

PS. CEBES

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FORTUNA

Cebes the Theban, friend of Socrates, whose activities are recorded by Plato (*Crito* 45B, *Phaedo* 59D–63B) and by Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* II.17), is credited by Diogenes Laertius (*Vitae philosophorum* II.125) with the authorship of a dialogue entitled *Πίναξ* or *Tabula*. The original work is lost, but a short moralistic work written in the first century A.D. was long considered to be the original *Tabula*. The *Tabula* of ps. Cebes is first mentioned by Lucian, *De mercede conductis* 42 and *Rhetorum praeceptor* 6; Tertullian also refers to it (*De praescriptione haereticorum* 29), and an associate of Tertullian composed a Christian paraphrase of it (*ibid.* 39). The *Tabula* of ps. Cebes is an allegory of human life, comparable to Prodicus' famous myth, *The Choice of Hercules*.

The Greek text of the *Tabula* is preserved in thirteen manuscripts, only two of which were written before the fifteenth century (Paris, BN, grec. 858, of the eleventh century; and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 112, of the fourteenth century). The *Tabula* was unknown in the Latin West during the Middle Ages, though there was an Arabic paraphrase by Ibn Miskawaih (d. ca. 1030). The interest of the Italian humanists in Plato and his school can help to account for the great popularity of the work at the very end of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth century.

The Greek text was published at Florence by Laurentius de Alopa, about 1496 (GW 6442; H 4820 = HCR 4821). The *Tabula* was translated into Latin by Ludovicus Odaxius, and his version was first published by Benedictus Hectoris at Bologna in 1497 in a volume edited by Philippus Beroaldus (GW 6471; HC 4847). At about the same time, several other translations were made which survive only in manuscript; one of the translators was Fabianus Cretensis, and the other three remain anonymous. The Odaxius translation was reprinted in Paris in 1498 (GW 2763; HC 1907) with Athenagoras, *De resurrectione*, and Plato, *Axiochus*) and in Venice ca. 1498–1500 (GW 6472; H 4846 = 4848 I and III) with Censorinus, *De die natali*, and other works. Aldus printed the Greek text with a new translation, possibly his own, in several editions of the works of Constantine Lascaris (1502?, 1512, 1557). Aesticampianus introduced the *Tabula* into the Germanies when he discussed it with other scholars in Basel in 1502.

and then edited the translation published by Aldus for publication at Basel in 1507. At least eight other translations appeared in the course of the sixteenth century. Interest in ps. Cebes remained active throughout the seventeenth century and later; one of the most unusual editions is that published by J. Elichmann at Leiden in 1640 in which parallel texts of Greek, Latin, and Arabic are given.

Translations into the vernacular languages began to appear about 1500, and they continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An Italian translation preserved only in manuscript was made in 1498 and was based upon the translation of Odaxius and on a lost translation of Gregorius Spoletinus (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. lat. XIV 123 [4662]). Other early translations include one into French made by Geoffrey Tory in 1529, an English translation by Sir Francis Poyntz published about 1530, another Italian translation by F. A. Coccio in 1530, a Spanish version by "El doctor Poblacion" in 1532, a Dutch translation by Marcus Gillis in 1564, and a German version by H. Sachs in 1570.

Illustrations, too, began to be printed in the sixteenth-century editions and continued with increasing variety through the next century. Distinguished among the early instances is a fine woodcut that was printed in the Aesticampianus edition in 1512. Hans Holbein the Younger in 1530 made a large woodcut title border illustrating the *Tabula* for the title page of Froben's edition of Erasmus' *New Testament*.

The *Tabula* remained popular in the seventeenth century, when it was frequently reprinted not only in the many vernacular translations but also in Greek and in Latin, often together with the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus. It long remained popular as a school text, and an edition by Richard Parson with introduction, notes, vocabulary, and grammatical questions went through at least five editions at Boston from 1887 through 1904. In the second half of the nineteenth century a number of critical editions appeared, the last by Karl Praechter at Leipzig in 1893.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. EDITIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Cebes, *Tabula*, ed. F. Drosihn (Leipzig, 1871); ed. C. Praechter (Leipzig, 1893).

C. E. Finch, "The Place of Codex Vat. gr. 1823 in the Cebes Manuscript Tradition," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXXI (1960), 176–85; Finch, "Fragment (*sic*) of Cebes' Tabula in Codex Urb. Gr. 125," *Classical Bulletin*, XXXIV (1957), 22.

II. THE TABULA IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

H. v. Arnim, "Kebes. 2," *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI, pt. I (1921), 102–5; A. Carlini, "Sulla composizione della Tabula di Cebete," *Studi Classici e Orientali*, XII (1963), 164–82; John T. Fitzgerald and L. Michael White, *The Tabula of Cebes*, Society of Biblical Literature, Texts and Translations 24; Graeco-Roman Religion Series 7 (Chico, Calif., 1983); R. Joly, *Le Tableau de Cebès et la philosophie religieuse* (Brussels, 1963); C. Praechter, *Cebetis Tabula quanam aetate conscripta esse videatur* (Marburg, 1885); T. Sinko, "De lineamentis Platonicis in Cebetis q.v. Tabula," *Eos*, XLV, pt. I (1951), 3–31.

III. THE TABULA IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

M. Boas, "De illustratie der Tabula Cebetis," *Het Boek*, IX (1920), 1–16, 106–14; Boas, "De Nederlandsche Cebes-Literatur," *Het Boek*, VII (1918), 11–28; Cebes, *Le tableau de Cébès; version arabe d'Ibn Misqaueih*, Publiée et traduite, avec une introduction et des notes, par René Basset (Alger, 1898); M. David, "Leibniz et le Tableau de Cébès (Nouveaux Essais I, iv chap. III, no. 20) ou le problème du langage par images," *Revue Philosophique*, CLI (1961), 39–50; Cora E. Lutz, "The Salmasius-Elichmann Edition of the *Tabula* of Cebes," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XXVII (1979), 165–71; *Paráfrasis árabe [por Ibn Miskawaih] de la Tabla de Cebes, traducida en castellano e ilustrada con notas por D. Pablo Lozano y Casela* (Madrid, 1793); R. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis: Studien zur Rezeption einer antiken Bildbeschreibung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1974); Sandra Sider, *Cebes' Tablet: Facsimiles of the Greek Text, and of Selected Latin, French, English, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, and Polish Translations* (New York, 1979).

