and 9 for what the author of 2. *Pet.* actually says. See Bauckham, 2 *Peter*, pp. 297–298, for discussion of the problems posed by verse 5.

289 *octo ... innocentiam* Cf. 2. *Pet.* 2, 5 and 1. *Pet.* 3, 20 (also *Hebr.* 11, 7). Erasmus extends Noah’s righteousness (*innocentia*) to all the members of his family.

290 *purgans ... innouans* Cf. Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 2, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 270, ll. 79–85, who argues that the flood changed the land from its original appearance to what it now is.

295 *nobis* Since the following *nos* is the reading of all editions, the *vobis* of *A–G* is probably

the result of either foul case or a reversed *n* rather than an echo of the second person plural pronoun in 2. *Pet.* 3, 9.

298–299 *cui ... praesentia* Cf. Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 3, 8, *CCSL* 121, p. 278, ll. 60–63: “quia nimirum in cogitatione diuinae virtutis et praeterita et futura et praesentia aequaliter praestantia constant, et quae longa nobis et quae breuia videntur temporum curricula aequalis vtique sunt spatii apud conditorem temporum”.

309–310 *nocturnus* Erasmus thought that the reading ὡς κλέπτῃς in the Greek text of 2. *Pet.* 3, 10 was corrupt, but he nevertheless follows it in the paraphrase; see *Annot. in 2. Pet.* 3, 10 (“sicut fur”), *LB VI*, 1066 F.

313 *votaque ... natura* Contrary to Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 3, 10, *CCSL* 121, p. 279, l. 127–p. 280, l. 140, Erasmus evidently believes that there will be a total transformation of the universe.

316–317 *Id ... celeritate* This is a paraphrase on the text of *Vg.* which reads “properantes (*v.l.* “festinantes”) in aduentum” in 5, 12, where the Greek text has σπεύδοντας τὴν παρουσίαν. Cf. Erasmus’ annotation *ad loc.* (“festinantes in aduentum”), *LB VI*, 1066 F.

321–322 *in quibus ... incorruptis* The paraphrase accommodates what Erasmus considered an ambiguity in the Greek text since he thought that the antecedent of the relative pronoun οἷς could be either οὐρανούς καὶ γῆν or, the alternative he preferred, the first person plural subject of the verb προσδοκῶμεν. See his annotation *ad loc.* (“in quibus iusticia”), *LB VI*, 1066 F. This interpretation of the Greek was criticized by Stunica; see *Apolog. resp. Iac Lop. Stun.*, *ASD IX*, 2, p. 252, ll. 431–435.

325–326 *non ... ipsum* The contrast between the easily deceived judgment of humans and the infallibility of divine judgment occurs in Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 3, 14, *CCSL* 121, p. 281, l. 170.

330 consulere saluti hominum. Quibus de rebus scripsit vobis charissimus frater et
 335 collega noster, Paulus – hoc copiosius quo donum vberius sapientiae donauit illi
 LB 1110 Deus – et in omnibus fere epistolis hortatur ad huius diei expectationem, non-
 335 nunquam ita loquens quasi iam instet dies Domini quo magis extimulet studium
 pietatis, cum dies ille, quoniam incertus est, sic expectandus sit quasi hodie ven-
 turus, sed ita vt nemo certum prae|scribat tempus. Haec atque alia quaedam
 Paulus pro sua sublimi sapientia admiscuit epistolis suis, quae cum ab ipso rec-
 tissime dicta sint, tamen imperiti parumque firmi peruersa interpretatione detor-
 quent, quemadmodum et caeteras scripturas, ad suam ipsorum perniciem vt
 quod bonis est saluti, id ipsorum vicio vertatur istis in venenum. Vos igitur,
 340 fratres, tot modis praemoniti tum a me tum a Paulo, caute ne fraude nefariorum
 hominum vna cum caeteris seducti excidatis a vestra firmitate fidei quam hacte-
 nus praestitistis. Quin potius date operam vt assidue crescatis ac progrediamini in
 donis et agnitione Domini nostri et Seruatoris, Iesu Christi, cui gloria et nunc in
 hac vita et in aeuum omne. Amen.

Paraphraseos in Posteriorem Epistolam Petri Apostoli finis

344 Paraphraseos in Posteriorem Epistolam Petri
 Apostoli finis *D–H*: Finis Paraphrasis in Petri
 apostoli epistolam posteriorem *A–C*

331 *fere* Though a correct observation, this word
 is actually interpolated in Erasmus' Latin ver-
 sion; it has no equivalent in either the Greek
 text or in Vg.

epistolis Cf., e. g., *Rom.* 13, 12; *1. Cor.* 1, 7 and
 5, 5; *2. Cor.* 1, 14; *1. Thess.* 5, 2; *2. Thess.* 2, 2
 and 5, 2.

334 *vt nemo ... tempus* Cf. *1. Thess.* 5, 1–5. Bede,
In 2. Pet. 3, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 276, ll. 15–16,
 observes that Peter criticizes those who assert
 that the second coming is being delayed while
 Paul checks those who claim that it is now
 at hand.

340 *vna cum caeteris* The paraphrase is a vari-
 ation on Erasmus' translation of *συν* in the
 compound verb *συναπαχθέντες* by "simul
 cum aliis"; cf. his annotation *ad loc.* ("ne
 insipientium"), *LB* VI, 1067 C, and his
 translation of the verb in *Gal.* 2, 13 by
 "simul abduceretur", which he then para-
 phrases "vna cum Petro subduceret" in *Para-
 phr. in Gal.*, *LB* VII, 950 A. That the false
 teachers had followers is not unlikely (see

Bauckham, *2 Peter*, pp. 331–332), but that is
 probably not to be inferred from the verb by
 itself; cf. *BAGD*, s. v. *συναπαχθῶ*.

fidei Bede, *In 2. Pet.* 3, 17, *CCSL* 121, p. 283, l.
 243, likewise assumes that *firmitas* in Vg.
 means 'firmness of faith'.

342 *donis* For the plural cf. *Eccles.*, *ASD* V, 4,
 n.l. 48: *χάρις* (*gratia*) is viewed as a collection
 of *χαρίσματα* (*dona*). Alternatively the plural
 may reflect the assumption that there are
 several kinds of grace or refer to the seven
 gifts of the Holy Spirit; cf. *Eccles.*, *LB* V,
 1091 A–B.

agnitione The Greek is *γνώσει*, which Erasmus
 translates "cognitione" with Vg. in his Latin
 version. Assuming that "agnitione" is not a
 stylistic variation, he presumably wanted to be
 sure that *Domini ... Christi* was taken as an
 objective genitive. However, the compound
 noun could also have been intended to create
 a circle with 1, 3–4, analogous to the circle or
inclusio in *1. Pet.*; see p. 215, n.l. 815 above.

IN EPISTOLAM IVDAE ARGVMENTVM,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Multis verbis destomachatur in eos qui cupiditatibus suis excaecati aduersabantur
Euangelio, quod tamen nouum videri non debeat, cum iam olim in hoc destinati
5 sint et ab apostolis praedictum sit id genus homines irrepturos in gregem Chris-
tianorum. Aduersus hos sic armat eos vt studeant et illos vel increpatione coercere
vel admonendo seruare. Quod si non queant, certe ipsi sese parent in aduentum
Christi.

5 *ab ... sit* Cf. 2. *Pet.* 2, 1 and 3, 2-4; 2. *Thess.* 2,
5-12; 1. *Tim.* 4, 1.

PARAPHRASIS IN EPISTOLAM IVDÆE APOSTOLI,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Iudas Thadaeus, Iesu Christi seruus, frater Iacobi, hanc epistolam scribo non solum Iudæis aut proselytis, sed in commune omnibus quos clementia Dei Patris
 5 vltro sanctificavit et citra legis adminiculum ex impiis pios, ex idololatriæ veræ religionis cultores fecit, quos in hoc ipsum diuina benignitas seruatur Iesu
 LB 1110 Christo, ne | cum caeteris abirent in barathrum aeternæ damnationis, quos eosdem nunc sua gratuita munificentia vocauit ad salutem euangelicam. Nihil vobis precari queam in hac vita felicius quam vt diuina bonitas sua munera semper in
 10 vobis multiplicet: misericordiam, pacem et charitatem – misericordiam, vt Indies magis ac magis absitis a vitæ pristinae vitiis; pacem, vt pietate vitæ concordiam alatis quam habetis cum Deo; charitatem, vt mutua concordia sitis vnanimes et alii in alios benefici.

LB 1111 Charissimi, quoniam euangelica charitas facit omnia | communia siue quid
 15 accidit boni siue quid mali, praesertim in his quæ ad aeternam salutem pertinent, tantum mihi studium fuit scribendi vobis de vestra salute – quæ me non aliter habet sollicitum quam si mea esset, huc videlicet extimulante fraterna charitate – vt mihi non quiuerim temperare quin hac epistola vos exhortarer vt pro
 20 tuenda syncera fide, quæ semel ab apostolis tradita est sanctis, aduersus pseudapostolos decertetis. Neque solum in hoc laborate, vt persistatis in fide vestra, verum etiam vt aliis opitulemini ne seducantur ab impostoribus. Inaestimabilis est fidei thesaurus eoque impensius advigilandum ne vobis interuertatur. Cum enim vobis pure syncereque tradiderimus euangelicam doctrinam sicut accepimus a Christo, tamen sub praetextu religionis obiter admiscuerunt se quidam impii ac
 25 ceu lupi in ouile Domini irrepserunt, pietatis specie venditantes sese, cum hostes sint veræ pietatis. Ne quid autem haec res ceu noua perturbet animos vestros; sic olim decretum est arcano Dei consilio, sic praedictum est exorituros qui suis flagitiis et vestram exercerent pietatem et sibi condemnationem accerserent. Gratuitam beneficentiam Dei nostri, qua nobis semel gratis peccata condonauit et a
 30 legis asperitate liberos reddidit, vertunt in occasionem lasciuiae, cum illius beneficio magis inuitari debuerint vt innocentiam gratuito datam piis studiis et

35 tuerentur et ornarent atque inflammati charitate euangelica copiosiore etiam atque exactiorem iusticiam praestarent volentes quam Mosaica lex praescripserat. Nunc isti data libertate abutuntur ad turpitudinem ac peccandi licentiam et vltro recidunt in veterem seruitutem vnde suo sanguine redemerat illos Iesus Christus, abnegantes Deum quem semel professi sunt, cum solus sit herus omnium quae in caelo sunt et quae in terra, abnegantes et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui nos sibi sacri cruoris precio asseruit. Nihil profuerit esse redemptos nisi perseueremus in his ad quae sumus vocati.

3 CAPVT I. *add. G*

11 concordiam *C-H*: pacem *A B*

15 aeternam *cett.*: aeterna *B*

19-20 aduersus pseudapostolos decertetis *H*:
decertetis aduersus pseudapostolos *A-G*

20 laborate *A-I*: laborare *K*: laboraui *BAS*

22 enim *post est add. K BAS*; vobis *A-I*: nobis *K BAS*

25 ceu *A C-H*: seu *B*

29 condonauit *C-H*: donauit *A B*

32 ornarent *A-K*: ordinarent *BAS*

3 *Iudas Thadaeus* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 1, *CCSL* 121, p. 335, ll. 2-3: "Iudas apostolus quem in Euangelio Matheus et Marcus Thaddeum appellant ...". Erasmus does not, so far as I know, express an opinion anywhere on this identification of the author of the Epistle with Jude the apostle, which appears to have been the opinion of the medieval church and remained so down to the twentieth century. See the next note.

frater Iacobi Bede, the *Glossa*, and Nicholas of Lyre are silent on this relationship, though Nicholas, p. L5r^o, comments that Jude is identified in this way to distinguish him from Jude the betrayer. Hugo identifies the brother as Iacobus Minor, which either was or became the accepted opinion of the church, but he then confuses this James with James the Just, the brother of the Lord. Jerome, *De vir. illus.* 4, identifies the brother with James the Just, but does not comment there on whether this Jude was the apostle of that name. Erasmus in his annotation on *Mt.* 10, 3 ("primus Simon"), *LB* VI, 53 E, identified Jude as "filius Iacobi". Called to task by Noël Bédard (see *Diuinationes ad notata per Bedam*, *LB* IX, 463 E), he changed this to "frater Iacobi", presumably meaning Iacobus Minor, though he may have meant Iacobus Iustus; cf. Epp. 2182, ll. 31-36 and 2185, ll. 31-33. Erasmus' correspondence with Ambrosius Pelargus on this question (Epp. 2181, 2182, 2184-2186) amply demonstrates the difficulties such questions posed at that time. For modern

disputes on the identity of this Jude and his relationship to James and Jesus see Bauckham, *Jude*, pp. 21-23.

5 *citra ... adminiculum* That is, without the requirement of circumcision; nothing in the epistle warrants this comment. But since Erasmus believes that Jude like 2. *Pet.* is written to gentiles (note *ex idolatris*), he evidently assumes that the 'false apostles' are the kind of Judaizers faced by Paul.

11 *concordiam* For the revision in *C* cf. the *Paraphr.* in 1. *Pet.*, ad 1, 2, p. 188, ll. 42-45.

16 *vestra* The possessive adjective is probably taken from *Vg.* since Erasmus' Greek text and Latin version lack a comparable word. On the other hand, *vestra* is an easy supplement from the preceding *vobis*.

25 *lupi* Cf. *Act.* 20, 29; *Mt.* 7, 15.

27 *praedictum est* Cf. *Paraphr.* in 2. *Pet.*, ad 2, 1, p. 222, ll. 138-148, l. 157. Erasmus assumed the priority of 2. *Pet.*; hence he can make Jude cite Peter as well as the 'holy prophets' for this prediction.

29-30 *a ... asperitate* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 335, ll. 17-25, who likewise describes the 'grace of our Lord' as freedom from the harsh penalties - stoning, burning and the like - of the Mosaic law.

33 *exactiorem iusticiam* Cf. *Mt.* 5, 20.

35 *seruitutem* To Satan (see ll. 45-47 below), or perhaps to the 'elements of the world' (*Gal.* 4, 3 and 9)

38-39 *nisi perseueremus* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 15, 2.

40 Non, opinor, opus ut vos doceam cum nihil vos fugiat; tantum illud in memo-
 riam redigam ne quod scitis excidat. Olim nihil profuit Hebraeis quos Iesus in
 typum horum temporum e dura miseraque seruitute Aegyptiorum per mare
 rubrum traduxit in libertatem; imo quos ad se clamantes miseratus seruauit, hos
 in deserto diffidentes et obmurmurantes Deo denuo peius perdidit. Quod illis
 45 erat seruitus Aegyptia, hoc nobis erat seruitus vitiorum. Quod illis erat Pharaos,
 durus et intolerabilis dominus, hoc nobis erat Diabolus, cuius tyrannidi nostris
 vitiis eramus obnoxii. Illi fisci Deo per medias maris vndas incolumes euaserunt in
 libertatem, nos credentes Euangelio per baptismum euasimus ius Satanae. Sed
 quemadmodum ex illis quidam non eadem fide properabant ad terram promis-
 50 sam, quibus Dei beneficium adeo nihil profuit ut etiam verteretur in cumulum
 damnationis, ita nobis nihil profuerit in baptismo semel deposuisse peccata nisi
 constantibus animis semper proficientes ad meliora tendamus ad haereditatem
 vitae coelestis.

Quin et illud meminisse vos volo, quod ne angelis quidem profuit sic condi-
 55 tos esse ut diuinitatis essent consortes, verum simulatque felicissimam naturam
 sua prauitate mutassent neque persisterent in sua conditione, praecipites dedit e
 coelis ac luce priuatos aeternis tenebris damnauit apud inferos ubi vinculis inso-
 lubilibus seruantur in diem iudicii supremi quo damnati meritis poenis addi-
 centur.

60 Iam Sodoma et Gomorra reliquaeque ciuitates his finitimae, quum omni
 LB 1112 rerum opulentia florent, quoniam Dei benignitate abusi sunt ad luxum et libi-
 dinem, inquinantes sese nefandis et abominandis turpitudinum generibus, subito
 ira diuina extinctae sunt coelesti igne consumptae quo videlicet aliis essent exem-
 plo qui Christi beneficiis ad vitae turpitudinem abutuntur. Neque enim effugient
 65 similem poenam qui similiter peccauerint. An non similiter peccant qui delusi
 insomniis falsarum voluptatum non solum corpora sua conspurcant, verum
 etiam praefectos suos et autoritate praeditos aspernantur, et in eos, quibus ob
 potestatem qua praeminent debebant reuerentiam, non verentur maledicta
 congerere? At Michael archangelus, cum illi esset disceptatio cum Diabolo de
 70 corpore Mosi, tamen veritus est illi, licet turpissimo daemone, palam dicere
 conuitium. Sed cum illius impium sermonem ferre non posset, moderatus est
 maledictum hunc in modum: *Increpet* (inquiens) *te Dominus*. Si Michaeli religio
 fuit maledicere Diabolo, quanto intolerabilius faciunt qui viris autoritate dignita-
 teque praeminentibus non verentur maledicere? At istorum tanta est peruersitas
 75 ut cum nullam habeant causam, tamen ea maledictis insectentur quae non intel-
 ligunt. Contra adeo luxu libidineque corrupti ut in his rebus, in quibus animan-
 tia rationis expertia probe moderateque degunt – veluti cibo, potu coituque – in
 his perditissime se gerant. Sed vae illis, quibus continget praemium commune
 cum his quorum scelera imitantur. Neque enim sibi proponunt Iesum Christum,
 80 sed Caym fratricidam, cui primo liuor inuidiae persuasit homicidium; sed
 Balaam, qui corruptus quaestu conatus est maledicere populo cui benedixerat

41 in A-G: om. H

41 *Iesus* From Vg.; Erasmus' Greek text has ὁ Κύριος – "Dominus" in his Latin version. If he is following Bede, he means Jesus, not Joshua. Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 5, CCSL 121, p. 336, ll. 45–46: "Iesum non filium Naue sed Dominum nostrum dicit". On the other hand, "in typum" suggests Joshua. The reader familiar with medieval exegesis would take the name "Iesus" in both senses. For the contrasting views of modern scholars see Bauckham, *Jude*, p. 43, note b, and p. 49.

in The preposition is required; its omission in H is most likely a typographical error.

43–44 *quos ... perdidit* The paraphrase seems to follow Bede rather than the account in *Ex.* 14 and *Nu.* 14, 1–38. Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 5, p. 336, ll. 50–52: "Ita enim clamantes ad se de afflictione Aegyptia primo saluauit humiles vt secundo murmurantes contra se in heremo prosterneret superbos". The typological interpretation in ll. 44–53 is also developed by Bede, *ibidem*, ll. 53–60.

44 *obmurmurantes* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Cor.*, ad 10, 10, LB VII, 892 B, where the simplex *murmurare* is replaced by the compound form. *Diffidentes* represents τοῖς μὴ πιστεύουσιν in the biblical text; *in deserto ... et obmurmurantes Deo* in the paraphrase is an allusion to *Nu.* 14, 27.

54–55 *sic conditos* See Er. *Annot. in Iud.* 6 ("suum principatum"), LB VI, 1089 F, where Erasmus explains that the term ἀρχή "signifies that first nature in which the angels were created". He then inferred that the term οὐρανῶν is a metaphor for the heavenly condition or station of the angels, which he here paraphrases by *in sua conditione*.

56 *dedit* There is no explicit subject for the verbs *dedit* and *damnauit* just as in the biblical text, but the implied subject is "Iesus" according to Bede, *In Iud.* 6, p. 336, ll. 67–68. Bede seems to have *Ap. Ioh.* 12, 9 in mind, and so quite likely does Erasmus.

60–61 *quum ... florent* Cf. *Gn.* 13, 10 and *Paraphr. in 2. Pet.*, ad 2, 6, p. 225, n.l. 182 above.

61–62 *quoniam ... libidinem* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 7, CCSL 121, p. 337, ll. 88–89: "... dat exemplum poenae illorum qui Domini nostri gratiam transferunt in luxuriam".

64 *Christi* The reading "Iesus" for "Dominus" (God) is sustained. Cf. *1 Cor.* 10, 9.

65–66 *delusi insomniis* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Iud.* 8, ("et hi qui carnem"), LB VI, 1090 D. Erasmus

70 daemoni H: domino A–G

was not sure of the meaning of the participle ἐνοπιαζόμενοι, but the words *corpora sua conspurcant* suggest that he is referring to erotic dreams.

67 *praefectos ... praeditos* See the paraphrase on *2. Pet.* 2, 10, p. 225, n.l. 200, and *Annot. in Iud.* 8, ("maiestatem autem"), LB VI, 1090 E.

69 *disceptatio* See *Annot. in Iud.* 9, ("imperet tibi Deus"), LB VI, 1090 E–F, where Erasmus cites Hier. *Comm. in Epist. ad Tit.* [ad 1, 12, Migne PL 26, 573 D–574 A] as evidence that 1. *Enoch* is the source; in an addition made in the 1535 edition of the *Nov. Test.* he cites Orig. *De princ.* [III, 2, 1] for the information that the source was the *Ascensio Moysi*. Erasmus misinterpreted the reference in Jerome, which is to *Iud.* 14, not 9. The more likely source is the "Ascension" or rather "Assumption of Moses"; see Bauckham, *Jude*, pp. 65–76. But in the *Paraphrase* Erasmus accepts the incident without worrying about its source; cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 9, CCSL 121, p. 337, ll. 98–116, who several times notes that the circumstances of the dispute are unknown.

70 *daemoni* For the original "domino" cf. the *Paraphr. in 1. Ioh.* p. 286, l. 829 below.

73–74 *quanto ... maledicere* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 9, CCSL 121, p. 338, ll. 118–120: "... quanto magis hominibus omnis blasphemia cauenda est et maxime ne maiestatem creatoris verbo indisciplinato offendant". Bede, of course, assumes that the words "dominationem" and "maiestatem" (Vg.) in verse 8 refer to God.

77 *cibo, potu* Erasmus is probably anticipating verse 12. Jude is apparently thinking only of the sexual behavior of the false teachers; see Bauckham, *Jude*, p. 63. On the other hand, "perditissime se gerant" says much less than Jude's φθείρονται, but Erasmus is probably influenced by the Vg. translation "corrumpuntur" which he retains in his Latin version.

80 *liuor inuidiae* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* 3, 12, Migne PL 35, 2016; Bede, *In Iud.* 11, CCSL 121, p. 338, 122–123; Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Ioh.* 3, 12, p. 194, n.l. 515 below. Cf. Er. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD, 1, p. 72, ll. 897–898, where envy is given as the motive for the murder of Abel. In patristic and medieval thought Cain is the exemplar of envy. Hence Nicholas of Lyre on *Iud.* 11 likewise notes that Cain killed Abel because of envy.

81–82 *cui ... Deus* The pluperfect suggests that Erasmus has *Nu.* 22, 12 in mind; elsewhere

Deus; sed Chore, qui conspiratione facta coortus in Mosen cum suis coniuratis horrendo exemplo extinctus est.

85 Ii sunt qui vobis pure casteque viuentibus et euangelicam amplectentibus charitatem veluti maculae sunt dehonestantes gregem vestrum ac vobis ieiunantibus luxuriosis comessionibus inter sese indulgentes. Nec vllius reuerentia metuue a turpitudinis licentia cohibentur; quicquid animo collubitum est, id temere sequentes. Et cum his factis profitentur sese doctores euangelicos ac duces ad veram virtutem. Verum isti nubibus similes sunt, quae in sublimi pendentes cum
90 terrae sitiendi videantur polliceri pluuiam, tamen aridae sunt nec aquam habent qua telluri subueniant, sed inanibus cupiditatibus suis huc atque illuc temere circumaguntur. Similes arboribus, quae sub finem autumnii proditis floribus mendacem fructus spem faciunt, cum mox emarcescant, non solum infrugiferae sed bis mortuae – qui nec ipsi vitam habeant ad euangelicam pietatem et alios secum
95 in perniciem trahant neque secus deplorati quam arbores radicitus euulsae quibus iam nulla spes est reuiescendi. Qui cum irrequieti sint ac factiosi, semper aliquo nouo tumultu turbant Ecclesiae tranquillitatem. Similes peruicacibus vndis maris sese subinde in altum tollentibus nec aliud interim efficiunt nisi vt sua probra suaque dedecora aliis, quantum in ipsis est, aspergant. Similes stellis, quae cum
100 lucis specie promittant se fore viae duces, tamen quoniam erraticae sunt neque constanter sequuntur quod rectum est sed affectibus suis nunc huc, nunc illuc abducuntur, simplices et incautos inducunt in naufragium. Hae stellae, quae nunc falsa luce sese venditant apud homines, non effugient iudicem Deum etiam si in praesentia non punit illos, sed seruat eos aeternae tartari caligini.

105 Isti quanquam nostris temporibus exorti sunt, tamen ne quid noui vobis accidere videatur, de his olim vaticinatus est Enoch, qui fuit ab A|dam septimus, deque horum supplicio quo sunt olim afficiendi. Loquitur enim hunc in modum: *Ecce venit Dominus cum innumera multitudine sanctorum suorum vt exerceat iudicium aduersus omnes et redarguat omnes ex eis qui sunt impii, de factis
LB III3 omnibus quae impie patrarunt, deque omnibus quae dure ac ferociter loquuti sunt aduersus ipsum, non solum peccatores male viuentes verum etiam impii et contumeliosi in Deum.* Siquidem hi, quoniam huius vitae felicitatem corporis voluptate metiuntur, impotenter ferunt si quid incidat afflictionis aut incommodi neque verentur obmurmurare Deo suis querimoniis – quod sic condiderit hominem vt
115 breuis esset aevi, vt morbis obnoxius – optantes hanc vitam esse quam maxime longam minimeque malis obnoxiam, videlicet de futura vita diffidentes. Haec tam sordida atque abiecta cum sentiant in animis suis, tamen os illorum loquitur magnifica quaedam ac mirabilem quandam philosophiam profitetur, cum non solum abiectissime seruiant voluptatibus verum etiam quaestui, quae res cum pri-
120 mis vitiat doctrinam Christi. Neque enim loquuntur ea quae docet euangelica

82 Mosen *scripsi*: Moysen A–H

84 Ii G H: Illi A–F G²

87 quicquid H: sed quicquid A–G

92 arboribus A–D G H: arboris E

94 nec A–D G–H: ne E

100 promittant A–D G H: promittat E

100 *viae A-K: om. BAS*

105-106 *accidere H: om. A-G*

- *Dt.* 23, 5 and *Ios.* 24, 10 - God turns Balaam's curse into a blessing.

82 *Chore Cf. Nu.* 16, 1-33.

Mosen See *Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, p. 197, n.l. 259 above.

83 *exemplo* Erasmus probably took this notion from verse 7, but cf. Bauckham, *Jude*, p. 84, who notes how the fate of Korah was considered a striking example of divine judgment.

84 *li* Erasmus' Latin version has "Hi", translating οὗτοι, and he quite likely intended to change the "Illi" of *A-FG* to "Hi", not "Ii", but I have let the text of *H* stand.

84-85 *euangelicam ... charitatem* This paraphrase arises from Erasmus' mistaken belief that ἀγάπαις in verse 12 meant 'charities', not 'banquets' as in Vg.'s 'epulis'; see *Annot. in Iud.* 12 ("in epulis suis"), *LB VI*, 1091 D-E. Apprised by Stunica of his error (*Apolog. resp. lac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, pp. 260-261), he added the correct explanation of the word to his annotation, but never changed either his Latin version of *Iud.* 12 or the paraphrase on it.

85 *vobis ieiunantibus* A fanciful notion, arising from Erasmus' tendency to create a paraphrase through contradiction: if the false teachers are banqueting, the true Christian must be fasting.

86-88 *Nec ... sequentes* This sentence is a paraphrase on the words ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες in *Iud.* 12 which Erasmus translated, "absque vilius timore suoapte ductu arbitrioque viuentes". In his annotation *ad loc.* ("pascentes"), *LB VI*, 1091 E, he explained that the Greek participle means "Pastorum in modum seipsos agentes ac ducentes, et sibiipsis pastores. Sentit enim illos nullius parere imperio sed suo arbitrato viuere".

88-89 *Et ... virtutem* This sentence is likewise a paraphrase on the words "semet ipsos pascentes" (Vg.) and incorporates the interpretation based on the allusion to *Ez.* 34, 2 (cited by Hugo *ad loc.*): the false teachers want to be accepted as leaders of the church despite their immorality. The word "duces" also anticipates the paraphrase on 'stars' in verse 13.

92-93 *quae ... emarcescant* See Er. *Annot. in Iud.* 12 ("arbores autumnales"), *LB VI*, 1091 F: "δένδρα φθινοπωρινά. Quod ferme sonat quasi dicas 'arbores autumnno marcescentes siue fructibus marcidis' ... Solent enim nonnullae extremo autumnno praeter temporis rationem florere, idque agricolis indicat eas max emorituras".

109 *et redarguat om. I*

94-95 *et alios ... trahant* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 12, *CCSL* 121, p. 338, l. 155-p. 339, l. 157: "quid putas illum mereri poenarum qui vel peruerse agendo vel alios peruertendo pessimos fructus adtulit?". Bede, *ibidem*, ll. 154-155, also alludes to *Mt.* 7, 19-20. This text with its suggestion of future punishment may underlie Erasmus' "neque secus deplorati".

96-97 *Qui ... tranquillitatem* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 339, ll. 168-171: "Fluctus feri maris sunt peruersi doctores qui et in semet ipsis inquieti semper tumidi tenebrosi et amari sunt et pacem Ecclesiae ... semper impugnare non cessant".

100 *lucis specie* Erasmus probably means the attractiveness rather than the falseness of the planets' light. The color and brilliance of their light was a topic of ancient astronomical discussion; cf. *Plin. Nat.* 11, 6, 45; 12-14; 59-76.

erraticae Erasmus, with modern scholars, assumes that Jude is referring to the five, or six if the moon is included, planets of the night sky; see Bauckham, *Jude*, pp. 89-90. But since Erasmus did not know the contents of 1. *Enoch* it is unlikely, despite the personification in the paraphrase, that he was describing the disobedient angels who controlled these stars.

108-109 *ut ... redarguat* *Exerceat* and *redarguat* should be imperfective subjunctives since "venit" is a past tense as Erasmus points out in his annotation *ad loc.* ("ecce veniet"), *LB VI*, 1091 F. Nevertheless, he seems to have been influenced by the future tense, "veniet", and the present infinitives in Vg. since his Latin version likewise has the present subjunctive in the *ut* clause.

113 *impotenter ... incommodi* Bede, *In Iud.* 16, *CCSL* 121, p. 341, ll. 235-237, notes that they make their complaints because of the afflictions ("laboribus") of the Church.

114-115 *quod ... obnoxius* The examples seem more classical than biblical; cf. *Sen. Brev. vit.* 1, 1; *Epist. ad Luc.* 49, 3-4.

119 *quaestui* Cf. 1. *Tim.* 6, 5 and Er. *Paraphr. in loc.*, *LB VII*, 1054 B-C. Nicholas of Lyre *ad Iud.* 16 notes that the false teachers complain about their (pretended) lack of food and clothing so that they can extract money. This idea may be picked up in the conclusion of the paraphrase on verse 16.

120-121 *Neque ... veritas* Erasmus appears to be commenting on a variant reading in the text

veritas, sed quae blanda grataque sint his vnde sperant aliquid compendii. In pauperes tyranni, erga diuites agunt palpones.

Horum malicia hoc minus turbabit vos, charissimi, si memineritis id olim vobis esse praedictum ab aliis apostolis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, nominatim a Paulo Petroque. Dixerunt enim vobis extremis temporibus exorituros illusores qui suis prauis cupiditatibus vitiarent purissimam Christi doctrinam, haud quaquam viuentes iuxta regulam euangelicam sed iuxta affectus suos impios ac nefarios. Hos agnoscere licebit hac nota. Caeteris, qui iuxta Christi Spiritum viuunt et contemptis terrenis coelestia curant, concorditer agentibus isti mouent dissidia, eo quod animales sint et obseruientes mundanis affectibus ac vacui Spiritu venentur voluptates, ambient regnum, captent lucrum. His rebus qui student non sunt apti christianae concordiae. Malunt enim turbare gregis tranquillitatem quam in ordinem cogi. |

LB III4 Vos autem, charissimi fratres, qui spirituales estis, date operam vt magis ac
135 magis ceu viui lapides coagmentemini in structuram Dei, innitentes solido fundamento sanctissimae fidei vestrae. Semel vobis persuasum est non defutura piis sua praemia, quantumuis hic affligantur, ne mercedem requiratis in hoc seculo; non defutura impiis merita supplicia, ne vos velitis vleisci. Proinde puris ac spiritualibus precibus iugiter implorantes opem Dei vos inuicem mutua concordia
140 mutuaque charitate seruate. Non enim audit Deus nisi concordēs. Neque diffidatis si hic pro Christo variis modis affligimini, sed expectetis Dei misericordiam exhibendam non in hac vita sed in vita aeterna. Vos interim modis omnibus habita ratione personarum date operam vt seruetis omnes – alios leniter et clementer reuocantes ad meliorem mentem, alios vero metu adhibito seruate velut
145 ex incendio rapientes – odio habentes non homines ipsos sed corpus hoc terrenis affectibus inquinatum, qua ceu tunica polluta grauatur et inquinatur humanus animus. Et hoc clementius decet alienis erratis mederi, quod nemo versans in hoc corpusculo non possit inquinari. Nam id humanarum virium non est ne quis sibi gloriam arroget, sed omnis gloria, magnificentia, imperium ac potestas sit soli
150 Deo Seruatori nostro per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum non solum in hoc seculo sed ante omnia secula et futuris seculis omnibus in aeternum. Siquidem solus Deus potest hoc praestare conantibus vt, quanquam fragili corpusculo circumdatos vndique mundus tot rebus auocet a proposito pietatis, tamen perpetuam innocentiam seruetis vsque in finem vt non solum homines nihil reperiant
155 in moribus vestris quod reprehendant, verum etiam tales statuamini in conspectu maiestatis Dei vt illi nihil in vobis displiceat qui videt intimos mentium recessus. Quod cum fiet, exultabitis et gaudebitis in aduentu Domini nostri Iesu moerentibus aliis qui interim videntur suauiter viuere. Quod vt fiat, votis omnibus comprecandum est.

- 121 sperant *H*: sperent *A–G*
 131 rebus *H*: *om.* *A–G*
 143 leniter *A C–H*: leuiter *B*
 148 virium *A–D G H*: virum *E*
 154 in *A–I*: ad *K BAS*

- 160 Finis Paraphraseos In Iudam *C–H¹ K*: Finis
 Paraphraseos In Epistolam Iudae Apostoli,
 per Erasmum Roterodamum *A B*: Finis *I*:
 Paraphraseos in Iudam Finis *BAS*

of Vg. recorded in the Side Note on this passage: “Et os illorum loquetur (*sic*) mendacium”; but cf. also the *Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 6, 5, cited in n.l. 119.

- 122 *tyranni* Cf. Ep. 858, ll. 185–189, 315–324, 555–559, 593–596. The ‘tyranny’ of the mendicant friars and other religious orders seems to have been very much on Erasmus’ mind at this time.

palpones ‘Flatterers’; the word is the result of an erroneous interpretation of Pers. 5, 176 on the part of late Latin grammarians.

- 125 *Paulo Petroque* Cf. 2. *Thess.* 2, 5–12; 1. *Tim.* 4, 1; 2. *Tim.* 3, 1–5; 2. *Pet.* 3, 2–4.

- 130 *obseruientes ... affectibus* Cf. Bede, *In Iud.* 19, *CCSL* 121, p. 341, ll. 241–243: “... sunt ‘animales’, id est proprias animae suae concupiscentias sequentes”.

- 135 *viui lapides* Cf. 1. *Pet.* 2, 5, an allusion which Bede also makes, *In Iud.* 20, *CCSL* 121, p. 341, l. 252.

- 142 *Vos interim* The paraphrase follows the Greek text of *Iud.* 22 which, Erasmus thought, was rather obscure. See his annotation *ad loc.* (“de igne rapiant”), *LB* VI, 1092 E: “Porro

sensus alioqui subobscurus hic est, vt alios mansuetudine trahant ad Christum, habita ratione personarum, alios metu deterreat a peccando, et oderint non ipsos homines sed turpes affectus, quos hic vestem carnis maculatam vocat, nisi mauis in hunc interpretari sensum: odio habentes non solum ipsa turpia facta carnis, verum etiam vestem a carne contaminatam, hoc est, quicquid vlllo modo ad turpitudinem pertinet”.

- 146 *qua* If the text is sound, *qua* is presumably the relative adverb. However, one may wonder whether Erasmus had intended to write *quo*, referring to *corpus*, but under the influence of the feminine “in carne” in his Latin version wrote “*qua*”. Cf. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 52, l. 25–31: “Corpus siue carnem ... quaque ad turpia prouocamur ...”.

- 150 *per ... nostrum* This phrase is taken from Vg.; it is not in Erasmus’ Greek text.

- 151 *ante ... secula* This phrase is likewise taken from Vg.

- 157 *exultabitis et gaudebitis* Cf. 1. *Pet.* 1, 6–9. *in aduentu ... Iesu* This too is not in Erasmus’ Greek text, but comes from Vg.

IV

PARAPHRASIS IN TREIS EPISTOLAS
CANONICAS IOANNIS APOSTOLI

PARAPHRA

SIS IN TREIS EPI,

stolas Canonicas Ioannis

apostoli, per Erasmi

Roterodami,

Nunc primum excusa typis.

Louanii apud Theodoricum Marti

num Aloftensem. Anno M.

D. XXI. Mense Ianuar.

Cum gratia & priuilegio.

INTRODUCTION

The Paraphrases on the three epistles of John continue the task begun with the Paraphrase on James which, as Erasmus explains in the letter dedicating them to Cardinal Schiner, was carried out piecemeal. In other words Erasmus gave the manuscripts to the printer, Dirk Martens in Louvain, as soon as he finished them – after December 16 for James, January 6 for the Johannine epistles, if the dates of the dedicatory letters indicate the date of completion of copy for the printer. The writing of the Paraphrase itself seems to have been finished or almost finished by 31 December.¹ Additional time would have been needed to make a fair copy for the printer, if that was in fact done and to add the side notes for 1 John, which are quite full – I assume this was done after the completion of the text, not as it was being written.² A slightly revised copy of the printed text was sent to the Froben firm in Basel, most likely with the bundle of other editions of the Paraphrases which were to serve as copy for the edition of the complete Paraphrase on the Epistles (C).

