The Bavarian Commentary and Ovid

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The Bavarian Commentary and Ovid is the first complete critical edition and translation of the earliest preserved commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses. Today, Ovid's famous work is one of the touchstones of ancient literature, but we have only a handful of scraps and quotations to show how the earliest medieval readers received and discussed the poems—until the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 4610. This commentary, which dates from around the year 1100, is the first systematic study of the Metamorphoses, founding a tradition of scholarly study that extends to the present day.

Despite its significance, this medieval commentary has never before been published or analysed as a whole. Böckerman's groundbreaking work includes a critical edition of the entire manuscript, together with a lucid English translation and a rigorous and stimulating introduction, which sets the work in its historical, geographical and linguistic contexts with precision and clarity while offering a rigorous analysis of its form and function.

The Bavarian Commentary and Ovid is essential reading for academics concerned with the reception of Ovid or that of other ancient authors. It will also be of great interest for Classical scholars, those investigating medieval commentaries and media history, and for anyone intrigued to know more about how the work of Ovid has echoed through history. As with all Open Book publications, this entire book is available to read for free on the publisher's website. Printed and digital editions, together with supplementary digital material, can also be found here: www.openbookpublishers.com

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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, qui mutabantur corpore et non spiritu, ut Licaon. De spirituali, quae 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 animam mutatam sicut de Lycaone, alia de animata ad animam, ut hi<e>furcas subi<e>re columpne de domo scilicet Bacidi. Aliter de animata ad animam mutatam de statua Pigmalianis mutata in *statuam* iuuenis hominis. Aliter de animata ad animam mutatam draco, qui mutatus est in saxum.

Que autem de animata ad animatam: Vel fit ad animam sensibilem, ut Lycaon, qui mutatus est in lupum, uel ad animatam et non sensibilem, ut Daphne in laurum, unde coronabantur homines. Que uero de animata ad animam 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 mater Penthei, que furens laceravit filium suum, quando sacrificabat Bacho.

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 veritatem res essent mutate, sed secundum hoc, quod
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 sufficiently, 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

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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 quidque erat malis moribus, iudicabatur mutari in eam rem, cui erat consimilis in moribus.

Materia dicitur quasi mater rei, quae duobus modis accipitur: ut in domo lapides; in rebus inuisibilibus, ut in Porphyrio 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 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, *vel oratio que* maxime intendit animum in libris legendo, ut in Lucano reprehendere ciuile bellum et dissuadere.

Utilitas est talis quod, cum fabule in alis libris tangentur, 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 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 similis eius, semper tria esse dixerunt, scilicet deum et iiior elementa similiter confusa et formas omnium rerum in mente dei existentis, id est ideas, differentias, hanc rationalitatem et caliditatem et frigiditatem, per quam ipse deus futuras constiturus erat. Ista uero genera philosophorum dicentium deum ex athomis et inanitate mundum fecisse et ex chao / et ideis dicebant deum artificem non creatorem. Quidam uero dicebant deum de nihilo mundum fecisse. Creatorem illum intellexerunt. Hi autem omnes philosophi personas tres dicebant patrem, filium, *iii:um spiritum sanctum minorem patre et filio* crediderunt et in hoc erraverunt.

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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 erraverunt| 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 erraverunt

48 athomis correxi 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 exites the soul towards the reading of books, as in Lucan, to rebuke and dissuade from civil war*.\(^\text{50}\)

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, warmness 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*.\(^\text{51}\)

\(^{50}\) 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, *ii: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 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 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 uitiis. Nam, cum intendat de re* de transformatione rerum, describit, ut ostendat alias 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 historiiis 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 Terentii et Plauti et Neuii et aliorum multorum. Alia quod numquam factum est neque fieri potest per naturam, ut isti<s Ouidii, qui loquitur de transmutatione rerum in contrariam naturam, quod est eius materia.

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

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

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\(^{52}\) 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 fragiientia, non ad manus prouocantia. Sic de ceteris. Scripsit autem in Ponteroo insula, ut in exilio erat expulsus ab Augusto. In fine quoque operis sui laudat eum sperans per hoc gratiam suam recuperare.

