

The Bavarian Commentary and Ovid

ROBIN WAHLSTEN BÖCKERMAN

Qum multa possint inquiri i ca
pice uniuersiq. libri moderni
qda gaudentes butate. tria pn
cipalit inqrenda statuere. idest
materia. intentione. & cui par
ti philosophie supponat. Cu di
ximus parti. estat philosophia
aliqua totu ee unde partes possit
preede. Hc pmo agamus de ethi
mologia ipsius uocabuli. Oim so
phi id sapientes dicebant. s. pitha
goras hoc uident nimis arroganti
apposuit qda remediū. i. sopho.
qd e amor. inde philosophy ama
tor sapientie. Huc usq. equi de
ethimologia ipsi uocabuli. Hc aut
dicant qd sit ipsa res. Philosophia
e ars t naturalis t artificialis. na
turalis e que omib; in e. ut abula
re. loqui. Artificialis que ama
gistro docet q ad discipulo discit.
q hec eade artificialis diuidit in
duas partes. scilicet in literale q
litteralem. In literalis est. ut siere.
arare. Litteralis que pote dici uera
philosophia diuidit in tria. scil in
phsica logica ethica. Pnsin gce.
latine natura. Inde phsica natura
lis. que diuidit in. iiii. partes sci
licet geometria arithmetica. musi
ca. astronomia. Ge. eni gce lat
terra. ometria. dicit mfsura. in de
geometria mfsura terre. A res. gce

t uirt. medica numerus. in de
arithmetica uirt numeri. Omsin
gce. hebraice aq. inde musica aq.
tica dr. qa omis uox ab humore &
aeris repercussione chicit. astrono
mia. i. astrorum scientia. Logi
ca diuidit in. iiii. scil. grammaticeam.
rethorica. dialectica. Grama eni g
ce. lat littera. in de grammatice u
terat. Rethor gce. lat orator.
Dia gce. lat duo. logos sermo in
de dialectica. sermo duox. Ethica
diuidit in duo scil in bonos mo
res q malos. Ethic eni gce. lat
mores. in de ethica moralis. Omil
auctor. t pragmatice. t eregrina
rice. t cinonitice. Pragmaticon
ide fabulosu. q est ubi in trodud
re plone locunt ut terentiu. Ex
agematice. ide enarratiuū. ubi
auctor loquit pnsican. Terciu
geni poematis e. Cinoniticeon. i.
comune. ut ouidius iste scribit.
Quidā philosophi fuerunt qui
mundū de nichilo deū fecisse
crediderunt. Quidā uero alii ex
athomis. q in auitate. que duo
semp fuerunt. dicit dñm mundū
fecisse. Alii aut philosophi. sicut
ouidius q. con similes. tria ee semp
dixer. scil. dñi. & .iiii. elemta istmal
compta. & formas omniū rerū i men
te di existentel. i. ideal. hoc e disse

Iste liber e Monasterij Benedictenperoren



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27^r Iste liber intitulatur 'liber Ouidii Nasonis Metamorphos', id est 'de transformatione rerum'. 'Meta' Grece, 'de' Latine. 'Morphosios' 'transformatio'. Et de hac siquidem in hoc libro agit tripliciter: de magica, de spirituali, de naturali.

De naturali, id est de mixtura elementorum. De magica sicut de illis, 5
qui mutabantur corpore et non spiritu, ut Licaon. De spirituali, que tantum mutabantur spiritu, ut mater Penthei et sorores.

Mutatio alia fit in corpore, alia in qualitate, ut in Lycaone. Vel in qualitate et non corpore, ut in cornice. Vel in corpore et non qualitate, ut in saxum draco. Mutatio in qualitate et corpore: Alia de naturali materia, ut de elementis, alia de non naturali sicut de hominibus uel de ceteris corporibus. Mutatio in non naturali materia: Alia de animata ad animatam sicut de Licaone, alia de inanimata ad inanimata, ut hi<c> 10
furcas subi<e>re columpne de domo scilicet Bacidi. Aliter de inanimata ad animatam sicut de statua Pigmalionis mutata in *statuam* iuuenis 15
hominis. Aliter de animata ad inanimata sicut draco, qui mutatus est in saxum.

Que autem de animata ad animatam: Vel fit ad animatam sensibilem, ut Lycaon, qui mutatus est in lupum, uel ad animatam et non sensibilem, ut Daphne in laurum, unde coronabantur homines. Que 20
uero de animata ad animatam sensibilem aut fit de magica aut de spirituali. De magica, ut in Acteone, qui, quando lacerabatur a canibus, erat dicturus 'Acteon ego sum, dominum cognoscite uestrum' si posset. De spirituali, ut in Agaue matre Penthei, que furens lacerauit filium suum, quando sacrificabat Bacho. 25

Materia Ouidii sunt res mutate, de qua non sufficienter agit, nisi ad delectationem et ad institutionem morum. Materia Ouidii est mutatio, non quia in rei ueritatem res essent mutate, sed secundum hoc, quod

6 Licaon De] *cf. Met. 1:163* 7 mater ...] *cf. Met. 3:511* 9 in¹ ... Vel] *cf. Met. 2:531* 13 hic ... 14 Aliter] *cf. Met. 8:700* 15 de ... 16 Aliter] *cf. Met. 10:243* 20 Daphne ... unde] *cf. Met. 1:452* 23 ego ... si] *cf. Met. 3:230*

13 de² ... 14 Aliter] *cf. 14809 (65v)*: alia de inanimata ad inanimatam ut hic *furcas* subiere columne *scilicet* de domo *baucidis* 15 *iuuenis*] *sic et ceteri mss*

14 sanctam *cf. sancta Met. furcas ... columpne correx* *secundum clm14809* hi *fures* subire *cod.* | *Bacidi sup. lin.*

Bavarian B, clm 14482c

This book is named 'Ovid Naso's book of Metamorphoses', that is 'about the transformation of things'. *Meta* in Greek, 'about' in Latin. *Morphosios* is 'transformation'. And in this book this is treated threefold: magical, spiritual and natural [transformations].

Natural [transformation], that is about the combination of the elements. Magical, such as about those who are transformed in body but not in spirit, such as Lycaon. Spiritual, those who are only transformed in spirit, such as the mother and sisters of Pentheus.

Some transformations happen with regard to the body, others with regard to property, such as with Lycaon. Or with regard to property and not body, such as with the crow. Or with regard to the body and not property, such as with the serpent into a rock. Transformation with regard to both property and body, some [occur] from natural matter, such as with the elements, others from non-natural, such as with humans or other bodies. Transformation with regard to non-natural matter, some [occur] from living to living, such as with Lycaon, others from non-living to non-living, *as the columns that here took the place of the forked wooden supports from the house, namely from Baucis's house*.⁴⁷ Or from non-living to living, such as with Pygmalion's sculpture that transformed into a *statue* of a young person.⁴⁸ Or from living to non-living, such as the serpent who was transformed into a rock.

Those that are transformed from living to living matter happen either to living with senses, such as Lycaon who was transformed into a wolf, or to living and not with senses, such as Daphne [who was transformed] into a laurel, with which men are crowned. Those from living to living with senses are either magical or spiritual. Magical as with Actaeon, who when he was torn to pieces by his dogs was going to say this if he could: 'I am Actaeon, know your master'. Spiritual, as with Agave, Pentheus's mother, who in a fit of rage tore her own son to pieces, when she sacrificed to Bacchus.

Ovid's subject matter is things transformed, regarding which he does not treat sufficiently⁴⁹, lest for the purpose of delight and the instruction of habits. Ovid's subject matter is transformation, not because things are transformed in reality, but according to the fact that

⁴⁷ Here the text of 14482c has been corrupted and emended with the help of clm 14809. Instead of *hic furcas* (here the forked wooden supports) the clm 14482c reads *hi fures* (these thieves) and instead of the perfect *subiere* we have the infinitive *subire*, which does not work grammatically in the sentence.

⁴⁸ The latin is the text appears corrupted here (as well as in all the other manuscripts). Instead of *statuam* one would expect *figuram* (form) or *speciem* (shape).

⁴⁹ This phrase is not entirely clear. It could be interpreted as though the commentator felt that there were many more important (perhaps theological) things to be said about transformations.

unus quisque erat malis moribus, iudicabatur mutari in eam rem, cui
erat consimilis in moribus. 30

Materia dicitur quasi mater rei, que duobus modis accipitur: ut in
domo lapides; in rebus inuisibilibus, ut in Porphirio genus et species.

Intentio sua est delectari et prodesse mores instruendo, quod fere
omnes, qui hoc modo pertractant, ad ethicam pertinere uidentur, uel
dehortari a terrenis ad gloriam, quam consecutus est Hercules et ceteri 35
tales; utpote ab illis, que sunt temporalia et inutilia et incerta, quod
ostendit permutationes rerum earum, que fuerunt a primordio usque
ad suum tempus.

Intentio etenim est animi effectus circa materiam, *uel oratio que*
maxime intendit animum in libris legendo, ut in Lucano reprehendere 40
ciuile bellum et dissuadere.

Utilitas est talis quod, cum fabule in aliis libris tanguntur, que
fortassis ingnorarentur, notiores quoque erant in suo tempore, minus
notas recitando iocundas aperit describens.

Utilitas est quod quisque ex eo negotio consequitur commodum, cui 45
intendit.

Quidam philosophi fuerunt, qui mundum de nihilo deum fecisse
crediderunt. Quidam uero alii *athomis* et inanitate, que duo semper
fuerunt, deum mundum fecisse dixerunt. Alii autem philosophi, sicut
hic Ouidius et similes eius, semper tria esse dixerunt, scilicet deum et 50
iiii:or elementa similiter confusa et formas omnium rerum in mente dei
existentes, id est ideas, differentias, hanc rationalitatem et caliditatem
et frigiditatem, per quam ipse deus futuras constitutus erat. Ista uero
genera philosophorum dicentium deum ex *athomis* et inanitate
27^v mundum fecisse et ex *chao* / et *ideis* dicebant deum artificem non 55
creatorem. Quidam uero dicebant deum de nihilo mundum fecisse.
Creatorem illum intellexerunt. Hi autem omnes philosophi personas
tres dicebant patrem, filium, **iiii:um* spiritum sanctum minorem patre
et filio* crediderunt et in hoc errauerunt.

39 etenim ... 41] cf. AV4 (2v): Item intentio etenim est animi affectus circa materiam uel
?or-o? qua maxime intendit ?tnd? animum in libro legendo ut in lucano reprehendere c.
b. et dissuadere 57 Hi ... 59 errauerunt] cf. 14809 (66r): Hii autem omnes philosophi iii
personas dicebant patrem id est togaton et filium id est noyn et spiritum sanctum id est
animam mundi sed filium minorem patre et spiritum sanctum filio minorem crediderunt
et in hoc errauerunt

48 *athomis* *correx*i *athenis* *cod.*

everyone was judged to be transformed on account of their bad habits into the thing to which he was similar with regard to habits.

Materia (subject matter) is named just as *mater rei* ('the mother of a thing'), which could be understood in two ways, as in the building blocks of a house; [or as] in invisible things, as *genus* and *species* in Porphyry.

