

Erasmus' Translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* and the Ascensian *editio princeps* of ca. 1513

JORGE LEDO

*The role of Erasmus as a disseminator of Plutarch's Moralia has been frequently studied. As far as the editorial history of the Moralia is concerned, Erasmus, who had served as an assistant to Demetrius Ducas on the Aldine edition of 1509, began to translate the opuscula in Cambridge. Until now, these translations were thought to have been published for the first time in a single volume by Johannes Froben in Basel (August 1514). This article proves that not only did Erasmus send his translations to Badius, but that the latter printed them before Froben, in a hitherto unknown editio princeps.**

1. Status quaestionis**

As with most of his fellow humanists from outside Italy up to the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century, Erasmus' knowledge of Plutarch must have been limited to Latin translations of some *Parallel Lives*, although he was aware of the existence of the *Moralia*, which he even quoted, albeit rarely, in the *Adagiorum collectanea*.¹ It was in

* I would like to express my gratitude to Erika Rummel for her kind answer when I first showed her the Ascensian print of Erasmus' *Opuscula Plutarchi*, to the Erasmus of Rotterdam Society for inviting me to make known the finding in their panel at the Renaissance Society of America's Annual Conference (Toronto, March 2019), and to such kind, generous, and patient readers of the first versions of this manuscript as Andrew Ascherl, Eric MacPhail, and Jon Nelson. To all of them, my warmest thanks.

** Recent scholarship has repeatedly appraised the role played by Erasmus as disseminator of Plutarch's *Moralia*. Therefore, to introduce the problem of the first edition of Erasmus' Latin translation of a selection of Plutarch's *Moralia*, I will provide only the most general data found in contemporary bibliography. Abbreviations used: Allen = P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, H.W. Garrod (ed.), *Opus epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford, 1906-1958); ASD = *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam, 1969-); CWE = *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1974-).

¹ The *Quattrocento* translations into Latin of the *Moralia* have been studied by, among others, R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese* (Catania, 1896), 135-138; R. Aulotte, *Amyot et Plutarque. La tradition des Moralia au XVI^e siècle* (Genève, 1965), 22-26; F. Tateo, "Sulle traduzioni umanistiche di Plutarco. Il *De virtute morali* di Andrea Matteo Acquaviva", in M. Ciliberto, C. Vasoli (ed.), *Filosofia e cultura. Per Eugenio Garin* (Roma, 1991), 198-211; C. Bevegni, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore del *Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum* di Plutarco. Primi appunti per un'edizione critica con particolare riguardo alla lettera dedicatoria ad Andrea Bussi", in S. Feraboli

1508, during his stay at Aldus's *Neakaδημία* in Venice, that Erasmus had access for the first time to a Greek manuscript containing all the *Moralia*.² Erasmus' words in one of the best known *adagia* of the *Chiliades*, "Festina lente", written in 1526, are quite eloquent about the impact that the *Moralia* and other Greek manuscripts had on the *Adagia* and on his education:

When I, a Dutchman, was in Italy, preparing to publish my *Book of Proverbs*, all the learned men there had offered me unsought authors not yet published in print who they thought might be of use to me, and Aldus had nothing in his treasure-house that he did not share with me. Johannes Lascaris did the same; so did Battista Egnazio, Marco Musuro, Frate Urbano. I felt the benefit of kindness from some people I knew neither by sight nor name [...]. Just consider what advantages I should have lost, had not scholars supplied me with texts in manuscript. Among them were Plato's works in Greek, Plutarch's *Lives*, and also his *Moralia*, which began to be printed when my work was nearly finished; the *Doctors at Dinner* of Athenaeus, Aphthonius, Hermogenes with notes, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* with the *Scholia* of Gregory of Nazianzus, the whole of Aristides with *Scholia*, brief commentaries on Hesiod and Theocritus, Eustathius on the whole of Homer, Pausanias, Pindar with accurate commentary, a collection of proverbs under Plutarch's name and

(ed.), *Mosaico. Studi in onore di Umberto Albin* (Genova, 1993), 33-42; Id., "Appunti sulle traduzioni latine dei *Moralia* di Plutarco nel Quattrocento", *Studi umanistici piceni* 14 (1994), 71-84; F. Stok, "Le traduzioni latine dei *Moralia* di Plutarco", *Fontes* 1 (1998), 117-136; and F. Becchi, "Le traduzioni latine dei *Moralia* di Plutarco tra XIII e XVI secolo", in P. Volpe Cacciatore (ed.), *Plutarco nelle traduzioni latine di età umanistica* (Napoli, 2009), 9-52. According to Bevegni's census, in fifteenth-century Italy alone 32 titles of the *Moralia* were translated into Latin, in 60 renderings authored by 23 different translators. In France, in 1505, Guillaume Budé published his translations of four *Moralia*; see G. Sandy, "Guillaume Budé: Philologist and Polymath. A Preliminary Study", in Id. (ed.), *The Classical Heritage in France* (Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln, 2002), 83-87. Erasmus had a copy of this volume in his private library.

² Erasmus' stay at Aldus's house in Venice has been studied from many different points of view. There are documented introductions by D.J. Geanakoplos, "Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice. A Neglected Chapter in the Transmission of Graeco-Byzantine Learning to the West", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 3 (1960), 107-134; reissued in Id., *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, MA, 1962), 256-278, and J.-C. Margolin, "Érasme et Venise", in G. Benzoni (ed.), *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano* (Firenze, 2002), 189-213. A good summary of Erasmus' tensions with Aldus' press and its heirs over the years can be found in L. Perilli, "A Risky Enterprise. The Aldine Edition of Galen, the Failures of the Editors, and the Shadow of Erasmus of Rotterdam", *Early Science and Medicine* 17.4 (2012), 446-466.

another ascribed to Apostolius, to which I was given access by Girolamo Aleandro.³ (CWE 33, 14)

Erasmus and Girolamo Aleandro served, indeed, as proof-readers of the first printing of the Greek text of Plutarch's *Moralia*, edited by Demetrius Ducas, one of the Byzantine scholars at Aldus's house.⁴ This edition was printed in March 1509, and one copy traveled with Erasmus to England and remained in his personal library for good.⁵ Once he had

³ *Adag.* 1001, "Festina lente": "Cum apud Italos aederem proverbiorum opus homo Batavus, quotquot illic aderant eruditi, ultro suppeditabant autores nondum per typographos evulgatos, quos mihi suspicabantur usui futuros. Aldus nihil habebat in thesauro suo quod non communicaret, idem fecit Ioannis Lascaris, Baptista Egnatius, Marcus Musurus, frater Urbanus. Quorundam officium sensi, quos nec de facie, nec de nomine noveram [...] Hic mihi cogita, quanta pars utilitatis abfutura fuerit, nisi docti libros manu descriptos suppeditassent. In his erant *Opera* Platonis Graeca, Plutarchi *Vitae*, eiusdem *Moralia*, quae sub finem operis mei coepta sunt excudi, Athenaei *Dipnosophistae*, Aphthonius, Hermogenes cum commentariis, Aristotelis *Rhetorica* cum scholiis Gregorii Nazianzeni, Aristides totus cum scholiis, commentarioli in Hesiodum ac Theocritum, Eustathius in totum Homerum, Pausanias, Pindarus cum accuratis commentariis, proverbiorum collectio titulo Plutarchi, rursus alia titulo Apostolii, cuius libri nobis copiam fecit Hieronymus Aleander." (ASD 2.3, 22-24)

⁴ Geanakoplos 1962 (as in n. 2), 223-224, 229, 264, 275, offers insights and relevant bibliography on how Ducas worked on his text; M. Sicherl, "Die Aldina der *Rhetores Graeci* (1508-1509) und ihre handschriftlichen Vorlagen", *Illinois Classical Studies* 17.1 (1992), 109-134, at 126, traces parallels with Ducas' edition of the *Rhetores Graeci*. M. Dazzi, *Aldo Manuzio e il dialogo veneziano di Erasmo* (Venezia, 1969) and N.G. Wilson, *Da Bisanzio all'Italia. Gli studi greci nell'umanesimo italiano* (Alessandria, 2003), 192, do not provide further information in this regard. The prefatory materials of the Aldine *Moralia* (1509) have been recently edited and translated by L. Ferreri (ed.), *L'Italia degli umanisti. I. Marco Musuro* (Turnhout, 2014), 356-363. N.G. Wilson (ed., tr.), *Aldus Manutius, The Greek Classics* (Cambridge, MA – London, 2016), 200-207, offers the edition and translation of Aldus' preface. Short introductions to the role played by Greek émigrés in Renaissance culture and print and to relevant bibliography can be found in M.I. Manoussakas, K.S. Staikos (ed.), *L'activité éditoriale des Grecs pendant la Renaissance. De l'Italie à Genève, XVI^e-XVII^e siècle* (Athènes, 1988); M.I. Manoussakas, *Gli umanisti greci collaboratori di Aldo a Venezia (1494-1515) e l'ellenista bolognese Paolo Bombace* (Bologna, 1991); E. Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy. Printers and Publishers for the Greek World* (Venice, 1994); and J. Monfasani, "Greek Renaissance Migrations", *Italian History and Culture* 8 (2002), 1-14.

⁵ No. 208 in the *Versandliste* of 1536. F. Husner, "Die Bibliothek des Erasmus", in *Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft zu Basel* (ed.), *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basel, 1936), 240, and E. van Gulik, *Erasmus and His Books* (Toronto – Buffalo, NY – London, 2018), 170, 339. Van Gulik mentions that Erasmus' personal copy of the *Moralia* (1509), containing his own handwritten marginal notes, was held in the Old University Library of Franeker. Thanks to the finding in 2007 by G.C. Huisman of the printed catalogue of Franeker of 1601 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 8-H-26084[3]; <http://www.mpaginae.nl/Frnkroudstecat/Franeker1601.htm>, B4),

arrived in England, at least four reasons would have moved Erasmus to translate a selection of the *Moralia* into Latin: their combination of brevity, classical learning, and moral instruction; their more direct and less problematic approach to morals than that of Lucian's opuscles; the scarcity of printed translations into Latin of the *Moralia*; and Erasmus' interest in advancing his own study of Greek. Thus, he began the task shortly after he settled in Cambridge in 1511.⁶ During his career, Erasmus would translate eleven opuscles contained in the *Moralia* – subsequently published as *Opuscula Plutarchi* –, and compose the *Parabola sive Similia* (1514) and the *Apophthegmata* (1531), both relying heavily on Plutarch.

Returning to the *Moralia*: Erasmus published one of his first translations, *Advice about keeping well (De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta)*, at Richard Pynson's press in London on 28 July 1513.⁷ Thereafter, he dedicated *How to tell a flatterer from a friend (Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere)* to Henry VIII, and *How to profit by one's enemies (Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem)* to Thomas Wolsey, Bishop of Lincoln.⁸ It seems clear that Erasmus had

the hypothesis that Erasmus' copy of Plutarch's *Moralia* should have arrived in Franeker after 1626 must be discarded – this could be inferred until now from M. Engels, "Erasmiana in the Old University Library of Franeker", *Erasmus in English* 12 (1983), 20a-b. In his scholarly edition of the catalogue of 1601 and in further research, J. van Sluis has shown that four Aldine editions of classical authors which pertained to Erasmus arrived in Franeker when the library acquired the collection of Petrejus Tiara (†9 February 1586): J. van Sluis, *De academiebibliotheek te Franeker anno 1601. De oudste catalogus ingeleid en opnieuw uitgegeven* (Franeker, 2011), 193-198; Id., "Erasmus, Tiara en de eerste collectie van de Franeker academiebibliotheek", *It Beaken* 78 (2016), 141-142. These editions were Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, with Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* (1499); Plutarch's *Moralia* (1509) and *Parallel Lives* (1519); and Galen's *Works* (1525).

⁶ Erasmus arrived in England in 1509 and lived in London for a year and a half. His appointment as a reader of Divinity and Greek at Cambridge was the main reason for leaving the city. He had his residence in Cambridge from August 1511 to January 1514. On his stay there, see D.F.S. Thomson, H.C. Porter (ed.), *Erasmus and Cambridge. The Cambridge Letters of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1963); and R.J. Schoeck, *Erasmus of Europe. The Prince of Humanists. 1501-1536* (Edinburgh, 1993), 109-125.

