

Structure and History of the Biblical Manuscripts Used by Erasmus for His 1516 Edition¹

PATRICK ANDRIST

When the prominent Dominican John Stojković of Ragusa (ca. 1393–1443) returned to the Council of Basel from Constantinople in 1437,² he certainly did not suspect that the biblical manuscripts of his recently constituted collection of ca. 60 Greek codices³ would be at the centre of Erasmus' revolutionary editorial enterprise in 1516.

¹ The author warmly thanks the organisation of the conference, and all the people who helped us in several ways. Paul Canart and Zisis Melissakis for stimulating discussions about all the palaeographic conclusions presented below. Michael Wells for proofing our English. Last but not least, Martin Wallraff, for the nice invitation to the conference, and several discussions regarding the history of the codices. The author remains sole responsible for the many shortcomings of this article.

² About John Stojković of Ragusa and his activity in Basel and Constantinople, cf. Z. Strika, *Johannes von Ragusa [gest. 1443]. Kirchen- und Konzilsbegriff in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Hussiten und Eugen IV* (Augsburg 2000), 46–206. With a broader interest for his book collection, cf. A. Cataldi Palau, 'Jean Stojković de Raguse (†1443): l'influence de ses manuscrits dans la diffusion de la culture byzantine en Suisse et en Allemagne', *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski". Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines "Ivan Dujčev"* 96/15 (2011), 93–132; ead., 'Legature constantinopolitane del monastero di Prodromo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa (†1443)', *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde* 37/38 (2001), 11–50, reprinted with changes in the layout in ead., *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, 2 vols., *Testi, Studi, Strumenti* 24 (Spoleto 2008), vol. 1, no. 12, 235–280 + 16 tables; A. Vernet, 'Les manuscrits grecs de Jean de Raguse', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 61 (1961), 75–108, reprinted in id., *Études médiévales* (Paris 1981), 531–564. – For a sketched biography of John of Ragusa, see B. M. von Scarpatetti, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz in lateinischer Schrift vom Anfang des Mittelalters bis 1550*, vol. 1 (= *Die Handschriften der Bibliotheken von Aarau, Appenzell und Basel*) (Dietikon-Zürich 1977), 267; P. Andrist, 'Entre théologiens, érudits, imprimeurs et bibliophiles. Les errances helvétiques de quelques manuscrits byzantins', in M. Martiniani-Reber (ed.), *Byzance en Suisse* (Geneva 2015), 537–543, here 538 f.

³ As far as one can tell, ca. 59 codices were acquired in Constantinople during his stay from September 1435 to November 1437; Codex Basel AN IV 1, discussed below, was acquired directly in Basel at an unknown date, possibly during the stay of the Byzantine delegation at the Council of Basel in 1434–35. About the Greek delegation at the Council of Basel, see, as an entry point, Strika, *Johannes von Ragusa* (op. cit. n. 2), 153–162; see also B. Wyss, 'Ein Ineditum Graecum Giovanni Aurispas', *Museum Helveticum* 22 (1965), 1–37, here 3–8.

At John's death in 1443, the precious volumes were bequeathed to the Convent of the Dominicans in Basel, where the Dominican scholar John Cuno (1462/63–1513) copied an inventory of them in 1511 (Fig. 1).⁴ Even though 500 years later the precise list of the codices used by Erasmus for his 1516 edition is still an open question,⁵ there is a scholarly consensus about eight codices he used in Basel, mentioned in the table below: three volumes containing biblical commentaries, and five editions of New Testament books discussed in the following pages. Remarkably, as explained below, all of these eight codices used to be in Stojković's collection, even though two of them are not in Basel today any longer, and Erasmus had to borrow Codex AN IV 2 from Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522).

After the Convent of the Dominicans was secularised in 1525, the manuscripts came to the University library (UB) in 1559,⁶ where most of them can still be found today, many of them still with their Byzantine binding.

⁴ About John Cuno, cf. M. Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno. Ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische Studie*, Studien zum Fortwirken der Antike 9 (Heidelberg 1978). After his death, his "papers" became the property of Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547), who brought them eventually to Sélestat, where they are now kept in the Bibliothèque Humaniste; the list is on ms. 102, fols. 1^r–2^v. For a transcription of this list and an identification of the books, see Vernet, 'Les manuscrits' (op. cit. n. 2); and the new findings of Annaclara Cataldi Palau, 'Jean Stojković de Raguse' (op. cit. n. 2), and 'Legature' (op. cit. n. 2), 14–18, reprint 240–249.

⁵ About the codices used by Erasmus, cf. J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N. J. 1983); A. J. Brown, 'Introduction', ASD VI-2, 1–10, here 6f.; id., 'Introduction', ASD VI-3, 1–18, here 1–12; id., 'Introduction. Part 1', ASD VI-4, 1–25, here 1–6; B. Reicke, 'Erasmus und die neutestamentliche Textgeschichte', *Theologische Zeitschrift* 22 (1966), 254–265; E. Rummel, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament. From Philologist to Theologian*, Erasmus Studies 8 (Toronto 1986), 35–42. – Cf. also the contributions by A. J. Brown ('The Manuscript Sources and Textual Character of Erasmus' 1516 Greek New Testament', pp. 125–144) and M. Wallraff ('Paratexte der Bibel', pp. 145–173) in the present volume, as well as the short lists by P. F. Hovingh, 'Introduction', ASD VI-5, 1–50, here 7f.; id., 'Introduction', ASD VI-6, 1–26, here 4; and by J. Krans, *Beyond What is Written. Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament*, New Testament Tools and Studies 35 (Leiden 2006), 335f. – About the doubts around Erasmus' sources, see below. Pictures of most of these codices can be found on the website NTVMR (New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room), URL: <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste> (controlled March 2015).

⁶ About the library of the Dominicans in Basel, cf., as an entry point, P. Schmidt, 'Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Dominikanerklosters in Basel', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 18 (1919), 160–254, here 178f.; F. Dolbeau, 'La bibliothèque des dominicains de Bâle au XV^e siècle. Fragments inédits d'un catalogue topographique', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 81 (2011), 121–163. – About the Greek manuscripts in Basel in general, cf. H. Omont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques de Suisse', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3 (1886), 385–452, printed out in 1886, with a new pagination; supplements in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 8 (1891), 22–26. A completed list and the basic bibliography for each codex can be found on the specialised website URL: www.codices.ch. Cf. also the websites HAN, managed by the University Library of Basel (URL: <http://www.ub.unibas.ch/bibliotheksnetz>); Pinakes (URL: <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>); Manuscripta Mediaevalia (URL: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de>) (all of them controlled February 2015).

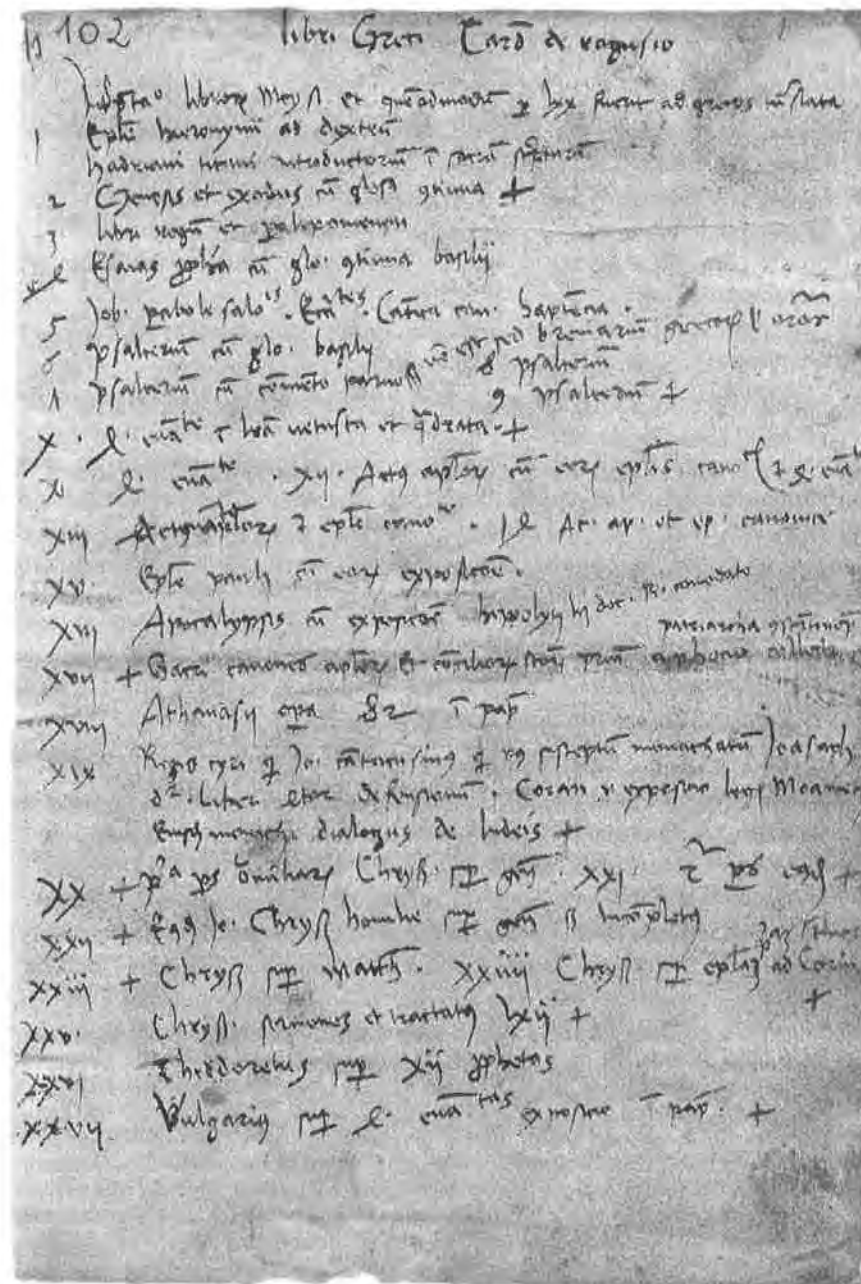


Fig. 1: Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, ms. 102, fol. 1^r (ca. 70%) – Beginning of the list of John Cuno.

List of the eight undisputed codices used by Erasmus in Basel

Biblical codices

- i. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 2 (Ragus. 12, GA 1): Acta, Epistulae et Evangelia
- ii. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 1 (Ragus. 11, GA 2): Evangelia
- iii. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 4 (Ragus. 13, GA 2815): Acta et Epistulae
- iv. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 5 (Ragus. 14, GA 2816): Acta et Epistulae
- v. Basel, UB, Codex AN III 11 (Ragus. 15, GA 2817): Epistulae Pauli cum catenis

Commentaries

- vi. Basel, UB, Codex A III 15 (Ragus. 27[a], GA 817): Theophylact. Bulg., Comm. in Evangelia
- vii. Oxford, Bodl., Codex Auct. E.1.6 (Ragus. 27[b], GA 2105): Theophylact. Bulg., Comm. in Epist. Pauli
- viii. Augsburg, UB, Codex I.1.4° 1 (Ragus. 16, GA 2814): Andreas Caesar., Comm. in Apocalypsin

Besides this eight “homologoumenoi” codices used by Erasmus, there is also an open series of “antilegomenoi” and/or new candidates, mostly in England or in Basel, among which one can briefly recall:⁷

- ix. Basel, UB, Codex AN III 12 (Ragus. 10, Omont 6, GA 07 = E, GA 2087 = fols. 97^v+248^r, olim B VI 2), Evangelia.⁸ In spite of Tarelli’s efforts,⁹ it is today admitted neither Erasmus nor his team used it, even though, it is assumed, it was at the time in exactly the same library of the Dominicans where they found most of the other codices. However, now it is also known that many codices were no longer in the library of the Dominicans at the time of Erasmus, some of which were later returned to the Convent, like some codices borrowed by Reuchlin.¹⁰ It is thus possible that Erasmus did not use Codex AN III 12 simply because it was not in the library at that time.

⁷ Erasmus himself is not clear about how many manuscripts he used, see Bentley, *Humanists* (op. cit. n. 5), 125; Rummel, *Erasmus’ Annotations* (op. cit. n. 5), 36–38.

⁸ About the date and history of this codex, see now A. Cataldi Palau, ‘A Little Known Manuscript of the Gospels in “Maiuscola Biblica”’, *Basil. gr. A. N. III. 12, Byzantion* 74 (2004), 463–516.

⁹ C. C. Tarelli, ‘Erasmus’s Manuscripts of the Gospels’, *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1943), 155–162, here 159–162. See also Erasmus’ preface to Leo X, *Novum Instrumentum* (Basel 1516), fol. aa2^v, where he claimed he used “codicibus ... uetustissimis simul et emendatissimis”. See Bentley, *Humanists* (op. cit. n. 5), 129 f.; Reicke, ‘Erasmus’ (op. cit. n. 5), 258, 263.

¹⁰ See Cataldi Palau, ‘Jean Stojković de Raguse’ (op. cit. n. 2).

- x. Leicester, Record Office 6 D 32/1 (GA 69), or a lost manuscript close to it; Evangelia: the codex is discussed by Andrew J. Brown in this volume.¹¹
- xi. A lost Gospel of family 47, cf. A. J. Brown in this volume.
- xii. Basel, UB, Codex B II 25: John Chrysostomus, Hom. in Matthaum. On the basis of a strong personal conviction, Annaclara Cataldi Palau¹² has recently suggested identifying this codex with the Chrysostomus manuscript Erasmus mentioned twice,¹³ even though, as she is aware, Codex B II 25 arrived in Basel only recently, and nothing we know about its Western history suggests a link with Erasmus.¹⁴

Even though the exact role of Stojković’s remarkable collection in Erasmus’ decision to travel to Basel is disputed, its presence in the Rhenish city was certainly an important part of his discussions with Johann Froben (1460–1527) about the Greek New Testament.¹⁵

In the following pages, no new candidates for Erasmus’ manuscripts will be presented. Rather, this study, which concentrates on the five “homologoumenoi” biblical codices, will, for each of them, recall its links with Basel and Erasmus, then question its physical and textual structure and enquire into its constitutive history.

¹¹ See also A. J. Brown, ‘Introduction’, ASD VI-2, 1–10, here 6 f.; and id., ‘Introduction’, ASD VI-3, 1–18, here 10 f.; Rummel, *Erasmus’ Annotations* (op. cit. n. 5), 36; Bentley, *Humanists* (op. cit. n. 5), 126 f.; D. Lafleur, *La famille 13 dans l’évangile de Marc*, New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 41 (Leiden 2013), 19–29, 98–102.

¹² See Cataldi Palau, ‘Jean Stojković de Raguse’ (op. cit. n. 2), 110.

¹³ “Cum mihi Basileae primum aederetur hoc opus, suppeditatum est nobis e bibliotheca Praedicatorum volumen Graecum homiliarum, Chrysostomi titulo, in Matthaum, sed imperfectum. Ex eo, quamdiu suppetebat, quaedam annotauimus, ...” *Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei*, ASD IX-4, 93, ll. 568–570; “*Lucerna corporis tui*: Nec additur in Graecis exemplaribus tui ... Atque ita legit divus Chrysostomus in his homiliis quas Basileae vidimus Graece scriptas ...” *Annotationes in Matthaum* 6,22, ASD VI-5, 163 f., ll. 268–272.

