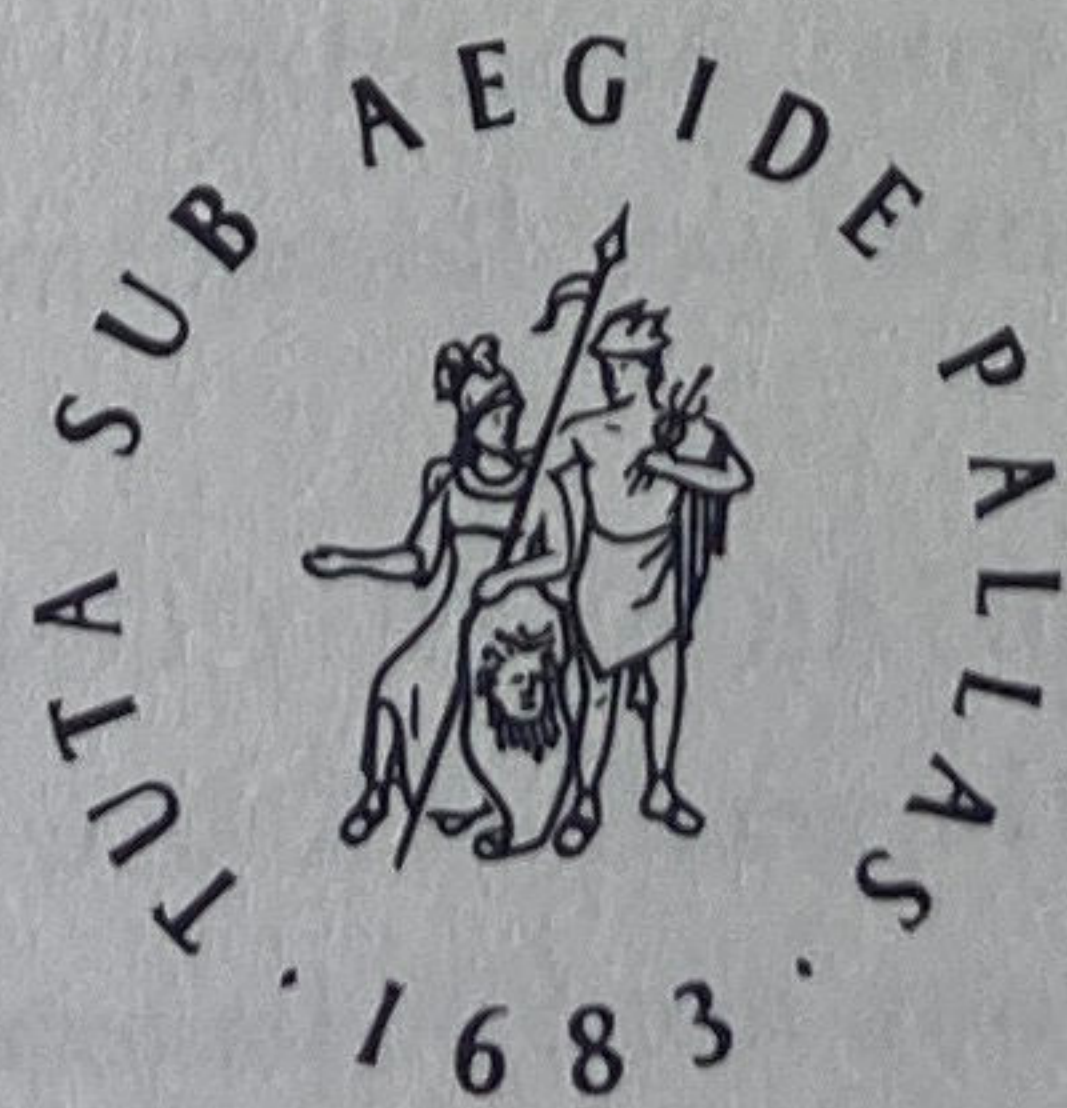


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BRILL
LEIDEN • BOSTON

2018

APOLOGIA DE LOCO 'OMNES QUIDEM RESVRGEMVS'

ed. C. Asso

Pisa

INTRODUCTION*

On October 28th, 1521 Erasmus left Louvain definitively to move to Basel.¹ His stay in the capital of Brabant had lasted little more than four years (since July 1517), and well-known humanist (who had become his counsellor in 1516) in the stronghold of Roman orthodoxy, the Faculty of Theology in Louvain. Erasmus' reputation in the fermenting German humanistic circles had, as a matter of fact, reached its zenith just as Germany was on the verge of following Luther. In addition, having on its side the editor of the Greek New Testament, as well as the 'scourge of princes and prelates' (who, in any case, had not yet proclaimed himself to be in favour of the growing schism at that stage), might have looked to the imperial chancellery as a way of balancing the strained international situation. Erasmus therefore was able to move, with no resistance, to Louvain at the beginning of the summer of 1517. It was a much better solution than the alternative he was offered—i.e. following the Emperor to Spain—because of the length of the journey, the difficulty of the climate and the little sympathy he had for Spanish theological circles. Instead in the capital of Brabant he hoped to be able to immerse himself undisturbed in his studies, with the help of an imperial pension. However, he did not foresee that his stay in Louvain would be so completely taken up with the theological disputes he was dragged into by the foremost members of the Faculty of Theology.² Except for Edward Lee, an Englishman studying in Louvain, they were all members of the council of the Faculty, including chiefly Maarten van Dorp, Johannes Ath, Jacques Masson (Latomus), Nicolaas Baechem, and Vincent Dierckx.³ At least at the beginning, his personal relationships with most of them were fairly warm: Dorp and Latomus had

* I am particularly grateful to M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, whose patient reading considerably improved the commentary. I wish as well to thank G.J.M. Bartelink and the memory of S. Camporeale, who kindly read both Latin and English text, and A.L. Johnson, G. Guarino, J. Bestor, R. Learmont and G. Tamburini who, at different times, translated and revised the English text. All errors and misinterpretations are obviously mine. This edition has been published, with slight differences, in 2003 (*Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, XV, pp. 165–201). D.L. Drysdall has discussed my interpretation first in the article 'Erasmus' alleged error in the *Apologia de loco "Omnes quidem resurgemus"*, *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 27 (2007), pp. 76–82, and subsequently in his edition of the volume 73 of *CWE* (2015), pp. xix–xxii.

¹ Ep. 1342, l. 113 sqq. Cf. H. de Jongh, *L'Ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, Louvain, 1911, p. 238 and p. 239, n. 1.

² Cf. M. Bataillon, *Erasme et l'Espagne*, Genève, 1991, I, pp. 84–88; H. de Jongh, *L'Ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, Louvain, 1911, pp. 187–261; J. Etienne, *Spiritualisme érasmien et théologiens louvanistes: Un changement de problématique au début du XVI^e siècle*, Louvain, 1956; M. Nauwelaerts, 'Erasme à Louvain: Éphémérides d'un séjour de 1517 à 1521', in *Scrinium Erasmianum*, ed. J. Coppens, Leiden, 1969, vol. I, pp. 3–24; and Rummel, *Catholic Critics*, I, pp. 1–144.

³ See *Contemporaries*, s.vv.

immediately seemed to him to be two possible agreeable disciples; Dorp himself and Ath had rushed to his bedside when it seemed as if, in the autumn of 1518, he might die of the plague.⁴ Only Baechem had never shown any liking whatsoever for Erasmus: not even for the sake of polite appearances. From Erasmus's first memories he appears as a quick-tempered, aggressive and disagreeable man. He had perhaps already preached against the *Moria*,⁵ when Erasmus asked for an opinion on his New Testament in a private meeting at the beginning of 1518, to which Baechem replied that he had never read any of it.⁶ This initial attitude, although apparently at odds with the diplomatic politeness of his colleagues,⁷ was not, in essence, far removed from their convictions. The Faculty of Louvain had a lot to reproach Erasmus for.

The first edition of the Greek New Testament, edited by him and published in Basel in 1516 together with a Latin translation and dense *Annotationes*, where the grammatical commentary often turned into a theological one, had in fact a real revolutionary significance for traditional theology. Putting the Scripture into the hands of Christians, while explaining all its possible meanings, both grammatical and rhetorical, and shedding light on its obscure or inconsistent readings meant essentially knocking down the wall that theological and sacerdotal tradition had raised between the average believer and the substance of religion. Erasmus's declarations as to who should be addressed by the work were rather contradictory: more than once, in fact, he said he wanted to make his work available only to learned men, who could study it closed in their rooms;⁸ but in other cases he had declared he wanted to see the Scripture (the emended Scripture) in the hands of simple women and cobblers.⁹ The publishing success of the undertaking that took its place in Erasmus's earlier work, being of a decidedly pedagogic nature, indicated that Erasmus had wanted to produce a work for a larger readership. The *corpus theologorum* of Louvain therefore prepared an attack on several fronts: while Ath and Latomus attacked the humanist's New Testament work indirectly, the former lecturing against the *Encomium matrimonii*,¹⁰ the latter writing a *Dialogus de trium linguarum et studii theologici ratione*¹¹ in which Erasmus's name never surfaces, Baechem hurled violent and open invectives against him from the pulpit, without sparing him personal attacks. But the bluntness and the flaunted ignorance of the Carmelite, augmented by his open admission of never once having opened Erasmus's New Testament, were coherently linked to the attacks of his more refined peers. His attitude was, as a matter of fact, a radi-

⁴ Ep. 1225, ll. 78-80.

⁵ Ep. 1162, ll. 88-90.

⁶ Ep. 1225, ll. 53-56.

⁷ Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, ll. 59-75.

⁸ Cf. e.g. *Apologia*, LB VI, pp. ** 2^{r-v}, and *Ann. in Ioh.* I, I, ASD VI, 6, pp. 34-36, ll. 85-130.

⁹ See e.g. *Paraclesis*, ASD V, 7, p. 290, ll. 90-96.

¹⁰ See Ep. 1225, ll. 100-102 and n., and H. De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, Louvain, 1951-1955, I, pp. 313-314.

¹¹ Published in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, III, ed. F. Pijper, 's-Gravenhage, 1905, pp. 41-84. See C. Asso, *La teologia e la grammatica: La controversia tra Erasmo ed Edward Lee*, Florence, 1993, pp. 26 sqq., with references.

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¹³ Epp. II

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¹⁸ Ep. II5

cal refusal of Erasmus's main alleged sin: daring to openly explain the Sacred Bible to the layman, thus nonchalantly overriding the task, and knowledge, of those who up to then had been the keepers of those secrets. The story of the relations between Baechem and Erasmus is therefore interwoven with the dislike of the most explicit member of the Faculty of Theology for the humanist, who was bitterly conscious of the fact that the very nature of his work was at stake in that field.

Nicolaas Baechem (Ecmondanus)¹² was born in the 1460s. Prior of the Carmelites in Louvain since 1510 (and in 1517–1518 in Brussels), Baechem had been a Doctor of Theology since 1505, having taken his degree under the guidance of Adrian Florent, later Pope Adrian VI. He met Erasmus presumably upon his arrival in Louvain, in the summer of 1517, when the humanist was getting in touch with the Faculty of Theology through Maarten van Dorp. Although he had never expressed any liking for Erasmus, he started his real attacks only in 1520, when he was entrusted by the Pope with the diffusion of the Bull *Exsurge Domine* in the southern Low Countries. At that time, the second edition of the New Testament had already been published, and it clearly showed that, despite some changes he made to please the theologians, Erasmus did not want to abandon his philological work on the Holy Scripture. In Baechem's eyes, this made Erasmus worse than Luther: indeed he often compared him with Luther in his sermons.¹³ Erasmus's letter to Luther dated May 30th, 1519 (Ep. 980) was read by the Carmelite as an open endorsement of the Reformation.¹⁴ Baechem even wished for Erasmus's and Luther's conversion, comparing them to Paul, first a persecutor, and then a great apostle of Christ.¹⁵ Even the learned controversy between Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples was used by Baechem as an example of the dissension that was bound to divide the heretics ("Numquam conuenit inter haereticos").¹⁶ This was utterly vexatious to Erasmus, but when Baechem became the inquisitor for the Low Countries, vexation turned into worry. Towards the end of 1520, he asked Ath, then Dean of the Faculty, to mediate a meeting with Baechem, where both could publicly clarify their positions.¹⁷ But this attempt, brilliantly summarised in an epistle to Thomas More (Ep. 1162), yielded no positive results. Baechem wrathfully declared that his attacks would cease only if Erasmus wrote a retraction of his works and composed an attack against Luther.

During the winter of 1520–1521, Baechem unleashed a relentless campaign against Erasmus: it was during those months that, upon seeing him among the congregation, in the middle of a sermon, he exposed him to general scandal.¹⁸

¹² See *Contemporaries*, s.v. and Rummel, *Catholic Critics*, I, pp. 135–143.

¹³ Epp. 1144, ll. 28–31; 1153 *passim*; 1302, ll. 65–71; 1412, ll. 18–21.

¹⁴ Ep. 1143, ll. 24–42 and 32n.

¹⁵ Epp. 1164, ll. 56–58; 1192, ll. 48–51; 1196, ll. 583–586.

¹⁶ Epp. 1144, ll. 31–33; 1192, ll. 51–53; 1196, ll. 573–575.

¹⁷ Ep. 1173, ll. 24–34.

¹⁸ Ep. 1153, ll. 15 ff.

At the same time, the group of pro-Erasmus German humanists, who the year before had ridiculed Edward Lee's *Annotationes in Annotationes Novi Testamenti Desideri Erasmi*, went into action, producing a series of small satirical works directed against Baechem. The most direct and scathing was the *Vita Sancti Nicolai*, published by Wilhelm Nesen after 6 December, 1520.¹⁹ Erasmus, who officially did not get involved in the vehement anti-Roman battles of his German admirers relied a lot on the telling publicity of their libels. But the detested *camelus*, as Erasmus's followers called Baechem, undoubtedly enjoyed greater influence than the isolated Edward Lee both at the imperial court and in the Faculty of Theology, and his power in Louvain up to the summer of 1526 seems not to have been in discussion.²⁰ Erasmus's departure from the town in the autumn of 1521 must have been, in short, a victory for him. This complicated the delicate relationship between Erasmus and the imperial chancellery. Although a truly sincere *caesareanus*, the humanist refused to return to be "stoned" in Brabant whereas on the part of the Emperor, who would have liked more concrete evidence of his faithfulness to Roman orthodoxy, one probable issue of doubt was why he had not succeeded in establishing a peaceful co-existence with the theologians of Louvain. On February 1524 he wrote:²¹ "[...] per Margaretam ac Caesarem promittitur pensio consilarii,—sed in patriam reuerso. Verum illic regnat Edmondanus, homo furiosus, armatus gladio, qui me duplo peius odit quam Lutherum". By going away from the Low Countries Erasmus lost his pension as imperial counselor, but although continually complaining about his economic condition and despite imperial entreaties, he never again returned to his fatherland.

Initially of a generic nature, Baechem's attacks became increasingly specific in the final months before Erasmus's departure. In September 1521, a few weeks before Erasmus left Louvain, during a theology lesson, he maintained that Erasmus's translation "Omnes quidem non dormiemus" of *I. Cor.* 15, 51 in place of the Vulgate's "Omnes quidem resurgemus" was heretical.²²

Following this, during the summer of 1522, he attacked the recent edition of the *Colloquia*.²³ At this point Erasmus managed to get a letter from Pope Adrian VI in person imposing silence on Baechem. But he obeyed only until the Pope's death in 1523, after which he returned to the attack.²⁴ During a course he held on the Gospel according to St. Matthew after September 1523, he declared that three sections of Erasmus's translation were heretical: *Mt.* 3, 2 ("Poenitentiam agite: appropinquauit enim regnum coelorum"); *Mt.* 6, 12 ("et remittito nobis debita nostra sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostribus"); *Mt.* 2, 3 ("Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est, et omnis Ierosolyma cum illo"). According to the Carmelite, the first two put the doctrine of the sacrament of penitence at risk, while the third, shifting from the

¹⁹ See Ep. 1165, ll. 38–39 and n.