His intention is to delight and to benefit manners by instructing, since almost all those who treat things in this way seem to pertain to ethics, or his intention is to dissuade from earthly things towards eternal glory, which Hercules and others like him obtained; namely [he dissuades us] from these things that are temporal, useless and uncertain, since he reveals the permutation of these things, which existed from the very beginning until his own time.

For his intention is to affect the soul in respect to the subject matter, *or a speech that greatly excites the soul towards the reading of books, as in Lucan, to rebuke and dissuade from civil war*.⁵⁰

The utility is such that, although the stories have been touched upon in other works, he reveals and describes the less known [but] delightful stories by retelling them; these are perhaps unknown [now] even though they were quite known in his time.

The utility is that from this matter each one pursues the reward upon which he is intent.

There were some philosophers who thought that God made the world from nothing. Others said that God made the world from two things that had always existed, atoms and emptiness. Other philosophers, such as Ovid and others like him, said that three things had always existed, namely God, the four elements mingled in the same way, and the shape of all things existing in the mind of God, that is ideas, *differentias*; the rationality, warmth and coldness, through which God was going to decide things to be. These kinds of philosophers, who say that god made the world from atoms and emptiness and from chaos and ideas, they say that God is an artificer not a creator. But others say that God made the world from nothing. They understand him as a creator. But all these philosophers say that there are three persons, the Father, the Son and the third, the Holy Spirit, *but they believe that [the Holy Spirit] is less than the Father and the Son, and in this they err*.⁵¹

⁵⁰ This part of the sentence seems corrupted or obscure. The phrase *uel oratio* must be seen as a continuation of *intentio est* that offers an alternative intention, or it could possibly be an error for *ut in Oratio* (as in Horace), which would work as a parallel to the *ut in Lucano* phrase below, but this would require several emendations. The infinitives at the end are also somewhat strangely appended. They could be thought to be governed by *intentio est*. This paragraph is also found, with only small differences, in Salzburg AV4.

⁵¹ A part of this sentence is corrupted, *iii:um* may be a copy error for *noim* (found in most of the other manuscripts). Furthermore, a second *sanctum spiritum* is probably missing in the part of the sentence governed by *crediderunt*. I have supplied it in the translation.

Hic intentio est Ouidii et omnium scribentium de fabulis, utpote 60
Terentii, maxime delectare et delectando mores hominum corrigere.
Ad ethicam spectat, quia omnes fere ad ethicam spectant auctores.

Utilitas est nobis Ouidii, quia fabule in aliis libris introducte
ignorabantur, donec iste Ouidius dilucidauit, et prodesse nobis 65
ostendendo pulchram compositionem.

Alia intentio Ouidii est tractare de mutatione rerum.

Materia est de quibus tractat.

Finalis causa hortari nos ad uirtutem et retrahere a uitiiis. Nam, cum
intendat *de re* de transformatione rerum, describit, ut ostendat alias 70
res pro bonis mutatis mutatas esse in melius; alias autem pro malis in
peius.

Materia alia falsa, alia uera. Vera alia historialis, ut Lucani, Salustii
et aliorum, qui de historiis scribunt. Alia moralis, ut Horatii et
Iuuenalis et aliorum, qui ueraciter malos mores hominum
reprehendunt. Et falsa alia, si non fuit factum, tamen fieri potuit, ut 75
Terentii et Plauti et Neuii et aliorum multorum. Alia quod numquam
factum est neque fieri potest per naturam, *ut isti* Ouidii, qui
loquitur de transmutatione rerum in contrariam naturam, quod est
eius materia.

Intentio est Ouidii dissuadere nocuos affectus, ne per eos 80
incurramus iram deorum, ut de proprio statu mutemur in contrarium.

*Videlicet uere confert nobis talem, ut, cum ipse quidem de maxima
felicitate in maximas miseras, de pace in odium in exilium labores,
materiam suam sumpsit transformationem rerum subaudis ostendens
quasi nihil esse, sed adeo alteratum nos quoque debere materiam 85
nobis sumere habitui nostro competentem.*

68 Finalis ... 69 rerum] cf. 14809 (66r): Finalis causa est hortari nos ad virtutes et terrere a
viciis Nam cum intendit dicere de transformatione rerum 76 Alia ... 79 materia] cf.
14809 (66r): Alia quod neque factum est nec fieri po- / -tuit ut istius o. quem loquitur de
transformatione rerum quam facta est in contrariam naturam quam est eius materia
82 *Videlicet ... 86 competentem*] cf. AV4 (3v): Utilitas vero talem confert nobis ut cum
ipse quidem a maxima felicitate ad maxima miseras de pace et otio in exilium labores
materiam sibi sumpsit transformationem rerum scilicet quasi ostendens nichil miri esse
sed adeo alternatum nos quoque debere materiam nobis sumere habitui nostro
competentem Haun. 2008 (1vb): utilitatem nobis confert ut cum ipse qui de maxima
felicitate in maximas miseras decidit de pace et otio ad exilium et labores materiam sibi
sumpsit transformationem rerum scilicet quod ostendens se adeo alteratum nos quoque
debere materiam nobis sumere habitui nostro competentem

64 dilucidauit sup. lin. cum sign. inser. 65 compositionem + sup. lin. ao/do num ut. vid.
66 de + in marg. quiddam signum 77 ut correxī secundum clm14809 a cod. | istius correxī
secundum clm14809

Ovid's intention, and that of all those who write stories, such as Terence, is mainly to delight and by delighting to correct man's habits. He tends towards ethics, since almost all authors tend towards ethics.

The utility of Ovid for us is that since the stories that were introduced in other books were unknown, until Ovid made them clear, he also benefits us by showing us his beautiful composition.

Another intention of Ovid's is to treat the transformation of things.

The subject matter is that which he treats.

The final cause is to urge us towards virtue and to restrain us from sin. For, *when he pays attention to the thing, the transformation of things*⁵², he describes them so as to show that some things transform to the better because of good transformations; others transform to worse because of bad transformations.

Some subject matter is false, some true. True subject matter can be historical, as that of Lucan, Salust and other, who write about history. Other can be moral, as that of Horace, Juvenal and others, who truthfully rebuke man's bad habits. Subject matter can be false, even if it did not happen, but nevertheless could have happened, such as the subject matter of Terence, Plautus, Naevius and many others. Other subject matter that never happened and never could happen by its very nature, as is that of Ovid himself, who talks about the transmutation of things into an opposite nature, which is his subject matter.

Ovid's intention is to advise against damaging emotions, so that we will not incur the wrath of the gods through them, so that we are transformed from our own state to one opposite.

*In fact he brings us such an utility, because, although he fell from the greatest happiness to the greatest sorrows, from peace and leisure to exile and labour, he chose the transformation of things as his subject matter, that is to say showing that there is nothing extraordinary, but

⁵² This part of the sentence could be corrupted. The manuscripts has *intendat de re* (pays attention to the thing), while clm 14809 has the reading *intendit dicere de* ('he intends to speak about'), which may be better.

Verbi gratia ut si aliquando superbum mansuetum nobis reddere uolumus, talia et tam humilia scribamus, que iram eius sint frangentia, non ad manus prouocantia. Sic de ceteris.

Scrispit autem in Ponteroo insula, ut in exilio erat expulsus ab Augusto. In fine quoque operis sui laudat eum sperans per hoc gratiam suam recuperare. 90

1:1 Proponens: FERT, id est cupit, ANIMVS meus de re formata mutata IN NOVAS FORMAS ET CORPORA mutata, id est noua c<orpora>. Vel FERT, id est cu<pit> animus meus de re formata, mutata in noua corpora, id est corpus mutatum in nouas formas, id est alterata per nouas formas superuenientes. 95

Mutatio est preteriti habitus uariatio, et iste ostendit realiter corpora et formas esse uariatas, ut de homine in arborem. Non tamen sicut, quod corpus erat, fiat non corpus. Corpus autem dictum eo, quod corruptum perit. Solubile est enim atque mutabile, ut aliquando 100

1:2 | 1:5 soluendum. DII CEPTIS, inuocatio, ANTE MARE, id est quod uocaretur. *Facta proponere et inuocare explanant.*

1:7 Quod Plato dicit 'ylen', poete CHAOS appellant; RVDIS <in>formis; 105
1:9 INDIGESTA, id est inseparata inordinata SEMINA RERVM. Res, quod erant
1:10 semina futurarum rerum. TYTAN a titane patre; quia non consensit
1:19 cum fratribus, receptus est inter deos. FRIGIDA P<VGNABANT> C<ALIDIS>. Hoc ideo dicit, quia ignis est siccus, leuis, mobilis. Aer humidus, leuis, mobilis. Aqua humida, grauis, mobilis.

1:14 AMPHITRITES. 'Amphi' Grecum, 'circum' Latine. 'Trites' quasi terens, 110
uel Triton, deus marinus.

1:21/25 DEVS CONCORDI PACE, id est meliori tritura adducentur duo
fundamenta penitus oppositas qualitates habentia, uidelicet ignem et
28^r terram. Ignis est calidus, acutus, mobilis. Terra uero est frigida, optusa,
/ non mobilis, corpulenta. Hec duo ita sunt repugnantia, scilicet dum 115
per se uidelicet non possunt coherere, posuit quiddam medium,
scilicet aquam, que habet duas affinitates cum terra et terciam cum

102 Dii ... 103 explanant*] cf. 14809 (66v): Inuocat §dii ceptis Narrat Ante mare id est quod mare uocatur narratio AV4 (3v): explanat Facta proponere inuocat dii ceptis §Ante mare id est quod mare uocatur Narratio

94 fert correxi fere cod. 95 cupit supplevi 104 informis correxi secundum clm14809

only changed to that point that we should take a subject matter that agrees with our condition.*⁵³

For example, if we at any time want to make an arrogant person gentle towards us, then we can write such things and so humble things that will break his anger and not provoke him to violence. The same with the rest.

He wrote this on the island of Pontus, since he was in exile, banished by Augustus. At the end of his work he praises him hoping by this to regain his grace.

He declares: My SOUL URGES [ME], that is wishes, [to speak] of a formed thing, transformed INTO NEW SHAPES AND transformed BODIES, that is new bodies. Or my soul URGES, that is wishes [to speak] of a formed thing, transformed into new bodies, that is a body transformed into new shapes, that is at thing altered by new shapes that come upon it.

A transformation is a change of a former state and he shows that in reality bodies and shapes are diverse, such as ranging from man to tree. Not, however, in such a way that what was a body becomes a non-body. A body (*corpus*) is called thus because when corrupted (*corruptum*) it perishes. For it is dissolvable and changeable so that at some time it is to be dissolved. OH GODS, BY YOUR UNDERTAKINGS, is the invocation, BEFORE THE SEA, that is that which is invoked. *To propose and to invoke explain what has happened*.⁵⁴

That which Plato calls *hyle*, the poets call CHAOS; CRUDE [that is] unformed; CONFUSED that is the unseparated and disordered SEEDS OF THINGS. Things, since they were the seeds of future things. TITAN, [named] from his father Titan; since he did not agree with his brothers, he was received among the gods. COLD THINGS FOUGHT WITH WARM THINGS. He says this since fire is dry, light and mobile. Air is moist, light and mobile. Water moist, heavy and mobile.