¹⁴ The codex was owned by the German lawyer Johann Heinrich Christian von Selchow (1732–95), then, in the 20th century by Martin Wahn (1893–1970), in Baden-Württemberg, and then by Wilfrid Jaensch (*1941), who deposited it at the university library. The following note is written on a label pasted on the front paste-down: “Dieses Erststück aus dem Nachlass seines Grossvaters | Pfarrer und Superintendent Martin Wahn, | geb. 1.11.1893 in Neusalz, Schlesien | gest. 29.12.1970 in Singen Htw. | gehört seinem Enkel Wilfrid Jaensch, geb. 6.11.41 in Gleiwitz Ob. Schl. | wohnhaft in Bubendorf, Basel-Land, Schweiz, Erlenstrasse 3. | Singen Htw. d.7.1.74”, signed by Christine Jaensch geb. Waber. About the history of this codex, see E. Gamillscheg / M. Aubineau, ‘Eine Unbekannte Chrysostomos-Handschrift (Basel Universitätsbibliothek, B II 25)’, *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde* 7 (1981), 101–108, here 103 f.

¹⁵ See Rummel, *Erasmus’ Annotations* (op. cit. n. 5), 22–25. For another vision of the intentions of Erasmus and his relations with Froben, see Bentley, *Humanists* (op. cit. n. 5), 118–120.



Fig. 2: Basel, AN IV 2, fol. 5^r (ca. 90 %) – Beginning of the book of Acts.

I. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 2

(Ragus. 12, Omont 8, GA 1, olim B VI 27)¹⁶

Codex AN IV 2 of Basel, containing minuscule GA 1,¹⁷ is the “elegant” gospel manuscript Erasmus mentions several times and criticizes because “elegant is not exactly the same thing as accurate”.¹⁸

a) Reuchlin’s “deliciae”

The link between this codex and John Stojković of Ragusa is established through his ex-libris on the rear paste-down, “card. Ragusini” (Fig. 3), and the thrilling history of the codex.

In 1488, Reuchlin made a lot of effort to get this book, and wrote to Jakob Louber (Lauber; 1440–1513), the influential Prior of the Carthusian’s monastery in Basel, to say his “soul was first and above everything else powerfully attracted to it”; moreover, he would die if he was unable to have it, but his life would be saved if he was able to borrow it under good conditions.¹⁹ And so, in spite of John

¹⁶ About Codex AN IV 2, besides the bibliography in notes 2 and 5, see also K. W. Clark, ‘Observations on the Erasmus Notes in Codex 2’, in K. Aland et al. (eds.), *Studia Evangelica. Papers Presented to the International Congress on “The Four Gospels in 1957” Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1957*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 73 (Berlin 1959), 749–756; reprinted by K. W. Clark, *The Gentile Bias and Other Essays* (Leiden 1980), 165–172; W. H. P. Hatch, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, Mass. 1951), plate LX. – The codex is also sometimes mentioned for its beautiful paintings and decoration, see for example R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York 1980), 25 + Fig. 15.

¹⁷ Contrary to the imprecise expression even in some scholarly discussions, Gregory-Aland numbers do not designate codices (physical books), but textual witnesses to the New Testament text. For example, GA 01 (A) only covers fols. Q74.1^r–Q91.2^r of Codex Sinaiticus, excluding the Old Testament, the Barnabas Epistle and Hermas. Similarly, GA 02 (B) only covers the 4th-century part of the New Testament on pp. 1235–1518 of Codex Vaticanus, while the 15th-century restoration of Hebrews on pp. 1519–1536 is designated by GA 1957.

¹⁸ Rummel, *Erasmus’ Annotations* (op. cit. n. 5), 36 f., referring to the *Apologia qua respondet duabus invectivis Eduardi Lei*, ASD IX-4, 48, ll. 726–730: “Porro quod posterior aeditio mea minus consentit cum priore, partim et illud fuit in causa: praefecti erant castigandis ut vocant formis duo, Ioannes Oecolampadius theologus et Nicolaus Gerbelius iuris vtriusque doctor, et habebant exemplar Capnionis eleganter sane depictum, sed non protinus liber elegans idem est et castigatus.” For a small dossier of Erasmus’ mentions of this manuscript, see Cataldi Palau, ‘Jean Stojković de Raguse’ (op. cit. n. 2), 108 f.

¹⁹ Reuchlin’s letter to Jakob Louber, 1488, in *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 126, ed. L. Geiger (Stuttgart 1875; reprinted Hildesheim 1962), ep. 15, pp. 16 f.: “Esse in Bibliotheca Praedicatorum Basiliensium quendam minutissimo stilo repositum libellum ita ut fertilior sit et maxime portabilis quo eleganter quas Apostoli graecas conscripserunt epistolas insunt. Et quia tam parvus tam multa continet ad eum est mihi animus praeter reliquos apprimere vehemens. Nam etsi caetera ejusdem materiae istic adsint volumina quae idem ipsum melioribus litteris et isdem graecis complectantur quae profecto sunt non dico dupla sed plurima, tamen quod iste meus ita gracilis et ita manualis paret, ut se non injuria Enchiridion nominare, iccirco nisi eum habuero vitam efflabo quam tu mihi etiam mortuo



Fig. 3: Basel, AN IV 2, detail of the rear paste-down – Owner mark of John of Ragusa.

Stojković's instruction not to let any codex get out of the library, Reuchlin obtained a lifelong loan of Codex AN IV 2, and other codices, which his testament executors were to return to the library with an extra book, for its "ornament". According to the good word of Jakob Sprenger (1436/38–96), the Provincial of the Dominicans who helped Reuchlin obtain the codex, the Dominicans of Basel would "rather lose the book than Reuchlin's friendship".²⁰ It is not without reason that this manuscript is sometimes called "Codex Reuchlinianus".

In the above mentioned list of Cuno, copied around 1511, the codex bears the number 12: "Actus apostolorum cum eorum Epistolis canonicis et 4. Evangeliste".²¹ It cannot be mistakenly attributed to another codex, because of the peculiarity that the Epistles are located before the Gospels, as will be discussed below. Interestingly, Cuno, who did not see the codex which was in Reuchlin's library for more than 20 years already, was able to mention it in his list; this confirms Cuno copied his list from some kind of inventory in the Convent,²² which reflected the state of the collection before 1488, possibly as it used to be at the death of John Stojković in 1443.

In August 1514, Erasmus wrote Reuchlin because "they say you own a very correct exemplar" of the New Testament,²³ which is easy to identify with Codex AN IV 2.²⁴ He obtained it, as well as the famous codex of Andreas of Caesarea on the Book of Revelation, now in Augsburg, which Reuchlin was also able to

facile reddere possis dum illud quod tuum non est tantum consentias, ut bona mihi conditione praestetur." The original manuscript of this letter can be read on the site e-rara, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-21798> (controlled February 2015).

²⁰ C. Christ, *Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim*, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 52 (Leipzig 1924), 29; K. Preisendanz, 'Die Bibliothek Johannes Reuchlins', in M. Krebs (ed.), *Johannes Reuchlin, 1455–1522. Festgabe seiner Vaterstadt Pforzheim zur 500. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages* (Pforzheim 1955), 35–82, here 66.

²¹ Vernet, 'Les manuscrits' (op. cit. n. 2), 84.

²² See Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno* (op. cit. n. 4), 119.

²³ Erasmus' letter to Reuchlin, August 1514, *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, ed. Geiger (op. cit. n. 19), ep. 190, p. 225 = Allen II, ep. 300, ll. 33–36: "Aiunt tibi exemplar esse emendatissimum; cuius copiam si feceris Ioanni Frobenio, gratum facies non solum mihi atque illi verum etiam studiosis omnibus. Codex integer et incontaminatus ad te redibit. Vale et rescribe."

²⁴ See Cataldi Palau, 'Jean Stojković de Raguse' (op. cit. n. 2), 109.

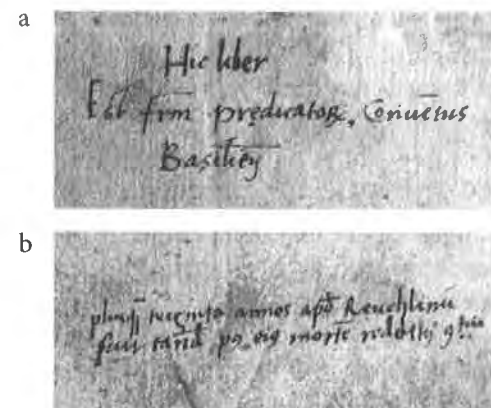


Fig. 4a and 4b: Basel, AN IV 2, two details from the current front paste-down – Owner mark of the Convent of the Dominicans; note by Johannes Schwebelin.

obtain from the Dominicans.²⁵ In September 1516, Erasmus thanked him "for the codex, the one which is your *deliciae*".²⁶

After the death of Reuchlin in 1522, the last Dominican librarian, Frater Johannes Ulricus Suevulus (Schwebelin; unknown dates), proudly wrote at the beginning of the manuscript "plusquam triginta annos apud Reuchlinum fuit tandem post eius mortem redditus est conventui" (Fig. 4b).²⁷ The ex-libris of the Convent of the Dominicans, on the same page, reads "Hic liber est fratrum Predicatorum conventus Basiliensis" (Fig. 4a) and probably dates from the same time, as well as the note "Novum Testamentum praeter Apocalipsim cardinalis Ragusini" probably on the inside part of the front board; as Vernet indirectly witnesses, it was still legible in 1961, but is now hidden by the current front paste-down, which used to be the first fly-leaf.²⁸

²⁵ Among the potentially 14 Ragusenses Reuchlin could borrow or acquire from the Dominicans, only seven returned to Basel, and six are still in the library today. As for the eight other ones, four are in other libraries, two are now destroyed (the famous Cyril and Ps. Justinus Codices), one is almost fully destroyed and one is lost; see Cataldi Palau, 'Jean Stojković de Raguse' (op. cit. n. 2), 98–108.

²⁶ Erasmus' letter to Reuchlin, 29 September 1516, *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, ed. Geiger (op. cit. n. 19), ep. 226, pp. 258 f.: "Erat quidem mei officii, doctissime Reuchline, literis tibi gratias agere pro codice, hoc est deliciis tuis, nobis commodato missis, sed Frobenius in causa fuit, qui me non admonito librum remisit."

²⁷ Schmidt, 'Bibliothek' (op. cit. n. 6), 176.

²⁸ See Vernet, 'Les manuscrits' (op. cit. n. 2), 84: "Ier plat: 'Novum Testamentum praeter Apocalipsim cardinalis Ragusini'. Fol. I v°: 'Hic liber est fratrum Predicatorum conventus Basiliensis. Plusquam triginta annos apud Reuchlinum ...'. See also Omont, 'Catalogue' (op. cit. n. 6), 7 (new pagination), who mentions this last note, now on the paste-down, as being "au verso du feuillet de garde". Besides, Omont's title of the codex is very close to the hidden note, "Novum Testamentum (praeter Apocalipsin)".

The date of the current binding is not known. It is a Western sewing technique, on three nerves; the decorated pieces of leather on both sides were added later. The volume includes a Latin section dated by Omont to the 15th century, but this is only a *terminus post quem* to the binding.

b) *The curious structure of Codex AN IV 2*

As mentioned above in the list of Cuno about Codex AN IV 2, the Epistles are placed before the Gospels, contrary to all biblical traditions and canon lists. This order can thus be safely considered a mistake. But who is responsible for it? Furthermore, how is this kind of mistake possible? The answer has to do with the structure of the codex, which is now organised in three autonomous units, besides the fly-leaves and a few supplementary pieces of paper:

Structured overview of Codex AN IV 2

Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 2 (Ragus. 12, Omont 8, GA 1, olim B VI 27)
Western binding, 16th cent.?

(fol. α) fly-leaf

S1. (fols. a-d) late added unit
1488–1522 – Parchment – Patristic extracts in Latin by the hand of Johann Reuchlin²⁹

- A. (fols. 1–157³⁰) first Byzantine unit
12th cent. – Parchment – Same hand and layout as Unit B
1. (fols. 1^r–41^v sup.) section to the Acts of Apostles
Introductory texts, then Acta Apostolorum
 2. (fols. 41^v inf.–62^r sup.) section to the Catholic Epistles
For each book, a short introduction, then the text of the Epistles
 3. (fols. 62^r inf.–155^v sup.) section to the Pauline Epistles
For each book, a short introduction, then the text of the Epistles
- (fols. 155^v inf.–157^v) originally empty

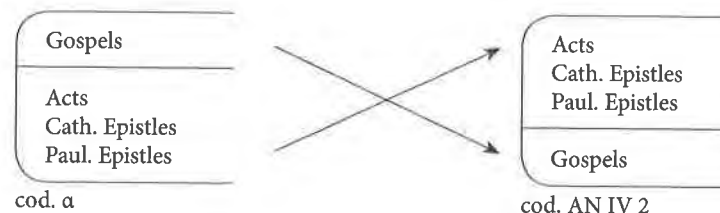
²⁹ See *Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, ed. Geiger (op. cit. n. 19), 17, n. 1. – One quire: II^{fols a–d}. No quire signatures. The quire structure is described giving the so called “improved German (Chroust) formula”, see P. Andrist, ‘The Physical Description’, in A. Bausi et al. (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (Hamburg 2015), available in open access at URL: <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMST/handbookonline.html> (controlled September 2015), 521–530, here 523 f.; see also P. Andrist, *Les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne – Burgerbibliothek Bern. Règles de catalogage* (Bern 2007), available in open access at URL: http://www.codices.ch/catalogi/leges_2007.pdf (controlled September 2015), 27 f.

³⁰ Quires, reconstructed as far as the preserved folios are concerned: 2–20^{IV}fols.1–152, 21(3/2.)fols.153–157; today, some now independent folios are wrongly bound to the contiguous quire; there is also an unnumbered small slip of paper before fol. 48^r. Byzantine quire signatures: S ant.–i8–(α^r) mostly lost; only legible number is probably 1^rfol.17^r, see below, p. 92; other remains of ink are sometimes visible. Western quire signatures: same position as the Greek ones, generally on both the current and the reconstructed first rectos, sometimes wrongly so.

