Ovidius Pictus: Afterlives of the *Metamorphoses* in Europe, from Books to the Arts

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Search of Sources of Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus* after Two Illuminated Passages

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to study possible relationships of the text of Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus* with other medieval works departing from two illuminated passages in two different manuscripts: Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte 3.4, and Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 344. Therefore, analyzing the texts on which the two illustrations are based, we try to determine which works can be the source for them, and we also try to understand the figures represented in the illustrations. So, the figure of Vanity from the Treviso manuscript seems to be unique in its representation, but the text, with some distinctive features, seems to be based on the *Ymagines Fulgencii*. The repre-

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sentation of the story of Bacchus in the Bergamo manuscript is found in other illustrations, and its accompanied text seems to rely on the mythographical tradition present in an anonymous *Liber de natura deorum* of the twelfth century.

1. *Introduction*

Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*[1], originally composed as the fifteenth book of a larger work, his encyclopedia *Reductorium morale*, is a fourteenth century (c. 1342) moralizing commentary of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* consisting of 16 chapters, the first being the prologue, called the *De formis figurisque deorum*, and the following 15, moralizations book-by-book of most of the myths of the *Metamorphoses*. It is considered the high point of the medieval tradition of allegorical and moralizing commentaries on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*[2].

The *Ovidius moralizatus* had different stages of redaction and a large manuscript transmission independently of the rest of Bersuire's encyclopedia: more than 90 manuscripts are currently known to contain either the complete text or some part of the treatise[3]. Some of those manuscript copies of Bersuire's text

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[1] The text of the *Ovidius moralizatus* has recently been edited by Blume and Meier (2021) together with a German translation, taking as their basis for the Latin text the manuscript Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Membr. I 98, with the intention of providing a working text of the first version (A_1) of the treatise, with the collation of 9 other manuscripts of the texts (on the explanation on the principles of editing and discussion on the setting of the text, see Blume, Meier 2021, v. 1, pp. 11-52). A study on the history of the text with a proposed text on the *editio princeps* can be found in Piqueras Yagüe 2021. In addition, Coulson and Haynes (2023) have also worked on the *editio princeps* for the establishment of a text, which they accompany with an English translation; and Kretschmer (see Kretschmer 2022, p. 24) is working on the edition of Bersuire's last redaction of the text, the *P* version of the *Ovidius moralizatus*. Prior to these editions, the text could be consulted in the transcription of the *editio princeps* (Paris 1509, by Badius) made by Engels (1960, 1962) together with his team at the University of Utrecht, which they present in two volumes, one for the *De formis figurisque deorum* and one for the rest of the *Ovidius moralizatus*. These two transcriptions were followed by Engels' edition of the *De formis figurisque deorum* (1966), based on the text of the manuscript Brussels, KBR, 863-69. Van der Bijl (1971), who was part of Engels' working group in Utrecht, presented the edition of chapter 2 of the commentary (the one corresponding to book 1 of the *Metamorphoses*) based on the text of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16787, and she was the first to present a classification of the manuscripts depending on the version of the *Ovidius moralizatus* they contain.

[2] See Fumo 2014, p. 119. Apart from the works that deal with the text of the treatise, for a deeper understanding of the content and context of the work one can also consult: Ghisalberti 1933; Samaran, Monfrin 1962; Blume, Meier 2021, v. 1.

[3] Coulson, Levy and Anderson (Dinkova-Bruun 2022, pp. 335-343) present the latest published list of manuscripts containing the *Ovidius moralizatus* in any of its forms, either with the complete text or in fragmentary form. Piqueras Yagüe (2021, pp. 35-38) adds to this listing these three manuscripts: Ghent, Cathedral Library, 12 (Bersuire's text is combined with elements from

were accompanied by images[4], and among those codices of the *Ovidius moralizatus* that present illustrations, for this paper we will focus on those housed in Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte 3.4, and Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 344. Both are prepared to include illuminations: the Treviso codex includes them only in the prologue, the aforementioned *De formis figurisque deorum*[5], so the rest of the text of the *Ovidius moralizatus* is not illuminated, while the Bergamo one is illuminated throughout the entire text[6]. When dealing with illuminated manuscripts, the problem of image and text can be quite complex as well as extensive. The image can be studied in its greater or lesser dependence on the text and in this sense, knowing the particularities that may present the passage it illuminates is fundamental. For this study and starting from the text of two passages that in these manuscripts are accompanied by miniatures, one from the Treviso manuscript and the other from the Bergamo manuscript, we will analyze possible textual sources for the composition of the treatise, but we will not focus in the interpretation of the illuminations, only in its description. And before entering such an analysis we consider important to establish the difference between the different stages of redaction of the text and to contextualize the version of the text contained in these two codices[7].

Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, see McLaughlin 2017, p. 187); New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1081; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. B 214 (no text, only images from the *De formis figuris deorum*, see McLaughlin 2017, pp. 101-123). Continuing the update, four more manuscripts can be added: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 209, fol. 1v (it is mentioned that it has the *incipit* of the *De formis figurisque deorum* in Dinkova-Bruun 2022, p. 381, but not listed in the entry for the *Ovidius moralizatus*); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3171, fols. 37r-41v (contains only the *De formis figuris deorum*, see Kristeller 1967, v. II, p. 317); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 52 Gud. lat. 2°, fol. 137r-v (see Anderson 2009, pp. 472-473); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.f.109, fols. 2r-22v (this is a partial copy of the *Ovidius moralizatus*, it contains the *De formis figurisque deorum* and the first three books up to the middle of fable 3.5, see Thurn 1970, p. 101).

   [4] McLaughlin (2017) presents the study with the largest number, up to seven, of illustrated manuscripts of the *Ovidius moralizatus*. However, other global studies of the images of the *Ovidius moralizatus*, such as Venturini (2013-2014) or Blume and Meier (2021), tend to focus on the three codices that contain the text of the treatise and in turn were prepared for illumination: Bergamo, Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte 3.4, Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Membr. I 98, and Treviso, Biblioteca comunale, 344. A detailed description of these *codices* can be found in these works.

   [5] The prologue to the commentary to the *Metamorphoses* is devoted to the description of the representation of some of the most relevant figures of mythology, see Engels 1966; Blume, Meier 2021, v.1.

   [6] It should be added that the Bergamo codex is mutilated at the beginning and at the end: the text begins in the middle of the exposition of the figure of Venus in the *De formis figurisque deorum* and ends in the middle of the fable 14.15. The Treviso manuscript contains the entire text of the commentary.

   [7] A more complete study of the history of the text can be found in Piqueras Yagüe 2021, pp. 31-113.

Since the attribution by Hauréau of the authorship of the *Ovidius moralizatus* to Pierre Bersuire[8], it became clear that there was more than one version of the text[9], and it was Engels who established the theory that there were three different redactions: A_1, A_2 and P[10]. The first two would have been written in Avignon[11], and the last version would have been composed by Bersuire in Paris after he had been able to consult the *Ovide moralisé*, which the author himself mentions in the first redaction of the prologue that he had not been able to consult at that point, and the *Fulgentius metaforalis*, as the author himself points out in the last redaction of the prologue[12]. Following this differentiation between versions, Van der Bijl classified the manuscripts according to whether they contained one version or another of the commentary[13], so that the two codices on which we are going to focus our attention in this paper were classified within the group $α_2$[14], and yet they do not contain exactly the same version of the text, at least as far as the end of the *De formis figurisque deorum* is concerned, since the passage we are going to analyze from the Treviso manuscript is not in the Bergamo codex, as we shall see in the following section.

Therefore, following what has been stated in previous works[15], we believe that in order to establish a classification between versions of the treatise we should distinguish only two versions, *A* and *P*, clearly differentiated by the inclusion of fables and moralizations from the *Ovide moralisé* and the *Fulgentius metaforalis*, the latter being mainly influential in the *De formis figurisque deorum*, since the reading of these works implies a great change in the structure of the treatise. However, we also maintain that in each of the versions there are different stages of writing that also involve additions, changes of order and deletions, without having to differentiate versions (such as A_1 and A_2) within the same major version (*A*), since Bersuire was continually rewriting his works, as he himself states in the prologue to the *Reductorium morale*[16]. With

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[8] Hauréau 1883, pp. 50-55.

[9] After Hauréau (1883), Ghisalberti (1933, pp. 66-73) and Engels (1966, pp. III-IX) continued the study on the different redactions of the treatise.