I. TABULA

TRANSLATIONS

I. Ludovicus Odaxius

Ludovicus Odaxius translated the *Tabula* at some time before 1497, when it was published by Philippus Beroaldus together with a number of other works. Beroaldus speaks with high praise of the *Tabula* and of Odaxius' translation: Secundo loco est *Tab(ula) Cebetis*, qua nihil absolutius, qua humanae vitae decipula graphicē et cum decore depinguntur, quam Latinitate donavit luculentus interpres mihi amicissimus, de quo illud dici meritissime potest:

Cecropiae commune decus Latiique
Minervae.

According to Finch (see Bibliography, below) Odaxius used a Greek manuscript closer to the archetype of Praechter's CK(P) family than to any extant member of that group. Johannes Camers suggests that Odaxius made the translation while he was at the court of Urbino (see below, p. 12).

Tabula (ed. of Paris, 1498). [*Inc.*]: Casu evenerat ut in Saturni sacello deambularemus, ubi cum plerasque alias oblationes, tum tabulam quandam pro templo positam intuebamur in qua pictura quaedam peregrina et quae peculiares fabulas contineret . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (Praechter 41, 4) quapropter haec neque bona neque mala censeantur, ceterum sapientia dumtaxat bonum, insipientia vero malum. Recte, inquam, et sufficenter mihi dicere videris.

Bibliography:

C. E. Finch, "The Value of Odaxius' Translation of Cebes' *Tabula*," *Classical Bulletin*, XXXV (1959), 27–28.

Manuscript:

Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 766, cart. misc. s. XVI, fol. 323–28. The manuscript is apparently the one used for the first printed edition; it contains Greek words and phrases in the margins by at least two hands (Finch, "Value of Odaxius' Translation"; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 200).

Editions:

(*) 1497, Bononiae (Bologna): Benedictus Hectoris. Ed P. Beroaldus. With Censorinus, *De die natali*, etc. GW 6471; HC 4847; BMC, VI, 843; Goff C-376. BL; (CtY; MH).

1498, Parisiis (Paris): per Guidonem Mercatorem. With Athenagoras, *De resurrectione*,

etc. GW 2763; HC 1907; Goff A-1176. Oxford, Bodleian; (CtY).

(*) [ca. 1498–1500, Venice, Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus]: With Censorinus, *De die natali*, etc. GW 6472; H 4846–4848 (I and III); BMC, V, 550; Goff C-377. BL; (CtY; DLC).

(*) [1503, Milan, J. A. Scinzenzeler]: With Censorinus, *De die natali*, etc. Panzer, XI, 464 218; Adams C-1262; F. Isaac, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (London, 1938), pt. 2, 13350; NUC. BL; (MH; NNC).

(*) 1508, [Strasbourg]: Mathias Schürerius. With Athanasius, *In Psalmos*, etc. BL.

(xerox) 1519, Viennae Pannoniae (Vienna): I. Singrenius. With commentary of Huldricus Fabri. Panzer, IX, 40, 219. BL.

(xerox) 1524, Cracoviae (Cracow): H. Vietor. With commentary of Joannes Camers. Panzer, VI, 465 142; NUC. BL; (ICN). Reported by Dr. Janina Hoskins.

1557, Basileae (Basel): H. Petrus. In *Commentaria in Solini Polyhistora* and with commentary of Joannes Camers. Adams S-1395; NUC (s.v. J. Camers). BL; (CtY).

1640, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): typis Iohannis Maire. *Tabula Cebetis Graece, Arabice, Latine . . .*, ed. Iohannes Elichmannus. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; MH).

1720, Londini (London): impensis authoris. BN.

1723, Londini (London): G. Strahan. NUC. (MH; OrU).

1724, Londini (London): Prostant venales apud Geo. Strahan. NUC. (NNC).

1798, Lipsiae (Leipzig). (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus. BL.

1840, Parisiis (Paris). With Theophrastus. BL.

Biography:

Ludovicus Odaxius, Patavinus (Ludovico Odasio, Odassi), an eminent classical scholar of Padua, flourished toward the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. He spent a large part of his life at the court of Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, where he was tutor to the duke's son and served as a confidential adviser to the duke. Odaxius was a friend of Philippus Beroaldus the Elder, who edited the first edition of his translation of Cebes in 1497. His learning and eloquence were praised by a number of humanists, including

Pietro Bembo, Angelo Poliziano, and Marcan-
tonio Sabelllico.

Works: Translation of Plutarch, *De differ-
entia inter odium et invidiam*; *Oratio in funere
Guidonis Ubaldi Urbini Ducis*; Prefatory letter
to Niccolò Perotti, *Cornucopia*.

Bibliography: Chevalier, I, 3388; Cosenza,
III, 2498–99, and V, no. 1270–71; VI, 203–4;
Jöcher, III, 1017–18; B. Scardeonius, *De anti-
quitate urbis Patavii* (Basel, 1560), Lib. II,
Classis X, p. 250; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della
Letteratura italiana* (Florence, 1785–92), VI,
40–41; IX, 77.

2. Fabianus Cretensis

Fabianus Cretensis made a translation of the *Tabula* which is preserved in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Humaniste, Sélestat. His dedication of the work to Johannes Cornelius (Giovanni Cornaro), abbot of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, is dated in 1497 from Siena. Fabianus tells us that he made the translation as suitable reading for the monks of S. Giorgio Maggiore as well as of his own monastery.

Dedication (Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, ms. 338 = K 930e, fol. 1) Reverendo in Christo Patri D. Ioanni Cornelio Abbati S. Georgii Maioris Venetiarum ac Congregationis S. Justinae praesidenti Fabianus monachus salutem. [Inc.]; Cebetis Platonici *Tabulam*, pater reverende, quam nuper e graeco in latinum mediocri admodum stilo converti, tuae amplitudini optimo iure dicandam esse statui. . . . Nam cum inter delitias studiorum meorum in manus ipse (ipsum?) paulo ante cepissem, ita mihi proculdubio et dicendi suavitate admirabilis et instituendi gravitate visus est ut protinus dignum ducerem qui exercendi [causa *deleted*] gratia nostris etiam immo tuis quandoque monachis communis fieret. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 2) At si quis forte me gravius quam decet aut temeritatis aut insolentiae arguat, quod videlicet libelli contextum in dialogi modum composuerim, is certe cum primum diaphoniam quae in latino sermone futura erat adverterit, haud secus (ut confido) quam ego, quin immo acriore forsitan iudicio comprobabit. Vale. Senis XVI° Kl. Aprilis Mcccc 97°.

Tabula. [Inc.]: Cebetis tabula. Quum forte in Saturni templo deambularemus ubi multa quidem et alia dona conspiciebamus, iacebat au-
tem et tabula quaedam ante templum . . . / . . .

[Expl.]: (fol. 8^v) Maximos quidem maximasque feras quippe quae hunc prius devorabant, cruciabant ac servum efficiebant. Has nempe omnes devicit et a se proiecit (Praechter, 22, 2, 3).