- B. (fols. 161^r–306³¹) second Byzantine unit
12th cent. – Parchment – Same hand and layout as Unit A
4. (fols. 161^r–196^r sup.) section to Matthew
No introductory material
 5. (fols. 196^v–197^v, 199^r–220^v sup.) section to Marc
(fols. 196^v–197^r) capitula
 6. (fols. 224^r–262^v sup.) preserved section to Luke
No introductory material
 7. (fols. 263^r–290^v, 300^r–303^v) section to John
(fols. 263^r sup.) capitula
(fol. 265^v) portrait of John and Prochoros
- (fols. 304^r–306^v) originally empty
– (fol. 307) unbound then mis-bound folio, belonging to the section of John

S2. (fols. 307–[307^r]) smaller size bifolio containing some notes on the codex by a humanist, mainly related to liturgy
No lower fly-leaves

As it is obvious from the table, the ancient folios of the codex are organised in two parts, separated by a major codicological discontinuity between Hebrews and Matthew; very interestingly, there are no other material discontinuities between the text sections in this codex. If there was no binding, one could separate both parts without doing any damage to the text or to the quires, since each of them is fully autonomous. For the same reason it would be easy to restore the standard order of the biblical books by permuting them,³² and it is tempting to explain the current order through a mistake of a binder who lost the previous correct order:

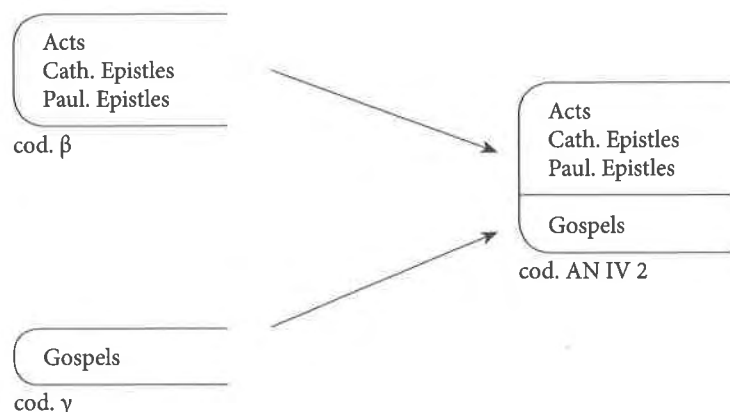


The existence of Codex α is not impossible, but is against the dominant Byzantine tradition of the independent circulation of the *Tetraevangelia* and the *Praxai*

³¹ Quires, as reconstructible: 22–28^{7.IV}fols.161–197, 199–217, 29(3/2.)fols.218–220, 224–225, 30–33^{4.IV}fols.226–257, 34(IV+1 fol.265)fols.258–266, 35–37^{3.IV}fols.267–290, 38(IV–1 pos.8)fols.300–396. Fol. 300 is now placed after fol. 306, but correctly numbered 300, see below, p. 94. Several folio numbers skipped by the person who numbered the folios, see below, pp. 93 f. Byzantine quire signatures: like unit A, but no clearly legible number preserved; see below, p. 92. Western quire signatures: like unit A.

³² Transformation model P1 in P. Andrist / P. Canart / M. Maniaki, *La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale*, Bibliologia 34 (Turnhout 2013), 78.

postoloi.³³ A more natural explanation would thus be an ancient independent circulation of both parts.³⁴



A confirmation of the probable previous independent circulation of both parts can be drawn from the two potentially legible quire signatures. If the sign on fol. 17^r is a gamma (Fig. 5a), at the beginning of the third quire of unit A, it points to a situation where this unit was meant to circulate either at the beginning of a codex or as an independent *Praxapostolos*, but probably not after the Gospels, even if it is not totally unconceivable that someone reinitialised the quire signatures at the beginning of Acts.

The ancient mark on fol. 267^r, in the Gospel of John, at the beginning of the 35th quire of today's volume and the 14th quire of unit B, is even more difficult to interpret (Fig. 5b). It is more natural to read it ιθ' (19), but it is more probably ιδ' (14), with a fancy loop on top,³⁵ which both agree with the current quire number in unit B and, more importantly, is compatible with the ink marks on fol. 283^r.³⁶ Besides, as explained below, it does not raise the problem of the possible content of five lost quires before Matthew. Again, even though one cannot totally rule

³³ One volume New Testaments are not totally inexistent in Byzantium, see U. Schmid, 'Die Apokalypse, überliefert mit anderen neutestamentlichen Schriften – eap-Handschriften', in id. / M. Sigismund / M. Karrer (eds.), *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung* 47 (Berlin 2015), 421–441, here 436. I am very grateful to the author for letting me read his text in advance.

³⁴ Transformation model A4 according to Andrist / Canart / Maniaci, *La syntaxe* (op. cit. n. 32), 66.

³⁵ Only the fancy loop would be preserved; for a fancy delta in a quire signature, see for example Codex AN IV 5, fol. 186^r. Incidentally, if the underneath mark on fol. 267^r was not in Greek, it could also be interpreted as ... 14.

³⁶ If the signature on fol. 267^r is ιθ', it should be κα' on fol. 283^r. If it is ιδ' on fol. 267^r, it is ις' on fol. 283^r. What remains on fol. 283^r looks like a c, and not at all like an α.

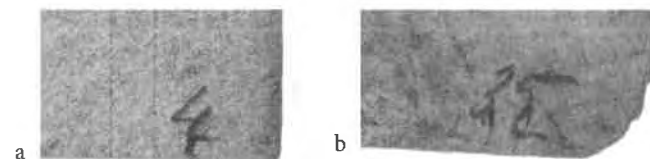


Fig. 5a and 5b: Basel, AN IV 2, fols. 17^r and 267^r – Current and, underneath, probable ancient quire signatures.

out that the quire numbers were reset at the beginning of the second part, it more naturally points to an independent Gospel book or the first position of the Gospels in a larger edition.

c) The probable and improbable missing leaves

Even a quick look at the table on pp. 90 f. shows several jumps in the folio numbers in unit B. Besides, one suspects some folios are missing even when there are no irregularities in the numbering, because it is difficult to believe that there originally was only one beautiful evangelist's portrait, before the Gospel of John, on fol. 265^v, which is a supplementary autonomous folio bound into the quire. One suspects the other gospels were also headed by luxurious but now removed paintings; unfortunately no mention of them was found in the literature, but the ink marks on the first page of the Gospel of Luke leave little doubt there used to be a picture on the facing page. Similarly, it is not normal for such a high quality codex that there are no capitula before Matthew and Luke, contrary to Mark and John.

Folio numbers 158–160, just before the Gospel of Matthew, were skipped by the person who numbered the folios in modern times. Is it due to the fact the previous quire had five folios instead of the expected eight? The chances that the three last folios of the previous quire were cut off are very small because, in a regular construction of the quire, they imply two problematic extra folios before fol. 154 or 153, inside the text of Hebrews, where nothing is lacking. Overall, in agreement with common Byzantine practice, it is more natural to think the last quire of this unit has always been smaller, because the scribe did not need more writing material to finish Hebrews. However, some folios containing the capitula and the portrait of Matthew were most probably lost before the beginning of Matthew, and maybe also some introduction material to the four Gospels. Besides, one wonders if there were Eusebian canons: on the one hand, part of the Eusebian apparatus is to be found in the margins of the Gospels; on the other hand, as Martin Wallraff stressed during the conference, the canon table numbers are not mentioned, making thus the use of possible tables much more difficult and time consuming. If one assumes the quire number on fol. 267^r is "14", as discussed

above, then there are three solutions. Either the introductory material was totally absent (except maybe the portrait of Matthew on an autonomous single folio); or there were very few of them and placed before Matthew, in the same quire, in an irregular manner.³⁷ Alternatively they were on one or several unnumbered quires, as it sometimes happens when quire numbers begin with the biblical text. A fourth solution must also be considered, if one assumes the quire number on fol. 267^r is "19": then, five quires (not necessarily quaternions) would have been lost before Matthew, the only place where it is materially possible to insert quires without disrupting the text. Eusebius' Canon, the letter to Carpianus and other prologue material could account for part of them, but they would raise new issues, since they imply a very large number of paratexts before Matthew, contrary to the other Gospels. The third solution is more natural in the context.

In the current codex, there is no fol. 198 either, which would be located between the capitula of Mark and the beginning of the Gospel, even though the quire (fols. 193–201), is regular. Obviously the collator left this number out because of the expected portrait of Mark.

Similarly fols. 221–223 are missing before Luke, beginning on fol. 224, which is materially the counter-folio of fol. 219. Thus, this time, the quire is irregular; providing it was a regular quaternion the three missing folios were necessarily in the middle of it. The folio numbers were obviously left out by the collator in order to account for those containing at least the capitula.

There is no folio problem at the beginning of John, contrary to the end of the section, where the current folio sequence is the following: ... 290, 301–306, 300. However, fols. 290 and 300 are independent and fol. 290 was originally at the end of a quire. The missing text between fols. 290^v and 301^r is John 19,5b–31a, which is fully found on fol. 300. What happened? Most probably the collator noticed the text was missing, but neither looked at the end of the book nor attempted to estimate the needed space for the missing text. He just left ten numbers, in order to draw attention to the missing folios; when the text was found after fol. 306, the folio received one of the unused numbers, but no one tried to correct the undue number jump.

Overall the evidence clearly points to the existence of two originally independent volumes: a *Tetraevangelium* with full page miniatures and a limited number of paratexts; additionally a *Praxapostolos* without the Book of Revelation, including a large amount of paratextual material and a beautiful series of marginal portraits of the authors. Both are written by the same hand in a similar layout. As a result, Codex AN IV 2 can be considered the witness of a 12th-century two volume edition of the New Testament.

As far as textual criticism is concerned, the discrepancy in the treatment of the paratexts points a priori to different editorial traditions in the used models, and, from a philological perspective, an independent circulation of two books also potentially points at two different models thus, potentially, two different text types.³⁸ In any case, it would make sense that each unit receives an independent GA number.

d) The "fault" of John of Ragusa?

In a book history perspective, it is of course interesting to ask when the current order was established. In 1488, Reuchlin only mentions the Epistles,³⁹ which makes sense if they are at the beginning of the codex. Additionally, the catalogue of Cuno confirms the current order is not due to the last binder. One cannot totally rule out that an intermediate binding was done in Basel by the Dominicans or even by John of Ragusa before 1488, but there are no hints to suggest it. On the contrary, as far as one can tell, John and the Dominicans were respectful of the Byzantine bindings and, as a result, most of John's codices still have their Byzantine binding today, in spite of many exceptions (including the heavily used Bible manuscripts). It is thus reasonable to believe the order of Codex AN IV 2 is due to a Byzantine bookbinder before the codex went to the West.

Nonetheless why would a Byzantine bookbinder put both units in the same book, as we suggest, contrary to his own biblical tradition which would keep them separate? Additionally, why did he mistakenly bind the Gospels at the end of it? According to our best although unproven scenario, he was asked to do so by someone whose tradition was different, like a Westerner, who was accustomed to find all the New Testament books of the Latin Bible in the same volume. This is why one can easily picture a poor Byzantine binder, who had no model and no experience of the Western tradition, putting the units in the wrong order. It would not come as a surprise if this Westerner was John Stojković himself, who, as we know, had some bindings done in Constantinople for the books he bought there.⁴⁰

³⁸ During a conference, a participant suggested that the Gospel part of Codex AN IV 2 is rather an Alexandrian text type, while the Epistles part is rather a Byzantine type.

³⁹ See above, n. 19.

⁴⁰ Such is for example the case of Codex AN I 8 (Elias of Creta; Ragusa, 31), where John wrote: "Constat cum ligatura et omnibus circha 12 iperpera"; see Vernet, 'Les manuscrits' (op. cit. n. 2), 91; Cataldi Palau, 'Legature' (op. cit. n. 2), 34 f., reprint 270 f.

³⁷ Incidentally, there are no clear traces of quire number on fol. 161^r.



Fig. 6: Basel, AN IV 1, fol. 2r (ca. 75%) – Beginning of the Gospel of Matthew.

II. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 1 (Ragus. 11, Omont 7, GA 2, olim B VI 25)⁴¹

Another Gospel manuscript⁴² used by Erasmus is Codex AN IV 1, witness GA 2 to the New Testament, which was given to the publishers with a long series of marginal corrections by the hand of Erasmus (Fig. 8); it still contains the red marks corresponding roughly to the page breaks of the edition.

Its link with John Stojković of Ragusa and the Dominicans is established through a buying note on fol. 248r, commonly attributed to John, “Constitut 2 Flor(enos) renens(es) in basilea” (Fig. 7b) and an ex-libris on the recto of the third upper fly-leaf, “Liber praedicatorum” (Fig. 7a). To the best of one’s knowledge, this is the only Greek manuscript John acquired in Basel or outside Constantinople. Since the two other Gospel entries in the list of Cuno are clearly identified, Codex AN IV 1 can only be matched with number 11, “4. Evangeliste”.⁴³ Little is known about the later history of the codex, besides the fact that it was used by Martin Crusius (Kraus; 1526–1607) in Tübingen in 1577 as a loan (Fig. 8).⁴⁴

The codex does not present any major structural complexity and can be described as a one-unit manuscript.

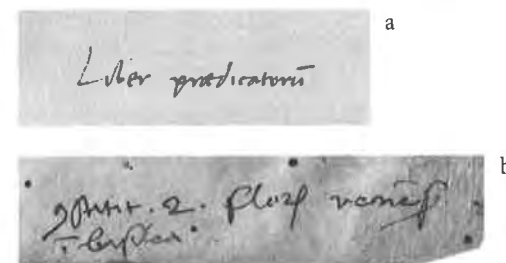


Fig. 7a and 7b: Basel, AN IV 1, details from the third upper fly-leaf recto and fol. 248r – Owner mark of the Convent of the Dominicans and purchasing note by John of Ragusa.

⁴¹ About Codex AN IV 1, besides the bibliography in notes 2 and 5, see also Clark, ‘Observations’ (op. cit. n. 16).

⁴² Besides these two biblical manuscripts, Erasmus also used a commentary manuscript by Theophylactus, mentioned above.

⁴³ See Vernet, ‘Les manuscrits’ (op. cit. n. 2), 84; Cataldi Palau, ‘Legature’ (op. cit. n. 2), 16, reprint 244.

⁴⁴ Note of Crusius on fol. 246r: “Μ. Κρούσιος διανέγων, ἀφορ’ ἐν τυβίγγη”. About Crusius’ interest for the codices in Basel, and their loan, see Wyss, ‘Ineditum’ (op. cit. n. 3), 1f., particularly n. 5f.; T. Wilhelmi, ‘Martin Crusius als Benützer griechischer Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel’, *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde* 6 (1980), 25–40, here 29f.