⁷ For this and other works of Erasmus printed by Pynson, see A. Vanautgaerden, "Érasme chez Richard Pynson (1513), imprimeur du roi à Londres", *Moreana* 46.176 (2009), 199-201; and Id., *Érasme typographe. Humanisme et imprimerie au début du XVI^e siècle* (Genève, 2012), 219-228.

⁸ Respectively, Allen 272 (CWE 2, 250-252) and Allen 297 (CWE 2, 303-305). Despite the outward appearance, in the catalogue of his works sent to Johann von Botzheim (30 January 1523) Erasmus is not following the chronological order he adopted for the translations of the *Moralia* (see J. Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1981), 472; cf. GG 13 in the online catalogue *Griechischer Geist*

decided to proceed with his translations of Plutarch as he had done with Lucian in 1506, addressing each translation to a potential patron in order to increase the returns; but something happened that dissuaded him from following this course. Thus, the rest of the *Moralia* translated by him lack any dedicatory letters, with the exception of those he finished a decade later.⁹ We can only guess at the reason behind this, but it is probably related to Erasmus' move to Basel in 1514, as it would have seemed to him unnecessary and time-consuming to look for more patrons in England when he was headed to the Continent, and the absence of prefatory letters and dedications in print to his existing English patrons between 1516 and 1520 is a rather telling hiatus.¹⁰

aus Basler Pressen, <http://www.ub.unibas.ch/cmsdata/spezialkataloge/gg/>), but rather Froben's table of contents of 1514: "From Plutarch I translated an essay called *Quomodo sit dignoscendus adulator ab amico*, which I dedicated to the English king Henry, eighth of that name. Besides that, one *Quo pacto fieri possit ut utilitatem capias ex inimico*; this I dedicated to the man who is now cardinal-archbishop of York, who at that time was Lord High Almoner but was already destined for great things, so much so that before I had an opportunity to present it to him, I had to change my preface three times, and even so, before it could be printed, he had already reached the dignity of a cardinal [Erasmus refers to the summer of 1514]. Before those, I had translated Plutarch's *De tuenda valetudine*, *Quod in principe requiratur eruditio*, *Quod cum principibus maxime versari debeat philosophus*, *Utrum graviores sint animi morbi an corporis*, *Num recte dictum sit*, Ἀθήε βίωσας, *De cupiditate divitiarum*. These exercises I enjoyed all the more because they contributed substantially to the building of character no less than to the learning of Greek; for I have read nothing outside Scripture with such a high moral tone", Allen 1, 16-30; CWE 9 (1341a), 302-303.

⁹ E. Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto – Buffalo, NY – London, 1985), 74: "The three translations were published by Froben in 1525 and 1526 respectively." The dedicatory letters are Allen 1572 (*That anger must be controlled* [*De cohibenda iracundia*]) and *On meddlesomeness* [*De curiositate*], to Alexius Thurzo), and Allen 1663 (*On false shame* [*De vitiosa verecundia*]), to Francis Diltf).

¹⁰ Rummel 1985 (as in n. 9), 74, stresses the fact that his dedications to his English patrons had been poorly rewarded, according to Erasmus' standards, during his stay in England. However, it should be noted that he was active behind the scenes with his English patrons during this period, as C.H. Clough explained in "Erasmus and the Pursuit of English Royal Patronage in 1517 and 1518", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 1.1 (1981), 126-140, and that, after the hiatus, Erasmus did not cease dedicating works to his English patrons, as demonstrated by the list provided by C.R. Thompson, "Erasmus and Tudor England", in C. Reedijk (ed.), *Actes du Congrès Érasme organisé par la municipalité de Rotterdam sous les auspices de l'Académie Royale Néerlandaise des Sciences et des Sciences Humaines. Rotterdam 27-29 octobre 1969* (Amsterdam – London, 1971), 34-35, n. 27. There are valuable approaches to Erasmus and patronage in England in Garrod's and McConica's essays mentioned in Thompson's footnote, to which should be added Clough's cited essay and J.B. Trapp's "Twelfth-Annual Birthday Lecture. Erasmus and His English Friends", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 12.1 (1992), 18-44.

Besides his project of publishing a new, enlarged edition of the *Adagia*, Erasmus was interested in gathering his translations of the *Moralia* into a single volume, as he had done with Lucian; he would do this without delay in 1514.¹¹ To Pieter Gillis, an editor at Martens' press and Erasmus' editorial contact in Antwerp as well as one of his closest friends at the time, Erasmus wrote the following words in autumn 1512:

Please see that this is delivered to Josse Bade as soon as possible. I have got my work on proverbs ready [i.e., the revised version of the *Adagia*], expanding it so much that I have quite changed its character – and improved it a great deal, unless I am mistaken, though it was not so bad before; so he has no need to fear editions by others. There had been an understanding with Franz [Birckmann], the bookseller, that I was to give him the manuscript; but he went off without coming to greet me. I gladly accept the price proposed by him in his letter; money, for what it is worth, does not greatly move me. He should take all measures to ensure that the work emerges from his press in a style that will make it difficult for anyone else to compete [...]. I have not yet seen any sign of the publication of Lucian's *Dialogues* which I sent him, while I do notice that some of them have been printed at Louvain; I am anxious for information about this. I have translated several works by Plutarch, which I shall revise and send in addition.¹² (CWE 2, 234-235)

Three important statements made in this passage determine the editorial history of Erasmus' *Opuscula Plutarchi*. First, Erasmus declares that he had an agreement with Franz Birckmann¹³ to collect the manuscript of

¹¹ Both printed by Badius before Froben began publishing them. C.R. Thompson (ed.), *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 3 (New Haven, CT – London, 1974), lvii-lviii, offers descriptions of Erasmus' and More's Lucian printed in 1514 by Badius.

¹² "Dabis operam ut haec quam primum ad Iodoci Badii manus perferantur. Paravi Proverbiorum opus et ita locupletavi ut prorsus aliud reddiderim: at multo, ni fallor, melius cum esset non admodum malum. Quare nihil est quod aliorum timeat aeditiones. Convenerat cum Francisco bibliopola ut illi exemplar committerem, verum insalutato me discessit. Precium quod in suis literis praescripsit, lubens accipio; nec enim magnopere commoveor lucello. Ipse paret omnia, ut opus sic exeat ex ipsius officina ut non facile sit cuiquam aemulari. [...] Dialogos Luciani, quos ad eum misi, nondum prodire video. Video quosdam ex illis excusos Lovanii; qua de re cupio certior fieri. Verti complusculos Plutarchi libros, quos emendatos addemus." (Allen 264, 5-13 and 22-25)

¹³ Besides the entry by Bietenholz and Guenther in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, further research on the role of Birckmann as a literary agent for Erasmus and as a scout for Badius' and Froben's presses can be found in D. Shaw, "A Study of the Collaboration between Erasmus of Rotterdam and His Printer Johann Froben at Basel during the Years

his revised version of the *Adagia* and deliver it to Badius Ascensius in Paris, who was asking for it (Allen 263, 16-49; CWE 2, 232-234), but Birckmann did not come to see him. Second, he complains about the lack of news on his translations of Lucian's *Dialogues* sent to Badius to be printed, a lack aggravated by the fact that they had already been published by Martens in Louvain.¹⁴ Third and most important, Erasmus promises to send, included with his next epistle to Badius, his translation of some of the *Moralia* for publication: "which I shall revise and send in addition" ("Verti complusculos Plutarchi libros, quos emendatos addemus").

There is no further mention of the translations of the *Moralia* in Erasmus' letters until 1 January 1513. This is the date of the dedicatory letter to John Yonge appended to his translation of *Advice about keeping well* (*De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta*; Allen 268; CWE 2, 239-241). As I have already mentioned, the letter and the opusculum were printed by Richard Pynson's press in London (in July 1513) and soon thereafter by at least one press on the Continent.¹⁵ That same July Erasmus dispatched a brief letter to Thomas More (Allen 271; CWE 2, 249-250) to inform him about the progress he was making in translating yet another opusculum by Plutarch: *How to tell a flatterer from a friend* (*Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere* or *De discrimine adulatoris et amici*), which he dedicated to Henry VIII, remarking "I shall finish it, God willing, within a week" ("Absolvam faventibus superis intra dies octo"; Allen, 271, 8-9; CWE 2, 249).

Between July and December 1513, Erasmus took action with regard to the publication of his *Opuscula Plutarchi*. In a letter to Andrea

1514 to 1527", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 6 (1986), 49-51, 75-76; K. Crousaz, *Érasme et le pouvoir de l'imprimerie* (Lausanne, 2005), 24-25, 50-51, 55-57, 113-114; Vanautgaerden 2012 (as in n. 7), 207, 229-237, 240, 245, 250 n. 1, 258, 460; V. Sebastiani, *Johann Froben, Printer of Basel. A Biographical Profile and Catalogue of His Editions* (Leiden – Boston, MA, 2018), 44 n. 18, and 70; and Van Gulik 2018 (as in n. 5), 26-27, 335, 434.

¹⁴ Badius finally printed the *Luciani Dialogi* in June of 1514. See above, n. 11.

¹⁵ It was also printed by Thierry Martens in November 1513, in a volume which included Erasmus' translation of Lucian's *De luctu* without any mention on the title page of its incorporation in the volume; see Vanautgaerden 2012 (as in n. 7), 427, 503. Erasmus kept a copy either from Pynson's or Martens' press, as the *Catalogus librorum Erasmi* attests; see Van Gulik 2018 (as in n. 5), 455, 469.

Ammonio (Allen 283; CWE 2, 267-275),¹⁶ he explains the progress he has made (with the assistance of Franz Birckmann) as follows:

I had entrusted an emended and enlarged text [of the *Adagia*] to Franz, who is accustomed to import almost every book into this country, intending him to hand it over to Bade or, if he advised it, to another publisher. That worthy immediately carried it off to Basel and put it in the care of the man who had already printed it, so that he will publish this edition only when he has sold all the copies of his own, that is, ten years from now. Also there are several books translated from Plutarch and Lucian which I had entrusted to him to give to Bade, to be added to the previous books he has in his possession; and I suspect he has given these also to the other man, and now he is asking me to send more of them. There is German honesty for you! But there is a way in which I can get my own back: a copy of the *Adagia*, and, in fact, a rather more comprehensive one than the copy he took, has been kept. He will find one Cretan can be a match for another.¹⁷ (CWE 2, 273)

Until now, textual evidence has allowed us to understand this passage only in the following way: even if Erasmus trusted Birckmann to hand over the manuscripts of the *Moralia* and the *Adagia* to Badius Ascensius, the latter decided *motu proprio* to give them to Froben instead, no doubt for economic reasons and probably with Erasmus' tacit permis-

¹⁶ Ammonio died on 16 August 1517. For Erasmus' friendship with him and Ammonio's activities while Erasmus was in England, see C. Pizzi, *Un amico di Erasmo. L'umanista Andrea Ammonio* (Firenze, 1956); J.K. Sowards, "The Two Lost Years of Erasmus. Summary, Review, and Speculation", *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), 161-186; J.D. Tracy, *Erasmus. The Growth of a Mind* (Genève, 1972), 112, 127-129, 135-137, 164; C.H. Miller, "The Epigrams of Erasmus and More. A Literary Diptych", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 1.1 (1981), 11-13; Schoeck 1993 (as in n. 6), *ad indicem*; H. Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia. Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters* (Plymouth, 2010), 39-44; M. Rospoche, "Genesi di un discorso politico. Un interlocutore sconosciuto di Erasmo", in E.A. Baldini, M. Firpo (ed.), *Religione e politica in Erasmo da Rotterdam* (Roma, 2012), 88-89, 97-98; D.R. Carlson, "Erasmus and the War-Poets in 1513", *Erasmus Studies* 34.1 (2014), 5-49, at 14-19; T.L. Ter Meer, "The Miraculous Versatility of *Apophthegms*", *Erasmus Studies* 34.2 (2014), 81.