Manuscript:

Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, ms. 338 = K 930e, s. XV ex., fols. 1–8^v. I am indebted to P. O. Kristeller for calling the manuscript to my attention and for helping with its reading.

Biography:

The translator speaks of himself only as “Fabianus monachus,” but the dedication to Giovanni Cornaro, abbot of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, strongly suggests that he is Fabianus Cretensis, who was known as a translator and whose translation of a Life of St. Eustathius is preserved in two manuscripts: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 532, and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Zan. lat. 360 [1809]. In these manuscripts he is called “Fabianus monachus Cassinensis” or “Fabianus Cretensis monachus congregationis Cassinensis.” According to the Register cited by Armellini, Fabianus became an *alumnus* of S. Giorgio Maggiore on January 11, 1488.

Bibliography: M. Armellini, *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Cassinensis sive Scriptorum Cassinensis Congregationis alias S. Justinæ*, 2 vols. (Assisi, 1731–32), I, 163; Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, I, 1449; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 213 and 594–95.

3. Anonymus A

An anonymous translation is preserved in the Vatican manuscript, Vat. lat. 4037, in a portion of the manuscript dated ca. 1500. The title of the manuscript differs from the simple title in the printed edition, and it reads: *Dialogus ex Tabula Cebetis Thebani, qui senem enarrantem habet et iuvenes studiosos interlocutores in principio et fine, sed in processu operis senem tantum et unicum habet iuvenem.* The Greek text used by the anonymous translator belonged to the CK(P) family, though it cannot be identified with any still extant. The most unusual feature of the translation is that after Praechter, 40, 2, 2 it adds another sentence not found in any other translation or in any of the extant Greek manuscripts. Since the added sentence corresponds to one in the Arabic paraphrase, we may assume that it is

not an invention of the translator but was found in the Greek manuscript he used.

Tabula (Vat. lat. 4037, fols. 154–62^v). [Inc.]: Deambulabamus (ut fit) in Saturni templo cum in eo plurima alia munera affixa intuebamur tum tabula quaedam pro delubro posita erat in qua pictura quaedam erat peregrina peculiares fabulas in se continens . . . / . . . [Expl.]: sed haec patiuntur homines miseri propter ignorantiam veri sempiternique boni (Praechter, 40, 2, 2). Quod ut tandem vos assequamini, studiosi iuvenes, cunctis viribus contendite eo animo ac mente ut nihil umquam virtute potius, nihil excellentius, nihil homine libero dignius, nihil denique beatius esse putetis. Valete.

Bibliography:

C. E. Finch, “The Translation of Cebes’ *Tabula* in Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4037,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, LXXXV (1954), 79–87; John Monfasani, “Platina, Capranica, and Perotti: Bessarion’s Latin Eulogists and His Date of Birth,” in *Convegno di Studi su Bartolomeo Platina detto Il Platina* (Padua, forthcoming); R. Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis: Studien zur Rezeption einer antiken Bildbeschreibung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1974), 15.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4037, cart. misc. XV–XVI, fols. 154–62^v. The film was viewed courtesy of the Knights of Columbus Foundation in the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis. (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 366.)

4. Anonymus B

Aldus Manutius in 1502 published an anonymous version of the *Tabula*, and the same translation is found in a roughly contemporary manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg. It has not been possible to identify the author, though if the Bamberg manuscript is a copy of the edition, it is possible that the translation may be by Aldus himself.

Preface (ed. of Venice, ca. 1502). Aldus lectori S. [Inc.]: Si forte nescieris, studiose lector, quonam modo quae graece imprimenda curavimus cum interpretatione latina ordinanda sint, ut pagina paginae respondeat. . . . (Aldus explains his way of printing the *Tabula*; see for details the article by Lutz cited under the ca. 1502 edition below) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Cur

vero curavimus, ut latinum a graeco separari queat, non te fugiat a nobis ad id factum, ut et doctis, qui nullo egent adiumento legendis graecis, et graecarum litterarum rudibus, qui nisi latinum e regione in graecis operibus viderint a graecorum librorum lectione deterrentur, satisfaceremus.

Tabula (ed. of Venice, ca. 1502). [Inc.]: Forte fortuna deambulabamus in Saturni sacello in quo cum pleraque alia munera intuebamur, tum posita erat et tabula quaedam pro delubro in qua erat pictura quaedam peregrina . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et existiment per haec sola felicem esse et omnia consequenter agunt gratia horum et quae impiissima videntur esse. Haec autem patiuntur propter boni ignorantiam (Praechter, 40, 2, 2).

Manuscript:

(photo.) Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Inc. typ. B X 15, fasc. 3, cart., s. XV ex-XVI in. Probably before 1500. German hand. I am indebted to P. O. Kristeller for calling the manuscript to my attention and for assistance with its reading. (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 464.)

Editions:

[1502], Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Manutius. (Gr.-Lat.) In Constantinus Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis*. The *Tabula* is printed in the center of quaternions; see Cora Lutz, "Aldus Manutius, Teacher," *Yale University Library Gazette*, XLIX (1975), 356-63, repr. in C. E. Lutz, *Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books* (Hamden, 1975), 139-48, under the title "An Unusual Educational Device of Aldus Manutius," NUC. BL; (CtY).

(*) 1507, Francofurti (Frankfurt): N. Lampert and B. Burrer. With *Epistola* of Joannes Aesticampianus. Panzer, IX, 462 16. BL.

(*) 1510, Ferrariae (Ferrara): A. Manutius. (Gr.-Lat.) In Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis*. The *Tabula* is again printed in the center of quaternions; see Cora Lutz, "Aesticampianus' Edition of the *Tabula* Attributed to Cebes," *Yale University Library Gazette*, XLV (1971), 110-17, repr. in C. E. Lutz, *Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books* (Hamden, 1975), 79-86.

1512, Liptzk (Leipzig); I. Thanner Heribopolitanus. With *Epistola* of Joannes Aesticampianus and epigram of Ulricus Huttenus. Panzer, IX, 179, 406; NUC. BL; (CtY).

[1516?], Florentiae (Florence): B. Giunta.

(Gr.-Lat.) In Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

(*) 1521, Venetiis (Venice): M. Sessa. (Gr.-Lat.) In Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

1540, Venetiis (Venice): I. A. de Nicolinis. (Gr.-Lat.) In Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

(*) 1542, Venetiis (Venice): apud Ioannem Farreum et Fratres. (Gr.-Lat.) In Lascaris, *Institutiones universae*. NUC. BL.

1547, Antwerpiae (Antwerp): L. I. Streelsius. (Gr.-Lat.) In *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

1557, Venetiis (Venice): P. Manutius. (Gr.-Lat.) In Lascaris, *Grammatica*. Adams L-235; NUC. BL; (CtY).