There is, however, a chronological difficulty in this reconstruction of events. Johann Froben reports the arrival of this material – *Paraphrases omnes*, he calls it – in a letter to Boniface Amerbach then at Avignon.³ The letter is undated but in it Froben informs Boniface that a group of men are expected from the cantons of Schweiz, Lucerne and Uri for Fasnacht. Other information indicates that the men arrived on 20 January, the feast of St. Sebastian. If this is correct, then presumably Froben wrote on or more likely before that date.⁴ However, if Erasmus delivered his copy for the Paraphrases on 1–3 John on 7 January (hardly on 6 January which was a Sunday and the feast of the Three Kings), then that leaves

¹ See Ep. 1177, ll. 44–47: “Paraphrases absoluimus in omnes Epistolas, praeter eam quae fertur ad Hebraeos. Addidimus Paraphrasim in Epistolas Petri duas, Iudae vnam et Iacobi vnam: breui daturi quod superest Epistolarum Apostolicarum; sic enim visum est amicis eruditiss”. Allen, n.l. 46, seems to take the words “quod superest Epistolarum Apostolicarum” to refer only to the Paraphrase on the epistles of John, but, as the plural “amicis” suggests, it is more likely to refer to the Paraphrases on both the Johannine epistles and the epistle to the Hebrews.

² There are no side notes to 2. and 3. *Ioh.* Erasmus no doubt considered the Paraphrases on these two epistles brief enough not to require a key to the biblical text.

³ See *Am. Kor.*, I, no. 764.

⁴ The editor of the *Amerbach Korrespondenz* suggests 13 January, but that would be impossible if the phrase *Paraphrases omnes* includes the Paraphrase on the Johannine epistles which would still be printing on that date. Allen, introd. Ep. 1206, and *Op. ep.*, III, App. XII, p. 628, n. 3, with perhaps more discretion, suggested sometime between Christmas and the feast of St. Sebastian.

less than two weeks for printing and delivery to Basel, which is perhaps conceivable but is, I think, a physical impossibility. A minimum of one week would be required for printing⁵ and another week for travel.⁶ Erasmus may, of course, have urged speed on both Martens and his messenger to Basel, but it is hard to see just why he would have done so.⁷ The most likely explanation is that Froben is referring only to the Paraphrase on all the genuine epistles of Paul which was sent in advance and apparently with the copy for the next edition of Erasmus' letters.⁸

Erasmus seems to have had little interest in revisiting the text of this particular Paraphrase, which seems to be also true of the text of the Paraphrase on the Gospel of John.⁹ This apparent indifference to the text may well reflect a general lack of interest on his part in the Johannine literature as a whole. It is certainly evident in the Johannine epistles. Like the other canonical epistles they are seldom cited or quoted in Erasmus' other writings. His Latin translation in the editions of the *Novum Testamentum* is only a lightly revised version of the Vulgate; even the epistle of Jude is more thoroughly revised. Similarly (though this is, to be sure, a crude measure) there are less than one-half as many annotations on the three epistles of John as there are on 1 Peter and Jude, a roughly equal amount of biblical text. Thus the treatment of the biblical text and the somewhat superficial exegesis in the Paraphrases on 1-3 John may have a deeper cause than the short period of time available for their composition.

The Sources

For the explication of the text Erasmus had again Bede's commentary, either in manuscript or in the excerpts available in the *Glossa ordinaria*, in addition to the commentaries of Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre.¹⁰ But he also had for the first time

⁵ There is no evidence to indicate the speed with which Martens' men could work or how many compositors and presses he could devote to a job. With only one typesetter and press at work five or six days would be required to set the approximately 70,000 lines of type for sixty-eight pages of text (five quarto sheets and one sheet and a half) and a similar five days for presswork including wetting and drying the paper. See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 54-56 and 139-141.

⁶ According to Allen, a fortnight was usually required for the journey from Louvain to Basel.

⁷ It is possible that the work was printed during the first week of January with the letter to Schiner and the Argument, which occupy the verso of the title page, left for a second run of the first sheet through the press. But there is no visible evidence of this in the one surviving copy, and it seems unlikely that Martens would agree to such an expensive procedure.

⁸ See Allen, introd. Ep. 1206. Allen seems to take Froben's "omnes" to denote all the Paraphrases including those on the canonical epistles since he refers to his introduction to Ep. 1171, the preface to the Paraphrase on James.

⁹ Cf. the Translator's Note in *CWE* 46, p. xv.

¹⁰ Other commentaries were potentially available, most notably, perhaps, that of Denis the Carthusian, but Erasmus does not, so far as I know, evince any knowledge of these works. See the list in Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, pp. 306-308.

a major patristic commentary, Augustine's *In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos Decem Tractatus*.¹¹ Augustine and Bede appear to be the primary sources, but as it is not always possible to determine whether Erasmus is using Bede directly or through the excerpts in the *Glossa*, so the use of Augustine, whose Tractates are extensively quoted by Bede, may be direct or through quotation in Bede. However, there are also places where a paraphrase reflects statements of Augustine which do not appear in Bede so that it is evident that Erasmus had read or reread Augustine's Ten Tractates at some point in the preparation of the Paraphrase on 1 John. But to determine in every instance which of the sources, Augustine, Bede, and even the *Glossa*, may have been uppermost in Erasmus' mind is beyond the scope of this edition. I have contented myself, therefore, with simply drawing the relevant information to the reader's attention.

Composition and Themes

Analysis of the composition and themes of 1 John is extremely difficult, and commentators from the Middle Ages to modern times seldom agree.¹² Hence Erasmus' *Argumentum* contains one of the most remarkable assertions to be found in a commentary on the Johannine epistles: *Est autem dilucidior epistola quam ut egeat argumento, quemadmodum et duae sequentes* (p. 256, ll. 10–11). As in the *Argumenta* on the other General Epistles, with the exception of 1 Peter, Erasmus displays scant interest in analysing the content or structure of the work. To some extent this is in keeping with patristic and premedieval commentary. Neither Augustine nor Bede (and following him, the *Glossa*) comment on the composition or structure of the 1 John.¹³ Augustine, however, does show some sense of the structure of the epistle since, with one major exception,¹⁴ the text expounded in a Tractate corresponds to an accepted unit of discourse in the epistle. Complete analyses of the composition and content of the three epistles begin with the medieval commentators whose approach reflects the methods of scholastic inter-

¹¹ Erasmus had been working intermittently since 1518 (cf. Ep. 844, 255–256) on the revision of the Amerbach edition of Augustine's *Opera Omnia* and a little more actively perhaps in late 1520. See Epp. 1144, l. 71, and 1174, l. 17; 922, ll. 35–48; 1189, ll. 9–11; 1204, ll. 24–33 (an advertisement of his work!); 1212, ll. 43–44; 1218, ll. 18–19; 1309, introd. – all from 1520 and 1521.

Tractatus is Augustine's term for a homily, an oral exposition of Scripture and its application to the life of his congregants. The ten Tractates were delivered between Palm Sunday and Pentacost, probably in A.D. 415, the first six in Holy Week, the other four as the feasts up to Pentacost permitted. See St. Augustine, *Commentaire de la première Epître de S. Jean, Introduction, traduction et notes* par Paul Agaësse, S.J., (Sources Chrétiennes, 75), Paris, 1961, pp. 9–12. The Tractates break off at 1. *Ioh.* 5, 2.

¹² See Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 14–35 (authorship), 47–68 (the author's adversaries), 69–100 (relation to the Gospel of John), and p. 764 (chart of sample divisions of 1 John).

¹³ That is normal in homilies like Augustine's *Tractatus Decem*, while Bede's commentaries are essentially running commentaries, proceeding sentence by sentence from the beginning to the end of the epistles with few digressions on historical or literary matters.

¹⁴ *Tractatus IV* ends on 3, 8, a place which few commentators would consider a breakpoint.

pretation. Both Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre treat the first four verses of chapter 1 as a prologue or proemium to the body of the epistle which, for them, begins with 1, 5. At this point, however, they go in different directions though both agree in dividing the epistle into major divisions (five in Hugo, three in Nicholas) which are in turn divided into parts (*partes*) and subparts (*particulae*). The major difference between them, apart from the points where they divide their individual parts and subparts, is that Hugo's approach is primarily literary whereas Nicholas' is rhetorical and dialectical. Nicholas views the epistle as a sustained argument and is, therefore, primarily concerned with analyzing its argumentation. Hugo and Nicholas also provide detailed analyses of 2 and 3 John though again in keeping with their different approaches. Hugo reads the two letters as a string of individual topics (he calls them 'parts'), five in 2 John, eight in 3 John. Nicholas, however, treats them from the perspective of epistolography. Each letter has a salutation, a body (*prosecutio* in his terminology) and a conclusion. He then divides the body into two (3 John) or three (2 John) parts. It is no surprise, then, to find that their analyses of the body of the two letters do not entirely agree.

Erasmus was certainly familiar with these discussions of the structure of the three epistles, but in the absence of any discussion of the content and composition of the epistles in either the Argument or elsewhere it is difficult to determine whether he was in any way influenced by them. His treatment of 3 John seems to be closer to Hugo's than to Nicholas', but his paragraphs in the Paraphrase on 2 John (to the extent that one can speak of paragraphs in this context) differs from the analyses of both Hugo and Nicholas. The situation is comparable in the Paraphrase on 1 John. Erasmus obviously views 1 John 1, 1-4, as an introduction or prologue to the remainder of the epistle, and, like Nicholas, he also treats the initial long sentence as an adumbration of the major themes of the work.¹⁵ From this point on there is little resemblance between Erasmus' paragraphs and the parts or subparts of the two medieval commentators though, as one would expect, there are places where all three agree on where one topic ends and another begins.¹⁶ Erasmus' division points also tend to coincide with those of Augustine¹⁷ with the exception of Tractate IV where, as was noted above, Augustine breaks off his exposition at a very unusual place in the text. As will be shown in the notes on the Latin text, Erasmus follows Augustine's exposition of the text

¹⁵ For Nicholas these are (1) "eternalis Christi generatio" (1, 1); (2) "temporalis eius incarnatio" (1, 2); (3) "fidelium ad inuicem et cum Deo associatio" (1, 3-4). The three major topics are then discussed in the epistle in reverse order: first, fellowship with one another and with God (1, 5-3, 29); the incarnation (4, 1-5, 4b); and lastly, the emanation of the Word (5, 4c-21), which, Nicholas says, is also the most difficult topic in the epistle.

¹⁶ At 1, 10, for example, although Nicholas does not consider the end of the chapter a stopping point; 2, 14; 2, 29; 3, 12; 3, 17 (in Nicholas but not in Hugo); 3, 24; 4, 6; 4, 16 and 18 (in Nicholas, but not Hugo); 4, 21; 5, 12; 5, 17 (in Nicholas, not in Hugo); and, of course, 5, 21.

¹⁷ This is not the case with Hugo and Nicholas; their division points coincide nowhere with those of Augustine.

quite closely. It is possible, indeed quite likely, that the Paraphrase also follows the contours, so to speak, of Augustine's treatment of John's text.¹⁸

Augustine simplified the question of the main theme, at least for himself, by asserting that despite the variety of subjects touched on by the author his essential subject is love: For those who are already on fire with love, hearing the Epistle read will add fuel to their fire; for those who are not yet on fire the spark from the word will ignite them. "Thus all may rejoice in one love. Where there is love, there is peace; where there is humility, there is love".¹⁹ Bede's view of the content is somewhat more consonant with modern opinion in that he sees the subject as twofold: "de fidei et caritatis perfectione".²⁰ The author's object was to praise the devotion of those who persevered in union with the Church while rebuking the impiety of those who were throwing the peace of the Church into turmoil through their mad dogmas.²¹ Erasmus is closer to Bede in that he emphasizes the importance of both faith and love in the Paraphrase though he ignores for the most part the topic of heresy.

Following the lead of Hugo and Nicholas, as well as the precedent of his Paraphrases on the epistles of James and Peter (and also of Paul) Erasmus uses the opening verses, here 1, 1-4, as an opportunity to adumbrate the major themes of the work. In this respect he goes considerably beyond the scope of 1 John 1, 1-4.²² The paraphrase on these verses brings out, sequentially, the topics of faith and love. Faith is defined as the content of the gospel,²³ the *veritas euangelica* as it is frequently called in the Paraphrase, guaranteed by the human evidence of the apostles' personal acquaintance and experience of Jesus in both his life and resurrection appearances and by divine testimony at Jesus' baptism and transfiguration. But faith is also belief in the effects of Jesus' life and death through which the atonement – Erasmus does not use these terms – was achieved and sanctifying grace made available through baptism. The paraphrase also finds in these four verses a statement *in nuce* of salvation history: the preexistent Word, as pre-

¹⁸ A major exception is the treatment of 1, 1-4. Although Augustine breaks up the sentence into its constituent parts and explicates them individually, he clearly does not consider the sentence to be some kind of prologue to the following text. In fact, he treats 1, 1-5 or, more accurately, 1, 1-7, as a continuum. A new direction begins with the exposition of 1, 8, though here too he evidently saw no sharp break in the thought.

¹⁹ *Tractatus X, Prologus*, Migne *PL* 35, 1977-1978.

²⁰ *In 1. Ioh. 1, 1*, *CCSL* 121, p. 284, ll. 2-3. Bede's statement is repeated by the *Glossa*, by Hugo and also by Nicholas of Lyre but only as a preliminary to his own analysis. Hugo lists five topics, corresponding to the five chapters of the epistle: What must be believed, what must be loved, how one ought to love, what is to be imitated and what is not, the effects of faith and love. Hugo is simply drawing out Bede's statement of the subject matter in greater detail. For Nicholas' analysis see note 9 above.

²¹ *Ibidem*, ll. 3-5. Bede focusses specifically on Cerinthus and Marcion who according to him denied the preexistence of Christ.

²² See Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 152-154, for a resumé of the difficulties, both verbal and logical, posed by this sentence.

²³ That is, *fides quae creditur*. Erasmus more commonly defines faith as trust (*fiducia*), *fides qua creditur*.

dicted by the prophets, became human to free humanity from the tyranny of sin and to show it the way to everlasting life with God. That too is part of 'apostolic doctrine'. But the conception of faith is also given a Pauline slant: it is faith working through love. Hence faith and love – the two are inseparable for Erasmus²⁴ – are the ground of fellowship in the body of Christ and the basis for the imitation of Christ, the teacher of innocence (Erasmus means righteousness), in the pursuit of the godly life, without which salvation cannot be attained.²⁵

The author of 1 John does not speak explicitly of either faith or love in his prologue²⁶ though the concept of faith is implicit in the statements about announcement and communion. Similarly, love itself as a topic does not appear until chapter 2 and then not in a significant way until chapter 3. The introduction of the two concepts in the paraphrases on chapters 1 and 2 is thus an expansion of the content of 1 John. This is particularly noticeable with the topic of love (*charitas, dilectio*), whether Erasmus is following Augustine in this respect or enlarging his own view, in the paraphrase on 1, 4, that love is the foundation of concord in Christ without which there cannot be peace and fellowship with God.

In keeping with the fundamental axiom that Christians have all things in common, love is defined as mutual rejoicing in one another's goods and unanimity (concord) in the community. As with faith, love leads to conformity to Jesus, the Head of the body. At this point Erasmus returns to the Johannine text and in anticipation of the initial topic of the body of the epistle, enunciated in 1, 5, describes Jesus as both light and life.²⁷ But whether Erasmus intends this to be an ontological statement is not entirely clear since he modulates immediately from Christ as Son to Christ as Head of the body and to the demands placed on those who want to remain in the body: transformation into Christ (through imitation of the virtue exemplified in him) and perseverance (in the state of grace conferred initially through baptism). This tropological interpretation prevails in the paraphrase on 1, 5–7 and, indeed, for the remainder of chapter 1 and the whole epistle. Thus 'light' and 'darkness' are metaphors of evangelical 'knowledge' and 'ignorance', the latter an alternative description of the 'death' in which humanity exists without the 'life' which Christ brought into the world; and again

²⁴ See the *Paraphr. in Jac., ad 2*, 17, p. 137, n.ll. 462–463.

²⁵ Cf. p. 259, nn.ll. 19–20; 40, 42.

²⁶ I follow Brown (*Epistles*, pp. 174–187), Schnackenburg (*Johannine epist.*, pp. 48–63) and most modern commentators, as well as Hugo, Nicholas of Lyre and Erasmus, in taking 1. *Ioh.* 1, 1–4, to be a prologue or introduction to what follows. Hence 1, 5 is not a continuation or conclusion to the ideas advanced in the prologue, but a topic sentence, in the form of a metaphorical generalization, to initiate the subsequent argument. A contrary view, with concomitant results, is advanced by Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie, *Érasme et Luther commentateurs de la première Épître de saint Jean (I, 1–7)*, Colloque érasmiennne de Liège, Paris, 1987, pp. 161–175, and again, with some modifications, in *Érasme à l'épreuve des textes de saint Jean*, Actes de colloque international Érasme (Tours, 1986), Études réunies par Jacques Chomarat, André Godin et Jean-Claude Margolin, Genève, 1990, pp. 127–132.

²⁷ Cf. *Ioh.* 8, 12. Erasmus' language, however, is modeled on the statements in the Nicene Creed: *lumen de lumine, Deum verum de vero*.

for 'innocence' (righteousness) and sin. The knowledge which comes through the gospel, in every sense of this term, and the innocence made possible by and bestowed through Christ, the Son, and their opposites, ignorance, or the refusal to believe the gospel, and sin, whose consequence is death, are the theological realities which govern the paraphrase. It is the effort to give content and to provoke assent which underlies the expansion of the actual statements in 1 John. In the process the distinctive voice of the Johannine author disappears.

After the initial four verses of the prologue, few statements in the epistle seem to attract much attention. However, there are some exceptions, which are illuminating for Erasmus' view of evangelical truth as he calls the gospel in this Paraphrase. In the order in which they occur in the epistle these are 1, 9 (sin exists); 2, 15–17 (do not love the world); 2, 18–22 (the true antichrists); 3, 1–3 (children of God); 3, 6 (sin prevents fellowship with Christ); 3, 15 (hatred); 3, 21–22 (prayer); 4, 3 (denial of Christ); 4, 11–12 (love and fellowship with God); 5, 6–8 (the witnesses to the Incarnation); 5, 16–17 (the right response to sinners). Leaving aside the efficacy of prayer, which was a subject that occupied Erasmus in a variety of contexts and was an integral element in his conception of godliness (*pietas*), these topics can be readily organized into pairs of antitheses. Fellowship with God, or union with Christ in this life and the next, is the central object of godliness; this fellowship is negated or destroyed by sin. Through God's love, and the acceptance of the gospel, one becomes a child of God; to refuse to carry out the requirements of this status, even though one may think one is a Christian, is to become in reality an antichrist, a person who rejects not only the doctrines but also the imitation of Christ. Love of the world has replaced the love of God and Christ. Love of the neighbor is denied by hatred. These topics, though not always the Johannine language and emphases, are pervasive in the Paraphrases on all the N.T. epistles and also in the *Enchiridion militis christiani*. They are among the constituent elements of Erasmus' theology. It is not surprising, then, to find him dilating on them when he encounters them in the epistle.

The extended explication given to two other passages in the biblical text, 4, 2–3 and 5, 6–8, will illustrate his procedure though the expansions in each passage appear to spring from a different source, his controversy with Edward Lee.²⁸ The paraphrase on 4, 3 attempts to deal with two problems: the meaning of the statement that "every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not from God" (*RSV*)²⁹ and the difference in the verbs found in the Greek text (*μη δμολογεῖ*) and in the Vulgate (*soluit*). Following Augustine's lead, Erasmus begins with an allusion to 1. *Ioh.* 2, 22: *Rursus hoc qui negat, quoniam mendax est, ex Deo non est* (p. 278, l. 596). The act of 'not confessing' becomes an active denial that Christ has

²⁸ See *Resp. annot. Ed. Lei.*, LB IX, 274 B–280 D. See Asso, *Teologia e Grammatica*, pp. 82–87, 179–182, 217–218.

²⁹ Erasmus' Greek manuscripts and his Latin version have a somewhat different text: *ὁ μη δμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα* (modern scholars consider this to be a scribal harmonization with the text of 4, 2), which he translates: "qui non confitetur Iesum Christum in carne venisse".

come in the flesh. Secondly, as Augustine states, this denial is made not only in words but also in actions (p. 278, ll. 597–599),³⁰ or, as Erasmus develops this thought, in belief in an imaginary messiah who is still to come and whose teaching will better satisfy the desires and expectations of the worldly (p. 278, ll. 600–603). The contrast between the true, but unacknowledged messiah, and a false and worldly idea of the messiah, though possibly inspired by Augustine in the present context,³¹ was in Erasmus' mind in 1520 as parallels in other works written or revised in 1520 suggest.³² But the idea is rooted early in his thinking and is an element of his criticism of a "Judaizing" theology.³³ The literary, or, if one accepts the term in this context, exegetical procedure is similar to that followed in the paraphrase on 1 John 2, 22: the teachings of Christ are opposed to the teaching and desire of those who 'are dedicated to the world's delights' (*mundanis deliciis addicti*, p. 278, l. 611). This definition of the antichrist anticipates verse 5 and the paraphrase on it which follows. A transition is then effected to the second or textual problem: *Nec satis est confiteri Christum nisi totum et integrum confiteamur* (p. 278, l. 607).

Although Erasmus took note of the distinctive reading of the Vulgate in 4, 3 – "qui soluit" – in the first two editions of the *Novum Testamentum* in 1516 and 1519, he does not actually comment upon it until the third edition of 1522.³⁴ Augustine, who apparently had manuscripts which read *qui soluit* as well as *qui non confitetur*, interpreted the verb *soluit* as equivalent to *non confitetur* or *negat*, as in 2, 22, and hence argues that one *soluit* (probably in the meaning 'break apart' or 'divide') Jesus by one's deeds (*factis*).³⁵ In other words he saw no difference of meaning in the different readings. Beginning with Bede, however, or his sources, whatever they may have been,³⁶ the verb *soluere* was interpreted to mean

³⁰ Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VI, 13, Migne *PL* 35, 2028: "Ille autem non est spiritus Dei qui negat Iesum Christum in carne venisse: negat et ipse non lingua, sed vita; non verbis, sed factis". Augustine also refers his audience specifically to his earlier exposition of 1. *Ioh.* 2, 22 (in *Tract.* III, 6, Migne *PL* 35, 2000), so that the connection between the two verses, though easy to make in any case, is part of the commentary tradition.

³¹ Cf. the passage quoted in n.ll. 380–381.

³² Cf. Er. *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 264, ll. 16–25, and the *Paraphr. in 2. Pet.*, ad 1, 21, p. 222, ll. 380–381 above.

³³ Cf. Er. *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 76, l. 37–p. 77, l. 7, and *Paraphr. in Phil.*, ad 3, 18–19, *LB* VII, 1000 F–1001 B.

³⁴ See *Annot. ad loc.* ("Et omnis spiritus qui soluit Iesum ex Deo non est"), *LB* VI, 1079 E–F. The addition in 1522 begins with the words: "Hanc particulam" etc. There are two minor revisions in the fourth (1527) edition, but the substance of the note remained unchanged. The addition to the annotation is in essence an abridgement of his response to Lee; cf. *Resp. annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB* IX, 274 B–275 A. For a discussion of the textual evidence for λύει, the verb presumably translated by *soluit* in Vg., and its meaning 'destroy' (cf. 1. *Ioh.* 3, 8) or 'annul' in the sense of render powerless and insignificant, see Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 494–496.

³⁵ Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VI, 14, Migne *PL* 35, 2028–2029. He uses as synonyms or equivalents of *soluere* the verbs *distringere* and *disrumpere*.

³⁶ See the patristic texts cited in Brown, *Epistles*, p. 494, especially from Origen and Clement of Alexandria. Erasmus knew from the *Historia tripartita* (that is, from Socrates, *Hist. eccles.*, VII, 32, Migne *PG* 67, 812 A) that the text of 4, 3 had been depraved by heretics; cf. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *LB* IX, 274 C and Asso, *Teologia e Grammatica*, p. 218.

to divide in some way the divine and human natures of Jesus.³⁷ In the annotation Erasmus advances the view that the clause *qui soluit* etc., which he believed was an addition, not an alternative to the reading *qui non confitetur*,³⁸ was added to combat heretical views about the nature(s) of Christ. He mentions three in particular: 1) denial of Christ's divine nature; 2) denial of his human nature; 3) the contention that Christ, though he had a human body, did not have a human soul (*anima*).³⁹ The paraphrase, however, refers only to the first two. Though thus recognizing this interpretation of 4, 3, Erasmus obviously does not intend to dwell upon it. As I mentioned above, he consistently ignores the numerous references to various heresies which Augustine and Bede and, following them, the medieval Latin commentators introduce into their commentaries on the three Johannine epistles.

The paraphrase on 5, 7–8 likewise turns on a textual problem though of a different kind. The (Clementine) Vulgate reads: "Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres vnum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus" etc. The sentence about the three heavenly witnesses, the so-called Johannine Comma, is not found in the vast majority of Greek manuscripts and not in any of the seven manuscripts which Erasmus says he had seen and used in his edition of the New Testament.⁴⁰ Consequently he omitted it from his Latin version. This omission was severely criticized by Edward Lee and later by Diego Lopez Zúñiga (Stunica).⁴¹ It is not clear whether Erasmus was induced by his critics, Lee in particular, to include an explication of the Vulgate text or whether, as in the paraphrase on 4, 3, and in other places, he combines the divergent texts of the Greek and the Latin traditions into a single paraphrase. It is also possible that he had already been informed by December 1520 of the existence of a manuscript in England which contained the text in Greek.⁴² Whatever the reason may have been for the inclu-

³⁷ See *In 1. Joh.*, CCSL 121, p. 311, ll. 26–45. Bede also knows Augustine's two interpretations – *soluere* means to introduce divisions into the Church (though he does not say so explicitly Augustine has the Donatists in mind) or to deny Jesus by one's actions – but he certainly emphasizes in his commentary on 4, 3 the actions of heretics.

³⁸ He supports this assumption by reference to Augustine who does in fact expound both readings. The reading with *soluere* also occurs in *Iren. Adv. Haer.* III. 16, 8, and *Tert. Adv. Marcion.* V. 16, 4. Erasmus had certainly read the *Adv. Marcion.* by 1520 since he cites it in the *Rat. ver. theol.*, but he has apparently overlooked this piece of evidence for the reading.

³⁹ These three heresies are mentioned by Bede, *In 1. Joh.*, CCSL 121, p. 311, ll. 26–28. Their inclusion in the annotation goes beyond what Erasmus says in his response to Lee and is probably an indication of his consultation of Bede's commentary in the Antwerp manuscript.

⁴⁰ For a history of the textual question see Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 775–787.

⁴¹ See *Er. Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 275 B–280 D; *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, pp. 252–258; *Annot. in 1. Joh.* 5, 7 ("tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo"), LB VI, 1079 B–1081 F. Some modern misconceptions about Erasmus' treatment of this text are removed by Henk Jan de Jonge, *Erasmus and the Comma Johanneum*, *Ephemerides theologicae Louanienses* 56 (1980), pp. 381–389.

⁴² The manuscript, the Codex Montfortianus (Nestle-Aland, no. 61), and a copy of its Greek text of 5, 7–8, were brought to Erasmus' attention sometime between 20 May 1520 and June 1521,

sion of the Comma, the paraphrase explicates in detail the statement about the heavenly witnesses while saying little about the three witnesses on earth. The exegesis is derived from the *Glossa ordinaria* which explains the testimony of the Father as the words, "this is my beloved son", spoken at Jesus' baptism; the testimony of the Son as the glorification and power of his divinity displayed at his transfiguration; the testimony of the Holy Spirit as the descent of the dove on Jesus at his baptism. Since Erasmus explains the testimony of the Father as the words spoken at both the baptism and the transfiguration, he substitutes for the transfiguration the evidence of Jesus' miracles and the resurrection which reveal that he is the true Christ, God and man alike, the reconciler of God and humankind. This explanation is likewise drawn from the *Glossa*, but from the interlinear gloss, which is in turn taken from Bede's commentary on 1 John 5, 6.⁴³ The paraphrase recalls the paraphrase on 1, 3 (p. 258, ll. 24–30) and in effect creates a circle between the opening and the conclusion of the epistle.⁴⁴

Edward Lee had accused Erasmus of preferring to follow the corrupt text of the Greek manuscripts rather than the correct text of the Vulgate.⁴⁵ The inclusion of the testimony of the three heavenly witnesses is indirectly a refutation of this 'calumny'. In this respect the paraphrase on 5, 7–8, is analogous to that on 4, 3. At any rate Erasmus attributes some authority to it despite any doubts he had about its transmission in the Greek text.⁴⁶ For example, in the *Ratio verae theologiae*, after citing Jesus' statements about his relation to the Father in chapters 12 and 13 of the Gospel according to John, he observes that the Holy Spirit is separate from this communion and quotes the testimony of the witnesses in heaven to support his statement.⁴⁷

the date of publication of an edition of his Latin version (without the Greek text) which is the first printed edition of Erasmus' New Testament text to contain, though only in Latin, the text of the Comma. See De Jonge (n. 41 above), pp. 382–383, and *Er. Apol. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 258, ll. 534–544.

⁴³ Cf. *In 1. Ioh. ad loc.* CCSL 121, p. 321, ll. 72–73, where in explicating the words, "et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Iesus Christus est veritas" (Vg.), Bede refers to the descent of the spirit on Jesus at his baptism as testimony that "veritas est, hoc est verus Dei filius, verus 'mediator Dei et hominum' [1. *Tim.* 2, 5], verus humani generis redemptor ac reconciliator". Erasmus had a collection of proof-texts, either on paper or in his memory, demonstrating the two natures of Christ, so that it is not necessary to assume that in the paraphrases on 1, 3 and 5, 7 he is drawing directly on the *Glossa*; cf. *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 215, l. 32–p. 216, l. 30.

⁴⁴ It would be more accurate to say that Erasmus introduced into the paraphrase on 1, 1–4, material which in the commentary tradition belonged more properly to 5, 6–8, but for the reader of the Paraphrase the second occurrence of this statement is the realization of the theme adumbrated in the prologue. The rhetorical circle is a literary exemplification of what in *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 209, ll. 2–3, Erasmus calls "mirabilem illum orbem et consensum totius Christi fabulae". Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 211, ll. 1 sq.

⁴⁵ See *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, LB IX, 276 D–277 D.

⁴⁶ He suspected that the Greek text of the Codex Montfortianus had been corrected in the light of the Vulgate; cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 258, ll. 541–544.

⁴⁷ See *Rat. ver. theol.*, Holborn, p. 259, ll. 9–14, a text which antedates the controversy with Lee and the Paraphrase.

Apart from the two passages above, Erasmus' Greek and Latin texts of the Johannine epistles, his annotations and paraphrases on them were seldom criticized.⁴⁸ However, one statement in the Annotations, which is resumed in the Argument (p. 177, ll. 11–12), raised hackles in Paris. At the conclusion of the Annotations on 3 John Erasmus added the statement that the authorities agree that the first epistle was by that John whom Jesus loved exceedingly, but that a John the Elder (*presbyter*), not John the Apostle, wrote the other two epistles. He supported the statement with a quotation from Jerome's *De viris illustribus* and a reference to Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁴⁹ The statement about the authorship of 2 and 3 John was common knowledge since Jerome's chapter on John was often printed in editions of the Bible while Bede, the *Glossa ordinaria*, Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre all refer to it, but they also conclude that all three epistles were written by John the Apostle and Evangelist.⁵⁰ Erasmus' language in both the annotation and the Argument seems to suggest that contrary to what Bede calls the "generalis Ecclesiae consensus" he himself believed that John the Apostle was not the author of 2 and 3 John. Called to task on this point by Noël Bédá, he responded, first, that he was only communicating information found in Jerome and Eusebius and, secondly, that this was the view of orthodox men "who accept the writing as inspired by the Holy Spirit but are uncertain about the name of its author".⁵¹ Bédá, however, elevated the issue from a question of literary history to one of piety and schism in the present. That led Erasmus to broaden the scope of his reply to include the questions of the reliability of manuscript tradition and the official position of the universal church regarding such matters. However, I shall leave the argument at this point since the investigation of it belongs more properly to the editions of the controversies with Bédá, the faculty of theology at Paris and other Catholic critics of Erasmus' work.⁵² It is sufficient to note that Erasmus never retracted or modified his point of view in any way; the texts of the annotation and the *Argumentum* remained unchanged. By contrast, the title page in *A* ascribes all three epistles to John the Apostle, so that the Paraphrase, at least, accords with the 'general consensus of the Church'.⁵³

⁴⁸ In addition to the omission of the Johannine Comma, Stunica criticized the translation of 1. *Ioh.* 1, 1, and 3. *Ioh.* 9, and Erasmus' printed text of 1. *Ioh.* 3, 16 and 5, 20. See *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 252, ll. 437–431 and 443–445; p. 258, l. 546–p. 260, l. 549; p. 260, ll. 558–563. Noël Bédá criticized the sentence, *Iudicii diuini metus ex mala conscientia nascitur*, in the paraphrase on 1. *Ioh.* 4, 18 (p. 281, ll. 690–291). These criticisms had no effect on the Paraphrases on 1 and 3 John.

⁴⁹ See Er. *Annot. in 3. Ioh.* 12 ("testimonium redditur"), LB VI, 1088 C. The references are to Hier. *De vir. illus.*, c. 9 (John) and c. 18 (Papias). The reference to Eus. *H. E.* III, 99 (*sic*; the correct chapter reference is 39, <5–7>; cf. *Resp. ad notata N. Bedae*, LB IX, 451 B) was added in the fourth (1527) edition of the *Nov. Test.*

⁵⁰ See Bede, *In 2. Ioh.* 1, CCSL 121, p. 329, ll. 2–9; the *Glossa*, p. K4r^o; Hugo, p. 01v^o; Nicholas of Lyre, p. K4r^o.

⁵¹ See *Resp. ad notata N. Bedae*, LB IX, 481 B, and *Elenchus*, LB IX, 497 B.

⁵² See *Elenchus*, LB IX, 511 D; *Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.* *ibid.* 863 D–868 B; *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, *ibid.* 1079 E–1080 B.

⁵³ Likewise the title pages of *E* and *F* refer to *Ioannis tres (Epistolas)*. This kind of specification disappears in the title pages of the other authorized editions, though it is retained in some of the separate title pages within the 1521 and 1522 editions. Cf. Bezzel, *Erasmusdrucke*, nos. 1526, 1527, 1529.

The Text

As with the Paraphrases on the other canonical epistles very few revisions were made in the editions issued in Erasmus' lifetime. There are, for example, only ten variants between *A* and *C*, one of which is certainly an error made by the typesetter of *C*.⁵⁴ In the lifetime editions (*D–I*) there are only nineteen probable revisions of the text, not all of which may be due to Erasmus, and eleven errors. There are also three minor revisions and one omission in the Side Notes which again may be the work of the typesetters rather than Erasmus. The two posthumous editions (*K* and *BAS*) show three possibly authentic revisions against nine certain errors. Revision and error run neck and neck. The history of the text confirms the view advanced at the beginning, that, once written, Erasmus had scant interest in the Paraphrases on the Johannine epistles.

⁵⁴ *Quos* for *quod* on p. 272, l. 417. Two other apparent revisions are likely to be typographical errors: the omission of *est* (p. 264, l. 199) and *Et* for *E* (p. 276, l. 538). The other changes could equally well have been made by Erasmus or by a press corrector and/or compositor (see the *App. crit.*, p. 262, l. 164; p. 266, l. 271; p. 267, ll. 295 and 303). However, the revisions of the titles of 1. and 2. *Ioh.* (p. 289, l. 1; p. 292, l. 1) are more likely to have been made by Erasmus himself; likewise the change in the *explicit*, p. 294, l. 50 (it is unlikely that a typesetter would have used the Hellenized form *Paraphraseos*). One side note is omitted in *C*, but again it is impossible to know whether the omission was deliberate or accidental.

R. D. D. MATTHAEO CARDINALI SEDVNENSI,
COMITI VALESII,
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

5 Nuper Iacobum dedimus et Latine loquentem et explanatius; nunc Ioannem
damus vt et nos paulatim carpamus operis parteis nec tuam celsitudinem nego-
ciis imperialibus occupatissimam obruamus, si quod tamen datur tempus
vacuum hisce nostris lucubrationibus cognoscendis. Bene vale, vir eximie. Loua-
nii. viii. Id. Ianuarias.

1 *R. ... MATTHAEO* Ep. 1179. The year date is 1521. For Schiner's career and titles see *Paraphr. in Iac.*, p. 117, n.l. 2 above.

5-6 *negociis* Allen, Ep. 1179, n.l. 3, assumed that these activities were connected with the Diet of Worms, which opened on 27 January. Schiner arrived in Worms with Charles V on 28 November 1520. Much of his time,

as a churchman at least, seems to have been occupied by the problem of what to do with Luther; see Büchi, *Kardinal Matthäus Schiner*, II, pp. 313-326. Erasmus may not have had anything quite that specific in mind in January 1521, but he later knew that Schiner had been instrumental in the actions taken against Luther; see Ep. 1249, ll. 7-9.

IN EPISTOLAM IOANNIS PRIMAM ARGVMENTVM,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Hanc epistolam esse Ioannis apostoli qui scripsit Euangelium vel ipse sermonis character arguit. Multus est in mentione lucis ac tenebrarum, vitae ac mortis,
 5 odii et charitatis, in iterandis verbis velut exceptis ex sermone proximo. Quod genus est illud (vt exemplo quod dicimus fiat dilucidius): *Nolite diligere mundum neque ea quae in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est charitas Patris in eo; quoniam omne quod in mundo est, etc.* Ac mox: *non est ex Patre, sed ex mundo est.*
 10 Quoties hic iteratur *mundus*? Postremo est in toto huius sermone quiddam minus astrictum ac fusius quam in sermone reliquorum apostolorum. Est autem dilucidior epistola quam vt egeat argumento, quemadmodum et duae sequentes, quae Ioanni cuidam presbytero, non apostolo tribuuntur.

Argumenti finis

13 Argumenti finis *D-F G² H-K: om. A C G*
BAS

3-4 *sermonis character* Cf. Ep. 1333, ll. 50-63.
 6-8 *Nolite* 1. *Ioh.* 2, 15-17.

10-11 *dilucidior ... argumento* A remarkable statement; contrast what he has to say about the style of *Ioh.* in Ep. 1333, ll. 26-38. For a modern view cf. Brown, *Epistles*, p. x: "Despite the almost elementary character of his Greek, the author's sentences are often infuriatingly obscure ... It has been said with only moderate exaggeration that, because of grammatical impreciseness, every sentence in 1 John can be interpreted in three different ways. And this impreciseness seems to carry over into thought".

12 *presbytero* See Hier. *De vir. illus.* 9 and 18 (on Papias); also Er. *Annot. in 3. Ioh.* 9 ("testimonium redditur"), LB VI, 1088 C, where he cites Jerome as his authority for attributing 2. *Ioh.* and 3. *Ioh.* to John the Elder. In an addition to this annotation in the fifth (1535) edition of the *Nov. Test.* Erasmus refers to Eusebius, *H. E.* III, 39, 5-7 for supporting evidence; he should have referred to VII, 25, 16 instead. On this issue cf. Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 14-19, and Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, pp. 267-271.

IN EPISTOLAM IOANNIS PRIMAM PARAPHRASIS,
PER ERASMVM ROTERODAMVM

Neque de rebus mediocribus leibusue aut incompetis vobis scribimus, fratres charissimi, sed de re noua, verum ita noua nobis vt apud Deum fuerit ab aeterno.