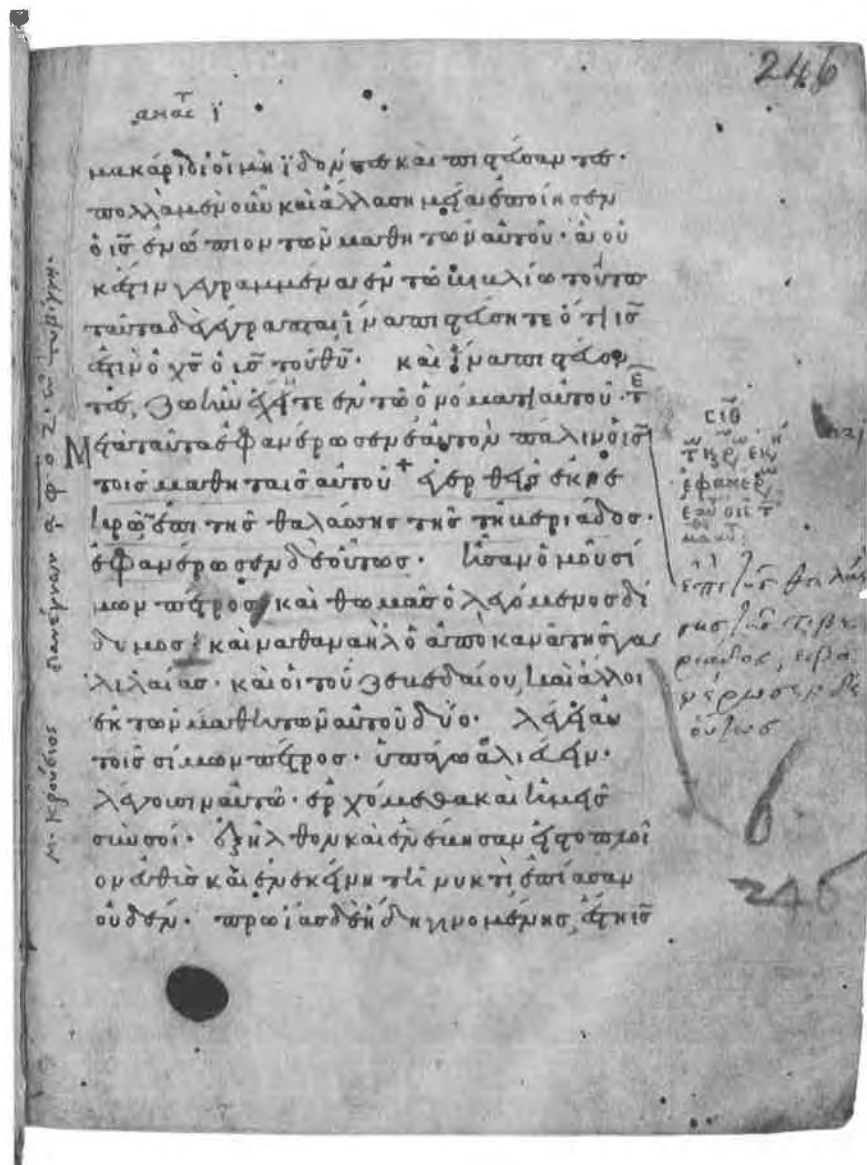


Fig. 8: Basel, AN IV 1, fol. 246^v (ca. 75 %) – Text of John 20,29–21,4. In the right margin, notes by Erasmus and typographical marks; on the left margin, note by Martin Crusius.

Structured overview of Codex AN IV 1

Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 1 (Ragus. 11, Omont 7, GA 2, olim B VI 25)

Western binding, 16th cent.

(3 fols.) upper fly-leaves

(fols. 1–248⁴⁵) one-unit codex

12th cent. – Parchment

1. (fols. 1^v–72^v) section to Matthew
(fol. 1^v) capitula – on a single leaf before quire α'
2. (fols. 73^v–118^v) section to Marc
(fol. 73^v sup.) capitula
3. (fols. 119^v–193^v sup.) section to Luke
(fols. 119^v–120^v sup.) capitula
4. (fols. 193^v–248^v) section to John
No capitula; the text of the Gospel begins directly on a verso.
– (fol. 248^v) empty

(3 fols.) lower fly-leaves

The way the capitula are dealt with is difficult to explain rationally. They are apparently copied by the scribe of the main texts, who is also responsible for both the capitula and the liturgical apparatus, mostly in the margin, in majuscules script, with somewhat varying red ink. There is, however, no trace of Eusebian material. The position of the capitula before Luke, in the middle of a quire, shows that they were planned to be written there and are not an after-thought. In contrast, John is the only Gospel to start on a verso, directly after the preceding text; there are no capitula and no space where to add or insert them, but the titles are in the margins of the biblical text. Matthew and Mark start at the beginning of a quire. The isolated folio before Matthew suggests there was either other introductory material beforehand, or these capitula were an afterthought; the beautiful gate at the beginning of Matthew is the only polychrome decoration of the codex. One could argue the scribe wanted to start Mark on a new quire, and the capitula at the end of the previous quire are an after-thought, but this previous quire is regular; the text flow can be compared with the capitula of Luke, and it could well be by chance that Mark begins on a new quire. The original intention of the codex editors and the way they worked still keep some degree of mystery.

⁴⁵ Quires: regular, except the first and the last ones: 1^{fol.1}, 2–31^{30.IV} fols. 2–241, 32^(IV-1 pos.8) fols. 242–248. Byzantine quire signatures: S ant.–i8–(α') + post.–i7–(α'); α' fol. 2r–λα' fol. 242r; the closing signatures are mostly lost. Western quire signatures: on the first recto only, near the Greek numbers.



Fig. 9: Basel, AN IV 4, fol. 1^r (ca. 100%) – Beginning of the book of Acts. In the lower margin, owner note by <Bonifacius> Amerbach, spelled “Amorbachiorum”.

III. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 4 (Ragus. 13, Omont 9, GA 2815, olim B IX 38)⁴⁶

The next two codices are *Praxapostoloi*. They are presented here in the increasing order of complexity. Firstly, Codex AN IV 4, which corresponds to the minuscule witness GA 2815 of Acts and the Epistles, was also used as a printing exemplar for the book of Acts, and bears some handwritten notes by Erasmus as well as the printer marks corresponding to the 1516 edition.

a) Historical questions and puzzles

A few points about the history of this codex, which are the result of a small but very enjoyable and fruitful enquiry together with Ueli Dill, deserve to be presented.

i. There are no definite arguments the codex used to belong to John of Ragusa or the Dominicans.⁴⁷ André Vernet, who published the list of Cuno in 1961, wondered if it should be identified with number 13 “Actus apostolorum et Epistole canonice”, while Annaclara Cataldi Palau, puzzled by two owner notes from the Amerbach family, hesitates on this question.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, contrary to the other codices discussed here, all the 15th-century binding material, including the paste-downs and the fly-leaves have been lost, most probably as a consequence of Erasmus’ edition. Nonetheless the probability that Vernet’s suggestion is true is also high, because there are no other known candidates for number 13 of Cuno’s list, and one should then also explain where Codex AN IV 4 comes from.

ii. Contrary to the *opinio communis*,⁴⁹ the ex-libris “Est Amorbachiorum” from the family Amerbach on fol. 1^r (Fig. 9) and fol. 210^v (Fig. 10) do not prove that Erasmus borrowed this manuscript from them; on the contrary, even though there are no formal proofs against this scenario either, it is surprising, as far as one can tell, Erasmus never mentions borrowing a codex from the Amerbachs. The key questions are: which member of the Amerbach family wrote this ex-libris? Furthermore, when did the book enter their collection, before or after it was used by Erasmus and rebounded?

One has to know that the Amerbach family built a rich library from the time of Johann Amerbach (1441?–1513), the renowned publisher and predecessor of Johann Froben, editor of Erasmus, until 1591 when Johann’s grandson Basilius II

⁴⁶ About Codex AN IV 4, see the bibliography in notes 2 and 5.

⁴⁷ Brown mentions the diverging opinions of the biblical scholars on this question, see A. J. Brown, ‘Introduction’, ASD VI-3, 1–18, here 2, n. 3.

⁴⁸ See her diverging conclusions in ‘Legature’ (op. cit. n. 2), 16, reprint 244, and in ‘Jean Stojković de Raguse’ (op. cit. n. 2), 110. The present study should help reconcile the data.

⁴⁹ See for example A. J. Brown, ‘Introduction’, ASD VI-2, 1–10, here 6; and id., ‘Introduction’, ASD VI-3, 1–18, here 2. – For the collaboration between the brothers Amerbach and Erasmus, see Rummel, *Erasmus’ Annotations* (op. cit. n. 5), 36.

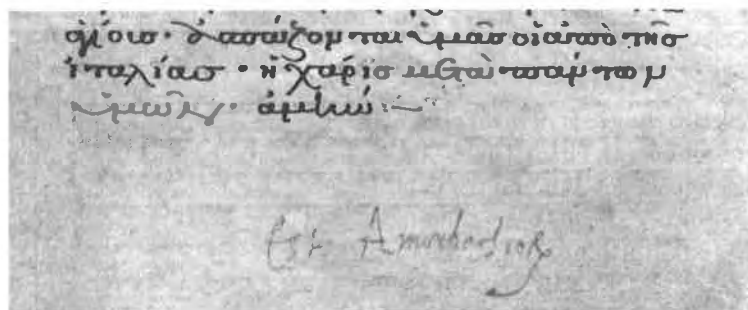


Fig. 10: Basel, AN IV 4, detail from fol. 210^v (ca. 100 %) – Owner note by <Bonifacius> Amerbach spelled “Amorbachiorum”.

Amerbach (1533–91) died without any children and bequeathed his library to his nephew Ludwig Iselin (1559–1612).⁵⁰ Theoretically, as it is clear from the family tree (Fig. 11) and the otherwise known information about this family, anyone of Johann, Bruno (1484–1519), Basilius I (1488–1535), Bonifacius (1495–1562), or Bonifacius’ son Basilius II could have written this note. There are however several reasons to date the ex-libris in Codex AN IV 4 sometime between 1509 and 1524:

Firstly, Beat Rudolf Jenny, who published the second part of the correspondence of the Amerbach family and intensively worked with their archive recognised the hand of Bonifacius Amerbach without any hesitation.⁵¹ One can hardly think Bonifacius wrote these notes before he came back from Sélestat in 1509, where his father sent him to study in the famous humanist school of Hieronymus Gebwiler (1473–1545).⁵²

Besides, from his correspondence and the ex-libris on printed books, it can be shown that Bonifacius stopped using the spelling “Amorbach” / “Amorbachiorum” around 1522–24, at least outside his family, and then systematically used “Amerbach” / “Amerbachiorum” instead.⁵³ Of course, his family and old acquaintances kept on calling him “Amorbach”.

⁵⁰ On the family Amerbach, see E. Landolt, ‘Das Amerbach-Kabinett und seine Inventare’, in ead. et al., *Das Amerbach-Kabinett*, vol. 5 (= *Beiträge zu Basilius Amerbach*) (Basel 1991), 73–303, here 76–80 (chapter I: Die drei Generationen Amerbach); cf. C. Roth, ‘Conrad Pfister, Basilius Iselin und die Amerbachische Bibliothek’, in Karl Schwarber et al. (eds.), *Festschrift Gustav Binz* (Basel 1935), 179–200; M. Steinmann / B. Wessendorf / F. Gröbl, ‘Baseler Büchersammler’, *Librarium* 20 (1977), 22–49, here 27–42.

⁵¹ Among his many publications concerning the Amerbach family, see *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vols. 6–11, ed. B. R. Jenny (vol. 11 together with U. Dill) (Basel 1967–2010). The author thanks Beat Jenny very warmly for this appraisal.

⁵² See M. E. Welti, ‘Bonifacius Amerbach’, in P. G. Bietenholz / T. B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto 1985–87; reprinted 2003), vol. 1, 42–46, here 42.

⁵³ In his preserved and published correspondence, the last found autograph letter to a friend with the signature “Bonifacius Amorbachius” was sent to Johann Froben in August 1522. See

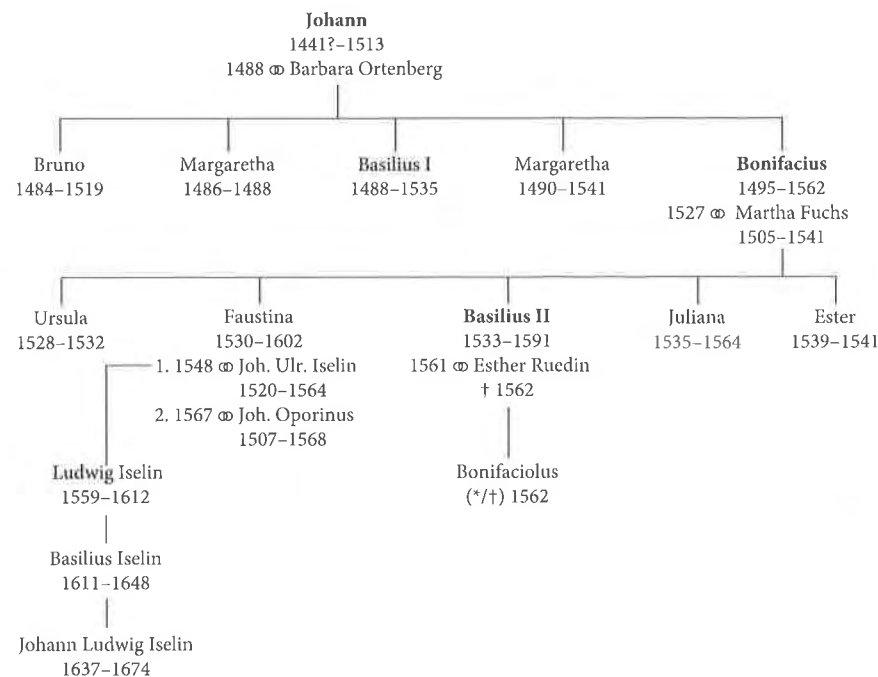


Fig. 11: Family tree of the Amerbach family.

This data shows an on-going process of marking the books, but can only be used as a *terminus ante quem*: how long the codex was in their library before Bonifacius wrote the family name is an open question. In any case, the presence of this ex-libris is no argument Erasmus borrowed it from the Amerbachs, since the codex could have been acquired at any time between 1514 and 1524.

Die Amerbachkorrespondenz, vol. 2 (= *Die Briefe aus den Jahren 1514–1524*), ed. A. Hartmann (Basel 1943), ep. 883, pp. 393 f. However, one still finds some occurrences in letters to his brother Basilius until January 1524. See Fig. 12a; *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vol. 2, ed. Hartmann (op. cit. n. 53), ep. 949, pp. 461 f. Similarly, in the current state of our knowledge, the last use of the ex-libris “Amorbachiorum” on a printed book is on the title page of a publication by Erasmus in 1522, with the interesting title, *Jo. Froben. lectori s. d.: In universas epistolas apostolorum ab ecclesia receptas, hoc est, Pauli quatuordecim, Petri duas, Iudae unam, Jacobi unam, Joannis treis, paraphrasis, hoc est, liberior ac dilucidior interpretatio per Erasmus Roterdamum ex archetypis primis diligenter ab ipso recognitis ...*, ([Basileae, apud Io. Frobenium], 1522), available online on the site e-rara including the ex-libris, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-3883> (controlled March 2015). Inversely, the first use of the spelling “Amerbachius” was found on an autograph letter to Fr. Leonhard, dated in February 1524. See Fig. 12b; *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vol. 2, ed. Hartmann (op. cit. n. 53), ep. 951, pp. 463–465.

Temp. 1524. die 30. Januarij Anno m. d. XLIII.
 Ad fratrem suum Basilius.
 Amos fr. Bonifacius Amorbach.

Fig. 12a: Basel, G II 13.2, no. 155 recto – Autograph spelling “Bonifacius Amorbach.” in a letter to his brother Basilius, dated 30 January 1524.

