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

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* 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 XVIe 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 dissereendum 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 Νεακαδηµία in Venice, that Erasmus had access for the first time to a Greek manuscript containing all the Moralia. 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

(eds.), Mosaico. Studi in onore di Umberto Albini (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, “Érisme et Venise”, in G. Benzioni (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.

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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 \textit{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

\(^3\) \textit{Adag.} 1001, “Festina lente”: “Cum apud Italos aederem proverbiorum opus homo Batavus, quotquot illic aderant eruditi, ultero suppeditabant autores nondum per typographos evulgatos, quos mihi suspicabantur usui futuro. Aldus nihil habebat in thesauro suo quod non communicaret, idem fecit Ioannis Lascaris, Baptista Egnatius, Marcus Musurus, frater Urbanus. Quorundam officium sensi, quos nee de facie, nee de nomine noveram [...] Hic mihi cogita, quanta pars utilitatis abfutura fuerit, nisi docti libros manu descriptos suppeditassent. In his erant \textit{Opera} Platonis Graecae, Plutarchi \textit{Vitae}, eiusdem \textit{Moralia}, quae sub finem operis mi coepta sunt excudi, Athenaei \textit{Dipnosophistae}, Aphiathanus, Hermogenes cum commentariis, Aristotelis \textit{Rhetorica} cum scholiis Gregorii Nazianzeni, Aristides totus cum scholiis, commentarii in Hesiodum ac Theocritum, Eustathius in totum Homerum, Pausanias, Pindarum cum accuratis commentariis, proverbiorum collectio titulo Plutarchi, rursus alia titulo Apostoli, 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. Sichler, “Die Aldina der \textit{Rhetores Graeci} (1508-1509) und ihre handschriftlichen Vorlagen”, \textit{Illinois Classical Studies} 17.1 (1992), 109-134, at 126, traces parallels with Ducas’ edition of the \textit{Rhetores Graeci}. M. Dazzi, \textit{Aldo Manuzio e il dialogo veneziano di Erasmo} (Venezia, 1969) and N.G. Wilson, \textit{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 \textit{Moralia} (1509) have been recently edited and translated by L. Ferreri (ed.), \textit{L'Italia degli umanisti. I Marco Musuro} (Turnhout, 2014), 356-363. N.G. Wilson (ed., tr.), \textit{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.), \textit{L'activité editoriale des Grecs pendant la Renaissance. De l'Italie à Genève, XV\textsuperscript{e}-XVI\textsuperscript{e} siècle} (Athènes, 1988); M.I. Manoussakas, \textit{Gli umanisti greci collaboratori di Aldo a Venezia (1494-1515) e l'ellenista bolognese Paolo Bombace} (Bologna, 1991); E. Layton, \textit{The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy. Printers and Publishers for the Greek World} (Venice, 1994); and J. Monfasani, “Greek Renaissance Migrations”, \textit{Italian History and Culture} 8 (2002), 1-14.

\(^5\) No. 208 in the \textit{Versandliste} of 1536. F. Husner, “Die Bibliothek des Erasmus”, in Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft zu Basel (ed.), \textit{Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestag des Erasmus von Rotterdam} (Basel, 1936), 240, and E. van Gulik, \textit{Erasmus and His Books} (Toronto – Buffalo, NY – London, 2018), 170, 339. Van Gulik mentions that Erasmus’ personal copy of the \textit{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. Huismans of the printed catalogue of Franeker of 1601 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 8-H-26084[3]; [http://www.mpagine.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 opuscules; 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. During his career, Erasmus would translate eleven opuscules contained in the *Moralia* – subsequently published as *Opuscula Plutarchi* –, and compose the *Parabolae 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. Thereafter, he dedicated *How to tell a flatterer from a friend* (*Quo pacto possis adulatorum 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. 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, “Erasmi安娜 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 academiëbibliotheek 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 academiëbibliotheek”, *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).

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.

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 XVIe siècle* (Genève, 2012), 219-228.

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.\(^{10}\)

\(^9\) 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 (\textit{That anger must be controlled [De cohibenda iracundia]} and \textit{On meddlesomeness [De curiositate]}, to Alexius Thurzo), and Allen 1663 (\textit{On false shame [De vitiosa verecundia]}, to Francis Dilft).