5 Is est sermo Dei, Iesus Christus, idem Deus et homo, qui cum nunquam non fuerit Dei Filius, nuper voluit esse virginis filius; et qui iuxta diuinam naturam erat humanis oculis inuisibilis dignatus est humanum corpus assumere, dignatus est inter homines versari familiariter vt nos ab ignorantiae nostrae tenebris subueheret ad lucem euangelicae cognitionis et, quem coram oculis corporeis conspeximus, inciperemus et mentis oculis intueri. Postulabat quidem humani cordis

10 incredulitas vt crassis experimentis fides astrueretur veritati, sed tamen illorum pietas ipsius voce praelata est, qui cum nec oculis vidissent Christum nec manibus contrectassent, tamen certissima persuasione crediderunt eum esse Dei

3 leibusue *A-K*: neque de leibus *BAS*

3 *leibusue* The revision in *BAS* while at first sight attractive does not in fact improve the text. The contrast is clearly *res mediocres leuesue vs. incompetae*, not *mediocres vs. leues aut incompetae*. In the subsequent paraphrase the emphasis falls on the novelty, from the human perspective, of the way God chose to save humanity through the incarnation, passion, resurrection and exaltation of the Son.

5 *sermo* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* I, 1, Migne *PL* 35, 1978–1979: “Hoc autem Verbum quod caro factum est, vt manibus tractaretur, coepit esse caro ex virgine Maria: sed non tunc coepit Verbum, quia ‘quod erat ab initio’ dixit. ... Videte quid sequatur: ‘Et ipsa manifestata est’. Christus ergo Verbum vitae. Et vnde manifestata est? Erat enim ab initio; sed non erat manifestata hominibus. ... Solo enim corde videtur Verbum: caro autem et

oculis corporalibus videtur. Erat vnde videmus Verbum: factum est Verbum caro, quam videre possemus, vt sanaretur in nobis vnde Verbum videremus”. Augustine’s, and Erasmus’, interpretation is supported in essence by Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, pp. 57–58, questioned by Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 154–155. For Erasmus’ use of “sermo” in place of “verbum” see *Paraphr. in 1. Pet* 1, 25, p. 127, n.l. 237.

6 *fuerit* The perfect subjunctive here and in l. 4 above is probably the result of the primary sequence of tenses (“scribimus”, “est”) rather than an attempt to accommodate the perfect tense in Vg.: “Quod fuit ab initio”. See *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stum. ASD* IX, 2, p. 252, ll. 437–441.

11 *crassis experimentis* See *Ioh.* 20, 24–29; *Lc.* 24, 36–43.

12 *ipsius voce* See *Ioh.* 20, 29.

Filium et vnicum humanae salutis autorem. Nostrum est igitur quod sensibus
 15 corporis compertissimum habemus, narrare iis quibus videre non contigit; et
 tamen expedit credere quod nulli sit speranda vita neque salus aeterna nisi qui |
 LB 1142 credat euangelicae doctrinae cuius nos et testes sumus et praecones. Non est
 humanus sermo neque leuis momenti, sed diuinus est et coelestis, vitam aeter-
 nam conferens iis qui praeauerint aures morigeras ac liberans a morte peccato-
 20 rum, a quacunq̄ue religione, a quocunq̄ue vitae genere sese huc conuerterint.

De hoc quod referimus, optima fide referimus, nimirum quod assidui secta-
 tores nostris auribus audiuius, oculis nostris vidimus; nec vidimus tamen pro-
 cul aut in transitu, sed coram ad plenum perspeximus. Ad faciendam fidem hi
 duo sensus principes sunt; atque si id quoque parum est, non solum audiuius
 25 docentem, precantem, imperantem ventis ac daemonibus, Patrem non semel
 attestantem Filio. Non solum vidimus aedentem miracula, morientem ac resur-
 gentem, verum etiam hisce manibus contrectauimus. Siquidem rediuiuus a morte
 quo plenam faceret fidem se non esse spectrum inane sed eundem hominem
 viuum quem prius videramus mortuum, praeuit se nostris manibus contrectan-
 30 dum et admotis digitis nostris ostendit vulnerum cicatrices.

Mortuum erat mortalium genus, nimirum vitiis ac peccatis obnoxium. Ille pro
 nostris sceleribus dependit mortem vt illius beneficio iam viuamus innocentiae.
 Diffidebamus et nos cum mortuum, cum sepultum cerneremus, sed ille reuiu-
 scens spem certam vitae nobis attulit. Nulla erat mortalibus aeternae vitae spes nisi |
 LB 1143 ille se nostris oculis ingessisset, nisi certissimis experimentis omnem dubitatio-
 36 nem nobis ademisset. Homo poenas luit pro nostris peccatis, sed idem Deus lar-
 gitur immortalitatem ipsi fidentibus. Semper ille viuebat apud Patrem, semper
 haec vita nobis erat per Filium decreta, sed nondum erat hoc consilium orbi pro-
 ditum, licet ex prophetarum oraculis id veluti per somnium expectabat natio
 40 Iudaeorum, sed sola. Interim regnabat mors, vita latebat. Alii spem suam fixerant
 in Mose, alii in mundana sapientia, sed salus ac vita omnium gentium erat Iesus
 Christus, sermo Dei Patris, magister innocentiae et immortalitatis largitor. Neque
 enim viuit nisi qui pie viuit, neque vero mortem effugit nisi qui consequitur
 immortalitatem.

Is sese tandem per seipsum patefecit orbi, omnibus sensibus humanis semet
 exhibens atque ita insinuans sese in animos hominum. Nos autem ideo voluit
 esse spectatores ac testes omnium quae gessit in terris vt nostro praeconio cum
 fide diulgarentur per vniuersum orbem terrarum vt, quemadmodum nos per
 Iesum sumus assequuti vitam ac salutem, si modo perseuerauerimus in doctrina
 50 euangelica, ita et vos nobiscum veniatis in societatem et consortium huius salutis
 si quod ab ipso non audistis neque vidistis, nostra praedicatione discitis, nostro
 testimonio creditis. Non sumus neque vani testes neque vltronei. Mandauit ille vt
 fidi testes essemus, et testificamur apud omnes magno capitis nostri discrimine
 nec aliud quam quod omnibus corporis sensibus habemus compertissimum. Nos
 55 felices quibus aures et oculi fidem fecerunt, sed vos nihilo minus felices si testi-
 bus illius fidem habueritis. Nostra fides conglutinavit nos Christo reddiditque

filios Dei ac membra Christi; vestra quoque fides inseret vos eidem corpori vt nobis societate fidei coniuncti constituatis vnum corpus. Itaque fiet vt non solum vnanimus simus inter nos velut vnus corporis membra, verum etiam pacem et
 60 foedus habeamus cum Iesu Christo et per hunc cum Patre illius Deo, a quo prius dissidebamus, vt quemadmodum Filio cum Patre summus est consensus et omnium rerum communio, ita et nos per consensum euangelicae professionis coagmentemur in vnum corpus Christi, participes futuri bonorum omnium capitibus nostri.

65 Scio vos gaudere de tam felici contubernio, sed haec scripto refrico vobis quo plenius etiam gaudeatis si non sibi quisque tantum de sua salute gratuletur, sed omnium felicitas singulos afficiat voluptate. Facit enim hoc christiana charitas, vt quisque de bonis alienis non secus gaudeat ac de suis. Quo pluribus erit communis haec felicitas, hoc erit vberius singulorum gaudium. Inter nos non constabit

43 vero *G H*: vere *A-G*

- 17 *praecones* This term and *praeconio* (l. 47) are often employed by Erasmus as designations for preacher and preaching. However, the word group – κήρυγμα, κήρυξις, κηρύσσειν – does not occur in the Johannine writings. Whether done deliberately or not, the introduction of such terms and even quotations from the synoptic Gospels as well as the Pauline epistles assimilates the Johannine works to the other parts of the New Testament. One result of this assimilation is to emphasize the essential unity of what Erasmus calls “apostolica doctrina”.
- 19–20 *liberans ... peccatorum* Cf. *Rom.* 6, 22–23; 8, 2.
- 20 *a quacunque ... genere* Cf. *Gal.* 3, 28 and the *Paraphr. in 1. Pet.*, p. 184, ll. 16–19.
- 25 *imperantem ... daemonibus* Cf. *Mc.* 1, 25; 4, 39 and parallels. These and similar episodes do not occur in *Ioh.*
- 25–26 *Patrem ... Filio* Cf. *Mc.* 1, 11; 9, 7, and parallels. This testimony of the Father does not occur in *Ioh.*
- 28 *spectrum* Cf. *Lc.* 24, 37.
- 29–30 *praebuit ... cicatrices* *Lc.* 24, 39–40 is the primary allusion though *Ioh.* 20, 27 may also be in view.
- 33 *Diffidebamus* Cf. *Mt.* 28, 17; *Mc.* 16, 14; *Lc.* 24, 11–12. Apart from the episode with Thomas, this motif does not occur in *Ioh.* Contrast the beloved disciple who saw the empty tomb and believed immediately (*Ioh.* 20, 8).
- 40 *regnabat mors* Cf. *Rom.* 5, 14 and 17.
- 42 *innocentiae* *Innocentia* is the word Erasmus employs repeatedly in the *Paraphrases* to explain the meaning of the term *iusticia*

- (δικαιοσύνη) in the biblical text. ‘Righteousness’ in this sense is not a major theme in *Ioh.* Thus the depiction here of Christ as the teacher of righteousness is based on the synoptic Gospels and on Matthew in particular.
- 43 *vero* It is difficult to see how *vero* is an improvement on *vere*, but since most of the revisions in *G* appear authentic, it is probably deliberate and not a copyist’s or compositor’s error.
- 48 *diuulgarentur ... terrarum* Cf. *Mt.* 28, 19–20.
- 49 *perseuerauerimus* Cf. *Mt.* 10, 22 and 24, 13. The context suggests that it is the latter passage that was in Erasmus’ mind.
- 53 *magno ... discrimine* Cf., e.g., *Act.* 4, 1–3 and other passages where John is arrested with Peter, though Erasmus may simply be generalizing from the examples of Peter and Paul. Cf. also *Ap. Ioh.* 1, 9.
- 57 *membra Christi* Cf. *1. Cor.* 6, 15; 10, 16–17. Here and repeatedly in the *Paraphrases* Erasmus introduces the Pauline concept of the body of Christ; however, this metaphor is not employed in the Johannine writings to express the Johannine concept of fellowship (κοινωνία in *1. Ioh.* 1, 3) with the Father and the Son.
- 65–66 *quo ... gaudeatis* This clause could have arisen spontaneously but it more likely represents an alternative reading of Vg. which is not found in Erasmus’ Greek text. See his *Annot. in 1. Ioh.* 1, 4 (“vt gaudeatis”), *LB VI*, 1071 F.
- 67–68 *vt ... suis* Cf. *Paraphr. in Iud. ad 3*, p. 232, ll. 14–18.

70 vnanimitas nisi adsit glutinum mutuae charitatis. Cum Deo pacem habere non
 possumus nisi capiti nostro Iesu Christo respondeamus. Quicquid habet ille Patri
 fert acceptum; nos quicquid habemus Christo feramus acceptum oportet. Chris-
 tus lux est vera a Patre lucis omnis proficiscens. Nos esse Christi membra non
 possumus nisi lucidi simus; nec lucem habere possumus nisi in illum transfor-
 75 memur et in illius consortio iugiter perseueremus. Veritas et innocentia lux est
 animi, peccata prauaeque cupiditates tenebrae sunt. Vbi lux est, ibi vita est; vbi
 tenebrae sunt, ibi mors est.

Quid igitur est quod vobis annunciamus quo plenius gaudeatis? Nimirum hoc
 est quod ab ipso etiam audiuius et auditum vobis communicamus: quod Deus,
 80 quia totus ac sua natura bonus est, totus sapiens, totus purus, totus etiam lux est
 et vita neque quicquam est in illo tenebrarum. In nobis non itidem est, sed ex
 nobis ipsis malum habemus caliginis. Si quid habemus lucis, hoc totum illi debe-
 LB II44 mus cuius gratuita benignitate | liberati sumus a pristinis peccatis. Liberati ab
 ignorantiae prioris tenebris per euangelicam doctrinam didicimus pie viuere ad
 85 Christi capitis exemplum. Si quis gloriatur se per baptismum insitum esse corpori
 Christi et per hoc societatem habere cum Deo Patre, cum interim versetur adhuc
 in erroribus ac vitiis vitae, plane mentitur. Etenim cum (vt dixi) Deus absit ab
 omni consortio tenebrarum, qui potest cum hoc vllum habere commercium qui
 totus adhuc versetur in errore vitiisque pristinis? Errat enim tota via qui se putat
 90 innocentiam assequi posse nisi per Christum; errat rursus qui satis esse putat
 baptismo lotum esse, nisi per innocentiam vitae professioni suae respondeat.
 Errat qui hoc sentit; mentitur qui dicit. Christus autem veritas est, cui nihil com-
 mune cum mendacibus. Primus ad lucem gradus est agnoscere suas tenebras, pri-
 mus ad innocentiam profectus agnoscere sua peccata.

95 Vultis igitur audire quo argumento cognoscere possimus nobis esse verum cum
 Deo consortium? Nimirum hoc: si quemadmodum ille lux est omnis caliginis
 expers, ita nos ad exemplum illius ab omnium errorum ac vitiorum tenebris abs-
 tinebimus ad lucem euangelicam vitam omnem attemperantes et si quemadmo-
 dum Filius summam habet concordiam cum Patre, ita et nos innocenter viuentes
 100 vnanimes simus inter nos. Non imputabit nobis Pater veteris vitae commissa,
 quae semel abolita sunt vniuersa precioso sanguine Filii ipsius Iesu Christi, si
 modo nos in reliquum ab omni peccato temperemus – quod quidem in nobis est.
 Omnes sordes abluit sanguis Christi et ab omnibus abluit, sed non abluit nisi
 agnoscentes sua mala. Quod si negauerimus nos obnoxios esse peccato, nos ipsos
 105 fallimus, in errore versamur, in tenebris agimus; et Christus, qui lux est, qui veri-
 tas est, in nobis non est. Etenim si vere in nobis esset, discuteret hanc arrogantis
 ignorantiae caliginem. Quod si post acceptum baptismum continget in aliquam
 culpam ex infirmitate humana relabi lucemque nostram ceu nebula quaeipiam
 obscurarit, cauendum est ne nos arrogantia longius ac longius semotos a luce
 110 reducat ad pristinas tenebras; sed adnitendum vt per modestiam admoueamur
 luci caliginem omnem dispulsurae. Si quid obiter deliquerit frater in fratrem,
 alter alteri condonet offensam vt Deus vicissim condonet illis quae in ipsum

admittuntur. Siquidem hac lege Deus pollicitus est nobis se remissurum quicquid
 115 in illum deliquimus si fraterni delicti gratiam faciamus, ad extremum vsque qua-
 drantem debitum exigens ab eo qui domini clementiam expertus se parum cle-
 mentem praebuerat in conseruum, videlicet eum indignum iudicans diuina mise-
 ricordia, cum is semel gratis vniuersa commissa condonarit, qui leuem offensam
 condonare recuset ei in quem ipse quotidie vel peccet vel peccare possit. Facile
 120 ignoscet delinquenti qui repetet quam multis modis ipse delinquat et in Deum et
 in proximum. Atque vt difficillimum est homini praestare ne quid peccet, ita
 facillimum est mederi delictis huiusmodi mutua condonatione. Ignosce tu
 proximo et proximus vicissim ignoscet tibi, et vtrique velut ex pacto ignoscet
 Deus. De his loquor erratis quae et inter bonos incidunt sed homines tamen,
 quaeque lucem Euangelicae veritatis offuscant magis quam extinguunt. Nam
 125 Deus auertat vt homicidium aut adulterium aut sacrilegium incidat in vitam
 eorum qui semel cooptati sunt inter filios Dei. Nihil autem magis inuitat Dei
 misericordiam et mitigat iram quam si quis apud Deum agnoscat peccatum
 suum. Sed ferox etiam homo condonat agnoscenti delictum, quanto magis id
 LB 1145 faciet Deus quouis homine clementior? Natura pro|pensus est ad misericordiam,

75-76 est animi, peccata *H*: est, animi peccata
A-G

108 nostram *A G H*: nostrum *C-F*
 119 repetet *H*: reputet *A-G*

80 *totus purus* Cf. Bede, *In I. Ioh.* I, 5, *CCSL*
 121, p. 286, ll. 81-83: "Hac sententia beatus
 Iohannes et diuinae puritatis excellentiam
 monstrat quam nos quoque imitari iube-
 mur ...".

81 *et vita* See *Ioh.* I, 4.

92 *Christus ... est* See *Ioh.* 14, 6.

100 *simus* The subjunctive after the future
 indicative "abstinebimus" is surprising. Eras-
 mus seems to have lost his syntactical thread.
 His use of a verbal pattern which appears
 first in 2, 3 - 'in this we know' - and then
 defining the "this" through these two com-
 parisons in conditional form has muddled
 his exegesis. I suspect that his preliminary
 draft contained the two protases with the
 apodosis, "non imputabit nobis Pater" etc.
 That would adequately explain the content
 of verse 7. Adding the question "Vultis ...
 consortium", making the "si" clauses the
 answer, and then making the clause "non
 imputabit" etc. into an independent sentence
 (if the punctuation of *A* is due to Erasmus
 and not to a compositor) elaborates the
 thought into obscurity.

102 *quod ... est* Erasmus means: in so far as it
 is in our power to do so.

106 *arrogantis* Cf. *Exomolog.*, *LB V*, 147 *C-150 A*.

107-108 *Quod ... relabi* Cf. Bede, *In I. Ioh.* I, 7,
CCSL 121, p. 287, ll. 112-116: "Sacramentum

namque dominicae passionis et praeterita
 nobis omnia in baptismo pariter peccata lax-
 auit et quicquid cotidiana fragilitate post bap-
 tisma commisimus eiusdem nostri redemp-
 toris nobis gratia dimittit". We receive this
 grace, says Bede, *ibidem*, ll. 115-119, by con-
 fessing our mistakes in the course of our
 works of light, by forgiving our neighbor's
 debts, by patience in adversity.

113 *hac lege* See *Mt.* 6, 14-15.

114-115 *ad ... quadrantem* See *Mt.* 18, 27-34.

117 *cum ... condonarit* Cf. *Rom.* 3, 24-26.

121-122 *Ignosce ... proximo* See *Mt.* 6, 14-15;
Lc. 6, 37.

123 *De ... erratis* Bede, *In I. Ioh.* I, 9, *CCSL* 121,
 p. 288, l. 155, likewise points out that it is
 "peccata cotidiana et leuia" which are for-
 given in this life; see also his comment on I,
 10, *ibidem*, ll. 170-175.

125 *homicidium ... sacrilegium* Cf. *Enchir.*,
 Holborn, p. 46, ll. 7-10, where theft, sacri-
 lege and murder exemplify 'the monstrous
 and deadly vices ... against which one must
 strive with might and main and ward off
 their attack with a bronze rampart of firm
 resolve'. The inclusion of adultery may
 reflect patristic thought which considered
 this particular set of sins to be forbidden
 by the Council of Jerusalem (*Act.* 15, 20);
 cf., e.g., Tert. *De pud.* 12, 4-5.

130 et hac conditione nobis pollicitus est veniam: *Remittite et remittetur vobis*. Si non
 ignosceret quia bonus est, ignosceret quia iustus est ac bonae fidei. Tu modo
 praesta conditionem praescriptam, ille non obliuiscetur pacti. Si nos ex animo
 condonauerimus proximo qui nos offendit, Deus vicissim nobis condonabit non
 135 solum vnam aut alteram noxiam sed omnia peccata, modo pro viribus adnitamur
 vt aliquando simus immunes ab omnibus vitiis. Id si nos ad plenum non poterimus
 assequi ob humani corporis fragilitatem, ipse tamen de sua benignitate sup-
 plebit quod deest nostris viribus ac repurgabit nos ab omnibus commissis nostris,
 qui fortassis ob hoc ipsum patitur in nobis residere nonnulla vestigia pristinae
 vitae vt agnoscamus imbecillitatem nostram. Siquidem plus illi placet peccator
 140 sibi displicens quam iustus sibi placens. Vult ille salutem hominum suae miseri-
 cordiae ferri acceptam, non meritis nostris. Iamque testatus est neminem esse
 mortalium in terris qui non alicubi labatur. Quod si nos negauerimus in nobis
 esse peccatum, Deum mendacem facimus qui mentiri non potest, eique contra-
 dicimus cui quisquis contradicit mentiatur oportet.

145

CAPVT II

Haec scribo, filioli mei, non vt paratae clementiae fiducia peccetur licentius, sed
 ne quis omnino peccet, quantum in nobis est. Posteaquam Christus semel nobis
 omnia commissa condonauit, huc oportet omnibus studiis eniti, vt innocentiam
 seruemus illibatam. Et tamen si fors euenerit vt relabamur in aliquod peccatum,
 150 non est quod desperemus de venia. Deum habemus exorabilem et apud hunc
 habemus patronum amantem ac fidum, qui nihil non impetrat a Patre Filius ac
 nobis ex animo bene vult, qui semetipsum impendit seruandis nobis, modo nobis
 ipsi penitus atque ex imis praecordiis displicuerimus et rursus ad meliora nita-
 mur. Solus ille non habet quod ipsi condonetur et interpellat pro peccatis mem-
 155 brorum suorum ac Patrem offensum nobis reconciliat propitiumque reddit,
 neque nobis solum, qui iam illius doctrinam sumus amplexi, sed vniuerso mor-
 talium generi, si modo pectore sincero sese peccatores esse fateantur et innocen-
 tis vitae propositum suscipiant, susceptum vrgeant ac mordicus retineant. Non
 enim ideo nos liberat baptismus ab obseruatione Mosaicae legis vt in posterum
 160 impune peccemus, sed vt tenacius adhaereamus euangelicae charitati, quae plus
 impetrat a volentibus quam extorquent tot Mosi leges ab inuitis. Multa compen-
 dio praecepit qui praecepit charitatem erga proximos qualem ipse praestitit nobis.
 Non adigit ad se redamandum, sed inuitat, sed prouocat, sed inflammat. Quis-
 quis vere Deum nouit non potest illum non vehementer amare. Nec enim quis-
 165 quis Deum ore profitetur Deum nouit, sed qui charitatis euangelicae flamma suc-
 census volens ac lubens praestat quod ille prior praestitit – vt et inimicis
 benefaciamus, vt pro salute proximi non dubitemus vitae subire discrimen – is se
 declarat nosse Deum. Quod si quis iactet se nosse Deum ob hoc, quod catechu-
 170 menus didicerit mysteria fidei, quod baptizatus illius nomen professus sit, nec
 interim imitatur illius charitatem, is mendax est nec adhuc Deum plene didicit,

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qui non cognoscitur nisi fidem imbuat charitas. Quisquis autem mentitur, in hoc non inhabitat Christus, qui est ipsa veritas; et | quisquis hunc non habet in se manentem non est viuum membrum corporis eius. Fides absque charitate res est inanis ac mortua. Porro charitas ociosa non est, nihil omittit eorum quae nouit esse grata ei quem amat. Christus negauit se agniturum discipulum qui sublata cruce se non sequeretur, perfectae charitatis vestigiis ingredientem. Huius igitur sermonem qui seruat, is ipsa re declarat se tenere perfectam vereque euangelicam charitatem. Hoc experimento cognoscemus quod in illius corpore sumus, quod illius Spiritum hausimus.

175

180

Quid tu te iactas vt Christi membrum quod per baptismum receptus es in gregem Christianorum? Non est ociosa, non est delicata professio. Non professio facit verum Christi membrum, sed imitatio. Qui profitetur ore se renatum in Christo debet illius vestigiis ingredi. Non vixit ille sibi, non sibi mortuus est; totum se nobis impendit, in omnes beneficus fuit, nulli regessit conuiuium sed in

164 vere Deum C-H: Deum vere A

177 vereque A-D F-H: veraeque E

130 *Remittite ... vobis* Lc. 6, 37 in Erasmus' Latin version.

137 *reputabit* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* 1, 6, Migne *PL* 35, 1982: "Et quae spes est? Ante omnia confessio ... deinde dilectio ... Superbia extinguit charitatem: humilitas ergo roborat charitatem; charitas extinguit delicta. Humilitas pertinet ad confessionem, qua confitemur nos peccatores esse ...". Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 1, 9, *CCSL* 121, p. 288, ll. 147-149, after citing the passage from Augustine, says: "Pulchre autem vtrumque simul insinuat, quod et rogare pro peccatis debeamus et impetremus de Dei indulgentia cum rogamus".

138-139 *qui ... nostram* Cf. Er. *Annot. in Rom.* 5, 12 ("in quo omnes peccauerunt"), *LB* VI, 585 D.

139-140 *Siquidem ... placens* Cf. Lc. 18, 9-14 and Er. *Paraphr. in Lc.*, ad 18, 13, *LB* VII, 422 E.

141-142 *Iamque ... labatur*. Erasmus probably has in mind *Pss.* 14, 1-3 and 53, 1-3, as quoted in *Rom.* 3, 9-11. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 1, 8, *CCSL* 121, p. 287, ll. 134-136, cites *Ps.* 50, 7 and concludes: "Sine culpa in mundo esse non possumus qui in mundum cum culpa venimus". In his commentary on *1. Ioh.* 1, 10, *ibidem*, p. 288, ll. 164-165, he quotes *Eccl.* 7, 21 to substantiate the impossibility of total freedom from sin, a text which Erasmus quotes to much the same purpose in *Annot. in Rom.* 5, 12 ("in quo omnes peccauerunt"), *LB* VI, 586 C.

152-154 *modo ... nitamur* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* 1, 7, Migne *PL* 35, 1983: "Fidelis enim

[Christus] est et iustus vt dimittat nobis delicta nostra, si semper tibi displiceas et muteris donec perficiaris".

158-160 *Non enim ... peccemus* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Rom.*, ad 6, 15, *LB* VII, 796 C.

162 *qui praecepit* Cf. *Mt.* 22, 39; and the comparison with the law of Moses, *Rom.* 13, 8-10.

qualem ... nobis Cf. *Ioh.* 13, 34; 15, 12.

166-167 *inimicis beneficiamus* Cf. *Mt.* 5, 44. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* 1, 9, Migne *PL* 35, 1984, likewise considers love of enemies the ultimate form of love: "Quae est perfectio dilectionis? Et inimicos diligere et ad hoc diligere, vt sint fratres".

167 *non dubitemus ... discrimen* Cf. *Ioh.* 15, 13.

171 *nisi ... charitas* Cf. *Gal.* 5, 6.

173 *Fides ... charitate* Cf. *Iac.* 2, 26 and the paraphrase *ad loc.*, p. 140, ll. 545-546 above.

175-176 *Christus ... sequeretur* Cf. *Mt.* 16, 24, which Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 291, ll. 73-74, cites to illustrate what it means to walk as Christ walked.

184-185 *in cruce ... est* See Lc. 23, 34. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* 1, 9, Migne *PL* 35, 1285, views the Lucan verse primarily as an example of prayer for one's enemies, but Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 291, ll. 71-72, adds two other signs of what it means to walk in the way of Christ: "... sed et prospera mundi cuncta forti animo contemnere [a motif which occurs frequently in the *Paraphrases*], libenter inrisiones et obprobria tolerare".

185 cruce fixus pro iis qui probra congerebant in ipsum Patrem deprecatus est. Haec est euangelica perfectaue charitas quam factis oportet aemulari qui se profitentur Christi discipulos.

Charissimi, non est nouum hoc praeceptum de charitate quod scribo vobis, sed iam olim hoc prodidit et lex Mosaica vel per hanc potius Christus, qui suum
 190 praeceptum renouauit in Euangelio et sic renouauit vt illud peculiariter suum faceret, hoc, inquit, est praeceptum meum, *vt diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi vos*. Neque nouum est igitur neque meum praeceptum quod nunc trado vobis, neque vobis hactenus inauditum, sed hoc ipsum est quod vobis in ipso statim initio tradidimus ex autoritate Christi. Sed idem rursus nouum est quod nunc scribo
 195 vobis. Vetus erat, sed antiquatum moribus hominum. Iudaei memoriter tenebat: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum, diliges proximum tuum*, sed suo quique compendio seruiebant. Christus hoc nobis renouauit plus etiam nos diligens quam seipsum, et diligens non proximos sed hostes, sed auersos ac malo dignos. Id tametsi scio vobis quondam auditum, tamen crebra iteratione subinde renouandum est
 200 vt alius insideat animo quod est euangelicae professionis caput. Verum erat praeceptum hoc in Christo, qui quod docuit praestitit. Sed verum non erat in vobis donec laborabatis odio proximi, donec conuictum conuictio, iniuriam iniuria pensabatis. Nunc et in vobis verum est posteaquam exorta vera lux euangelicae doctrinae dispulit tenebras vitae prioris docuitque non esse Deo gratum nisi
 205 qui bonos amaret ob Christum et malos diligeret in hoc, vt conuerterentur ad Christum. Hanc doctrinam qui sequuntur in luce ambulant nec offendunt in tenebris malarum cupiditatum. Odium proximi caliginem offundit animo. Proinde qui sic lotus est ac professus Christum vt non desierit odisse fratrem suum, is falso se credit in luce versari cum adhuc sit in tenebris. Neque enim huic
 210 Deus remittit peccata qui non remittit fratri suo. Neque enim satis est reliquisse furtum, adulterium et homicidium in baptismo nisi simul ex animo reuellatur omnis similtas et in odii locum succedat charitas. Qui perseuerat in amore proximi, is manet in luce, qui est Christus Iesus, nec impingit velut in tenebris ambulans. Nam adeo neminem laedit vera charitas vt omnia sufferat, omnia vertat in bonum. Rursus qui odit fratrem, etiam si desiit immolare simulachris, etiam si desiit esse foenerator aut sacrilegus, tamen adhuc in tenebris est et obseruiens caecae cupiditati in tenebris ambulat neque
 215 | cernit rectam viam ad salutem quanquam illi praeleuat Euangelium. In causa est: odii fraterni caligo excaecauit oculos eius. Vbi regnat odium, ibi caecum est iudicium.

220 Ego vos omnes materna charitate prosequor et ob id scribo, partim gratulans felicitati vestrae, partim adhortans vt ad meliora proficiatis. Omnibus vobis gratulor vt charissimis filiis quos per semen euangelicae doctrinae regenui Christo, quia vobis condonata sunt peccata vitae superioris; et gratis condonata sunt, non ob aliud nisi quod professi estis nomen Domini Iesu Christi, vt meminertis
 225 huius exemplo gratis item condonare suo quisque proximo. Scribo vobis quos non tam aetatis progressus quam morum grauitas et erga iuniores pia sollicitudo patrum vocabulo dignos reddit, gratulans vobis quod non solum vulgari prudentia

230 praediti sitis qua senes ob vsum rerum fere commendantur et imperitis iuue-
 nibus rectius consulunt, sed quod cognouistis Iesum Christum, salutis autorem,
 qui non solum longaeus est verum etiam semper fuit apud Patrem. Aeternum
 nouistis longaeui et quo plenius hunc nostis, hoc diligentius eum praedicatis
 aetati rudiori. Multa vetera meminerunt ac tenent senes; vos eum tenetis qui fuit
 ante tempus omne. Scribo vobis, adolescentes, qui vigore fidei superastis Satanam
 235 improbum et importunum. Vulgus iuuenum hoc videtur felix, quod robore cor-
 poris nemini facile cedant. Vos feliciores qui robore mentis nec voluptatum ille-
 cebris nec vllis mundi terroribus potueritis superari. Aliorum virtus emicat in
 bello, vestra virtus clarius emicuit aduersus insultus daemonum, carnis et mundi.
 Scribo vos, pueri, qui tametsi per aetatem nondum sapitis peritia rerum munda-
 240 narum, tamen hoc iam nunc estis assequuti quod vobis aeternam conciliet felici-
 tatem. In aliis infantibus primum mentis specimen est, si patrem agnoscant; vos
 nouistis Patrem coelestem per quem estis coelo renati. Tueatur quisque quod

196 quique A-K: quisque BAS
 197 hoc nobis H: nobis hoc A-G
 199 est A: om. C-H

200 altius A-E G-H: altus F
 231 quo A-D H: in quo E-G

189 *lex* See *Lv.* 19, 18.

191 *ut ... vos* See *Ioh.* 15, 12.

196 *Diliges ... Deum tuum* *Dt.* 6, 5 Vg., though Erasmus is probably quoting from *Mt.* 22, 37, since the second commandment is quoted from *Mt.* 22, 39, not *Lv.* 19, 18 Vg.

199 *est* Although Erasmus often omits the copulative verb with the gerundive and the future active participle its presence seems required here. I assume, therefore, that the omission in C was accidental.

202-203 *donec ... pensabatis* Erasmus seems to have *Mt.* 5, 43 in mind.

205-206 *ut ... Christum* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* I, 9, Migne *PL* 35, 1984 (cited in n.ll. 166-167 above) and, ibidem, 1985: "Sic dilige inimicos tuos vt fratres optes; sic dilige inimicos tuos vt in societatem tuam vocentur".

209-210 *Neque ... suo* See p. 261, ll. 113-114 and p. 262, l. 130 above.

215 *desiit ... simulachris* Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* I, 11, Migne *PL* 35, 1986, employs this example, but not those of usury or sacrilege.

216 *foenerator* Cf. *Lv.* 25, 36-37; *Dt.* 23, 19-20.

220 *materna charitate* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* I, 11, Migne *PL* 35, 1986: "Matrem dico charitatem; ipsa enim habitabat in corde Iohannis cum ista [*Ioh.* 2, 10] diceret".
gratulans This motif too occurs in Aug., ibidem.

222 *quos ... Christo* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Tim., ad 1, 2, LB VII*, 1035 A-B.

224 *professi estis* At baptism; cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 12, *CCSL* 121, p. 292, ll. 116-17: "... quia videlicet renati ex aqua et spiritu remissionem acceperant peccatorum".

226 *non ... progressus* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 292, l. 123: "Patres non aetate sed sapientia maiores ac maturos appellat".

230 *qui ... Patrem* Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* II, 5, Migne *PL* 35, 1992-3, develops this notion at length. He also takes the phrase "qui est ab initio" to be a reference back to 1, 1 and thus to the Word that became flesh.

231-232 *hoc ... rudiori* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* I, 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 292, ll. 128-130: "Et ideo recte patres appellat eos qui eum qui ab initio est, id est Dominum Christum, vna cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto nosse et sui auditoribus fideliter praedicare didicerunt".

235 *Vos feliciores* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 13, *CCSL* 121, p. 292, ll. 131-137: "Adulescentiae tempus propter incentiua carnis lubricum est sed et propter robur aetatis certamini habile. Vnde adulescentibus Iohannes illis scribit qui temptamenta voluptatum carnalium verbi Dei amore vicerunt, scribit et eis qui maiore perfectione inlati propter verbum Dei persecutionibus cunctas maligni hostis machinas fortiter contempserunt". Erasmus omits the context of persecution which Bede has taken from Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* II, 6, Migne *PL* 35, 1993, unless it is implied by the words *mundi terroribus*.

habet et proficiat in eo quod habet. Ob hanc causam et gratulor singulis et com-
 monefacio singulos ordines ac status vt agnoscentes felicitatem vestram agatis gra-
 tias auctori Deo et memores quo peruenire oporteat, semper enitami ad perfec-
 245 tiora. Repetam igitur ne queat elabi. Scripsi vobis, patres, quia nostis eum qui
 nec initium habet nec finem; ne quid vos commoueat huius vitae desiderium ad
 aeternam properantes vitam. Scripsi vobis, adolescentes, quod mollitiem aetatis
 animi robore superastis quodque constanti pectore sermonem euangelicum
 seruastis et opitulante Christo superastis Diabolum, peruicacem humani generis
 250 hostem. Perseuerate in victoria; pergite contemnere quod hactenus contempsistis;
 magis ac magis amate quod amare coepistis.

Sollicitat mundus falsis bonorum fluxorum simulachris, territat inani falsaque
 specie malorum. Vos ea terreant quae vere mala sunt nec vnquam finem acci-
 piunt. Ea capiant quae vere bona sunt et finem nesciunt. Lucem euangelicam
 255 sequentes amate coelestia quae pollicetur coelestis ille Pater cui per Christum estis
 renati. Fugite tenebras malarum cupiditatum per quas mundus hic inescat fuca-
 tis bonis. Fieri non potest vt vtrunque simul ametis, vtrique simul seruiatis. Nihil
 conuenit Deo cum mundo, nihil luci cum tenebris; quisquis amat mundum exci-
 dit a charitate Dei Patris. Non hunc mundum dico, cuius opifex est Deus, in quo
 260 velimus nolimus viuimus. Improbis cupiditates rerum inanium in quibus homi-
 num vulgus constituit felicitatem, verorum bonorum oblitus, mundum appello.
 LB II48 Non vos locus quamlibet semotus, non vos cultus, non cibibus, non vos titulus
 eximit a mundo, sed animus purus ab his, quas dixi, cupiditatibus. Quid autem
 habet hic mundus quod non sit exitiabile? Tria sunt quibus potissimum imponit
 265 stultis et incautis – voluptas carnis, irritamenta oculorum et fastus strepitusque
 vitae. Obiicit enim praestigias quasdam inanium voluptatum quibus ad tempus
 corporis sensus demulceat vt interim animus a coelestium bonorum studio auo-
 cetur. Nam huiusmodi bonorum cupiditates suggerit Spiritus ille coelestis quem
 Deus Pater impartit filiis suis vere per Christum renatis. Habet et Satanus suum
 270 spiritum per quem suggerit perniciosum amorem rerum neque verarum neque
 perennium iis qui sese huic mundo deuouerunt. Suggestit Veneris mala gaudia
 quae stulta foedaque prurigne membra corporis titillent. Suggestit eduliorum ac
 potus cupedias quae gulae palatoque blandiantur. Suggestit ocii somnique dulce-
 dinem quo magis situ torpescat animus. Suggestit lasciuas cantiones et impudicas
 275 fabulas quibus aures delinuat. Suggestit formarum illecebras et varia spectaculorum
 genera quibus oculos oblectet. Suggestit honorum pompas ac diuitiarum strepitus,
 ambitionis irritamenta. Denique nulla non parte mentes hominum a veris aeter-
 nisque bonis auocat ad inania bonorum simulachra. Horum cupiditate qui capi-
 tur sciat se non incitari Spiritu Patris coelestis sed spiritu mundi.

280 Mundus vt constat elementis temporariis, ita nihil praebet nisi mox periturum.
 Deus vt est aeternus, ita largitur aeterna praemia. Ergo qui pendet a mundi
 praesidiis euanidam quandam ac mox auferendam felicitatem sectatur quam fre-
 quenter et hic aufert casus praeter opinionem exortus aut senium eripit. Certe
 mors nulli non ventura tollit totum illud falsorum gaudiorum somnium.

