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THE VULGATE COMMENTARY ON OVID'S METAMORPHOSES Book I

edited and translated by Frank T. Coulson



The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*Book 1

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The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*Book 1

Edited by Frank T. Coulson

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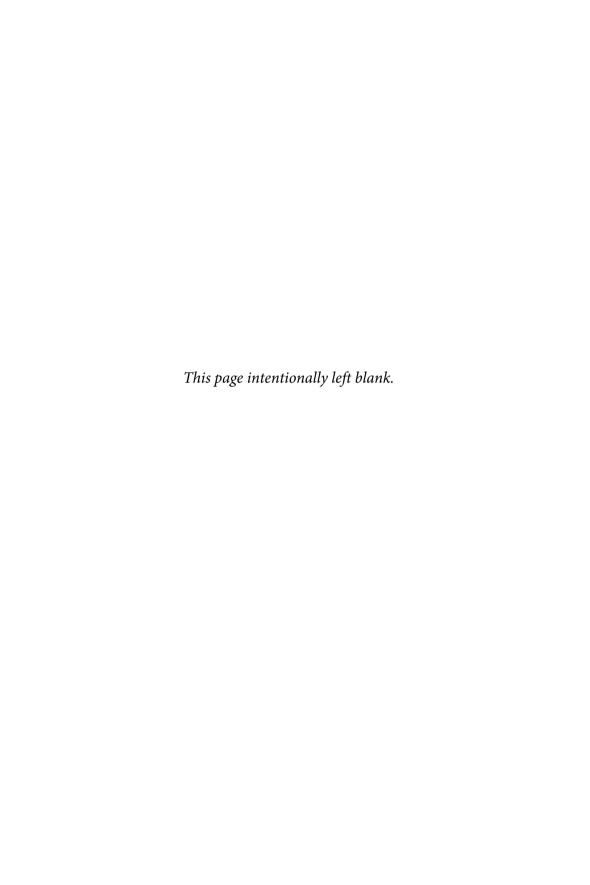
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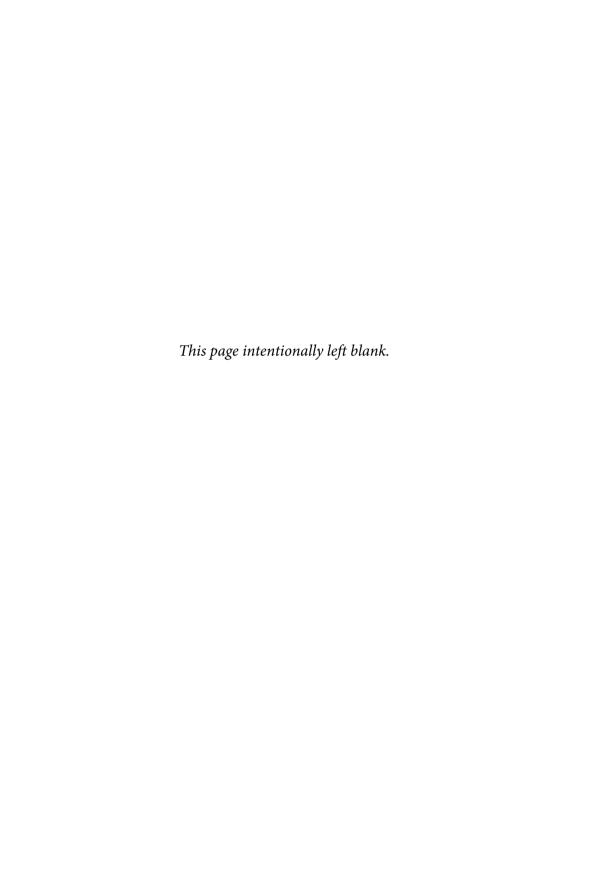
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Abbreviations

Acc.

Accessus ad auctores

CCCM

Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971–.

Clm

Codex Latinus Monacensis (standard abbreviation used by Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Incipitarium Ovidianum

Frank T. Coulson and Bruno Roy. *Incipitarium Ovidianum: A Finding Guide for Texts in Latin Related to the Study of Ovid in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

MGH Poetae

Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae Latini medii aevi, Tomus I–. 6 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1881–.

PL

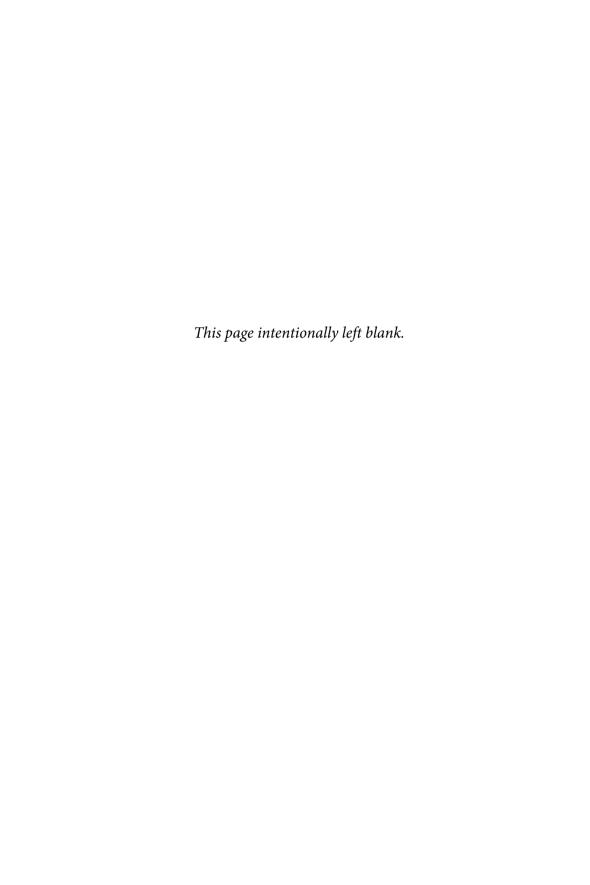
J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina. 221 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–64.

Tarrant, "Ovid"

R. J. Tarrant. "Ovid." In Texts and Transmission, pp. 257–84.

Texts and Transmission

L. D. Reynolds, ed. *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.



Introduction

The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is the most widely disseminated and reproduced body of medieval interpretive materials on Ovid's epic compendium of classical mythology and materialist philosophy. Composed around 1250 by an unknown author in the region of Orléans in north-central France, possibly in the cathedral town of Orléans itself, the Vulgate Commentary consists of an introduction (*accessus*), interlinear glosses, and marginal commentary to Ovid's poem. The *accessus* diverges from the usual pattern of topics established by Servius in his late classical commentary on Virgil and adapted by medieval literary commentators in order to focus on three topics: subject matter, author's intention, and mode of writing. The interlinear glosses added to Ovid's poem clarify vocabulary and paraphrase the text. The marginal commentary amplifies the paraphrase and furnishes background information and references to other classical and medieval writers. The translation offered in this volume is limited to book 1 of the *Metamorphoses*.

The Commentary Tradition of the Metamorphoses

The Vulgate Commentary draws on a tradition of exegesis that began in classical antiquity. Though Ovid claims, somewhat disingenuously, in his poetry from exile to have burned the manuscript of the *Metamorphoses* before departing Rome, the poem nevertheless exercised a wide-ranging and diverse influence on Latin poetry in the later antique period. The Neronian court poets Seneca and Lucan, later writers of epic such as Statius and Valerius Flaccus, and late antique poets as divergent as Dracontius and Venantius Fortunatus derived inspiration from Ovid's poetry. The *Metamorphoses* was studied and commented upon in schools, in part perhaps as a convenient handbook of mythology. Little direct evidence survives, however, to document such curricular interests. Unlike the poetry of Virgil, Horace, or the plays of Terence, no set of complete antique *scholia* on the poem survives. Instead, our primary evidence for the use of Ovid as a classroom author are certain manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* that preserve a set of prose paraphrases and comments thought to date from the late antique period. These paraphrases

are collectively labeled the *Narrationes*, and they were erroneously attributed in the Renaissance to the Christian writer Lactantius Placidus, who lived in the fifth century.⁴

Our knowledge of the textual reception of the Metamorphoses during the sixth to eighth centuries is virtually nonexistent. Aside from a single witness to Ovid's ancient readership—a solitary fragment, twenty-five lines of the Epistulae ex Ponto, which dates from the second quarter of the fifth century and probably originated in Italy—there is no copy extant which can be dated earlier than the ninth century.⁵ In the Carolingian period, however, we have clear documentary evidence for both the classroom reading and literary assimilation of Ovid's poetry. Theodulf, bishop of Orléans, for instance, mentions Ovid's poetry amongst those books eagerly read during his youth; and Modoin, a renowned poet at the Carolingian court, adopted the nickname "Naso" in emulation of Ovid. The Metamorphoses appears to have been particularly popular in the cathedral town of Orléans, which was a relatively thriving center for the study of the classics even before the period of the twelfth-century Renaissance. Important manuscripts of classical Latin texts dating from the ninth to the eleventh century are associated with the town and speak eloquently to its role as a transmitter of classical culture. For example, a fragment of a manuscript now housed in the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (MS Rep. 1.4°.74), possibly written at Orléans in the ninth century, contains brief excerpts from Martial's Epigrammata and Ovid's Metamorphoses; and a ninth-century manuscript of the author Solinus, originally located at Micy, later came to Orléans.⁷ The stage was thus set, by the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries, for the poetry of Ovid to experience a major rebirth in the monastic foundations of southern Germany and in the cathedral schools of the Loire Valley.

The monasteries located in Bavaria, particularly those at Tegernsee and Benediktbeuren, were flourishing centers for the study of the classics during the eleventh century.⁸ Indeed, classical Latin poetry, and particularly that of Ovid, was voluminously copied, studied, and imitated. So impressive is the evidence for such a revival that some scholars have suggested that we must look to the monastic foundations of southern Germany for the Ovidian revival of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and not to the cathedral schools of the Loire Valley.⁹ Many of the extant pre-twelfth-century manuscripts of Ovid's poetry thus have a Tegernsee origin. These include a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19476) and fragments from a manuscript of the *Metamorphoses* (now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29208). In addition, important collections of *accessus ad auctores*, that is to say, medieval

introductions to medieval and classical authors, have a Tegernsee origin. ¹⁰ The library catalogues from southern German monasteries reveal a plethora of manuscript material from Ovid's poetic corpus, some of which is no longer extant. ¹¹ The monastery at Tegernsee owned copies of the *Metamorphoses*, *Remedia amoris*, *Ars amatoria*, *Heroides*, and *Epistulae ex Ponto*.

Furthermore, numerous commentaries written during the twelfth century on Ovid's poetry have a Bayarian or Tegernsee origin. The most important examples of such manuscripts are now housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich under the shelf marks Clm 4610, Clm 14482, and Clm 14809.12 Clm 4610, an early twelfth-century manuscript once housed at the monastery of Benediktbeuren, contains the earliest known commentary on the Metamorphoses. It draws many of its comments from lost scholia by Manegold of Lautenbach, an important German teacher of the late eleventh century. Clm 14482 and Clm 14809 contain several commentaries on the Metamorphoses that have a strongly grammatical and mythographic interest in the poem. The glosses serve to explicate the text at its most rudimentary level for the elementary student. In addition, certain glosses reveal a tendency to interpret the poem in a specifically Christian sense (see below, "The Vulgate Commentary"). At line 2 of the Metamorphoses, for example, Ovid calls on the gods to assist him, and the commentator in one manuscript explains: "Here he says gods in the plural according to common opinion. For he knew there was a single god" (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14482, fol. 28r).

During the twelfth century, the cathedral schools of the Loire Valley, and particularly the cathedral town of Orléans, also became important centers for the study of the classics. Contemporary poets speak to the importance of the town for the study of classical authors, 13 and two major collections of florilegia (collections of excerpts from classical Latin authors), the Florilegium Gallicum and the Florilegium Angelicum, have their origins at Orléans in the twelfth century. 14 At the cathedral school at Orléans, three masters were particularly influential in the rebirth of the study of Ovid's poetic corpus. Hilary of Orléans, who worked in Angers and Orléans, is known to have commented on Ovid.15 A generation later, Arnulf of Orléans wrote two explanations of the Metamorphoses that were to have a major influence on the interpretation of the poem down to the Renaissance. The first work, entitled the Allegoriae, provides euhemeristic, moral, and allegorical interpretations for each transformation. The second work, a more traditional grammatical commentary, is aimed at the elementary reader who needs guidance in the grammar, syntax, and background of the poem. An extensive accessus is appended to the beginning of this commentary, which introduces the medieval reader to the work

under six broad categories: life of the poet, title, subject matter, usefulness of the work, intention of the author, and the branch of philosophy to which it is to be ascribed. A generation after Arnulf, the commentator William of Orléans composed his *Versus bursarii*, wherein he explicated virtually the entire Ovidian corpus. ¹⁷

Paris, too, contributed to the interpretation of Ovid's poem. In 1234, the Englishman John of Garland wrote an allegory of the Metamorphoses in elegiac verse, entitled the Integumenta Ovidii, in which he attempted to explain select transformations historically, physically, morally, or allegorically. 18 John claims that his allegory will serve as a key to unlock the hidden meanings of the poem, and he informs us that he will not allegorize all the transformations in the poem but only select ones. John's language throughout is at once highly alliterative, elliptical, onomatopoeic, and playful.¹⁹ It often obscures the meaning of a given transformation so much that it may be understood only by recourse to the glosses and commentaries transmitted in manuscripts of the Metamorphoses from 1150 to 1250, chief among them the philological commentary of Arnulf of Orléans and the so-called Vulgate Commentary. The form of the verse allegory inaugurated by John exerted a lasting influence on interpretation of the Metamorphoses throughout the late Middle Ages. The Integumenta Ovidii itself circulated widely in no fewer than twenty-two manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. 20 In addition, individual verses from the Integumenta Ovidii were copied next to the appropriate transformation in virtually every glossed manuscript of the poem during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Vulgate Commentary: Approaches to the Text

The Vulgate Commentary both preserves the rich store of twelfth-century glossing on the *Metamorphoses* and incorporates much new material of literary interest. The anonymous commentator has taken over many of the earlier glosses of his Orléanais predecessors Arnulf and William, as well as comments preserved in German manuscripts of the twelfth century (particularly the commentary found in Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a.V.4). In addition, the appropriate verses from John of Garland's *Integumenta Ovidii* are consistently drawn upon for the Vulgate Commentary's own allegories. The commentary, however, also includes a stratum of glossing not found in other treatments of the poem, one that demonstrates a learned and wideranging interest in such topics as the structure of the epic, the characterization given by Ovid to specific characters, features of style and word usage

peculiar to Ovid, and Ovidian influence on the poets of the twelfth-century Renaissance, particularly Walter of Châtillon, Alan of Lille, and Bernard Silvester.²¹

Unlike the earlier commentaries of William and Arnulf, which were usually transmitted as *catena* commentaries (collections of comments keyed to passages but independent of a full text of the poem),²² the Vulgate Commentary is always transmitted as a series of interlinear and marginal glosses surrounding a text manuscript of the *Metamorphoses* (see figure 1). The text of the Vulgate Commentary found in these various witnesses is extremely stable for an anonymous commentary, revealing only minor variation amongst manuscript witnesses.²³ Indeed, an examination of all extant witnesses allows one to construct a critical edition of the commentary and to draw conclusions about the relationships amongst the various witnesses.²⁴

The Vulgate Commentary's interlinear glosses provide the reader primarily with grammatical and syntactical aids to construe the text. Many glosses serve to denote the use of a particular case, as at line 49, where the interlinear gloss "because of heat" indicates to the reader that the ablative case of the original Latin (aestu) is an ablative of cause; whereas the interlinear gloss on line 30, "through its own weight," indicates that the ablative case (gravitate) here is an ablative of means. A prefix placed above a verb—as is the case at line 27, where the Vulgate Commentary glosses "took" (legit) with "selected" (elegit)—suggests that Ovid is using a simple rather than a compound form of the verb. Other interlinear glosses serve to clarify a referent, as is the case at line 7, where the relative "which" is glossed with the noun "appearance." Still other interlinear glosses serve to fill in an ellipsis and may be classified as suppletive glosses.²⁵ At line 44, the interlinear gloss supplies the words "he ordered" found at line 43 but not repeated by Ovid. Finally, the appearance of an "o" above a noun indicates to the reader that it is in the vocative case (see, for example, line 380).

Numerous interlinear glosses function to explain the meaning of a word. At their most elementary level, such glosses provide synonyms for unusual words used in the text that may have been unfamiliar to the medieval reader. At line 23 the somewhat unusual verb "set apart" (secreuit, from the verb secerno) is glossed with "divided" (diuisit); at line 71, "to gleam" (efferuescere) is glossed with "to shine" (lucere); and at line 118 the verb "cut up" (exegit) is glossed as "divided" (diuisit). The glosses may also explicate difficult allusions, as is the case at line 14, where the unusual word "Amphitrite" is glossed as "the great sea." Many of the interlinear glosses seek to provide a fuller explanation of the text, as at line 41, where the text reading "freer" is glossed as "having a freer course."

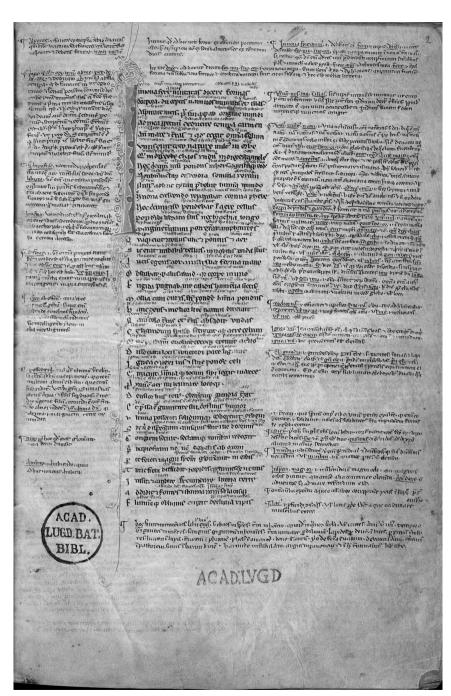


Figure 1. Vulgate Commentary (with permission of the Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, BPL 95, fol. 2r)

The interlinear glosses also comment on textual concerns and metrical anomalies. Manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* frequently transmit alternate readings for specific words in the text, and such textual variants are usually marked with a small sign representing the Latin word "uel," which should be interpreted as "or the alternate reading is." So at line 89 where the text manuscript of the *Metamorphoses* reads "without an avenger" (*sine uindice*), the Vulgate Commentary provides the alternate reading "without a judge" (*sine iudice*). Other examples of this technique can be found at lines 104 (fruit of trees or arbute fruit), and 116 (ancient or eternal). At line 14, the commentator remarks on Ovid's use of a spondaic line, explaining that the fifth foot of the hexameter has a spondee (two long syllables [– –]) as opposed to a dactyl (one long and two short syllables [– *]). A long syllable at this position in the line was unusual in epic verse, and the commentator rightfully draws the attention of the reader to it.

The interlinear glosses are frequently employed to show the reader how one phrase in the verse is linked in thought to the preceding or following section. The commentator generally employs the phrase "I say" (*dico*) to connect the two thoughts. At line 702, for example, the commentator draws the connection between the conjunction "until" and what precedes it with the interlinear gloss "She fled, I say, *until*."

The marginal glosses in many respects reflect the scholarly interests of an early thirteenth-century school master. The commentator relies upon the Doctrinale of Alexander of Villa-Dei and the Graecismus of Eberhard of Béthune for mnemonic verse tags to help his students retain essential points of grammar, syntax, and meaning. At lines 258 and 301, he quotes verses from the *Graecismus* to illustrate the multiple meanings for the verb "to burn" (ardeo) and the noun "Nereid." The Doctrinale is employed at line 363 to explain the lack of elision in the Latin phrase "O utinam." At line 483, it is again used to attest that the adjective "exosus, a, um" (hated) does not derive from a verb. The Vulgate commentator draws on the earlier work of Isidore of Seville for his (often faulty) knowledge of etymology, as at lines 275 (Neptune derives his name from "thundering in a cloud") and 305 ("Tiger derives its name from its speed, for 'tigris' in Greek means 'arrow' in Latin. It is the swiftest of animals"). The Vulgate commentator is also dependent upon the earlier allegorical treatments of Arnulf of Orléans and John of Garland for his own allegories. His allegorical exposition draws upon both but creatively molds and adapts the earlier allegories for his own purposes. For example, the allegory to the story of the Giants (lines 151-62) interprets the myth two ways: first allegorically and then euhemeristically. The opening moral reading of the myth of the Giants seems to be original to the Vulgate Commentary,

though the euhemeristic reading is drawn from Arnulf's *Allegoriae* 1.5. As is the wont of the commentator, he bolsters his interpretation with reference to several quotations drawn from twelfth-century writers—in this case, Matthew of Vendôme and the anonymous author of the *Pamphilus de amore*.

Other marginal glosses comment on peculiarities of meter, though the commentator's knowledge of this subject is not extensive, and they can elaborate the rhetorical devices whereby Ovid embellished his epic. These devices include antipophora, a hypothetical question that a reader could ask about a statement in the text (line 190); antonomasia, the use of an epithet for a proper noun (lines 424 and 778); emphasis, the use of language to imply more than is actually said (line 452); epithet, the use of an epithet, word, or phrase used to characterize (lines 25 and 529); antiptosis, the substitution of one case for another (line 1); polysyndeton, an abundance of conjunctions (line 15); asyndeton, the lack of conjunctions (line 15); synecdoche, the use of a part for the whole (lines 265, 270, and 332); hyperbole, a rhetorical exaggeration (lines 502–3); and pleonasm, redundancy (line 637).

The commentator also pays some attention to textual matters. In general, however, he remains content to list the possible variants for any given passage and almost never ventures an opinion regarding the preferred reading, even when one is evident. So, for example, in the marginal comment to line 747, the three possible readings "wool-bearing," "linen-wearing," and "engendered from the Nile" are all given equal weight as variants despite the fact that only the reading "linen-wearing" makes good sense. Unlike his predecessor William of Orléans, the Vulgate commentator seems to be unaware of spurious lines in the poem. He blithely accepts lines 700–700a ("Nymph, yield to the wishes of the god / Who wants to marry you") as genuine, even though other medieval critics and modern editors excise them as non-Ovidian.

Like earlier twelfth-century glossators on the poem, the Vulgate commentator continues the tradition of interpreting passages in a specifically Christian sense. So, for example, at lines 32 and 78, where Ovid expresses some doubt as to the identity of the god responsible for creation, the Vulgate commentator attributes to him a covert knowledge of Christianity. At line 155, he identifies Jove, who subdues the giants by thunderbolts, as "God the Father, since God breaks all pride." Elsewhere he cites the Gospel of Matthew (lines 160–62 and 183) and Ezechial (line 190).

While the Vulgate Commentary may be viewed as a product of its time and exegetical tradition, it nonetheless displays a literary sensitivity rare among late medieval commentators on Ovid. Aspects of the poem, such as its structure, portrayal of character, and Ovidian style and usage, as well as the poet's influence on medieval Latin authors, receive extensive treatment.

One of the most controversial aspects of Ovid's epic, both for the medieval and the modern reader, remains the problem of its structure and unity. By calling the epic a "perpetual song" (perpetuum carmen) in the opening prologue (line 3), Ovid claims to impart continuity to his narrative. For the Vulgate Commentary, transformation is seen as one of the overall unifying principles behind the work, and thus transitions from one metamorphosis to another are carefully delineated. The articulated tales inserted by Ovid to arrest momentarily the linear progression of the narrative are outlined, and the medieval reader is sometimes shown how these digressions relate thematically to the section under discussion. At line 625, Ovid begins the complex narrative sequence of the story of the death of Argus, in which Mercury narrates the soporific tale of Pan and Syrinx which succeeds in putting all the eyes of Argus to sleep at once. The Vulgate Commentary sees the opening narrative of Argus as a sort of digression: "One hundred lights: The author shows how well-equipped was Argus to guard Io, saying, one hundred lights. Or interpret thus and better: Here he treats of the transformation of Mercury into a shepherd, but he approaches it by way of a digression, first assigning the reason saying one hundred." Similarly, in book 10 of the Metamorphoses, Orpheus, the ostensible narrator of the book, inserts the tale of Hippomenes and Atalanta (lines 560-704) within the longer story of Venus and Adonis. At its most literal level, the tale is intended to serve as a cautionary fable, a fact that Venus herself emphasizes at lines 705–7. The Vulgate commentator carefully underlines this thematic link between the two stories: "Metamorphoses 10.560: And here are the words which Venus spoke. In her speech she intends to show Adonis why he should hold lions in dread. But she begins with a digression, namely, with the story of Hippomenes and Atalanta, how with the help of Venus he defeated her in the foot race. Hence she says 'perhaps.'" (V, fol. 108r).

The Vulgate commentator also illustrates secondary techniques whereby the poet unifies his narrative. For example, Ovid often binds the beginning of one book to the ending of the previous one. At the close of book 1, the altercation between Phaethon and Epaphus prepares the reader for Phaethon's journey to his father's palace at the start of book 2. The Vulgate commentator at line 750 alludes to this structural connection ("Equal to this one: This anticipates the first transformation of book 2"). Likewise, Ovid often links books by having a character span the action of two books, as is the case with the god Hymen, who attends the weddings of Iphis at the end of book 9 and of Orpheus at the beginning of book 10. Ovid cleverly underlines the structural connection by beginning book 10 with the words, "Whence Hymen" (Inde Hymaeneus). The Vulgate commentator remarks: "Metamorphoses 10.1:

Here is the link: thus Hymen had been present at the wedding of Iphis and Ianthe, *whence*, from these wedding rites."²⁶

Another secondary technique employed by Ovid to interweave the narrative strands of the epic is that of the "verbal echo" whereby a fleeting reference may anticipate a later episode or hark back to an earlier one. In book 2, for example, the maiden Callisto, having been ravished by Jupiter, is transformed into a bear. Ovid concludes his pathetic comment: "*Metamorphoses* 2.494–95: And although herself a bear, she was terrified of bears when she caught sight of them in the forest, and she feared wolves, though her father was one."

The Vulgate Commentary carefully maps such examples of intratextuality, delineating the implicit structural connections. It also shows how certain stories in the Metamorphoses are closely linked either by common themes or characterization. For example, the stories of Orpheus and Eurydice and Ceyx and Alcyone develop the twin themes of conjugal devotion and loss. Both Orpheus and Ceyx experience their bereavement in nearly identical terms as the wraith of their respective spouses withdraws from their embrace (Metamorphoses 10.58–59 and 11.686–87). The Vulgate commentator astutely draws the parallel for the reader: Metamorphoses 11.686-87: "I stretched out my hands to him as he retreated, wishing to hold him back," just like the shade of his wife for Orpheus. Whence above (10.58-59): "Stretching forth his arms and trying to embrace and to be embraced, he touched, poor man, nothing but the receding air."27 The Vulgate Commentary draws upon a wide range of classical and medieval authors to illustrate stylistic parallels and similarities of poetic treatment. Many of the authors alluded to—Lucan, Virgil, Theodulus, Statius, the anonymous author of the Ilias Latina, Juvenal, and Horace—formed an integral part of the school tradition, but others, such as Petronius and Valerius Flaccus, are relatively more obscure.²⁸ The commentary also shows an acquaintance with many late antique and medieval authors, including Macrobius, Calcidius (a fourth-century author of a commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*), Servius, Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Walter of Châtillon, Bernard Silvester, Matthew of Vendôme, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and the anonymous author of the twelfth-century Latin comedy Pamphilus de amore.

Perhaps one of the most unique aspects of the Vulgate commentator is his demonstration of Ovidian influence on the poets of the twelfth-century Renaissance, particularly Bernard Silvester, Alan of Lille, and Walter of Châtillon. At times, the commentator merely alludes to a stylistic or verbal parallel that illustrates a medieval poet's debt to Ovid. For example, he underlines the verbal similarity between *Metamorphoses* 1.204 and Walter of Châtillon's epic, the *Alexandreis*:

Nor is this loyalty less: Master Walter imitates Ovid, Nor was the devotion of his men unpleasing. (*Alexandreis* 9.545)

At other times, however, he is aware of the more nuanced use made of Ovid by the twelfth-century poet. At line 1.128, he draws attention to the close verbal connection between Walter's description of the moral degeneracy of the human race and Ovid's depiction of the Silver Age:

At once: Recalling the phrasing of Ovid, Master Walter speaks similarly:
A polluted race and offspring springs forth;
Virtue departs; vice thrives.
They cling to shameful lusts. True piety grows slack.
(Alexandreis 4.195–97)

The author of the Vulgate Commentary shows a particular interest in providing the medieval reader of Ovid with the etymologies for specific words and with the mythological information required for the proper interpretation of a fable. He draws many of his etymologies from the *Etymologiae* of the late sixth- to early seventh-century scholar Isidore of Seville. Many of the etymologies provided in the Vulgate Commentary can also be found in the *Vocabulista*, thought to have been written ca. 1050 by the grammarian Papias.²⁹ Other etymologies may be drawn from the *Derivationes* of Hugo of Pisa, a Bolognese grammarian writing ca. 1200.³⁰

For the background to the myths treated by Ovid, the Vulgate commentator draws mainly upon conventional sources, such as the *Fabulae* of Hyginus and the commentary by Servius on Virgil. Another important source is the group of mythographic sources collectively known as the "Vatican Mythographers." The title "Vatican Mythographers" was given to three texts edited by Angelo Mai from a Vatican manuscript in 1831 (and re-edited by Bode in 1834). Though the exact dating for the three texts is a matter of some conjecture, scholars generally place Vatican Mythographer I in the Merovingian age, Vatican Mythographer III in the Carolingian age, and Vatican Mythographer III in the twelfth century. The Vulgate commentator may also be getting some of his mythological material from Papias's *Vocabulista* as well as *scholia* circulating on other Ovidian poems, such as *Ibis*. For example, at line 516 the Vulgate Commentary provides a somewhat garbled account for the naming of the island Tenedos:

Cycnus, the son of Neptune, had two sons, namely, Tenes and Armethes. When their mother died, he married Samandra, a mistress who had

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sought sexual intercourse with Tenes. When he refused, she transferred the blame onto him and claimed that Armethes, who had excused his brother before his father, was an intermediary. Cycnus therefore placed both of them on a boat, believing that they would perish. They came to the island of Leuthofius, which Tenes, upon becoming king, called Tenedon, removing the "p" and adding "don."

Servius in *Aeneid* 2.21 corrects some of the errors found in the Vulgate Commentary, providing the proper name "Hemithea" for the sister of Tenes, and listing the earlier name of the island as "Leucophrys":

Tenedos is an island opposite Troy which previously was called Leucophrys. For Tenes, the son of Cycnus, slandered by his mother-in-law who claimed that he wanted to sleep with her, took possession of the uninhabited island, whence it is called Tenedos. Others claim that on account of the above reason he cast himself from the island into the sea. His sister is said to have been called Hemithea.³¹

The version of the myth preserved by the Vulgate commentator (with its many mistaken interpretations) may be the one which circulated most widely during the High Middle Ages, for in the *Fabularius* written by Conradus de Mure ca. 1273, we find nearly exactly the same information as that transmitted in the Vulgate Commentary.³²

Reception and Influence

The Vulgate Commentary exercised a wide-ranging influence on the understanding and presentation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the High Middle Ages and Renaissance. The commentary exists in Italian as well as French manuscripts. The *Catholicon*, written ca. 1280 by the Italian Dominican Johannes Balbus, often contains etymologies identical to those transmitted in the Vulgate Commentary. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century commentaries similarly reveal their indebtedness to the Vulgate Commentary for their interpretations.³³ Fausto Ghisalberti and others have suggested that Dante may have read Ovid through the intermediary of the Vulgate Commentary.³⁴ Though it was never printed, the Vulgate Commentary continued to serve as an authoritative source in the Renaissance. One reader copied the commentary for book 1.1–567 into the text of the *Metamorphoses* printed in 1475 at Louvain by Johannes de Westphalia. (The text is basically a reprint of the 1471 edition printed at Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz.) Raphael Regius, the Venetian humanist who wrote a commentary on the *Metamorphoses* in 1493,

which became a standard source in the sixteenth century, was indebted to the Vulgate Commentary for many of his interpretations. In particular, Regius's exposition of the internal monologues of many of the heroines from books 6–10 (e.g., Scylla, Byblis, and Myrrha) draws closely on the earlier comments of the Vulgate commentator.³⁵

Translation and Text

The Vulgate Commentary on the *Metamorphoses* is preserved in twenty-two manuscripts and fragments dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century to the later fourteenth century (see Manuscripts, below). The translation provided in this volume is based on the text edited in my 1982 dissertation, "A Study of the Vulgate Commentary and a Critical Edition of the Glosses to Book One." In a very few places, I have departed slightly from the Latin text printed in the dissertation. Where I do so, I have discussed these changes in the appended notes.

The translation of book 1 of the *Metamorphoses* (found on pp. 1–22) which accompanies the commentary is my own and has been taken from the Latin text transmitted in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1598. Vat. lat. 1598 has been chosen as the base manuscript for the text translation for several reasons. It is one of the earliest witnesses, and it is a member of the alpha group of manuscripts of the commentary, which has been shown to constitute the best and most reliable branch of the tradition. Its text and commentary have been copied by a single scribe, and thus in the main the *lemmata* of the commentary (the words from the text being glossed) correspond correctly with the text reading.³⁷ Finally, the text in Vat. lat. 1598 has not suffered loss or replacement, as is the case with several other manuscripts. The translation is intended to present the text as the medieval reader would have encountered it, and it thus lays no claim to elegance or grace. I have attempted to the degree possible to produce a literal rendering, one that clearly shows the modern reader why the comments of the Vulgate Commentary were necessary to the understanding of the text. So, for example, Ovid's frequent use of patronymics, such as Saturnia, Peneia, and Arestorides, has been retained in my translation, though these are often rendered as "Saturn's daughter," "the daughter of Peneus," and "the grandson of Arestor" in modern translations.

One final feature of the text as transmitted in Vat. lat. 1598 requires more detailed comment, namely, the vexed question of what scholars dub "the double recension." At certain points in the *Metamorphoses*, the manuscripts provide two versions for a specific episode. Some scholars posit that

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Ovid intended to reconcile these versions in the final draft of the poem but was prevented from doing so when he was precipitously sent into exile in 8 CE. The most obvious example of such a double recension in book 1 occurs at lines 545–47, where Daphne addresses her father for help. Medieval manuscripts of the poem at this point present multiple versions of the lines. The variety and complexity of the possible permutations is perhaps best expressed by Richard Tarrant, who in his *apparatus criticus* to the Oxford Classical Text (OCT) edition comments: "The manuscripts transmit the following lines in a wondrously varied sequence." The OCT text prints the two possible recensions as follows:

[uicta labore fugae "Tellus" ait, "hisce, uel istam, quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram."] uicta labore fugae, spectans Peneidas undas, "fer, pater" inquit, "opem, si flumina numen habetis; qua nimium placui, mutando perde figuram."

[Overwhelmed by the toil of the quick flight, she said, "Earth, open, Or destroy through transformation this form which causes me to be injured."]

Overwhelmed by the toil of flight, gazing at the waters of Peneus, She said, "Daddy, help! If you rivers are divine, Destroy through transformation this form by which I pleased too much."

An early eleventh-century manuscript from Germany (now Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 36.12, fol. 5v) gives the following sequence:

uicta labore fugae "Tellus" ait, "hisce, uel istam, quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram, qua nimium placui." Spectansque Peneidos undas, "fer, pater" inquit "opem, si flumina numen habetis."

Overwhelmed by the toil of the flight, she said, "Earth, open, Or destroy through transformation this form which causes me to be injured,

By which I have pleased too much." Looking at the waters of Peneus, She said, "Daddy, help! If you rivers are divine."

A tenth-century manuscript of southern German origin (now London, British Library, Harley 2610, fol. 9v) transmits the lines thus:

Victa labore fugae, "Tellus" ait, "hisce uel istam, Quae facit ut laedar mutando perde figuram." "Fer, pater" inquit "opem, si flumina numen habetis."

Overwhelmed by the toil of the flight, she said, "Earth open, Or destroy through transformation this form which causes me to be injured."

She said, "Daddy, help! If you rivers are divine."

In my translation, I retain the version transmitted in Vat. lat. 1598:

| Victa labore fuge spectans peneydos undas | 544a |
|--|------|
| Fer pater inquit opem si flumina numen habetis | 546 |
| Qua nimium placui tellus ait hisce uel illa | 547a |
| Que facit ut ledar mutando perde figuram | 545 |

Overwhelmed by the toil of the flight, gazing at the waters of Peneus, She said: "Daddy, help! If you rivers are divine, By which I pleased too much, O land," she said, "gape open, Or lose and change that figure which causes me to be harmed."

The text of the Metamorphoses that circulated during the Middle Ages varied considerably from modern printed editions, in which editors often emend faulty grammar and syntax or incorporate conjectures advanced by classical scholars from the Renaissance onward. Medieval commentators, by contrast, were forced to grapple with a text often unintelligible. Several examples of this phenomenon occur in book 1. For example, lines 2–3 of the prologue, in the OCT edition of Richard Tarrant, read "Gods, favor my beginnings, for you changed them too" (di, coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illa), aspirate meis), whereas the medieval manuscripts invariably transmit "Gods, favor my beginnings, for you changed also those forms" (di, coeptis, nam vos mutastis et illas, aspirate meis). The reading illa was unknown to the medieval school master and his students. Similarly at lines 52-53, the OCT text of the poem prints: "the air hung over these, which by how much the weight of water is lighter than that of earth, by so much heavier is it than fire" (imminet his aer, qui, quanto est pondere terrae | pondus aquae leuius, tanto est onerosior igni). The medieval manuscripts of the poem invariably transmit the nonsense: "the air hung over these, which by how much it is lighter than the weight of the land, than the weight of the water, by so much heavier is it than fire" (imminet his aer, qui, quanto est pondere terrae / pondere aquae leuior, tanto est onerosior igni). The Vulgate commentator therefore is forced to construe and explain a passage which is gibberish because of a faulty text.

As discussed above, the Vulgate Commentary is laid out on the manuscript page as a series of interlinear and marginal glosses tied to the text of the

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poem. The interlinear gloss is positioned over the word (or words) of the text which it is glossing, while the marginal commentary reproduces the word (or words) from the text (*lemma*) followed by the gloss itself. In my translation of the Vulgate Commentary, I have tried to the degree possible to reproduce this layout. Thus, interlinear glosses for each line are listed first, with the text reading followed by the gloss. Within a line, interlinear glosses for different words are separated by a semicolon. The marginal gloss for each line is then reproduced below. The *lemma* printed is keyed to the translation of book 1 placed before the commentary.

This translation of the Vulgate Commentary is equipped with notes in which I explain for the modern reader the import of a particular medieval gloss. When, for example, the Vulgate commentator places the letter "o" above a noun, I explain that this signals the presence of the vocative case. Likewise, when he signals that a simple verb is being used by Ovid in place of a compound verb (as when the commentator places an "e" above the Latin word "legit"), I discuss the import of the gloss, since English translation alone does not seem to convey the significance. Similarly, the Vulgate commentator will often place a preposition above a noun to indicate to the medieval reader the particular usage of the ablative or accusative case employed therein (for example, ex, per, propter). In the explanatory notes, I have explicated more fully for the modern reader how this particular type of gloss functions to denote case usage. The notes also seek to provide the source for a given etymology and to explain how such an etymology works, to discuss textual problems, and to convey historical information when such is useful to an understanding of the gloss.

NOTES

¹ Ovid, Tristia, 1.7.15-20.

² For the influence of Ovid on late antique poets, see the special volume of *Arethusa* 35 (2002) entitled "The Reception of Ovid in Antiquity," edited by Garth Tissol and Stephen Wheeler.

³ For Virgil, we have the monumental commentary of Servius; for Horace, the commentary of Pomponius Porphyrio; and for the plays of Terence, the commentary of Aelius Donatus.

⁴ For a survey of published material on the *Narrationes*, see *Incipitarium Ovidianum*, pp. 37–40, no. 52. Cameron, *Greek Mythography*, pp. 4–32, attempts to re-date the *Narrationes* to the second century and posits that the *Narrationes* were composed as we have them and do not derive from a late antique commentary. The fullest discussion of the manuscript evidence is Tarrant, "*Narrationes* of 'Lactantius.'" During

the Renaissance, the *Narrationes* were often copied separately from the text of the *Metamorphoses* and were described as a mythological treatise.

- ⁵ See Tarrant, "Ovid," esp. p. 263.
- ⁶ Theodulf, Carm., 45.18.
- ⁷ See *Texts and Transmission*, especially the index, under Orléans.
- ⁸ For Tegernsee, see Eder, "Die Schule der Klosters Tegernsee."
- 9 See Dronke, "Note on Pamphilus."
- ¹⁰ The manuscript is now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19475. See the edition of Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores*, and the forthcoming edition of Stephen Wheeler, *Accessus ad auctores*, to be published by Medieval Institute Publications.
- ¹¹ The catalogues have now been edited by Paul Lehmann et al. in the series *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*.
- ¹² Clm 4610 has been studied by Meiser, "Über einen Commentar," and most recently by Herren, "Manegold of Lautenbach's Scholia." For editions of the *accessus* transmitted in Clm 14482, see Young, "Chaucer's Appeal."
- ¹³ These numerous references are collected in Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans"; Paetow, "Arts Course"; Faral, *Les arts poétiques*; and Arnulf of Orléans, *Glosule super Lucanum*.
- ¹⁴ Sections from the *Florilegium Gallicum* are edited in Burton, *Classical Poets*, and Hamacher, "*Florilegium Gallicum*." The texts are discussed in Rouse, "*Florilegia* and the Latin Classical Authors," where he studies the manuscripts in Richard de Fournival's library, which is thought to have an Orléans origin, and Rouse and Rouse, "*Florilegium Angelicum*."
 - 15 Engelbrecht, "Carmina Pieridum," discusses masters at Orléans.
- ¹⁶ Edited and discussed in Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orléans." The fullest treatment of lives and *accessus* to Ovid is Ghisalberti, "Mediaeval Biographies of Ovid," now supplemented by Coulson, "Hitherto Unedited Lives (I)," and "Hitherto Unedited Lives (II)." Coulson, "New Manuscript Evidence," discusses the sources for Arnulf's *accessus*.
- ¹⁷ William's commentary is discussed in Shooner, "Les *Bursarii Ovidianorum.*" For further discussion see Coulson, "Ovid's Transformations in Medieval France."
- ¹⁸ For John of Garland, see, in particular, the edition by Ghisalberti, *Integumenta Ovidii*, and Born, "*Integumenta* on the *Metamorphoses*."
- ¹⁹ Some examples of such lines include: line 35, vernat ver, estas estuat, auget et estas; line 155, ut serpens serpit pauper sed pectore prudens; line 147, vir valet invictus et inexorabilis esse; and line 205, Tantalides similis tibi, Tantale, vivit avarus.
- ²⁰ For a complete list of manuscripts see *Incipitarium Ovidianum*, pp. 101–2, no. 333.
- ²¹ See Coulson, "Vulgate Commentary," and "Ovid's Transformations in Medieval France" for further discussion.
- ²² The term literally means a "linking" commentary. For discussion of the origins and development of the *catena* commentary, see Ward, "From Marginal Gloss to *catena* Commentary," and "*Catena* Commentaries." He posits that the *catena*

commentary arose in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to meet the needs of students who required copies of masters' glosses, and thus it is evidence for institutionalized teaching of classical texts.

- ²³ For full discussion of the manuscript traditions, see below, pp. 23–27.
- 24 The relationship of the manuscripts is fully discussed in Coulson, "Study of the *Vulgate* Commentary."
- ²⁵ Gernot Wieland has written extensively and engagingly on the types of interlinear gloss and their functions. See, in particular, Wieland, *Latin Glosses*, and "Interpreting the Interpretation."
 - ²⁶ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1598, fol. 100r.
 - ²⁷ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1598, fol. 120r.
- ²⁸ For the importance of the Vulgate Commentary for our knowledge of the circulation of the text of Valerius Flaccus, see Coulson, "New Evidence."
- ²⁹ The *Catholicon* of Balbus, written about 1280 (and thus a generation later than the Vulgate Commentary), often contains etymologies identical to those transmitted in the Vulgate Commentary.
 - ³⁰ See the edition of *Derivationes* by Cecchini et al.
- ³¹ "TENEDOS insula est contra Ilium, quae ante Leucophrys dicta est. Nam Tennes, Cycni filius, infamatus a nouerca, quod cum ea uoluisset concumbere, cultoribus uacuam tenuit: unde Tenedos dicta est. alii dicunt quod se propter supra dictam causam ex ipsa insula in mare praecipitauerit. huius soror Hemithea fuisse dicitur."
 - ³² See La Penna, *Scholia*, p. 123. I am indebted to Greg Hays for this reference.
- ³³ See, for example, the commentaries in Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, MSS lat. 8010, lat. 8253, and lat. 6363; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Chigi H V 167 and Pal. lat. 1667; and Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS IV.F.62.
- ³⁴ Most forcefully advanced in Ghisalberti, "Il commentario medioevale." See also Robson, "Dante's Use."
 - ³⁵ A point made by McKinley, *Reading the Ovidian Heroine*, pp. 128, 129.
- ³⁶ Select portions (*Metamorphoses*. 1.1–150) from that dissertation were edited from Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, MS 92 in Coulson, *The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's "Metamorphoses."* The only example of a published text and translation of a medieval commentary is that of Woods, *Early Commentary*.
- ³⁷ In Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, MS 92, for example, the hand of the commentary differs from that of the text, and often the reading of the text does not correspond to the *lemma* of the commentary.
 - ³⁸ Metamorphoses, ed. Tarrant: 544 sqq. mirifice uariant codices.

