The Reception of Erasmus' *Adages* in Sixteenth-Century England

ERIKA
RUMMEL

Summary: *The Adages of Erasmus, a collection of more than 4,000 classical proverbs, was a bestseller in its time. The book was valued both for its usefulness in Latin composition and its witty asides on contemporary society. The dissemination of the Adages in England is of special significance because the genesis of the book and its dedication to the members of the Mountjoy family closely link it to that country. Its influence can be traced through the use of "Erasmian" adages in English literature as well as through translations and adaptations published in England during the sixteenth century. More immediate evidence of the wide dissemination of the work comes from the lists of English booksellers and book collectors. The present study is based primarily on the Oxford University Inventories and the wills in the Oxford Registrum Cancellarii. It furthermore examines reader reaction in the form of marginal remarks and inscriptions found in over 70 copies from the sixteenth century in the Bodleian Library.*

The international success of Erasmus' *Adages* in the sixteenth century is well attested,¹ but their reception in England is of special significance because the genesis and publication history of the book is closely linked with that country. Erasmus did much of his research for the book in England. Indeed, Margaret Phillips observed that "whenever he was in England, he seemed to be working on a new edition of the *Adages*."² The prototype, *Adagiorum Collectanea* (Paris, 1500), is framed, as it were, with references to England. It begins with a dedicatory epistle addressed to Erasmus' English patron, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and concludes with a letter to Prince Henry (later Henry VIII)

and a poem in praise of England.³ Like a family heirloom, the *Adages* were passed on from father to son. The 1528 edition is dedicated jointly to William Mountjoy and his son, Charles. After the elder Mountjoy's death, a new preface added to the 1533 edition made Charles the sole heir of the *Adages*.⁴ The original dedication was to acknowledge the encouragement Erasmus had received from William Blount and his friends⁵ and to prove that he was holding no grudge against the nation after an unfortunate encounter with English customs officials.⁶ Unaware of the regulations covering the export of money, Erasmus was obliged in 1500 to surrender the greater part of his funds at the border and arrived on the continent impoverished.

The collection of proverbs did not immediately bring tangible rewards to the author. Erasmus sent 100 copies of the *Collectanea* to England.⁷ In desperate need of money, he hoped to realize a profit from the sale of the books and to be rewarded by his patron for the dedication. Neither hope was realized, however. It seems that Mountjoy was, on that occasion at least, "very parcimonious about giving."⁸ Earnings from the sale of the books in England reached Erasmus only slowly. By the end of 1500 a trickle had come in, and Erasmus asked Jacob Batt to transmit "the bits and pieces of money from England."⁹ Three years later he still had not realized the full profit and asked William Grocyn and John Colet to look into the matter and help collect the proceeds. "It must be that over such a long period all the books have been sold and the purchase price paid to someone," he wrote impatiently.¹⁰

If the material rewards were disappointing, the praise lavished on Erasmus by his English friends must have been gratifying. An enlarged edition of the *Adages*, published by the prestigious Aldine Press in 1508, elicited superlative praise from Mountjoy. He reported that the book was immensely popular and its author highly esteemed in England. "It is by all scholars agreed to be as brilliantly learned as it is expressive in style, and unless my affection for you deceives me, completely finished, and worthy indeed of the mighty labour and effort you bestowed on it."¹¹ Another of Erasmus' English patrons shared Mountjoy's enthusiasm. William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, had borrowed Mountjoy's copy and was full of approval and admiration. In fact, he enjoyed the book so much that the owner had difficulties retrieving his copy. "I am quite unable to wrest it from his possession," Mountjoy reported.¹² Richard Pace, an Englishman whose company Erasmus had enjoyed during his visit to Italy, and who combined a literary with a diplomatic career, called Erasmus "the father of proverbs." In his protreptic *De fructu qui ex doctrina*

percipitur, he made Erasmus' *Adages* the touchstone of taste. When a conversation partner quotes an obscure proverb, Pace sniffs: "It's not one of Erasmus." In another passage he takes a man's unfamiliarity with Erasmus' *Adages* as an indication of his boorishness.¹³

In the spring of 1515 a new edition of the *Adages* appeared from the Froben Press in Basel. Franz Birckmann, Froben's agent, was commissioned to send presentation copies to England, but once again Erasmus' hope for a tangible reward from his English admirers was thwarted. The box containing the books did not arrive in time. "If this has happened by accident, it was a most unfortunate one," Erasmus lamented, "if deliberately and on purpose that the [Froben Press] might unload their old *Proverbia*, it was a most hostile act, for . . . I intended to present the bishops with their copies; as it is, I pay my respects empty-handed, and they send me empty-handed in return."¹⁴

