ERASMUS AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

An exhibition at
The Rare Book & Manuscript Library
5 May—6 August 2016

Willis Goth Regier
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Willis Goth Regier
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Design by Chloe Ottenhoff


Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data:
Regier, Willis Goth.
Erasmus and the New Testament : an exhibition at the Rare Book & Manuscript
Library 5 May-6 August 2016 / Willis Goth Regier. Urbana, Ill. : Rare Book &
Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, ©2016.
p. : col. ill. ; cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
Exhibitions.
I. Title. II. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Rare Book & Manuscript
Library.
Erasmus’ contemporaries called him the best of teachers, the prince of humanists, the most learned of men. He studied in Paris, got his Doctorate in theology from the University of Turin, and taught theology and Greek at Cambridge University. His friends included Sir Thomas More, author of *Utopia*, and his patrons included kings, queens, and popes. He declared the New Testament to be his book for a lifetime, “There is nothing that can so exactly represent, so vividly express, so completely show forth Christ as the writings of the evangelists and apostles.”

He brought to the New Testament everything he had, his keen judgment, ceaseless industry, and vigilance. He brought his command of Latin and Greek and much of their literature and history, learned by heart. To know the New Testament “at the fountainhead” he compared Greek manuscripts against the Vulgate, a Latin translation accepted as divinely inspired, and found it corrupted by inconsistencies, unnecessary obscurities, interpolations, and errors. He collected and compared quotations from the New Testament in the writings of the earliest Church fathers and saw they did not agree. To advance the study of the scripture in its original language, in 1516 he published the first Greek New Testament to be printed, and with it, his own Latin translation.
What Erasmus did with the New Testament was daring. “It will be said, it is sinful to change anything in the Holy Scriptures; for no jot and tittle therein is without some special import. On the contrary: the sin of corruption is greater, and the need for careful revision by scholars greater also, where the source of corruption was ignorance: but it must be done with the caution and restraint with which all books, and particularly the Holy Scriptures, deserve to be treated.”

What his New Testament did to Europe was incendiary. Erasmus insisted on the priority of the Greek New Testament, and on rethinking the Latin. By daring to devalue the Latin Bible inherited from antiquity, Erasmus was faulted for pride and charged with heresy and for leading souls to damnation. His works were condemned by the Inquisition and burned in France and Spain. His French translator was burned at the stake.

Attacked in print, Erasmus spent years defending his reputation. As the Reformation spread, he feared for his life.

Still the center of his attention was his New Testament. When first published it was greeted as a gift long delayed, permitting many more people the opportunity to read the New Testament in its original tongue.

Condemned by the Vatican, his New Testament was taken over by the Reformation. Martin Luther used his edition for his German
translation and William Tyndale used it for his English translation, which influenced the composition of the King James Bible.³

Erasmus rose from poverty to eminence and suffered for it. Refusing high positions in the Church and the courts of kings, he worked until he died.

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**THE LIFE OF ERASMUS**

Erasmus was born in 1466 or so in Rotterdam.⁴ His mother was a widow, his father a Catholic priest. His unmarried parents cared about his education and were able to provide for it while they lived. His mother moved from one city to another to place Erasmus in a better school. As a boy, he had a beautiful singing voice.

In his teens his parents died of plague. To be rid of him, trustees shunted Erasmus into a religious boarding school. He hated it.

He wrote that he was later bullied into monastic vows. There was much he disliked about being a monk—the food, the waste of time, the drunk and lazy monks. Erasmus wanted the freedom to choose worthwhile work and to pick his own companions. He worked his way out of the monastery by excelling at Latin, winning a position as a secretary to an ambitious bishop.

Erasmus’ first book was a small collection of poems, published in Paris. Later, in 1500, he published his first edition of *Adages*, the book
that made him famous. The collection of 818 Greek and Latin adages—proverbs or memorable phrases—was an instant success, reprinted in Antwerp, Basel, Cologne, Strasbourg, Tübingen, and Venice. There were nine editions in his lifetime, each edition larger than the last. The 1536 edition, published the year he died, contains more than four thousand adages, with sources and commentaries.