AMPHITRITES. *Amphi*, a Greek word, is 'round' in Latin. *Trites* as in *terens* (grinding) or Triton, the sea god.

GOD WITH A HARMONIOUS PEACE, that is *by a good grinding*⁵⁵ two foundations with totally opposing qualities, namely fire and earth, are brought together. Fire is warm, keen and mobile. Earth is cold, dull, immobile and corporeal. These two are thus opposed, namely while they cannot stick together by themselves, he placed something as a medium, namely water, which has two affinities with earth and a third

⁵³ This passage is severely corrupted. Salzburg AV4 and clm 14482b have a slightly better text, but the best reading is found in the accessus to the *Metamorphoses* manuscripts Haun. 2008, which has the best version of the end of this passage: 'showing that he has changed so much that we also should take a subject matter that agrees with our condition.' The translation above is not verbatim.

⁵⁴ This phrase could be understood as 'to propose and to invoke explains what has happened/the events', but the text may be corrupted.

⁵⁵ This may be an error for *meliori natura* (by a better nature), which would then refer to Met. 1,21, but *meliori tritura* (a good/better grinding) is also a possible reading in this context.

igne. Aqua namque frigida, mobilis, corpulenta. Cum per hoc medium non possit fieri firma concordia terra propter pondus, posuit aliud medium, scilicet aerem unam proprietatem cum terra habentem et duas cum igne. Aer enim calidus, mobilis, corpulens. Et notandum est, quod sicut ignis habet se ad aerem, et ita aer ad aquam, et sicut aer ad aquam, ita aqua ad terram et eodem modo ascendendo, item sicut se ignis habet ad aquam et aer habet se ad terram eodem modo ascendendo.

Et hoc fecit ad exemplum duorum numerorum cubicorum primum perfectum, scilicet bis bini bis et ter terni ter. Cubiti dicuntur, qui habent longitudinem, latitudinem, spissitudinem, hi duo numeri supradicti, cum essent penitus oppositi. Unus enim constabat ex paribus, scilicet bis bini bis. Alter ex partibus in partibus, scilicet ter terni ter. Non poterat firmiter colligari, nisi interpositis duobus mediis, id est bis bini ter et ter terni bis. Bini ter habet duas affinitates cum bis bini <bi>s, sed terciam cum ter terni ter. Ter terni bis habet duas cum ternis ter et unam cum bis bini bis. Quibus mediis interpositis ita per se colligantur, quod unus se habet ad alium, et ita per certos sexqualtera proportio est. 'Sex' igitur Grece, 'totum' Latine. Sexqualter dicitur, qui continet aliquem numerum totum in se et eius dimidiam partem, scilicet sex. Vnde sicut ter terni ter, id est xxvii, continet ter terni bis, xviii, et eius dimidiam partem, scilicet ix. Eodem modo ter terni bis in se bis bini ter, id est xii et eius dimidia partem, scilicet sex. Iterum bis bini ter continet in se bis bini bis, id est octo, et eius dimidiam partem, id est iiiii, et e conuerso. Et notandum est quod sicut xxvii se habet ad xii, ita xviii ad viii. Continet enim xxvii xii bis in se et eius iiiii partem, scilicet iii. Eodem modo xviii continet in se bis octo et eius iiiii partem, id est duo, et e conuerso.

1:25 Et hoc est quod dicit Ouidius CONCORDI PACE LIGAVIT et Boetius: Tu numeris elementa ligas.

1:1 IN NOVA FERT ANIMVS. Ponit Ouidius in principio sui operis quosdam uersus, qui secundum Tullium prologus uocantur, in quibus materiam ostendit et lectores auditores beniuolos et dociles reddit. Et alii poete solent facere in suis prologis.

146 Tu ... 147 ligas] cf. *Consolatio* 3 verse 9:10

127 Cubiti *post corr. ex* Cobicinio, i.e. cubici 130 paribus *post corr. ex* partibus 133 bini bis *correxi* 136 sexqualtera i.e. sesquialtera 137 aliquem *correxi secundum Frei* 381 aliquando *cod.* 146 ligavit et + Boetius est terminum *sed postea del. cod.* | Boetius ... 147 ligas *in marg. cum sign. insert.*

with fire. For water is cold, mobile and corporeal. When there still could not be a firm concord with earth through this one medium because of the weight, he placed another medium, namely air, which has one quality in common with earth and two with fire. For air is warm, mobile and corporeal. And note that as fire relates to air, so air relates to water and just as air to water, so water to earth and in the same way when moving upwards, again just as fire relates to water and air relates to earth in the same way when moving upwards.

And he does this as the perfect and primary example of two cubic numbers, namely $2 \times 2 \times 2$ and $3 \times 3 \times 3$. These two above-mentioned numbers that have a length, width and depth are called cubic, although they are utterly different. For one consisted of pairs, namely $2 \times 2 \times 2$, the other from parts in parts, namely $3 \times 3 \times 3$. It (the number) could not firmly be bound lest by two inserted middle terms, that is $2 \times 2 \times 3$ and $3 \times 3 \times 2$. 2×3 has two affinities with $2 \times 2 \times 2$, but a third with $3 \times 3 \times 3$. $3 \times 3 \times 2$ has two affinities with 3×3 and one with $2 \times 2 \times 2$. With these middle terms inserted they are bound through them so that one relates to another and so with certain numbers there is a sesquialterate proportion (1,5, 2:3). For *ses* in Greek, means 'the whole' in Latin. That is called *sesquialter* (1,5), which contains a whole number and its half in itself, namely 6. Whence just as $3 \times 3 \times 3$, that is 27, contains $3 \times 3 \times 2$, 18, and its half, namely 9. In the same way $3 \times 3 \times 2$ contains in itself $2 \times 2 \times 3$, that is 12, and its half, namely 6. Again $2 \times 2 \times 3$ contains in itself $2 \times 2 \times 2$, that is 8 and its half, that is 4 and conversely. And it should be noted that just as 27 relates to 12, so 18 relates to 8. For 27 contains 12×2 in itself and its quarter, namely 3. In the same way 18 contains 8×2 in itself and its quarter, that is 2 and conversely.

And this is what Ovid means HE BINDS WITH A CONCORDANT PEACE and Boethius: You bind the elements in numbers.

THE SOUL URGES [ME TO SPEAK OF SHAPES TRANSFORMED] INTO NEW [BODIES]. In the beginning of his work Ovid places some verses that according to Tully are called a prologue. In these he shows the subject matter and he makes the readers and listeners benevolent and docile. Usually other poets also do this in their prologues.

1:1 Materiam ostendit cum dicit FERT ANIMVS meus, id est impatienter et grauitur laborat ad hoc, ut ostendat res formatas. Que res mutantur, uel ui nature, ut humanum corpus in uermem uel quando *terra motione* caloris et humoris in uermem mutantur. Vel animi motione, quando 155
aliquem ita stultum uidemus, quod asinum uocamus, uel ita crudelem, quod leonem esse dicimus. Vel in malorum statu artium, in quo *patet* omnia mutabilia esse, quare in terrenis non est confidendus. In hac materia beniuolos reddit auditores, quia congruam eis materiam proponit in util<itat>em. 160

Sunt quidam, qui hic faciunt casuum mutationem *dicentes* corpora m<utata> in uarias formas, ideo quia dicunt corpus non mutari, nisi formas tantum. Contra quos nos dicimus c<orpora> et f<ormas> equaliter mutari.

1:2 DII CEPTIS. Materia ostensa facit inuocationem, in qua nos attentos et 165
beniuolos reddit, non quia leue sit, quod dicturus est, sed graue et multum attendendum est, cum hoc fit, quod deos ad suum auxilium inuocet dicens: o DII ASSPIRATE.

Dictum est a similitudine cantorum, qui dum similiter spirant, id est cantant, clamor uocis *augmentatur*. Et ita dicit iste ASPIRATE, id est me / 170
1:3 scribentem iuuate in hoc opere incepto, dico, *ut iuuetis*. Et potestis, 28^v
1:2 NAM VOS MVTASTIS ET ILLA.

Primo enim ostensa materia et facta inuocatione *ponit utrumque cum auxilio materiam dicens*, ut asspiretis et aspirando DEDVCITE CARMEN inceptum AB ORIGINE, id est a creatione rerum. Quo modo non 175

152 Materiam ... 164 mutari] cf. **Frei381 (34v)**: M. ostendit cum dicit fert animus meus et cetera Res mutantur ut humanum corpus in uermes uel animi mocione quando aliquam adeo stultum uidemus quem asinum uocamus uel ita crudelem quod leonem dicimus uel ui malarum arcium In quo patet omnia mutabilia esse in terrenis ut esse confidendum In hac materia beniuolos reddit quia congruam materie proponit eius utilitatem Sunt quidam philosophi qui hic faciunt mutationem casuum dicentes corpora mutata In nouas formas ideo quia dicuntur corpora non mutari nisi forma tantum contra quos nos dicimus quia corpus et forma equaliter mutantur **14809 (67r)**: Fert a. m. Res formatas dicimus id est mutatas esse in noua corpora id est in alias formas quoniam res mutantur uel ui nature ut humanum corpus in uermulis quando terra motione caloris uel humoris in ?uerum? mutatur **171** *ut iuuetis*] sic et ceteri mss (Frei + AV4) **173** *ponit ... 174 dicens*] sic et ceeri mss (Frei + AV4)

154 terra motione *correx*i secundum *clm14809* ira more *cod.* **157** patet *correx*i secundum *Frei381* patri *cod.* **160** utilitatem *correx*i secundum *Frei381* **161** dicentes *correx*i secundum *Frei381* diuertens *cod.* **167** multum *correx*i secundum *Frei381* multia *cod.* | attendendum *correx*i secundum *Frei381* accudendum *cod.* **170** *augmentatur* *correx*i secundum *Frei381* argumentatur *cod.*

He shows the subject matter when he says my SOUL URGES ME, that is it works impatiently and heavily to this end so that he will show the things shaped. These things are transformed either by the force of nature, as when a human body [is transformed] into a worm, or when * the earth by the motion of warmth and moisture is transformed into a worm.⁵⁶ Or by the movement of the soul, when we find someone so stupid that we call him an ass, or so cruel that we say he is a lion. *Or in a state of the wicked arts⁵⁷, in which it is clear that all things are changeable, wherefore one should not trust earthly things. In this subject matter he makes the listeners benevolent, since he proposes a subject matter that is suitable for them with regard to its utility.

There are those who here change the cases⁵⁸ saying that bodies are transformed into various shapes, since they say that a body does not transform, lest in shape only. Against these we say that bodies and shapes transform equally.

GODS ON MY UNDERTAKINGS. When he has showed the subject matter he makes an invocation, in which he makes us attentive and benevolent, not because it is a light thing that he is going to say, but grave and much to be heeded, when this happens that he calls the gods to his help saying: O GODS, FAVOUR.