\(^{10}\) 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”, \textit{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.), \textit{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”, \textit{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 Birckmann\(^ {13}\) to collect the manuscript of

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\(^{11}\) 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 aliu donn 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 litteris prae scriptis, lubens accipio; nec enim magnopere commoveor lucello. Ipse paret omnia, ut opus sic exeat ex ipsius officina ut non facile sit cuipiam 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 1511-1514,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 68.2 (2019), 257-296.
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.\(^\text{14}\) 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 opuscule were printed by Richard Pynson’s press in London (in July 1513) and soon thereafter by at least one press on the Continent.\(^\text{15}\) 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 opuscule 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

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\(^{14}\) 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.

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Ammonio (Allen 283; CWE 2, 267-275),\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{motu proprio} to give them to Froben instead, no doubt for economic reasons and probably with Erasmus’ tacit permis-

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

\textsuperscript{17} “Commiseram exemplar emendatum ac locupletatum Francisco, qui libros ferme omnes solitus est huc importare, ut vel Badio vel ex illius sententia committeret ali. Is bonus vir recta Basileam deportavit, ei in manus dedit qui iam excederat, 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 Sebastiani\(^{18}\) 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 opusculae 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 similium; Plutarchi multa versa; […] item *Adagia* castigata et auctissima. Plutarchi opuscula aliquot hiis diebus officinam aggregentur eleganter excusa”, in J. Hirstein (ed.), Beatus Rhenanus, *Epistolae 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*.

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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[ltorem] ab amico.|| Quo pacto quis efficere possit ut ca-piat utilitatem ab inimico.|| De tuenda bona
auletudine praecpta.|| In principe requiri doctrinam.|| Cum principibus
maxime philoso-||phum debere disputare.|| Vtrum grauiiores sint animi
mori,bi.|| quam corporis.|| Num recto dictu[m] sit, lathe biōsas, id est,||
Sic uiue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse.|| De cupiditate divitiarum.|| Gerar-
dou tou Listriou.||

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 Hammelbergensis, mense Augusto, Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimoquarto.”
works, nor was it used in A.J. Koster’s critical edition of the Opuscula in ASD 4.2.\footnote{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 principec requiri doctrinam and Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare.}
The Parisian imprints share identical title pages:\footnote{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).}

\begin{quote}
Opuscula Plutarchi nup[er] traducta Erasmo Roterodamo interprete.||
De tuenda bona valuitudine praecepta.||
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 cupiditate diuitiarum.||
Vaenundantur vbi complura alia, & Plutarchi & Erasmi||
\end{quote}

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 adulatum 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.
The second notable difference is that \textit{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. \textit{OPFrob}, on the other hand, shows interesting issues that tell an unlikely story:

[1] \textit{How to tell a flatterer from a friend} (\textit{Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscere}) and \textit{How to profit by one’s enemies} (\textit{Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem}) have their own signatures (A1r-A6v, B1r-B8v, C1r-C8v, and D1r-D5v) and, strangely, \textit{How to tell a flatterer from a friend} has pagination (one number per page) while \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{OPFrob} were included when the composition of the titles that coincide with \textit{OPAsc} was well advanced.

Notwithstanding the previous point, there is a striking particularity in \textit{OPAsc} that suggests that both \textit{OPAsc} and \textit{OPFrob} were composed under similar circumstances and with similar expectations; that is, it appears that Badius awaited further translations of the \textit{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 \textit{On love of wealth} (\textit{De cupiritate divitiarum}) is printed in \textit{OPAsc}: instead of respecting the text box and the justification of the text – as with the other opuscules in the volume – it presents random line breaks, and each line is headed by a capital letter, as if it were written in verse (\textit{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 \textit{OPAsc} and \textit{OPFrob} lies in their approach to the use of \textit{marginalia} (a full list in Appendix 3, below). While there are plenty of these in \textit{OPFrob}, \textit{OPAsc} only includes them in \textit{To an uneducated ruler} (\textit{In principe requiri doctrinam}) and \textit{A philosopher ought to converse especially with men in power} (\textit{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 opuscules 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 opuscules 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* non *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 graviorest sint animi morbi q[uam]...
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 adulatorum 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 infolios 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 infolio 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 marginalia 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.
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:

- **A** ed. princ., Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Augusto 1514
- **B** ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Maio 1516
- **C** ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Iulio 1518
- **D** ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Iunio 1519
- **E** ed. Basel, Ioh. Frobenius, mense Septembri 1520
- **BAS** ed. Basel, H. Frobenius et N. Episcopius, *Omnia opera*, 1540
- **LB** ed. Leiden, P. vander Aa, *Opera omnia*, 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 opuscules 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]odamus, S.D., p. 1-2 (sig. A1v-A2r). | Quo pacto possis adulatorem ab amico dignoscre Plutarchi, Erasmo interprete, p. 2-21 (sig. A2r-C7r).<sup>1</sup> |
| Blank page (sig. C7v). | |
| Reverendissimo in Christo Patri D. Thomae episcopo Lynco[n]iens[i] serenniss[i]mi] Anglorum regis magno elemosynario. Erasmus Roterodamus S.D., 22 (sig. C8r). | Quo pacto quis efficiat ut ex inimicis capiat utilitatem, 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] De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Tâ próσσοπα. Moschion et Xeusippus, f. 2r-12r (sig. a2r-b4r). The running head (“de tuenda bo. vale”) is over the title. (PLATE 7) | Plutarchi De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete tà próσσοπα Moschion et Xeusippus, f. 2r-13v (sig. a2r-b5v). The running head (“de tuenda bo. vale”) is over the title. (PLATE 8) |
| In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete, f. 12r-14r (sig. b4r-b6r). | Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare Plutarchi, Erasmo interprete, f. 14r-16r (sig. b6r-b8r). |
| Vtrum grauiiores sint animi morbi qu[am] corporis, Plutarchus Erasmo interprete, f. 16v-17v (sig. b8v-c1r). The running head (“Plutarchi Cheroni”) should not be on the title page. (PLATE 9) | Vtrum grauiiores sint animi morbi qu[am] corporis. Plutarchus Erasmo interprete, f. 16r-18v (sig. b8r-c2v). |
| Num recte dictum sit Λάθε Βιώσασ, id est, Sic viue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse, f. 17v-19r (sig. c1v-c3r). | Num recte dictum sit Λάθε Βιώσασ: id est, Sic viue ut nemo te sentiat uixisse, f. 20r-22r. (sig. c4r-d2r). |