For a hundred years the *Adages* was a sourcebook for scholars, lawyers, clerics, and anyone else who wrote Latin. Erasmus translated the sayings of Pythagoras, Homer, Aesop, and Plutarch. He quoted the bright Latin of Cicero, Seneca, and Terence and the gab of workshops, brothels, and wharves. He observed, for instance, that “medium ostendere digitum,” showing the middle finger, was well understood in imperial Rome.

Looking back at his career, Erasmus made a distinction between his religious and worldly (*profanum*) works. His New Testament was the summit of the first group, his *Adages* the cornerstone of the second. He published books on language, style, how to study, and how to educate. He published prayers, consolations, dialogues, interpretations of psalms, paraphrases of the New Testament, and a treatise on preaching.

Though no stranger to unhappiness, Erasmus was funny and playful, winning a reputation as the greatest wit of the Northern Renaissance. Friends loved him dearly. He shrugged that with wine
and among friends he was perhaps too loose with his words and perhaps too ready to jest. His jests brought him trouble and his most popular work, *In Praise of Folly* (1511) attracted plenty of it. In it he dared to satirize monks and bishops, to attack the sale of indulgences, and to scold Pope Julius II for his belligerence.

Erasmus transcended national boundaries, “*Ego mundi civis esse cupio*” [I wish to be a citizen of the world]. At different points in his career he lived in Antwerp, Basel, Bruges, Brussels, Cambridge, Freiburg, London, Paris, Rome, and Venice. He turned down invitations to live on pensions in Vienna and Madrid. Erasmus said his home was wherever his library was.

The enduring passions of his lifetime were the Greek New Testament and his editions and translation of it. As edition followed edition—1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535—he added hundreds of pages of learned notes about textual variants, translation, interpretation, and the transmission of manuscripts. He never ceased work on the New Testament: notes were steadily revised and expanded, adding the testimony of newly consulted manuscripts, and responding to critics of prior editions.

Erasmus was inspired and justified by Saint Jerome, the legendary translator of the Vulgate. He published a life of Jerome and an edition of his works in 1516, the same year he published his first New Testament.
Erasmus saw that the world had changed since Jerome’s day, and so had Latin; rather than a fixture to venerate, Jerome’s translation was a model to emulate. His translation preferred simplicity and liveliness, criteria that Erasmus embraced.

Erasmus’ studies of the New Testament led him to study the early years of Christianity. Those studies led him to believe that the Church had acquired bad habits and should reform. He rebelled against the dietary regulations of the Church because they had no scriptural backing. He believed that priests should be free to marry as they did when the Church was young. He despised the sale of indulgences, the purchase of Church offices, and the many hypocrisies of priests. He was prudent but outspoken; scholars throughout Europe clamored for or against him.

He knew much, but had gaps. He scorned Judaism and for most of his life held women in low regard. He scarcely noticed Europe’s race for the Indies and the Americas. His idea of Asia went no further than the Ottoman Empire. He published editions of Galen and Pliny but paid little attention to Renaissance science. He was devoted to other things.

Always, he worked. His annual output was a mix of translations, editions, colloquies, sermons, prayers, controversies, and always the New Testament and the Adages. There is enough Erasmus in print to fill a lifetime of reading. In old age, fragile and afraid for his life, sick
and exhausted, he continued to work. Day after day, until dysentery killed him, he worked.

He left behind an immense correspondence; his letters were treasured and men begged for them. Erasmus published his letters and the letters of friends as proofs of friendship and examples of fine writing. He expected that his letters would be read after he died and was right: they are one of the finest archives of a revolutionary time.

Erasmus was sought by the high and mighty: Mary of Hungary, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, King Frederick of Saxony, King Sigismund of Poland, Catherine of Aragon, Francis I of France, Henry VIII of England, and Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, invited him to their courts. Rome also courted him. Erasmus corresponded with three popes, Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII. He wrote, “If I did not have the support of the princes, I would not be able to survive.”