1:1 Proponens: FERT, id est cupid, ANIMVS meus de re formata mutata IN NOVAS FORMAS ET CORPORA mutata, id est noua <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.

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 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;
1:9 INDIGESTA, id est inseparata inordinata SEMINA RERVM. Res, quod erant semina futurarum rerum. TYTAN a titane patre; quia non consensit cum fratibus, receptus est inter deos. FRIGIDA P<VGABANT> 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, uel Triton, deus marinus.
1:21/25 DEVS CONCORDI PACE, id est meliori tritura adducentur duo fundamenta penitus oppositas qualitates habentia, uidelicet ignem et terram. Ignis est calidus, acutus, mobilis. Terra uero est frigida, optusa, / non mobilis, corpulenta. Hec duo ita sunt repugnantia, scilicet dum per se uidelicet non possunt coherere, posuit quiddam medium, scilicet aquam, que habet duas affinitates cum terra et terram cum
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

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53 This passage is severerly 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 mucht that we also should take a subject matter that agrees with our condition.’ The translation above is not verbatim.

54 This phrase could be understod 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), wich 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, possuit 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 dimidia partem, scilicet sex. Vnde sicut ter terni ter, id est xxuii, continet ter terni bis, xxuiii, et eius dimidia partem, scilicet ix. Eodem modo ter terni bis in se bis bini ter, id est xii et eius dimidia partem, scilicet xii. Iterum bis bini ter continet in se bis bini bis, id est octo, et eius dimidia partem, id est iii, et e converso. Et notandum est quod sicut xxuii se habet ad xii, ita xxuiii ad xiii. Continent enim xxuii xii bis in se et eius iii partem, scilicet iii. Eodem modo xxuiii continet in se bis octo et eius iii partem, id est duo, et e converso.

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

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.
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 2x2x2 and 3x3x3. 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 2x2x2, the other from parts in parts, namely 3x3x3. It (the number) could not firmly be bound lest by two inserted middle terms, that is 2x2x3 and 3x3x2. 2x3 has two affinities with 2x2x2, but a third with 3x3x3. 3x3x2 has two affinities with 3x3 and one with 2x2x2. 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 3x3x3, that is 27, contains 3x3x2, 18, and its half, namely 9. In the same way 3x3x2 contains in itself 2x2x3, that is 12, and its half, namely 6. Again 2x2x3 contains in itself 2x2x2, 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 12x2 in itself and its quarter, namely 3. In the same way 18 contains 8x2 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.
Materiam ostendit cum dicit FERT ANIMVS meus, id est impatienter et grauiiter 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 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 utilitatem.

Sunt quidam, qui hic faciunt casuum mutationem dicentes corpora mutant in uarias formas, ideo quia dicunt corpus non mutari, nisi formas tantum. Contra quos nos dicimus corpora et formas equaliter mutari.

DII CEPTIS. Materia ostensa facit invocationem, in qua nos attentos et beniuolos reddit, non quia leue sit, quod dicturus est, sed graue et multum attendendum est, cum hoc fit, quod deos ad suum auxilium invocet 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 scribentem iuuate in hoc opere incepto, dico, *ut iuuetis*. Et potestis, nam vos mvtaetis et illa.

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

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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 materiam proposium 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 uermis quandu terra motione caloris uel humoris in ?uerum? mutatur 171 *ut iuuetis*] sic et ceteri mss (Frei + AV4) 173 *ponit ... 174 dicens*] sic et ceteri mss (Frei + AV4)

154 terra motione corretex secundum clm14809 ira more cod. 157 patet corretex secundum Frei381 patri cod. 160 utilitatem corretex secundum Frei381 161 dicentes corretex secundum Frei381 diuertens cod. 167 multum corretex secundum Frei381 multia cod. 170 augmentatur corretex 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.* 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 arts* 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 cases 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*. 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 matter* 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

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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).
dicuntur ab aliqua origine, que modo fiat, sed a prima, que mundi fuit constitucione. 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 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.

