

The Bavarian Commentary and Ovid

ROBIN WAHLSTEN BÖCKERMAN

Qum multa possint inquiri i ca
pice unicuiq. libri moderni
qda gaudentes bntate. tria pn
cipalit ingrenda 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. pika
goras hoc uidens nimis arrogans
apposuit qdda remediũ. i. sopho.
qd e amor. inde philosophia ama
tor sapientie. Huc usq. egum de
ethimologia ipsi uocabuli. Hc aut
dicant qd sit ipsa res. Philosophia
e ars t naturalis t artificialis. na
turalis e que omibz in e. ut abula
re. loqui. Artificialis que ama
gistro docet & ad discipulo discit.
& hec eade artificialis diuidit in
duas partes. scilicet in literale q.
literalem. In literalis est. ut scire.
arare. Literalis que pote dici uera
philosophia diuidit in tria. scil in
phsica loqua ethica. Phsica 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. methica numerus. in de
arithmetica uirt numeri. Olosin
gce. hebraice aq. inde musica aq.
tica dr. qa omis uox ab humore &
aeris repercussione chit. astrono
mia. i. astrorum scientia. Logi
ca diuidit in. iiii. scil. grammatice.
rethorica. dialectica. Grama eni g
ce. lat littera. in de grammatice li
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 & malos. Ethic eni gce. lat
mores. inde ethica moralis. Omis
auctor. t pragmatice. t eregrina
rice. t cinomatrice. Pragmaticon
ide fabulosu. & est ubi in trodus
re psona locum ut terentiu. Ex
agematice. ide enarratiuũ. ubi
auctor loquit priscian. Terciu
geni poematis e. Cinomatrice. i.
comune. ut ovidius iste scribit.

Quidam philosophi fuerunt qui
mundũ de nichilo deũ fecisse
crederunt. Quidam uero alii ex
athomis. & in auitate. que duo
semp fuerunt. dicit dñm mundũ
fecisse. Alii aut philosophi. sicut
ovidius & con similes. tria ee semp
dixer. scil. dñi. & .iii. elementa isimal
compta. & formas omniũ rerũ i men
te di existentes. i. ideas. hoc e disse

Iste liber e Monasterij Benedictenperoren



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1. Introduction

*In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas
corpora; di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illa)
aspirate meis primaeque ab origine mundi
ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.*

My mind is bent to tell of bodies changed into new form. Ye gods, for you yourselves have wrought the changes, breathe on these my undertakings, and bring down my song in unbroken strains from the world's very beginning even unto the present time.¹

(*Metamorphoses* 1:1-4)

So begins Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, today one of the most well-known works of literature from ancient Rome. In these first four lines, out of more than 12,000 in the longest of the Latin epics, Ovid announces his subject matter—bodies transformed by the acts of the gods—and asks the gods to support his work. The stories of transformation in the *Metamorphoses*, numbering more than 250, have proven to be tremendously popular throughout history, inspiring authors and artists in the ancient world, and later famous authors such as Chaucer and Shakespeare, as well as readers and writers today.

Ovid asks that his poem should be brought to us through history 'in unbroken strains' and in the very last lines he also wishes for fame for himself:

*Ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.*

I shall have mention on men's lips, and, if the prophecies of bards have any truth, through all the ages shall I live in fame.

(*Metamorphoses* 15:878-79)

We may perhaps agree that among the ancient authors known and discussed today, Ovid does indeed 'live in fame'. However, the *Metamorphoses* has not been brought to us through history 'in unbroken strains'. With a slow beginning in the eleventh and early

¹ All Latin quotations are from *Metamorphoses*, ed. Richard J. Tarrant, (Oxford, 2004). All translated passages from the *Metamorphoses*, if not otherwise stated, are from *Metamorphoses: Books 1-8* and *vol. 2 Books 9-15*. Transl. Frank Justus Miller (revised by G.P. Goold) (Cambridge MA, 1977).

twelfth centuries, it was only in the late twelfth century that Ovid entered the medieval mainstream. For several centuries after antiquity Ovid's works seem to have been little read, and they arrived on the medieval literary scene surprisingly late compared to many other ancient authors. Until the 1100s we have only a handful of preserved manuscripts containing the text of the *Metamorphoses*, occasional mention of, and quotation from Ovid by intellectuals, and from around the year 1100 the earliest preserved commentary on the work, known as the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 4610.² This commentary is the first systematic study of the *Metamorphoses* and represents the beginning of a tradition.