His princes had their differences. Richer and poorer, Catholic and Protestant, and at greater or lesser distance from aggressive Turks, his princes connived, treated, and warred. When Henry VIII required Pope Clement VII to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, her agent asked Erasmus to write in her behalf. He did, publishing *The Institution of Christian Matrimony* in 1526. He meanwhile revised his New Testament again, publishing the fourth edition in 1527.
In the midst of the Reformation verses of the New Testament gave Erasmus no end of trouble. Most troubling of all was Acts 5.29: “Obedire oportet deo magis quam hominibus,” “We ought to obey God rather than men,” cited by men eager to overrule civil law with verses of Moses and Paul.

In his aching bones Erasmus felt the shocks that split the Church. He was blamed throughout Catholic Europe for being too much like Luther. He beheld wars of religion and was blamed for beginning them. Early on Erasmus called the Reformation a comedy. Later he called it a tragedy.

His *Enchiridion*, or “Dagger” (1503), was pointed at faint-of-heart Christians. His *Hyperaspistes*, or “Shield” (1526 and 1527), was raised to protect him from Luther and Lutherans. When Erasmus and Luther fought their battle of books each pelted the other with quotations from the New Testament.

Erasmus spent his last years as “an active soldier in the service of the Church,” fighting with the “sword of spirit.” (“gladium spiritus,” Ephesians 6.17). While Christian kings sent Christian armies to kill each other all the way to the Vatican, Erasmus looked for God’s purpose in the bloodshed. He tried to make sense of the wars while trying to make peace. His pacifist classic *Querela pacis* (The Complaint of Peace) was published in the same year as his first New Testament (1516).
Erasmus opened the Bible to bid readers in. He asserted and reasserted his love of the Bible, his faith in Jesus and in God’s unlimited grace. He scandalized many by suggesting that Socrates was something of a saint and by belittling the cults of saints and the commerce in their bones and clothing. He cherished friends and freedom. He constantly tried to improve. He admitted, as some saints do, that he could be wrong.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF ERASMUS

There have been five great scholarly editions of his work. The first was his Opera omnia, a ten-volume set published in Basel between 1538 and 1541. It incorporated Erasmus’ final revisions of certain works; included the first biography of Erasmus, written by his beloved friend Beatus Rhenanus; defined what works were actually by Erasmus, clearly excluding forgeries; and generally followed Erasmus’ own instructions about how such an edition should be organized. Because of the Inquisition, complete sets are now extremely rare.

The second great edition was the Opera omnia published in Leiden between 1703 and 1706, also in ten volumes. It was edited by another brilliant scholar, Jean Le Clerc, and was the edition used by scholars for the next three centuries. It was the first edition to try to put Erasmus’ massive correspondence in chronological order, and
NOVVM IN

frumentui omne, diligenter ab ERASMO ROTERODAMO
recognitum & emendatum, no folium ad grecan uncitatem, ut
verneciam ad multorum omnes linguae codicum, consuetudin
solum & emendatorum fidem, posthena ad praebend
basilismonum autorum citationem, emendationem
& interpretationem, praecipe, Origens, Chry
sofons, Cyrilii, Vulgari, Hieronymi, Cyp
petani, Ambrogi, Hilari, Augusti, spercutionem
um di Amoranthorbus, quae
cheven docent; quid quae
rationem mutatum sit.
Quisquis igitur
amae uo
ram
Theol
gióam, lege, cognas
for, ac detinde indicia.

Neq fatim offendere, si
quid mutatum effenderis fed
expende, num in melius mutatum sit.

APVD INCLYTAM
GERMANIAE BASILISAM.

5.1 Novum Instrumentum.
Basel: Johann Froben, 1516. IUQ00116
includes letters later lost or destroyed by war. A complete set is in the collection of the Illinois Rare Book and Manuscript Library (RBML).

The third edition is the *Opus epistolarum*, a twelve-volume collection of letters to and from Erasmus. It is a deep reservoir of Renaissance learning, superbly edited by Percy Stafford Allen and his wife, Helen Mary Allen. They spent most of their lives finding and transcribing Erasmus’ vast correspondence.