¹⁷ "Commiseram exemplar emendatum ac locupletatum Francisco, qui libros ferme omnes solitus est huc importare, ut vel Badio vel ex illius sententia committeret alii. Is bonus vir recta Basileam deportavit, ei in manus dedit qui iam excuderat, ut haec tum demum aedat cum sua divendiderit, hoc est post decennium. Complures item libellos ex Plutarcho ac Luciano versos commiseram Badio tradendos, ut superioribus quos habet adiungeret; et hos illi, uti suspicor, tradidit, utque plures mittam rogat. En Sicambricam fidem; sed est quo me ulciscar. Servatum est Adagiorum exemplar, et quidem aliquanto copiosius eo quod ille abstulit. Cretissabimus cum Cretensi." (Allen 283, 154-164)

sion. Valentina Sebastiani¹⁸ has explained accurately that the tensions between Badius' and Froben's presses contrasted with the friendship of their respective proof-readers, Michael Hummelberger (or Hummelberg) and Beatus Rhenanus,¹⁹ who met during their student years in Paris; thus making it likely that everyone was aware of the situation that would finally result in the edition of the *Adagia* printed by Froben.²⁰

Nonetheless, if we pay attention to a couple of details in the passage drawn from the letter to Ammonio, we can derive an alternate reading which shows that the situation was somewhat more complicated. Erasmus declares to Ammonio that he had trusted Birckmann to give Badius "several books translated from Plutarch and Lucian [...] to be added to the previous books he has in his possession". In other words, if Erasmus began to translate Plutarch in 1512 and first mentions the *Plutarchi opuscula* in the letters he wrote in autumn 1512 (to assert that Birckmann had not handed them over to Badius), this would necessarily mean that at some point between autumn 1512 and December 1513,

¹⁸ Sebastiani 2018 (as in n. 13), 40, 42 and n. 9.

¹⁹ Hummelberger kept up an assiduous correspondence with some of the greatest German scholars and literary figures of his time. He corresponded frequently not only with Beatus Rhenanus but also with Konrad Peutinger, Bruno Amerbach, Johannes Reuchlin, Mutianus Rufus, and Heinrich Bebel, to mention just a few. He assisted Badius until he left Paris to study in Rome (1514-1517), where his patron was John Goritz of Luxemburg. Once back in Ravensburg as chaplain of St Michael's church, he met Erasmus in person in Constance in September 1522, became close friends with Johann von Botzheim and grew to be an admirer of Erasmus' work. See CWE 10, 282 n. 1, and CWE 12, 448 n. 10.

²⁰ If this hypothesis is correct, it would nonetheless be necessary to infer that Hummelberger kept silent about (or was unaware of) the (unauthorised?) printing of the *Opuscula Plutarchi* in Badius' press. This fact alone would explain why Beatus Rhenanus, in a letter addressed to Hummelberger on 2 September 1514, presented Erasmus' translations of the *Moralia* as an editorial premiere: "Erasmus of Rotterdam, a man of very high erudition, recently came to Basel loaded with good books, among which: the complete works of Saint Jerome, amended; the complete works of Seneca, amended; very abundant annotations on the *New Testament*; the *Parallels*; many works of Plutarch in translation. [...] Likewise the *Adages*, corrected and considerably increased. Some opuscles by Plutarch, elegantly printed, will invade the shop these days" (my translation of "Erasmus Roterodamus, summae eruditionis vir, nuperrime Basileam venit onustus bonis libris in quibus sunt haec: omnia opera divi Hieronymi emendata; omnia opera Senecae emendata; annotationes in Novum Testamentum copiosissimae; liber similibus; Plutarchi multa versa; [...] item *Adagia* castigata et auctissima. Plutarchi opuscula aliquot hiis diebus officinam aggredientur eleganter excusa", in J. Hirstein (ed.), Beatus Rhenanus, *Epistulae Beati Rhenani. La correspondance latine et grecque de Beatus Rhenanus de Sélestat*, vol. 1 (Turnhout, 2013), 482-486, spelling adapted). However, Beatus' allusion to this volume as "elegantly printed" ("eleganter excusa"), clearly an exaggeration, suggests that he suspected that Badius had a copy of the *Opuscula*.

Birckmann did in fact give some of Erasmus' translations of Plutarch to Badius, and – quite probably – to Johannes Froben.

However, it is widely accepted among Erasmus scholars that the copies of the translations of the *Moralia* were given only to Froben, who published them in Basel in August 1514, thus marking the beginning of one of the most famous printer-author collaborations of the Renaissance.²¹ Valentina Sebastiani gives a description of the title page of what has been considered (until now) the *editio princeps*:

Opuscula Plutarchi nuper traducta.|| Erasmo Roterodamo Interprete.|| Quo pacto q[ui]s dignoscere possit adu||latorem ab amico.|| Quo pacto quis efficere possit ut ca-||piat utilitatem ab inimico.|| De tuenda bona ualetudine praecepta.|| In principe requiri doctrinam.|| Cum principibus maxime philoso-||phum debere disputare.|| Vtrum grauiores sint animi morbi,|| quam corporis.|| Num recte dictu[m] sit, lathe biōsas, id est,|| Sic uiue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse.|| De cupiditate diuitiarum.|| Gerardou tou Listriou|| Tauta d'arēiphilōn Germanōn kosmos Erasmus|| Oios leimōnōn drepsato ek danaōn.||²²

2. A new *editio princeps* of Erasmus' translation of the *Moralia*

What I will argue in the remaining pages is that Badius Ascensius did in fact print an edition of the *Plutarchi opuscula* translated by Erasmus, and that this printing was, for reasons I shall mention, the *editio princeps* of the collection, rather than Froben's. For the description, I have employed three volumes extant in the Universiteitsbibliotheek of Ghent: two copies of the Ascensian edition, which I will suggest were printed in 1513 or at the beginning of 1514 (BIB.G.009091/-1, PLATE 1, and BIB.G.009211, PLATE 2), and the Frobenian edition of the *Moralia* from August 1514 (BIB.ACC.021196/-1, PLATE 3). As far as I know, the Ascensian printing is neither registered in any catalogue of Erasmus'

²¹ S.J. Ryle, "Language and Silence in Erasmus", *Res Publica Litterarum. Studies in the Classical Tradition* 14 (1991), 205-206; Vanautgaerden 2012 (as in n. 7), 282, 503.

²² Sebastiani 2018 (as in n. 13), 197-199. The colophon (sig. d5v) reads: "Basileae in aedibus Ioannis Frobenii Hammel||burgensis, mense Augusto, Anno domini mil-||lesimo quingentesimo decimoquarto."

works, nor was it used in A.J. Koster's critical edition of the *Opuscula* in ASD 4.2.²³ The Parisian imprints share identical title pages:²⁴

Opuscula Plutarchi nup[er] tradu-|cta. Erasmo Roterodamo interprete.||
De tuenda bona valitudine praecepta.|| In principe requiri doctrinam.||
Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare.|| Vtrum
grauiores sint animi morbi q[uam] corporis.|| Num recte dictum sit
Λάθε Βιώσασ: id est|| Sic viue vt nemo te sentiat vixisse.|| De cupidi-
tate diuitiarum.|| [image]|| Vaenundantur vbi complura alia, & Plutar-
chi & Erasmi|| syntagmata, in aedibus Ascensianis.

None of them, however, offer any further information concerning when or under which circumstances Badius received the translations; nor do they include a colophon with a printing date. Luckily, a comparison of the *editio Ascensiana* and the *editio Frobeniana* allows us to draw the conclusion that the *editio Ascensiana* [henceforth *OPAsc*] was most likely printed earlier than the *editio Frobeniana* of 1514 [henceforth *OPFrob*].

For the sake of both brevity and clarity, I will mention only the main differences and similarities between the two editions, and will close with a hypothetical reconstruction of the editorial history of both editions.

The first difference between them is the census of *Moralia* contained in each volume. Only *OPFrob* includes *How to tell a flatterer from a friend* (*Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere*), accompanied by the dedicatory epistle to Henry VIII, and *How to profit by one's enemies* (*Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem*) with the letter to Thomas Wolsey, Bishop of Lincoln. Both the *Ascensiana* and the *Frobeniana* include the *Advice about keeping well* (*De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta*) without the dedicatory epistle to John Yonge. Therefore, the *Ascensiana* gathers nums. 3-8 from ASD 4.2. This constitutes a difference of 47 printed pages in *OPAsc* – involving some artifice, as we will see – compared to the 101 pages of *OPFrob*.

²³ P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462-1535*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1908), 173, item 6. Renouard has as item 5 another undated printing containing only *In principe requiri doctrinam* and *Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare*.

²⁴ The digital copy held at the National Library of Romania (shelf mark XVI/II 127; available online at <http://www.manuscriptorium.com>) shows no differences either. Besides this copy and those mentioned by Renouard in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lemans, in Limoges, and Universiteitsbibliotheek of Ghent, there is another one in the Centrale Bibliotheek of Rotterdam (Erasmuszaal 11 E 1, dated 1510[!]) in the catalogue).

The second notable difference is that *OPAsc* is made up of three signatures (a1r-a8v, b1r-b8v, c1r-c8v) with continuous foliation, and therefore seems to have been composed from a single manuscript. *OPFrob*, on the other hand, shows interesting issues that tell an unlikely story:

[1] *How to tell a flatterer from a friend* (*Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere*) and *How to profit by one's enemies* (*Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem*) have their own signatures (A1r-A6v, B1r-B8v, C1r-C8v, and D1r-D5v) and, strangely, *How to tell a flatterer from a friend* has pagination (one number per page) while *How to profit by one's enemies* has foliation (only numbered on the rectos).

[2] Moreover, the second set of texts, which coincides in order with those in *OPAsc*, starts with a blank folio and has its own signatures (a1r-a8v, b1r-b8v, c1r-c4v, and d1r-d5v) as well as independent foliation (1r-25v). Therefore, it can be inferred that the two texts at the beginning of *OPFrob* were included when the composition of the titles that coincide with *OPAsc* was well advanced.

Notwithstanding the previous point, there is a striking particularity in *OPAsc* that suggests that both *OPAsc* and *OPFrob* were composed under similar circumstances and with similar expectations; that is, it appears that Badius awaited further translations of the *Moralia* in order to include them in the whole, and that those translations did not arrive, as the results attest. This can be seen in how *On love of wealth* (*De cupiditate divitiarum*) is printed in *OPAsc*: instead of respecting the text box and the justification of the text – as with the other opuscles in the volume – it presents random line breaks, and each line is headed by a capital letter, as if it were written in verse (PLATES 4 and 5). This spreads the book out over three full signatures with the same number of sheets, and without presenting an excessive number of endpapers.

Another remarkable difference between *OPAsc* and *OPFrob* lies in their approach to the use of *marginalia* (a full list in Appendix 3, below). While there are plenty of these in *OPFrob*, *OPAsc* only includes them in *To an uneducated ruler* (*In principe requiri doctrinam*) and *A philosopher ought to converse especially with men in power* (*Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare*). When these two works are compared in both editions, however, it is clear that they were composed following two copies of the same manuscript (if not actually the same manuscript). Any other possibility, such as Badius having copied the

Frobeniana, does not make sense: there is no reason why he would copy only the *marginalia* of two opuscles when he could have included all of them. The opposite possibility (namely, Froben having copied the *Ascensiana*) is equally unlikely due to the detail of the *marginalia* throughout the *Frobeniana*.

An exhaustive collation of *OPAsc* and the *OPFrob*, and their comparison with the critical edition of Koster for ASD as compiled in Appendix 2, only reinforces the idea that the texts included in both editions were composed using, if not the exact same manuscript, quite a reliable copy of the same translation. The differences are mainly due to orthographic practices in Latin, poor readings of abbreviations – *mundo* vs. *numero*, *impium* instead of *ipsum*, *acceperunt* instead of *acceperit*, *parum* instead of *rarum*, *quatinus* instead of *quatenus* – and unavoidable typos that originated in the printing process; thus it could easily be concluded that the differences between opuscles present in *OPAsc* and *OPFrob* are minimal. It will suffice to point out that both editions even present an *omissio ex homoioteleuto* (line skip) in the same passage: “non sitientes <bibunt> neque esurientes edunt, etiam ea, quae sitientes atque esurientes sumpserant” (ASD 4.2, 252, l. 30-32).