Bonifa. Amerbachius S.
 prolixitate ita offensus ex m. Leonhardo ut.

Fig. 12b: Basel, C VIa 73, no. 121 recto – Autograph spelling „Bonifa. Amerbachius“ in a letter to F. Leonhard, dated 10 February 1524.

iii. The codex can be found on fol. 145^r of the catalogue of the Amerbach / Iselin library, prepared by Conrad Pfister (1576–1636) around 1628–30, with its old bookshelf number “E 3 46” (Fig. 13).⁵⁴

iv. Surprisingly, there are two extra ex-libris on the fly-leaves of the Renaissance binding, today kept separately (Fig. 14):

- “Ex libris Leonhardi Ernii | emptus Marpurgi | 14. 1558”: Lienhard Erni (ca. 1536–1619) from Zurich, who was a student in Marburg in 1558 and was then ordained a pastor in the region of Zurich in 1559.⁵⁵
- “Sum Vuilhelmi Waeberi ex d[ono] | Reverendissimi viri Leonh[ardi Ernii] | Tiguri Mense octobrii”; Wilhelm Waeber or Weber (ca. 1538–94), who studied in Basel and Heidelberg, and was then also a deacon and pastor in the region of Zurich.⁵⁶

Providing these two ex-libris really correspond to Codex AN IV 4 and are not there because of their presence on re-used papers, this would puzzlingly mean Codex AN IV 4 was not in Basel in the middle of the 16th century any longer,

⁵⁴ Basel, UB, Codex AR I 5, available online on e-rara, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-11614> (controlled February 2015).

⁵⁵ See E. Dejung / W. Wuhrmann, *Zürcher Pfarrerbuch 1519–1952* (Zürich 1953), 258.

⁵⁶ See H. G. Wackernagel (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, 5 vols. (Basel 1951–80), vol. 2 (= 1532/33–1600/01), 129, no. 57; Dejung / Wuhrmann, *Pfarrerbuch* (op. cit. n. 55), 605.

E. 3. 46. Testamenti novi libri aliquot manuscripti Graeco. membrana. 8. nempe acta apostolorum: cum Pauli vitae descriptione, et itineribus adjectionibus. D. Pauli epistola, cum annotatione cuiusque subiecto. Epistole Canonicae. Dubia autem omnes perfectae, quod patet fieri potest ex collatione huius exemplaris cum aliquo Graeco typis excusato.

2. 11. Testamentum novum latinum, ad antiquissima Graecorum Exemplaria.

Fig. 13: Basel, AR I 5, detail from fol. 145^r – The catalogue entry of Codex AN IV 4 (= E 3 46) by Conrad Pfister.

Ex libris Leonhardi Ernii
 emptus Marpurgi
 14. 1558.

Sum Vuilhelmi Waeberi ex d[ono]
 Reverendissimi viri Leonh[ardi Ernii]
 Tiguri Mense octobrii.

Fig. 14: Basel, AN IV 4 fragm. 4, fol. 3^r (ca. 100 %) – Two owner marks on the ancient fly-leaves.

but in Germany around Marburg, then in Switzerland around Zurich; however, it was back in the Rhenish city in the first half of the 17th century.

Several explanations can account for this data, but none is fully convincing. They depend on the following parameters:

- a) the codex was really part of John Stojković's collection, as we think (see above, p. 101), or came to Basel another way;
- b) it was owned by the family Amerbach before it was used by Erasmus, as we think (see above, pp. 101–104), or only afterward;
- c) it went (returned) to the family Amerbach soon after Erasmus used it or directly went abroad;
- d) it once really was in Germany then in the region of Zurich.

According to our preferred scenario, Erasmus borrowed the codex directly from the Convent of the Dominicans, for the reason given above. It went then to the Amerbach family, where it received the two ex-libris. As it is difficult to explain why the two Zurich ex-libris would be kept with the manuscript if they are not

related to it, we have to explain how the codex went to Germany. We can here imagine someone in the Amerbach family offering it to a German friend.⁵⁷ This kind of practice is largely documented at the time; for example, the codex of Andreas of Caesarea containing Revelation, now in Augsburg, entered the collection of the family Froben after Erasmus used it, and was presented by Hieronymus Froben to the count Ottheinrich von der Pfalz in 1553.⁵⁸ By remarkable luck, AN IV 4 came back to Switzerland then to the Amerbach collection;⁵⁹ as one can also easily imagine, this could have something to do with the fact the second Zurich owner studied in Basel and knew who the Amerbach family was. Then the codex was mentioned in the catalogue of 1628–30 and was integrated into the University Library after the Basel government decided to acquire this collection in 1661.

b) The structure of Codex Bas. AN IV 4

Structured overview of Codex AN IV 4

Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 4 (Ragus. 13, Omont 9, GA 2815, olim B IX 38)
Pseudo-Byzantine binding, dat. 1980

(1 fol.) upper fly-leaves

(fols. 1–216⁶⁰) one-unit codex

13th or 14th cent.⁶¹ – Parchment

1. (fols. 1^r–60^v sup.) section to the Acts of the Apostles
(fols. 1^r–59^r inf.) Acta apostolorum
(fols. 59^v sup.–60^v) introductory pieces to the Acts and the Pauline Epistles
2. (fols. 61^r–87^v) section to the Catholic Epistles
A short introduction is located before each Epistle
(fol. 87^v inf.) empty
3. (fols. 88^r–210^v) section to the Pauline Epistles
A short introduction is located before each Epistle
(fol. 210^v inf.) empty, with owner note
4. (fols. 211^r–216^v) Menologium breve et Synaxarion breve

No lower fly-leaves

⁵⁷ The Amerbachs were ready to offer pages written by the hand of Erasmus to friends or important people. One can thus not exclude they also were able to give (or lend) some books.

⁵⁸ See A. J. Brown, 'Introduction. Part 1', ASD VI-4, 1–25, here 21 f. It is, though, not impossible the codex was returned to Reuchlin and came back to Basel with Codex AN IV 2 in 1522, see above and Christ, *Bibliothek* (op. cit. n. 20), 28.

⁵⁹ Probably thanks to the two ex-libris "Amorbachiorum". However, why did the German and Zurich owners not erase them?

⁶⁰ Quires: very regular, except the last two ones, 1–26.IV^{fols.1–208}, 27.III^{fols.209–214}, 28.I^{fols.215–216}. Byzantine quire signatures: on the first rectos and last versos, S ant.–i4–(α')+post.–i4–(α'), α'^{fol.8v}–κ'^{fol.209r}. Western quire signatures: on the first rectos only, a–o, in red by the typographers, position i6/7; o–z³, in grey, position i7.

⁶¹ On palaeographical ground, in agreement with Paul Canart and Zisis Melissakis (see n. 69); for the usual dating in the 12th century, see for example A. J. Brown, 'Introduction', ASD VI-2, 1–10, here 6; Reicke, 'Erasmus' (op. cit. n. 5), 263.

Like Codex AN IV 1, Codex AN IV 4 can be described as a one-unit codex, as far as the biblical text is concerned; there are no removable sections.

After the fly-leaves, the codex begins directly with the text of the Acts, decorated by a modest monochrome headpiece, without any introductory material. It is the first leaf of the first quire, and there is no indication that something was lost before it. After the end of Acts on fol. 59^r, the bottom of the page is empty (two lines) followed, on fol. 59^v, by the introductory texts to the Acts, which finish on an extra line at the bottom of fol. 60^v, in smaller characters, in order for the last piece to be squeezed onto this page.

On fol. 61^r, the introduction to the Epistle of James begins after a modest decorated line. It is in the middle of a quire and cannot be split from the section to the Acts without damaging a bifolio. The text of James begins on fol. 61^v, and the section to the Catholic Epistles ends on fol. 87^v, followed by an empty space at the bottom of the page.

The section to the Pauline Epistles follows the same principles of "mise en texte"; it begins on fol. 88^r, with a short introduction to the Epistles in general and the Epistle to the Romans starts in the middle of fol. 89^v, with a bicoloured strip, which clearly plays a role in marking the beginning of the Epistle. Like at the beginning of the preceding section, it would be possible to separate both sections without damaging the texts, but not without damaging the quires.⁶²

At fol. 210^v the section to the Pauline Epistles comes to an end. It is clearly separated from the tables of liturgical readings by a long empty space at the end of the page, and the layout of the tables is strikingly different, but the latter do not begin on a new quire either. One cannot exclude they were added later.

The principles of "mise en texte" are coherent throughout the codex; the only "surprise" is the position of the introductory material to the Acts. Overall, the length and amount of paratexts are smaller than in Codex AN IV 2 and do not occupy much space in the codex.

⁶² Since fol. 88 is the last folio of the eleventh quire, see above, n. 60.

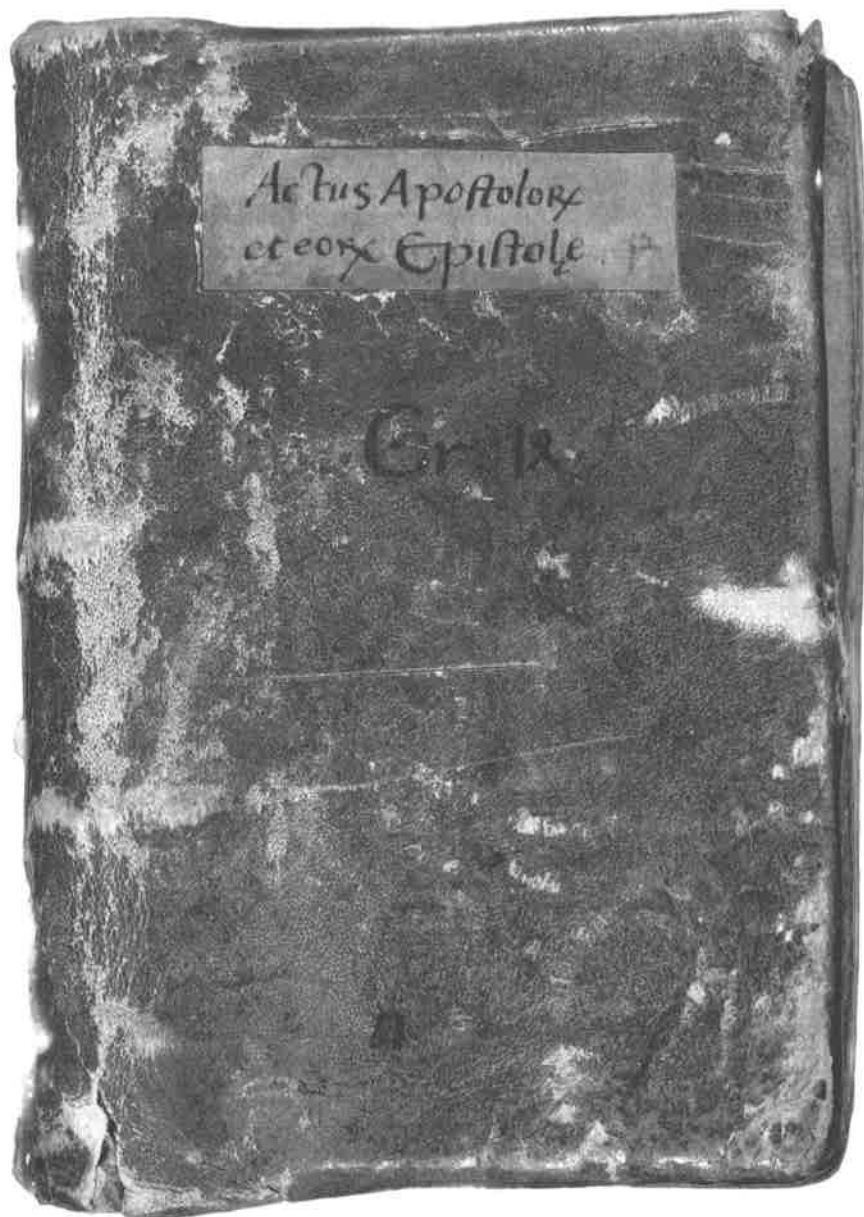


Fig. 15: Basel, AN IV 5 (ca. 95%) – Byzantine binding including its 15th-century label and inventory number from the library of the Dominicans.



Fig. 16: Basel, AN IV 5, fol. 1^r (ca. 100%) – Beginning of the book of Acts; the original script was rewritten at a younger date.

IV. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 5
(Ragus. 14, Omont 10, GA 2816, olim B X 20)⁶³

The situation is a little bit more complicated with Codex AN IV 5, containing the Acts and the Epistles as well. Its link with John of Ragusa and the library of the Dominicans is easy to establish, because its ancient catalogue number, "14", is still written on the front cover of the Byzantine binding (Fig. 15), and it matches the list of Cuno, "Actus apostolorum et Epistole canonice" (Fig. 1).⁶⁴ Besides, the last page informs us that John paid three *hyperpera* for it (Fig. 17).⁶⁵



Fig. 17: Basel, AN IV 5, detail from fol. 285^v – Purchasing note by John of Ragusa.

The link with Erasmus is less obvious, but biblical scholars have established it was used for the revision of the text, and many variants in his edition of the Acts come out of it.⁶⁶

The codex begins again directly with the text of Acts, at the beginning of a quire, ornamented with a rather large red headpiece (see Fig. 16). There are again no reasons to believe something was lost before it.

The Acts come to an end on fol. 88^v, and, on fol. 89^r, one finds directly the Epistle to the Romans, headed by a red line, without any paratextual material. Contrary to the two other *Praxapostoloi*, Acts is not followed by the Catholic Epistles but by the Pauline Epistles, like in Erasmus' edition, even though Codex AN IV 5 probably played no role in this matter; however, it is still interesting Erasmus had an example also for this organisation of the books in the Greek tradition as well.⁶⁷ In order for Romans to begin on a recto without any empty space at the bottom of the preceding page, the scribe shortened a few lines at the end of Acts. This is the second folio of the quire, and thus the sections cannot be split apart.

⁶³ About Codex AN IV 5, see the bibliography in notes 2 and 5.

⁶⁴ See Vernet, 'Les manuscrits' (op. cit. n. 2), 84 f.

⁶⁵ "Constitut iperpera 3", fol. 285^v, see *ibid.* The hand is recognised as John's, see Cataldi Palau, 'Legature' (op. cit. n. 2), 16, reprint 244.

⁶⁶ See A. J. Brown, 'Introduction', ASD VI-3, 1–18, here 3.

⁶⁷ See M. Welte, 'The Problem of the Manuscript Basis for the Earliest Printed Editions of the Greek New Testament', in K. van Kampen / P. Saenger (eds.), *The Bible as Book. The First Printed Editions* (London 1999), 117–123, here 118 f.

Structured overview of Codex AN IV 5

Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 5 (Ragus. 14, Omont 10, GA 2816, olim B X 20)
Byzantine binding, 16th cent.?