The fourth and fifth editions are still underway. The *Opera omnia*, or *ASD*, a critical edition of all the Latin works except the letters, is in progress in Leiden with E. J. Brill. As of Spring 2016, there are 47 volumes in print, including nine of the ten volumes of the *Novum Testamentum* and its annotations. The *ASD* is gradually replacing the Leiden edition, and is cross-referenced to it.

*The Collected Works of Erasmus*, or *CWE*, underway at the University of Toronto Press, is the first attempt to provide English translations of Erasmus’ complete works, except for his Latin translations of Greek texts. When completed it will have 86 volumes.

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**ERASMUS’ NEW TESTAMENT**

1516 was Erasmus’ happiest year. In 1516 he published his *Life of St. Jerome*, his *Education of a Christian Prince*, and the *Complaint*
of Peace. In 1516 the great Swiss printer Johann Froben published the first edition of Erasmus’ *Novum Instrumentum*, the work at the center of Erasmus’ life and career. It was the first complete edition of the Greek New Testament to appear in print.

It was a publishing triumph. The work’s authority rested on Erasmus’ comparisons of seven different New Testament codices, Bible quotations by early Church fathers (they did not always agree), and Erasmus’ annotations explaining Greek grammar, vocabulary, and usage. Scholars who could read Greek wanted it badly, since it enabled them to read scriptures in the language of the apostles.

Erasmus venerated the apostle Paul. The first page of the letters of Paul is printed with red initials and borders, a distinction reserved for Paul alone. Erasmus believed Paul to be “the supreme interpreter of our religion” (Allen #916). When Erasmus and Luther argued they quoted Paul against each other.

No less a success was the edition of 1519, which included Erasmus’ Latin translation, a revised Greek text, and expanded annotations, now justifying his translation decisions. This is the edition used by Luther for his German translation. It became the basis for the King James Version, and for the 1633 Elzevir Greek Testament, “the so-called ‘Textus receptus,’ the foundation of Protestant biblical scholarship for three centuries.”11
5.1 Novum Instrumentum.
Basel: Johann Froben, 1516. IUQ00116
5.2 Novum Testamentum.
Basel: Johann Froben, 1519. IUQ00117
Some part of the edition’s success was due to the scandal that surrounded it. Critics in France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands published pamphlets accusing Erasmus of tampering with Scripture, undermining the Church, and spreading error and heresy. Erasmus responded to such criticisms with books and pamphlets of his own, a waste of time and energy that he lived to regret.

One controversy dealt with his Latin translation of the opening words of the Gospel of John, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, known familiarly as “In the beginning was the Word.” The Vulgate translation of λόγος was “verbum”; Erasmus replaced it with “sermo,” and churchmen across Europe reacted as though he’d set fire to a cathedral.

An even larger controversy arose from his decision to omit words from the first letter of John 5.7-8, the theologically important “Johannine comma.” At this point the Vulgate has “quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant Spiritus et aqua et sanguis et tres unum sunt,” (there are three who give testimony, the Spirit and the water and the blood, and these three are one), important because it is the sole scriptural basis for the Trinity. Erasmus could find nothing like these verses in any of the Greek manuscripts he consulted, or in the quotations of the early Church fathers. He concluded that the verses were additions made by transmitters of the Vulgate and omitted them.
5.2 Novum Testamentum.
Basel: Johann Froben, 1519. IUQ00117
IOANNIS PRIMA. 713