<sup>1</sup> An edition of Christophe de Longueil's translation of How to profit by one's enemies (Πῶς ἂν τις ἄντρομον ὑπερλαμψίνυ) which he entitled Quomodo quis possit ab inimicis iuvori, 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. 1.
| | \textit{Plutarchus, De cupiditate diuitiarum}, Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo interprete, f. 19r-24r (sig. c3r-c8r). |
|---|---|
| | \textit{Plutarchus, De cupiditate diuitiarum} 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*) | OPAsc Text |
|-----------------------|-------|---------------------------|------------|
| [III.] De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Τὰ πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus | Putarchi De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Τὰ πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus | Plutarchi Chaeronensis De tuenda bona sanitate praecepta Erasmo Roterodamo interprete. Moschion et Xeusippus² | |
| 189; 1-4 | praebere | praeberem | praebere |
| 189; 8 | medica vir ille | medica vir ille | medica ille vir [transposed] |
| 189; 9 | aequandus | aequandus | aequandus |
| 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 quae foras vergunt | Rursus si ea quae foras vergunt |
| 190; 54 | quos aegrotantibus | quos aegrotantibus | quos egrontibus |
| 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 conuiuo accipere aut futurum est | apparent conuiuo accipere aut quibus futurum est | apparent conuiuo accipere aut qui quis 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 submisit, qui singulos amicos admoneret | Philippus submisit, qui singulos amicos admoneret | Philippus submisit, qui singulos ademoneret |
| 192; 103 | praeentibus | praeentibus | 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 pacratiaisten commemoraueram | hominibus Rhiglum pacratiaisten commemoraeram | hominibus Rhiglum pacratiaisten commemoraeram |
| 193; 125 | paedagogica | paedagogica | paedagogica |
| 193; 133 | Nam quod natura delectat | Nam quod natura delectat | Nam quod natura delectat |
| 194; 139 | Caeterum qui iam acceperunt | Caeterum, qui iam acceperit | Caeterum, qui iam acceperit |
| 194; 147 | uti corpus adigas cum cibis habere conuiciun | uti corpus adigas cum cibis habere conuiciun | uti corpus adigas habere commercium [adigas cum cibis has been transposed] |
| 194; 154 | Caeterum Phryne Laidiue persoluto argento | Caeterum Phryne Laidiue persoluto argent | Caeterum Phryne Laidiue persoluto argent |
| 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 conguque illius affectibus obsequi et inseruire, nulla ratione fieri potest [illius transposed] |
| 194; 166 | praebent animo | praebent animo | praebent animo |
| 194; 167-168 | hae nimirum et stupidae sunt | hae nimirum et stupidae sunt | hae nimirum et stupidae sunt |
| 194; 168 | Quoties igitur rarum aliquod aut nobile cibi genus fruendum appositum fuerit | Quoties igitur rarum aliquod aut nobile cibi genus fruendum appositum fuerit | Quoties igitur rarum aliquod aut nobile cibi genus fruendum appositum fuerit |
| 194; 174 | desyderanti | desideranti | desideranti |
| 194; 176 | etiam si | etiam si | etiam si |
| 195; 185 | nos conicias | nos conicias | nos conicias |
| 195; 188 | et tumultum ac perluuium | et tumultum ac profluum et tumultum | et tumultum ac perfuuum ut tumultum |
| 195; 189 | opsoniorum | opsoniorum | opsoniorum |
| 195; 194 | opsonia | opsonia | opsonia |
| 195; 198 | Attellanis interperantiam | Attellanis interperantiam | Attellanis interperantiam |
| 195; 198-199 | ad voluptatem excites atque irrites an gustum odorius et lautiiciis prouoces | ad voluptatem excites atque irrites an gustum odorius et lautiiciis prouoces | ad voluptatem excites atque irrites an gustum odoribus et lautiiciis prouoces |
| 196; 203 | de multitudine ac magnituidine | de multitudine ac magnituidine | de multitudine et magnituidine |
| 196; 218 | Nam verissime quis dixerit | Nam urissime quis dixerit | (Sed) verissime quis dixerit |
bonam valetudinem maxime diuinum longeque
non in tempore sumptam
praeclara negocia
opsoniorum
aestus
humorum abundantia
coenum
Proinde cauendum est, ne sicuti boni naucleri
praesentitur
Immo plaerique
praenuncient praecurrantque
ad lectulum quietem
agas quam tractus ad balneum
ita condimentum esse optimum appositi cibi
haec
in aedes irritant
obsonia
caelo
perfluio
praecipere ac praecauere
praeter
inaequalis
vt facile commoueantur
fachrymanturque ac moerent
consyderent
morbi causam, non ita
bonam valetudinem maxime diuinum longeque
non in tempore sumptam
praeclara negocia
ut dolor quidem
opsoniorum
aestus
humorum abundantia
coenum
Proinde cauendum est, ne sicuti boni naucleri
praesentitur
Immo plaerique
praenuncient praecurrantque
ad lectulum quietem
agas quam tractus ad balneum
ita condimentum esse optimum appositi cibi
haec
in aedes irritant
obsonia
caelo
perfluio
praecipere ac praecauere
praeter
inaequalis
vt facile commoueantur
fachrymanturque ac moerent
consyderent
morbi causam, non ita
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| Line | Original | Translation |
|------|----------|-------------|
| 200; 363 | praecipue | praecipue | precipue |
| 200; 364 | cum in febrim | cum in febrim | quum in febrim |
| 200; 367-368 | desyderet | desideret | desideret |
| 201; 378 | haec | haec | hec |
| 201; 379 | egritudinum | egritudinum | egritudinum |
| 201; 380 | Proinde praeclare dictum est illud | Proinde praeclare dictum est illud | Proinde praeclaram dictum est illud |
| 202; 388 | praeccepta | praecpta | praecptae |
| 202; 390-391 | palaestricum | palaestricum | 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 | praemissi | praemissi | premiis |
| 202; 433 | gutturi infixa coepit exerceri | gutturi infixa coepit exercere | gutturi infixa 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 apponatur |
| 204; 463 | plaeraque | plaeraque | pleraque |
| 204; 468 | carnium esum desyderet | carnium esum desyderet | carnium esum desideret |
| 204; 472 | vt praeter naturam sit | vt praeter naturam sit | vt praeter naturam sit |
| 204; 475 | alisque opsoniis | alisque opsoniis | alisque obsoniis |
| 205; 491 | aestuant | aestuant | estuant |
| 205; 497 | minuendus est etiam cibus | minuendus est etiam cibus | minuendus est cibus |
| 205; 497 | subtrahendum | subtrahendum | subtrahendum |
| 206; 512 | At Minos et tybiam submuouit a sacris | At Minos et tybiam submuouit a sacris | Ac Minos et tibiam summouit a sacris |
| 206; 513 | tybiis | tybiis | tibiis |
| 206; 514 | faedatur | faedatur | fedatur |
| 206; 519 | abiciet | abiciet | abiciet |
| 206; 523 | Graecus | Graecus | Grecus |
| 206; 527 | oculis arrodebat bellaria | oculis arrodebat bellaria | oculis arrodebat bellaria |
| 206; 530 | Caeterum quum vndique | Caeterum quum vndique | Caeterum cum vndique |
| 206; 535 | Dialectica vero edulum | Dialectica uero edulum | Dialectice vero edulum |
| 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 | deilitis | deilitis | deliciis |