Metamorphoses, Translation of Book 1

My spirit drives me to tell of forms changed into new bodies. Gods, blow kindly on my beginnings (for you altered also those forms*) And lead down the perpetual song From the first origin of the world to my own time.

| Before the sea and the lands and the sky which covers all, | 5 |
|---|----|
| There was a single visage of nature in the entire globe, | |
| Which they called Chaos, a mass rough and unordered, | |
| Not anything but inert weight and | |
| Discordant seeds of matter heaped in one and not well joined together. | |
| No Titan as yet showed forth light to the world, | 10 |
| Nor did Phoebe reshape new horns with crescents, | |
| Nor did the earth, balanced by its weight, | |
| Hang in the air that had been poured round about it, | |
| Nor had Amphitrite encircled the distant ends of the earth in its arms. | |
| Where* there was land, so also there was air and sea, | 15 |
| And so the land could not be trod upon, the wave was not swimmable, | |
| The air lacking light. Nothing retained its own form. | |
| One thing stood in opposition to the others, since in one body | |
| Cold fought with heat, wet with dry, | |
| Softness with hardness, weightiness with weightlessness. | 20 |
| God and a better nature separated this strife: | |
| | |

For he severed the earth from the sky and the sea from the land, And he set apart the ethereal sky from the dense vapors. After God released and freed these elements from the blind heap, He bound them, now rent asunder, in their places by a harmonious peace. 25

The fiery might of the vaulted and weightless sky
Flashed up and took for itself a position in the highest citadel.
The air is next to it in lightness and in place.
The land, more dense than these elements, dragged down the big elements

| 2 Meumorphoses | |
|--|------------|
| And was pressed down by its own weight; the streaming water Took possession of the last and confined the solid globe. | 30 |
| So when some god or other had separated and arranged this chaos, And ordered it thus divided into its parts, From the beginning he molded the earth, lest it should not be equal on every side, | |
| Into the form of a great ball. | 35 |
| Then he poured out the channels and ordered them to rise up when the rapid winds gust, | 9, |
| And he ordered them to go round about the shores of the encircled earth He added springs and great stagnant pools and lakes, | l . |
| And he enclosed the rivers flowing downward within zigzag banks, | |
| Which, in diverse journeys, are partly swallowed by the earth, | 40 |
| And partly flow down to the sea and, received into the expanse of freer was Strike against shores instead of banks. | ıter, |
| And he ordered plains to be stretched out, valleys to subside, | |
| The forests to be clothed in foliage, and craggy mountains to rise up. | |
| And as two zones cut the celestial vault on the right and the left section, | 45 |
| While the fifth is hotter than these, | |
| Thus God's care separated the weight and enclosed it in the same numbe | r, |
| And the same number of tracks was impressed upon the earth. | |
| The one amongst these in the middle is not inhabitable due to heat. | |
| High snow covers two; the same number he placed between both, | 50 |
| And gave them a temperate climate, mingling flame with cold. | |
| The air hangs over these, which to the degree that air is lighter than the weight of land, | |
| Than the weight of water,* by so much is it heavier than fire. | |
| There he ordered the mists and clouds to take their place, | |
| And thunder, which terrifies human minds, | 55 |
| And winds with lightning that produce thunder. |)) |
| The maker of the world also did not allow them to dwell freely in the air. | |
| Scarcely now can they be prevented, | , |
| Even though each controls his blast in a different track, | |
| From tearing apart the earth. Such is the discord of brothers. | 60 |
| Eurus drew off to the land of the dawn and the Arabian lands, | |
| And where the Persian crests lie beneath the morning rays. | |
| The West and those shores which lie warm with the setting sun | |
| Are next to the Zephyr; bristling Boreas | |
| 1 / ' | |

| Marched to Scythia and the Wain. The land opposite Lies damp with constant clouds and rain because of the South Wind. Over these he placed the liquid and weightless ether, Having no part of earthly dregs. Scarcely had he divided all things into certain boundaries, When the stars, which had lay hidden pressed down by that mass Began to gleam throughout the sky. Lest any region be bereft of its own animals, The stars and the forms of the gods held the heavenly land, The waves fell to the shining fish to be dwelt in, The land took the wild beasts; the mobile air, the birds. An animal more holy than these and more possessed of profound mind, And one who could dominate the rest, was as yet lacking. Man was born, whether that maker of things, the origin of a better world, Made him from divine seed, Or the recent earth, just recently drawn away from heavenly ether, Retained the seeds of its relation, the sky. The offspring of Iapetus mixed this with river waters And crafted it into the image of the gods who direct all things. While other beasts look downward toward the earth, God gave a lofty countenance to man and ordered him To look upon the sky and to raise his erect visage to the stars. Thus the land, which had but lately been rough and formless, Transformed, took on the unknown shapes of men. Golden was engendered the first age, which, without an avenger, Of its own accord, without law, cherished faith, and uprightness. Golden was engendered the first age, which, without an avenger, Of its own accord, without law, cherished faith, and uprightness. Fly and the pine, cut down, descended from its own mountains Into the watery waves to visit foreign lands. Mortals knew of no shores but theirs. High ditches did not yet encircle towns, Nor yet were there trumpets of straight brass, horns of curved brass, Nor helmets, nor swords: without the employment of soldiers, Men enjoyed gentle leisure securely. The soil itself without compulsion, untouched by plow | | Book 1 | 3 |
|---|--|----------------|-----|
| When the stars, which had lay hidden pressed down by that mass Began to gleam throughout the sky. Lest any region be bereft of its own animals, The stars and the forms of the gods held the heavenly land, The waves fell to the shining fish to be dwelt in, The land took the wild beasts; the mobile air, the birds. An animal more holy than these and more possessed of profound mind, And one who could dominate the rest, was as yet lacking. Man was born, whether that maker of things, the origin of a better world, Made him from divine seed, Or the recent earth, just recently drawn away from heavenly ether, Retained the seeds of its relation, the sky. The offspring of Iapetus mixed this with river waters And crafted it into the image of the gods who direct all things. While other beasts look downward toward the earth, God gave a lofty countenance to man and ordered him 85 To look upon the sky and to raise his erect visage to the stars. Thus the land, which had but lately been rough and formless, Transformed, took on the unknown shapes of men. Golden was engendered the first age, which, without an avenger, Of its own accord, without law, cherished faith, and uprightness. [Punishment and fear were absent, nor were threatinging words Incised on the cut bronze, nor did the suppliant crowd fear The face of its own judge, but they were safe without a defender.*] Not yet had the pine, cut down, descended from its own mountains Into the watery waves to visit foreign lands. 95 Mortals knew of no shores but theirs. High ditches did not yet encircle towns, Nor yet were there trumpets of straight brass, horns of curved brass, Nor helmets, nor swords: without the employment of soldiers, Men enjoyed gentle leisure securely. | Lies damp with constant clouds and rain because of the Sou Over these he placed the liquid and weightless ether, | ith Wind. | 65 |
| The stars and the forms of the gods held the heavenly land, The waves fell to the shining fish to be dwelt in, The land took the wild beasts; the mobile air, the birds. An animal more holy than these and more possessed of profound mind, And one who could dominate the rest, was as yet lacking. Man was born, whether that maker of things, the origin of a better world, Made him from divine seed, Or the recent earth, just recently drawn away from heavenly ether, Retained the seeds of its relation, the sky. The offspring of lapetus mixed this with river waters And crafted it into the image of the gods who direct all things. While other beasts look downward toward the earth, God gave a lofty countenance to man and ordered him 85 To look upon the sky and to raise his erect visage to the stars. Thus the land, which had but lately been rough and formless, Transformed, took on the unknown shapes of men. Golden was engendered the first age, which, without an avenger, Of its own accord, without law, cherished faith, and uprightness. [Punishment and fear were absent, nor were threatinging words Incised on the cut bronze, nor did the suppliant crowd fear The face of its own judge, but they were safe without a defender.*] Not yet had the pine, cut down, descended from its own mountains Into the watery waves to visit foreign lands. 95 Mortals knew of no shores but theirs. High ditches did not yet encircle towns, Nor yet were there trumpets of straight brass, horns of curved brass, Nor helmets, nor swords: without the employment of soldiers, Men enjoyed gentle leisure securely. | When the stars, which had lay hidden pressed down by that Began to gleam throughout the sky. | mass | 70 |
| Made him from divine seed, Or the recent earth, just recently drawn away from heavenly ether, Retained the seeds of its relation, the sky. The offspring of Iapetus mixed this with river waters And crafted it into the image of the gods who direct all things. While other beasts look downward toward the earth, God gave a lofty countenance to man and ordered him To look upon the sky and to raise his erect visage to the stars. Thus the land, which had but lately been rough and formless, Transformed, took on the unknown shapes of men. Golden was engendered the first age, which, without an avenger, Of its own accord, without law, cherished faith, and uprightness. [Punishment and fear were absent, nor were threatinging words Incised on the cut bronze, nor did the suppliant crowd fear The face of its own judge, but they were safe without a defender.*] Not yet had the pine, cut down, descended from its own mountains Into the watery waves to visit foreign lands. 95 Mortals knew of no shores but theirs. High ditches did not yet encircle towns, Nor yet were there trumpets of straight brass, horns of curved brass, Nor helmets, nor swords: without the employment of soldiers, Men enjoyed gentle leisure securely. | The stars and the forms of the gods held the heavenly land, The waves fell to the shining fish to be dwelt in, The land took the wild beasts; the mobile air, the birds. An animal more holy than these and more possessed of prof And one who could dominate the rest, was as yet lacking. | | |
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| Nor yet were there trumpets of straight brass, horns of curved brass, Nor helmets, nor swords: without the employment of soldiers, Men enjoyed gentle leisure securely. | Not yet had the pine, cut down, descended from its own mo Into the watery waves to visit foreign lands. Mortals knew of no shores but theirs. | | 95 |
| | Nor yet were there trumpets of straight brass, horns of curve Nor helmets, nor swords: without the employment of soldie Men enjoyed gentle leisure securely. | | 100 |

4

Metamorphoses Nor injured by any plowshare, granted everything willingly. Content with berries brought forth without compulsion, Men gathered the fruit of trees or mountain strawberries, Cherries, berries hanging on the harsh bramble, 105 And acorns, which fell from the spreading tree of Jupiter. Spring was eternal, and the gentle Zephyrs with their warm breezes Played with the flowers born without seeds. Then even the earth untilled bore crops, And the field, not fallowed, stood white with heavy shafts. 110 Rivers of milk, rivers of nectar flowed, And yellow honey was distilled from the green oak. After the world was under the dominion of Jupiter, And Saturn had been cast down into shadowy Hades, the silver race came in, Meaner than the Golden Age, but more precious than tawny brass. 115 Jupiter shortened the season of ancient spring, And through winter, summer, unequal autumn and brief spring, Cut up the year into its four seasons. Then first of all did the air, burnt by parching heat, grow white, 120 And ice hung down congealed by the winds. Then for the first time men sought out houses: the houses were caves, And dense thickets and branches joined with bark. Then for the first time the seeds of grain were buried in long furrows, Oxen groaned in service beneath the yoke. After this followed the third offspring, bronze, 125 More savage in character and more ready for horrid war, Yet not wicked. The final age was of hard iron. At once all evil burst forth into this age of worse metal, Shame, truth, faith fled, 130 And in their place came fraud and deceit, Treachery and might, and wicked love of possessions. The sailor gave his sail to the winds, though as yet he scarcely knew them.

Ships, which for a long time had stood in the lofty mountains,

Bobbed in the unknown waves.

The careful measurer marked out the earth with his long boundary line — 135 The earth which before had been held in common like the light of the sun or breezes.

Nor were only crops and the owed food demanded From the rich earth. One went down to the bowels of the earth,

| D00K 1 |) |
|---|-----|
| And whatever riches she had removed and hidden in the Stygian gloom Were dug up, the enticement for evil. | 140 |
| And now injurious iron and gold, more injurious than iron, | |
| Had burst forth; war marched forth—war which battles both, | |
| And shook its clashing arms with bloody hand. | |
| One lived from plunder, guest not safe from guest, | |
| Nor father-in-law from son-in-law; also kindness among brothers was rare. | 145 |
| The husband plotted destruction for his wife, the wife for her husband; | |
| Frightening mothers-in-law stirred up ghastly aconite. | |
| Sons inquired into the years of their fathers before time. | |
| Reverence lay vanquished, and the maiden Astraea, the last of the gods, | |
| | 150 |
| Lest the lofty ether be more secure than the earth, | |
| They say that giants attacked the heavenly kingdom | |
| And built and piled up mountains to the high stars. | |
| When the almighty father, hurling his thunderbolt, shattered Olympus | |
| | 155 |
| When the harsh bodies lay overwhelmed by the mass, | |
| They say that the earth, drenched with much blood of her children, | |

When the harsh bodies lay overwhelmed by the mass,
They say that the earth, drenched with much blood of her children,
Was wet and gave life to that warm gore,
And lest no memorial of her offspring should stay,
Turned it into the appearance of men. But also this new stock
Was a despiser of the gods, most eager for savage slaughter,
And violent. You might know it was born from blood.

When the Saturnian father saw these things from his lofty citadel,
He groaned, and recalling the base feast of Lycaon's table,
Not yet widely known because the deed was recent,
He conceived a great wrath worthy of Jove,
And he called together a meeting. No delay held those called to assembly.

There is a lofty way, easy to see in the cloudless sky;

Milky is its name, famed for its clarity. Along this way is the path for the gods to the halls of the great Thunderer 170 And his royal house. On the right and on the left The halls of the noble gods are thronged with guests, their hinges wide open.

The common folk live apart in separate places. From the brow the powerful dwellers in heaven

6 Metamorphoses

| And the renowned gods have placed their household gods. This is the place which, if daring might be granted to words, I would scarcely fear to call the palace of the great king. Therefore, when the gods had taken their seats in the marble recess, He himself, on a higher throne and leaning on his ivory scepter, | 175 |
|--|-----|
| Shook three and four times the terrifying locks on his head By which he stirs the earth, sea, and the stars. Then, in such strains he released his indignant lips: "I was not more anxious for the kingdom of the world At that storm when each one of the snake-footed ones | 180 |
| Prepared to lay their hundred arms on captive heaven. For although the enemy was fierce, yet the whole assault Sprang from one body and from one source. Now, wherever Nereus rings round about the entire globe, I must annihilate the race of men. I swear | 185 |
| By that river flowing beneath the ground in the Stygian grove, All things should first be tried, but the wound which cannot be cured Must be cut out lest the healthy part be infected. There are demigods, rustic deities, Nymphs, | 190 |
| Fauns, and Satyrs, and sylvan deities on mountain tops. Since we do not yet deign to grant them divinity, Let us allow them to dwell certainly in the lands which we have given. Or do you think, ye Gods, that they will be safe enough, When Lycaon, known for his savagery, has hatched a plan Against me, who possesses the thunderbolt and rules over you?" | 195 |
| All trembled, and with eager zeal demanded the punishment From the one who had dared such deeds. So when the impious hand Raged to stamp out the Roman name with Caesarean blood, | 200 |
| The human race was astonished by such fear Of swift destruction, and the whole world shuddered in horror. Nor is this loyalty of your subjects, Augustus, less pleasing to you Than that was to Jupiter. After he checked their outcry With voice and gesture, and all held silence, When now the cry had subsided, checked by the force of the ruler, Jupiter again broke the silence with these words: | 205 |
| "Indeed he has paid the penalty, lay aside that care, Yet I shall instruct what was the fault, what was the punishment. A bad report of the age had reached my ears. | 210 |

| Hoping it would prove false, I slipped down from Olympus | |
|--|-------|
| And, though a god, walked on earth in human form. | |
| Long would be the delay to enumerate what great wickedness was found everywhere, | l |
| The report was less than reality. | 215 |
| I had crossed Maenala, bristling with the hiding places of wild beasts, | |
| The thickets of cold Lycaeus along with Cyllene, | |
| Whence I approached the inhospitable halls of the Arcadian ruler, | |
| Just as the late twilight was ushering in the night. | |
| I gave signs that a god had come, and the common people began to pray. | 220 |
| Lycaon first scoffed at their pious prayers. | |
| Then he said, "I shall find out in a clear test | |
| Whether he is a god or a mortal. Nor will the truth be in doubt." | |
| He prepares to kill me at night as I lie in a deep sleep | |
| With a death not expected. This trial of what was true pleased him. | 225 |
| Nor was he content with that, but he cut the throat | |
| Of a hostage sent from the Molossian race with the tip of the sword, | |
| And, thus, partly he softened his limbs half dead in boiling water, | |
| In part he roasted them over the fire placed below. | |
| As soon as he placed this on the table, I, with my avenging fire, | 230 |
| Brought down the house and the deserving Penates* upon the master. | |
| He fled, terrified, and, gaining the silence of the countryside, | |
| He howled and in vain tried to speak. From him | |
| His mouth gathers foam and with its desire for usual slaughter | |
| Turns to the flocks and now also delights in blood. | 235 |
| His clothes are transformed into coat, his arms into legs, | |
| He becomes a wolf and guards the traces of his old form. | |
| There is the same gray hair, the same violence in his face, | |
| The same eyes shine forth, the same image of wildness. | - / - |
| One house has fallen, but not one house deserved to perish, | 240 |
| The wild Erinyes reign supreme wherever earth extends. | |
| You would think they had all conspired for crime. Let all swiftly give | |
| The punishment they deserve. Thus stands the decision." | |
| Part approved of Jove's speech with their voice and added | 2/5 |
| Fuel to his wrath; others played their part by giving assent. | 245 |
| And yet all grieved at the casting off of the human race, | |
| And they asked what would be the form of the world | |
| Bereft of mortals. Who would place incense on the altars? | |
| Or was he planning to hand the earth over to the wild beasts to despoil? | 250 |
| AS THEY ASKED SHOTH THINGS FOR THE TEST SHOULD BE HIS CONCERN. | / 71 |

8

The king of the gods ordered them not to fear, and he promised Another race of wondrous origin, different from the previous.

| And now he was about to hurl his thunderbolt on the entire earth. But he feared lest by chance the sacred ether Might catch fire from the flames, and the entire pole might burn. He recalled also that it was fated that a time would come | 255 |
|--|------|
| When the sea and the earth and kingdom of heaven would be seized And would catch alight, and the carefully constructed mass of the world would totter. | l |
| He laid aside his weapons, forged by the hands of the Cyclopes. He preferred a different punishment: to annihilate the human race beneath the waves | 260 |
| And to send down rain from the entire sky. | |
| Straightway he shuts Aquilo up in the cave of Aeolus And whatever blasts put to flight the assembled clouds. He lets loose Notus. The South Wind flies with dripping wings, | |
| His awful face shrouded in pitchy fog. His beard is heavy with rain; water flows from his gray locks; | 265 |
| Clouds rest upon the brow; and his wings and garments are wet with de And when he compresses with his hand the clouds lying broadly round at A crashing sound comes forth, and dense clouds pour down rain from the | out, |
| Iris, Juno's messenger, clothed in many hues, Draws up the water and brings nourishment to the clouds. | 270 |
| Crops are flattened, and the hopes, given up as lost by the farmers, Lie low. The work of the long year has perished and comes to nothing. | |
| Nor is the wrath of Jove content with his own sky, | |
| But his sea-blue brother assists him with auxiliary waters. | 275 |
| He summons the rivers, to whom, after they entered The halls of their own tyrant, he says: "No need now | |
| For long encouragement. Pour out your might, | |
| So is there great need! Open houses, remove all impediment, | |
| Let loose your reins to your rivers." | 280 |
| He ordered. They return and let loose the mouths of the fountains, | |
| And in an unbridled course go down to the sea. | |
| He struck the earth with his trident; she | |
| Trembled, and with the stroke uncovered a way for the water. | 225 |
| The rivers leap beyond bounds through the open plains | 285 |

And, along with crops, sweep away orchards, herds, men, Dwellings, and shrines with their sacred contents.

If any house stayed and was able to resist such an evil Not overthrown,* yet a higher wave covers its rooftop. Towers lie hidden, pressed beneath the stream. 290 And now the land and sea had no divide. Everything was sea, and the sea lacked shores. This one seeks a hilltop; another sits in his hooked skiff And plies the oars there where just recently he had plowed. That one sails over crops or the top of his house now submerged. 295 This one takes a fish in the top of the elm. And an anchor, if chance so bore, was stuck in a green meadow, Or curved ships cover vineyards below them. And where lately slender goats cropped the meadow, 300 Now deformed sea calves place their bodies. Nereids marvel at groves and cities and houses Beneath the water, and dolphins cling to tall trees and brush against The lofty branches and shake the oak trees as they knock against them. The wolf swims among sheep, while the wave conveys tawny lions, The wave conveys tigers, nor is the might of the thunderbolt of any help 305 To the boar, nor his swift limbs to the deer as he is carried off. The wandering bird on tired wing, After long seeking land where it is able to perch, falls into the sea. The immense freedom of the sea buried the hillocks, And new waves beat against mountain mounds. 310 The greatest part is taken by the wave. Those spared by the wave Long hunger overcomes because of lack of food.

The land of Phocis separates the Aonian from the Oetean fields,
A fruitful land while it was land. But at that time,
It formed part of the sea and a broad field of sudden water.

There a lofty mountain with twin peaks reaches for the stars.
Its name is Parnassus, and its peaks conquer the clouds.
Here when (for the sea had covered all else) Deucalion with his wife
Was carried in a small boat and clung to the mountain,
He prayed to the Corycian nymphs, and the mountain deities
And fate-revealing Themis, who at that time kept the oracles.
There was no better man, no one more scrupulous of right, than he,
Or anyone more reverent of the gods than she.

| 1 | |
|--|-----|
| When Jupiter saw that the world was one stagnant pool, And from just now so many thousands of men, one survived, | 325 |
| And from just now so many thousands of women, one survived, | |
| Both guiltless and both devoted to the gods, | |
| He cast down* the clouds, and, when they had been swept away by the North Wind, | |
| Revealed the land to the sky and the air to the land. | |
| Nor did the anger of the sea remain. Setting aside his three-pronged weapon, | 330 |
| The ruler of the sea calms the waters, and he calls sea-blue Triton, | |
| Who stands over the sea, his shoulders clothed in indigenous shellfish. He orders him to blow on his resounding shell | |
| And to call back now, with the signal given, the waves and rivers. | |
| He takes up the hollow shell, which grows from the bottom of a spiral | 335 |
| Twisting on the side— | 005 |
| The hollow shell which, when in mid sea, it has received air, | |
| Fills with its voice the shores that lie beneath either Phoebus. | |
| So then, when it touched the lips of the god, dripping with his wet bear | d. |
| And, filled with air, sounded forth the retreats which had been ordered, | |
| All the waters of the earth and sea heard it, | |
| And it held in check all the waters that heard it. | |
| Now the sea has a shore, the channel keeps the full banks, | |
| The rivers subside, and hills arise. | |
| The land rises up; places increase as the water decreases. | 345 |
| And after the long day the forests show their denuded tops | |
| And hold the slime left on the foliage. | |
| O | |
| The circle was restored. After he saw the world open, | |
| And the desolated lands betook a deep silence, | |
| Deucalion addresses Pyrrha tearfully: | 350 |
| "O sister, O wife, O sole woman who survives, | |
| Whom common race and family origin | |
| And also the bed join, now also do dangers join. | |
| We two are the crowd of lands whatever sunset and sunrise see, | |
| The sea holds everything else. | 355 |
| And this hold which we have on life is not yet sufficiently strong. | |
| Even now clouds terrify the mind. | |
| What would now be your spirit, O one to be pitied, | |
| If you had been snatched from fate without me? How would you alone | |
| • | |

Have been able to cope with fear? Who would have consoled you in your grief?

For trust me, if the sea should have you also,

I would follow you, my wife, and the sea would possess me also.

O would that I could restore the people by my father's arts,

And place life into molded clay.

Now the whole mortal race remains in the two of us.

. . . .

Thus it seemed good to the gods. We remain examples of mankind."

He had spoken, and they wept. It was pleasing to pray

To the divine will and to seek help through sacred lots.

There was no delay. They both went to Cephisus's waters.

But these were not yet clear, though they flowed within familiar banks. 370

From there, when they had poured out water in a ritual fashion

And sprinkled it on their garments and head, they turned their steps to the temple

Of the holy goddess, whose gables were dark with foul moss

And whose altars stood without flame.

When they both touched the steps of the temple, each falls

375

365

Headlong on the ground and in fear kisses the cold stone.

And thus said, "If gods are influenced and softened by just prayers,

If the wrath of gods is turned,

Say, Themis, by what skill the loss of our race

May be repaired, and, most kindly one, bring aid to things submerged." 380

The goddess was moved and gave an oracle: "Leave the temple

And cover the head and loosen bound garments

And cast behind the back the bones of your great parent."

For awhile they stood thunderstruck: Pyrrha first

Breaks the silence with her voice and refuses to obey the orders of the 385 goddess,

And with trembling lip she asks for pardon, and she fears

To hurt her mother's shade by casting out her bones.

In the meantime, they go over the obscure words of the oracle given

In the dark secret byways, and they turn them over and over amongst themselves.

The son of Prometheus comforts the daughter of Epimetheus 390

With gentle words: "Either our wit is faulty,

Or the oracles are holy and counsel no evil.

The earth is our great parent. I believe the rocks in the body of the earth to be called bones.

We are ordered to cast these behind our backs."

| Although the Titanian was moved by the prophecy of her husband, Yet hope was in doubt. So much did both | 395 |
|--|-----|
| Distrust heavenly advice. But what harm was there in trying? | |
| · | |
| They leave, veil their heads, and loosen their tunics, | |
| And send the ordered rocks behind the tracks. | 600 |
| And those rocks (who would believe this except that tradition acted as | 400 |
| witness?) | |
| Began to lose their hardness and their stiffness, | |
| And to grow soft slowly and, once softened, to take on form. | |
| And soon, when they had grown and a softer nature | |
| Came upon them, a certain form of man could be seen, | |
| Not clear, but as if begun from marble | 405 |
| Not sufficiently hewn and like rough images. | |
| That part of them, however, wet and earthy with slight juice, | |
| Was changed into corporal use. | |
| That which was solid and not able to be bent, was turned into bone; | |
| What a while ago was vein stayed under the same name. | 410 |
| And in a short while by the power of the gods | |
| The rocks cast by the hands of man took on the appearance of men, | |
| While woman was refurnished by the casting of woman. | |
| Hence we are a hard race and enduring of toil, | |
| And we give evidence from what origin we sprang. | 415 |
| | |
| The earth gave birth to all other animals in diverse forms | |
| Of its own accord, after the ancient wetness grew warm | |
| From the fire of the sun, and the slime and wet marshlands | |
| Swelled with heat, and the fertile seeds of matter, | |
| Nourished in the living soil, as though in the womb of a mother, | 420 |
| Increased and gradually took on a certain appearance. | 120 |
| Just as when the seven-mouthed Nile has left the wet fields | |
| And has returned to its ancient bed, | |
| , | |
| And the fresh mud is warmed by the heavenly star, | 425 |
| Farmers find many animals as they turn the soil, | 42) |
| Among these, some they see have just been delivered | |
| Through the very cycle of birthing; some they see unfinished, | |
| Short in their shoulders, and often in the same body | |
| One part lives, the other part is raw soil. | /00 |
| Indeed, wetness and heat, once they have taken on due proportion, | 430 |
| Conceive, and from these two qualities all things arise. | |
| And though fire is opposed to water, still moist vapor | |
| | |

| Creates all things, and inharmonious harmony is suitable for offspring. Therefore, when the earth, muddied from the recent flood, | |
|---|-----|
| Glowed again from the rays of the sun and the lofty heat, | 435 |
| It brought forth multiple species: in part, it brought back | |
| Ancient forms; in part, it created new monsters. | |
| And though she, indeed, would not wish it, she gave birth then also to yo | ou, |
| Great Python, a snake unknown to new peoples, | |
| And you were a terror. So much mountain space you held. | 440 |
| The archer god, previously having used such weapons | |
| Only on deer and fleeting goats, | |
| Killed it, heavy with a thousand shafts, his quiver nearly exhausted. | |
| And poison poured out through the black wounds. | |
| | 445 |
| He instituted sacred games with renowned contests | |
| Called "Pythian" from the name of that subdued snake. | |
| Here, whichever youth had conquered with hand, with foot, | |
| With wheel, received the honor of the oak garland. | |
| | 450 |
| With leaves from whatever tree. | |
| | |
| Phoebus's first love was Peneian Daphne, | |
| Whom unwitting luck did not give but the savage wrath of Cupid. | |
| The Delian god, proud because of the conquered serpent, | |
| Had seen him flexing his bow with the string drawn tight, and had said, | 455 |
| "O frivolous boy, what is your concern with mighty weapons? | -,, |
| This gear becomes our shoulders, | |
| Who gives certain wounds to wild beast and to enemies, | |
| Who but now laid low the Python pressing down so many acres | |
| , 1 0 , | 460 |
| But you, be content to stir up some love or other with your torch. | 100 |
| Do not lay claim to my fame!" | |
| Venus's son answered him, "Phoebus, your weapon may strike all things; | |
| Mine you. By as much as every creature yields to divine power, | |
| • | 465 |
| He spoke, and as the air was struck by his beating wings, | 10) |
| , , , | |
| Quick he stood on the shady citadel of Parnassus. | |
| And he drew from his quiver two weapons That produce different results. This one puts love to flight, while this one | |
| That produce different results. This one puts love to flight, while this one inspires love. | |
| The one that inspires is golden and glistens at its sharp tip; | 470 |

The one that puts to flight is blunt and has lead on its tip.

| The god implanted this one in the Peneian nymph. But with that one He wounded the innermost marrow of Apollo, transfixing the bone. | |
|---|-------|
| At once the one loves, the other flees the name of lover, | 475 |
| Rejoicing in the hiding places of the forests and | 475 |
| In the trophies of caught beasts, a rival of unwed Phoebe. | |
| A ribbon bound her hair arranged with abandon. | |
| Many sought her, but spurning those seeking, | 1 |
| Neither enduring or knowing men, she wandered the pathless woodlan | |
| Nor cared what love, what Hymen, what was marriage. | 480 |
| Often, her father said: "My daughter, you owe me a son-in-law." | |
| And often, he said: "My daughter, you owe me offspring." | |
| Yet she hated the torches of wedlock as though they were a sin, | |
| And a modest blush tinged her fair cheeks, | |
| As she clung to her father's neck with her coaxing arms | 485 |
| And said: "Daddy dearest, let me enjoy virginity forever. | |
| Her father has granted this to Diana." | |
| He indeed grants her wish, but your loveliness thwarts your desire | |
| And your figure fights against your prayer. | |
| Phoebus loves and desires to wed Daphne as soon as she was seen. | 490 |
| He hopes for what he desires. His own oracles cheat him. | |
| As light stubble is set ablaze after the grain is harvested, | |
| As hedges burn because of torches, which by chance a traveler | |
| Has placed too close or has left behind at dawn, | |
| So the god was consumed with flames, thus in his whole heart | 495 |
| He burned, and he nourished a hopeless love on hope. | |
| He looked at her hair hanging unadorned on her neck | |
| And said: "What if they were done up?" He sees her eyes | |
| Glistening with fire like stars, her little mouth | |
| —not enough just to see—he praises her fingers and hands | 500 |
| And arms and upper arms naked more than in the middle part. | |
| If anything is hidden, he thinks it better. But she flees more swift | |
| Than light breeze, nor does she halt in response to these words of the o | ne |
| calling after: | |
| "Peneian nymph, please stay! I follow you not as an enemy. | |
| Nymph, remain! Thus the lamb, the wolf; thus the deer, the lion; | 505 |
| Thus the dove flees the eagle on fearful wing. | , , , |
| Each flees its enemy. Love is the reason for pursuing. | |
| Woe is me! Please don't fall. Do not let the briars | |
| | |

| Graze your legs unworthy of being injured, or let me be the cause of your di The places where you are rushing are rough. I beg you, Run more slowly. Check your flight, and I shall follow more slowly. | stress. 510 |
|---|----------------|
| Yet look at who loves you. I am no mountain dweller, | |
| Nor am I a shepherd, nor unkempt do I watch over herds and flocks. | |
| Rash one, you do not know, you do not know | |
| From whom you flee (she was indeed fleeing). The land of Delphi | 515 |
| And Claros and Tenedos and Patara are my realms. | |
| Father is Jove. I tell what will be, what was, | |
| And what is. I shape the harmony of song to strings. | |
| Indeed, ours is sure, but one arrow is surer than ours | 500 |
| And has wounded the empty heart. | 520 |
| Medicine is my discovery, and I am called "craftsman" throughout the w | orld, |
| And we have control over the power of herbs. | |
| Woe is me, since no love can be cured by herbs, | |
| Nor are those arts which aid all of any aid to their master." | |
| He intended to say more, but the Peneian one fled in timid step | 525 |
| And left him and his imperfect words. | |
| And then she seemed beautiful. The winds revealed the body, | |
| And the clothes cast back fluttered in the opposing breezes, | |
| And light air flung her hair streaming behind. | |
| By flight her beauty was enhanced. But indeed the youthful god | 530 |
| Could no longer stand to waste his flattery, and, just as love advised, | |
| He followed her with quick step. | |
| As when a Gallic hound has seen a hare in an empty field, | |
| And this one seeks his prey with his feet, while that one seeks safety, | |
| Now, now already the one seems on the point of grabbing and hopes | 535 |
| to hold, | |
| And extending his snout grazes the tracks, | |
| The other wonders whether she has been taken and, | |
| As though snatched from his very jaws, leaves behind the mouth that tou | ıches, |
| So the god and the girl: this one is swift in hope, the other in fear. | |
| Yet he who pursues, aided by the wings of love, | 540 |
| Is swifter, gives no respite, and, hot on the back of the one fleeing, | |
| Breathes on her hair spread round on her neck. | |
| Her strength sapped, she was pale and | |
| Overwhelmed by the toil of the quick flight, gazing at the waters of Per | |
| She said: "Daddy, help! If you rivers are divine,* | 545 |
| By which I pleased too much, O land," she said, "gape open, | |

| 10 Wetamorphoses | |
|---|---|
| Or lose and change that figure which causes me to be harmed." She barely finished the prayer when a heavy languor seized her limbs, Her soft bosom was enveloped in thin fiber, Her hair into leaves, her arms grow into branches. Her feet, once so swift, cling to sluggish roots. Her mouth holds the top. A singular radiance remains. Phoebus loves her still, and, placing his right hand on the trunk, He feels her breast still warm beneath the new bark. Embracing with his arms the branches like limbs, He kissed the wood. Yet the wood drew back from the kiss. To whom the god: "But since you cannot be my wife, You will certainly be my tree. O laurel tree, my hair, The lyre, and our quivers will possess you. You will attend the happy leaders when the joyful voice Sings out 'Triumph,' and the Capitol sees long processions. | 550555560 |
| You will be the faithful guardian of the august doors. | |
| You shall stand before the doors and guard the oak standing in the mide. As my head is youthful, my locks unshorn, | lle. |
| So, you also, wear always the perpetual beauty of your leaf!" The Paean had finished his speech, and the laurel nodded in assent Its newly made branches and seemed to move her top, as though a head | 565 |
| There is a Haemonian grove which a steep forest Encloses on all sides. They call it Tempe, through which Peneus, Pouring out from deep Pindus, rolls forth with foaming water, And by its heavy fall forms clouds, stirring up thin mist, It sprinkles the top of the trees with spray And wearies more than the neighboring with its sound. Here is the house, here the abode, here the innermost rooms of the graiter | 570 eat |
| river. Residing in these, a cave having been fashioned from the cliffs, He gives laws to the waves and the nymphs cherishing them. There the popular rivers gather, | 575 |
| Not knowing whether to congratulate or console the father: Poplar-fringed <s>percheos, and restless Enipeus, Old Eridanus,* and gentle Amphrysos, and Aeas, Then the other rivers which, wherever their current carries them, Lead down their waters, weary with wandering, into the sea. One river, Inachus, is absent. Hidden away in his deep cave He increases waters with weeping and most wretchedly</s> | 580 |

Mourns his daughter, Io, as though she were lost. He does not know if 585 she lives

Or is among the shades. But whom he cannot find anywhere, He thinks nowhere and fears worse things in his soul.

Jupiter had seen Io returning from her father's stream And said: "O maiden worthy of Jove and destined to make Somebody happy in your bed, seek the shadows 590 Of these or of these groves (and he had pointed out both* of the groves) While it is hot and the sun is highest in the midpoint of its circle. But if you are afraid to enter the hiding places of wild beasts alone, Safe under a god's protection you will enter the inmost parts of the woods. And not just any god, but one who holds the celestial scepter 595 In the right hand, one who sends forth the roaming thunderbolts. Do not flee me!"—for indeed she was fleeing. Now she had left behind The pasture fields of Lerna, and Lycaean* fields thickset with trees, When the god hid the broad land in darkness brought in, 600 Stopped her flight, and took her uprightness.

Meanwhile, Juno looked down into the middle of the fields,*
And marveled that winged clouds made a semblance of night
Beneath the shining day; for she realized that they were neither of a river,
Nor were sent up by the moist earth.

She looked about to see where her husband might be, as one 605

Who knew well the assignations of her husband caught so many times.

When she discovered he was not in heaven, she said:

"Either I am mistaken or I am wronged." And slipping down from the lofty air, She stood on the ground, and she ordered the clouds to withdraw.

He had sensed beforehand the coming of his wife and turned 610

The face of the daughter of Inachus into a shining heifer.

Also as a cow she was beautiful. Saturnia approved,

Albeit grudgingly, the form of the cow, and then she asked

Whose, and whence, and from what herd it was, as though not knowing a true thing.

Jupiter lied and said she came from the earth, so that questions about the giver

Should stop. Saturn's daughter sought her, a present.

What should he do? A cruel thing to repudiate his love,

But not to hand her over would be suspicious. Shame urged one course of action.

On this side, love discouraged. Shame would have been conquered by love. But were the cow, so trifle a gift, refused to her, comrade of his race 620 And of his bed, it could seem not to be a cow.

Although her rival was handed over, the goddess did not put aside at once All suspicion, and she feared Jove and was worried about treachery,

Until she handed her over to be guarded by Argus Arestorides.

Argus had a head girt with one hundred lights.

625

Whence two in turn took quiet,

The rest kept watch and remained on guard.

In whatever place she stood, he watched her.

Even with his back turned, he had Io before his eyes.

With light he allowed her to feed. When the sun is below the deep earth, 630 He enclosed and he placed chains on her neck unworthy.

She fed on arboreal shoots and bitter plants,

And the poor wretch slept on the ground, often not having grass for a bed.

And she drank from muddy rivers.

When as a suppliant she wished to stretch forth her arms

635

To Argus, she had no arms to stretch.

And attempting to lament, she brought forth moos from the mouth.

She feared the sounds and was terrified by her very voice.

And she came to the banks, those Inachian banks where she used to play,

And when she saw those new horns in the water,

640

She was afraid, and, having terrified herself, she fled.

The Naiades did not know; Inachus himself knew not

Who she was. But she followed father and she followed sisters,

And suffered to be touched and offered herself to those admiring.

Old man Inachus proffered cropped herbs.*

645

She licked the hands and kissed the palms of her father,

Nor did she hold back her tears. And* if only words might be present,

She would ask for help and speak her name and fate.

A symbol stood for words which her foot made in the dust.

She told the sad tale of her changed body.

650

"Woe is me!" her father Inachus exclaimed as he clung to the horns

Of the weeping one and the neck of the snow-white cow.

"Woe is me!" he groaned. "Are you my daughter,

Sought by me throughout the world? Unfound, you have been discovered.*

You were a lighter grief. You are silent 655

And do not reply to words. You only draw out a sigh in your lofty breast And moo to my words, all you can do.

685

But I, unknowing, was preparing beds and torches for you,
I hoped first for a son-in-law and second for grandchildren.

Now your man will be from the herd, and from the herd must I look
for grandchildren.

Nor am I permitted to put an end to such great sorrows with death.

But it is injurious to be a god. The door of death is closed

And will extend our grief into eternity."

As he spoke so, starry-eyed Argus moved her

And snatched her away from her father and took the daughter to
distant pasture.

665

He at a distance perched on the lofty peak

Of a mountain, whence sitting he looked about in all directions.

Nor was the ruler of the gods able to bear any longer
Such great sorrows of the Phoronian, and he called the son, whom
The shining Pleiad bore, and ordered <him> to kill Argus.

670
Brief was the delay. He put on his winged sandals and took up
The sleep-inducing wand in his powerful hand and put his helmet on his head.

When he had arranged these things, the son of Jove jumped down
From his father's citadel onto the earth. There he removed his helmet
And placed his wings, retaining only his wand.

675
With this, like a shepherd, he drives goats through the out-of-the-way countryside—

Goats gathered while he journeyed*—and played upon the pipes brought together.

The guardian appointed by Juno was taken with the sound of the new art And said: "Whoever you are, you should break your journey with me on this rock.

Indeed nowhere is there richer grass for flocks, 680

And you see shade just right for shepherds."

Atlas's offspring sat down, and he detained the passing day with speech,

And he tried to conquer the watching eyes

By singing on the reeds joined together.

He fights, however, to overcome gentle sleep,

And though part of the eyes fall asleep,

Yet part stays awake. He asks (for the pipe had recently been invented)

Why it was invented.

Then the god said: "In the cold mountains of Thessaly,

20 Metamorphoses There was a Naiad most renowned among Nonacrinian Hamadryads. 690 The nymphs called her Syrinx. Not once had she toyed with the satyrs who followed And whatever other gods the shady woods And the savage countryside had. She cherished the Ortygian goddess herself In her pursuits and in her virginity. Girt in the manner of Diana, 695 She could deceive and could be believed to be the Latonian, Were it not for the fact that this one had a bow of cornel, that one a bow of gold. Even so did she deceive. Pan, his head wreathed in sharp pine, Saw her returning from Mount Lycaeus. He spoke such words: 'Nymph, yield to the wishes of the god 700 Who wants to marry you." It remained to narrate more: 700a How the nymph, with the entreaties rejected, fled through out-of-the-way places Until she came to the placid river of tawny Ladon. Here, since the waters impeded her crossing, She prayed to her river-sisters to change her. And Pan, when he thought that he had Syrinx pressed to him, 705 Held marsh pipes instead of the body of the nymph. And while he was sighing there, the winds, stirred in the pipe, Made a slight sound like someone lamenting. Touched by the new wonder and sweetness of the sound, The god said: "This resolution* with you will remain to me." 710 And thus they retained* the name of the girl, Made from unequal reeds joined together by wax. Intending to say such things, the Cyllenian saw that all the eyes Yielded and were shut in sleep. He checks his voice at once and strengthens sleep, 715 Passing his medicinal wand over the droopy eyes. No delay, he smites with hooked sword the nodding head Just where it is adjacent to the neck, and casts it bloody down from the rock. It tinges the jagged cliff with blood. Argus, you lie low, and whatever light you had amongst so many eyes 720

Argus, you lie low, and whatever light you had amongst so many eyes 720 Has been put out, and one night seizes those hundred eyes.

Saturnia takes them up and places them in the feathers of her own bird,

And fills its tail with starry gems.

At once she blazed in anger. Nor did she put off the time of wrath.

She cast a terrifying Erinys before the eyes and spirit

725

Of her Argive rival and buried blind goads in her breast,

And terrified her, a wanderer, through the entire world.

| At last, Nile, you remained to her immense toil, | |
|---|-------|
| And as soon as she touched it, she flung herself down | |
| On her knees on the edge of the bank, and with neck thrown back, | 730 |
| She raised her face, which alone she was able to raise, to the lofty stars, | |
| And by a groan, and tears, and a resounding* moo, | |
| She seemed to lament with Jove and to ask for an end of evils. | |
| Embracing his wife's neck with his arms, | |
| He begs at length to make an end to punishment, and says: | 735 |
| "Place your fear. In future she will be no cause of pain to you." | |
| And he orders the Stygian marshes to hear this. | |
| When the goddess was appeased, she took her former face | |
| And became what she had been. The coat falls from the body, | |
| Her horns decrease, and the orb of her eye grows more restricted. | 740 |
| Her jaw is drawn in, her shoulders and hands return, | |
| Her hoof, split, assumes five fingernails. | |
| She retains nothing of the cow except the glistening of the form in her. | |
| The nymph, happy to use her two feet, | |
| Stands erect and fears to speak lest in the manner of a cow | 745 |
| She would moo. She timidly keeps in check the words long abandoned. | |
| Now a most renowned goddess, she is worshipped by the crowd engend | ered |
| from the Nile.* | |
| | |
| Then Enaphys is believed to be been at length from the seed of mighty. | [O170 |

Then Epaphus is believed to be born at length from the seed of mighty Jove, And he holds temples joined to his parent.

Phaethon, born from the sun, was equal to this one in spirit and years. 750 When this one was speaking great things and refused to yield to him, Proud of father Phoebus, the grandson of Inachus could not stand it, and said:

"You are a fool to believe mother in all things,

And you are swelled up with notions of your false father."

Phaethon blushed and suppressed his wrath because of shame, 755

And carried the insults of Epaphus to mother Clymene,

And said: "By how much the more you may grieve, mother, indeed I, frank, He, arrogant, I said nothing. This insult shames us

That it could be uttered and not refuted.

But you, if now I am sprung from heavenly seed, 760

Give proof of such great lineage and justify my claims of divinity."

He spoke, and he encircled his arms about his mother's neck,

And on his own life and that of Merops and the marriage beds of his sisters, He begged to give him some indication of the truth.

It is uncertain whether Clymene was more moved by the prayers of Phaethon 765

Or by anger of the sin imputed to her. She stretched forth both arms

To the sky and gazing at the light of the sun,

Said: "By this orb splendid with shining rays,

Who both sees and hears us now, I swear to you, my son,

That you are sprung from him, whom you behold, from him who warms the world.

If I tell falsehoods, may he not show himself to me.

And may this light be the most recent to our eyes.

Nor is it hard to find your father's household gods.

The place whence he rises borders our own land.

If you have a mind, make the journey and make inquiry of him yourself!" 775 At once Phaethon leaps for joy at his mother's words,

Grasping the heavens in imagination.

He crosses his own Ethiopians and the Indians placed under the fires of the star, And quickly comes to his paternal rising places.

The Vulgate Commentary

Introduction to the Commentary (Accessus)

[1–9] Since long-windedness generates boredom, we shall pass over certain aspects of the life and works of Ovid which some masters generally discuss here (since such matters are more appropriately examined in the first of Ovid's works, namely, the *Heroides*). Let us say that the present work is, as it were, the middle one of his poetic corpus. For the sake of clarity, we shall shorten the discussion and put forward three areas whereby we may investigate the proposition of the author, his intention, and his mode of writing in this work: first, the subject matter; secondly, the intent of the author; and thirdly, how the author acts in this work.

[10-36] His subject matter is evident through the title, which is "Here begins the first book of the Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Naso." Quite properly he says "first," since a second book follows, and there are indeed fifteen, which he confirms in the *Tristia*, saying: "I wrote the fifteen books of the Metamorphoses" (Tristia 1.1.117). "Publius" is his cognomen taken from his family name "Publia" or from his father's name "Publius." The name "Naso" derives from circumstance, since he is called Naso because of the size of his nose, or like a hunting dog, which, once it catches the scent of a wild animal, tracks it down until it is captured, so he is called Naso because he follows the scent, since his poetic corpus, which is decorated with rhetorical flourishes, characterized by insights in the fields of physics and philosophy, supported by grammatical correctness, as well as being well done because of its author's cleverness, engenders a fragrant intellect for its readers. "Ouidius," moreover, is his proper name and can be derived as follows: "Ouidius" comes from "dividing the egg" (ouum dividens), that is to say, revealing to us those things which are hidden and unknown, since he treated of primordial matter in which the creation of the world is involved. The world is indeed compared to an egg since it reflects an egg's roundness and, just like an egg, has four elements within it. On the outside the egg has the shell, next to which is found the membrane, then the white, and finally the yolk. Through the shell we understand the outer layer of the firmament; through the membrane, the

air; through the white, water; and through the yolk, the land. The firmament resembles the shell of the egg in its solidity and in covering the rest; the air resembles the membrane in its slenderness; the water resembles the white in its transparency; and the land is like the yolk in its generative properties, since just as the chick emerges from the yolk, so all things are created from the bowels of the earth.

[37–57] The title of the work, Metamorphoses, derives from the subject matter. The word Metamorphoses is Greek in origin and is comprised of several components: from meta, which in Latin is de; from morphos, which in Latin is mutacio; and from the Greek ousia, which means "substance," and thus Metamorphoses means "concerning the transformation of substance." Meta is a Greek preposition, morphoseos is a Greek genitive, and metamorphoseos may be explained as "about transformation," and it is construed in the genitive case, since the Greeks, lacking the ablative case, use a genitive case with the preposition. Our authors infer that Metamorphoseos is in the genitive case, and the noun is declined and means the same as "transformation." That it means "transformation" can be deduced from scripture where we read about the saints: "they shine in a heavenly transformation," and from the epitaph of Matthew of Vendôme: "I am what you will be; what you are, I was: this transformation forbids us to bow our neck to human affairs." Morphosis is declined like memphis, -phios, decapolis, -eos. In the nominative case, one writes "this Metamorphosis," in the genitive case "this metamorphosis" or metamorphoseos, and thus the word declines as a noun of the third declension. The poem is called "On the Transformation of Substance," not because it relates a change of substance, since substance does not change but only appears to change through its unchanged accident, which Ovid treats here, and he entitles the work from a more worthy part.