5. *Anonymous C*

An anonymous paraphrase of the *Tabula* is preserved in a manuscript of the early sixteenth century in the Kongelige Bibliotek of Copenhagen. In the Prologue the paraphrase is apparently dedicated to "Marchia de Este," but the manuscript has been corrected at this point. If the reading is correct the dedicatee could be identified with Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, Marchioness of Mantua (1474-1539).

Paraphrase of the Tabula (København: Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabr. 138, VI, in 4to).

Paraphrasis Tabulae Cebetis poetica, qua vitae humanae prudenter instituendae ratio continetur.

Prologus:

[Inc.]:

Dum mala seditio bellique insana libido
Relliquis veteris Latii et vix rudera priscae
Sola super maiestatis (miserum) erunt ultro
Omniaque occasum iam iam peritura
minantur

Extremum hunc rogo Phoebe mihi concede
laborem. . . .

(line 11)

Quos ego de humanae vitae ratione regendae
(Cebetis tabulam depictam) pangere conor.

Tu tantum o vacuas aures mihi Marchia de

[corrected] Este [?]

Semotum a curis adhibe veram ad rationem

Vitai [?] ne forte gravi mea dona periclo

Intellecta prius quam sint contempta

relinquas.

Nam quod nunc versu describam forte

perinde est

Ac tibi si ambages narrem atque aenigmata
Sphingis.
Quae si perciperent dociles animoque
tenerent
Dimissi [?] incolumes soli salviique manebant
Infami poenas alii omnes morte luebant. . . .

[Expl.]: (line 35)

Accipito, o dilecta, atque alta mente reconde
Quae distincta tribus recludam oracula septis
Pythagoreorum doctrina consona sectae.
Quae semel ut possis animo comprehendere
et olim
Naufragium effugere impendens portuque
potiri
Danda opera est ipso ne mox in limine
aberres.

Paraphrasis:

[Inc.]:

Quod iam igitur cernis primum septum, area
vitae est
Lubrica curarum multarum et plena
laborum . . . / . . .

[Expl.]: (fol. 11^r)

Immoritur, delet quod mox laudaverat in se
Qui cupid aeternae donari frondis honore.
Finis Tab(ulae) Cebetis.

Manuscript:

København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabr. 138,
VI, in 4to). I am indebted to Dr. Tue Gad of the
Kongelige Bibliotek for information about the
manuscript and to P. O. Kristeller for assistance
with its reading. (Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, II, 713. Dr. Gad informs me that
the note of Fabricius here cited is found in the
København manuscript 177, 4, 4°, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I-II, with additions in Fabricius' hand;
the note is found on page 788.)

6. Ottmarus Luscinius

Ottmarus Luscinius published a translation of
the *Tabula* in an edition of the works of Hesiod at
Strasbourg in 1515.

Tabula (ed. of Augsburg, 1525). [Inc.]: Fortuito deambulabamus in Saturni delubro, in quo
cum plerasque alias oblationes intuebamur, tum
posita erat et tabula quaedam pro templo, in qua
erat pictura peregrina, fabulas habens peculiarias, quae non poteram coniicere quaenam et
quales essent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Praechter, 40,
2, 2) et existiment per haec sola constare fe-

licitatem, et omnia consequenter agunt gratia
horum, quae impiissima videntur, haec autem pa-
tiuntur propter boni ignorantiam.

Editions:

(*) 1515, Argentorati (Strasbourg): J. Knou-
bloch. (Gr.-Lat.) With Hesiod, *Opera*. Panzer,
VI, 72 337; Adams H-469; Isaac, *Index*,
13370. BL.

(xerox) 1525, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augs-
burg): S. Ruff. (Gr.-Lat.) In *Moralia quaedam*
instituta ex variis authoribus. BL.

Biography:

Ottmarus Luscinius (Ottmarus Aidos Argen-
toratensis, Ottmar Nachtigall) was born in
Strasbourg about 1487. He received his early
education in his home city, where Jacob
Wimpfeling was one of his teachers. After fur-
ther study in Paris, Louvain, Padua, and Vienna,
he served as a priest in a number of parishes and
finally as canon in Strasbourg. His talent for
lyric poetry won him the title of "Nightingale"
among his friends, who included a number of
German humanists. He died in 1537.

Works: Editions of *Selecta epigrammata Graeca*, *Opuscula* of Plutarch, of works of
Aulus Gellius, Hesiod, Isocrates, Lucian, Mar-
tial, and Stobaeus; translations, in addition to
the *Tabula*, of *Moralia quaedam ex variis au-
thoribus*; and as independent works, *Allegoriae Psalmorum Davidis*, *Summa Roselae*, and *Mu-
sicæ institutiones*.

Bibliography: L. Geiger, *Allgemeine Deu-
tsche Biographie*, XIX (1884), 655-57; Ch.
Schmidt, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Alsace* (Paris,
1879), II, 124-208 and 412-18 (with list of
Luscinius' writings); Schottenloher, II, no.
16234-47, VII, no. 57201-4.

P. Bolchert, "Othmar Nachtigall (Luscinius).
Ein elsässischer Humanist," in *Neue Erwinia*, I
(Rappoltsweiler, 1913-14), 247-55; H. A.
Lier, "Othmar Nachtigall's 'Joci ac sales mire
festive,'" *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XIII
(1843), 148-57.

7. Theodoricus Adamaeus

Theodoricus Adamaeus did a translation of
the *Tabula* which was first published in 1539; the
letter of dedication, of the same year, is ad-
dressed to Jacobus Spifanius of Paris.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1550). Clarissimo
doctissimo viro Iacobo Spifanio Academiae

Parisiensis Cancellario, ad Divi Pauli fanum in Senonensi agro abbati, Regioque Consiliario, Domino et patrono suo longe colendissimo, Theodoricus Adamaeus Suallemburgus S.P.D. [Inc.]: Praeclare mihi Stoicae sectae philosophi sensisse videntur, vir ornatissime, qui Dei munus esse, quod viveremus, et philosophiae quod recte vitam institueremus, asserebant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quapropter adolescentes omnes sensus totamque mentem ad hanc vitae communis effigiem convertere velint ut in suae vitae exemplum traducere possint. Vale, patrone optime. Parisiis ex collegio cameracensi. Pridie Nonis Martii, Anno MDXXXIX.

Tabula. [Inc.]: Deambulabamus forte in aede Saturno sacra, ubi cum spectaremus pleraque alia donaria, tum et tabula in templi vestibulo erat posita picturam peregrinam et fabulas non vulgares continens . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Praechter, 40, 1) hoc humanas rationes conturbat ac laedit quod in honore ea habeant, et in eis solis positam esse felicitatem existiment, et omnia consequenter agant horum causa, etiam si impiissima esse appareant. Haec vero patiuntur propter veri boni ignorationem.

