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MEDIEVAL ARTICULATIONS OF OVID'S METAMORPHOSES: FROM LACTANTIAN SEGMENTATION TO ARNULFIAN ALLEGORY

Ralph Hexter

Serious study of the commentary as a genre is relatively recent, but the importance of function is already well-established. The more overt purposes of commentary are, broadly speaking, pedagogical, whether they are as innocent as grammatical instruction or as pointed as Christian moralizing. Obviously, a text assembled for one purpose can be made to serve another purpose at some subsequent date, so one must be prepared to distinguish a series of functions, or at least emphases of function.

These insights arise from ongoing study of the interpretive tradition of Ovid's poetry, although I believe that they are general principles which apply to other traditions, both secular and sacred. Ovid provides of course a particularly rich field for investigation. For one thing, the diversity of his poetry demands a wide and clearly demarcated range of responses. At certain times and places his work had to be repatriated in the canon, as he himself, once exiled from Rome, never was.

The *Metamorphoses* presents a peculiar set of interpretive challenges. Ovid, who delights in teasing his readers, claims he will write a *perpetuum . . . carmen* (1.4) and then blithely presents the reader with a maddening collection of fables, some linked serially, others embedded, in some instances two-levels deep, in other narrative structures. Likewise, Ovid plays with readers' expectations that metamorphosis is the "natural" structural principle of the poem, frequently setting up an oblique relationship between fable and shape-change. Study of the responses of generations of interpreters to this particular challenge reveals certain other general principles: that as explicators we need, and as readers want, a firmer, more graspable framework; that segmentation is a precondition for interpretation; and (less obviously and more insidiously) that

how we want to interpret the poem or an episode will largely determine how we articulate it.

The present paper is both an instantiation of the foregoing principles and a nearer exploration of some of them, particularly the issue of function, in the general context of codicology.[1] While manuscripts and books of all sorts have long been studied from a number of points of view, codicology emerged as a discipline at roughly the same time as sophisticated study of commentaries. Nor is this an accident: both propose to study their objects, texts and artifacts, in context, or rather, as the accretions of the series of historical moments, each with its own values and purposes, which at once divide us as observers from the objects of our research, and in part create the standards of our "objectivity."

Codicology in its widest interpretation can indeed give clues to the function(s) for which a book and therefore a text was intended, or to which it was put. Much can be inferred from the physical properties of a book. Was this a book for daily use or a luxury object? Was it made with care or just dashed off? If we are concerned with establishing the functionality of a certain text in a given milieu, we explore both the manuscript context — with what other texts was it bound? — and the manuscript environment, for which we must look beyond the covers to the circumstances surrounding the writing of the manuscript and its preservation. For example, what else is known about the career of scribe, patron, or collector? What other books were found in the same library?

In the present study, however, I will not wander beyond the boards of a book, for much can be inferred from the layout of a single page, even the fragment of a single page. As instances of the relations between layout and function of commentary, I adduce two very different texts in the interpretive tradition of the *Metamorphoses:* Arnulf of Orléans' rich *mutationes* and *allegoriae,* and the earlier *tituli* and *argumenta* termed "Lactantian," not comparably rich but considerably more perplexing in their history.

The first difference is obvious. The Lactantian material appears in manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses;* indeed, the material has given its name to one group of medieval manuscripts. As one can see in BL 11967 of the tenth century (Plate 1), representative of manuscripts of this family, the *titulus* clearly marks the end of one episode and alerts the reader that another is about to begin.[2] The *argumentum* also intervenes in the column

of Ovid's text to emphasize the beginning of the next episode — graphic illustration of the ancillary nature of the material.

In contrast, Arnulf's work is transmitted apart from any text of Ovid's poem, although it is obviously not independent of it, and most of it would be incomprehensible without constant reference to the *Metamorphoses*.[3] The arrangement of the material is no less telling for that; in fact, the significance of the ordering of the three different portions of Arnulf's commentary, in my view hitherto undervalued, is shown in no better way than by examination of the manuscripts. Arnulf's commentary consists of three parts, arranged in the following sequence for each of Ovid's fifteen books: 1) school commentary on lemmata from the text of that book, which Arnulf himself calls *glosulae;* 2) a list of transformations prefaced with the phrase *Mutationes huius libri sunt hae;* and 3) the brief explanations of the *mutationes* as listed in 2, introduced in virtually each case by the prefatory formula *Modo quasdam allegorice, quasdam moraliter, quasdam historice exponamus.*

The order is significant: the *glosulae,* the school commentary on the text, bulks largest in Arnulf's work and comes first. Indeed, it is the *glosulae* Arnulf "signs," as one reads at the conclusion to the *glosulae* of book fifteen. Punning, characteristically, on the *indeflebile nomen* of his final lemma,[4] Arnulf writes, "whence you ought not weep for the soul of Rufus Arnulfus of Orléans, who made these glosulae, if he made them well; rather" — and now he plays with the last line of the *Metamorphoses* — "if the prophecies [sc. of poets] have any truth in them, I will live with Ovid."[5]

These glosulae, of which Arnulf is so proud, constitute an excellent, but in approach quite typical, school commentary.[6] Arnulf, like so many other masters, does his best to explain the grammar and identify the mythological or historical allusions of the text. Only after all the local difficulties in the text have been resolved does he step away, as it were, to look back over the book and divide it into *mutationes* (guided, as we shall see, by "Lactantius"). These set the stage for a wide range of allegorical interpretations. The plural should be noted: there is no one, all-embracing "allegory" of the *Metamorphoses* here, but allegories which shift ground from story to story.