3. Conclusion

In sum, the presentation of this new, partial edition of the *Opuscula Plutarchi* printed by Badius Ascensius' press between 1513 and July 1514 allows us to shed light on some fundamental aspects related to the editorial history of Erasmus' translation of the *Moralia*. The hypothesis presented in these pages can be summarized as follows: although it is not directly stated in Erasmus' letters, at some point between the end of 1512 and the summer of 1513, Franz Birckmann gave Badius Ascensius a copy of six *Moralia* translated by Erasmus with their publication in mind. As the letter from Erasmus to Andrea Ammonio suggests, Erasmus was aware of this fact. That being so, Birckmann gave to Iodocus Badius Ascensius and to Johannes Froben copies of *Advice about keeping well* (*De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta*), *To an uneducated ruler* (*In principe requiri doctrinam*), *A philosopher ought to converse especially with men in power* (*Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare*), *Whether affections of the soul are worse than those of the body* (*Utrum graviores sint animi morbi q[uam]*

corporis), *Is the saying “live in obscurity” right?* (*Num recte dictum sit Λάθε βιώσας, id est, Sic vive ut nemo te sentiat vixisse*), and *On love of wealth* (*De cupiditate divitiarum*) to be printed. Considering the number of texts handed over, this was probably done with the promise of providing the printers with yet two more translations of Plutarch – *How to tell a flatterer from a friend* (*Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere* or *De discrimine adulatoris et amici*) and *How to profit by one’s enemies* (*Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem*) – together with an enlarged and revised version of the *Adagia*.

Birckmann on his own, though most likely with Erasmus’ approval, gave these last two promised manuscripts to Froben but not to Badius. As Beatus Rhenanus’ letters to Hummelberger do not have any information about this fact, nor about the new edition of the *Adagia* which Badius was supposed to print, until September 1514, it is possible that Badius became aware of the situation either through another informant or by inferring it after Birckmann failed to appear with the promised manuscripts. In either case, the news arrived at Badius’ press while the manuscript of the *Moralia* was being composed and the extra translations were still expected.

As seems to have been the case with Froben’s *editio princeps*, Badius probably intended to include the two latest translations at the end of the volume. When Froben discovered that the two new *opuscula* accounted for almost half the entire volume and that they had a dedicatory epistle to Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey, he realized that it made no sense to place them after the shorter works. He solved this problem with new folios and two different signatures: capitals for the new *opuscula* (sig. A1v-D5v) and lower-cases for the next six (sig. a1r-d5v). Badius probably had also reserved space at the end of the folio and, upon receiving the news that Froben had two new *opuscula* and he did not, opted for the very inelegant solution of introducing random line breaks to fill as much space on the paper as possible. This, together with the elision of *margin-alia* in four of the six *Moralia*, allowed him to finish the work much faster than Froben, and not lose his investment of time, ink, and paper.

Universidade da Coruña
j.ledo@udc.es

Appendices

A.J. Koster published his magnificent edition of Erasmus' translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* in ASD 4.2. The editions considered by Koster for his critical edition were the following:

<i>A</i>	ed. princ., Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Augusto 1514
<i>B</i>	ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Maio 1516
<i>C</i>	ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Iulio 1518
<i>D</i>	ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Iunio 1519
<i>E</i>	ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Septembri 1520
<i>BAS</i>	ed. Basel, H. Frobenius et N. Episcopus, <i>Omnia opera</i> , 1540
<i>LB</i>	ed. Leiden, P. vander Aa, <i>Opera omnia</i> , 1703

As I have argued above, *A* should no longer be considered as the *editio princeps* of Erasmus' *Plutarchi opuscula*; that honour should now go to the *editio Parisina* (Iod. Badius Ascensius, circa 1513). Although, in my opinion, the opuscles contained in both volumes were composed using closely similar copies, if not the same copy, they present some variants and traits of interest.

The aim of the three following appendices is to highlight those differences and to favour further research. Thus, [1] I have rebuilt the table of contents of both volumes, [2] I have compared *OPAsc* with the one in ASD, and I have recorded every difference and compared it to *OPFrob* – a direct comparison between *OPAsc* and *OPFrob* would show even more differences useful for research on both editions, but not so much for the present critical edition –, and [3] I have provided a full list of marginalia in *OPAsc* and *OPFrob*. I believe that the coincidence of the marginalia of *In principe requiri doctrinam* and *Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare* requires further research on how both texts were composed – research that exceeds, once more, the aim of these pages.

Appendix 1. Table of contents of both editions

OPAsc	OPFrob
	Invictissimo Anglorum regi Henrico Octavo. Erasmus Rote[r]odammus, S.D., p. 1-2 (sig. A1v-A2r).
	<i>Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere</i> Plutarchi, Erasmo interprete, p. 2-21 (sig. A2r-C7r). ¹
	Blank page (sig. C7v).
	Reverendissimo in Christo Patri D. Thomae episcopo Lyncolniensi sereniss[imi] Anglorum regis magno elemosynario. Erasmus Roterodamus S.D., 22 (sig. C8r).
	<i>Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem</i> , Plutarchi Chaeroniensis Erasmo Roterodamo interprete, f. 22v-27v (sig. C8v-D5v). The running head (“Plutarchi De utilitate”) is over the title. (PLATE 6)
	Two blank pages (sig. D6r-D6v or a1r-a1v).
Putarchi [sic] <i>De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta</i> Erasmo interprete. Τὰ πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus, f. 2r-12r (sig. a2r-b4r). The running head (“de tuenda bo. vale”) is over the title. (PLATE 7)	Plutarchi <i>De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta</i> Erasmo interprete τὰ πρόσωπα Moschion et Xeusippus, f. 2r-13v (sig. a2r-b5v). The running head (“de tuenda bo. vale”) is over the title. (PLATE 8)
<i>In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium</i> , Erasmo Roterodamo interprete, f. 12r-14r (sig. b4r-b6r).	<i>In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium</i> , Erasmo Roterodamo interprete, f. 13v-16r (sig. b5v-b8r).
<i>Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare</i> Plutarchi, Erasmo interprete, f. 14r-16r (sig. b6r-b8r).	<i>Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare</i> Plutarchi, Erasmo interprete, f. 16r-18v (sig. b8r-c2v).
<i>Vtrum grauiores sint animi morbi q[uam] corporis</i> , Plutarchus Erasmo interprete, f. 16v-17v (sig. b8v-c1r). The running head (“Plutarchi Cheronei”) should not be on the title page. (PLATE 9)	<i>Vtrum grauiores sint animi morbi q[uam] corporis</i> . Plutarchus Erasmo interprete, f. 18v-20r (sig. c2v-c4r).
<i>Num recte dictu[m] sit Λάθε Βιώσασ</i> , i[d est]., <i>Sic uiue vt nemo te sentiat vixisse</i> , f. 17v-19r (sig. c1v-c3r).	<i>Num recte dictum sit Λάθε Βιώσασ: id est, Sic uiue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse</i> , f. 20r-22r. (sig. c4r-d2r).

¹ An edition of Christophe de Longueil’s translation of *How to profit by one’s enemies* (Πῶς ἂν τις ὑπ’ ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο) which he entitled *Quomodo quis possit ab inimicis iuari*, with Erasmus’ handwritten translation reproduced on facing pages, titled *Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem* (ca. 1512), in R. Aulotte, “Une rivalité d’humanistes. Érasme et Longueil, traducteurs de Plutarque”, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 30.3 (1968), 549-573. The manuscript is extant at Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. AN. VI. I.

Plutarchus, <i>De cupiditate diuitiarum</i> , Desi[derio] Eras[mo] Rote[rodamo] interprete, f. 19r-24r (sig. c3r-c8r).	Plutarchus, <i>De cupiditate diuitiarum</i> Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo interprete, f. 22v-25v (sig. d2v-d5v). Same as above, the running head ("Plutarchi Chaeronei") is over the title. (PLATE 10)
The volume has neither colophon nor register of signatures.	Colophon: "Basileae in aedibus Ioannis Frobenij Hammelburgensis, mense Augusto, Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimoquarto", f. 25v (sig. d5v). There is no register of signatures in the volume.

Appendix 2. Complete list of variants between ASD and OPAsc

ASD IV.2 (page; line)	OPAsc	OPFrob (‘A’ in ASD IV.2)	ASD IV.2 Text
[III.] <i>De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Tà πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus</i>			
189; 1-4	Putarchi De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Tà πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus	Plutarchi De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Tà πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus	Plutarchi Chaeronensis De tuenda bona sanitate precepta Erasmo Roterodamo interprete. Moschion et Zeuxippus ²
189; 8	praeberem	praeberem	preberem
189; 9	medica vir ille	medica vir ille	medica ille vir [transposed]
189; 11	aequandus	aequandus	equandus
189; 15	ausos esse nos	ausos esse nos	ausos nos esse
189; 25	musicaeque	musicae	musicaeque
190; 30-31	de mundo disciplinarum liberalium	de mundo disciplinarum liberalium	de numero disciplinarum liberalium
190; 47	Rursum si ea quae foras vergunt	Rursum si ea que foras vergunt	Rursum si ea quae foras vergunt
190; 54	quos aegrotantibus	quos aegrotantibus	quos egyptantibus
191; 59	necessum erit	necessum erit	necessum sit
191; 61	aestate	aestate	estate
192; 78	quorum de mundo Titus erat imperator	quorum de numero Titus erat imperator	quorum de numero Titus erat Imperator
192; 83	apparant conuiuio accipere aut futurum est	apparant conuiuio accipere aut futurum est	apparent conuiuio accipere aut quibus futurum est
192; 87-88	inter inuitatiunculas illorum, te impium intra mediocritatem	inter inuitatiunculas illorum te ipsum intra mediocritatem	inter inuitatiunculas illorum te ipsum intra mediocritatem
192; 95-96	Philippus submit, qui singulos amicos admoneret	Philippus submit, qui singulos amicos admoneret	Philippus submit, qui singulos admoneret
192; 103	praesentibus	praesentibus	presentibus
193; 118-119	simulque voret opsonia. Adduxeram autem	simulque voret opsonia. Adduxeram autem	simulque voret obsonia. Addux(ıt) autem

² The distinction between Xeusippus and Zeuxippus [sic] is omitted from now on, although it is consistent throughout the text.

193; 122	hominibus Rhiglum pancratiasten commemoraueram	hominibus Rhiglum pancratiasten commemoraueram	hominibus Rhiglum pancratiasten commemorau(it)
193; 125	paedagogica	paedagogica	pedagogica
193; 133	Nam quod natura delectat	Nam quod natura delectat	Nam quod natura delectet
194; 139	Caeterum qui iam acceperunt	Caeterum, qui iam acceperit	Caeterum, qui iam acceperit
194; 147	uti corpus adigas cum cibis habere conuicium	uti corpus adigas cum cibis habere conuicium	vti corpus cum cibis adigas habere commercium [adigas cum cibis has been transposed]
194; 154	Caeterum Phryne Laidiue persoluto argento	Caeterum Phryne Laidiue persoluto argento	Caeterum Phrynae Laidiue persoluto argento
194; 155	Porro magnum sit ad mirum	Porro magnum est ad mirum	Porro magnum est ad mirum
194; 160-161	Iam vero illius cupiditates, quae praeposterae ab animo scatent in corpus coguntque affectibus obsequi et inseruire nulla ratione fieri potest	Iam vero illius cupiditates, quae praeposterae ab animo scatent in corpus coguntque affectibus obsequi et inseruire nulla ratione fieri potest	Iam vero cupiditates, quae prepostere ab animo scatent in corpus congutque illius affectibus obsequi et inseruire, nulla ratione fieri potest [illius transposed]
194; 166	praebent animo	praebent animo	prebent animo
194; 167-168	hae nimirum et stupidae sunt	hae nimirum et stupidae sunt	hae nimirum et stupidae sunt
194; 168	Quoties igitur parum aliquod aut nobile cibi genus fruendum appositum fuit	Quoties igitur rarum aliquod aut nobile cibi genus fruendum appositum fuit	Quoties igitur rarum aliquod aut nobile cibi genus fruendum appositum fuerit
194; 174	desyderanti	desideranti	desideranti
194; 176	etiam si	etiam si	etsi
195; 185	nos coniciias	nos coniciias	nos conicias
195; 188	et tumultum ac perluuium	et tumultum ac perluuium	ac profluuium et tumultum
195; 189	opsoniorum	opsoniorum	obsoniorum
195; 194	opsonia	opsonia	obsonia
195; 198	Attellanis intemperantiam	Attellanis intemperantiam	Atellanis intemperantiam
195; 198-199	ad voluptatem excites atque irrites an gustum odorius et lauticiis prouoces	ad uoluptatem excites atque irrites an gustum odoribus et lauticiis prouoces	ad voluptatem excites an gustum odoribus et lauticiis prouoces
196; 203	de multitudine ac magnitudine	de multitudine ac magnitudine	de multitudine et magnitudine
196; 218	Nam verissime quis dixerit	Nam uerissime quis dixerit	(Sed) verissime quis dixerit