Editions:

(*) 1539, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina C. Wecheli. BN.

(*) 1545, Parisiis (Paris): I. Lodovicus. BL.

(*) 1547, Parisiis (Paris): C. Wechelus. BL.

1549, Parisiis (Paris): apud Martinum Iuvenem. NUC. (CtY).

1550, Parisiis (Paris): apud Martinum Iuvenem. NUC. (CtY).

(*) 1561, Parisiis (Paris): apud M. Juvenem. BN.

Biography:

Theodoricus Adamaeus (Adamaeus von Schwalleberg) was a native of Schwalleberg in Geldern. Few details of his life have been recorded beyond the names of his books and his death date of 1540.

Works: Commentary on Procopius, *De aedificiis Justiniani imperatoris; De Rhodo insula; De Christianorum concordia*.

Bibliography: Jöcher, I, 85.

8. Justus Velsius

Justus Velsius made a translation of the *Tabula* and published it, together with a commentary, in 1551.

Tabula (ed. of Lyons, 1551). [Inc.]: In Saturni ut deambularemus fano usu veniebat, in quo multa quidem cum alia donaria contemplabamur, tum vero tabula quaepiam ad templi ingressum suspensa erat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Praechter, 40, 1) omniaque consequenter horum gratia agunt, quae etiam maxime impia esse videntur. Haec vero ipsis accident ex ipsius boni ignoratione.

Editions:

1551, Lugduni (Lyons). NUC. BL; (CtY; ICU).

(xerox) 1557, Parisiis (Paris): A. Wechelus. (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus. NUC. BN; (ICU).

Biography:

Justus Velsius, Haganus (Joost Welsens), was born in The Hague about 1505. He received the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and of Medicine at Bologna in 1538. After teaching for several years in Leiden, Antwerp, and Louvain, he found his growing interest in church reform made it necessary for him to emigrate to Strasbourg, where he taught Greek and prepared some of his scholarly editions. In Germany he spent some years either teaching or practicing medicine at Heidelberg, Wittenberg, Marburg, Cologne, and Frankfort. A friend of most of the Reformers, in 1554 he stated his religious position in a book entitled *Kpīōtis, sive verae Christianaeque philosophiae descriptio*, which was immediately condemned and placed on the *Index*. After spending time in prison in Cologne, Velsius passed his last years seeking refuge in England and then in Holland. His death came about 1580.

Works: Velsius edited the Greek text of Simplicius, *In Categories Aristotelis* (1551), and Aristotle, *Liber de Virtutibus* (1552), and provided each with a Latin commentary. He translated into Latin and edited Hippocrates, *De insomniis* (1541), and Galen, *De insomniis* (1541), and furnished them with notes. His most important original works include *Utrum in medico variarum artium ac scientiarum cognitio requiratur, Oratio* (1543); *De mathematicarum disciplinarum vario usu dignitateque Oratio* (1554); *Kpīōtis* (1554); and *Epistola ad Ferdinandum Romanorum Regem, Principes Electores reliquosque Imperii status* (1555).

Bibliography: Charles H. Lohr, "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors

So-Z," *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXV (1982), 164–256, at 212–13, with full bibliography; Schottenloher, II, nos. 21695–21695a, and VII, 5862; F. Sweertius, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Brussels, 1939), II, 789; A. Valère, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Brussels, 1643), 605–6; H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, 4 vols. (Louvain, 1951–55), IV, 134–43.

Christian Sepp, "Justus Velsius, Haganus," in his *Kerkhistorische Studien* (Leiden, 1885), 91–179.

9. Hieronymus Wolfius

Hieronymus Wolfius made a translation of the *Tabula* which was first published in 1561, in an edition of Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, and which was often reprinted through the seventeenth century. He also composed some *Annotationes* to accompany the translation (see below, p. 13).

Tabula (ed. of Antwerp, 1585). [Inc.]: In aede Saturni deambulantes, cum alia complura donaria spectabamus, tum tabulam quandam ante sacellum dedicatam, quae peregrinas fabulas depictas haberet, quae cuiusmodi et unde essent, coniicere non poteramus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Praechter, 40, 1) cum scilicet ea mortales magni faciunt seque per ea sola felicitatis fore compotes opinantur eorumque causa ordine faciunt omnia etsi maxime impia esse videantur. Haec vero eis accident quia quid bonum sit ignorant.

Manuscript:

(*) Valladolid, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. Santa Cruz 238, misc. s. XVII, f. 14v–23v. The translation agrees in its first three words with that of Hieronymus Wolfius. (*Catalogo de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca de Santa Cruz*, M.a de las Nieves Alonso-Cortés [Valladolid, 1976] p. 187. I am indebted to Paul Oskar Kristeller for calling the manuscript to my attention.)

Editions:

(*) 1561, Basileae (Basel): I. Oporinus. (Gr.-Lat.) In Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. Adams E-223; NUC. BL; (MH).

(*) 1563, Basileae (Basel): I. Oporinus. (Gr.-Lat.) In Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. BL; (DLC; WU).

1585, Antwerpiae (Antwerp): C. Plantinus. (Gr.-Lat.) In Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

(xerox) 1589, Ludguni (Lyons): I. Tornesius.

(Gr.-Lat.) In *Thesaurus philosophiae moralis*. NUC. BL; (UI).

1596, Coloniae (Cologne): Officina Birkmannica. (Gr.-Lat.) In Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

(*) 1627, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Ioannis Maire. (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. (CtY; ICU).

(*) 1640, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Iohannes Maire. (Gr.-Lat.) NUC. (CtY; MH).

(*) 1652, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Ex officina Ioannis Maire, (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. (MB).

(*) 1655, Cantabrigiae (Cambridge): Ex celeberrimae Academiae typographo. (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. (NcD).

(*) 1670, Londini (London): typis Jacobi Flesher. (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. (IU; ICN).

(*) 1689, Amstelaedami (Amsterdam): apud Henricum Wetstenium. (Gr.-Lat.) NUC. (MH; IU).

(*) 1740, Guelferbyti (Wolfenbüttel), Sumpt. I. C. Meisneri. (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. (ICU; MHi).

Biography:

See CTC, II, 90.

10. Melchior Faber

Melchior Faber translated the *Tabula* into elegiac verse; the only edition of the translation was published in 1557 at Vienna.

Dedicatory poem (ed. of Vienna, 1557). Prudentissimis et integerrimis Viris, Consuli, Iudici, Senatuique Civitatum Cremsae et Litolpolis atque Dominis et Patronis suis colendissimis, Melchior Faber Silesius S.P.D.