This ('O gods, favour') is said in similarity to singers, who while they similarly breathe, that is sing, the sound of their voice is increased. And so he says FAVOUR, that is help me who write this work that has been begun, I say, *so that you help*.⁵⁹ And you can, FOR YOU TRANSFORMED ALSO THESE.

For when he first has shown the subject matter and made the invocation *he then uses both with help naming the subject matter⁶⁰ so that you will favour and by favouring YOU BRING this SONG already begun FROM THE ORIGIN, that is from the creation of all things. In this

⁵⁶ Here the text has been corrected with the help of clm 14809. The reading in 14482c *ira more* gives no sensible reading.

⁵⁷ This phrase seems odd. Freiburg 381 has the simpler *uel ui malarum arcium* (or by the force of the wicked arts).

⁵⁸ I have interpreted this phrase as referring to grammatical cases.

⁵⁹ It is unclear exactly what this phrase is supposed to mean. No other alternative readings exist in the other manuscripts.

⁶⁰ This phrase is obscure. It could also be understood as 'he then uses both when he names the subject matter with help/support' (the support perhaps being the invocation).

1:4 dicuntur ab aliqua origine, que modo fiat, sed a prima, que mundi fuit
 constitutione. CARMEN dicit PERPETVVM, id est continuatim ductum per
 mutationem, que facta est usque AD MEA TEMPORA, ut per illam
 homines a transitoriis, ne in eis confidant, terreantur.

‘Deos’ plurales ponit quantum ad uulgi opinionem. Ipse enim sciebat 180
 unum deum esse, qui diuersos species diuersis rebus presidentes
 omnia operari non dubitabit. Sed, quia ipse est poeta, nec ex toto
 ueritatem dicere debet expresse, sed querentibus uerbis eam satis
 intelligibilem exprimit nobis.

1:6 Postquam auditores satis attentos per materiam et inuocationem 185
 reddidit ad negotium suum peruenit, dicens: ANTEquam res ita essent
 distribute, quod his designarentur uocabulis, terram et CELUM tegens
 1:6 OMNIA, ERAT VNVS VVLTVS, id est creature substantia unius uultus, id
 est cogitationis, id est que indifferens erat in toto illo spatio, quomodo
 dicitur. Et *b. que* uultum, si quis esset, tunc posset uocare 190
 confusionem.

1:7 Vultus eius, dico, MOLES. Molis quidem erat et hec quidem ponderosa,
 1:8 quia non erat in quicquam, id est ulla discretione alia NISI PONDVS
 INERS esset. Pondus iners tamen erat semen, id est principium,
 futurarum rerum, sed non bene formatum. Nam ipsa elementa uero 195
 1:9 SEMINA RERVM INUNCTARVM, sed NON BENE, id est pulchre formata, erant
 CONGESTA, id est coadunata in eodem loco et non discerni poterant.
 Nam non uera lux erat tunc et, ut tenebre sunt, nihil discerni poterat,
 1:10 et hoc dicit: N<VLLVS> A<DHVC> T<ITAN>, id est illuminatio
 P<RE>B<EBAT>. 200

Ipse deberet scribere modo illam confusionem, sed quia tantam
 proprietatem non posset exprimere, ideo ad has negationes se
 transfert, ut negando ista ad illa chao<s>, que illa esset, in parte
 describit.

1:14 AMPHITRITES, id est circum sonans. ‘Amphi’ Grecum, ‘circum’ Latine. 205
 ‘Triton’ sonans. Mare enim in circuitu terrarum litus percutiens sonat.

201 Ipse ... 204 describit] cf. **Frei381 (34v)**: Ipse modo debet illam confusionem dicere sed
 quia interpretatem exprimere non posset ad has ideo negationes se transfert ut negando
 ista ab illa chao que confusio illa esset in parte describat

197 congesta *correxi* mesta *cod.* 199 nvlvs ... Titan] n. at. *pro* n. a. t. 203 chaos *correxi*

way, they are not said to be from an origin that happened recently, but from the first, which happened with the constitution of the world. He says PERPETUAL SONG, that is led continuously through a transformation made all the way TO MY TIME, so that through this people would be deterred from earthly things, so as not to trust them.

He puts 'gods' in the plural with respect to common opinion. For he himself knew that there is one god, who will not hesitate to cause different shapes to preside over everything through different things. But since he is a poet he does not have to tell the whole truth explicitly, but with inquiring words he expresses it plainly enough for us.

After he has made the listeners attentive enough through the subject matter and the invocation he arrives at his main matter, saying: BEFORE things were so divided that they could be designated with these words, [before] the earth and HEAVEN covering EVERYTHING, THERE WAS ONE FACE, that is the substance of creation with a single face, that is of thought, that is in which there is no difference in this entire space, whatever it is called. *And 'face' is well said*⁶¹, if any such thing exists, then one could call it a mingling.

Its face, I say, A HEAP. There was a heap and a heavy one at that, since it did not exist in anything, that is through no other separation, except an INERT WEIGHT. The inert weight, however, was the seed, that is the beginning, of things to come, but it was not well formed. For the elements themselves were the SEEDS OF THINGS JOINED, but NOT WELL, that is not beautifully formed, they were PRESSED TOGETHER, that is they were collected into the same place and could not be separated. For there was no true light then and, since it was dark, nothing could be discerned, and he says this: AS YET NO TITAN OFFERED [LIGHT], that is an illumination.

*He should describe merely 'this mingling', but since he cannot express such a great quality, he turns to these negations, as by negating this to that he is partly describing the chaos that existed there.*⁶²

AMPHITRITES, that is 'sounding around'. *Amphi* is a Greek word, 1:14
'around' in Latin. *Triton* is 'sounding'. For the sea sounds when beating the shore in its way around the lands.

⁶¹ This passage seems to be corrupted, but it reminds us of line 76 from clm 4610, which reads *uultus bene dixit* and is used in the translation.

⁶² This passage is obscure and may be derived from the language of logic, cf. Boethius 4:10.

- 1:15 VTQVE. Bene dicit, quia non erat ibi discrecio ista. Nam erat confusio et
hoc dicit: non erat tunc discretio, ut patet in his. Nam QVA, id est *ibi*,
ubi erat illud, quod modo dicitur TELLVS, ILLIC in eodem erat AER. Et
1:16 SIC, quia omnia ita confusa erant, tellus non erat habitabilis, ut aliquis 210
1:17 <neque> desuper staret neque in unda nataret. Nam NVLLI eorum
MANEBAT tunc FORMA SVA. Ista, que modo si<bi> a deo data est.
Quamuis notet separatim illud elementum, quod tellus dicitur, hoc
uocabulo, quod est tellus, ideo non hoc facit, quin alia elementa
conmixta illi elemento essent, *sed quia malorum uis illo elemento, 215
quod tellus dicitur, esse a uulgo credebatur. Ideo designatur per se hoc
nomine ita dicens*.
- 1:18 OBSTABAT. Non erant in hac forma, in qua modo sunt, sed erant
confusa. Ideo obstabat, id est impediabat, unum aliud, quia neque nare
posset aliquis in aqua propter terram neque stare in terra propter 220
aquam admixtam, quia erat confusio.
- 1:21 HANC DEVS. Ipsa quidem obstabant, sed deus DIREMIT, id est separauit,
illa ligantia et fecit coadunantem naturam ipsorum elementorum, qui
post diuisam sunt. NATVRA, dico, que MELIOR, id est efficacior, facta est
ad procreationem rerum, postquam erant diuisa, que prius conmixta. 225
- 1:24 QVE POSTQVAM diremit et postquam sic uoluit, id est ex glomeratione
extraxit. Et hoc ita quod illuminatum, quia ex eo, ut a CECO ACERVO in
29^r LOCIS suis firmiter posuit, LIGAVIT / CONCORDI PACE, ut dictum, quia in
procreacione conueniunt, quamuis sint inter se DISSOCIATA. Nam
1:29 TELLVS TRAXIT in se, id est retinuit quicquid ponderosi in aliis erat et ita 230
PRESSA EST inferius. Sic deus, dixi, dedit unicuique proprietatem suam,
1:33 quia REDEGIT IN MEMBRIS, id est in diuersitatem, ut sint membra, id est
et diuersitas. Et si non est diuersitas nec membra.

207 Vtqve ... 217 dicens*] cf. **Frei381 (34v)**: Vt qua est bene dicit quia non erat ibi discretio ista nam erat ibi confusio et hoc dicit non erat ibi discretio ut patet in hoc Nam qua ibi ubi erat illa que modo dicitur tellus illic in eodem loco erat aer et quia omnia ista confusa erant tellus non erat habitabilis ut aliquis desuper staret nec in unda nataret Nam nulli eorum manebat tunc sua forma ista que modo a deo sibi data est Quamuis uocet seperatim illud elementum quod tellus dicitur hoc uocabulo quod est tellus non ideo hoc facit quin aliqua insint illa elementa Sed quia maior uis illi elemento est quod dicitur tellus et regnat ibi ideo designatur per se hoc nomine ita de ceteris 226 uoluit] cf. euoluit *Frei381*

207 Vtqve *correxi* ut quia *cod.* 208 ibi ... 209 ubi *correxi secundum Frei381* in ut *cod.* 211 neque¹ *supplevi* 212 que *correxi secundum Frei381* quam *cod.* | sibi *correxi* 215 illi *post corr. ex illa* | illo *correxi* illi *cod.* 216 esse *sup. lin.* 224 diuisam *perp. pro diuisionem* 227 extraxit *correxi secundum Frei381* extextint *cod.* | illuminatum *scil. illuminatum est*

AND THOUGH. He says this well, since there was no separation there. 1:15
 For there was this mingling and he says this: then there was no
 separation, as is evident in these [lines]. For IN THAT WHICH, that is
 there where this existed that recently is named THE EARTH, THERE in the
 same place was also AIR. And THUS, since everything was so confused,
 the earth was not habitable, so that nobody could stand upon it nor
 swim in the water.⁶³ For ITS SHAPE did not then REMAIN IN ANY of them.
 This [shape] which recently had been given to it by god. Although he
 separately marks this element, which is named earth, by this name
 earth, he does not do this in order for the other elements not to be
 mixed together in this element, *but because an evil force was thought
 by the common people to reside in this element named earth.
 Therefore it is designated by itself by this name in saying it this way.⁶⁴

STOOD AGAINST. These were not in the shape in which they are now, 1:18
 but they were mingled. Therefore one stood against, that is hindered,
 the other, since nobody could swim in the water because of the earth
 and nobody could stand on the earth because of the water mixed in,
 since there was a mingling.

GOD THIS [STRIFE]. These things did indeed stand against, but God 1:21
 DIVIDED, that is separated, those things that were bound together and
 he made a joined nature of these elements that existed after the
 division. I say a NATURE made BETTER, that is more efficacious, for the
 procreation of things after those that were previously mingled had
 been divided.