Let us first look more closely at the earlier Lactantian material. If one consults the two published "critical" editions,[7] one can all too easily get the idea that the *tituli* and *argumenta* existed together as an integral

text, one that can be reconstructed with the methods of classical textual criticism. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The only sure thing about the matter is that Lactantius, the author of the *Divine Institutes,* had nothing to do with them. The name "Lactantius" is not attached to them until the fifteenth century: "a suspicious sign," as Brooks Otis remarks.[8] Only then are they made to look like a traditional "epitome." The date of compilation can only be roughly approximated. The earliest extant text of Ovid which contains the material dates from the second half of the ninth century. The appearance of certain names (e.g., the Hellenistic poet Phanocles) guarantees that some of the material is truly ancient. Manuscript authority, more precisely, errors that point to copyists misreading earlier hands with which they were unfamiliar, indicate that, "The common archetype of all these manuscripts was probably a copy of a fifth or sixth century majuscule codex . . . written in continuous script. . . ," likely "rustic capitals."[9]

How *tituli,* prose summaries, perhaps some intrusive scholiastic material, agglomerated to form the fairly stable mass transmitted in the extant ninth-to-eleventh-century manuscripts is still to be determined.[10] For example, we are not absolutely certain what the relationship between *tituli* and *argumenta* is. Otis wondered whether "[i]t was . . . the scribe of our archetype who first separated the *Argumenta* into *fabulae* with titles,"[11] but more exacting analysis is required before the stages of development can be established.

It appears to me that the *argumenta* are clearly in the tradition of a particular form of elementary exercise employed in the *ludi grammatici* or grammarian's schools, *fabula* or *narratio* in Latin, *diēgēma* in Greek, the second of the elementary *progymnasmata* described and prescribed by writers, both Greek (Theon, Aphthonius, Hermogenes) and Latin (Quintilian, and Hermogenes as translated by Priscian).[12] That all the *argumenta* we have arose in rhetorical schools and either are or represent actual school exercises in which students summarized portions of Ovid is hard to maintain. Obviously, their collection in Ovid manuscripts, perhaps first to accompany a text of Ovid, clearly indicates the idea of creating a text ancillary to Ovid. Still, I found that a number of the *argumenta* resemble fourth-century examples of the genre given by no less a rhetorician than Libanius, Hermogenes' teacher, all of which exemplify the standard practice of using mythological material as the basis of the *nar-*

ratio. For example, compare the fourth fable of book six with the twentieth of Libanius' forty-one *diēgēmata.*

Lactantius:

Satyrus nomine Marsyas, dum cum Apolline tibiis contendit, quas Minerva invenisse proditur, pro audacia, quod deo cedendum non putaret, suspensus ac cute nudatus est tergore, quem nymphae ac satyri ceterique ruris incolae fletu prosecuti sunt, quod eius cantu carituri essent, ita ut ex lacrimis eorum flumen increverit, quod eius nomine in Phrygia Marsyas a prioribus nostris nuncupari videtur.[13]

Libanius:

Athena once was playing the flute, and seeing her own image in the water, cast away the flute, for playing it was not flattering to her face. This became Marsyas' and he made himself a renowned flute-player. He imagined he was even better than Apollo and called him to a contest. They competed and the Muses cast their ballots. The god won, and exacting punishment from the flute-player he suspended and flayed him. His blood became a river, and Marsyas the name of the river.[14]

There are major differences in detail, but my intent is not to suggest textual dependence but rather similarity of kind. What is most important is that both Libanius' and less accomplished *narrationes* exhibit just that sort of genealogical and geographical information that Otis confidently identified as scholiastic material intrusive in the purely summarizing *argumenta.* His criteria for analysis must, I believe, be rethought in light of the progymnasmatic parallels.

Whatever its origins, how is this "Lactantian material," *argumenta cum titulis,* presented in extant manuscripts? While many of these ninth-to-eleventh-century texts are fragmentary, they are for that reason no less representative of the type of manuscript Arnulf would have used in preparing his commentary and allegorizations. One of the two earliest

fragments of the *Metamorphoses,* Paris BN lat. 12246, written in France towards the end of the ninth century, neatly shows how the Lactantian *tituli* and *argumenta* were used to guide the reader through the *Metamorphoses.* [15] On the verso of the first of its two leaves, the text is *Met.* 1.128-93; after 1.150, we have the title of the fifth fable of the first book, "The Giants' Blood into Humans," in capitals, followed by Lactantian *argumentum;* both *titulus* and *argumentum* are indented one character. The Ovidian version of the fable follows, but after verse 161 indented capitals again interrupt the text with the title "Lycaon into a Wolf." [16] This introduces the sixth *argumentum*, after which the reader could resume with verse 162.