[58–89] We have now discussed the subject matter of the poem and the proposition of the author, which is to treat of transformation, whence we have in the first line "my spirit drives me <to tell of forms changed> into new bodies." One should note that transformation is fourfold: natural, moral, magical, and spiritual. Natural transformation arises through the joining and unraveling of the elements either through or without the intermediary property of the seed. Through the coming together of the elements, a child is born from sperm, and a chick from the egg, and a tree or herb from seed, etc. Dissolution causes the body to dissolve without seed, both in relationship to the elements and to Hyle. In relationship to the elements, as when earth dissolves into water, or water evaporates, or the ether is rarified into fire. Then again fire is transformed into the ether, ether is changed to water, and water is made solid and changed to earth. Such a transformation is deemed natural and is

mentioned by Pythagoras in the last book of the poem, when he says, "the eternal world contains the four generative bodies" (Metamorphoses 15.239-40). Moral transformation concerns the transformation of character, as when Lycaon is said to have been transformed from a man into a wolf, to wit, from a kindly man into a plunderer, and so likewise in other transformations which concern morals. Magical transformation comes about corporealy, when magicians cause a bodily transformation through their magical arts, as he shows concerning Circe, who we read transforms Ulysses's companions into pigs. The art of magic was highly valued in the classical world, and the law code condemns such acts, as when it enjoins: "You may not draw away another's crop," that is to say, transfer it. For crops were commonly transferred from field to field by magical arts. Spiritual transformation concerns both the body and the spirit, as, for example, when a healthy body becomes diseased and the spirit becomes troubled, and thus the spirit in equal measure with the body is transformed, as is apparent in the insane and others who are afflicted. If only the spirit is afflicted, we are dealing with those who, once sane, become insane, as we read about Orestes and about Agave, who ripped apart her own son Pentheus from limb to limb. In the present work, the author treats all these categories.

[90–95] Let us examine the author's intention in writing the work. Ovid had offended Augustus Caesar by writing the *Ars amatoria*. Hence, to effect a reconciliation by treating of the deification of Julius Caesar (which he showed at the end of the work) he writes about transformation to honor Augustus so that it might seem probable that Julius was transformed into a star, which he intends to show at the conclusion of the present work, and this is his intention.

[96–106] Lastly, let us examine how Ovid composes, for he composes in the heroic meter, and he brings together various transformations from the creation of the world down to his own time, as he states in his invocation, where he says, "From the first origin of the world." The author may be considered a scientist since he treats of the creation of the elements, and also as one who treats of ethics because he deals with transformations that have to do with moral transformation. The reader derives much benefit from the work (though Ovid himself derived little), namely, knowledge about myth and its description, which Ovid treats extensively in this work. Or the benefit from the work resides in the knowledge derived from the transformation of diverse matter.

[107–10] Like other poets, Ovid first states his proposition, then makes an invocation, then narrates. He proposes when he says, "into new bodies"; he invokes when he says, "Gods, blow kindly on my beginnings"; and he narrates when he says subsequently, "Before the sea and the lands."

[111–18] These are the transformation of this book: Chaos into the subdivisions; earth into man; the world into the four ages or stages; the year into the four seasons; giants into mountains; the blood of the giants into men; land into sea through the flood; the rocks through Deucalion into men; through Pyrrha into women; Lycaon into a wolf; the land again into the Python; Phoebus into a lover; Daphne into the laurel tree; Io from a woman into a cow, from a cow into a goddess; Mercury into a shepherd; Syrinx into a reed; the reed into a pipe; Argus into the peacock, and so the book ends.

1. *Drives*, desires, compels, inspires me; *to tell*, for the purpose of telling, or *to tell*, to describe in verse; *into*, in place of "about" (*circa*).

My spirit drives me, that is to say, the deliberation of my spirit; drives, namely, desires; to tell, namely, to describe in verse; forms changed into new bodies, an hypallage, that is to say, bodies changed into new forms. But a question remains: it is said that a thing of one category cannot be changed into the substance of another category, and thus hypallage is of no value here, but let us explicate the passage thus: spirit, that is to say, my desire; drives, that is to say, compels me; to tell, that is to say, so that I might state; forms changed into new bodies, that is to say, in relationship to (circa) new bodies, as is the case with Io and Lycaon who were changed in respect to their form but not their substance. Thus their form, namely, their quality, was transformed but not their substance. And this is the preferred reading.

Spirit: He intimates that a higher calling of the soul and not a lower one inspired him to write this work, not from sensuality but from reason, when he says spirit. Or read otherwise: spirit, that is to say, the discernment of my mind; drives, that is to say, carries me; to tell, that I should tell, and this arises through an hypallage; new bodies, that is to say, renewed into changed forms, that is to say, through changed forms. And thus Ovid employs a grammatical figure which is called "substitution of a preposition" when one preposition is substituted for another, just as is the case in Latin when the preposition *in* is used instead of circa. Similarly this is the best reading. For the body appeared to be transformed through the coinage of a new form. Or read the text differently: my spirit drives, that is to say, desires; to tell, to say, to describe in verse; forms changed into new bodies, that is to say, in new bodies. And the figure of antiptosis occurs when a case is substituted for another case, as in <that verse from> the Bible, "that sermon which you heard is not mine," where the accusative case substitutes for the nominative. Thus we have our solution, which is the same as in the verse from the Bible. My spirit drives, that is to say, desires; to tell of forms changed into new bodies, that is to say, about new bodies. This explanation should suffice. Let us now examine the difference between soul, spirit, and mind. Soul engenders, spirit wishes, the mind discerns, but one noun can replace the other.

2. *Gods*, and rightly do I invoke you; *blow kindly on*, that is to say, favor; *for*, in place of "since"; *also*, that is to say, even; *those*, forms. *For you altered also those forms*: this is a commonplace from greater appearance.

For you altered also those forms: or read, for you altered yourselves into those forms, just as Jupiter transformed himself into a bull so that he might ferry Europa across the sea. Hence Ovid states:

The father and ruler of the gods, whose right hand

Wields the three-forked lightning, who shakes the world with his nod,

Adopts the guise of the bull and lows

As he mixes with the herd.

(Metamorphoses 2.848–51)

Blow kindly on: Having advanced his proposition, Ovid invokes the gods for aid, which he requires according to that saying of Horace:

No god should intervene, unless there is a knot

Needing intervention.

(Ars poetica, 191–92)

Therefore Ovid says Gods, blow kindly on, that is to say, favor, my beginnings.

Blow kindly on, that is to say, favor. This metaphor is adapted from sailors who say wind favors them when it blows and puffs lightly. And you should favor for you, etc.

- 3. *Lead down*, allow to be led down and linked; *song*, my <song>; *perpetual*, continuous.
- 4. *The first origin*, formation, the primary setting up; *to*, right down to.

Lead down the perpetual song from the first origin of the world to my own time: and lead down to, that is to say, right down to my own time, as though he were to say, "Please favor me so that I might describe all transformations in my poem in a continuous and interrelated manner, and all those things created from first creation to my own time." And this is what he intends to relate. But let us investigate the difference between perpetual, everlasting, and eternal. Eternal is that which has neither beginning nor end, like God. Everlasting is that which had a beginning but no end, like the soul and an angel. Perpetual is that which had a beginning and will have an end, like the world.

5. Before the sea and the lands, that is to say, before the sea and the lands existed; *all*, placed beneath it.

Before the sea, etc.: After the author extricated himself from the proposition and the invocation, he proceeds to the narration. But for a better understanding of what follows, let us investigate certain things that are very useful. Bartholomew, moreover, states the following about Hyle: "Hyle is an unformed globe, without place, without time, without quantity, without quality, between some and no substance." He says, "without place," not because it did not have a space but because it occupied all of it. "Without time," according to Aristotle who says, "Time is the first cause." The first cause is the firmament. But up to this point the firmament did not exist, and thus Hyle was without time according to Aristotle. "Without quality," not because it lacked quality but because it contained the material for all qualities intertwined and wrapped up within itself. "Without quantity," not because it lacked quantity but because it exceeded all quantity and measure, just as we say about a man of immense height: "That man exceeds human measure." He says "between some substance" with respect to what followed. He says, "no substance" because up to this point substance did not exist, since all substances were wrapped up in Hyle, just as we say about the first man, namely, Adam: "Adam was between some and no substance." "Between some substance" with respect to the men that followed; "between no substance" because no man existed yet except himself. Having investigated these matters, let us turn to the text, before the sea.

6. A single visage, a single conception; in the entire globe, in that entire mass which now constitutes the world but then did not.

There was a single visage, one inclination of nature. Nature wanted to be one only in regards to confusion; now nature cannot desire to be one thing, since nature is different in man and in animals. Or he uses inclination (*uoluntas*) with the same meaning as Bernard Silvester, who says:

Full of movement, she desires moderation; ill-formed, she desires shape; Shaggy, she seeks adornment; desiring to escape the ancient tumult, She seeks artful proportions and the bonds of harmony. (*Cosmographia* 1.20–22)

Or *single visage*, that is to say, one awareness, since he who knew one thing knew all, but now it is not so. Or *single visage*, that is to say, one confused state of nature.

7. Which, appearance; they called, the philosophers; Chaos, that is to say, disorder; rough, without form; and was unordered.

Single visage of nature, that is to say, one wish of generative nature, namely, God. Nature is twofold: generative nature and generated nature. Generative nature is God himself, while generated nature is a certain power situated in matter which creates like things from like things, just as a bull comes forth from a cow, and similar things of such a nature. In the entire globe, namely, round about the entire globe from which were drawn the four elements, which are called through substitution (antonomastice) the world or globe. There was, I say, before the sea, namely, before the sea existed and before the lands, namely, before the lands existed. And lest one might object that he uses the plural "lands" and not the singular "land," just as he used the singular "sea" and not the plural "seas," it needs be stated that there are three principal lands, to wit, Europe, Asia, and Africa, but there is just one principal sea which we call Ocean. For other seas derive their source from Ocean, and this is the solution to the problem. And before the sky, namely, before the sky existed, which covers all, contained beneath it. And this is how we should understand this section. Visage, namely, wish. For visage (uultus) is derived from the verb "to wish" (uelle), hence we find, "Your appearance will mirror vour character." And Iuvenal writes,

You can detect the tortures of the soul as it lies deep in the sick body, And you can detect its delights too. (*Satires* 9.18–19)

And again,

For Nature, according to every wind of fortune, forms us beforehand, Helps us, or provokes us to anger. (Horace, *Ars poetica* 108–9)

Or read otherwise: single visage, that is to say, a globe uniformly shaped; of nature, that is to say, of natural matter; in the entire globe, namely, in all that matter from which the entire world is shaped. There was, I say, before the sea, etc. which (quem) they called Chaos, which appearance or mass the philosophers called, named, Chaos, that is to say, confusion. Or read which (quam), namely, which wish of God, rough, without artistry, unordered, without order or adornment. Or read otherwise: the visage, I say, rough, and, in place of "because," the mass was unordered, and nothing existed in its appearance. Or read that visage was not anything, that is to say, something; but inert weight, namely, weighty matter, since it exceeded all measure. Or read inert, without craft; seeds of matter, namely, the material of the elements. I call the seeds discordant, not because discord was present therein, but because afterward the elements followed divergent qualities. Of matter, I say, not well joined as they are now. Or seeds of matter, namely, the elements, which are the seeds of

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matter. All things derive their origin from the four elements. *Of things*, I say, *not well joined*. Ovid says this because of the elements which were not well linked. *Heaped*, brought together and entangled in the same globe or place.

- 8. *Not*, <nor> was there *anything*; *but weight*, weighty matter; *inert*, without polish.
- 9. Matter, elements; in one, weight or place; not well joined, as they are now.
- 10. No Titan, <here no> (nullus) is used in place of "not."

No Titan as yet: No Titan, no one from the race of the Titans, that is to say, neither the sun nor the moon as yet illuminated the world. No Titan according to the philosophers, who say that a new sun arises daily. For they say that the sun, which consists of atoms, in the evening dissolves back into them. Or read with those who say that there were two suns, one in the east, and another in the west. Or No one Titan instead of no Titan, as Terence says, "I am no one, I am done for" (Hecyra 319).

- 11. Reshape, form again; new, her own; crescents, for the moon increases and decreases.
- 12–13. Nor did the earth hang, the earth was not suspended; balanced by its weight, held up equally balanced.
- 13. *Poured round about*, for the earth was of equal weight in all directions so that the air might equally be suffused here and there in it. And so Ovid says *balanced*, for just as that which is weighed on a scale is suspended by the equivalency of its own weight, so the earth was suspended by the air due to its equal weight. For if the earth were to weigh more in one part than in another, it would be unsteady.
- 14. Amphitrite, the great sea; ends, extremity; arms, extensions. This is a spondaic line.

Arms: He calls the ebb tides of the ocean, two in the east and the two in the west, arms which come together at the Arctic and Antarctic poles. And from this collision comes about that frequent and well-known swell of the ocean.

15. Where, in which part; land, the substance of the land; air, the substance of the air; sea, the substance of the sea.

Where there was land, so also: Ovid employs polysyndeton, an abundance of conjunctions. When copulative conjunctions are placed together in abundance, we have polysyndeton, for one alone would suffice. The contrary figure is asyndeton, when there is an absence of copulative conjunctions.

16. So, in that confusion; the land could not be trod upon, so that man might stand there; the wave was not swimmable.

And so, that is to say, just as everything was mixed together, so it lacked its own property. And therefore we read and so, since the land was uninhabitable, etc. Or the reading is as follows: just as whatever, etc., so, I say, were they joined together in that part or in that mass in which the land, etc.

- 17. *The air* was *lacking light*, clarity; *nothing*, none of the elements; *its own form*, proper, such as is now given to them.
- 18. *One*, element; *to the others*, the other elements; *in one body*, in one grouping or mass.
- 19. *Cold*, such as earth and water; *with heat*, with ether and fire; *wet*, ether and water; *with dry*, with earth and fire.
- 20. Softness, ether and fire; with hardness, with earth and water; weightiness, earth and water; with weightlessness, with those which were <weightless>, namely, ether and fire.

Softness with hardness: Softness, fire and air, with hardness, with water and earth, which are called hard since they solidify into hail and ice, and water is transformed into earth, just as Ovid states in the last book through the character of Pythagoras, "Water compressed solidifies to earth" (Metamorphoses 15.251) or because water causes rock to crumble.

21. *Nature*, that is to say, generative nature which is better; *separated*, divided; *this strife*, these things which were in discord.

Better nature, namely, more efficient and toilsome. Or better nature, of the elements, which up to this point strove to separate. Or better nature, that is to say, accomplishing more than the soul. Or better, namely, improving. Or better, than previously.

22. And truly he divided, *for he severed*, he extracted and divided.

23. Set apart, divided; ethereal, subtle; from the dense vapors, in respect to the sky.

24. After God freed, placed those things outside that whirling, those things which had previously been intertwined <in it>; these elements, aforementioned.

Blind, from its effect, because it blinds the perceiver. For just as looking into darkness we see nothing, and hearing silence, we hear nothing, so understanding Hyle we understand nothing. Or *blind*, that is to say, confused, since blindness creates the greatest confusion in man. Or *blind*, that is to say, indiscreet and blinding. Or *blind*, confused a second time, since "the shadows were borne over the face of the abyss" (Gen. 1:2).

25. He bound, in a golden chain; now rent asunder, disjoined; in their places, according to their places.

Harmonious is an epithet of peace which may be harmonious through the joining of that very number which God holds as an exemplar for creation. Whence Boethius states, "Who binds the elements by numbers." Harmonious, since although they are in disagreement in their nature, yet they come together when they create matter. Or that peace which brings harmony is considered in terms of its qualities, or in equal weight, or in equal distance. Diverse are the qualities whereby two things at the extremes, like fire and earth or water, are joined through intermediary properties, namely, water and air (or, according to some, water and earth) through sharing of the same qualities. In equal weight, so that by how much the more water overwhelms earth, to the same extent is it overwhelmed by air, and fire conquers air. In distance, truly so that they are distant from one another by equal distances. Or in harmonious peace, namely, the golden chain according to Macrobius. In harmonious peace, by certain proportions by which hot and cold are related, and vice versa, and wet to dry, and vice versa. Macrobius indeed states that earth has two properties. For it is cold and dry, while water is cold and wet, air is wet and hot, and fire is hot and dry. Earth and fire come together in their dryness, earth and water in their coldness, water and air in their wetness, and air and fire in their heat. Macrobius calls this joining of the elements the golden chain.

26. Fiery, what is of a fiery nature; of the vaulted sky, equally curved.

Fiery might: Thus the elements are joined, but in what diverse places and why it is so the author goes on to explain, saying: The fiery might of the vaulted sky, equally curved. Convex is both concave and round. He says fiery might since it is more violent than the other elements.

- 27. Flashed up, leapt upward and outside; took, selected; a position, a mansion.
- 28. Next to it, since next to fire air is a lighter element, it is placed next to it.
- 29. The land is more dense, weightier, less light; dragged down, to itself.

The big elements, namely, the big parts of the elements, namely, the lands, and mountains, and forests and rocks, which are elements in secondary position. Or big elements, that is to say, a great number of the elements. Or big elements, that is to say, composed of elements, namely, sky and water, which because of their participation of properties and equality of their weight are linked to the earth. An elemental body, moreover, is placed beneath the heavens conceived of two qualities.

An element is a body placed beneath the heavens linked together or conceived by two qualities. Divine reason is never called conceiving, but a thing conceived gives form to joined elements.

- 30. *Pressed down*, depressed; *by its own weight*, through its own weight, since its weight is the cause of the depression; *streaming*, flowing round the earth; *water*, that is to say, the sea.
- 31. Last, places; confined, held in; the globe, the earth shaped like a globe.

Took possession of the last: not because it was the last element but according to human opinion. For the sea is much higher than the earth but is contained.* Here is an illustration: Take up a vase full of water and place a string over it. In the middle the string slopes downward. The earth, moreover, is round and therefore appears higher. Or he says *last places* because water encircles the remotest places, that is to say, the shore of the earth.

The globe, that is to say, the earth which is a spherical body, and one element depends on the other, since water restrains the earth, that is to say, makes it solid. For if the land were not made solid by the water, by chance it might be blown away into dust.

32. So when some god or other had separated, divided; this chaos, this mass.

Some god or other: Ovid does not dare to attribute this deed to Jupiter knowing that there was one true God; arranged, placed in order.

So when: After he places in position the individual elements, he elucidates in an epilogue their variety, saying So when, etc. By the reference to some god or other, he seems to have some awareness of Christ.

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So when some god or other had arranged: After the author has treated of the position of the elements, he speaks of their adornment. Due to the fact that the author says some god, he insinuates that this god was not Mars, nor Venus, nor any other of the gods. Let us recognize then that there is one cause of creation and a single entity from whom everything comes into being. The author, however, does not dare to say this explicitly but only intimates it. He did not dare to attribute this to Jove, knowing there to be only one God to whom the pagans did not dare to set up any statue or to give a name, and therefore they called the god unknown. Dionysius the Areopagite shows his altar to Paul at Athens, saying: "This is the altar of the unknown god." Paul replies: "He whom you call unknown is known as the only God in Judea." Then was Dionysius converted to the Christian faith.

- 33. *Into its parts*, namely, into its diversity. Where there are parts, there is diversity, for one cannot exist without the other. Or *into its parts*, that is to say, into its four parts, namely, elements.
- 34. From the beginning, in the beginning; lest it should not be equal on every side, in order that it should be equal on every side.
- 34–35. *He molded the earth into the form of a great ball*, he gave it a spherical shape; *of a great ball*, that is to say, firmament or roundness.
- 35. *Into the form of a great ball*, namely, into the likeness of a great sphere, which is called a great sphere since it contains the other elements within itself.
- 36. He poured out, round about the earth.

Then: Once the world was made solid, God divided the channels on it.

37. The shores, the coasts or the extremities; encircled, by the sea.

Encircled, that is to say, <the earth> destined to be encircled since as yet it had not been encircled.

Encircled: All verbs formed from the verb "to be able" (queo) or "to go" (eo) shorten their penultimate syllable in the supine except for the verb "to go around" (ambio).

To go round about: This relates not to the winds but to the Ocean.

38. *Springs* (*fontes*) come from the verb "to pour" (*fundo*); *great stagnant pools*, water standing on the surface of the earth.

Lakes, that is to say, deep waters. Lakes are properly water pooled in the bowels of the earth.

- 39. *Rivers* (*flumina*) come from the verb "to flow" (*fluo*); *flowing downward within zigzag banks*, because of their banks which were not straight.
- 40. Which, the rivers; partly, in part; are swallowed by the earth, as in the story of Alpheos and Arethusa.
- 41. *To the sea*, either by themselves or mixed with other rivers; *received*, that is to say, the rivers; *expanse*, capacity; *freer*, having a freer course; *water*, the ocean.

Partly flow down to the sea: either through themselves or through other rivers, and thus received into the expanse of freer water, namely, the ocean. Whence some claim that shores belong to the sea, banks to rivers, and borders to fountains, hence the verses, "Borders contain fountains, shores the sea, and banks rivers." The sea (mare) takes its name from its bitterness (amarum). And although the sea is the receptacle of all water, yet it never flows backward, since it returns to its channels through hidden pathways so that it might flow from there. And hence Virgil says: "All the rivers which flow beneath the great earth" (Georgics 4.366). And Lucan: "And suddenly the earth absorbs the Tygris in its gaping hole" (Bellum civile 3.261).

Freer: The water in the sea is freer than that in the channels of rivers which have a more restricted flow.

43. And that god *ordered*; *plains to be stretched out*, to be made extensive and broad; *valleys*, the depressions of the earth.

The plains to be stretched out: For flat surfaces seem to be extended, but in valleys and concave areas they seem to be enfolded.

- 44. He ordered, *the forests to be clothed in foliage*; he ordered, *craggy mountains to rise up*, to be elevated.
- 45. *Two zones cut*, divide; *vault*, that is to say, air; *right*, from the south; *left*, from the northern part.

As (utque) is placed instead of which thing (quod); or just as (sicut); if as stands for which thing, then the verb ordered should be repeated.

As two zones: Having described the transition of the earth, he now describes its mildness, which it derives from the heat of the heavens. Moreover, the

reader should take note that God wanted there to be five zones in the heaven, the middle of which is hotter. God wished for there to be the same number in the earth, two on the right, two others on the left, and the fifth in the middle. Four of these are said to be inhabitable. Two are said to be inhabitable in theory and practice, to wit, one on the right and the other on the left. For the others are only inhabitable in theory since we know nothing about them in practice. And the middle zone is said to be uninhabitable because of its great heat. The two which are said to be inhabitable in theory only are most cold. The remaining two, which are inhabitable in theory and practice, are called the temperate zones, since due to the great heat of the middle zone, which is uninhabitable because of the heat of the sun, and from the cold of the other two, which are only theoretically inhabitable and are freezing, these two temperate zones are said to be inhabitable in theory and practice and are populated. But one should note that the sun is placed in a straight line to the surface of the earth, and is said to be nine times larger than the earth. For the earth is tiny in comparison to the sun. So one may inquire how it comes about that the middle zone is uninhabitable because of the intolerable heat of the sun while two zones are said to be most cold, since the sun, which is nine times greater than the earth, possesses such great heat that it should burn up even the coldest zones.* To solve this problem one may apply the following analogy: Both the earth and the sun are round bodies. Every round body extends its shadow more broadly at the oblique than in a straight line, and where shadow is less, heat is greater. A second analogy may be introduced so the reader may grasp this even more clearly: Take up two balls which are round bodies and join them. Though they touch in the middle, yet their sides extend further. So the sun and the earth are round, and though they be joined in the middle, their sides will lie distant from each other. And as the sun touches the middle surface of the earth more than its sides, thus this zone is uninhabitable because of the proximity of the sun. Similarly two zones are said to be freezing due to the remoteness of the sun.

46. *The fifth*, in relationship to number, not by rank; *hotter*, more blazing, or the comparison may be viewed as not carrying any force.

47. *God's care*, God who is attentive; *the weight*, the weighty earth; *in the same number*, of zones.

Thus: Just as God divided the sky, so he divides the earth, which is enclosed in the middle.

Weight, namely, the earth, which is called "heavy" because it is corpulent.

Enclosed, that is to say, enclosed amongst the elements. The earth is said to be enclosed by the elements since it is in the middle and lowest. For everything in a round body which is found in the middle is the lowest.

In the same number: He does not say that this comes from the sky onto the land, but just as God created the zones in the sky, he also made them on the earth.

48. Tracks, namely, zones; the same number of tracks was impressed upon the earth, the same number as in the sky.

Rightly does he say was impressed, since what is found on the earth is pressed down.

Track: A blow renders a man unhappy, a net captures the deer, But a division substituting for a zone divides a region, Now the girdles bind, now they mark out the region.

- 49. The one, that one; amongst these, regions; due to heat, because of heat.
- 50. *High*, deep; *snow*, coldness; *covers*, takes hold of; *two*, the extremities; *the same number*, namely, two; *between both*, of the regions, the cold region and the hot region.
- 51. And gave them a temperate climate, that is to say, to these two; flame, heat. Flame: heat, and thus these two zones which are in the middle of the earth where we live are temperate.
- 52. Hangs over, is above; these, zones; which, sixfold; than the weight, twofold.

The air hangs over: construe the air hangs over these, namely, regions; which to the degree that it is lighter than the weight, that is to say, less heavy; than the weight of the water, water, I say, lighter than the weight of the earth, by so much the more is it heavier, that is to say, less light; than fire, that is to say, the fiery sky. Or Ovid shows thus that the sense may be explained through a numerical proportion. So let the earth represent twofold; water, fourfold; the air, sixfold; and the sky, eightfold. Sixfold is greater than fourfold by two, and is bigger than twofold by four. And thus by how much greater twofold is than fourfold, by so much less sixfold is than eightfold. Likewise, by how much lighter air is than the weight of the earth than the weight of the water, by so much heavier is air than fire. Or explain this in another way: Ovid calls the gentleness of the elements their weight. Thus the weight of the earth is that which is between cold and dry whose affinity is great. The weight of the air is

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wetness and heat, whose weight is greater that the others because all things are generated from these two things. The weight of the sky is heat and dryness, whose weight exceeds the others because it confers the source for souls. And this is what the meaning demands. Construe: by how much lighter is air, that is to say, better; than the weight of the earth, that is to say, by its value; and

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- 53. Than the weight, fourfold; of water, of the water, which I say is lighter; by so much is it heavier than fire, eightfold.
- 54. There, in the air; he ordered, God, or the care of God.
- 55. Thunder, he ordered thunder to exist; human, of men.

Minds, especially of the wicked, who are greatly troubled by their consciousness of sin. Hence Juvenal states: "These are the ones who fear and grow pale at every thunderclap" (*Satires* 13.223).

56. He ordered winds to exist.

Winds with lightning that produce thunder, since thunder has its origin in wind and lightning. Or <read> the winds making thunder with lightning, since thunder and lightning find their origin from winds.

57. The maker of the world, God; did not allow, grant; to dwell, as they liked; freely, in common.

Just as above he divided the channels through the land, so he divides the winds, such as the North Wind and the South Wind, through the air. And this is the order: *Them also*, such as the clouds, etc.; *freely*, as though he were to say, the divine mind did not allow the winds to inhabit all places but assigned their proper place to each one. Or *freely*, that is to say, in common, since God granted that the winds should not blow together but separately.

- 58. Since *scarcely now*, in the present; *they*, the winds.
- 59. Even though (cum), instead of although (quamuis); each, of the winds; track, province.
- 60. *Tearing apart*, destroying; *the earth*, the parts of the earth; *such is the discord*, and this is why he did it; *of brothers*, the winds.

Of brothers: the winds, which are called brothers because they are born from the same air, or because they reign in the same air. Or according to myth they were the sons of Aurora and Astraeus the giant, who was one of the Titans. The winds therefore are imagined to be descended from Dawn since winds frequently migrate at dawn or dusk.

61. Eurus takes its name from "rushing from the dawn" (ab eoo ruens); to the land of the dawn, to that region; Arabian, eastern, where Nabaioth rules.

Eurus: Truly each wind rules his own realm since they are so placed.

Dawn (aurora) derives, as it were, from "golden hour" (aurea hora). Arabian, that is to say, easterly. Nabaioth ruled there, the first born of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. Or the Nabateans are people who dwell in the east.

Eurus drew off to the land of the dawn: Above we stated that God created the winds and entrusted them to the air as their abode but not in common since Eurus drew off. Here the origin of the winds should be noted. Note that God placed the source of all heat in the sky and the source of all moistness on the land. In the east God placed two rivers: one which arises in the Antipodes, the other which arises in the habitable eastern area. The river which arises in the Antipodes and flows toward the east meets the river which arises in the east, and as they meet, they create a great conflict which causes the East wind to arise. As these rivers meet, they create two secondary rivers which flow round the world, one toward the south, and one toward the north. And a conflict arises as the rivers of the east and the west meet. And thus the northern wind arises, which is called Boreas. And as the rivers of the east and the west meet in the southern region, a further conflict arises from which we get the South Wind called Auster. Sometimes, however, the eastern river is faster than the western, and they meet each other beyond the midpoint or this side of it, and hence those side winds, like the Notus, the Vulturnus, and suchlike, arise. Another origin of the winds can be postulated: Some say that wind is nothing more than motion of air. And because air is wet and therefore heavy, it descends and is caught in caves where some winds try to exit and others to enter, and hence a conflict arises from which winds are said to arise. For Aeolia is a region in which are found many caverns, and hence Aeolus is said to be the king of the winds. The principal and secondary winds may be learned from these verses:

Circius, and Boreas, Aquilo, Vulturnus and Eurus, And Subsolanus fulfill their proprietary work. Africus and Zephyr, Corus Notus, Auster and Euroauster threaten them with war from the opposite direction.

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- 62. Persian, that land; crests, of mountains; beneath, underneath the sun.

Persian: Persians, Medes, and Armenians are peoples in the East.

63. The West, the western region; with the setting sun, moving toward its setting. Those shores which lie warm with the setting sun: They seem to grow lukewarm from our perspective, but this is not actually so. For when the sun moves to set and descends into the ocean, the shores do not grow lukewarm but are made hot as the sun moves through them. But to us the shores seem to grow lukewarm since the sun is receding from us.

64. *Next*, neighboring; *to the Zephyr*, to the origin of the Zephyr; *bristling* (*horrifer*), bringing terror (*horrorem inferens*).

Boreas is frightful and dry in relationship to us, but wet in relationship to those who live in the south, since the wind drives clouds from our region to the south. The Auster is dry and frightful for those in the south, while it is wet for us since it drives clouds and rain from the south toward our region. The Auster takes its name from "drawing" (*hauriendo*), since, being a dry and hot wind, it draws water.

65. Wain, here Ovid employs the figure of tmesis; opposite, placed opposite to Boreas.

Scythia: Having placed the more worthy winds as though they were coming from the gates of the sun, he places two other winds, saying *Scythia*, etc.

- 65–66. *The land lies damp*, so it seems to be wet to us; *with constant clouds and rain*, Ovid marks out an abundance; *constant*, constantly falling; *rain*, rainy; *South Wind*, that wind.
- 67. Over these, the earth, the water, the sky; liquid, pure; weightless, lacking heaviness; ether, sky.

Over these: After the author discussed the division and composition of the earth, water, and air, he discusses their separation and the division of the sky, saying Over these, etc.

- 68. Earthly dregs, earthly pollution.
- 69. *Had he divided*, had the care of God separated in his arranging; *all things*, the elements; *boundaries*, distances.

- 70. By that mass, he calls the aforementioned chaos a mass.
- 71. To gleam, to shine; throughout the sky, in each part of the sky.
- 72. Lest, so as not; any region, that is to say, any element; animals, or read living beings (animantibus).

Lest any region: This is everyday speech. For someone who is not a priest will say to someone looking for a priest, "I am the only priest you have," even though he is not one. Similarly the stars are called animals, not because they are such, but because they have the place and appearance of animals.

73. The heavenly land, the solidity of the sky, namely, the firmament.

Forms of the gods, that is to say, the planets, just as the star of Mercury, and of Jupiter, and of Venus, and figures of other humans form constellations there.

74. *The waves fell to*, produced; *shining*, because of their scales; *to be dwelt in*, by them.

Fell to: It should be noted that from two elements, namely, water and air, that is to say, the heat of air acting on water, are created two types of animals, namely, birds and fish. From the quickness and lightness of the air and the weight and wetness of water are created those animals which have taken on the qualities of the air and have flown into it, namely, birds. And fish, which have rather taken on the qualities of water, descended into it. Hence, we have *fell to*.

75. Mobile, flowing.

Birds (aues): Birds take their name from greeting (auendo), winged creatures (uolucres) from flying (uolando). The land took the wild beasts: Wild creatures (fera) derive their name from bearing (ferendo), because they take themselves wherever they wish without reflection, whereby animals are light and agile. But man possesses reason with which he deliberates and which lessens his fickleness so that he is not led wherever his impulse takes him. So man is more holy than other animals, that is to say, more hallowed.

So the transformation from chaos into diverse species, which may be considered a natural transformation, is completed, and this transformation comes about from the union of elements, and it requires no other explanation.

76. *An animal*, that is to say, man; *more holy*, that is to say, more steadfast, to wit, blessed; *than these*, already mentioned; *profound*, divine; *mind*, reasoning.

More holy: Here Ovid begins to speak concerning earth transformed into man with the reading *more holy*.

More holy: Having placed those things created for man's benefit, so to speak, he calls man more holy, that is to say, more devoted. Here is the interconnection: Thus were formed the animals on the earth, in the water, in the air: wild beasts on the earth, fish in the sea, birds in the air, but man still did not exist. Thus the author says more holy, etc. and more possessed of profound mind, namely, intelligence, since although the other animals were cognizant, they could not reason. Or read of profound mind, that is to say, deep memory, since no animal with the exception of man has the ability to discern.

77. *Could dominate*, have dominion over; *the rest*, over the other animals; *was lacking*, was absent.

And one who could dominate the rest: Man was made last, as though his dwelling had been prepared for him, so that it might be evident that man should have dominion over all other things, and that man should not place himself beneath things nor be overwhelmed by things, but have dominion over creatures. From whose rib on the authority of Genesis (Gen. 2:22) God made woman. Hence Walter of Châtillon says,

From mud was created man, His own rib deceived him. (*Alexandreis* 4.190–91)

And there is also that saying, "From the rib of Adam was given to him a wife and enemy," so that God might thus make manifest that a wife ought to be joined to her husband through marriage. Woman was made from the middle ribs, not the upper nor the lower ones, so that it might be evident that woman should be placed beneath man, yet man should not abuse her. "God made man from mud and breathed life into him" (Gen. 2:7).

78. *Man was born*, formed; *whether*, I do not know whether; *that*, God; *maker*, the one making works; *origin of a better world*, actively, that is to say, of a world improved by him, or the efficient cause.

Man was born: Here he places the twofold opinion about the creation of man: the Catholic and the pagan. He relates the Catholic view when he says that maker, and the pagan view when he says or the recent earth. Iapetus had two sons, Epimetheus and Prometheus, who first made a statue of man from mud of the earth and placed the stolen ray of the sun next to the statue and brought it to life (Gen. 2:7). On this account he was bound on the mountains

of the Caucasus by the gods, and two eagles were enjoined to eat his liver. But it is incredible that, as man did not yet exist, Prometheus, who was mortal, should create man. In truth, God created man from the mud of the earth, inculcating reason in him, as Genesis attests (Gen. 1:27). That Prometheus formed him from the mud of the earth and from that fire stolen from the chariot of the sun breathed life into him is mythical, and on this account he was bound by Jove on the Caucasus mountains and vultures were placed near to eat his liver. In truth Prometheus on the Caucasus mountains realized that man's nature was twofold, earthly in regards his body and heavenly in respect to his soul, whence he is said to have stolen the ray of the sun and brought man to life. The fact that vultures eat his liver reflects the fact that too great study wastes away the body of man and consumes his inside. Walter of Châtillon comments on this in his *Alexandreis* when speaking about Aristotle:

Truly the work of study afflicts the limbs and outer flesh with hunger: The inner man receives the nourishment. (*Alexandreis* 1.70–71)

But I am being long-winded here and should stop.

Origin or *reflection*, that is to say, the existing efficient cause of a world better planned out than it was then. He says *better* in accordance with the difference of the present world, *better* improved through the separation of the elements. For the image of the world existed in the mind of God, and God created the world according to what was in his mind.

- 79. Him, man; from divine seed, from divine assembly.
- 80. *The earth*, recently separated from the water; separated, namely, *drawn away from*.
- 81. *Retained the seeds*, because they were made from the same mass; *of its relation, the sky*, previously joined to it.

This transformation is a natural one. In truth, engendering nature, namely, God, created man from the mud of the earth, and this creation is termed a transformation by the philosophers. But what is narrated about Prometheus is an allegory. Prometheus is derived from "first theos," as it were, that is to say, God, who indeed made man in his own image and likeness, the body from earth, the soul from divine essence. Afterward, elements came together through a joining, and man was born from sperm through the intervention of semen. And this birth is called a natural transformation.

- 44 The Vulgate Commentary
- 82. *The offspring of Iapetus*, Prometheus; *river waters*, so that it might easily fall from the hands of the creator.
- 83. *Crafted*, fashioned; *into the image*, full of reason; *into the image of the gods*, according to the likeness of God.

Into the image: into the likeness of God, and thus man's very form attests his participation with the gods.

84. Other beasts, except man; downward, toward the earth.

While other beasts look downward: Whence Bernard Silvester says,

Brute beasts plainly reveal the grossness of their faculties, Their heads cast down, their gaze fixed on the earth.

But man alone, his stature bearing witness to the majesty of his mind, Will lift up his noble head toward the stars

That he may employ the laws of the spheres and their unalterable course As a pattern for his own course of life.

(Cosmographia 2.10.27-32)

- 85. Prometheus or the creator gave; lofty, erect.
- 85–86. God ordered him to look upon the sky, so that he might recognize his savior; and raise his erect visage to the stars, to heaven.
- 86. To look upon the sky: for the recognition and praise of his creator, man was created erect, so that he might observe the movement of the heaven and apply his spirit in conformity with it. He rightly says the sky, since heaven is the future abode of man, and men will dwell there for eternity.
- 87. Rough, without polish, without form; and, that is.

Thus: an epilogue.

- 88. *Transformed*, from something ill-formed into something formed; *took on*, received; *unknown*, not previously seen.
- 89. Golden, comparable to gold in its goodness; was engendered, formed; without an avenger, with there being no one to avenge; or the reading may be without a judge.

Golden: Here the author treats of the world changed into four seasons or ages

classified by metals. But before he does this, he will interject the change of the four seasons.

Here is the link: thus earth was changed into man, Golden was the first age.

Golden: After the creation of men the author speaks of the ages of the same, saying that the ages of men were divided into four, namely, golden, which was the first, silver, bronze, and iron. Metaphorically, the first age is called "golden" since men of that age clung to virtue, but from day to day they debased themselves into vices, which is demonstrated by the following ages.

Golden: There are ten types of metals which the Sibyl wanted to be applied to the ages of man. The first is figured as golden since, just as gold is more valuable than all other metals, thus the first age was superior to the rest in goodness. These are the names of the metals: gold, silver, copper, amber, brass, bronze, an alloy of silver and lead, acinas (?), iron.

Verses: The first age was removed from evil, an upright race unique in trust, Peace and piety were present, and thus the age is called golden.

Boethius praises the first age:

The former age was exceedingly blessed, Happy in their trusted fields, Nor lost in slothful lust; they broke their long fasts With acorns easily acquired. (Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae* 2.5.1–5)

An avenger: that is to say, someone who takes vengeance. Since no one gave offense, no one required retribution. Or read without a judge, that is to say, someone who passes sentence, since they were without guile and therefore did not require judgment.

90. Of its own accord, of its own free will; without law, without the coercion of the law; faith, trustworthiness; uprightness, justice.

Faith in respect to the gods, uprightness in regards to men. Or faith in their words and uprightness in their deeds. Or faith in respect to their neighbors, uprightness in respect to foreigners. Faith is the foundation of most sacred religion, the chain of charity, the aid of love. Faith strengthens sanctity, makes strong charity, adorns dignity. It shines out in boys, flourishes in youth, is made manifest in adults. Among the poor it is appreciated, happy among the well off, and is honored amongst the rich.

94. *Not yet*: Here the author discusses greed, which he distances from men by removing those things which inspire greed. *Not yet*: He extinguishes entirely. Here is the link: Rightly do I say that men of the first age lived free from harm, and I prove this because *not yet*, etc.

The pine: He places the material in place of the product, since the pine tree is the tree from which ships are constructed.

Had descended, from the mountains. Or *had descended*, because the sea is lower than the earth.

95. *To*, for this purpose.

96. *Mortals*, men; *knew*, but now indeed they know foreign shores; *shores*, namely, of their own land; *theirs*, that belonged to them.

97. High, deep.

High ditches did not yet: Here the author removes war.

Ditches did not yet encircle towns, because no one injured another.

98. Nor yet were there trumpets, made, of straight, brass; horns, made.

Trumpets, by which men were called to war.

Trumpet is an instrument made from straight brass. Horns are instruments made from curved brass. Soldiers are called to war at their sound.

99. Nor were there helmets, for defense; nor swords, for battle; without the employment of soldiers, without an army. Here Ovid underlines harmony.

100. Gentle: from its effect, since it makes men soft.

Securely: without the worry of combat and war, since war or use of arms did not exist.

101. *The soil without compulsion*, without duty; *untouched by plow*, here Ovid underlines plenty.

Soil is the depth in which roots of trees and herbs are contained; earth is the surface. Or *soil* is the goddess of the earth.

Without compulsion: without obligation, since no harvest was demanded of the earth.

Without compulsion: for then crops were not planted, nor was the land tilled;

hence, it was without obligation, but now things are different. When the earth is planted and crops are sown, the earth is not free since it must return its deposit.

102. *Everything*, that is to say, all things of which it was possessed; *<everything* (*omnia*)> in place of to all people (*omnibus*).

Willingly, that is to say, without the necessity of cultivation. For the earth now seems to be forced to return crops since it is planted and plowed; but at that time, no one tilled the earth, and therefore it gave all things willingly, that is to say, not forced through any plowman. Or willingly, that is to say, without help.

103. Without compulsion, that is to say, without cultivation.

Without compulsion, since men did not plow the earth as they do now.

104. Fruit of trees, or read arbute fruit.

Strawberries: the bush is called "arbutus," the fruit "arbutum."

105. Cherries, the fruit; harsh, thorny.

106. And, they gathered, acorns which fell from the spreading tree of Jupiter, namely from the oak.

Spreading: Jupiter is said to have fed the first men on acorns in the wood of Dodona. Or because he gave answers there through bronze doves. Or the tree is called *spreading* (*patula*) because it always lies open, while open (*patens*) is what opens at a given time, like the eye or a door.

107. *Spring was*, seemed; *eternal*, continuous; *and the gentle*, blowing gently; *Zephyrs*, namely, the winds.

Spring was eternal: Many opinions exist concerning the period when man was created. Virgil postulated that man was born in spring, since things then were new and tender. For of necessity men needed to be received tenderly since, if any violence were done to them, they would quickly wither. Thus, things were created in spring, when the season is most pleasant, and man was also created then rather than in another season. Macrobius, however, feels that man was born in summer. And thus he says that on the birthday of creation Cancer reigned over the moon, and the Lion ruled over the sun, namely, in July. Moreover, he says that the world was made in July because then the season was hottest, as is appropriate for the birthday of the world, since water

covered the entire world and ascended to the middle of the heavens. Thus it is correct that the sun and the upper regions should be considered most hot, whereby they might dry out the land and make it visible. Ovid, however, states that the world was made in spring. And link the passage so: Thus the earth became fruitful and was always pleasing because *spring was eternal*. Or spring is called "pleasure" because in spring, flowers grow, which we delight in collecting.

Zephyrs, that is to say, the winds, since in the singular the genus is adopted instead of the species. If it is in the plural, then the species is adopted instead of the genus, and this is the case for all species of winds.

108. Flowers born without seeds, thrown by men.

Played with: Master Walter, wishing to suggest the flavor of Ovid's poetry, describes so a pleasant place in which Darius addresses his men:

Here, Flora, Mother Cybele bursts forth and weds you to the West Wind, And the fountain makes fecund the entire valley by its grace. (*Alexandreis* 2.317–18)

110. Fallowed, by the plow; with heavy shafts, grain.

111. Rivers of milk, sweet like milk.

Nectar is properly the drink of the gods, being totally delectable, but sometimes it stands for whatever pleasant drink.* Nectar is derived from the verb "to intertwine" (*necto*), since it is composed of varied types interwoven. Or it is called *nectar* because it ensnares the tongue and entices.

Rivers of nectar flowed: He excludes drunkenness since the water was fresh. Hence in the *Fasti*:

And nectar was water drawn by both hands. (*Fasti* 2.294)

- 112. Yellow, being of a tawny color; oak, in which bees make honey.
- 113. *Under the dominion of Jupiter*: under the power of Jove.
- 114. Shadowy, dark.

Hades: Tartarus is found here in the singular. It is variable in its gender, and it is a noun drawn from its sound.

Thus, the period of the rule of Saturn was the Golden Age, that is to say, is to be compared to gold in its goodness. But after Saturn had been cast down into Hades, by Jove or naturally to Tartarus, since at that time all went to the underworld, and thus Ovid makes no mention of heaven < . . . > since no one was as upright as Saturn, whose name derives from "feeding men" (saturans homines). Saturn had three sons: He cast one into the sea, and he is imagined to be a god of the sea. The other he killed, and he is assigned to be the god of the Underworld. The third survived, and he is said to hold the sky. It is related that Saturn was expelled from his kingdom, namely Crete, by Jove his son because of a conflict, and thus the age was changed from gold to silver due to Jove's dominion. In fact, Jupiter, the son of Saturn, expelled his father from his kingdom; Saturn was received into Latium and there taught agriculture. Thus Latium is derived from "to hide" (lateo) since Saturn hid there. The hidden meaning (integumentum) is as follows: Note that there are seven planets, and Saturn is higher than the rest and nearer to the firmament and completes its cycle in thirty years, Jupiter in twelve, Mars in five, and the sun in a year. Mercury takes two years, while Venus takes less than a year, and the moon takes a month. Saturn is said to be the father of Jove, since he is the loftiest planet. Jupiter expelled his father from his kingdom because Jupiter, being a benevolent planet, expelled the wickedness of Saturn, who is evil. For all storms and tempests which come into our hemisphere result from Saturn, and thus it is known as a most malevolent planet. Or understand the hidden meaning thus: Saturn is the same as time, derived from "filled with years" (satur annis), as it were, and therefore among the Libyans he is depicted in the guise of a snake holding its tongue in its mouth. For time is round and voluble. Jupiter was the son of Saturn, who represented the time of law before the time of goodwill. Jupiter expelled his father from the kingdom since the time of law was followed by the time of goodwill. Saturn devoured the stone through which is indicated that nothing is so well rooted that time may not wear it away. And hence we have this saying: "Everything grows old like a garment, but the word of God remains for eternity" (Heb. 1:11 and 1 Pet. 1:25). Saturn's testicles are the fruits of the earth, corn and barley, and these, cast into the sea, namely, the bellies of men which are like the sea, gave birth to Venus, since the belly of man filled with food rises up into excess, and hence we have that saying: "The belly swimming in wine quickly develops lusts." Hence the verses from the *Integumenta*:

Saturn is time, his genitals richness, the offspring is posterity, The sea is the belly, the foam Venus. (John of Garland, *Integumenta* 73–74)

The silver race came in: this is a hepthemimeral caesura. The first syllable of the fourth foot indicates a hepthemimeral caesura for you.

The silver race: lessened in respect to the goodness of the first race as much as silver is less valuable than gold.

115. Meaner, worse; than the Golden Age, than the first age; more precious, better; than tawny brass, than the following age.