Postquam auditores satis attentos per materiam et inuocationem reddidit ad negotium suum peruenit, dicens: ANTEquam res ita essent distribute, quod his designarentur uocabulis, terram et CELUM tegens 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 confusionem.

Vultus eius, dico, MOLES. Molis quidem erat et hec quidem ponderosa, quia non erat in quicquam, id est ualla discrettione alia NISI PONDVS INERS esset. Pondus iners tamen erat semen, id est principium, futuraram rerum, sed non bene formatum. Nam ipsa elementa uero SEMINA RERVM IVNCTARVM, 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, et hoc dicit: N<VLVS> A<DHVC> T<ITAN>, id est illuminacione P<RE>B<EBAT>.

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.

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

201 Ipse … 204 descripti] 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 descripti

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.

*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, ‘around’ in Latin. **Triton** is ‘sounding’. For the sea sounds when beating the shore in its way around the lands.

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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.
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 SIC, quia omnia ita confusa erant, tellus non erat habitabilis, ut aliquid desuper staret neque in unda nataret. Nam NVLLI eorum MANEBAT tunc FORMA SVA. Ista, quae modo si<bi> a deo data est. Quamuis notet separatim illud elementum, quod tellus dicitur, hoc vocabulo, quod est tellus, ideo non hoc facit, quin alia elementa conmista illi elemento essent, *sed quia malorum uis illi elemento, quod tellus dicitur, esse a uulgo credebatur. Ideo designatur per se hoc nomine ita dicens*.

OBSTABAT. Non erant in hac forma, in qua modo sunt, sed erant confusa. Ideo obstabat, id est impediebat, unum aliud, quia neque nare posset aliquis in aqua propter terram neque stare in terra propter aquam admixtam, quia erat confusio.

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 efficatior, facta est ad procreationem rerum, postquam erant diuisa, que prius conmista.

QVE POSTQVAM diremit et postquam sic voluit, id est ex glomeratione extraxit. Et hoc ita quod illuminatum, quia ex eo, ut a CECO ACERVO in LOCIS suis firmiter posuit, LIGAVIT / CONCORDI PACE, ut dictum, quia in procreacione conueniunt, quamuis sint inter se DISSOCIATA. Nam TELLVS TRAXIT in se, id est retinuit quicquid ponderosi in aliis erat et ita PRESSA EST inferius. Sic deus, dixi, dedit unicuique proprietatem suam, quia REDEGIT IN MEMBRIS, id est in diuersitatem, ut sint membra, id est et diuersitas. Et si non est diuersitas nec membra.
AND THOUGH. He says this well, since there was no separation there. 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. 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.

STOOD AGAINST. These were not in the shape in which they are now, 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 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 turned them thus, that is 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 evolvit (unfolded or released)
GLOMERAVIT, id est fecit rotundam temperiem, id est similitudinem celi, qui magnus orbis dicitur, quia alia in se continent elementa. TVM, id est propter quod terram glomeratuit, diuisit FRETA.

Iacentes aquas dicit STAGNA a stando. Profundas aquas LACVS. FLVMINA, id est fluentes aquas, ut currerent, misit in DECLIVIA terre et RECEP[T]I[A ea[m] in spaciosis aquis, que LIBERIORES sunt, quia aliiis nomen auferunt et suum non amittunt, cadunt per illas IN MARE. Mare est generalis collectio aquarium. Siue sint salse siue dulces abuisue mare nuncupatuir. Proprie autem mare appellatur eu quod quedam aque eius sunt amare.

UTQVE DVE. Istud fecit in terra et etiam aliud, quia quasdam partes fecit habitabiles, quasdam inhabitableles. Nam ut due zone sunt in celo ex 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 est in medio clausa. Nam inprimumtur terra, T<ELLLIRE> P<REMVNTVR>. 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.