As the twelfth century progressed, Ovid's work was increasingly copied and more commentaries began to appear. There were at least four families of commentaries in circulation during this century. Two or three of them may stem from the German lands, while the most famous is by Arnulf of Orléans, who made use of the earlier commentaries but added his own inventive dimension. The school milieu in Orléans also produced other commentaries on Ovid's works during the early thirteenth century. Over the next hundred years a noticeable shift in interpretative technique occurred, at least as far as Ovid was concerned; the allegorical interpretation gained ground. This approach can be found here and there in the earlier commentaries; it was consistently used by Arnulf but it was developed and finally used as the dominant form of interpretation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Representative for the thirteenth century are the later generations of the Orléans school, for example the *Bursarii* by William of Orléans; the work of John of Garland, active at Paris and Oxford; and the anonymous so-called Vulgate commentary, which, judging from the number of manuscripts it has been transmitted in, exerted a strong influence for several centuries. John of Garland offered the most obscure, allegorical, almost mystical interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*, while the Vulgate commentary was more eclectic and easy to use, and could be taken up by subsequent generations to better understand the basic meaning of the text. During the following century the most voluminous commentaries and reworkings of the *Metamorphoses* were created, most famous of which is the *Ovidius Moralisatus* by Pierre Bersuire and the French *Ovide Moralisé*, a moralising translation of the *Metamorphoses* more than three times longer than the original. Giovanni del Virgilio, a Bolognese scholar and

² From here on clm 4610. The manuscript consists of two codicological units. The first codicological unit is a commentary on Lucan and the second the commentary on the *Metamorphoses*. In this book I use clm 4610 to signify only the *Metamorphoses* commentary.

correspondent with Dante, also wrote an allegorical commentary on the *Metamorphoses* during this century.

Parallel to the commentaries, Ovid's poem was taken up by contemporary culture in many other ways. It was translated into several languages, the earliest of which appears to be Albrecht von Halberstadt's translation into German around 1200; in the east, Maximus Planudes translated the *Metamorphoses* into Greek in the late thirteenth century; the *Ovide Moralisé* gave the *Metamorphoses* shape in French, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the text was translated into several other languages, such as Italian, Catalan, and English.³ From the twelfth century onwards Ovid also began to exert a strong influence on literature, both in Latin and in the vernacular languages and in both poetry and prose, as well as on other art forms.

The end of the fifteenth century witnessed the first printed editions of the *Metamorphoses*, which also contained a commentary based on material from the preceding centuries.⁴ From this point on, the text of Ovid's work stabilises somewhat, but every new century saw several new editions, together with a multitude of commentaries. Ovid became almost synonymous with Greco-Roman mythology. This continues to the present day: the latest edition of the *Metamorphoses* was produced sixteen years ago by Richard Tarrant and the latest commentary, line-by-line and very much in the spirit of its medieval predecessors, was published as late as 2018.⁵

This is significant not only because it demonstrates the continued interest in engaging with Ovid and his texts, but also the accumulation and reuse of the knowledge and ideas of previous generations. This is where clm 4610 is important. Although there is no reason to believe that clm 4610 was the first *Metamorphoses* commentary ever created, it is the earliest preserved document belonging to the commentary tradition and as such it is significant.

This book is a close study of this single document, the manuscript clm 4610, which stands for *codex latinus monacensis* number 4610. This manuscript is today at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Bavarian state library in Munich, but was originally one of several hundred manuscripts that came to the library from the Benedictine monastery Benediktbeuern during the *Säkularisation* in the early nineteenth

³ Albrecht von Halberstadt's translation is only preserved in fragments. Giovanni Bonsignori, *Ovidio Methamorphoseos vulgare*, 1375-77; Francesc Alegre, *Transformacions*, between 1472-1482; William Caxton, *The Booke of Ovyde Named Methamorphose*, 1480.

⁴ *Metamorphoses*, ed. Raphael Regius, (Venice, 1497).

⁵ Tarrant 2004; Luis Rivero García, *Book XIII of Ovid's Metamorphoses: A Textual Commentary*, Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Commentare (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110612493>.

century. During this time, Napoleon raised the duchy of Bavaria to a kingdom and, in the process, confiscated the holdings of the monasteries in the region and transferred the books from their libraries to what was then known as Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis.