[Inc.]:

Desine mirari quaeso, clarissime Consul,
Et consultorum sacra corona virum,
Cur vestris manibus tractetur pagina
praesens,
Quaeso favete animis, ista docebo brevi,

[Expl.]:

Ergo favete piis animis et sumite prompta
Mente precor, quae nunc carmina pauca
dedi,
Et sine mirari quaeso, clarissime Consul,
Et consultorum sacra corona virum.

Translation (in elegiac verse).

[*Inc.*]:

Falcigeri casto Saturni forte sacello
Reptamus, cupidi sacra videre Dei,
Cernimus antiquum splendentia munera
regum,
Numinis ante sacrum picta tabella sita est.
Qua peregrina vagis oculis pictura reluxit,
Ordinibus monstrans nomina certa suis,
Nemo tamen nostrum potuit censere quid
istaec,
Aut quando fuerint, quo perierte modo—

[*Expl.*]:

Respectu quorum perstricte singula tractant,
Impia res, multis exitiosa modis,
Ignari nequeunt fortunas cernere veras,
Que dici nequeunt haec bona vera putant.

Concluding epigram, to Magister Georgius Faber, Canonicus Vratislaviensis.

[*Inc.*]:

Si te, Praeceptor dignissime, carmine si te
Digna dabit, referet rustica Musa tibi,
... / ...

[*Expl.*]:

Hinc me, qua cunctos amplectere mente
tueto?
Ut facis, et multo tempore vive, vale.

Edition:

(xerox) 1557, Viennae Austriae (Vienna): Michael Zimmer. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Biography:

Melchior Faber Silesius (Melchior Schmid) flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century and died about 1606. He took his degree in theology and became professor of Greek and librarian in Helmstedt.

Works: His writings were chiefly in the fields of theology and philology: *Dissertatio de linguis sacris; De linguae Graecae variis mutationibus; Commendatio et defensio LXX interpretum a Jo. Pearsonio; Oratio in obitum Christopheri Schraderi; Vita Hermanni Conringii.*

Bibliography: Jöcher, IV, 299.

11. Reinerus Langius

Reiner Langius of Bremen translated the *Tabula* some time before its publication in 1590.

Tabula (ed. of Frankfort, 1590). [*Inc.*]: Obambulantibus forte nobis in Saturni templo, praeter alia insignia et varia monumenta quae

attente scrutabamus, etiam tabula quaedam variis et diversis imaginibus iisque admodum commentitiis et prorsus ignotis depicta in vestibulo ipsius sacelli oculis occurrebat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (Praechter, 40, 1) cum plerique homines adeo suscipiant et exosculentur ut omnem etiam felicitatis et beatae vitae spem in iis collocent et propterea nihil non etiam impiissimum et turpiissimum committunt, sed haec omnia suscipiunt et sustinent quod ipsum vere bonum ignorent.

Edition:

(micro.) 1590, Francofurdi (Frankfort): Johannes Wechelus. With Cicero, *De officiis*. Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève.

Biography:

Reiner Langius (Reinerus Schmid) was born and educated in Bremen. He had a varied career, holding posts in both the academic and the political fields. He taught in a number of schools in Gorbach and in Stade and in 1587 became rector of the latter. In 1603–4 he went with a state mission to England to the court of James I, and in 1605 he served as burgomaster of Stade. He died in 1614.

Works: Besides the Cebes translation, he also published a *Grammatica Latina*.

Bibliography: Krause, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XVII (1883), 650; Jöcher, Suppl. III–IV, 1237; Zedler, XVI, 609.

12. Johannes Caselius

Johannes Caselius made a translation of the *Tabula* which was published in 1594. He later prepared a commentary, published in 1618 (see below, p. 14).

Tabula (ed. of Leiden, 1618). [*Inc.*]: Inambulabamus in Saturni templo et in eo multa quoque alia donaria spectabamus, et vero tabula quaedam erat dedicata in templi vestibulo. In ea pictura erat peregrina quae suas quasdam fabulas continebat, neque nos coniicere poteramus cuiusmodi essent et unde essent . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (Praechter, 40, 1) et propter haec omnia consequenter faciunt etiam ea, quae cum summa impietate coniuncta esse nemo negat. Haec omnia hominibus propter naturae boni ignorationem eveniunt.

Editions:

(*) 1594, Helmaestadii (Helmstedt): J. Lucius. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

(xerox) 1618, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): I. Marcus. (Gr.-Lat.) With notes of Caselius. NUC. BL; BN; (MH; UI).

Biography:
See CTC, II, 124.

13. Caspar Barthius

Caspar Barthius made a translation of the *Tabula* which was published in 1612; the publisher tells us in his preface that Barthius had done the translation when he was very young, so we may assume that it should be dated several years before its publication.

Lectori (ed. of Hanau, 1612). [Inc.]; Quamvis auctori nostro, amice lector, foetum hunc suum, ut qui puero admodum, quod mireris licet, exciderat, tenebris damnare perpetuis allubuerit committere, tamen ut in eius iniremus sententiam, religio nobis fuit. Lucem itaque juxta cum caeteris lubentes fecimus, eum ab elegantioribus Musarum mystis cupidissimo sinu, ut omnia, iri exceptum nihil ambigentes.

Tabula. [Inc.]: Accidit forte fortuna ut in foro Saturni spaciaremur, ubi cum multa alia donaria contemplabamur suspensa, tum vero in primis tabulam quandam in vestibulo ipso sacelli depositam. In ea deprehendebamus picturam quampliam peregrini operis fabulas continentem singulares, quarum nec auctorem nec argumentum conicere nobis erat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Praechter, 40, 1) Ad summam, honore haec ut bona prosequi, convitiis, ut mala, differre, hoc illud est quod mentes mortalium perturbat atque convellit, rentes videlicet honore ea mactanda esse per sola quae felicitatem indipisci perperam sperant. Horum gratia omnia, et quae maxime impia esse patent, faciunt. Omnia vero haec ideo patiuntur quod quae reapse bona sint, ignorant.

Edition:
1612, Hanoviae (Hanau): typis Willerianis. In Barth, *Opuscula varia*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

Biography:
See CTC, III, 336.

14. DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS

a. Gregorius Spoletinus

Marc. lat. XIV 123 [4662] in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice contains an Italian translation of the *Tabula* by Gianjacopo Bartoloto. There is a note at the end by the translator: Duo sono, o lectore, le traductione de la Tabula de Cebete di lingua greca in la nostra latina, una de

Ludovico Odasio Patavino, l'altra de Gregorio Spoletino. . . . Quale due traduzione io Joanne Jacobo Bartholoto Parmesano phisico tramutando dicta tabula in lingua materna a petizione del R.M. Nic. Maria Estense . . . ep. de Adria ho immittato. . . . Ferarie 1498, die 28 Aprilis. Rescriptum Venetiis die 2 maii 1514 (cited from Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 265).