IMMINET. Hanc proprietatem dedit deus telluri, istam autem aeri. Nam IVSSIT ILLIC stare NEBVLAS ET TONITRVA, id est aeris ipsius collisiones, et etiam uentos. Et hoc ita quod quisque uentus suum locum obtineret. 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 aliiis. Si aer, cuius totum aera usque ad occidentem duceret terra, ex illa parte succumberet, quia totum aer traxit in se tellus, id est retinuit

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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 aquarium, siue salsa siue dulces, abuisue maria nuncupantuir, 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 distinxit terram que est in medio clausa Nam inprimumtur 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 correxii eum cod. 237 Iacentes correxii iacentis cod. 239 recepta correxii | ea correxii 244 Utque due post corr. ex ut due ut vid. 247 que … 249 est1 delexi bis scr. cod. 250 inprimumtur correxii secundum Frei381 inprimum cod. 254 nebulas post corr. ex nebulans 256 Dedit post corr. ex dendit ut vid. 259 Sic correxii, § 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.

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).

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

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

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.
quicquid ponderosi erat in aliis et ita pressa est inferius. Nam HIS
PERMISIT HABENDVM AERA, sed NON PASSIM.

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 *differencia, qui fratres sunt*, quia ex commoto aere
eant uel uno aere creantur. Et uere, dico, quod quisque regit suam
partem, nam est regnum.

NABATHVS uel Nabath fuit filius Ismahelis, filii Abrahe, qui regnauit in
oriente. A quo dicta est regio Nabaioht.

SEPTEMQVE TRIONES. Temes, ut secatur dictio in medio.

QVAM SATVS a IAPETO. Gentiles primum Prometheus simulacra
hominum de luto finxisse perhibent et ab eo perfectam artem
simulacra et status fingendi. Vnde et poete primum ab eo homines
factos esse confingunt figurate propter effigies. Iapetus duos filios
habuit, Prometheus et Epimetheus. Prometheus hominem fecit. Quo
facto dicitur celos ascendisse auxilioque Minerue ad solis rotam
adhibita[m] fac[u]la[m] superis ignem furatus est, quem hominum
prebuit usui. Unde ilii indignantes maciem et famem in terram
miserunt. Sed postea in monte Caucaso ad scopulum religatus est, ut
aquila cor eius exederet, et hoc / factum est per Mercurium.

Hoc non est alius, nisi quid puer fuit uir discretissimus et in
Caucaso monte Asirio residens astrologiam summa calliditate
investigauit et primus Assiriis propalauit. Mons est enim altissimus, in
quo bene sidera dinoscere potuit. Et quia magna incepit, magnum
tormentum sustulit, quia per prudenciam fecit, per Mercurium deum
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
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 correxii secundum 14809 id est cod. I Iapeto correxii 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 brothers*68, since they come from disturbed air or are created from the same air. *And in fact*69, I say that each and everyone ruled his own part, for it is a kingdom.

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

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

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.

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.

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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 INEQALES, id est frigore et calore, uel serenitate et tempestate. Vel inequaues, id est pestiferos corporibus ex calore preterito et frigore ineunte. Pluraliter ponit, id est E<STVSQVE> A<VTMNOS>, quia unum quoque habet tres menses et tria tempora, id est nouum, adultumm preruptum. 300

1:113 POSTQVAM SATVRNO. Afferunt enim conjuratione facta Saturnum a regno suo per filium suum Iouem depulsum, ita pacem tempore Saturni ualentem armis Iouem turbasse. Et ideo aureum seculum in argenteum mutauit. Iouis namque tempore multitios sapientes in terrenis constat fuisse substantis. Quam ob rem dicitur argenteum seculum extitisse. 305

1:123 CEREALIA SVLCIS. Ceres dea dicitur frugum. Quasi Ceres a creando, cuius proprie sunt cerimonie, sicut orgia Liberi. 310

1:140 IRRTAMENTA M<ALORVM>, quia aurum est causa belli, QVOD PVGNAT UNQVOE, id est cum ferro propter aurum. 315

1:147 ACONITA N<OVERCE>, id est herbas ueneficas a cautel natas.

1:151 NEVE FORET. Apud Flegram ciuitatem uel montem Thessalie dicuntur gigantes cum diis pugnasse, sed Varus dicit aliquos ad montes, cum diluuum fuit, confugisse cum utensilibus. Qui postea laccisiti bello ab his, qui de aliases 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, filii fratris Saturni patruique 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.