The *Adages* continued to be popular in England. In 1517 Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, praised Erasmus' services to scholarship in a letter to the French humanist, Guillaume Budé. Of the *Adages* he wrote with admiration: "Working through authors of every kind, Erasmus has collected the proverbs of antiquity which gave the impression that there were almost as many riddles as there were adages and plunged the reader in darkness; and these he has expounded for those who wish to learn, like a modern Oedipus of amazing energy."¹⁵ The popularity of the *Adages* had not waned by the end of the century, when Roger Ascham mentioned the work among the "notable books" Erasmus had left to posterity.¹⁶

The clearest proof of the success of the book in England is the use made of it by Erasmus' friends in their own compositions. Two lengthy letters Thomas More wrote on Erasmus' behalf to his critics Maarten van Dorp and Edward Lee each contain about two dozen adages culled from Erasmus' collection of proverbs.¹⁷ Letters to Erasmus from John Watson, Henry Bullock, and Leonard Cox all contain 'Erasmian' adages, as if the writers had wanted to offer them as tokens of their respect for the collector of proverbs. In his Catalogue of Works Erasmus therefore proudly claims that the *Adages* made him "many friends in England, scholars and men of high character and position."¹⁸

The first English translation of the *Adages* appeared from the press of Thomas Berthelet in 1534.¹⁹ It was an anonymous translation of one adage, "Dulce Bellum Inexpertis" ("War is sweet to the inexperienced"), which Erasmus had turned into an essay on pacifism. It had first been published in the collection of 1515 and, from 1517 on, was often reprinted separately. Another

adage, “Sileni Alcibiadis,” which Erasmus used as an occasion to write a diatribe on the selfishness and greed of princes, was also published separately from 1517 on, and was translated into English in 1541 by John Gough.²⁰ A selection of 158 Erasmian adages was translated by Richard Taverner and appeared with his *Garden of Wisdom* (London: Bans, 1539). In subsequent editions the number of adages increased to 235.

In his prologue Taverner recommended his book to readers as both entertaining and useful. The proverbs were

no lesse pleasaunt then profitable unto you (good Readers) to heare some of the most net and handsome Proverbes which the incomparable lerned man Erasmus Roterodamus hath in his booke of Chiliades gathered together out of the mooste approved authors.²¹

In the format chosen by Taverner, the title of the proverb was given in Latin. A translation and brief commentary followed. Occasionally English cognates were given. A typical example is the treatment of the adage “Malo accepto, stultus sapit” (“Trouble experienced makes a fool wise”):

The foole, when he hath taken hurte, wareth wyse. The wyse man seeth the daunger and mischief of thynges aforehande. Certainelie, had I wist, is a fooles worde. And therefore the Englishe man sayeth: Better is one fore thought than two after.²²

As a rule, Taverner took from Erasmus only the core section, dispensed with references to Greek and Latin authors, and, unlike Erasmus, did not explain how the proverb could be used in a contemporary context. In a few cases, however, Taverner reproduced Erasmian asides and added his own sentiments. Under the heading “Frons occipitio prior” (“Front before back”), for example, Erasmus took aim at church dignitaries who looked after their private interests rather than those of their flock. Taverner paraphrased Erasmus’ moralizing comments and used the opportunity to flatter his monarch:

Would God these woulde take example of our most vigilant Prince and souveraigne Lorde kinge Henry the eyght, who not only setteth vigilant deputies and ministers under hym, but also loketh him selfe right busely upon his charge committed unto him of God.²³

Similarly Taverner repeated Erasmus’ complaints about the great number of Catholic holidays under the heading of “Ignavis semper feriae sunt” (“Lazy men are always on holiday”), adding: “But nowe in Englande thanked by God through the high benefite of our incomparable prynce Henry the viii. diverse

superfluouse holydayes be alreadie abrogate."²⁴ Elsewhere Taverner reproduced an anecdote related by Erasmus, because it flattered Henry VIII. It would not do for an Englishman to pass it over, Taverner noted, when Erasmus, "being a straunger unto us vouchsaved to recorde it."²⁵