Plate 2 reproduces a page of one of the earliest complete or virtually complete manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses.* Now in the Laurentian library in Florence as San Marco 225, M was written in Italy at the end of the eleventh century. Again the disposition of the material is such that the *titulus* strikingly interrupts the flow of Ovid's *carmen perpetuum.* In the case of the ninth fable, "Byblis' tears into a Fountain," all is as it should be: *titulus* is followed by the *argumentum*, both preceding the relevant portion of the poem (*Met.* 9.419ff.). At the top of the page one sees that the seventh and eighth fables have been combined: the first two lines conclude the *argumentum* of the eighth fable, concerning Callirhoe's sons, but what follows is the *titulus* and the text to the seventh fable, about Iolaus (*Met.* 9.395-400). The "above-mentioned" in this seventh title acknowledges this. Whether the joining of the *argumenta* had been intended from the beginning or not, the *titulus* meant to usher in the eighth fable, "Callirhoe's Sons into Youths," was at first overlooked and had to be entered in the right margin, likely by the original scribe, but in any case, not in the distinctive letters he normally uses for the *titulus* (note i.a. the forms of the "s"). [17]

Such articulations seem natural enough, but we should be wary of the natural. Authority may have counted for more, not always but surely much of the time in the scriptoria. There are models, classical precedents indeed for *titulus* and *argumentum* preceding the work they introduce, just as we have in the Lactantian Ovid manuscripts. Of quite ancient provenance are the *argumenta* that precede both tragedies and comedies; in an early-twelfth-century manuscript of Plautus, now in the British Library (BL Reg. 15.C.XI), we have in succession the *explicit* of *Captivi,* the *incipit* of the *Curculio,* and the verse argument to the *Curculio* (Plate 3). After the *dramatis personae* of the first scene, the play itself

gets underway. For a prefatory argument in a narrative poem one can compare a tenth- or eleventh-century Lucan written in the famous scriptorium of Tours, though not perhaps in its happiest hour. A significant difference from the practice of the Lactantian manuscripts, however, is the fact that in the Tours Lucan the argument prefaces an entire book — not episodes within books.[18] Of course there were also manuscripts with *tituli* and no *argumentum*, such as the fragmentary mid-ninth-century southwest German Lucretius, now divided between Copenhagen and Vienna.[19]

What can we say about the function of *tituli* and *argumenta* when they appear as they do in the Lactantian manuscripts of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*? By themselves, the *tituli* function in part as primitive "finding devices," a table of contents to each book — particularly helpful in the case of books like BN lat. 12246 with its rather crowded two-column layout. The *argumenta* prepare the reader to digest the text: like the prologue and/or dumbshow before the play, or the reading of program notes and plot summary before a performance, they relieve the reader of the burden of trying to figure out what is happening so that he or she can enjoy the how, Ovid's inventiveness, wit and poetry. As often as not they provide some rudimentary explanations, at least of a genealogical nature; whether the origins of these explanations are scholia or the practices of progymnasmata has no bearing on their function in medieval books.

In Arnulf the situation is reversed. To take the twelfth-century Munich manuscript (clm 7205) as an example, the text begins on fol. 29r with traditional opening material; this concludes in the first column of fol. 29v, at which point the school commentary on the text of book one begins. When one considers that the *glosulae* on book one occupy fols. 30r, 30v, and 31r, only to end on fol. 31v, it should become clear how careful a reading, what detailed study of each book this represents.

Now Arnulf, like any teacher of Latin or any foreign language (or for that matter, of a high school set text like *Macbeth*), recognized that the slow pace of reading determined by close attention to language and explanations required by the students put a virtual end to making sense of the stories, much less the work as a whole. To get around this difficulty, Arnulf adapted the Lactantian *tituli* and placed his *mutationes* after the commentary. Here they function as a *resumé* of the preceding book, an opportunity for master and student to cast their minds back over the

text they have so painstakingly read. On fol. 31v, for example, they occupy roughly the second quarter of the left-hand column.

Although a capital "M" (oversized, but not starting a new line) marks the big break from school commentary to *mutationes,* reviewing the book is not the end (in either sense of the word) of Arnulf's activities. The *mutationes* prepare the way for the *allegoriae,* which — to make once again a comparison with the Lactantian material — correspond to, but are in no real sense adaptations of, the *argumenta.* Where the *argumenta* in the Ovid manuscripts which Arnulf used typically appeared singly before each tale, Arnulf places all his *allegoriae* on a single book at the conclusion of his treatment of that book. In clm 7205 the *allegoriae* to book one begin about half-way down the left-hand column of fol. 31v and conclude about two-thirds of the way down the left-hand column of fol. 32r (Plate 4). At this point the whole cycle begins again for book two, as the majuscule "R" of *Regia solis* makes clear.