²⁰ Ep. 1719, ll. 28–33.

²¹ Ep. 1417, ll. 16–19

²² Ep. 1235, ll. 5–31.

²³ Ep. 1300.

²⁴ Epp. 1481, ll. 62–66; 1515, ll. 10–19; 1553, ll. 38–41; 1554, ll. 30–45; 1585, ll. 58–63; 1719, ll. 28–33.

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²⁶ Ep. 146

²⁷ Epp. 2

²⁸ Epp. 17

²⁹ See Ru

³⁰ CSEL

words of the ancient translator, was theologically unacceptable. Erasmus answered point by point Baechem's attacks as he refers in Ep. I to Johannes Botzheim, written and amplified between January 1523 and September 1524.²⁵ Of these replies only the *Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus'* has come down to us. It was written between 23 September 1521 and February 1522, the date of the publication in Basel by Froben of the volume *Apologiae omnes*, where it appeared for the first time.

Baechem's 'tyranny' at Louvain lasted until summer 1524, when, according to Erasmus, "exautoratus est et a Caesare et a Pontifice".²⁶ While he was vice-inquisitor he had been responsible for the imprisonment and death of several people.²⁷ On 6 August 1526 we find in Erasmus's correspondence the first news of the illness that after much suffering killed Baechem a few weeks later.²⁸ Erasmus remembered him as the cause of bitter disagreement that divided the Church in the Low Countries at that time and as an unworthy representative and element of discredit for the Pope's cause. According to tradition, the humanist's aversion for the Carmelite went as far as to induce him to write a cynical epigram on his death.²⁹

Erasmus's *Apologiae* are, generally speaking, complex works of an overly precise, almost pedantic style, that follow, point by point, the path of his opponents' attacks, with the eager aim of not leaving any objection whatsoever unanswered. They make reading a difficult task, forcing the reader to often pause (Erasmus himself frequently complains of the stylistic and intellectual awkwardness of this literary genre); but when systematically analysed they reveal themselves to be consistently structured and coherent. The *Apologia* against Baechem is, surprisingly, an exception to this pattern. When one tries to schematise its structure, in fact, several basic inconsistencies emerge, as we shall see, to such an extent as to completely challenge the validity of the argumentative value of the work. Moreover, these inconsistencies provide the basis for the fundamentally mistaken interpretation of the principal text concerning the subject matter, which is Jerome's 119th Epistle, to Minervius and Alexander on the interpretation of *I. Cor.* 15, 51.³⁰

It is therefore necessary to expose first and foremost the problem as it emerges from Jerome's exposition (complex yet consistent), in order to see how this figures in Erasmus's line of argument. Jerome explains that the Greek codices contain two conflicting readings of the passage, which in the Latin translation are as follows:

- (a) Omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur
- (b) Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur

²⁵ Ep. I, Allen, I, pp. 24, l. 36–26, l. 36.

²⁶ Ep. 1466, ll. 13–14.

²⁷ Epp. 2186, ll. 65–71; 2445, ll. 65–79.

²⁸ Epp. 1732, ll. 41 ff.; 1763, l. 122; 1765, ll. 31–32.

²⁹ See Rummel, *Catholic Critics*, I, p. 142.

³⁰ *CSEL* 55, pp. 446–469.

Jerome states immediately his preference for (b), thus reading the passage in the following manner. Some men (i.e. those who will be alive on Judgement Day and people of extraordinary fate, such as Enoch and Elijah, who were directly taken up into heaven) will not die ("non omnes dormiemus"), but all men, be they dead or alive, will pass on to immortal life ("omnes autem immutabimur"). Jerome then explains the opinions of other critics, some of whom are in favour of (a), others of (b): Diodorus of Tarsus, Didymus and Acacius of Cesarea prefer (a); Theodore of Eraclea, Apollinaris and Origen prefer (b). Masterfully balancing their opinions, Jerome gives much weight to the views of Acacius of Cesarea, a supporter of (a), and of Origen, an upholder of (b). Jerome quotes extensively from the commentaries of these two authors, relating long passages and stressing that Acacius, although reaching different conclusions, draws directly on Origen, borrowing his strongly spiritualistic reading. For both of them, in fact, "dormire" may be interpreted as conveying the meaning "sleeping in faith", that is "wallowing in sin" (cf. the parable of the ten virgins, *Mt.* 25, 1-13). In this sense, (b) should be read as meaning that some men will not yield to sin (i.e. will not be damned) but that all of them will pass from mortal life to immortality. Lastly Jerome clearly specifies that the reading of the Latin codices

(c) Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur

is not attested to by the Greek ones.

The structure of Erasmus's *Apologia* against Baechem is largely based on Jerome's epistle. In the first part he exposes the *status quaestionis*, the reasons for his own philological choice and the attacks the Englishman Henry Standish, and subsequently Baechem made against him. Immediately afterwards he goes on to the real defence of the reading chosen and his own orthodoxy, a defence based on three different exegetic methods of arguing: a listing of the *auctoritates*, application of the method of the *collatio locorum* and a final discussion of some theological problems raised by the different readings. However the method of arguing crumbles at several points precisely because of Erasmus's mistaken—and inexplicable—reading of Jerome's epistle. So a point by point analysis of the *Apologia* will allow us to follow the argument and account for its odd character.

The following outline summarises its contents point by point, without giving any interpretation. The numbers and titles of the paragraphs are the only additions.

ll. 4-65 THE "STATUS QUAESTIONIS" AND THE ATTACKS DIRECTED AT ERASMUS

In ancient times the Greek codices read this passage differently; the Greek codices which have survived up to the present day agree instead on one single rendering: πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα ("Non omnes quidem dormiemus, omnes tamen immutabimur") (ll. 4-9)

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The Latin codices have a different reading: "Omnes quidem dormiemus, sed non omnes immutabimur" (ll. 9–11). Erasmus states that he limited himself to translating the one reading authorized by the Greek codices, without wishing to criticise the Latin edition, *aeditio latina* (ll. 11–18). Although Erasmus explained his motives in the *Annotationes*, he was publicly attacked by two theologians because of his treatment of this passage. One of them [Henry Standish] accused him of denying the resurrection of the body, in the presence of the English sovereign (ll. 18–48). The other one [Nicolaas Baechem] charged him with heresy, during a theology lesson in Louvain, accusing him of choosing a reading logically at odds with the reading of the Church ["Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur" vs "Omnes resurgemus, non omnes immutabimur"] (ll. 49–65).

ll. 66–202 LISTING OF THE *AUCTORITATES*

Erasmus declares himself to be no more than a translator, therefore not responsible for the text (ll. 66–72). Furthermore, in the *Annotationes* he had covered all the variants and opinions of the authorities on this matter (ll. 72–75).

A (ll. 75–90) *The opinions of the Greeks*

1) (ll. 75–83) Chrysostom and Theophylact follow reading (*b*) that Erasmus found in the Greek codices, meaning that those still living on Judgement Day will not die ("non omnes dormiemus"), by passing directly from mortal life to eternity.

2) (ll. 83–90) Origen also shows a preference for the reading followed by Erasmus (*b*), since in *Contra Celsum*, II, 65 he clearly states that on Judgement Day it will be possible to distinguish between the dead who will be resurrected, and the living, who will be transmuted ("immutabimur") from mortality to immortality.

B (ll. 91–202) *The opinions of the Latins*

In his presumptuous and pugnacious ignorance, Baechem hates the Greek authors: he might be more willing to accept the opinions of the Latins, whom he should however have consulted before attacking Erasmus (ll. 91–103).

1) (ll. 104–154) In his 119th epistle, to Minervius and Alexander, Jerome says that in the Greek codices there were two different readings: the one Erasmus found in his Greek codices (*b*), and "eam quam vsus habet Ecclesiae Latinae" [the Vulgate]. Theodore of Eraclea and Apollinaris conform to the former, Origen and Didymus to the latter. It might be argued that Jerome here prefers "hanc lectionem quam hodie codices habent Latini", i.e. "Omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem immutabimur". This is true, but Jerome's grounds for this choice must be carefully analysed, and if shown to be weak, Jerome's authority will not have any weight (ll. 104–117).

ANALYSIS OF JEROME'S ALLEGED ARGUMENTS (ll. 117–154)

Jerome maintains that, if one reads "Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur", the words of the following verse, "mortui resurgent incorrupti", turn out to be redundant. But, firstly, "dormiemus" here necessarily has the meaning of "moriemur"; secondly, "immutabimur" is interpreted in two senses: as referring only to the blessed, with the meaning of "we will pass into glorious immortality", or referring to all men

as meaning "we will pass to the eternity of the body". Whatever the meaning chosen (it is indeed, unimportant for this purpose), it is clear that Paul, after stating that not every man will die, and that all will pass to eternal life aims at specifying what he has previously stated in general terms, by trying to explain how resurrection is to happen. He therefore says that the event will take place with astonishing speed, to the sound of a trumpet, and that, then, at the same time, the dead will resurrect "et nos immutabimur", i.e. the living will transmute. In essence, Paul reaffirms more specifically in verse 52 what he said in verse 51, as mathematicians do in their demonstrations. Jerome's perplexity therefore turns out to be of little importance.

2) (ll. 155-173) Ambrose reaches the same conclusions, even starting out from a different reading, i.e. "Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur", interpreting it as: come Christ's advent, some will not die, but will be transformed and become immortal (ll. 155-163). Even the alleged *antilogia*, therefore, claimed by Baechem between Erasmus's interpretation and the official reading (cf. ll. 62-64), is void. It is indeed clear that identical conclusions can be reached from conflicting readings (ll. 163-173).

3) (ll. 174-187) But it may be that Baechem despises Jerome and Ambrose too, since they devoted themselves to Greek letters—a discipline he loathes. At least, he should trust the opinion of Augustine, a father respected in all circles. In *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, Augustine refers to those who contend that, at the end of the world, some will stay alive and cross over to eternity without the bridge of death. So too according to Augustine, the authors of this interpretation are "catholici et eruditi" (ll. 179-180).

4) (ll. 188-195) The author of the commentary to Paul's epistles, mistakenly attributed to Jerome, mentions three readings of this passage: "Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur", followed by Ambrose and to be found nowhere in the Greek codices, according to Jerome (ll. 190-192); "Omnes quidem dormiemus, sed non omnes immutabimur"; and "Omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur". Even pseudo-Jerome prefers this last reading.

5) (ll. 196-198) In his commentary on St. Paul, Thomas Aquinas mentions the twin readings of this passage. He not only does not refuse the reading of the Greek codices, but clearly states that they have no heretical meaning.

6) (ll. 198-202) Peter Lombard, quoting on this theme a section of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, rejects neither reading.

ll. 203-230 *COLLATIO LOCORUM: I. THESS. 4, 15-17 AND DIFFERENT READINGS THEREOF*

As the *collatio locorum* is an excellent exegetic method, it will be useful in examining *I. Thess. 4, 15-17*³¹ (ll. 203-210).

³¹ "[15] Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo Domini, quia nos, qui viuimus, qui residui sumus in adventum Domini non praeueniemus eos qui dormierunt. [16] Quoniam ipse Dominus in iussu et in voce Archangeli et in tuba Dei descendet de caelo: et mortui qui in Christo sunt, resurgent primi. [17] Deinde nos, qui viuimus, qui relinquimur, simul rapiemur cum illis in nubibus obuiam Christo in aera, et sic semper cum Domino erimus."

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1) (ll. 210–215) According to some, in this passage the words “Nos qui vivimus” point to the righteous and “qui dormierunt” to the sinners. This is the opinion of Origen and his followers, who usually insist on the moral aspects of the Scripture, so offering the reader different senses to meditate on.

2) (ll. 216–222) Apollinaris and Diodorus, according to Jerome, reject Origen’s interpretation, and here read “viuentes” not as “the righteous”, but as those still living at Christ’s coming. Were it not thus, in fact, and “dormientes” meant “the sinners”, this would be at odds with the words that follow, “Nos qui viuimus non praeueniemus eos qui dormierunt”, where the meaning seems to be that both will be blessed.

3) (ll. 222–227) Ambrose’s interpretation is more refined than cogent, meaning that those still living on Judgement Day will die and resurrect in a very short time.

4) (ll. 227–230) Augustine shares Ambrose’s opinion on this subject.

ll. 231–320 DISCUSSION OF SOME POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS

A (ll. 232–234) Some find it absurd that some men may be rescued from death.

1) (ll. 234–243) Jerome, on the contrary, does not find such a thing strange. In the epistle to Marcella, who enquires of him how this could happen, since Jesus himself has died and the Book of Revelation foresees the same fate as Enoch and Elijah, Jerome answers that some men will be transformed from a mortal to an immortal state, and that Revelation is, anyway, a text to be read in a mystical sense. This account also appears in the *Glossa ordinaria*.

2) (ll. 244–258) Augustine, commenting upon *I. Cor.* 15, 22 (“Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita in Christo omnes viuificabuntur”) and *I. Cor.* 15, 36 (“Tu quod seminas non viuificatur nisi prius moriatur”), lingers on this problem. Indeed these words of Paul by no means force us to believe that those still living on the Day of Judgement will die and resurrect before the coming of the Saviour: they can, on the contrary, refer to those who have died before the coming of our Saviour. And, in a passage quoted in the *Glossa ordinaria*, Augustine remarks that, just as mankind in general acquired mortality through Adam, so it acquires eternal life through Christ. This right applies also to those who will not die.

3) (ll. 259–261) Some advance *Heb.* 9, 27 (“Statutum est omnibus hominibus semel mori”). They may be answered in two ways:

a) (ll. 261–281) General sentences of this kind do not exclude some rare exceptions.

b) (ll. 281–291) In this passage of the epistle to the Hebrews, Paul refers, in a more profound sense, to human death—which cannot take place more than once—in order to explain that Jesus, having himself died as a man, will not come back to be sacrificed again, but will return as a judge. This is, in fact, an example of the best way of reading the Scripture: to observe carefully the context of the passage under discussion (ll. 291–292).

4) (ll. 293–304) On the same grounds it can be argued against those who adduce *I. Cor.* 15, 36 (“Tu homo quod seminas non viuificatur nisi mortuum fuerit”). Indeed here Paul does not merely mean that all men must die, but intends to explain, with an example drawn from nature, that what the Gospel promises is not unbelievable, i.e. the dead can rise again.

B (ll. 305–320) Some find it unseemly that a passage like *1. Cor.*, 15, 51, discussing a dogma as important as the resurrection may show an ambiguous reading or meaning.

1) (ll. 307–309) But, unfortunately, Christ wanted many passages of the Scripture to be ambiguous.

2) (ll. 309–312) On the other hand the Vulgate too ("Haec ipsa quam hodie sequitur Ecclesia Latina") has an ambiguous meaning here.

3) (ll. 312–320) Augustine gets anyway rid of any doubt on the matter, claiming that one need not know how resurrection will take place: it is sufficient to believe that it will happen.

ll. 321–392 CONCLUSION

A (ll. 321–379) Invective against Baechem and his like.

B (ll. 380–392) Envoi.