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.

[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.

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.

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.

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.

INCITEMENTS TO BAD THINGS, since gold is the cause for war, WHICH FIGHTS WITH BOTH, that is with iron because of gold.

STEPMOTHERS [MIXES] WOLF’S-BANE, that is poisonous herbs born from a stone.

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.

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 bellicos debellavit. Quare dicitur eos fulminasse paternamque hereditatem ita detinuisse.

1:174 POSVERE P<ENATES>. Quasi ’penes uos nati’, seu p<enates>, id est omnia consentientes.

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.

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 335 planiferum in siluis siue extra, panes montium, *unde quemlibet eorum / colere dicuntur*.

1:198 MENALA TRANSIERAM. Hic menalus et pluraliter hec menala. Montes Thessalie.

1:199 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.

1:216 PIA VOTA L<YCAON>. Lycaonem Archadie principem solitum, quibus poterat, constat nocuisse predonemque uehementem fuisse. Quem 345 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.

1:241 FERA REGNAT ERINIS, id est furia infernalis.

1:221 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 355 TEMPTANDA essent, sed e contra dico ubis, quod est VVLNVS
THEY PLACED [THEIR] PENATES. As in penes vos nati (born with/in presence of you)\textsuperscript{71}, or penates, that is ‘granting everything’.

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.

[THE ARMS] OF THE SERPENT-FOOTED ON THE CAPTIVE [SKY]. The giants are said to have snake legs because of their slynness. For the snake is the slyest animal. Interpret ‘foot’ as their disposition.\textsuperscript{72}

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 saturtius (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\textsuperscript{73}.

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

CREPUSCULE (TWILIGHT). For Creperum (darkness) is a wavering, whence crepuscula, that is waveringings. 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.

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.

WILD ERINYS RULES, that is infernal Furia/fury.

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.

\textsuperscript{71} Freiburg 381 has nos (with us), which seems a better reading

\textsuperscript{72} i.e. snake leg equals sly disposition

\textsuperscript{73} This appears to be a problematic passage. All manuscripts have different readings and none of them make good sense.
INMEDICABLE et ideo interficientur. Que ideo etiam ne pars bonorum exemplo malorum corrumpantur. Vere adhuc habeo bonos. Nam MIHI SEMIDEL, ut sunt heremite et ceteri et cetera. Opus est, ut securas faciam, quia imputatis. 360

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, quod subditii tantam de eo habuerunt pietatem, quando nequitiam Lycaonis audierunt.

Tres sunt sorores, que dicuntur furie infernales esse: Megea, Thesiphone, Allecto. ERINIS uero maior lis interpretatur.

Pluto, Neptunus, Iuppiter tridentes depinguntur habere, quia quisque eorum habet potestatem in regno alterius.

CVLMEN TAMEN. Culmen dicitur a culmo, quia antiqui domos suas stramine tegebant.

Nomine PARNASVS. Parnasus mons habet duos uertices, dextrum Heliconem et sinistrum Cytheronem. Sed in Helicone est Cirra ciuitas, in Citherone est Nisa, in qua Bacchus colitur. Unde Bacchus dicitur Niseus et Venus Citharea. In Cirra Apollo et Muse.

Oreadas NIMPHAS. Oreade nimpe sunt deee montium, driadis siluarum, amadriades arborum. Que cum arboribus nascuntur et perseunt. Naiades uel nappe foncion, nereides maris.

QVE TVRBINE. Turbinem dicit ipsam tortuositatem.

POSTQVE DIEM L<ONGAM>. Diem ponit pro tempore.

AD DELVBRA DEE. Delubra ueteres dicebant templa fontes habentia, quibus ante ingressum diluebantur. Dicta a diluendo.
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

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

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.

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’.
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.

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<SOLLERTIA> 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.

EPI METHIDA DICTIS, id est filia Epimethei, fratris Promethei.

Titanida MOTA est, quia pater eius fuit de progenie Titani.

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.

QVOD factum miratum EST, quia amanti uidetur pulchrum, non amanti graue quasi PLVMBVM.