Arnulf's *mutationes* correspond sufficiently with the Lactantian *tituli* for us to be sure that Arnulf not only knew them but that he used them. Arnulf's alterations are significant, so that each *mutatio* prepares the way for the particular interpretation Arnulf gives — prepares in no innocent way. For example, according to Arnulf's analysis of book one, Daphne's metamorphosis into the laurel, taken directly from Lactantius, is preceded by one Lactantius had not listed, namely: *Phebus in adamantem:* "Phoebus (is transformed) into a Lover." To call "Phoebus into a Lover" a metamorphosis seems to stretch the concept of metamorphosis beyond the breaking point; this is no permanent change but a temporary one, and then not even of shape but of character or emotion. However, Arnulf's point is not to redefine metamorphosis. His purpose becomes clear as soon as we reach part three and read the corresponding allegorization:

> But returning thence, Apollo, that is, some wise man, is over-proud and, being as it were self-satisfied, neglects Cupid, the god of love. So Cupid shoots him at some time with an arrow, that is, he buffets him with the desires of his flesh so that he loves. Nevertheless he loves only the virgin, Daphne.[20]

Plate 1. London, BL 11967, fol. 20v.

Plate 2. Florence, Laurentian Library, San Marco 225, fol. 76r.

tibi bonum meliores ha...
Et si placuissimus neq. hodie fuimus sig...
Sin pudicitiae ee uoleis premium plaus...
PLAVTI CAPTIVI EXPLICIT. INCIPIT CVRCVLIO...
Curculio missus phedromi te eram...
Ut petat argentum; ibi eludit anulo
Rivalem scribit atq. obsignat litteris.
Cognoscit signum lico ubi uidit militis;
Gnatoncam mittat pretium lenoni dedit.,
Leonem miles ac lenonem in ius rapit;
Ipsus sororem quaelibat repperit.,
Oram cuius phedromo nuptii locat.,
PALINVRVS SERVVS. PHEDROMVS ADOLESCENS.
Quo ted hac nocte dicam pfiersi fons
Cum iste ornatu eumq. hac pompa phedrome;
Quo uenus. cupido impat. suadet quer amor;
Si media nox est siue est prima uespa
Si stat conditus cum hoste intecedit dies;
Tam est eandum quo impat ingratus
Lexandem. tande; pat. tande es odiosus michi
Istuc quidem nec bellu e. nec memorabile;
Iure tibi puer es laurus. luces cerarum.
Egon apicularu opa congisti non ferum
Sedules oriundum melleculo dulci meo;
Nam quo te dicam ego irae; si tu me roges
Iheam. ut scias si rogirem quid respondeas;
Hoc esc eslapii fanum elt; pat. plus ia anno scio;
Huic pximum illud hostium occlusissimum;
Salue. ualuisti hostium occlusissimum;
Larare ne febris te heri uel nudius terenus;
Et heri cenauisti ne.; ph. deridei ne me.;
Quid tu ergo insane rogitas ualeat nehostium;
Bellissimum hercle uide & tacitarnissimum
Numq ullum uerbu mutat. cum aperitur; tacet;
Cu illa nocte clanculum ad me exit; tacet;
Iamquid tu qd te aut generi indignum sit tuo
Facis aut inceptas facinus facere phedrome;
Num tu pudice cuipiam insidias locas.
Dar quam pudicam ee. opostet; ph. nemini.
Hac me illi sunt nuppie; pat. Ego item uolo
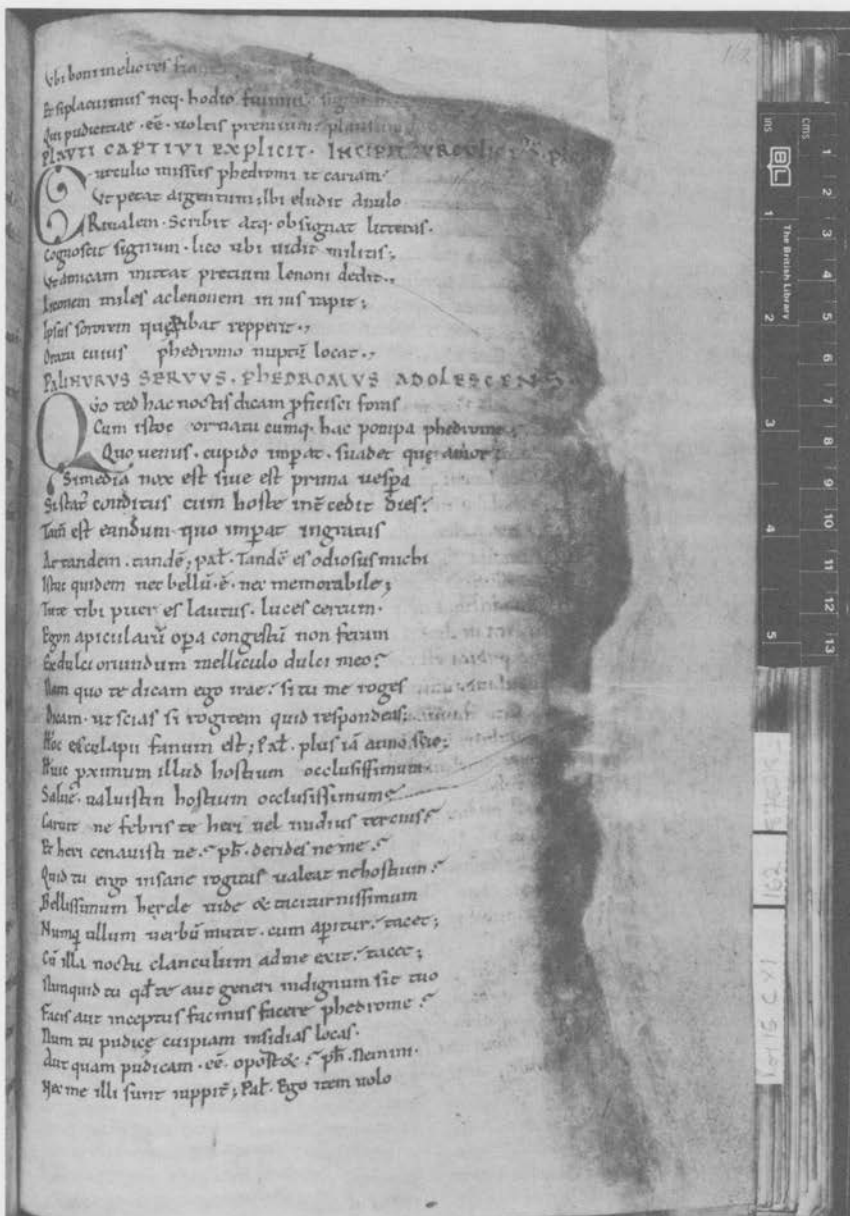
Plate 4. Munich, clm 7205, fol. 32r.