[10] Engels 1971, p. 21.

[11] The differences between A_1 and A_2 were not specified by Engels, who only says: «En effet, force nous est d'admettre que Bersuire, encore à Avignon, a lui-même modifié sensiblement sa version primitive, et qu'il faut distinguer deux versions avignonnaises A_1 et A_2» (Engels 1971, p. 21; tr.: In fact, we have to admit that Bersuire, still in Avignon, significantly modified his original version, and that we need to distinguish between two Avignon versions, A_1 and A_2). Kretschmer, in his study of the text for the establishment of an edition of version *P*, is in turn analyzing the characteristics of version A_2 (see Kretschmer forthcoming).

[12] Engels 1966, pp. 3-4; Kretschmer 2022, p. 23.

[13] Van der Bijl 1971, p. 25. Updated classification in Piqueras Yagüe 2021, pp. 56-69.

[14] Van der Bijl 1971, p. 25, sigla B and Tr.

[15] Piqueras Yagüe 2021, pp. 51-54.

[16] *Laboro vero nunc haec omnia corrigendo, et semper aliquid utile in diversis locis et ma-*

the analysis of the text present in the Treviso manuscript we intend to continue with this idea, so we proceed to do so.

2. *Representation of Vanity and Love in Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 344*

2.1. *Textual descriptions*

Thus, we begin the analysis with the passage present in the Treviso manuscript, since it is found earlier in the text of the *Ovidius moralizatus*. This passage is the final part of the *De formis figurisque deorum* in this manuscript (see Fig. 1, which shows the *incipit* of the following part of the *Ovidius moralizatus*[17]), and it consists of two descriptions, one of the figure of Vanity and the other of Love, with a miniature between them[18]. This is the Latin text that appears in fig. 1:

Sicut dicit Fulgentius libro de descriptionibus: Antiqui vanitatem deum putantes ipsam taliter depingebant. Videlicet erat imago enim sua feminea rete vestita, super caput suum hec verba habens conscripta, scilicet: Vado. Curro. Vanitas, a dextris: Sensus, Virgo, Sanitas, a sinistris: decor, fama, Novitas, Aurum, honor, levitas. In pectore vero denudato continebatur. Et omnia vanitas.
Eodem libro inquit Fulgentius quod ab antiquis amor taliter depingebatur: Describebatur enim in humana effigie imago pectore et capite erat denudata habens vestem viridem. Super caput scriptum habebat hiems et estas, in pectore habebat scriptum prope et longe. Sub pedibus vita et mors. In manu vero tenebat lanceam more sagittarum tres pennulas habentem. In quarum prima scriptum erat: volo corda, in secunda: corda volo, id est ad corda volo. In tertia vero: volo corda[19].

According to Fulgentius in the Book of Descriptions: The ancients, considering Vanity to be a god, represented her in such a manner. Her representation was a woman dressed in a net, having on her head these words inscribed: I go, I run, Vanity, on the right side: Sense, Virgin, Sanity; on the left side: Decorum, Fame, Novelty, Gold, Honor, Levity. On the bare breast was contained: And all things are Vanity.
In the same book Fulgentius says that Love was represented by the ancients like this, for they described a representation of a human figure with bare chest and head having a green

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teriis aggregando (tr.: Now I work correcting all things, and always adding something useful in different places and subjects), see Engels 1971, p. 21.

[17] *Incipit exposicio moralis magistri Thome Anglie super ouidium maiorem. Fabula prima* (Tr.: Beginning of the exposition in a moralized manner of the master Thomas of England on the *greater Ovid*. First Fable).

[18] On the space devoted to miniatures in this manuscript *folium*, see McLaughlin 2017, pp. 56-57.

[19] We reproduce the text from the critical apparatus of the text of the *Ovidius moralizatus* edited by Blume and Meier (2021, v. 2, p. 131), since for these two descriptions they use the Treviso manuscript.

garment. On the head was written 'winter and summer', on the chest was written 'near and far'. Under the feet, 'life and death', and in the hand he held a spear, like arrows, which had three small wings, on the first of which was written: I want hearts; on the second: I fly to hearts, that is, I fly towards hearts; and on the third: I want hearts[20].

These two descriptions are different from the rest of the figures and moralizations that form the *De formis figurisque deorum* because they do not describe mythological figures, but allegorical, and for this reason alone they would be peculiar and worthy of study. In addition, apart from the Treviso manuscript, they are only found in two other manuscripts of the *Ovidius moralizatus*, both of the A_2 version, which is the same as the one found in the Treviso codex, according to the classification of Engels and Van der Bijl[21].

These manuscripts are New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1081[22], and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4969[23]. These three manuscripts have a northern Italian provenance[24], and as the text is slightly different in each of the copies, we offer here a comparison between the three redactions, arranged according to the chronology of the manuscript copies[25], so that the variants in each codex can be assessed.

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[20] All translations are ours own except where otherwise indicated.

[21] In Van der Bijl's classification (1971, p. 25) the other two manuscripts containing this text were not included, but according to our analysis (Piqueras Yagüe 2021, pp. 51-54), based on the arrangement of the descriptions in the *De formis figurisque deorum* (and also present in Venturini 2013-14, pp. 29-30, and Blume, Meier 2021, v. 1, p. 174), they would indeed fit this version, although, as we have said, the reasons for the differentiation between A_1 and A_2 are not explicitly stated in any previous study and we cannot be completely sure.

[22] Available online: <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10268233>, 29.06.2023.

[23] Available online: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc638628>, 29.06.2023.

[24] The Treviso codex has been extensively studied, see, *e.g.*, Faggiani 2004; Venturini 2013-2014; McLaughlin 2017; Blume, Meier 2021; Zanichelli 2022. The Paris manuscript appears in one inventory of the manuscripts of the library of the Visconti and the Sforza, see Albertini Ottolenghi 1991, p. 110. For the origin and provenance of the one from the Beinecke Library we have made use of the information present on the website cited above.

[25] Paris, fourteenth century; Treviso, fifteenth century; New Haven, sixteenth century.

Vanity:

Paris, fol. 36v	Treviso, fol. 8v	New Haven, fol. 110r
Sicut dicit Fulgentius libro de descriptionibus antiqui uanitatem deam putantes ipsam taliter depingebant. Erat ymago sua feminea recte uestita, super caput suum habens hec uerba conscripta uado curro uanitas a destris sensus uigor sanitas a sinistris decor fama nouitas in pectore uero denudato continebatur omnia uanitas.	Sicut dicit Fulgentius libro de descriptionibus: Antiqui uanitatem deum putantes ipsam taliter depingebant. Videlicet erat imago enim sua feminea rete uestita, super caput suum hec uerba habens conscripta, scilicet: Vado. Curro. Vanitas, a dextris: Sensus, Virgo, Sanitas, a sinistris: decor, fama, Nouitas, Aurum, honor, leuitas. In pectore uero denudato continebatur. Et omnia uanitas.	Dicit Fulgentius in libro de descriptionibus Antiqui uanitatem deum putantes ipsam taliter depingebant. Erat enim imago ad modum unius pulcerrime mulieris indute rethe Et super caput eius habens hec uerba conscripta Vado Curro Vanitas A dextris uero erant hec alia uerba scripta Sensus Virgo Sanitas A sinistris autem hec altera uerba erant scripta Decor Fama Nouitas Sub pedibus enim habebat in scriptis [sic] hec uerba Honor Fama Leuitas In pectore uero denudato continebantur omnia uerba hec Et omnia uanitas Et hec erat imago quam antiqui depinxerunt.