116. Shortened, abbreviated; ancient, or read eternal; spring, mildness.

Ancient, or eternal spring, which now is divided into four. Winter is derived from half (hemi) because it seems to us to last for half the year.

117. And, namely; brief, in respect to the first one.

Through winter: Here he interjects about the year changed into the four seasons, and he says through winter, etc.

Unequal autumn, because he says elsewhere, "Now we are oppressed with cold, now we sweat with heat" (*Ars amatoria* 2.317).

Unequal, for "sometimes we are oppressed by cold, etc." Or read *unequal* because of clear skies and rain. Or *unequal* because the season brings disease, so we say it is death-bearing, from the heat which precedes it and the cold which follows it. Or *unequal*, namely, unjust, because of the fruit which then was new and corrupted man, and therefore was unjust. Or *unequal*, as we said in the first interpretation, because sometimes it is cold, sometimes it is hot.

Brief spring, in respect to the preceding one, which was eternal. Or *brief spring* in respect to the other seasons, namely, winter, autumn, summer. Spring is said to be shorter than winter since winter is freezing and all things which are cold seem of long duration. Summer is hot, and heat is displeasing. And autumn is not a temperate season. Hence, we have below, "We are sometimes oppressed with cold, etc." But spring is delightful and hence is said to be short in comparison with the other seasons.

118. Cut up, divided.

This transformation is a natural one. These four changes of the year came about either through the interweaving < . . . > with its heat properly constituted because of the turning of the firmament as it approached and receded from the sun.

119. *Then first of all*: Behold, once the morals of man were corrupted, all manner of intemperance and toil began.

Parching: For in summer the air is dry because of the heat of the sun.

Grow white, because of excessive dryness.

Grow white: This image is adopted from iron which grows whiter the more it is tempered.

- 120. *Ice*: For the wind increased the cold.
- 121. *Houses*, they used to dwell in caves in the ground.
- 122. Dense thickets, joined together in thickness; branches joined with bark, were their homes.

Dense thickets: just as twigs and trees of this type were intertwined to make ships for Caesar's men. Hence in Lucan we find:

Osiers of hoary willows were steeped and plaited To form small boats. (*Bellum civile* 4.131–32)

123. Seeds of grain, of Ceres; buried, planted or covered; in long furrows, in a long ridge.

Seeds of grain: Ceres is called the goddess of grain, and her name is derived from "creating things" (*creans res*).

124. *Groaned*, which is a sure indication of great toil, and this very thing Virgil takes note of in the *Georgics*, saying:

Then my ox groaned beneath the weight of the plow. (*Georgics* 1.45–46)

Oxen groaned, because their heads are pressed down in the yoke.

In service beneath the yoke: the plow. He refers to the part instead of the whole.

We said that the second age was worse than the first, which was golden, and so the third is worse than the second.

125. After this, the Silver Age; followed, succeeded; offspring, an age; bronze, namely, able to be compared to bronze.

Bronze: Here there is a diaeresis. When the syllables are divided we have a diaeresis (*Doctrinale* 2427).

126. More savage, crafty; more ready, more prepared, more swift; horrid, because of its effect.

127. Wicked, in relation to the final age; the final, the tenth age.

Yet: Although I said the third was worse than the second and first, yet, etc.

Wicked, because they killed their relations.

Rightly the last age is called the "age of iron" for all evil, etc.

Of hard iron: Although the author should address all ten ages which are designated by metals, he does not speak of the middle ones, and he places the last metal in fourth position, since he says the final age was of hard iron. The last is compared to iron since it is a most useful metal and harder than any other, as though he were saying: then was a worse age, that is to say, those that followed were worse than prior ages.

128. At once, immediately; all evil, every kind of evil; burst forth, violently entered.

At once: Recalling the phrasing of Ovid, Master Walter speaks similarly:

A polluted race and offspring springs forth;

Virtue departs; vice thrives.

They cling to shameful lusts. True piety grows slack.

(*Alexandreis* 4.195–97)

Burst forth: He says this because man is naturally good and seeks out the good, and wants the good and nothing else but the good, and on this account he says *burst forth*.

An age is a continuous period of time.

129. Shame, chastity.

Truth, or *right* in respect to men, *faith* in respect to the gods. Or *truth*, that is to say, truth in oaths, *faith* according to thought.

130. *In their place*, in place of shame, truth, faith; *fraud* in relationship to deeds; *deceit*, in relationship to words.

Fraud: when one does one thing and pretends something else.

131. Treachery, of thieves.

Might: violence, for they violently seized everything.

Wicked love of possessions: He says this because often one acquires possessions through evil intent. As Horace says:

Make money by fair means if you can; If not, in any way you can. (*Epistulae* 1.1.65–66)

Wicked love of possessions: greed through which evils arise.

132. Gave his sail, unfurled; them, winds.

Gave his sail: what above Ovid had removed from men, he attributes to them once they become greedy.

133. Which, the ships through the raw material, that is to say, the trees from which the boats were made.

Which: This is an improper reference, just as is said, "Woman who damned, saved."

134. Unknown, unknown to man or to the ship; bobbed, jumped up frequently.

Bobbed: The ship is said to float in the sea, because on water it cannot have a firm ground but fittingly moves with the swell of the water.

Waves: Virgil in the Georgics says,

Then first did rivers feel hollowed out alders. (*Georgics* 1.36)

135. Careful, fearing for its usefulness; reaper, derived from crop.

Measurer, that is to say, surveyor.

Reaper: He uses fitting vocabulary which relates to farmers. Or read *surveyor* or *digger*. For the verb "metari" means one thing, the verb "metiri" another. "Metari" means to set up camp, while "metiri" relates to anything which has to do with measuring.

136. Before, in times past; common, to all; like the sun and breezes, are.

Like: an adverb of comparison, it joins like cases.

Breezes (aurae) are winds. Or breezes (auras), which are common to all. As we have below:

Nor did nature make the sun or the air its own. (*Metamorphoses* 6.350)

137–38. Owed, that which is owed to man. Or read gentle (mitia); demanded from the rich earth, to give.

Rich (*diues*): Hence the god Pluto is called "Dis" from "making rich" (*ditando*), since the earth enriches him.

138. One went down to the bowels of the earth, seeking metals.

139. She had hidden, the earth.

Stygian gloom: Ovid says this according to those who maintain that the underworld is in the underbelly of the earth.

140. Were dug up, were dug out of the earth; enticement, certainly, since gold is the cause of war.

Were dug up: were acquired by digging.

Were dug up: The land is dug by plowing to extract metals from it. Were dug up: Lucan relates that the soldiers of the general Petreius acted similarly when they lacked water:

And now, in their shortage of water, they begin by digging In search of hidden springs and underground streams. (*Bellum civile* 4.292–93)

Enticement for evil: Court cases and charges arise through the desire of obtaining money, and, in sum, all evils.

Enticement for evil: Realizing this, Lucan says,

This meanest thing of all, money, stirred up strife. (*Bellum civile* 3.120)

141. *Injurious*, bringing injury.

Injurious: Iron is harmful, since it is a tool of slaughter; gold is even more so, since it is the cause of slaughter.

Gold: War fought with the sword erupts because of desire to possess gold.

142. *Had burst forth*, had come upward; *battles*, come into being by fighting. *Both*, that is to say, on either side (*utroque*), because war cannot be fought except when there are two combatants. Or *from both sides* (*utrinque*), that is to say, for either side. Or *with each*, because war for gold is fought with the sword.

143. War shook; clashing, producing a clash.

Bloody: thirsting for blood. Or infected with blood.

144. One lived only from plunder, from things acquired through pillaging; guest was not safe from a guest.

What am I to say individually about these evils? One lived.

Safe: as Jupiter from Lycaon.

145. Neither is a father-in-law safe from son-in-law; also, even; kindness among brothers was rare, small.

Rare: rarely found.

146. *The husband plotted*, prepared; *destruction*, death; *for his wife*, his own; *the wife* plotted destruction *for her husband*.

Behold that vice which is greater than all others because the husband, etc.

147. Stirred up: they brought together and manufactured; aconite, poison.

Frightening, inspiring terror.

Mothers-in-law: Mother-in-law (nouerca) is derived from "keeping distant new sons" (nouos arcens filios), that is to say, her stepsons, so that the inheritance might come only to her own sons.

Ghastly: because of its effect. Or being of ghastly color.

Aconite: poisonous herbs of extreme potency born on cliffs. Cerberus sprayed his froth over the crags, and aconite arose from this.

148. *Inquired into*, or read *made an attack upon*; *before time*, of the death of his father.

Inquired into: Made evil inquiries in a bad sense, as though he were to say, a son inquires about the death of his father from soothsayers.

149. Reverence lay vanquished, by pride and injustice; Astraea, justice; the last, as though driven out.

Astraea, namely, justice, who in myth was the daughter of the giant Astraeus and of dawn. Or she is called Astraea because she has her origin from the stars (ab astris), descends to earth, and ascends again to heaven. Whence we have,

Last of the gods she abandoned the earth. (*Fasti* 1.250)

150. Blood, killing.

Left: Aristotle seems to invite Alexander to recall her when he says:

Let Astraea, the last among the gods to leave the earth, Be called back from the heavens.

(*Alexandreis* 1.176–77)

Let us now explain what has been related about the world changed into the four seasons or ages. Such a transformation is moral. The first age of man was preferable to all other ages, just as gold is better than all other metals. And thus the metaphor should be adapted about the other ages of man in which their morals replicated metals.

- 151. Next we have an introduction to another transformation about the giants transformed into mountains. Here is the link; thus men feared and *lest*, etc.
- 152. They say, men; attacked, desired with much gusto and attacked.
- 153. And they say that the giants built, prepared; and piled up, united.
- 154. When, or read but, or read then; the almighty father, Jupiter; shattered, broke completely; Olympus, the mountain.

Olympus: elsewhere we have,

Lofty Ossa bore shelving Pelion. (*Amores* 2.1.14)

And in the Fasti, Ovid writes:

Thus man seeks the sky: no need for Ossa to be piled on Olympus,
And that Pelion's peak should reach the stars.

(*Fasti* 1.307–8)

155. Mount Pelion: Theodulus also attests this:

They pile mountain on mountain, but Vulcan casts the enemy down With his thunderbolt into his cave.

(*Eclogue* 87–88)

Lying beneath, that is to say, placed above. Whence we have: "Ossa bore Pelion."

Lying beneath: This seems to be contrary to what Ovid says <in the Amores>, "Lofty Ossa bore shelving Pelion." So let us say that there a preposition is placed for a preposition, since "below" is used for "over," "placed below," "placed over," as is said elsewhere, "They ride astride their horse" (Virgil,

Aeneid 12.288), that is to say, ride above, and Virgil also says similarly, "three times they tried to cast Pelion below Ossa" (*Georgics* 1.281).

This transformation is a moral one, and the allegory is as follows. The giants are derived from the Greek *ge*, which means "earth." Thus giants are said to love earthly things. Hence, they are imagined to have the feet of serpents, and, since it is characteristic of snakes to slither over the ground, we understand those giants to be anxious about earthly possessions and to be heaped with riches. They are thought to have piled mountain on mountain and to have assailed the heavens, because they ascended into the heights of pride; but they tumbled down on themselves, struck by the thunderbolt hurled by Jove, that is to say, God the Father, since God breaks all pride (Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, 285), and this fall is designated through the punishment which is prepared for the wicked. Hence the verses in the *Integumenta*:

The world thirsted to cast out the god, whence first it suffered ruin.

Virtue of mind fled from the citadel. The virtues are the gods,
The throng of vices the giants, the lowly mind will be Phlegra,

The mountain will represent pride for you.

(Integumenta 82–85)

There follows the transformation of the blood of the giants changed into men, and this is as follows, *overwhelmed*.

156. *The bodies*, of the giants; *mass*, that is to say, by the mountains rent asunder by them.

157. Men say.

Of her children, of the giants because the giants were born from earth, whence they derive their name from *ge*, which means "earth."

- 158. Gave life to, that is to say, restored to a living spirit, namely, made living.
- 159. *Lest no*, in order that some; *of her offspring*, of the giants; *stay*, that is to say, remain.
- 160. They say that the earth, *turned*, the gore; *into the appearance*, into the likeness; *also*, even.
- 161. Was *a despiser of the gods*, "superum" is a syncopated form for <superorum>.

58

160-62. But this new stock was . . . violent, to such a degree that you could tell, it was born (natam), that is to say, was the offspring; Or read they were born (natos).

Violent (violentus): full of violence, derived from "lentos" which means "full," just as "vinolentus" means "full of wine" (*Graecismus* 13.260).

We should understand this transformation allegorically. From those who were born from the blood understand that wicked people are born from wicked people. For an evil tree cannot bear good fruit (Mt. 7:18). Whence Master Matthew says: "A tree is made manifest by its leaf" (*Tobias* caput 7.B). And Pamphilus confirms this, saying: "Nature frequently shows its progenitor in clear signs" (*Pamphilus de amore* 351). Or let this transformation and the one preceding it be understood historically. Jupiter, a king of Crete, besieged certain tyrants, and yet their progeny was not totally annihilated.

163. When, after; Saturnian father, Jupiter, son of Saturn.

When the father: Here Ovid begins to mix in the transformation of the earth changed into the sea through the flood, and he says *these things*, that is to say, such evil deeds and crimes.

Father: the noun symbolizes his authority.

164. Groans, or read groaned.

Groans: that is to say, groans deeply. Or *groans*, that is to say, groans inwardly, in his heart.

Recalling, bringing back to his memory.

165. Widely known, known far and wide.

Because the deed was recent, because it had recently been committed.

166. Worthy, such as God should possess.

Worthy: Because just as Jupiter is great and powerful, so he conceived a great wrath in his spirit. Or understand *worthy*, because in fact God is not enraged but seems to grow angry when he performs wrathful deeds.

167. He called together a meeting (consilium), he calls the gods for deliberation; the reading of the text may also be council (concilium); those called, the gods.

168. Lofty, high; easy to see in the cloudless sky, clearly visible when the sky is clear.

There is a lofty way: The author here uses the figure of the topographia, that is to say, a description of a place. For he describes the path through which the gods come to the council, a path which is called by the laity the Way of Saint James. The origin of this circle is as follows: Amalthea, a goat, because she nourished Jove on her own milk, was carried to the sky and became a principal astrological sign. The shield of Pallas was covered with the skin of this goat and was called an "aegis" from ege, which means "goat." The path was marked out by the milk from the goat, and the path is called a "galaxy" from galac, meaning milk, and chios, meaning "circle," as though a circle of milk. Or understand otherwise: Among the offspring of his stepmother, Mercury obtained such favor that Juno nourished him with her own milk, just as Martianus Capella attests. And Juno smeared the sky with her milk to commemorate this, and from this milk a certain path in the sky is called "milky." Or it is called "milky" because Hercules, when he suckled milk beyond measure from many nurses, vomited that milk there, and hence it is called "milky." In fact, there is a joining of two hemispheres, and from the collision which occurs from this joining, there is a kind of brilliance. Some say that in that part of the firmament, the smallest stars are constantly woven in a circuit. And whereas all circles which we assign in the sphere are only assigned according to scientific doctrine, this circle is understood to really exist in the firmament. Hence Ovid describes it as "visible," and it is called the Way of Saint James in French.

169. Milky is its name, thus do men call it; famed, able to be marked out.

170. Along this way, through this way; halls of the Thunderer, of Jupiter.

Along this way: Master Alan describes a similar situation likewise:

But since this whole place sparkles with blessed fire And is soothed by the friendly swaying flame, It is identified with the empyrean pole on which the glow of a kindly fire smiles

And sets off the court with its luster. (*Anticlaudianus* 5.403–6)

Thunderer: Whence Master Alan speaks thus:

Here dwell the citizens of heaven and the nobles of the Thunderer, The companies of angels and the divine beings, The rulers of the world, the celestial bands, the hosts of heaven, Those who guard us. There are different divisions of these by rank, Function, duty, varying capacity, perfection of power,

Difference of station, diversity of work. (*Anticlaudianus* 5.407–12)

171. And his royal house, to the house; on the right, side; on the left, side.

On the right and on the left: as though he were to say: on the right hand is the house of Jove, and on the left that of the nobles.

172. Of the noble gods: such as Phoebus Apollo, Mars, and gods of this sort.

The halls are thronged, are frequented; hinges, doors.

Doors (ualui) are called thus from the verb "to swing" (uoluere), since they hang on hinges.

173. *The common folk*, the lesser gods; *live apart*, away from the powerful; *in separate places*, in places, through places; *from the brow*, of Jove, facing.

174. Renowned, famous.

175. *This*, such; *which*, place; *if daring might be granted*, that is to say, if I might speak boldly; *to words*, my words.

He describes the palace of Jove in comparison with that of Augustus, saying this is the place.

176. Scarcely, in place of not.

Of the king: of Jupiter. Or read *of the sky*. Evidently, in this section the author had some inkling of Christ, but he did not dare to express it openly.

177. When, after; marble recess, paved with flat marble.

In the recess: in the secret room of the house, in an out-of-the-way place.

The gods then came without delay, therefore.

178. He himself, Jupiter; higher, in a loftier place; leaning, supported; ivory, made of ivory.

Himself: is properly an expression of noble and loftier personages.

Higher: so that he might be heard and seen.

A scepter is a royal wand.

179. *Three and four times*: many times, a finite number for an infinite number; *terrifying*, inducing terror.

Three: in respect to the threefold collection of virtues, to wit, the intellect, reasoning, and memory. Four: in relationship to the soul, for the soul is desirous, capable of growth, capable of anger, and able to reason. Or three in respect to the soul; four in respect to the body, which is composed from the four elements.

Locks are said to belong to men, from the verb "to cut" (caedere), hair to belong to women from the verb "to arrange" (comere).

180. The stars, since Lucan says:

Jupiter is whatever you see. (*Bellum civile* 9.580)

- 181. *Then*, next; *strains*, words; *released*, opened; *indignant*, because Jupiter was indignant; *lips*, angry.
- 182. I was not more anxious, supply, than now.

I was not more anxious: as though he were to say, "I was not more anxious when the giants attacked the sky because, though my enemy was fierce, yet they were of a single kind. Now the whole earth has sworn an oath against me, and therefore I should be more anxious," and hence he adds *now*.

- 182. He begins to narrate why he had called the gods together, speaking to them with indignation in complaint about the wickedness of men and relating that he was not more anxious when the giants attacked him than now. And thus he says *I was not*. Or read thus: *I was not more anxious for the kingdom of the world*: in his speech he intends to rouse up the gods against the human race and especially against Lycaon. The world here is understood for the circle or the entire world, and it is called thus from the verb "to move," since all elements are moved except the earth, which is called the "world" through the rhetorical figure of an antiphrasis, as though moving least of all.
- 183. *Storm*, that is to say, a stormy and troubled period; *snake-footed*, giants. *Snake-footed*: on account of the reason already proposed. Or because of their cleverness, since the serpent is an animal which is most astute. Hence one says, "Be prudent like snakes" (Mt. 10:16).

184. *Hundred*: finite for infinite; *captive*, doomed to be made captive except it was liberated by me.

Captive: not that it had been captured, but the giants were planning to capture it.

185. The enemy, collectively, was fierce, the giants.

Quite properly do I say that I was not more anxious, for.

186. *Body*, family; *and*, that is to say; *from one source*, they were from a single source.

187. Nereus, the great ocean.

One generation had to be destroyed then, but now.

Nereus: he refers to the god of the sea rather than the sea itself.

188–89. I must annihilate, I must destroy; I swear by that river, it will be so.

I swear: there are two types of oaths: one for consecration and one for cursing. An oath of consecration is sworn by the heavens; an oath, for cursing by the underworld. Now, since nothing is greater than the gods, they swear by the lower world, namely, the Styx. We, however, swear by the upper world, namely, through the gods. Or thus through consecration, when someone swears through that which is of importance to him, as when a priest swears by his crown; through imprecation, when someone swears through that which works against him, as when someone curses himself through the devil. Jupiter makes such an oath here. Moreover, it was customary that if any god foreswore by the marshy Styx, he abstain from the divine nectar for a year.

189. Beneath, belonging to the underworld; in the grove, through the grove.

Stygian: the river Styx represents sadness. Gods, however, enjoy eternal blessedness, whence they fear to incur what is opposite to their happiness.

190. All things should be tried by me first; which cannot be cured, the adjective is taken from surgery.

All things: Here we have the rhetorical figure of the antipophora, that is to say, a refutation, from *anti* which means "against," and *phoros* which means "to bear." For an objection could be made to Jove: *all things should be tried beforehand*, for the human race should be spared and given time to undergo penance, since God desires not the death of the sinner, etc. (Ezek. 23:11), so

that one might find out if they would regain their senses. Jupiter answers this objection by saying that good men must be preserved, while evil men must be condemned, and thus he says *but the wound which cannot be cured*, etc., as though he were to say, "First I shall make trial in my heart about the destruction of the world."

The wound: Virgil says the same thing in the Georgics:

Check the stain at once with the knife before The frightful disease runs about among the unsuspecting people. (*Georgics* 3.468–69)

191. Healthy, good; be infected, with corruption.

192–93. And here is the healthy part, *Fauns*; *there are*, to me; *rustic deities*, namely, *Nymphs*.

There are: behold those blessed ones, such as hermits, whom I shall not destroy.

193. Fauns, gods; sylvan deities, gods of the forests. This verse is a spondaic line.

Fauns: dwell in forests and are given the name "fauni" from phonos, which means "sound," as though they speak inconsiderately. Or they get this name because they give oracles. "Phonos" in Greek means "voice" in Latin. Satyrs belong to open fields and are called thus because of their satiety, because they are gods of pleasure. Sylvan deities are mountain nymphs called from the verb "to be silent" (silere) or from "woods" (siluae).

194. *Since we do not yet deign to grant them divinity*, that is to say, we do <not> think them worthy to live in heaven.

195. Let us allow, them; which we have given, to them.

Certainly: securely, or it is an oath.

196. Or, surely not; they, the gods previously mentioned.

Or do you think that they will be safe enough: These words are spoken by Jove to the gods. Lycaon wanted to kill Jove while he was asleep. When he could not, he killed a certain hostage and placed him before Jove to be eaten.

197. Lycaon, a son of a Titan, a giant; known or read inspired to action; has hatched, has prepared.

Known: because of his infamous savagery Lycaon was extremely well known,

just as one is deemed attractive through one's form and good through one's good works. Hence we have elsewhere:

Ugliness prevented Thersites from escaping notice,
As much as beauty made Nereus conspicuous.
(Epistulae ex Ponto 4.13.15–16)

199. All, the gods; trembled, were afraid.

Jove spoke thus, and all trembled.

Demanded: they made pleas. To demand is properly to assail someone. Or *they demanded*, they inquired as to who he may be by stating something against him. The verb "to demand" (*deposcere*) takes a double accusative (*Doctrinale* 1265).

200. It was so when.

So when the impious hand, as though he were to say: "Thus, the gods were terrified on account of Jove's speech, just as the Romans were terrified because of the death of Julius when he was struck down by Brutus and Cassius."

Impious hand: of Brutus and Cassius, who killed their master Julius on the Capitol with twenty-four blows of the dagger. Master Walter expresses himself similarly in the *Alexandreis*:

The hall broke into shouts at the king's words; The crowds cried out, demanding he reveal The authors of the crime. (*Alexandreis* 8.100–102)

200–202. So, construe: thus the gods were astonished by the anger of Jove and; so, just as now the gods trembled; the human race, that is to say, the Roman race; was astonished when the impious hand of Brutus and Cassius raged to stamp out the Roman name with Caesarean blood.

201. Raged, directed its thoughts with savagery; Roman, people; Caesarean blood, by killing Julius Caesar.

To stamp out, that is to say, to destroy; the Roman name, namely, the Roman power. Or the name of Caesar, when Julius Caesar was killed, and this is what he narrates.

203. Swift, done suddenly; the whole world, the entire land shaped into a globe.

204. Nor is this loyalty; Augustus, O, the vocative case.

Nor is this loyalty less, as though he were to say: "No more greatly did Augustus rejoice that all were saddened by the death of his uncle than did Jupiter rejoice because the gods commiserated with him about the evil deed which had been perpetrated against him." At the death of Julius, many came to Augustus demanding that he exact punishment from the traitors, and Augustus, the adoptive son of Julius, adopted such a plan.

Nor is this loyalty less: Master Walter imitates Ovid:

Nor was the devotion of his men unpleasing. (*Alexandreis* 9.545)

205. That, loyalty; he, Jupiter.

After he checked, so that they should keep quiet; their outcry, of the gods.

That loyalty: of the gods, or that, namely, of your people, since it was pleasing to Jove and to you.

206. With voice and gesture, by speaking and looking about.

All held silence: waiting to hear what Jove was saying on this matter.

207. Subsided, ceased; checked by the force, grave authority; of the ruler, of Jupiter.

208. *Broke*: that is to say, he began to speak. He who does not speak guards silence; he who speaks, breaks it.

209. Indeed, certainly; he, Lycaon; lay aside that care, of accusing him.

He has paid: he has endured. Or he is released from fault by having paid the punishment.

210. I shall instruct, you; fault, sin; punishment, for the sin.

Yet: although Lycaon was punished, *yet*; or although he paid the punishment for the sin, *yet*.

211. A bad report, wickedness; of the age, of the world.

Had reached: In this speech, Jupiter intends to reveal to the gods the traps which had been laid against him and the punishment meted out to Lycaon, and to win the gods to his will, and thus he says *had reached*.

Age: time and age are equal: when one is completed, so is the other.

A bad report of the age: that is to say, the wickedness of the world. World and age are reciprocal and equal, since when one is done, so is the other. And thus, age is able to be substituted for world. But he says "age" because time begins with the world and will end with it.

212. *Hoping* that *it*, the report, was *false*; *from Olympus*, from heaven.

False: since I wished this evil report to be false.

Olympus is derived from *olon*, which means "whole," and *lampas*, which means "burning," thus "all aflame." Or, Olympus is a mountain which reaches the clouds and thus is the highest. And because of this great height, it can substitute for the sky.

213. And though, I being, a god; walked, I went round about; in human form, in order that I might be seen.

214. Wickedness, guilt or sin.

Wickedness: later in the Metamorphoses, just as here, wickedness can stand for harm:

At dawn one drinks them without harm.

(Metamorphoses 15.334)

Crimes are called "criminal acts," while the one who is at fault is called a "criminal" (Justinian, *Digest* 9.1.1). But authors sometimes substitute "criminal" for "criminal acts" when they mean to refer to criminal acts, as we have at the end of the book,

During the night, drinks cause harm; at dawn one drinks them without harm.

(Metamorphoses 15.334)

215. The report was less than reality, men were worse than the report said.

Less than reality: that is to say, less than it would be if it were true, just as is said elsewhere:

The goddess seemed angrier

than was right.

(Metamorphoses 3.253-54)

Namely, angrier than she would be if she were justifiably angry.

216. *Maenala*, a promontory of Arcadia; *bristling with the hiding places of wild beasts*, for many wild beasts lay in hiding there.

Maenala: mountains of Arcadia. In the singular, "Maenalus" is a masculine noun; in the plural, it is a neuter noun.

217. Of cold Lycaeus, of the mountain; Cyllene, the mountain.

Thickets (spineta): places comprised of thorns. Or read pine groves (pineta).

Cold: because of the shade, for where there is shade, there is coolness.

Lycaeus: Lycaeus is derived from the Greek "licos" which means "wolf," because wolves are plentiful there. Lycaeus is a mountain in Arcadia, which Ovid indicates in the *Fasti*:

Who denies that the Luperci have been named after the Arcadian mountain?

Lycaean Faunus has temples in Arcadia.

(Fasti 2.423-24)

Cyllene: hence Mercury is said to be from Mount Cyllene.

218: Whence, afterward; I approached, I entered; inhospitable, savage; of the ruler, of Lycaon.

Inhospitable: in which one does not find welcoming hospitality. Or <understand> *inhospitable*, in which the rights of a guest are not observed, for Lycaon sacrificed his guests.

219. *Late twilight*, evening.

Late: Ovid uses this adjective there to differentiate the sunset from the dawn. There are seven parts of the night, namely, twilight, first part of the night, dead of night, the watch of the night, the morning hours or the time before dawn, daybreak, and dawn. The first part of the night is derived from *creperon*, meaning "doubt" or "half," whence is derived the noun *crepusculum*, which means "half part of day" and "half part of night."

220. That a god had come, myself; to pray, to me.

I gave signs: although I came under the guise of a human, yet I gave indications by which I could be discerned to be a god.

I gave signs: by saying "peace with this house" (Lk. 10:5 and Mt. 10:12).

221. Their pious prayers, of men, the pious prayers of the common people.

- 222–23. He said, Lycaon; I shall find out, whether he is a god, in a clear test: that is to say, by a clear differentiation, or a certain indication or proof or danger.
- 223. *Truth*: that is to say, there will be no doubt, but truly I shall know whether he is a god or not.
- 224. He prepares, Lycaon; to kill, to destroy; deep, weighted down.

At night as I lie in a deep sleep: this is a rather topsy-turvy word order, since he put the guest before him to eat before he wished to kill him.

225. Expected, based on opinion; this trial, such a trial; of what was true, of the truth; pleased him, thus did he wish to make trial.

Not expected: can be one word or two.

226. Nor was he content with that, to kill me thus; but he cut, he opened up; sent, to him.

He cut the throat: and we have below.

Philomela cut his throat with the sword. (*Metamorphoses* 6.643)

227. *Molossian*: from the Molossian region. Molossia, Calabria, Chaonia, and Epirus are all names of this region.

With the tip of the sword: the tip is properly the end of the sword, but here it is placed for the sword.

There was then a certain bond of union between the king of Molossia and Lycaon, whence Lycaon had the hostage whom he killed and cooked and gave to Jove to eat. *Hostage*, that is to say, guest sent to him as a hostage, namely, as a pledge or hostage. Hostages are those whom barons give to kings for security.

228. And thus: once this was accomplished. Or <understand> thus, just as they were half dead.

He softened, he boiled; he roasted, he cooked; over the fire, igni and igne are both ablative forms.

He softened in water: as though he were to say, in part he broiled, in part he broiled.

230. As soon as, after; this, or read them.

This: what was stated above; or read *these*, namely, the limbs; or read *which*, dish of food; or read *whom*, the hostage.

Avenging, that is to say, I took vengeance on him for his wickedness

230–31. *I, with my avenging fire, brought down the house upon the master: I brought down upon the master,* namely, over the master, *his house and the deserving Penates* (household gods), and here we find an irregular joining, by which house and gods are joined.* Or let there be a regular joining thus: *I brought down the house upon the master and the household gods deserving of being overthrown.* For the Penates are called the private gods, since they were placed in the innermost part of the house.

231. Upon the master, over their master.

Penates, that is to say, the private or household gods, who connived in his wickedness. Or *Penates*, that is to say, the likenesses of the private gods who were worthy of being destroyed, since they allowed him to spurn the gods.

232. *He*, Lycaon; *gaining*, that is to say, having reached; *the silence of the countryside*, that is to say, the countryside where there is silence.

233. He howled, greatly; from him, entirely.

From him: that is to say, from his natural savagery, that is to say, all his savagery transferred itself to his face. Beforehand his madness was revealed in his mind, face, and hands, but now it remained in his face.

234. Gathers, from various parts; for slaughter, or read for booty.

235. To, instead of against.

To: meaning against. Or <understand> *for herds*, namely, for the slaughter of herds.

Now also: at that time, or <understand> in such a form.

He delights in blood: in the outpouring of blood.

He delights in: just as previously he rejoiced in the blood of men, so now <he rejoices> in the blood of cattle.

236. Into coat, the coat of a wolf; his arms are transformed into legs.

237. Traces, signs.

After he described the wolf, though it could be deduced that it was a wolf, yet he explicitly names it, saying: *He becomes a wolf*.

238. There is the same gray hair to him.

Violence, that is to say, his cruelty which he possessed before.

The same gray hair: His hair was gray before and after.

239. The same eyes to him; image, representation.

The same: identical, just as before his eyes shone, so do they now. Or <understand> *the same*, because he had the same eyes.

240. One house, of Lycaon; not one house, not just a single family only but every house.

241. *The Erinyes*, the furies of the underworld, and the word is derived from *er*, meaning "strife," since they were born for conflict.

Wild: that is to say, savage. Or <understand> wild, that is to say, cruel.

Erinyes: Allecto, Megera, Tesiphone, the Eumenides, and the Erinyes are all names of the furies of the underworld.

242. You would think that men had all conspired; let all give, let them endure; swiftly, quickly.

243. Thus stands, is standing; the decision, my decision.

Let all give swiftly the punishment: that is to say, let them endure the penalty. To pay the penalty does not mean to give but to be punished, for he gives a gift to the man who wants it. Therefore, he who punishes gives penalties, for punishment pleases him. On this account one says, let them give penalties, that is to say, let them endure penalties.

Thus: Jupiter wanted to punish them.

This transformation is a moral one. For Lycaon was a despiser of the gods and ignorant of that saying, "Do not try your Lord God" (Dt. 6:16), and of this one, "May you not lead us into temptation" (Mt. 5:13). He wanted to find out whether Jupiter was in fact a god or not by committing a murder, since one would believe Jupiter a real god if he punished Lycaon at once. Jupiter made him obstinate in his tyranny. Hence, Lycaon is thought to be

transformed into a wolf, since wolves tend to be tyrants over sheep. Or if we give this transformation an historical interpretation: Lycaon was a king who was despoiled of his kingdom by Jove, a king of Crete, and he became a brigand hiding in bushes and a robber of travelers. And hence he is thought to have been transformed into a wolf. The verses of the *Integumenta* narrate this,

If the Arcadian is a wolf, he is so by his wolfish savagery,
For you can be a wolf by having the character of a wolf.
(Integumenta 85–86)

Thus Jove spoke to the assembled gods.

244–45. Part is a collective noun; fuel, ardor; to his wrath, to him being angry.

Part: namely, the greater gods. For the lesser gods did not dare to address Jove but only spoke with those of like rank.

With their voice: by a showing of their voice.

245. Others, the lesser gods.

Played their part: that is to say, the part of the nobles, as though he were to say that the lesser gods agreed with the nobles.

246. Casting off, the loss.

Casting off: this is properly used of the loss which merchants endure at sea.

Although they approved of Jove's speech, yet.

247. They asked, they inquired of Jupiter.

248. Bereft, deprived of; mortals, men; on the altars, on the funeral pyre.

Altars: hence the verses,

A pen coop for pigs has a short a, but the altar of the gods has a long a. (*Est ara porcorum brevis*, *<s>et non ara deorum*).

Incense is placed at altars during sacrifice. Thus Cato says,

Please the god with incense; let the calf grow without the plow. (Cato, *Disticha* 4.38)

249. And they asked, or, surely not; to despoil, to lay waste.

To despoil: to be made devoid of population. Or *to be populated*, that is to say, to be inhabited in the manner of the people.

250. As they asked such things: thus the gods lamented and asked to what end the world would come.

For the rest should be his concern: The reader must here understand the verb "promised," which our author places below. Often in literary texts the antecedent must be inferred from that which follows. And, thus, likewise here "he promised" must be inferred from what follows.

251. *The king*, Jupiter; *of the gods*, "superum" is a syncopated form for "superorum"; *to fear*, to doubt.

252. Different, not so savage.

Wondrous: because of the stones, since those that Deucalion threw became men, while those that Pyrrha cast became women.

253. Jupiter, was about to hurl.

Thus Jupiter promised to restore the world with an offspring unlike the previous one, but up to this point he had not decided by which kind of punishment he should destroy the world: *and now*.

254. Sacred, because of the gods; ether, the sky, the celestial region.

255. Fire, blaze; and he feared lest, the pole, the firmament.

Pole: the firmament. Or *pole*, the line which is understood to extend from the pole of the Arctic to the pole of the Antarctic.

256. Jupiter *recalled that it was fated that a time would come*, that there would be a time in which everything would burn up.

It was fated: it was determined by the providence of God.

257-58. When, at which time; would catch alight, would burn.

When the sea would catch alight: Ovid says this because of the fire which will occur on the day of judgment, or else because of that conflagration caused by Phaethon.

When the earth would catch alight: thus recall to memory the lines below when the earth laments to Jove,

But have pity on your sky and look How either pole smokes. (*Metamorphoses* 2.294–95) 258. Would catch alight, that is to say, would burn; mass, frame; would totter, because of the fire.

Would catch alight: the verb "to burn" has several meanings:

The mind is set alight, a shield flashes, a hearth and dwelling burn, This one desires, that one glistens, this one burns, and the other is burned. (*Graecismus* 16.17–18)

Carefully constructed (operosa): This adjective is used in reference to something on whose construction much effort is expended.

Mass: Ovid calls the four elements a "mass."

259. He laid aside, he put down; his weapons, his thunderbolts.

The Cyclopes are said to construct the thunderbolts of Jove. Whence we have:

The Cyclopes who construct thunderbolts for the might of Jove. (Theodulus, *Ecloque* 93)

260. *Different*: since first he wanted to destroy them with fire, but now he uses water, which is the opposite.

To annihilate, to destroy.

To annihilate, the human race.

- 261. He wanted, to send down; from the entire sky, from every region of the sky.
- 262. In the cave, in the prison.

Aquilo: lest it should blow the clouds from the sky, since it is dry because of its effect, which Lucan attests, saying

Winter congealed with numbing frost, and dry north winds Had bound the upper air and penned the rain in the clouds. (*Bellum civile* 4.50–51)

Aquilo is derived from "drawing out water" (aquas ligans).

Of Aeolus: Aeolus was a certain man who dwelled next to Mount Etna and predicted the blast of the wind from Etna's smoke.

Aeolus is the king of the winds, as Virgil implies under the guise of Juno who says:

Aeolus, for the king of the gods and of men granted to you To calm and to raise the sea with the winds. (*Aeneid* 1.65–66)

And thus Aeolus is called "the king of the winds," since he can anticipate their effects.

263. And he imprisons, whatever blasts; the assembled clouds, that is to say, brought together in the ether.

264. *He lets loose*, from the prison; *Notus*, the wind; *flies*, flies from the cave. *Notus* is said to be winged on account of its speed, because it blows swiftly.

265. Pitchy fog, that is to say, dark gloom. A synecdoche.

This is a poetic description.

Awful face: Ovid personifies the wind. Thus, Notus is described as having a flowing beard and flowing hair, obscure and cloudy.

266. His beard, is heavy; from his gray locks, or read from his wet locks.

Gray: He is said to have white hair because of his similarity to water.

267. Upon the brow, his own brow; wet with dew, that is to say, water flows down.

268. When, after; Notus compresses; with his hand, that is to say, with his breath.

He compresses: this image is derived from the washerwoman who wrings water out of a cloth.

269. A crashing sound comes forth, throughout the entire world.

Clouds: Lucan says the same thing about the destruction of the flood in Spain:

Then squeezed against the sky they condense into abundant rain And flow along thickened. (*Bellum civile* 4.76–77)

270. Iris: Lucan describes a rainbow similarly:

Here the rainbow spanned the sky with its broken arch, While hardly any light diversified its colors. It drank the ocean, carried up the waves swiftly To the sky. (*Bellum civile* 4.79–82)

Juno's messenger: Iris draws up the waters from the ocean and makes them rain down again. She is described as follows: Iris is a ray of the sun enclosed

by clouds, and structured by the varying qualities of the elements. And Iris is said to be the herald of Juno for this reason: Iris is in actuality a cloud placed opposite the sun which is illuminated by the rays of the sun and is pregnant with rain. Juno, moreover, is interpreted as the lower air, and rain tends to descend and dwell in the lower air; and for this reason, Iris is said to be the attendant of Juno.

Clothed, a synecdoche; *hues*, that is to say, the colors of the earth, water, air, and sky.

Clothed in many hues: that is to say, possessing many colors which have been adopted, since it takes a single color from each element. It adopts black from the earth, verdure from the sea, whiteness from the air, and redness from fire, and thus Ovid says *clothed in many hues*.

271. *Draws up the water*, shows forth the water she has drawn up; *nourishment*, namely, of the waters.

Brings nourishment to the clouds, namely, water. For clouds are composed out of water and dense winds, and Iris is said to draw the water from the sea and bear them to the upper air.

272. Crops are flattened, through the incursion of the waters; given up as lost, very much so.

Hopes: for the great hope of the farmer lies in the seed which has been planted.

- 273. Of the long year: the solar year, as opposed to the lunar year.
- 274. With his own sky, with his heavenly waters.
- 275. Sea-blue, Neptune; assists, gives aid; him, Jupiter; waters, of the ocean.

Sea-blue: this is related to the color of the water, and Neptune derives his name from "thundering in a cloud" (Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.38).

276. He, Neptune; rivers, the gods of the rivers.

277. He himself says.

Of their own tyrant: of their master, namely, Neptune. In olden days, kings were called "tyrants"; now only cruel rulers are called by that name.

278. But pour out.

279. Open, O rivers; houses, your houses.

Houses: springs, from whence you came.

Impediment: sluggishness or every obstacle. Or <understand> delay or post-ponement, since an impediment results in postponement.

280. Let loose, relax; rein, downward flow.

Rein: This metaphor is taken over from charioteers.

281. *He ordered* this to them; *they*, the rivers; *return*, to their abodes; *mouths*, the doors to their houses.

282. Unbridled, wildly, namely, with no restraint.

Unbridled: This is well said, since above he had said "Let loose the reins" (*Metamorphoses* 1.280).

283. *He*, Neptune; *struck*, so that water flowed; *his trident*, his royal staff; *she*, the earth.

Struck the earth: Virgil speaks similarly in the Georgics about Neptune,

The earth was struck with his great trident. (*Georgics* 1.13)

With his trident: Each of the brothers is said to have his own emblem. Neptune possesses the trident, on account of the threefold power of water which is smooth flowing, swimmable, and drinkable. Jupiter possesses the thunderbolt which strikes, rends, and burns. Pluto has three-headed Cerberus, because he symbolizes the three most frequent manners of death—in fire, in water, and in collision. This threefold division designates a threefold power.

284. With the stroke, his own; uncovered, opened.

285. Beyond bounds: flowing outside of their proper space, or going beyond their proper space.

Open, or read broad.

286. Crops, seeds.

Crops: Whatever is planted is called a "crop."

Sweep away dwellings: Lucan describes a flood similarly:

It has devoured the rocks in its depths and carried down the habitations Of wild beasts and engulfed the beasts themselves.

(Bellum civile 4.100–101)

An orchard (*arbustum*) is properly a place composed of trees, and it is derived from "tree" (*arbor*) and the verb "to stand" (*stare*).

287. Shrines, that is to say, temples; with their sacred contents, the images of the gods.

288. If any, here the author places qua for aliqua; stayed, remained.

Such an evil: can be in the dative or ablative case.

289. Not overthrown, that is to say, not overturned, not destroyed.

Yet: although it resisted, yet, etc.

"Rooftop" (culmen) is derived from "hay" (culmus), since in olden times the roofs of houses were covered in thatch.

290. Beneath the stream, of waters.

Towers: Lucan describes a similar scene:

And the rooftops and the hills lay hidden.

(Bellum civile 4.98)

Beneath the stream: Here, Ovid employs the figure of tapinosis, the reduction of a great matter, since he calls such an abundance of water a stream.

291. And now: Theodulus describes a flood similarly:

A mass of water came from the ocean submerging everything. The land ceased and all living creatures perished.

(Theodulus, *Eclogue* 69–70)

No divide, that is to say, no difference, because water and land were as one, or because the land was covered by water. Or *divide*, that is to say, appearance, because that water was darkened by the mud from the land.

292. Everything, through everything; was, or were.

Everything was sea: Lucan uses a similar phrase:

Everything was Caesar. (Bellum civile 3.108)

Or *everything*, that is to say, in all places. Or *everything*, that is to say, through all things. Lucan uses such Latinity.

293. Seeks, climbs up; hooked, curved; skiff, boat.

This one, some man. And let it be read distributively.

294. *Plies the oars*, plies the ship with the oars; *there where*, over that section in which; *plowed*, a syncopated form, "ararat," is written for "arauerat."

295. That one, another man; the top, over the roofs.

296. *This one*, another man; *elm*, a tree.

297. If chance so bore that anchor.

Anchor is derived from the Greek "an," meaning "around," and "ceros" meaning "hand" (*Graecismus* 8.52). Or from "anti," which means "against," and "chorus," which means "wind," as though "keeping the ship stable against the wind."

298. *Or*, is placed for since; *curved* is an epithet; *vineyards*, a place composed of vines.

299. Where, in that place; lately, a little while before.

Slender, because this animal is full of melancholy and cold and dry, and tends to be narrow, since coldness compresses.

300. Deformed, big; sea calves, whales.

Sea calves can be either masculine or feminine in gender.

Deformed not because they lack form but because of their huge size, or because of their inhumanity, or because they lack the form of other fish.

301. Nereids: nymphs of the sea, daughters of Nereus.

Nereids: Take note of the fact that there is a general noun which may be applied to such, namely, nymph. But the names of nymphs may be specified according to the region in which they dwell. These names may be known from the following verses:

"Nymph" can be a general noun for girls; Naiads belong to fountains; Oreads to mountains; Dryads are woodland nymphs,

Nereids, sea nymphs; Napaeae are dell-nymphs; Hamadryads rejoice in trees.

(*Graecismus* 7.71–74)

302. Dolphins, those fish.

302-3. They brush against: frequently run around; knock against them, frequently strike.

They brush against: that is to say, they injure themselves while charging.

304. Tawny, because of their tawny coat.

305. Is the might of the thunderbolt, of speed.

Tiger derives its name from its speed, for "tigris" in Greek means "arrow" in Latin. It is the swiftest of animals (Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.2.7).

Of the thunderbolt: swiftness or ferocity. Or of the thunderbolt, that is to say, of his lightning-swift tooth, that is to say, the strength of his teeth is to be feared like that of the thunderbolt.

306. *Carried off*: from the ground, or swift because it is taken away swiftly. Or *carried off* by the flood.

308. Where, in which lands; is able, or was able.

309. Immense, without measure.

Freedom: license, and it is as when we say "poetic freedom," that is to say, "poetic license."

Hillocks, that is to say, great elevations of land, or high mountains, or hills.

310. Mountain, of the mountains.

New: unknown, or newly sent forth.

311. The greatest part, of mankind; by the wave, through the wave.

312. *Hunger*: because there was no food.

Thus, that transformation is completed which needs no explanation, since it happened during the time of Noah on account of man's wickedness. Theodulus is in agreement with this when he says:

The mass of water came from the ocean submerging all, And the land ceased and all living things perished. (*Ecloque* 69–70)

313. Aonian, Theban.

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Phocis is a state next to which is Mount Parnassus, which has two peaks, namely, Mount Cyrra and Mount Nysa. Phoebus Apollo is worshipped on Mount Cyrra, and Bacchus is worshipped on Mount Nysa. Deucalion and Pyrrha reached its summit and thus escaped the flood, and there they consulted the oracle of Themis as to how they should repopulate the world.

Separates: The transformation of rocks into men by Deucalion and Pyrrha follows. Ovid first develops a description of place, saying *separates*.

He describes the mountain toward which Deucalion and Pyrrha headed, saying *separates*.

Oetean, Athenian from the Greek athin, which is "shore" in Latin.

314. A fruitful land, that is to say, fertile.

315. It formed part of the sea, Phocis was part of the sea; of sudden water, which comes swiftly.

316. Peaks, tops.

With twin peaks: Lucan describes Mount Parnassus similarly:

This peak alone stood out as the water submerged the land, And separated the sea from the stars. (*Bellum civile* 5.75–76)

And later in the same work he says:

Parnassus, you lay hidden with your single peak. (*Bellum civile* 5.78)

317. *Parnassus*, namely; *its peaks conquer the clouds*, its own peaks, hyperbole, a stretching of the truth.