The manuscript consists of two different codicological units that have been bound together at some point during the middle ages and it carries owner marks from the monastery in a gothic script. The script used in the commentary would suggest a south-German, late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century hand. The commentary contains copy errors and must therefore be based on one or several pieces of earlier text. There are also some signs of clm 4610 having influenced the other twelfth-century commentaries when it comes to individual explanations, but as far as we know there exists only one single copy of this text. We have no further details available to shed light on the fate of the manuscript from its creation until it attracted the interest of two German scholars at the end of the nineteenth century.

In 1873 the commentary was first noticed by M. Haupt, who included a transcription of a small section of it in his article 'Coniectanea'; less than ten years later, Karl Meiser made a more thorough study of the text in his article 'Ueber einen Commentar zu den Metamorphosen des Ovid'.⁶ Here he identifies which passages from the *Metamorphoses* are commented upon and also includes transcriptions of some extracts, as well as a discussion on, among other things, some of its sources. This forty-two-page article from almost a century and a half ago about an obscure commentary on Ovid has had a remarkable impact. It has been cited by almost every scholar dealing with the reception of Ovid, but also by scholars interested in medieval philosophy and theology. This is partly because Meiser highlighted the few Christianising explanations that exist in the commentary and because he, following Haupt, identified the name Manogaldus, which appears a few times in the commentary, with Manegold of Lautenbach. Several scholars, such as Paule Demats and Michael Herren, have followed the tracks laid out by Meiser, often with the purpose of examining Christian-Platonic ideas in the commentary.⁷

⁶ M. Haupt, 'Coniectanea', *Hermes: Zeitschrift Für Klassische Philologie*, 1873.7 (1873); Karl Meiser, 'Ueber Einen Commentar Zu Den Metamorphosen Des Ovid', *Sitzungsberichte Der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Philologische Und Historische Klasse*, 1885 (1885), 47–117.

⁷ Paule Demats, *Fabula: Trois Études de Mythographie Antique et Médiévale*, Publications Romanes et Françaises, (Genève: Droz, 1973); Michael Herren, 'Manegold of Lautenbach's Scholia on the Metamorphoses - Are There More?', *Notes and Queries*, 2004.5 (2004), 218–22, <https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/510218>.

More recently Peter Dronke has treated facets of clm 4610 in two separate books.⁸

Although these scholars achieved good results with the help of Meiser's extracts, it is my belief that the entire commentary should be made available and studied. It is relatively short, but still deals with all fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*: clm 4610 thus offers a unique opportunity to understand how an entire commentary, rather than selected parts of it, functions as a hermeneutic device on its own and in relationship to its target text.

There is an intrinsic value to clm 4610 as the earliest known commentary on the *Metamorphoses*. When it comes to editing, it presents both challenges and opportunities. It is a reasonably short commentary and only exists in one manuscript, which saves the editor from the problematic textual situation of, for example, Arnulf's commentary or the Vulgate commentary, or the sheer temporal or logistical challenge of trying to edit a text as long as the *Ovide Moralisé*. However, only having access to one manuscript also presents a challenge. The text in clm 4610 contains many errors and problematic readings, all of which can be solved by the editor's judgement alone. For this reason, I have strived to be as transparent as possible as far as editorial decisions are concerned, so that the reader may critically engage with my version of the text

Clm 4610 presents other challenges: it is the first of its kind, and it is anonymous, both of which cause some difficulties in providing context. However, it is certainly not the last of its kind, and it must be regarded in the context of all the other *Metamorphoses* commentaries. Some of these commentaries are the objects of ongoing research projects, while many others are still unedited, or only partially edited, or in some cases virtually unknown to the research community. The latter problem will be remedied by Frank Coulson's forthcoming article on Ovid in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentatorum*, which will prove an invaluable aid when it comes to finding the relevant manuscripts for research, among other things. The work on the remaining twelfth-century commentaries is divided between myself and David Gura, University of Notre Dame, who is soon to publish a

⁸ Peter Dronke, *The Spell of Calcidius: Platonic Concepts and Images in the Medieval West* (Firenze: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008); Peter Dronke, *Sacred and Profane Thought in the Early Middle Ages* (Firenze: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016).