The Io episode may serve as another example. In Ovid, the episode occupies 180 lines at the end of book one (568-747 — with time out for the stories of Argos and Syrinx). In Lactantius, the Io story is summarized in two parts, as the tenth and fourteenth fables of the first book. Following Ovid's narrative sequence, the fables of Mercury, Syrinx and Argus intervene as numbers 11-13. The titles referring directly to Io are (10) "Io, the daughter of Inachus, into a cow," and (14) "the aforementioned Io into Isis."[21] The corresponding *fabulae* are straightforward summaries:

> (x) Io, Inachus' daughter, surpassed her contemporaries in beauty and was loved by Jove, who by prayers attained his desire. And lest she run afoul of Juno's wrath she was changed by her assailant into a cow. . . . (xiv) The abovementioned Io, after she had wandered about the whole earth driven by the furies, at last arrived in Egypt. Juno was now placated by Jupiter and Io returned to her original form. She took the name of the goddess Isis and was called *linigera*.

Arnulf joins the two parts of Io's story and creates one independent *mutatio*, thereby running roughshod over Ovid's narrative structure. "Io [was changed] from a chaste woman to an adulteress, from an adulteress into a cow, and from a cow into a goddess."[22] This summary already tells the whole story. The longer allegorical explanation in the third part bears out our expectations that this rearticulation indeed has interpretive consequences. The story in Arnulf's view is a moral one:

> Io was the daughter of some river god Inachus. . . . She was beloved by Jupiter, that is by God the Creator, because she was a virgin. For God loves virgins, since they raise themselves to him by preserving their virginity. After she was deflowered, she was withdrawn from the number of the virgins and changed into a cow, that is made bestial. She was turned over to Juno, that is the lower atmosphere, in other words, more serious sins. To Argus, that is to the world, that is to the gravest sins and dangers. In Argus' multiple eyes we can understand the world, or the secular sphere ensnared with multiple lures. This world so im-

prisoned her that she could not recognize God her creator. But Mercury killed Argus. In Mercury, the god of eloquence, we have some eloquent man who, by the means of his persuasion, mortified worldly desires. She, I say, he raised her, than whom no one was ever better, to serve her creator, on which account it is feigned that she was changed from a cow into a goddess.[23]

Comparing the Lactantian material, fluctuating in detail but stable in form, and Arnulf, one can legitimately infer a difference of public. The one points to at least an original *reading* public who would be moving quickly, secure in their Latinity and their ability to read classical poetry; the original audience, or at least the ideal form of such an audience, would have a command of Greco-Latin mythology and at least a nodding acquaintance with names such as Hesiod, Phanocles and the like. Gradually such a knowledge would have moved from their heads to their finger tips to the margins of their text.