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... exulcerationibus

208; 592 Graecorum Graecorum Graecorum

208; 594 dum eiectis consuetis dum eiectis consuetis dum eiectis consuetis

208; 595 item aliarum rerum item aliarum rerum itemque aliarum rerum

208; 609 foetumque perdant foetumque perdant foetumque perdant

209; 615 Praestabilius Praestabilius Praestabilius

209; 615 praescripto praescripto praescripto

209; 617 praesensio praesensio praesensio

209; 618 praeparatam praeparatam praeparatam

209; 625 me quidem inquiebam me quidem inquiebam me quidem inquiebam

209; 626 otii otii otii

209; 626 haec haec haec

210; 636-637 bonam corporis constitutionem bonam corporis constitutionem bonam corporis constitutionem

210; 640 inquiebam inquiebam inquiebam

210; 641 praecipere praecipere praecipere

210; 642 otium otium otium

210; 646 Cum interim nihil Quum interim nihil Quum interim nihil

210; 656 negotii negotii negotii

210; 658 negotii negotii negotii

210; 658 remissus sit et otiosus remissus sit et otiosus remissus sit ac sociosus

210; 659 praeclera et ardua negotia praeclera et ardua negotia preclara et ardua negotia

210; 660 detrectans detrectans detractans

210; 661 otio otioocio

210; 663 negotia negotia negotia

210; 666 plaerique plaerique plaerique

210; 670-671 desyderet studium desideret studium desideret studium

210; 671 praecipit praecipit praecipit

211; 677 delitias delitias delicias

211; 681-682 desyderant desyderant desiderant

211; 682 negotii negotii negotii

211; 686 otium otium otium

211; 686 negotii negotii negotii

211; 688 otium otium otium

211; 689 negotii in otium sese receperint negotii in otium sese receperint negotii in ochium 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 his quod non meminerint his

212; 728-729 ne studio aut rempublicam administrantibus viris accidat ne studio aut rempublicam administrantibus viris accidat ne studio aut rempublicam administrantibus accidant

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[IV.] In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete

212; 743 praemii praemii premii
212; 747 τέλοσ τέλοσ Finis

In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete

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 felices foelices foelices
217; 7 ac *morosam esse ac morosum esse ac morosum esse
217; 7 felicitatis foelicitatiss foelicitatiss
217; 8 difficile est ii difficile est his difficile est his
217; 11 qui, cum primus qui, quum primus qui, quum primus

217; 16 Theopompos ex imperio velut e magno flumine deductis riuis
Theopompos ex imperio ululut magno flumine deductis riuis
Theopompos 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 negotii negotii
218; 45 atque ea cura negotiata atque ea cura negotiacione atque ea cura negotiacione
218; 47 Polemon dicebat Polemon dicebat Polemo dicebat
218; 63 iustitiam tuetur iustitiam tuetur iustitiam tuetur
218; 69 aequitatem, iustitiam, veritatem aequitatem, iusticiam, veritatem aequitatem, iusticiam, veritatem
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 ut ii maxime ut hi maxime ut hi maxime
219; 86 ut his, quibus imperat ut his, quibus imperat ut 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 caelo
220; 109 repraesentet, ostendit iis representet, ostendit his representet, ostendit his
220; 110 iustitiae iusticiae iusticiae
221; 138 supplicia peruertunt *acccusatisnes supplicia peruertunt accusationes supplicia praeuertunt accusationes
221; 144 malitia malicia malicia
222; 153 Cimoni vinum obiciebatur Cimoni vinum obiciebatur Cimoni vinum obiciebatur
### [V.] Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare

| Page | Text |
|------|------|
| 225; 1-3 | Cum principibus maxime philosophum debere disputare Plutarchi Erasmo interprete |
| 226; 18 | quaecumque aggreditur, negotiosa vivaque |
| 226; 34 | iusticia |
| 226; 35 | qui cum eis habent commercium |
| 226; 36 | haerbam |
| 226; 37-38 | haerbam |
| 226; 46 | Ac Catho |
| 226; 52 | Pauli Aemilii |
| 228; 72 | Mercurium negotiatoriorem |
| 228; 75 | Clio gaudere iis |
| 228; 84 | gloriae desiderabit |
| 228; 84 | quantum satis est ad conciliaandum illi in rebus gerendi authoritatem |
| 228; 85 | quae nascitur inde quod vir optimus creditur |
| 228; 86 | neque facile prodesse siquis nolit prodesse |
| 228; 88 | quam iis qui vident |
| 228; 88-89 | potius quam iis, qui non negligunt |
| 228; 89 | publicis negotiis |
| 228; 93-94 | potentiam regiam nec oportet |
| 228; 96 | adest decor et forma |
| 230; 118 | Ageliae |
| 230; 128-129 | execrabiles |
| 230; 130 | sic iis |
| 230; 148-149 | Quisquis hunc instituendum acceperit vir ciuilis et aptus principibus |

### [VI.] Utrum graviiores sint animi morbi quam corporis

| Page | Text |
|------|------|
| 235; 17 | pelle cum pardo certaret |
| 235; 19 | illa contra flauor | illa contra flauor | illa contra flauor |
| 235; 20 | videbis me pardo magis uersicolorem | videbis me pardali magis uersicolorem | videbis me pardali magis uersicolorem |
| 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 praecipit |
| 236; 32 | at in animi morbos | at in animi morbos | at in animi morbos |
| 236; 39 | perniciosiores sunt ii perniciosiores sunt hi perniciosiores sunt hi |
| 236; 40 | lethargus lethargus lethargus |
| 238; 86 | Ascreo Ioui Lydorum | Ascreo Ioui Lydorum |
| 241; 1-2 | Num recte dictum sit Λάθε Βιώσασ, id est, Sic vive ut nemo te sentiat vixisse |
| 241; 7 | dosonatores nobiles dosonatores nobiles dosonatores nobiles |
| 241; 13-14 | gloriam velut auersi gloriam velut auersi gloriam velut auersi |
| 242; 23 | Abi, coniice Abi, coniice Abi, coniice |
| 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 | otium 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 oicio degunt qui in oicio degunt qui in oicio degunt |
| 244; 78 | nouo in die versantes nouo in die uersantes nouo in die versantes (hominem) |
| 244; 98 | quod tenebrae illi suspectae terrem inciuint quod tenebrae illi suspectae terrem inciuint quod tenebrae illi suspectae terrem inciuint |
| 246; 112 | barathrum quoddam praecipitantes barathrum quoddam praecipitantes barathrum quoddam praecipitantes |
| [VII.] | De cupiditate divitiarum |
| 251; 1-3 | Plutarchus, De cupiditate diuitiarum Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo interprete |
| 251; 4 | Hippomachus Hippomachus |
| 251; 8 | felicitatem foelicitatem |
| 251; 9 | felicitas foelicitas |
| 251; 10 | felicitatem foelicitatem |
| 251; 16 | Cum potus sedat sitim Quum potus sedat sitim Quum potus sed(at) sitim |