The first incongruity resulting from Erasmus's text concerns the three various readings of *1. Cor.* 15, 51:

- (a) Omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur (Greek, lost)
- (b) Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur (Greek, survived)
- (c) Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur (Latin)

In fact Erasmus states that at the present time Greek codices have only (b) and Latin ones (a), without specifying what the two ancient Greek readings were and making (a) and (c) coincide.³² In this way he transposes the discussion from the antithesis Vulgate/Greek codices (which is his main problem here) to the ancient polemic illustrated by Jerome, who set the supporters of the two different Greek readings against each other and did not consider the Latin one. Baechem's attack

³² Since 1516, Erasmus declared in his *Annotationes*, that in *Epist.* 119 Jerome "ostendit hunc locum bifariam legi apud Graecos, et hoc modo quem hic indicaui [(b)] et eo modo quo Vulgata habet aeditio", see *ASDVI*, 8, pp. 302–304, ll. 647–649. This statement is wrong, and I cannot understand why Erasmus endorsed it. He knew that all the ancient and medieval scholars quote Jerome correctly. It is amazing that Erasmus, the champion of rhetoric against dialectic, was not troubled in considering as equals two words whose sense is opposite such as 'resurgere' and 'dormire'. There is only one possible hypothesis—i.e. that this peculiar exegetical practice conceals an ironical polemic with dialectic theologians and with St Thomas in particular. In his commentary to *1. Cor.* 15, 51, Thomas quotes Jerome's text correctly. Then he tries to harmonize it with the Vulgate. "Omnes resurgemus" and "omnes dormiemus" must in some way coincide: "... dicitur mors somnus, propter spem resurrectionis. Vnde idem est ac si diceret 'omnes quidem resurgemus', quia nullus resurgit nisi moriatur." In a letter to Jodocus Jonas of 13 Jun 1521, Er. accuses Thomas of distorting Christ's teaching by his philosophical method (*Ep.* 1211, ll. 429–444). Thus, it is possible that he accepted as a starting point the equivalence stated by Thomas ("dormiemus" = "resurgemus"). It simplified the discourse and—in addition—it minimized the embarrassing fact of having suppressed the word "resurgemus" from a very important passage of St. Paul. But, I argue, Er. refers implicitly to Thomas' authority with a congruous amount of irony. The equivalence, far from his philosophical context and without Thomas' logical passages appears and is an absurdity.

is read in the light of this transposition: in Erasmus's account, he would accuse the humanist of modifying the order of the negations in the verse ("Omnes quidem [...], non autem omnes" into "Non omnes [...], omnes autem") thereby changing it in its *contradictoria*, but not of substituting reading (c) with (b) (i.e., the Vulgate with the Greek reading). Having posed the problem in this way, Erasmus continues by listing the *auctores* who preferred (b). When he arrives at Jerome, Erasmus falls into two further contradictions:

- 1) he attributes to the Latin father his own initial statement: that is to say, one of the two ancient Greek readings (b) remains in the Greek codices, whereas the other one (a) has survived only in the Latin ones;
- 2) he mistakes Didymus's opinion—exposed by Jerome and in favour of (a)—for the view of Jerome (who instead is, generally speaking, in favour of (b)). As a consequence of this mistake, the confutation at ll. 117–154—that Erasmus thinks is acting against Jerome—is actually an attack against Didymus's arguments.

Finally, in citing Ambrose, Erasmus reconsiders the reading (c), but only because it is testified by this father, not as a reading of the "Latin codices".

In consequence, the analysis of "mistakes" that can be found in the *Apologia* against Baechem is the only key to penetrating a text that is decidedly obscure. The incongruity remains especially amazing because Erasmus himself had made an edition of Jerome's epistles that is substantially the same as the modern ones. It does not seem likely that in the *Apologia ad Baechem* Erasmus had deliberately altered Jerome's text to adapt it to his own exposition, because Jerome's interpretation given in the *Apologia* takes away influential support from Erasmus's argument. A comparison with the commentary on *I. Cor.* 15, 51, of the 1522 edition (contemporary of the *Apologia*) offers no help. Confronted with it, in fact, the *Apologia* has over and above the detailed exposition of Jerome's epistle: in the remaining parts the two texts essentially agree and in the commentary there are the same incongruities above noted in the *Apologia*. Instead, the more likely explanation seems to be the commoner, that's to say that Erasmus made careless errors due to the hurried composition of the work ("Quandoque bonus dormitat Erasmus!") and maybe also to boredom and contempt for the quarrel and the adversary.

In conclusion, this *Apologia* remains a singular case in Erasmus's polemical works. Comparison with the other *Apologiae* only confirms this judgement. Never, in fact, in the other *Apologiae* is the argumentation so illogical and chaotic. Even the answers to the *Annotationes* of Lee, whom Erasmus considered a foolish, ignorant adversary, are to the point and accurate and show great concern about clarifying the doctrinal problems at stake. This is even more the case with renowned adversaries like Latomus, Stunica or Beda.

But we should remember that, however conservative almost all Erasmus's adversaries were, they entered the field of the theological and scriptural discussion, either of a theoretical and general kind (like in Latomus' *Dialogus de trium linguarum et*

studii theologici ratione), or about heresy in specific scriptural or doctrinal choices. Baechem was the only one who remained programmatically and polemically outside every intellectual discussion, as Erasmus reports in his lively letter (Ep. 1162) to Thomas More. Here he describes his public confrontation with Baechem, mediated by Johannes Ath, at the Theology Faculty of Louvain:

"Possem—inquam³³—testari de insigni contumelia, possem regerere conuicium. Appellat me versipellem; liceret ipsum appellare vulpem. Appellat me duplicem; possem ipsum appellare quadruplicem. Ait me cauda contorquere omnia; possem dicere illum lingua sua inficere omnia. Sed haec nec viris digna sunt, ac vix etiam mulieribus. Agamus argumentis, finge me ..." Hic ille protinus interpellans magno clamore nautico, "Non fingo—inquit—Nolo fingere; hoc vestrum est. Vos poetae fingitis ac mentimini omnia." Iam magis ridere libebat quam indignari. "Si fingere non vis—inquam—da igitur" "Nolo—inquit—dare" "Fac—inquam—ita esse" "Non faciam" inquit. "At pone ita esse" inquam. "Non ponam" inquit. "Sit igitur ita" inquam. "At non est" inquit. "Quid igitur—inquam—vis me dicere?" "Dic—inquit—'Ita est'"³⁴

A month later Erasmus declared: "Sum paratus reddere rationem studiorum meorum omnibus sobriis; nam cum Egmondano colloqui non est colloqui".³⁵ Maybe given these precedents, Erasmus thought that the only answer he could give to Baechem was rhetorical and logical chaos. He knew in fact that the only person interested in replying to him was his adversary, who not only would never write an answer ("Tu stilum habes—Baechem had said—nos linguam habemus"³⁶), but who would never even read his *Apologia*.

We must now examine briefly the doctrinal significance that the choice of "Omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur" instead of "Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur" might have had for Erasmus. The general sense of the verse considered becomes, according to Erasmus's reading: "We shall not all die (the Apostle is speaking in the first person), but we shall all be transformed; because those who are alive on the last day will pass directly to immortal life, without dying or being resurrected." It is possible that one of the main drawbacks seen in this interpretation by traditionalist theologians was the loss of importance in the Last Judgement of the miracle of the resurrection of the flesh. In this way, in fact, those who are alive on the last day would not enjoy the resurrection of the body. It could also be worried that readers of Erasmus's text might conclude that Paul numbered himself among those whom Christ's advent would find alive, in other words, that Paul cherished a short term apocalyptic expectation that was later revealed to be erroneous. This interpretation threatened to diminish Paul's authority and therefore the authority of the Church. Finally, "omnes immutabimur" could easily be interpreted not as the passing from earthly to eternal life, with due

³³ Erasmus is speaking.

³⁴ Ep. 1162, ll. 42–55.

³⁵ Ep. 1172, ll. 24–26.

³⁶ Ep. 1162, ll. 205–206.

distinction between life. In this way

Neither Baechem's about Origenis. Anyway, it is u Pauline passage

VULGATA

(50) Hoc autem et sanguis regni possunt: neque possidebit. (51) dico: Omnes quid sed non omnes. In momento, i novissima tuba mortui resurgent nos immutabimur enim corruptibiles incorruptionem immortalitatem mortale hoc in tunc fiet sermo Absorpta est m

In the Vulgate specify, with s all will be blessed evident, through the final transf

By comparing observe, once n to put together coherence of t thinking, obta

³⁷ A Pre-Sixtus-C Nicolai de Lyra p [Basel: Johann Pe

³⁸ ASD VI, 3, p. 3

distinction between the blessed and the damned, but as the transfiguration to holy life. In this way, the idea of universal palingenesis, as conceived by Origen is recalled.

Neither Baechem's charges nor those of the Franciscan Standish spoke explicitly about Origenism, as far as can now be deduced on the basis of Erasmus's summary. Anyway, it is useful to compare the Vulgate and Erasmus's translation of the whole Pauline passage on final resurrection (*I. Cor.* 15, 50–54):

VULGATA

(50) Hoc autem dico, fratres: quia caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt: neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit. (51) Ecce mysterium vobis dico: Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur. (52) In momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba: canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti: et nos immutabimur. (53) Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem: et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. (54) Cum autem mortale hoc indueret immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo, qui scriptus est: Absorpta est mors in victoria.³⁷

ERASMVS

(50) Hoc autem dico fratres, quod caro et sanguis regni Dei haereditatem consequi non possunt, neque corruptio incorruptibilitatis haereditatem accipit. (51) Ecce mysterium vobis dico: Non omnes quidem dormiemus, omnes tamen immutabimur, (52) in puncto temporis, in momento oculi, per extremam tubam. Canet enim et mortui resurgent incorruptibiles et nos immutabimur. (53) Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptibilitatem et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. (54) Cum autem corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptibilitatem et mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est: Absorpta est mors in victoriam.³⁸

In the Vulgate verse 51 breaks the image of the final transformation of the world to specify, with some incongruity, that all will resurrect with the flesh intact, but not all will be blessed (*non omnes immutabimur*). Erasmus's translation, instead, makes evident, throughout the passage, the idea of incorruptibility, in the name of which the final transformation of the world will occur.

By comparing Erasmus's translation with the traditional one it is possible to observe, once more, that, while the Vulgate seems to be born, above all, from the wish to put together single orthodox statements, without paying attention to the general coherence of the text, Erasmus, in trying to faithfully follow the sacred author's thinking, obtains a result as coherent and logical as it was at the limits of orthodoxy.

³⁷ A Pre-Sixtus-Clementine edition of the Vulgate is used here: *Textus Bibliae cum Glossa Ordinaria, Nicolai de Lyra postilla, Moralitatibus eiusdem Pauli Burgensis additionibus, Matthie Thoring replicis* [Basel: Johann Petri and Johann Froben, 1508], *Sexta pars*, cols. 59^v–60^r.

³⁸ ASD VI, 3, p. 326 (text since 1519).

From this point of view Baechem's hysterical attacks appear as the well-founded alarm of an entire system of values, after being placed for the first time seriously in danger, at the beginning of the modern age, by critical method.

There are three editions of the *Apologia de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur'*:

- 1522 APOLOGIAE/ ERASMI ROTERODAMI OMNES, AD/uersus eos, qui illum locis aliquot, in suis libris, non sa-/tis circumspecte sunt calumniati. / In Iacobum Lopim Stunicam apologia I. / In quendam, de loco qui est apud Paulum ad Corin/th. I. cap. XV. Omnes quidem resurgemus ... (unnumbered pages) (*A*). In one copy of this edition, now preserved in Cambridge University Library (shelfmark Adv. a. 5. 1), marginal annotations partly by Erasmus are added (*A^{ms}*).³⁹
- 1538-1540 Des. Erasmi Roterodami *Omnia opera*, Basel: H. Froben, vol. IX, pp. 359-366 (*BAS*)
- 1703-1706 Des. Erasmi Roterodami, *Opera omnia*, recognouit J. Clericus, Lugduni Batauorum, vol. IX, 433-442 (*LB*)

The text in *A* differs from *BAS* in a few passages. Only one of these may be considered of significant importance. It is the passage I put in the *apparatus criticus* at l. 114, where some lines are added in *BAS* to the argumentation regarding St. Jerome. I agree with Andrea W. Steenbeek when—editing the *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*—she observes that *BAS* may be considered a text approved by Erasmus.⁴⁰ In my opinion, however, this position opens up a large field of problems about what can be considered 'authentic' or 'spurious' in speaking of Erasmus's writings—and of sixteenth-century texts as a whole. For this short and textually simple work the problem is simply that of choosing *A* or *BAS*. If we choose *A* (the edition Erasmus saw with his own eyes), the *apparatus criticus* will easily show to the reader the historical development of the text in *BAS*. In one case (l 219), a reading from *LB* is adopted.

³⁹ On this copy, see H.J. de Jonge, 'Aantekeningen van Erasmus in een exemplaar van zijn *Apologiae omnes* (1522)', in *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 58 (1978), pp. 176-189.

⁴⁰ ASD IX, 3, pp. 57-58.

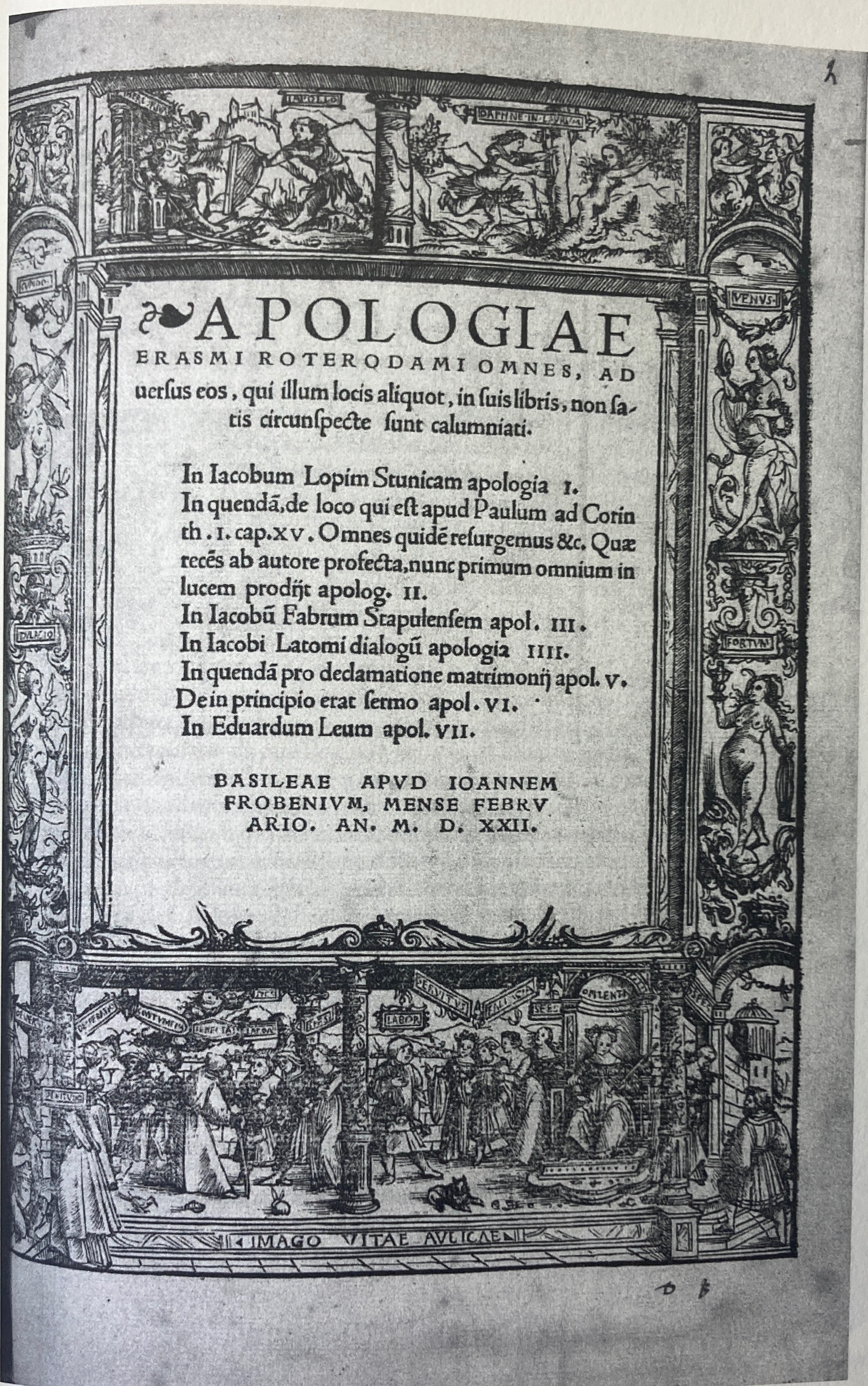


FIGURE 2A Apologiae omnes, Basel: Froben, Feb. 1522 (Rotterdam Public Library 2 B 12), Title page.