AFTER he divided THEM and after he turned⁶⁵ them thus, that is 1:24
 extracted them from the crowd. And this in such a way that it was
 illuminated, since from it HE BOUND them in A CONCORDANT PEACE, as
 it is said, so that from THE BLIND HEAP he firmly placed them in their
 PLACES since they come together in procreation, although they are
 DISJOINED among themselves. For EARTH DREW to itself, that is it
 retained whatever was heavy in the others and so it was pressed
 further down. Thus, I said, God gave to each its quality, since HE
 REDUCED IN PARTS, that is in diversity, so that there were parts, that is
 also diversity. And if there is no diversity there are no parts.

⁶³ The first part of this explanation contains several errors, which can be detected with the help of the other mss, but this passage is still to be considered unstable and unclear.

⁶⁴ This passage is possibly corrupted. The text in Freiburg 381 reads: because a greater force belonged to this element, which is named earth and which ruled there, therefore it is designated by itself/on its own by this name and so with the others (*Sed quia maior uis illi elemento est quod dicitur tellus et regnat ibi ideo designatur per se hoc nomine ita de ceteris*).

⁶⁵ Freiburg 381 has *evoluit* (unfolded or released)

- 1:35 GLOMERAVIT, id est fecit rotundam temperiem, id est similitudinem
celi, qui magnus orbis dicitur, quia alia in se continet elementa. TVM, id 235
est propter quod terram glomeravit, diuisit FRETA.
- 1:38 Iacentes aquas dicit STAGNA a stando. Profundas aquas LACVS.
FLVMINA, id est fluentes aquas, ut currerent, misit in DECLIVIA terre et
RECEPT[I]A ea[m] in spaciosis aquis, que LIBERIORES sunt, quia aliis
1:41 nomen auferunt et suum non amittunt, cadunt per illas IN MARE. Mare 240
est generalis collectio aquarum. Siue sint salse siue dulces abusiue
mare nuncupatur. Proprie autem mare appellatur eo quod quedam
aque eius sunt amare.
- 1:45 UTQVE DVE. Istud fecit in terra et etiam aliud, quia quasdam partes fecit
habitabiles, quasdam inhabitabiles. Nam ut due zone sunt in celo ex 245
parte septentrionis, que DEXTRA dicitur ad cursum solis, que sunt
frigide, et similiter due ab austro. QVINTA ardens est. [que dextra
dicitur ad cursum solis que sunt frigide et similiter due ab austro
quinta ardens est] SIC, id est EODEM modo, deus DISTINXIT terram, que
1:48 est in medio clausa. Nam inprimuntur terra, T<ELLVRE> P<REMVNTVR>. 250
Non ideo tamen dicit ita in terra esse ut in celo, quod illud ex celo
ueniat, sed sic deus fecit illud in celo et in terra.
- 1:52 IMMINET. Hanc proprietatem dedit deus telluri, istam autem aeri. Nam
1:54 IVSSIT ILLIC stare NEVLAS ET TONITRVA, id est aeris ipsius collisiones, et
etiam uentos. Et hoc ita quod quisque uentus suum locum obtineret. 255
Dedit enim eis hec iura, *ut aer usque medium orbis spacium quoque
impellentur et tum ultra comprehendere non posset*. Ideo oppositus
est Zephirus, quia aer occidentalis occidentalem aera repellit et sic in
aliis. Si<> aer, cuius totum aera usque ad occidentem duceret terra, ex
1:54 illa parte succumberet, quia totum aera traxit in se tellus, id est retinuit 260

237 Iacentes ... 238 aquas] *cf.* Isid. *Etymol.* 13:19+21: Nam dictus est stagnus ab eo quod illic aqua stet nec decurrat. ; Fluuius est perennis aquarum decursus, a fluendo perpetim dictus. 240 Mare ... 243 amare] *cf.* Isid. *Etymol.* 13:14: Mare est aquarum generalis collectio. Omnis enim congregatio aquarum, siue salsae sint siue dulces, abusiue maria nuncupantur, iuxta illud: "Et congregationes aquarum uocauit maria". Proprie autem mare appellatum eo quod aquae eius amarae sint.

234 temperiem] *cf.* speciem *Frei381* 249 Sic ... 252 terra] *cf.* **Frei381 (35r)**: Sic id est eodem modo deus distrinxit terram que est in medio clausa Nam inprimuntur ut t. p. Nunc ideo tamen dicit ita in terra esse ut in celo quod illud ex celo ueniat sed sic deus illud fecit in celo et in terra

235 Tum *correxi eum cod.* 237 Iacentes *correxi iacentis cod.* 239 recepta *correxi* | ea *correxi* 244 Utque due *post corr. ex ut due ut vid.* 247 que ... 249 est¹ *deleui bis scr. cod.* 250 inprimuntur *correxi secundum Frei381 inprimum cod.* 254 nebulas *post corr. ex nebulans* 256 Dedit *post corr. ex dendit ut vid.* 259 Sic *correxi*, § *adest*

HE FORMED INTO A BALL, that is he made a round mixture, that is in the likeness of heaven that is called the great orb, since it contains the other element in itself. THEN, that is because he formed the earth into a round ball, he divided THE STRAITS. 1:35

He calls still waters *STAGNA* (standing water) from *stare* (to stand). *LACUS* (lake) is deep waters. He sends *FLUMINA* (rivers), that is flowing waters, as they run towards *DECLIVITIES* in the earth and THEY RECEIVE it in more spacious waters, which are MORE FREE, since they remove the name from others and do not lose their own, through these the rivers fall INTO THE SEA. *Mare* (sea) is a general collection of water. It is improperly called *mare* wether it is salt or sweet. But properly *mare* is named from the fact that some of its water is *amare* (bitter). 1:38

AND AS TWO. He made this and also another thing on land, since he made some parts habitable, some inhabitable. For just as there are two cold zones in heaven from the northern part, which is called the RIGHT POINT with respect to the orbit of the sun, there are similarly two zones from the south point. THE FIFTH is hot. SO, that is IN THE SAME way, God DIVIDED the earth, which is enclosed in the middle. For they are imprinted on the earth, THEY ARE PRESSED ON THE EARTH. However, *he does not say that* it is the same on earth as in heaven, since this one comes from heaven, but God made it thus both in heaven and on earth.⁶⁶ 1:45

IT HANGS OVER. God gave this quality to earth, that to air. For HE COMMANDED CLOUDS AND THUNDER, that is the collisions of air itself, and also winds, to stand THERE. And this so that each wind had its own place. He gave them this right, *so that air also will be driven all the way to the middle space of the orb and then it cannot further be contained*.⁶⁷ Zephyros is opposed, since the western air drives away western air and so with the others. Thus the air, all of which earth would bring all the way to the west, would sink down from this part, since earth dragged all air to itself, that is it retained whatever was 1:52

⁶⁶ Freiburg 381 has the reading *nunc ideo tamen dicit* (now, however, he says), which may also be a good reading, depending on how the reader interpreted the relevant passage in the *Metamorphoses*.

⁶⁷ This phrase is obscure and is possible corrupted. The translation is an estimation of what it might mean.

- 1:57 quicquid ponderosi erat in aliis et ita pressa est inferius. Nam HIS
PERMISIT HABENDVM AERA, sed NON PASSIM.
- 1:58 VIX NVNC. Et merito non permisit illis, ut haberent passim aera, quia
tunc nihil obsisteret eis, quod in hoc patet. Nam cum non permittitur
quod ideo fit, quia *diferencia, qui fratres sunt*, quia ex commoto aere 265
eant uel uno aere creantur. Et uere, dico, quod quisque regit suam
partem, nam est regnum.
- 1:61 NABATHVS uel Nabath fuit filius Ismahelis, filii Abrahe, qui regnauit in
oriente. A quo dicta est regio Nabaioht.
- 1:64 SEPTEMQVE TRIONES. Temes, ut secatur dictio in medio. 270
- 1:82 QVAM SATVS a IAPETO. Gentiles primum Prometheum simulacra
hominum de luto finxisse perhibent et ab eo perfectam artem
simulacra et statuas fingendi. Vnde et poete primum ab eo homines
factos esse confingunt figurate propter effigies. Iapetus duos filios
habuit, Prometheum et Epimetheum. Prometheus hominem fecit. Quo 275
facto dicitur celos ascendisse auxilioque Minerue ad solis rotam
adhibita[m] fac<u>la[m] superis ignem furatus est, quem hominum
prebuit usui. Unde dii indignantes maciem et famem in terram
miserunt. Sed postea in monte Caucaso ad scopulum religatus est, ut
29^v aquila cor eius exederet, et hoc / factum est per Mercurium. 280
- Hoc non est aliud, nisi quid puer fuit uir discretissimus et in
Caucaso monte Asirio residens astrologiam summa calliditate
inuestigauit et primus Assiriis propalauit. Mons est enim altissimus, in
quo bene sidera dinoscere potuit. Et quia magna *incepit*, magnum
tormentum sustulit, quia per prudentiam fecit, per Mercurium deum 285
facundie ad saxum religatur. Qui ignem furatus est, *dicitur*
deprendisse rationem de fulmine. Qua arte quamdiu usi sunt hi
homines, bene successit eis, sepius male contingit eis. Vnde pestis
hominibus inmissa dicitur fuisse. I<apetus> et P<rometheus> ante
290 homines fuerunt secundum philosophos.

268 Nabathvs ... 269 Nabaioht] cf. Isid. *Etymol.* 14:3: Nabathea regio a Nabeth filio Ismael nuncupata.

263 vix ... 267 regnum] cf. **Frei381 (35r)**: uix n. merito non permisit illis ut haberent passim aera quia tunc nichil eis obstiteret quod in hoc patet Nam cum non permittitur quod ideo sit diis ?fra? qui fratres sunt quia eodem aere errant uel quia filii dicuntur aurore et astrei fuisse qui fuit unus ?de-tas? Eurus dico quod quisque regit suam partem Nam est re.

270 Temes i.e. tmesis 271 a *correxi secundum 14809* id est *cod.* | Iapeto *correxi iapeta cod.*

heavy in the others and so it was pressed further down. For HE ALLOWED THESE TO HAVE AIR, but NOT EVERYWHERE.

BARELY NOW. And justly he did not allow them to have air everywhere, since then nothing would stand in their way, which is evident here. For he did not allow this to happen, since the *differences who are brothers⁶⁸, since they come from disturbed air or are created from the same air. *And in fact⁶⁹, I say that each and everyone ruled his own part, for it is a kingdom. 1:58

NABATHUS or Nabath was the son of Ismael, son of Abraham, who ruled in the east. The region is named Nabaioth after him. 1:61

SEPTEMQUE TRIONES. Tmesis, so that the utterance is cut in the middle. 1:64

WHICH THE SEED of IAPETUS. The pagans claim that Prometheus first created figures of men out of clay and that from him the art of creating figures and statues was perfected. Whence also the poets invent figuratively that men was first created by him because of the effigies. Iapetus had two sons, Prometheus and Epimetheus. Prometheus made man. Having done this it is said that he ascended to the heavens and with the help of Minerva he held a torch against the disk of the sun and stole fire from the gods, which he offered to the use of men. Wherefore the indignant gods sent poverty and famine to earth. But later he was tied to a rock on mount Caucasus, so that an eagle would eat his heart, and this was done by Mercury. 1:82

This is nothing other than that a boy was a very discerning man and residing on the Assyrian mount Caucasus he investigated astrology with the greatest skill and was the first to divulge this to the Assyrians. For this mountain is very high and at its top he could distinguish the stars well. And since he started great things he suffered a great punishment there, since he did this through prudence, he was tied to a rock by the god of learning, Mercury. He who stole fire is said to have discovered the method from lightning. As long as these men used this art, it went well for them, but more often it went badly. Whence it was said that a pestilence was sent against man. Iapetus and Prometheus existed before man according to the philosophers.