critical edition of Arnulf's commentary with Brepols.⁹ This is a long-awaited work as it will be the first edition of the text since the transcriptions of Fausto Ghisalberti and the partial edition in Gura's PhD dissertation.¹⁰ The work of another member of the Orléans school, William of Orléans (c. 1200) and his *Bursarii super Ovidios*, a lengthy and dense commentary on all of Ovid's works, has been edited by Wilken Engelbrecht, Palacký University Olomouc.¹¹ Frank Coulson has long been working on the Vulgate commentary, which is important because of its lasting popularity and difficult because of its expansive textual tradition. Coulson first published a part of the text with the Toronto Medieval Latin Texts series, and recently translated Book 1 from this commentary. In cooperation with Piero Andrea Martina (Universität Zurich) he is now contracted to produce an edition of the entire commentary with Classiques Garnier.¹² At the Institut für Klassische Philologie at Universität Bern, work on a new edition of Giovanni del Virgilio's *Expositio* is being done by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich.¹³ The daunting task of working on the *Ovide Moralisé* is being approached as a group effort by a team of researchers gathered in various projects in France, Switzerland and Germany, such as the project *Ovide en français* (2014-2017) directed by Marylène Possamai

⁹ The edition will be published in Brepols' *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* series. Gura has also published articles on Arnulf of Orléans and related material: David T. Gura, 'Living with Ovid: The Founding of Arnulf of Orléans' Thebes' in *Manuscripts of the Latin Classics 800-1200*, ed. Erik Kwakkel, 131-66. Leiden University Press, 2015; 'The Ovidian Allegorical Schoolbook: Arnulf of Orléans and John of Garland Take Over a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript', *Pecia* 20 (2018), 7-43.

¹⁰ Fausto Ghisalberti, 'Arnolfo d'Orleans: Un Cultore Di Ovidio Nel Secolo XII', *Memorie Del R. Istituto Lombardo, Classe Lettere*, 1932.24 (1932), 157-234; David T. Gura, *A critical edition and study of Arnulf of Orléans' philological commentary to Ovid's Metamorphoses*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 2010).

¹¹ Wilken Engelbrecht, *Filologie in de Dertiende Eeuw: de Bursarii super Ovidios van Magister Willem van Orléans. Editie, inleiding en commentaar*. (Olomouc: Vydavatelství Univerzity Palackého, 2003).

¹² Frank T. Coulson, *The 'Vulgate' Commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Creation Myth and the Story of Orpheus*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 0082-5050; 20 (Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies: 1991); Frank T. Coulson, *The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses Book 1* (Kalamazoo: Medieval institute publications, 2015).

¹³ At the time of writing I have no information on when this edition is due for print. Previously the only available edition has been: F. Ghisalberti, *Giovanni del Virgilio epositori delle Metamorfosi* (Firenze: Olschki, 1933).

(Université de Lyon 2) and Richard Trachsler (Universität Zürich).¹⁴ Trachsler is currently continuing with the project *Les Sources de l'Ovide Moralisé* (2018-2020), which involves several other researchers. Marek Thue Kretschmer (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) and PhD student Pablo Piqueras (Universidad de Murcia) are investigating the relationship between the French *Ovide Moralisé* and the Latin *Ovidius moralizatus* by Pierre Bersuire (c. 1350-1360), as well as the complex textual transmission of the latter work.¹⁵ Piqueras is also working on the first complete Castilian translation of the *Ovidius Moralizatus*. A translation by Frank Coulson of *Ovidius moralizatus* is also forthcoming with Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library.

Currently there is also a surge of interest in the reception of Ovid in other languages. With regard to the Romance context, Irene Salvo García (CIHAM, Lyon) has recently finished the project 'Romaine: Ovid as Historian. The reception of classical mythology in medieval France and Spain', which investigates the connection between Ovidian material and the Castilian *General estoria* of Alfonso X.¹⁶ Where the Celtic world is concerned, Paul Russell (University of Cambridge) has recently published the book *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales*.¹⁷

¹⁴ Marylène Possamai-Pérez, *L'Ovide moralisé, essai d'interprétation*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006).

C. Baker, M. Possamai-Pérez, M. Besseyre, M. Cavagna, S. Cerrito, O. Collet, M. Gaggero, Y. Greub, J.-B. Guillaumin, V. Rouchon, I. Salvo García, T. Städtler, R. Trachsler (ed.) *Ovide moralisé, Livre I, édition collective*, (Paris: SATF, 2018).