The popularity of Erasmus' *Adages* inspired sixteenth-century compilers of dictionaries to include references to them. Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* of 1538, for example, mentions Erasmus' work and cites proverbial expressions from it: "mordere frenum, homo trium letterarum, ex diametro opposita," etc. The proverbial expressions included in the *Alvearia* of John Baret (London, 1573) and in John Withals' *English-Latin Dictionary* (London, 1562) may also have been drawn from Erasmus' collection. Some Erasmian adages were included in Claudius Holyband's *The French Littelton* (London, 1576) and the English-Italian *Firste Fruites* of Giovanni Florio (London, 1578). Through such dictionaries and anthologies the proverbs, collected by Erasmus in Latin, first entered the English language. Shakespeare's plays are a prominent example of their dissemination and creative adoption. Expressions such as "His delights were dolphin-like," "a sea of trouble," and "dearer than eyesight" may well go back to Erasmus' collection.²⁶

The popularity of Erasmus' *Adages* in sixteenth-century England can furthermore be gauged by the number of copies sold to private individuals. The ledger of the Oxford bookseller John Dorne, which documents his sales for ten months in 1520, provides us with some figures. Erasmus' works accounted for some eight percent of Dorne's sales. In that particular year, however, the *Adages* trailed the *Colloquies*, *De constructione*, *De copia*, and the *Enchiridion* in popularity.²⁷ A slightly different order of preference emerges from the wills and household inventories of Oxford scholars in the sixteenth century. Of some hundred inventories I consulted, more than half listed original works by Erasmus.²⁸ It is likely, moreover, that some of the classical and patristic authors that appear in the inventories were Erasmian editions, although that cannot be verified on the basis of the brief information given in the lists. The Erasmian favourites in the documents examined were the *Adages* (26 copies), *Colloquies* (25 copies), *De Copia* (22 copies), and *Paraphrases* (20 copies). Only three other works from the Erasmian corpus were frequently represented (over 10 copies): the *Annotations*, the *Apophthegmata*, *Enchiridion*,²⁹ and *De epistolis conscribendis*, in that order. The *Praise of Folly*, the modern favourite, comes a distant ninth with eight copies. There is a notable lack of interest in Erasmus' polemical writings. Two libraries contained an unspecified apologia each; two others listed the *Spongia*, Erasmus' reply to Ulrich von Hutten.³⁰

The inventories tell us that some poor scholars owned books by Erasmus—and not much more. The total possessions of one Thomas Morgan “of Glocester Haule” (d. 1570) consisted of a bed with bolster, sheet, and cover; a chest; and three books—all Erasmian, it appears. Their titles are given as: *De Copia*, a *Colloquium*, and *Dialogi Luciani* (likely Erasmus’ translations). Other, more affluent, book collectors were also admirers of Erasmus. Nicolas Clifton (d. 1578) had 18 works by Erasmus in his large library of c. 300 titles; Richard Clyff (d. 1566) had 17 Erasmian works among c. 200 books; Thomas Day(e) of Christ Church (d. 1569) had a dozen in a library containing some 150 books; Thomas Tatham of Merton College (d. 1586) also owned a dozen Erasmian works; Richard Lye of Lincoln College (d. 1575) owned nine. The *Adages* are represented in every one of these larger libraries.

The owners’ appreciation for Erasmus’ collection of proverbs is also borne out by the provisions they made for its disposal in their wills. Most collectors bequeathed their entire library to an individual or an institution, but in two of the documents I examined, the *Adages* received special attention. All the books in the library of Richard Taylor, fellow of Brasenose College (d. 1613), were theological tracts, with the exception of one: Erasmus’ *Adages*, which he bequeathed to a certain Mr. Huchens.³¹ Stephen Linch, chaplain of All Souls (d. 1593), left his library to Sir Henly. He exempted four books, however, among them the *Adages*, which were to go to Mr. George Smith.³²

Insights of a different kind are gained by examining copies of the *Adages* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which possesses over 70 sixteenth-century editions. Many of them contain marginalia that inform us on what caught the reader’s eye. The obvious and predominant use of the *Adages* was for its designated purpose, that of a thesaurus of proverbs. We find that readers attempted to make the edition more “user-friendly” by putting subject headings into the margin;³³ copying out or underlining the names of classical authors from whose work the adage in question was drawn;³⁴ and adding to the indices.³⁵ The alphabetical index of proverbs and the subject index arranged in arbitrary order were both awkward to use. To find a proverb in the alphabetical list the reader had to know the exact wording. The problem this created is illustrated by one reader’s error. He had jotted down, on a separate sheet, adages under the heading “Not in this collection.”³⁶ One of the proverbs he listed, “Eadem fidelia duos parietes dealbat” (“He whitewashes two walls from the same bucket”), is, however, included in the Erasmian collection. The reader overlooked it because it appeared in the index under the letter *D* with a different word order: “Duos parietes eadem fidelia dealbat.” Other readers

simplified the use of the book by spelling out ligatures and providing internal cross-references.³⁷

