



Ovidian Paratexts

Guiding the reader to
the *Metamorphoses*
in the early modern
Low Countries

John Tholen

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Guiding the reader to the *Metamorphoses*
in the early modern Low Countries

Parateksten bij Ovidius

Lezersbegeleiding naar de *Metamorfosen*
in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS

I have cited Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from its most recent edition in the *Oxford Classical Texts* series (Tarrant 2004); translations are my own. Early modern verse numbers occasionally differ from the numbering in this edition: I have mentioned these deviations only where relevant to my argument.

I have silently adjusted citations from the editions in my research corpus to modern spelling: I expanded abbreviations (Latonam > Latonam) and ligatures (fabulæ > fabulae), and replaced u with v, j with i (Ouidij > Ovidii). Throughout the book, translations of these early modern sources are my own (unless indicated otherwise).

The following abbreviations have been used in this book:

BT	<i>Belgica Typographica</i> : Cockx-Indestege, Glorieux, and Op de Beeck (1968-1994)
CWE	<i>Collected Works of Erasmus</i> , Toronto: University of Toronto Press
DBNL	Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren: www.dbnl.org
DPL	Petrus Crinitus, <i>De poetis Latinis</i>
Ed.	Edition: referring to the editions as listed in Appendix 1
Ill.	Illustration: referring to the illustrations included in Appendix 2
<i>Met.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
NK	Nijhoff and Kronenberg (1923-1971)
STCN	<i>Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands</i>
STCV	<i>Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen</i>
TB	<i>Typographia Batava</i> : Valkema Blouw (1998)
USTC	<i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i>

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: THE EARLY MODERN PARATEXT TO OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES*

'Now I will sing of a shocking tale; be far away from here, daughters, far away, parents! Or, if my songs will appeal to your minds, do not trust this part of my account, and do not believe that it actually happened [...].'¹

In this quotation from the *Metamorphoses*, the Roman poet Ovid warns his audience that he is about to narrate an apparently horrible story. This warning contrasts with a modern image of the text as a well-known, highly literary work from Antiquity containing a great number of frivolous mythologies about transformations. Taking Ovid's lively style into account, the translated edition in the Penguin Classics series, for example, labels the work as a 'sensuous and witty poem', '[e]rudite and light-hearted, dramatic and yet playful'.² Also, many artists have romanticized Ovid's stories as festive and fun-loving, setting them in a peaceful environment of flowers, green fields, or fresh woods (the twentieth-century painter John William Waterhouse is but one example).³

Arguably less prominent is our association of the *Metamorphoses* with dark and lascivious stories like the brutal rape and mutilation of Philomela by her brother-in-law, the bloody slaughter at the wedding of Perseus and Andromeda, Tiresias' deliberation over the question whether male or female experiences most pleasure during sex, and Myrrha's incest

¹ Ov. *Met.* 10.300-302: 'Dira canam; procul hinc, natae, procul este, parentes! | Aut, mea si vestras mulcebunt carmina mentes, | desit in hac mihi parte fides, nec credite factum'. Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC-17 AD) finished the *Metamorphoses* in 8 AD. The Latin poem consists of 11,996 dactylic hexameters, and is a narrative fabric of fables capturing a period from the creation of the earth until the deification of Julius Caesar. Its leading topos in many fables is bodily metamorphosis, frequently with a continuity of one's character (cf. *Met.* 15.165: 'omnia mutantur, nihil interit' – everything changes, nothing perishes).

² Quoted from the blurb text on the cover of the 2004 edition with David Raeburn's verse translation.

³ For Ovid in the visual arts (cf. n. 41): Martindale (1990), Thomas Wilkins (2000), Allen (2002), Bull (2006), Sluijter (2000, 2007), Barolsky (2014), McGrath (2015).

with her drunken father that resulted in her pregnancy. It is this last story that is preceded by Ovid's trigger warning.