There appears to be no further evidence for this translation.

b. Angelus Politianus

Panzer, VII, 42, 131, lists a translation of the *Tabula* by Politianus published with works of Athanasius, Epictetus, Basil the Great, and Plutarch by Mathias Schurerius at Strasbourg in 1508. The edition in question, however, according to the BL Catalogue, contains the translation of Odaxius (see above, p. 3).

c. Christophorus Winerus

Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, II, 713, lists an edition of the *Tabula* published at Erfurt in 1575 "prosa partim latina, partim carmine, auctore M. Christoph. Winero Isenacensi." I have not been able to locate a copy of the edition.

d. Anonymus

A Hamburg manuscript now kept in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin contains a short work bearing the title *Tabula Cebetis*, but the work is not a translation of the *Tabula*. It begins with a very loose paraphrase of the *Tabula* and continues with an adaptation of Plato's allegory of the cave.

Manuscript:

Hamburg, Staats- u. Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 325 (quarto), cart., misc. s. XVI, fols. 114–16v. I am indebted to P. O. Kristeller for calling this manuscript to my attention and for assisting me with its reading.

COMMENTARIES

a. Huldricus Fabri

Huldricus Fabri published in 1519 scholia on the translation of the *Tabula* by Ludovicus Odaxius. In the edition the translation of Odaxius is printed in short sections in the center of each page, and the commentary surrounds the text on three sides of most pages. Fabri quotes extensively from Greek and Latin authors and

also from the Church Fathers. The scholia cover forty-two pages.

Dedication (ed. of Vienna, 1519). [Inc.]: Non possum non vehementer admirari, Gervice optime, illud Hesiodi quo dicitur, μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος, id est, Observato modum, nam rebus in omnibus illud optimum erit, si quis tempus spectaverit aptum. Celebratur et hoc vel cum primis sapientum apophthegma Γνῶθι καιρόν, id est, noveris tempus. Neminem sane ut arbitror fugit quantum momenti temporis ac oportunitatis ratio diligenter observata habeat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hocque muneris quicquid id est, neque vile quidem quod ipse opinor, tibi videbitur, praesertim cum ab amico quem optime novisti oblatum sit, accipe, inquam, mi Gervice, hilari, uti caetera soles, animo, quod si feceris, non mediocrem ad maiora aliquando edenda animum mihi inieccisse credas. Vale, ex contubernio nostro, Viennae.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Saturni* Mithici Saturnum filios suos devorare tradunt eosque denuo evomere, quod ipsum solertia ingenii ac eruditio- nis homines ad tempus a Graecis Χρόνος vocitatum referri posse haud inepte arbitrati sunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Sapientia bonum* Hinc Horatius de sapiente loquens, ait, Ad summam sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives, liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum.

Argumentum tabulae Cebetis per Rudolphum Agricolam Rhetum poetam laureatum.

Haec aerumnales hominum pictura labores,
Humanaeque viam conditionis habet.
Et tria septa vides iunctis sociata figuris.
Vitae sunt primi qui ingrediuntur iter.
Hic error phialis, ac ignorantia veri
summitur hinc dubiae incommoda fortis
erunt.
Caeca voluptates amat insipientia mundi
Pro quibus omne mali tentat inire genus.
Hinc flagro septum punitio iusta secundum
Occupat et luctus, continuusque dolor.
Paeniteat donec falsaeque sequatur honestum
Doctrinae studium veridicaeque sacrum
Incolit haec summum turbis comitata
sororum
Per quam virtutum conciliatur amor.
Felicitas ducunt hae sanctae matris ad arcem
Constanti imponat quae diadema viro.
Vera coronaris haec contemplatio dos est
Cunctarum rerum cognitioque boni.

Edition:

(xero) 1519, Viennae Pannoniae (Vienna): I. Singrenius. With translation of L. Odaxius. BL.

b. Johannes Camers

The commentary of Johannes Camers was first published at Cracow in 1524. Three or four lines of Odaxius' translation of the Cebes text are printed in the center of each page and are surrounded by the commentary in small italic type. The notes are unusually full and contain copious quotations, all documented. At the end three indexes give (1) the names of the authors quoted; (2) the proverbs given in the commentary; and (3) the topics of special interest treated by the scholiast. The entire commentary occupies ninety-six pages.

Dedication (ed. of Cracow, 1524). Reverendissimo in Christo patri et Domino D. Theodorico Canner, Novae Civitatis episcopo quam optime merito, Ioannes Camers Ordinis Minorum Sacrae Theologiae Doctor, S.P.D. [Inc.]: Superioribus diebus, Praesul reverendissime, visendi amici cuiusdam gratia, Vienna digressus sum, ratus post biduum aut triduum illuc, unde discesseram, redditum me. Verum multo aliter evenit quam putaram . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et si non domini, boni saltem pastoris, ab infestantibus lupis aut feris aliis vigil solertia tutaretur.

Cebetis vita, per Ioannem Cameretur. [Inc.]: Cebes Thebanus philosophiae professor ac Socratis quondam auditor, magistri sui mores ac disciplinam sectatus, ad excolendos mortalium animos, novo scribendi genere a se reperto sese penitus mancipavit . . . / . . . Hanc ipsam Tabulam Lodovicus Odaxius Patavinus Latinam fecit. Vir ingenio, moribus ac multijuga eruditione praecellens, et ob hoc Guidonis Urbinatis Ducis gratissimus quondam praeceptor. Hunc ipsum Odaxium, cum iuvenis Urbini litteris operam darem, novi cumque eo, prout aetas tunc ipsa mea patiebatur, sum saepenumero conversatus. Fuerunt alii, qui τὸν Cebetis πίνακα Latinitate donarunt. Sed Odaxii nostri tralatio quod fidelior elegantiorque sit, arridet magis.

Libelli argumentum per eundem Cameretur.

[Inc.]: Rationalis anima absque ullis vitiorum maculis, in coelo a parente deo progenita, corpusque corruptibile inhabitare iussa . . . / . . .

[Expl.]: Sunt qui tradunt hunc humanae naturae cursum non primum a Cebete excogitatum, sed eum ex sacris literis desumpsisse, id quod ex

divi Ambrosii cap. 4 primi de Cain, Abel patere dicunt.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Casu evenerat.* Explicat unde scribendi opusculi huius fuerit occasio sibi data. Ea casu evenire philosophi dicunt quae praeter agentium propositum contingere solent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: artes (inquit) magistrae sunt, praestare debent, quod promittunt. Sapientia domina rectrixque est. Artes serviunt vitae, sapientia imperat.