APOLOGIA ERASMI

ROTERODAMI, DE LOCO TAXATO, QVI EST
in epistola Pauli ad Corinthios priore, Cap. xv.

Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non
omnes immutabimur.



HOC LOCO Variabāt olim inter Græcorum codices, nunc constanter ut inter se consentiūt, ita à nostra uulgo recepta lectione dissentiūt. Siquidem in omnibus Græcorum codicibus, quos ego sanè uidi, uidi autem non paucos, scriptum habetur πάντες ἂν κοιμησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀναγισόμεθα. i. Non omnes quidem dormiemus, omnes tamen immutabimur. Nec est quisquam recentiorum, qui testificetur sibi diuersam lectionem esse compertam in Græcanicis exemplaribus. Latini codices habēt diuersam lectionem, nimirum hanc: Omnes quidem dormiemus, sed non omnes immutabimur. Quod si cōstaret falsam esse Græcorum lectionem, atq; adeo, si sensum haberet hæreticum, quod longe secus esse certissimis argumentis docebimus, tamen ego nō merebar incessi cōuicijs, qui lectionis huius nō sum autor, sed interpret duntaxat, imò culpandus erā, si secus uertissem, quā habent Græcorū uolumina, præsertim cum non uno in loco clamē me nō statim damnare, quod habet æditio Latina, sicubi demonstro Græcorū libros diuersam habere lectionē, imò quū fatear aliquoties, quod nostri legunt mihi magis probari, quā quod habetur apud Græcos. Ad hæc cum in annotationibus diligenter ostēdam, magnos & orthodoxos autores diuersæ lectionis meminisse, nec ullam tamen improbare: quum ostendam utranque sententiam non pugnare, neq; cum pietate Christiana, neq; cum ueritate doctrinæ euangelicæ. Hæc, inquam, cum à me diligenter sint procurata, tamen duo quidam ordinis Theologici primates & antero humani, sed ut uociferarētur me periculosam hæresim adducere, nec id inter pocula, aut familiaribus colloquijs, sed alter in publica Theologiæ professione Louanij, alter apud Angliæ regem cordatissimum, & Reginam mariti simillimam, circumstante frequenti procerū & eruditissimorū hominum turba. Et quod res esset atrocior, dixit hæc prouolutus ad genua religiosissimorū principū, sublati in cœlum oculis & manibus, obtestans deos atq; homines, ut rātis ecclesiæ periculis occurrerēt, breui collapsuræ, ni celeri remedio prospectū esset. Quæ ista non mouerent, præsertim cū hæc tam religiose proponeret, primū Theologus multo

FIGURE 2B Apologiae omnes, Basel: Froben, Feb. 1522 (Rotterdam Public Library 2 B 12), Hh2v.

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- A* *Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami omnes*, Basel, J. Froben, M.D.XXII.
A^{ms} *Apologiae Erasmi Roterodami omnes*, Basel, J. Froben, M.D.XXII, cum annotationibus manu scriptis Erasmi, Cambridge University Library Adv. a. 5. I.
BAS *Omnia opera*, Basileae apud Io. Frobenium, M.D.XL., vol. IX, pp. 359-366.
LB *Opera omnia*, recognouit J. Clericus, Lugduni Batauorum, Petrus vander Aa, 1706, vol. IX, 433-442.

LB 433-434

LB 433

5

10

Hoc lo
ita a n
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omnes
diuers
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omnes
adeo s
docebi
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1-3 AP
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2-3 Epi
4-5 van
119, 2
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omne
plaria
immu
codic
ll. 5-
mone

APOLOGIA ERASMI ROTERODAMI DE LOCO TAXATO QVI
EST IN EPISTOLA PAVLI AD CORINTHIOS PRIORE, CAPITE XV,
OMNES QVIDEM RESVRGEMVS, SED NON OMNES IMMVTABIMVR.

LB 433
5 Hoc loco variabant olim Graecorum codices, nunc constanter vt inter se consentiunt
ita a nostra vulgo recepta lectione dissentiunt. Siquidem in omnibus Graecorum
codicibus quos ego sane vidi, vidi autem non paucos, scriptum habetur πάντες μὲν
οὐ κοιμησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, id est 'Non omnes quidem dormiemus,
omnes tamen immutabimur'. Nec est quisquam recentiorum qui testificetur sibi
10 diuersam lectionem esse compertam in Graecanicis exemplaribus. Latini codices
habent diuersam lectionem, nimirum hanc: 'Omnes quidem dormiemus, sed non
omnes immutabimur'. Quod si constaret falsam esse Graecorum lectionem atque
adeo si sensum haberet haereticum, quod longe secus esse certissimis argumentis
docebimus, tamen ego non merebar inCESSI conuiciis qui lectionis huius non sum
autor, sed interpretes duntaxat. Imo culpandus eram si secus vertissem quam habent

1-3 APOLOGIA ... IMMVTABIMVR *A*: Apologia Des. Erasmi Roterodami de loco taxato in publica professione per Nicolaum Ecmondanum, theologum et carmelitam louaniensem. Locus est in epistola Pauli ad Corinthios

2-3 *Epistola ... immutabimur* 1. Cor. 15, 51.

4-5 *variabant ... dissentiunt* Cf. Hier. *Epist.* 119, 2, *CSEL* 55, p. 447, ll. 13-18: "Quaeritis quo sensu dictum sit et quomodo in prima ad Corinthios epistula Pauli apostoli sit legendum 'Omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur' an, iuxta quaedam exemplaria, 'Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur': vtrumque enim in Graecis codicibus inuenitur"; and *ibid.*, 12 (p. 469, ll. 5-11): "Illud autem breuiter in fine commoneo, hoc quod in Latinis codicibus legi-

priore, Cap. XV Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur *BAS*.

4 olim Graecorum *BAS*: olim inter Graecorum *A*, inter erasit *A^{ms}*.

tur 'Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur' in Graecis voluminibus non haberi, sed vel 'Omnes dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur', vel 'non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur'".

6 *quos ego ... non paucos* For the Greek manuscripts used by Erasmus for the edition of the New Testament see: *ASD* VI, 2, pp. 6, 9, VI, 3, pp. 1-12, VI, 4, pp. 1, 6, 19, 24; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, pp. 125-137; and Rummel, *Annot.*, pp. 35-42.

15 Graecorum volumina, praesertim cum non vno in loco clamem me non statim
 damnare quod habet aeditio Latina sicubi demonstro Graecorum libros diuersam
 habere lectionem, imo quum fatear aliquoties quod nostri legunt mihi magis pro-
 bari quam quod habetur apud Graecos. Ad haec, cum in annotationibus diligenter
 ostendam magnos et orthodoxos autores diuersae lectionis meminisse, nec vllam
 20 tamen improbare; quum ostendam vtranque sententiam non pugnare neque cum
 pietate Christiana neque cum veritate doctrinae euangelicae. Haec, inquam, cum
 a me diligenter sint procurata, tamen duo quidam ordinis theologici primates et
 antesignani sic hunc locum a nobis versum incessiuerunt, non vt dicerent me la-
 25 psum errore humano, sed vt vociferarentur me periculosam haeresim adducere, nec
 id inter pocula aut familiaribus colloquiis, sed alter in publica theologiae professione
 Louanii, alter apud Angliae regem cordatissimum et reginam mariti simillimam, cir-
 cunstante frequenti procerum et eruditissimorum hominum turba. Et quo res esset
 atrocior dixit haec prouolutus ad genua religiosissimorum principum, sublatis in
 30 coelum oculis et manibus, obtestans deos atque homines vt tantis ecclesiae pericu-
 lis occurrerent, breui collapsurae ni celeri remedio prospectum esset. Quem ista non
 mouerent, praesertim cum haec tam religiose proponeret primum theologus mul-
 torum annorum, deinde senex, ad haec Franciscani nominis, sed eorum genere qui
 se conuentuales appellant, postremo episcopus non a suffragiis et conducticius, sed
 35 verus et opimi prouentus episcopus? Si nomen hominis adderem nullam, opinor,
 illi facerem iniuriam, ac fortassis nec rem ingratam. Nec enim probabile est illum
 40 velle clam haberi, quod ipse in tam celebri talium virorum coetu | prodidit. Sed
 tamen nomen suppressam in Apologia quum ille meum nomen non suppresserit in
 calumnia. Ac ne has quidem notas additurus eram nisi putassem esse cauendum ne
 suspicio vagaretur per multos alios innoxios. Ac summam haereseon mearum contra-
 45 xit in tres articulos quorum primum ex hoc loco sumpserat. Aiebat enim me tollere
 resurrectionem, quam vocem nemo poterat prima fronte secus accipere quam Era-
 smum docere nullam esse corporis resurrectionem, quum ille sentiret, quoniam non
 improbo Graecam lectionem quae sentit non morituros eos quos aduentus Christi
 50 deprehendisset viuos (non resurgit autem nisi mortuus), me tollere resurrectionem
 in illis duntaxat quos existimassem non morituros. Quamquam huius sententiae vt
 non sum impugnator ita nec propugnator sum, sed variis aliorum sententiis recita-
 tis iudicii ius aliis defero, et tamen si pertinaciter haesissem ei sententiae nemo mihi
 merito posset haereseos crimine impingere, quemadmodum mox docebimus.
 55 Verum, cum hoc calumniatore mihi nunc non est proprie suscepta dimicatio, nam
 et res vetus est et ipse coram a doctissimis viris manifestissime confutatus, verius
 quam pudefactus, temeraritatis suae poenas dedit. At nuper Louanii—vtinam mihi
 liceret nihil addere! Sed ne libera suspicio permeet ad innoxium quempiam, paucis
 60 notis hominem designabo vt eum agnoscant caeteri qui recentem audiere fabulam.
 Theologus est eius ordinis si non autoritate certe loco—qui datur non ex eruditionis
 65 sed ex annorum modo—princeps, nominis Carmelitani, quamobrem nemo huius
 ordinis mihi vel pilo est iniucundior (hominem noto, non ordinem), maior annis
 quinquaginta tribus, ni fallor, ipso corporis habitu. Is in lectione theologica, eaque

25 in marg. Ioannes

15-18 non vno in
 e.g., *Apologia*, H
 VI, p. ** 2^r: "Iam
 controuersia est
 etiam, multorum
 hanc Noui Testam
 non esse, quema
 datum. Tametsi
 est aut cuiuscum
 vlllo modo, neque
 tuimus quae tem
 fuerant depruata
 vel ambigue vel p
 pres"; Holborn,
 ** 2^v: "Quibus ha
 quam ego nec dar
 editio"; *Resp. ad*
 pp. 79-85, *LB D*
 ll. 57-61.

18 in *Annotationibu*
 VI, 8, pp. 302-311
 15, 51 was broad
 ond edition, see
 [II], p. 481 with
 408.

22-23 duo quidam
 dish and Nicolaa
 dish (Lat. *Standi*
 ologian and a pr
 ciscans see Allen
 poraries, s.v., and
 I, pp. 122-127, v
 Erasmus on seve
 to the seventeen
 Wood, *Athenae*
 Oxford, 1813-18
Erasmus and his
ment, of which t
 18, p. 881).

25-26 alter ... *Lo*
 ll. 51-65.

26-30 alter ... *pro*
 related in details
 shortly, in Ep. 112
 ll. 23-45; cf. also E
 ll. 635-637. The
 printed in the *Le*
 mistakenly relate
 cius", probably b
 Henry Standish a
 of Montaigne Col

25 *in marg.* Ioannes Standicius *BAS: om. A.*

15-18 *non vno in loco ... apud Graecos* See, e.g., *Apologia*, Holborn, p. 165, ll. 26-33, *LB VI*, p. **2^r: "Iam illud, quemadmodum extra controuersia est apud eruditos ita indoctis etiam, multorum libris persuasum esse reor hanc Noui Testamenti editionem Hieronymi non esse, quemadmodum ab ipso fuit emendatum. Tametsi nos nec hanc, qualiscumque est aut cuiuscumque est, neque conuellimus villo modo, neque calumniatur. Tantum restituimus quae temporum ac librorum vitio fuerant deprauata, obiter indicatis et his quae vel ambigue vel parum attente reddidit Interpret"; Holborn, p. 168, ll. 1-3, *LB VI*, p. **2^v: "Quibus haec placet editio [the Vulgata], quam ego nec damno nec muto, his sua manet editio"; *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei, ASD IX*, 4, pp. 79-85, *LB IX*, 125A-129C; and Ep. 860, ll. 57-61.

18 *in Annotationibus* Er. *Annot. in I. Cor.*, *ASD VI*, 8, pp. 302-312. The commentary to *I. Cor.* 15, 51 was broadened, starting from the second edition, see *ibid.* and cf. *Nov. Instr.*, 1516, [II], p. 481 with *Annot. in NT*, 1522, pp. 405-408.

22-23 *duo quidam ... antesignani* Henry Standish and Nicolaas Baechem. On Henry Standish (Lat. *Standicius*, d. 1535), an English theologian and a provincial father of the Franciscans see Allen, Ep. 608, 14n., *Contemporaries, s.v.*, and Rummel, *Catholic Critics*, I, pp. 122-127, with references. He attacked Erasmus on several occasions and, according to the seventeenth-century work by Antony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, Oxford, 1813-1820, wrote a *Treatise against Erasmus and his translation of the New Testament*, of which there is no witness left (*DNB* 18, p. 881).

25-26 *alter ... Louanii* Baechem. See *infra*, ll. 51-65.

26-30 *alter ... prospectum esset* The episode is related in details in Ep. 1126, ll. 90-176 and, shortly, in Ep. 1127a (Allen, VIII, pp. xlv-xlvi), ll. 23-45; cf. also Epp. 1162, ll. 152-162 and 1196, ll. 635-637. The aside found in *BAS*—also printed in the Leiden edition (*LB IX*, 433)—mistakenly related the name "Ioannes Standicius", probably because of a confusion between Henry Standish and Joannes Standonck, Dean of Montaigu College (see Allen, Ep. 73, l. 9 n.).