M. Possamai-Pérez, S. Biancardi, P. Deleville, F. Montorsi, *Ovidius explanatus: Traduire et commenter les 'Métamorphoses' au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018).

Irene Salvo García 'Les sources de l'Ovide moralisé I: types et traitement', *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'histoire et de philologie*, 2018/2, tome CXXIV, 307-336.

¹⁵ Marek Thue Kretschmer 'L'Ovidius moralizatus de Pierre Bersuire: essai de mise au point', *Interfaces: A Journal of Medieval European Literatures* 3 (2016), 221-244; 'L'Ovide moralisé comme source principale de la version parisienne de l'Ovidius moralizatus de Pierre Bersuire', in C. Gaullier-Bougassas et M. Possamai-Pérez (ed.), *Réécritures et adaptations de l'Ovide moralisé (XIVe - XVIIe siècle)*, Brepols (forthcoming).

¹⁶ Irene Salvo García, 'Ovidio en la 'General estoria' de Alfonso X' (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Madrid-Lyon 2012).

¹⁷ Paul Russell, *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales, Text and Context* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017).

These are only the ongoing projects known to me and mainly those related to the *Metamorphoses*.¹⁸

This book is structured in the following way: The core is the edition of clm 4610 presented in Part II. The rest of the book serves the purpose of providing the reader with different aids to better understand the text. **Chapter 1** is this introduction. **Chapter 2** contains a brief survey of the reception of Ovid leading up to the twelfth century. **Chapter 3** consists of a contextual discussion around the question of where and when the commentary was produced and used. **Chapter 4** seeks to answer the question of what the commentary is and how it was used by carefully analysing the function of the commentary. **Chapter 5** examines clm 4610 in relationship to eleventh- and twelfth-century marginal commentary as well as the other freestanding commentaries of the twelfth century. **Part II** consists of the edition of the entire commentary together with a facing-page translation. The edition is introduced by a manuscript description and editorial principles. The **appendix** contains an edition and translation of Book 1 of the near contemporary commentary found in the manuscript clm 14482.

A note on the text and translations

If nothing else is stated all translations are by the author. Translations of Ovid are taken from the Loeb Classical Library's six volumes of Ovid. Passages in the *Metamorphoses* are referred to by book and line, and when necessary by an abbreviated form of the title (e.g. Met. 1:555 is line 555 in Book 1 of the *Metamorphoses*). Passages in the edition of

¹⁸ For different perspectives and a good overview of the field see: Birger Munk Olsen, *L'étude Des Auteurs Classiques Latins Aux XIe et XIIe Siècles. T. 2, Catalogue Des Manuscrits Classiques Latins Copiés Du IXe Au XIIe Siècle: Livius - Vitruvius: Florilèges - Essais de Plume* (Paris: Éd. du CNRS, 1985). As far as Ovid's other works are concerned there are some manuscripts, or fragments of manuscripts, of the other works of Ovid dated to the ninth through to the eleventh century, and some of them carry marginal glosses. However, no substantial commentary on Ovid's work predating clm 4610 seems to exist, but there are some glosses on the *Ibis*, which Alan Cameron argues may also represent an ancient commentary. For a study of this and other commentaries on Ovid's other work see: Ralph J. Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars Amatoria, Epistulae Ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum*, Münchener Beiträge Zur Mediävistik Und Renaissance-Forschung (München: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1986). See also Alan Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, American Classical Studies, v. 48 (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 181. Birger Munk Olsen, *L'étude Des Auteurs Classiques Latins Aux XIe et XIIe Siècles. T. 4. P. 1, La Réception de La Littérature Classique*, (Paris: CNRS éd., 2009), pp. 88-95.

the commentary are also usually referred to by the book and line in the *Metamorphoses* to which they are related (e.g. 2:15 refers to the commentary on line 15 in Book 2). This information is located in the left margin of the edition and is the most convenient way of referencing entire passages. When more precision is needed, specific lines in the edition are referenced (e.g. edition l. 147). Medieval manuscripts and transcriptions of these are referred to by a short form of the modern manuscript name and manuscript folio (e.g. clm 14809, 29r refers to München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 14809, folio 29 recto).