(1 fol.) upper fly-leaves

A. (fols. 1–96, 99–248⁶⁸) autonomous unit
13th cent. (second half)–14th cent.⁶⁹ – Parchment – One hand at least, out of several, worked in B

1. (fols. 1^r–88^v) section to the Acts of Apostles
No paratextual material
2. (fols. 89^r–247^v) section to the Pauline Epistles
(fols. 97^r–98^v) see below
No paratextual material
- (fol. 248^{r/v}) originally empty

B. (fols. 249–285⁷⁰) autonomous unit
13th cent. (second half)–14th cent. – Parchment – One hand at least, out of several, worked in A

3. (fols. 249^r–282^v sup.) section to the Catholic Epistles
A short introduction before the text of each Epistle
- (fols. 282^v inf.–285^v) originally empty

No lower fly-leaves

R.? (fols. 97–98) possible restoration, perhaps contemporary to the main production; or bifolio added during a possible revision process at the time of the production

The bifolio 97–98, containing the text of Romans 4,18b–5,15a by another possibly contemporaneous hand with the surrounding folios, is awkwardly inserted into the quire. It obviously replaces the six last lines of fol. 95^v, which contained Romans 5,14b–15a, before they were crossed out because of a major copy error.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Quires: 1–12.12.IV^{fols.1–21, 21; 22–25}, 13.IV [+fols.97–98]^{fols.96–105}, see above, 14–31.18.IV^{fols.106–192, 192; 193–248}. Byzantine quire signatures: on the upper margin of the first rectos and the lower margin of the last versos, S ant.–s8x1–(α') + post.–i2–(α'); most signatures are lost; β^{fols.97–98}–κδ^{fols.192v}. No Western quire signatures.

⁶⁹ On palaeographical ground, in agreement with Paul Canart and Zisis Melissakis (see n. 61); for the usual dating in the 15th century, see for example A. J. Brown, 'Introduction', ASD VI-3, 1–18, here 2.

⁷⁰ Quires: regular, except the last one, 32–35.4.IV^{fols.249–280}, 36.IV-3 pos.4,7,8^{fols.281–285}. Byzantine quire signatures: on the lower margin of the first rectos and the last versos (except on the first recto, signed like the previous unit, see below), S ant.–i8–(α') + post.–i7/8–(α'); λβ^{fols.249r–λς}^{fols.281r}. No Western quire signatures.

⁷¹ Before the text was crossed, Romans 4,18a was directly followed by 5,14b: ... παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι [sic] τῆς παραβάσεως Ἀδάμ ... καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι | τῇ τοῦ ἐνός; the first scribe probably skipped a folio in his antigraph.

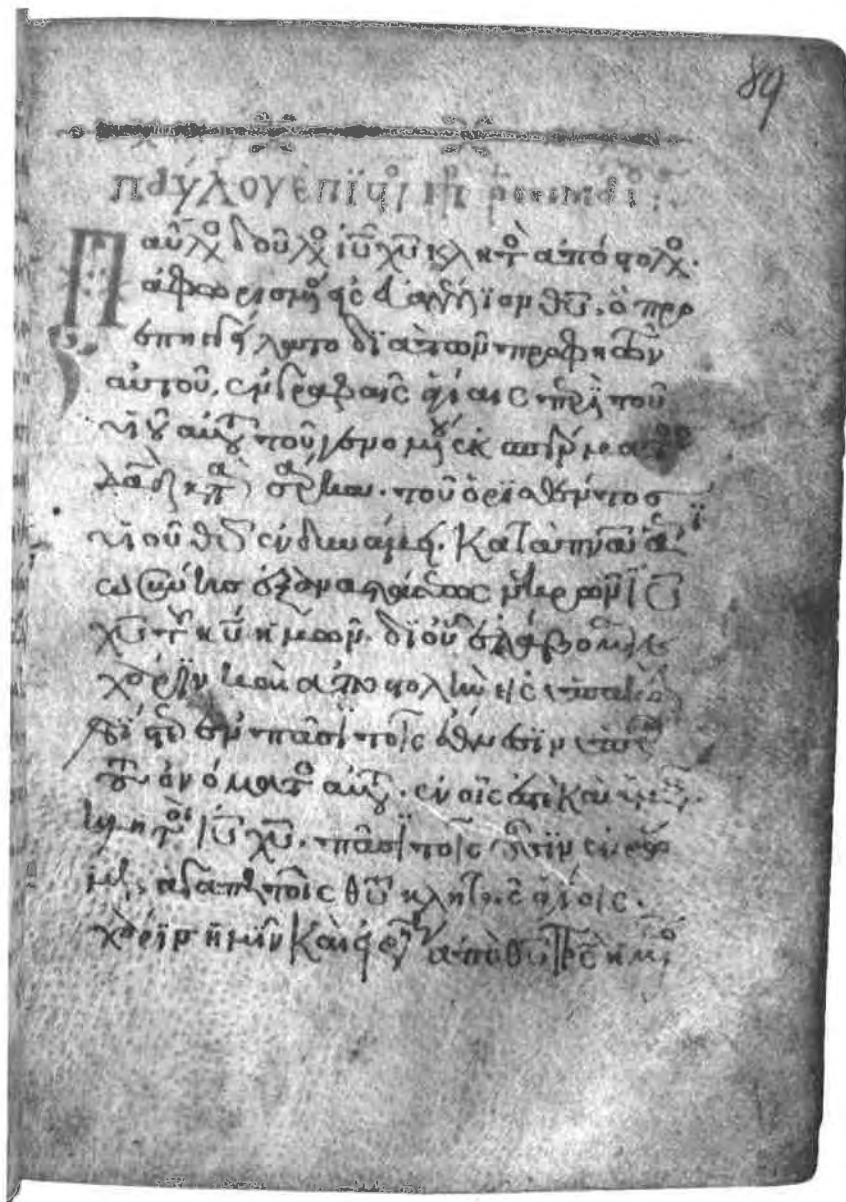


Fig. 18: Basel, AN IV 5, fol. 89^r (ca. 100 %) – Beginning of the Epistle to the Romans.

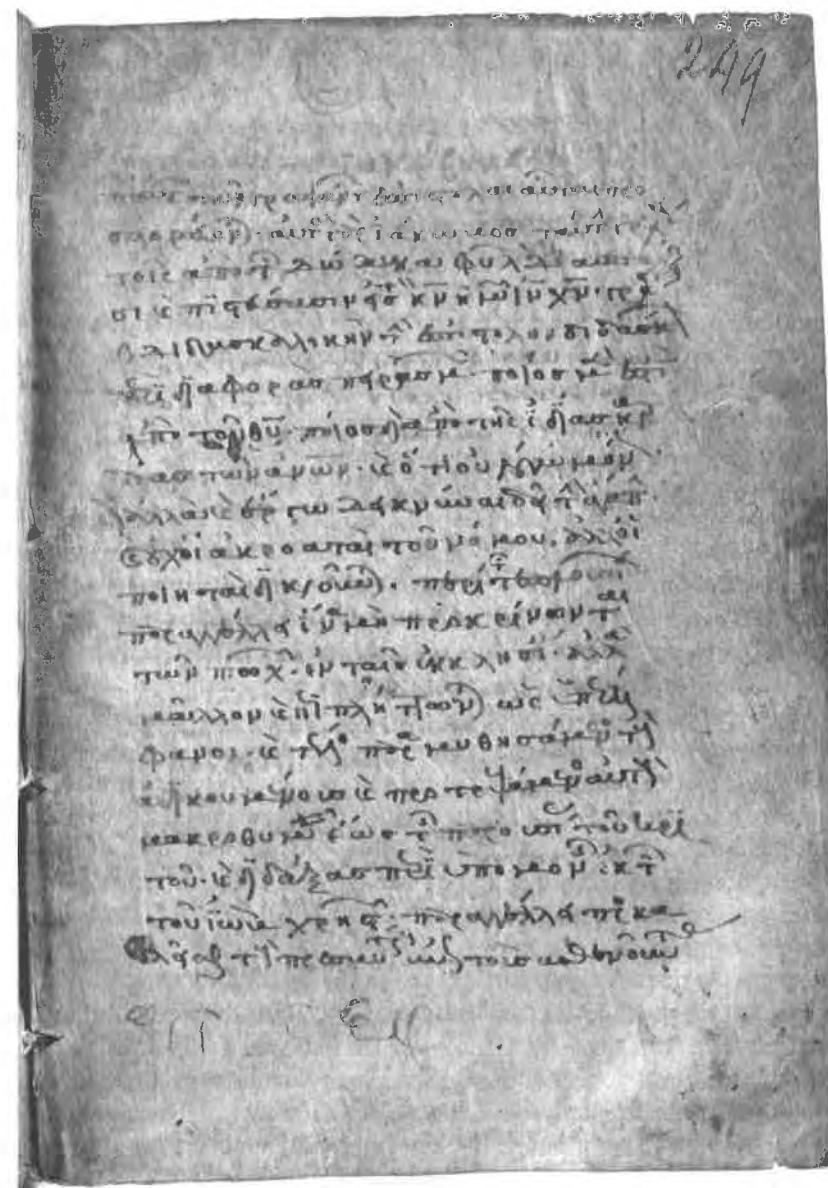


Fig. 19: Basel, AN IV 5, fol. 249^v (ca. 100 %) – Beginning of the Epistle of James.

The new bifolio whose text ends in the middle of a word⁷² and in the middle of fol. 98^v is possibly a restoration or even the result of a revision at the time of the original production.

However, between the sections to the Pauline Epistles and the Catholic Epistles, the “mise en livre” follows other rules: the Epistle to the Hebrews ends at the bottom of fol. 247^v with a small red decoration, but fol. 248, the last folio of the quire, was empty on both sides before some readers or owners added a few notes.

A new quire begins on fol. 249^r, together with the prologue to the Epistle of James, while the Epistle itself begins on the verso; this is a much more important discontinuity. The section on the Catholic Epistles is autonomous and removable (i.e. it can easily be split from the Pauline Epistles without damaging the texts or the quires). The last three lines of the Epistle of Jude are at the top of fol. 282^v, followed by three originally empty folios, now filled with reader notes.

As a result, besides the special situation of fols. 97–98, there are three parts in this codex: the Acts, separated from the Pauline Epistles by a “soft” discontinuity; and the Catholic Epistles separated from the Pauline Epistles by a “hard” discontinuity. However, it is not possible to change the order of the parts since Acts and the Pauline Epistles are physically bound one to the other.

Thus the question: are the Pauline Epistles the result of the same editorial project as the two other sections? Or did some kind of “accident” account for it?

On the one hand, in both parts, several scribes, whose hands are difficult to date but are probably working at the end of the 13th or in the 14th century, contributed to the copying, and among them, the same hand who finished the Pauline Epistles is at work at the beginning of the Catholic Epistles. In both parts the number of lines per page varies strongly, mostly between 16 and 22, apparently according to the hand. In both parts, the ruling is hard to see and incoherent, and the guiding lines seem often to be lacking. These elements rather point to the same production. On the other hand, the following points must also be taken into consideration:

Firstly, while there are no paratexts at all in the first two sections, there is an introduction to every book in the third section, including the small third Epistle of John.

Secondly, as already mentioned, there is a hard discontinuity after Hebrews, including an originally empty folio.

Thirdly, in unit B, even though the “opening” quire numbers go on with the series of the second section, they are not located at the same place on the page. In the first two sections they are in the top margin, while they are in the bottom margin of the third section, except for the first one, at the same position as the previous two sections.

⁷² Exactly, <εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ... καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι>τῇ τοῦ ἐνός; thus the second scribe confused the article τῇ with the end of χάριτι, probably due to an easy error of iotacism.

Since the overall quality of the book and the script is rather low, one could understand this book as a “one shot” production within a loosely organised and poorly controlled project. Even though the two first points could be easily interpreted by the change of an antigraph at the end of Hebrews, this explanation does not account for the last discrepancy: why would some scribes suddenly change the way they mark the quires?

One could invoke the loose organisation again. However, it is not so loose that the position of quire numbers changes several times or anywhere in the codex; it roughly coincides with the other mentioned changes. This is why, there are also some chances that the third section is an afterthought, which was realised by the same team who copied the first two sections, but at a slightly later time, when the habits about the place of the quire signatures had slightly changed; with these dynamics, the presence of the first quire signature on the top margin of fol. 249^r could be understood as a particular case of “concomitance décalée”;⁷³ the first quire was signed under the influence of the habits of the previous section. Even though the presence of paratextual material in the third section can still be explained by the use of a different antigraph, one can also ask if this has not also something to do with some evolving rule or practice in this workshop.

As far as text-criticism is concerned, it would be safer to handle this situation as if there were not one but two witnesses to the New Testament. Consequently, these two separated potential witnesses should also receive separated Gregory-Aland numbers.

V. Basel, UB, Codex AN III 11

(Ragus. 15, Omont 11, GA 2817, olim B VI 17)⁷⁴

Codex AN III 11, containing witness GA 2817 of the New Testament shows a very interesting situation. Its link with Basel is clear, since there is still, on the ancient fly-leaf, the owner note of the Convent of the Dominicans.

The link with Erasmus is established by the Biblists: according to Andrew J. Brown, who also noticed an autograph note by Nikolaus Gerbel (ca. 1485–1560; one of the two assistants of Erasmus; Fig. 21b) as well as, seemingly, some typographic marks, it is even his main witness for the Epistles of Paul.⁷⁵

⁷³ Andrist / Canart / Maniaci, *La syntaxe* (op. cit. n. 32), 124f.

⁷⁴ About Codex AN III 11, besides the bibliography in notes 2 and 5, see also C. Van de Vorst / H. Delehay, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae Belgii Angliae, Subsidia hagiographica* 13 (1914; reprinted 1968), 194.

⁷⁵ See A. J. Brown, ‘Introduction,’ ASD VI-3, 1–18, here 4–6; id., ‘Introduction. Part 1,’ ASD VI-4, 1–25, here 2f.



Fig. 20: Basel, AN III 11, fol. 8^r (ca. 50 %) – Beginning of the Epistle to the Romans; hand of the second half of the 10th century.

The codex is structured in two main physical parts:

Structured overview of Codex AN III 11

Basel, UB, Codex AN III 11 (Ragus. 15, Omont 11, GA 2817, olim B VI 17)

Western binding, 16th cent.

(2+2 fols.⁷⁶) upper fly-leaves; 2 Renaissance paper folios + 2 Byzantine parchment folios

A. (fols. 1–228⁷⁷) older Byzantine unit

10th cent.⁷⁸ – Parchment

1. (fols. 1–228) section to the Pauline Epistles (first main part)
 - (fols. 1^r–6^r sup.) introduction to the Pauline Epistles and Rom.
 - (fols. 6^r inf.–7^v) empty, today with extra texts and notes

(fols. 8^r–167^v) Rom., introduction to 1 Cor., 1 Cor., introduction to 2 Cor.; with exegetical chains

- (fols. 168^r–228^r) 2 Cor., with exegetical chains
- (fol. 228^v) originally empty, see below

i. (fol. 228^v) 13th–14th cent., added text

2.a Introduction to Gal.; complement to the section to the Pauline Epistles

B. (fols. 229–387⁷⁹) younger byzantine unit

11th cent. – Parchment

- 2.b (fols. 229^r–387^v) section to the Pauline Epistles (second main part)
 - (fols. 229^r–387^v) Gal.–Hebr. (mutilated, until Hebr. 12,18 “... πυρί”); with exegetical chains.