285 Subducta materia perit voluptas et succedunt dolores. Sublato homine pereunt
omnia et succedit cruciatus aeternus. Caeterum qui Patri obtemperat vocanti ad
amorem vitae coelestis, huius felicitas nullum est habitura finem. Nescit enim
finem, qui illam largitur. Innoxii huius mundi commodis vtendum pro tempore,
sed parce, sed moderate ad necessitatem naturae, non ad voluptatem libidinis.
290 Caeterum summum animi studium ad res aeternas vertendum est, ad quod etiam
oportet referri caeterarum rerum vsum.

Nondum apparet piorum felicitas, sed ea patefiet in aduentu Domini nostri
Iesu Christi. Videntur interim hic suauiter agere impii, sed imminet illis aeterna
calamitas, idque breui. Videtur enim adesse tempus illud extremum quo mutatis
295 rerum vicibus cum Christo regnabunt ii qui nunc ob Christum affliguntur ac ad
nihilum redigentur qui nunc Christo rebellant. Audistis venturum Antichristum
qui omnibus huius mundi praesidiis ac praestigiis armatus belligeretur aduersus
Christum, moxque Antichristo reuicto liberabitur omnibus malis corpus Christi
et onerabuntur omnibus malis membra Diaboli. Huius igitur Antichristi aduen-
300 tus, de quo vobis praedictum est ab apostolis, haud longe videtur abesse. Intan-
tum enim inualuit hic mundus aduersus doctrinam euangelicam vt iam nunc
complures esse coeperint qui vocabulum antichristi mereantur, quorum et vita et
doctrina et studium omne Christo aduersetur. Quid enim aliud hi quam Anti-
christi illius anteambulones videntur et venturae tempestatis extrema praeludia?
305 Minus enim laedunt Christi populum qui prorsus a Christo sunt alieni quam hi
qui semel in illius castris versati, mox transfugae facti, Christi praesidiis et armis
Christum oppugnant. Simulant enim etiam ea quae in Christianis declarant
Christi virtutem – sanctimoniam, doctrinam, auctoritatem, miracula. | Atque hi
LB 1149 Christi quidem exierunt e nobis, verum nihil est quod vos magnopere perturbent.

271 Veneris C–H: veneris A

295 ii A–F: hi K BAS

303 hi C–H: hii A

304 anteambulones E–H: antambulones A–D

305 hi C–H: ii A

309 vos A–H: nos LB

257 *utrunque ... seruiatis* See *Mt.* 6, 24, which Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 15, p. 293, ll. 158–160, cites in his commentary on 2, 15.

265 *strepitusque* Cf. Er. *Annot. in 1. Ioh.* 2, 16 (“superbia vitae”), *LB VI*, 1074 E. Erasmus thought the noun ἀλαζονία was cognate with the verb ἀλαλάζω. Hence *strepitus*, which here denotes the fanfare accompanying the public appearance of nobles and other magnates, would be for him an apt term for pride and ambition. Cf. Er. *De contemptu mundi*, *ASD V*, 1, p. 41, n.l. 35, and *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 129, ll. 29–30.

269 *vere* That is, they are not like those Christians who locate piety in convents, special clothing and diet, or in religious titles; cf. p. 268, ll. 312–313 below.

299 *onerabuntur ... Diaboli* Cf. *Ap. Ioh.* 20, 1–3.

300 *apostolis* This may be plural for singular, a frequent trope in Erasmus, since only Paul (2. *Thess.* 2, 3–12) speaks of a figure comparable to John’s Antichrist, but Erasmus may already be thinking of the ‘antichrists’, in which case they would be the false teachers predicted by Paul and Peter; cf. *Paraphr. in 2. Pet.*, ad 2, 1, p. 222, ll. 141–143 above.

304 *anteambulones* Cf. *Mt.* 24, 5 and 11.

309 *vos* The *Nov. Test.* has only first person pronouns in 2, 19, which doubtless accounts for the correction in *LB*. Since Martens, like Erasmus and unlike Froben, used *v* for initial *u*, the *v* is unlikely to be the result of typographical error; hence I assume that Erasmus wrote *vos*, adjusting the pronoun to the context. The clause itself, *quod ... perturbent*, may reflect Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* III, 5, Migne *PL* 35, 1999:

310 Versabantur inter nos, sed nostri non erant. Hostes erant Christi etiam cum in illius castris agebant. Quod si vere nostrarum fuissent partium, perpetuo perseuerassent apud nos. Titulo cultuque Christum profitebantur, caeterum animo mundum adamabant. Et idcirco cum ventum est ad tempestates persecutionum, cum ad incendium afflictionum, prodidere semet quales antea fuissent. Nunc a
 315 nobis semoti subleuant nos veluti corpus grauatum malis humoribus ac minus laedent hostes aperti quam fucati socii. Sic visum est Christo quo palam fiat non omnes pertinere ad Christi corpus qui loti sunt in illius nomine, qui nomine illum profitentur, qui sacramentis Ecclesiae communicant. Verus ac constans mundi contemptus arguit Christianum. Animus aduersus omnes illecebras,
 320 aduersus omnes iniurias infractus et inuictus arguit Christianum. Qui ad occasionem desciscit a doctrina Christi simulabat Christianum, non erat. Expedit autem hos palam a nobis seiungi ne specie boni magis etiam noceant incautis, etiam si vobis ignoti non erant et antequam se palam subducerent. Siquidem vnctio Christi, vnde et vobis est nomen, afflatus Spiritus Christi satis indicat
 325 vobis qui sint vere Christiani, qui secus. Etenim qui spiritualis est omnia diiudicat. Non erant ignoti, sed tolerabantur si forte resipiscerent.

Quod dico verum est neque haec scribo vobis quasi vos latuerit veritas, qui doctorem habetis Christi Spiritum qui non patitur vos quicquam ignorare, sed in memoriam reuoco quod scitis quo fixius adhaereatis veritati neque perturbemini
 330 secessu malorum. Pauciores estis, sed saniores, sed purgatiores, sed tranquilliores. Nihil decessit corpori si resecta est vomica, si pus extillauit. Scitis quod Christus est veritas; ab hoc dissidet omne mendacii genus. Quisquis fucatus est cum hoc nihil habet commercii, quantumuis illum ore profiteatur. Multae sunt mendaciorum formae. Quisquis quocunque modo mendax est Christum negat, qui veritas
 335 est, nullius mendacii mixturam recipiens. Quisquis aduersatur veritati, Christo aduersatur. Quisquis aduersatur Christo, antichristus est. Nullum autem sceleratius mendacii genus est quam negare Iesum esse Christum; atque id faciunt multi pseudoprophetae Iudaeorum qui negant illum fuisse quem Moses et prophetarum oracula iam olim mundo pollicita sunt vindicem ac salutis autorem et alium
 340 nescio quem antichristum pro Christo promittunt. Nimirum quisquis est huiusmodi, palam est antichristus. Rursus sunt qui, licet ore profiteantur Iesum esse Christum, tamen sic viuunt quasi vana sit eius doctrina, quasi vana sint praemia quae promisit. Ille docuit beatos esse *pauperes spiritu*, quod eos maneat regnum coelorum. Et alius huc toto incumbens studio, vt dilatet latifundia, vt extruat
 345 magnificas aedes, vt augeat redditus, vt expleat arcas nummis per fas nefasque quaesitis, vt factione valeat, vt inopes opprimat, vt tyrannidem exerceat. An non reclamatione Christo, cuius doctrinam – quod in ipso est – mendacem facit? Docet ille beatos esse *qui esuriunt et sitiunt iusticiam*. Et alius in luxu, in gulae ventrisque voluptatibus felicitatem ponens nonne Christo refragatur? Docet ille beatos esse mites, *quod ii possessuri sunt terram* illam coelestem vnde rursus depelli non poterunt. Et alius ita se denique felicem iudicat si pauperibus oppressis suam stabiliat opulentiam. Docet <ille> beatos esse *qui lugent* in hoc mundo, quod his

LB 1150
356

debeatur aeterna refocillatio. Et alius per omnia sectans huius vitae delicias, nonne Christo refragatur? Docet ille beatos, qui misericordes sunt in proximos. Et hic sibi placet quod malis | vltro affligit meliorem se. Docet ille beatos, qui conuittis et afflictionibus vexentur ob iusticiam euangelicam. Et hic omni fucorum

330 *secessu A-D: successu E-H*
350 ii *A-I: hi K BAS*

“Ex nobis exierunt; sed’ – nolite tristes esse – ‘non erant ex nobis’”; or Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 19, p. 295, ll. 239–241: “Plangendum videbatur vt damnun cum audiremus: ‘Ex nobis exierunt’, sed mox consolatio nobis offertur cum subditur: ‘sed non erant ex nobis’”.

312 *Titulo cultuque* The ‘titulus’ is presumably ‘christianus’, but Christians, unlike Jews, did not wear distinctive clothing unless by ‘cultus’ Erasmus means simple, unostentatious garments (cf. *Paraphr. in 1. Tim. ad 2*, 10, LB VI, 1042 C). *Titulus cultusque* is a recurrent element in Erasmus’ criticism of the false piety of the religious orders; cf. Ep. 858, ll. 554–559 (= *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 19, ll. 15–20). The occurrence of the phrase here suggests that he is either deliberately or, more likely, subconsciously identifying the secessionists in 1. *Ioh.* with the monks of his own day who likewise ‘secede’; cf. p. 268, l. 330 below.

313 *cum ... persecutionum* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* III, 5, Migne *PL* 35, 1999: “Tentatio probat quia non sunt ex nobis. Quando illis tentatio venerit velut occasione venti volant foras, quia grana non erant” [i.e. grains of wheat on the Lord’s threshing floor].

315 *grauatum ... humoribus* The comparison comes from Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* III, 4, Migne *PL* 35, 1999, or Bede, who quotes this text, *In 1. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 295, l. 239–p. 296, l. 241.

316–318 *Sic ... communicant* Erasmus is still following Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* III, 5, Migne *PL* 35, 1999. The next three sentences, however, are Erasmus’ own contribution to the thought.

324 *Christi* Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* III, 5, Migne *PL* 35, 2000, and, following him, Bede, *In 1. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 296, ll. 265–268, identify the ‘Holy One’ in 2, 20 with the Holy Spirit. Augustine also refers to the sacrament of the Holy Spirit though it is not clear (to me at least) whether he means baptism or confirmation. But whether Erasmus likewise thought of the communication of the Spirit through the administration of a sacrament or not, in the paraphrase *afflatus Spiritus Christi*, in apposition to *unctio Christi*, shows that it is

352 *ille addidi*

grace that is the important element. Compare his description of the sacrament of extreme unction in the *Paraphr. in Mc.*, ad 6, 13, LB VII, 203 D. See Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 341–348, for a discussion of the problems and the different interpretations of this verse. Brown’s conclusion (p. 348) is similar to what appears to be Erasmus’ view: “... it is likely that the author was referring to an anointing with the Holy Spirit, the gift from Christ which constituted one a Christian” [his italics].

325–326 *qui ... diiudicat* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 2, 15.

328 *doctorem* See 1. *Ioh.* 2, 27 and *Ioh.* 14, 28.

330 *secessu* *Successu* in *E* is certainly a typographical error. Although ‘the success of the evil ones’ might seem to make sense, it does not fit the context, and in any case it is the *departure* which should not upset the addressees; cf. p. 267, ll. 308–309 above.

332 *veritas* Cf. *Ioh.* 14, 6. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* III, 6, Migne *PL* 35, 2000, likewise begins his exegesis of 2, 21 with an appeal to this text from the Gospel.

338 *Iudaeorum* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 2, 22, *CCSL* 121, p. 297, ll. 294–295: “Propria autem Iudaeorum est haec negatio vt dicant quoniam Iesus non est Christus”. Cf. also the paraphrase on 2. *Pet.* 1, 21, p. 222, ll. 128–133 above.

341–342 *sunt qui ... viuunt* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* III, 8, Migne *PL* 35, 2002: “Certe inuenimus multos antichristos qui ore profitentur Christum et moribus dissentiunt a Christo”. According to Augustine, *ibidem*, “the antichrist who confesses orally that Jesus is the Christ but denies (*negat*) him by his deeds is the greater liar”.

343 *beatos ... spiritu* See *Mt.* 5, 3.

348 *beatos ... iusticiam* See *Mt.* 5, 6.

349–350 *beatos ... terram* See *Mt.* 5, 5.

352 *ille* A contrast with the following *alius* is required as in the other instances of *Docet ille*. The pronoun was most likely overlooked by the typesetter though Erasmus himself could have inadvertently omitted it.

beatos ... lugent See *Mt.* 5, 4.

354 *beatos ... misericordes* See *Mt.* 5, 7.

355–356 *beatos ... vexentur* See *Mt.* 5, 11.

ac technarum genere studet placere mundo. Agnoscit ille discipulum qui sublata in humeros cruce sequatur ipsum. Et alius nihilominus sibi Christianus videtur si omnem effugerit molestiam. Dicit ille suis: ‘In mundo cruciatum habebitis, in me pacem habebitis’; et istis Christus grauis est, mundus suauis. Iubet ille benemereri etiam de inimico. Et alius etiam immerentem afficit iniuria. Nonne qui sic viuit Christo refragatur? Non reclamationem os, sed reclamationem vita. Cum diuersa doceret Filius, Pater dixit: *Hunc audite*. Iste vero quid dicit? ‘Non hunc audite; dura sunt quae docet. Mundum audite’.

Proinde quemadmodum obsistit Filio, ita repugnat et Patri, et dum mundanae factionis est, semouet se a grege eorum quos Christus selegit ab hoc mundo. Nihil Christo commercii cum hoc mundo; huic qui sese adglutinat, Christo repugnat et antichristum agit simul et Patrem abnegans et Filium. Siquidem Patri cum Filio indiuidua societas est. Hic mihi reclamabit Iudaeus: ‘Patrem agnosco, Filium non agnosco’. Atqui quicquid in Filium commiseris, idem commiseris in Patrem. Filius nihil neque gessit neque docuit nisi autore Patre. Qui Filio derogat, derogat Patri. Ergo qui se alienarit a Filii consortio, is nec ad Christi corpus pertinet – quod est Ecclesia catholica – nec cum Patre Deo consortium habet, cui per omnia conuenit cum Filio. Videtis quanto cum periculo se stulti diuellunt a Filio. Vos igitur perseuerate in euangelica veritate quam a probatis apostolis primum accepistis. Ne vos abducat pseudapostolorum mendax oratio. Si persisteritis in eo quod primum tradidimus vobis, permanebitis in consortio Dei Patris ac Filii eius Iesu. Si cui durum videtur perseuerare in euangelica professione propter afflictiones impiorum, cogitate praemium. Rem arduam exigit Deus, sed ingens est praemium quod pollicetur. Neque enim pollicetur opes aut regnum aut voluptatem huius mundi, sed vitam aeternam. Id paruo emit quisquis emit etiam vitae dispendio.

Haec tot verbis refrico et inculco vobis, sollicitus ne quos forte seducant praestigiiis suis impii qui a Christo descuerunt. Quanquam vel citra nostram commotionem satis, vt arbitror, docet vos ipse Spiritus Christi, quem habetis assiduum monitorem ac doctorem in cordibus vestris. Is quamdiu perseuerat in vobis, non est necesse vt quisquam vos doceat quid sit cauendum. Is doctor est arcanus, sed longe certissimus. Is semel a vobis haustus docet vos de omnibus quemadmodum et Filius promisit. Siquidem natura verax est Spiritus neque mentiri nouit. Proinde perseueretis in eo quod ille vos semel docuit. Tenetis rectam doctrinam, meministis; nihil superest nisi vt in ea persistatis vsque ad aduentum Christi, quem coniicio non procul abesse. Iterum atque iterum rogo, filioli, persistite in doctrina Spiritus vt cum apparuerit princeps ac iudex ille noster, bonae vitae conscientia nobis tribuat fiduciam apud illum talesque prodeamus vt nec illum pudeat nos agnoscere suos discipulos neque nos pudeat in conspectum illius venire. Nam quo ore compellabimus eum praeceptorem ac Dominum si nec docenti auscultauimus nec praecipienti paruimus? Quo ore Deum appellabimus Patrem si tota vita degeneres fuerimus ab illius institutis? Non simplex baptismus sed seruata iusticia facit nos filios Dei. Quid enim audituri sunt qui in nomine

400 Iesu eiecerunt daemonia, qui praedixere futura, qui miraculis inclaruerunt?
 LB 1151 *Nescio vos*. Pro alienis ducit in quibus non videt iusticiam euangelicam. | Quod si
 vobis persuasum est Deum esse huius iusticiae autorem, simul et illud scitote,
 quod quisquis non professione sed studiis, factis ac moribus praestat iusticiam
 euangelicam, ex Deo natus est, ad quem sibi bene conscius poterit ea fiducia
 405 accedere qua solent obedientes filii ad patrem propiciam. Similes agnoscet, dissi-
 miles non agnoscet.

CAPVT III

Vbi sincera charitas est, ibi fiducia est et metus abest. Videte igitur nobis, qui contempto mundo cum suis et illectamentis et terriculamentis perseueramus in

357–358 *qui ... ipsum* See *Mt.* 16, 24.

359–360 *in mundo ... habebitis* See *Ioh.* 16, 33.

360–361 *Iubet ... inimico* See *Mt.* 5, 44.

363 *Hunc audite* See *Mt.* 17, 5 and parallels.

366 *quos ... selegit* See *Ioh.* 15, 19.

369–370 *Patrem ... non agnosco* Cf. Bede, *In i. Ioh.*, p. 297, ll. 305–308: “Hac sententia cum hereticos tum maxime percutit Iudaeos qui Iesum negantes esse Christum filium Dei nihilominus Deum patrem se habere dicebant ...”. Bede is developing a thought of Augustine’s; see Aug. *Tract. in i. Ioh.* III, 10, Migne *PL* 35, 2003: “Ne quis dicat: Christum non colo, sed Deum colo Patrem ipsius”.

371 *Filius ... Patre*. See *Ioh.* 12, 49.

371–372 *Qui ... Patri* See *Ioh.* 5, 23.

373 *quod ... Catholica* Cf. *Col.* 1, 18 and 24.

376 *pseudapostolorum* Cf. *i. Ioh.* 4, 1. The presence of false prophets is a sign of the last times (*Mt.* 24, 11), but Erasmus may have *Mt.* 7, 15 in mind, a passage to which Augustine alludes in *Tract. in i. Ioh.* III, 8, Migne *PL* 35, 2002, in conjunction with the texts cited in n.l. 369 above. Cf. *Paraphr. in Iud.*, ad 3, p. 232, ll. 19–20 above, for this use of the term *pseudapostoli*. The orthography follows the Greek ψευδαπόστολοι in 2. *Cor.* 11, 13, the only place the word occurs in the *N. T.*; see Er. *Annot. ad loc.* (“eiusmodi pseudoapostoli”), *LB VI*, 790 D.

380–381 *Neque ... aeternam* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in i. Ioh.* III, 11, Migne *PL* 35, 2003: “Videamus quid promisit. Aurum est, quod hic multum amant homines, an argentum? An possessiones, ad quas fundunt homines aurum quamuis multum amant aurum? An aemena praedia, amplae domus, multa mancipia, animalia numerosa? Non haec est quaedam merces ad quam nos hortatur vt in labore duremus. Quid dicitur merces ista? Vita aeterna”.

385 *Spiritus Christi* Cf. p. 268, ll. 324–325 above and Aug. *Tract. in i. Ioh.* IV, 2, Migne *PL* 35, 2005.

389 *Filius promisit* See *Ioh.* 14, 26 and 15, 16–17. *verax ... nouit* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in i. Ioh.* IV, 2, Migne *PL* 35, 2005: “Et verax est, inquit, eadem vnctio; id est, ipse Spiritus Domini qui docet homines mentiri non potest”.

390 *rectam doctrinam Tenere rectam doctrinam* is one of the major themes of Bede’s commentary on 1 John; see *In i. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 299, ll. 360–375, for an application to 2, 27.

391 *in ea* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in i. Ioh.* IV, 2, Migne *PL* 35, 2005, who takes the pronoun “eo” (“manete in eo” Vg.) in *i. Ioh.* 2, 27 to refer to the anointing or teaching of the Spirit rather than to the Spirit himself; likewise Bede *In i. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 299, ll. 377–379. Cf. Er. *Annot. in i. Ioh.* 2, 27 (“sicut vnctio eius” and “manete in eo”), *LB VI*, 1075 E. See Brown, *Epistles*, p. 361.

392 *quem ... abesse* Aug. *Tract. in i. Ioh.* IV, 2, Migne *PL* 35, 2005, similarly makes a close connection between 2, 27 and 28, as apparently does Bede, *In i. Ioh.* 2, 27, *CCSL* 121, p. 299, ll. 374–375. Modern scholars prefer to make a division at this point; cf. Brown, *Epistles*, p. 379; Schnackenburg, *Ioh. Epist.*, p. 151.

394–395 *illum ... agnoscere* Cf. Er. *Annot. in i. Ioh.* 2, 28 (“non confundamur ab illo”), *LB VI*, 1075 F. Erasmus thought, mistakenly, that μη αἰσχυνθῶμεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ in 2, 28 could mean either ‘we are put to shame by him’ or ‘he is ashamed of us’; cf. *Lc.* 9, 26. The paraphrase accommodates both meanings.

396 *praeceptorem ... Dominum* See *Ioh.* 13, 13–14.

399–400 *Quid ... inclaruerunt* See *Mt.* 7, 22–23.

401 *Nescio vos* See *Mt.* 25, 12.

410 euangelica doctrina, quam insignem dederit charitatem, vt non solum serui
 fideles, non solum amici, sed filii Dei et nominemur et simus. Sic enim docuit
 Christus vt coelestem Patrem appellemus si qua re sit nobis opus. Summus est
 honos appellari filios Dei. Summa felicitas est esse filios Dei. Huic quoniam
 415 constanti pietate adhaeremus et ab illo agnoscimur, mundus nos non agnoscit sed
 vt diuersae factionis horret et execratur. Nec mirum si non agnoscit filios Dei
 cum Deum ipsum non agnoscat abnegans illius Filium Iesum. Ne quid perturbet
 animos vestros, charissimi, quod vos habet despicabiles et abiectos. Apud Deum
 habemus etiam nunc hanc eximiam dignitatem, quod sumus filii Dei et gaude-
 mus in sinu, sentientes in nobis spiritum non seruitutis sed filiorum, cuius fidu-
 420 cia clamamus, *Abba, Pater*. Adest dignitas, sed nondum apparuit dignitas. Adhuc
 pugnae tempus est, nondum venit dies triumphi. Ille declarabit vniuersis quanta
 sit dignitas, quanta felicitas eorum qui constanter sese praebuerint filios Dei.
 Nondum eluxit quod sumus futuri in aduentu Christi, verum illud certa spe
 tenemus, <quod> simulatque apparuerit ille redditurus cuique pro suis factis
 425 praemia, nos qui fuimus hic consortes afflictionum erimus et gaudiorum socii
 quique fuimus illi similes in mundi contemptu erimus eidem similes in maiestate
 gloriae. Vidimus hic illum afflictum, vidimus humilem; tunc videbimus, sicuti
 est et semper fuit, excelsum ac sublimem, et videntes ad illius similitudinem
 transformabimur et ipsi non solum animis verum etiam corporibus. Videmus et
 430 nunc illum sed veluti per nebulam oculis fidei. Tunc ineffabili modo videbimus.
 Sed quod tunc futuri sumus perfecte, id nunc interim pro nostra virili meditan-
 dum est. Vt illi tunc similes simus in gloria, hic puri simus ab omnibus sordibus.
 Vt illum tunc videre possimus, nunc purgemus oculos ne cum ille splendidus
 apparuerit, nobis tamen formidabilis sit magis quam amabilis. Nec enim feliciter
 435 videtur nisi a similibus.

Proinde quisquis habet hanc fiduciam in Christo, vt tunc consors sit illius glo-
 ria, interim piis studiis purificat se a mundanis affectibus, quemadmodum in
 illo nihil erat inquinamentorum huius mundi sed totus purus est ac coelestis.
 Itaque pro nostris viribus huc enitendum est, ne quid in nobis resideat terrena
 440 fecis. Nec vero sibi quisquam blandiatur dicens: 'Mihi satis est ad innocentiam si
 nihil horum admisero quae lex Mosi vetat quaeque Caesaris etiam legibus
 puniuntur – quod genus sunt furtum, sacrilegium, adulterium, homicidium'.
 Imo, prorsus omne peccati genus est fugiendum. Quisquis enim vlllo modo pec-
 cat, etiam si non peccet aduersus praescripta Mosaica, peccat tamen aduersus
 445 legem euangelicam Mosaica longe sanctiorem. Atque hanc ob causam Christus
 semel venit in mundum vt viam ostenderet qua reditus illius nobis fieret saluta-
 ris ac felix. Venit vt semel tolleretur non vnum aut alterum peccatum sed omnia |
 LB 1152 peccata nostra, cum ille solus nulli peccato esset obnoxius. Semel nos gratis pur-
 gavit ab omni peccato vt sui similes redderet, quod nec lex vlla nec mortalis vllus
 450 praestare poterat. Per baptismum insiti sumus illius sacrosancto corpori. Sed nos-
 trum interim est adniti ne excidamus a capite. Per gratuitam illius clementiam
 insiti sumus, sed excidemus si in pristina vitia relapsi fuerimus. Quisquis in

Christo manet, perseuerat in innocentia et adeo cauēt ab omni peccato vt indies
 455 magis ac magis adolescat in virtutibus reddaturque capiti suo similior. Quisquis
 non abstinet a peccatis, quanquam tinctus est, quanquam dedit nomen Christo,
 nondum plene vidit eum neque nouit eum. Quis enim, si oculis fidei videret
 quanta sit dignitas cooptari in numerum filiorum Dei, quanta turpitudine dedi
 patri Diabolo, sustineat a tali corpore auelli, a tali desciscere patre et ad tam
 460 foedam degenerare tyrannidem, a tantis praemiis vltro prolabi ad tantam cala-
 mitatem?

Filioli, ne quis vos seducat, blandiens vobis de professione christiani nominis
 quasi id satis sit ad felicitatem. Non qui profitetur iusticiam iustus est, sed qui
 vita ac moribus praestat iusticiam, is iustus est, quemadmodum et Christus se
 465 dictis ac factis praebuit exemplum omnis iusticiae. Huic qui vere ac totus adhae-
 ret, quod potest, ab omni vitiorum inquinamento temperat, et ipsa morum puri-
 tas arguit illum esse filium Dei, qui natura bonus est et peccatum nescit. Quis-
 quis autem peccat, etiam si Christi sacramentis est initiatus, tamen e patre
 Diabolo progenitus est, qui princeps est et autor omnis peccati. Hunc quisquis
 470 imitatur, parentem suum refert hoc ipso quod peccat, seque filium illius esse
 declarat. Non admittit Deus consortium cum vitiis; nam in hoc ipsum misit
 Filium in hunc mundum, vt aboleat opera Diaboli – hoc est, omnia quae
 pugnant cum euangelica charitate. Ex Adam nascimur omnes obnoxii peccatis, ex

417 quod *A G H*: quos *C–F*

424 quod *addidi*

440 Nec *D–H*: Ne *A C*

461 de *om. I*

465 quod *A–K*: quoad *BAS*

410–411 *serui ... amici* See *Ioh.* 15, 14–15, and for the epithet *fideles* *Mt.* 25, 21.

411 *et simus* This clause is taken from *Vg.*; Erasmus' Greek text omitted *καὶ ἑσμεν* in 3, 1. See Metzger, pp. 710–711.

412 *coelestem ... appellemus* Erasmus appears to be combining *Ioh.* 16, 23 (or 15, 16) with *Lc.* 11, 1–2 and *Mt.* 5, 9.

414 *nos* Unless *nos* is a misprint for *vos*, Erasmus is again following *Vg.* His Greek text and Latin version have *ὑμεῖς* "vos".

418–419 *gaudemus* Cf. *1. Pet.* 1, 8.

419–420 *sentientes ... Pater* Cf. *Rom.* 8, 15.

424 *quod* A conjunction is required. *Illud ... quod* is Erasmus' usual construction.

429 *transformabimur* Cf. *Phil.* 3, 21.

431–432 *id ... est* Cf. *Er. Paraphr. in 1. Cor.*, ad 13, 11, *LB VII*, 901 D, and ad 15, 48–58, *LB VII*, 911.

432 *hic ... sordibus* Cf. *Bede, In 1. Ioh.* 3, 3, *CCSL* 121, p. 302, ll. 75–80: "Manifestum autem de se indicium spei supernae exhibet qui bonis operam dare actibus studet certus quia non aliter ad similitudinem Dei quis in futuro perueniat nisi Dei sanctitatem in

praesenti se sanctificando". Cf. *Eph.* 5, 1–5 and *Tit.* 2, 12.

441–442 *quae ... puniuntur* A similar explanation of the term *ἀνομία* in 2, 4 occurs in *Bede, In 1. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 303, ll. 101–105. After quoting *Ps.* 118, 119, *Bede* comments: "Omnes enim qui peccant praeuaticationis rei sunt, hoc est non solum illi qui data sibi scriptae legis scita contemnunt sed et illi qui innocentiam legis naturalis quam in protoplasto omnes accepimus siue infirmitate siue neglegentia siue etiam ignorantia corrumpunt".

449–450 *quod ... poterat* Cf. *Bede, In 1. Ioh.* 2, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 304, ll. 120–2: "Nemo enim tollit peccatum quia nec lex quamuis sancta et iusta et bona potuit auferre nisi ille in quo peccatum non est".

468–469 *Hunc ... imitatur* Cf. *Aug. Tract. in 1. Ioh.* IV, 10, *Migne PL* 35, 2011: "De Diabolo est: nosti quid dicat, imitando Diabolium. ... quicumque fuerit imitatus Diabolium, quasi de illo natus, fit filius Diaboli imitando ...".

472 *Ex Adam* Cf. *Aug. Tract in 1. Ioh.* IV, 11, *Migne PL* 35, 2011: "Eia, fratres, omnes

Deo renascimur per semen euangelicae doctrinae. Huius seminis vis quamdiu manet in homine, non peccat nec potest peccare – videlicet vetante diuina charitate, quae rapit eum ad studium benefaciendi et auocat ab omni cupiditate peccandi – eo quod vere sit filius Dei germane referens indolem atque ingenium patris et capitis sui. Non titulus, non baptismus, non sacramenta discernunt filios Dei a filiis Diaboli, sed vitae puritas, sed charitas exerens et explicans sese benefactis. Non est ociosa si adsit. Quisquis hanc non declarat nec re declarat sibi charum esse fratrem, is ex Deo natus non est. Si viuum esset membrum corporis Christi, diligeret caetera membra pro quibus mortuus est Christus. Haec est christiana iusticiae summa, hoc est quod in primis nobis tradidit Christus, hoc est quod vobis ante omnia commendauimus: vt mutua charitate declaretis vos esse filios Dei ac discipulos Christi. Siquidem odium proximi gradus est ad homicidium et liuor ex diametro pugnat cum charitate. Cain non erat filius Dei sed ex Diabolo prognatus erat. Quamobrem? quia degenerauit a bono conditore ac referebat Diabolum, qui stimulatus inuidia primus occiderat hominem instinctu letifero. Parentis ingenium referebat Cain occidens Abel fratrem suum. Quae fuit autem odii causa? Nimirum vitae dissimilitudo, quapropter et diuersi generis erant quanquam iuxta corporis propagationem fratres erant germani. Vterque suum parentem exprimebat. Abel erat innocens et ad benefaciendi studium accensus. Cain contra fratris odio concepto non de se corrigendo sed de fratre trucidando cogitauit. |

Quemadmodum hic non ferebat impius pius et Diaboli filius Dei filium, ita vobis mirum videri non debet, fratres, si vos auersantur homines mundo dediti. Oderunt immerentes; ne quis illos mutuo oderit. Illi quoniam morti deuoti sunt et seruiunt auctori mortis, mortem aliis machinantur. Nostrum est illorum misereri, non vicissim laedere. Siquidem euangelica charitas nos abduxit a studio laedendi ad studium benemerendi, et hoc argumento cognoscimus quod destinati simus aeternae vitae et exempti a mortis tyrannide, quod diligimus fratres. Qui diligit bene vult ac bene facit. Corpus halitu viuunt, anima viuunt Spiritu Christi. Vbi non est fraterna charitas, ibi non est Spiritus Christi. Quisquis igitur odit proximum suum mortuus est neque viuunt intus. Nam etsi fidem habet, mortuam habet cum non adsit charitas. An ceu leuem culpam contemnitis odium fratris? Quisquis odit fratrem suum, homicida est. Non strinxit ferrum, non miscuit venenum, non adortus est, non maledixit, tantum male voluit. Non damnat illum lex hominum homicidii, sed apud Deum iam homicidii damnatus est. Qui semel admisit odium in pectus – quantum in ipso est – homicida est. Multa sunt homicidii genera. Qui ferro trucidat, etiam profanis legibus dat poenas. Qui veneno necat, punitur et ab impiis. Caeterum qui fratrem virulentae linguae spiculo confodit, etiam si legibus humanis absoluat a parricidii crimine, tamen ad euangelicam legem homicidii reus est. Vivit adhuc ille cui male vult osor, et tamen ipse iam mortuus est. Illi vita est incolumis et hic vitam amisit aeternam, sui ipsius homicida.

Vultis videre, fratres, quantum nos abesse oportet a cupiditate laedendi? Vertite oculos ad exemplum Christi. Ille sic dilexit nos nihil meritis, imo mortem

commeritos, vt vitam suam nobis impenderet. Quanto magis debemus pro fratribus seruandis vitae subire discrimen si res ita tuleri? praesertim qui in Christi pastoris vices successimus. Non concredidit oues suas Petro nisi ter amorem

480 esse *cett.*: sese *F*

500 *simus A–I*: *sumus K BAS*

peccatores ex Diabolo nati sunt in quantum peccatores. Adam a Deo factus est, sed quando consensit Diabolo ex Diabolo natus est, et tales omnes genuit qualis erat". Augustine then goes on to point out that we have two natiuities, one in Adam, one in Christ; one human, one divine. "Per hominem hominem peccatores sumus; per hominem Deum iustificamur". Augustine, however, refers the second or divine nativity to baptism.

473 *semen ... doctrinae* Cf. *Paraphr. in Iac.*, ad 1, 18, p. 128, ll. 202–207, and in *I. Pet.*, ad 1, 23, p. 194, ll. 219–222 above. Augustine, *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 7, *Migne PL* 35, 2016, and Bede, *In I. Ioh.* 3, 9, *CCSL* 121, p. 305, l. 179, define the "semen Dei" as the "verbum Dei", by means of which, Bede adds, the Christian is reborn. The actual meaning of the word 'seed' in 3, 9 is much debated; see Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 409–411; Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, pp. 174–176. Brown, who prefers to take seed as a metaphor for Spirit rather than for the word, points out, p. 410, that "nothing in Johannine literature associates the word with the begetting of the Christian".

474–475 *diuina charitate* Augustine, *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 3–6 passim, *Migne PL* 35, 2013–2015, likewise identifies the divine force in the Christian with love. Cf. also *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 7, *Migne PL* 35, 2016: "Dilectio ergo sola discernit inter filios Dei et filios Diaboli. ... Qui habent charitatem nati sunt ex Deo; qui non habent non sunt nati ex Deo", quoted by Bede, *In I. Ioh.* 3, 10, *CCSL* 121, p. 305, ll. 183–185.

477 *non baptismus ... discernunt* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 6, *Migne PL* 35, 2015: "Ecce accepit sacramentum natiuitatis homo baptizatus; sacramentum habet et magnum sacramentum, diuinum, sanctum, ineffabile. ... Attendat tamen in cor si perfectum est ibi quod factum est in corpore; videat si habet charitatem, et tunc dicat: 'Natus sum ex Deo'".

487 *inuidia* Cf. p. 286, ll. 806–807. This explanation of the Devil's hostility to humanity occurs in *Sap.* 2, 24–25 and is mentioned frequently in Erasmus' works. See, e.g., *Annot. in Rom.* 5, 12 ("in quo omnes peccauerunt"), *LB* VI, 586 E; *Paraphr. in Ioh.*, ad 8, 44, *LB* VII, 571 E. Augustine, *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 8, *Migne PL* 35, 2016, begins his exegesis of 3, 12

with the maxim, "Vbi est inuidia, amor fraternus non potest" and continues, *ibidem*, 2017: "Peccatum Diaboli est in illo, quia et Diabolus inuidendo deiecit". Cain was viewed as the exemplar of envy in both Jewish and Christian literature; see Er. *Paraphr. in Iud.*, ad 11, p. 235, n.l. 80 and Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, p. 181.

489 *vitae dissimilitudo* A similar explanation occurs in *Ios. Ant. Iud.* I, 53–55. It is implicitly rejected by Aug. *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 8, *Migne PL* 35, 2017. Augustine observes that it is not the offering but the condition of the offerer's heart that God looks at.

495 *homines ... dediti* This interpretation of the word κόσμος ("mundus" Vg.) in 3, 13 is made by Augustine, *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 9, *Migne PL* 35, 2017, who comments: "Qui amant mundum, fratrem amare non possunt". Cf. Bede *In I. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 306, ll. 203–207.

504 *leuem culpam* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 10, *Migne PL* 35, 2017–2018: "Ne putetis, fratres, leue esse odisse aut non diligere; audite quod sequitur: 'Omnis qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est'. Iam ergo si contemnebat quisquam odium fratrum, numquid et homicidium in corde suo contempturus est? Non mouet manus ad occidendum hominem, homicida iam tenetur a Domino; viuunt ille, et iste iam interfector iudicatur".

510–511 *qui ... confodit* This expansion of the biblical text reflects Erasmus' personal situation in Louvain. Cf. the dedicatory letter to the *Paraphr. in Iac.*, p. 118, ll. 53–57, and especially the *Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.*, *LB* IX, 440 F–441 A, whose similarity to the present passage suggests that Erasmus was thinking of Nikolaas Baechem in particular when he wrote these words.

512 *reus* Cf. *Mt.* 5, 21–22 and the *Paraphr. in Iac.*, ad 4, 1–2, p. 146, l. 736–p. 148, l. 752.

519 *pastoris ... successimus* Neither Augustine, *Tract. in I. Ioh.* V, 11, *Migne PL* 35, 2018, nor Bede, *In I. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 307, ll. 247–251, appear to have ecclesiastical leaders in view in their commentaries on *I. Ioh.* 3, 16, though Augustine's citation of *Ioh.* 21, 15–17 to illustrate the meaning of perfect love could lead to this inference. Modern commentators are inclined to see in *I. Ioh.* 3, 16 an allusion to *Ioh.* 10, 11–17; see Brown, *Epistles*, p. 448; Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, p. 182.

520 professo, ac mox illi mortis genus indicat vt intelligeret et sibi gregis crediti salu-
tem vitae dispendio tuendam. An vero vitam impendet qui grauat opitulari
pecunia? An satis esse putat aliquis si non laedat fratrem, si benigne loquatur?
Christus re declarauit quantopere nos amaret. Qui conspicatus fuerit fratrem
suum cibo, veste, potu tectoue egentem et habet facultates vnde succurrat illius
525 inopiae neque commouetur misericordia sed velut ad se non pertineat negligit
eum, qui credi possit quod in hoc sit charitas? Succurrit ethnicus ethnico, et tu
Christianus non succurris Christiano? Professus es fraternam charitatem; ea si
vere adest, quur hic cessat vbi discruciat inopia frater? Fratrem appellas, et nul-
lum argumentum aedis affectus fraterni?