To what extent the ninth-to-eleventh-century Lactantian manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* reflect a contemporary reading public is a difficult question. On the one hand, the neatness, even elegance of a tenth-century Italian book like BL 11967 (Plate 1), if not quite comparable in grandeur to some classical texts of the same age (e.g., the second of the two Florence Livy's mentioned immediately below), suggests a reading rather than a teaching text. Recall that in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries the *Metamorphoses* had not yet begun to occupy the central place in the school curriculum that it would in the twelfth and subsequent centuries.[24] Granted the difficulties of maintaining a rigid distinction between reading for study and reading for pleasure, these early texts may still then reflect a reading public.

On the other hand, it is likely that the authentic reading public the books reflect lived half a millenium earlier, for the lay-out of these books may simply ape that of their archetypes. For the fact that this happened we have no better example than slavish recopying of late antique *subscriptiones*.[25] For example, in an early-tenth-century manuscript in Montpellier, the prologue to Persius' satires is followed by the subscription of Flavius Julius Tryfonianus Sabinus, who emended the book in Barcelona in the year 402.[26] A pair of ninth-century Horace manuscripts exhibit the identical subscription of one Mavortius, consul in 527, at

the end of the *Epodes* and beginning of the *Carmen saeculare*.[27] Our Livy manuscripts tell the same story: the subscription referring to the major editorial work being done on Livy at the beginning of the fifth century by the Symmachi and Nicomachi was copied many times, for example, into a book, now in the Laurentian library in Florence, commissioned about 965 by Rather of Verona. It appears as well in a ninth- or tenth-century Vatican manuscript and an eleventh-century manuscript, also in Florence.[28] The most one can say may simply be that there was as yet insufficient pressure on the creators and users of these books to alter the traditional format, or that these particular scribes and patrons were inclined to replicate certain kinds of texts rather than others.

Arnulf, in contrast, worked after virtually all of Ovid's *oeuvre* had entered the mainstream of the school curriculum and not only faced but responded to other demands. By this time Ovid's poetry had gathered about it school commentary like clouds of glory, so much commentary that continuous *glosulae* began to enjoy an independent existence in separate manuscripts. The manuscript disposition of Arnulf's text tells us something else as well. We see in these manuscripts a graphic demonstration that "allegorical" interpretation is a secondary movement: higher-level interpretation follows study of the letter. The significance of this for the history of medieval commentaries is only now being recognized: medieval Ovid commentaries were not by nature allegorizing and moralizing. We must see Arnulf's inclusion of allegorical interpretation in a medieval Ovid commentary as an innovation; his strict segregation of *glosulae* and *allegoriae* is eloquent testimony to the novelty of the latter. In fact, if we may appeal to the authority of the manuscripts, in them allegory does not yet enter the commentary but still stands beside it.

Close study of the interdependence of Arnulf's *allegoriae* and *mutationes* illustrates the interpretive consquences of segmentation. Many more examples can be adduced from Arnulf. Arnulf's general dependence on the Lactantian articulation of the *Metamorphoses* makes his significant departures from it and the biases they serve stand out even more clearly. The critical role of segmentation in interpretation can be confirmed as well by analysis of other ancillary texts; Pierre Bersuire's fourteenth-century moralizations are particularly fruitful in this regard.[29] How we articulate a text like the *Metamorphoses* is intimately linked to how we interpret it. We must face the more disturbing corollary that, having

segmented the text, if only in our own minds, it is our own paraphrase or mental summary we interpret, not the text.

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NOTES

1. I am particularly grateful for the encouragement of Chris Baswell and Winthrop Wetherbee in the early phases of this project.

2. The break articulated here is at *Metamorphoses* 5.294, between the story of Pyreneus and that of the Pierides. To my knowledge, there is no account which catalogues, for each manuscript witness, exactly where and in exactly what form the Lactantian material enters the Ovidian text.

3. See below on Arnulf and on clm 7205, the latest manuscript of Arnulf's to be recognized, from which all my examples come; one page is reproduced as Plate 4.

4. 15.876: *indelebile* and *indeflebile* are the two variants.

5. *Vnde et anima rufi a⟨r⟩nulfi qui has glosulas fecit aurelianis defleri non debet, si eas bene fecit. immo siquid habent ueri praesagia uiu[e]am cum Ouidio,* clm 7205, fol. 58vb, lines 7-9. This tag is also quoted, on the basis of other manuscripts, by Fausto Ghisalberti, *Arnolfo d'Orléans. Un Cultore di Ovidio nel Secolo XII,* Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche, 24 (Milan, 1932), p. 177.

6. See Ralph 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, 38 (Munich, 1986), especially on the definition of "school commentary," p. 6.

7. D. A. Slater, *Towards A Text of the Metamorphoses of Ovid* (Oxford, 1927); Hugo Magnus, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri xv. Lactantii Placidi qui dicitur Narrationes Fabularum Ovidianarum recensuit apparatu critico instruxit* (Berlin, [3]1914).

8. Brooks Otis, "The *Argumenta* of the so-called Lactantius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* 47 (1936), 131-63; here p. 132. The article is based on his unpublished Harvard PhD dissertation.