Love:

Paris, fol. 36v	Treviso, fol. 8v	New Haven, fol. 110r
Eodem libro inquit Fulgentius quod ab antiquis amor taliter describebatur. Depingebatur enim in humana effigie pectore et capite denudato habens uestem uiridem super caput habens scriptum hiemps et estas in pectore prope et longe sub pedibus uita et mors in manu tenebat lanceam more sagittarum tres pennulas habentem in quarum prima scripta erat uolo corda in secunda uolo ad corda in tertia foro [sic] corda. Cum alia manu aperiebat sibi costalem et sedebat super arena.	Eodem libro inquit Fulgentius quod ab antiquis amor taliter depingebatur: Describebatur enim in humana effigie imago pectore et capite erat denudata habens uestem uiridem. Super caput scriptum habebat hiems et estas, in pectore habebat scriptum prope et longe. Sub pedibus uita et mors. In manu uero tenebat lanceam more sagittarum tres pennulas habentem. In quarum prima scriptum erat: uolo corda, in secunda: corda uolo, id est ad corda uolo. In tertia uero: uolo corda.	Eodem libro inquit Fulgentius quod ab antiquis amor taliter depingebatur Describebatur enim humana effigie Virgo pectore et capite denudata habens uestem uiridem. Super caput habens scriptum hiems et estas In pectore Longe et prope Sub pedibus Vita et mors In manu tenebat lanceam more sagittarum tres penulas habentem in quarum prima scriptum erat Volo corda in secunda Corda uolo id est ad corda uolo In tercia uero Volo corda etcetera.

Examining the texts, none of the three copies seems to reflect in either description the original text. Beyond the textual variants in some particular words[26], the most complete description of the figure of Vanity is found in the New Haven manuscript, while in the other two there seems to have been an omission in the transmission, for what we read in New Haven (*a sinistris autem hec altera uerba*

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[26] For example, *recte* for *rethe* and *foro* for *volo* in the Paris codex, *aurum* in the Treviso codex, or *virgo* for *ymago* in the New Haven codex.

erant scripta Decor Fama Nouitas Sub pedibus enim habebat inscriptis hec uerba Honor Fama Leuitas) appears altered in the other two manuscripts, perhaps due to an oversight at some point in the transmission; on the other hand, regarding the description of Love the most complete text seems to be the one in the Paris manuscript, because it has the ending: *cum alia manu aperiebat sibi costalem et sedebat super arena*, which is not in the other two witnesses, although it seems that the copy that served as a copy for the New Haven codex could also have contained it, because the description in this manuscript ends with *etcetera*, implying that the text on this figure continued[27]; however, in the Treviso manuscript there is no indication of that part or that there was any omission.

Based on the three witnesses, we propose here a possible edition of this passage for the establishment of the text in the transmission of the *Ovidius moralizatus*[28]:

Dicit Fulgentius in libro de descriptionibus antiqui uanitatem deum putantes ipsam taliter depingebant: erat enim imago sua feminea rete uestita, et super caput suum habens hec uerba conscripta: Vado Curro Vanitas; a dextris uero erant hec alia uerba scripta: Sensus Vigor Sanitas; a sinistris autem hec altera uerba erant scripta: Decor Fama Nouitas; sub pedibus enim habebat inscripta hec uerba: Honor Fama Leuitas; in pectore uero denudato continebatur: Et omnia uanitas. Et hec erat imago quam antiqui depinxerunt.
Eodem libro inquit Fulgentius quod ab antiquis amor taliter describebatur: depingebatur enim in humana effigie imago pectore et capite denudata habens uestem uiridem, super caput habens scriptum 'hiemps et estas'; in pectore, 'prope et longe'; sub pedibus, 'uita et mors'; in manu tenebat lanceam more sagittarum tres pennulas habentem, in quarum prima scripta erat 'uolo corda'; in secunda, 'corda uolo', id est, ad corda uolo; in tertia, 'uolo corda'; cum alia manu aperiebat sibi costalem et sedebat super arenam.

Fulgentius says, in the *Book of Descriptions*, that the ancients, considering Vanity to be a god, represented her this way: her image was a woman clothed in a net, having on her head these words inscribed: I Go, I Run, Vanity; on the right side were written these other words: Sense, Strength, Sanity; on the left side were written these other words: Decorum, Fame, Novelty; under the feet she had inscribed these words: Honor, Fame, Levity; and on the naked breast was contained: All Things are Vanity. And thus it was the image represented by the ancients.
In the same book Fulgentius says that Love was represented by the ancients this way: he was described as an image of a human figure with bare breast and head having a green garment, which on the head had written 'winter and summer'; on the breast, 'near and far'; under the feet, 'life and death'; in his right hand he held a spear, like arrows, with three small wings, on the first of which was written 'I want hearts'; on the second, 'I fly to hearts', that is, 'I fly to reach hearts'; on the third, 'I want hearts'; with the other hand he opened his side and he was seated on the sand.

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[27] Or certainly one ancestor in the transmission.
[28] We offer this text in addition to the one reproduced at the beginning of the section because Blume, Meier (2021, v. 2, p. 131) do not collate the Paris and New Haven manuscripts and we believe that they are important witnesses for the understanding of these descriptions.

Thus, once we have established the possible origin of this passage within the transmission of the *Ovidius moralizatus*, we will first analyze the textual sources[29], then continue with the pictorial representations and conclude this section with some general remarks on both aspects.

2.2. *Source for textual descriptions*

The text refers to a *Book of descriptions* by Fulgentius, but we do not find any work in the Fulgentius tradition with that exact name (*Liber de descriptionibus*), and in none of the preserved works of Fulgentius do we find such texts[30]. However, we do find another text that may be the source for this passage, and it is the one collected in numerous manuscripts under the epigraph *Ymagines Fulgencii*[31], whose title bears many similarities with what is referred to in these descriptions. The *Ymagines Fulgencii* is a miscellaneous collection that gathers the descriptions of the representations of diverse mythological and allegorical figures and was compiled during the 14th century, based in part on John Ridewall's *Fulgentius metaforalis*[32]. In this collection of brief descriptions, we find the following passages:

Amicicia uero sic depingitur unus iuuenis faciem habens puerilem discooperto capite indutus tunica uiridi in cuius fymbria scribitur mors et uita in fronte scribitur hyemps et estas habet latus apertum usque ad cor ostendens et ibi scriptum est longe et prope. [...] Fulgencius libro de contemptu mundi ponit ymaginem uanitatis in hunc modum scilicet puella uultu pulcherrima rethe induta scriptum in manu dextra habebat hoc mecum sunt diuicie et gloria super caput eius habebat hoc scriptum mecum est forcitudo et agilitas in pectore erat hoc scriptum mecum est iuuentus et speciositas sed in pedibus eius erat scriptum omnia uanitas[33].

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[29] McLaughlin (2017, p. 56) and, above all, Venturini (2013-14, pp. 32-37) already addressed this issue, albeit tangentially, so we believe it is appropriate to delve deeper into it.

[30] The attribution of this kind of medieval text to Fulgentius is usual and has been studied by Lehmann (1927, pp. 20-23) and Smalley (1962, p. 166).

[31] See Liebeschütz 1926; and, especially, Allen 1979. In this article Allen analyzes the birth and diffusion of the collection. On this type of collection and *picturae*, see Smalley 1962, pp. 165-183.

[32] Allen 1979, p. 30. For the dating of the *Fulgentius metaforalis* prior to 1333, see Smalley 1962, pp. 109-110.

[33] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 590, fols. 100r and 101v. We use this manuscript as the basis for the transcription of the *Ymagines Fulgencii* because, among those we have been able to consult, it is one of the oldest that contains the *Ymagines* in its complete state and under such an epigraph (fol. 99v: *Incipiunt Ymagines Fulgencii*). There is no list of manuscripts that may contain this work. Beyond those highlighted by Liebeschütz in his study of the *Fulgentius metaforalis* (1926, pp. 46-53) or Allen (1979), it should be noted that this work usually seems to accompany Robert Holcot's *Moralitates*, so that many of the manuscripts containing this work also contain the *Ymagines*, so that most of the manuscripts listed by Slotemaker on his website (<https://slotemaker.wordpress.com/robert-holcot/manuscriptseditions/ii-5-moralitates/>,

On the other hand, Friendship is represented like this: a young man who has a child's face with his head uncovered dressed in a green tunic, on whose border is written 'death and life'; on his forehead is written 'winter and summer'; he has the side open showing up to the heart and so is written 'far and near'. [...]

Fulgentius, in the book of the contempt of the world, puts the image of Vanity in this way, that is, a very beautiful girl as to the face dressed in a net; she had written on her right hand this: 'with me are riches and glory'; on her head was written this: 'with me are strength and agility'; on her breast was written this: 'with me are youth and beauty'; and on her feet it was written: 'all is vanity'.