530 Filioli mei, ne diligamus nos inuicem verbotenus. In animo sit charitas potius
quam in lingua et factis se promat potius quam voce. Sit fraternum vocabulum
in sermone quotidiano, sed vt veri simus et orationi facta respondeant. Quoties
se dederit occasio, re declaremus in nobis esse vere fraternum amorem. Ne desit
fratri quod nobis superest, siue vestem desiderabit siue cibum aut tectum, siue
535 consolationem, siue doctrinam, siue admonitionem. Id si promptis animis prae-
stiterimus, hoc argumento cognoscemus quod veritatis filii simus quodque non
fucate, sed syncere diligamus. Veritas autem est ipse Christus, cuius oculis proba-
bimus conscientiam nostram vt et Deo probati simus et hominibus. Et factis
cognoscent homines non esse fucatam inter nos charitatem; animi synceritatem
540 intuetur Deus. Succurremus egestati fraternae sed | ita vt necessitatem subleue-
mus, non vt luxum alamus; et succurremus ex animo, neque mercedis ad nos
rediturae spe neque inanis gloriae causa. Animum non vident homines, sed ipse
sibi conscius est et oculis Dei conspicuus. Quod si laudent nos homines et
condemnet animus sibi male conscius, vt homines fallamus, Dei iudicium non
545 licebit effugere. Abditos habet recessus ac perplexas latebras cor humanum, sed
nihil esse potest tam reconditum tamque abstrusum quod ille non penetret.
Nouit ille omnia melius nobis, nouit cor nostrum qui fecit cor nostrum. Nus-
quam non habet oculos qui nusquam non adest.

Charissimi, si cor nostrum non condemnauerit nos ipsos apud Deum, si syn-
550 cerus est ac simplex animus, si ex mera puraque charitate facimus quicquid faci-
mus, quales nos praestiterimus erga proximum, talem se Deus praestabit nobis. Si
libenter et ex animo condonabimus fratri culpam, facile et nobis delicta nostra
condonabit Deus. Si prompte largiemur egenti fratri quoties opem nostram
implorat, certa fiducia petemus et a Deo quod ad salutem ac necessitatem perti-
555 nebit, nec ille negabit petentibus. Quod si dixerimus illi, *remitte nobis debita nos-
tra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris*, et intus odio fraterno tenemur,
nonne statim reclamabit nobis nostra conscientia? Qua fronte tu petis a Deo
quod ipse negas proximo? Quo ore postulas pactum cum non praestes conditio-
nem? Pollicitus est ille se condonaturum nobis admissa nostra, sed si fratri ex
560 animo condonauerimus delicta sua. Si ore dicimus, 'condono', et tamen maleuo-
lentiam retinemus in corde, animus sibi male conscius adimet nobis fiduciam
impetrandi quod a Deo petimus. Si fratrem blande salutamus nec adsumus cum

res ipsa poscat subsidium, non est quod speremus Deum nobis auxilio futurum
 565 qui fratri defuerimus. Si nos surdi fuerimus ad illius iussa, surdus erit ille vicissim
 ad preces nostras. Impudentia est, non pietas ab eo petere fauorem cuius prae-
 cepta contempnas. Verum si praecepta eius seruamus, si quicquid illi placitum est
 facimus et ita facimus vt probemur illius oculis qui nihil non perspicit, hinc
 nobis nascetur impetrandi fiducia.

570 Hic mihi dicit Iudaeus, legis superstitiosus obseruator: ‘Obseruo sabbata, bap-
 tizor, ieiuno, abstineo a cibis vetitis, non committo furtum; me Deus audiet’.

520 crediti A–D G H: credit E

538 Et factis C–H: E factis A

526–527 *Succurrit ... Christiano* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* V, 12, Migne *PL* 35, 2018–2019: “Quomodo te gloriaris esse Christianum? Nomen habes et facta non habes. Si autem nomen secutum fuerit opus, dicat te quisquam paganum. Tu factis ostende te Christianum. Nam si factis non ostendit te Christianum, omnes te Christianum vocent. Quid tibi prodest nomen vbi res non inuenitur?”

534 *quod ... superest* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* V, 12, Migne *PL* 35, 2018, who likewise speaks of giving or rather of the refusal to give from one’s “superflua”.

535 *consolationem* Augustine, *ibidem*, speaks only about material aid for a brother in need; Bede, however, *In 1. Ioh.* 3, 18, *CCSL* 121, p. 308, ll. 267–269, adds spiritual gifts: “similiter cum spiritalibus donis eos egere conspicimus praestemus eorum necessitati quae possumus”.

536–537 *non ... sincere* For this paraphrase on the term ‘truth’ cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 3, 18, *CCSL* 121, p. 308, ll. 269–272: “‘Veritate’ autem vt eadem eis beneficia simplici intentione largiamur et non propter laudem humanam, non per iactantiam, non per iniuriam aliorum qui maioribus praediti substantiis nihil tale fecerint”. Charity performed for public acclaim or boasting is condemned by Augustine, *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VI, 2, Migne *PL* 35, 2020. In VI, 4, 2021, commenting on the words “cor non male senserit” (3, 21), he states: “Quia diligimus et germana dilectio est in nobis, non ficta sed sincera, salutem fraternam quaerens, nullum emolumentum expectans a fratre nisi salutem ipsius”. See also *Mt.* 6, 2.

538 *conscientiam* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 3, 20, *CCSL* 121, p. 308, ll. 296–298: “Si ipsa conscientia accusauerit nos intus quia non eo animo bona nostra facimus quo facienda sunt, quomodo eius scientiam latere possumus ...?”. Bede takes his cue from Aug. *Tract. in 1.*

Ioh. VI, 3, Migne *PL* 35, 2020. Aug., citing 2. *Cor.* 1, 12, makes the conscience the witness of whether one’s motive for doing a good deed is love or not.

Et Although I have retained the reading of C, I believe that the *Et* is more likely to be a compositor’s error, whether accidental or deliberate, than an authentic revision. Erasmus seldom begins a sentence with *Et* in the *Paraphrases* despite the biblical precedent. The asyndeton is stylistically effective and a preposition does seem required with “factis”. Cf. *Paraphr. in Iac.*, ad 2, 21, p. 138, l. 505 above, and *Enchir.*, Holborn, p. 80, l. 33.

541 *mercedis* For this term cf. *Mt.* 6, 1–3, which Augustine quotes in his exegesis of 3, 21, *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VI, 3, Migne *PL* 35, 2021.

551–553 *Si ... Deus* Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 3, 21, *CCSL* 121, p. 309, ll. 305–306, adduces this example from *Mt.* 6, 12 as a situation in which our heart will not condemn us.

554 *salutem ... necessitatem* Although the combination “salutem ac necessitatem” could refer to physical welfare and needs, Erasmus more likely means ‘salvation and spiritual need’. Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VI, 8, Migne *PL* 35, 2024, who, after a lengthy examination of the meaning of verse 22, concludes that “Deus, etsi nostrae voluntati non dat, saluti dat”, meaning God gives us only what is conducive to our spiritual welfare, though Augustine does go on to illustrate his point with an example from the practice of medicine.

555–556 *remitte ... nostris* *Mt.* 6, 12, with *remittere* from Erasmus’ Latin version in place of *dimittere* in Vg. The change met with much criticism; see *Annot. in Mt.* 6, 12 (“Et dimitte”), *LB* VI, 37 [35] C–E.

558–559 *conditionem* Cf. *Mt.* 6, 14–15.

562–563 *Si ... subsidium* Cf. the *Paraphr. in Iac.*, ad 2, 15–16, p. 135, ll. 454–459 above.

Imo, non hoc est praeceptum de quo loquor. Quodnam igitur? Nimirum vt totam salutis nostrae spem ac fiduciam collochemus in Iesu Christo, Filio Dei, per quem Pater nobis omnia largiri voluit. Iamne hoc satis est? Nequaquam, quin ad illius exemplum amemus nos mutuo. Sic ille iussit, sed quod iussit, ipse prior
 575 praestitit. Nondum vere diligit Christum qui membrum odit Christi. Nondum amat Christum qui male vult homini pro quo mortuus est Christus. Itaque qui seruarit vnicum illud charitatis praeceptum, omnia seruauerit. Hoc glutino coniungemur Christo sic vt ille sit in nobis et nos vicissim in illo. Ille per Spiritum suum inhabitabit pectora nostra si illic ferueat charitas. Spiritus Christi non
 580 est autor odii, sed largitor fraternae charitatis. Is per impositionem apostolicarum manuum infunditur baptizatis, sed idem resilit et auolat si contingat extinguere charitatem. Hoc igitur indicio deprehendemus donum Spiritus in nobis manere quod accepimus in baptismo, si perseuerauerit in nobis fraterna charitas. Quantum haec refrixerit, tantum ille se subducat.

585

CAPVT IIII

Indicem dedi, charissimi, quo deprehendatis an in vobis sit Christi Spiritus. Sunt
 LB 1155 enim diuersi | spiritus in hominibus, sed fucati, sed mali. Ne igitur protinus cuius spiritui credatis. Multi passim se iactant habere Spiritum Dei, sed exploreate num a Deo profecti sint. Habet et hic mundus suum spiritum et adumbrat
 590 Spiritum Dei. Prophetas afflat Spiritus Dei, sed complures iam in mundum prodierunt pseudoprophetae, sese mentientes afflatu diuini Spiritus loqui cum agantur mundano spiritu. Vultis igitur certius etiam argumentum Spiritus diuini? Audite profitentem et intelligetis. Omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum olim orbi promissum aeternae salutis autorem assumpto corpore humano iam
 595 venisse sicuti per suos prophetas promiserat, is ex Deo est, nimirum agnoscens Filium Dei. Rursus hoc qui negat, quoniam mendax est, ex Deo non est. Nullus enim vere profitetur Filium nisi afflatus a Patre. Negant autem illum non tantum ii qui verbis reclamant, verum etiam qui sic viuunt quasi Christus non fuerit exemplar verae pietatis hominibus aut quasi non fuerit autor perfectae salutis;
 600 eoque fingunt alium quempiam Messiam expectandum quod huius doctrina nimium dissideat ab ipsorum cupiditatibus. Si fauisset voluptatibus carnis, si promisisset immensas opes, si donasset honores et imperia mundi, iamdudum agnouissent suum Messiam. Nunc quoniam horum docet contemptum et ad tollendam crucem inuitat et felicitatem omnem in futuro seculo expectandam
 605 ostendit, negant hunc esse promissum olim humani generis redemptorem, sed alterum expectari iubent qui commoda corporis et huius seculi bona polliceatur. Nec satis est confiteri Christum nisi totum et integrum confiteamur. Qui diuidit illum vel diuinam naturam adimens quam eandem habet cum Patre vel humanam quam accepit ab homine matre, hic spiritus ex Deo non est, sed est spiritus
 610 Antichristi, de quo quidem spiritu iam audistis quod venturus sit; imo iam nunc venit agiturque in his qui mundanis deliciis addicti pugnant aduersus Christi Spiritum.

615 Non est quod istos metuatis, filioli. Vos quoniam ex Deo estis et Spiritum
 habetis, per illum vicistis antichristos. Ipsi quidem imbecilles estis, sed is qui
 habitat in vobis maior est ac potentior est eo qui habitat in mundo. Per sua mem-
 bra vos impugnat Diabolus, sed suo Spiritu propugnat Deus. Illi quoniam ad
 mundi factionem pertinent et mundanum hauserunt spiritum, mundum sapiunt
 et mundana loquuntur, et horum doctrina grata est iis qui et ipsi mundo dediti
 sunt. Nemo facile credit quod aduersatur iis quae vehementer amat. Amant ter-
 620 rena et horum doctrina terram sapit. Nos ex Deo sumus; hunc qui nouit – nouit
 autem quisquis amat – auscultat nobis qui coelestia Deoque digna docemus. Qui
 non est ex Deo non audit nos, sed abhorret ab euangelica doctrina, quae iubet
 opes effundere, voluptates spernere, in afflictionibus gloriari, vitam etiam habere
 vilem pro iusticia, recte factorum omne praemium expectare in resurrectione,

598 ii A-F GH: hi G²

574 *Sic ille iussit* See *Ioh.* 13, 34 and 15, 12.

578 *ille... illo* Cf. *Ioh.* 14, 20.

579-580 *Spiritus ... charitatis* Cf. Bede *In 1.*

Ioh. 3, 24, *CCSL* 121, p. 310, ll. 355-357: "Hoc enim agit Spiritus Sanctus in homine vt sit in illo caritas, 'quia caritas', inquit Paulus, 'diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis' [*Rom.* 5, 5]".

580-581 *Is ... baptizatis* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Act.*, ad 8, 16-17, *LB VII*, 699 E, and Payne, *Theology*, pp. 165-166. The statement that the Spirit was received at baptism and that the existence of brotherly love is proof of its presence in us are both taken from Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VI, 10, *Migne PL* 35, 2025.

598 *qui sic viuunt* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VI, 13, *Migne PL* 35, 2028: "Ille autem non est Spiritus Dei qui negat Iesum Christum in carne venisse; negat et ipse non lingua sed vita, non verbis sed factis"; and Bede, *In 1. Ioh.*, p. 311, ll. 21-23, who quotes another sentence of Augustine's to the same effect. But that the false spirits invent a false messiah appears to be Erasmus' own contribution to the explanation of 4, 3.

607 *Qui diuidit* Cf. Er. *Annot. in 1. Ioh.* 4, 3 ("et omnis spiritus qui soluit Iesum ex Deo non est"), *LB VI*, 1077 E, from which it appears that Erasmus considered the reading "qui soluit Iesum" in Vg. to be an addition rather than an alternative, as modern scholars believe, to the reading ὁ μὴ ἠμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν of the Greek manuscripts; cf. Metzger, p. 713. Erasmus treats this clause, therefore, as an addition to the biblical text, though he was not convinced that it was part of the original text but suspected

that it had been added to combat heresies about the divine and human natures of Christ. The paraphrase itself follows the first of the three alternative interpretations which Bede, *In 1. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 311, ll. 26-32, presents, namely: "Ille soluit Iesum qui vel diuinitatem eius vel animam vel carnem negat" (ll. 26-27). This is also the interpretation preferred by Nicholas of Lyre; at least he does not mention the alternative views, all of which go back to Augustine.

610 *uenturus sit* Erasmus thought that the verb ἔρχεται in 3, 3 had a future meaning and therefore translated it "uenturus est" in his Latin version. See *Annot. ad loc.* ("de quo audistis quum venit"), *LB VI*, 1078 D.

611 *qui ... pugnat* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 311, ll. 47-49: "... et nunc iam in mundo est habitans in mentibus eorum qui Christo vel professione vel opere sine remedio paenitendi repugnant".

616 *impugnat ... Deus* Cf. Bede *In 1. Ioh.* 4, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 312, ll. 64-65: "maior est Dominus ad protegendum quam Diabolus ad impugnandum".

617 *mundum sapiunt* Cf. *Phil.* 3, 19 and the *Paraphr. in Iac.*, ad 3, 15, p. 145, ll. 708-710. Bede *In 1. Ioh.* 4, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 312, ll. 68-70 uses similar language: "... ipsi tamen de mundo sunt, id est de illorum numero qui mundana sapiunt ...".

623 *opes effundere* Cf. *Mt.* 6, 19; *Lc.* 12, 33.

voluptates spernere Cf. *Lc.* 8, 14; 16, 19-25.

in ... gloriari Cf. *Mt.* 16, 24; *Lc.* 6, 22-23.

623-624 *vitam ... iusticia* Cf. *Mt.* 10, 38-9; *Lc.* 14, 27.

624 *omne ... resurrectione* Cf. *Mt.* 6, 1; *Lc.* 14, 14.

625 quam isti aut non credunt futuram aut nollent accidere; quae iubet per synceram
 charitatem et vitam impendere proximo, cum homo mundani spiritus etiam cum
 fratris iniuria suis commodis vbique consulat. His igitur indiciis dignoscere
 licebit Spiritum Dei veracem a spiritu mundi fallaci.

Itaque, charissimi, quandoquidem ex Deo sumus non ex mundo, diligamus
 630 nos inuicem et proximi commodis quisque seruiat potius quam suis quoniam
 charitas ex Deo est. Quisquis igitur hac charitate praeditus est, is ex Deo natus
 est ac vere nouit Deum. Quisquis alienus est a charitate, nondum cognouit
 LB 1156 Deum, propterea quod ipse Deus charitas est. | Ille se nobis impartit quoties
 impartit charitatem suam. Declarauit ille suam in nos charitatem vt nos vicissim
 635 nostram declararemus in proximum. At dicet aliquis: 'Filii charitatem agnosci-
 mus, sed vnde cognoscimus Patris erga nos amorem?' Nimirum ex hoc, quod
 vnicum Filium suum, quo nihil habet charius, misit in hunc mundum ac morti
 dedit vt nos per illius necem vitam assequeremur aeternam. Atque hoc maius
 etiam atque insignius dilectionis miraculum est, quod nullo nostro officio prouo-
 640 catus tam insigniter dilexerit nos. Qui redamat amantem, tantum gratus est;
 inhumanus futurus ni faciat. Nos amabamus mundum auersi ab amore Dei et
 tamen Deus prior atque vltro dilexit nos. Cumque iure esset offensus peccatis
 nostris nec esset in terris immunis a delictis qui nos illi reconciliaret – nam gra-
 tiosus sit oportet qui intercedat apud offensum pro nocentibus – misit e coelis
 645 Filium suum qui seipsum Patri sacrificaret atque hac purissima victima nobis
 eum propiciam redderet. Quid hac dilectione cogitari potest insignius? Quid
 ardentius? Quid effusius? Charissimi, si Deus, qui nostri non eget, vltro ac volens
 tantopere dilexit nos, debemus et nos inuicem ad illius exemplum diligere. Filius
 Dei se nobis visibilem exhibuit, caeterum Deum Patrem nemo vidit vnquam
 650 oculis corporeis et tamen ex rerum indiciis deprehenditur. Sentimus iratum, sen-
 timus propiciam, sentimus abesse, sentimus adesse. Mutuum erga Deum amo-
 rem non alio argumento testari possumus quam si nos inuicem diligamus que-
 madmodum ille dilexit nos. Dilexit ille nos gratis, dilexit ad hoc, vt seruaret. Si
 sic diligimus inuicem, Deus, qui charitas est (vt dixi), manet in nobis. Vulgaris
 655 est amor benevolentia prosequi benemeritum, diligere qui possit referre gratiam,
 benevolentiam communibus officiis testari, sed perfecta est Dei erga nos dilectio.
 Dilexit vltro, dilexit alienos, dilexit vnde ad ipsum nihil possit redire gratiae,
 dilexit vsque ad vnigeniti Filii iacturam. Si nos ad consimilem modum diligimus
 proximum, tunc perfecta Dei charitas est in nobis declarans et ipsum Deum esse
 660 in nobis.

Quemadmodum idem spiritus membra corporis coniungit et vnum corpus
 efficit, ita Spiritus Dei nos et cum illo et inuicem quodammodo conglutinat nec-
 titque et velut in vnum cogit. Quod si Spiritus Dei, qui mentibus nostris afflat
 amorem proximi, viget in nobis, nimirum hoc argumento cognoscimus et quod
 665 nos maneamus in Deo et Deus vicissim in nobis. Aduersarius est igitur charitati
 qui negat Iesum esse Filium Dei, qui redimendo mortalium generi semetipsum
 impenderit. At huius rei nos spectatores etiam fuimus – oculis vidimus, auribus
 audiuius, manibus contrectauimus – deque re tot modis comperta testimonium

670 perhibemus orbi terrarum, quod Pater miserit Filium suum, cuius morte mundus
 seruaretur, si modo respiciens a pristinis erroribus iuxta regulam euangelicam
 vitam deinceps attemperaret. Non enim solum misit illum seruandae nationi
 Iudaicae, sed toti mundo seruatorem dedit. Quisquis igitur confessus fuerit
 675 Iesum esse Filium Dei quem prophetae esse venturum praedixerant, hic in Deo
 manet et Deus in eo. Nouit enim veritatem et amplectitur charitatem. Non
 agnoscit charitatem Dei erga se qui eam non exprimit in proximo. Nos autem et
 experimento cognouimus et animo credimus et ore confitemur et factis exprimi-
 mus dilectionem quam Deus exhibuit nobis. Superest vt in eo quod coeptum est
 perseueremus neque committamus vt Deus diuellatur a nobis et nos a Deo
 distrahamur.

LB 1157 Deus, vt ante dixi, cha|ritas est. Proinde qui perseuerat in charitate, in Deo
 681 perseuerat ac Deus vicissim in illo, manente nexu mutuo Spiritus diuini. An
 vultis et aliud argumentum vobis dari quo deprehendatis an perfecta charitas Dei sit
 in vobis? Si nobis bene conscii simus nec formidemus illum iudicii diem quo
 685 separabuntur a Christo qui Christum non sunt imitati. Hi tremunt cum audient
 horrendam illam vocem: *Discedite a me*. Nos autem cum fiducia diem illum
 expectamus, videlicet nobis conscii quod, quemadmodum ille versatus est in
 mundo, ita et nos sumus in mundo. Ille nihil contraxit labis e mundo, sed eum
 purgavit a suis sordibus et ad suam – quod in ipso fuit – pertraxit puritatem. Sic
 et nos pro viribus adeo non miscemur mundo vt illum magis euangelica doctrina
 690 vitaeque castis exemplis ad Christum pelliceamus. Iudicii diuini metus ex mala
 conscientia nascitur. Timor igitur non congruit charitati. Nam charitas fiduciam
 addit, quae si perfecta sit, propellet ex animo prorsus omnem formidinem. Gau-
 det autem quoties ille iudicii dies in mentem venit, primum optime sentiens de
 bono Deo et sibi bene conscia. Charitas gaudium adfert, metus cruciatum. Porro
 695 qui timet, hoc ipso declarat se nondum perfectum esse in charitate. Quantum

625 *quam ... accidere* Cf. *Paraphr. in 2. Pet., ad*
 3, 4, p. 227, l. 274–p. 228, l. 279.

626 *vitam ... proximo* Cf. *Ioh.* 15, 13.

642 *prior atque ultro* Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 4, 10,
CCSL 121, p. 313, ll. 121–125, likewise contrasts
 the human condition before the incarnation –
 “necdum ipsi pro peccatis nostris eum petere
 nossemus” – with God’s willingness (“ultro”) to
 forgive. The word “prior” occurs in Vg.
 (it is not in the Greek manuscripts) and Eras-
 mus may have taken it from there. However,
 Augustine, *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VII, 7, *Migne*
PL 35, 2032, asks: “Possemus illum diligere
 nisi prior ille diligeret?”. He picks up this
 point again in VII, 9, *Migne PL* 35, 2033, in
 a passage quoted by Bede, *ibidem*, ll. 117–118.

645 *sacrificaret* Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* VII, 9,
Migne PL 35, 2033, read “litatorem” for “pro-
 pitiationem” (or “propitiatorem”) in *1. Ioh.* 4,
 10, and explained that it meant “sacrifica-
 torem”: “Sacrificauit pro peccatis nostris. Vbi

inuenit hostiam? Vbi inuenit victimam quam
 puram volebat offerre? Aliud non inuenit,
 seipsum obtulit”. Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 4, 10,
CCSL 121, p. 313, ll. 125–128, who mentions
 the alternative reading and explains it as
 Augustine did. In his annotation *ad loc.*
 (“propitiationem pro peccatis nostris”), *LB*
 VI, 1078 E, Erasmus in turn notes the read-
 ing and explanation of both Augustine and
 Bede. It would seem then that in the para-
 phrase Erasmus seeks to accommodate both
 readings. Perhaps he did not want the propi-
 tiatory dimension, which is emphasized in
 the paraphrase on 2, 2, p. 262, ll. 154–157
 above, to occlude the expiatory dimension of
 the incarnation.

685 *Discedite ... me* See *Mt.* 7, 23.

695–696 *Quantum ... metum* Cf. Aug. *Tract. in*
1. Ioh. IX, 4, *Migne PL* 35, 2047: “Quantum
 ... [charitas] crescit, [timor] decrescit; et
 quantum illa sit interior, timor pellitur foras”.

deest charitati, tantum accedit ad metum. Veretur enim ne parum clementem erga se experiatur Deum iudicem, qui se parum exorabilem praebuerit proximo.

Ille dies aperiet quis hic vere dilexerit. Nos diligimus Deum; nec mirum est cum ille prior dilexerit nos. Neque enim nos illum amare possemus nisi nos ad se
700 traheret amore suo. Hoc ipsum igitur, quod illum diligimus, illius beneficium est. Porro quod diligimus Deum, id testamur amando proximum in quo vult ipse diligi. Si quis dixerit, 'Diligo Deum', quum odio prosequatur fratrem suum, mendax est. Etenim cum impii quoque, quorum plerique Deum adeo non amant ut nec esse credant, tamen affectu quodam amplectuntur proximum – vel quia
705 cognatus est aut affinis vel quia notus ac familiaris vel quia homo denique videt hominem esse, quemadmodum et animantia suum quaeque genus amant instinctu naturae – quomodo Deum diliget quem non vidit vnquam cum oderit proximum quem videt? Deinde qui consentaneum est eum diligere Deum qui praecepta Dei negligit? Si quis clamet, 'Amo Caesarem', contemnens interim
710 edicta Caesaris, an inuenturus est qui credat? Nos ab imperatore nostro praecipuum hoc habemus edictum, ut qui diligit Deum diligit et fratrem suum siue bonus sit siue malus. Si bonus est, amet in eo Christum; si malus, in hoc amet, ut conuertatur ad Christum.

CAPVT V

715 Quisquis credit Iesum esse Christum, hoc est, illum vnde oporteat omnia salutis nostrae praesidia petere, idque credit ex animo, is ex Deo natus est iamque ascitus in numerum filiorum Dei. Non potest autem non amare qui filius est. Porro quisquis ex animo diligit eum qui genuit, diligit et eum qui natus est ex eo, nimirum fratrem suum quicum habet patrem communem. Hoc argumento deprehendimus quod vere diligimus filios Dei, si prius ex animo diligimus ipsum
720 Deum. Nihil enim vere diligitur nisi quod illius causa diligitur. Porro quod Deum diligamus ita liquebit si seruemus illius praecepta, et seruemus alacres ac lubentes. Nec enim alioqui graua sunt illius iussa. | Quid enim graue amanti? Quid graue ad talia properanti praemia?

725 Terribiles malorum species obiicit mundus – paupertatem, exilium, infamiam, carceres, flagra, mortes. Ingens est pugna sed parata victoria. Quicquid enim ex Deo natum est vincit mundum. Quibus autem praesidiis vincit mundum? Num opibus, num copiis, num machinis bellicis, num eruditione mundana? Nequaquam. Sola fiducia qua se totos committunt propugnatori Deo vincunt mundum
730 quantumuis saeuientem. Eripiuntur opes, sed quid obiicit fides? Habes *thesaurum in coelo*. Eiiceris in exilium, sed expectat suum municipem patria coelestis. Admouentur corpori cruciatus, sed his emuntur aeterna gaudia. Intentatur mors, sed hanc sequetur immortalitas. Quis est igitur qui vincit mundum? Non satrapes, non diues, non philosophus, non rex, sed is, quisquis est, qui vere credit quod Iesus est Filius Dei. Crede quod ille pollicitus est et nihil te mouebit, quicquid intenterit mundus. Vicit ille prior mundum et assequutus est immortalitatem. Venit in hunc mundum assumpto nostro mortali corpore ut pro nobis

740 vinceret, vt vincendi rationem ostenderet, vt praemiorum fidem faceret. Quibus autem praesidiis armatus venit ille? Per aquam venit et sanguinem Iesus Christus – per aquam vt nos ablueret a peccatis, per sanguinem vt nobis vitam conferret immortalem. Baptizari voluit immunis ab omni peccato vt nobis largiretur innocentiam; mori voluit in cruce vt nobis aperiret viam ad immortalitatem.

745 Non solum his duobus indiciis testatus est sese fuisse Christum et seruatorem mundi – quod baptismum accepit vt homo nocens, quod mortuus est vt homo scelerosus, cum vnus omnium innoxius ab omni peccato – sed et Spiritus apprensus specie columbae de illo testatus est quod is esset quem Pater dedisset seruatorem

702 prosequatur *A-I*: persequatur *K BAS*
715 oporteat *A-K*: oportet *BAS*

727 Deo *H*: eo *A-G*

706 animantia Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* IX, 1, Migne *PL* 35, 2045, who employs a similar comparison with the behavior of animals though to a somewhat different purpose.

708 videt Vg. has the present tense, “videt”, for both occurrences of ἐώρακεν in 4, 20. The shift from the perfect to the present tense may be a reflection of the text of Vg. or simply an accommodation to the present tense of “diligit”. The *e* is unlikely to be a typographical error for *i*.

709 Amo Caesarem Cf. Aug. *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* IX, 11, Migne *PL* 35, 2053: “Quomodo diligis eum cuius odisti praeceptum? Quis est qui dicat, ‘Diligo imperatorem, sed odi leges eius?’ In hoc intelligit imperator si diligis eum, si obseruentur leges eius per prouincias. Lex imperatoris quae est? ‘Mandatum nouum do vobis, vt vos inuicem diligatis’”. Cf. also Bede, *In 1. Ioh.*, *CCSL* 121, p. 319, ll. 315–316, who abbreviates the comparison.

715 oporteat For the subjunctive with *vnde* compare p. 276, l. 524, p. 280, l. 657.

723 Nec ... iussa Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 3, *CCSL* 121, p. 320, l. 36, who refers to *Mt.* 11, 30.

729 Sola fiducia Augustine, *Tract. in 1. Ioh.* X, 1, Migne *PL* 35, 2054, and following him, Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 5, *CCSL* 121, p. 320, ll. 57–59, with *Gal.* 5, 6 in mind, insist that faith without works does not save. The same position is taken in the *Glossa* and by Hugo and Nicholas of Lyre. Hugo, p. n4^v, puts the matter succinctly: faith does not conquer the world but only faith formed by love.

730–731 thesaurum ... coelo See *Mt.* 19, 21.

731 expectat ... municipem See *Phil.* 3, 20. Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 4, *CCSL* 121, p. 320, ll. 46–50: “Ideo namque mandata diuina non sunt graua quia omnes qui vera deuotione his mancipantur et aduersa mundi huius et blandimenta pari mente contemnunt ipsam quoque mortem velut ingressum patriae caelestis amantes”.

736 Vicit ... prior See *Ioh.* 16, 33.

741–742 Baptizari ... mori Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 6, p. 320, l. 65–p. 321, l. 69: “Non solum baptizari propter nostram ablutionem dignatus est vt nobis sacramentum consecraret ac traderet, verum etiam sanguinem suum dedit pro nobis, sua nos passione redemit cuius sacramentis semper refecti nutrimur ad salutem”. Although Erasmus clearly accepts the identification of the water with the baptism and the blood with the death of Christ, he does not seem to accept the sacramental interpretation, which also occurs in the *Glossa* and in Hugo, but not apparently in Nicholas of Lyre who, like Erasmus, emphasizes the permanent efficacy of Christ’s actions. See Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 572–578, for a survey of the numerous interpretations of the words ‘through water and blood’.

745–746 Spiritus ... columbae This interpretation of the words τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ μαρτυροῦν (“*Spiritus est, qui testificatur*” Vg.) also occurs in Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 6, *CCSL* 121, p. 321, ll. 70–74: “Baptizato in Iordane Domino descendit Spiritus Sanctus in specie columbae super eum testimonium illi perhibens quia veritas est, hoc est verus Dei Filius, verus mediator Dei et hominum” [*1. Tim.* 2, 5], verus humani generis redemptor ac reconciliator, vere ipse mundus ab omni labe peccati, vere sufficiens tollere peccata mundi”. For a discussion of the problems posed by this expression see Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 578–560; contrast Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, p. 234. The paraphrase on *1. Ioh.* 5, 6 should be compared with the paraphrase on *Ioh.* 1, 32–33, *LB* VII, 509 E–510 B.

746 quod ... esset Vg. reads “Christus”, not “Spiritus” in 5, 6b. This part of the paraphrase, “quod ... mundi”, is an explanation of the text of Vg. with ‘*Christus*’ as subject of the verb *est*; the next sentence, “Quoniam ...

mundi. Quoniam et Spiritus veritas est quemadmodum Pater et Filius, vna est omnium veritas, quemadmodum vna est omnium natura. Tres sunt enim in coelo qui testimonium praebent Christo: Pater, Sermo, et Spiritus – Pater, qui semel atque iterum voce coelitus emissa palam testatus est hunc esse Filium suum egregie charum, in quo nihil offenderet; Sermo, qui tot miraculis aeditis, qui moriens ac resurgens declaravit se verum esse Christum, Deum pariter atque hominem, Dei et hominum conciliatorem; Spiritus Sanctus, qui in baptizati caput descendit, qui post resurrectionem delapsus est in discipulos. Atque horum trium summus est consensus. Pater est autor, Filius nuncius, Spiritus suggestor. Tria sunt item in terris quae attestantur Christum – spiritus humanus quem posuit in cruce, aqua et sanguis qui fluxit e latere mortui. Et hi tres testes consentiunt. Illi declarant Deum, hi testantur hominem fuisse. Testimonium perhibuit et Ioannes. Quod si testimonium hominum recipimus, aequum est vt plus apud nos habeat ponderis testimonium Dei. Manifestum est enim Dei Patris testimonium: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in eo complacitum est mihi; ipsum audite*. Quid dici potuit apertius aut plenius? Qui vere credit Filio Dei, Iesu Christo, et sic omnia vitae praesidia in illo collocauit vt huius promissis fretus contemnat omnia quae mundus hic ostendet vel amabilia vel terrificata, testimonium habet in seipso ac testimonium perhibet Filio Dei. Etenim dum afflatus Spiritu Christi mortes etiam illius amore contemnit, non leue testimonium aedit apud homines non esse vana quae Christus docuit ac promisit. Qui non credit Deo sed fidit mundo, hic – quod quidem in ipso est – Deum facit mendacem, qui felicitatem promisit iis qui Filio suo, Iesu | Christo, auscultarent, cum is a mundo petendam felicitatem ipsa vita doceat et huius vitae commodis sic adhaereat quasi nihil hominis supersit a morte corporis. Pater clamat, *ipsum audite*; et huius qui non credit vita dicit, ‘Mundum audite’. Etenim cum Filius orasset Patrem vt qui sibi credidissent aut credituri essent vitam haberent aeternam, audita est paterna vox veluti tubae sono testans preces illius fore ratas. Dedit itaque nobis vitam aeternam Pater commonstrans a quo foret ea petenda, nimirum a Filio ipsius, Iesu Christo. Huius doctrinam quisquis amplectitur, huius exemplum quisquis imitatur, huius promissis qui fidit, hic et Filium possidet et vitam habet, cuius arrabonem interim tenet, Spiritum Dei, cuius fiducia Deum non veretur appellare Patrem. Qui a Filio est alienus, is et a vita est alienus.

Haec ideo tot verbis repeto vobis et inculco ne quis vobis diuersum persuadeat, sed certum atque indubitatum habeatis verum esse quod credidistis vobis esse paratam vitam aeternam per Iesum Christum, cuius estis ascripti cohaeredes. Ius et arram iam tenetis, rem suo tempore possessuri. Itaque qui creditis Filio Dei, constanter credite eique indies magis ac magis fidite. Non fallat in promissis aeternae vitae qui non deest vobis etiam in hac vita. Siquidem hanc fiduciam praebet vobis Spiritus Christi vt quicquid a Patre petieritis in nomine Filii, impetretis, si modo petatis iuxta voluntatem illius, hoc est, si tales accesseritis ad orandum quales ille voluit accedere, nimirum puros ab omni odio fraterno – nihil enim impetrat a Deo, a quo proximus non impetrat veniam delicti – si ea

764 ostendet *GH*: ostentat *A-F*

natura", is a paraphrase on the Greek text, which Erasmus follows in his Latin version.

748 *vna* ... *natura* Nicholas of Lyre, p. L2v^o, notes that they are 'one' "in essentia".

748-749 *Tres* ... *coelo* Erasmus' Greek text did not contain the *Comma Johanneum* and he omitted it in his Latin version in the first two editions of the *Nov. Test.* Elsewhere he paraphrases additions and alternative readings of Vg. and this is probably what he is doing here in ll. 788-795; however, it is possible that he had been informed by December 1520 of the existence of the Codex Montfortianus (Gregory 61) with the text in Greek of the *Comma*. See H. J. de Jonge, *Erasmus and the Comma Johanneum* "Ephemerides Theologiae Lovanienses 56 (1980), pp. 381-389; Er. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX, 2, p. 252, l. 446-p. 258, l. 544. It is evident from ll. 448-450 of the *Apologia* that he suspected the truth, that the Greek had been translated from the Latin. For the history of the *Comma* see Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 775-787.

750 *semel* ... *emissa* See *Mt.* 3, 17 and 17, 5 and parallels.

751 *miraculis aeditis* Cf. *Ioh.* 14, 11, and Er. *Paraphr. in Ioh.*, ad 12, 28, LB VII, 598 D-E.

752-753 *Deum* ... *concliatorum* Bede makes this point, though he does not comment on the *Comma Johanneum* which was probably not in his text; see the passage quoted in n.ll. 745-746 above.

753-754 *qui* ... *descendit* See *Mt.* 3, 16; *Mc.* 1, 10; *Lc.* 3, 22. Erasmus' language in the paraphrase is closest to that of Luke. The descent of the Spirit on to Jesus at his baptism does not occur in *Ioh.*

754 *delapsus* ... *discipulos* See *Act.* 2, 2-3.

755 *nuncius* The Johannine Jesus conveys the words of the Father to humans; see, e. g., *Ioh.* 14, 10.

755 *suggestor* That is, the one who inspires or, perhaps, reminds. Erasmus may have *Ioh.* 14, 26 in mind where Vg. translates ὑπομνήσει by "suggeret", a translation which Erasmus retains in his Latin version, although he questioned it in his annotation *ad loc.* ("et suggeret vobis"), LB VI, 400 D.

756-757 *quem* ... *cruce* Cf. the *Glossa*, ad 5, 8: "Spiritus", id est humana anima quam emit in passione" (see *Ioh.* 19, 30) and Nicholas of Lyre, p. L2v^o: "Hic ponitur tertia

manifestatio quae est per Christi passionem in qua anima Christi fuit a corpore separata et a corpore mortuo fluxerunt sanguis et aqua". This interpretation occurs in Aug. *Collatio cum Maximino* II, 22, Migne PL 42, 794-795.

759 *Ioannes* The Baptist; see *Ioh.* 1, 15, 19-34. Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 9, CCSL 121, p. 322, ll. 124-129: "Magnum est testimonium praecursoris quod Dei Filio perhibens ait: 'Ego baptizavi vos aqua, ille vero baptizabit vos Spiritu Sancti' [*Mc.* 1, 8]; maius est testimonium Patris qui Spiritum Sanctum in eum, quo semper erat plenus, etiam visibiliter misit".