⁶⁸ This passage appears corrupted, but there is no help in the other mss to suggest a better reading.

⁶⁹ This part could be corrupted. Freiburg 381 has *Eurus* for *et uere*, which is a lemma to line 1,61.

- 1:102 OMNIA TELLVS. Telluris est numen terre. Tellus autem est profunditas terre, in qua arborum et herbarum radices continentur. Terra autem superficies a terendo dicta. Vel Tellus dea ipsa.
- 1:106 IOVIS ARBORE. Quercus dicitur arbor Iouis uel quia de glandibus suis pascebat homines uel quia per eam dabat responsa. 295
- 1:111 NECTARIS IBANT. Nectar proprie dicitur potus deorum confectus ex omni dulci potu, sed potest poni pro quolibet dulci liquore.
- 1:117 INEQUALES, id est frigore et calore, uel serenitate et tempestate. Vel inequales, id est pestiferos corporibus ex calore preterito et frigore ineunte. Pluraliter ponit, id est E<STVSQVE> A<VTVMNOS>, quia unum 300 quodque habet tres menses et tria tempora, id est nouum, adultum preruptum.
- 1:113 POSTQVAM SATVRNO. Afferunt enim coniuratione facta Saturnum a regno suo per filium suum Iouem depulsum, ita pacem tempore Saturni ualentem armis Iouem turbasse. Et ideo aureum seculum in 305 argenteum mutauit. Iouis namque tempore multos sapientes in terrenis constat fuisse substantiis. Quam ob rem dicitur argenteum seculum extitisse.
- 1:123 CEREALIA SVLCIS. Ceres dea dicitur frugum. Quasi Ceres a creando, cuius proprie sunt cerimonie, sicut orgia Liberi. 310
- 1:140 IRRITAMENTA M<ALORVM>, quia aurum est causa belli, QVOD PVGNAT
1:142 VTROQVE, id est cum ferro propter aurum.
- 1:147 ACONITA N<OVERCE>, id est herbas ueneficas a caute natas.
- 1:151 NEVE FORET. Apud Flegram ciuitatem uel montem Thessalie dicuntur gigantes cum diis pugnasse, sed Varus dicit aliquos ad montes, cum 315 diluuium fuit, confugisse cum utensilibus. Qui postea laccessiti bello ab his, qui de aliis montibus ueniebant, facile ex locis superioribus uincerent. Unde factum est, ut superiores dii, inferiores uero terrigene dicerentur et, quia de humilibus ad superiora reptabant, dicti sunt pro pedibus habuisse serpentes. *Quod est* Saturno de bello fugato titani, 320 filii fratris Saturni patrique Iouis, uoluerunt eum paterna hereditate

- EARTH [GAVE] EVERYTHING. Tellurus is a divinity of the earth. But *tellus* (earth) is the inner depth of the earth in which the roots of the trees and herbs are contained. *Terra* (earth) is the surface and named from *terendo* (to rub). Or *Tellus* is the goddess. 1:102
- JUPITER'S TREE. The oak is called Jupiter's tree, either because it feeds men with its acorns, or because he gave oracle replies through it. 1:106
- [RIVERS] OF NECTAR FLOWED. The drink of the gods is properly called nectar, it is made from every sweet drink, but it can be used for any sweet drink. 1:111
- UNEVEN, that is concerning cold and heat, or concerning clear weather and storminess. Or uneven, that is harmful for bodies because of preceding heat and subsequent cold. He puts it in the plural, that is SUMMERS AND AUTUMNS, since each has three months and three periods, that is new, fullgrown and mature. 1:117
- AFTER SATURN. They say that after a conspiracy Saturn was driven from his kingdom by his son, Jupiter, so that Jupiter disturbed with arms the peace that was kept in Saturn's time. And therefore the golden age changed into the silver age. For it is clear that in Jupiter's time there were many wise men among the earthly persons. For this reason it is said that there was a silver age. 1:113
- THE CERES [SEED] IN FURROWS. The goddess of grain is named Ceres. Ceres as from *creare* (creating), whose characteristic is ceremonies, as orgies are Liber's. 1:123
- INCITEMENTS TO BAD THINGS, since gold is the cause for war, WHICH FIGHTS WITH BOTH, that is with iron because of gold. 1:140
- STEPMOTHERS [MIXES] WOLF'S-BANE, that is poisonous herbs born from a stone. 1:147
- AND THAT [THE UPPER AIR] BE NOT. In the city of Flegra or a mountain in Thessaly giants are said to have fought with the gods. But Varus/Varro says that some fled with their tools to the mountains, when there was a flood. These were later challenged to war by those who came from other mountains, and easily defeated them from their superior position. Whence it happened that the gods are called 'the upper ones' and the ones on earth 'the lower ones', and since they crawled from low places to higher ones, they were said to have snakes for legs. **Quod est**⁷⁰ after Saturn had been chased away from the war, the titans, sons of Saturn's brother and Jupiter's uncle, wanted to deprive him of his paternal heritage, but Jupiter subdued them with war machines. Therefore he is said to have hurled lightning on them and thus to have kept his heritage. 1:151

⁷⁰ This phrase does not fit into the sentence. It is found in all mss except for Freiburg 381, which has *Saturnus est de belo fugatus*, which explains the *est* but not the *quod*.

priuare, sed Iuppiter eos machinis bellicis debellauit. Quare dicitur eos fulminasse paternamque hereditatem ita detinuisse.

- 1:174 POSVERE P<ENATES>. Quasi 'penes uos nati', seu p<enates>, id est omnia consentientes. 325
- 1:182 NON EGO PRO M<VNDI>. Mundus dicitur a mouendo, quia omnia elementa sunt mobilia preter terram, sed gratia aliorum terra dicitur mundus. Hic autem positum est siue pro celo solo siue toto mundo. Dicitur et terra mundus per antifrasin quasi minime est munda.
- 1:184 ANGVIPEDVM C<APTIVO>. Dicuntur habere anguinos pedes propter calliditatem. Est enim anguis animal callidissimum. Pedem pro affectu accipe. 330
- 1:193 SVNT FAVNI. Fauni dicuntur quasi fanes a fando. 'Fanes' enim Grece, 'uox sonat' Latine, uel a responsis. SATIRI dicuntur a saturitate uoluptatum. SILVANI a siluis, sed fauni proprie siluarum dii, satiri dii planitierum in siluis siue extra, panes montium, *unde quemlibet eorum / colere dicuntur*. 335
- 1:216 MENALA TRANSIERAM. Hic menalus et pluraliter hec menala. Montes Thessalie.
- 1:219 CREPVSCVLA. Enim creperum, id est dubium, unde crepuscula, id est dubia. Partes noctis sunt uii: Crepusculum, conticinium, intempestum, gallicinium, matutinum, aurora, diluculum. Matutinum est inter umbrarum abscessum et aurore aduentum. 340
- 1:221 PIA VOTA L<YCAON>. Lycaonem Archadie principem solitum, quibus poterat, constat nocuisse predonemque uehementem fuisse. *Quem* Iuppiter, rex Crete, cupiens deprehendere hospitis habitu cum paucis apud eum cepit hospitium. [quem] Ille ueniens nocte gladio percutere uoluit Iouem esse deum dissimulantem. Iuppiter itaque reuersus Cretam damnatum consiliis bonorum bonis suis priuauit. Ille ita necessitate coactus siluis se uelut latronem abdidit artesque antiquas sicut lupus exercuit. 350
- 1:241 FERA REGNAT ERINIS, id est furia infernalis.
- 1:185 AB VNO, quia unum agmen solum modo erat ex una origine, scilicet una progenies, quibus faciebat. PERDENDVM EST, dico, uulnus inferendum est. Re uera perdam, sed uos dicetis mihi, quod PRIVS TEMPTANDA essent, sed e contra dico uobis, quod est VVLNVS 355

THEY PLACED [THEIR] *PENATES*. As in *penes vos nati* (born with/in presence of you)⁷¹, or *penates*, that is ‘granting everything’. 1:174

I WAS NOT [MORE WORRIED] FOR THE WORLD. *Mundus* (world) is named from *movere* (to move), since every element is mobile except for the earth, but thanks to the other elements the earth is named *mundus*. But here it is used for heaven only or for the entire world. The earth is also named *mundus* through antiphrasis, as it is the least clean. 1:182

[THE ARMS] OF THE SERPENT-FOOTED ON THE CAPTIVE [SKY]. The giants are said to have snake legs because of their slyness. For the snake is the slyest animal. Interpret ‘foot’ as their disposition.⁷² 1:184

THERE ARE FAUNS. Fauns are named as *fanes* from *fando*. For *fanes* in Greek is ‘a voice sounding’ in Latin, or from replies. SATYRS are named from *saturitas* (satiety/fulness) of pleasures. SYLVANS from *silvis* (woods), but the fauns are properly the gods of the forests, the satyrs are the gods of the plains in the forests or outside, the *panes* are [gods] of the mountains, *whence they are said to worship anyone of them*⁷³. 1:193

I HAD CROSSED THE MAENALA. Maenalus (masculine) and in plural Maenala (neutrum). They are mountains in Thessaly. 1:216

CREPUSCULE (TWILIGHT). For *Creperum* (darkness) is a wavering, whence *crepuscula*, that is waverings. There are seven parts of the night: *crepusculum*, *conticinium*, *intempestum*, *gallicinium*, *matutinum*, *aurora*, *diluculum*. *Matutinum* is between the receding of the shadows and the arrival of dawn. 1:219

LYCAON [MOCKED] THEIR PIOUS PRAYERS. It is a fact that Lycaon, who used to be the ruler in Arcadia, hurt those he could and that he was a violent robber. Jupiter, king of Crete, wishing to catch him took lodging with him together with a few men in the guise of a guest. Coming in the night he wanted to strike Jupiter, who hid that he was a god, with his sword. And so when Jupiter returned to Crete he deprived the condemned man of his fortune through the council of some good men. He forced by necessity withdrew to the forests like a bandit and practised his old arts like a wolf. 1:221

WILD ERINYS RULES, that is infernal Furia/fury. 1:241

FROM ONE [BODY], since it was but one single troop from a single origin, namely a single race, for whom he did this. IT MUST BE DESTROYED, I say, a wound must be inflicted. Truly I will destroy them, but you tell me that they must be tried first, but against that I say to you that it is an INCURABLE WOUND and therefore they should be killed. 1:185

⁷¹ Freiburg 381 has *nos* (with us), which seems a better reading

⁷² i.e. snake leg equals sly disposition

⁷³ This appears to be a problematic passage. All manuscripts have different readings and none of them make good sense.