These descriptions correspond to the fourth and eleventh chapters of the total of thirty-three that form the *Ymagines* in their most usual complete version in the manuscripts[34]. The text referring to friendship seems to have its origin in one of the *Moralitates* of Robert Holcot's work[35], as already pointed out by Allen[36]. This is the passage from the *Moralitates*:

Narrat Fulgencius in quodam libro de gestis romanorum quod ciues romani uerum amorem hoc modo scripserunt scilicet quod ymago amoris depicta erat ut quidam iuuenis ualde pulcher indutus habitu uiridi, facies eius et caput erat discoperta siue nudata et in fronte istius erat hoc scriptum hyems et estas erat latus huius apertum ita ut uideretur cor in quo scripta erant hec uerba longe et prope et in fymbria uestimenti eius scriptum erat mors et uita similiter ista scriptura habebat pedes nudos[37].

Fulgentius narrates in a book on the exploits of the Romans that the Roman citizens described true love in this way: that the image of love had been described as a very beautiful young man in green attire, his face and head were uncovered or bare, and on his forehead was written 'winter and summer'; his side was open so that the heart could be seen on which were inscribed these words: 'far and near', and at the foot of the garment was written: 'death and life', likewise this inscription had bare feet.

29.06.2023) contain it, as can also be seen in Liebeschütz's descriptions, and Holcot is even credited with authorship of this compilation in some manuscripts (Slotemaker, Witt 2016, pp. 322-323).

[34] Allen 1979, pp. 31-32.

[35] On the figure of Robert Holcot and his work, including the *Moralitates*, Smalley 1962 and Slotemaker, Witt 2016 are indispensable.

[36] Allen 1979, pp. 30, 42.

[37] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 590, fol. 84v. For continuity, we use the same manuscript for the text of the *Moralitates* as for the text of the *Ymagines Fulgencii*. The text in the printed editions of the 16th century is as follows: «Habet Fulgentius in libro quodam de gestis romanorum quod ciues romani hoc modo amorem scripsere. Imago depicta erat amoris ut iuuenis quidam videretur. Pulcher erat aspectu. Ornatus habitu viridi, eius facies erat discoperta et nudatum caput. Huius in fronte scriptum erat: Hyems et estas. In latere quod apertum erat sic scriptura iacebat Longe et Prope. In uestimenti finibus sic scriptum insuper fuerat. Mors et vita. Item hec imago nudos gestabat pedes» (Holcot 1514, p. 23). Tr.: Fulgentius has said in a book on the exploits of the Romans that the Roman citizens described love in this way. The image of love had been described in such a way that it looked like a young man. He was beautiful in his appearance, adorned in green attire, his face was uncovered and his head bare. On his forehead was written 'winter and summer'; on the side, which was open, was an inscription thus: 'far and near'. On the feet of the garment was written above this: 'death and life', likewise this image wore bare feet.

These descriptions of the *Ymagines Fulgencii*, either jointly or individually, had a great fortune and circulation, so that we have numerous manuscript witnesses in which, in turn, we find variants in the text. One such variant is found in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066[38], which contains this text:

Fulgencius libro de contemptu mundi ponit ymaginem uanitatis in hunc mundum [sic] scilicet puellam uultu placabilem indutam rethe super caput eius erat scriptum et in dextra eius erat scriptum mecum sunt diuicie et gloria in sinistra mecum sunt leticie et delicie super capud suum habebat scriptum mecum sunt fortitudo et agilitas in pectore habebat scriptum mecum sunt iuuentus et speciositas sed in pedibus erat scriptum hec omnia uanitas[39].

Fulgentius, in the book of the contempt of the world, puts the image of vanity in this way, that is, a girl with a gentle face dressed in a net; on her head was written…; on her right hand was written: 'with me are riches and glory'; on her left hand: 'with me are joys and amusements'; on her head was written: 'with me are strength and agility'; on her breast was written: 'with me are youth and beauty'; and on her feet was written: 'everything is vanity'.

The changes that we can notice are the description of the representation as *puellam placabilem* instead of *pulcherrimam*[40] or the anacoluthon that is observed with the first *super caput eius erat scriptum*, since it does not finish with what is written on the head of Vanity, but is repeated later with all the information, and, especially, the inclusion of an inscription on the left hand, which, curiously, only can be found in the manuscripts that accompany this text of the *Ymagines* with a pictorial representation of the figure from among those we have been able to consult[41]. This manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca

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[38] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066 contains the *Fulgentius metaforalis* (fols. 217v-231v), images of the four cardinal virtues, and the *Ymagines Fulgencii* in a different order than usual with the following title *Incipiunt ymagines secundum diuersos doctores* (fol. 235r), although at the end they close as *Expliciunt Ymagines uirtutum et uiciorum secundum Fulgencium doctorem et philisophum uenerabilem et peritissimum* (fol. 243v). This order can be related to that found in the Heidelberg manuscript, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal., VII, 104. On Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066 and its relation to miscellaneous collections of figures, see Saxl 1942, pp. 102-103.

[39] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066, fol. 237v.

[40] Some manuscripts transmit both adjectives, see Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4347, fol. 76v, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726, fol. 65v.

[41] These are the manuscripts of the *Ymagines* that we have been able to consult for this work: Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, cod. 267; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Sal. cod. VII, 104; Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, cod. 111 (mutilated at the beginning of the treatise); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 590; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 159; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4347.

Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066, has, in addition, such a representation of Vanity (fol. 238r), and it seems to be related, as Saxl[42] pointed out, to the manuscripts Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1404 and London, Wellcome Library, 49[43], where we also find pictorial representations of Vanity, accompanied by this text of the *Ymagines* that we found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066[44].

As we can see, the description of Vanity in the *Ymagines*, in any of its slight variants, and in the *De formis figurisque deorum* is sensibly different, being similar only in the attribution to Fulgentius of the *auctoritas* over the text of the description and in the net with which the figure is dressed, but coinciding neither in the work attributed to Fulgentius (*De contemptu mundi* in the *Ymagines*, *De descriptionibus* in the *De formis figurisque deorum*), nor in that the ancients considered Vanity a divinity (this is only mentioned in the *De formis figurisque deorum*, but not in the *Ymagines*), nor, above all, in the inscriptions surrounding the figure, and even in the only inscription that coincides (*hec/et omnia Vanitas*), the location in relation to the figure is altered: in the *Ymagines* its position is at the feet of the figure, while in the *De formis figurisque deorum* it is described as being placed on the chest of Vanity.

Regarding the textual description of the figure of Love, it is remarkable that the text of the *Ymagines* is a transposition to the figure of Friendship of what in Holcot's *Moralitates* was the description of Love, erasing in that transference the trace of any attribution to Fulgentius, which was present in Holcot's work (*quodam libro de gestis Romanorum*). In this difference between the *Ymagines* and the *Moralitates*, the text of the *De formis figurisque deorum* is undoubtedly closer to the *Moralitates* since it refers to Love and not to Friendship, and attributes, like in the case of Vanity, the *auctoritas* to Fulgentius, but it is once again unique due to several features: the name of the work of Fulgentius (repeating the *Liber de descriptionibus*), the figure of Love has an arrow with three small wings on each of which there is an inscription, and he is seated on the sand; we have not found these characteristics in any other place.

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[42] Saxl 1942, p. 102-103.

[43] These two sister manuscripts were produced in Germany in the second half of the 15th century and contain a collection of moralizations and allegorical figures, as studied in depth by Saxl (1942).

[44] *Fulgencius in libro de contemptu mundi ponit uirginem in hunc modum puellam uultu placabilem indutam rethe in dextra eius erat scriptum mecum sunt diuicie et gloria in sinistra mecum sunt delicie et leticia super capud eius erat scriptum mecum est fortitudo et agilitas in pectore habebat scriptum mecum est iuuentus et speciositas sed in pedibus eius scriptum erat hec omnia uanitas.* London, Wellcome Library, 49 fol. 52r; same as Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1404, fol. 2v.

2.3. *Pictorial representation of the figure of Vanity*

As one can see in fig. 1, the description of Vanity is accompanied in the Treviso manuscript by a miniature. Of the other two manuscripts containing this passage, the Paris manuscript was not prepared for illumination, but the New Haven manuscript seems to have been prepared for illumination, although the image was not made (fig. 2). In the image of the Treviso codex there is a representation of Vanity as a woman dressed in a net, as described in the text, seated, with her head uncovered and her feet bare. Next to her, on the right, is a tree from which a human head emerges (fig. 3). On her lap Vanity seems to have a cloth that is not in the description of the figure, nor is the tree with the head emerging from it on the right. The miniature, except for the fact that Vanity is dressed in a net, is quite far from what is described in the text. As we said in the previous section, this representation of Vanity as a woman dressed in a net is found in other codices with various collections of texts (see figg. 4-6)[45]. Unlike in the *De formis figurisque deorum*, in these manuscripts the correspondence between the texts and the images that accompany such texts is total.