761 *Hic* ... *audite* See *Mt.* 17, 5.

764 *ostendet* For the subjunctive cf. p. 282, l. 711 above.

772 *cum* ... *orasset* Erasmus is apparently alluding to *Ioh.* 17, 20-26, in which case he is confusing two separate incidents. See the following note.

774 *tubae sono* If Erasmus is alluding to *Ioh.* 12, 28-29, as seems likely, then he has suffered a minor lapse of memory since the voice of the Father there sounded like thunder. For trumpetlike voices from heaven cf. *Hebr.* 12, 19; *Ap. Ioh.* 1, 10; 4, 1.

777 *arrabonem* Cf. 2. *Cor.* 1, 22; 5, 5; *Eph.* 1, 14. The Pauline image does not occur in the Johannine Gospel or Epistles.

778 *appellare Patrem* Cf. *Rom.* 8, 15; *Gal.* 4, 6; Er. *Precat. dominica*, LB V, 1219 A-C.

782-783 *cohaeredes* The Pauline texts are still in mind.

784 *eique* ... *fidite* In *Annot. in 1. Ioh.* 5, 13 ("haec describo"), LB VI, 1082 C, Erasmus expressed doubts about the authenticity of the Greek text which he paraphrases with this clause. See Metzger, p. 717.

786 *in nomine Filii* See *Ioh.* 14, 13-14 and 16, 23.

787 *hoc est* For this interpretation of the words "iuxta voluntatem illius" cf. Bede *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 15, CCSL 121, p. 324, l. 213-p. 325, l. 215: "... bifarie potest accipi, ut scilicet et ea quae ipse vult rogemus et tales ipsi quales nos esse desiderat ad rogandum veniamus".

789 *nihil* ... *delicti* Cf. *Mt.* 6, 13-14 or *Mc.* 11, 25-26. Bede *In 1. Ioh.*, CCSL 121, p. 325, ll. 216-18, refers to *Mc.* 11, 25.

789-790 *ea petieritis* Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in Iac. ad 5*, 16, p. 158, ll. 1017-1020 above.

790 petieritis quae conducunt ad vitam coelestem, quae faciunt ad gloriam Christi. Alioqui nos plerunque nescimus quid postulandum sit a Deo ac pro salutaribus saepe noxia petimus nisi Christi Spiritus nobis suggerat quid expediat petere. Sed hunc ad modum quoties petimus, certi sumus quod Deus audit vota nostra, certi sumus illum largiturum nobis quicquid petierimus. Sic ille pollicitus est nobis et
 795 potest praestare quicquid pollicetur, et vult quicquid nobis est salutiferum. Neque solum augebit in nobis sua bona subinde sollicitatus nostris precibus, verum etiam condonabit nobis quotidiana delicta, sine quibus imbecillitas humanae naturae vix potest durare diu, ac non tantum condonabit sua cuique commissa si veniam petierit, verum etiam audiet fratrem pro fratris delictis precantem,
 800 modo peccatum sit huiusmodi vt non prorsus extinguat fraternam charitatem, etiam si nonnihil obnubilet. Est enim peccatum quod non possit imbecillitati imputari neque leuibus paratisque sanari remediis; veluti cum quis destinata malicia persequitur sodalitatem christianam, cum ipse sit Christum professus, et religionis praetextu subuertere nititur religionem. Huius deplorata
 805 peruersitas non meretur piorum hominum intercessionem. Et tamen pro his etiam orat perfecta charitas optans etiam illa quae fieri non possunt. Pro Satana nullus orat, quod sciens per inuidiam oppugnat eos quibus bene vult Deus. Fortasse nec pro his orandum qui in huius affectum transierunt ac vitandi sunt
 LB 1160 potius, ne quid laedant, quam precibus subleuandi, nisi spem praebeant respicientiae. Talis morbus validioribus eget remediis ac maior est quam vt quotidianis
 810 precibus tollatur quibus delentur admissa leuiora quae committit infirmitas, non quae designat peruersitas.

Quicquid recedit a summa iusticia peccatum est, sed peccatorum multa sunt discrimina. Et est admissum aliquod quod, etiam si minuat ac vitiet innocentiam, non tamen extinguit prorsus christianam charitatem; veluti cum per occasionem effutimus in amicum quod mox poenitet effutisse, cum ira subita verbum extorsit quod mox optemus reuocari posse, cum capti cibi potusue dulcedine paulum aliquid sumimus vltra naturae necessitatem. Ad haec ignoscenda facilis est Deus si mutuis precibus interpelletur. Ad eiusmodi lapsus filiorum plerunque
 815 conuiuent et parentes propicii qui grauiora admissa non ferrent. Quanquam nulla est culpa tam leuis vt sit negligenda. Malum ac fugiendum est piis quicquid peccatum est ac neglectum paulatim pertrahit ad mortem. Sed vt his leuioribus, quae vix ab hominibus vitari possunt, statim est adhibendum remedium, ita Deus auertat vt qui semel abdicarit mundum seque Deo dicarit reuoluatur in
 820 capitale crimen aliquod.

Per euangelicam professionem efficimur filii Dei ac membra Christi. Neque conuenit vt filii tantopere dissideant a patre et a capite membra. Proinde qui penitus intelligit se natum ex Deo cauet a flagitiis magis quam a morte ipsa seruatque seipsum, ne quid habeat commercii cum illo domino malo cui prius seruierat vna cum mundo. Quemadmodum Christus semel mortuus reuixit et reuixit nunquam postea moriturus, ita qui semel per baptismum mortuus est mundo et ad vitae nouitatem resurrexit cum Christo non decet iterare propter
 830

835 quod Christo sit iterum moriendum. Sibi metuant a mundo qui non sunt vere renati ex Deo, qui non totis animi medullis receperunt semen euangelicae doctrinae. Nos scimus quod vere simus ex Deo, quos nec mala nec bona huius mundi separant a Christo. Mundus totus in malo constitutus est. Quocumque te
 840 veritas, offerunt sese quae nos auertant ab innocentia vitae. Sed ab huius incantamenti semel liberauit nos Filius Dei, qui hac de causa venit in mundum vt nos eximeret a contagio mundi. Is dispulit caliginem ignorantiae prioris ac dedit intellectum illustratum luce euangelica vt cognosceremus verum illum Deum et omnis iusticiae largitorem, cui vni nihil fuit commercii cum mundo; et nos sumus in illo vero, qui syncero pectore doctrinam illius ac promissa sequimur, quamdiu sumus in Filio eius, Iesu Christo, quem hac de causa misit in mundum. Hic est verus Deus qui solus est colendus et vita aeterna quae sola est expetenda.

816 amicum A–D F–H: amicam E
 843 quem A–I BAS: quam K

844 expetenda H: expectanda A–G

791–792 *quid ... suggerat* Cf. *Rom.* 8, 26, a text Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 15, *CCSL* 121, p. 324, ll. 203–208, cites but employs differently.

794 *Sic ... nobis* See *Ioh.* 14, 13.

802–803 *cum ... christianam* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 16, *CCSL* 121, p. 325, ll. 237–241: “Peccatum ... fratris ad mortem est cum post agnitionem Dei quae per gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi data est quisque oppugnat fraternitatem et aduersus ipsam gratiam qua reconciliatus est Deo inuidentiae facibus agitur”.

808–809 *vitandi ... potius* Cf. 2. *Ioh.* 10; *Tit.* 3, 10–11.

813 *Quicquid ... iusticia* Cf. Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 17, *CCSL* 121, p. 326, ll. 264–268: “Tanta ... diuersitas peccatorum vt et omne quod ab aequitatis ratione discrepat inter peccata numeretur quamuis minima peccata iustis suae iustitiae nequaquam auferre vel minuere possint, illa dumtaxat sine quibus hanc vitam transigere nullatenus valent”.

819 *mutuis precibus* Cf. *Iac.* 5, 16 and the paraphrase on it, p. 158, ll. 1013–1015 above.

825 *capitale crimen* Bede, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 18, *CCSL* 121, p. 326, l. 285, employs this same term to describe mortal sin.

830 *Quemadmodum Christus* Cf. *Paraphr. in Hebr.*, ad 10, 26, p. 78, ll. 832–837 above.

832 *iterare* An object, either *id* or *illud*, seems required.

834 *semen* Erasmus seems to have in mind the three groups in the parable of the sower (*Mt.* 13, 19–22) who receive the word but for the reasons given fail to retain it or, perhaps, only the first group, those from whose hearts the Evil One snatches away the seed.

835 *bona* That is, the false goods of the world – wealth, pleasure, and fame.

836 *malo* This word could conceivably be a brachylogy for “domino malo” as in l. 829 above, but the continuation of the paraphrase suggests that it is neuter gender – ‘the world is established in evil’, that is, unregenerate humanity is grounded in evil. Cf. Er. *De contemptu mundi*, cap. V, *ASD* V, 1, pp. 58, ll. 503–515. Bede, however, *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 19, *CCSL* 121, p. 327, ll. 306–314, takes “in maligno” to be masculine and equivalent to the ‘realm of the Evil One’.

840 *luce euangelica* The gospel; cf. Bede *In 1. Ioh.* 5, 20, *CCSL* 121, p. 328, ll. 337–341, who after quoting *Lc.* 10, 22, comments: “Vtrumque [sc. Patrem et Filium] enim Filius reuelat qui in carne visibilis apprensus diuinitatis archana per Euangelium suum mundo patefacere dignatus est”. Erasmus, however, may have had *Ioh.* 10, 15 also in mind where Vg. translates the verb *γινώσκειν* by *cognoscere* instead of *scire* as in *Lc.*

Deum The phrase “verum illum Deum” is a calque of the Greek text, which reads τὸν ἀληθινόν, which Erasmus translated “illum qui verus est”, and the reading of Vg., “verum Deum”. Cf. Er. *Annot. in 1. Ioh.* 5, 20 (“Deum verum”), *LB* VI, 1083 B–1084 B; *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, *ASD* IX, 2, p. 258, l. 546–p. 260, l. 549.

844 *Hic* In an addition made to his annotation on 1. *Ioh.* 5, 20 (“Deum verum”), *LB* VI, 1083 B–1084 B, in the fourth (1527) edition of the *Nov. Test.* Erasmus pointed out that the clause οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεός (“Hic

845 Filioli, si vere nouistis verum Deum, caueate a falsis diis et simulachris inanibus
 quae colit mundus. Idolum colit, cui nummus Deus est. Idolum colit, cui Deus
 venter est. Idolum colit, qui ob mundanos honores Dei praecepta negligit. Multa
 sunt huiusmodi simulachrorum genera. Vos ab omnibus caueate si manere vultis
 850 in cultu veri Dei. Quod meum votum faxit ratum is cuius beneficio liberati
 sumus ab erroribus pristinis.

Finis

851 Finis A–K: *om. BAS*

est verus Deus" Vg.) could refer to God the Father though, as he says, he is well aware that previous commentators [Bede, for example, *In 1. loh.* 5, 20, *CCSL* 121, p. 328, ll. 342–347] referred it to the Son. The paraphrase can be read in either way.

849–850 *Quod ... pristinis* This sentence is a paraphrase on the liturgical Amen which concludes the epistle in Erasmus' Greek text and in Vg.

D. ERASMI ROTERODAMI
IN SECVNDAM IOANNIS EPISTOLAM
PARAPHRASIS

5 Senior Ioannes scribo Dominae electae simulque filii illius quos ego sincere diligo; nec id facio solus, sed omnes mecum qui cognouerunt veritatem euangelicam nec ob aliud diligunt nisi quod intelligunt euangelicae professionis synceritatem quam sequimur manere in nobis ac mansuram in aeternum. Gratia, misericordia et pax semper vobis augeatur a Deo Patre ac Domino Iesu Christo perseuerantibus in veritate doctrinae euangelicae ac mutua charitate.

10 Vehementer gausus sum quod compererim liberos tuos matris pietatem imitantes perseuerare in veritate doctrinae euangelicae nec auscultare falsis doctoribus qui conantur multos ab hac auertere cum Pater hoc nobis praeceperit, vt doctrinae Filii sui audientes essemus et ab illius vestigiis non recederemus. Itaque iam non est opus, Domina, vt nouis praeceptis instruaui pietatem tuam. Tantum in
15 eo perseueremus quod ab initio traditum est, vt nos mutuo vereque christiano amore prosequamur. Conciliet autem hanc beneuolentiam inter nos piaevitae consensus ac similitudo vt concordibus studiis viuamus iuxta Dei praeceptum, qui nihil aeque diligenter nobis iniunxit quam mutuam inter nos charitatem.

1 D. ERASMI ROTERODAMI *C-H: om. A*
7 nobis *A-K: vobis BAS*

14 tuam. Tantum *A C: tuam, tantum D-H*

8 *vobis* The second person pronoun is evidently taken from Vg. which reads "vobiscum" in verse 3. Erasmus' Greek text and Latin version have the first person pronoun. Similarly, the subjunctive *augeatur* interprets the subjunctive "sit" in Vg., where the Greek text and Erasmus' Latin version have the future indicative. *Domino*, by contrast, occurs in the Greek text and Latin version but not in Vg. Erasmus for some reason does not annotate these differences.

Domino Erasmus' Latin version reads "a Deo Patre et a Domino", following the Greek text. The substitution of *ac* for "et" has apparently led to the dropping of the second preposition, unless the text is corrupt. Erasmus might have written *atq(ue) a*, which was then misread by a copyist or the compositor of *A*.
15 *nos* One expects either *inuicem* or *vicissim* with the pronoun; cf. e.g. p. 151, l. 846, p. 158, l. 1015.

17 *praeceptum* See *Ioh.* 13, 34.

Porro nec inter impios intercedit verus amor nec inter dissimiles. Nihil igitur
 20 adfero noui praecepti, sed etiam atque etiam admoneo vt in eo quod iam olim
 accepistis perseueretis nec inde vos vllis artibus pseudoprophetarum auelli patia-
 LB 1162 mini. Siquidem extiterunt multi seductores in mundo qui negant Iesum esse
 Christum qui erat venturus in mundum iuxta prophetarum oracula. Quisquis
 hoc docet seductor est et ille antichristus, Christi aduersarius. Caueat sibi quisque
 25 ne, si relinquat quod bene coepit, perdat omnem fructum eorum quae hactenus
 bene gessit; sed demus operam vt plenam mercedem recipiamus, quae non
 contingit nisi perseuerantibus vsque ad finem. Quisquis diuertit a veritate nec
 perseuerat in doctrina Christi, is et a Deo Patre est alienus cum descierit a Filio.
 Caeterum qui constanter sequitur huius doctrinam, is eadem opera et Patri cha-
 30 rus est et Filio. Alter sine altero nec haberi potest nec relinqui. Haec est illa vera
 doctrina quam a veracibus testibus accepistis ab initio. Quod si quis venerit ad
 vos qui diuersam ab hac doctrinam afferat vt vos abducat ab euangelica veritate,
 huic adeo non debetis auscultare vt nec in domum sit admittendus si quaerat
 hospitium nec aue dicto salutandus si forte sit obuius in via. Periculum est enim
 35 ne familiam suo conuictu inficiat et pro officio communicati tecti rependat male-
 ficium atque e salutatione nascatur colloquium. *Corrumpunt autem bonos mores
 colloquia praua.* Porro qui salutatur et congregatur cum impostore huiusmodi
 consors esse videtur malefactorum illius. Addit enim animum improbo dum se
 videt esse alicuius precii apud eos quos nititur subuertere; et aliis speciem mali
 40 praebet, quasi fauere videatur illius maliciae cuius non horret familiaritatem.
 Erant alia multa quae cupiebam vobis scribere super hisce rebus, verum ea
 malo praesens explicare quam calamo chartisque committere. Nam spero fore vt
 breui vos inuisam ac praesens cum praesentibus colloquar vt gaudium, quod ex
 vestra constanti sinceritate concepi, fiat vberius ac plenius dum et coram intue-
 45 bor in vobis quod nunc absens audio de vobis et vos vicissim meum erga vos
 affectum oculis conspicabimini. Saluere te iubent nepotes tui, filii sororis tuae,
 foeminae christianae.

36 e cett.: a I

37 impostore H: impostoribus A-G

48 Amen add. A C

- 20 *in eo* Erasmus, like Vg., assumed that the pronoun αὐτῆ̄ in verse 6 referred to the noun ἐντολή. Cf. Brown, *Epistles*, p. 668.
- 21 *pseudoprophetae* Cf. 1. *Ioh.* 4, 1.
- 22-23 *qui ... Christum* According to Bede, *In 2. Ioh.* 7, *CCSL* 121, p. 330, ll. 55-56, these would be the Jews: "... potest [i. e. verse 7] et de Iudaeis accipi [rather than various Christian heretics] qui omnino Iesum esse Christum negant, qui Christum in carne necdum venisse ad salutem mundi deierant"; but comparison with the paraphrase on 1. *Ioh.* 4, 2, p. 278, ll. 592-596, suggests that Erasmus need not be thinking primarily of the unbelieving Jews as portrayed in the Gospel of John.
- 23 *erat venturus* In an annotation added in the third (1522) edition of the *Nov. Test.* - ("Qui non confitetur Iesum Christum venisse in carne; hic est seductor"), *LB VI*, 1084 B-1085 B - Erasmus advances the suggestion that the present participle ἐρχόμενον could have either a past imperfective sense, which the paraphrase here conveys, or a future sense in which case it would refer to the last judgment. See Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 669-670, for modern discussion of these alternatives.
- 27 *diuertit* Erasmus' Greek text of 2. *Ioh.* 9 has ὁ παραβαίνων which he translated "qui transgreditur". In an annotation added in the fourth (1527) edition of the *Nov. Test.* ("qui recedit"), *LB VI*, 1085 B, he indicates knowledge of the reading "praecedit" but believed that this was either a stylistic variation or an error for *praetercedit*.
- 36-37 *Corrumpunt ... praua* Cf. 1. *Cor.* 15, 33, which Erasmus rendered in a Latin *senarius*. The paraphrase is closer to the prose rendering of Vg. The quotation is from Menandr. *Thais*, frg. 218 Kock.
- 45 *absens ... vobis* Cf. 3. *Ioh.* 3-4.

D. ERASMI ROTERODAMI
IN TERTIAM IOANNIS EPISTOLAM
PARAPHRASIS

Senior Caio, viro multum amabili, quem ego diligo syncere.

5 Charissime, illud votis opto a Iesu Christo vt quemadmodum prospere agit
anima tua perseuerans in euangelica doctrina, ita et in caeteris omnibus prospere
agat bene fortunante Christo. Neque enim mediocrem cepi voluptatem ex ora-
tione fratrum qui venerunt ad nos ac testimonium praebuerunt tuae synceritati,
10 tam veri testes quam tu vere sequeris euangelicam veritatem non modo profes-
sione verum etiam studiis totaque vita. Neque enim vlla res animum meum
maiori afficit gaudio quam si contingat vt audiam filios meos, quos per Euange-
lium genui Christo, sequi veritatem a nobis traditam.

Charissime, quod officiosus es erga Christianos qui istic agunt aut istuc hos-
pites commeant, rem facis dignam eo qui vere fudit Euangelio ac diligit Chris-
15 tum. Nam illi testificati sunt de tua synceritate coram omni coetu Christiano-
rum. Recte facias autem si, quos humaniter accepisti venientes, pari humanitate
deducas quo volunt proficisci, sicut merentur tractari, qui Dei negocium agunt
non suum, ab iis qui Deum ex animo diligunt. Non enim profecti sunt ad mer-
catum quo rem familiarem augeant, sed ad praedicandum nomen Domini Iesu
20 Christi, cuius doctrinam sic impartiunt gentibus vt ab eis tamen nihil accipiant,
quo plus fructus referant Christo cui laborant, si quod faciunt absit ab omni
suspicione captati quaestus. Decet autem vt nos tales excipiamus hospitio cure-
musque ne quid desit ad vitae necessitatem, vt aliqua ex parte participes simus
25 eorum quae per illos geruntur in gloriam Dei. Sic enim promisit | Christus, qui
prophetam acciperet vt prophetam, hunc habiturum prophetae mercedem.

Scripsi iam ante congregationi quae istic est vt idem facerent quod te admo-
neo, verum obstat Diotrephes, haud quaquam recipiens monita nostra, malens
esse primas inter suos quam humilis ac purus discipulus Christi, malens autor
esse nouae haeresis quam veteris euangelicae doctrinae syncerus sectator. Qua-
30 propter si venero ad vos, commonefaciam illum factorum suorum, quae fortasse
credit me latere dum ipse malus dictis maliciosus garrat in nos quo nobis adimat

fidem et auctoritatem apud vos, qui vos hortamur vt perseueretis in euangelica doctrina. Nec his contentus non solum non recipit fratres, verum etiam eos qui volunt recipere prohibet et congregatione deturbat. Tanta est hominis peruersitas.

35 Frater amande, ne quod malum est imiteris, sed quod bonum est. Nostrum est malos petiti, non imitari. Non omnes sunt filii Dei qui baptismum acceperunt. Qui piis factis declarat fidem suam, is ex Deo natus est; refert enim ingenium ac doctrinam Patris sui. Qui impie agit, etiam si dictis Deum profitetur, Deum tamen vere non videt. Videtur autem oculis fidei purgatissimis, quos obcaecant tenebrae vitiorum. Proinde vitabis exemplum Diotrephis ac Demetrium tibi propones. Huius enim pietati testimonium redditur ab omnibus qui tametsi silerent, tamen ipsa res testatur hominis virtutem. Quin et nos experti eius synceritatem, testimonium de illo ferimus. Et ipsi nostis quod verum testimonium de illo ferimus.

45 Habebam et alia permulta quae te scire cupiebam, sed non arbitrabar expedire vt ea calamo et atramento proderem chartis. Spero me propediem venturum ad te; tum coram omnia tutius ac plenius loquemur. Pax tibi. Amici qui hic sunt

1-3 D. ERASMI ROTERODAMI IN TERTIAM IOANNIS EPISTOLAM PARAPHRASIS. C-H: IN TERTIAM A
7 cepi A (caepi) C E F G H: coepi D G

16 facias D-H: facies A C; accepisti G H: excepisti A-F G²

33 his A-E I-BAS: hic F-H

42 res om. K

11-12 quos ... Christo Cf. 1. Cor. 4, 14-15; Gal. 4, 19; Phm. 10. The metaphor for conversion comes from Paul; cf. Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 1, 2, LB VII, 1035 A-C. In Johannine literature it is God who begets his children directly. There is, in fact, nothing in the epistle to suggest that Gaius was converted by the Elder. See Brown *Epistles*, p. 707.

19 ad ... nomen Bede In 3. Ioh. 7, CCSL 121, p. 332, ll. 36-39, advances this explanation of the words "pro nomine profecti sunt" (Vg.) in verse 7. For the contrast of God's business with one's own cf. the paraphrase on *Iac.* 4, 17, p. 152, ll. 899-903 above.

21-22 si ... quaestus Cf. Er. *Paraphr. in 1. Tim.*, ad 6, 5, LB VII, 1054 B.

23 participes simus Cf. Greg. M. *XL Hom. in Euang. lib. II*, XX, 12 (on *Lc.* 3, 1-11), Migne *PL* 76, 1166 A-B, *apud* Bede, In 3. Ioh. 8, CCSL 121, p. 333, ll. 48-50: "Cooperatores autem eos dicit veritatis quia 'qui spiritalia dona habentibus temporalia subsidia tribuit in ipsis donis spiritalibus cooperatores existit'".

24 promisit Christus Cf. *Mt.* 10, 41, which Bede, In 3. Ioh. 8, CCSL 121, p. 333, ll. 54-56, quotes in his commentary on this verse.

26 vt ... facerent Erasmus is as vague about the content of this letter as the Elder, but he presumably means that the Elder had written to ask the church to provide a welcome and an escort for visiting missionaries. For a view similar to that of Erasmus see Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, pp. 296-297. There is a wide range of modern opinion on the question; see Brown, *Epistles*, pp. 715-716.

27-29 malens ... haeresis Cf. Bede, In 3. Ioh. 9, CCSL 121, p. 333, ll. 58-62: "Diotrepes, vt videtur, erat heresiarcha temporis illius aliquis superbus et insolens malens noua docendo primatum sibi vsurpare scientiae quam antiquis sanctae Ecclesiae quae Iohannes praedicabat humiliter auscultare mandatis".

40-41 Demetrium ... propones Cf. Bede, In 3. Ioh. 12, CCSL 121, p. 334, ll. 78-80: "Hunc [sc. Demetrium] ergo Gaio imitandum proponit vt simili omnium laude possit et ipse dignus existere".

41-42 tametsi ... testatur For the antithesis cf. *Ioh.* 10, 42 and the paraphrase on it, LB VII, 587 C.

47 tutius This motive is not employed in the paraphrase on the similar passage in 2. *Ioh.* 12, p. 213, ll. 44-48. Brown, *Epistles*,

iubent te saluere. Saluta tu vicissim horum verbis amicos, qui istic sunt, diligenter ac nominatim.

50

Finis

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50 Finis *A H (om. BAS)*: Finis Paraphraseos in Ioannis epistolas canonicas autore Erasmo Roterodamo *C-G*

p. 725, objects to such "psychological hypotheses", as he calls them; in this case, that the Elder was afraid that Diotrephes might intercept the letter and use it to his own advantage (cf. Schnackenburg, *Joh. Epist.*, p. 288, on 2.

Ioh. 12). Erasmus, however, was only too well aware of the problems that could arise from the betrayal of one's correspondence; see, e.g., Allen, introd. Ep. 1033.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The Side Notes

The Side Notes, which, like lemmata in a commentary, were intended to key the paraphrase to the biblical text, are a curious mixture of citations from the Vulgate, mostly, and from Erasmus' Latin version of his Greek text. Sometimes the citation is a calque of both translations. The Notes appear to have been created from memory since there are numerous omissions, transpositions, substitutions of synonyms or alternative syntactical constructions which all suggest that the Notes were for the most part written without reference to the original text. The typesetters have also contributed their own measure of variation or outright error. Apart from an occasional *om.*, *recte* or *sic*, I have not tried to mark these variants from the biblical text. Notes, or parts of Notes, which come primarily from Erasmus' version rather than from the Vulgate are identified by *Er*. Any annotations on individual side notes will be found in the commentary at the line number of the side note.

For the sake of clarity abbreviated parts of the citation are expanded in parentheses. Punctuation at the end of a Note is omitted. To assist identification chapter and modern verse numbers are given in the brackets at the end of each Note. The line numbers give the approximate location of the citation in *H'*. Wherever Erasmus may have placed the citation in his manuscript or in a printed edition (mostly in *A*, occasionally in *G'*), the compositors were not always careful to juxtapose the side note with the related text in the paraphrase.

Epist. ad Hebraeos

- 13 Per quem fecit secula *C-H: om. A* [1, 2]
 20 Purgationem peccatorum faciens *C-H: om. A* [1, 3]
 30 Tanto melior angelis effectus *C-K: om. A BAS* [1, 4]
 77 Quomodo nos effugiemus si tantam negleximus salutem *G-H* (Quomodo nos effugiemus *BAS*): *om. A C-F G* [2, 3]
 112 Vt gratia Dei pro omnibus gustaret mortem *A-H* [2, 9]
 123 Ex vno omnes *C-H: om. A* [2, 11]
 139 Nusquam enim angelos apprehendit *G: om. cett.* [2, 16]
 162 Amplioris enim gloriae iste prae Mose dignus h(abitus) est *G-K* (h. est *om. I*): *om. A C-F G* [3, 3]
 201 Sed adhortamini vosmetipsos *G-H: om. A C-F G* [2, 13]
 230 Ingrediemur enim requiem *G-H: om. A C-F G* [4, 3]
 270 Ad quem nobis sermo *C-H: om. A* [4, 13]
 290 Thronum gratiae *C-H: om. A* [4, 16]
 321 Qui in diebus carnis suae *A-H* [5, 7]
 396 Terra enim venientem super se bibens imbrem *A-K: om. BAS* [6, 7]
 509 Reprobatio quidem fit praecedentis *A-H* [7, 18]
 526 Per quam proximamus ad Deum *A-H* [7, 19]
 533 In tantum melioris testamenti sponsor *A-K: om. BAS* [7, 22]
 546 Talis enim decebat vt nobis esset pontifex *A-H* [7, 26]
 582 Nunc autem melius sortitus est *A-H* [8, 6]
 641 His vero ita compos(itis) *A-K: om. BAS* [9, 6]
 651 Quae parabola est temporis instantis *A-H* [9, 9]
 663 Christus assistens pontifex *A-H* [9, 11]
 681 Et ideo noui testamenti mediator intercessit *A-H* [9, 15]
 733 Et quemadmodum statutum est hominibus *A-H* [9, 27]
 775 In qua voluntate sacrificati sumus *C-K*: In ... sanctificati [*recte*] sumus *A BAS* [10, 10]
 798 Habentes itaque fratres fiduciam *A-H* [10, 19]
 837 Et ignis aemulatio *A-H* [10, 27]
 860 Rememoramini pristinos dies *A-H* [10, 32]
 877 Nolite itaque amittere confidentiam *A-H* [10, 35]
 1182 Nondum enim vsque ad sanguinem restitistis *A-H* [12, 4]
 1215 Omnis autem disciplina in praesenti quidem *A-H* [12, 11]
 1225 Propter quod remissas manus *A-F G H-K: om. G BAS* [12, 12]
 1230 Pacem sequimini cum omnibus *A-H* [12, 14]
 1255 Non enim accessistis ad tractabilem *A-H* [12, 18]
 1283 Videte ne recusetis loquentem *A-H* [12, 25]
 1330 Iesus Christus heri et hodie *A-H* [13, 8]
 1365 Beneficentiae autem et communicationis *A-H* [13:16]

Epist. Iacobi

- 12 Omne gaudium *A-K: om. BAS* [1, 2]
 45 Opus perfectum habeat *A-K: om. BAS* [1, 4]
 53 Si quis autem vestrum indigeat sapientia *A-H* [1, 5]
 83 Vir duplex animo inconstans est *A-H* [1, 8]
 89 Glorietur autem frater humilis *A: om. C-H* [1, 9]
 100 Quoniam sicut flos foeni *A-G: om. H* [1, 10]
 112 Et decor vultus eius *E G H*: Et decor vultus eius periit *A-D F G* [1, 11]
 141 Nemo cum tentatur *A-H* [1, 13]
 159 Deinde concupiscentia posteaquam concepit *A-H* [1, 15]
 172 Nolite itaque errare fratres *A-H* [1, 16]
 178 Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum *A-H* [1, 17]
 199 Voluntarie enim genuit nos *A-H* [1, 18]
 216 Voluntarie *A-K: om. BAS* [1, 18]
 220 Scitis fratres charissimi *A-K: om. BAS* [1, 19]
 232 Sit omnis homo velox *A-H* [1, 19]
 238 Nam ira viri *A-H* [1, 20]
 244 Propter quod abiicientes *G-K*: Quapropter quod abiicientes *A-F G: om. BAS* [1, 21]

- 257 Estote autem factores verbi *A-H* [1, 22]
 268 Quia si quis auditor est verbi *A-F G H*
(om. BAS): Quod ... verbi *G* [1, 23]
 276 Qui autem perspexerit in le(gem) *C-H:*
om. A [1, 25]
 292 Si quis autem putat se religiosum esse *A-H*
 [1, 26]
 304 Religio munda et immaculata *A-H* [1, 27]
 349 Nolite in acceptione personarum habere
A-H [2, 1]
 370 Audite fratres *A-H* [2, 5]
 393 Si tamen legem perficitis *A-H* [2, 8]
 395 Secundum scripturam [*Er.*] *A-K: om. BAS*
 [2, 8]
 403 Quicumque autem totam legem seruauerit
A-K: om. BAS [2, 10]
 417 Nam qui [*Er.*] dixit, non moechaberis *A-F*
G: om. G H [2, 11]
 423 Sic loquimini et sic facite *A-H* [2, 12]
 429 Iudicium enim sine misericordia illi *A-H*
 [2, 13]
 441 Superexaltet (*sic*) autem nunc iudicium
A-K: om. BAS [2, 13]
 450 Quid proderit fratres mei si fidem quis
 dicat se *A-H* [2, 14]
 470 Sed dicit quis *A-H* [2, 18]
 482 Tu credis quoniam vnus est Deus *A-H* [2,
 19]
 493 Vis autem scire o homo *A-H* [2, 20]
 512 Ex operibus fides consummata est *A-H* [2,
 22]
 520 Videtis quoniam ex operibus *A-K: om.*
BAS [2, 24]
 531 Similiter et Rhabab meretrix *A-H* [2, 25]
 563 In multis enim offendimus omnes *G H:* In
 multo ... omnes *A-F G* [3, 2]
 575 Si autem equis frena in ora *A-H* [3, 3]
 585 Ecce quantus ignis *A-H* [3, 5]
 591 Lingua ignis est *A-H* [3, 6]
 607 Omnis enim natura bestiarum *A-H* [3, 7]
 625 In ipsa benedicimus Deum et Patrem *A-H*
 [3, 9]
 637 Non oportet fratres mei haec ita fieri *A-H*
 [3, 10]
 657 Nunquid fons ex [*Er.: de Vg.*] eodem
 foramine *A-K: om. BAS* [3, 11]
 673 Quis sapiens et disciplinatus inter vos *A*
(vas) -H [3, 13]
 683 In mansuetudine sapientiae *A-H* [3, 13]
 693 Quod si zelum amarum habetis *A-H* [3,
 14]
 701 Non est enim ista sapientia *A-H* [3, 15]
 713 Vbi enim zelus et contentio *A-K: om. BAS*
 [3, 16]
 730 Fructus autem iusticiae *A-K: om. BAS* [3,
 18]
 736 Vnde bella et lites *A-K: om. BAS* [4, 1]
 746 Concupiscitis et non habetis *A-H* [4, 2]
 760 Adulteri et adulterae [*Er.*] *A-K: om. BAS*
 [4, 4]
 771 Amicitia huius mundi inimica est Dei *A-H*
 [4, 4]
 782 An putatis quia inaniter dicit (*sic*) scriptura
A-H [4, 5]
 804 Subditi ergo estote *A-H* [4, 7]
 816 Emundate manus peccato(res) *A-K: om.*
BAS [4, 8]
 822 Miseri estote *A-H* [4, 9]
 829 Nolite detrahere alterutrum fratres mei
A-H [4, 11]
 842 Qui detrahit fratri aut qui iudicat *A-K:*
om. BAS [4, 11]
 870 Ecce nunc qui dicitis *A-H* [4, 13]
 893 Nunc autem exultatis in superbis *A-K:*
om. BAS [4, 16]
 896 Scienti igitur bonum facere *A-H* [4, 17]
 922 Thesaurisastis (*sic*) vobis iram *A-H* [5, 3]
 932 In delitiis vixistis [*Er.*] super terram *A-H:*
om. BAS [5, 5]
 942 Patientes igitur estote vsque ad aduentum
 Domini *A-H* [5, 7]
 960 Nolite ingemiscere fratres *A-H* [5, 9]
 968 Exemplum accipite fratres *A-K: om. BAS*
 [5, 10]
 975 Sufferentiam Iob audistis *A: om. C-H* [5,
 11]
 981 Ante omnia autem fratres *H:* Ante ...
 fratres mei *A-G* [5, 12]
 994 Vt non sub iudicio decidatis *A-K: om.*
BAS [5, 12]
 997 Tristatur autem aliquis vestrum *A-H* [5,
 13]
 1013 Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra *A*
C: om. D-H [5, 16]
 1031 Fratres mei si quis ex vobis *A-K: om. BAS*
 [5, 19]

Epist. 1. Petri

- 15 Electis aduenis *C-H* (Electus *D F*): *om. A B* [1, 1]
- 22 Secundum praescientiam *A-K*: *om. BAS* [1, 2]
- 33 In obedientiam et aspersionem *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 2]
- 46 Multiplicetur *A-K*: *om. BAS* [1, 2]
- 51 Benedictus Deus et Pater *C-H*: Benedictus *A B* [1, 3]
- 56 Secundum misericordiam suam *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [1, 3]
- 60 In spem viam *A-K*: *om. BAS* [1, 3]
- 67 Incorruptibilem *G-K*: Incorruptibilem et *A-F G*: *om. BAS* [1, 4]
- 75 Qui virtute Dei custodimini *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 5]
- 82 Paratam reuelari in tempore nouissimo *C-K*: Paratam re(uelari) *A B*: *om. BAS* [1, 5]
- 93 Modicum nunc si oportet *A-H* [1, 6]
- 99 Auro quod per ignem probatur *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [1, 7]
- 107 Inueniatur in laudem *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 7]
- 114 Quem cum non videritis diligitis *C-H* (diligitis *E*): *om. A B* [1, 8]
- 118 Credentes autem exultatis [*Er.*] *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [1, 8]
- 126 De qua salute exquisierunt (*sic*) *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 10]
- 141 Per eos qui euangelizarunt (*sic*) vobis *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 12]
- 145 Desiderant angeli *A-K*: *om. BAS* [1, 12]
- 154 Propter quod succincti lumbos *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 13]
- 165 Non configurati prioribus ignorantiae v(estrae) d(esideriis) *D-H K*: Non ... ignorantiae *C I*: *om. A B* [1, 14]
- 176 Et si patrem inuocatis eum *C-H* (Etsi *G*): *om. A B* [1, 17]
- 182 In timore incolatus vestri tempore *C* (tempori) *-K*: *om. A B BAS* [1:17]
- 199 Praecogniti quidem ante mundi constitutionem *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 20]
- 207 Vt fides vestra [et *om.*] spes esset in Deo *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 21]
- 211 Castificantes in obedientia charitatis *C-H*: *om. A B* [1, 22]
- 218 Simplici [ex *om.*] corde *C* (Simplice) *-H*: *om. A B* [1:23]
- 231 Deponentes igitur *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 1]
- 246 Ad quem accedentes *A-H* [2, 4]
- 265 Per Iesum Christum *A-H* [2, 5]
- 273 Iis [*Er.*] qui offendunt verbo *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 8]
- 282 In quo et positi sunt *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [2, 8]
- 283 Populus acquisitionis *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 9]
- 294 Qui aliquando non populus *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [2, 10]
- 301 Charissimi obsecro vos *A-H* [2, 11]
- 316 Subiecti igitur estote *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 13]
- 324 Ad vindictam malefactorum *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 14]
- 339 Fraternitatem diligite *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 17]
- 340 Regem honorificate *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [2, 17]
- 346 Verum [*Er.*] etiam discolis *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 18]
- 353 Haec est enim gratia *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 19]
- 362 In hoc enim vocati estis *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [2, 21]
- 372 Tradebat autem iudicanti iuste [*Er.*] *C-H*: *om. A B* [2, 23]
- 390 Similiter et mulieres *C-H*: *om. A B* [3, 1]
- 403 Quarum non sit extrinsecus capillatura *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [3, 3]
- 413 Qui est in conspectu Dei locuples *C-H*: *om. A B* [3, 4]
- 422 Cuius estis filiae benefa(cientes) *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [3, 6]
- 426 Viri similiter *C-H*: *om. A B* [3, 7]
- 434 Cohaeredibus gratiae vitae *A-K*: *om. BAS* [3, 7]
- 443 In fide autem omnes *A-H* [3, 8]
- 460 Fraternitatis amatores *A-H* [3, 8]
- 472 Quia in hoc vocati estis *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [3, 9]
- 485 Et quis est qui vobis noceat *C-H*: *om. A B* [3, 13]
- 493 Sed et si quid patimini propter iusticiam *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [3, 14]
- 499 Timorem autem eorum *D-K*: *om. A-C BAS* [3, 14]
- 504 Dominum autem Christum *A-H* [3, 15]
- 516 Confundantur qui calumniantur *C-H*: *om. A B* [3, 16]
- 521 Melius est enim vt benefacientes *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [3, 17]
- 531 Quia et Christus semel pro peccatis [*Er.*] m(ortuus) *D-H*: Quia ... peccatis *C*: *om. A B* [3, 18]
- 535 Locus durus *C-K*: *om. A B BAS* [*vide annot. ad loc.*]
- 565 Per resurrectionem Iesu Christi *A-H* [3, 21]
- 586 Christo igitur passo *C-H*: *om. A B* [4, 1]
- 597 Sufficiat enim praeteritum tempus *C-E G H*: *om. A B F G* [4, 3]