Epilogue. [Inc.]: Haec habuimus, Praesul reverendissime, quae perosi otiosi otium ter quinis tantum diebus totidemque noctibus calamo mandaremus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Affuit et altera dicandi ratio, quod sciam solitum te meas esse aliquid putare nugas. Ad has et huius genus reliqua scribenda quoties tardum nimis desidiosumque me conspexeris, calcaribus seu monitis paternis potius scis te Camertem solitum commonere.

Epigram of Ioannes Alexander Brassicanus

Quae vitae ambages χαλεπώτατον ἔστι
νοῆσαι
Ni ratio aurigae praesto sit officio.
Proinde homine a dubio quondam consultus
Apollo
Qui certam vitae posset habere viam
Respondit tripode e solido, Vitae illa
magistra est
Optima, Socratica regula discipuli
Praecipue a docto docte illustrata Camerte
Dum tractat studio sensa remota gravi.
Ille tibi filum ductumque adiecit amice
Quo tandem summa vivere fruge queas.
Felicem hanc tabulam felici interprete, et
omnes
Felices scitis quos iuvat illa suis.

Editions:

(xerox) 1524, Cracovie (Cracow): H. Vietor.
With translation of L. Odaxius, NUC. BL; (ICN). Reported by Dr. Janina Hoskins.

1557, Basileae (Basel): H. Petri. With translation of L. Odaxius. In *Commentaria in C. Iulii Solini Polyhistora*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

Biography:

See CTC, III, 54.

c. Justus Velsius

Justus Velsius wrote a long commentary on the *Tabula* which was first published in 1551 but the dedication of which is dated 1540. The au-

thor refers to the commentary as a treasure of the whole of moral philosophy (*totius moralis philosophiae thesaurus*), and he is concerned more to elucidate the inner meaning and universal application of the *Tabula* than to explicate individual words. Velsius is also deeply concerned with the status of the arts and sciences as they have been affected by the religious controversies of the time.

Dedication (ed. of Lyons, 1551). [Inc.]: Quod felix faustumque sit, amplissime ac dignissime Antistes, iam tandem prodeunt in lucem atque adeo in tuo nomine apparent nostrorum in Cebetis Thebani Tabulas commentariorum libri sex, utinam non minus perfecti ingenio quam sunt summa et cura et vigiliis elaborati . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Vale, amplissime et dignissime Antistes, et hoc sex librorum opus, quod in tuo appareat nomine eiusque auctorem tuae Cels. observantissimum solita tua benevolentia complectere. Argentorati Cal. Ianuar. Anno MDL.

Praefatio. [Inc.]: Antequam Cebetis Tabulae explanationem aggrediamur, quaedam nobis adhibenda videntur quae audientium animos ad huius utilissimi operis auscultationem instruant ac praeparent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ac sic quidem, quod in scopo ambigui haerebat, distinctum cum sit, nunc ad ipsum convenienter autorem transeamus, eiusque solerter ac subtilem humanae vitae descriptionem mente acri et, ut ita dicam, sagaci intueamur.

Commentary. [Inc.]: In hac praefatione quae ad eum usque locum protendit, ubi inquit, *Accepta igitur virga*, haec potissimum contineri quis dixerit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Atque hic quidem commentariorum nostrorum in Cebetis Thebetis Tabulam finis esto. Reliquum est ut quam nos scribendo et commentando, eam vos legendo intelligendoque praestetis operam.

Edition:

1551, Lugduni (Lyons). NUC. BL; (CtY; ICU).

Biography:

See above, p. 8.

d. Hieronymus Wolfius

Hieronymus Wolfius wrote some brief *Annotationes* to the *Tabula*, but they did not appear with the earlier editions of his translation and apparently were first printed in 1596.

Annotationes (ed. of Cambridge, 1655). [Inc.]: (p. 73) Cebetis Thebani fit mentio in

Phaedone Platonis. Sed an haec Tabula sit illius, non nihil dubito . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 77) Ut enim plerique virtuti parum, fortunae muneribus nimium tribuunt, sic hi contrariam ingressi viam, iniquum petere videntur, ut aequum ferant, more mercatorio atque etiam oratorio.

Editions:

1596, Coloniae (Cologne): Officina Birkmannica. (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. BL; (CtY).

1655, Cantabrigiae (Cambridge): ex celeberrimae Academiae typographo. (Gr.-Lat.) With Epictetus, *Enchiridion*. NUC. NcD.

Biography:

See CTC, II, 90.

e. Johannes Caselius

Johannes Caselius made a translation of the *Tabula* which was published in 1594 (see above, p. 10). In 1618 he reissued the translation together with the Greek text and a commentary. The Greek text and the translation are printed on facing pages; the commentary follows them, with a separate title page, and it occupies fifty-five pages. It is arranged in paragraph form, with lemmata from the Greek text, each identified by the page in the text. In general, the comments of Caselius emphasize philosophical content rather than linguistic questions. They are often supported by references to and quotations from ancient authors.

Commentary (ed. of Leiden, 1618). [Inc.]: De Cebete, vide Diogenem Laertium, lib. 2, fol. 172. . . . (p. 6) γραφή τις ξένη Nova est haec pictura, nec deprompta ex Homero, aut alio

poeta, quas fabulas pictas et sculptas passim videre erat. Etsi autem et ipsae habent, quibus tenera aetas erudiatur, tamen non prorsus in universum eo respiciunt quemadmodum haec Tabula . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Stoicis convertuntur bonum et honestum, malum et turpe, sed ut omnes loquuntur, bonorum alia sunt prima, et perpetuo bona: Virtus videlicet et Sapientia: alia propter illa expetibilia bona et bonis bona. Hoc discrimine servato facile intelligitur illis bonis constitui εὐδαιμονίαν vel solis vel potissimum. Inferiora autem vel adminicula sunt virtutis vel instrumenta, quae ea de causa bona esse nemo negavit, nisi in opinione iuratus.

Edition:

1618, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): I. Marcus. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; UI).

Biography:

See above, p. 10.

E. DOUBTFUL COMMENTARIES

1. Bernhardus Copius

In Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, II, 707, there is mention of a Graeco-Latin edition of Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, and of the *Tabula* published in 1590 at Frankfort by Wechel “cum notis Bernhardi Copii.” I have not been able to locate a copy of the edition.

2. Nicolaus Glaserus

Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, II, 708, also lists an edition of the *Tabula* published at Helmstedt, 1600, “cum notis brevibus Nic. Glaseri, Walterhusani Thuringi.” Again, I have not been able to locate a copy of the edition.