Ioannis, & hie tres annum finit. Si te

fimoniwn hominum acipitos,

timoniwm dei maius est: quoniam
hoc est testinumw dei, quo trifiacta
ets de filio suo. Quia credid in filium
dei, habet testimoniwm in seipso. Quis
non credid deo, mandeum fetc eum;
quia non credid in testimoniwm, quod
trifiactas est deus de filio suo. Ei huc
et testinumw, quod uestum attemuat
dedict nobis deis, & hce uest in filio eius
eft. Quis habet filium, habet uestum:
quia non habet filium dei, uestum non habet.
Hac scipiuobis, qui credid in nomi-

ne fili dei, ut staits quod uestum 2abe-

vis attemum, & ut uestis in nomine
fili dei. Et huc, et fidacia quam habe-

mus apud eum, quod ilqu petretinws
foundum salutatem euis, audite nos.
Et fi firmus, quod auditis nos, quietad
perintus, fimos quod habetis proniw

tiones quas postulaatam ab eo. Si
quis uidetis fratrem suum pectare pecca-
tum non ad mortem, perpet, & dabe ei

vestum peccantium non ad mortem. Efi
peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico
ut roges. Omnis iniquitas peccantium ei.
Et ef peccatum non ad mortem. Scien-

nis, quod omnis qui natus est ex deo,
non pectar: sed qui genitus est ex deo,
suita testis, & malus ille non tangit
eum. Scimus quod ex deo fuitus, &

mandatius in malo conditumus efi.
Scimus autem quod filius dei uerum, &
dedict nobis mentem ut cognoscamus

filium qui iterum est: & fuitus in uero, in

filio unico Jesu Christo. Filii et estatem

eus, & uita attem. Filii, cantat nobis al

fumulatw. Amen.
The outcry was loud and vicious. Here was the clearest evidence that Erasmus was a threat to Christian theology. Erasmus responded that if had seen the verses in any of the Greek manuscripts, he would have included them.

The edition was again revised for publication in 1522 and 1527. By then a single manuscript had been discovered in England that did contain the missing words in Greek, though because of its uniqueness and modern handwriting it is now believed to be a retranslation from the Vulgate into Greek. It was enough to incite critics against Erasmus from the pulpit and in print. Erasmus and his New Testament were denounced in England, Spain, France, Italy, and the Netherlands.

What Erasmus had thought would be a service to sound scholarship and Biblical exegesis became a public tempest over theology, sacraments, and the authority of the Church.

Erasmus inserted the words in the later editions but it did not quell his critics. They scrutinized his writings minutely, combing them for contradictions, looking for errors, and accusing him of fostering the greatest heresy of all: Lutheranism. Close friends turned against him.

He responded in his usual ways: editing, writing, publishing.
ERASMUS AS AN EDITOR OF PATRISTICS

In 1521 Pope Leo X wrote to Erasmus to acknowledge his loyalty to the Church and “the intellectual gifts which by divine benevolence you have applied in full measure to the most exalted subjects.” In 1528 Erasmus offered more proof of his devotion by publishing the first of what would be a ten-volume edition of the works of Saint Augustine.

Erasmus admired Augustine’s forbearance and hard work, his love of books, and his dedication to education. “He alone possesses all the qualities of a Christian writer: he is a conscientious teacher, tough in debate, fervent in his preaching, effective in consoling those in distress, always devout, breathing the true spirit of Christian gentleness.”

Titles of several of Erasmus’ works echo Augustine’s titles: *Enchiridion*, *De contemptu mundi*, and *De libero arbitrio*.

As controversies about his work and reputation became more heated, Erasmus found it expedient to refer frequently to the precedents set by the Fathers of the Early Church. He often admitted he worked too fast, made mistakes, and was willing to correct errors. Augustine’s *Retractationes*, where the Saint criticized himself, was one of his last works, but Erasmus placed it first in his edition. In two places (page 519 and 591-592 in this volume), Erasmus addresses his reader to comment on how admirably Augustine conducted polemics.
As much as Erasmus admired Augustine, his favorite Church father was Jerome, who served as his model in many respects. Like Jerome, Erasmus was enchanted by Latin literature, and like Jerome, he undertook a Latin translation of the Greek New Testament. He cited Jerome as a precedent when answering his critics and drew on Jerome for his adages.

Erasmus served as the general editor for a five-volume set of the complete works of Jerome, published by Froben in 1516. It was often reprinted in Erasmus’ lifetime.

Erasmus himself edited the volume of Jerome’s letters. He added to it a life of Jerome, the only biography Erasmus wrote. It departed from the usual hagiography and reached a climax when Jerome blamed himself for loving too much the Latin of Cicero.