Thus, although the representation of Vanity dressed in a net is the same between the *De formis figurisque deorum* and the other three representations, great differences can be appreciated regarding the images. In the latter, Vanity is represented standing with the signs with the inscriptions in the parts indicated by the text[46], while, in the Treviso manuscript, she is represented seated (it could be a rock or sand on the ground, although it rather seems the latter) next to a tree from which emerges a head[47] and without any of the inscriptions described in the text.

[45] This relationship between the Treviso codex and the other representations had already been established by Faggiani (2004, pp. 49-50) and Venturini (2013-14, pp. 33-36), where they also discussed the description of the illumination. This relationship may merit a more detailed and comprehensive study in the future.

[46] It should be noted, however, that the image of the London manuscript is slightly different, as it does not have the sign with the chest inscription, and it is the only one of the three to have the head uncovered; both manuscripts (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066 and Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1404) present Vanity with her head covered with a kind of turban.

[47] Malquori (2013) establishes a relationship between this image in the Treviso manuscript and the miniature in the fol. 98r of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 626 (fourteenth century), although the text of the Treviso manuscript is misattributed by Malquori (2013, p. 238) to the *Fulgentius metaforalis*, and she establishes a fortune for the Treviso representation of Vanity that we can observe it was not such, since the way of representing it in other texts was different, besides the representation of the Treviso codex is later than that of the New York one. Malquori also highlights the image present in the Rome manuscript of the Apology of Barlaam, which is similar in terms of the position of a man at the top of a tree.

2.4. *Pictorial representation of the figure of Love*

As for Love, although there is no pictorial representation in the Treviso manuscript itself, from the description of the text we can also establish certain relationships with other pictorial representations that appear in the three manuscripts already mentioned in the previous section, to which we believe we can add Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726[48]. Of these four manuscripts, only in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066 is the figure referred to as *Vera amicicia* (fig. 7), since this manuscript contains only the text of the *Ymagines* and not that of the *Moralitates*, while in the other three, the images represent *Amor*[49] (figg. 8-11). These images are close to the description of the *De formis figurisque deorum* due to the similarity between the texts, but none of them is the exact representation of what is reproduced there, what seems logical since the text itself is not the exact representation of any of the other manuscripts.

Among the representations themselves, however, a great difference can be established, and that is that the representation of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066 does not have bare feet, as the text says, and also takes his hand to the side to open his green garment and show his heart, which is not explicit in the text of that codex, but can be read in our edition of the text of *De formis figuris deorum* due to the version of the Paris manuscript (*cum alia manu aperiebat sibi costalem*). In this feature the representation of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066 resembles the first of the representations of Love in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726. This first representation, although he has bare feet, does not bear the inscriptions that the other four representations do, and, in addition, he takes his hand to the side to show his heart.

The figure of Love as described in the text of the *De formis figurisque deorum*, that held a spear like arrows, could be related to the figure of Desire that is represented in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066 (fig. 12), but this arrow does not have wings from which inscriptions emerge[50].

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[48] This manuscript, which contains the text of Holcot's *Moralitates* and the *Ymagines Fulgencii*, has pictorial representations of some figures from the text of the *Moralitates* (fols. 43r-52v, among which are included those of Love), but not from the text of the *Ymagines Fulgencii*, and thus Vanity is not represented, as it is in the other three examples. Venturini (2013-2014, p. 34), despite having worked with this codex, did not relate these images to the brief text of the *De formis figurisque deorum*.

[49] The London and Rome manuscripts, as miscellanies, do not copy the complete text of any work, and in this case for the reproduction of this allegorical figure they reproduce Holcot's text.

[50] The curious thing about this image is that it appears just below that of Vanity in the folio of the manuscript, as it would appear in the *De formis figurisque deorum* if these were the images (fig. 13).

The closest we can find to that is what appears in the London manuscript related to the Penitence[51] (fig. 14), but they are inscriptions on a flagellum and there are five leaves instead of three wings. Otherwise, in no case do the words of the inscriptions coincide.

2.5. *Considerations on the representation of Vanity and Love*

Finally, this analysis raises numerous questions and doubts regarding this illuminated passage in the Treviso manuscript, for which, for the moment, we can only hypothesize[52].

The first is whether these two descriptions were included by Bersuire himself in the *De formis figurisque deorum* or whether they are an interpolation by some other hand, probably during the circulation of the text in northern Italy, given the provenance of the three manuscripts. It is not possible to give a clear answer to this question, since Bersuire was constantly modifying his text, and it may be that this inclusion is original to him at an intermediate stage of writing the work before reading the *Fulgentius metaforalis* and the *Ovide moralisé*, and that he then decided to dispense with that addition, since these descriptions are not found in the final version *P*[53]. Thus, one could conjecture that there was a variant of the *Ymagines Fulgencii*, or a collection of *exempla* and *picturae* under a title similar with Fulgentius being the main authority, that contained these two descriptions as we find them in the *De formis figurisque deorum*, and Bersuire could have read it and selected these two descriptions to end the prologue. Then he could think that it was not necessary to mention this work at the beginning because the final authority would come from Fulgentius, who was already present as a source in the prologue, and not from the commentator of Fulgentius, as is the case with the *Fulgentius metaforalis*, that he will mention in later redactions of the prologue. And perhaps the manuscript with this collection would not include the *Fulgentius metaforalis*, because he only included these descriptions, and when he read Ridewall's work he decided to include much more information.

But it is also possible, due to the nature of the manuscripts that transmit

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[51] There are many representations in these codices of winged figures with inscriptions on their wings, but only this one, that we have been able to verify, of an object from which leaves with inscriptions emerge.

[52] For previous studies, see Faggiani 2004, Venturini 2013-2014, pp. 31-37; McLaughlin 2017, pp. 56-57.

[53] Neither are the texts on Aesculapius and Hercules found in version *A*, see Engels 1966, p. X. Moreover, these two descriptions, along with that of Vulcan, are the most similar to those of Vanity and Love in length and style in the *De formis figurisque deorum*.

these descriptions to us, that they were an addition from a now lost or unknown manuscript from northern Italy, and probably illuminated[54]. If so, one might wonder then whether these descriptions are an invention on the basis of other texts[55], such as the *Ymagines Fulgencii* or the *Moralitates*, or a closer parallel to the final text of the *De formis figurisque deorum* could be found in these codices than we find in these sources, for it may be that there is no parallel then and such texts were created *ad hoc* to be included there.

Although this does not seem plausible, some questions about the representations that accompany them could arise. Why does the image of Vanity in the Treviso manuscript not represent what is described in the text? Why is the pictorial representation of Vanity so different in the Treviso manuscript to the others in the tradition? In particular, the inclusion of the tree whose top shows a head. Is it possible that the tree is the representation of the description of Love, putting together the depictions of Vanity and Love in a single miniature, since also the image of Vanity itself does not represent the text, nor does Love, which would coincide in the green tone of the clothing in the text and of the leaves of the tree in the image? Was then the image reflecting the accompanying descriptions or was it modeling any other description?

These are difficult, if not impossible, questions to which, with the data that we have presented and that we know so far, we cannot give an answer.

3. *Story of Bacchus in Libya*

Regarding the Bergamo manuscript, the passage that we are going to analyze is the following (which is accompanied by a miniature, fig. 15):

Cum Bachus qui et Liber Patris [sic] dictus est de Oriente triumphasset et tandem per arenas Libie exercitum duceret et ultra modum sitiret nec aquas pro se et exercitu inuenire ualeret orauit Iouem patrem suum ut sibi et suis aquam daret. Iuppiter ergo in specie arietis sibi aperiens [sic] terram pede percussit et de sub pede eius fons uiuus erupit, quapropter in eodem loco ipsi Ioui templum hedificauit cuius ymago in specie arietis in medio templi

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[54] Of the three copies, the Paris manuscript reproduces only a part of the text, the *De formis figurisque deorum*, without giving importance to the illustrations, but the other two are copied so that the text is accompanied by illustrations. The transmission of the text is different between the Treviso copy and the New Haven copy, the New Haven copy cannot be made to depend on the Treviso manuscript, so there must be a common source. Moreover, both copies are prepared to be illuminated only in the *De formis figurisque deorum*, not in the rest of the *Ovidius moralizatus*, which may lead us to think that the origin of both also depends on a manuscript that only contained miniatures in the *De formis figurisque deorum*.