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| Line(s) | Text |
|---------|------|
| 251; 18 | offenditur ac disiciit offenditur ac disiciit offenditur ac disiciit |
| 251; 21 | Nam illae cum susceperint Nam illae cum susceperint Nam illae cum susceperint |
| 251; 22 | et obsonio quolibet et obsonio quolibet et obsonio 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 esurientes]. |
| 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 expletur non tamen expletur non tamen expletur |
| 252; 42-43 | qui, cum nondum biberit qui, quum nondum biberit qui, quum nondum biberit |
| 252; 51-52 | Neque tamen huius morbus Neque tamen huius morbus Neque tamen huius morbus |
| 252; 53-54 | seu malum transuersim seu malum transuersim seu 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 turpidine 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 stimulus et interstitio circunscriptus habent praescriptum adestque finis (< veluti stimulus et interstitio circunscriptus habent praescriptum adestque finis aliquis vsus veluti stimulus et interstitio circunscriptus |
| 253; 75 | Sed iidem in malis sunt in quibus Thrasonides ille Sed iidem in malis sunt, in quibus Thrasonides ille Sed iidem in malis (es0, 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 | negotiatoribus negotiatoribus negotiatoribus |
| 253; 80 | Sophocles interrogatus, possetne ingredi cum muliere | Sophocles interrogatus, possetne ingredi cum muliere | Sophocles interrogatus, possetne congrendi cum muliere |
| 253; 81 | ab inclaementibus istis | ab inclaementibus istis | ab inclementibus istis |
| 254; 87 | luxuriem taxauit, cum diceret | luxuriem taxauit, quum diceret | luxuriem taxauit, quum diceret |
| 254; 89-90 | tanquam splendidi, utuntur autem sordidi et labores tolerant, cum careant voluptatibus | tanquam splendidi, utuntur autem sordidi et labores tolerant, quum careant voluptatibus | tanquam splendidi, utuntur autem velut sordidi et labores tolerant, quum careant voluptatibus |
| 254; 90 | Itaque cum Demades | Itaque quum Demades | Itaque quum Demades |
| 254; 96-97 | infelicissime, si cum possis | infelicissime, si quum possis | infelicissime, si quum possis |
| 254; 97 | ad modum ( ) vitam | ad modum uiuere vitam | ad modum uiuere vitam |
| 254; 98 | nemini quicquam impartiens, tam incomis in amico | nemini quicquam impartiens, tam incomis in amicos | nemini quicquam impartiens, tam incomis in amicos |
| 254; 100 | submittis te, cum tantum | submittis te, quam tantum | submittis te, quam tantum |
| 254; 101 | Narrant Bizantium quendam, cum moechum | Narrant Byzantium 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 vero tantum negotii sustines, perturbans ac distorquens te ipsum | satellitium alunt, munera mittunt, alunt exercitus, dum, qui singulari certamine congediuntur, ( e) munt. Tu vero tantum negotii sustines perturbans et distorquens te ipsum |
| 254; 110 | qui cum ligna sarmentaque deportet | qui quum ligna sarmentaque deportet | qui quum ligna sarmentaque deportet |
| 254; 113 | Atque haec dixerim, aduersus insanam istam ac formicarum vitae | Atque haec dixerim, aduersus insanam istam ac formicarum vitae | Atque haec dixerim aduersus asiniam istam ac formicarum vitae |
| 254; 116 | pluribus negotiis | pluribus negotiis | pluribus negotiis |
| 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 impartiunt nihil impartiunt nihil impartiunt
255; 134 ut ii quoque ut hi quoque ut hi quoque
255; 138 comminuto alio comminuto alio comminuto alio
255; 140 Non tamen seruorum Non enim seruorum Non enim seruorum
256; 147 Atqui istud non est non est instituere Non est instituere
256; 150 Ac auarorum liberi At auarorum liberi At auarorum liberi
256; 160 vitaesps vitaes species vitaes species
256; 160 austerus atque austerus atque austerus atque
256; 167-168 libertatem et ocium? libertatem et ocium? libertatem et ocium?
256; 170 tanquam praeproperas tanquam praeproperas tanquam praeproperas
256; 171 negotiis negotiis negotiis
256; 171-172 per quae marcessit per quae marcescit per quae marcescit
256; 184 ita stragulas purpuras, ita stragulas purpureas, ita stragulas
257; 188 Interea atque Interea atque Interea atque
257; 190 eiciatur eiciatur eiciatur
257-258; 193-194 Imo his, inquit, felicis Imo his, inquit, felicis Imo his, inquit, felicis
258; 204 habundantem abundamentem abundamentem
258; 209-211 Cum debueris submouere purpuram Cum debueris submouere purpuram Cum debueris submouere purpuram
258; 213 felicitatem felicitatem felicitatem
258; 215 quae scitu sunt scitu quae scitu sunt quae scitu sunt
258; 216 Si nemo videat nec Si nemo videat nec Si nemo videat nec
aspiciat verae cerae aspiciat verae cerae aspiciat verae cerae