(2 fols.) lower fly-leaves

After two series of upper fly-leaves, the codex begins with a quaternion, whose first leaf is now lost. It starts with Euthalius’ prologue to the 14 Epistles, but the initial mutilated text matches about two columns in the edition of the *Patrologia Graeca*.⁸⁰ It goes on with the *Peregrinationes Pauli*, the *Martyrium Pauli* and then the Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans, up to fol. 6^r. The original status

⁷⁶ The second ancient upper fly-leaf is now fixed on the first remaining folio of the first quire.

⁷⁷ Quires: regular, except the first and last one, 1(IV-1 pos.1)^{fols.1-7}, 2-28^{27.IV}^{fols.8-223}, 29(3/1.1)^{fols.224-228}, see below, pp. 119, 122. First series of Byzantine quire signatures: on the lower margin of the first rectos and the last versos, S ant.–i3–(α’)+post.–i3–(α’); most signatures are lost but several remains are preserved; κθ^{fol.224r}. Second series of Byzantine quire signatures: on the lower margin of the first rectos, S ant.–i3/4–(α’); β^{fol.16r}–κθ^{fol.224r}. No Western quire signatures.

⁷⁸ See below, p. 119.

⁷⁹ Quires: including some irregularities, 30-38^{9.IV}^{fols.229-258}, 260-301^{39.III}^{fols.302-307}, 40-46^{7.IV}^{fols.308-363}, 47(IV-1 pos.8)^{fols.364-370}, 48-49^{2.IV}^{fols.371-386}, 50¹^{fol.387}. One series of Byzantine quire signatures, corresponding to the second series in the previous unit: κθ^{fol.229r}–μθ^{fol.387r}. No Western quire signatures.

⁸⁰ Starting at PG 85, 697 B 2, |ἀπελθὼν ...

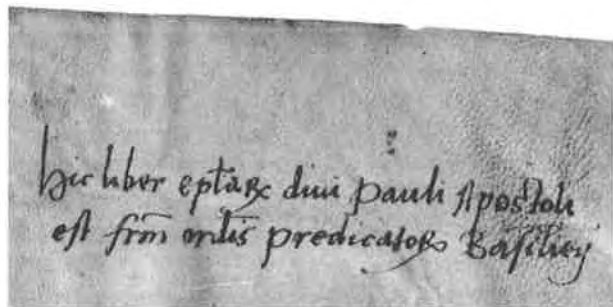


Fig. 21a: Basel, AN III 11, detail from the ancient fly-leaf – Owner mark of the Convent of the Dominicans in Basel.

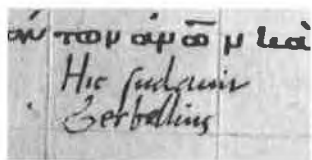


Fig. 21b: Basel, AN III 11, detail from fol. 314r – Note by Nikolaus Gerbel.

of fol. 7, which is now attached to the other leaves, is hard to determine, and it is not certain the list of the Pauline Epistles on its recto belongs to the original production.

The second quire begins with the Epistle to the Romans. As a result, the introductory quire is totally autonomous compared to the subsequent Bible text part. Were they produced together? It is difficult to answer:

While it is obviously the same hand, when compared to the introductory pieces of 1 and 2 Corinthians, there are differences. At the beginning, there is a prologue with more than ten preserved written pages, regularly copied with 28 lines per page; the ruling is fairly straightforward.⁸¹ Before 1 and 2 Corinthians (fols. 87v, 167v), the arguments, on one page, are copied on a 32 normal line page plus a title in the upper margin, using a complex ruling. However, the layout of an elaborated prologue on an autonomous quire cannot be easily compared to the limited argument on the verso of a chained Biblical text; the arguments simply use the ruling done for the chained text on the recto, and 32 is the normal number of commentary lines on a normal Bible page, so there was no reason to prepare an elaborated ruling for the limited argument pages.⁸² The same contrast in the layout can be found at three places: the paratextual material is on one large column, while the biblical text is framed by the chains.

⁸¹ Type Muzerelle 2–3:A/1–1:A/0/Ca (= Leroy-Sautel 32C1q).

⁸² This situation of the paratexts can be compared to Romans in the edition of Erasmus, see the contribution of Martin Wallraff in the present volume ('Paratexte der Bibel', pp. 145–173).

Besides, even though the current quire signatures begin at fol. 8r, they are not original, as one clearly sees on fol. 224r, according to the most ancient preserved signature system,⁸³ the quire beginning on fol. 8r used to be numbered β'. If these older signatures reflect the original organisation, the first production unit did not begin with the text of Romans but with another quire whose rests are most probably preserved in the current fols. 1–6.

As far as the date of this first production unit is concerned, following an initial suggestion of Paul Canart and some comparative work in a Greek palaeography seminar in Fribourg a few years ago, this script belongs loosely to the "tipo Ephrem",⁸⁴ whose name is attached to the celebrated scribe Ephrem, working in Constantinople around the middle of the 10th century. As a result, this production is older than its usual dating in the 11th century.

Even though the text of 2 Corinthians starts at the beginning of a new quire on fol. 168r, giving the impression of an important discontinuity at this point, there are no meaningful differences between the two resulting parts. Besides, its introduction by the same hand, is on the facing page, at the end of the previous regular quaternion. There is no indication that 1 Corinthians was planned to finish at the end of a quire, and the flow of the texts and paratexts goes normally on. Furthermore, according to the tradition of the Greek New Testament codices, there is no such object as a book containing Romans and 1 Corinthians, and another book starting with 2 Corinthians, not even for a codex with chains. For all these reasons, the discontinuity between folios 167v and 168r should be considered a soft one, which does not delineate two production units.

The Epistle to the Galatians begins on fol. 229r, also on the first page of a new quire; its argument is on the facing verso (Fig. 22 and 23), and the layout also seems to follow the same principles as the previous Epistles. At first sight, the situation seems to be very similar to the one between 1 and 2 Corinthians.

However, there are a few differences. Firstly, 2 Corinthians finishes on an irregular mutilated quire, today made of five folios, artificially bound to one another; it results in a transgression of the Gregory rule between fols. 228v and 229r. Besides, even though the layout is similar, the underlying ruling and the ruling principles are very different, and the commentary lines are more compact in the second part.⁸⁵ More significantly, the hand who copied Galatians and all the following Epistles is different from the previous one, and also younger, dating to the

⁸³ This does not necessarily mean it was original.

⁸⁴ For an introduction on the type Ephrem and the abundant literature about it, see now L. Perria, *Γραφίς / Graphis. Per una storia della scrittura greca libraria (secoli IV a.C.–XVI d.C.)*, Quaderni di Nέα Πώμη 1 (Rome 2011), 84–87; P. Degni, 'Il periodo mediobizantino', in id. / E. Crisci (eds.), *La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa. Una introduzione*, Beni culturali 35 (Roma 2011), 127–178, here 135–137.

⁸⁵ Ca. 28–32 commentary lines per page in the first part; ca. 48–51 lines per page in the second part.

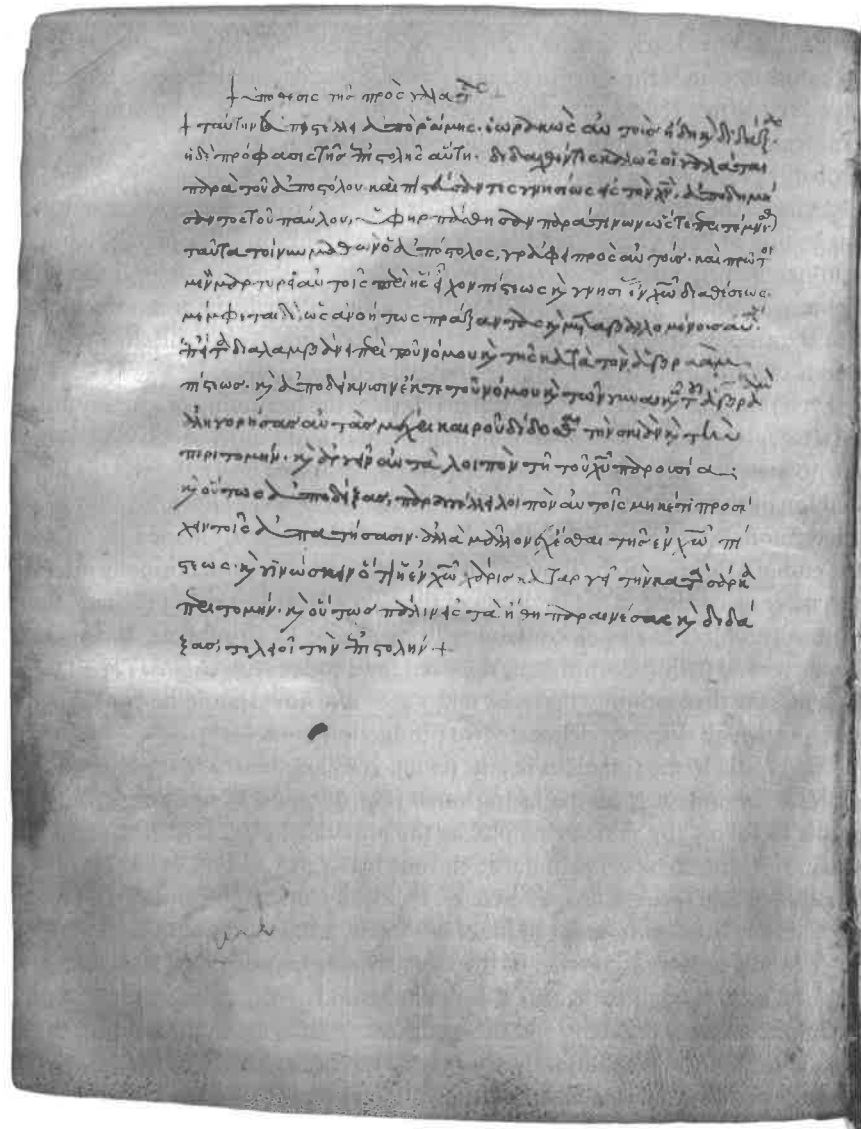


Fig. 22: Basel, AN III 11, fol. 228^v (ca. 50 %) – Introduction to the Epistle to the Galatians, added in the 13th or 14th century.

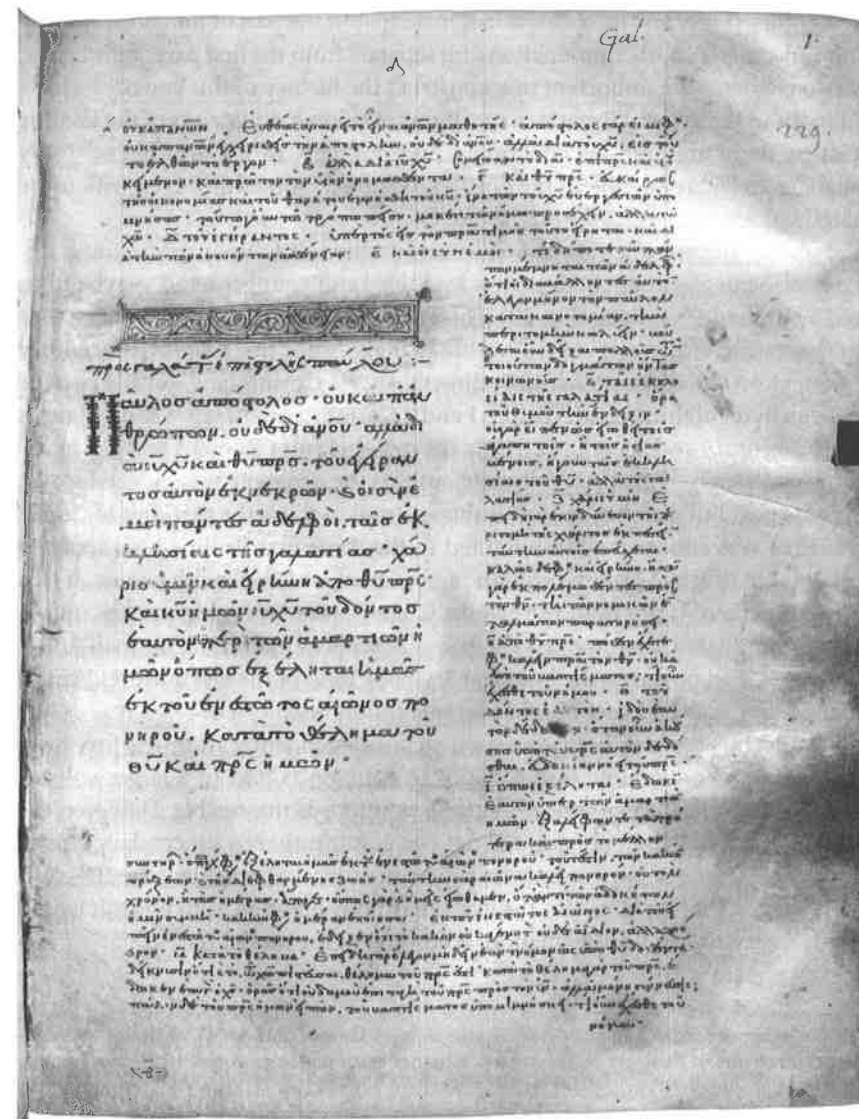


Fig. 23: Basel, AN III 11, fol. 229^r (ca. 50 %) – Beginning of the Epistle to the Galatians; hand of the 11th century.

11th century (Fig. 23). The conclusion is inescapable: the part of the codex starting with Galatians is another production unit separate from the first part of the codex.

Two elements are important to reconstruct the history of this codex.

Firstly, in the general Byzantine traditions of chain manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles, there are editions containing only Romans to 2 Corinthians,⁸⁶ only Galatians to Hebrews,⁸⁷ or all the Epistles together,⁸⁸ sometimes even with more material.⁸⁹

Secondly, the argument to the Galatians on the last folio of the first unit deserves also our attention, because it is by a third still younger hand, maybe from the 13th or the 14th century (Fig. 22). This is also probably the key for understanding the nature of the original 10th-century book: since there is no 10th-century argument on Galatians on fol. 167^v, directly after 2 Corinthians, contrary to the “mise en livre” of the prologue before 1 and 2 Corinthians, there are good chances the 10th-century codex contained only the material from Romans to 2 Corinthians, even though one cannot fully rule out that the prologue was indeed located on some next but now lost folio. It is thus natural to think the first unit of Codex AN III 11 was either an edition limited to the three first Pauline books, or the first volume of a two-volume edition of the Epistles of Paul, with chains. If this is the case, there is not even the certainty that the last irregular quire of unit A was ever mutilated, even though the current composition is not “normal” and it is reasonable to postulate the loss of at least one folio of the last quire. However, *stricto sensu*, unit B cannot be considered a restoration.