This is more likely than a confusion between Henry Standish and Joannes Standish (1507?-1570), Archdeacon of Colchester (*DNB* 18, pp. 881-882), who is never mentioned in the epistles of Erasmus.

33 *episcopus* Standish had been appointed Bishop of St. Asaph by Henry VIII on April 18, 1518.

33 *non a suffragiis et conducticiis* That is to say, an authentic bishop (for *suffraganeus* cf. *DTC*, 5, 1705-1706).

40 *in tres articulos* See Epp. 1126, ll. 115-117; 1127a (Allen, VIII, p. xlvi), ll. 29-31; and 1162, ll. 154-157. Standish charged Erasmus with denying resurrection, the sacrament of matrimony, and of holding an heterodox notion of the Eucharist.

40-48 *Aiebat ... docebimus* Cf. Epp. 1126, ll. 123-176 and 1127a (Allen, VIII, p. xlvi) ll. 29-42. It should be noted that, although in his two epistles Erasmus refers to Standish's charges as groundless and silly, here he carefully specifies the theologian's grounds. Erasmus says in response that he does not deny the resurrection of the body, but that, by preferring the Greek reading, according to which those who are alive on Judgment Day will not die (*Omnes quidem non dormiemus ...*), he denied the resurrection of those who were to pass directly from earthly to eternal life (*non resurgit autem nisi mortuus*).

41 *prima fronte* *Adag.* 888 (Prima facie, prima fronte), *ASD II*, 2, p. 398.

50-51 *ipse ... poenas dedit* Standish was brilliantly refuted by More in the presence of Henry VIII. See Epp. 1126, ll. 118-176 and 1127a, Allen, VIII, pp. xlv-xlvi, ll. 28-42.

56 *pilo est iucundior* *Adag.* 712 (Dignus pilo), *ASD II*, 2, p. 238.

56 *Hominem ... ordinem* On Erasmus's aversion for the order of the Carmelites, contrary to this statement, see H.Th. van Veen, "Erasmus on the 'Carmelite Taboo'", *BHR* 53 (1981), pp. 335-339.

57-64 *Is in lectione ... Non omnes immutabimur* Cf. Ep. 1235, ll. 5-32. Erasmus's reply to this charge is below in ll. 162-173. Baechem allegedly repeated the charge publicly during a sermon, even after the *Apologia* had been published: see Ep. I in Allen, I, p. 25, l. 38-p. 26, l. 3.

72

ordinaria et publica, quam ipse merito venerabilem haberi vult et ad quam cogit etiam accedere qui theologiae sint candidati, quum venisset ad hunc Pauli locum, submonitus, opinor, a quopiam in symposio meam aeditionem hic dissentire a vulgata lectione, 'Hic'—inquit—'Erasmus adfert haeresim. Probat enim contradictoriam eius quod legit ecclesia, quod iuxta dialecticorum rationem haec ex diametro inter se pugnent, 'Omnes resurgemus' et 'Non omnes resurgemus', 'Omnes immutabimur' et 'Non omnes immutabimur'. Quo conuicio quum nihil sit atrocius, tamen quam praeter omnem causam in me torserit paucis expediam.

65 Primum enim (ne disputem interim et Chrysostomo fuisse ecclesiam catholicam, qui legit quod hic haeresim vocat) si, vt coeperam paulo ante dicere, Graecorum lectio sine controuersia sensum haberet haereticum, tamen mihi non poterat imputari, qui nihil aliud profiteor quam interpretem, nisi forte dicent Hieronymo imputandum quicquid errorum Origenes admiscuit libris *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* quod hos bona fide sicut ab eo scripti fuerant Latinis auribus tradiderit. Quod si quis facere tentet, nullus, opinor, non clamaret | hominem in Anticyras relegandum. Nunc quanto id factum est iniquius in me, qui non vnam hanc lectionem, sed caeteras etiam in medium adferam, qui nullam improbem, qui doceam multis orthodoxis ac probatis autoribus LB 435 hanc lectionem non displicuisse quam iste vocat haereticam! Nisi forte sensum haereticum amplexus est Chrysostomus et huius aemulus Theophylactus qui nec legunt aliud quam quod hodie legimus in Graecorum codicibus, nec aliud interpretantur, nimirum non morituros quos ille dies viuos offenderit, sed tamen vna cum resuscitatis mortuis ad eandem immortalitatis sortem immutandos, vt his transitus ad 80 immortalitatem sit vice resurrectionis. Nam hoc, opinor, toto sermone Paulus agit de resurrectione piorum duntaxat iuxta Graecorum sane lectionem. Si quis mihi diffidit, vtrunque volumen Graecum est in bibliotheca Praedicatorum Basileae Rauricorum. Quin et Origenes libro aduersus Celsum secundo, vetustus et cum primis grauis autor, adducit hunc locum iuxta Graecorum lectionem: *Tuba, inquit, signum dabit 85 et mortui resurgent incorrupti. De viuus autem immutandis et a mortuis resurgentibus segregatim sic scribit: 'Et nos immutabimur', quod utique dixit vbi prius dixisset 'mortui resurgent'*. Ex his, opinor, verbis satis perspicuum est quid legerit, quid senserit Origenes, nimirum immutandos pios omnes, et qui reuiuiscunt ante diem aduentus mortui et qui viui deprehendentur, non morituri quidem illi, sed tamen cum iis qui 90 mortui fuerant immutandi.

Quod si Graecorum autoritas leuis est apud hunc quicum ago, qui mire semper fuit infensus Graecis literis, crebro iactitans ex hisce fontibus scaterere quicquid nunc est malorum in orbe (non cogitans ex his fontibus hausisse Cyprianum, Hieronymum, Ambrosium, Augustinum fere quicquid nobis dignum cognitu prodiderunt 95 in literis theologicis) certe priusquam haec tam odiosa verba depromeret, vel effutiret potius, consulere debuerat, vir tam grauis et qui religionis columen haberi postulat, si quid Hieronymus, si quid Augustinus, si quid his recentior Thomas, si quid vulgatisimi commentarioli qui falso Hieronymi titulo, sed neutiquam aspernandi, feruntur in omnes epistolas Pauli, denique si quid glossa quam vocant ordinariam super hac 100 re prodidisset: nam hanc ille solitus est habere familiarem, velut ex eo Copiae cornu

65 causam A: causam I
gionis lumen BAS.

61-62 contradictoriam
Kneale, *The Development of the Doctrine of the Resurrection*, pp. 55-56, abo-
tion", p. 56: "statem
tradictories ... wh
false."

65 causam ... lumen
added here in BAS
434 D). Words of
with respect to Ba
September 5, 1528,
iudicio magnus the
mediocris Ecclesiae

66-67 ne disputem ..
fence of the dignity
for instance, *Respon*
IX, 4, p. 225, ll. 62
habent aut olim hab

69-70 nisi forte ... I
is to Jerome's transl
cipiis, lost today alo
(see J. Quasten, *Pa*
1966, II, pp. 57-78)
79, pp. 6-7, ll. 16-
Migne *PG* II, 109-
which Jerome keep
tance from Origen's

72 in Anticyras relega
Focide renowned f
its hellebore cultiv
considered an app
ness (*RE* II, cc. 2
(Bibe elleborum),
and *Adag.* 752 (Na
pp. 276-278.

75-80 Nisi forte ... r
i. Cor. hom. 42, 2, I
ibid., p. 56; Theop
PG 124, 780 C.

82-83 vtrunque ...
that contain Chry
works; see, for inst
and *ASD* VI, 8, p.
edition of the NT
of Chrysostomus
library in Basel (se
64). As for Theop
seem to be Codex
in the Dominican
Er. (see Bentley,

- 65 causam *A*: causam homo, vt sibi videtur, religionis lumen *BAS*.
- 61–62 *contradictoriam* Cf. W.C. Kneale and M. Kneale, *The Development of Logic*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 55–56, about the “square of opposition”, p. 56: “statements are opposed as contradictories ... when they cannot both be false.”
- 65 *causam ... lumen (app. crit.)* The words added here in *BAS* occur in *LB* as well (IX, 434 D). Words of this kind are also used with respect to Baechem in the Ep. 2045, September 5, 1528, ll. 85–86: “... multorum iudicio magnus theologus, suo maximus, nec mediocris Ecclesiae columna”.
- 66–67 *ne disputem ... vocat* For a similar defence of the dignity of the Eastern Church see, for instance, *Responsio ad annot. Ed. Lei*, *ASD* IX, 4, p. 225, ll. 627–628: “... an Graeci non habent aut olim habuerunt ecclesiam?”
- 69–70 *nisi forte ... Περὶ ἀρχῶν* The reference is to Jerome’s translation of Origen’s *De Principiis*, lost today along with the Greek original (see J. Quasten, *Patrology*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1966, II, pp. 57–78). In *Adv. Ruf.*, I, 463 (*CCSL* 79, pp. 6–7, ll. 16–42; see also *Admonitio*, 4, Migne *PG* II, 109–110) is found the passage in which Jerome keeps, as the translator, his distance from Origen’s view.
- 72 *in Anticyras relegandum* Anticyra, a town in Focide renowned for its mild climate and for its hellebore cultivation, was in ancient time considered an appropriate place to cure madness (*RE* II, cc. 2427–2428). Cf. *Adag.* 751 (Bibe elleborum), *ASD* II, 2, pp. 274–276 and *Adag.* 752 (Naviget Anticyras), *ASD* II, 2, pp. 276–278.
- 75–80 *Nisi forte ... resurrectionis* Cf. Chrys. *In I. Cor. hom.* 42, 2, Migne *PG* 61, 364; and 7, 2, *ibid.*, p. 56; Theophyl. *Expos. in I. Cor.*, Migne *PG* 124, 780 C.
- 82–83 *utrunque ... Rauricorum* The volumes that contain Chrysostom’s and Theophylact’s works; see, for instance, *ASD* VI, 5, pp. 32–33 and *ASD* VI, 8, p. 21. While preparing the first edition of the NT Er. consulted an exemplar of Chrysostomus owned by the Dominican library in Basel (see Rummel, *Annot.*, pp. 63–64). As for Theophylact’s volume, it doesn’t seem to be Codex 817 of the NT then kept in the Dominican library and consulted by Er. (see Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, pp. 128–129; Van Poll-van de Lisdonk, *ASD* VI, 8, pp. 22–23), because it contains only the Gospels.
- 83–87 *Origenes ... resurgent* Orig. *Contra Cels.*, II, 65 (436), Migne *PG* II, 900 A–B, *SC* 132, I, p. 440, ll. 30–35.
- 91–93 *qui mire ... in orbe* Cf. below, ll. 197–198. On Baechem’s dislike of *bonae literae* see also Epp. 1153, ll. 171–175; 1162, ll. 72–75; 1196, ll. 558–561; 1299, ll. 9–12; 1300, ll. 8–9; 1302, ll. 75–79; 1330, ll. 49–52; 1345, ll. 38–39; 1434, ll. 38–39; 1479, ll. 37–55; 1515, ll. 15–19; 1747, l. 15–23; 1763, ll. 125–126.
- 97–99 *vulgatissimi ... Pauli* See Ps. Hier. *Comm. in NT*, Migne *PL* 30, 770 A–B: “Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur. Omnes homines resurgent, sed soli qui regnaturi sunt in gloria mutabuntur. Siue ita, resurgemus omnes qui in aduentu Christi mortui inueniemur. Non omnes immutabuntur qui in corpore sint reperti, quia sancti soli beatitudinis gloriam consequentur. Aliter in quibusdam Graecis codicibus habetur ‘Omnes enim dormiemus: non omnes immutabimur’. In aliis autem ‘Omnes enim non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur’, quod quadrat magis ad sensum Apostoli, quia hic sermo non de omnibus generaliter dicitur, sed de solis sanctis”; cf. the *Admonitio*, *ibid.*, 643–646. Migne printed Er.’s edition of Pseudo-Hieronymus (*Omnium Operum diui Eusebii Hieronymi tomi IX ... cum argumentis et scholiis Erasmi Roterodami*, Basel, J. Froben, 1516, t. IX, fol. 160^v). A. Souter, *Pelagius’s Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1922–1931, gives a critical edition and the story of this complex text. See also M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, “Erasmus’ Annotations on 1. Cor. 13, 51: ‘We shall indeed all rise’ or ‘We shall not all sleep?’”, in C. Kroon and D. den Hengst (eds.), *Ultima Aetas. Time, Tense and Transience in the Ancient World. Studies in Honour of Jan den Boeft*, Amsterdam, 2000, pp. 163–174, esp. 166–167.
- 99 *glossa ... ordinariam* See Migne *PL* 94, 550A: “Omnes quidem vel (secundum Hieronymum qui viuos repertos non morituros asserit ad Marcellam scribens) omnes mortui resurgent et non omnes viui reperti immutabuntur, sed soli sancti”. See further, ll. 242–243.

nihil non hauriri posset. Denique sciscitari debuerat ab iis qui hoc deferebant quibus rebus adductus proposuissem eam lectionem, si vsqueadeo contemnit meas Annotationes vt nunquam a se lectas damnandas existimet.

105 Primum Hieronymus in epistola ad Minerium et Alexandrum recitat duplicem huius loci lectionem et ita probat hanc qua vulgo nunc vtitur vsus ecclesiasticus vt non improbet eam quae sola nunc residet in libris Graecorum atque etiam in codice mirae vetustatis qui est Romae in Bibliotheca pontificis—ne clamitet, ita vt solet, meos codices esse falsatos. Primum, vt dixi, Hieronymus in epistola quam scripsit ad Minerium et Alexandrum fatetur etiam in Graecis codicibus duplicem fuisse lectionem, et hanc quam nos reddidimus ex fide Graecorum codicum, et eam quam 110 vsus habet ecclesiae Latinae. Theodorus Heracleotes et Apollinarius sequuntur priorem, Origenes ac Didymus posteriorem. Sed Hieronymus inibi praefert hanc lectionem quam hodie codices habent Latini, *Omnes quidem dormiemus non omnes autem* 115 *immutabimur*. Fateor: sed videamus quae ratio mouerit Hieronymum vt hanc praeferet, quamquam hanc ita praefert vt alteram non reprobet. Quae ratio si demonstrabitur infirma, non debet plus habere ponderis apud nos autoritas Hieronymi quam habeat ratio quam ille sequutus est. Etenim si legamus *Omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur*, putat parum congruere cum superioribus quod sequitur: *Mortui resurgent incorrupti et nos immutabimur*: si enim, inquit, omnes 120 immutabuntur et hoc commune cum caeteris est, superfluum fuit dicere *et nos immutabimur*. Quamobrem ita legendum est: *Omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem immutabimur*. Quam hic parum attentus fuerit Hieronymus ipsa res indicabit. Primum, illud conuenit hoc loco *dormiemus* positum esse pro *moriemur*. Caeterum, *immutabimur* aliis sonat 'transformabimur ad gloriosam immortalitatem', vt tantum 125 ad pios pertineat, aliis 'transferremur ad immortalitatem corporis', vt simul et ad pios et ad impios pertineat. Mihi videtur hic Paulus agere de resurrectione piorum, ob ea quae sequuntur, *Cum autem corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem et tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est*, item ob ea quae praecesserunt, *Hoc autem dico fratres quoniam caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt, neque corruptio incorruptelam*. Atque huius sententiae fuit Acacius Caesariensis episcopus et Ambrosius noster. Quod si cui magis 130 probatur vt sermo sit generalis et ad vtrosque pertineat ordines, cum hoc non est animus digladiari, quandoquidem minimum refert ad id quod nunc agimus. Quum igitur Paulus explicaturus modum resurrectionis dixisset non omnes quidem mortuos (siue hoc dictum sit propter Heliam et Enoch, siue propter eos qui aduentus Christi deprehendit viuos), sed tamen omnes immutandos ad immortalitatem, et 135 eos qui reuixerint, et eos quos subitus aduentus Christi deprehenderit in vita, quod in genere proposuerat pergit explanare distinctius. Perinde enim, quasi quispiam interrogasset qua ratione fiet vt simul immutentur viui cum mortuis, docet rem mirae celeritate gerendam esse, nimirum ad nutum Dei, qui omnia potest, non naturae viribus, quae lento molimine peragit quod agit: *In momento, inquit, in ictu oculi, in nouissima tuba. Canet enim tuba et simul vtrunque fiet*. Quod vtrunque? Primum, 140 mortui reuiuiscunt, nec reuiuiscunt iterum morituri, sed iam incorruptibili corpore. Sed paulo ante, Paule, dixerat quosdam non morituros: quid de illis futurum est? Ad

hoc responderent aduentus Domini rens docendi gratiam quod obscurius tim exprimens esse superuacuum quibus ex