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| 258; 221 | sunt et orbae luce sunt diuitiae | Siquidem diues, cum 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  | OPAsc | OPFrob |
|---------|-------|--------|
| (page; line) |    | ‘A’ in ASD 4.2 |
| **III.** |  **De tuenda bona valetudine praecepta Erasmo interprete. Τὰ πρόσωπα. Moschion et Xeusippus** |
| 189; 8-9 | Ansam praebere/ Homerus |
| 190; 18 | Prouerbium |
| 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 balueo [i.e., balneo] etinctus |
| 192; 90 | Adagium |
| 192; 92 | Festiuus Philippi iocus |
| 193; 128 | Socrates |
| 194; 154 | Phrynes dieterium |
| 194; 158 | Plato. Voluptates ab animo in corpus scatentes pernioskissimae |
| 194; 170 | Simonides |
| 194; 176 | Apophthehma |
| 194; 179 | Attende sordidorum naturam. Adagium |
| 195; 183 | Cratetis prouerbialis sententia |
| 195; 195 | Arcesilai scomma |
| 196; 217 | Prodicus |
| 196; 218-219 | Bona ualetodo bonum diuinum |
| 196; 223 | ἁρπαλέον |
| 196; 225 | Demades |
| 196; 232 | Lisimachus ob sitim hostibus se dedidit |
| 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 | Prouerbium |
| 198; 270 | Hesiodus |
| 198; 273 | Hipocrates |
| 198; 287 | Catho |
| 199; 308-309 | Lacoenun mos |
| 199; 325 | Exacta uitae ratio inutilis |
| 200; 334 | Indicia febris futurae |
| 200; 339 | Democritus |
| Page | Reference | Text  |
|------|-----------|-------|
| 200; 346 | Somnus et insomnia consyderanda |
| 200; 349-350 | De affectibus animi |
| 200; 365 | Platonis dictum |
| 201; 380 | Memorabile dictum |
| 202; 387 | Studiosorum exercitatio |
| 202; 395 | Attende commoda exercitii nocis |
| 202; 401 | Lectionis exercitatio |
| 202; 422 | Socrates |
| 202; 425 | Repletis et lassatis non conuenit forte exercitium |
| 203; 437 | Non utendum frigidis balneis |
| 204; 458 | Alus auribus caret |
| 204; 460 | Cibi multi nutrimenti |
| 204; 462 | Leubius cibis immoranum |
| 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 θυεῖν, id est, Dionyso sobria sacrificare |
| 206; 512 | Minos |
| 206; 516 | Lydorum institutum |
| 206; 525 | Attend adjouwentulorum honestum pudorem |
| 206; 534 | ἐγκέφαλος Φοίνικος, id est, phoenicis cerebrum |
| 206; 543 | Venustum Aristonis dictum |
| 207; 555 | ἡμινόεικες |
| 207; 557 | Studiosorum secundae mensae |
| 207; 563 | Aristotelis opinio |
| 208; 573 | Vomitus et alui subductiones uitandae |
| 208; 580 | Peculiare uoimitus 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 |
Studiosis non uacat neminisse uoluptatum
Locus Epaminondae
Liberus Caesar
Sui cuilibet pulsus attendendi
Contra studiosos corpori non parcentes
Festiuus apologus

| 217; 11 | 217; 14 | 217; 20 | 218; 31 | 218; 34 | 218; 38 | 218; 40 | 218; 47 | 218; 57 | 218; 61 | 218; 79 | 219; 79 |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Imperium non spatio, sed stabilitate metiendum | Imperium non spatio, sed stabilitate metiendum | Bona similitudo | Comparatio principis ad regulam | Sententia | Sententia | Mos Persarum | Mos Persarum | Lex omnium regina | Lex omnium regina | Princeps quid sit | Princeps quid sit |
| Sententia Theopompi | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 218; 86 | 218; 88 | 218; 91 | 218; 94 | 218; 95-96 | 220; 115 | 221; 131 | 221; 134 | 221; 139 | 222; 142 | 225; 12-13 | 226; 29 |
| E poeta quopiam | E poeta quopiam | Cato Vticensis | Clearchus | Aristodemus | Carmen | Carmen | Mira similitudo | Versus senarii | Similitudo | Arisont Chius |
| 226; 31 | 226; 32 | 226; 35 | 226; 45 | 226; 50 | 226; 56 | 227; 59 | 228; 71 | 228; 71 | 228; 71 | |
| οαριστης | Reges deorum discipuli | Mrium de capris | Qui principes quos doctos habuerint | Ironia | | Prouerbialis senarius | | Prouerbium κοινο{Αν Έρμην | Prouerbium κοινο{Αν Ερμην |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

[IV.] In principe requiri doctrinam Plutarchi commentarium, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete

| 225; 12-13 | 226; 29 | 226; 31 | 226; 32 | 226; 35 | 226; 45 | 226; 50 | 226; 56 | 227; 59 | 228; 71 |
|-----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
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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 *Moria* translated by Erasmus, printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.G.009211, title page.
PLATE 3: Plutarch’s *Moria* translated by Erasmus, printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.ACC.021196/-1, title page.
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PLATE 6: Plutarch’s *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514.
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PLATE 7: Plutarch’s *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Badius Ascensius, presumably in 1513 or early 1514.
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PLATE 8: Plutarch’s *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514.
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PLATE 10: Plutarch’s *Moralia* translated by Erasmus, printed by Johannes Froben in August 1514. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.ACC.021196/-1, sig. d2v.