Has the 11th-century unit ever circulated independently from the first unit, either as a second volume of the chains to Paul, or as part of a larger volume on Paul? Technically, neither one of these solutions is impossible. However, the absence of an older series of quire signatures points rather to a secondary type of production; it is autonomous but was copied in order to supplement the 10th-century codex.⁹⁰ This explains also the visual harmony between both units. It would be just a very simple transformation, according to the model A1:⁹¹

⁸⁶ For example Codex Vat. gr. 762; small size pictures are available on NTVMR (op. cit. n. 5). About the chains of Paul, see R. Devreesse, ‘Chaînes exégétiques grecques’, in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément 1* (Paris 1928), 1084–1233, here 1209–1214; G. Karo / J. Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Heft 1, 3, 5 (Göttingen 1902), 1–66, 299–350, 559–620, here 597–610.

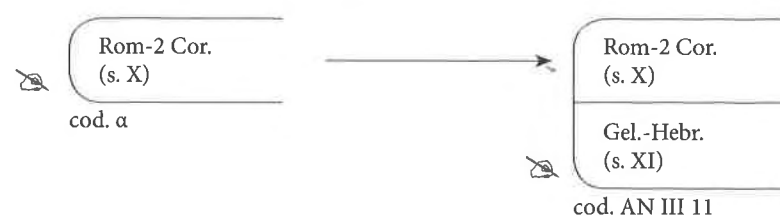
⁸⁷ For example, Vat. gr. 766, normal size pictures available on NTVMR (op. cit. n. 5).

⁸⁸ For example, Palat. gr. 10, normal size pictures available on NTVMR (op. cit. n. 5).

⁸⁹ For example, Coisl. 224, normal size pictures available on NTVMR (op. cit. n. 5).

⁹⁰ About secondary and tertiary types of production, see P. Andrist, ‘Syntactical Description of Manuscripts’, in Bausi et al. (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies* (op. cit. n. 29), 511–520, here 511–513.

⁹¹ Transformation model A1 according to Andrist / Canart / Maniaci, *La syntaxe* (op. cit. n. 32), 63.



The only argument for an independent circulation of B is the presence of the later prologue to Galatians. Was it forgotten when the codex was supplemented in the 11th century? Or was it rather copied when the two independent codices were bound together?⁹² This hypothesis, implies something preceded Galatians in the 11th-century codex, since it would be strange if it circulated without any kind of introductory material.

On the last line, the lack of an independent quire signature on unit B is the strongest element. The absence of an ancient prologue before Galatians today could be a mistake of the 11th-century people, unless a prologue was copied on a now lost folio.

In any case, since the 11th-century part is another production, it is almost certain it was also based on one or several other antigraphs than the one used by the old scribe, and was not a copy of the second volume either. As a result, the second part of Codex AN III 11 should be also considered another separated witness to the New Testament text (and the chains), and fully deserves its own GA number.

A last peculiarity of this codex can be mentioned: the first Epistle to the Thesalonians is preceded by the traditional list of the chapters, contrary to all the other Epistles in the volume. In our current state of knowledge, it is difficult to draw any conclusion from this fact; maybe an explanation will be found within the scope of the current ERC project ParaTexBib, devoted to the paratexts of the Greek Bible.⁹³

Conclusion

The manuscripts used by Erasmus are very different from one another. Some are biblical manuscripts; others are patristic books containing commentaries or homilies on biblical texts. Among the biblical manuscripts, the precise underlying editorial project of each codex varies greatly from one book to another, according to the aimed esthetical level and the effective “mise en livre” of the core

⁹² In this case, it is a transformation model UA1, see *ibid.*, 71.

⁹³ URL: www.paratextbib.eu. On this project, see M. Wallraff / P. Andrist, ‘Paratexts of the Bible. A New Research Project on the Greek Textual Transmission’, *Early Christianity* 6 (2015), 237–243.

content. Some of them are structurally simple, others are complex and gather parts of the New Testament produced in different circumstances.

As the analysis of this material suggests, if one takes this complexity seriously into consideration, Erasmus used, in reality, not five but up to eight biblical direct witnesses to the New Testament:

- a. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 2 (A): Acta et Epistulae, 12th cent.
- b. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 2 (B): Evangelia, 12th cent.
- c. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 1: Evangelia, 12th cent.
- d. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 4: Acta et Epistulae, 13th or 14th cent.
- e. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 5 (A): Acta et Epistulae Pauli, 13th cent. (second half)–14th cent.
- f. Basel, UB, Codex AN IV 5 (B): Epistulae catholicas, 13th cent. (second half)–14th cent.
- g. Basel, UB, Codex AN III 11 (A): Epistulae Pauli cum catenis (first part), 10th cent. (second half)
- h. Basel, UB, Codex AN III 11 (B): Epistulae Pauli cum catenis (second part), 11th cent.

What consequences the above observations might have on Erasmusian studies or text criticism is not for the author to answer. Hopefully they will help the specialists in their future investigations.

The long term impact of John Stojković of Ragusa's trip to Constantinople can hardly be minimised. The Greek manuscripts he brought back are not only the main sources for the so called *textus receptus* and, beyond, the main historical translations of the Bible, but they also stimulated a generation of humanists, who made Basel a pioneering centre of scholarship and printing north of the Alps.⁹⁴

Abstract

The article pays tribute to the manuscript collection of John Stojković of Ragusa in Basel, who at one point owned all of the codices directly used by Erasmus for his 1516 edition. Among these, the history and structure of the five biblical manuscripts is sometimes more complex than it first seems. In particular and contrary to widespread opinion, Erasmus probably never borrowed any biblical manuscripts from the Amerbach family. Moreover, when the internal structure of these codices is taken into consideration, they do not represent five but rather eight biblical witnesses to the New Testament, the oldest of which dates to the 10th century.

⁹⁴ As an entry point, cf. Cataldi Palau, 'Jean Stojković de Raguse' (op. cit. n. 2); C. Christ-von Wedel (ed.), *Basel als Zentrum des geistigen Austauschs in der frühen Reformationszeit*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation (SMHR) 81 (Tübingen 2014).

The Manuscript Sources and Textual Character of Erasmus' 1516 Greek New Testament

ANDREW J. BROWN

In the *Apologia* prefixed to the 1516 New Testament, Erasmus refers to two phases of editorial work, in which he had the aid of four Greek manuscripts for the first stage and five Greek manuscripts for the second stage.¹ The first of these stages of work was carried out in England in the years 1512–14, resulting in a set of annotations on selected passages. The second stage took place at Basel in 1514–15, when Erasmus revised and enlarged his annotations and prepared a continuous Greek text of the whole New Testament, together with a new Latin translation.²

¹ *Novum Instrumentum* (Basel 1516), sig. bbb 6^v: "Laurentius Valla septem bonae fidei codices se secutus fuisse testatur. Nos in prima recognitione quatuor Graecis adiuti sumus, in posteriore quinque" – clearly showing that the 1516 edition was based on two stages of *recognitio*, or revision. When this statement was repeated word for word in the *Apologia* that was attached to Erasmus' second printed edition (Basel 1519), p. 64, the mention of two stages of *recognitio* seemed to take on a completely new meaning. It now appeared to imply that the 1516 edition had corresponded with only the first *recognitio*, based on just four Greek manuscripts, and that the other five manuscripts were not used until the 1519 edition, which was now seemingly equated with the second *recognitio*. This misleading impression was reinforced by remarks added to the *Apologia* in 1527, identifying the 1522 and 1527 editions as the third and fourth *recognitio*. Similar statements remained in the last edition of 1535 and in later reprints, causing some later writers to make the mistaken assumption that Erasmus had used no more than four Greek manuscripts for his first printed edition: for example, A. Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments und ihre Gegner*, Biblische Studien 7,5 (Freiburg i.Br. 1902), 30f.; J.H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J. 1983), 125; E. Rummel, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament. From Philologist to Theologian*, Erasmus Studies 8 (Toronto 1986), 36–38. The fact that, in total, nine Greek manuscripts are already mentioned in the 1516 *Apologia* shows that these manuscripts were all available to Erasmus in the preparatory work for his first printed New Testament.

² For discussion and documentation of the chronology of Erasmus' work, see A.J. Brown, 'The Date of Erasmus' Latin Translation of the New Testament', *Cambridge Bibliographical Society Transactions* 8 (1984), 351–380.

Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation

Studies in the Late Middle Ages,
Humanism and the Reformation

herausgegeben von Volker Leppin (Tübingen)

in Verbindung mit

Amy Nelson Burnett (Lincoln, NE)

Johannes Helmuth (Berlin), Matthias Pohlig (Münster)

Eva Schlotheuber (Düsseldorf)

91



Basel 1516

Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament

Edited by

Martin Wallraff, Silvana Seidel Menchi,
Kaspar von Greyerz

Mohr Siebeck

Martin Wallraff, born 1966; 1996 PhD; 2000 Habilitation; since 2005 Professor of Church History at the university of Basel.

Silvana Seidel Menchi, born 1940; 1963 PhD; 1989 Habilitation; 1990–2003 and 2003–2010, respectively Professor at the universities of Trento and Pisa.

Kaspar von Greyerz, born 1947; 1978 PhD; 1987 Habilitation; 1993–97 and 1997–2013, respectively Professor of Early Modern History at the universities of Zürich and Basel.

ERASMVS
MMXVI

This volume is part of the initiative ERASMVS MMXVI in Basel.

ISBN 978-3-16-154522-1

ISSN 1865-2840 (Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2016 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. www.mohr.de

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlags unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Das Buch wurde von Martin Fischer in Tübingen aus der Minion Pro gesetzt, von Gulde-Druck in Tübingen auf alterungsbeständiges Werkdruckpapier gedruckt und von der Großbuchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier gebunden.

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Preface	IX
---------------	----

The Novum Instrumentum 1516 and Its Philological Background

MARK VESSEY

Basel 1514: Erasmus' Critical Turn	3
--	---

ERIKA RUMMEL

Biblical Humanism	27
-------------------------	----

AUGUST DEN HOLLANDER

Late Medieval Vernacular Bible Production in the Low Countries	43
--	----

IGNACIO GARCÍA PINILLA

Reconsidering the Relationship between the Complutensian Polyglot Bible and Erasmus' <i>Novum Testamentum</i>	59
---	----

The Text of the New Testament and Its Additions

PATRICK ANDRIST

Structure and History of the Biblical Manuscripts Used by Erasmus for His 1516 Edition	81
--	----

ANDREW J. BROWN

The Manuscript Sources and Textual Character of Erasmus' 1516 Greek New Testament	125
---	-----

MARTIN WALLRAFF

Paratexte der Bibel: Was Erasmus edierte außer dem Neuen Testament ...	145
--	-----

MIEKSKE VAN POLL-VAN DE LISDONK	
Die <i>Annotationes in Novum Testamentum</i> im Rahmen von Erasmus' Werken zur Bibel	175
JAN KRANS	
Deconstructing the Vulgate: Erasmus' Philological Work in the <i>Capita</i> and the <i>Soloecismi</i>	187
SILVANA SEIDEL MENCHI	
How to Domesticate the New Testament: Erasmus' Dilemmas (1516–1535)	207
<i>Communication and Reception</i>	
VALENTINA SEBASTIANI	
The Impact of Erasmus' New Testament on the European Market (1516–1527): Considerations Regarding the Production and Distribution of a Publishing Success	225
MARIE BARRAL-BARON	
Erasmus and the New Testament: Innovation and Subversion?	239
GRETA KROEGER	
Theological and Humanistic Legacies of Erasmus in the Age of Reform ...	255
SUNDAR HENNY	
Unmittelbarkeit und Überlieferung: Erasmus und Beza zum Status des neutestamentlichen Textes	267
CHRISTINE CHRIST-VON WEDEL	
Die Nachwirkung des Neuen Testamentes von Erasmus in den reformatorischen Kirchen	291
Abbreviations	311
Acknowledgements for Figures	312
Authors and Editors	313
Index of Proper Names	315

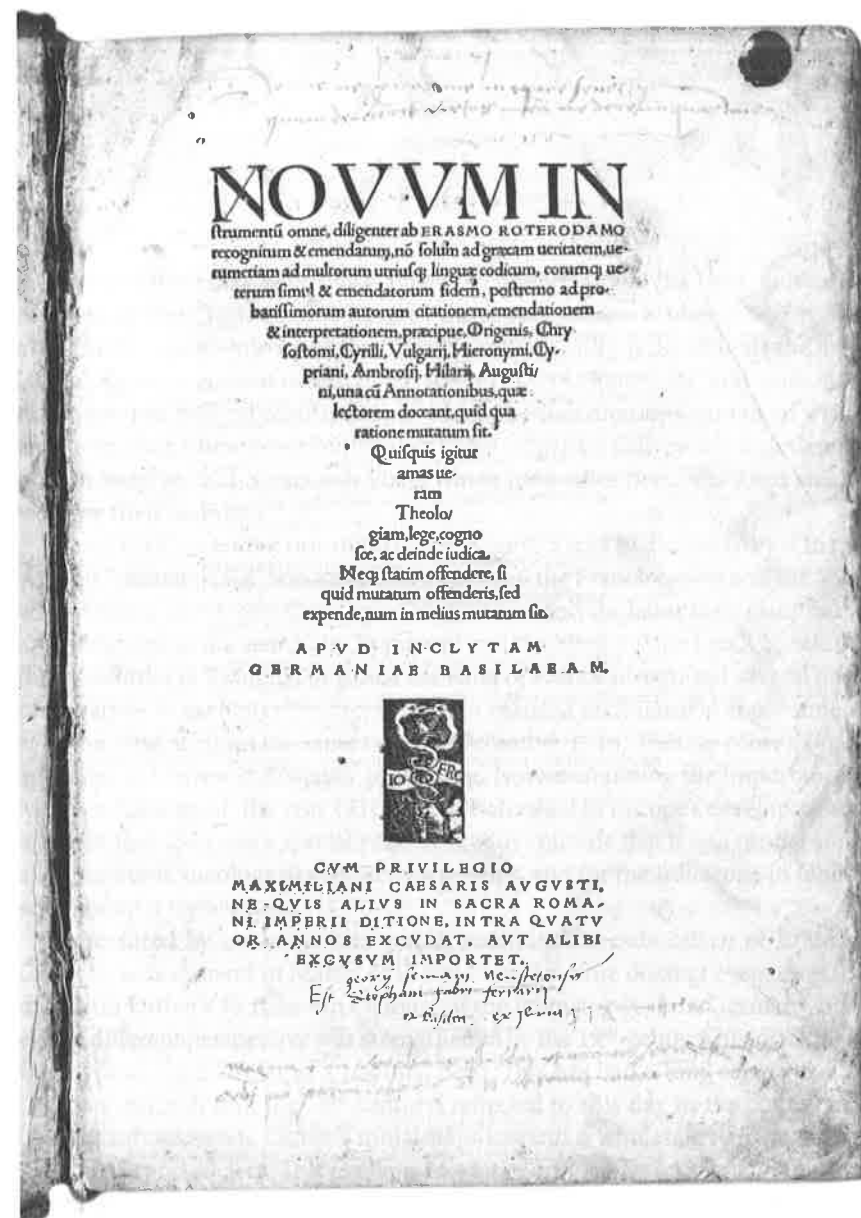


Fig. 1: Title page of the *Novum Instrumentum* 1516.