9. Otis, "The *Argumenta,*" p. 160; continuous script: cf. Otis' "Readings" nos. 4, 28, 31; rustic capitals: cf. "Readings" nos. 26, 42, 52. Richard Tarrant believes that "this material . . . was probably composed for an ancient edition of the poem"

(in L. D. Reynolds, ed. *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* [Oxford, 1983], p. 278, n.4). In Tarrant's words, the Lactantian material "still awaits a thorough study."

10. As Otis reconstructs it, the compiler of our archetype found both the *argumenta* and many scholia in the margin of the book he undertook to copy, remnants there of an older, more complete commentary. Otis argues, in part on the basis of manuscript variation, but more on the basis of the "nature" of summary versus the "nature" of scholia, that a number of scholia which "seem essentially alien to the purpose and style of the *Argumenta*" have made their way, probably from the margins of yet more ancient books, into the *argumenta*. The compiler "in copying this codex, omitted the vast majority of the scholia but did copy the summaries and often erroneously included scholia with these" ("The *Argumenta*," p. 160). He concludes that the common archetype of all the extant "Lactantian" manuscripts of Ovid contained the *argumenta* and *scholia*, "both . . . likely written in the margin; . . . successive copyists would therefore be apt to confuse the two whenever possible" (p. 139). Otis concludes that "these *Argumenta* along with a few scholia existed in some fifth- or sixth-century codex. That can at least be considered reasonably established — whatever hypothesis we may care to hold about a prior 'commentary' " (p. 140).

11. Otis, "The *Argumenta*," p. 161.

12. For basic orientation, in English, see Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), esp. pp. 250-76, and George Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 54-70, both with extensive bibliography. Quintilian lists *argumentum* as the second of three types of *narratio* (2.4.2) apart from the *narratio* used in actual cases, but according to the traditional criteria for his distinctions (truth and verisimilitude: thus *fabula*, untrue and implausible, the subject of tragedies and poetry; *argumentum*, untrue but plausible, as in comedies; and *historia*, an account of something that actually happened), Quintilian would presumably have classed the Lactantian *argumenta* as *fabulae*. Aphthonius of Antioch, a student of Libanius working at the end of the fourth century, gives an excellent definition of *diēgēma*, also tripartite; his three kinds are dramatic (fictional), historical (historical or at least legendary), and political (such as rhetors use in cases). See L. Spengel, *Rhetorici Graeci* (Leipzig, 1853), 2.22.

13. Ed. Magnus (as above, n. 7), pp. 663-64.

14. My translation of *Diēgēma* 20, *Peri Marsuou kai aulōn*, in *Libanii Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 46-47. There are close correspondences between Lactantius 1.9 and Libanius 17 (Foerster, p. 44), 6.6 and 18 (pp. 45-46), and 9.5 and 8 (p. 39); more distant but still discernible are the connections between 2.5-6 and 12 (pp. 41-42), 5.9 and both 3 (p. 34) and 30 (p. 52), 9.1 and

both 1 (p. 33) and 31 (p. 53), and 10.5 and 2 (pp. 33-34). Clearly, these links and links with collections of Latin school exercises must be explored at greater length. Libanius serves well for present purposes, for several reasons: the 41 *narrationes* edited by Foerster confirm the wide use of mythological material for the exercise; and quite a few of the stories are actually also told by Ovid. In addition, Libanius shows what can be made of school exercises; for though I propose a progymnasmatic background for the Lactantian material, I do not mean to suggest that the *argumenta* transmitted are nothing but the work of schoolboys. And finally, Libanius' *narrationes* suggest that there is no significant difference between Greek and Latin *praeexercitamina*. (I am grateful to Professor Michael Roberts of Wesleyan College, whose remarks about late antique rhetorical school exercises as a possible context for the Lactantian *argumenta* first sent me to the progymnasmata.)

15. This page is reproduced in E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins,* 2 (Paris, 1894-1900), Plate XCIV.

16. *Gigantum sanguis in homines; Lycaon in lupum.* There are variants to the *tituli,* as to all manuscript texts. For example, in many witnesses, Lycaon is identified as *Pelasgi filius* (cf. Magnus [as above, n.7], p. 631). The ancillary text, however, confronts potential editors with a major methodological challenge, since, to varying degrees depending on the text in question, many of those involved in its transmission will have regarded it as more malleable than the text of an *auctor.*

17. The *tituli* are, respectively, *Hiolaus supradictus cessit in iuvenem, Callirhoes filii in iuvvenes,* and *Biblidis lacrimae in fontem.* My thanks to W. S. Anderson, who judged the marginal addition "probably by the original scribal hand" and drew my attention to the "special capitals" of the *tituli.*

18. BN lat. 7502; a plate of fol. 198v, showing the argument for book 9, appears in E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins,* 2 (Paris, 1894-1900), Plate CLIX. Note that the argument itself has an *incipit* and *explicit.* Otis too compares this Lucan manuscript: "Like the summaries in the commentary on Lucan they [the Lactantian argumenta] are 'legends' obviously intended for the reader's convenience," "The *Argumenta,*" p. 134.