[55] We believe that, if Bersuire is the author of the addition, they would not be an original addition, since his method of working in the *De formis figurisque deorum* is to present what is said about mythological or allegorical figures, not to present anything new.

fuit dictus est Iupiter Hamon id est arenosus pro eo quod harenis aparuit. In templo autem illo uerissima dabantur[56].

As Bacchus, who was also called Father Liber, made a triumphal parade from the East and led through the deserts of Libya the army and was very thirsty and could not find water for himself and the army, he asked Jupiter, his father, to give him and his people water. So, Jupiter showing himself in the appearance of a ram struck the earth and from under his foot came forth a fountain of freshly water, on acount of which in that very place a temple was built whose image in the appearance of a goat stood in the midst of the temple, for Jupiter was called Amon sandy because in the deserts he showed himself. He gave very certain answers.

This fable is interesting because it appears in all the manuscripts that contain the complete commentary to book 3 of the *Metamorphoses*, but it is not present in the *editio princeps* of the *Ovidius moralizatus* made by Josse Badius. Among the hypotheses that can be considered about the omission of this fable in the printed text of the work[57], perhaps the most plausible one is that the reworker[58] wanted to change the position of the fable in the treatise and forgot to place it in its proper place. The fable narrates what happens in Libya after Bacchus has triumphed in the East and India. The reference to this feat is alluded to in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 20-21: *uirgineum caput est; Oriens tibi uictus adusque | decolor extremo qua tingitur India Gange*[59], but not developed in the Ovidian epic[60]. Thus, it could be that he wanted to move this myth to the beginning of book 4 before the narration of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, but did not do so at the time because of forgetfulness, carelessness or because he finally decided that the commentary to book 4 should begin directly with the story of the lovers, thus dispensing with this story about Bacchus[61].

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[56] We transcribe the text of the Bergamo codex here. The text edited by Blume and Meier (2021, v. 2, p. 199) is as follows: *Cum Bacchus, qui et Liber Pater dictus est, de Oriente triumphasset et per arenas Libye exercitum duceret et ultra modum sitiret nec aquas pro se et exercitu invenire posset, oravit Iovem, patrem suum, ut sibi et suis aquam daret. Iupiter autem in specie arietis sibi apparens terram pede percussit et desub eius pede fons vivus erupit. Quapropter in eodem loco ipsi Iovi templum edificavit, cuius imago in specie arietis in medio templi fuit. Dictusque est Iupiter Hammon, id est arenosus, pro eo quod in arenis apparuit. In templo autem istius arietis firmissima dabantur responsa*, with some of the variants of the Bergamo codex in the critical apparatus.

[57] Piqueras Yagüe 2021, pp. 84-87.

[58] The *editio princeps* of the *Ovidius moralizatus* is altered with respect to the text of the manuscripts, and we believe that it was due to the figure of a reworker, perhaps Jean de Voivre. See Piqueras Yagüe 2021, pp. 73-113.

[59] Tarrant 2004, p. 94.

[60] As also noted by Blume, Meier 2021, v. 2, p. 493.

[61] It is curious, however, that the etiological justification of the cult of Jupiter Amon is also found in the *P* version of the *Ovidius moralizatus* in the *De formis figurisque deorum* in the section dedicated to Jupiter: *Litteralis autem racio est quia in arenis Libie, prope fa[u]ces ubi*

Not knowing why this story was left out of the printed version of the *Ovidius moralizatus,* we will now analyze the sources from which Bersuire may have taken this story to include it in his treatise, since it is not included in the rest of the allegorical and moralizing commentaries to the *Metamorphoses*[62].

The expedition and conquest of Bacchus in the East was well known, as well as the cult of Amon in Libya, presented here as Jupiter Amon. The fusion of the two stories is not found in Fulgentius, but in the commentaries of Servius (*Commentary on the Aeneid of Virgil*, 4, 196) and Lactantius (*Commentary on the Thebaid of Statius*, 3, 476), from which it is taken by the First and the Second Vatican Mythographers, and also appears in the *Liber de natura deorum*, all of them in wording very similar to those we find in the *Ovidius moralizatus.*

We reproduce here the texts of the Second Vatican Mythographer and the *Liber de natura deorum*[63]:

Liber adulte factus etatis Indiam sibi subiugauit, inde reuertens cum in deserta et in extrema parte Libie teneretur ac siti laboraret exercitus, rogasse dicitur Iouem ut se aquam ei ostendendo patrem probaret. Mox ex harena aries apparuit qui pede eleuato monstrauit locum ubi fodiens aquam posset inuenire. Tunc aperta terra agressa est aqua largissima uel, ut alii dicunt, aries sibi apparuit quo duce Liber aquam inuenit. Inuenta autem aqua petiit Iouem ut arietem in astra transferret. In eo autem loco ubi aquam fluxit, templum constituit quod Iouis Ammonis dicitur, simulacrum etiam eius adiectis cornibus arietinis confectum est. Fingitur autem cornibus arietinis quod satis eius, que ibi dantur, in ululato sunt responsa et obscuritate inuoluta. Dicitur autem Iuppiter Ammon eo quod in harena repertus est, ammoniam enim Greci harenam dicunt[64].

After Liber reached adulthood, he made India subject to himself. Then on his return home he was in distress[65], plagued by thirst in the desert in the farthest part of Libya. He asked Jove to prove that he was his father by showing him water. Soon, from the sand a ram

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Iovis Amonis templum fuit, dicitur Iupiter Alexandro in specie arietis apparuisse et sicienti exercitui aquam ostendisse, et ideo iste a poetis Amon dicitur, id est, arenosus, pro eo quod in arenis Libie specialiter colebatur (Engels 1966, p. 11; tr.: And the literal reason is because it is said that in the Libyan desert, near the entrances where the temple of Jupiter Amon stood, Jupiter appeared to Alexander in the guise of a ram and showed water to the thirsty army, and therefore this is named by the poets as Amon, that is, sandy, because of this, that especially in the Libyan desert he was venerated). That is, in version *P* in the manuscripts we find twice the same story, only that the character who begs water for his army in the deserts changes: in the *De formis figurisque deorum* it is Alexander, while in book 3 the most widespread story in the medieval mythographic tradition with Bacchus is maintained. Although Engels (1966, p. 11) mentions that this addition for version *P* comes from the *Fulgentius metaforalis* (Liebeschütz 1926, p. 80), the mention of Alexander is not in this text; in Ridewall's work only the cult of Jupiter Amon is mentioned.

[62] See Fritz, Noacco 2022.

[63] About this text, see Allen 1970; Brown 1972; Hays 2020.

[64] Kulcsár 1987, p. 175.

[65] It should be noted that it was the army that was thirsty, not the god.

appeared; with its raised hoof it showed the place where Liber could dig and find water. Then, after the earth was opened, an abundance of water came forth. Or as others say, a ram appeared to him. With it as his guide, Liber found water. After the water was found, Liber asked Jove to place the ram among the stars. In the place where the water flowed, he set up a temple to Jove Ammon. He also made a statue with ram's horns. It was fashioned with ram's horns because the oracles given there are rendered amidst howling noises, and they are shrouded in obscurity. Also, he is called Jupiter Ammon because he was found in the sand, for the Greeks call sand ammonia[66].

Iste primus vineam plantari docuit victoriamque habuit de orientalibus. De qua cum per Libyam rediret, suus exercitus sitivit. Oravit ergo Iovem ut sociis suis daret aquam; cui Iuppiter in specie arietis apparens terram pede percussit. Sub cuius pede fons vivus emanavit, de quo suum exercitum Bacchus adaquavit. Postea in honore Iovis factum est templum in eodem loco et eius imago in medio erat in specie arietis, et dictus est Iuppiter Hammon, idest Harenosus, propter locum harenosum. In hoc templo certissima dabantur responsa[67].