196; 218-219	bonam valetudinem maxime diuinum longeque	bonam valetudinem maxime diuinum longeque	bonam valetudinem diuinum longeque
196; 222	synceraque	synceraque	synceraque
196; 236	non in tempore sumptam	non in tempore sumptam	non in tempore sumptum
196; 238	praeclara negocia	praeclara negocia	preclara negocia
196; 239	ut dolor quidem	ut dolor quidem	vt dolor quidam
197; 251-252	opsoniorum	opsoniorum	obsoniorum
197; 255	aestus	aestus	estus
197; 259	humorum abundantia iam ante collecta corpus exhibent ac tradunt	humorum abundantia iam ante collecta corpus exhibent ac tradunt	humorum abundantia iam ante collecta corpus exhibit ac tradit
197; 262	coenum	coenum	caenum
197; 263	Proinde cauendum est, ne sicuti boni nauleri	Proinde cauendum est, ne sicuti boni nauleri	Proinde cauendum est, ne sicuti (mali) nauleri
198; 270	praesentitur	praesentitur	presentitur
198; 272	Immo plaerique	Immo plaerique	Imo plerique
198; 272	praenuncient praecurrantque	praenuncient praecurrantque	prenuncient precurrantque
198; 276	adhaerent	adhaerent	adherent
198; 277-278	ad lectulum quietem pertrahat, tamen alii gulae deliciarum intemperantia in balnea se coniciunt	ad lectulum quietem pertrahat, tamen alii gulae deliciarum intemperantia in balnea se coniciunt	ad lectulum quietem pertrahat, tum alii gulae deliciarum intemperantia in balnea se coniciunt
198; 290	agas quam tractus ad balneum	agas quam tractus ad balneum	agas quam vt tractus ad balneum
199; 310	ita condimentum esse optimum appositi cibi	ita condimentum esse optimum appositi cibi	ita condimentum optimum esse appositi cibi [transposed]
199; 314	haec	haec	hec
199; 318	in aedes irrumpant	in aedes irrumpant	in edes irrumpant
199; 320	obsonia	obsonia	opsonia
200; 331	caelo	caelo	celo
200; 334	perfluuiio	perfluuiio	profluuiio
200; 341	praecipere ac praecauere	praecipere ac praecauere	precipere ac precauere
200; 343	praeter	praeter	preter
200; 346	inaequalis	inaequalis	inequalis
200; 352-353	vt facile commoueantur	ut facile commoueantur	vt et facile commoueantur
200; 353	lachrymanturque ac moerent	lachrymanturque ac moerent	lachrymenturque ac moereant
200; 356	consyderent	considerent	Considerent
200; 360	morbi causam, non ita sane vti sophistic praeterque rem de densitatibus	morbi causam, non ita sane uti sophistic praeterque rem de densitatibus	morbi causam non ita, vt sophistic preterque rem de densitatibus

200; 363	praecipue	praecipue	precipue
200; 364	cum in febrim inciderit	cum in febrim inciderit	quum in febrim inciderit
200; 367-368	desyderet	desideret	desideret
201; 378	haec	haec	hec
201; 379	aegritudinum	aegritudinum	egritudinum
201; 380	Proinde praeclare dictum est illud	Proinde praeclare dictum est illud	Proinde preclarum dictum est illud
202; 388	praecepta	praecepta	precepta
202; 390-391	palaesticum	palaesticum	palestricum
202; 399	faecis	faecis	fecis
202; 407	inaequalis ille spiritus	inaequalis ille spiritus	inaequalis illae spiritus
202; 411	aequabilem	aequabilem	equabilem
202; 412	Sit autem hic factus modus	Sit autem hic factus modus	Sit autem hic frictus modus
202; 413	Quisquis adhuc composuerit	Quisquis adhuc composuerit	Quisquis ad hunc modum composuerit
202; 422	quaeras	quaeras	queras
202; 428	praemiis	praemiis	premiis
202; 433	gutturini infixi coepit exerceri	gutturini infixi coepit exerceri	gutturini infixi coepit exercere
202; 435	Ac spina quidem	At spina quidem	At spina quidem
204; 448	haereant	haereant	hereant
204; 461	cum apponuntur	cum apponuntur	cum apponantur
204; 463	pleraque	pleraque	pleraque
204; 468	carnium esum desyderet	carnium esum desyderet	carnium esum desideret
204; 472	ut praeter naturam sit	ut praeter naturam sit	ut preter naturam sit
204; 475	aliisque opsoniis	aliisque opsoniis	aliisque obsoniis
205; 491	aestuant	aestuant	estuunt
205; 497	minuendus est etiam cibus	minuendus est etiam cibus	minuendus est cibus
205; 497	subtrahendum	subtrahendum	subtrahendum
206; 512	At Minos et tybiam submouit a sacris	At Minos et tybiam submouit a sacris	Ac Minos et tibiam summouit a sacris
206; 513	tybiis	tybiis	tibiis
206; 514	laedatur	laedatur	ledatur
206; 519	abiiciet	abiiciet	abiciet
206; 523	Graecus	Graecus	Grecus
206; 527	oculis arrobebant bellaria	oculis arrobebant bellaria	oculis arrobebat bellaria
206; 530	Caeterum quum vndique	Caeterum quum undique	Caeterum cum vndique
206; 535	Dialectica vero edulium	Dialectica uero edulium	Dialectice vero edulium
206; 540	in Xysto siue in palaestra	in Xysto siue in palaestra	im xysto siue in palestra
206; 542-543	nempe pingues et saxeos	nempe pingues et saxeos	nempe pingues ac saxios
208; 578	delitiis	delitiis	deliciis

208; 584	exhulcerationibus	exhulcerationibus	exulcerationibus
208; 592	Graecorum	Graecorum	Grecorum
208; 594	dum eiectis consuetis	dum eiectis consuetis	dum ei(cendis) consuetis
208; 595	item aliarum rerum	item aliarum rerum	itemque aliarum rerum
208; 609	foetumque perdant	foetumque perdant	fetumque perdant
209; 615	Praestabilius	Praestabilius	Prestabilius
209; 615	praescripto	praescripto	prescripto
209; 617	praesensio	praesensio	presensio
209; 618	praeparatam	praeparatam	preparatam
209; 625	me quidem inquiebam	me quidem inquiebam	me quidem iniqui(t)
209; 626	otii	otii	ocii
209; 626	haec	haec	hec
209; 631	praestanda	praestanda	prestanda
210; 636-637	bonam corporis constitutionem	bonam corporis constitutionem	bonam corporis institutionem
210; 640	inquiebam	inquiebam	iniqui(t)
210; 641	praecipere	praecipere	precipere
210; 642	otium	otium	ocium
210; 646	Cum interim nihil	Cum interim nihil	Quum interim nihil
210; 656	negotiis	negotiis	negociis
210; 658	negotiis	negotiis	negociis
210; 658	remissus sit et otiosus	remissus sit et otiosus	remissus sit ac ociosus
210; 659	praeclara et ardua negotia	praeclara et ardua negotia	preclara et ardua negocia
210; 660	detrectans	detrectans	detractans
210; 661	otio	otio	ocio
210; 663	negotia	negotia	negocia
210; 666	plaerique	plaerique	plerique
210; 670-671	desyderet studium	desideret studium	desideret studium
210; 671	praecepit	praecepit	precepit
211; 677	delitias	delitias	delicias
211; 681-682	desyderant	desyderant	desiderant
211; 682	negotiis	negotiis	negociis
211; 686	otium	otium	ocium
211; 686	negotiis	negociis	negociis
211; 688	otium	otium	ocium
211; 689	negotiis in otium sese receperint	negociis in otium sese receperint	negociis in ocium sese receperint
211; 705	accipiat quam sicca	accipiat quam sicca	accipiat an sicca
212; 713	opsoniorum	opsoniorum	obsoniorum
212; 717	negotii	negotii	Negocii
212; 721	quod non meminerint iis	quod non meminerint his	quod non meminerint his
212; 728-729	ne studiosis aut republicam administrantibus viris accidat	ne studiosis aut republicam administrantibus viris accidat	ne studiosis aut republicam administrantibus accidant

212; 743	praemii	praemii	premi
212; 747	τέλος	τέλος	Finis
[IV.] <i>In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete</i>			
217; 1-3	In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete	In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete	In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete
217; 6	foelices	foelices	foelices
217; 7	ac *morosam esse	ac morosum esse	ac morosum esse
217; 7	felicitatis	foelicitatis	foelicitatis
217; 8	difficile est iis	difficile est his	difficile est his
217; 11	qui, cum primus	qui, quum primus	qui, quum primus
217; 16	Theopompus ex imperio velut e magno flumine deductis riuis	Theopompus ex imperio uelut magno flumine deductis riuis	Theopompus ex imperio velut magno flumine deductis riuis
217; 27-28	At ineruditi duces ac principes	At ineruditi duces ac principes	At ineruditi reges ac principes
218; 32	admota quatinus sibi congruunt	admota quatenus sibi congruunt	admota quatenus sibi congruunt
218; 44	negotii	negocii	negocii
218; 45	atque ea cura negotia	atque ea cura negocia	atque ea cura negocia
218; 47	Polemon dicebat	Polemon dicebat	Polemon dicebat
218; 63	iustitiam tuetur	iusticiam tuetur	iusticiam tuetur
218; 69	aequitatem, iustitiam, ueritatem	aequitatem, iusticiam, ueritatem	aequitatem, iusticiam, ueritatem
219; 72	Non enim felix est deus vitae spatio	Non enim foelix est deus uitae spatio	Non enim foelix est deus uitae spatio
219; 75	Clito iustitiam	Clito iusticiam	Clito iusticiam
219; 78	Ioui iustitia, sed ipse iustitia fasque est	Ioui iusticia, sed ipse iusticia phasque est	Ioui iusticia, sed ipse iusticia phasque est
219; 83	vt ii maxime	ut hi maxime	vt hi maxime
219; 86	vt iis, quibus imperat	ut his, quibus imperat	vt his, quibus imperat
220; 88	sed iis quae custodiunt	sed his, quae custodiunt	sed his, quae custodiunt
220; 108	Quemadmodum in caelo	Quemadmodum in coelo	Quemadmodum in coelo
220; 109	repraesentet, ostendit iis	representet, ostendit his	representet, ostendit his
220; 110	iustitiae	iusticiae	Iusticiae
221; 138	supplicia peruertunt *accusationes	supplicia peruertunt accusationes	supplicia praeuertunt accusationes
221; 144	malitia	malicia	malicia
222; 153	Cimoni vinum obiiciebatur	Cimoni vinum obiiciebatur	Cimoni vinum obiiciebatur