19. Hafn. Gl. Kgl. S. 211 2° and Vindob. MS 107. Cf. L. D. Reeve, in Reynolds, *Texts,* p. 220. The *tituli* can be clearly seen in the page of the Copenhagen manuscript reproduced in E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins,* 1 (Paris, 1884-1892), Plate LIX.

20. *sed inde rediens apollo idest sapiens aliquis superbit et quasi se iustificans cupidine⟨m⟩ deum amoris negligit, et eum cupido aliquando sagittat idest stimulis carnis suę eum colaphizat ut amet, sed tamen ille non amat nisi uirginem daphnem,* clm 7205, fol. 31vb. Cf. Ghisalberti, *Arnolfo,* p. 202.

21. (x) *Io, Inachi filia, in vaccam;* (xiv) *Io supradicta in Isidem.*

22. *io de casta in adulteram, de adultera in bouem, de boue in deam,* clm 7205, fol. 31va. Cf. Ghisalberti, *Arnolfo,* p. 201.

23. *yo filia inachi dei cuiusdam fluuii fuit, quod ideo fingitur quia frigus fuit ante annos nubiles, amata fuit a ioue idest a deo creatore quia uirgo. Virgines enim amat deus, quia uirginitatem seruando ad creatorem se erigunt. quae postea deuerginata de numero uirginum electa in bouem mutata est idest facta bestialis traditur iunoni idest inferiori aeri idest uiciis grauioribus. argo idest seculo idest uiciis grauissimis et periculis. Per argum habentem multiplices oculos possumus habere mundum uel seculum multiplicibus illecebris irretitum. qui mundus ita eam incarcerauit quod deum creatorem cognoscere non potuit. sed mercurius argum occidit. Per mercurium deum facundie quemlibet facundum habemus qui sua persuasione mundanas concupiscentias mortificauit. ea inquam eam melius [!] qua numquam fuit ad creatori suo seruiendum erexit. vnde de boue mutata in deam esse fingitur,* clm 7205, fol. 32ra. This is at the very top of the left-hand column in Plate 4. I have translated manuscript *melius qua* as if it were *meliorem qua; melius quo* could refer to the act. Ghisalberti, *Arnolfo,* p. 203, prints a different text.

24. Cf. Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandelungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt,* Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5 (Munich, 1970); Ralph Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling* (as above, n. 6).

25. This footnote in the annals of textual transmission has attracted considerable attention and many examples are available in fascimile. The basic study of the field of subscriptions remains Otto Jahn, "Über die Subscriptionen in den Handschriften römischer Classiker," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.- hist. Classe,* 3 (1851), 327-72. See the recent studies of J. E. G. Zetzel, especially *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (New York, 1981), pp. 206-31, and "The Subscriptions in the Manuscripts of Livy and Fronto and the Meaning of *Emendatio,*" *Classical Philology,* 75 (1980), 38-59.

26. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'École de médicine, n° 212, fol. 79r; facsimile in E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins,* 2 (Paris, 1894-1900), Plate CXXII (2°). Cf. P. K. Marshall, in Reynolds, *Texts,* pp. 293-94.

27. 1) Leiden, B.P.L. 28, a ninth-century manuscript from St. Peter in Beauvais; fol. 77r is reproduced in E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins,* 1 (Paris, 1884-1892), Plate LXXVIII; 2) BN lat. 7972, a late ninth-century text written in Milan, fol. 83v, reproduced in Chatelain, vol. 1, Plate LXXIX (1°). On the subscription, cf. R. J. Tarrant, in Reynolds, *Texts,* p. 185.

28. For reproductions of the subscription in these manuscripts, see E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins,* 2 (Paris, 1894-1900): (1) Laurentian LXIII.19,

fol. 170v, Plate CX; (2) Vat. lat. 3329, fol. 75v, Plate CXIII; (3) Laur. S. Marco 326, fol. 147v, Plate CXIV. The same page of the Vatican mauscript is reproduced by Carlo Pascal, *L'Opera di Livio, Codici, scoperte, incunaboli (con 8 tavole fuori testo)*, Publicazioni dell'Atene e Roma, 17 (Milan, 1925), plate 5. L. D. Reeve (Reynolds, *Texts*, p. 207, n. 4) notes that a Nicomachean subscription from Bodl. Auct. T.1.24 (s. xi, Eastern France), is reproduced in R. W. Hunt et al., *The Survival of Ancient Literature*, Exhibition Catalogue, Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1975), no. 88 and plate X(a). On the Livy subscriptions, see J. Zetzel's recent article (as above, n. 25). Cf. further G. Billanovich, *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell' umanesimo*, I.1 and II (Padua, 1981-1983); of Professor Billanovich's earlier studies, note in particular "Dal Livio di Raterio (Laur. 63,19) al Livio del Petrarca (B.M. Harl. 2493)," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 2 (1959), 103-78.

29.   Cf. "The *Allegari* of Pierre Bersuire: Interpretation and the *Reductorium morale,*" *Allegorica*, 10 (1989), 49-82.

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