114 sed videamus cellam, quaestio quod habent Græci tus domini depre sed in iisdem domino vt quera pora surrectur etiam viuorum

101 ab iis qui hoc d
104-106 Hieronym
Epist. 119 Ad
CSEL 55, p. 447
106-107 in codice
can Codex B, se
Writ, pp. 134-13
107-108 ne clami
ll. 75-77; 1196,
111-112 Theodorus
riorem Their o
Ch. 2, 4 and 5 o
112-114 Hieronym
stressed that: 1)
accept the reac
Erasmus; 2) Th
in the Latin cod
merely as a va
introd.).
118-122 putat ...
Epist. 119, 5, CS
must be borne i
ing his own opi
opposite to his.
126-128 ea quae se
15, 54.
128-129 ea quae p
1. Cor. 15, 50.

hoc respondens, *Et nos*, inquit, *immutabimur*, siue ponens seipsum inter eos quos
 145 aduentus Domini deprehensus esset in vita, siue personam illorum in se transfe-
 rens docendi gratia. Non, igitur, superuacue repetitur *Et nos immutabimur*: verum,
 quod obscurius erat dictum, *Sed omnes immutabimur*, explanatius aperit, nomina-
 tim exprimens qui sint non morituri et tamen immutandi. Quod si quis contendat
 150 esse superuacuum, superuacuae erunt omnes fere demonstrationes mathematico-
 rum quibus explanant exemplis quod in genere docet regula.

114 sed videamus *A*: sed idem in epistola ad Marcellam, quaestione tertia, simpliciter probat id quod habent Graeci, nimirum eos quos aduentus domini deprenderit viuos non morituros, sed in iisdem corporibus occurosos in aera domino vt quemadmodum inquit, qualia corpora surrectura sint in talem substantiam etiam viuorum corpora transformentur. Nec

hoc contentus Hieronymus etiam ea diluit quae possunt ex aliis scripturarum locis aduersus hanc sententiam opponi. Ergo cum eo qui nobis Hieronymum obiicit | paria faciamus. Verum vltro renunciemus alterius loci patrocinio et videamus *BAS*.

143 Sed *A*: Atqui *A^{ms}* *BAS*.

101 *ab iis qui hoc deferebant* See above, ll. 59–61.

104–106 *Hieronymus ... Graecorum* See Hier. *Epist.* 119 *Ad Mineruium et Alexandrum*, 2, CSEL 55, p. 447, ll. 13 sqq.

106–107 *in codice mirae vetustatis* Maybe Vatican Codex B, see Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, pp. 134–135.

107–108 *ne clamitet ... falsatos* Cf. Epp. 1162, ll. 75–77; 1196, ll. 602–613; 1581, ll. 355–357.

111–112 *Theodorus Heracleotes ... Didymus posteriorem* Their opinions are related by Hier. in Ch. 2, 4 and 5 of Ep. 119, respectively.

112–114 *Hieronymus ... immutabimur* It is to be stressed that: 1) in *Epist.* 119 Jerome does not accept the reading assigned to him here by Erasmus; 2) This reading is not to be found in the Latin codices, being attested by Jerome merely as a variance on Greek codices (see introd.).

118–122 *putat ... autem immutabimur* Hier. *Epist.* 119, 5, CSEL 55, pp. 449, l. 8–452, l. 19. It must be borne in mind that Jerome is not stating his own opinion, but Didimus's, which is opposite to his.

126–128 *ea quae sequuntur ... scriptus est* I. Cor. 15, 54.

128–129 *ea quae praecesserunt ... incorruptelam* I. Cor. 15, 50.

130 *Acacius Caesariensis* Acacius's opinion is reported by Jerome in *Epist.* 119, cc. 6–7, CSEL 55, pp. 452–458; cf. K. Staab, *Pauluskomentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Munster, 1933, pp. 53–56.

130 *Ambrosius noster* See Ambrosiaster, *Comm. Epist. Paul.*, pars II, CSEL 81, p. 183, ll. 16–20: "Ecce mysterium vobis dico, omnes quidem resurgemus, id est tam credentes quam non credentes. Sed non omnes immutabimur. Nunc vnusquisque meritum in resurrectione significat qualis in singulis futura sit." Er. quotes as "Ambrosius" a version of Ambrosiaster's commentary on Paul, interpolated with Pelagius's writings (see *CWE* 56, p. xii sq. and p. 335, n. 7). The interpolated text of Ambrosiaster is published in A. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1922–1931.

134 *Heliam* The prophet Elijah: see 2. *Rg.* 2, 11, cf. *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, coll. 646–664.

134 *Enoch* Henoch, see *Gn.*, 5, 23–24; *Sir.*, 44, 16 and 49, 14; *Hebr.* 11, 5 (cf. *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, coll. 985–986).

140–141 *In momento ... fiet* Cf. I. Cor. 15, 52.

144 *Et ... immutabimur* I. Cor. 15, 52.

Itaque, quum ratio Hieronymi nihil habet ponderis, non debet illius autoritas quenquam admodum commouere hoc sane loco, praesertim quum graues et eruditos autores nihil offenderit hic scrupus quo Hieronymus—aliud, opinor, agens—videtur offensus.

155 Diuus Ambrosius e diuersa lectione videtur eandem cum Graecis elicere sententiam, quod quidem attinet ad priorem sermonis particulam. Legit enim hunc in modum: *Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes immutabimur*. Ea verba sic interpretatur: *Omnes resurgemus qui in aduentu Christi mortui inueniemur. Non omnes immutabuntur qui in corpore sint reperti, quia sancti soli beatitudinis gloriam consequentur, eandem sententiam paulo post repetens* *Vel certe, inquit, simpliciter omnes mortuos* 160 *resurgere dicit et solos sanctos, cum iis qui viui iusti inuenti fuerint, in gloria immutari.* Vides vt sentiat quosdam in aduentu Christi non morituros, vides eosdem cum iis qui ante dormierant et reuixerunt immutandos ad immortalitatem! Vbi nunc est 165 *LB 437* illa ἀντιλογία quae ex sensu orthodoxo haereticum faciebat? Priusquam haereticus vocabulum erumperet, debebat homo, vt videri vult philosophus, expendere num qua nota verae contradictionis hic falleret, nisi forte contradictionem esse putat si de 170 duodecim apostolis dicam 'Omnes Christo placent', et de Carmelitis 'Non omnes Christo placent'. Verum est vtrunque proloquium, *Omnes resurgemus* et *Non omnes resurgemus*: *Omnes resurgemus*, si loquatur de iis qui mortui fuerint ante seruato- ris aduentum; *Non omnes resurgemus*, si promiscue loquaris de vniuerso mortalium genere. Similiter aequè verum est *Omnes immutabimur* et *Non omnes immutabimur*: *Omnes immutabimur*, quia transferremur ad immortalitatem; *Non omnes immutabimur*, quia non omnes consequemur gloriam immortalitatis vitae.

175 Sed fortassis calumniator hic meus, vt nihil tribuit Graecis scriptoribus, quod illi cum Graecis literis sit ἄσπονδος πόλεμος, ita non multum tribuit Hieronymo et Ambrosio quod graecissent. Sed Augustinum, opinor, non contemnet, tanto scholarum omnium consensu probatum doctorem. Is in libro qui illi inscribitur titulo *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* quum recitasset opinionem eorum qui dicerent omnes mortuos ac proinde resurrecturos subiecit haec verba: *Verum sunt et alii aequè catholici* 180 *et eruditi viri qui credunt anima in corpore manente immutandos ad incorruptionem et immortalitatem eos qui in aduentu Domini viui inueniendi sunt et hoc eis reputari pro resurrectione ex mortuis quod mortalitatem immutatione deponant, non morte. Quolibet quis acquiescat modo, non est haereticus, nisi ex contentione haereticus fiat. Sufficit enim ecclesiae lege carnis resurrectionem credere de morte.* Calumniator iste nihil con- 185 tatus haeresim vocat quod e Graeco verti, et Augustinus appellat eos aequè doctos et catholicos. Vtri libet credere, Augustino an Suffeno?—sit enim interim illi nomen vsurarium.

Iam is qui collegit commentariolos in omnes epistolas Pauli, tametsi falso tribuuntur Hieronimo, tamen vir, vt apparet, eruditus, qui ex priscis autoribus eos 190 consarcinauit, meminit hoc loco trifariae lectionis: *Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur*, quam lectionem quum sequatur Ambrosius, tamen Hieronymus negat inueniri in Graecis codicibus, quum in his inueniantur duae reliquae; altera minimum ab hac dissonans: *Omnes quidem dormiemus, sed non omnes immu-*

tabimur; te
postremam
Denique
lam, indica
verumetian

158 in A: om
169 loquatur
175 ita non A

155 Ambrosi
Souter, Pe
32, and p.
164 illa ἀντι
174-175 quo
175 ἄσπονδο
p. 230.

176-177 Sed
reproache
Augustine
interesting
the logical
tine, as is
dilute it in
ment.

177-184 in l
cis dogma
PL 42, 12
in favour
vain edito
scriptoris
It is sign
Augustine
actually
ous, and
was, in fa
"Sane hic
minit pec
tium in
multos n
nit Pelagi
prolati; s
non esse
um inde
1214).

186 Suffeno
Adag. 14
fenus erat
vitia dica

195 *tabimur; tertia Omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur. Atque hanc postremam maxime probat vt apostolico sensui maxime congruentem.*

Denique diuus Thomas Aquinas in commentariis quibus hanc enarrat epistolam, indicata duplici lectione, non solum non improbat eam quam habent Graeci, verumetiam negat in ea sensum esse haereticum. Quin et Petrus Lombardus, libro

158 in *A*: om. *BAS*.

169 loquatur *A*: loquaris *BAS*.

175 ita non *A^{ms} BAS*: ita non ita *A*.

155 *Ambrosius Ambrosiaster* interpolated, see Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, I, p. 53 sq., ll. 27–32, and p. 54, ll. 39–40. See above, l. 130 and n.

164 *illa ἀντιλογία* See above, ll. 57–64.

174–175 *quod illi ... πόλεμος* Cf. above, ll. 91–93.

175 ἄσπονδος πόλεμος *Adag.* 2284, *ASD* II, 5, p. 230.

176–177 *Sed Augustinum ... doctorem* Er. was reproached by many for preferring Jerome to Augustine (see, e.g., Ep. 769, ll. 83–99). It is interesting to see that here he stops short of the logical conclusion of his reasoning (Augustine, as is well known, knew little Greek) to dilute it in a general and vaguely ironical statement.

177–184 *in libro ... de morte* I.e., *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus liber Gennadio tributus*, Migne *PL* 42, 1213–1222. In spite of much evidence in favour of Augustine's paternity, the Louvain editors held this book as "non catholici scriptoris". Migne puts it in an Appendix. It is significant that when Erasmus quotes Augustine (as a concession to Baechem), he actually chooses a book considered spurious, and later suspected of Pelagianism. This was, in fact, the opinion of the Louvanistes: "Sane hic auctor nusquam in hoc libro meminit peccati originalis aut baptismatis infantium in remissionem peccatorum: cumque multos nominet haereticos, nusquam meminit Pelagii aut catholici dogmatis contra eum prolati; sed contra diligenter inculcat animas non esse ex traduce eo quod sciret Pelagium inde suum dogma statuere" (*ibid.*, 1213–1214).

186 *Suffeno* Cf. Catull., 22 and 14, 19. See *Adag.* 1412 (Ne mihi Suffenus essem): "Suffenus erat poeta longe ineptissimus, in aliorum vitia dicax, ad sua caecus", *ASD* II, 3, p. 412.

177 inscribitur *A^{ms} BAS*: scribitur *A*.

178 dicerent *A^{ms} BAS*: diceret *A*.

196 diuus *A*: *erasit A^{ms}, om. BAS*.

188–195 *is qui collegit ... congruentem* see above, ll. 97–99

191 *quum sequatur Ambrosius* See above, n.l. 130. See A. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1922–1931, I, p. 54, l. 27.

191–192 *Hieronymus ... codicibus* Ep. 119, 12, *CSEL* 55, p. 468, l. 21–p. 469, l. 11. This is in glaring contradiction with what is stated above, in ll. 104–111.

196–198 *Thomas Aquinas ... haereticum* See Thomas Aquinas *Super primam Epistolam ad Corinthios lectura, lectio VIII*, nn. 1003–1004, in *Super Epistolas S. Pauli lectura* cura P. Raphaelis Cai, vol. I, Taurini-Romae, 1953, pp. 425–426, where Thomas compares three readings: the one of the Vulgate and the two Greek ones attested by Jerome. Thomas here assimilates the Vulgate to the Greek reading "Omnes quidem dormiemus" etc., opposing them both to the Greek reading "Non omnes quidem dormiemus etc." ("Circa primum sciendum est quod, sicut Hieronymus dicit in quadam epistola ad Mineruium et Alexandrum monachos, hoc quod hic dicitur 'Omnes quidem resurgemus etc.' in nullo libro Graecorum habetur; sed in quibusdam habetur 'Omnes quidem dormiemus', id est 'omnes moriemur'. Et dicitur mors somnus propter spem resurrectionis. Vnde idem est ac si diceret 'Omnes quidem resurgemus', quia nullus resurget nisi moriatur ... In quibusdam vero libris inuenitur: 'Non omnes quidem dormiemus', id est 'moriemur', sed omnes immutabimur ..."); it is beyond any doubt that Erasmus is deliberately ambiguous here.

198–202 *Petrus Lombardus ... haereticum* See Petri Lombardi *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, Grottaferrata, 1981, II, pp. 514–515.

quarto, distinctione quadragesima tertia, referens super haec decerpta quaedam ex Augustini libro *De ciuitate Dei* vigesimo, capite vigesimo, neutram sententiam reiicit, sed admiscet de suo: *Vellem, inquit, de his potius audire doctiores, satis declarans se nihil illic videre haereticum.*

Ergone haeresim quam viri tam oculati non viderunt vidit lippus noster? Quid quod haec lectio congruit cum eo loco qui est in Epistolae ad Thessalonicenses prioris capite quarto? Quando haec est certissima clavis diuinae Scripturae, locorum similium ac dissimilium collatio, ibi sic legimus: *Nos qui viuimus, qui residui sumus in aduentu Domini non praeueniemus eos qui dormierunt, quoniam ipse Dominus in iussu et in voce Archangeli et in tuba Dei descendet de coelo et mortui qui in Christo sunt resurgent primi, deinde nos qui viuimus, qui residui sumus simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obuam Christo in aera et sic semper cum Domino erimus.* Neque vero me fugit quosdam hic viuos interpretari iustos, dormientes peccatores.