John Chrysostom was another early Christian writer whom Erasmus greatly admired. Erasmus recommended the *Conciunculae*, or sermons, as models of Christian preaching. The RBML first edition of Chrysostom’s six *Conciunculae* is annotated in two inks by a learned reader. In 1530 Erasmus supervised a five-volume edition of the Opera of Chrysostom.
6.2 Jerome. Correspondence.
Paris: Claude Chevallon, 1533. IUQ01285
John Chrysostom. *Conciunctae*. Basel: Johann Froben, 1526. 881 C397f.e [not on exhibit]
Erasmus’ decision to translate *logos* as *sermo* rather than the usual *verbum* in the Gospel of John drew widespread criticism. To justify his decision, Erasmus responded with his *Apologia de ‘In principio erat sermo’*, in a 1520 pamphlet, first published in Leuven. In it he answered two published attacks on his translation and anticipated another by an English clergyman, Edward Lee, who would soon become a bitter adversary. Erasmus attempts *rem difficillimam conatus, ut conviciis absque convicio responderem*, “the most difficult task of replying to abuse without being abusive himself.” He did not entirely succeed.

The *Apologia*, or defense, was promptly reprinted in Basel, Cologne, and Nuremberg. Rather than end the quarrel, the *Apologia* intensified it, leading to a series of further attacks and defenses that would occupy Erasmus for the rest of his life. The RBML volume is bound with several other contemporaneous texts that took part in the quarrel, including Erasmus’ fuller and more specific responses to Lee’s attacks.

Another of Erasmus’ adversaries was Ulrich Hutten, a former friend who became an ardent Lutheran, and who chastised Erasmus for not becoming a Lutheran himself. Erasmus wrote *Spongia*, a rebuttal against Hutten, who died before the book appeared. Hutten’s friends, angered by an attack against a dead comrade, took up his defense and
7.1 Apologia de ‘In principio erat sermo.’
Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1520. IUB01587
resumed their criticisms of Erasmus. The RBML has a volume that binds together four objections to the *Spongia*, in behalf of Lutherans, Germany, friendship, and justice.

Leaders of the Reformation noticed that there is no scriptural authority for the sacrament of confession, no sign that was practiced by Christ or the apostles. Thus it could not be a sacrament. Further, it revealed its unholy nature by its abuse by unscrupulous priests. In reply the Church declared it heretical to deny that confession was a sacrament and anathema to disavow the Church’s authority over it.

In *Exomologesis* Erasmus took an unpopular stand: he wrote that those who do believe confession to be a sacrament have good reasons, but so do those who do not. He sided with the Church in saying it should continue confession for those who sought it, but supposed that those who did not seek it should be left in peace. On this matter neither belief nor non-belief deserved unanimity. The question should not be divisive of the Church.

*Exomologesis* was one of Erasmus’ defenses of Christian freedom, the topic he would dispute famously with Martin Luther in a battle of books. The RBML copy is a first printing, bound with other Erasmus works, *Duo diplomata Papae Adriani sexti cum responsionibus*, *Epistola de morte*, passages from his *Paraphrasis in*
IN HOC OPVS CVM
CONTENTA.

1. Exomologesis, sive modus confitendi.
2. Paraphrasis in tertium psalmum: Domine quid multiplicati.
3. Duo diplomata Papæ Adriani sexti cum responsionibus.
4. Epistola de morte.
5. Apologia ad Sunicæ conclusiones.

7.3 Exomologesis, sive Modus confitendi.
Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch, 1524. 875 Er1mo
tertium psalmum: Domine quid multiplicati ("Lord, how numerous are my enemies"), and his Apologia ad Stunicae conclusiones.