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.

INVENTVM Mercurii M<EDICINA>, quia ipse repertor intrumentorum et medicine, ut *sunt et he*.

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.

TVEBERE, id est -ris quercus, unde duces soliti erant coronari, *et fieri propter* medium ad coronandam uulgalem, quia inde plebs tantum
TO THE GODDESS’S DELUBRA (shrine). The ancients called delubra 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 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 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 Epimetheus, brother of Prometheus.

The Titanian IS MOVED, since her father was from Titan’s race.

GREAT PYTHON. Python was killed by Apollo, since on Juno’s order it 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, seems heavy like LEAD for one not in love.

AND AS THE STIPULE (STALKS). Stipule are leaves or sheaths, which 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 instruments and medicine, *as are also these.*

YOU WILL STAND IN FRONT OF THE GATES, since the emperors where 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.*

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

*Mos erat antiquorum, ut quercus plantaretur ante fores nobilium, quo propere corone uictoribus possent inde acquiri, sed domini in lauro. Laurus una, scilicet quam sibi plantabant. Sed exterius ante 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 nobiles quidem id est coronabantur ante lauro. Tuebere, respicit ad illud idem, quo et istud F<IDDISSIMA> C<VSTOS> P<OSTIBVS> A<VGVSTIS> et nobilium*.

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

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

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

1:588 REDENVTEM IUPITER F<LVMIN>. Flumen est perennis aque depress<o>, a fluendo perpetim dictus. Sed proprie ipsa aqua dicitur flumen quam fluuius, id est prior aqua quam <de>cursus. Duo uero sunt genera
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’ (medium) 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).

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.

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 fluvius, that is water comes before its course. 82 There are two kinds of streams.

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 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’.

IAM PASCVA L<ERNE>. Lerna est palus, quam Hercules siccauit. Liceum est promunctuorium.

SVOS ADICERE AMORES, id est denegare uel adicere. Veritas [id] est Ioniem stupratam Iunonem pedissequam eam Ioue concedente fecisse, ut eius detraperet 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 Iunonis priuauit. Eo quod eius nutu virginem uiciauit, oculos prius in caudam paunonis collocasse dicitur. Eo quod cuidam seruienti sic uocato eandem custodiendam rursus conmisit, et, quia uerbis et factis persecuta est, dicit ei sub cauda oestr um po- / - suisse. Tandem Ioue interueniente ueniam meruit assumpto habitu religionis. Unde postea dicit N VNC DEA NILIGERA COLITVR C<ELBERRIMA> T<VRBA>.

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.

PHORONIDES VLTRA. A Phorone, patre Inachi, quia Phoronis uocata est au a Io<nis>, unde ipsa Phoronides. Aut a Phoroneo rege.

NATVMQVE V<OCAT>, id est Mercurium, filium Maie, filie Athlantis et Plenionis, unde etiam dictus est ATHLANTIADES.

ALAS PEDIVS. Ale Mercurii propri propicuntur talaria et uirga sua caduceus in modum falcis.

Tres fuerunt atlantes: Maximus Maurus, alius Italicus, pater Electre, tercius Archadicus, pater matris Mercurii.

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, ‘staliam’ ‘missa’ dicitur.

SIRINGA uocabatur. A siringa dicitur, ‘sirinu’ Grece, ‘fistula’ Latine sonat.

HORRIGIVM STVDIIS. Affri fuit soror Latone, cum qua Iupiter uoluit concumbere, sed ipsa implorata est deorum marinorum auxilium, qui mutauerunt eam in coturnicem. Ipse quoque mutans se in aquilam
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. Lyrceum is a promontory.

**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. 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.**

**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.

**[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.

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

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

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

**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’.

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

**[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

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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, quia cooperuit Osirim maritum lino, quando inuenit eum membratim a fratre discerptum.

EXPLICIT LIBER I INCIPIT SECUNDUS
flying she fell down into the sea and was made into an island, which is
called Ortygia. Allegorically. 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.

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 (orçigia and corix for
ortygia and ortyx) have are so distorted in the manuscripts that this association is difficult
to spot.