Mount Parnassus derives its name from "having equal noses" (pares nasos habere), that is to say, elevations.

Mount Parnassus is said to have equal noses, that is to say, elevations. But it is said that at the time of the flood only Mount Helicon appeared, whereas Mount Citheron was submerged. Hence, it can be inferred that they were

not equal. One may solve this puzzle by positing that Citheron was as thick as Helicon was high, and thus what Citheron lacked in height, it gained in girth.

318. Here, I say and not elsewhere, when; or <read> this one, namely, Deucalion and not another, when; with his wife, namely, Pyrrha.

For the sea had covered all else, this is an interjection.

- 320. *Corycian*: from Mount Corinth, which is a mountain next to Parnassus; or from Corinth, which is the name of the city in the same province.
- 321. Fate-revealing, giving oracles; the form oracles (oracla) is a syncopated form for oracula.

Oracles: the place where the answers were given, for she gave oracular replies there.

- 322. Scrupulous of right, that is to say, of justice; than he, Deucalion.
- 323. Or anyone, there was no woman; more reverent of the gods than she, Pyrrha.
- 324. When, after; Jupiter saw that the world, the earth.

Thus Deucalion and Pyrrha escaped, but when Jupiter saw that the world was one stagnant pool, that is to say, lay under water like a swamp.

One stagnant pool: Lucan expresses himself in like manner:

The rivers lay in pools in a deep valley. (*Bellum civile* 4.89)

- 325. From so many thousands, existing a little before; one, namely, Deucalion; survived, that is to say, remained.
- 326. One, Pyrrha.
- 327. Guiltless, free of evil; devoted, full of good.

For an individual to become good, he must be free of evil and filled with good, and Ovid shows this is the case with Deucalion and Pyrrha when he says *guiltless*.

328. He cast down, or, read led down; and when they had been swept away by the North-wind, through the gust of the North Wind, which derives its name from "tightening waters" (aquas ligans), so to speak.

Cast down: scattered, that is to say, cast into various parts, that is to say, produced a cloudless sky.

329. To the sky, to the ether.

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330. Thus, the flood that covered the earth withdrew, and not only the flood but even the water of the ocean, *nor*.

The anger of the sea, that is to say, the flooding caused by the sea; setting aside, putting to one side.

His three-pronged weapon: that is to say, his trident, which he had taken up so that a way might open up for the seawater.

Three-pronged: in the oblique cases, this adjective has three genders, but in the nominative, only one.

331. The ruler, Neptune.

332. Stands, appears; clothed in, a synecdoche.

Indigenous: native. His garment was made from indigenous cloth; or *indigenous*, born there. For the garment was colored with the dye from the murexfish born in that region. In reality, Triton is a certain horned fish which only appears on the surface of the sea when it is stormy, and through its horns it is said to send out a sound and to trumpet.

333. Resounding, sonorous; shell, trumpet.

333–34. Orders him to blow, to blow into; he orders him to call back; at the given signal, that signal given by Neptune; the waves of the ocean and, as well as the rivers of fresh water.

335. He, Triton.

336. *On the side*, all the way into the side; *from the bottom of a spiral*, from the windiness which is in the bottom, that is to say, from the slender part.

Twisting: which expands on the side, *from the bottom of a spiral*, that is to say, from the bottom section of a spiral, or in the manner of a spiral. Or *twisting*

on the side, that is to say, transversely. Or on the side, that is to say, right up to the side. Ovid calls the spiral that part which is joined to the mouth. A horn, however, is straight from that section where the mouth is placed right up to the bell. From the bell, however, it begins to be twisted.

From the bottom, that is to say, from the bottom section of the hole through which exits the sound. For the noun *turbo* can be used of wind, and it is also a children's toy which is called a "trocus," and just as a "trocus" is slender from the bottom, so is the horn.

337. The hollow shell, he repeats the word so that he might add which.

The hollow shell which when in mid sea: This can be read two ways: either about the time of the flood or about any time. If it is read about the time of the flood, let it be read thus: when it has received air, that is to say, breath, in mid sea it fills with its voice the shore, etc., so then, etc. But it is preferable that it be read thus as not referring to the flood: the hollow shell, when it has received air, whenever this comes about, even if it is in the middle of the sea; it fills, it is accustomed to fill; the shores, etc.; so then, in the time of the flood.

338. He says with its voice, since the sound proceeds from the mouth of the animal.

Lie beneath either Phoebus: that is to say, from either pole of the sun, from the east and the west.

- 339. *Then*, in the time of the flood; *dripping*, full of dew; *with his wet beard*, with his beard being wet.
- 340. Filled with air, filled with breath.

The retreats: so that the water might recede. Or read *refuge*s, so that the water might be received.

Which had been ordered: by Jupiter, or by Neptune, or by Triton.

- 342. Held in check: restrained, made the water flow back to its channels.
- 343. *Now*: Thus, Triton blew on his horn, and he restrained the onrush of the water with his horn, and *now the sea has a shore*, which it did not have before. Thus, above Ovid says:

The seas lacked shores. (Metamorphoses 1.292)

344. Rivers subside, incline themselves; hills arise, by appearing.

Rivers subside: Lucan expresses himself similarly:

Forests begin to show their foliage, hills emerge From the pools. (*Bellum civile* 4.128–29)

345. *The land rises up*, seems to rise up; *places increase*, seem to increase, and this I say because *the water decreases*.

346. Their denuded tops, denuded of their trees, or of their leaves.

The forests: a forest (silua) seems to be derived from "a silent expanse" (silens uastitas).

Lucan expresses himself similarly about the misfortune of the followers of Caesar because of the flood:

The elements took up their proper station: the moisture left the firmament,

And all the waters overhead took the lowest space. (*Bellum civile* 4.126–27)

347. On their foliage.

348. Circle of the world; open, or read empty of animals.

The circle was restored: when the water receded, because it had been lost because of the flood.

349. Deep silence, that is to say, great and strong.

Desolated lands: forsaken of comfort, since there were neither birds nor men; or bereft of the counsel of men; or desolated, made alone, from the verb "to depopulate." Hence, Statius says,

The same will to make homes desolate. (*Thebaid* 5.149)

351. Sole, and unique.

O sister: He says this because of affection; or sister, because she is related. Hence, James is said to be the brother of the Lord because he is the son of Jesus's maternal aunt (Gal. 1:19). And below Ajax will claim:

I am his brother. I seek the belongings of my brother. (*Metamorphoses* 13.31)

The sons of two brothers are called "brothers." Pyrrha was the daughter of Epimetheus, Deucalion the son of Prometheus, and these two were brothers.

Sister, that is to say, relation. Deucalion was the son of Prometheus, Pyrrha the daughter of Epimetheus. Epimetheus and Prometheus were brothers.

352. Family origin: and on this account he says "sister."

353. Bed: on this account he calls her "wife."

Bed: carnal union because you are my wife.

Dangers: because of this he says sole woman.

Join: He says this because those who have escaped dangers afterward have a stronger bond.

354. Whatever, lands; sunset, the setting sun; sunrise, the rising sun.

355. Everything else, except for us two.

356. And this hold which we have on life is not yet sufficiently strong: Even though the waters have receded, still our life is not secure.

357. Mind, my mind.

Clouds terrify the mind: This seems to contradict what Ovid said above, "he cast aside the clouds" (*Metamorphoses* 1.328). One must simply respond that they had not been dispersed in their entirety.

358. What would now be your spirit: Deucalion inquires from Pyrrha what would have been her spirit if she alone had escaped the flood with no one to comfort her, and he says, what.

359. *If*, by the grace of God; *snatched from fate*, namely, from that deadly flood, or the deadly dangers.

358-60. To be pitied: O you worthy of pity; you alone, how would you have been able to cope with your fear.

360. Who would have consoled you in your grief, that is to say, who would have provided consolation as you grieved.

361. Rightly do I ask this of you, for.

Just now, or read *also*, just like you.

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362. O, my wife; me also, similarly, just like you.

363. *O would that I*: There are two rhetorical figures which are called "moethesis" or "boethesis" which prevent the elision of an *m* with a vowel or a vowel with a vowel. Whence we have in the *Doctrinale*:

The other type of caesura occurs if the word

Whose first letter is a vowel encounters an *m* or a vowel.

In that case no elision takes place.

(*Doctrinale* 2423–25)

Here in the expression *O would that I (o utinam)* we have boethesis.

And since we are alone in the world, *O would that I*, a sort of caesura, which is called "boethesis," and let it be a single expression.

My father's arts: because Prometheus, his father, formed man from earth and breathed life into him.

364. Place, furnish; molded, from clay.

Place life into molded clay: by first making an image, just as my father, Prometheus, did.

365. Mortal, human.

366. Seemed good, was pleasing; examples, that is to say, exemplary.

Examples: An exemplar is that from which an example is taken. *Examples of mankind*, namely, how men have been. Or *examples*, so that men might shy away from crime and through justice might escape the losses of judgment just as we have done. Or *examples*, if one wants to recognize physical man, we are examples because he has no others.

Examples: namely, exemplary, so that they might live piously as we have done.

367. He had spoken, namely, Deucalion; they wept, both of them.

368. Divine will: Themis, or some god or other more generally.

Lots: through the responses of the gods and the oracles by which answers are given.

369. Cephisus's waters: of Cephisus.

Cephisus's waters: Cephisus is a river next to Mount Parnassus.

370. Flowed within familiar banks, usual riverbed.

Flowed within familiar banks, because they had already been received into their banks.

- 371. *From there*: Thus, they came to the river Cephisus so that they might receive the lots and *from there*, from that spot, or afterward.
- 371–72. *They had poured out water in a ritual fashion*: when they had drawn up water, *they sprinkled*, to pour out like dew.
- 372. Sprinkled it on their garments and head: an hypallage.
- 373. Of the goddess, that is to say, Themis; gables, the summits; moss, decay.

Moss: the decay or growth which comes from the dampness in wet places. In French, we say "mousse."

374. Altars (delubra) are called thus from the verb "to destroy" (delere) or, more preferably, from the verb "to wash away" (deluere), which is to say "to wash" (lauare) and "disgrace" (probra). For everything composed from the verb luo means "to wash" except for the verb "to rain" (pluo), which is composed from the prefix per and luo, though one does not say perluo.

Without flame: of sacrifices, or without flame, that is to say, without candles and lamps.

- 375. When, after; both, Deucalion and Pyrrha.
- 376. *Headlong*, inclined; *on the ground*, ground can be in the genitive or ablative case; *in fear*, in reverence; both of them, *kisses*.
- 377. And thus, when they had completed these tasks.

By just prayers, that is to say, of those who seek after justice. Or by just prayers, meaning the prayers of righteous men.

378. *If the wrath of gods is turned*: Indeed, Ovid says elsewhere in his work,

The wrath of the god may be turned by prayers.

(Ars amatoria 1.442)

If the wrath of gods is turned: He expresses some hesitation as to whether gods are softened.

If the wrath of gods is turned: Our author speaks according to the opinion of those who used to profess that the gods care nothing for men. Virgil expresses himself similarly:

If almighty Jupiter is appeased by prayers. (*Aeneid* 2.689)

379. By what skill, by what artifice.

380. Repaired, renewed; most kindly one, O Themis; to things, to worldly things; submerged, by the flood.

381. Oracle, response.

Thus, Deucalion and Pyrrha entreated the goddess Themis, and she heard them, and this is what Ovid says, *the goddess was moved*, etc.

Oracle: the Latin word sors can mean "outcome," "answer," or "a crime punishable by death."

Leave: Here is the answer Themis gave them, leave, etc.

382. Cover your head; loosen, unbind, or place behind.

And cover the head: In olden days men greatly feared an evil omen, whence in sacrifices they covered their heads, which Virgil intimates under the guise of Helenus:

Cover your hair with a purple covering, So that while worshipping the gods no hostile face may intrude And mar the omens. (*Aeneid* 3.405–7)

383. Behind your back; of your great parent, that is to say, the earth.

The bones of your great parent: This was the tenor of the answer.

384. They stood thunderstruck, Deucalion and Pyrrha.

They stood thunderstruck, because of that answer which they did not understand. For they were not able to perceive what was meant by the phrase "the bones of your great parent."

385. She refuses to obey: for she had reason not to obey.

386. And she fears, and is used here for since.

She asks for pardon, because she did not obey the commands of the goddess.

387. By casting out her bones, if the bones should be cast out.

To hurt her mother's shade, if they should take the bones from the tomb of her mother and cast them out.

388. They go over, they recall.

While they were coming out of the temple, *in the meantime*; or while they were thinking thus.

388–89. *Given in the secret byways*, that is to say, in the secret place, since the temple of Themis was secluded because of woods and caverns; or by a blind interpretation which they did not understand; or because of its twists; or in their hearts.

389. Amongst themselves, singularly.

They turn over, frequently turn; or, they reflect on one matter and then the other.

390. *The son of Prometheus*, Deucalion, the son of Prometheus; *the daughter of Epimetheus*, Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus.

Prometheus and Epimetheus were the sons of Iapetus. Deucalion was the son of Prometheus; Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus.

391. Wit, that wisdom.

Either our wit is faulty: Either I am deceived or the oracles of the gods are pious, and thus one must posit a separation, and he says our in the plural, speaking about himself. He says faulty because such an answer deceives us.

392. If I am not mistaken, the oracles are holy.

395. Although the Titanian, Pyrrha descended from the race of the Titans; was moved by the prophecy, because of the prophecy; of her husband, Deucalion.

396. *Hope*, her hope; *so much*, that is to say, for certain, or to such a degree. *Hope was in doubt*, in vain did she hope.

397. What harm was there, for them.

What harm was there in trying, as though she were to say, "There is no harm in trying."

398. They leave, to try.

They veil their heads according to the command of the oracle, because above Themis said:

Leave the temple And cover the head and loosen bound garments. (*Metamorphoses* 1.381–82)

399. They send, that is to say, cast; tracks, of their feet.

400. Who would believe, who might be able to believe; *tradition*, the ancestors. *Except that tradition acted as witness*, except that the ancestors attested this.

401. Hardness, natural hardness.

And the rocks began to grow soft slowly; and the rocks began to take on form, to have human form.

403–4. Soon, that is to say, consequently; when, after; those rocks had grown softer than before; them, the stones.

And soon when they had grown and a softer nature came upon them: Those rocks appeared like a certain form of man which cannot be seen clearly but as if begun from marble not sufficiently hewn.

407. That part of them, which was earthy, soft; juice, moisture.

Here is clearly expressed that whoever writes to give pleasure should imagine things which are near the truth or like it, and if these things may be false and cannot be found in physical things, yet let him imagine that they could not be described any better, just as Ovid here does in his description of men made from the casting of stones, saying: *That part of them, however.* Indeed, these things cannot happen in reality but are false, yet they seem like things which approximate the truth. This is what Horace says in the *Ars poetica*:

For the sake of pleasure let fictional things be like the truth, So that whatever the fable desires it may seem like the truth. (*Ars poetica* 338–39)

However: Although I said that the stones turned into men, it remains, however, to state the manner in which this happened, and the author shows how this took place, saying: *That part of them, however*.

- 408. Into corporal use, use of the flesh.
- 409. That which, what,
- 410. Vein, in the rock.
- 411. By the power, by the will.
- 412. Of man, of Deucalion.
- 413. By the casting of woman, from the casting of Pyrrha. Theodulus intimates this, saying:

Deucalion and Pyrrha, the only survivors from the human race, Renewed it when they both cast stones. (Theodulus, *Eclogue* 71–72)

414. Hence, on this account.

Hence: These words are those of the author.

Hence: Since we take our origin from the stones.

415. Evidence, proof.

This transformation may be classified as "natural." They come together during intercourse, and from sperm a child is born. If the man's sperm is abundant, a male child is born; if the female's sperm is abundant, a female child is produced. By asserting that this was generated from stones, Ovid underlines the hardness which was contracted from the material of first creation. And by stating that man was created through Deucalion and Pyrrha, Ovid underlines that procreation cannot take place without intercourse between man and woman; or without moisture, which is symbolized by Deucalion, and by heat which is signified by Pyrrha, as he says below:

And though fire is opposed to water, still moist vapor Creates all things.

(Metamorphoses 1.431–32)

And as is illustrated from these verses from the *Integumenta*:

Man is said to have begotten man, and woman, woman, According as one or the other had more semen during intercourse. (*Integumenta* 87–88)

416. Thus man and woman were created, but the earth.

The earth gave birth to all other animals, except man in diverse forms, with diverse forms.

Here is the introduction to the next transformation from earth into the Python. The connection is the following: thus were the stones transformed into men, and truly *the other animals*, etc.

417. The ancient wetness, of the flood.

418. From the fire, the heat; and wet marshlands, wet is an epithet.

Slime (*caenum*): muddy earth, and it is derived from the Greek *cenos*, which in Latin means "corruption."

- 419. Swelled, greatly <swelled>.
- 420. Living, because of the animals, which are generated from the earth.
- 421. Gradually, through delay, through a succession of time.
- 422. *Just as*: Here we have a simile, and he appropriately introduces a simile about a thing which he does not believe.

Just as when the Nile has left: Here the author shows through an example taken from the Nile how this might come about. The Nile is a river in Egypt having seven channels. It annually overflows and floods the earth. When it recedes into its channel, it leaves watery pools which dry up through the heat of the sun. There, animals are said to be nurtured through the wetness of the earth and the heat of the sun, some alive, some not, some perfectly formed, some imperfectly, and this is what Ovid confirms, saying Just as when, etc.

Just as when: The Nile at times floods the earth; at times it recedes. Lucan refers to this in his tenth book under the character of the river:

Now storing all its water in a single stream, Now straying and sprinkling the bank which readily gives way And again the sluggish channel calls back the many streams. (*Bellum civile* 10.309–11) 424. The mud is warmed, greatly; by the star, the sun.

Star: The sun is called a star through the rhetorical figure of antonomasia.

425. Find, where the Nile flows.

426. Among these, among these animals; delivered, or read begun.

Delivered, completed and perfected.

427. Through the cycle of birthing, that is to say, according to.

Unfinished, not yet possessing all the limbs it was destined to have.

428. Short, shortened; in their shoulders, or read numbers.

Shoulders, or, alternatively, read *numbers*, that is to say, the number of its limbs.

429. Raw, not yet formed.

430. *Indeed*, certainly.

431. *They conceive*, they bring about conception; *from these two*, namely, from heat and wetness.

432. Though, although; moist vapor, that is to say, humidity and warmth.

Opposed to, that is to say, contrary to, since fire is hot and dry, while water is cold and moist.

Moist vapor: wetness entering into vapor and joined to vapor, since matter is created from these things, not just from one or the other. But the author adds harmony, because these qualities of heat and moisture must be in equal proportion lest heat might dry out moistness or lest from the opposite perspective wet should extinguish heat, and thus they must be equally proportionate for creation of matter.

433. *Inharmonious*, in their qualities; *harmony*, in creation.

Inharmonious: Ovid says this because fire and water have contrary properties, just as has been stated.

For the two elements fire and water are discordant, and yet all things come from them.

434. Muddied, full of mud.

Since all things come from heat and moisture, therefore.

435. Glowed again, grew warm again.

Glowed again is derived from the blacksmith, who says that the hotter iron is, the more it glows.

Glowed again is written for "to grow warm" and is derived from iron, which glistens the hotter it is.

Lofty, from the sun; or, alternatively, read favorable, that is to say, nurturing.

436. Multiple species, of animals.

437. New monsters, monstrous animals.

438. She, the earth; would not wish, to give birth to you.

439. Python, O snake.

440. So much, that is to say, a great deal.

You were a terror, because you terrified all who saw you.

So much space, as though he said, you covered a great deal.

You held, for you covered nine plots of land.

441. The archer god, Phoebus.

The archer: he who holds the bow (*Graecismus* 13.52); or the archer, that is to say, holding first place among the planets, since no one may know the course of the planets unless he has recourse to the sun, and this word (architenens) is derived from "archos" which means "first," and "to hold" (tenere).

442. Deer, beasts; goats, other wild beasts.

443. It, the Python; heavy, great; nearly, almost; exhausted, empty.

It: Lucan recalls these very events when he insinuates why Phoebus killed the Python:

Apollo, with yet unpracticed arrows, laid low the Python, And so avenged his mother who had been driven forth, Great with child when Themis ruled and held the oracle. (*Bellum civile* 5.79–81)

Heavy: namely, weighed down with arrows; or heavy with poison.

444. Black, because of the poison.

445. *Lest*, is placed for "in order that" and "not"; *of the deed*, the deed which was so great.

Thus Phoebus killed the Python, and lest.

Lest age wipe out the fame of the deed: which was great and which Phoebus wanted to be retained in memory.

446. He instituted: Theodulus says the same thing about Hercules:

He surpassed the praise of men who first Established games beneath great Mount Olympus. (Theodulus, *Ecloque* 229–30)

Sacred games, established and consecrated for the honor of Phoebus.

447. Pythian, the proper name of the games; called, labeled by the name.

448–49. *Here*, in these games; *with foot*, by running, or *with wheel*, in chariot races.

449. *The oak*: The oak is a tree which in French is called *nepliers*. From this tree men made crowns in common before the laurel existed. Or the reading may be *herculee*, that is to say, the poplar tree, to which Ovid alludes:

The white poplar, more suitable for the hair of Hercules. (*Heroides* 9.64)

450. *The laurel*, the use of the laurel; *long locks*, because of the rays of the sun. Someone might ask why they were not crowned with laurel, and one would respond, *not yet*.

The laurel (laurus) is derived from "to praise" (laudare).

Phoebus is said to have long locks because of the rays of the sun, just as Bacchus is said to have long fingers because of the vines.

This transformation may be classified as "natural." The earth is transformed into the Python, that is to say, into a noxious plant, which we understand

through the Python in which is found a joining of the elements, either through the combination of semen or without it. Plants are generated thus from the earth. This plant, though, is of such a nature that it is completely dried out when exposed to heat and is mixed with its own natural heat. Thus Phoebus Apollo is said to have killed it with his weapons. Or we can give a moral interpretation to this transformation. Through the Python we understand falseness, which Apollo kills, that is to say, exterminates. Phoebus means "exterminating," for he divides the darkness with his light. Or if he stands for wisdom, he divides truth from falseness, just as he killed the Python, into which the earth had been transformed, through which may be understood that falsehood arises from earthly concerns. Or the Python signifies "falsehood," which can be assigned through that deceitful one, just as the *Integumenta* declares:

Phoebus conquers the Python, and the wise man Subdues the evil and false man beneath reason. (*Integumenta* 91–92)

452. Here begins the introduction to the transformation of Phoebus into a lover and of Daphne into the laurel tree, and this is what he says by pursuing how the laurel was discovered. *The first love*, etc.

Love, that is to say, lover. It is an emphasis when one places the property for the thing itself.

Peneian: the daughter of Peneus.

453. Unwitting, unknown; luck, chance; wrath, indignation.

Savage wrath: The wrath of Cupid is called "savage" when someone loves and is not loved in return, which is unfortunate. And hence Ovid says in the *Art* <of Love>:

If one loves, etc. (Remedia amoris 13)

But here it is written contrariwise about Apollo. Hence below:

So the god was consumed with flames, thus in his whole heart He burned, and he nourished a hopeless love on hope. (*Metamorphoses* 1.495–96)

Luck is called "unwitting," since sometimes it pursues the just, as was the case with Aeneas:

A man noted in piety

should undergo such perils.

(Aeneid 1.9–10)

But the savage wrath of Cupid, as though he were to say, not by chance did he love her but because of the will of Cupid.

454. Here the author explains the reason for the wrath since *the Delian god*, from the island of Delos in which he is worshipped and in which Latona gave birth to him along with Diana.

Proud, that is to say, in his victory over the slain serpent, that is to say, the Python.

455. Him, Cupid; string, chord; drawn tight, toward himself; had said, Phoebus to Cupid.

Flexing: Cupid possesses two weapons, a torch and a bow, just as Ovid declares elsewhere, saying:

The bow was his one weapon, the torch his other. (*Heroides* 2.40)

Here he says "horn" (cornu) in speaking about the bow; later he will speak about the torch:

But you, be content to stir up some love or other with your torch. (*Metamorphoses* 1.461)

Through these two weapons his power is revealed since he wounds and sets ablaze the hearts of his victims. *Apollo had seen* and *had said*.

456. *What*: Phoebus addresses Cupid and upbraids him; *frivolous boy*, O Cupid. For this is a description of love.

O frivolous boy: Love rejoices always in playfulness. As Master Walter says:

Nor does love, a sickness of the mind, which rejoices In hiding places and whispering, break strong hearts. (*Alexandreis* 1.165–66)

457. Gear, bows and arrows.

Our shoulders, that is to say, our arms, which begin from the shoulders. Or *our shoulders*, that is to say, our strength.

458. Who, since we; certain, which cannot be avoided.

459. Who, since we; laid low, killed.

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An acre is as much space as a plow is able to plow in the space of a day.

460. Blighted, poisonous; swollen, because of poison.

So many arrows, whence we have above, the "quiver nearly exhausted" (Metamorphoses 1.443).

We laid low with so many arrows: whence above,

The archer god, previously having used such weapons

Only on deer and fleeting goats,

Killed it, heavy with a thousand shafts, his quiver nearly exhausted.

(Metamorphoses 1.441–43)

461. Be content, let this be enough for you; with your torch, with your kindling.

You with your torch: Bold arms do not become love. Hence Ovid says in the Remedia amoris:

You cannot use naked arrows for warfare,

And your arrows lack deadly blood.

(Remedia amoris 26–27)

As though Phoebus were to say, "These weapons are not yours but belong to the brave, you who are delicate and not martial," and hence he adds, *this gear becomes*, etc.

I say that these arms mentioned above are appropriate to us, but you, etc.

Some love or other: He says this since he had never known what love was.

- 462. Do not lay claim to, do not take or appropriate for yourself.
- 463. Venus's son, that is to say, Cupid; him, Phoebus; O Phoebus.

Your weapon may strike: a concession from indignation, sarcasm, hostile putting down, or indignation which strikes right to the flesh.

464. Mine, will strike; to divine power, to Jupiter.

Indignation is noted by the ellipsis of the verb.

Every creature yields to divine power: Truly all things yield to a god, just as Ovid bears witness to in the book entitled *Tristia*:

Nothing is so lofty, so above danger,

That it isn't lower than and subject to the god. (*Tristia* 4.8.48–49)

- 466. He spoke, thus; struck, hit; by his beating wings, between themselves or striking the air.
- 467. Quick, Cupid; on the citadel, the heights; of Parnassus, a mountain.
- 468. He drew, he took out.
- "To draw out" is to place something from one place to another.
- 469. That produce different results, effects; this one, weapon; this one, weapon.

That produce different results, since one is flat, while the other is pointed. Or because one is gold, and the other is lead, and thus the line may be read passively. But it can be read actively thus. That produce different results, that is to say, that effect different results, since lead drives love away, while the golden point inspires it, and this is why he says, that produce different results.

470. The one weapon that inspires love.

The one that inspires is golden, because love seems fine to him who loves, and swiftness seems to him fine and lovely; but to the one who is not in love, love seems dull, as though it were leaden and tedious.

- 471. The one weapon that puts love to flight is blunt, dull; lead, a tip of lead; on its tip, the shaft.
- 472. *This one*, the leaden arrow; *in the Peneian nymph*, Daphne; *with that one*, the golden arrow.

Through gold, one may understand the rich man; through lead, the poor man. Whoever is rich is sharp and subtle in love, just as one says, "He who can give does not need my art" (*Ars amatoria* 2.162). But he who is poor is blunted like lead because no one is loved unless he can give. Whence we have:

No one is loved who does not have fortune's support. (*Epistulae ex Ponto* 2.3.23)

473. Transfixing, putting a hole through.

The marrow: Love is felt in the innermost parts of the bone, and the marrow is consumed in intercourse.

474. At once, immediately.

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Cupid injured both of them, and at once.

Flees the name of lover: in no way did she wish to be called a "lover."

475. She, rejoicing in the hiding places.

476. *In the trophies*, standing for spoils; *caught*, captured in the hunt; *rival*, an imitator; *of unwed*, chaste; *Phoebe*, Diana.

Of beasts: contrary to what is said,

Love rejoices in hiding places and sighs. (*Alexandreis* 1.165)

A rival: The verb "to rival" has three meanings, to love, such as Peter says, "I esteem you with the affection of God" (2 Cor. 11:2), that is to say, "I love you with the love of God." Or it can mean to imitate. Thus God says, "Be rivals of God" (Eph. 5:1), that is to say, be imitators. It also signifies "to envy," hence the verse: "To rival either envies, or loves, or imitates."

She wished to imitate Diana in chastity, which she demonstrates in the following verse:

Let me enjoy virginity forever. (*Metamorphoses* 1.486)

Or she wished to be a huntress like Diana.

477. With abandon, without adornment.

478. Spurning, disdaining; those seeking, her.

Many: Someone might say, "O Ovid, you say that she was chaste. Perhaps this was because no one sought her out," just as we read:

Those who are not sought are chaste. (*Amores* 1.8.43)

To this, Ovid responds, many.

Many are accustomed to seek out beautiful maidens. Hence below we read concerning Myrrha:

Suitors chosen from far and wide seek you out. (*Metamorphoses* 10.315)

Spurning, showing contempt by spurning, as we read in the *Amores*:

I shun your character, but I love your body. (*Amores* 3.11.38)

To spurn signifies opposition in two senses: one says "He is opposed to me," and then it is written with a "d" (*aduersor*). When it means "to spurn" (*auersor*), then it is written without a "d."

479. Neither enduring, a husband.

Neither enduring, just as he says about Atalanta,

Frightened by the prophecy of the god, she wanders through the dense forest

Unwed.

(Metamorphoses 10.567-68)

480. What love was.

Hymen: The god Hymen is said to be the god of marriage. In fact, Hymen is the wedding song. Hymen was someone for whom marriage turned out well, and hence he is called the "god of marriage."

481. O my daughter.

Son-in-law (gener): A son-in-law is derived from engendering (generando).

482. O my daughter

483. The torches of wedlock, of marriage.

Hated: The adjective "hated" does not come from a verb. Hence that verse: "I affirm that hated has no verb" (*Doctrinale* 949).

The torches of wedlock: Torches are generally found in marriage to show that Ceres had torches while she sought out her daughter; and while she could not find her, she cursed all newlyweds. Or interpret thus, and this reading is preferable: Torches are found in marriage to designate the burning passion of mutual love which ought to exist between husband and wife.

484. A modest blush, arising from shame.

485. Father's neck, namely, Peneus.

487. Her father, Jupiter; granted this, that she should be chaste.

488. Grants, obeys her; your loveliness, your beauty.

Grants, saying "I would willingly concede what you seek," but.

489. Fights against, contradicts; your prayer, your desire.

Fights against, since elsewhere we have:

Chastity is at odds with great beauty. (*Heroides* 16.290)

And in Juvenal:

Rarely do we find beauty

And chastity together. (*Satires* 10.298–99)

Figure is derived from formon in Greek, which means "hot" in Latin.

The author continues with how Phoebus was assailed with the fire of love. Whence above:

At once the one loves. (*Metamorphoses* 1.474)

And so he says, Phoebus loves.

490. Phoebus loves, Daphne; and desires to wed Daphne as soon as she was seen, by him.

When the noun "marriage" (conubia) is derived from the combination of "con" and "unio," then the penultimate syllable is short. When it is derived from "con" and "nubo," then it is long. And it is declined in the feminine first declension or the neuter singular second declension.

491. Hopes for, that it will occur.

Oracles, thoughts or responses. For he had heard that he would possess her, but he did not possess her as he understood it.

Cheat, according to that saying:

And the master is often cheated of his hope.

And likewise,

Prophecy does not always bring good hope. (*Heroides* 17.234)

492. As, just as; light, dry; is set ablaze, is burnt up; grain, harvest.

As light stubble: Here the author uses a comparison, comparing the love of Phoebus to a torch which has been left behind, which burns the crops.

493. As, just as; because of torches, brought close by; which, torches; by chance, by circumstance.

494. Has left behind, knowingly; at dawn, at the beginning of the day.

At dawn: at the beginning of day; or beneath the light, that is to say, burning under the fire which he did not see; or beneath the light, that is to say, under the wind, and he places the effect for the cause; or beneath the light, that is to say, a small fire.

Has placed too close: because of the hatred he bears the owner of the crops.

495. The god, Phoebus; in his whole heart, in his entire mind.

Here we have the appropriation of the comparison, thus.

So the god was consumed with flames: He does not say that a flame went into him, for the singular would indicate that only one flame entered him. So that he might denote that he was totally set ablaze he says, the god was consumed with flames.

496. Hopeless, because it had no effect.

497. Her hair, of Daphne; unadorned, cast about; on her neck, or the reading is on her shoulder.

Hair, since she was not attentive to the adornment of her hair. Hence above,

A ribbon bound her hair arranged with abandon. (*Metamorphoses* 1.477)

498. What if: to such a degree was her hair beautiful.

498–99. Her eyes, bright; glistening with fire, with a fiery brilliance; little mouth, a diminutive from "os, oris," that is to say, "small mouth."

Stars: He uses similar wording about Narcissus:

Kneeling on the ground he looks at those twin stars, like lights. (*Metamorphoses* 3.420)

500. Not enough to see, that is to say, he cannot get his fill of looking at her.

500–501. *Not enough just to see*, but he must touch; *enough*, it suffices; he praises, *her arms*.

501. Arms and upper arms: This is a driving home of the point; or he says this to mark the difference between the upper and lower arms, since the lower arm (bracchia) is from the elbow to the hand and is derived from "curved" (curuum). The upper arm (lacerti) is from the elbow to the shoulder and is derived from "sown" or "joined to the shoulder" (lateri serti).

Arms naked more than in the middle part, that is to say, in a greater quantity, and thus the comparative is placed adverbially and comparatively. Or, it can be a noun and is regulated through a synecdoche from the word naked.

502. *If anything is hidden, he thinks it better*: Since Phoebus sees that her arms and the rest that was uncovered are so beautiful, he believes that which lays hidden is all the more beautiful.

If anything, just as he says elsewhere:

I do not doubt the part equals the whole. (*Heroides* 20.62)

- 502-3. More swift than light breeze, faster; this is a hyperbole.
- 503. These words of Phoebus calling after her.
- 504. *Nymph*, and here begins his speech; *Peneian*, the daughter of Peneus; *I do not follow* you *as an enemy* but as a lover.

Peneian: Here there is a joining of the vowels, namely, *i* and *e*. Above, similarly we had *Peneian Daphne* (*Metamorphoses* 1.452).

505. O Nymph; thus the lamb flees the wolf.

Thus the deer the lion: He says the same thing in the Ars amatoria by way of comparison,

As the timid flock of doves flees the eagle,
As the newly born lamb flees the wolf,
So did they fear.
(Ars amatoria 1.117–19)

507. Thus they flee; *each flees*, or instead of each (*quisque*), read each (*quaeque*); *love is the reason to me for pursuing*, you. I am not an enemy, but I love you.

And not only these things but each (quaeque).

508. Woe is me, I say; I fear, please don't fall; or (-ue), or read and.

508–9. Do not let the briars graze, that is to say, harm; briars (sentes), the noun is derived from the verb "to feel" (sentire); and I fear lest I might be the cause of your distress.

Briars, that is to say, thorns. Briars (*sentes*) are declined only in the plural and are derived from the verb "to feel" (*sentire*).

509. I fear lest, let me be the cause of your distress.

510. Where, in which places.

And you should remain since *the places*, etc. This can be read as an exclamation or earnestly.

511. I shall follow, you.

512. I am no mountain dweller: I am not a peasant living on a mountain.

Yet, although I let you flee. Or read thus: Even though you disdain me, which you show by fleeing, *yet*.

Who loves you: Here Phoebus intends to commend himself in four ways, namely, through wisdom, nobility, beauty, and riches. Of these four, he touches on three in his exposition, but he does not touch on beauty, because, although he intended to speak at greater length, *The Peneian one fled in timid step* (525), just as he will say in what follows.

Or interpret the phrase thus: *look at who loves you*. Here he marks out the four reasons why men are generally loved by women, namely, wisdom, nobility, riches, and beauty. And Phoebus commends himself through all of these: riches, when he says the land of Delphi and Claros are my realms. Through nobility, when he says: Father is Jove. Through beauty, when he says: I tell what will be, what was, and what is. And through wisdom, when he says: I shape the harmony of song to strings. And later, Medicine is my discovery.

513. Herds, used for larger animals; flocks, used for smaller animals.

Were I to do this, I would be *unkempt*.

Many are called shepherds who do not guard flocks or herds, since they may

also be called shepherds who merely own flocks. In order to differentiate, he says: *nor do I watch over*.

514. Rash one, foolish one.

515. From whom you flee, that is to say, who I am; she was indeed fleeing, or read and on this account you are fleeing, because you do not know.

The land of Delphi: Now he boasts about his wealth, his lineage, his wisdom, as is the wont of lovers, just as we read later in the story of Atalanta about Hippomenes:

He said, "Strive with me. If I win,

You will not be sorry to be vanquished by me.

For Megareus of Onchestos is my father,

His grandfather was Neptune, great-grandson of Ocean's king am I,

Nor does my birth exceed my prowess.

(Metamorphoses 10.603-7)

Phoebus here speaks similarly.

516. Claros, an island; Tenedos, an island.

Claros: Now he recommends himself on account of riches in the manner of a lover.

Claros: whence,

The god prepares to go to the island of Claros. (*Metamorphoses* 11.413)

Tenedos: Cycnus, the son of Neptune, had two sons, namely, Tenes and Armethes. When their mother died, he married Samandra, a mistress who had sought sexual intercourse with Tenes. When he refused, she transferred the blame onto him and claimed that Armethes, who had excused his brother before his father, was an intermediary. Cycnus therefore placed both of them on a boat, believing that they would perish. They came to the island of Leuthofius, which Tenes, upon becoming king, called Tenedon, removing the *p* and adding *don*.

Patara is a region or town whence came the blessed Nicholas.

517. Father, my; I tell what will be, what was, and what is, now he commends himself because of his wisdom.

Here he boasts about his lineage, saying Jove.

I tell, as though he were to say: I know the past, the present, and the future. He says this because he is the god of divination.

I tell: The present tense is confusing, since the past, the present, and the future tense are represented by it. The present is that part whose past is done and whose future remains. Or he says, *I tell*, etc., because the whole world is illuminated through him, since he is the eye of the world, just as is evident below when Phoebus says to Leucothoe:

The eye of the whole world, in truth you please me well. (*Metamorphoses* 4.228)

518. I shape the harmony of song to strings: I am the god of poets.

519. *Indeed*, certainly; *ours*, arrow, yet although our arrow is certain; *one arrow*, namely, that of Cupid.

Indeed ours is sure, as though he were to say: "Not only am I skilled in lute playing but also in sending forth arrows." And hence he is called the archer, but this is because of the rays of the sun.

Surer: Why does he say surer, since there is no certainty in love according to that saying, "Neither war nor love is certain" (*Amores* 1.9.29)? The answer: His arrow is more certain, since he has everything subject to him. And hence Virgil says in the *Eclogues*:

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Love conquers all. (Eclogues 10.69)
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And Ovid himself says elsewhere about love:

He rules and has dominion over the lord gods. (*Heroides* 4.12)

On this account, Venus is called the goddess of temperance by physicists; without her nothing is born.

520. Empty heart, at first free of love.

Empty, of love. Or *empty*, that is to say, at leisure, and he tells the truth. For it is characteristic of those who are at leisure to be in love, since "take away leisure and the bow of Cupid dies" (*Remedia amoris* 139).

And elsewhere:

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Keep busy, you will be safe. (Remedia amoris 144)
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521. Medicine is my discovery, I discovered medicine.

Medicine is my discovery, since elsewhere you read:

Phoebus, you are the discoverer of the art of song and medicine. (*Remedia amoris* 76)

My discovery: I am the discoverer of medicine. And, hence, he indicates he is a good doctor.

522. *The power of herbs* is said to be the province of Phoebus, since he is the source for all heat which nurtures, because the power of herbs is increased from heat.

523. Can be cured, or read can be healed.

Woe is me, since someone could object: "You say that you are a good doctor and the power of herbs lies in your province. Why don't you heal yourself?" To this objection, he responds, saying *Woe*.

524. Their master, namely, myself.

Nor are those arts of any aid: Ovid speaks similarly of Medea in the Heroides:

Incantations, herbs, and arts have abandoned me. (*Heroides* 12.167)

Nor are those arts of any aid: This may be general or specific.

525. He intended to say more, Phoebus; the Peneian one, Daphne, the daughter of Peneus; in timid step, swift.

He intended to say more: Thus Phoebus spoke.

Timid: Swiftness comes from fear. Hence in Statius we read:

Fear added wings to his feet. (more properly, *Aeneid* 8.224)

Above, Ovid related how Phoebus was set ablaze with love for Daphne, and how he asked her to love him, and how he commended himself on account of his lineage, riches, and wisdom, but *the Peneian one*.

526. Imperfect words, not finished.

She left him, as though he were to say: "She abandoned him and his words."

- 527. *Then*, while she was fleeing; *she seemed beautiful*, since *the winds revealed* her *body*, and thus she seemed even more beautiful.
- 528. Her *clothes cast back (aduersas)*, opposed; *fluttered*, cast backward; *breezes*, of the winds.
- 529. Light: is an epithet.
- 529. Her hair: He says the same thing about Atalanta later:

The breeze blew back the ribbons from her ankles and her knees. In fluttering colors down her ivory back her long hair streamed behind. (*Metamorphoses* 10.591–92)

530. By flight, through her flight; enhanced, that is to say, increased; indeed, certainly.

By flight enhanced, that is to say, increased, since she was somewhat red because of the exertion. For heat arises in flight and blood from heat, and hence she was more beautiful.

Youthful, that is to say, playful and acting in the manner of a youth. Or *youthful* on account of the sun, which arises anew each day and hence is young.

- 531. Just as, like.
- 532. With quick step (admisso), with a swift step. Or read a misstep (amisso), that is to say, desperate, since from a step he entered into a trot, from a trot into a run. Or read a step which allowed her to get away (amisso), that is to say, hopeless, since he did not get hold of her.
- 533. As happens when a Gallic hound, a hunting dog; in an empty, flat.

As a Gallic hound: The best hunting dogs are found in Gaul, and the best hunters.

Empty, of trees.

The author employs a comparison, saying: "Thus it happened with Daphne and Apollo *as*," that is to say, like.

- 534. This one, the dog; that one, the hare.
- 535. Now, now already: The repetition increases the effect.

On the point of grabbing (inhaesuro) should be read as a single word. The dog seemed to be about to grab the rabbit.

To hold, the hare.

536. Tracks, the feet of the rabbit; he grazes, that is to say, restrains with his extended snout, as though he were to say "the dog extended his snout and touched the tips of the feet of the rabbit," and thus he grazes the tracks, that is to say, he restrains the thrust of the rabbit. Or he constricts, that is to say, he joins together his own back feet with the front ones so as to run all the faster using the force of all four. Or he grazes, that is to say, he bites the tracks, that is to say, the feet of the rabbit, extending his snout. Or he constricts, that is to say, too little stands firm and checks his own forward course, thinking that he has captured the rabbit. For it often happens that when a dog is following a rabbit and seems about to catch it, that is to say, that a little amount remains, he restrains his course, and this is what Ovid says: extending his snout.

538. The hare finally *leaves behind*; the mouth of the very dog; that touches him.

539. So, in a similar way; the god is swift; and the girl is swift.

So, just as happened with the dog and the rabbit, where one fled and the other pursued, *so*.

539–40. Although both were fast, *yet*; *this one*, the god *is* fast *in hope*, while *the other*, Daphne, is swift *in fear*.

Who, the one who.

Aided by the wings: Love is said to have wings since it comes and goes quickly.

541. Swifter, faster than was Daphne; hot on the back, was visible; of the one fleeing, the girl.

Swifter (occior) is derived from the Greek occis, which means "fast" in Latin.

542. *On her neck*, that is to say, round about her neck; *neck*, the author uses the plural form (*ceruicibus*) instead of the singular (*ceruice*).

On her hair: Arethusa uses similar language below:

His panting breath fanned my braided hair. (*Metamorphoses* 5.617)

543. Her strength sapped, consumed.

And since Phoebus followed her quickly, she was greatly afraid, and *she was pale*.

544. Quick, rapid.

Overwhelmed: Again Arethusa says:

Overwhelmed by flight, I cried out, "Diana, help your hunting nymph. We are seized."

(Metamorphoses 5.618–19)

Waters of Peneus, that is to say, of her father Peneus.

545. *Daddy*, Peneus; *you rivers*, namely, river divinities; *divine*, namely, divine power.

If, in place of since. Or let *if* be read conditionally, thus I say: if you should have divinity.

546. By which, form; I pleased too much, causing my destruction, pleased, to Phoebus.

By which, by my form, or where, that is to say, in which land; O land gape, absorbing me.

547. Lose, destroy; change, me; that figure, my form.

Which causes me to be harmed, that is to say, because I am loved, for it seemed to her that she was being injured because she was being loved. Thus Daphne entreated her father to bring aid, and barely.

548. She barely finished, completed; the prayer, her prayer; languor, sluggishness.

549. Soft, as though it belonged to a woman; fiber, that is to say, bark.

Fiber: When the noun "liber" has a short first syllable, it means "bark" or "book." When it is long, it designates the god Bacchus or a free man. Hence we have the verse:

"Liber" means Bacchus or a free man, but "liber" Means a book or bark snatched from a tree. (*Graecismus* 9.171–72)

Here the first syllable is long and is used for bark, although it ought to have a short syllable. And we explain this because of poetic license.

The nouns *liber* and *suber* are used for the interior of the tree, the noun *cortex* for the exterior, and *cortex* is derived from "covering the body" (*corpus tegens*).

550. Her hair, grows.

Grow, in respect to width and not length, since her hair was longer than foliage, that is to say, leaves.

551. *Once*, a little earlier; *cling to sluggish roots*, that is to say, were changed into sluggish roots; *sluggish*, by effect.

Cling, that is to say, were changed into thick roots.

552. Her mouth holds the top, that is to say, that which had been her face is now the top of the tree; the verb "holds" may also be in the singular; a singular radiance, radiance alone.

Her mouth holds the top, that is to say, what had been her face was now the top. A singular radiance: only her beauty, since just as she had been radiant in the beginning, so she was now.

553. Phoebus loves her, transformed; still, similarly as before.

On the trunk: The trunk is the lower part of the tree.

554. Phoebus *feels*; the *breast*, of Daphne; *beneath the new bark*, beneath the bark which was newly created.

Her breast: Something of her natural body heat still remained.

555. Embracing the branches like limbs, as though they were limbs.

556. He kissed the wood, the laurel; the wood drew back from the kiss, even as bark.

The wood: The poet says "wood" improperly, since the tree is referred to as wood once it has been cut down.

557. But, or the reading may be Ah.

Thus was Daphne changed into a tree, to whom the god, supply "said." But: Thus were you changed, but, that is to say, and yet.

558. My hair will possess.

My hair, since I shall be crowned with laurel.

559. The lyre shall be bound and even made with the laurel.

The noun *laurus* can be of the second and the fourth declension.

Quivers, that is to say, will be made from the laurel tree.

560. *The happy leaders*, from the triumph; *voice*, of the people.

Leaders will be crowned with laurel.

561. *Triumph* is derived from *tris*, which means "three," and *phonos*, which means "sound," since in olden days three boys used to sing before the victor. Or it is because the people were divided into three parts and cried out "Hail, victor."

Processions: The author uses a hypallage, that is to say, when the long processions look upon the Capitol. For the conqueror in ancient times proceeded to the Capitol in a great procession.

562. *Guardian*, since you will be before the doors of Augustus, and you will ward off the enemy, and you will be a source of fear for them, since you stand for victory.