<i>[V.] Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare</i>			
225; 1-3	Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare Plutarchi Erasmo interprete	Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare Plutarchi Erasmo interprete	Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare Plutarchi Erasmo interprete
226; 18	quaecumque aggreditur, negotiosa viuaque	quaecumque aggreditur, negotiosa viuaque	quaecumque aggreditur, ac negotiosa viuaque
226; 34	iustitia	iusticia	iusticia
226; 35	qui cum eis habent commercium	qui cum eis habent commercium	qui cum iis habent commercium
226; 36	haerbam	herbam	herbam
226; 37-38	haerbam	herbam	herbam
226; 46	At Catho	Ac Catho	Ac Catho
226; 52	Pauli Aemylii	Pauli Aemylii	Pauli Aemilii
228; 72	Mercurium negotiatorem	Mercurium negociatorem	Mercurium negociatorem
228; 75	Clio gaudere iis	Clio gaudere his	Clio gaudere his
228; 84	gloriae desyderabit	gloriae desiderabit	gloriae desiderabit
228; 84	quantum satis est ad conciliandum illi in rebus gerendi auctoritatem	quantum satis est ad conciliandum illi in rebus gerendi auctoritatem	quantum satis est ad conciliandum illi in rebus gerendi auctoritatem
228; 85	quae nascitur inde quod vir optimus creditur	quae nascitur inde quod uir optimus creditur	quae nascitur ex eo, quod illi creditur
228; 86	neque facile prodesse siquis nolit prodesse	neque facile prodesse siquis nolit prodesse	neque facile prodesse iis, qui nolint alium sibi prodesse
228; 88	quam iis qui vident	quam his, qui uident	quiam his, qui vident
228; 88-89	potius quam iis, qui non negligunt	potius quam his, qui non negliguntur	potius quam his, qui non negliguntur
228; 89	publicis negotiis	publicis negociis	publicis negociis
228; 93-94	potentiam regiam nec oportet	potentiam regiam nec oportet	potentiam regiam non oportet
228; 97	adest decor et forma	adest decor et forma	adest decor ac forma
228; 106	Verum cum iis, qui cupiunt	Verum cum his, qui cupiunt	Verum cum his, qui cupiunt
230; 118	Ageliae	Ageliae	Aglaiae
230; 128-129	execrabiles	execrabiles	execrabiles
230; 130	sic ii	sic hi	sic hi
230; 148-149	Quisquis hunc instituendum acceperit vir ciuilis et aptus principibus	Quisquis hunc instituendum acceperit vir ciuilis et aptus principibus	Quisquis hunc instituendum acceperit vis ciuilis et aptus principibus
<i>[VI.] Utrum graviores sint animi morbi quam corporis</i>			
235; 17	pelle cum pardo certaret	pelle cum pardali certaret	pelle cum pardali certaret

235; 19	illa contra flauor	illi contra flauor	illi contra flauor
235; 20	videbis me pardo magis uersicolore	uidebis me pardali magis uersicolore	videbis me pardali magis versicolore
235; 22	compluries quidem. O homo morbos	compluries quidem. O homo morbos	compluries quidem, homo, morbos
236; 31	ratio sana praecipit	ratio sana praecipit	ratio sana percipit
236; 32	at in animi morbos	at in animi morbos	at in animi morb(i)s
236; 39	perniciosores sunt ii	pernitiosores sunt hi	pernitiosores sunt hi
236; 40	lathargus	lethargus	lethargus
238; 86	Ascreo Ioui Lydorum	Ascreo Ioui Lydorum	Ascraeo Ioui Lydorum
	Finis Τῶ θεῶ χαίρισ [sic]	Finis Τῶ θεῶ χαίρισ [sic]	— —
[VII.] <i>Num recte dictum sit Ἀάθε Βίώσας, id est, Sic vive ut nemo te sentiat vixisse</i>			
241; 1-2	<i>Num recte dictum sit Ἀάθε Βίώσας, id est, Sic uiue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse</i>	<i>Num recte dictum sit Ἀάθε Βίώσας, id est, Sic uiue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse</i>	<i>Num recte dictum sit Ἀάθε Βίώσας, id est, Sic uiue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse</i>
241; 7	dosonatores nobiles	obsonatores nobiles	obsonatores nobiles
241; 13-14	gloriam velut auersi	gloriam uelut auersi	gloriam veluti auersi
242; 23	Abi, coniiice	Abi, coniiice	Abi, conice
242; 26	ceu pulsum quendam exhibire iis	ceu pulsum quendam exhibire his	ceu pulsum quendam exhibire his
242; 33	Hunc contra negant, occultant	Hunc contra negant, occultant	Nunc contra negant, occultant
242; 44	ocium arti	otium arti	otium arti
243; 63	Refulgescit enim cum res	Refulgescit enim quum res	Refulgescit enim quum res
244; 69	putescunt	putescunt	putescunt
244; 69-70	qui in ocio degunt	qui in otio degunt	qui in otio degunt
244; 78	nouo in die versantes	nouo in die uersantes	nouo in die versantes (homines)
244; 98	quod tenebrae illi suspectae terrorem incutiant	quod tenebrae illi suspectae terrorem incutiant	quod tenebrae illi suspectae terrorem incutiunt
246; 112	barathrum quoddam praecipitantes	barathrum quoddam praecipitantes	barathrum quoddam praecipitans
[VIII.] <i>De cupiditate diuitiarum</i>			
251; 1-3	Plutarchus, De cupiditate diuitiarum Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo interprete	Plutarchus, De cupiditate diuitiarum Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo interprete	Plutarchi Chaeronei De cupiditate diuitiarum Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo interprete
251; 4	Ippomachus	Ippomachus	Hippomachus
251; 8	felicitem	felicitem	foelicitem
251; 9	felicitas	felicitas	foelicitas
251; 10	felicitem	felicitem	foelicitem
251; 16	Cum potus sedat sitim	Quum potus sedat sitim	Quum potus sed(e)t sitim

251; 18	offenditur ac disiicit	offenditur ac disiicit	offenditur ac disicit
251; 21	Nam illae cum susceperint	Nam illae quum susceperint	Nam illae quum susceperint
251; 22	et obsonio quolibet	et opsonio quolibet	et opsonio quolibet
252; 30	quemadmodum ii	quemadmodum hi	quemadmodum hi
252; 30-32	non sitientes (> atque esurientes sumpserant	non sitientes (> atque esurientes sumpserant	non sitientes (bibunt) neque esurientes edunt, etiam ea, quae sitientes atque esurientes sumpserant [both editions skip from the first to the second <i>esurientes</i>].
252; 32	sic ii, dum	sic hi, dum	sic hi, dum
252; 36-37	multumque biberit expletus, adit medicos percontatus	multumque biberit nec unquam expleatur, adit medicos percontatus	multumque biberit nec vnquam expleatur, adit medicos percontatus
252; 39	totidem quo emat	totidem coemat	totidem coemat
252; 40	non tamen explet	non tamen expletur	non tamen expletur
252; 42-43	qui, cum nondum biberit	qui, quum nondum biberit	qui, quum nondum biberit
	aut amici cuiuspiam ope (>) liberatus a foeneratore. Ast qui plura	aut amici cuiuspiam ope (>) liberatus a foeneratore. Ast qui plura	aut amici cuiuspiam ope persoluto aere alieno liberatus a foeneratore. Ast qui plura
252; 51-52	Neque tamen huius morbus	Neque tamen huius morbus	Neque enim huius morbus
252; 53-54	seu malum transuersim	seu malum transuersim	ceu malum transuersim
252; 58-59	Nos igitur, cum viderimus hominem	Nos igitur, quum viderimus hominem	Nos igitur, quum viderimus hominem
252; 59-60	A nulla turpitudine	A nulla turpitudine	A nulla turpitudine
252; 61	Cum domos habeat, agros, armenta	quum domos habeat, agros, armenta	quum domos habeat, agros, armenta
252; 67	Alioqui (>), qui sapiunt, ii naturae modum	Alioqui hi, qui sapiunt, hi naturae modum	Alioqui hi, qui sapiunt, hi naturae modum
252-253; 67-68	habent praescriptum adestque finis (>) veluti stimulo et interstitio circumscriptus	habent praescriptum adestque finis (>) veluti stimulo et interstitio circumscriptus	habent praescriptum adestque finis aliquis vsus veluti stimulo et interstitio circumscriptus
253; 75	Sed iisdem in malis sunt in quibus Thrasonides ille	Sed iisdem in malis sunt, in quibus Thrasonides ille	Sed iisdem in malis (est), in quibus Thrasonides ille
253; 76	Quemadmodum solent ii, qui insanissime amant	Quemadmodum solent hi, qui insanissime amant	quemadmodum solent hi, qui insanissime amant
253; 77	negociatoribus	negociatoribus	negotiatoribus

253; 80	Sophocles interrogatus, possetne ingredi cum muliere	Sophocles interrogatus, possetne ingredi cum muliere	Sophocles interrogatus, possetne congredi cum muliere
253; 81	ab inlaementibus istis	ab inlaementibus istis	ab inclementibus istis
254; 87	luxuriam taxauit, cum diceret	luxuriam taxauit, quum diceret	luxuriam taxauit, quum diceret
254; 89-90	tanquam splendidi, vtuntur autem tanquam sordidi et labores tolerant, cum careant voluptatibus	tanquam splendidi, utuntur autem sordidi, et labores tolerant, quum careant uoluptatibus	tanquam splendidi, vtuntur autem velut sordidi et labores tolerant, quum careant voluptatibus
254; 90	Itaque cum Demades	Itaque quum Demades	Itaque quum Demades
	Demiror te, Phocion inquit, qui rempublicam administres, cum possis ad istum prandere modum	Demiror te, Phocion inquit, qui rempublicam administres, quum possis ad istum prandere modum	Demiror te, (>) inquit, qui rempublicam administres, quum possis ad istum prandere modum
254; 96-97	infelicissime, si cum possis	infoelicissime, si quum possis	infoelicissime, si quum possis
254; 97	ad modum (>) vitam	ad modum uiuere uitam	ad modum viuere vitam
254; 98	nemini quicquam impartiens, tam incomis in amico	nemini quicquam impertiens, tam incomis in amicos	nemini quicquam impertiens, tam incomis in amicos
254; 100	submittis te, cum tantum	submittis te, quum tantum	submittis te, quum tantum
254; 101	Narrant Bizantium quendam, cum moechum	Narrant Bizantium quendam, quum moechum	Narrant Byzantium quendam, quum moechum
254; 106-108	satellitium alunt, munera mittunt, alunt exercitus, sociorum auxilia redimunt. Tu vero tantum negotii sustines, perturbans ac distorquens te ipsum	satellitium alunt, munera mittunt, alunt exercitus, sociorum auxilia redimunt. Tu uero tantum negotii sustines, perturbans, ac distorquens te ipsum	satellitium alunt, munera mittunt, alunt exercitus, dum, qui singulari certamine congreduuntur, (<)munt. Tu vero tantum negotii sustines perturbans et distorquens te ipsum
254; 110	qui cum ligna sarmentaue deportet	qui quum ligna sarmentque deportet	qui quum ligna sarmentaue deportet
254; 113	Atque haec dixerim, aduersus insanam istam ac formicarum vitae	Atque haec dixerim, aduersus insanam istam ac formicarum uitae	Atque haec dixerim aduersus asiniam istam ac formicarum vitae
254; 116	pluribus negotiis	pluribus negociis	pluribus negociis
254; 117	Atque haec omnia cum faciat	Atque haec omnia quum faciat	Atque haec omnia quum faciat

254; 120	capientes ex iis	capientes ex his	capientes ex his
254; 121	infensos esse iis	infensos esse his	infensos esse his
254; 123	cum abundant et	quum abundant et	quum abundant et
255; 125	Demosthenes iis	Demosthenes his	Demosthenes his
255; 131	nihil impartiuunt	nihil impertiunt	nihil impertiunt
255; 134	ut ii quoque	ut hi quoque	vt hi quoque
255; 138	comminuto alio diuitias auertat (<) aut donet	comminuto alio diuitias auertat ac deriuat aut donec	comminuto alio diuitias auertat ac deriuat aut donec
255; 140	Non tamen seruorum tantum liberi nascuntur lasciuui, verum etiam sordidorum	Non enim seruorum tantum liberi nascuntur lasciuui, uerum etiam sordidorum	Non enim seruorum tantum liberi, iuxta Euripidis sententiam, verum etiam sordidorum
256; 147	Atqui istud non est instituere	Atque [atqui?] istud non est instituere	Atque istud non est instituere
256; 150	Ac auarorum liberi	At auarorum liberi	At auarorum liberi
256; 155	non sinant eos viuere	non sinunt eos uiuere	non sinunt eos viuere
256; 157-158	et tanquam de alieno impartiunt amicis	et tanquam de alieno impertiunt amicis	et tanquam de alieno impertiunt amicis
256; 160	vitae spes	uitae species	vitae species
256; 160	austerus atque ineffabilis	austerus atque ineffabilis	austerus atque inaffabilis
256; 167-168	libertatem et otium?	libertatem et ocium?	libertatem et ocium?
256; 170	tanquam praeproperas rugas et canas inducens animo	tanquam praeproperas rugas et canas inducens animo	tanquam praeproperas rugas et canos inducens animo
256; 171	negotiis	negociis	negociis
256; 171-172	per quae marcessit alacritas	per quae marcescit alacritas	per quae marcescit alacritas
256; 184	ita stragulas purpuras, mensas purpuras preciosas	ita stragulas purpuras, mensas preciosas	ita stragulas purpureas, mensas preciosas
257; 188	Interea atque	Intereatque	Intereatque
257; 190	eiciatur	eiciatur	eiciatur
257-258; 193-194	Imo his, inquit, felices sumus ac beati	Imo his, inquit, foelices sumus ac beati	Imo his, inquit, superuacaneis foelices sumus ac beati
258; 204	habundantem	abundantem	abundantem
258; 209-211	Cum debueris submouere purpuram < > vt illa desineret delitiarum iterumque peregrinarum amore laborare	Quum debueris submouere purpuram < > ut illa desineret delitiarum rerumque peregrinarum amore laborare	Quum debueris submouere purpuram ac cultum, vt illa desineret delitiarum rerumque peregrinarum amore laborare
258; 213	felicitatem	foelicitatem	foelicitatem
258; 215	quae scitu sunt scitu necessaria	quae scitu sunt necessaria	quae scitu sunt necessaria
	Si nemo videat nec aspiciat verae cerae	Si nemo uideat, nec aspiciat uerae caecae	Si nemo videat nec aspiciat, ver(e) caecae

	sunt et orbae luce sunt diuitiae	sunt, et orbae luce sunt diuitiae	sunt et orbae luce sunt diuitiae
258; 221	Siquidem diues, cum solus coenat	Siquidem diues, quum solus coenat	Siquidem diues, quum solus coenat
258; 222	negotium mensis conuiualibus	negocium mensis conuiualibus	negocium mensis conuiualibus
258; 223	plebeis	plaebeis	plaebeis
258; 225	lebetesque tripodes	lebetesque tripodes	lebetesque tripodas