It is significant that readers were alert to style as well as content. They clearly admired, not only Erasmus' scholarship, but also the language used by himself and the classical sources he cited. Readers accordingly underlined or copied into the margin interesting or unusual expressions, taking note of Erasmus' definitions, where provided.³⁸ For the same reason they copied out or transcribed Greek words.³⁹ In most cases readers took their cue from Erasmus and merely transferred words from the text into the margin to make them more conspicuous, but in some cases they showed a more independent disposition and went beyond Erasmus' information, supplying exact references to the sources cited or pointing out additional sources.⁴⁰ In one or two cases they even corrected Erasmus' mistakes.⁴¹

More substantial were contributions that added to the stock of Latin proverbs in Erasmus' collection by citing variants and cognates or providing equivalent expressions in the vernacular.⁴² The latter are sometimes quite colourful. A Swiss (?) reader added to the proverb "*Sacra celerius absolvenda*" ("Holy matters ought to be completed swiftly") the homespun "*kurtz predig lanng brattwurst*" ("Let the sermon be short and the sausages long").⁴³ An Englishman added to the fine sentiment "*Patriae fumus igni alieno luculentior*" ("Smoke at home is brighter than fire elsewhere") the more pedestrian "T'is sweet Farting before one's own fire." Similarly he complemented the Plautine "*Altera manu fert lapidem, panem ostentat altera*" ("In one hand he holds a stone, with the other he holds out bread") with the rather more specific "My cousin in broowing / In paying a Son of a Whore."⁴⁴ Finally there are critical readers who do not let Erasmus' views go unchallenged. One independent thinker, the owner of a Basel 1533 edition, supplied an alternative interpretation for a Pythagorean maxim.⁴⁵ Elsewhere he denied that Penelope was a faithful wife, observing: "*marito absente se procis prostituit*" ("In the absence of her husband she prostituted herself to the suitors").⁴⁶ On another occasion he offered his own example to illustrate the idiom "*pedetentim*" ("One step at a time"): "*Hoc fuit symbolum L. Aurelii Commodi, qui in imperio omnia non tantum pedetentim sed incommode etiam fecit, nemini commodus at incommodus omnibus.*"⁴⁷ Another reader, the owner of an Aldine edition of 1508, took his cue from the adage "*Delius natator*" ("A Delian swimmer," that is one who can solve a riddle) to inveigh against those who were hiding their ignorance under the pretense of esoteric learning. He noted that Socrates had not been afraid to profess his ignorance, and in this context praised his own

teacher, the humanist Pomponio Leto, for his intellectual humility. As a loyal disciple he strove to imitate this virtue. "I have imbibed the principles of my mentor" ("Praeceptoris mores imbibi ego"), he wrote.⁴⁸ Moral indignation prompted the reader of an edition of the *Adages* that appeared under Paolo Manuzio's name in Florence in 1575, to exclaim: "Based on Erasmus. A most shameless piece of book making."⁴⁹ In accusing Manuzio of plagiarism, he is ignoring the printer's motive: to publish surreptitiously a book that had been placed on the Index.

Not all readers were attentive to the text in front of them. One user, whose thoughts were obviously straying from the subject, treats us to a delightful pen sketch of a bird and a bee; another drew the sign ♀ beside the word "Without a meate and drynke the lust of the body is colde."⁵⁰ One reader's thought had turned to love. He covered the flyleaf with doodles, practising his hand by writing "loving" (four times) and "for my loving" (three times). In the text his attention was drawn to the proverb "Maritimi mores" ("A sailor's life") which Erasmus applied to the vicissitudes of a lover's life. The reader underlined the Plautine words quoted by Erasmus to illustrate the proverb: "Now it's yes and then again it's no. This is how Amor makes a fool of me, now that I've fallen in love, driving and shaking, luring and . . . deceiving me."⁵¹

If many of Erasmus' English friends received the *Adages* with enthusiasm, Erasmus in turn fondly remembered his friends in the work by giving them honourable mentions. Thus he praised John Colet, "a man whose learning matches his integrity"; the "incomparably learned" Thomas Linacre; Richard Pace, "whose memory is always pleasing to me"; and paid homage to Thomas More by quoting an epigram in his translation.⁵² It goes without saying that Erasmus heaped praise also on two of his most generous patrons, Lord Mountjoy, "foremost among nobles at the English court," and Archbishop William Warham, "reverend not only on account of his title and high office but also for his outstanding qualities which are worthy of a bishop."⁵³ In the preface of the 1533 edition Erasmus linked the *Adages* specifically with his most prominent English patron and asked readers to remember his role in promoting scholarship:

And so I must ask all who are led by the love of religion and good letters, if they have begun to find in my works any profit or anything they do not regret, to render thanks to this holy bishop instead of to me, and to pay him back adequately if they can. For it will be paying him back, if they do not allow his memory to fade among the generations to come.⁵⁴

The many tributes to Englishmen in the *Adages* and the popularity accorded to the work by them in turn give the Erasmian collection special ties to a country he once called his "adopted home."⁵⁵

Wilfrid Laurier University

Notes

1. F. Vander Haeghen in *Répertoire des oeuvres d'Érasme* (repr. Nieuwkoop, 1961) lists over 150 editions in the sixteenth century.
2. M. Mann Phillips, *The Adages of Erasmus* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 54.
3. The dedicatory letter to Mountjoy is Ep. 126; the letter to Henry is Ep. 104. The Latin text of the letters is in P. S. Allen, ed., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford, 1906-1958); the English translation in *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1974 --), cited in the following as CWE.
4. The dedicatory epistle in the 1528 edition is Ep. 2023; the new dedication addressed to Charles alone is Ep. 2726.
5. The dedicatory letter mentions, apart from Mountjoy, Richard Charnock (CWE Ep. 126: 23-25). Cf. also CWE Ep. 269: 111-112, where Warham's encouragement is noted.
6. The incident is related in CWE Ep. 1341A: 583--595. There Erasmus explained that he had dedicated the *Adages* to an Englishman "to show that I was not so prejudiced as to blame a private mishap on a whole country" (lines 599--600).
7. Cf. CWE Epp. 129:60, 181: 70--72.
8. CWE Ep. 135: 72--73.
9. CWE Ep. 135: 110.
10. CWE Ep. 181: 77--78.
11. CWE Ep. 215: 51--54.
12. CWE Ep. 215: 74--75.
13. *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, eds. F. Manley and R. S. Sylvester (New York, 1967), pp. 80-81, 71, 121.
14. CWE Ep. 332: 10--15.
15. CWE Ep. 571: 80--85.
16. R. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, ed. R. J. Schoeck (Toronto, 1966), p. 111.
17. The letters are in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 15, ed. D. Kinney (New Haven, 1986), pp. 1-127, 152-195.
18. CWE Ep. 1341A: 612--613.

19. *Bellum Erasmi translated into englyshe* (London: Berthelet, 1533). "1533" appears on the title page; "1534" in the colophon. For a list of English translations of the *Adages* and bibliographical information on the subject, see E. J. Devereux, *Renaissance English Translations of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1983).
20. Cf. Devereux, *Op. cit.*, p. 24.
21. Fol. ii verso. These and the following quotations from the book come from the 1569 edition, ed. D. T. Starnes (Gainesville, 1956).
22. Fol. 4 recto.
23. Fol. 8 recto.
24. Fol. 39 verso.
25. Fol. 36 verso.
26. Cf. E. Jones, *The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1977), p. 12.
27. *Collectanea* II, ed. Montagu Burrows (Oxford, 1890), 453-478.
28. I examined the Oxford University inventories (20 volumes) and, for wills, the Oxford Registrum Cancellarii, both in the University Archives. I would like to thank Mr. Tomlinson for his help in locating the relevant material, some of which is available in a typed manuscript. Since the inventories are arranged in alphabetical order, I cite only the names of the householders in my references below. For other inventories and bibliographical information, cf. Sears Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1956).
29. Since the author's name is often omitted in the inventories, it is not always clear that the title *Enchiridion* refers to Erasmus' work.
30. Erasmus' opponents were similarly unpopular. Jerome Raienoldes, MA of Oriel College (d. 1570), had Edward Lee's *Apologia*, but none of the other polemicists were represented in the lists I inspected.
31. Wills T-V, Hyp. 3 34, ff. 5--7.
32. *Registrum Cancellarii* GG fol. 270 verso.
33. For example in Bodleian Allen c. 10 we find on p. 132 the marginal notation "De parasitis," on p. 98 "Causa cur palma delecta sit potissimum a vetteribus," on p. 81 "Laus Platonis." The user also repeatedly marked with the word "usus" the sections in which Erasmus gives possible applications (for example pp. 138, 139, 153). For the same practice, see also Bodleian Allen c. 36 (e.g. pp. 243, 361) and Bodleian Vet. D1 f. 196 (e.g. on p. 8).
34. This practice is found passim. The users of Bodleian Allen c. 36 often marks quotations by a marginal "autor" or "autores" (e.g. on pp. 261, 588).
35. E.g. in Bodleian Vet. D1 c. 38 and Auct. 2R 1.12. In Bodleian Antiq. c. GS. 1533.3 the *Index iuxta locos* is rearranged in alphabetical order; similar improvements are made by a user of Bodleian Antiq. c. GS. 1513.