563. *The middle*, secondary; *you shall guard the oak*, from the wind or from the crowns of garlands.

You shall stand before the doors, namely, like a good guardian remaining on guard before the doors. The august doors, that is to say, of the noble <doors>. Or August, that is to say, the gates of Augustus Caesar, since the house of Augustus will always be crowned with laurel because of the lasting peace which he will bring to the world. Or understand in another way: before the doors, since not only in the theater were emperors crowned but also their doors and gates were crowned, since victors, when they returned home, hung garlands on the doorsteps.

You shall guard the oak standing in the middle, that is to say, you will be more worthy than the oak, and you will hold the oak inferior to yourself since the lesser is guarded by the greater. Thus Ovid says: you shall guard. He says middle because it is positioned between the house of Augustus and the laurel, or between the laurel and the oak. Or you shall guard the oak standing in the middle so as not to be plucked, because the crowns are made from you rather than from the oak tree. For it was the custom of the ancients that the oak should be planted before the doors of the nobles so that fitting crowns might be obtained for the conquerors. But now, because of its appealing fragrance,

the laurel is planted there, and the oak, in fact, inside. Thus Phoebus says in the middle because it is placed between the laurel and the doors or between the wall and the laurel. Or in the middle, that is to say, in common, because in days of old men lived off the oak. Hence above: "And acorns, which fell from the spreading tree of Jupiter" (Metamorphoses 1.106). But this reading does not really add anything to the literal sense. Or in the middle, that is to say, in common for the crowning of all, since beforehand the nobles and the common men were crowned with oak; but after men began to be crowned with laurel, only the nobles were crowned with laurel, while the common men were crowned with oak. And some even read in the middle, that is to say, made common by you, since now it is common to all whereas before it belonged to the leaders, and therefore he says, you shall guard, that is to say, you shall defend, since the nobles who are crowned with laurel defend the common people who are crowned with oak. Or in the middle, since before they were crowned with Hungarian oak. Hence: "He received the honor of the oak garland" (Metamorphoses 1.449); afterward they were crowned with oak, and at last with laurel.

564. Unshorn: He says this because of his rays.

565. *Also*, similarly; *always*, at whatever time; *perpetual beauty*, or read the adverb *perpetually*.

Perpetual beauty, since the laurel is green in whatever season.

566. The laurel, that is to say, laurel tree, or supply "tree."

Paean, that is to say, Phoebus. A Paean is a praise of Apollo and is often placed as a substitute for the god.

Laurel, that is to say, Daphne changed into a laurel.

Nodded in assent, she seemed to assent.

To move, as though he were to say: "She inclined her top branches instead of her head."

This transformation is a moral one. Through Phoebus who loved Daphne we understand wisdom; through Daphne, chastity. And wisdom truly loves her because he acts wisely who lives chastely. Daphne was changed into the laurel tree as she was fleeing Phoebus, whereby we understand that those who live chastely while on this earth attract wisdom, that is to say, invite others to follow them through the steps of wisdom. After death they truly receive the

crown from the Lord, and therefore Daphne is thought to have been changed into the laurel since this tree is sweet smelling and always green, just as the crown of the saints is sweet smelling and everlasting. Thus these verses from the *Integumenta*:

The maid is the wisdom of Phoebus; as the laurel she is made into a crown Which is eagerly sought after by man.

The maiden flourishes as the tree for the minds of philosophers;
The maiden who, though she flees overcome with toil, flourishes.
(*Integumenta* 93–96)

568. *There is a grove*, the grove is in Thessaly; *Haemonian*, in the ablative case, or read *of Haemonia*, that is to say, of Thessaly; *steep*, lofty.

There is a grove: He begins to treat of the transformation of Io into a cow, but first the author employs a description of the place (*topographia*) in this section so that later it will be obvious where Peneus lamented for his lost daughter, saying *There is a grove*, etc.

There is a grove: The connection is as follows: thus Daphne was transformed, and her father Peneus grieved greatly because of her transformation, and the author shows where he lived, saying *There is a grove*.

Forest: Here Ovid clearly differentiates between a grove and a forest. For a grove is a collection of low shrubs, but a forest is a gathering of lofty trees.

Haemonian: This is in the genitive case and is used adverbially there but improperly, since the usage varies in regards to the names of provinces and cities.

569. They, men, call it Tempe.

Tempe is a place in Thessaly. Hence we have below:

She gazing down beheld far below Thessalian Tempe. (*Metamorphoses* 7.222)

570. From deep Pindus, from the lowest foot of Pindus; rolls forth, flows rolling downward; foaming, violently agitated.

Pindus is a mountain in Thessaly which in the west bears away the sight of the sun from Thessaly. Hence Lucan says:

Pindus faces and meets the West and Northwest winds, And shortens day by hastening on evening. (*Bellum civile* 6.339–40)

571. Stirring up, frequently moving; thin, slender; mist (fumos), is derived from "wandering light" (fos means).

By its heavy fall, because it descends from the mountain and is cast down into the valley.

572. Sprinkles, or read rains on; with spray, through spray.

Rains on, that is to say, sends water upward in the manner of rain, and thus he notes its headlong course.

The verb "to rain on" can be construed with the dative or the accusative case.

The top, the loftier sections. Or *the depths*, that is to say, the lower parts. The heights and depths are reciprocal. What is lofty is low and vice versa, according to that saying:

All that is first, if you count backward, will be last.

573. And wearies more than neighboring places, since it wearies even those places that are located far off.

574. *Here*, in this place; *the innermost rooms*, namely, the secret places of the bedroom; *of the great river*, of Peneus.

House, that is to say, his certain mansion (John 14:2).

This, house; or here, that is to say, in this place.

Of the great river, for amongst the rivers of Thessaly, great Peneus flows.

River (*amnis*) is derived from *an*, which means "around" and "to swim" (*nare*), since it swims round about.

575. In these, innermost recesses; in a cave.

A cave: He is said to sit in a rocky cave because he flows through a rocky space. Or, because in fact there was a cave there composed of rocks.

576. He gives laws, how they should flow; to the nymphs cherishing, living in.

To the waves: He attributes feeling to an inanimate object when he says waves.

577. The rivers, that is to say, the river gods.

Gather: After the author describes the house of Peneus, he shows that many rivers come to him, that is to say, many river gods.

Popular (*popularia*), that is to say, ordinary in respect to Peneus; or *popular*, that is to say, flowing through that people; or *popular*, that is to say, related to the fame of the people; or *popular*, that is to say, next to and coming from the same people.

578. *Not knowing* whether they should congratulate him; *or console*, as he grieved because of the transformation of his daughter.

Congratulate, as though about a successful outcome, or to console as though about a misfortune because of his lost daughter, since some said that things turned out well for him with the transformation of his daughter, since he had no further worries concerning her. Others said things turned out badly, since he had lost such a good daughter.

579. *Poplar-fringed*, bearing poplars, the trees; *restless*, without repose, headlong; *Enipeus*, a river.

Spercheos is a river of Thessaly which runs into the Maliacus. And hence Lucan says:

There the swift stream of the Spercheos Strikes the waves of the Maliac gulf.

(*Bellum civile* 6.366–67)

Restless when it is mixed, since it flows gently by itself. Hence Lucan says:

The Enipeus, never swift except when it mingles.

(Bellum civile 6.373)

580. Old, flowing gently.

Eridanus, into which Phaethon fell when struck with the lightning bolt of Jove.* Hence below:

The great Eridanus receives him, far from home and in a far-flung region, And bathes his blazing face.

(Metamorphoses 2.324–25)

Old, since it flows gently; or, on account of the appearance of the surface of the river, which is white because of its white froth; or, because it alone remained after the conflagration of Phaethon; or, because it flows sluggishly.

Amphrysus or Amphrysos is a river which flows through the land of Ametus. Hence Lucan says:

The clear waters of the Amphrysos

Irrigate the pastures where Apollo herded cattle. (*Bellum civile* 6.367–68)

Aeas is a river which flows into the Ionian sea. Clear when it flows into the sea but having a small stream. Hence Lucan:

The Aeas, clear but of little volume, Flows into the Ionian sea. (*Bellum civile* 6.361–62)

581. The other rivers, congregate; current, their headlong course or their will.

Wherever their current carries them, in their wandering running about, or their circuitous courses.

582. *Weary*, tired out; *with wandering*, with their wandering currents or their circuitous paths.

Into the sea: He looks back to what is said above,

And partly flow down to the sea and, received into the expanse of freer water,

Strike against shores instead of banks.

(Metamorphoses 1.41–42)

All these rivers are said to fall into the Peneus.

583. One river, Inachus, Inachus alone; in his deep cave, in the very bottom part of the cave.

Inachus arises in Thessaly. Hence Lucan:

With no stronger stream Glides the father of ravished Isis. (*Bellum civile* 6.362–63)

Thus the aforementioned rivers came to console Peneus and many others whose names are not written down here, but *Inachus*, etc.

584. Waters, his own, and he himself most wretchedly mourns.

585. As though, just as.

Mourns, as though he had lost his daughter, but in point of fact he had not.

586. Or, that is to say, dead; shades, below; whom, since he cannot find her.

587. He thinks nowhere: Because he did not find her, he thought she was nowhere.

He thinks nowhere, that is to say, he thinks that she is dead. For "souls are nowhere" is not the same as "are in a place."

He fears worse things than actually happened to her. For the soul is always perceived as timid amongst evils. Hence Statius says:

Fear, in times of doubt the worst of prophets. (*Thebaid 3.6*)

Worse things, not in respect to the body but in respect to the soul.

588. In this section the author treats of how Inachus lost his daughter and therefore did not go to console Peneus, and the author indicates how Jupiter saw Io returning from her father and deflowered her, saying *had seen*.

Thus Inachus had lost his daughter, and he shows how he lost her.

Stream, from the river of her own father, Inachus.

Stream: A river (fluuius) is properly a continuous flowing of water from the verb "to flow" (fluere), but a stream (flumen) is properly called "<running> water." A stream (amnis) is garlanded with twigs and greenery and is named from its pleasantness (amoenitas).

589. And said, Jove; Jove, as her lover or husband.

590. Bed, intercourse with Jove.

Take note that he said *Somebody* even though he was a god and is thus omniscient. In answer, one may say that it is false that she had a husband, and what is not the truth is unknown, just as Aristotle says "Knowledge is of true things" (Aristotle, *De anima*, 1.2). Thus he logically said *Somebody*.

Bed is placed here for marriage, since it is the bed of married people. Hence Lucan says of Cato taking Marcia for his wife:

The customary torches,

The bed supported on ivory steps and displaying a coverlet of gold. (*Bellum civile* 2.356–57)

Or <understand> *bed*, that is to say, intercourse, and he places the place rather than the thing which occurs in the place.

Shadows: In referring to shade, Jupiter invites her to a pleasant spot, since pleasure always takes place beneath shade.

591. Of these, an indication of Jupiter pointing them out; and he had pointed out, these words belong to the author; both, or read shade.

It is a fine thing that I invite you to the shade while it is hot.

592. While it is hot: He speaks similarly below:

The sun had reached the middle heavens and drawn close the shadows. (*Metamorphoses* 3.50)

In the midpoint of its circle, that is to say, in the meridian or while it is in the sign of the Twins. Hence Lucan says:

For the sun was in the sign of the Twins, When his disk reaches its zenith.

(*Bellum civile* 4.526–27)

593. Alone, because you are alone.

I say that you should go into the shade; but if, quod is used for sed.

594. *Under a god's protection*, being under my protection; *you will enter*, you will be able to enter; *the inmost parts of the woods*, the secluded groves.

Under a god's protection, that is to say, going in front of or defending you, or giving you protection.

595. Not just any god, but one such as holds.

Not just any god, but one who: He repeats himself for emphasis.

596. *In the right*, or read *in the great hand*, my own; *roaming*, falling in sidelong fashion.

In the great hand: Kings have great hands. Just as we say elsewhere:

Who does not know that kings have great hands.

(cf. *Heroides* 17.166)

The roaming thunderbolts: He marks out the nature of fire, which by its nature always struggles to return. Hence lightning bolts are said to roam, which Lucan intimates, saying:

Falling and returning, it spreads destruction far and wide And gathers again its scattered fires. (*Bellum civile* 1.157–58)

597. For indeed she was fleeing, these are the words of the author; indeed, certainly.

And since I am so powerful, do not flee.

598. Thickset, that is to say, full of.

Lerna: a pond. Hercules killed the Hydra next to Lerna.

Lycaean, that is to say, Arcadian. Lycaeus is a promontory in Arcadia.

599. *The god*, Jupiter; *hid*, made dark; *brought in*, spread over.

Darkness, with the horrible darkness of a cloud.

600. *Her flight*, the girl as she was fleeing; *took*, snatched away.

Uprightness, chastity, that is to say, virginity.

601. Thus Jupiter had covered the world in cloud and *meanwhile*, while this was being done by Jove, *Juno*, etc.

Looked down, looked from the heavens.

602. *Marveled*, Juno herself; *winged*, light, or having come about quickly; *semblance*, a likeness.

Marveled, since it was not dawn.

603. Shining, clear or midpoint; of a river, had arisen from a river.

604. Nor were they sent up; by the moist earth, from the moist earth.

Ovid notes two possibilities for the origins of clouds: The verses from the work *On Differences* mark out a third way:

A cloud may be said to be smoke arising from a river,

Or it may come from the ground, or the shaken earth.

Clouds arise from water or marshy lands.

605. Looked about, looked round about her; husband, Jupiter; as, just as.

606. Who, a woman who; the assignations, furtive intercourse; caught, in adultery with his mistresses.

The verb "to find" has a long vowel in the past tense because of the double p

(*repperi*). In the present tense it is short, since there is only one *p* in that tense (*reperio*) (*Doctrinale* 1801).

608. Or I am wronged, by a rival; from the lofty air, from heaven's heights.

Either I am mistaken, in believing my husband is committing adultery.

I am wronged: We are injured in two ways: either by cheating or a blow. And hence we have the verses:

Either cheating in love or a blow causes injury.

I am wronged, by my husband who is committing adultery with another woman.

609. Clouds, the darkness of the day.

610. Thus Juno descended to the earth, but Jupiter had sensed beforehand.

The coming of his wife, his wife as she was coming.

611. *The daughter of Inachus*, that is to say, Io, the daughter of Inachus; *shining*, beautiful.

612. Saturnia, Juno, the daughter of Saturn.

Also, similarly, just as she had been as a girl.

613. And then, in addition; she asked, of Jove.

Albeit grudgingly, that is to say, although she did not wish to do so; the form of the cow, that is to say, the beautiful cow.

Form of the cow, namely, the beautiful cow.

Juno was suspicious lest some rival might have been transformed into that cow.

The cow, Io transformed into a cow.

Asked, as though Juno did not know the cow was Io, though in fact she knew full well.

614. *Whose*, who was the owner; *whence*, from what region; the enclitic or (-ue) is used in place of *uel*; *of a true thing*, the truth.

Juno inquired as to where the cow came from.

615. Lied, asserted by fibbing; giver, of the gift.

So that questions about the giver, that is to say, as the giver of the gift, just as we read elsewhere:

And if I do not spurn these gifts, it is because those gifts are ever most welcome

Whose giver makes them precious.

(*Heroides* 17.71–72)

Or, read *about the driver*, that is to say, the shepherd, for a shepherd drives his flock. Or, *so that the engenderer*, that is to say, so that Juno might stop inquiring as to the father of the cow. Or, *sire*, that is to say, the maker and creator, or *giver*, that is to say, the one who gave him such a beautiful cow. Or, *giver* may mean guardian, or owner, or an inquiry into the origin.

So that questions about the giver, since were he to say that the cow had been made or given by someone, perhaps Juno would make various inquiries.

616. Saturn's daughter, Juno; her, the cow; a present, as a present.

617. It is a cruel thing, to repudiate, to deny.

To repudiate his love, namely Io, whom he loved, for he should seem not to have loved her if he wished to be separated from her.

618. Not to hand over, the cow, to Juno; shame, that is to say, modesty; one course of action, namely, to hand over; or, read on this side.

Not to hand over: Suspicion would be engendered about his feelings for the cow should he not hand her over.

619. On this side, or, read this course of action.

Shame would have been conquered by love, that is to say, he would not have handed over the cow to Juno, but.

620–21. *Comrade of his race*, because she was his sister; *comrade of his bed*, because she was his wife.

The comrade of his bed, since both were the offspring of Saturn, and Jupiter was her husband.

621. Not to be a cow, not a real one but a fake one.

Thus Jupiter handed over the cow to Juno.

Thus he gave the cow to Juno.

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- 622. Her rival, the cow; the goddess, Juno; put aside, removed from herself.

623. And, but.

She was worried about treachery, lest Jupiter might steal the cow from her. Or how she might guard that intrigue about which she was anxious.

About treachery, either a genitive (furti) or an ablative (furto) about secret intrigue, either in the future or past.

Read here the genitive case *furti*. These are the dictates of grammar. For Priscian says that every adjectival noun, when it carries possession through equivalency of meaning, requires the genitive (Priscian 2.213.3–15).

- 624. Her, the cow; Arestorides, the son of Arestor.
- 625. Girt with, encircled by; lights, eyes.

One hundred lights: The author shows how well equipped was Argus to guard Io, saying one hundred lights. Or, interpret thus and better: Here he treats of the transformation of Mercury into a shepherd, but he approaches it by way of a digression, first assigning the reason, saying one hundred.

626. Whence, from these eyes; quiet, sleep.

Whence, and take note that often the adverb serves as a link to the noun which precedes it. We find similar phrasing in Lucan:

Might became the standard of right.

Whence came laws and decrees of the people passed by violence. (*Bellum civile* 1.175–76)

Through the adverb *Whence*, there is a link to the previous noun *might*. *Two*, that is to say, half of the eyes, or in multiples of two, or doubled.

- 627. The rest, of the eyes; kept watch, over Io; on guard, vigilant.
- On guard: This phrasing is taken from guards who stand watch.
- 628. She stood, Io; he watched, Argus; her, the cow.
- 629. Back turned, that is to say, turned in another direction, namely, behind.
- 630. With light, at dawn; her, the cow.

Below the deep earth, toward the southern regions, that is to say, when the sun is setting.

631. He enclosed, her in her pen; unworthy, to be chained.

Placed chains on her neck: This is a hypallage, that is to say, encircled her neck which was not worthy to be bound by chains.

632. Arboreal shoots, leaves of trees.

Bitter in respect to a man, not in respect to a cow.

- 633. Wretch, Io; slept, lay; on the ground, down on the ground; the ground I say, not having grass; for a bed, in the place of a bed.
- 634. Muddy, full of mud or dirty.
- 635. Suppliant, supplicating her jailor.

To stretch forth her arms, as though in supplication to Argus.

- 636. To Argus, toward Argus; she had no arms to stretch, was able to stretch forth.
- 637. *To lament*, "to lament" is placed for "to complain"; *she brought forth*, she sent out; *from the mouth*, from her mouth.

Moos: It is rightfully the characteristic of cows to moo, just as we find in those verses which distinguish the cries of certain animals and birds, as follows:

The horse whinnies, the cow moos, the hen cackles,

The goose honks, the swan trumpets, the nightingale sings,

The turtledove coos, the pig snorts, the frog croaks.

(cf. *Graecismus* 19.32–39)

Moos from her *mouth*: A pleonasm is a rhetorical figure when there is an overabundance of words, and pleonasm is derived from the Greek *pleonasmos*, which means "to flow overabundantly."

- 638. Feared, greatly; the sounds, her voice; and, that is to say; voice, the moo.
- 639. She came, Io; where, in which banks.

Inachian (Inachidos), that is to say, of Inachus, or *Inachidos*, or *Inachidos*, and if it is written so, it is the accusative case.

640. New, newly given to her.

Horns, reflections of horns. Hence:

And you fear lest the arms you bear might harm you. (*Heroides* 14.98)

641. Provoked to panic, dumbstruck; herself, her very own person.

Provoked to panic, she fled, in respect to her body. Or read terrified, she fled.

642. Inachus, her father.

Naides is the reading of the author from *nais*, *naidis*, since *naiades* has four syllables. The nominative singular, *naias*, has three syllables, and in the other cases it increases by one syllable. Thus it is quadrisyllabic, as is found in the *Fasti*:

And the nymphs of the forest and the chorus of the Naiades. (*Fasti* 1.512)

And since she was transformed into a cow, the Naiades.

643. Father, her father; sisters, her sisters.

644. *Suffered*, herself; *to be touched*, by them; *herself*, her very own self; *to those admiring* her, her father and her sisters.

Offered, that is to say, showed herself with a serene face.

645. *Proffered cropped*, that is to say, had cropped and handed, and this is a hendiadys. Or *cropped*, that is to say, cropped and collected from other herbs.

Old man: Ovid says this because of his frothy waters.

646. Hands, of her father.

647. Hold back, able to hold back; be present, or read follow.

648. Speak, make manifest to him; fate, her fate, her misfortune.

Ask for help, that is to say, if only she were able to speak, she would beg her father to help her.

This transformation is a moral one. Io was the daughter of Inachus, through whom coldness is understood. And this is imagined because Io, through whom we understand the soul, untroubled in youth by the heat of vices, was loved by Jove, that is to say, God. But he enveloped her in a cloud and took

her chastity, that is to say, he took the name of virgin, that is to say, her good reputation, from her as she was overwhelmed by vice. She was transformed into a cow, that is to say, she was made bestial and handed over to Juno, that is to say, was handed over to vice, and thus she was placed under the guardianship of Argus, since one sin leads to another sin. Argus is understood as "the world" since, just as Argus had many eyes, so the world has many approaches to vice to which Io, that is to say, the soul, succumbed when she was not able to be disengaged from vices. And the author says, *A hundred*.

Thus Inachus, her father, did not recognize Io in the guise of a cow, but the roundness of the hoof made an O and the ridge made an I, and thus the form of her foot imitated her name, to wit, Io, and through this her father recognized her.

649. For words, in the place of words; made, or drew out.

Made, because in the hoof of a cow both *I* and *O* can be seen, the *O* in the circumference and the *I* in the middle of the hoof. Hence the verses:

The form of the foot makes an o, while the fissure completes "Io."

These two elements are created by her foot.

(Giovanni del Virgilio, *Allegoriae* 1.10.55–56)

- 650. She told the tale, she made evident to her father; of her changed body, of Io.
- 651. Woe is me, father Inachus exclaimed, her father, upon seeing the letter.
- 652. Of the weeping one, Io, his daughter; cow, Io.
- 653. He groaned: He speaks while groaning.

Are you: The question anticipates a negative answer, surely not; my daughter, vocative.

654. Sought by me, the dative (mihi) represents the ablative by me (a me); unfound, as a girl; you have been discovered, as a cow.

Unfound, when I was seeking you, you have been discovered, when I am not seeking you. Or unfound, when you were a woman, you have been discovered, as a cow. Or unfound, because I did not have you, you have been discovered, because I know where you are. "To find" is to come upon something lost and possess it. "To discover" is to know where something is which is lost but not to possess it. Hence the verses:

He finds seeking; he discovers what luck brought forth. (*Graecismus* 18.11)

Or these verses, which are preferable:

Who discovers, knows where his possession might be, Who finds, comes upon a thing which he has lost.

655. You beforehand were a lighter grief, you used to be a lighter grief than now.

You were a lighter grief, that is to say, the reason for my grief, which was less intense before I found you thus changed.

You are silent, that is to say, you do not answer me.

656. *To words*, to our words; *only*, just; *draw out a sigh*, by mooing; *lofty*, deep; *in your breast*, from your breast.

You draw out a sigh, that is to say, you moo instead of using speech in reply to my words.

657. All, the only thing you can do, moo.

658. Thus were you transformed into a cow, which I had not realized, but.

But, at here is used for sed; unknowing, not knowing this fact; I was preparing, I wished to prepare for you; beds, marriage.

659. *A son-in-law*, the noun "son-in-law" (*gener*) derives from the verb "engendering" (*genero*); *second*, my second hope.

Hoped: First, I hoped to have a son-in-law from you; and second, grandchildren.

Fathers seem to wish for these two things from their children, which Ovid seems to wish when he said earlier:

Often her father said, "Daughter, you owe me offspring." Often her father said, "Daughter, you owe me a son-in-law." (*Metamorphoses* 1.481–82).

660. Man, husband; from the herd, from the drove.

From the herd, namely, from the drove, and this is used improperly for the sake of the meter, since the term "herd" (grex) is used of smaller animals like sheep and goats, whereas "drove" (armentum) is used of larger animals like cows and horses (Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Armenta").

From the herd, that is to say, from the bull found in the herd.

661. With death, with the arrival of death.

Sorrows, which I have because of your transformation.

662. It is injurious, to me; to be a god, that I am a god; door, entrance; closed, defended.

Truly I would like to end my life in death, but.

663. Our grief, our pain.

664. Thus Inachus lamented about the transformation of his daughter, saying that he cannot terminate his grief in death, but Argus snatched Io away from him as he lamented and led her into out-of-the-way fields, and this is what he says, *so*, etc.

As he spoke so, or as he lamented so; starry-eyed, Argus, full of eyes placed like stars.

Starry-eyed: Ovid uses a simile. Lucan speaks similarly of the war machine constructed at Marseilles:

The mound was built up with planks

Arranged lattice-wise.

(*Bellum civile* 3.455–56)

665. Snatched, took her away; father, Inachus; took, violently dragged.

Distant, that is to say, remote; or *distant*, from that place where her father was.

666. He, Argus; at a distance, before his eyes; peak, height.

Perched, took hold while ascending.

667. Whence, from that mountain.

Looked about, as though gazing from a lookout.

668. Thus Argus carefully guarded that cow, namely, Io. Or, read so: Io suffered so many wrongs since she had to lie on the naked earth and eat bitter herbs, *Nor was the ruler of the gods*.

Ruler, Jupiter, of the gods, the syncopated form "superum" stands here for "superorum."

669. *Phoronian*, that is to say, Io, the daughter of Inachus, the son of Phoroneus.

And, that is to say, but; *the son*, his own son. He does not name but describes Mercury.

He called the son: And since he had numerous offspring, he shows which one he is thinking of, saying whom the shining Pleiad, that is to say, glowing because of Mercury, who was shining. Or shining, that is to say, beautiful beyond others. Or, he says shining because she was transformed into a star. But according to this explanation others could also be called "shining" because they were all transformed into stars. The Pleiades are called after their mother Pleione.

670. Bore, gave birth to; he ordered, him; to kill, to put to death; to kill, that he kill.

Whom the Pleiad bore: Ovid does not name but describes.

The *Pleiad:* Atlas engendered fourteen daughters and one son, whose name was Hyans or Hyas, from Pleione, who was the daughter of Ocean and Thetis. Others say that from Pleione he had seven daughters, namely, the Pleiades, and from Aetna, the sister of Pleione, the daughter of Ocean and Thetis, he generated seven daughters, who were called the Hyades. According to those who say that all fourteen daughters were from Pleione, it is said that Hyas was also his son, who while hunting was torn apart by a wild beast. While the sisters wept for him, as Ovid says elsewhere, "His mother wept for Hyas, his sisters, saddened, wept" (*Fasti* 5.179), seven were transferred to the sky and made into stars placed in the horn of the goat, and they were called the Pleiades from Pleione, or as though they were rain-bearing, or because of their great number. The seven others who lamented were placed in the knee of the goat and were called the Hyades after their brother Hyas, or from *hydor*, which means "water," since during their rising and waning the weather is rainy, and this is true.

Pleiad, that is to say, Maia, one of the Pleiades, the daughters of Pleione and Atlas.

Pleiad: The Pleiades are so named because of their number, which is seven. Mercury is said to be born from the Pleiad, that is to say, a speech from a great number. He is said to be winged, since what is swifter than speech (Papias, *Vocabulista* s.v. "Mercurius")? And he carries a wand, that is to say, a caduceus, that is to say, rhetorical speech, which is called a rod that brings sleep, since it makes the savage tame. Eloquence is said to be rod-bearing

through interpretation. Hence, they are said to be peace keepers who, thanks to eloquence, make those who are in disagreement come to terms, and this is <the Pleiad>.

671. Thus Jove had spoken.

Brief was the delay: It is not the duty of a subordinate to answer but to obey orders.

Mercury is said to be winged in respect to his feet, not because he is a bird but because he is a planet which is fast in its revolutions.

Brief was the delay: Statius says the same thing in his Thebaid:

Atlas's grandson obeys his father's words and hastily

Binds the winged sandals on to his ankles, Covers his locks with his hat, and tempers the stars.

Then he thrusts his wand in his right hand, with which he banishes

Or recalls gentle sleep, with which he enters dark Hades,

And gives life to bloodless ghosts.

(*Thebaid* 1.303–8)

672. Powerful, or the adjective "powerful" modifies wand; wand, the caduceus.

On his head, as though he feared rainy weather.

673. When, after; son, Mercury.

Arranged, placed in their proper place.

Jumped down, jumps from on high.

674. There, in these lands; helmet, cap.

From the citadel: And through this, Ovid shows that he was descending into the lower hemisphere, where he is not visible. Or, because the divine spirit cannot be seen unless it makes itself darker beforehand.

675. Placed, placed to one side; wand, the caduceus.

Wand, the caduceus by which he brings sleep, namely, wisdom, to those awake.

676. With this, his wand; like, just as if he were a shepherd.

While Mercury was in progress to that place, he drives with this, that is to say, his staff; goats gathered, that is to say, brought together; through the

out-of-the-way countryside, and he leads them, I say; like, just as, a shepherd leads goats from home to the fields.

An author makes books, the shepherd leads flocks, the boy, years.

677. While, or read when; journeyed, to Argus.

Pipes, on pipes of the type shepherds are accustomed to sing. Hence Virgil:

Tityrus, you reclining under the shade of the broad oak Practice a pastoral tune on the slender reed. (*Eclogues* 1.1–2)

Pipes, that is to say, on pipes made from a reed; *brought together*, that is to say, compacted or joined together.

678. Here Ovid treats of Syrinx changed into a reed, and from a reed into a pipe. The link is as follows: Thus Mercury sang, *the guardian* indeed.

Guardian, Argus; sound, the sweetness.

New art, that is to say, the new pipe which had just been invented.

679. Whoever, just as one says to Meliboeus in the Eclogues:

Come, Meliboeus, your goat and kid are safe; If you can take a little rest, slumber in the shade. (*Eclogues* 7.9–10)

Break your journey, or read *sit down*, that is to say, sit along with or rest *on this rock*, that is to say, on this mountain. Or perhaps he really sat on a rock.

680. Truly, I say, you can rest here with me on this rock; *indeed*, <stands> for since; *nowhere*, <stands> for *not anywhere*.

Nowhere, in any other place than this one; for flocks, for tending flocks, for the needs of flocks.

681. You see, you are able to see; *just right*, suitable; *for flocks*, for the needs of flocks.

Shade: Shade is very pleasing to shepherds. Hence Virgil:

Tityrus, at ease beneath the shade, You teach the woods to sing of your fair Amaryllis. (*Eclogues* 1.4–5) This transformation is a moral one, since Mercury, through whom we understand eloquence, was ordered by Jove to change himself into a shepherd so that he might slay Argus, which means that the eloquence of preaching performs its purpose, as though it were a shepherd leading the flock to the meadow.

682. *Detained*, that is to say, took up in speaking, or blocked; *the passing day*, that is to say, the boredom of the day's passage.

Atlas's offspring, that is to say, Mercury, the son of Maia, the daughter of Atlas.

Detained: He expresses the same thing later in the epic:

To beguile the tedious hours, let us take turns Telling stories, while the others listen. (*Metamorphoses* 4.40–41)

Detained the passing day with speech: There is a saying, "We detain the day," as though we were to say "We do nothing, although we have better things to do." Or detained, as though one says: "Let us spend our time in trifles and trivialities," that is to say, "Let us cheat the space or tedium of the day." Or detained: he notes a negation, thus he detained, that is to say, he allows the day to go by quickly. Or he detained, that is to say, he shortened. The day is said to be shortened by speech, but night to be prolonged. Hence:

Caesar began to prolong the night With discourse long drawn out. (Bellum civile 10.173–74)

Some read *detained*, that is to say, he failed to hold. Others read thus and this is preferable: *detained*, since the day did not seem to depart as far as they were concerned. For Argus did not think the day was going and passing by, and thus *he detained* as far as they were concerned.

683. He tried, Mercury; to conquer the eyes, of Argus; watching, the cow.

684. By singing on the reeds, that is to say, on his pipe made from reeds joined together.

Here the author treats of Syrinx changed into a reed, and from a reed into a pipe on which Mercury played.

Reeds: Above, he had said *on pipes brought together*; now he says "reeds," in answer to which it must be said that a pipe can be made from reeds or just from straws.

685. He, Argus; fights, strives; however, for a long time; gentle, from its effect; sleep, falling asleep.

686. And, or read but.

687. *Part*, some part of the eyes; *he asks*, of Mercury; *for the pipe had recently been invented*, a parenthesis; *pipe*, the use of the pipe; *recently*, newly.

Pipe (*fistula*) is so called because it sends out a voice. *Phonos* in Greek means "voice" or "sound" in Latin, while *stolos* in Greek means "a sending out."

688. Why, for what reason.

689. He said, or read born.

Then: Argus had asked Mercury why the pipe was invented since it had only recently been discovered, *then* or *since* the god of Arcadia, that is to say, Mercury who was worshipped in Arcadia, or because he was raised there. Or, let there be a pause, and let this be the punctuation: *then the god*, and afterward let it be said *in the mountains of Arcadia*, etc.

Cold, since it was toward the northern regions.

690. *Naiad*, a nymph, and the noun can be declined in the genitive *-dis* or *-dos*; *Nonacrinian*, Arcadian; *Hamadryads*: nymphs who love trees.

Nonacrinian, that is to say, Arcadian. Arcadia is called Nonacrina from "nine" (nouem) and the Greek acros, which means "mountain," as though "encircled with nine mountains."

Hamadryads: The name Hamadryades comes from the verb "to love" (*amare*) and *drias*, which means "tree," as though "tree loving," and they are born and die with trees.

691. Syrinx: This is the actual name of the nymph.

Syrinx in Greek is called a "reed" or a "pipe" in Latin. Or the nymph is given her name from "drawing away" (*abstractio*), since she draws men to herself through her song.

692. Not once, but many times; she, Syrinx; had she toyed with the Satyrs who followed, her.

Had she toyed with: Ovid speaks similarly later about Narcissus:

Thus had Narcissus toyed with the nymph, thus other nymphs Born in the waves or mountains, and thus bands of men. (*Metamorphoses* 3.402–3)

693. Whatever other gods, that is to say, fauns.

694. Savage, fertile; Ortygian, the island of Delos; goddess, Diana.

Ortygian, that is to say, the island of Delos. Or, it is an adjective designating Diana, goddess of Ortygia, since she was born there. Delos and Ortygia are the same island.

Ortygian: Coeus, one of the Giants, had two daughters, namely, Asteria and Latona. When Jupiter raped Latona and desired to sleep with Asteria, she wanted to be transformed into a bird and was changed into the quail. Jupiter, transformed into an eagle, pursued her hotly and she was transformed again into a stone which lay hidden for a long time beneath a wave. Later, however, through the intervention of Latona, she was extracted from the water and emerged onto Ortygia, a name derived from the Greek ortix, which means "quail," and ge, which means "land." The same island is called Delos, since at first it lay hidden but later appeared. For Delos in Greek means "made manifest" in Latin. Or because Phoebus Apollo may be obscure elsewhere but there gives oracles which may be comprehended by the people, and in that island the goddess Diana is worshipped.

Cherished the goddess, imitating her in her virginity.

695. In her pursuits, in hunting; girt in the manner, according to the rite.

Girt, so that she might run faster. Or *girt*, that is to say, chaste, whence you have in the Bible:

Let your loins be girt. (Luke 12:35)

696. She could deceive many who saw her.

Latonian, Diana, the daughter of Latona.

697. This one, Syrinx; that one, Diana.

Cornel, from the cornel tree, or from horn.

698. Pan, the god of flocks.

Although she had a horn of cornel, even so.

Even so, in such a getup.

Sharp, since the pine has sharp foliage.

Sharp pine, a crown made from the pine tree.

Sharp pine, a synecdoche.

699. Her, Syrinx; Lycaeus, "Lycaeus" is written for "Lycaeius."

Lycaeus: Lycaeus is a mountain in Arcadia.

Pan saw her: Pan is worshipped on Mount Lycaeus. Hence Virgil says in the Georgics:

Pan himself leaving his native grove and the glades of Lycaeus, Guardian of sheep, if you have concern for your own Maenalus, May you be present. (*Georgics* 1.16–18)

700. He spoke, he said; such words, to her as these; Nymph, the vocative, yield, concede; wishes of the god, of me.

700a. *It remained*, for Mercury, *to narrate*. Or the words of Pan, namely these: "O nymph, yield to the god."

To marry: The verb "to marry" is improperly used there since "to marry" is properly used of women, while "to take in marriage" is used of men.

It remained to narrate more: These are the words of the author under the guise of Mercury.

It remained to narrate more: Mercury indeed wanted to say more, such as the words of Pan and the transformation of Syrinx, but he saw that Argus was heavy with sleep and stopped his story. Mercury began to say "Pan saw this girl," and he spoke such words, and while he was narrating this, Mercury fell silent. Ovid in his own voice supplies the rest, which Mercury was going to say had Argus not so quickly succumbed to sleep.

701. Entreaties, of Pan; rejected, by her; it remained for Mercury to narrate.

702. She fled, I say, *until she*, Syrinx, *came*; *of Ladon*, the river who was her father.

703. Here, in this place; waters, of the river Ladon; impeded, stopped, her crossing, the crossing of Syrinx.

Since the waters impeded her crossing, since she could not cross.

704. *She*, Syrinx; *her*, her own, *river*-, because of the water. And it remained for Mercury to narrate that *she prayed*.

705. Syrinx, that nymph; pressed to him, caught by him.

706. *Held*, or read *touched*; *marsh*, growing in marshes; *instead of the body*, in place of the body; *of the nymph*, of that nymph.

And it remained for Mercury to narrate that Pan held.

707. He was sighing, Pan; there, on the reeds.

He was sighing, because of the loss of the girl. Or sighing, sending out his breath.

And it remained for Mercury to narrate that the winds stirred.

708. Slight, small and subtle.

709. And it remained for Mercury to narrate touched by.

710. The god, Pan.

O Syrinx, this resolution.

Resolution, that is to say, this secret, since resolutions are adopted in secret. Or *this resolution*, meaning this consolation, because whoever takes thought for someone, consoles him.

712. Unequal, placed in unequal order; thus, just as was the custom.

711–12. And thus from unequal reeds: For one can say and thus for and; from unequal reeds joined together by wax, indeed it still remained to narrate that those reeds retained the name of the girl, and the accusative is taken from the ablative. And therefore let the accusative be placed in arrangement before the ablative, then one can read properly: and it remained to relate that the pipes retained the name of the girl. But since the pipes did not retain the name of the girl unless they are joined together, therefore Ovid adds so that one might understand this: made from unequal reeds joined together by wax. For syrinx in

Greek is the same as "reed" in Latin, and thus the phrase *the unequal reeds joined together by wax* is an ablative absolute. Or understand *it remained to relate that the name of the girl held* that is to say, clung to, *those reeds*, and then it will be dative.

They, the reeds or the pipe, retained the name of the girl.

Name, that is to say, memory, since through those pipes joined together we retain a memory of Syrinx. Or, because when Pan held the pipe, the memory of the girl came back to him. Or *name*, that is to say, acquaintance.

This transformation comes about from circumstance and can be explained allegorically. Pan himself is knowledge, which the statement of his name calls forth, for Pan means "all," and knowledge rules over all things. Pan loves Syrinx, that is to say, study, which at first was weak. Thus Syrinx is said to have been transformed into a reed, which is so weak that the breath of wind makes it sway. At length she is changed into a pipe, which is put together with seven reeds through which is understood that, as knowledge increases with diligence of study, the seven liberal arts are discovered. Thence it is imagined that Pan kept the pipe for himself since it retained the name of the girl. "Girl" (puella) is derived from "purity" (puritas) through which it is understood that purity accompanies those who have obtained the knowledge of things. Hence in the Fasti:

Ah happy souls, who first took thought to know things
And scale the heavenly mansions.

Well may we believe that they lifted up their heads
Above the frailties and the homes of men.

Neither wine nor love broke their lofty natures,
Nor civil business, nor the toils of war.

(Fasti 1.297–302)

And thus this transformation is most likely moral. *Intending to say such things*.

713. The author now proceeds with the transformation which he had begun of Io from a cow to a goddess. He had already stated how she had been transformed into a cow.

Such things, as I have supplied; the Cyllenian, Mercury; all the eyes, of Argus. Such things, as the author narrated.

Cyllenian, from the mountain where he was born. Or from the Greek *cilleo*, which means "to move," since Mercury is a very swift planet.

- 714. *Yielded*, to sleep, that is to say, were put to sleep; *shut*, covered; *in sleep*, because of the onset of sleep.
- 715. Checks his voice, fell silent; strengthens, with his wand; sleep, of Argus.
- 716. *Passing*, Mercury, I say, passing; *medicinal*, possessing medicine; *wand*, staff; *droopy*, because of sleep.

Wand, that is to say, wisdom, since wisdom and eloquence soften.

Statius writes similarly:

On he goes and steadies his step with the healing wand. (*Thebaid* 2.11)

717. There was no delay; sword, with his own.

Hooked, like a scythe.

Nodding, Argus nodding off or falling asleep.

- 718. Where, in that part; adjacent to, joined to; it, the head; bloody, that is to say, bloodied, namely, the head; from the rock, onto the rock.
- 719. Tinges, colors; jagged, lofty, abrupt.

The cliff: And the place is called Argiletus because of Argus's death.

720. O Argus, you lie low, dead; light, of life; amongst so many eyes, of your body.

The author, showing his sympathy for Argus, says, *O Argus*, *you lie*. Or read thus: Now the author turns to Argus showing that earthly power and all might are transitory.

Light, namely, the light of your life.

721. Well does Ovid say *put out*, since the soul, which is the cause of life, is of fiery origin.

Night, that is to say, death, which is gloomy and leads all to shadow and darkness.

- 722. *Saturnia*, Juno, the daughter of Saturn; *takes them up*, the eyes; *bird*, the peacock.
- 723. Its tail, of the peacock.

Starry, that is to say, his eyes glistening like stars. Or read *starry*, glistening like jewels.

724. Of wrath, of her own wrath.

Thus Argus was killed and *at once*, immediately; *she blazed in anger*, Juno due to her impatience and wrath.

Nor did she put off, but indeed in the present wanted to avenge him.

725. Eyes, corporeal, mortal.

Terrifying, inducing horror. Or read terrible, making horror.

Erinys, that is to say, the fury of the underworld, and she is called this from the Greek *eris*, which means "strife" and "to be born" (*nascor*).

726. Argive, Greek; rival, Io; buried, or hid; goads, incitements.

Rival: A rival (*paelex*) is derived from "driving out" (*pellendo*), since she drives out the wife from the bed of her adulterous husband. Or from "skin" (*pellis*), since the wife and rival lie beneath the same covering. Or from the verb *pellicio*, which means "to supplant."

Goads, that is to say, hidden madness. And hence we have the verse:

Juno pursues horned Io with a goad. (Theodulus, *Eclogue* 157).

727. Terrified, put her to flight while terrifying; a wanderer, fleeing.

Terrified: Ovid, in treating of Io wandering throughout the world, observes the appropriateness of his subject matter and seems to follow the precepts of Horace, the instructor of the art of poetry, who teaches thus in his *Poetria*:

Let Medea be fearful and invincible, Ino tearful, Ixion treacherous, Io a wanderer, and Orestes sad. (*Ars poetica* 123–24).

728. O, Nile, the river; immense, great.

Thus did Io labor running through the entire world, and at last she came to the bank of the river Nile where she was deified, and this is what Ovid says, at last, etc.

729. As soon as, after; she, Io; it, the Nile.

730. The bank, of the Nile; neck, her own.

731. Raised, elevated; which, or read what alone she was able, to raise; lofty, high.

732. And by, or, read with; by a groan, groaning; by tears, crying,

Read either *mournful* (*luctisono*), that is to say, baying out mournfully, or *resounding* (*multisono*), that is to say, lowing in many ways (*multis modis*), and this verse is spondaic.

733. To lament, to bewail; with Jove, or, read about Jove; and she seemed to ask, to beg; evils, her own.

To lament: She spoke, lamenting.

With Jove: Here may be assigned the grammatical figure of a substitution of a preposition (*protheseos paralage*), since a preposition (*cum*) has been placed for another (*de*).

734. Embracing, Jove, his wife's, Juno's.

735. He begs, her.

At length, at last after so much weariness.

736. O Juno, place, place to one side.

In future: In future time you will not fear, since I shall no longer sleep with her. Hence, "Place to one side your fear of future dalliance."

This verse glosses the previous one.

737. This, such a promise.

He orders: Jupiter swore by the Styx that he would no longer touch her, and the gods do not dare to foreswear since he who does so for a year and three days cannot drink divine nectar.

Since elsewhere it is stated:

The deity whom all gods hold in awe. (*Metamorphoses* 3.291)

738. When, after; the goddess, namely, Juno; was appeased, by the prayers of Jove.

739. What she had been, a woman; the coat, the hair; the body, her body.

740. Decrease, grow smaller; orb, roundness.

Decrease: The prefix de (decrescunt) here is used negatively.

More restricted, that is to say, tighter and shorter.

741. Her jaw is drawn in, is shortened; hands, human hands.

Her jaw: He says this since what is called a "mouth" in a human is called a "jaw" in a brute animal.

Her shoulders return, since before she had flanks. What is a "flank" in an animal is a "shoulder" in a human.

742. Assumes, receives.

Assumes, receives. Or, read splits into, that is to say, divides into. Or is consumed into five fingernails. There is enough material in two hoofs of the cow that five human fingernails can be made from each.

Fingernails, hence the verses: "Fingernails belong to men," etc.

743. Of the cow, of the form of a cow; the glistening, the whiteness or beauty, of the form, of the cow.

744. Nymph can be spelled three ways <in Latin>, *nymphe*, *nymphes*, or *nympha*.

745. Stands erect, acts erect, she fears at first to speak; in the manner of a cow, like a cow.

Stands erect, raised up on two feet.

746. Keeps in check: from the verb to restrain (retento) without a p, and it is formed from the supine retentu with u changed into an o, and it becomes retento. For she kept in check the words interrupted timidly, she interrupted her words because of fear. Or read she essays (retempto), that is to say, again and again tries timidly, because she feared to moo, as though not yet free from danger.