- 608 In quo admirantur non concurrere vos (Er.) C-K: om. A B BAS [4, 4]
 617 Qui reddet (sic) rationem ei C: om. A B D-H [4, 5]
 619 Propter hoc enim et mortuis C-H: om. A B [4, 6]
 633 Omnium autem finis appropinquabit A-H [4, 7]
 645 Ante omnia mutuam in nobismetipsis charit(atem) H-K: Ante ... vobismetipsis [recte] charit(atem) C-G: om. A B BAS [4, 8]
 654 Vnusquisque sicut accepit C-K: om. A B BAS [4, 10]
 655 Sicut boni dispensatores C-K: om. A B BAS [4, 10]
 677 Charissimi nolite peregrinari C-H: om. A B [4, 12]
 690 Secundum vos autem glorificatur [Er.] A-H [4, 14]
 694 Si autem vt Christianus C-K: om. A B BAS [4, 16]
 699 Tempus est vt incipiat iudicium C-K: om. A B BAS [4, 17]
 708 Si autem primum a nobis C-H: om. A B [4, 17]
 716 Itaque et ii (hi Vg.) qui patiuntur secundum vo(luntate) Dei C-K: om. A B BAS [4, 19]
 723 Seniores ergo qui in vobis sunt C-H: om. A B [5, 1]
 729 Gloriam communicatur E G H-K: Gloriam communicator [recte] C D G: om. A B BAS [5, 1]
 739 Non coacte, sed spontanee C-K: om. A B BAS [5, 2]
 755 Et cum apparuerit princeps pastorum C-K: om. A B BAS [5, 4]
 761 Similiter adolescentes A-K (adulescentes B-D): om. BAS [5, 5]
 766 Humilitate insinuate G H-K: Humilitatem [recte] insinuate C-F G: om. A B BAS [5, 5]
 775 Sub potenti manu Dei A-H [5, 6]
 781 Sobrii estote et vigilate C-K: om. A B BAS [5, 8]
 786 Fortes in fide C-K: om. A B BAS [5, 9]
 793 Deus omnis gratiae A-K: om. BAS [5, 10]
 799 Ipsi gloria et imperium C-K: om. A B BAS [5, 11]

Epist. 2. Petri

- 13 Gratia [vobis om.] et pax A-H [1, 2]
 24 Propria gloria et virtute C-H: om. A B [1, 3]
 31 Per quem maxima et preciosa A-K: om. BAS [1, 4]
 38 Vos autem curam omnem A-F G H-K: om. G BAS [1, 5]
 58 Cui enim non praesto sunt haec C-K: om. A B BAS [1, 9]
 68 Certam vocationem vestram (sic) A-K: om. BAS [1, 10]
 75 Propter quod vos incipiam A-H [1, 12]
 93 Sed spectatores facti A-H [1, 16]
 106 Et habemus firmiorem A-H: om. BAS [1, 19]
 136 Fuerunt vero et pseudoprophetae C-H: om. A B [2, 1]
 151 Et multi sequentur A-K: om. BAS [2, 2]
 155 De vobis negociabuntur C-H: om. A B [2, 3]
 165 Quibus iudicium iam olim non cessat C-K: om. A B BAS [2, 3]
 172 Si enim Deus angelis peccantibus n(on) p(epercit) C-K (n(on) p(epercit) om. I): om. A B BAS [2, 4]
 196 Magis autem eos qui A-K: om. BAS [2, 10]
 199 Dominationem (-que om.) contemnant C-K: om. A B BAS [2, 10]
 207 In corruptione sua peribunt A-K: om. BAS [2, 12]
 215 Deliciis affluentes A-K: om. BAS [2, 13]
 223 Cor exercitatum in auaricia C-K: om. A B BAS [2, 14]
 237 Quibus caligo tenebrarum A-H [2, 17]
 244 Si enim refugientes C-K: om. A B BAS [2, 20]
 263 Hanc ecce vobis chariss(imi) C-F: Hanc esse vobis chariss(imi) K BAS: om. A B [3, 1]
 276 Vbi est promissus (sic) aduentus eius C-H: om. A B [3, 4]
 285 Latet enim eos hoc volentes C-K: om. A B BAS [3, 5]
 290 Vnum vero hoc non lateat vos A C-K: om. B BAS [3, 8]
 297 Vnus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni C-K: om. A B BAS [3, 8]
 329 Sicut et charissimus frater noster G H: Sicut ... noster Paulus C-G: om. A B [3, 15]
 335 Paulus G H [tamquam nota noua] [3, 15]

Epist. Iudae

- 4 Iis qui sunt in Deo *C: om. cett.* [1]
 8 Misericordia vobis *C-H: om. A B* [2]
 14 Omnem sollicitudinem faciens *C-K: om. A B BAS* [3]
 29 Gratiam transferentes in luxuriam *C-H* (Gratiarum *I*): *om. A B* [4]
 40 Commonere autem vos volo *C-H* (volo vos *F G*): *om. A B* [5]
 89 Nubes sine aqua *A-H* [12]
 104 Quibus procella tenebrarum seruata est *C-H: om. A B* [13]
 120 Et os illorum loquitur (-etur *C-G*) mendaci(um) *A-G: om. H* [16]
 142 Et hos quidem arguit *C-H: om. A B* [22]

Epist. I. Ioannis

- 18 De verbo vitae *A-H* [1, 1]
 21 Vidimus et (*sic*) perspeximus *A-H* [1, 1]
 34 Et vita manifestata est *A-K* (est *om. A*): *om. BAS* [1, 2]
 65 Vt gaudium vestrum sit plenum [*Er.*] *A-H* [1, 4]
 78 Et haec est annunciatio *H-K*: Et ... annunciatio quam audiuimus *A-G: om. BAS* [1, 5]
 85 Si dixerimus quoniam societatem habemus cum Deo *A-H: om. BAS* [1, 6]
 103 Et sanguis Iesu Christi Filii eius *A: om. cett.* [1, 7]
 111 Si confiteamur peccata nost(ra) *A-H* [1, 9]
 132 Fidelis est et iustus *A-H* [1, 9]
 154 Iesum Christum iustum *A-K: om. BAS* [2, 1]
 164 Et [in *Vg. vel per Er. om.*] hoc scimus quia cognouimus eum *A-H* [2, 3]
 177 Qui autem seruat verbum *A-H* [2, 5]
 178 Qui dicit se in Christo manere *A: om. cett.* [2, 6]
 188 Charissimi non mandatum nouum scribo *A-H* [2, 7]
 200 Quod verum est in ipso [*Er.*] et in vobis *A-K: om. BAS* [2, 8]
 206 Qui dicit se in luce esse *A-K: om. BAS* [2, 9]
 212 Qui diligit fratrem suum *A-K: om. BAS* [2, 10]
 220 Scribo vobis filioli *A-H* [2, 12]
 252 Nolite diligere mundum neque *A-H* [2, 15]
 280 Et mundus transit et concupiscentia eius *A-H* [2, 17]
 293 Filioli nouissima hora est *A-H* [2, 18]
 321 Sed vos vnctionem habetis *A-H* [2, 20]
 331 Et quoniam omne mendacium ex veritate non est *A-K: om. BAS* [2, 21]
 369 Omnis qui negat Filium, nec Pa(trem) ha(bet) *A-H* [2, 23]
 375 Vos audistis ab aeterno (*sic*) *A-K: om. BAS* [2, 24]
 388 Et (*sic*) sicut vnctio eius docet vos *A-H* (vos *om. F G*) [2, 27]
 401 Si scitis quoniam iustus est *D-K* (*bis repetit F G*): Si satis (*pro sciatis?*) quoniam ... est *A C: om. BAS* [2, 29]
 418 Charissimi nunc filii Dei sumus *A-H* [3, 2]
 433 Et omnis qui habet hanc spem *A-H* [3, 3]
 439 Omnis qui facit peccatum et iniquitatem *A-K: om. BAS* [3, 4]
 448 Omnis qui in eo manet non peccat *A-H* [3, 6]
 461 Filioli nemo vos seducat *A-H* [3, 7]
 477 In hoc manifesti sunt filii Dei *A-H* [3, 10]
 485 Non sicut Cain qui ex maligno erat *A-H* [3, 12]
 505 Qui non diligit fratrem [*Er.*] manet in morte *A-H* [3, 14]
 508 Et scitis quoniam omnis homicida *A C: om. D-H* [3, 15]
 516 In hoc cognouimus charitatem Dei *A-H* [3, 16]
 530 Filioli [*mei om.*] non diligamus verbo neque lingua *A-H* [3, 18]
 549 Quoniam si reprehenderit nos cor nostrum *A-H* [3, 20]
 566 Quoniam mandata eius custodimus *A-K: om. BAS* [3, 22]
 571 Et hoc est mandatum eius *A-H* [3, 23]
 576 Et qui seruat mandata eius *A-K: om. BAS* [3, 24]
 607 Et omnis spiritus qui soluit Iesum *A-H* [4, 3]
 627 In hoc cognoscimus Spiritum veritatis *A-H* [4, 6]
 641 Et misit Filium suum pro(pitiationem) *A-K: om. BAS* [4, 10]

- 649 Deum nemo vnquam vidit *G¹ H*: Deum
nemo vidit vnquam [*recte*] *A-F G²* [4, 12]
653 Et charitas eius in nobis perfecta *A-K*: *om.*
BAS [4, 12]
661 In hoc cognoscimus quoniam in eo mane-
mus *A-H* [4, 13]
667 Et nos vidimus *A-K*: *om. BAS* [4, 14]
680 Deus charitas est *A-H* [4:16]
682 In hoc perfecta est charitas *A-K*: *om. BAS*
[4, 17]
691 Timor non est in charitate *A-H* [4, 18]
719 In hoc cognoscimus quoniam *A-K*: *om.*
BAS [5, 2]
726 Quoniam omne quod natum est ex Deo
A-H [5, 4]
748 Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium *A-H*
[5, 7]
762 Qui credit in Filium Dei *A-H* [5, 10]
780 Haec scribo vobis vt sciatis *A-H* [5, 13]
785 Et haec est fiducia quam habemus *A-K*:
om. BAS [5, 14]
801 Qui scit fratrem suum peccare *A-H* [5, 16]
813 Non pro illo dico vt roget quis *A-H* [5, 16]

APPENDIX II

Titles of the Louvain and Basel Editions

Erasmus provided titles of the individual Paraphrases in the manuscripts which he gave to his printers. The title pages of the *editiones principes* were probably made up by the compositors on the basis of the titles in the manuscripts. Nevertheless, once they were printed these titles became subject to revisions which were more likely made by Erasmus than by editors or compositors. It is highly unlikely, for example, that a compositor would have added the words *et in eam quae est ad Hebraeos incerti auctoris* in *D* or the description of the *paraphrasis, hoc est liberior ac dilucidior interpretatio* in *E*. Such statements certainly came from Erasmus, who may very well have written the copy for all the titles in the Basel edition. Whatever the facts may have been, the titles are part of the history of the text and are included here as an appendix to the apparatus criticus. Dates, privileges and other information on the title page which stem from the printer are omitted.

1. ed. Lov., Th. Martinus, 1520 (*A*).
Paraphrases in duas epistolas Petri apostolorum principis, et in vnam Iudae, per Erasmum Roterodamum, quas antehac nullus excudit.
2. ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Dec. 1520 (*B*).
Paraphrases in duas epistolas Petri apostolorum principis, et in vnam Iudae, per Erasmum Roterodamum.
3. ed. Lov., Th. Martinus, mense Dec. 1520 (*A*).
In epistolam Iacobi episcopi Hierosolymitani Paraphrasis, per Erasmum Roterodamum.
4. ed. Lov., Th. Martinus, mense Ian. 1521 (*A*).
Paraphrasis in treis epistolas canonicas Ioannis apostoli, per Erasmum Roterodamum.
5. ed. Lov., Th. Martinus, mense Ian. 1521 (*A*).
In epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos paraphrasis per Erasmum Roterodamum extræma.

6. ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Mart. 1521 (*C*).
Paraphrases Erasmi Roterodami in omnes epistolas Pauli germanas et in omnes canonicas diligenter ab autore recognitae ac marginalibus indicibus illustratae.
7. ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Iul. 1521 (*D*).
Paraphrases Erasmi Roterodami in omnes epistolas Pauli apostoli germanas et in eam quae est ad Hebraeos incerti autoris, cum iis quae canonicae vocantur rursus ab eo recognitae absolutaeque: postremo a nobis accuratius excusae digestaeque per tomos vt cuique secare in formam enchiridii, si velit, liberum sit.
8. ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, mense Febr. 1522 (*E*) et mense Maio 1522 (*F*).
Io. Frob. Lectori S. D.
In vniuersas epistolas ab Ecclesia receptas, hoc est Pauli quatuordecim, Petri duas, Iudae vnam, Iacobi vnam, Ioannis tres, paraphrasis, hoc est liberior ac dilucidior interpretatio, per Erasmum Roterodamum ex archetypis primis diligenter ab ipso recognitis. Cuius diligentiae nostra quoque cura non defuit. Tuum erit, optime lector, dare operam ne ille Christi gloriae vel nos tuae commoditati frustra sudasse videamur. Vale.
9. ed. Basil., Io. Frobenius, 1523 (*G*).
Tomus secundus continens paraphrasim Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami in omneis epistolas apostolicas summa cura recognitam et ex archetypis et eruditorum animaduersione ita vt accuratius fieri vix potuerit. Caetera cognosces, lector, inuersa pagina [*G*¹: pagella *G*²].
10. edd. Basil., Hier. Frobenius et Nic. Episcopus, 1532–1538 (*H*).
Tomus secundus continens paraphrasim [-in *I*] D. Erasmi Roterodami in omneis epistolas apostolicas summa cura denuo ab ipso autore recognitam emendatamque tum ex archetypis tum eruditorum animaduersione ita vt accuratius fieri vix potuerit. Caetera cognosces, lector, inuersa pagina.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. AUTHORS: ANTIQUITY - 16TH CENTURY

Ael.	Claudius Aelianus	<i>Anth. Plan.</i>	<i>Anthologia Planudea</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	Apollod.	Apollodorus
<i>Nat. an.</i>	<i>De natura animalium</i>	Apoll. Rhod.	Apollonius Rhodius
<i>Var. hist.</i>	<i>Varia historia</i>	Apoll. Sid.	Apollinaris Sidonius
Ael. Arist.	Aelius Aristides	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
Aeschin.	Aeschines	Apost.	Apostolius Byzantius
Aeschyl.	Aeschylus	App.	Appianus
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>	<i>Civ.</i>	<i>Bella ciuilia</i>
<i>Choeph.</i>	<i>Choephoroi</i>	Apul.	Apuleius
<i>Eum.</i>	<i>Eumenides</i>	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Hic.</i>	<i>Hicetides</i>	<i>De deo Socr.</i>	<i>De deo Socratis</i>
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persae</i>	<i>Flor.</i>	<i>Florida</i>
<i>Prom.</i>	<i>Prometheus</i>	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Septem</i>	Arat.	Aratus
Aesop.	Aesopus	Archil.	Archilochus
Agric.	Rodolphus Agricola	Aristaen.	Aristaenetus
<i>Anna</i>	<i>Anna mater</i>	Aristid.	Aristides
Alan.	Alanus ab Insulis	Aristoph.	Aristophanes
<i>De planct. Nat.</i>	<i>De planctu Naturae</i>	<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Acharnenses</i>
Albert. M.	Albertus Magnus	<i>Au.</i>	<i>Aues</i>
<i>Enarr. in Ioann.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Euangelium</i>	<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>
<i>Ioannis</i>	<i>Ioannis</i>	<i>Equ.</i>	<i>Equites</i>
<i>Enarr. in Lc.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Euangelium</i>	<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>
<i>Lucae</i>	<i>Lucae</i>	<i>Nub.</i>	<i>Nubes</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	<i>Pax</i>	<i>Pax</i>
Alciphtr.	Alciphro	<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutus</i>
Ambr.	Ambrosius	<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Ranae</i>
<i>Enarr. in Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Ps.</i>	<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>
<i>In Lc.</i>	<i>Expositio Euangelii secundum</i>	<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespae</i>
<i>Lucam</i>	<i>Lucam</i>	Aristoph. Byz.	Aristophanes Byzantinus
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus	Aristot.	Aristoteles
Ammonio	Andrea Ammonio	<i>An.</i>	<i>De anima</i>
Anacr.	Anacreon	<i>An. post.</i>	<i>Analytica posteriora</i>
Andrel.	Fausto Andrelini	<i>An. pr.</i>	<i>Analytica priora</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>	<i>Ath. pol.</i>	<i>Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία</i>
<i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>	<i>Aud.</i>	<i>De audibilibus</i>
<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Liuia</i>	<i>Cael.</i>	<i>De caelo</i>
<i>Anth. Lat.</i>	<i>Anthologia Latina</i>	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Categoriae</i>
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>	<i>Col.</i>	<i>De coloribus</i>

<i>Div.</i>	<i>De divinatione</i>	<i>Cent. nupt.</i>	<i>Cento nuptialis</i>
<i>Eth. Eud.</i>	<i>Ethica Eudemia</i>	<i>Cupid. cruc.</i>	<i>Cupido cruciatus</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	<i>De ros.</i>	<i>De rosas nascentibus</i>
<i>Gen. an.</i>	<i>De generatione animalium</i>	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Gen. corr.</i>	<i>De generatione et corruptione</i>	<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Hist. an.</i>	<i>Historia animalium</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>	<i>Mos.</i>	<i>Mosella</i>
<i>Meteor.</i>	<i>Meteorologica</i>	<i>Precat.</i>	<i>Precationes variae</i>
<i>Mir.</i>	<i>Mirabilia</i>	Babr.	Babrius
<i>M. mor.</i>	<i>Magna moralia</i>	Balbi	Girolamo Balbi
<i>Mot. an.</i>	<i>De motu animalium</i>	Basil.	Basilius
<i>Mund.</i>	<i>De mundo</i>	<i>Ad adulesc.</i>	<i>Ad adulescentes</i> (Πρὸς τοὺς νέους)
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomica</i>	<i>Batr.</i>	<i>Batrachomyomachia</i>
<i>Part. an.</i>	<i>De partibus animalium</i>	Bebel	Heinrich Bebel
<i>Phgn.</i>	<i>Physiognomonica</i>	<i>Prov.</i>	<i>Prouerbia Germanica</i>
<i>Phys.</i>	<i>Physica</i>	Beda Venerabilis	<i>De tabernaculo et vasis eius</i>
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i>	<i>In lac. etc.</i>	<i>In epistolas VII catholicas</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>	<i>In Mc.</i>	<i>In Marci Euangelium expositio</i>
<i>Probl.</i>	<i>Problemata</i>	<i>Vita Cuth.</i>	<i>Vita Cuthberti</i>
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>	Bernardus	Bernardus Claraeuallensis
<i>Rhet. Alex.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i>	<i>In laud. Virg.</i>	<i>In laudibus Virginis Matris</i>
<i>Sens.</i>	<i>De sensu</i>	<i>In adv. Dom.</i>	<i>Sermo in aduentu Domini</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somno et vigilia</i>	<i>In Vigil. Apost.</i>	<i>Sermo in Vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i>
<i>Soph. el.</i>	<i>Sophistici elenchi</i>	Bocc.	Giovanni Boccaccio
<i>Spir.</i>	<i>De spiritu</i>	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>	Boeth.	Boethius
Arnob.	Arnobius	<i>Consol.</i>	<i>Consolatio philosophiae</i>
<i>Comm. in Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ps.</i>	Brant	Sebastian Brant
Arr.	Arrianus	Caes.	C. Iulius Caesar
Arsen.	Arsenius	<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De bello ciuili</i>
Artemid.	Artemidorus	<i>Gall.</i>	<i>De bello Gallico</i>
Ascl.	(Apuleius) Asclepius	Callim.	Callimachus
Asconius	Q. Asconius Pedianus	Callisth.	Callisthenes
<i>Comm. in Cic.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Cic.</i>	Calp. Sic.	Calpurnius Siculus
Athan.	Athanasius	Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Athen.	Athenaeus	Cassian.	Iohannes Cassianus
Athenag.	Athenagoras	Cassiod.	Cassiodorus
Aug.	Aurelius Augustinus	<i>Expos. in Ps.</i>	<i>Expositio in Ps.</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De ciuitate Dei</i>	<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutiones</i>
<i>Collatio cum Maximino</i>	<i>Collatio cum Maximino Arrianorum episcopo</i>	Cato	Cato
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>	<i>Agr.</i>	<i>De agricultura</i>
<i>Contra Acad.</i>	<i>Contra Academicos</i>	<i>Dist.</i>	<i>Disticha</i>
<i>Contra Faust.</i>	<i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum</i>	Catull.	Catullus
<i>De nat. boni</i>	<i>De natura boni liber I</i>	Cels.	Celsus
<i>Doctr. chr.</i>	<i>De doctrina christiana</i>	Cens.	Censorinus
<i>Enarr. in Ps.</i>	<i>Enarrationes in Ps.</i>	Charis.	Charisius, <i>Ars grammatica</i>
<i>Ench.</i>	<i>Enchiridion</i>	Chrys.	Iohannes Chrysostomus
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>	Cic.	Cicero
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>	<i>Ac. 1</i>	<i>Lucullus sius Academicorum priorum libri</i>
<i>Serm. supp.</i>	<i>Sermones supposititii</i>	<i>Ac. 2</i>	<i>Academicorum posteriorum libri</i>
<i>Tract. in 1. Ioh.</i>	<i>In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos Tractatus X</i>	<i>Ad Brut.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Brutum</i>
Auuen.	Auuenius		
<i>Progn.</i>	<i>Prognostica</i>		
Aur. Vict.	Aurelius Victor		
Auson.	Ausonius		

<i>Ad Q. fr.</i>	<i>Epist. ad Quintum fratrem</i>	<i>Sull.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sulla</i>
<i>Arat.</i>	<i>Aratea</i>	<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Pro Archia poeta</i>	<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>	<i>Tull.</i>	<i>Pro M. Tullio</i>
<i>Balb.</i>	<i>Pro L. Balbo</i>	<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>	<i>Vatin.</i>	<i>In P. Vatinius testem interrogatio</i>
<i>Caec.</i>	<i>Pro A. Caecina</i>	<i>Verr. 1, 2</i>	<i>In Verrem actio 1, 2</i>
<i>Cael.</i>	<i>Pro M. Caelio</i>	<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius Claudianus</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carminum fragmenta</i>	<i>Bell. Gild.</i>	<i>De bello Gildonico</i>
<i>Catil.</i>	<i>In Catilinam</i>	<i>Carm. min.</i>	<i>Carmina minora</i>
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Cato maior de senectute</i>	<i>IV. cons. Hon.</i>	<i>De quarto consulatu Honorii</i>
<i>Cluent.</i>	<i>Pro A. Cluentio</i>	<i>Cons. Stil.</i>	<i>De consulatu Stilichonis</i>
<i>Deiot.</i>	<i>Pro rege Deiotaro</i>	<i>De rapt. Pros.</i>	<i>De raptu Proserpinae</i>
<i>De or.</i>	<i>De oratore</i>	<i>Epith.</i>	<i>Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii</i>
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De diuinatione</i>	<i>Fescen.</i>	<i>Fescennina de nuptiis Honorii</i>
<i>Div. in Caec.</i>	<i>Diuiniatio in Q. Caeciliam</i>	<i>In Eutr.</i>	<i>In Eutropium</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>De domo sua</i>	<i>In Ruf.</i>	<i>In Rufinum</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>	<i>Paneg. M.</i>	<i>Theod. Panegyricus Mallii Theodori</i>
<i>Fat.</i>	<i>De fato</i>	<i>Paneg. Prob.</i>	<i>Panegyricus Probini et Olybrii</i>
<i>Fin.</i>	<i>De finibus</i>	<i>Clearch.</i>	<i>Clearchus</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>Pro L. Valerio Flacco</i>	<i>Clem. Al.</i>	<i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i>
<i>Font.</i>	<i>Pro M. Fonteio</i>	<i>Adumb. in 1. Pet.</i>	<i>Adumbrationes in epistolas canonicas</i>
<i>Har.</i>	<i>De haruspicum responsis</i>	<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromateis</i>
<i>Inv.</i>	<i>De inuentione</i>	<i>Clitarch.</i>	<i>Clitarchus</i>
<i>Lael.</i>	<i>Laelius de amicitia</i>	<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De legibus</i>	<i>Colum.</i>	<i>Columella</i>
<i>Leg. agr.</i>	<i>De lege agraria</i>	<i>Cornut.</i>	<i>Cornutus</i>
<i>Lig.</i>	<i>Pro Q. Ligario</i>	<i>Nat. deor.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>Manil.</i>	<i>Pro lege Manilia</i>	<i>Cratin.</i>	<i>Cratinus</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Pro M. Marcello</i>	<i>Curt.</i>	<i>Q. Curtius Rufus</i>
<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Pro T. Annio Milone</i>	<i>Cypr.</i>	<i>Cyprianus</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	<i>Pro L. Murena</i>	<i>De zelo</i>	<i>De zelo et liuore</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>De natura deorum</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>	<i>Fort.</i>	<i>Ad Fortunatum</i>
<i>Opt. gen.</i>	<i>De optimo genere oratorum</i>	<i>Demett.</i>	<i>Demetrius</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orator</i>	<i>De eloc.</i>	<i>De elocutione</i>
<i>Parad.</i>	<i>Paradoxa Stoicorum</i>	<i>Democr.</i>	<i>Democritus</i>
<i>Part.</i>	<i>Partitiones oratoriae</i>	<i>Demosth.</i>	<i>Demosthenes</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>In M. Antonium oratio Philippica</i>	<i>Dicaearch.</i>	<i>Dicaearchus</i>
<i>Phil. frg.</i>	<i>Librorum philosophicorum fragmenta</i>	<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
<i>Pis.</i>	<i>In L. Pisonem</i>	<i>Dinarch.</i>	<i>Dinarchus</i>
<i>Planc.</i>	<i>Pro Cn. Plancio</i>	<i>Dio Chrys.</i>	<i>Dio Chrysostomus</i>
<i>P. red. ad Quir.</i>	<i>Oratio post reditum ad Quirites</i>	<i>Diod.</i>	<i>Diodorus Siculus</i>
<i>P. red. in sen.</i>	<i>Oratio post reditum in senatu</i>	<i>Diogen.</i>	<i>Diogenianus</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De prouinciis consularibus</i>	<i>Diogen. Vind.</i>	<i>Diogenianus Vindobonensis</i>
<i>Q. Rosc.</i>	<i>Pro Q. Roscio comoedo</i>	<i>Diog. Laert.</i>	<i>Diogenes Laertius</i>
<i>Quinct.</i>	<i>Pro Quinctio</i>	<i>Diom.</i>	<i>Diomedes, Ars grammatica</i>
<i>Rab. perd.</i>	<i>Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo</i>	<i>Dion. Antioch.</i>	<i>Dionysius Antiochenus</i>
<i>Rab. Post.</i>	<i>Pro C. Rabirio Postumo</i>	<i>Dion. Hal.</i>	<i>Dionysius Halicarnassensis</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
<i>Scaur.</i>	<i>Pro M. Aemilio Scauro</i>	<i>Comp.</i>	<i>De compositione verborum</i>
<i>Sest.</i>	<i>Pro P. Sestio</i>	<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Ars rhetorica</i>
<i>S. Rosc.</i>	<i>Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino</i>		

Dion. Per.	Dionysius Periegetes	Firm.	Firmicus Maternus
Dion. Thrax	Dionysius Thrax	Flor.	Florus
Diosc.	Dioscurides	Front.	Fronto
Don.	Aelius Donatus	Frontin.	Frontinus
<i>Comm. in Ter.</i>	<i>Commentum Terenti</i>	Fulg. <i>Myth.</i>	Fulgentius, <i>Mythologiae</i>
Dracont.	Dracontius	Gal.	Galenus
<i>Laud.</i>	<i>De laudibus Dei</i>	<i>De nat. facult.</i>	<i>De naturalibus facultatibus</i>
<i>Eleg. in Maec.</i>	<i>Elegiae in Maecenatem</i>	<i>De temperam.</i>	<i>De temperamentis</i>
Enn.	Ennius	<i>In Hippocr.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Hippocratis</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annalium fragmenta</i>	<i>Aphor.</i>	<i>Aphorismos</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturarum fragmenta</i>	Gell.	Aulus Gellius
<i>Scaen.</i>	<i>Fragmenta scaenica</i>	<i>Geop.</i>	<i>Geoponica</i>
Eob. Hess.	Helius Eobanus Hessus	Gerald.	Antonio Geraldini
<i>Bon. val.</i>	<i>Bonae valetudinis</i>	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
	<i>conseruandae rationes</i>	<i>Glossa</i>	<i>[Biblia latina] Septima pars</i>
	<i>aliquot</i>		<i>biblie cum glosa ordinaria</i>
<i>Enc. nupt.</i>	<i>Encomium nuptiale</i>	Greg. Cypr.	Gregorius Cyprius
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroidum libri tres</i>	Greg. M.	Gregorius Magnus
<i>Her. chr.</i>	<i>Heroidum christianarum</i>	<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae in euangelia</i>
	<i>epistolae</i>	<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia in Iob</i>
<i>Nor.</i>	<i>Vrbs Noriberga</i>	Greg. Naz.	Gregorius Nazianzenus
<i>Vict. Chr.</i>	<i>Victoria Christi ab inferis</i>	<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
Epic.	Epicurus	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Epicharm.	Epicharmus	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Epict.	Epictetus	Greg. Nyss.	Gregorius Nyssenus
Eratosth.	Eratosthenes	Greg. Tur.	Gregorius Turonensis
<i>Ety. Gud.</i>	<i>Etymologicum Gudianum</i>	Harpocrat.	Harpocratio
<i>Ety. mag.</i>	<i>Etymologicum magnum</i>	Haymo	Haymo Autissidorensis
Eudem.	Eudemus, <i>Dictiones rhetoricae</i>	<i>Expl. in Ps.</i>	<i>Explanatio in Ps.</i>
Eun.	Eunapius	<i>Exp. in epist.</i>	<i>In diui Pauli Epistolas</i>
Eur.	Euripides	<i>Pauli</i>	<i>Expositio</i>
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>	Hdt.	Herodotus
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andromache</i>	Hecat.	Hecataeus
<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>	Hegesandr.	Hegesander
<i>Cycl.</i>	<i>Cyclops</i>	Hegius	Alexander Hegius
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	Heraclit.	Heraclitus
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>	Heracl. Pont.	Heraclides Ponticus
<i>Hel.</i>	<i>Helena</i>	Hermans	Willem Hermans
<i>Heraclid.</i>	<i>Heraclidae</i>	<i>Hollandia</i>	<i>Prosopopoeia Hollandiae</i>
<i>Herc.</i>	<i>Hercules</i>	<i>Sylv.</i>	<i>Sylvia odarum</i>
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>	Hermipp.	Hermippus
<i>Ion</i>	<i>Ion</i>	Hermog.	Hermogenes
<i>Iph. A.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>	<i>Progym.</i>	<i>Progymnasmata</i>
<i>Iph. T.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	Herm. Trismeg.	Hermes Trismegistus
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>	Herodian.	Herodianus
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orestes</i>	Hes.	Hesiodus
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>	<i>Erg.</i>	<i>Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι</i>
<i>Rhes.</i>	<i>Rhesus</i>	<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia</i>
<i>Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>	Hesych.	Hesychius
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>	Hier.	Hieronymus
Eus.	Eusebius	<i>Adv. Iov.</i>	<i>Aduersus Iouinianum</i>
<i>Comm. in Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ps.</i>	<i>Adv. Ruf.</i>	<i>Aduersus Rufinum</i>
<i>H. E.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	<i>Brev. in Ps.</i>	<i>Breviarium in Ps.</i>
Eust.	Eustathius	<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicon</i>
Eutr.	Eutropius	<i>Comm. in Gal.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Epistolam</i>
Faber	Iacobus Faber Stapulensis		<i>ad Galatos</i>
Fest.	Festus	<i>Comm. in Ir.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ieremiam</i>

<i>Comm. in Is.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Isaiam</i>	Isid.	Isidorus
<i>Comm. in Tit.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Epistolam ad Titum</i>	<i>Orig.</i>	<i>Origines</i>
		<i>Quaest.</i>	<i>Quaestiones in Vetustestamentum</i>
<i>Comm. in Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarioli in Ps.</i>	Isocr.	Isocrates
<i>Contra Ruf.</i>	<i>Contra Rufinum</i>	Iul.	Iulianus
<i>De vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Misopog.</i>	<i>Misopogon</i>
<i>Hebr. nom.</i>	<i>Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum</i>	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
<i>Paralip.</i>	<i>Paralipomenon liber</i>	Iust.	Iustinus
<i>Praef. in Iob</i>	<i>Praefatio in librum Iob</i>	Iuuenc.	Iuuencus
<i>Quaest. Hebr.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Hebraicae</i>	Iuv.	Iuuenalis
<i>Tract. in Ps.</i>	<i>Tractatus in librum Psalmorum</i>	Lact.	Lactantius
Hil.	Hilarius	<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutiones diuinae</i>
<i>In Gen.</i>	<i>In Genesin</i>	<i>Leg. aurea</i>	Iacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea</i>
<i>Tract. in Ps.</i>	<i>Tractatus in Ps.</i>	<i>Leg. XII Tab.</i>	<i>Leges XII Tabularum</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>De trinitate</i>	Libanius	Libanius
Hippocr.	Hippocrates	<i>Progym.</i>	<i>Progymnasmata</i>
<i>Hist. Aug.</i>	<i>Scriptores historiae Augustae</i>	Liv.	Liuius
Hom.	Homerus	Lucan.	Lucanus
<i>Hymn. Hom.</i>	<i>Hymni Homerici</i>	Lucian.	Lucianus
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Ilias</i>	<i>Adu. indoct.</i>	<i>Aduersus indoctum</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssea</i>	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
Honor. Aug.	Honorius Augustodunensis	<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Sigillum Beatae Mariae</i>	<i>Anach.</i>	<i>Anacharsis</i>
Hor.	Horatius	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars poetica</i>	<i>Asin.</i>	<i>Asinus</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>	<i>Astr.</i>	<i>De astrologia</i>
<i>Carm. saec.</i>	<i>Carmen saeculare</i>	<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchus</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Bis accus.</i>	<i>Bis accusatus</i>
<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodi</i>	<i>Calumn.</i>	<i>Calumniae non temere credendum</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>	<i>Catapl.</i>	<i>Cataphus siue Tyrannus</i>
Hrabanus	Hrabanus Maurus	<i>Char.</i>	<i>Charidemus</i>
Hugo	Hugo de Sancto Charo (Carrensis)	<i>Conuiu.</i>	<i>Conuiuium</i>
	[<i>Biblia latina</i>] <i>Septima pars cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto Charo</i>	<i>Dear. iud.</i>	<i>Dearum iudicium (= Dial. mort. xx)</i>
Hyg.	Hyginus	<i>De merc. cond.</i>	<i>De mercede conductis</i>
<i>Astr.</i>	<i>Astronomica</i>	<i>Demon.</i>	<i>Demonax</i>
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>	<i>Demosth. encom.</i>	<i>Demosthenis encomium</i>
Hyp.	Hyperides	<i>Deor. conc.</i>	<i>Deorum concilium</i>
Iambl.	Iamblichus	<i>Deor. dial.</i>	<i>Deorum dialogi</i>
Innoc.	Innocentius III	<i>De sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis</i>
<i>Miseria</i>	<i>De miseria conditionis humane</i>	<i>Dial. mar.</i>	<i>Dialogi marini</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutiones</i>	<i>Dial. mer.</i>	<i>Dialogi meretricii</i>
Ioann. Sec.	Ioannes Secundus	<i>Dial. mort.</i>	<i>Dialogi mortuorum</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>	<i>Dips.</i>	<i>Dipsades</i>
<i>Fun.</i>	<i>Funera</i>	<i>Electr.</i>	<i>Electrum</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odae</i>	<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
Iord.	Iordanes	<i>Epist. Sat.</i>	<i>Epistulae Saturnales</i>
Ios.	Iosephus	<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i>
<i>Ant. Iud.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i>	<i>Fug.</i>	<i>Fugitiui</i>
<i>Bell.</i>	<i>Bellum Iudaicum</i>	<i>Gall.</i>	<i>Gallus</i>
Iren.	Irenaeus	<i>Halc.</i>	<i>Halcyon</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Aduersus haereses</i>	<i>Herc.</i>	<i>Hercules</i>
		<i>Herm.</i>	<i>Hermotimus</i>