36. Bodleian Douce E subt. 4.
37. Spelling out ligatures: Bodleian Antiq. c. I.1514.1 and Douce PP 256: the user of Bodleian D1 f. 196 also supplied words suppressed in the concise proverbial phrase, e.g. at p. 30: "Mira de lente" (supplied: "dicis vel facis").
38. In Bodleian Allen c. 36 a user noted Erasmus' definition of "scholion" by noting in the margin: "skolion [in Greek script] quid" (p. 361). The user of Bodleian Antiq. c. 1. 1514.1 was interested in words such as "tricae," "illicium," and "laconismus," which he copied into the margin; the user of Bodleian Auct. 2 R 1.12 copied out idioms such as "in confesso est" (p. 7).
39. E.g. passim in Bodleian Vet. D1 c. 38 and M 3.8 Th.
40. A reader of Bodleian Auct. 2 R 1.12 supplied references to Rhodiginus on fols. 26 verso, 50 recto, and 55 verso; a reader of Antiq. c. G.5.1513 supplied biblical cross reference (e.g. fol. 181 recto, 131 verso); a reader of Bodleian M 3.8 Th. provided a cross reference to Plato's *Gorgias* (p. 199); a more recent hand in Douce T 34 supplied references to Shakespeare and Cowley (fols. 67 recto, 64 verso).
41. A reader of Bodleian M 3.8 Th. corrected a wrong reference to Aulus Gellius (p. 63); a reader of Vet. D1 f. 196 corrected a typographical error (p. 15); a nineteenth-century reader of Vet. D3 c. 32 (J.B. = J. Bailey, who signed his name on the title page with the date 1817?) noted by means of three exclamation marks that the indexer of the edition had identified the Macedonian king Philippos as "Hispaniarum et Angliae rex."
42. Proverbs, in both Latin and Greek, frequently adorn the title page, e.g. of Bodleian M 3.8 Th. and Vet. D1 F. 196. The reader of Douce T 34 (a Taverner translation) provides his own version or cognate for almost every proverb in the collection.
43. On p. 168 of Bodleian Vet. D1 f. 196.
44. Bodleian Douce T 34 on fols. 7 recto and 24 recto; a more recent hand noted on p. 473 of Bodleian Vet. D3 c. 32 (re: "Nil cogitat vir arrigens"): "*Anglice*: There is no wisdom below the waistband, as the Duke of W. said to H.W."
45. Bodleian Antiq. C G5 1533.3 re "Ne gustaris quibus nigra est cauda" ("Do not taste things with a black tail"): "Alii referunt hoc adagium ad voluptatem cuius appetitio est iucundissima, satietas vero est plena poenitentiae" ("Some relate this adage to pleasure which is most sweet to attain, but afterwards fills us with remorse"), p. 15.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 360. It means: "This was the guiding principle of [the Roman emperor] L. Aurelius Commodus, who in his administration did everything not only 'step by step' but very incommodiously. He was Commod(io)us to no one; rather he was incommodious to all."
48. Bodleian Auct. 2 R 1.12 66 verso.
49. Bodleian Bvw D 5.5. Phillips refers to this edition as a "bowdlerized version" which "brings the *Adages* within the approval of the Holy Office" (*Op. cit.*, note 2), p. 165.
50. Bodleian Vet. D1 c. 38, p. 175; Vet. A1 f. 99, xxxvi recto.

51. Bodleian Antiq. C GS 1536.3, pp. 973, 534.
52. The most recent complete edition of the *Adagia* is in the *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Leclerc (Leiden, 1703-1706, repr. 1961-1962), vol. 2. The quotations appear in columns 389C, 1088C, 253F, 822E.
53. *Ibidem*, 715A, 1050F.
54. Translated by M. Phillips (*Op. cit.*, note 2), p. 373.
55. CWE Ep. 392: 23, "the land of my adoption."