747. Engendered from the Nile (Niligena), or read wool-bearing (lanigera).

Now a goddess, since she set aside her human characteristics, having been

purged in the Nile, and became a goddess in Egypt named Isis. Ovid uses the adjective *wool-bearing* (*lanigera*) because priests of Isis wear a floweret of wool on their heads as a symbol of their priesthood. Or <read> *linen-wearing* (*linigera*) because of the linen fillet which her priestesses carry as a symbol of the priesthood, or because her husband Osiris is said to have discovered the use of linen. Or *engendered from the Nile* (*Niligena*), as though transformed from a cow to a goddess next to the Nile, as Lucan says:

We have received you as Isis in Roman temples. (*Bellum civile* 8.831)

And later in this book,

O Isis, gracious lady of the lands Of Maretois and the isles of Pharos. (*Metamorphoses* 9.773–74)

This transformation conforms with nature, which may plausibly appear correct through an allegorical interpretation, as follows. For through Jove who loved the virgin Io, we understand the god of all earthly things who is called Jupiter, namely, the upper fire, which encircles all higher than all the rest. He invited Io alone to the shadows of the woods because thus his spirit might join with the body and lay hidden therein. Juno, said to be the wife of Jove, since she receives heat from him and is subject to him, is also his sister, since she is derived from the same matter. Thus she is called "the air," from which we also get moisture. She demands Io, transformed by Jove into a cow, from Jove, that is to say, the soul chained to the body, just as a cow is chained to the yoke; or, because once the soul is chained to the body and weighed down with corporeality, it becomes sluggish like a cow, though beforehand the soul was light with the reason of the heavens from which it derives its origin. Hence Io is truly thought to flee. Jupiter is said to give Io to Juno because from the heat which comes from Jove and the moisture which comes from Juno, a boy is conceived, formed, brought to life, and nourished, and thus Juno is said to be the goddess of childbirth, as though "aiding new ones" (iuuans nouos). And she is called Lucina, as though "the light of babies" (lux natorum). At length Juno handed Io over to Argus for safe keeping. Argus of the hundred eyes signifies the world full of much treachery and enticements by which the soul after birth, while it is in the body, is afflicted. Finally, Jupiter having pity, once Juno was assuaged, has Argus killed and Io liberated by Mercury, and she is made a goddess, by which we understand that the soul is subjugated to and intent on earthly tasks while a cow, and this is shown through the phrase which alone she was able to raise. The soul, once released from the body, is reunited with the creator. Epaphus is said to hold temples in conjunction

with Isis, because good deeds please God, which is designated through Epaphus, who derives his name from *epi*, which means "above," and *phos*, which means "light," and these are the good works about which the Lord says "Let your light shine before men" (Mt. 5:16). And, thus, this transformation is a spiritual one in a twofold manner: through the joining of elements which come together through the intervention of seed, and through the dissolution without seed in the separation of the body and soul. The verses from the *Integumenta* about Argus:

Argus, who takes his name from penetrating, is covered with eyes,
Ahead and behind; he has great knowledge and acuteness.
At length his eyes were painted on the tail of the peacock,
When the man Argus looked to riches.
(Integumenta 99–102)

748. Then, or read whence, from her.

Thus Io, with whom Jupiter had slept, was changed into her former form, and whence Epaphus.

749. *Joined to his parent*, next to Jove, or constructed for the honor of his parent.

Joined, for he had temples next to the temples of his father and mother, in which he was worshipped. Or *joined*, that is to say, built and constructed for the honor of his father. Or, he was worshipped along with his father in the same temple.

750. From the sun, from Phoebus; equal in spirit, that is to say, in boldness; and in years, age.

Equal to this one, this anticipates the first transformation of book 2, just as before book 8 Ovid says about Achelous:

But why spend time on tales of others? (*Metamorphoses* 8.879)

But there, the foreshadowing is a true one; here, it is not a real one but a mere appearance, and hence we have *equal to this one*.

751. This one, Phaethon; great things, proud words; to yield, to give way.

Speaking, because by chance he was upbraiding him.

Great things: There are those who are proud because of the nobility of their race, which Ovid intimates when Helen speaks to Paris:

But he who is your great glory and fifth from you, You will find first from our name. (*Heroides* 17.59–60)

752. Father, his father.

The grandson of Inachus, Epaphus, the offspring of Inachus; could not stand it, could not endure.

753. A fool, O, the vocative; mother, your; in all things, through all things.

Fool, placed outside of rational mind, because you believe you are the son of Phoebus.

754. Swelled up, proud; notions, pretence.

A false father: This is, as it were, a figment of her imagination that your mother says you are the son of Phoebus, since in reality he is not your father, but your mother has declared this to you falsely.

755. Blushed, blushed from shame.

And, once Epaphus had spoken these words, *Phaethon blushed*.

He suppressed his wrath because of shame, since he did not dare to show his anger on account of the shame he felt.

756. The insults of Epaphus, directed to him by Epaphus; mother, his mother.

757. Said, Phaethon; by how much the more, in place of "so that"; indeed, behold; I, was, frank, well disposed.

758. He, was; arrogant, cruel and impudent; insult, which he spoke to us.

757–58. *I, frank*: This can be read in two ways. One way is as follows: *I, frank*, that is to say, eloquent and not having a marble in my mouth; *arrogant*, formerly, *I kept silent*. Or read thus: *I* was *frank* and refuting nothing; *he* was *arrogant* and said these things; *I said nothing* while Epaphus insulted me.

759. Be uttered, by Epaphus.

Not refuted, that is to say, contradicted by me. Or, *not repulsed*, through a contradiction.

760. You, O mother; now, presently; heavenly seed, that is to say, Phoebus.

Thus I blushed when Epaphus insulted me, and I could not contradict him; but, at is used for sed.

761. Give, tell me; proof, practical knowledge.

Justify my claims, that is to say, confirm that I am born from that heavenly god.

762. He spoke, thus, Phaethon.

Encircled, so that he could beg all the more.

Encircled his arms about his mother's neck, an hypallage. Or *neck* is in the dative case.

763. Of Merops, his putative father; sisters, the Heliades.

Of Merops: Merops was the assumed father of Phaethon, the husband of Clymene, the mother of Phaethon.

Her own, of his mother, or through his very own life.

764. He begged, his mother; to give, that she give him.

Indication, that is to say, indication who was his real father.

765. Thus Phaethon begged his mother Clymene, it is uncertain.

It is uncertain, it is doubtful, whether, Clymene, was; Phaethon, her son.

766. Or by anger, because of wrath; the sin imputed to her, by Epaphus.

767. Gazing, she; at the light, at the splendor.

768. By this orb, by the sun; splendid, comely and adorned with shining rays, gleaming.

By this orb, that is to say, the rays of the sun, which poured forth like the mane of a horse.

769. Who, or read which, orb; my son, O my son.

And hears, etc., Hence below:

Through whom the earth sees all things. (*Metamorphoses* 4.227)

770. From him, from the sun who begat you; from him, from the sun.

Warms the world, gives heat to the earth through its rays.

771. *He*, the sun.

I say that you are the son of Phoebus, if I tell falsehoods, that is to say, if I lie.

772. Light, day; the most recent, the last.

The most recent, as though she were saying: "May I die today if I lie."

773. *To find*, the verbal form *nosse* is a syncopated form for *nouisse*; *household gods*, house.

If you doubt this matter, you can go to the house of the sun, your father, and ask him, *Nor*.

Nor is it a great labor, since his household gods.

774. Whence, from where, he, the sun; borders, is next to.

Borders our own land: Ovid says this, since Phaethon was an eastern king.

775. If you have a mind, if your mind urges you; make the journey, go; make inquiry of, ask; him, Phoebus.

If you have a mind, that is to say, if you have a will. For one's will inspires man to accomplish his desire.

Make inquiry of him, whether you are his son or not, and thus all doubt will be resolved.

776. At once, immediately.

Thus his mother spoke, and he leaps for joy, he exults with joy.

777. *Grasping the heavens*, that is to say, going through the heavens; *in imagination*, his.

Grasping the heavens, that is to say, the ability of reaching the sky, or his ethereal origin, just as his mother says. Or grasping, reflecting upon which route to take to his father's house. Or grasping, that is to say, knowing and reflecting that he is the son of a heavenly father, since if this were not so, his mother would not say it. Or grasping in imagination, that is to say, in his spirit, which illuminates the ether.

778. *Ethiopians*, the people placed under him or next to his father; *Indians*, the people.

Ethiopians, people residing near him or next to his homeland.

His own, because later he made them dark skinned, as will be related in the next book.

778. Star, of the sun.

Star: He speaks using an antonomasia.

779. Quickly, speedily; paternal, related to his father; rising places, to wit, the dawn.

Notes to the Vulgate Commentary and Book 1 of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*

Introduction (Accessus)

- 1–9. Most medieval introductions (known as *accessus*) to Ovid's corpus treat the poem under six broad topics: life of the poet, title of the work, subject matter, intention of the author in writing the work, the usefulness of the work, and the philosophical category under which the work should be discussed. The Vulgate Commentary is thus unusual in employing a "shortcut" for the sake of brevity. The classic treatment of the biographical tradition on Ovid remains Ghisalberti, "Mediaeval Lives." For updates, see Coulson, "Hitherto Unedited (I)" and "Hitherto Unedited (II)."
- 4-7. "Let us say": the text may be corrupt at this point.
- 16–17. "Because of the size of his nose": a reference to the derivation of "Naso" from the Latin word for nose (*nasum*).
- 24. "Dividing the egg": in Latin, *ouum dividens*. This is the first occurrence of this etymology which was to have a long history throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in Latin and vernacular treatments of the poem. It derives ultimately from Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 2.140.
- 37–40. "The title of the work": A traditional explanation for the title found in nearly all *accessus* to the poem. The Vulgate commentator divides the word into its component parts, which he derives from Greek roots: *meta*, meaning "concerning"; *morphos*, meaning "shape"; and *ousia*, meaning "substance."
- 47–48. "They shine in a heavenly transformation": The reference is more properly to Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 1.30.
- 49. "I am what you will be": See Walther, *Initia*, no. 18728.
- 54–55. "Not because it relates to a change of substance": The Vulgate commentator will return to this subject in his comment on 1.1 below, where he states that bodies are changed in shape but not in substance.
- 61-62. "Transformation is fourfold": The Vulgate commentator's fourfold classification of matter is heavily indebted to the commentator Arnulf of

Orléans, who composed two works on the *Metamorphoses* ca. 1180: one entitled the *Allegoriae*, the second a more purely philological commentary. Arnulf in his *accessus* to the poem had divided transformation into three categories, natural, magical, and spiritual, to which the Vulgate commentator adds a fourth, moral. The *Allegoriae* are edited in Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orléans." For a discussion of medieval Latin commentary on the *Metamorphoses* from France, see Coulson, "Ovid's Transformations in Medieval France." Arnulf's glosses from book 1 and book 2 of the *Metamorphoses* are published in Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orléans," pp. 182–84. Arnulf's glosses to Ovid's creation myth are edited in Coulson and Nawotka, "Rediscovery."

- 71. Pythagoras's discussion occurs in *Metamorphoses* 15.237–51, wherein he asserts that the four primordial elements do not endure but are themselves constantly changing (*Metamorphoses* 15.239–40).
- 74–75. The transformation of Lycaon into a wolf occurs in *Metamorphoses* 1.232–39.
- "From a kindly man into a plunderer": The reference is not found in the standard allegories on the poem.
- 76–78. The transformation of Ulysses's men into swine occurs in *Metamorphoses* 14.277–84.
- 79–82. The reference to fields being transported can be found in Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues* 8.99. The original quote is found in table VIII.8 (Torts) of the Twelve Tables. See Mears, *Institutes of Gaius and Justinian*, p. 586.
- 90–91. In 8 CE, Ovid was banished at the command of Augustus from Rome to Tomi on the Black Sea. Medieval introductions invariably impute one of the reasons for exile to the *Ars amatoria*, a pseudodidactic work on lovemaking written by Ovid about 1 BCE. Some modern scholars assume Ovid was somehow involved in a conspiracy against the emperor.
- 93–95. The final transformation of the poem deals with Julius Caesar's apotheosis in the form of a comet. See *Metamorphoses* 15.843–51.
- 99–102. Medieval introductions generally conclude with the ascription of a work to the realm of moral philosophy. The Vulgate commentator considers the author not only a moral philosopher (*ethicus*) but also a scientist (*physicus*). For Ovid's influence on scientific writing in the Middle Ages, see Viarre, *La survie d'Ovide*.

Text

- 1. "An hypallage": An hypallage is a rhetorical figure whereby there is an interchange of two elements in a phrase or a sentence from a more logical to a less logical relationship. The commentator here argues that Ovid's original phrase "forms changed into new bodies" (*formas mutatas in noua corpora*) should be understood as "bodies changed into new forms" (*corpora mutata in nouas formas*).
- 1. "Category": The Latin phrase *praedicamentum* is used to designate one of the ten categories set out in Aristotle's *Categories*.
- 1. "In place of 'about'": The Vulgate commentator substitutes the preposition *circa* for Ovid's *in*, arguing that characters are changed only in relationship to their external form, not in terms of their essence.
- 1. The stories of Io (*Metamorphoses* 1.568–747) and Lycaon (*Metamorphoses* 1.163–243) involve personalities whose psychological makeup remains the same though their external form changes.
- 1. "Substitution of a preposition": in Latin, *protheseos paralage*. See *Derivationes* P 168 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1000).
- 1. "'That sermon which you heard is not mine'": John 14:24, et sermonem quem audistis non est meus. Sermonem is in the accusative case and not the nominative, as grammar would dictate.
- 1. "Soul engenders": The source for this definition is to be found in Isidore, *Etymologiae* 11.1.11–12. Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 12.1–3, also has a definition close in wording to that of the Vulgate Commentary. The *Graecismus*, one of the most popular versified grammars of the Middle Ages, was written by Eberhard of Béthune, a grammarian and polemicist, born at Béthune, Pas-de-Calais, France. Little is known of his life, but his major work, the *Antihaeresis*, must have been written in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. See Grondeux, *Le Graecismus d'Evrard de Béthune*.
- 2. "A commonplace from greater appearance": in Latin, *locus a maiori <apparentia>*, a form of argument discussed by Aristotle in his *Topics*. This gloss is taken over verbatim from Arnulf of Orléans's philological commentary. The *locus* or *argumentum a maiori parte* is a false type of proof whereby an assertion, based on some one part or a majority of individuals but not necessarily applicable to all, is referred to all. See pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2.20.32.
- 2. The Vulgate Commentary argues for two readings: *et illas* (also those), and *in illas* (into those). The second reading is not attested in the manuscript

tradition. The Oxford Classical Text adopts the reading *et illa*—"for you changed those beginnings." This reading, however, was virtually unknown to medieval readers.

- 2. "Needing intervention": in Latin, *dignus uindice*. The Vulgate commentator mistakenly writes *digno uindice*.
- 4. "In a continuous and interrelated manner": in Latin, *continue et seriatim*. The Vulgate commentator will place particular emphasis on continuity in his analysis of the poem. The Latin term *continuatio* (a linking) is consistently employed to show the reader the connection between episodes.
- 4. "Eternal is that which . . . like the world": Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Eternus," provides a similar definition.
- 5. "Bartholomew, moreover, states": The description of Hyle, primordial matter, comes from Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* 8 (p. 369 of the 1601 edition). The term *silua* is sometimes also applied to primordial matter, as in John of Garland's *Integumenta* l.14. The source for the term *silua* is ultimately Calcidius, *Commentum in Timaeum* 123. The *Timaeus* was one of the few works of Plato known to the Latin West from late antiquity until the reappearance of Greek philosophy in Latin translations in the thirteenth century.
- 5. "'Without time according to Aristotle": See Physica 219a.
- 6. The quotation is from Bernard Silvester, Cosmographia 1.20-22.
- 7. "Nature is twofold": Balbus, *Catholicon* s.v. "Natura," provides a similar definition.
- 7. "Which are called through substitution": The Vulgate commentator uses the term *antonomastice*.
- 7. "And lest one might object that he uses the plural 'lands'": The Vulgate commentator is interested in the nuances of Ovid's choice of poetic plurals. See, for example, the comments to line 495.
- 7. "For *visage* (*uultus*) is derived from the verb 'to wish": The Vulgate commentator connects the Latin noun *uultus* (face, appearance) with the verb *uelle* (to wish), whose third-person singular form is *uult*. See *Derivationes* U 46 5 (2:1292): *Item a volo hic vultus*.
- 7. "Your appearance will mirror your character": found in Walther, *Proverbia*, no. 34528.
- 7. "A globe uniformly shaped": The Latin is *globus uniformiter uultuatus*. I have been unable to find this exact meaning for *uultuatus* in the standard

medieval Latin dictionaries, though Du Cange associates the verb *vultuare* with the noun *vultivoli* (those who mold human likenesses in wax). See Du Cange, s.v. *vultuare*.

- 7. The Vulgate commentator differentiates between two possible readings: *quem* (accusative masculine singular of the relative, which), which would take as its antecedent the noun *uultum* or *aceruum*; or *quam* (accusative feminine singular of the relative, which) which would take as its antecedent *uuluntas*. The reading *quam* is not attested within the manuscript tradition of the *Metamorphoses*.
- 7. "Since it exceeded all measure": See above, line 5.
- 7. "All things derive their origin from the four elements": This phrase is indebted to Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.36.
- 8. The commentator places the Latin *erat* (was) interlinearly to indicate an ellipsis of the verb.
- 8. "Inert, without polish": In Latin, *inhers, sine arte*; the commentator plays upon the supposed etymology of *inhers*, which he derives from *in* and *ars* meaning "without adornment." The interpretation can be found in Isidore, *Etymologiae* 10.141, and Servius, *Comm. in Georg.* 4.25.
- 10. "*No Titan*, no one from the race of the Titans": See *Derivationes* T 127 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1226).
- 10. "For they say that the sun, which consists of atoms, in the evening dissolves back into them": Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11.54 and Vatican Mythographer 3.8.4 provide similar information. The Vatican Mythographers are now translated by Pepin, *Vatican Mythographers*.
- 10. "As Terence says": Terence, Hecyra 2.319.
- 12. "Held up equally balanced": in Latin, *libratorie sustentata*. I have not been able to find the form *libratorie* attested in the major medieval Latin dictionaries, but I construe it as an adverb meaning "in balance."
- 14. "This is a spondaic line": normally, the dactylic hexameter contains a dactyl (one long, two short syllables, -uu) in the fifth foot. Ovid here substitutes a spondee (two long syllables, --), and the commentator takes note of the unusual metrical pattern.
- 14. "Ebb tides": translating the Latin *refluxus*. One branch of the manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary reads *reflexus* (branches). The source for this statement is Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 2.9.3.
- 15. Polysyndeton and asyndeton are two opposing rhetorical figures. In the

first, the author employs an overabundance of conjunctions; in the second, an absence of conjunctions.

- 16. My translation "not swimmable" attempts to capture the playfulness of Ovid's coined adjective *innabilis*, a hapax legomenon. Neologism is a technique very near to Ovid's heart.
- 16. "Uninhabitable": The Vulgate commentator mistakenly writes *inhabitabilis* (uninhabitable) instead of the correct *instabilis* (on which one could not stand). I have preserved this error in my translation.
- 16. "Or the reading is": The Vulgate commentator here discusses an alternative textual reading for line 15, $ut \ qu(a)eque \ erat$ (just as whatever land). The manuscript transmission of the text is very disturbed at this point.
- 20. The gloss is adapted verbatim from Arnulf's philological commentary. Pythagoras narrates these words in his long speech at *Metamorphoses* 15.251.
- 21. The commentator draws a distinction between generative nature (*natura creans*) and generated nature (*natura creata*). See above, line 7.
- 21. "Better nature, namely, more efficient and toilsome": The Vulgate commentator attempts to explicate the meaning of melior natura (better nature) in various ways. This is a technique common to many of the glosses, as may be seen in the comments to lines 532 and 536.
- 22. The Vulgate commentator places the Latin preposition *a* above the Latin words *celo* and *terris* to signal to the reader that these words are ablatives of separation.
- 24. "For just as looking": These lines are taken from Calcidius, *Commentum in Timaeum* 345. Hyle (Gr. 'ύλη) designates primordial matter.
- 24. "Blindness creates the greatest confusion in man": See 2 Mach. 10:30.
- 24. "The shadows were borne over the face of the abyss": See Gen. 1:2.
- 25. "In a golden chain": The commentator makes reference to Macrobius's theory of the golden chain which binds the four elements, elaborated particularly in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.14.15.
- 25. "Whence Boethius states": in his Consolatio Philosophiae 3.metrum 9, 10.
- 25. "In equal weight": See below, the gloss to line 52, where the weights of the elements are treated more extensively.
- 25. "Macrobius indeed states": in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.26–28.

- 27. "Took, selected": The Vulgate commentator places an *e* above the simple verb *legit* to indicate that the compound verb *elegit* is intended.
- 29. "Composed of elements": translating the Latin *elementata*. The Vulgate commentator follows the teaching of William of Conches, who in his *Philosophia mundi* 1.21 distinguishes between the terms "elements" and "composed of elements." For a fuller discussion of these two terms, see Silverstein, "Elementatum," and Stock, *Myth and Science*, p. 270.
- 29. "Divine reason is never called": The Latin *concipiens numquam dicitur ratio divina* is close in wording to a verse listed in Walther, *Initia*, no. 3097.
- 31. "For the sea is much higher than the earth but is contained": I translate the Latin text as found in V (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1598, fol. 1r) (corrected by a later hand): *Mare enim multum alcius est terra sed non superfunditur*. All other manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary read: *Mare enim multum alcius est terra que tamen superfunditur* (For the sea is much higher than the earth which nevertheless is poured over). A gloss in Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a.V.4, fol. 8v, a twelfth-century manuscript which appears to be a source for some of the glosses in the Vulgate Commentary, corroborates the reading of the correcting hand in V.
- 32. "One cause of creation": These words come from 1 Cor. 8:6.
- 32. Dionysius the Areopagite was an Athenian converted by St. Paul; his story is told in Acts 17:22–54. During the Middle Ages, he was often confused in popular belief with St. Denis, apostle to the Gauls, first bishop of Paris and patron saint of France, martyred by decapitation at Paris in the third century. Arnulf's philological commentary on the poem is the probable source.
- 34. "In order that": The interlinear gloss on this line explicates the use of the ablative of time by placing *in* above the Latin word *principio*. Likewise, the Vulgate commentator indicates that the litotes *ne non* (lest not) of the Latin text really means *ut* (so that, in order that).
- 37. "All verbs formed from the verb": See Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 18.38–39.
- 37. "This relates not to the winds": In the Latin of the poem, the noun *freta* (channels) is not expressed, and so the reader might have assumed the unexpressed subject of the verb was *uentos* (winds). The commentator clarifies that channels is still the subject of the verb "to go round."
- 40. The story of Alpheos and Arethusa is narrated in *Metamorphoses* 5.572–641. Arethusa was a nymph pursued by the river god Alpheos. She was transformed into a river and her waters mixed with those of Alpheos. The

commentator here alludes to *Metamorphoses* 5.639–40, wherein Arethusa reemerges in Ortygia after having followed an underground course.

- 41. "Some claim": See Eberhard of Béthune, Graecismus 12.311.
- "The sea takes its name from its bitterness": Isidore, *Etymologiae* 13.14.1, and Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 12.67 contain this etymology.
- "And although the sea": taken from Isidore, *Etymologiae* 13.14.3.
- 45. The commentator attempts to explain the relationship of the Latin text *utque* in two ways: either it stands for *quod* or for *sicut*. The first alternative (*quod*), however, makes no sense grammatically, and the correcting hand in V has correctly erased the words *pro quod uel* and inserted *pro*.
- "As two zones": The long gloss is typical of the pedagogy of the Vulgate commentator. Note that he attempts to relate his argument to two analogies readily understood by his pupils.
- "Since the sun, which is nine times greater than the earth": I have adopted the emendation of the correcting hand in V, which writes "since" (*quia*).
- 48. "A blow renders a man": The verses are meant to illustrate the three primary meanings of the Latin word *plaga*: net, blow, and region. I have not found the source for these verses: "Now the girdles bind", rendering the Latin *nunc zone cingunt. Zone* in Latin can designate zones or girdles, and I think here the commentator is trying to show the various meanings of Zona.
- 52. The commentator attempts to explicate Ovid's discussion of the relationship of the elements by assigning a number to each: thus, earth = 2, water = 4, air = 6, and fire = 8. The mathematical equation is drawn directly from the earlier glosses of the commentators Arnulf and William of Orléans.

The text of *Metamorphoses* 1.52–53 as transmitted in the medieval tradition presents problems of interpretation and translation, most notably due to the anaphora of *pondere*. The Vulgate commentator resolves these problems by positing a comparative form of *leuis* agreeing with *aquae*. Modern editions, including Tarrant's most recently published Oxford Classical Text, emend the text to read: *qui, quanto est pondere terrae pondus aquae leuius* (by how much the weight of water is lighter than the weight of earth). For a scathing (and highly amusing) denunciation of editors who print the standard text, see A. E. Housman's edition of Lucan, *Bellum civile*, pp. xxvii—xxviii.

52. "Numerical proportion": I here adopt the emendation of the correcting hand in V, which emends the transmitted reading *nimium* (too much) to *numeri* (of the number).

- "Ovid calls the kindness of the elements their weight": The manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary transmit the text *Pondus elementorum uocat benignitatem eorum*. The gloss appears to be taken verbatim from William of Orléans's earlier commentary, the *Versus bursarii*, which reads: *uel aliter pondus elementorum uoco benignitatem ipsorum* (or to read otherwise: I call the weight of the elements their kindliness).
- 54. "Or the care of God": See above, line 47.
- 56. The glossator attempts to explain the phrase "with lightning" (*cum fulminibus*) in two ways: either it modifies winds, or it may be understood to modify thunder.
- 57. "Just as above he divided the channels through the land": See the gloss above to line 36.
- 60. "According to myth": The story is narrated in Vatican Mythographer 1.183. The gloss seems to be taken from Arnulf of Orléans's philological commentary on the epic: "The winds are called brothers because they are born from the same air. Or because they are the sons of Dawn and the giant Astraeus." Translated from Arnulf's grammatical commentary, book 1.60 (Latin text in Coulson, "Rediscovery," p. 293).
- 61. "Rushing from the dawn": The commentator draws an etymology from the Latin *ab Eoo ruens*. This is probably taken from Isidore, *Etymologiae* 13.2.4: *Eurus eo quod ab eoo fluat, id est ab oriente*. The etymology is found in Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemein Bibliothek, Ampl. Oct. 8, fols. 1r–2v, *Certorum vocabulorum interpretationes*.
- 61. "Dawn derives, as it were, from 'golden hour' (aurea hora)": Isidore, Etymologiae 5.31.14, provides the following etymology: Est autem aurora diei clarescentis exordium et primus splendor aeris, qui Graece 'eos' dicitur; quam nos per derivationem auroram vocamus, quasi eororam ("Moreover, dawn (aurora) is the beginning of the shining day and the first brightness of the air, which is called in Greek eos; through derivation we call this 'aurora', as though eorora").
- 61. "Nabaioth ruled there, the first born of Ishmael, the son of Abraham": See Isidore, *Etymologiae* 9.2.7, and Gen. 25:12.
- 61. "Aeolia is a region": for Aeolia as the kingdom of Aeolus; see Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.50–54.
- 61. "Circius and Boreas": The exact verses are found as a scribbled note in Glasgow, Hunterian Library, V.4.1, flyleaf. See Thorndike, "Vnde versus," p. 171 for similar verses. John of Garland's *Integumenta* 41–48 provides a similar interpretation.

- 64. "'Drawing": The etymology derives from the fourth principal part *haustus* of the verb *haurire* (to draw water). The commentator links the root *haust* with the Latin *auster*. The etymology ultimately derives from Isidore, *Etymologiae* 13.11.6.
- 65. "Wain": In Latin, the Wain is called the *septentriones*, a constellation consisting of seven stars. In the text of the *Metamorphoses*, *septentriones* is divided into two words. Accordingly, the Vulgate commentator remarks on the rhetorical figure of tmesis, the separation of a word into two parts.
- 66. "Rain, rainy": By placing the letters -so over the Latin word pluuio, the commentator transforms the noun "rain" into the adjective "rainy."
- 70. "Aforementioned chaos": at Metamorphoses 1.7.
- 72. "Or read *living beings (animantibus)*": This is advanced by the Vulgate commentator as a variant reading in the text.
- "This is everyday speech": See Zeeman, "In the Schoolroom," pp. 12–13.
- 75. "Birds take their name": The Vulgate commentator draws the analogy between the verb *aueo* (to greet) and the noun *auis* (bird) (taken from Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 10.154). Similarly, the noun *uolucres* (birds) is linked with the verb *uolare* (to fly) (taken from Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.7.4); lastly, he attempts to derive the noun *ferus* (wild beast) from the verb *ferre* (to bear) (taken from Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.2.2).
- 75. "So the transformation": The Vulgate Commentary provides allegories for each of the transformations in the *Metamorphoses*, many of which are drawn directly from or are influenced by the earlier works of Arnulf of Orléans or John of Garland. This first allegory is drawn directly from Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.1.
- 77. "Hence Walter of Châtillon says": The Vulgate commentator is particularly interested in the influence of Ovid on the poetry of the twelfth-century Renaissance. The *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon is perhaps most frequently mentioned, but the commentator also discusses Ovid's influence on Alan of Lille. For further discussion of these points, see Coulson, "*Vulgate* Commentary" and "Ovid's Transformations in Medieval France."
- 77. "And there is also that saying": The quotation is cited in Walther, *Initia* no. 480.
- 78. "Maker": The Vulgate Commentary explicates the Latin word opifex with opera faciens. Hugo of Pisa, Derivationes 0 32 20 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:874) supplies opifex, id est opem faciens.

- 78. "Man was born": Much of this gloss has been taken over verbatim from Arnulf of Orléans, Allegoriae 1.2. The probable source is Vatican Mythographer 1.1.
- 78. "Breathed life into him": Gen. 2:7.
- 78. "He was bound": The manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary read *fulminatus est* (he was blasted). I have emended the text to *religatus est* (he was bound).
- 78. "For the image of the world existed": This is taken directly from Calcidius, *Commentum in Timaeum* 273.
- 81. "From the mud of the earth": See Gen. 2:7.
- 81. "First theos": See *Derivationes* T 72 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1206) and Bernard Silvester, *Commentum in Martianum Capellam* 118. The second Vatican Mythographer derives Prometheus from the Greek prometheia, *quod nos Latini prouidentiam Dei dicimus* (which we Latin speakers call the providence of God).
- 83. "Into the likeness of God": perhaps an echo of Gen. 1:26.
- 84. "Their gaze fixed on the earth": I have emended the text of the Vulgate Commentary *cornua* . . . *ore* to *cernua* . . . *ora*, the reading of the manuscripts of the *Cosmographia*.
- 87. "And, that is": The Vulgate commentator explains that the conjunction "and" here really means "namely" or "to wit."
- 87. "An epilogue": technically, a term to designate the conclusion of a speech. The Vulgate commentator astutely underlines that the phrases "rough and formless" hark back to line 7. This repetition of key motifs is an important structural principle in the poem and is duly noted in Wheeler, *Narrative Dynamics*.
- 89. "With there being no one to avenge": The Vulgate commentator supplies the Latin form *existente* to show the medieval reader that the construction is an ablative absolute with the participle "being" understood. The ablative absolute was often formed with two nouns in apposition without the present participle, such as *Caesare duce* (when Caesar was leader).
- 89. "Which the Sibyl": Servius's commentary on the *Ecloques* (4.4) mentions that the Sibyl divided the races of men through metals. Isidore, *Etymologiae* 16.17, recognizes seven. I have been unable to identify the metal *acinas*.
- 90. "Faith is the foundation": The lines come from pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Sermo LXV in quinquagesima*, "On the Faith of Abraham and the Sacrifice of Isaac" (PL 95:1210D–1211A).

- 91–93. The verses are omitted in a large number of older manuscripts of the poem. Note that they are transmitted in the Vulgate Commentary without gloss, an indication that they did not form part of the original text used by it. V reads *verba minantia collo* where all other manuscripts read *caeso*. I have followed the reading of the other manuscripts in my translation.
- 94. "*Not yet*. He extinguishes entirely.": The text of the Vulgate Commentary reads *nondum totum extingat*.
- 95. The interlinear gloss "for this purpose" (*ad hoc*) signals to the reader that the Latin *ut* functions as a purpose clause.
- 98. "Made . . . made": The Vulgate commentator has entered the interlinear glosses *existens* and *existentia* over the two nouns. I translate the participle as "made" in order to facilitate comprehension.
- 99. "Here Ovid underlines harmony": The final interlinear gloss is somewhat unusual in that it does not explicate the grammar, syntax, or meaning of individual words. The Vulgate commentator writes *hic concordiam* (with an ellipsis of a verb like *notat*). I take this to mean "here he marks out" or "describes harmony." Likewise in the interlinear gloss to line 101, the Vulgate commentator writes *hic copiam* (here Ovid underlines abundance).
- 101. "The soil without compulsion, without duty": in Latin, immunis, sine munio. The Vulgate commentator draws on an etymology transmitted in Isidore, Etymologiae 10.140 and Derivationes M 146 70–72 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:812). Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Inmunis," provides the following etymology: Inmunis, sine munere.
- 101. "Soil is the depth": Papias, Vocabulista, s.v "Tellus."
- "Goddess of the earth": The Latin noun *tellus* can mean "earth" or it can represent the goddess.
- 102. "Everything (omnia) in place of to all people (omnibus)": The Vulgate Commentary reads: omnia id est ea que habebat pro omnibus. I interpret the gloss pro omnibus to mean "<the accusative omnia> stands for "to all." Of course, one could interpret the gloss as it stands: "all those things which it had on behalf of all."
- 104. "Fruit of trees, or read arbute fruit": Two readings are possible, arboreos or arbuteos.
- 104. "The bush is called 'arbutus'": Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Arbusta."
- 106. "Or because he gave answers through bronze doves": The reading of all manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary is *aeneas columbas*. Vatican

- Mythographer 2.227 transmits the reading *aereas columbas*, which could mean "bronze doves" or "air-borne doves."
- 106. "Or the tree is called *spreading*": taken from Eberhard of Béthune, *Grae-cismus* 13.39–40. See also *Derivationes* P 38 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:913).
- 107. "Spring was eternal": The views expressed on creation in this passage are taken from Virgil, Georgics 2.336–45, and Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio 1.21.25.
- 110. "And the field, not fallowed" (book 1): The Latin text reads: *Nec renouatus ager*. The Vulgate commentator places the interlinear gloss *non* above *nec*.
- 111. "Nectar is derived from the verb 'to intertwine'": Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Nectar," contains a similar etymology.
- 111. "Or it is called *nectar* because it ensnares the tongue and entices": See *Derivationes* N 23 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:826).
- 114. "Variable in its gender": The Latin used is *heteroclitum*, a noun that can have more that one gender (see Du Cange, s.v. "Heteroclitum," "diversiclinium"). Thus *Tartarus* may be a masculine singular or a neuter plural (*Tartara*). See also *Derivationes* T 41 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1192).
- 114. "Drawn from its sound": In one of the manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary (Berlin, Diez. B Sant. 5), a later hand adds a gloss, which helps to explicate this gloss: "that is to say from *thare*, which means 'lamentation." Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Trena," gives a similar definition.
- 114. "No mention of heaven < . . . >": The passage appears to be corrupt in all manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary. A later correcting hand in V emends the text to read: "where one should have gone if anyone were to go there."
- 114. "Since no one was as upright as Saturn": The probable source is Vatican Mythographer 2.1.
- 114. "Saturn had three sons": See Arnulf of Orléans, Allegoriae 1.5.
- 114. "Thus Latium is derived from 'to hide' (*lateo*) since Saturn hid there": See *Derivationes* L 35 11 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:650).
- 114. "The hidden meaning is as follows": The Latin word used here is *integumentum*, literally "a covering." Medieval commentators use the term to denote the hidden meaning or import lying underneath the literal myth. Much of the interpretation which follows is drawn from Vatican Mythographer 2.1
- 114. "Or understand the hidden meaning thus": See Vatican Mythographer 2.1.

- 114. "Filled with years": See Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.24.64, and *Derivationes* S 53 13 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1063).
- 114. "Devoured the stone": the Latin word used here by the Vulgate commentator is *albestrum*. It must refer to the stone that Saturn's wife Rhea gave to the god to devour in place of Zeus. Vatican Mythographer 1.104 uses the term *abidir*.
- 114. "The belly swimming": The quotation comes from Jerome, *Epistola ad Stridonem*, PL 22:1134b.
- 114. "The first syllable of the fourth foot": the source for this statement is Alexander of Villa-Dei, *Doctrinale* 2419. Varied cadences and varied caesura are essential to the dactylic hexameter (the meter of epic verse), otherwise the monotony is wearying to the ear. The most usual places for the caesura to fall are at the middle of the third, or the middle of the fourth foot: the former is known as the penthemimeral caesura and the latter as the hepthemimeral caesura.

Alexander of Villa-Dei, born ca. 1170 in Villedieu, Normandy, wrote the *Doctrinale* for the two nephews of the bishop of Dol. This verse grammar was extremely popular and survives in over two hundred manuscript copies and three hundred early printed editions.

- 116. "Seems to us to last for half the year": The source is Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 8.139.
- 118. "Through the interweaving": There is a textual problem in the Vulgate Commentary. Part of the text seems to have been omitted.
- 123. "Of Ceres": The commentator is glossing the Latin word Cerealia.
- 123. "'Creating things": See *Derivationes* C 296 5 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:283).
- 124. "He refers to the part": a synecdoche.
- 125. "Here there is a diaeresis": the separation of a diphthong into two vowels pronounced consecutively. So the Latin word *aenea* (made of bronze) is pronounced as three syllables.
- 127. "The tenth age": In the gloss to line 89, the commentator had mentioned that the Sibyl counts ten ages of man.
- 132. "Gave his sail": See above, Metamorphoses 1.94-95.
- 133. "Woman who damned, saved": The problem resides in Ovid's use of the relative "which" that serves to link the hulls of the ships with their original form as trees in the mountains. As the Vulgate commentator points out, strictly speaking it is not the hulls of the ships which stood on the mountains

but the trees from which the hulls are fashioned. So in the illustrative phrase "woman who damned, saved," strictly speaking the relative "who" refers not to Mary (the subject of the main clause) but to Eve, who was responsible for damning man to sin. The fullest discussion of this phrase is Kneepkens, "Mulier quae damnavit, salvavit."

- 134. "Bobbed, jumped up frequently": The Latin verb insultauere belongs to the class of frequentative verbs. The commentator underlines this fact by his comment "jumped up frequently."
- 135. "Careful, fearing": See Isidore, Etymologiae 10.41: cautus a cavendo dictus.
- 135. "He uses fitting vocabulary": Manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* provide three readings: *mensor*, *messor*, and *fossor*. The Vulgate Commentary appears to conflate comments that originally explicated separate readings.
- 135. "'Metari' means one thing": See Balbus, Catholicon, s.v. "Metari."
- 137. "Hence the god Pluto is called 'Dis'": See Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Dis," and *Derivationes* D 75 5 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:337).
- 140. "Underground streams": Reading *abstrusaque* with the manuscripts of Lucan. The manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary give *obstrusaque*.
- 144. "What am I to say individually about evils?": The commentator here introduces the series of individual examples found in lines 144–48.
- 144. "As Jupiter from Lycaon": See below, line 196: "Or do you think, ye Gods, that they will be safe enough."
- 147. "Mother-in-law is derived from 'keeping distant'": See Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v "Noverca," and *Derivationes* N 31 19 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:830).
- 147. "Cerberus sprayed his froth": See *Metamorphoses* 7.419, where the origin of aconite is provided. The probable source is Vatican Mythographer 1.57. See also *Derivationes* A 52 and C 113 4 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:202).
- 149. "Astraea, namely, justice": See Aratus, Phaenomena 150, and Derivationes A 375 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:98).
- 150. "Let us now explain": See Arnulf of Orléans, Allegoriae 1.3.
- 153. "And they say that": The Vulgate commentator adds the word *ferunt* to indicate to the reader that we are still in an accusative infinitive construction.
- 154. "Broke completely": The Vulgate Commentary places the Latin word *perfecte* above the reading *perfregit* to indicate that the prefix "per" intensifies the meaning.
- 155. "Shook down Mount Pelion lying beneath Mount Ossa": The Latin text

- of the *Metamorphoses* as transmitted by the Vulgate Commentary reads *subiectum Pelion Ossae*. But elsewhere Ovid places Mount Pelion above Mount Ossa. To account for the discrepancy, the Vulgate Commentary posits that Ovid has substituted a preposition for a preposition, that is to say, *sub* (under) for *super* (above). Modern editions provide various readings at this point. The Oxford Classical Text prints *subiectae Pelion Ossae*.
- 155. "This transformation is a moral one": The allegory is adapted from Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.5.
- 157. "Men *say*": The Latin verb *ferunt* has no subject expressed, and so the Vulgate commentator has written *homines* (men) above the verb to indicate to the reader the ellipsis.
- "Whence they derive their name from *ge*": See *Derivationes* G 39 50 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:519) and Papias, *Vocabulista* s.v. "Gigantes."
- 159. "Lest no": The Vulgate commentator remarks on Ovid's use of the double negative for the positive, a litotes.
- "Stay, that is to say, remain": The Vulgate Commentary places *re* above the text *manerent* to indicate that Ovid uses the simple form of a compound verb.
- 160. "*Turned*, the gore; *into*": The Latin text here is still in the accusative infinitive construction, and so the Vulgate Commentary adds "They say that the earth" to remind the reader of the construction.
- 161. Latin nouns of the second declension have two possible genitive forms, one in *-orum*, the other in *-um* (a syncopated form). Ovid has used the syncopated form *superum* for metrical convenience, and the Vulgate commentator remarks on the anomaly. See also his comments to line 251.
- 160–62. "But this new stock was . . . violent": The manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* provide two readings at this point: *natam*, which refers back to the feminine noun *propago* at line 160, or *natos*.
- "We should understand": The allegory provided by the Vulgate Commentary is partially drawn from Arnulf of Orléans's earlier *Allegoriae*. The procedure is typical of the Vulgate commentator, who while employing earlier allegories, integrates references to contemporary authors to bolster his interpretation. Here, he alludes to the *Tobias*, a Latin comedy of the twelfth-century writer Matthew of Vendôme, and to the *Pamphilus de amore*, an anonymous comedy from eleventh-century Germany written in the style of Ovid. The dating and place of composition of the *Pamphilus* is disputed. I follow Dronke, "Note on Pamphilus."

- "Tyrants": The manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary transmit two primary readings at this point: "Trojans" and "tyrants." I have opted for the latter reading.
- 163. "Saturnian father": Ovid uses a patronymic Saturnius to describe Jupiter. This is a marked feature of Ovid's style.
- 164. The point of the wording "groans deeply" or "groans inwardly" is to explicate the prefix (*in-*) of the Latin compound verb *ingemit*.
- 167. The manuscript tradition of the *Metamorphoses* transmits the readings *consilium* and *concilium*. Modern editors opt for *concilium uocat* (he calls a council), and they note that Ovid writes in imitation of Virgil, *Aen*eid 10.2.
- 168. "Just as Martianus Capella attests": Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 2.126.26–27, provides the source for this statement.
- 168. "And was called an aegis from *ege*, which means 'goat'": See *Derivationes* E 24 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:364).
- 168. "And the path is called a galaxy from *galac*, meaning 'milk,' and *chios*, meaning 'circle,' as though a circle of milk": See *Derivationes* G 14 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:504) and Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Gala."
- 168. "Way of St. James": "Le chemin de St. Jacques" in French.
- 170. "Master Alan": The Vulgate commentator evinces a strong interest in the influence of Ovid on the Latin poetry of the twelfth-century Renaissance. In addition to the works of Alan of Lille, one of the foremost poets of the twelfth-century Renaissance, Ovidian influence on the works of Walter of Châtillon (*Alexandreis*) and Bernard Silvester (*Cosmographia*) is also duly noted.
- 173. "From the brow": The manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary transmit the reading a fronte. Modern editions read hac parte (in this part).
- 179. "Locks are said to belong to men": Balbus, Catholicon s.v. "Cesaries," provides a similar definition, as does Derivationes C 225 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:252). The precise definition and use of words seem to be a preoccupation of the Vulgate commentator. See the comments to lines 637 and 700.
- 182. "*I was not more anxious*": Jupiter harks back to line 151, where heaven is attacked by the Giants.
- 182. "It is called thus from the verb 'to move": See *Derivationes* M 141 19 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:802).
- 182. "An antiphrasis": a rhetorical figure which expresses the opposite viewpoint.

- 183. "Snake-footed: on account of the reason already proposed": See above, in the allegory to line 155.
- 183. "Astute": perhaps also an echo of Gen. 2:3.
- 188. "It was customary": Vatican Mythographer 3.6.3 is the probable source for this latter statement.
- 189. "The river Styx represents sadness": Vatican Mythographer 3.6.2 provides similar information. See also *Derivationes* S 301 26 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1167).
- 190. "Here we have the rhetorical figure of the anthypophora, that is to say, a refutation, from *anti*, which means 'against,' and *phoros*, which means 'to bear'": See Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Antipophora," and *Doctrinale* 2606–7. Anthypophora is a rhetorical figure in which a poet answers a series of questions.
- 192. "There are, to me": The Vulgate Commentary glosses the text with "to me" to show the reader that the construction is a dative of possession. In English, we would more normally say "I have."
- 193. "Fauns": The probable source for the statement "are given the name 'fauni' from *phonos*" is Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 8.268. See also *Derivationes* F 50 19 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:451).
- "Satyrs": The probable source for this derivation is Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Satyri."
- 196. "Surely not": The Vulgate commentator writes *numquid* above the words *an satis* to indicate that the question "Or do you think" anticipates the answer no: Is it possible that . . . ? "Surely not."
- 197. "Or read inspired to action": Two readings are possible, notus or motus.
- 199. "Takes a double accusative": The verb *deposco* in Latin can take the accusative of the person and the accusative of the thing demanded. In English, we say "to demand something from someone."
- 200. On the Ides of March in 44 BCE, Julius Caesar, great-uncle of Octavian (later the emperor Augustus), was struck down in the senate house. The introduction of Augustus at this point in the narrative of the poem serves as an important structural bridge to the final episode in book 15, in which Caesar is assassinated.
- 203. "The entire land shaped into a globe": See the earlier gloss to *Metamorphoses* 1.7.
- 204. "The vocative case": The Vulgate commentator has written an *O* above the word *Auguste* in the text to signal the vocative case.

- 205. "That, loyalty": The Vulgate commentator is explicating the Latin word *illa* of the text, which stands alone without a referent. The gloss evidently caused some consternation to later readers, since the correcting hand in V has erased the gloss.
- 212. "Olympus is derived from *olon*": See Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, p. 341. Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Olimpus," provides the following definition: *Olimpus dicitur quasi hololamphos id est totus lucens*, as does *Derivationes* O 20 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:868).
- 214. "Wickedness can stand for harm": The noun noxa substitutes for nocumentum.
- 216. "Maenala": In Latin, Maenala can be a noun of the second declension masculine, when it is in the singular, or a second declension neuter, when it is always found in the plural. See Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Menala," and Derivationes M 81 15 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:753).
- 217. "Lycaeus is derived from": See *Derivationes* L 64 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:678). Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 8.189 has a similar etymology.
- 217. "Hence Mercury is said to be from Mount Cyllene": See *Metamorphoses* 1.712, where Mercury is called *Cyllenius*.
- 219. "There are seven parts of the night": See Isidore, *Etymologiae* 5.31.4 and *Derivationes* C 298 5 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:287).
- 219. "Which means 'half part of day' and 'half part of night'": See Varro, *De lingua latina* 6.2.
- 222. "Differentiation . . . indication . . . proof . . . danger": The Latin word *discrimen* may carry all these meanings. See *Derivationes* C 150 13 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:227).
- 225. "Expected, based on opinion": The Vulgate commentator glosses the Latin word opina with opinabili.
- 225. "Can be one word or two": The point of this comment is that the Latin word *nec opina* may be written as one word or as two.
- 227. "Molossian": So A. D. Melville translates: "He slew a hostage sent from far Epirus." See Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Molossia."
- 227. "Hostages are those": It is a common feature of the Vulgate commentator to import illustrative materials from the life experience of his pupils.
- 229. "*Igni* and *igne*": The Vulgate commentator underlines that the i-stem noun *ignis* of the third declension may form its ablative in *igne* or in *igni*.