- 1:192 INMEDICABILE et ideo interficientur. Que ideo etiam ne pars bonorum
 exemplo malorum corrumpantur. Vere adhuc habeo bonos. Nam MIHI
 SEMIDEI, ut sunt heremite et ceteri et cetere. Opus est, ut securas
 faciam, quia imputatis. 360
- 1:201 Sic est, dico, quia omnes dii tremuerunt. Et si non patet qualiter dii
 tremuerunt, pateat uidelicet per hoc simile: Nam SIC, id est similiter,
 PERHORRVIT, id est timuit, TOTVS ORBIS tunc, cum Iulius Cesar
 interfectus fuit, sicut dii gemuerunt. Et sicut Augustus letatus est ex
 hoc, quod orbis ita dolebat de morte auunculi sui, ita Iuppiter ex hoc, 365
 quod subditi tantam de eo habuerunt pietatem, quando nequitiam
 Lycaonis audierunt.
- 1:241 Tres sunt sorores, que dicuntur furie infernales esse: Megea,
 Thesiphone, Allecto. ERINIS uero maior lis interpretatur.
- 1:256 AFFORE dictum TEMPVS a FATIS. 370
- 1:281 HI REDEVNT. Minoribus properantibus personis non conuenit
 respondere.
- 1:283 IPSE TRIDENTE SVO. Neptunus dicitur tridentem ferre propter triplicem
 uim. Est enim potabilis, mobilis, liquida et fe<cu>nda, quia fe<cu>ndat
 segetes. 375
- Pluto, Neptunus, Iuppiter tridentes depinguntur habere, quia
 quisque eorum habet potestatem in regno alterius.
- 1:289 CVLMEN TAMEN. Culmen dicitur a culmo, quia antiqui domos suas
 stramine tegebant.
- 1:317 NOMINE PARNASVS. Parnasus mons habet duos uertices, dextrum 380
 Heliconem et sinistrum Cytheronem. Sed in Helicone est Cirra ciuitas,
 in Citherone est Nisa, in qua Bachus colitur. Unde Bachus dicitur
 Niseus et Venus Citharea. In Cirra Apollo et Muse.
- 1:320 Oreadas NIMPHAS. Oreade nimphe sunt dee montium, driades
 siluarum, amadriades arborum. Que cum arboribus nascuntur et 385
 pereunt. Naiades uel napee foncium, nereides maris.
- 1:336 QVE TVRBINE. Turbinem dicit ipsam tortuositatem.
- 1:346 POSTQVE DIEM L<ONGAM>. Diem ponit pro tempore.
- 1:373 AD DELVBRA DEE. Delubra ueteres dicebant templa fontes habentia,
 quibus ante ingressum diluebantur. Dicta a diluendo. 390

Also so that no part of the good men will be corrupted by the example of the bad men. Truly thus far I have good men. For I HAVE DEMIGODS, as there are hermits and other men and women. It is necessary that I make them safe, since you assign them to me.

I say, it is thus, since all the gods trembled. And if it is not evident how the gods trembled, clearly it will be evident through this comparison: For SO, that is in the same way, THE WHOLE WORLD then TREMBLED GREATLY, that is feared, when Julius Caesar was killed, just as the gods sighed. And just as Augustus was gladdened by the fact that the world so mourned his uncle, so Jupiter [is gladdened] by this that his subjects had such a piety regarding this, when they heard about Lycaon's wickedness.

There were three sisters who were said to be the infernal furies: Megaera, Tisiphone, Alecto. ERINYS is interpreted as 'greater strife'. 1:241

It was said by THE FATES THAT A TIME WOULD COME. 1:256

THEY RETURN. It is not fit for the lesser persons, who hasten, to reply. 1:281

HE HIMSELF WITH HIS TRIDENT. Neptune is said to carry a trident because of his threefold power. For Neptune is drinkable, mobile, liquid and fruitful, since he makes the crops fruitful.⁷⁴ 1:283

Pluto, Neptune and Jupiter are portrayed as having tridents, since each one of them has power in the realm of the others.

CULMEN. *Culmen* (top, roof) is named from *culmus* (stalk, stem), since the ancients covered their houses with straw. 1:289

[A MOUNTAIN] NAMED PARNASSUS. Mount Parnassus has two peaks, the right one is Helicon, the left Cytheron. But the city Cirrha is on Helicon, on Cytheron is Nysa, where Bacchus is worshipped. Wherefore Bacchus is called Nysean and Venus Cytherean. In Cirrha Apollo and the Muses [are worshipped].⁷⁵ 1:317

The Oread NYMPHS. The Oread nymphs are goddesses of the mountains, dryads of the forests, hamadryads of the trees. They are born and they die with the trees. Naiads or napeas [are goddesses] of the springs, nereids of the sea. 1:320

WHICH [GROWS] IN A WHIRL. He calls this twisting 'a whirl'. 1:336

AND AFTER A LONG DAY. He uses 'day' for a period of time. 1:346

⁷⁴ Neptune is here understood as water

⁷⁵ This phrase is missplaces. It should be placed right after 'where Bacchus is worshipped'.

- 1:390 Hic PROMETHIDES. Vel quia filius erat Promethei uel quia primus reparauit homines post diluuium, sicut Prometheus ante diluuium. [deucalionem humore] Phisici autem per Deucalionem humorem, per Pirram calorem accipiunt, ex quibus omnia post diluuium creata sunt.
- 1:391 An FALLAX, id est si mihi non est SOLLERTIA secundum hoc, quod cogito, tunc ORACVLA SVNT PIA, et tunc legi NOBIS pro mihi. Vel aliter: F<ALLAX S<OLLERTIA> NOBIS, an nos sumus decepti in hoc, quod putamus deos semper / pia suadere, aut si nos non sumus decepti, tunc et nunc pia suadent istud, scilicet MAGNA PARENS TERRA EST. 395
- 30^v
- 1:393
- 1:390 EPIMETHIDA DICTIS, id est filia Epimithi, fratris Promethei. 400
- 1:395 Titanida MOTA est, quia pater eius fuit de progenie Titani.
- 1:438 MAXIME PHITON. Phiton, quia Iunone precipiente persecutus est Latonam, dum pareret, ab Apolline occisus est. Cuius corio tecti tripode<s> Apollinis. Instituti sunt ludi insignes sue uictorie, qui dicuntur Phiciaci. 405
- 1:470 QVOD factum miratum EST, quia amanti uidetur pulchrum, non amanti graue quasi PLVMBVM.
- 1:492 VTQVE STIPVLE. Stipule sunt folia uel uagine, quibus culmus ambitur atque fulcitur, ne pondere fruges curuentur, que sunt in culmo. Stipula quasi usta uel ustipula, collecta enim messe uritur propter culturam agri. 410
- 1:521 INVENTVM Mercurii M<EDICINA>, quia ipse repertor intrumentorum et medicine, ut *sunt et he*.
- 1:563 ANTE FORES S<TABIS>, quia non solum imperatores inde in theatro coronabantur, sed domusque fores eorum. Vel ideo dicit fores C<VSTOS>, quia sublata, que ante fores eorum erat, saxa fiebat et ideo fores accedere metuebant. 415

TVEBERE, id est -ris quercus, unde duces soliti erant coronari, *et fieri propter* mediam ad coronandam uulgalem, quia inde plebs tantum

TO THE GODDESS'S *DELUBRA* (shrine). The ancients called *delubra* 1:373
temples that had springs, in which they washed themselves before
entering. They are named from *diluendo* (to wash away).

Here THE PROMETHEAN. Either because he was the son of Prometheus 1:390
or because he first restored the human race after the flood, just as
Prometheus before the flood. The natural philosophers interpret
Deucalion as humidity, Pyrrha as heat, from which two everything
was created after the flood.

OR DECEPTIVE, that is if I do not have INGENUITY according to what I 1:391
think, then THE ORACLES ARE PIOUS and then read US for me. Or
differently: DECEPTIVE INGENUITY FOR US, whether we are deceived in
thinking that the gods always counsel pious things, or if we are not
deceived, then and now pious [oracles] counsel this, namely that
EARTH IS THE GREAT MOTHER.

THE EPIMETHIAN WITH [REASSURING] WORDS, that is the daughter of 1:390
Epimetheus, brother of Prometheus.

The Titanian IS MOVED, since her father was from Titan's race. 1:395

GREAT PYTHON. Python was killed by Apollo, since on Juno's order it 1:438
pursued Latona when she was giving birth. Apollo's tripods are
covered with its skin. Games called Pythian were instituted to
celebrate his victory.

He wonder at WHAT happened, since what seems beautiful for a lover, 1:470
seems heavy like LEAD for one not in love.

AND AS THE *STIPULE* (STALKS). *Stipule* are leaves or sheaths, which 1:492
surround and support the stalk, so that the fruits on the stalk do not
bend from the weight. *Stipula* as in *usta* or *ustipula*, for that which was
collected during the harvest is burned (*urere*) for the cultivation of the
field.

THE INVENTION OF MEDICINE is Mercury's, since he is the inventor of 1:521
instruments and medicine, *as are also these.*⁷⁶

YOU WILL STAND IN FRONT OF THE GATES,⁷⁷ since the emperors where 1:563
not crowned only in the theatre, but also at their houses and gates. Or
he says GUARDIAN [IN FRONT OF] THE GATES, *since when the laurel that
was in front of their gates had been removed it became stone, and
therefore they feared to approach the gates.*⁷⁸

AND YOU WILL LOOK TO (*tuebere*), that is 'you will look to' (<*tuebe*>*ris*)
the oaks, whence the lords used to be crowned, *and because the

⁷⁶ This phrase is possibly corrupted. Freiburg 381 has *ut sequitur* ('as follows').

⁷⁷ The entire following passage seems severally corrupted and is the most difficult
passage to make sense of in book one. All mss have commented upon these lines in teh
Metamorphoses, but with varying content and length. Clm 14482c has the longest and
most problematic explanation.

⁷⁸ clm14809: since an altar was made from the laurel in front of their gates and therefore
they feared the gates of the church

1:560 coronabitur. Tibi TVEBERE defendesque DVCIBVS, ne eam sumant. Illam, 420
 dico, sic factam MEDIAM, id est uilem, propter te et merito, quia semper
 eris uiridis. *Nam ut inde et cetera*.

*Mos erat antiquorum, ut quercus plantaretur ante fores nobilium,
 quo prope corone uictoribus possent inde acquiri, sed domini in
 lauro. Laurus una, scilicet quam sibi plantabant. Sed exterius ante 425
 dicit. Que media, scilicet inter laurus et fores. Vel mediam, id est
 'corone' subaudi, quia post annum id est et nobiles et ignobiles
 coronabantur quercu, sed postea nobiles tantum lauro, ignobiles uero
 quercu. Unde etiam quidam legit 'mediam', id est 'plebeiam' subaudis
 modo per te factam. Ideoque dicit tuebere, id est defendes, quia 430
 nobiles quidem id est coronabantur ante lauro. Tuebere, respicit ad
 illud idem, quo et istud F<IDISSIMA> C<VSTOS> P<OSTIBVS> A<VGVSTIS> et
 nobilium*.