Appendix 3. A full list of the marginalia in OPAsc and OPFrob

ASD 4.2 (page; line)	OPAsc	OPFrob (‘A’ in ASD 4.2)
[III.] <i>De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Tà πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus</i>		
189; 8-9		Ansam praebere/ Homerus
190; 18		Prouerbum
190; 27	Carmen Homericum	Homeri uersus prouerbialis
190; 30		Laus medicinae
190; 53-54		De cibis aegrotantibus exhibendis
191; 68-69		Aureum praeceptum
192; 78		Titus balneo [i.e., balneo] etinctus
192; 90		Adagium
192; 92		Festius Philippi iocus
193; 128		Socrates
194; 154		Phrynes dicerium
194; 158		Plato. Voluptates ab animo in corpus scatentes pernitiosissimae
194; 170		Simonides
194; 176		Apophthegma
194; 179		Attende sordidorum naturam. Adagium
195; 183		Cratetis prouerbialis sententia
195; 195		Arcesilai scomma
196; 217		Prodicus
196; 218-219		Bona ualetudo bonum diuinum
196; 223		ἀρπαλέον
196; 225		Demades
196; 232		Lisimachus ob sitim hostibus se dedit
197; 249		musica coenula
197; 250		Timothei dictum
197; 251		Lepidum Alexandri dictum
197; 258-259		Humorum abundantia corpus ad morbos propensum reddit
198; 267		Prouerbum
198; 270		Hesiodus
198; 273		Hipocrates
198; 287		Catho
199; 308-309		Laconum mos
199; 325		Exacta uitae ratio inutilis
200; 334		Indicia febris futurae
200; 339		Democritus

200; 346		Somnus et insomnia consyderanda
200; 349-350		De affectibus animi
200; 365		Platonis dictum
201; 380		Memorable dictum
202; 387		Studiosorum exercitatio
202; 395		Attende commoda exercitii uocis
202; 401		Lectionis exercitatio
202; 422		Socrates
202; 425		Repletis et lassatis non conuenit forte exercitium
203; 437		Non utendum frigidis balneis
204; 458		Aluus auribus caret
204; 460		Cibi multi nutrimenti
204; 462		Leuibis cibis immorandum
204; 465		Carnium eius temperandus est
204; 472		Consuetudo in naturam transit
204; 477		Lac grauedinem adducit
204; 480		Euripidis laus uini
204; 486		Aqua uino miscenda
205; 504		Lenis aquae potus
206; 510		Διονύσῳ νηφάλια θύειν, id est, Dionyso sobria sacrificare
206; 512		Minos
206; 516		Lydorum institutum
206; 525		Attende adolescentulorum honestum pudorem
206; 534		ἐγκέφαλος Φοίνικος, id est, phoenicis cerebrum
206; 543		Venustum Aristonis dictum
207; 555		μενόμεκες
207; 557		Studiosorum secundae mensae
207; 563		Aristotelis opinio
208; 573		Vomitus et alui subductiones uitandae
208; 580		Peculiare uomitus malum
208; 594		Grana Cnidia et scamonea
208; 601		Optima comparatio
208; 603		Leniter cientibus aluum utendum
210; 643		Admonitio Platonis
210; 651		Theophrastus
210; 653		Animus corporis inquilinus
210; 662		Versus senarius ex poeta quopiam
210; 671		Heraclitus

211; 680		Studiosis non uacat meminisse uoluptatum
211; 684		Iocus Epaminondae
211; 692		Tiberius Caesar
211; 699		Sui cuilibet pulsus attendendi
212; 730		Contra studiosos corpori non parcentes
212; 733		Festius apologus
<i>[IV.] In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete</i>		
217; 11		Sententia Theopompi
217; 14	Imperium non spatio, sed stabilitate metiendum	Imperium non spatio, sed stabilitate metiendum
217; 20		Bona similitudo
218; 31		Comparatio principis ad regulam
218; 34	Sententia	Sententia
218; 38	Mos Persarum	Mos Persarum
218; 40	Lex omnium regina	Lex omnium regina
218; 47	Princeps quid sit	Princeps quid sit
218; 57	Iustitiae laus	Iustitiae laus
218; 61	Gestamen regis	Gestamen regis
218; 79	E poeta quopiam	E poeta quopiam
219; 79	Mira iustitiae vis	
219; 86	E poeta quopiam	E poeta quopiam
220; 88	Epaminondas	Epaminondas
220; 91	Cato Vticensis	Cato Vticensis
220; 94		Clearchus
220; 95-96		Aristodemus
220; 115		Attende Alexandri ad Diogenem dictum
221; 131	Carmen	Carmen
221; 134	Mira similitudo	Mira similitudo
221; 139	Versus senarii	Versus senarii
222; 142	Similitudo	Similitudo
<i>[V.] Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare</i>		
225; 12-13		Ariston Chius
226; 29	E poeta quopiam	E poeta quopiam
226; 31	ἀριστής	
226; 32	Reges deorum discipuli	Reges deorum discipuli
226; 35	Mirum de capris	Mirum de capris ἐρύγγιον
226; 45	Qui principes quos doctos habuerint	Qui principes quos doctos habuerint
226; 50	Ironia	Ironia
226; 56		ἡγεμόνος
227; 59	Prouerbialis senarius	Prouerbialis senarius
228; 71	Prouerbium κοινοῦ Ἑρμῆν	Prouerbium κοινοῦ Ἑρμῆν

228; 81	ὁμοίωσις	
229; 108	Senarii e tragoedia quopiam	Senarii e tragoedia quopiam
230; 114		Epicurus
230; 116		Sententia
230; 117	Nomina Gratiarum	Nomina Gratiarum
230; 118	Ab alacritate gaudio et florulentia	Ab alacritate gaudio et florulentia
230; 124	O diuinitus dictum[!]	
230; 140	Similitudo	Similitudo
230; 146	Maligne de Pompeio	
231; 160	δεομένοις	
[VI.] <i>Utum graviores sint animi morbi quam corporis</i>		
235; 17		De uulpe Aesopica
235; 22		Sententia aurea
236; 30		Animi mala latere
236; 33		Dementia praecipuus animi morbus
236; 43		Prouerbium
236; 58		Ex poeta quopiam
[VII.] <i>Num recte dictum sit Λάθε Βιώσας, id est, Sic vive ut nemo te sentiat vixisse</i>		
241; 6		Sententia prouerbialis
241; 7		Philoxenus
242; 26		Veteres aegrotos palam curabant
242; 57		Similitudo
243; 60		Epaminondas
243; 63		Sophoclis uersus
244; 66		Vita sedentaria marcorem conciliat
244; 76		Ex poeta quopiam
244; 89		Sol Delius
244; 91		Ἄ[Ι]δης
244; 92		Ex poeta quopiam
244; 93		φῶς
246; 105		Ex poeta quopiam
246; 120		λήθη ἄβυσσος
[VIII.] <i>De cupiditate divitiarum</i>		
252; 29		Ex poeta quopiam
252; 66		Solon
256; 169		Hesiodus
256; 183		Agathon tibias ex conuiuio relegauit
256; 187		Versus Hesiodi
258; 206		Homeri versus
258; 225		Ex poeta quopiam

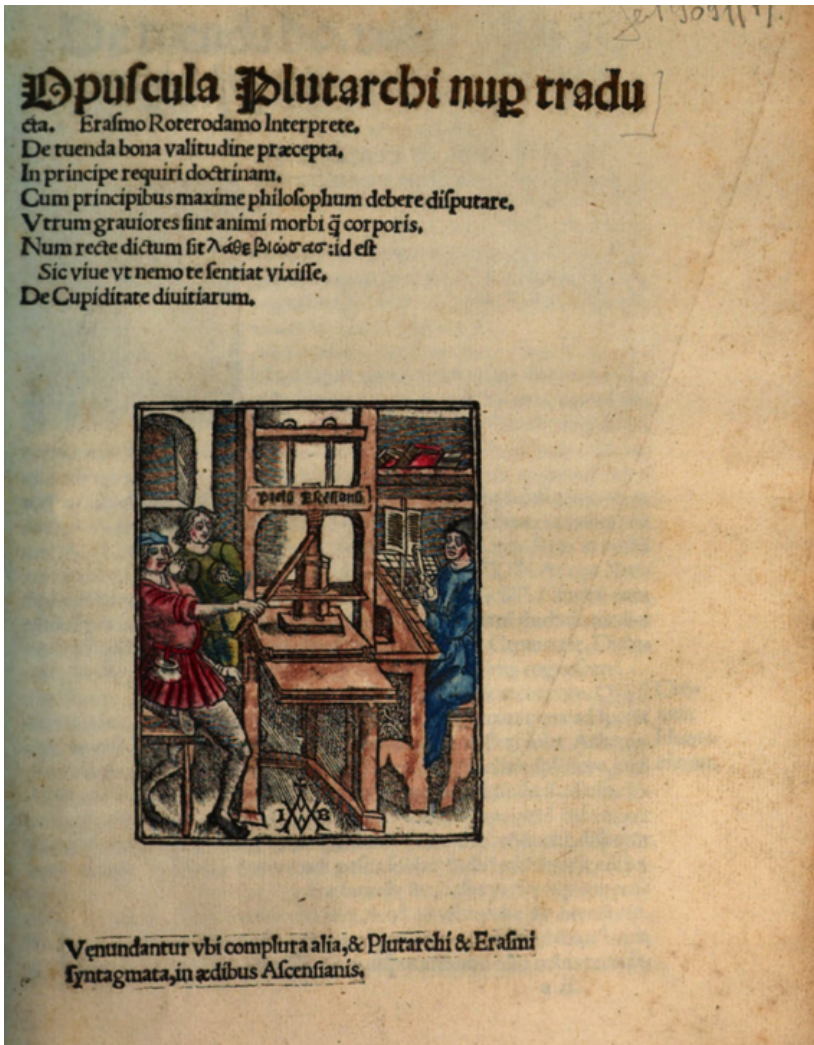


PLATE 1: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.G.009091/-1, title page.



PLATE 2: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.G.009211, title page.