- 230. "This . . . these . . . which . . . whom": Four readings are possible: *quod*, *quos*, *quae*, or *quem*.
- 231. "I... brought down the house": The line in the Latin text as transmitted in the Vulgate Commentary contains textual problems. The commentator construes his text in dominum dignos euerti tecta penates (I overturned the roof and the worthy household gods onto the master), assuming that dignos penates and tecta are accusatives. Tarrant in his edition reads: in domino dignos euerti tecta penates (I overturned the roofs onto the gods who were worthy of their master), in my view the correct reading.
- 231. "*Penates*": Romans worshipped household deities called the Penates who were thought to protect hearth and home. Aeneas in book 2 of the *Aeneid* has his father carry the small statues of the Penates from the burning city of Troy.
- 233. "He howled, greatly": The commentator seeks to explain the prefix ex- in the Latin word exululat as an intensifier.
- 234. "For slaughter, or read for booty": The manuscript tradition provides alternative readings at this point: caedis or praedae.
- 235. The commentator explicates the various meanings of the Latin preposition *in*, which can mean "against" or "for" depending on the context. One is reminded of the motto of Ohio State University—*disciplina in civitatem*—which means "training for citizenship," not "training against the state."
- 236. Lycaon is the first lengthy treatment of transformation in the epic. Ovid is justly famous for the vividness of his descriptions of transformation.
- 241. "And the word is derived from *er*, meaning 'strife,' since they were born for conflict": See *Derivationes* E 112 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:390) and Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 10.220.
- 243. "Thus stands, is standing": The commentator glosses the Latin text stat with stans est.
- 243. "Give the punishment": The Vulgate commentator elucidates the correct meaning of the Latin idiom poenas dare, which literally means "to give the punishment," but should be understood to mean "pay the penalty." Modern Latin grammars also emphasize this point. See *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "poena," 1.b.
- 243. "This transformation is a moral one": The first part of this allegory is taken from Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.6. The historical interpretation is independent of Arnulf.
- 245. "Played their part": The Latin is partes implent.

- 248. "A pen coop for pigs": The point being that the Latin word *hara* has a short *a*, while *ara* has a long *a*. See Du Cange, s.v. "ara," 2.
- 248. "Thus Cato says": The *Disticha Catonis* was one of the most important elementary textbooks in the medieval curriculum. It formed part of the *Liber Catonianus*, a sort of primer for schoolboys that consisted of the *Disticha Catonis*, the *Ecloga Theoduli*, the *Fabulae* of Avianus, the *Elegiae* of Maximianus, the *De raptu Proserpinae* of Claudian, the *Achilleis* of Statius, and the anonymous poem, *Ilias latina*. See Boas, "De librorum Catonianorum"; Sanford, "Use of Classical Latin Authors"; and Pellegrin, "Les *Remedia amoris*" for further discussion.
- 249. "To despoil": The Latin deponent verb populor during the classical period meant "to despoil, to strip." In medieval Latin, its active form populo also took on the meaning "to dwell in."
- 250. "For the rest": The Vulgate commentator attempts to explain the grammar of the elliptical phrase "for the rest would be his concern," which in Latin is in the accusative infinitive construction.
- 252. "Wondrous": See below, lines 412-13.
- 257. "When the sea would catch alight": an example of the care which the commentator lavishes on explicating the structural connections in the work. Phaethon's driving of the chariot of the sun causes the world to be scorched (Metamorphoses 2.1–328).
- 258. "Would catch alight. The verb 'to burn' has several meanings": an example of the pedagogical interests of the commentator, who frequently explains the multiple meanings of nouns and verbs for his elementary students.
- 258. "Carefully constructed": perhaps a verbal echo of Metamorphoses 1.79 (opifex rerum).
- 258. "Ovid calls the four elements 'a mass'": Ovid frequently uses a key word to iterate important themes in the *Metamorphoses*. So here he refers the reader back to *Metamorphoses* 1.7. The commentator seems particularly attuned to this technique.
- 259. "He laid aside": The point of the gloss is to indicate to the reader that Ovid uses *reponuntur* here for *deponuntur*.
- 259. "The Cyclopes": See Virgil, Aeneid 7.418.
- 262. "'Drawing out water' (aquas ligans)": Isidore, Etymologiae 13.11.13: Aquilo dictus eo quod aquas stringat, and Derivationes A 307 7 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:78).

- 262. "Aeolus was a certain man": The probable source is Isidore, *Etymologiae* 14.6.36.
- 264. "Notus is said to be winged": See the description of Boreas at *Metamorphoses* 6.702–4.
- 266. Two readings are possible: canis or madidis.
- 268. "He compresses": The Vulgate commentator seems to be particularly adept at bringing out the basis for the comparison. See, for example, the comment to line 280.
- 270. "Juno's messenger": Balbus, Catholicon, s.v. "Iris," contains much the same information as in this paragraph. See also Derivationes E 112 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:390).
- 270. "Clothed in many hues": Balbus, Catholicon, s.v. "Iris," also contains similar information. See also Derivationes E 112 5 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:390).
- 272. The English "very much so" translates the Latin gloss *ualde* by which the commentator remarks on the prefix (*de*-) of the compound verb *deplorata*.
- 275. "Thundering in a cloud": *nube tonans*. This derivation is also in Vatican Mythographer 1.107 and *Derivationes* N 62 51 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:853).
- 277. "Of their own tyrant": Balbus, Catholicon, s.v. "Tirannus," provides a similar definition for the noun tyrant. See also Derivationes T 121 2 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1225).
- 283. "With his trident": Vatican Mythographer 3.3 provides the following: Tridentem fert, quod aquae triplici fungantur virtute. Sunt enim liquidae, fecundae, potabiles (He carries a trident, which discharges the threefold power of water. For water is liquid, fertile, and drinkable). Vatican Mythographer 1.107 provides similar information.
- 285. Two variant readings are transmitted: apertos or latos.
- 286. "An orchard": Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Arbustum," provides the following definition: *dicitur arbustum quasi arborum stacio*.
- 288. "Here the author places *qua* for *aliqua*": The Vulgate Commentary merely places *aliqua* above *qua*. I have added the words "Here the author places" in order to make the construction intelligible to the reader. The modern English mnemonic verse, much loved of schoolboys, instructs: "After *num*, *nisi*, *si*, or *ne*, all the *alis* drop away (or take a holiday)."
- 288. "Stayed, remained": The Vulgate commentator instructs the reader to understand Ovid's simple verb *manet* as the compound verb *remanet*. Hence he writes *re* above *manet*.

- 288. "Such an evil": The Latin noun malum (evil) is in the dative case after resistere. The later hand in V adds the comment: "If the noun 'evil' follows right after to resist, it is dative, but if it depends on overthrown, it is ablative."
- 289. "*Not overthrown*": The text of the Vulgate Commentary is problematic at this point. The manuscripts read *indeiecta* (a hapax legomenon), but a correcting hand in V (fol. 5v) has corrected the reading to *indisiecta*.
- 289. "Rooftop (*culmen*) is derived from 'hay' (*culmus*)": See *Derivationes* C 267 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:266).
- 290. Tapinosis is a rhetorical figure whereby a great matter is reduced in importance.
- 292. "Was, or were": The Latin text may read either omnia pontus erat or omnia pontus erant.
- 292. "Lucan uses such Latinity": at Bellum civile 3.108: Omnia Caesar erat.
- 293. "Let it be read distributively" (*partitive legatur*): The Vulgate commentator alludes to Ovid's use of "this one" and "that one" in the lines that follow.
- 294. "A syncopated form": The Vulgate commentator glosses the Latin word *ararat* with *–verat*. I have added the words "a syncopated form, 'ararat' is written for 'araverat'" in order to make the gloss intelligible for an English reader. Latin verbs often used a form which was referred to as syncopated, since one of the syllables (considered weak) fell out. So in the perfect infinitive, one often writes *vocasse* for *vocavisse*.
- 297. "If chance so bore": The Vulgate commentator understands the Latin phrase si sors tulit as taking the accusative anchoram. The phrase is more properly translated as merely "perchance."
- 297. "Anchor": See also *Derivationes* A 195 9 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:58). I have not found the derivation for the second etymology of anchor.
- 300. "Sea calves": The noun phoca is generally considered to be a feminine noun of the first declension.
- 300. "Deformed": One of the possible meanings of the Latin deformis is "shapeless."
- 309. "Immense, without measure" (immensa, sine mensura): The Latin gloss is explicating the component parts of the adjective inmensa: in, meaning "without"; and mensa, which the Vulgate commentator derives from mensura, meaning "measure." See Derivationes M 93 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:762).
- 312. "Thus, that transformation is completed": Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.6, explains the flood similarly.

- 313. "Phocis": Isidore, Etymologiae 14.8.11, seems to be the source for this gloss.
- 313. "A description of place": The Latin term is topographia.
- 313. "Oetean": I have intentionally translated the Latin so as to illustrate why the medieval commentator glosses it with Athenian.
- 313. "Athenian from the Greek *athin*, which is 'shore' in Latin": See *Derivationes* A 415 2 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:105).
- 317. "'Having equal noses'": See *Derivationes* N 56 57 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:847).
- 318. "*Here*, I say": The commentator provides two alternative interpretations for the Latin *hic*: either "here, in this place" or "this one."
- 318. "For the sea had covered all else": Ovid as narrator frequently comments on the action of the narrative.
- 321. "Oracles is a syncopated form": The Latin *oracla* is a syncopated form of *oracula*.
- 328. "He cast down": The Latin text may be deiecit or deducit.
- 328. "'Tightening waters' (*aquas ligans*)": See above, line 262. The etymology ultimately derives from Isidore, *Etymologiae* 13.11.13.
- 330. "Setting aside": The commentator glosses Ovid's simple verb posito with de-posito.
- 330. "His three-pronged weapon": See above, line 283.
- 330. "In the nominative, only one": The point of this comment is that the adjective *tricuspis* has only one form in the nominative case for all genders, but three forms (one for each gender) in the oblique cases. See *Derivationes* C 152 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:229).
- 332. "In reality, Triton is a certain horned fish": Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Triton," supplies *vel Triton est species piscis ferinae*.
- 333–34. "Orders him to blow": In the manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary, the commentator has written illum above iubet.
- 336. "Twisting": The Latin of the poem at this point is very contorted and reads:

Cava bucina sumitur illi, Tortilis in latum quae turbine crescit ab imo, Bucina, quae . . . [He takes up the hollow shell,

Which twisting from the bottom of a spiral,

Expands into a broad whorl—the shell which . . .]

Medieval commentators interpreted the phrase *in latum* in two ways: either it is to be taken with *tortilis*, hence *tortilis in latum*; or it is to be construed with *crescit*, hence *crescit in latum*.

- 336. "For the noun turbo": See Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Turbo."
- 337. "The hollow shell": The point of the gloss is to explain that the Latin conjunction *ubi* (when) may be interpreted in two ways, but it is preferable to understand it as referring not to a single instance but whenever.
- 338. "Lie beneath either Phoebus": Ovid uses the god for the object, as one says Bacchus for wine or Diana for the moon.
- 339. "The lips of the god, dripping": I translate the Latin literally. Most modern editions translate: "wet with his dripping beard."
- 339. "*Dripping*, full of dew": The Latin word for dripping, *rorantia*, is explicated by the commentator with the phrase *plena rore*. See *Derivationes* R 14 6 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1020).
- 340. "Or read refuges": Two readings are possible, either recessus or receptus.
- 340. "Which had been ordered": The correcting hand in V, recognizing that the retreat has been ordered by Neptune, corrects the passage to read *iussos scilicet a deo maris, scilicet a Neptuno* (ordered, by the sea god, namely, Neptune).
- 341–42. My translation tries to maintain the cleverness of Ovid's Latinity.
- 346. "Of their trees, or of their leaves": This is the reading of the Vulgate Commentary. The correcting hand in V has erased "of their trees," recognizing that it does not make sense.
- 346. "A forest (*silua*) seems to be derived from 'a silent expanse": See Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Silva" (*uel dicitur a silen quod est vastitas* [or <forest> is derived from "silen" which means vast expanse]). See also *Derivationes* X 11 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1305).
- 348. "Open; or read empty": The two possible readings are apertum or inanem.
- 349. "Or *desolated*, made alone": Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Deconsolo," gives a similar meaning.
- 351. "Sole, and unique": the reading of the Vulgate commentator. The correcting hand in V has erased "and."

- 363. "O would that I": In Latin poetry, vowels before vowels generally elide, causing the suppression of a syllable.
- 363. "And let it be a single expression": The point of the gloss seems to be that the commentator understands *o utinam* as a single expression (see *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. "utinam," 2.b) and not as the interjection *O* and *utinam*.
- 363. "Formed man from earth": See Metamorphoses 1.82.
- 366. "Examples": Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Exemplum," provides a similar definition.
- 371. "From that spot, or afterward": The Vulgate commentator is explicating the Latin *inde*, which can have both meanings.
- 371–72. The point of the gloss "to pour out like dew" is to explicate the Latin verb *irrorauere*.
- 372. "An hypallage": The correcting hand in V explains what this means: "that is to say, after they sprinkled their vests and head with water."
- 374. "Altars": See Derivationes L 106 43 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:712). Eberhard of Béthune, Graecismus 11.89 may also be the source.
- 376. "Ground (humi)": an adverbial form.
- 381. "Oracle: the Latin word sors": See Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Sors," and Derivationes S 201 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1118).
- 386. "And is used here for since": The commentator spends much time attempting to explain the meaning of the Latin enclitic -que.
- 387. "If the bones should be": The Vulgate commentator explicates the ablative absolute construction *ossibus iactatis* with the phrase *si iacerentur*.
- 388. "Or in their hearts": The text of the Vulgate Commentary may be faulty at this point. Various manuscripts have attempted to alter the text in various ways. The correcting hand in V has altered the text thus: "or obscure by hidden pathways, that is to say, in their hearts, because they did not understand the prophecy."
- 388–89. "In the secret byways": The Vulgate commentator explicates the various meanings of the Latin word latebra.
- 390. "The son of Prometheus": Ovid uses the patronymics *Promethides* and *Epimethides*.
- 391. "Either our wit is faulty": The text from 391–93 may be interpreted variously depending on punctuation. Some modern editors interpret the words "the oracles are holy and counsel no evils" as an authorial comment, and read:

"Either our wit is faulty

Or (the oracles are holy and counsel no evil)

The earth is our great parent."

So Anderson in his edition and Melville in his translation. The Vulgate commentator places a stop after *faulty*.

- 395. "The Titanian": in Latin Titania. I have retained the patronymic in my translation.
- 399. "*Tracks*, of their feet": in Latin, *vestigia*, which can mean soles or tracks. The commentator explains that Ovid is referring to the soles of their feet.
- 407. "And if these things may be false": I here follow the reading of the correcting hand in V, which writes *et si falsa sint*.
- 407. "Horace says": During the Middle Ages, Horace's *Ars poetica* was one of the standard texts for modeling composition. Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* eclipsed his Horatian model in the thirteenth century and became the standard model for composition during the later Middle Ages. Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, is the best treatment of Geoffrey as a school author.
- 415. "This transformation may be classified as 'natural'": adapted from Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.7.
- 416. "The connection is the following": The Latin is *continuatio talis est*. The Vulgate commentator is particularly concerned with the manner in which Ovid imparts unity to the poem.
- 418. "Wet is an epithet": The Vulgate commentator frequently draws the attention of the reader to adjectives which seem to be associated with a particular noun, for example, *alma Ceres*.
- 418. "And it is derived from the Greek *cenos*": Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 12.206 supplies *caenum*, *sordes*.
- 419. "Greatly <swelled>": The commentator is glossing the compound *intumuit*.
- 424. "Antonomasia": substitution of a title, epithet, or descriptive phrase for a proper name.
- 426. "Delivered": Two readings are possible, nata or coepta.
- 428. "In their shoulders": The commentator is glossing the two alternative readings, humeris or numeris.
- 429. "Raw": Ovid uses the same word (namely, rudis) as he did in the story of creation to describe Chaos (Metamorphoses 1.7).

- Notes to Commentary and Book 1
- 432. "Harmony": an echo of line 25, concordi pace.
- 435. "Or, alternatively, read *favorable*": two readings are possible, *alto* or *almo*.
- 441. "The archer": arcitenens.

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- 445. "Lest": in Latin, Neve.
- 449. "Nepliers": See Roques, Recueil général, 1:74.
- 450. "The laurel (*laurus*) is derived from 'to praise": See Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Laurus," and *Derivationes* L 36 5 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:652).
- 450. "This transformation may be classified as 'natural'": adapted from Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.8.
- 450. "Phoebus means 'exterminating'": See Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 9.203. Much of the information in this allegory is also contained in Vatican Mythographer 3.8.1.
- 452. "Peneian": I retain the patronymic of the name.
- 453. "Art <of Love>": The Vulgate commentator merely says in arte, though the line comes from the Remedia amoris.
- 458. "Certain": The commentator uses the adjective indeuitata to gloss certa. At 2.605, Ovid will use the hapax indeuitatus to describe the arrows of Apollo. The text of Ovid (2.605) thus becomes a gloss on the text (1.458).
- 459. "An acre": I use this English word to translate the Latin iugera.
- 464. "Indignation is noted": The Latin text reads: *notatur indignacio ex quo uerbum subcicuit*. The point is that the verb *figet* (will strike) is not expressed. Note that the commentator has supplied it interlinearly.
- 471. The commentator writes *te-. = telum* above *quod*.
- 476. "To rival either envies": The Latin verse is: *aemulor invidiam gerit aut amat aut imitatur*. I have not found the source.
- 480. "Hymen": See Balbus, Catholicon, s.v. "Hymen," and Derivationes H 39 6 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:571).
- 483. "That Ceres had torches while she sought out her daughter": See *Metamorphoses* 5.441–42.
- 489. "Figure is derived from formon in Greek": See Derivationes F 52 2 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:456).
- 490. The *u* of the noun *conubium* in Latin can be scanned short or long. See the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* for copious examples.

- 492. "And the master is often cheated of his hope": I have not found the source for this verse.
- 494. The commentator attempts to explicate the Latin phrase *sub luce* in diverse ways. The proper translation is "at dawn."
- 495. "So the god was consumed with flames (sic deus in flammas)": The commentator alludes to Ovid's use of the poetic plural flammas.
- 497. "On her neck": Two readings are transmitted, either collo or humero.
- 498-99. "Little mouth": oscula.
- 501. "Upper arms": Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Lacertus" (qui iunctus est humero).
- 504. "Peneian": translating the Latin Penei.
- 507. "Or instead of each (*quisque*) read each (*quaeque*)": The Vulgate commentator points out two possible readings in the manuscript tradition, both of which mean "each." The Latin word *quisque* is masculine in gender, while *quaeque* is feminine.
- 508. "I fear": The point of the gloss is to indicate to the reader that the polite imperative "don't fall" (*ne cadas*) should be understood as a clause of fearing introduced by "I fear lest" (*timeo ne*).
- 508. "*Or*, or read *and*": The commentator provides two readings, either the enclitic *-ue* or the conjunction *et*.
- 508. "Briars, the noun is derived": The Latin is: sentes . . . dicuntur de sentio, tis. The Oxford Latin Dictionary indicates that the noun is usually found only in the plural. See Derivationes S 85 38 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1076).
- 508–9. "Are derived from the verb 'to feel": See *Derivationes* S 85 38 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1076).
- 509. "I fear lest": The commentator understands the clause "let me be the cause of your distress" (*sim tibi causa doloris*) as a clause of fearing with an ellipsis of the introductory phrase "I fear lest" (*timeo ne*).
- 512. "Through beauty, when he says": The Vulgate commentator seems to go astray at this point, for it is difficult to see how predicting the future relates to Apollo's comeliness.
- 515. "She was indeed fleeing": The Latin text at this point provides two readings, fugiebat enim or ideoque fugis.
- 516. "Tenedos": The background to the story in the Vulgate Commentary seems much garbled. In the original fable, Tenes and his sister (given the name Hemithea) are set adrift in a boat and come to the island of Tenedos,

previously called Leucophrys. This is the version transmitted by Servius on *Aeneid* 2.21. There is also a version nearly identical with that of the Vulgate Commentary in the *Fabularius* of Conradus de Mure, composed ca. 1270 (and found in La Penna, *Scholia*, p. 123). Conradus de Mure gives "Scamandra" as the name of the stepmother (Conradus de Mure, *Fabularius* (Naupulus), p. 398 of Van de Loo's edition). I am indebted to Greg Hays for this information. I reproduce below the Latin text from Servius.

Servius, *Comm. in Verg. Aen.* 2.21: "TENEDOS insula est contra Ilium, quae ante Leucophrys dicta est. nam Tennes, Cycni filius, infamatus a nouerca, quod cum ea uoluisset concumbere, cultoribus uacuam tenuit: unde Tenedos dicta est. alii dicunt quod se propter supra dictam causam ex ipsa insula in mare praecipitauerit. huius soror Hemithea fuisse dicitur. ideo ergo ait 'notissima fama'. sic Cicero: 'Tennem ipsum cuius ex nomine Tenedos nominatur'" ("Tenedos is an island across from Troy which beforehand was called Leucophrys. For Temnes, the son of Cycnus, defamed by his stepmother who claimed that he wanted to sleep with her, held the island empty of inhabitants and hence it is called Tenedos. Others say that that because of the aforementioned reason he threw himself from the island into the sea, his sister was called Hemithea, and therefore Virgil says 'most renowned.' Cicero speaks thus: Temnes himself after whom Tenedos is called").

- 516. "Patara": According to legend, St. Nicholas (Santa Claus) came from the city of Myra in the region of Patara in Asia Minor.
- 523. "Can be cured": There are two possible readings, sanabilis or medicabilis.
- 523. "Since someone could object": the technical figure of the antipophora, an objection one might make.
- 525. "He intended to say more": Ovid uses a similar technique in the story of Pan and Syrinx (Metamorphoses 1.700), where the narrator reports that Mercury intended to narrate much more but ended his story when he saw Argus had fallen asleep. Here, of course, the words are not reported.
- 530. "The sun, which arises anew each day": See the earlier comments of the Vulgate Commentary to *Metamorphoses* 1.10.
- 532. "With quick step": The Vulgate commentator explicates two possible readings, admisso or amisso. Modern editions read admisso (at utmost speed).
- 535. "Now, now already": The Latin text reads iam iamque.
- 536. "Tracks": The Vulgate commentator attempts to explicate the multiple meanings of the Latin phrase *uestigia stringit*. Stringere can mean both "to graze" and "to restrain."

- 541. "Swifter is derived from the Greek occis": See Derivationes O 4 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:860) and Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Occis."
- 545–47. These lines of the Latin text are much disturbed in the manuscript tradition. Scholars posit that they are remnants of a "double recension" of the poem, that is to say, they represent two versions of the same passage which have been transmitted in garbled form in the manuscripts. For an eloquent discussion of the problem, see the introduction to Tarrant's Oxford Classical Text edition of the *Metamorphoses*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

The version of these lines (545–47) as transmitted in the Latin text is as follows:

Fer pater inquit opem si flumina numen habetis Qua nimium placui tellus aut hisce uel istam Que facit ut ledar mutando perde figuram.

For further discussion of this passage, see my introduction, pp. xxiv-xxv.

- 549. The noun *liber* in Latin can have different meanings depending on whether the vowel i has a long or short measure. Here the i is long, in spite of meaning bark, and the Vulgate commentator imputes this to poetic license.
- 549. "Covering the body' (*corpus tegens*)": Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Cortex," gives a similar definition, *corium tegens*.
- 552. "'Holds' may also be in the singular": The Latin may read: *ora cacumen habet*, or *ora cacumen habent*.
- 557. "Or the reading may be Ah": The Latin text may read at or ha.
- 559. The noun *laurus* in Latin may decline as a second declension noun (*laurus*, *lauri*) or as a fourth (*laurus*, *laurus*).
- 559. The laurel played an important role in the cult of Apollo and was placed on each side of the palace doors of Augustus on the Palatine. See line 562.
- 561. "*Triumph* is derived from *tris*, which means 'three'": See *Derivationes* T 166 21 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1244). Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Triumphus," gives a similar definition.
- 561. "*Processions*": a reference to the Roman custom of the triumph, wherein a victorious general would be granted a ceremonial procession down the Sacred Way to the Capitol.
- 563. "You shall guard the oak": Much of the information in this paragraph is drawn from Arnulf of Orléans's philological commentary to the poem. See Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orléans," p. 182.

- 563. "Hungarian oak": The Vulgate commentator differentiates between two types of oak trees, the Hungarian oak (*aesculus*) and the oak (*quercus*).
- 565. "Or read the adverb *perpetually*": The Latin text may read *perpetuos honores* or *perpetue honores*.
- 566. "Laurel tree, or supply 'tree'": Ovid has used the adjective *laurea* to designate the tree. The Vulgate commentator thus signals to the reader that the adjective is either standing for the substantive *laurus*, or the noun *arbor* should be understood.
- 566. "A Paean is a praise of Apollo": See Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Paean."
- 566. "This transformation is a moral one": adapted from Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.8.
- 566. The verses from the *Integumenta* are not quoted by the Vulgate commentator in the order found in the edition of Ghisalberti (1933).
- 568. The Latin text at this point provides *Haemonia* (ablative) or *Haemoniae* (genitive). In V, the Vulgate commentator has written *uel* "e" (i.e., ae) above the form *Hemonia*.
- 568. "A description of the place": Ovid often effects transitions in the epic through an elaborate description of a place.
- 571. "Frequently moving": The point of the comment is to underline that the Latin *agitantia* is a frequentative verb from *ago*.
- 571. "Mist (*fumos*) is derived from 'wandering light'": See *Derivationes* F 62 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:474), and Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Fumus."
- 572. "The heights and depths": The point of the comment is to underline that *summus* in Latin can mean heights or depths.
- 572. "Sprinkles, or read rains on": two readings are possible: influit or impluit.
- 572. "The verb 'to rain on' can be construed with the dative or the accusative case": *Impluo* in Latin may be found in an impersonal construction *impluit* (it is raining), or the verb may take a dative case, as here, "rains on."
- 572. "All that is first": I have not found the source for this verse.
- 574. "River (amnis) is derived from an": I have not found the source for this etymology. Isidore, Etymologiae 13.21.3, and Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Amnis," derive the word from amoenitas (pleasantness). Eberhard of Béthune, Graecismus 12.360, provides: Hinc amnem dicas, quia ripas gestat amoenas.
- 577. "Popular": I translate the Latin popularia with the English cognate, though obviously "native" or "neighboring" would be a better translation.

The Vulgate commentator, however, seems to be unsure as to how to interpret the adjective, and he provides the reader with four alternatives.

580. "Eridanus": the reading of all manuscripts of the poem. The modern reading Apidanos was first suggested by Jacobus a Cruce, a fifteenth-century Bolognese commentator on the poem. For Jacobus, see Guerra, "Le 'adnotationes' alle Metamorfosi ovidiane."

Ovid frequently uses the epic device of the catalogue to effect transitions from one story to another. Here the conceit turns upon the fact that Eridanus is *absent*. The poet uses the same technique at *Metamorphoses* 10.90–106.

- 587. "Souls are nowhere": The Latin is anime enim nusquam sunt hoc non est idem quod sunt in loco. The point of the comment is to differentiate between death (nusquam) and life (sunt in loco).
- 588. "Stream: a river (fluuius) is properly": See Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Fluuius." See also Derivationes F 86 5 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:485). The Vulgate Commentary writes: Flumine flumen est proprie aque discursus perhennis a fluendo dictum set proprie flumen aqua dicitur. The point of the gloss seems to be to differentiate the nouns fluuius, flumen, and amnis. Derivationes F 86 5 defines flumen as aqua decurrens (flowing water).
- 588. "A stream (*amnis*) is garlanded with twigs": See Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Amnis," and *Derivationes* A 152 15 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:46).
- 590. "Bed, intercourse with Jove": The Vulgate commentator misconstrues the text at this point and takes "bed" with the previous noun, "Jove." The noun "bed" actually goes with the following clause: "destined to make someone happy in your bed." The correcting hand in V, realizing the mistake, has erased the gloss.
- 590. "Somebody": In Latin, the noun "somebody" is formed from the verb nescio (I do not know) and the personal pronoun quis (someone).
- 591. "These words belong to the author": Ovid frequently uses the aside to comment on the action of the narrative.
- 595. "In the right": The text may read dextra manu or magna manu.
- 598. The medieval text reads *Lycea*. Modern editions print *Lyrcea*.
- 604. "The work On Differences": I have not found the source for this quote.
- 606. "The verb 'to find": The verb *reperio* in Latin has a short *e* in the present tense but a long *e* (by position) in the perfect because of the double *pp* in *repperi*.
- 608. "Either I am mistaken or I am wronged": The English translation attempts to retain the humor of the Latin *aut ego laedor aut ego fallor*.

- 608. "Either cheating in love": I have not found the source.
- 613. "The beautiful cow": The point of the gloss in Latin is that the Vulgate commentator explicates the textual phrase *speciem uaccae* with the gloss *speciosam uaccam*, thereby assuming that the noun *speciem* is linked to the adjective *speciosam*.
- 614. "Or from what herd": in Latin, *quoue armento*. The Vulgate commentator explains that the enclitic *-ue* stands for *uel* (or).
- 615. "Came from the earth": This is an idiomatic way in Latin to say the owner of the cow is unknown.
- 619. "On this side": Two readings are possible, either hinc or hoc.
- 623. Cf. Priscian, Institutiones grammaticae 18.9–11.
- 625. "Lights, eyes": The Latin word used, *lumina*, literally means "lights" and then later comes to mean "eyes." In the interlinear gloss, the Vulgate commentator explains that *lumina* here means "eyes."
- 627. "On guard": In Latin, in statione. The Vulgate commentator pays particular attention to Ovid's use of imagery. For example, at line 268, he comments on the way in which the Latin verb pressit is taken over from the washerwoman who wrings out clothes. See also the comment on iron at line 119.
- 628. "She stood": The interlinear gloss Io indicates that the Vulgate commentator understands the verb as "she stood." Modern translations read "he stood," i.e., Argus.
- 633. "On the ground, down on the ground": The Vulgate commentator has written *ad –ram* (= *ad terram*) above the Latin word *terrae* to indicate that the dative case implies motion toward.
- 637. "'To lament' is placed for 'to complain'": The commentator places a *con* sign above the Latin verb *queri* to indicate that Ovid is using a simple for a compound verb.
- 637. "Pleonasm": Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Pleonazo," gives a similar meaning.
- 639. The Vulgate commentator provides three possible readings: *Inachidos*; a genitive singular of the third declension, *Inachides*; or *Inachidas*, accusative plural adjectives of the third declension.
- 641. "Herself, her very own person": The commentator explicates the Latin sese with se ipsam.
- 641. There are two transmitted manuscript readings: either *exsternata* (provoked to panic) or *exterrita* (terrified). Ovid uses the very unusual adjective

- exsternata (provoked to panic) in imitation of Catullus 64. Since Catullus's poetry was virtually unknown in the Middle Ages, the Vulgate commentator must hazard a guess at its meaning, and he glosses the word as *stupida* (dumbstruck). The text of V reads *exterrita*. The later correcting hand in V has expunged the gloss.
- 642. The commentator glosses the unusual form *Naides*. The more usual form is *Naiades*, which has four syllables. However, this form is not permitted here because of meter.
- 645. "This is a hendiadys": from the Greek "one through two." A hendiadys expresses a single concept through the joining of two nouns.
- 648. "This transformation is a moral one": See Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.10.
- 648. "Untroubled in youth by the heat of vices": *in puericia a calore vitiorum destituta*. The correcting hand in V does not understand how to construe *a calore vitiorum destituta* and emends the text to *calore vitiorum carens* (lacking the heat of passion).
- 649. "Made, because in the hoof of a cow both *I* and *O* can be seen": The verses are found in Giovanni del Virgilio's prosimetrical interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*, the *Allegorie* (at 1.10), a work written in Bologna in 1322–23. The verses which summarize the prose allegory were not composed by Giovanni but have been taken over by him from anonymous verses circulating in the early thirteenth century. For Giovanni, see especially Ghisalberti, "Giovanni del Virgilio." For the influence of this gloss on Dante, *Inferno* 34:100–105, see Chapin, "IO and the Negative Apotheosis."
- 649. "Made": two readings are possible, fecit or duxit.
- 653. "Are you": The question is introduced in the text by the enclitic -ne. The commentator glosses the word with numquid, which anticipates a negative answer.
- 654. "Sought by me": The commentator underlines that a dative of agent is used instead of an ablative of agent.
- 654. "Unfound, you": The Latin text as transmitted by the Vulgate Commentary does not make sense (*Tu non inventa reperta es*), and this fact accounts, in part, for the somewhat tortured explanations advanced. Modern editions print the text without *es*, thus rendering the form *reperta* (with a long *a*) as an ablative, and they construe it with the following line: You were a lighter source of grief to me unfound than found (*Tu non inventa reperta | luctus eras levior*).

- 654. "'To find' is to come upon something lost": See *Derivationes P* 22 21 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:904).
- 654. "Who discovers, knows": I have not found the source.
- 656. "Lofty, deep": The gloss seeks to underline that the Latin adjective altus can mean either "lofty" or "deep" depending on context.
- 658. "But, at": There are two forms of "but" in Latin, sed and at.
- 659. "A son-in-law, the noun 'son-in-law' (*gener*) derives from the verb 'engendering'": Most authors relate the noun *gener* to the verb *augere* (to increase).
- 664. "Starry-eyed" and "lattice-wise" both translate the Latin adjective *stellatus*.
- 666. "At a distance, before his eyes": The Vulgate commentator attempts to provide an etymology for the Latin *procul* (at a distance) from the combination of words *prae oculis suis* (before his eyes). The later correcting hand in V, perhaps not understanding the gloss, has erased it. See *Derivationes* C 220 36 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:251).
- 669. "He called the son": Mercury (the Greek god Hermes) was the son of Jupiter and the nymph Maia. He was born on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia.
- 670. "To kill, that he kill": in Latin, the phrase imperat det Argum letum expresses a purpose clause with an ellipsis of the ut. The commentator seeks to underline the construction.
- 670. "The Pleiad": taken over from Arnulf's philological commentary. See Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orléans," p. 183. All manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary transmit the reading *Ethna*. The proper reading, of course, is Ethra (CL Aethra), and this is the reading transmitted by Conrad de Mure in his Fabularius.
- 670. "While the sisters wept for him": taken over from Arnulf's philological commentary. See Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orléans," p. 183.
- 671. "Brief was the delay" (parva mora est): a common transitional phrase in Latin epic.
- 672. "Or the adjective 'powerful' modifies wand": The Vulgate commentator writes -tem above the Latin word potenti (strong) to indicate that the adjective may either be in the ablative case modifying manu (hand) or in the accusative case modifying uirgam (wand). To suppose the adjective could be in the accusative case is wrong, since "sleep-inducing" is in the accusative. The correcting hand in V, always an astute reader of the text, realizing the mistake, erases -tem.

- 676. "An author makes books": See Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, 1:139.
- 677. "While": Two readings are possible, dum or cum.
- 679. "Break your journey": Two readings are possible, consistere or considere.
- 681. "This transformation is a moral one": The allegory is modified from Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.11.
- 687. "Phonos in Greek means 'voice": See Derivationes F 48 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:446), and Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Fistula."
- 689. "Then": The manuscripts of the poem give three readings: tum, tunc, cum.
- 689. "Or, let there be a pause": Manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* provide minimal punctuation. The commentator parses the text closely to show the medieval student alternatives. Modern editions break the text after "then the god."
- 690. "Naiad": Latin used the general term naiades for nymphs. Woodland nymphs were known as *Dryades* or *Hamadryades*.
- 690. In Latin, the nominative form *naias* can decline in the genitive singular, *naiados* or *naiadis*.
- 690. "Nonacrina": Vatican Mythographer 3.8.8 and Arnulf, *Glosule Ovidii Fastorum* 2.297, give similar etymologies.
- 690. "Hamadryads: The name Hamadryades": See Eberhard of Béthune, Graecismus 8.101.
- 691. "Syrinx in Greek is called a 'reed' or a 'pipe' in Latin": See Derivationes S 173 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1104).
- 691. "Or the nymph is given her name from 'drawing away": See Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 8.292.
- 694. "Ortygian": The information is drawn directly from Arnulf's philological commentary. The Vulgate Commentary may also be drawing upon Vatican Mythographer 1.37.
- 694. "A name derived from the Greek *ortix*": See *Derivationes* O 49 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:882).
- 696. "Latonian": Ovid uses the the matronymic Latonia to designate Diana.
- 700. "He spoke": Ovid constructs a rather complex narrative sequence in lines 700–713. Mercury stops his narrated speech at line 700 with the words: "He spoke such words" (talia verba refert). The rest of the story is narrated

in indirect speech by Ovid. The words at line 713, "intending to say such things" (*talia dicturus*), signal to the reader that the linear movement of the narrative is picked up once again. The Vulgate commentator attempts to guide the reader through this complicated narrative structure. E. J. Kenney (see "Explanatory Notes," in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, trans. Melville, p. 384), always an astute observer of Ovidian style, concedes that Ovid's sudden change from direct to indirect speech in line 700 reveals the poet at his shape-shifting best: "Such syntactic variation is one form of the linguistic wit which pervades the poem and in which Ovid took much evident pleasure." I am indebted to Elizabeth Fisher for this reference.

700. "Yield, concede": The commentator writes con above the Latin verb cede to indicate that a compound verb must be understood for the simple form.

700a. "*To marry*": Latin has two verbs to express marriage, *nubere* and *ducere*. *Ducere* is more properly used of men marrying. See Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Nubo."

704. "It remained for Mercury to narrate": The repetition of these words by the Vulgate commentator signals to the medieval reader that one is still in indirect speech.

710. "This resolution": The text of the Metamorphoses (as transmitted by the Vulgate Commentary) reads consilium. Modern editions more properly print conloquium (intercourse).

711–12. "For *syrinx* in Greek is the same as 'reed' in Latin": Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Syrinx," and *Derivationes* S 173 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:1104).

711–12. The Latin text of the poem is difficult to construe at this point. The Latin phrase *tenuisse nomen puellae* (held the name of the girl) has no accusative to act as subject in the indirect discourse. Hence, one must posit "reeds" (*calamos*) in the accusative as the implied subject. The Vulgate commentator thus explains that the accusative is to be deduced from the ablative form of reeds (*calamis*). Alternatively, he posits that the name of the girl may be the subject of the accusative infinitive clause.

712. "This transformation comes about from circumstance": See Arnulf of Orléans, *Allegoriae* 1.12.

712. "Pan means 'all": Derivationes P 11 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:893).

713. "Such things": The narrator signals that the inset story of Syrinx has concluded, and Mercury realizes that his soporific story has put Argus's hundred eyes to sleep.

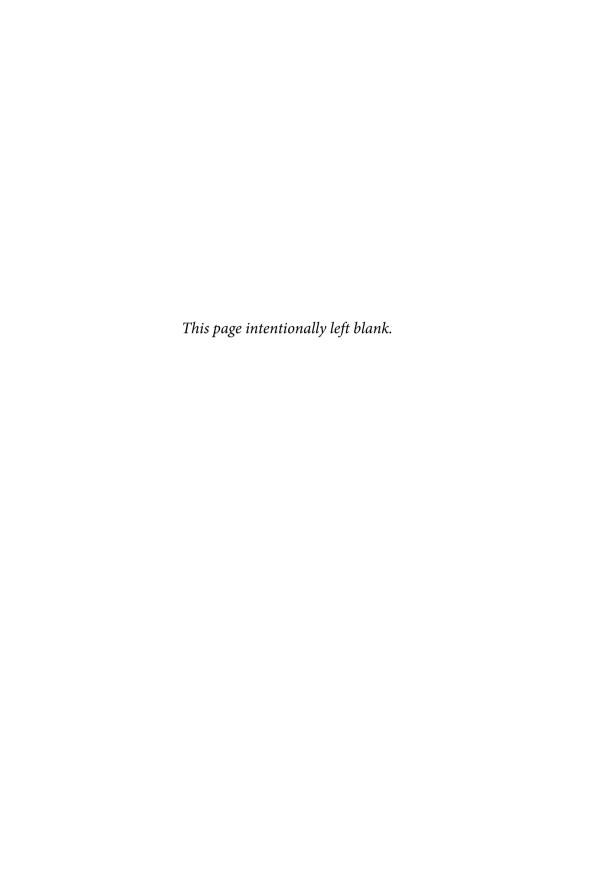
- 713. "Cyllenian: from the mountain where he was born": Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Cyllenius."
- 713. "Or from the Greek *cilleo*, which means 'to move": See *Derivationes* C 173 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:232).
- 719. "And the place is called Argiletus": Argiletus in Latin literally means "death of Argus."
- 720. "Light, of life": The Latin text reads quodque in tot lumina lumen habebas, extinctum est. Ovid plays with the two meanings of lumen—eye and life—and the Vulgate commentator notes the double meaning.
- 721. "Is of fiery origin": perhaps a remembrance of *Aeneid* 6.730–31, *igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo*, *seminibus* (Fiery is the vigor and divine the source of those life-seeds).
- 725. "Terrifying": The Vulgate commentator glosses the two possible readings, horriferam and horrificam.
- 725. "Erinys": The Erinyes are the avenging spirits of the dead, sometimes called the Eumenides (the kindly ones).
- 725. "And she is called this from the Greek *eris*, which means 'strife' and 'to be born'": See *Derivationes* E 112 1 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:390) and Eberhard of Béthune, *Graecismus* 10.220.
- 726. "Or from the verb *pellicio*": See Balbus, *Catholicon*, s.v. "Pelex." See also *Derivationes* L 67 32 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:684).
- 730. "*The bank*": Because of her bovine shape, Io is frequently associated with the Egyptian goddess Isis.
- 732. "Read either": The Vulgate commentator glosses the two readings *multisono* and *luctisono*.
- 736. "*Place*, place to one side": The Vulgate commentator alludes to the fact that Ovid has used a simple verb (*pone*) for a compound (*depone*).
- 737. "Jupiter swore by the Styx": Vatican Mythographer 3.6.3 says that the gods are prohibited from drinking nectar for a year and nine days.
- 741. "Her jaw": Latin uses the noun rictus to denote animal jaws.
- 742. "Assumes, receives": The Vulgate Commentary explicates the two possible readings of the text, asumitur and recipitur.
- 742. "Fingernails, hence the verses: 'Fingernails belong to men, etc.'": I have not found the exact source, but Papias, Vocabulista, s.v. "Ungues," gives ungues dicimus hominum.

- 744. There are three forms for nymph in Latin: nymphe, nympha, nymphes.
- 747. "Engendered from the Nile": Two possible readings are Niligena or lanigera.
- 747. "Now a goddess": Manuscripts of the Metamorphoses transmit multiple readings. In the Vulgate Commentary, the text of the poem reads "engendered from the Nile" (Niligena), while the interlinear gloss offers "wool-bearing" (lanigera). The marginal comment, on the other hand, advances three readings: "wool-bearing" (lanigera), linen-wearing (linigera), or "engendered from the Nile" (Niligena). Modern editions adopt the reading "linen-wearing."
- 747. "This transformation conforms with nature": The allegory is independent of Arnulf.
- 747. "Aiding new ones": See *Derivationes* I 20 18 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:633). Alexander Neckam, *De rerum naturis* 1.39, provides a similar etymology.
- 747. "And she is called Lucina as though 'the light of babies": See Vatican Mythographer 3.4.3; Papias, *Vocabulista*, s.v. "Lucina"; and *Derivationes* L 100 13 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:703).
- 748. "Then": The commentator glosses two possible readings, tunc or hinc.
- 750. "Equal to this one": The Vulgate commentator underlines one of the clever transitional links employed by Ovid to give structural unity to the epic.
- 757–58. "By how much the more, in place of 'so that": The Vulgate commentator indicates that the Latin word *quoque* is composed of *quo* and the enclitic *-que*. In clauses with a comparison, *quo* may substitute for *ut* to introduce a purpose clause.
- 758. The Vulgate commentator interprets the Latin of lines 757–58 "en ego liber / ille ferox tacui" in two ways: either the adjectives liber and ferox both refer to Phaethon; or liber refers to Phaethon, while ferox is applied to Epaphus. Most modern translations understand liber and ferox as both referring to Phaethon: "I, the high-spirited, the bold, had nothing to say."
- 763. "His own": The Vulgate comentator explains the Latin *suum* in two ways.
- 768. "By this orb": The Vulgate commentator likens the Latin word *iubar* (light of day) with *iuba* (mane of a horse). See *Derivationes* I 112 3 (ed. Cecchini et al., 2:624).
- 772. "The most recent": The Latin adjective novissima can mean "last."
- 773. "If you have a mind (*si modo fert animus*)": perhaps a conscious echo of the opening line of the poem—*in nova fert animus*.

Textual Problems

The text of the *Metamorphoses* as transmitted in the manuscripts of the Vulgate Commentary often varies significantly from that printed in modern editions and translations. I list below the most significant variations in book 1. In the translation, variations will be indicated by an asterisk.

- 1.2 et illa OCT: et illas Vulgate Commentary
- 1.15 utque erat OCT: quaque erat Vulgate Commentary
- 1.53 pondus aquae leuius OCT: pondere aqu(a)e leuior Vulgate Commentary
- 1.91–93 The majority of manuscripts omit these lines. Tarrant in his OCT text prints them, but with some hesitation, as the apparatus criticus duly notes.
- 1.155 subiectae Pelion Ossae OCT: subiectum Pelion Oss(a)e Vulgate Commentary
- 1.231 in domino dignos OCT: in dominum dignos Vulgate Commentary
- 1.328 disiecit OCT: deiecit Vulgate Commentary
- 1.521 opifer OCT: opifex Vulgate Commentary
- 1.570 Apidanos OCT: Eridanos Vulgate Commentary
- 1.590 umbras OCT: ambas Vulgate Commentary
- 1.598 Lyrcea OCT: Lycea Vulgate Commentary
- 1.601 in Argos OCT: in agros Vulgate Commentary
- 1.654 non inuenta reperta OCT: non inuenta reperta es Vulgate Commentary
- 1.677 abductas OCT: adductas Vulgate Commentary
- 1.732 luctisono OCT: multisono Vulgate Commentary
- 1.710 conloquium OCT: consilium Vulgate Commentary
- 1.747 linigera OCT: niligena Vulgate Commentary



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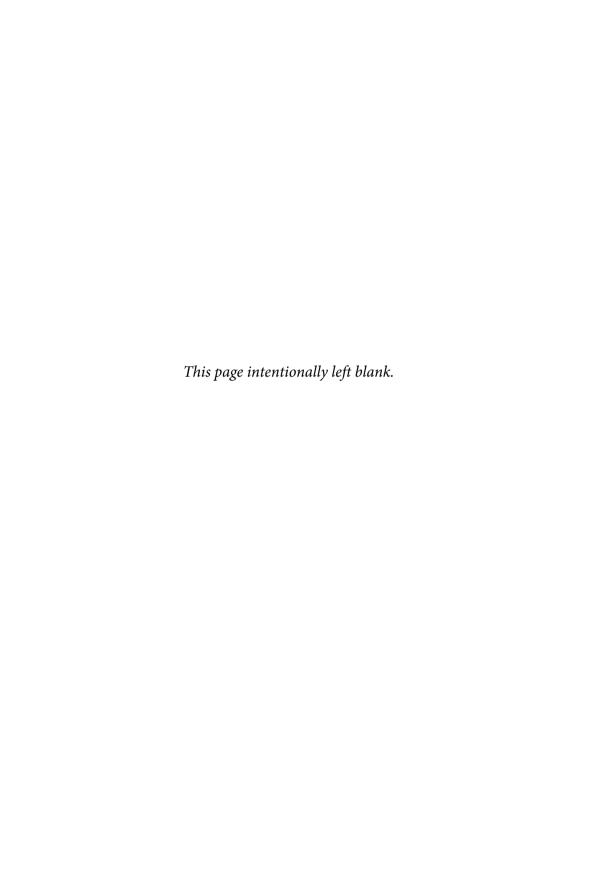
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