Sic enim Origenes et huius imitatores nonnunquam sibi permittunt in Scripturis arcanis ludere tropologiis, praesertim quoties ad mores instituendos adhortantur aut deterrent a vitiis, atque item in commentariis, in quibus volunt esse summam libertatem proponendi varias opiniones quo lectori suppeditetur cogitandi materia. Verum hoc commentum reiiciunt Apollinarius ac Diodorus teste Hieronymo quibus placet viuentes hic accipi non iustos, sed omnes quos aduentus Christi deprehenderit in vita.

Alioqui si dormientes intepretemur iniustos, non congruet illud quod sequitur: *Nos qui viuimus non praeueniemus eos qui dormierunt.* Etenim cum dicit *Non praeueniemus* significat vtrosque simul rapiendos obuam Christo in aera, neque enim iniusti rapiuntur in aera obuam Christo, sed iusti duntaxat. Ambrosius enim explanans hunc locum ex Epistola ad Thessalonicenses commentum adducit argutum magis, mea quidem sententia, quam graue: *In ipso, inquit, raptu mors proueniet et quasi per soporem vt egressa anima in momento reddatur. Quum enim tollentur, morientur vt, peruenientes ad Dominum, praesentia Domini recipiant animas, quia cum Domino mortui esse non possunt.* Atque hoc sequutus videtur Augustinus in loco quem modo citavi, quanquam ita recensens vt non admodum fidere videatur huic opinioni, quam ita proponit non vt velit eam esse certam, sed sat habet si non videatur esse incredibile quod adfert.

Nunc nihil superest nisi vt paucis excutiamus scrupulos quibus offensi quidam ad huiusmodi commentatiunculas confugerunt. Quidam enim absurdum existimant, quum homines a moriendi necessitate dicantur mortales, aliquos ab hac eximere communi lege. Verum ea res nihil offendit Hieronymum qui Marcellae quaerenti vtum omnibus esset moriendum an quos aduentus Domini viuos deprehendisset vtum vt erunt rapiendi sint obuam Christo in aera, cum mortuus sit ipse Dominus cumque in Apocalypsi Enoch et Helias narrentur esse morituri, respondet illos non morituros, sed tamen a mortalitate ad immortalitatem esse transformandos. Caeterum quod habetur in Apocalypsi non ad historiam, sed ad mysticum sensum accipiendum, nisi placent et alia quae illic referuntur de templo aedificando, de hostiis immolandis iuxta sensum carnalem interpretari, quo nihil esse possit

199-200 decerpta
XX, 20 (Migno
p. 476; CCSL 4
vtrum illi quos
Christus [...] nu
an ipso tempor
obuiam Christo
ritate transibun
fieri non posse
portantur, in illo
scant". The quo
B. Dombart and
Lombardus has
Annot. in I. Co
ll. 828-831: "Qu
quarto, distinct
rens Augustini
vigesimo, haec
ni fallor, ex octo
tia". The senter
1535 refers to Au
CCSL 44 A, p.
tion of Van Pol
ASD VI, 8, p. 3
204-205 in Epist
212-215 Origenes
Eck, ll. 245 sqq
216 Apollinarius
119, 8, CSEL
"dicendum es
videlicet, Apo
sequuntur se
haec scripsit: '
apostolus voc
et alios resurr
periendos, se
stos de quoru
enim rapientu
tores. 'Vivent
sanctos accip
sed omnes qu
inuenerit. Q
niemus eos q
catores refer
tores cum i
sed eos quos
perquiro et a
cum ipse m
sumus in ad
residui verb
diebus Noe
repente ven
adventus Fi

216 Apollinarius *A^{ms} BAS*: Appollinarius *A*.

199–200 *decerpta ... vigesimo* Cf. Aug. *Civ.*, XX, 20 (Migne *PL* 41, 688; *CSEL* 40-II, p. 476; *CCSL* 48, p. 734): "Sed quaeri solet vtrum illi quos hic viuentes inuenturus est Christus [...] numquam omnino morituri sint an ipso temporis puncto quo [...] rapiuntur obuiam Christo ad immortalitatem mira celeritate transibunt. Neque enim dicendum est fieri non posse vt, dum per aera in sublime portantur, in illo spatio et moriantur et reuiuiscant". The quotation is from the edition by B. Dombart and A. Kalb: the passage in Petrus Lombardus has some variants. See also Er. *Annot. in I. Cor.* 15, 51, *ASD* VI, 8, p. 312, ll. 828–831: "Quin et Petrus Lombardus libro quarto, distinctione quadragesima tertia, referens Augustini verba ex libro De ciuitate Dei vigesimo, haec attexuit *quasi de suo, decerpta, ni fallor, ex octo ad Dulcitium quaestionum tertia*". The sentence in italics which was added in 1535 refers to Aug. *De octo Dulciti quaest.* III, 3, *CCSL* 44 A, p. 276, l. 35. See also the annotation of Van Poll-van de Lisdonk to these lines, *ASD* VI, 8, p. 313.

204–205 *in Epistolae ... quarto* *I. Thess.* 4, 15–17.

212–215 *Origenes ... materia* But see Ep. 844 to Eck, ll. 245sqq.

216 *Apollinarius ... Hieronymo* See Hier., *Ep.* 119, 8, *CSEL* 55, p. 458, l. 17–p. 460, l. 4: "dicendum est quid videatur aliis, Theodoro videlicet, Apollinari et Diodoro, qui vnam sequuntur sententiam. Quorum Diodorus haec scripsit: 'Residuos atque viuentes' Paulus apostolus vocat non quo velit intellegi et se et alios resurrectionis tempore in corpore repperiendos, sed nos dixit pro eo quod est 'iustos de quorum et ego sum de numero'. Ipsi enim rapiuntur obuiam Christo, et non peccatores. 'Viventes' autem non iuxta tropologiam sanctos accipimus qui peccato mortui sunt, sed omnes quos in corpore adueniens Christus inuenit. Quodque sequitur, 'Non praeuenimus eos qui dormiunt', nequaquam ad peccatores referre debemus (neque enim peccatores cum iustis rapiuntur obuiam Christo) sed eos quos mors dissoluerit. Verum quid ista perquiro et apostolicis dictis calumniam facio cum ipse manifestissime scribat 'qui residui sumus in adventum Domini'? Qui sint autem residui verbis discimus Saluatoris: 'Sicut in diebus Noe ducebant uxores et nubebant et repente venit diluuium et tulit omnes sic erit adventus Filii hominis'. Quibus sermonibus

219 dormientes *LB*: peccatores *A BAS*.

adprobatur in fine mundi multos viuos et adhuc in corporibus repperiendos. Sequitur: 'In iussu, in voce archangeli et mortui resurgent primi'. Et hoc rursum Saluator in euangelio loquitur 'Media autem nocte sponsus venit' qui vtique viuentes in corpore deprehendet 'duo erunt in lecto vno: vnus adsumetur et alius relinquetur; et duae molentes, vna adsumetur et alia relinquetur'. Quibus dictis ostenditur medio noctis, securis omnibus consummationem mundi esse venturam".

216 *Apollinarius* See above, ll. 111–112.

216 *Diodorus* Bishop of Tarso, died ante 392, Migne *PG* 33 and K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Münster, 1933, pp. 82–112.

222–227 *Ambrosius ... non possunt* Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in Ep. Paul.*, *CSEL* 81, pars III, p. 228, ll. 1–5. For Ambrosius see also above, ll. 130 and 191.

227–230 *Augustinus ... quod adfert* See ll. 199–200 and n. Cf. *De eccl. Dogm.* 6, Migne *PL* 42, 1215: "Erit resurrectio mortuorum omnium, sed vna, et insimul et semel". Cf. above, ll. 177–184.

232 *huiusmodi commentatiunculas* Here Er. probably means this Apology, referring to the doubts of those who, not satisfied with the commentary on the New Testament, needed to read it.

234–242 *Hieronymum ... absurdus* Hier. *Epist.* 59 *Ad Marcellam de quinque Noui Testamenti quaestionibus*, 3, *CSEL*, 54, p. 543, l. 14–p. 544, l. 14.

237 *in Apocalypsi* Cf. *Ap. Ioh.*, II, 3–7: "et dabo duobus testibus meis et profetabunt diebus mille ducentis sexaginta, amicti saccis. [...] Et cum finierint testimonium suum bestia [...] occidet eos" (Cf. Hier., *Ep.* 59, *CSEL* 54, p. 543, ll. 18–19). A part of tradition identifies the "duobus testibus" with Enoch and Elijah (see R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, Edinburgh, 1971 [1st ed. 1920], vol. I, p. 281; and *Revelation*, introduction, translation and commentary by J. Massyngberde Ford, Garden City, New York, 1975, pp. 177–178). There is no commentary by Erasmus on this passage of Revelation.

239–242 *Caeterum ... absurdus* Er. repeatedly expresses this very opinion, without holding back a certain annoyance over the book of Revelation; see, e.g., Ep. 1432, ll. 28–30.

absurdus. Haec demiror latuisse tantum (vt haberi postulat) theologum, praesertim cum recitentur in vulgatissima rhapsodia quam vocant Glossam ordinariam. Diuum Augustinum peculiariter mouent illa Pauli verba quae sunt in Epistolae ad Corinthios prioris capite decimo quinto, *Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita in Christo omnes viuificabuntur*, praesertim quum addat: *Tu quod seminas non viuificatur nisi prius moriatur*. Videmur enim hic Pauli sermonibus vrgeri vt credamus viuos subito in ipso raptu morituros ac reuicturos, quum mea sententia nihil sit necesse. Primum, enim, potest hic sermo accommodari ad eos qui obdormituri sint ante seruatoris aduentum quemadmodum ostendimus veteres aliquot orthodoxos interpretari sermonem illum *Omnes quidem dormiemus*. Deinde diuus ipse Augustinus, cuius verba referuntur in Glossa ordinaria, declarans huius loci sensum *Omnes, inquit, in Adam moriuntur, omnes in Christo viuificantur, quia nemo ad mortem nisi per illum, nemo ad vitam nisi per istum, quia sicut per Adam omnes mortales ex poena facti sunt filii seculi ita per Christum omnes immortales in gratia fiunt filii Dei*. Hactenus Augustinus. Mori dicuntur qui ob primi parentis culpam nascuntur mortales et viuificari dicuntur qui beneficio Christi fiunt immortales. Porro mortalitas et immortalitas cadit et in illos quos aliquo casu contigerit non mori.

A nonnullis adducitur et illud quod est in Epistola ad Hebraeos, *Statutum est omnibus hominibus semel mori*: si omnibus statutum est mori, nullus igitur non moritur. Ad quod bifariam responderi potest. Primum, huiusmodi generalibus sententiis non excludi | priuilegia paucorum: nec ideo fur fuit et latro sanctus Esaias quod Christus dixerit in Euangelio *Omnes quotquot venerunt fures sunt et latrones*, sed tanta erat bonorum prophetarum ac doctorum paucitas, ad Pharisaeorum et pseudoprophetarum multitudinem collata, vt omnes dixerit plurimos vt tam paucos pro nullis habuerit; rursus non ideo Petrus ac Barnabas sua compendia Christi negotio praetulerunt quia Paulus scripsit *Omnes quae sua sunt quaerunt, non quae Iesu Christi*, sed de plerisque Christum insincere praedicantibus dicit omnes quod perpauca essent qui sic praedicarent vt ipse praedicabat; nec ideo Nathan propheta declinauit a recto et inutilis factus est quia Psalmographus scripsit *Omnes declinauerunt, simul inutilis facti sunt*; nec ideo falsum est quod scripsit Apostolus, *Omnes peccauerunt et egent gloria Dei* quod Christus fuerit immunis ab omni peccato et per hunc virgo mater, si quibusdam id plausibiliter asserentibus est habenda fides. Quum igitur ex tot seculis duo tantum legantur subrepti morti Enoch et Helias et paucissimi futuri sint illi quos subitus ille aduentus deprehendet viuos, praesertim quod bonam hominum partem iam absumpserit afflictio antichristi, pestilentia, fames, terrae motus, nulli videntur ad immensam multitudinem quae tanta serie seculorum toto terrarum orbe mortis tyrannidi cessit. Denique hi quamlibet pauci mortales erant etiam morituri nisi casus illos eripiat morti. Hac, inquam, ratione dissolui poterat quod obicitur ex Epistola ad Hebraeos, cuius interim auctoritati non derogamus, sed largimur perinde valere quasi a Paulo scripta fuisset. Poterat et ita responderi, Paulum non illic agere de necessitate moriendi, quam nemo mortalium possit effugere, sed hoc agit vt intelligamus homines qui communi lege nascentium moriuntur non mori nisi semel neque iam post mortem semel obitam quicquam restare, nisi vt pro semente quam quisquam fecerit

in vita messem faciat. A
accommodat ad docend
esse iterandam, nec alia
aliud restare nisi vt qui h
moriens in cruce idem
cem omnium acturus
ipso fuit. Est enim haec
gener obseruemus qui

Simili ratione diluetur
seminas non viuificatur

neminem non moritur
sensui notissimis, doce
Etenim si quotidie vid
veluti sepultum, poste
bam teneram ac succu
300 ordinem naturae, quu
humo putrefacta sua p
ciorem? Hoc igitur agi
reuiuiscerent. Porro a
minimum habet mon

254 ex A^{ms} BAS: et A.

243 *vulgatissima rhapsodia* See Walafri di S
ordinaria, Migne PL I
Joannis tot habet sacra

244 *Diuum Augustinum*
Civ. XX, 20, CCSL
Cor., 15, 51 is quoted
to the indexes of the
passages: *Epist.* 205 t
christiano, 8; *Sermo* 36
244-247 *Illa Pauli verba*
22 and 36.

250 *quemadmodum ost*
75-80.

251-255 *diuus ipse Aug*
precise reference can
ever, Aug. *Epist.* 190
and Aug. *Civ.*, XII
ll. 111-120: "Hoc in
ita ponit: 'Per homin
resurrectio mortuor

285 in vita messem faciat. Atque hanc rem omnium sensu comprobata et confessam
 accommodat ad docendum Christi mortem qua redemit hominum genus nunquam
 esse iterandam, nec aliam hostiam expectandam pro peccatis humani generis, nec
 aliud restare nisi vt qui hic in corpore humano apparens semetipsum immolauit patri
 moriens in cruce idem suis appareat gloriosus et inclitus in aduentu supremo, iudi-
 290 cem omnium acturus qui prius seruatore omnium praestiterat quod quidem in
 ipso fuit. Est enim haec vna ratio deprehendendi verum Scripturae sensum, si dili-
 genter obseruemus quid agat illic qui scripsit.

Simili ratione diluetur et illorum scrupulus quos offendit illud Pauli, *Tu homo quod
 seminans non viuificatur nisi mortuum fuerit*. Nec enim hoc agit hic Paulus vt ostendat
 295 neminem non moriturum, sed vt adhibita similitudine a rebus humanis, omnium
 sensui notissimis, doceat non esse incredibile quod euangelica doctrina polliceretur.
 Etenim si quotidie videmus omnes frigidum et aridum granum mortuum ac terra
 veluti sepultum, posteaquam computruit ceu rediuuium emergere, primum in her-
 bam teneram ac succulentam, mox in maturam segetem, idque iuxta communem
 300 ordinem naturae, quor dubitemus de Dei promissis qui nostra corpora quamlibet
 humo putrefacta sua peculiari virtute reuocaturus est ad vitam ac statum etiam feli-
 ciorem? Hoc igitur agit illic Paulus quod multis videbatur incredibile vt semel mortui
 reuiuiscerent. Porro an pauci per occasionem sint subducendi necessitati communi
 minimum habet momenti ad humani generis summam.