Erasmus’ Purgatio is a tiny pamphlet with a big target: Martin Luther. In his old age Erasmus was urged by popes, kings, and friends to attack Luther and Lutherans. He did so in 1524, with De libero arbitrio, a defense of free will against Luther’s doctrine of predestination. Luther erupted with a fierce response, De servo arbitrio [The Enslaved Will], published in 1525. Erasmus’ Hyperaspites, or shield, was his longest, fullest response to Luther, published in two parts in 1526 and 1527. In turn, in March 1534 Luther wrote a vicious letter to Nikolaus von Amsdorf of Magdeburg, denouncing Erasmus. The letter was promptly published. Erasmus responded with the Purgatio, his last words for Luther, bitter and angry words. Luther had called him “the worst enemy of Christ,” “a mouthpiece and instrument of Satan.” Erasmus called Luther dishonest, absurd, a spider, a viper. He doubted Luther’s sobriety and sanity, calling him a lunatic “crazed with hatred or in the grip of mental illness.” Luther did not reply.
7.4 Purgatio adversus epistolam non sobriam Martini Luteri.  
Paris: Chrestien Wechsel, 1534. IUA04560
ON ERASMUS

Major Editions of Erasmus’ Works


Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami (= ASD). Amsterdam: North-Holland > Elsevier > E. J. Brill, 1969-. 47 volumes so far.

Erasmus’ Life


**Erasmus’ Reception**


**Erasmus Bibliography**


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   Mini 172.4 Er1bE

   IUB00160

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2.3: *Twenty Two Select Colloquies out of Erasmus Roterodamus: Pleasantly Representing Several Superstitious Levities That were crept into the Church of Rome In His Days*. Translated by Roger L’Estrange. 2nd impression. London: R. Bentley, 1689.
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2.4: *Antibarbarorum*. Basel: Eucharius Cervicornus and Hero Fuchs, 1520.
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3.1: Cato, Marcus Porcius, 234-149 B.C. *Catonis precepta moralia*. Leipzig: Valentin Schumann, ca. 1514-1518. IUA02583

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4.2: *Enchiridion militis Christiani*. Lypsius [Leiden]: Valentin Schumann, 1520. IUA04555

4.3: *De civilitate morum puerilium*. Paris: Chrestien Wechel, 1537. IUA18532

5.1: *Bible. N.T. Latin. Erasmus*. Basel: Johann Froben, 1516. IUQ00116

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IUQ01285

IUB01587

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IUA04522

7.3: *Exomologesis, sive Modus confitendi.* Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch, 1524.
875 Er1mo

7.4: *Purgatio adversus epistolam non sobriam Martini Luteri [Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam against a Most Slanderous Letter of Martin Luther].* Paris: Chrestien Wechel, 1534.
IUA04560

8.1: *Opus de conscribendis epistolis.* Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch, 1525.
IUA04520

8.2: *Auctarium selectarum aliquot epistolairum Erasmi Roterodami ad eruditos, et horum ad illum.* Venice: Gregorio de’ Gregori, 1524.
IUA04521

8.3: *Correspondence.* Basel: Hieronymus Froben, 1529.
IUQ04781
ENDNOTES

1. “To the Reader” of the Annotations, CWE 3.204 (Allen #373).

2. Epistle to Christopher Fisher, prefaced to Erasmus’ edition of Lorenzo Valla’s Adnotatianes, CWE 2.95 (Allen #411).


4. The birth year has been much disputed, with different scholars favoring 1466, 1467, or 1469. Arthur Richter, “Das Geburtsjahr des Erasmus,” Erasmus-Studien (Dresden: Johannes Pässler, 1891), Anhang A, I-XIX; Bruce Mansfield, Erasmus in the Twentieth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 82-83.

5. “Dietary regulations can in no way be proven from the Gospel, nor from the letters of the apostles,” Apologia adversus rhapsodias Alberti Pii, CWE 84.191.


10. “The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God,” Enchiridion, CWE 66.27.


12. For details, see Andrew J. Brown’s introduction to Erasmus’ Novum Testamentum, ASD VI-4.27-41.

13. Letter from Leo X to Erasmus, 15 January 1521; CWE 8.145 (Allen #1180).

Inside front cover of 5.2 Novum Testamentum.
Basel: Johann Froben, 1519. IUQ00117