He was the first to know how to plant the vineyard and was victorious over the easterners. Related to this, as he returned through Libya, his army was thirsty. So, he begged Jupiter to give water to his companions, and appeared to him in the guise of a ram and struck the earth with his hoof. Under his hoof a fountain of freshly water arose, thanks to which Bacchus gave drink to his army. Later, in honor of Jupiter a temple was made in this same place and his ram-like image was in the center, and it was called Jupiter Amon, that is, sandy, because the place is sandy. In this temple very true answers were given.

We believe that it is interesting to present together the texts of the Second Vatican Mythographer[68] and the *Liber de natura deorum* because through a comparison between the two and the text of the *Ovidius moralizatus* itself, it can be observed that the text of Bersuire can be considered closer to the *Liber* than to the Second Vatican Mythographer.

Thus, examining more closely the parallelism between the *Liber de natura deorum* and the *Ovidius moralizatus*, one of the most divergent aspects of Bersuire's commentary from the rest of the medieval allegorical commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* is the order in which the myths are presented and commented upon to what we find in the Ovidian text. Indeed, it is one of the aspects that the reworker most modified when retouching Bersuire's text (see fig. 16, which compares the order of the fables in the commentary to book 3 of Ovid with the order found in Badius' *editio princeps*).

However, if we compare the order of Bersuire with the order of appearance of these myths in the *Liber de natura deorum*[69], it is practically parallel, and

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[66] Pepin 2008, pp. 140-141.

[67] Brown 1972, p. 21.

[68] The text of the Second Vatican Mythographer is the only parallel mentioned by Blume and Meier (2021, v. 2, p. 493).

[69] On the order of the myths in the *Liber de natura deorum* itself, see Allen (1970, pp. 352-355) and Hankey (1998, pp. 90-91). It seems clear that it depends on the *Metamorphoses*, but

this is what explains the insertion of this Bacchus' story in this position, and the placement of the story of the Minyades in this book instead of in book 4, as the reworker does, for there it is developed in Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, IV, 389-415), or the prior placement of the myths of Pentheus and the Bacchantes (*Metamorphoses*, III, 511-576) and of Bacchus and the Tyrian sailors (*Metamorphoses*, III, 577-691) to the stories of Tiresias (*Metamorphoses*, III, 316-338) and Echo and Narcissus (*Metamorphoses*, III, 339-510), since in the *Liber de natura deorum* they are mentioned earlier, as we can see in this table:

Liber de natura deorum[70]	*Ovidius moralizatus*, commentary to book 3
XXX. On Cadmus	Fables 1-3
XXXI. On Actaeon and Aristaeus	Fables 4-5
XXXII. On Semele and Bacchus	Fables 6-9
XXXIII. On Lycurgus and Pentheus	Fable 10, Part One
XXXIV. On the Minyades and Ariadne	Fable 10, Part Two
XXXV. On Ino	ø[71]
XXXVI. On Tiresias	Fables 11-12
XXXVII. On Manto	ø
XXXVIII. On Echo and Narcissus	Fables 13-14

Tab. 1. Comparison of the order of the fables in book 3 of the *Metamorphoses* between the *Liber de natura deorum* and Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*

As we said, although Bersuire himself places the fable of Ino in book 4[72], the order of the *Ovidius moralizatus* is much more similar to the one we find in this mythographic treatise than to the original Ovidian order.

This may indicate not so much that the *Liber* is a source itself for Bersuire, but that they are inserted in the same mythographic tradition, that is, that the way of treating the commentary by Bersuire was not only based on the Ovidian text and its exegesis, but that in the very development of the commentary he left indications of the influence of other mythographic works, as he himself emphasized in the prologue: *Aliquas tamen in aliquibus super hoc adiungam fabulas quas in aliis locis repperi, aliquas etiam detraham et omittam quas non necessarias iudicavi*[73]. Among these *alia loca* it is possible that a treatise

with additions of stories that were not present in Ovid's epic, as we observe in Bersuire's commentary.

[70] Brown 1972, p. 2.

[71] The figure of Ino is discussed by Bersuire in fable 4.17.

[72] Although it should be noted that he places it at the end of the stories of book 4, not in what would be its "natural" position, before the mention of Danae and the story of Perseus, which is where the reworker places it, Piqueras Yagüe 2021, p. 96.

[73] Tr.: However, to this [the material of the *Metamorphoses*] I will add some fables in some

like the *Liber de natura deorum* was used by him, on which he based the additions of myths not included in the *Metamorphoses*, or only mentioned and not developed by Ovid, and their position in the commentary.

3.1. Pictorial representation of Bacchus with his army

Among the three categories into which McLaughlin[74] divides the miniatures of the Bergamo manuscript (1. descriptive representations with the image of only one character; 2. representations of a scene; and 3. representations of several episodes at the same time that narrate a complete myth), the one that accompanies this text should be included into the third group, since we find two scenes:

1. In the left part we observe the god Bacchus with oriental clothes and on a figure that looks like a dragon, this time with the cavalry of his army behind, in front of the incarnation of Jupiter on a ram, which occupies the whole central part. The ram has one of its front legs in the position of having struck the earth, where the fountain has appeared, due to which there is a prostrate soldier on the left side already drinking.
2. On the right side we find the representation of the temple with a sculpture of the ram to which Bacchus is worshipping with a thyrsus in his hand.

In comparison, the representation of this story found in the Gotha manuscript (figs. 17-18), the other manuscript prepared for illumination in the body of the text of the *Ovidius moralizatus*, is similar, although with certain differences. The description of the image in the Gotha manuscript is as follows:

In der linken Bildhälfte erscheint das Heer von Bacchus in einer kargen felsigen Landschaft. Bacchus selbst kniet im Vordergrund vor einem Widder, der mit seiner rechten Vorderhufe aus dem Gestein eine Quelle sprudeln lässt. Als Folge dieses Ereignisses erscheint im rechten Bildhintergrund ein Tempel in Form eines geöffneten oktogonalen Zentralbaus, in dessen Mitte ein Altar mit einem goldenen Bildnis des Widders steht. Dem Heiligtum wenden sich die links niederknienden Soldaten mit vor der Brust zusammengelegten Händen dankend zu[75].

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parts that I have found elsewhere, I will also remove and omit some that I have not considered necessary.

[74] McLaughlin 2017, p. 77.

[75] Blume, Meier 2021, v. 1, p. 122. Tr.: On the left side of the image, Bacchus' army appears in a barren rocky landscape. Bacchus himself is kneeling in the foreground in front of a ram, which sprouts a spring from the earth with its right front hoof. Because of this, a temple in the right background is seen in the form of an open octagonal central building, in the center of which stands an altar with a golden image of the ram. The soldiers kneeling on the left side turn towards the shrine with their hands clasped in front of their chests as a sign of thanksgiving.

For the comparison between the images of the Bergamo and Gotha manuscripts, we refer to Venturini[76]. As she points out, the main difference observed between the two representations is the figure of Bacchus[77], so that by returning our attention to the Bergamo manuscript, we focus on the central representation of Bacchus as a figure that looks like a dragon[78], which is surprising, since the usual representation of Bacchus' mount are felines[79] (as an example of this representation on a tiger in the Middle Ages, see figure 21 of the manuscript mentioned above, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726).

4. *Conclusion*

With the presentation of all the texts of this paper, both those of the *Ovidius moralizatus* and those of other medieval works, some still unedited, and the different variants of each of them, accompanied in some cases by the illuminations in the manuscripts, we have tried to offer a detailed view of two specific passages of Bersuire's commentary, even providing two witnesses for a proposed edition of one of these passages, the end of the *De formis figurisque deorum* in a redaction prior to the definitive version of *P*.

In the section on sources, although it is not possible to define direct dependencies, we believe that it is possible to establish a relationship of the text of

[76] Venturini, 2013-2014, p. 182.

[77] Venturini, 2013-2014, p. 182: «Le differenze riguardano principalmente il modo di raffigurare il dio Bacco: mentre nella miniatura del codice di Bergamo la divinità è chiaramente rionoscibile […] (cavalca un drago e ha il capo cinto da pampini), nella vignetta di Gotha, Bacco si differenzia dagli altri soldato solamente perché indossa un'armatura dorata che lo eleva al rango di comandante dell'esercito». Tr.: The differences refer above all to the way in which the god Bacchus is represented: while, in the miniature of the Bergamo codex, the divinity is clearly recognizable […] (he rides a dragon and wears his head girded with lianas), in the Gotha vignette, Bacchus differs from the other soldiers only because he wears a golden armor that elevates him to the rank of army commander.