<i>Hist. conscr.</i>	<i>Quomodo historia conscribenda sit</i>	Marull.	Michael Marullus
<i>Icar.</i>	<i>Icaromenippus</i>	<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Imag.</i>	<i>Imagines</i>	<i>Hymn. nat.</i>	<i>Hymni naturales</i>
<i>Iup. confut.</i>	<i>Iuppiter confutatus</i>	Mar. Vict.	Marius Victorinus
<i>Iup. trag.</i>	<i>Iuppiter tragoedus</i>	M. Aur.	Marcus Aurelius
<i>Lex.</i>	<i>Lexiphanes</i>	Max. Conf.	Maximus Confessor
<i>Luctu</i>	<i>De luctu</i>	<i>Loci comm.</i>	<i>Loci communes</i>
<i>Menippus</i>	<i>Menippus siue Necyomantia</i>	Max. Tyr.	Maximus Tyrius
<i>Nauig.</i>	<i>Nauigium</i>	<i>Diss.</i>	<i>Dissertationes XLI</i>
<i>Nigr.</i>	<i>Nigrinus</i>	Maximian.	Maximianus
<i>Paras.</i>	<i>De parasito</i>	<i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>
<i>Patr. laud.</i>	<i>Patriae laudatio</i>	Mela	Pomponius Mela
<i>Peregr.</i>	<i>De morte Peregrini</i>	Menandr.	Menander
<i>Phal. I, II</i>	<i>Phalaris I, II</i>	<i>Citharist.</i>	<i>Citharista</i>
<i>Philopatr.</i>	<i>Philopatris</i>	<i>Epitr.</i>	<i>Epitrepointes</i>
<i>Philops.</i>	<i>Philopseudes</i>	<i>Monost.</i>	<i>Monosticha</i>
<i>Pisc.</i>	<i>Piscator</i>	Mimn.	Mimmermus
<i>Pro imag.</i>	<i>Pro imaginibus</i>	Min. Fel.	Minucius Felix
<i>Prom.</i>	<i>Prometheus</i>	<i>Mon. Anc.</i>	<i>Monumentum Ancyranum</i>
<i>Prom. es</i>	<i>Prometheus es in verbis</i>	More	Thomas More
<i>Pseudol.</i>	<i>Pseudologista</i>	Mosch.	Moschus
<i>Rhet. praec.</i>	<i>Rhetorium praeceptor</i>	Mutian.	Conradus Mutianus Rufus
<i>Salt.</i>	<i>Saltatio</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>	Mutius	Macarius Mutius
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>Somnium siue vita Luciani</i>	<i>Triumph.</i>	<i>De triumpho Christi</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timon</i>	Nem.	Nemesianus
<i>Tox.</i>	<i>Toxaris</i>	Nep.	Cornelius Nepos
<i>Tyrann.</i>	<i>Tyrannicida</i>	<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Ver. hist.</i>	<i>Verae historiae</i>	Nicandr.	Nicander
<i>Vit. auct.</i>	<i>Vitarum auctio</i>	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexipharmaca</i>
		<i>Ther.</i>	<i>Theriaca</i>
Lucil.	Lucilius	Nicholas of Lyre	Nicolaus de Lyra (Lyranus)
Lucr.	Lucretius		[<i>Biblia latina</i>] <i>Septima pars cum ... expositione lyre litterali et morali</i>
Lycophr.	Lycophron		
Lycurg.	Lycurgus		
Lyd.	Ioannes Laurentius Lydus		
<i>Mag.</i>	<i>De magistratibus</i>		
<i>Mens.</i>	<i>De mensibus</i>	Nicom.	Nicomachus
Lys.	Lysias	Non.	Nonius Marcellus
Macar.	Macarius	Nonn.	Nonnus
Macr.	Macrobius	<i>Dion.</i>	<i>Dionysiaca</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>	<i>Exp. in Greg.</i>	<i>Expositio in Gregorium</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Ciceronis somnium Scipionis</i>	<i>Naz.</i>	<i>Nazianzenum</i>
Manil.	Manilius	Oppian.	Oppianus
Mantuan.	Baptista Mantuanus	<i>Hal.</i>	<i>Halieutica</i>
<i>Ad Falc.</i>	<i>Epigrammata ad Falconem</i>	Orib.	Oribasius
<i>Calam.</i>	<i>De calamitatibus temporum</i>	Orig.	Origenes
<i>Contra poet.</i>	<i>Contra poetas impudice loquentes</i>	<i>Contra Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>De cont. morte</i>	<i>De contemnenda morte</i>	<i>Comm. in Rom.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Rom.</i>
<i>Dion. Areop.</i>	<i>Dionysius Areopagites</i>	<i>De princ.</i>	<i>De principiiis</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>	<i>Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae</i>
<i>Ioann. Bapt.</i>	<i>In laudem Ioannis Baptistae</i>	<i>Sel.</i>	<i>Selecta</i>
<i>Parthen. Mar.</i>	<i>Parthenice Mariana</i>	<i>Tract. in Ct.</i>	<i>Tractatus in Ct.</i>
<i>Parthen. sec.</i>	<i>Parthenice secunda</i>	Oros.	Orosius
Mart. Cap.	Martianus Capella	Orph.	[Orpheus]
Martial.	Martialis	<i>Arg.</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
		<i>Hymn.</i>	<i>Hymni</i>
		<i>Or. Sib.</i>	<i>Oracula Sibyllina</i>
		Ov.	Ovidius
		<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>

<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars amatoria</i>	<i>Lach.</i>	<i>Laches</i>
<i>Epist. Sapph.</i>	<i>Epistula Sapphus</i>	<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysis</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Meno</i>
<i>Ib.</i>	<i>Ibis</i>	<i>Menex.</i>	<i>Menexenus</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Minos</i>
<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Ex Ponto</i>	<i>Parm.</i>	<i>Parmenides</i>
<i>Rem.</i>	<i>Remedia amoris</i>	<i>Phaed.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>
<i>Trist.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>	<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Paneg. Lat.</i>	<i>Panegyrici Latini</i>	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philebus</i>
<i>Paul. Fest.</i>	<i>Paulus Diaconus, Epitoma Festi</i>	<i>Polit.</i>	<i>Politicus</i>
<i>Paul. Nol.</i>	<i>Paulinus Nolanus</i>	<i>Prot.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Paus.</i>	<i>Pausanias</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De re publica</i>
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persius</i>	<i>Sis.</i>	<i>Sisyphus</i>
<i>Petrarca</i>	<i>Francesco Petrarca</i>	<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophistes</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Rem.</i>	<i>De remediis utriusque fortunae</i>	<i>Thg.</i>	<i>Theages</i>
<i>Petron.</i>	<i>Petronius</i>	<i>Thr.</i>	<i>Theaetetus</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>	<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
<i>Fab. Aes.</i>	<i>Fabulae Aesopiae</i>	<i>Plaut.</i>	<i>Plautus</i>
<i>Philo</i>	<i>Philo</i>	<i>Amph.</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>
<i>Leg. alleg.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>	<i>Asin.</i>	<i>Asinaria</i>
<i>Philostrat.</i>	<i>Philostratus</i>	<i>Aul.</i>	<i>Aulularia</i>
<i>Imag.</i>	<i>Imagines</i>	<i>Bacch.</i>	<i>Bacchides</i>
<i>Vit. Apollon.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	<i>Capti.</i>	<i>Captivi</i>
<i>Vit. soph.</i>	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>	<i>Cas.</i>	<i>Casina</i>
<i>Phot.</i>	<i>Photius</i>	<i>Cist.</i>	<i>Cistellaria</i>
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>	<i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curculio</i>
<i>Lex.</i>	<i>Lexicon</i>	<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epidicus</i>
<i>Pind.</i>	<i>Pindarus</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menaechmi</i>
<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmia</i>	<i>Merc.</i>	<i>Mercator</i>
<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemea</i>	<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Miles</i>
<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>Olympia</i>	<i>Most.</i>	<i>Mostellaria</i>
<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythia</i>	<i>Persa.</i>	<i>Persa</i>
<i>Plat.</i>	<i>Plato</i>	<i>Poen.</i>	<i>Poenulus</i>
<i>Alc. 1, 2</i>	<i>Alcibiades 1, 2</i>	<i>Pseud.</i>	<i>Pseudolus</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Rud.</i>	<i>Rudens</i>
<i>Ax.</i>	<i>Axiochus</i>	<i>Stich.</i>	<i>Stichus</i>
<i>Charm.</i>	<i>Charmides</i>	<i>Trin.</i>	<i>Trinummus</i>
<i>Clit.</i>	<i>Clitophon</i>	<i>Truc.</i>	<i>Truculentus</i>
<i>Crat.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>	<i>Vid.</i>	<i>Vidularia</i>
<i>Crit.</i>	<i>Critias</i>	<i>Plin.</i>	<i>Plinius (maior et minor)</i>
<i>Crito</i>	<i>Crito</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae (Plin. minor)</i>
<i>Def.</i>	<i>Definitiones</i>	<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia (Plin. maior)</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demodocus</i>	<i>Paneg.</i>	<i>Panegyricus (Plin. minor)</i>
<i>Epin.</i>	<i>Epinomis</i>	<i>Plot.</i>	<i>Plotinus</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutarchus</i>
<i>Erast.</i>	<i>Erastai</i>	<i>Aem.</i>	<i>Aemilius Paul(l)us</i>
<i>Eryx.</i>	<i>Eryxias</i>	<i>Alcib.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Euthyd.</i>	<i>Euthydemus</i>	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
<i>Euthyphr.</i>	<i>Euthyphro</i>	<i>Anton.</i>	<i>Antonius</i>
<i>Gorg.</i>	<i>Gorgias</i>	<i>Aristid.</i>	<i>Aristides</i>
<i>Hipparch.</i>	<i>Hipparchus</i>	<i>Artax.</i>	<i>Artaxerxes</i>
<i>Hipp. mai.</i>	<i>Hippias maior</i>	<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>
<i>Hipp. min.</i>	<i>Hippias minor</i>	<i>C. Gracch.</i>	<i>Caius Gracchus</i>
<i>Ion</i>	<i>Ion</i>	<i>Cato min.</i>	<i>Cato minor</i>
		<i>Cleom.</i>	<i>Cleomenes</i>
		<i>Coriol.</i>	<i>Coriolanus</i>

<i>Demetr.</i>	<i>Demetrius</i>	Ps. Clem.	Pseudo-Clemens
<i>Fab. Max.</i>	<i>Fabius Maximus</i>	Ps. Dion. Areop.	Pseudo-Dionysius Arcopagita
<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>Lycurgus</i>	<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysander</i>	<i>Hier.</i>	<i>De caelesti hierarchia</i>
<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Marius</i>	Ps. Diosc.	Pseudo-Dioscurides
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>	<i>Alexiph.</i>	<i>Alexipharmaca</i>
<i>Nic.</i>	<i>Nicias</i>	Ps. Eratosth.	Pseudo-Eratosthenes
<i>Paroem.</i>	<i>Paroemiae</i>	<i>Catast.</i>	<i>Catasterismi</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Pericles</i>	Ps. Iuuenc.	Pseudo-Iuuencus
<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Pompeius</i>	<i>Triumph.</i>	<i>Triumphus Christi heroicus</i>
<i>Prov. Alex.</i>	<i>Prouerbia Alexandrinorum</i>	Ps. Neckam	Pseudo-Neckam (Roger de Caen)
<i>Publ.</i>	<i>Publicola</i>	<i>Vita monach.</i>	<i>De vita monachorum (De contemptu mundi)</i>
<i>Pyrrh.</i>	<i>Pyrrhus</i>	Ps. Ov.	Pseudo-Ouidius
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Romulus</i>	<i>Epic. Drusi</i>	<i>Epicedion Drusi (Consolatio ad Liuiam)</i>
<i>Sert.</i>	<i>Sertorius</i>	Ps. Phocyl.	Pseudo-Phocylides
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Solon</i>	Ps. Pythag.	Pseudo-Pythagoras
<i>Them.</i>	<i>Themistocles</i>	Ps. Sall.	Pseudo-Sallustius
<i>Thes.</i>	<i>Theseus</i>	<i>In Cic.</i>	<i>In Ciceronem</i>
<i>Timol.</i>	<i>Timoleon</i>	Ps. Sen.	Pseudo-Seneca
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus Quinctius Flamininus</i>	<i>De mor.</i>	<i>De moribus</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitae</i>	Ptol.	Claudius Ptolemaeus
Poliz.	Angelo Poliziano	<i>Cosm.</i>	<i>Cosmographia</i>
<i>Amor fug.</i>	<i>Moschi Amor fugitiuus</i>	<i>Geogr.</i>	<i>Geographia</i>
<i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>	<i>Quadr.</i>	<i>Quadripartitum</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata Latina</i>	Ptol. Euerg.	Ptolemaeus Euergetes
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>	Publil. Syr.	Publilius Syrus
<i>Sylv.</i>	<i>Syluae</i>	Quint.	Quintilianus
Poll.	Pollux	<i>Decl.</i>	<i>Declamationes</i>
Polyb.	Polybius	<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
Pomp. Trog.	Pompeius Trogus	<i>Rhet. Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>
Porph.	Porphyrius	Rufin.	Rufinus
<i>Quaest. Hom.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Homericae</i>	<i>In symb.</i>	<i>Expositio in symbolum apostolorum</i>
<i>Vit. Pyth.</i>	<i>Vita Pythagorae</i>	Sabell.	Marcantonio Sabellico
Posid.	Posidonius	<i>In natal.</i>	<i>In natalem diem diuae virginis Mariae</i>
<i>Priap.</i>	<i>Priapea</i>	Sall.	Sallustius
Prisc.	Priscianus	<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Coniuratio Catilinae</i>
<i>Ars gramm.</i>	<i>Ars grammatica</i>	<i>Epist. ad Caes.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Caesarem</i>
Prob.	M. Valerius Probus	<i>Hist. frag.</i>	<i>Historiarum fragmenta</i>
Procl.	Proclus	<i>Iug.</i>	<i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>
Procop.	Procopius	Sapph.	Sappho
Prop.	Propertius	Scol. anon.	<i>Scolia anonyma</i>
Prud.	Prudentius	Sedul.	Caelius Sedulius
<i>Amart.</i>	<i>Amartigenia</i>	<i>Pasch.</i>	<i>Paschale carmen</i>
<i>Apoth.</i>	<i>Apotheosis</i>	Sen.	Seneca (maior)
<i>Cath.</i>	<i>Cathemerinon</i>	<i>Contr.</i>	<i>Controuersiae</i>
<i>Contra Symm.</i>	<i>Contra Symmachum</i>	<i>Suas.</i>	<i>Suasoriae</i>
<i>Epilog.</i>	<i>Epilogus</i>	Sen.	Seneca (minor)
<i>Perist.</i>	<i>Peristefanon</i>	<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
<i>Praef.</i>	<i>Praefatio</i>	<i>Apocol.</i>	<i>Apocolocyntosis</i>
<i>Psychom.</i>	<i>Psychomachia</i>	<i>Benef.</i>	<i>De beneficiis</i>
<i>Tit. hist.</i>	<i>Tituli historiarum</i>	<i>Brev. vit.</i>	<i>De breuitate vitae</i>
Ps. Ascon.	Pseudo-Asconius	<i>Clem.</i>	<i>De clementia</i>
Ps. Aug.	Pseudo-Augustinus	<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogi</i>
Ps. Auson.	Pseudo-Ausonius		
<i>Sept. sap.</i>	<i>Ludus septem sapientum</i>		
Ps. Babr.	Pseudo-Babrius		
<i>Tetrast.</i>	<i>Tetrasticha</i>		

<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Lucilium</i>	Syrian.	Syrianus
<i>Herc. f.</i>	<i>Hercules furens</i>	<i>In Hermog.</i>	<i>In Hermogenem commen-</i> <i>taria</i>
<i>Herc. Oet.</i>	<i>Hercules Oetaeus</i>	Tac.	Tacitus
<i>Medea.</i>	<i>Medea</i>	<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturales quaestiones</i>	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>Oed.</i>	<i>Oedipus</i>	<i>Dial. or.</i>	<i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedra</i>	<i>Germ.</i>	<i>Germania</i>
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
<i>Thy.</i>	<i>Thyestes</i>	Tat.	Tatianus
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>	Ter.	Terentius
Serv.	Seruius	<i>Ad.</i>	<i>Adelphoe</i>
<i>Comm. Aen.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii</i> <i>Aeneida</i>	<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andria</i>
<i>Comm. Ecl.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii</i> <i>Eclogas</i>	<i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i>
<i>Comm. Georg.</i>	<i>Commentarius in Vergilii</i> <i>Georgica</i>	<i>Heaut.</i>	<i>Heautontimorumenos</i>
Sext. Emp.	Sextus Empiricus	<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecyra</i>
Sidon.	Sidonius Apollinaris	<i>Phorm.</i>	<i>Phormio</i>
Sil.	Silius Italicus	Tert.	Tertullianus
Socr.	Socrates, <i>Hist. eccles.</i>	<i>Adv. Iud.</i>	<i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i>
Sol.	Solon	<i>Adv. Marcion.</i>	<i>Aduersus Marcionem</i>
Solin.	Solinus	<i>Adv. Val.</i>	<i>Aduersus Valentinianos</i>
Soph.	Sophocles	<i>De pud.</i>	<i>De pudicitia</i>
<i>Ai.</i>	<i>Aias</i>	<i>De resurr.</i>	<i>De resurrectione carnis</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antigone</i>	<i>De spect.</i>	<i>De spectaculis</i>
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	Themist.	Themistius
<i>Ichn.</i>	<i>Ichneutae</i>	Theocr.	Theocritus
<i>Oed. Col.</i>	<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	Theodrt.	Theodoretus
<i>Oed. T.</i>	<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	<i>Comm. in Ep.</i>	<i>Commentarius in omnes</i> <i>ad Hebr. sancti Pauli Epistolas</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philoctetes</i>	Thgn.	Theognis
<i>Trach.</i>	<i>Trachiniae</i>	Theophylact.	Theophylactus
Stat.	Stattius	<i>Exp. in Ep.</i>	<i>Expositio in epistolam ad</i> <i>Hebraeos</i>
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Achilleis</i>	Thomas a Kempis	<i>Imit. De imitatione Christi</i>
<i>Silv.</i>	<i>Siluae</i>	Thomas Aquinas	<i>Exp. in Ep. ad</i> <i>Hebr. Expositio in omnes S. Pauli</i> <i>epistolas</i>
<i>Theb.</i>	<i>Thebais</i>	<i>In Ioann.</i>	<i>In Ioannem Euangelistam</i> <i>expositio</i>
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius	<i>ScG</i>	<i>Summa contra Gentiles</i>
Stob.	Stobaeus	<i>Summa</i>	<i>Summa theologiae</i>
Strab.	Strabo	Thphr.	Theophrastus
Suet.	Suetonius	<i>Caus. plant.</i>	<i>De causis plantarum</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Char.</i>	<i>Characteres</i>
<i>Caes.</i>	<i>Caesar</i>	<i>Hist. plant.</i>	<i>Historia plantarum</i>
<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Caligula</i>	Thuc.	Thucydides
<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius</i>	Tib.	Tibullus
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus</i>	Tzetz.	Tzetzes
<i>Galb.</i>	<i>Galba</i>	<i>Anteh.</i>	<i>Antehomerica</i>
<i>Gram.</i>	<i>De grammaticis</i>	<i>Chil.</i>	<i>Chiliades</i>
<i>Ner.</i>	<i>Nero</i>	<i>Posth.</i>	<i>Posthomerica</i>
<i>Oth.</i>	<i>Otho</i>	Val. Fl.	Valerius Flaccus
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>	Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus</i>	Varro	Varro
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasianus</i>	<i>Ling. Lat.</i>	<i>De lingua Latina</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitellius</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menippeae</i>
Suid.	Suidas	<i>Rust.</i>	<i>Res rusticae</i>
Symm.	Symmachus		
Synes.	Synesius Cyrenaicus		
<i>Calv.</i>	<i>Caluitii encomium</i>		
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>		

Varro At.	Varro Atacinus	Xen.	Xenophon
Fr.	<i>Fragmenta</i>	Ag.	<i>Agesilaus</i>
Veg.	Vegetius	An.	<i>Anabasis</i>
Mil.	<i>De re militari</i>	Apol.	<i>Apologia</i>
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus	Ath. pol.	<i>Atheniensium politeia</i>
Ven. Fort.	Venantius Fortunatus	Cyn.	<i>Cynegeticus</i>
Verg.	Vergilius	Cyr.	<i>Cyropaedia</i>
Aen.	<i>Aeneis</i>	Equ.	<i>De equitandi ratione</i>
Aet.	<i>Aetna</i>	Hell.	<i>Hellenica</i>
Cat.	<i>Catalepton</i>	Hier.	<i>Hiero</i>
Cir.	<i>Ciris</i>	Hipp.	<i>Hipparchicus</i>
Cul.	<i>Culex</i>	Lac. pol.	<i>Lacedaemoniorum politeia</i>
Ecl.	<i>Eclogae</i>	Mem.	<i>Memorabilia</i>
Georg.	<i>Georgica</i>	Oec.	<i>Oeconomicus</i>
Mor.	<i>Moretum</i>	Symp.	<i>Symposium</i>
Vitr.	Vitruvius	Vect.	<i>De vectigalibus</i>
Vlp.	Vlpianus (<i>Vlpiani regulae</i>)	Zenob.	Zenobius
Walter	Walter of Châtillon	Zon.	Zonaras
Alex.	<i>Alexandreis</i>	Zos.	Zosimus

B. BIBLE

1. *Vetus Testamentum*

<i>Gn.</i>	<i>Genesis</i>
<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Exodus</i>
<i>Lu.</i>	<i>Leuiticus</i>
<i>Nu.</i>	<i>Numeri</i>
<i>Dt.</i>	<i>Deuteronomium</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	<i>Iosue</i>
<i>Iudic.</i>	<i>Iudices</i>
<i>Rth.</i>	<i>Ruth</i>
1., 2. <i>Sm.</i>	1., 2. <i>Samuel</i>
1., 2. <i>Rg.</i>	1., 2. <i>Reges</i>
1., 2. <i>Chr.</i>	1., 2. <i>Chronici</i>
<i>Esd.</i>	<i>Esdra</i>
<i>Neh.</i>	<i>Nehemias</i>
<i>Esth.</i>	<i>Esther</i>
<i>Iob.</i>	<i>Iob</i>
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Psalmi</i>
<i>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>Os.</i>	<i>Osee</i>
<i>Ioel.</i>	<i>Ioel</i>
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amos</i>
<i>Abd.</i>	<i>Abdias</i>
<i>Ion.</i>	<i>Ionas</i>
<i>Mch.</i>	<i>Michaeas</i>
<i>Nah.</i>	<i>Nahum</i>
<i>Hab.</i>	<i>Habacuc</i>

<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Sophonias</i>
<i>Agg.</i>	<i>Aggaeus</i>
<i>Zch.</i>	<i>Zacharias</i>
<i>Ml.</i>	<i>Malachias</i>
<i>Idth.</i>	<i>Iudith</i>
<i>Sap.</i>	<i>Sapientia Salomonis</i>
<i>Tob.</i>	<i>Tobias</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Iesus Sirach</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
1., 2., 3., 4. <i>Mcc.</i>	1., 2., 3., 4. <i>Macchabaei</i>

2. *Nouum Testamentum*

<i>Mt.</i>	<i>Matthaeus</i>
<i>Mc.</i>	<i>Marcus</i>
<i>Lc.</i>	<i>Lucas</i>
<i>Ioh.</i>	<i>Iohannes</i>
<i>Act.</i>	<i>Acta Apostolorum</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Ad Romanos</i>
1., 2. <i>Cor.</i>	1., 2. <i>Ad Corinthios</i>
<i>Gal.</i>	<i>Ad Galatas</i>
<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Ad Ephesios</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Ad Philippenses</i>
<i>Col.</i>	<i>Ad Colosenses</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>Pet.</i>	<i>Petri Epistola</i> 1., 2.
1., 2., 3. <i>Ioh.</i>	<i>Iohannis Epistola</i> 1., 2., 3.
<i>Iud.</i>	<i>Iudae Epistola</i>
<i>Ap. Ioh.</i>	<i>Apocalypsis Iohannis</i>

C. WORKS OF ERASMUS

<i>Act. Acad. Lov. c. Luth.</i>	<i>Acta Academiae Louaniensis contra Lutherum</i> (Ferguson, pp. 316–328)
<i>Adag.</i>	<i>Adagiorum Chiliades</i> (<i>LB</i> II; <i>ASD</i> II,1 [<i>Adag.</i> 1–500], <i>ASD</i> II,4 [<i>Adag.</i> 1501–2000], II,5 [<i>Adag.</i> 2001–2500], II,6 [<i>Adag.</i> 2501–3000])
<i>Admon. adv. mendac.</i>	<i>Admonitio aduersus mendacium et obtreactionem</i> (<i>LB</i> X, 1683–1692)
<i>Annot. in NT</i>	<i>Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum</i> (<i>LB</i> VI)
<i>Annot. in Mt.</i>	<i>Annotationes in Matthaeum</i>
etc.	etc.
<i>Antibarbari.</i>	<i>Antibarbari</i> (<i>LB</i> X, 1691–1744; <i>ASD</i> I,1, pp. 35–138)
<i>Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 17–66; <i>ASD</i> IX, 3)
<i>Apolog. ad Prodr. Stun.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Prodrum Stunicae</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 375–381)
<i>Apolog. ad Sanct. Caranz.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Sanctium Caranzam</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 401–432)
<i>Apolog. ad Stun. Concl.</i>	<i>Apologia ad Stunicae Conclusiones</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 383–392)
<i>Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus debacchationes Petri Sutoris</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 737–812)
<i>Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus monachos quosdam hispanos</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 1015–1094)
<i>Apolog. adv. rhaps. Alb. Pii</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus rhapsodias Alberti Pii</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 1123–1196)
<i>Apolog. adv. Stun. Blasph. et imp.</i>	<i>Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blasphemiae et impietates Erasmi</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 355–375)
<i>Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.</i>	<i>Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum de tribus linguis</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 79–106)
<i>Apolog. de In princip. erat sermo</i>	<i>Apologia de In principio erat sermo</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 111–122)
<i>Apolog. de loco Omn. resurg.</i>	<i>Apologia de loco Omnes quidem resurgemus</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 433–442)
<i>Apolog. pro declam. laud. matrim.</i>	<i>Apologia pro declamatione de laude matrimonii</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 105–112)
<i>Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.</i>	<i>Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iac. Lopis Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione</i> (<i>LB</i> IX, 283–356; <i>ASD</i> IX,2)
<i>Apolog. resp. inuect. Ed. Lei</i>	<i>Apologia qua respondet duabus inuectiuis Eduardi Lei</i> (Ferguson, pp. 236–303)
<i>Apophth.</i>	<i>Apophthegmata</i> (<i>LB</i> IV, 85–380)
<i>Axiom. pro causa Luth.</i>	<i>Axiomata pro causa Martini Lutheri</i> (Ferguson, pp. 336–337)
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i> (<i>LB</i> I, II, III/1, III/2, IV, V, VIII passim; <i>ASD</i> I,7)
<i>Carm. de senect.</i>	<i>Carmen de senectute</i> (= <i>Carmen alpestre</i> ; <i>LB</i> IV, 755–758; <i>ASD</i> I,7, <i>Carm.</i> 2)
<i>Cat. lucubr.</i>	<i>Catalogus lucubrationum omnium</i> (<i>LB</i> I init.; Ep. I)
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Disticha Catonis</i>

- Chonr. Nastad. dial.* *Chonradi Nastadiensis dialogus bilinguium ac trilinguium*
(Ferguson, pp. 205–224)
- Ciceron.* *Dialogus Ciceronianus*
(LB I, 969–1026; ASD I,2, pp. 599–710)
- De ciuili.* *De ciuilitate morum puerilium*
(LB I, 1029–1044)
- Coll.* *Colloquia*
(LB I, 625–908; ASD I,3)
- Collect.* *Collectanea adagiorum*
- Comm. in hymn. Prud.* *Commentarius in duos hymnos Prudentii*
(LB V, 1337–1358)
- Comm. in Ou.* *Commentarius in Nucem Ouidii*
(LB I, 1187–1210; ASD I,1, pp. 145–174)
- Comp. rhet.* *Compendium rhetorices*
(Allen X, App. 22)
- Conc. de puero Iesu* *Concio de puero Iesu*
(LB V, 599–610)
- Confl. Thal. et Barbar.* *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbarie*
(LB I, 889–894)
- De conscr. ep.* *De conscribendis epistolis*
(LB I, 341–484; ASD I,2, pp. 205–579)
- Consilium* *Consilium cuiusdam ex animo cupientis esse consultum et romani pontificis dignitati et christianae religionis tranquillitati*
(Ferguson, pp. 352–361)
- De construc.* *De constructione octo partium orationis*
(LB I, 165–180; ASD I,4, pp. 119–143)
- Consult. de bell. turc.* *Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo et obiter enarratus Psalmus XXVIII*
(LB V, 345–368; ASD V,3, pp. 31–82)
- De contemptu mundi* *De contemptu mundi*
(LB V, 1239–1262; ASD V,1, pp. 39–86)
- De cop. verb.* *De copia verborum ac rerum*
(LB I, 1–110; ASD I,6)
- Declam. de morte* *Declamatio de morte*
(LB IV, 617–624; = 'Aliud exemplum consolationis',
in: *De conscr. ep.*: ASD I,2, pp. 441–455)
- Declamatiuncula* *Declamatiuncula*
(LB IV, 623–624)
- Declarat. ad cens. Lutet.* *Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas*
(LB IX, 813–954)
- Detect. praestig.* *Detectio praestigiarum*
(LB X, 1557–1572; ASD IX,1, pp. 233–262)
- Dilut. Clichthou.* *Dilutio eorum quae Iodocus Clichthoueus scripsit aduersus declamationem suasoriam matrimonii*
(Telle)
- Disputatiunc.* *Disputatiuncula de tedio, pauore, tristitia Iesu*
(LB V, 1263–1294)
- De dupl. mart.* *De duplici martyrio*
(in: *Cypriani Opera*, Basileae, 1530)
- Eccles.* *Ecclesiastes siue de ratione concionandi*
(LB V, 767–1100; ASD V,4 [libri I, II], ASD V,5 [libri III, IV])
- Enarrat. in Ps.* *Enarrationes in Psalmos*
(LB V, 171–556; ASD V,2 [Ps. 1–4, 14 (= *De purit. tabernac.*), 22], V,3 [Ps. 28 (= *Consult. de bell. turc.*), 33, 38, 83 (= *De sarc. eccles. concord.*), 85])
- Enchir.* *Enchiridion militis christiani*
(LB V, 1–66; Holborn, pp. 22–136)

- Encom. matrim.* *Encomium matrimonii*
(ASD I,5, pp. 385–416; = 'Exemplum epistolae suavioriae', in: *De conscr. ep.*: LB I, 414–424; ASD I,2, pp. 400–429)
- Encom. medic.* *Encomium medicinae*
(LB I, 533–544; ASD I,4, pp. 163–186)
- Epist. ad frat. Infer. Germ.* *Epistola ad fratres Inferioris Germaniae*
(LB X, 1589–1632; ASD IX,1, pp. 329–425)
- Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.* *Epistola apologetica aduersus Stunicam*
(LB IX, 391–400)
- Epist. c. pseudeuang.* *Epistola contra quosdam qui se falso iactant euangelicos*
(LB X, 1573–1590; ASD IX,1, pp. 283–309)
- Epist. consolat.* *Epistola consolatoria in aduersis*
(LB III/2, 1874–1879 = V, 609–614)
- Euripides* *Euripidis Hecuba et Iphigenia in Aulide*
(LB I, 1129–1210; ASD I,1, pp. 215–359)
- Exomolog.* *Exomologesis siue modus confitendi*
(LB V, 145–170)
- Explan. symboli* *Explanatio symboli apostolorum siue catechismus*
(LB V, 1133–1196; ASD V,1, pp. 203–320)
- Expost. Iesu* *Expostulatio Iesu cum homine*
(LB V, 1319–1320; ASD I,7, *Carm.* 43)
- Galenus* *Galeni tractatus tres*
(= *Galeni Exhortatio ad bonas artes, De optimo docendi genere, Quod optimus medicus*; LB I, 1047–1064; ASD I,1, pp. 637–669)
- Gaza* *Theodori Gazae Thessalonicensis grammaticae institutionis libri duo*
(LB I, 117–164)
- Hyperasp.* *Hyperaspistes*
(LB X, 1249–1536)
- De imm. Dei misericord.* *De immensa Dei misericordia concio*
(LB V, 557–588)
- Inst. christ. matrim.* *Institutio christiani matrimonii*
(LB V, 613–724)
- Inst. hom. christ.* *Institutum hominis christiani*
(LB V, 1357–1359; ASD I,7, *Carm.* 49)
- Inst. princ. christ.* *Institutio principis christiani*
(LB IV, 559–612; ASD IV,1, pp. 133–219)
- De interdicto esu carn.* *Epistola de interdicto esu carniū*
(LB IX, 1197–1214; ASD IX,1, pp. 19–50)
- Isocrates* *Isocratis ad Nicoclem regem De institutione principis*
(LB IV, 611–616)
- Iudic. de apolog. P. Cursii* *Iudicium de apologia Petri Cursii*
(Allen XI, pp. XXIII–XXIV)
- Iul. exclus.* *Iulius exclusus e coelis*
(Ferguson, pp. 65–124)
- De lib. arbitr.* *De libero arbitrio diatribe*
(LB X, 1215–1248)
- Liban. declam.* *Libanii aliquot declamatiunculae*
(LB I, 547–556; ASD I,1, pp. 181–192)
- Lingua* *Lingua*
(LB IV, 657–754; ASD IV,1A)
- Liturg. Virg. Lauret.* *Virginis matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*
(LB V, 1327–1336; ASD V,1, 95–109)
- Lucianus* *Luciani dialogi aliquot*
(LB I, 183–340; ASD I,1, pp. 381–627)

<i>Mod. orandi Deum</i>	<i>Modus orandi Deum</i> (LB V, 1099–1132; ASD V,1, pp. 121–176)
<i>Moria</i>	<i>Moriae encomium</i> (LB IV, 381–504; ASD IV,3)
<i>Nov. Instr.</i>	<i>Nouum Instrumentum</i>
<i>Nov. Test.</i>	<i>Nouum Testamentum</i> (LB VI)
<i>Obsecratio</i>	<i>Obsecratio siue oratio ad Virginem Mariam in rebus aduersis</i> (LB V, 1233–1240)
<i>Orat. de pace</i>	<i>Oratio de pace et discordia</i> (LB VIII, 545–552)
<i>Orat. de virt.</i>	<i>Oratio de virtute amplectenda</i> (LB V, 65–72)
<i>Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen</i>	<i>Oratio funebris Bertae de Heyen</i> (LB VIII, 551–560)
<i>Paeon Virg.</i>	<i>Paeon Virgini Matri dicendus</i> (LB V, 1227–1234)
<i>Panegy. ad Philipp.</i>	<i>Panegyricus ad Philippum Austriae ducem</i> (LB IV, 505–550; ASD IV,1, pp. 23–93)
<i>Parab.</i>	<i>Parabola siue similia</i> (LB I, 557–624; ASD I,5, pp. 87–332)
<i>Paracl.</i>	<i>Paraclesis</i> (LB V, 137–144 = VI, f° *31°–*4v°)
<i>Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laurentii Vallae</i> (LB I, 1065–1126; ASD I,4, pp. 207–332)
<i>Paraphr. in NT</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Nouum Testamentum</i> (LB VII)
<i>Paraphr. in Mt.</i>	<i>Paraphrasis in Matthaeum</i>
etc.	etc.
<i>Passio Macc.</i>	<i>Passio Maccabeorum</i>
<i>Peregrin. apost.</i>	<i>Peregrinatio apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i> (LB VI, 425–432 = VII, 653–659)
<i>Ex Plut. versa</i>	<i>Ex Plutarcho versa</i> (LB IV, 1–84; ASD, IV,2, pp. 119–322)
<i>De praep. ad mort.</i>	<i>De praeparatione ad mortem</i> (LB V, 1293–1318; ASD V,1, pp. 337–392)
<i>Precat. ad Iesum</i>	<i>Precatio ad Virginis filium Iesum</i> (LB V, 1210–1216)
<i>Precat. dominica</i>	<i>Precatio dominica</i> (LB V, 1217–1228)
<i>Precat. nov.</i>	<i>Precationes aliquot nouae</i> (LB V, 1197–1210)
<i>Precat. pro pace eccles.</i>	<i>Precatio ad Iesum pro pace ecclesiae</i> (LB IV, 653–656 = V, 1215–1218)
<i>Prologus supputat. calumn. Nat. Bedae</i>	<i>Prologus in supputationem calumniarum Natalis Bedae</i> (LB IX, 441–450)
<i>De pronunt.</i>	<i>De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione</i> (LB I, 909–968; ASD I,4, pp. 11–103)
<i>De pueris</i>	<i>De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis</i> (LB I, 485–516; ASD I,2, pp. 21–78)
<i>Purgat. adu. ep. Luth.</i>	<i>Purgatio aduersus epistolam non sobriam Lutheri</i> (LB X, 1537–1558; ASD IX,1, pp. 443–483)
<i>De purit. tabernac.</i>	<i>De puritate tabernaculi</i> (LB V, 291–312; ASD V,2, pp. 285–317)
<i>Querela</i>	<i>Querela pacis</i> (LB IV, 625–642; ASD IV,2, pp. 59–100)

<i>De rat. stud.</i>	<i>De ratione studii</i> (LB I, 517–530; ASD I,2, pp. 111–151)
<i>Rat. ver. theol.</i>	<i>Ratio verae theologiae</i> (LB V, 73–138; Holborn, pp. 175–305)
<i>Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei</i>	<i>Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei</i> (LB IX, 123–284)
<i>Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.</i>	<i>Responsio ad collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidascali</i> (LB IX, 967–1016)
<i>Resp. ad disp. Phimost.</i>	<i>Responsio ad disputationem cuiusdam Phimostomi de diuortio</i> (LB IX, 955–968)
<i>Resp. ad ep. Alb. Pii</i>	<i>Responsio ad epistolam paraeneticam Alberti Pii</i> (LB IX, 1093–1122)
<i>Resp. ad P. Cursii defens.</i>	<i>Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem</i> (LB X, 1747–1758; Ep. 3032)
<i>Resp. adv. febricit. lib.</i>	<i>Responsio aduersus febricitantis cuiusdam libellum</i> (LB X, 1673–1684)
<i>De sarc. eccles. concord.</i>	<i>De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia</i> (LB V, 469–506; ASD V,3, pp. 257–313)
<i>Scholias</i>	<i>In epistolam de delectu ciborum scholia</i> (ASD IX,1, pp. 65–89)
<i>Spongia</i>	<i>Spongia aduersus aspergines Hutteni</i> (LB X, 1631–1672; ASD IX,1, pp. 117–210)
<i>Supputat. error. in cens. N. Bedae</i>	<i>Supputationes errorum in censuris Natalis Bedae</i> (LB IX, 441–720)
<i>Vidua christ.</i>	<i>Vidua christiana</i> (LB V, 723–766)
<i>Virg. et mart. comp.</i>	<i>Virginis et martyris comparatio</i> (LB V, 589–600)
<i>Vita Hier.</i>	<i>Vita diui Hieronymi Stridonensis</i> (Ferguson, pp. 134–190)
<i>Vita Orig.</i>	<i>Vita Origenis</i> (LB VIII, 425–440)
<i>Xenophon</i>	<i>Xenophontis rhetoris Hieron</i> (LB IV, 643–654)

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NAK	Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis
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INDEX NOMINVM

This index includes the names of persons, peoples, places, and selected institutions, such as the Church, which occur in the Latin text, the critical apparatus, the Introductions with their footnotes and the notes on the individual *Paraphrases*; however, because of their frequent occurrence the names of biblical authors, Jesus and his titles, and God and his various designations are omitted. Likewise the name Erasmus is omitted. When a name occurs in a footnote or in the notes on the *Paraphrases* the page number is followed by the letter 'n'.

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