Non tamen ibi laurus plantabatur, ut corone inde haberentur, sed
 etiam ideo, quia tante dignitatis erat, quod nullus auderet aliquam uim 435
 inferre domui illi, ante quam plantauerat. POSTIBVS autem posuit pro
 tota domo.

1:574 PENETRALIA MAGNI. *Ammis* est fluuius nemore et frondibus redimitus
 ex ipsa amenitate uocatus.

1:577 NESCIA GRATENTVR, id est an gratulantur de honore filie in tam 440
 pulchram arborem mutate, an CONSOLENTVR de eadem amissa.
 Congratulentur, id est an salutent an consolentur de dolore filie

1:588 REDEVNTEM IUPITER F<LVMINE>. Flumen est perennis aque depress<i>o,
 a fluendo perpetim dictus. Sed proprie ipsa aqua dicitur flumen quam
 fluuius, id est *prior aqua quam <de>cursus*. Duo uero sunt genera 445

middle became common for the purpose of crowning, since the people will be crowned only from this^{*79}. YOU WILL LOOK TO yourself and fend off THE LORDS, so that they do not take it. This one (the oak), I say, that was made 'the middle one', that is cheap, because of you and justly since you will always be green. †Nam ut inde et cetera^{†80}

*It was the custom of the ancients to plant an oak in front of the gates of the nobles, from which crowns for the victorious could quickly be acquired, but the lords [were crowned] with laurel. A laurel, namely the one they planted for themselves. But he means 'in front' (*ante*) as in 'outside' (*exterius*). The 'middle one' (*que media*), namely inbetween the laurel and the gates. Or 'the middle' (*mediam*) supply 'of the crown', since after a year both nobles and commoners were crowned with the oak, but later only the nobles with the laurel and the commoners with the oak. Whence also some read 'the middle', that is 'plebeian', supply 'recently made by you'. And therefore he says 'you will look to', that is 'you will defend', since some nobles were crowned before with laurel. 'Look to', take heed of the same thing, where also THE MOST FAITHFUL GUARDIAN [WILL STAND] AT THE VENERABLE PORTALS [AND LOOK TO THE OAK] of the nobles^{*81}.

The laurel was not, however, planted there, so that they would have crowns from it, but since it was of such a great dignity that nobody dared to do any violence towards the house in front of which he had planted it. He uses AT THE PORTALS for the entire house.

THE INTERIOR OF THE GREAT [RIVER]. *Amnis* is a river encircled by a grove and its foliage and is named from this delightfulness (*amenitate*). 1:574

NOT KNOWING WHETHER TO CONGRATULATE, that is whether they should be gratulated regarding the honour of their daughter transformed into such a beautiful tree, or CONSOLED for having lost her. Congratulated, that is whether to greet or console them regarding the sorrow for their daughter. 1:577

JUPITER [HAD SEEN] HER RETURNING FROM THE STREAM. *Flumen* (stream) is a perpetual press of water, it is named from constantly flowing (*fluere*). But properly this water is named *flumen* rather than *fluuius*, that is water comes before its course.⁸² There are two kinds of streams. 1:588

⁷⁹ There seems to be interjected phrases and some alternative or erroneous words in this passage compared to clm 14809: And look to, whence the lords used to be crowned. The middle, that is common, since from this even the commoners were crowned. Or look to, that is you will defend against the lords, so that that they do not take it. This, I say, thus made the middle, that is cheap on account of you, because you will always be green. *nam ut et cetera*

⁸⁰ This phrase makes no sense, the final *et cetera* implies that it is either a quotation or a repetition of a familiar pattern, but if that is the case it is unknown to what it refers.

⁸¹ This passage is severely problematic and the translation is only an approximation of what it might mean. I suspect several errors (e.g. two superfluous *id est*) and incorporated interlinear glossing (e.g. *una* in *laurus una* and *que* in *que media*).

⁸² This section is corrupted and heavily emended in the edition. The text of Freiburg 381 offers a better text.

fluminum: unum torrens, id est fluens cum impetu, alter uero unde Virgilius: 'donec flumine curuo'.

- 1:597 | IAM PASCVA L<ERNE>. Lerna est palus, quam Hercules siccauit. Liceum
1:598 est promunctuorium.
- 1:617 SVOS ADICERE AMORES, id est denegare uel adicere. Veritas [id] est 450
lionem stupratam Iunonem pedissequam eam Ioue concedente fecisse,
ut eius detraheret forme oculosque mariti surriperet, scilicet cuidam
Argo callidissimo camerario suo custodiendam commisit, quare
centum oculos dicitur habuisse. Quem per Mercurium dicitur occidisse
Iupiter, quia facunda promissio<ne> sua eum corruptum gratia 455
Iunonis priuauit. Eo quod eius nutu uirginem uiciauit, oculos prius in
caudam pauonis collocasse dicitur. Eo quod cuidam seruianti sic
uocato eandem custodiendam rursus conmisit, et, quia uerbis et factis
31^r persecuta est, dicitur ei sub cauda oestrum po- / -suisse. Tandem Ioue
interueniente ueniam meruit assumpto habitu religionis. Unde postea 460
1:747 dicit NVNC DEA NILIGERA COLITVR C<ELEBERRIMA> T<VRBA>.
- 1:649 LITERA PRO VERBIS, QVAM PVLVERE PES D<VXIT>. Rotunda enim ungula
pedis faciebat circulum in puluere ad modum o, *scilicet* fissura, id est
quod sonat Io.
- 1:668 PHORONIDES VLTRA. A Phorone, patre Inachi, quia Phoronis uocata est 465
aua Io<nin>, unde ipsa Phoronides. Aut a Phoroneo rege.
- 1:669 NATVMQVE V<OCAT>, id est Mercurium, filium Maie, filie Athlantis et
1:682 Plenionis, unde etiam dictus est ATHLANTIADES.
- 1:671 ALAS PEDIBVS. Ale Mercurii proprie dicuntur talaria et uirga sua
caduceus in modum falcis. 470
- 1:682^r Tres fuerunt atlantes: Maximus Maurus, alius Italicus, pater Electre,
tercius Archadicus, pater matris Mercurii.
- 1:688 FISTVLA NVPER. Fis<tulam> quidam dicunt a Mercurio inuentam, alii a
Fauno, quem uocant Greci Pan. Fis<tula> autem dicta, quod uocem
emittat. Nam 'fos' Grece, 'uox' Latine, 'stalam' 'missa' dicitur. 475
- 1:691 SIRINGA uocabatur. A siringa dicitur, 'sirinu' Grece, 'fistula' Latine
sonat.
- 1:694 HORRIGIVM STVDIIS. Affri fuit soror Latone, cum qua Iupiter uoluit
concupere, sed ipsa implorata est deorum marinorum auxilium, qui
mutauerunt eam in coturnicem. Ipse quoque mutans se in aquilam 480

One rushing, that is it flows with force, the other whereof Virgil says:
Until in the winding stream.

THE PASTURES OF LERNA. Lerna is a swamp that Hercules dried out. Lyceum is a promontory. 1:597

TO SURRENDER HIS LOVE, that is to deny or to sacrifice. The truth is that Jupiter yielded Io and Juno made her into her attendant, so that she could disparage her beauty and snatch her husband's eyes away from her, namely she entrusted her to one Argus to keep, a very cunning chamberlain, wherefore he is said to have had a hundred eyes. Jupiter is said to have killed Argus through Mercury, since he through Juno's grace deprived him the debauched of his eloquent promise.⁸³ She is said to have first placed his eyes on the tail of a peacock for this reason that he violated the maiden on her command. She is said to have placed a horse-fly under her tail for this reason that she again entrusted the same girl to be guarded by some servant called thus, and since she persecuted her in both words and deeds. Finally with Jupiter's intervention she was granted mercy after she had assumed the religious habit. Whence he thereafter says: NOW THE NILE-WEARING GODDESS IS WORSHIPPED BY THE VERY LARGE CROWD. 1:617

INSTEAD OF WORDS A LETTER, WHICH HER FOOT DREW IN THE DUST. The round nail of the foot made a circle in the dirt in the shape of an o, namely a fissure, that is something that sounds Io. 1:649

[NO] LONGER THE PHORONEAN'S. From Phoron, Inachus's father, since Io's grandmother is called Phoronis, whence Io the Phoronean. Or from king Phoroneus. 1:668

AND HE CALLS HIS SON, that is Mercury, son of Maia, daughter of Atlas and Pleione, whence he is also called the ATLANTIAD. 1:669

WINGS TO HIS FEET. The wings of Mercury are properly called *talaria*, and his staff in the shape of a sickle is called *caduceus*. 1:671

There were three Atlants: Maurus was greatest, another one was Italicus, Electra's father, the third was Arcadicus, father of Mercury's mother. 1:682?

THE PIPE RECENTLY [DISCOVERED]. Some say that the pipe was invented by Mercury, others by Faunus, whom the Greek call Pan. It is called *fistula* since it emits a sound. For *fos* in Greek, is 'sound' in Latin, *stalia* is 'sent'. 1:688

She was called SYRINX. She was named from *siringa*, *sirinu* in Greek, in Latin it denotes a pipe. 1:691

[SHE WORSHIPPED] THE ORTYGIAN IN HER ENDEAVOURS. Asteria was the sister of Latona, with whom Jupiter wanted to sleep, but she begged the sea-gods for help and they transformed her into a quail. Jupiter transformed himself into an eagle and pursued her. Exhausted from 1:694

⁸³ The last part of this sentence is uncertain. It is unclear exactly who the subject is and to what *facunda promissione* and *gratia Iunonis* refers.

secutus est eam. Ipsa uero fessa uolitando occidens in mare facta est insula, que uocata est Orcigia. Allegorice. 'Corix' enim Grece, coturnix Latine.

1:747 NVNC DEA LANIGERA. Postquam uenit in Egyptum secundum fabulam humanitate derelicta et in Nilo purgata, facta est Isis. DEA LINIG<ER>A, 485 quia cooperuit Osirim *maritum* lino, quando inuenit eum membratim a fratre discerptum.

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flying she fell down into the sea and was made into an island, which is called Ortygia. Allegorically.⁸⁴ For *ortyx* in Greek is quail in Latin.

NOW THE WOOL-WEARING GODDESS. According to the story: after she came to Egypt, she abandoned her humanity and was purified in the Nile and then she became Isis. THE LINEN-WEARING GODDESS, since she covered her husband Osiris with linen, when she found him torn to pieces and scattered by his brother. 1:747

HERE ENDS BOOK I AND BOOK 2 BEGINS

⁸⁴ i.e. the association between the place Ortygia and the Greek word *ortyx* means that this story should be interpreted allegorically. However, the names (*orcigia* and *corix* for *ortygia* and *ortyx*) have are so distorted in the manuscripts that this association is difficult to spot.