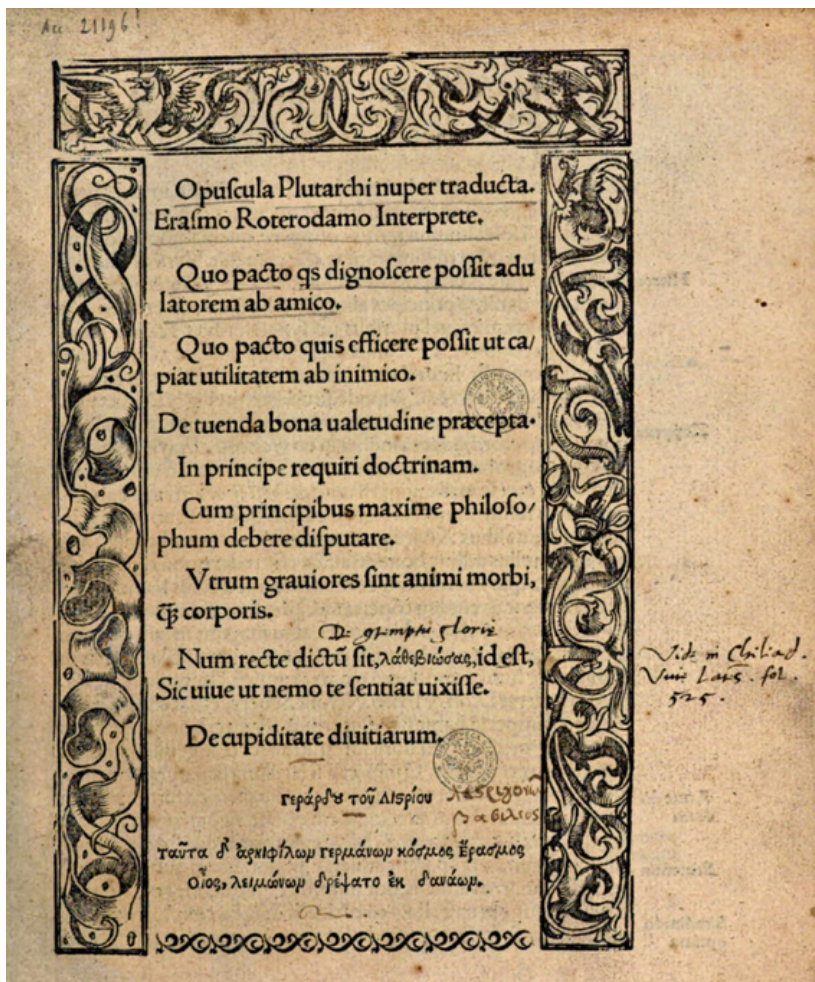


PLATE 3: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus,
 printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514.
 Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.ACC.021196/-1, title page.

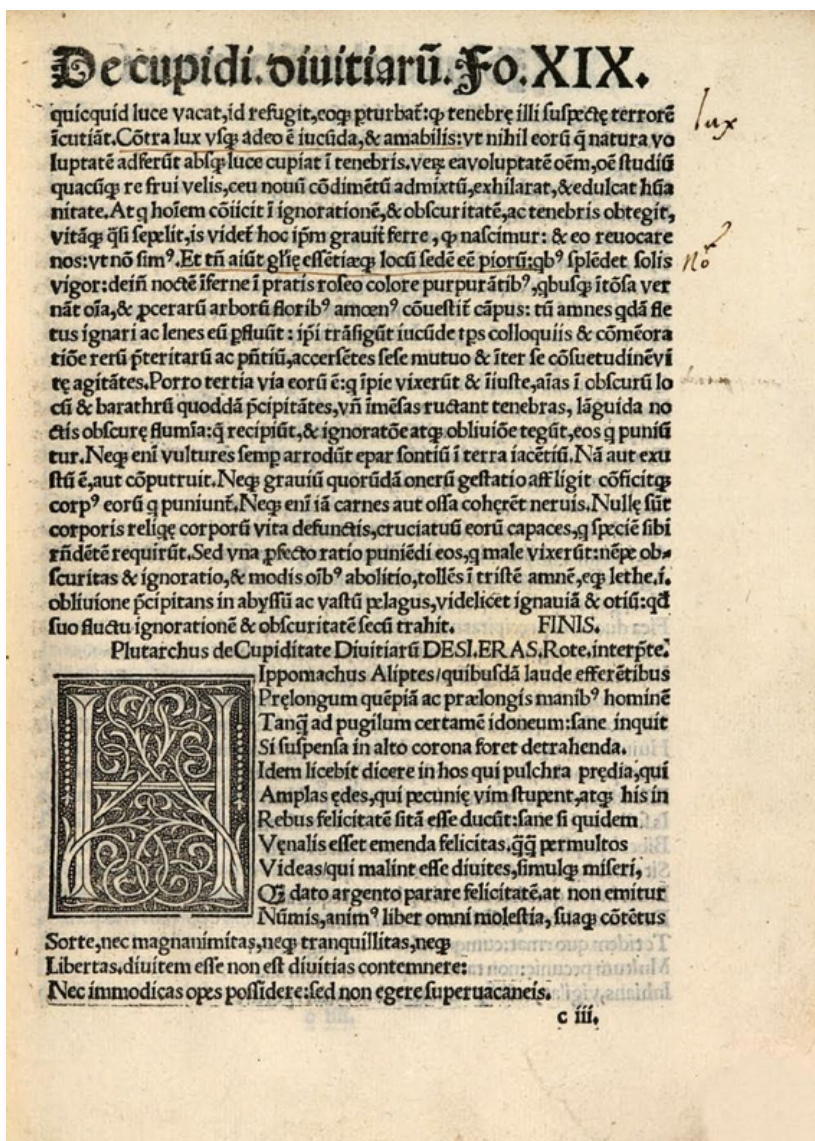


PLATE 4: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus,
 printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514.
 Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.G.009211, sig. c3r.

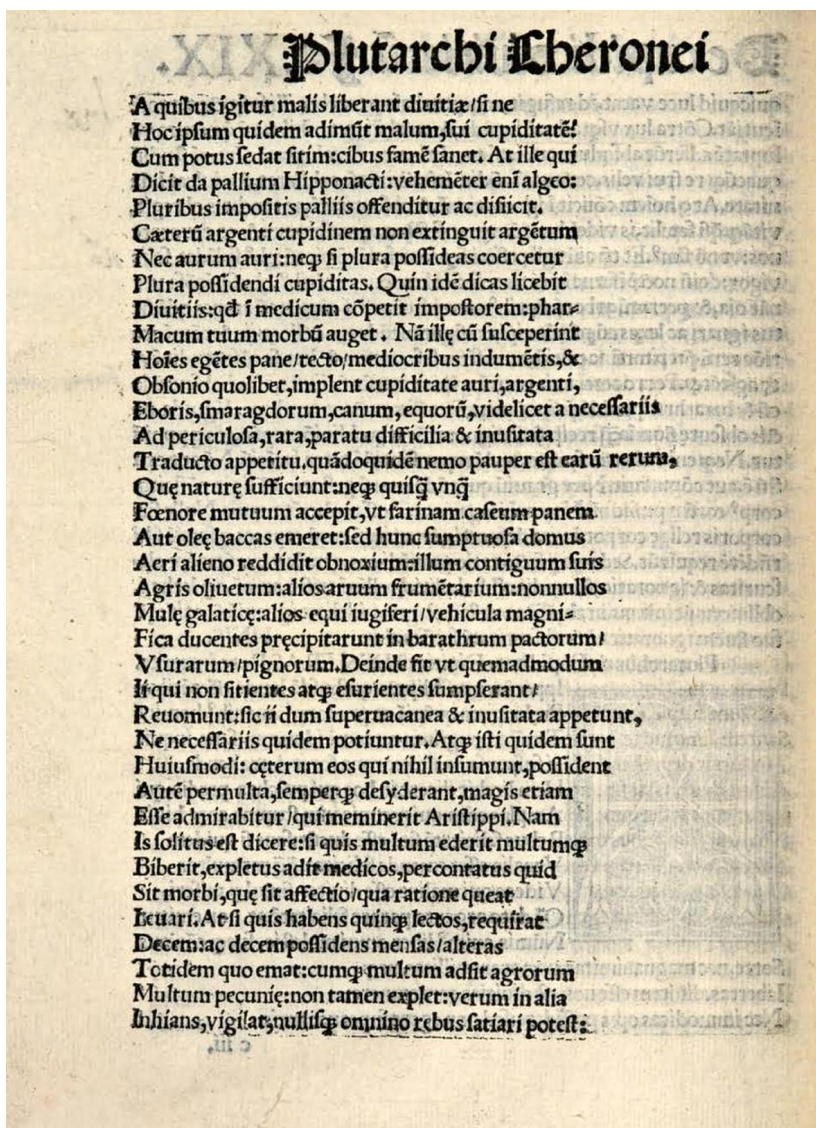


PLATE 5: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus,
 printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514.
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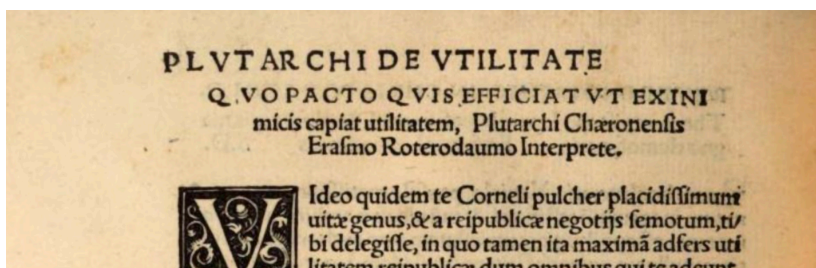


PLATE 6: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.ACC.021196/-1, sig. C8v.

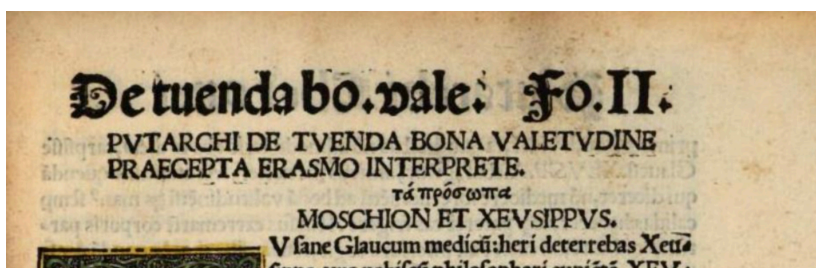


PLATE 7: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.G.009091/-1, sig. a2r.

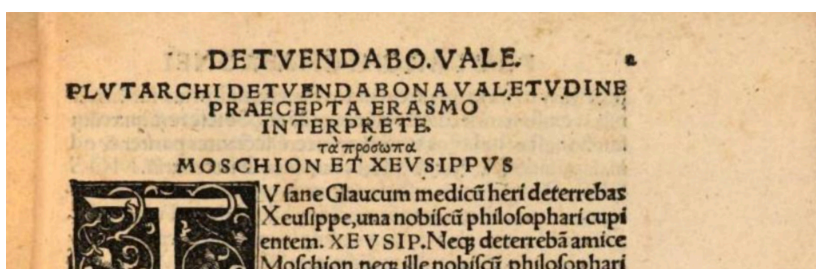


PLATE 8: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.ACC.021196/-1, sig. a2r.

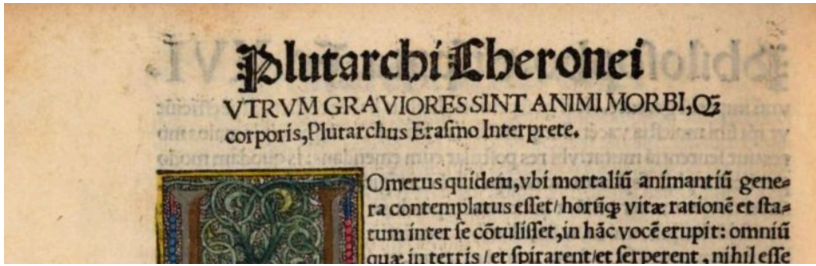


PLATE 9: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.G.009091/-1, sig. b8v.

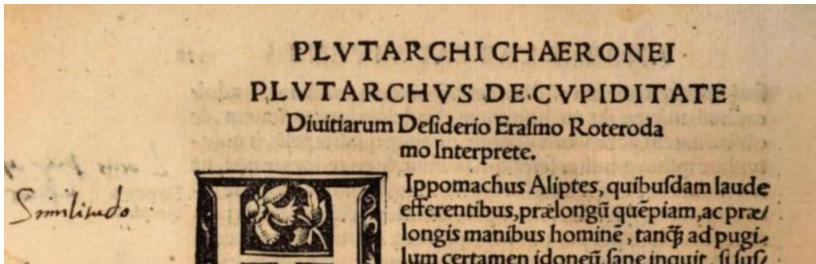


PLATE 10: Plutarch's *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.ACC.021196/-1, sig. d2v.