254 ex *A^{ms}* BAS: et A.

266-267 praetulerunt BAS: praetulit A.

243 *vulgatissima rhapsodia ... Glossam ordinari-
 iam* See Walafridi Strabi Fuldensis *Glossa
 ordinaria*, Migne PL 114, 709 D: "Apocalypsis
 Joannis tot habet sacramenta quot verba".

244 *Diuum Augustinum ... mouent* Cf. Aug.
Civ. XX, 20, CCSL 48, p. 734, ll. 29-48. *I.
 Cor.*, 15, 51 is quoted by Augustine, according
 to the indexes of the Maurists, in three other
 passages: *Epist.* 205 to Consentius; *De agone
 christiano*, 8; *Sermo 362 de resurrectione*, 19.

244-247 *Illa Pauli verba ... moriatur* *I. Cor.*, 15,
 22 and 36.

250 *quemadmodum ostendimus* Cf. above, ll.
 75-80.

251-255 *diuus ipse Augustinus ... filii Dei* The
 precise reference cannot be found. Cf., how-
 ever, Aug. *Epist.* 190, 2, 8, Migne PL 33, 859;
 and Aug. *Civ.*, XIII, 24, CCSL 48, p. 408,
 ll. 111-120: "Hoc in eadem epistula euidentius
 ita ponit: 'Per hominem mors et per hominem
 resurrectio mortuorum. Sicut enim in Adam

omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes
 viuificabuntur'; iam vtique in corpore spiritali
 quod erit in spiritum viuificantem; non quia
 omnes qui in Adam moriuntur membra erunt
 Christi ... sed ideo dictum est omnes atque
 omnes quia sicut nemo corpore animali nisi in
 Adam moritur ita nemo corpore spiritali nisi
 in Christo viuificatur".

259-260 *Epistola ... mori* *Hebr.* 9, 27.

262-263 *Christus ... latrones* *Ioh.* 10, 8.

267 *Paulus ... Christi* *Phil.* 2, 21.

270-271 *Psalmographus ... facti sunt* *Ps.* 13, 3.

271-272 *Apostolus ... gloria Dei* *Rom.* 3, 23.

279-281 *Epistola ... fuisset* As for Er.'s doubts
 on the authenticity of the Epistle to the
 Hebrews, see: Epp. 1171, ll. 6-9 and 1620, ll. 21-
 29; *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ASD IX, 3, pp. 161-
 172; *Annot. in Hebr.* 2, 7, ASD VI, 10, pp. 264-
 268 and the annotations by Van Poll-van de
 Lisdonk.

293-294 *illud Pauli ... fuerit* *I. Cor.* 15, 36.

305 Sunt quos et illud videtur mouere quod, quum resurrectio sit praecipua pars
 fidei christiana, non conueniat lectionem aut sensum hic ancipitem habere. Vti-
 nam nihil esset huiusmodi in diuinis literis! Sed non ita visum est Christo, alioqui
 non tot locis sudarent tot eruditissimi viri in vestigandis et eruendis sacrorum volu-
 minum sententiis. Sed hoc loco, vt | tollatur ea lectio quam habent Graeci codices
 LB 440 et indicant veteres orthodoxi, haec ipsa quam hodie sequitur ecclesia Latina sen-
 310 sum habet ancipitem, quemadmodum in superioribus demonstrauius ex diuersa
 veterum interpretatione. Quanquam hunc quoque scrupulum discussit Augustinus
 negans opus esse vt certo sciamus omnem resurrectionis modum, satis esse si creda-
 mus mortuorum corpora reuictura vnaque cum anima quam prius habuerant victura
 in aeternum, vel fruitura gaudiis, vel luitura poenas pro meritis ante actae vitae, nec
 315 aliam fore sortem eorum quos aduentus Domini deprehenderit in vita, siue mori-
 turi sint ac mox immortalitati mutandi, siue nullo mortis interuentu a mortalitate
 ad immortalitatem transferendi. Vtinam omnes qui nomine Christiano censemur
 tam hoc habeamus indubitatum quam citra periculum dubitare licet quid Deus fieri
 320 velit de iis quos viuos ille dies deprehendet!

Haec habui, lector optime, quae mihi in praesentia succurrebant aduersus tam
 insignem ac publicam calumniam. Quorum si nihil legit ille qui pronunciauit haere-
 sim, quid detestabilius tanta supinitate in publica ac theologica professione? Si legit,
 quid peruersius aut maliciosius quam tale conuicium contra conscientiam euomere
 325 in fratrem? Multum oportet interesse inter theologiam professionem et grammati-
 cam aut poeticam, at quis vnquam audiuit tam caecam petulantiam in scholis eorum
 qui literas humanas et, istorum iudicio, ridiculas, profitentur? Is mihi in faciem dixit
 quod poetae et rhetores mentiuntur omnia: sed hoc theologi factum quo nomine
 donabimus? Si me blateronem aut rabulam vocasset praeter omnem causam, quis
 330 probus non execratus fuisset impotentem hominis maledicentiam, praesertim quum
 nullam adferret probationem, imo quum nec illa mea legisset quae damnabat? Nunc
 vir eximius, totius religionis exemplar, qui mataeologi vocabulum, qui quendam a
 prandio largiore subuuidum, citra nominis ipsius inuidiam, subnotatum existimet
 335 omni suppliciorum genere vindicandum, palam in sacra lectione proximo suo hae-
 resim impingit, adeo caecus odio vt ne pudore quidem emendetur, quum videat
 quoties huiusmodi voces effutit—effutit autem pene quotidie—alios ridentes, alios
 manifesta vultus indignatione testantes ea non esse digna schola theologica? Quid
 autem istos pudet dicere in computationibus suis, qui non verentur huiusmodi voces
 340 euomere in publicis ac theologis praelectionibus? Oraculum videri vult quicquid
 dixerit et huiusmodi voces non continet, quae vix Orestes effunderet? Atque interim
 sibi videtur egregie sanctus, putat suis humeris inniti ruituram ecclesiam catholicam,
 putat totius eius regionis mores ipsius doctrina vitaque reddi meliores: tali lingua
 praedicat Euangelium, tali ore quotidie consecrat et sumit sacrosanctum illud Chri-
 345 stianae concordiae symbolum? Equidem non damno quod pallio candido tegitur, sed
 adfirmo leuius peccatum si pro candido sumeret nigrum, aut etiam viride, quam
 si tam atrocibus mendaciis denigret famam proximi. Imo minus impius esset si pro
 Heliae pallio sumeret rogam Labracis flauam aut Thrasonis chlamydem purpuream

et macheram m
 homicidam ling
 ab esu carniu
 esse detestabili
 rum, quam ro
 gladio, sed ist
 impunitius. N
 genus est lingu
 Ioannes, homi
 benemerentis,
 est) vt nec suae
 reus est gehenn
 qui praeter on
 cupientem? N
 interuertat fru
 cuius rei Chris
 nibus non sib

306 conueniat L

306 habere A^{ms}308 eruendis Aⁿ314 victura A^{ms}

317 immortalita

311 quemadmo

above, ll. 104

312-318 discussi

XX, 20, CCS

modo autem

strae ratiuncu

tunc erit po

rectionem qu

carne, quan

iudicaturus e

esse volumu

hac re inanis

futura sit pe

mus".

327-328 Is mi

50 and 1196,

332-334 qui m

1162, ll. 119-

334 palam ...

340 Orestes C

folly, see: A

ASD II, 7, F

niam veste

P. 389: "Or

et macheram manu circumferret, quam nunc quum, religiosa veste tegens animum, homicidam linguam gerat teli vice veneno tincti. Non reprehendo quod Mercurii die ab esu carniū abstinet, sed arbitror hoc in quo sibi Meuius ignoscit apud Deum esse detestabilius. Leuiore piaculo roderet vel in Veneris die carnes leporum et caporum, quam rodit ac lacerat proximum nihil promeritum. Non occidit quenquam gladio, sed istud homicidii genus est, hoc fortasse sceleratius quo paratius simul et impunitius. Non tollit quenquam veneno, sed istud cum primis execrabile veneficii genus est linguae virulentia fraternam animam petere. *Qui odit fratrem suum*, inquit Ioannes, *homicida | est*: et homicida non est qui lymphatus odio sic fertur in famam benemerentis, sic debacchatur in vitam alienam (nam fama vel ipsa vita preciosior est) vt nec suae famae iacturam metuat, dum noceat alienae? *Qui dicit fratri suo fatue reus est gehennae*: si reus est gehennae qui fatuo dicit *fatue*, quid praemii meretur is qui praeter omnem causam haereseos insimulat innoxium de omnibus benemereri cupientem? Nec aliud agit iste vir pius nisi vt mihi adempta autoritate apud studiosos interuertat fructum studiorum, quae certe mihi non desudo, sed vtilitati publicae, cuius rei Christum testem ac iudicem habeo. Sed interim periculum est ne hisce rationibus non sibi modo, verumetiam ordini theologico deterat opinionem, si pergant

306 conueniat *BAS*: conuenire *A*.
 306 habere *A^{ms} BAS*: habete *A*.
 308 eruendis *A^{ms} BAS*: erudiendis *A*.
 314 victura *A^{ms} BAS*: reuiuiscant *A*.
 317 immortalitati *A*: immortalitate *A^{ms} BAS*.

322 pronunciauit *A*: pronunciabat *BAS*.
 345 viride *A^{ms} BAS*: viridum *A*.
 347 flauam *BAS*: flauum *A*.
 350 sibi *A^{ms} BAS*: *om. A*.
 362 quae *A*: qui *A^{ms} BAS*.

311 *quemadmodum ... demonstrauius* See above, ll. 104–150, 155–173.
 312–318 *discussit ... transferendi* Cf. Aug. *Civ.* XX, 20, *CCSL* 48, pp. 735–736, ll. 88–95: “Quo modo autem sit futurum quod nunc pro nostrae ratiunculae viribus vtcumque conicimus, tunc erit potius vt nosse possimus. Resurrectionem quippe mortuorum futuram et in carne, quando Christus venturus est viuos iudicaturus et mortuos, oportet, si Christiani esse volumus, vt credamus; sed non ideo de hac re inanis est fides nostra si quemadmodum futura sit perfecte comprehendere non valemus”.
 327–328 *Is mihi ... omnia* See Epp. 1162, ll. 48–50 and 1196, ll. 600–605. Cf. introd, p. 62.
 332–334 *qui mataeologi ... vindicandum* Cf. Ep. 1162, ll. 119–124.
 334 *palam ... lectione* Cf. above, ll. 57–64.
 340 *Orestes* On Orestes as an example of furious folly, see: *Adag.* 3048 (Oresti pallium texere), *ASD* II, 7, p. 70: “[...] Nam Orestes per insaniam vestes dilacerabat” and Forcellini VI, p. 389: “*Orestes vel de insania* fuit etiam liber

ita inscriptus Varronis, teste Gellio, 13, 4, 1; ita vt de homine insano vel furibundo vsurpauerit Cic. *Pis.*, 20, vbi Piso dementior Oreste tragico dicitur” (see Cic. *Pis.*, 20, 47).
 346–347 *pro Heliae pallio* The Carmelites held that the origin of their order went back to Elijah. On Er.’s opinions on the matter, see H. Th. van Veen, “Erasmus on the ‘Carmelite Taboo’”, *BHR* 53 (1981), pp. 335–339.
 347 *Labracis* See Forcellini: “*Labrax* persona comica lenonis in Plaut. *Rudente*” (from λάβραξ, *vorax*) and *Adag.* 1955 (*Labrax* Milesius), *ASD* II, 4, p. 312.
 347 *Thrasonis* The Plautine *miles gloriosus* (see also Ter. *Eun.*); from θράσος, *iactantia, insolentia, audacia* (Forcellini).
 350 *Meuius* On this Maevius see Forcellini, *s.v.*, 4: “poeta famosus Virgilii et Horatii obtrectator, saepe cum Bauio, altero obtrectatore, simul nominatus. Porphyr. In Hor. Epod. 10, 15q. [...] Verg. 3 *Ecl.*, 90.”
 355–356 *Qui odit ... homicida est* 1. *Ioh.* 3, 15.
 358–359 *Qui dicit ... gehennae* *Mt.* 5, 22.

365 homines ex hoc coryphaeo caeteros aestimare, ne sibi confleret odium apud eos in quo-
rum odium me conatur inducere. Siquidem, quum haec quae dicit palam stolidi
sint et impia, quis auditorum non apud se stomachetur, ita cogitans, *Pessime sentit*
hic de suis auditoribus quos aut tam stolidos arbitratur ut non videant haec falso dici,
aut tam improbos ut tam impudentibus sycophantibus delectentur? In scholis qui dis-
370 sentiunt ab autore quopiam ita demum laudantur si citra conuicium rationes eius
quem redarguunt melioribus rationibus superent. Hanc modestiam praestant et hi
qui philosophiam ethnicam profitentur, ipsi parum Christiani, et homo theologus,
arctae religionis professor et collapsae monasticae disciplinae instaurator tam insi-
gnem linguae petulantiam sibi permittit, imo sibi plaudit, | sic abutens organo in
LB 442 vsum longe alium destinato. Atque hic est qui bullas et edicta principum extorquet
375 aduersus libellos quos ipse vocat irrisorios, quasi talis lingua non sit quibusuis libellis
pestilentior. De hoc hominum genere scripsit Psalmographus: *Venenum aspidum sub*
lingua eorum non dixit *in pyxidibus eorum*—quanquam nec eo carent quidam—sed
sub lingua eorum vbi tutissime occultitur et facillime depromitur.

380 Sed huius querelae iam modus esto. Neque enim haec in alium finem scripsi nisi
partim ut me purgarem, si quis tamen tam indoctus est ut calumnia tam manifestaria
moueatur, partim ut, si fieri possit, ipse semet agnoscat ac resipiscat suique pudeat.
Meretur illius improbitas ut nomen etiam literis mandetur nec deest ratio quae sua-
deat hoc fieri, nimirum ne suspicio aliquos innoxios aspergat, quod utique vitabitur
385 si certus autor suo titulo pronuncietur. Sed apud suos, opinor, iam his notis agno-
scitur: apud posteros aut procul semotos quid habiturum sit momenti si cognoscant
Suffenum quendam—nam finge hoc illi esse nomen—sic delirasse? Utinam ignore-
tur vitium, modo mutetur! Utinam ille sic se gerat ut laudare cogat emendatum de
quo nunc queri cogor, tam diu, tam impotenter debacchante in proximum! Valeat
390 hoc Christianorum genus quod charitatem a religione separat, quod contra Iacobi
doctrinam linguam effrenem cum pietatis titulo copulat. Nos, istis neglectis, si cor-
rigi non possunt, meliora sectemur. Vale lector.

FINIS

370 rationes *A^{ms}* BAS: rationis *A*.

377–378 *Psalmographus ... eorum* Ps. 139, 4.
387 *Suffenum* see above, l. 186 and n.

378 carent *A^{ms}* BAS: curent *A*.

390–391 *contra Iacobi doctrinam* *Iac.*, I, 26 and 3,
2–12. Cf. *Lingua* in ASD IV, IA, p. 134, ll. 545–
566.