[78] The literature consulted on this image points this out (Venturini, 2013-2014, p. 182; McLaughlin 2017, p. 168; Blume, Meier 2021, v. 1, pp. 169-170). However, Díez Platas, whom we thank for her help, has pointed out to us that it can be interpreted that since there was no clear awareness of the form of the tiger in the Middle Ages other animal forms were explored to speak of a mount that could not be associated with a specific animal, and this could be how figures 19-20, which are the miniatures of the representation of Bacchus from the *De formis figurisque deorum* in the Bergamo and Treviso manuscripts, could be understood.

[79] Even in the *De formis figurisque deorum* Bersuire states that the representation of Bacchus *erat ergo ymago sua puer* […] *qui super tigrides equitabat* (Engels 1966, p. 42; Tr.: His image was therefore that of a child […] riding on tigers), and from there the representations in figures 19 and 20 in the manuscripts of Bergamo and Treviso already mentioned to show Bacchus on a mount. On the tradition in Ancient Rome of the representation of Bacchus on tigers, see Meilán Jacome 2013.

Bersuire with the mythographic tradition represented by the *Liber de natura deorum*, of greater amplitude than that represented by the allegorical commentaries of the *Metamorphoses*. Not only is the text similar (see the passage on the voyage of Bacchus' army through Libya), but the very arrangement of the commentary is strikingly the same.

Although it is not possible to clarify whether Bersuire is the author of the descriptions at the end of the *De formis figurisque deorum* or if they are an interpolation limited to the circulation of the text in northern Italy, the analysis of the descriptions and their comparison allow us to establish a certain relationship, despite all the divergences, of these two representations of allegorical figures with the treatise called *Ymagines Fulgencii*, a collection of this kind derived in part from John Ridewall's *Fulgentius metaforalis*, and with Robert Holcot's *Moralitates*, which also include *exempla* together with *picturae*.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 344, fol. 8v, detail
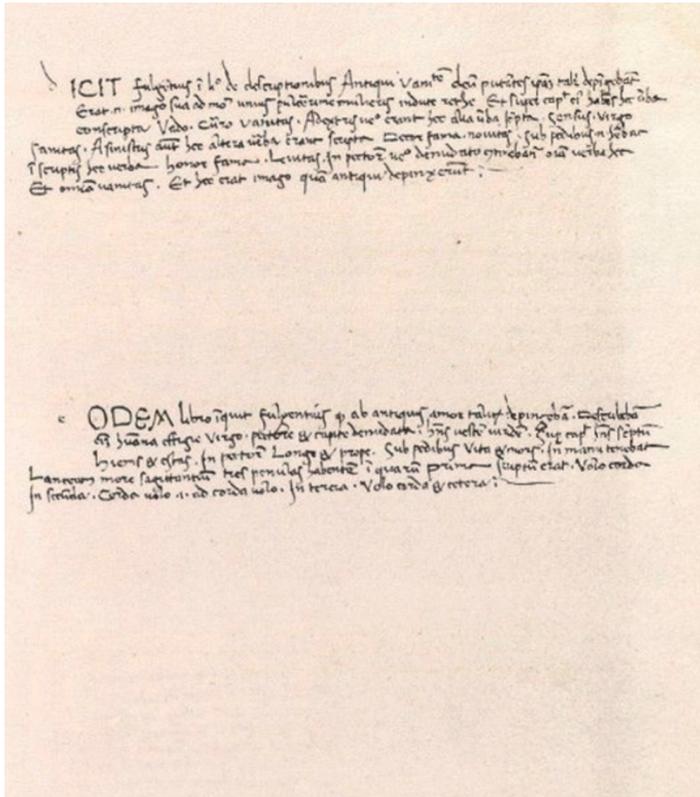
Fig. 2. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 1081, fol. 110r, detail

Fig. 3. Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 344, fol. 8v, detail

Fig. 4. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066, fol. 238r, detail

Fig. 5 (*above*). Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1404, fol. 2v, detail

Fig. 6 (*left*). London, Wellcome Library, 49, fol. 52r, detail

Fig. 7. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1066, fol. 236r, detail

Fig. 8. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726, fol. 42v, detail

Fig. 9. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726, fol. 43v, detail

Fig. 10. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1404, fol. 2v, detail

Fig. 11. London, Wellcome Library, 49, fol. 52r, detail

Fig. 12. Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1066, fol. 238r, detail

Fig. 13 (*above*). Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1066, fol. 238r, detail

Fig. 14 (*left*). London, Wellcome Library, 49, fol. 52r, detail
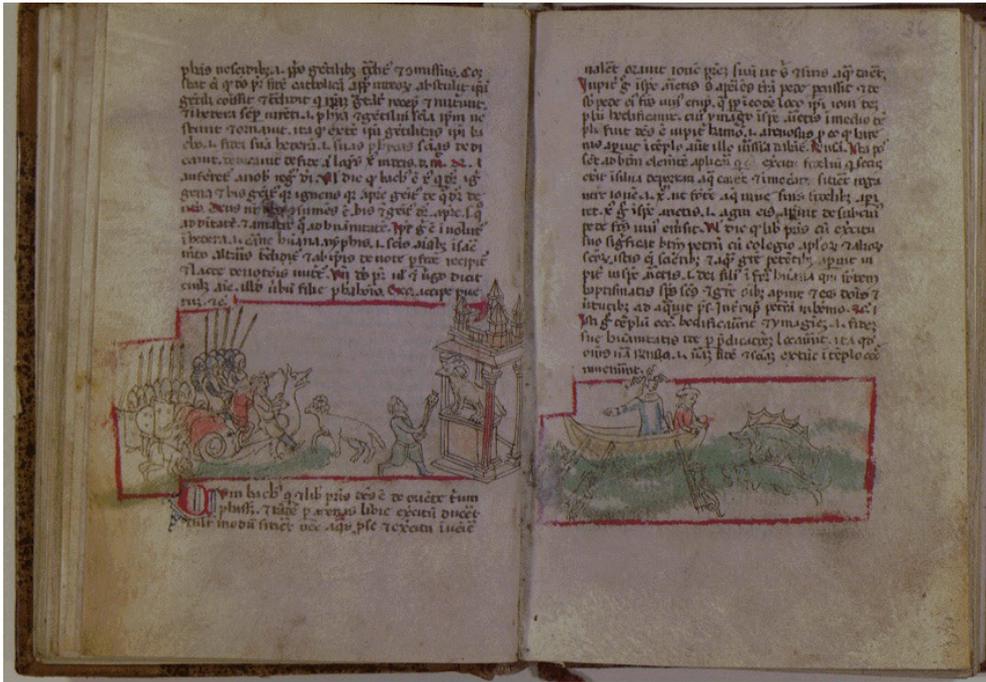
Fig. 15. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte 3.4, fols. 35v-36r, detail

Manuscritos	Badius
1. Cadmo 1	1. Cadmo 1
2. Cadmo 2	**2. Cadmo 2**
3. Serpiente de Marte	**3. Cadmo 3**
4. Acteón 1	4. Serpiente de Marte
5. Acteón 2	5. Acteón 1
6. Sémele	6. Acteón 2
7. Baco	7. Sémele
8. Baco en Libia	8. Baco
9. Baco y Marineros Tirrenos	**9. Tiresias 1 (*met.* 3.316-338)**
10. Penteo y Bacantes + Minieides	**10. Tiresias 2 (*met.* 3.316-338)**
11. Tiresias 1	**11. Narciso (*met.* 3.339-510)**
12. Tiresias 2	**12. Eco (*met.* 3.339-510)**
13. Narciso	**13. Penteo y Bacantes (*met.* 3.511-576)**
14. Eco	**14. Baco y Marineros Tirrenos (*met.* 3.577-691)**

Fig. 16. Piqueras Yagüe 2021, p. 95

Fig. 17. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte 3.4, fol. 35v, detail

Fig. 18. Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Membr. I 98, fol. 19r, detail

Fig. 19. Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte 3.4, fol. 7v, detail

Fig. 20. Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 344, fol. 8v, detail

Fig. 21. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1726, fol. 45v, detail