Both elements, the charming scenes as well as the potentially dangerous content, were transmitted from Antiquity via the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period as part of the *Metamorphoses*. This is what could be called the Ovidian paradox. On the one hand, early modern editions of the *Metamorphoses* were widespread; on the other hand, the appropriateness and utility of the text of these editions were continuously debated.⁴ The reason for such debates has to be found in Ovid's abundant, often clearly un-Christian dramatization of sexuality and violence that made the *Metamorphoses* a controversial part of early modern canonical literature. In their prefaces to the book, many publishers and editors clearly felt the need to legitimate their editions explicitly. Moreover, readers were sometimes also uncertain about the proper justification for reading the *Metamorphoses*. Balthasar I Moretus, for instance, Christopher Plantin's grandson and head of the influential Antwerp printing company, decided to lock away his edition of the text, together with other books on morally, religiously, or politically controversial topics.⁵

How was it possible that such a pagan text, consisting of many elements that – morally, religiously, or culturally – contrasted with an early modern Christian way of life, circulated widely in this period in the Low Countries, and even functioned as a prominent educational tool? My main research question explores how the medium of the printed book, as a central and fundamental representative of early modern Ovidian reception, functioned as a decisive mechanism of the appropriation of Ovid's text. To operationalise this new research in the material contexts of the *Metamorphoses*, I will focus on Gérard Genette's concept of *paratext*, a term denoting in its most general sense the material and textual elements that book producers add to the source text when turning the latter into a book. I consider the paratext as an inevitable framing condition that importantly shaped the early modern reception of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. I will investigate how different paratextual mechanisms intended to direct readers in a variety of ways. Doing so, I seek to demonstrate how paratext enabled the *Metamorphoses* not only to survive from the Middle Ages into the Early Modern Period, but also to remain popular among readers throughout this period.

Consequently, my study intends to contribute to our knowledge of early modern textual culture on two levels. First, I apply a book historical approach as a method to

⁴ Already in Antiquity itself Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was both criticised and exalted, a traditional ambivalent reception that continued in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (Keith and Rupp (2007), 28), as well as thereafter (Horowitz (2014), 357).

⁵ Voet (1969-1972), 1, 345; he discusses a seventeenth-century 'list of about sixty books comprising Balthasar I's secret library'.

investigate classical reception. Thus, I will combine valuable insights from the fields of book history and classical reception studies, two fields that often remain separate. Second, my study seeks to deepen our insight in the functionality of the early modern paratext. On the one hand, it examines individual paratexts as devices that guided readers in their reading experiences. On the other hand, it introduces a new term: the *paratextual infrastructure*. This concept foregrounds the cluster of various paratextual elements within the edition as a construct designed by its producers.

This introduction first focusses on the concepts of the material text and material reception as my theoretical frameworks. Second, my particular focus, the case of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed in the early modern Low Countries, will be introduced. Third, I will explain my research corpus. This introductory chapter concludes with some notes on the analytical approach and the structure of this book.

1 THE MATERIAL TEXT

A broad development in the research field of cultural history since the mid-1970s has increased scholarly attention to material culture.⁶ Within literary studies, this 'material turn' opened up the investigation of the materiality of texts, resulting in influential studies that helped shape this scholarly field in the final decades of the twentieth century. For instance, in the 1980s, the literary critic Jerome McGann launched his concept of 'social text', advocating the idea that the meaning of a text is determined by 'linguistic codes' and 'bibliographical codes'. Thus, he differentiated between the linguistic aspects of a text and its material manifestation, both of which are influential explanatory factors in the text's interpretation frame.⁷ Around the same time Donald McKenzie introduced his influential theory of the 'sociology of texts': redefining the discipline of bibliography, he made irrefutably clear that textual content cannot be studied in isolation from its material manifestation, as it forms part of the text's signification.⁸ Building on these insights, a group of mostly medievalist philologists pleaded for a 'New Philology', which has subsequently considered the material context as an

⁶ Burke (2015), 69-72.

⁷ McGann (1983); this theory is related to Pierre Bourdieu's socio-economic approach in his institutional sociology of literature (Bourdieu (1980)).

⁸ McKenzie (1986).

important part of philological research.⁹ These novel approaches to literature have resulted in a deeper, more integrated understanding of the material text in the context of the book.¹⁰

The awareness of the book as a significant factor in reading took off after the media theorist Marshall McLuhan published his study on the influence of the medium on the message it sends.¹¹ Together with Febvre and Martin's study *L'Apparition du livre* on the invention and impact of printing as a cultural phenomenon, this redefinition of the medium changed the direction of the history of the book, which emerged as an independent research field from the 1980s.¹² Robert Darnton's 'communications circuit' identified the book as the product of a cultural process. This process consists of various stages from author to reader, in which the eventual product is influenced by individuals as well as social factors.¹³ Subsequently, Roger Chartier introduced the term 'object study' for an approach based on the book as an object in a specific context: the focus can be on both physical characteristics and social positioning.¹⁴ These developments in the book historical tradition are fundamental to my own research: I investigate how the printed book came to be a crucial element in the process of the early modern reception of Antiquity, involving various groups of readers and a diverse research corpus of editions, produced by a widely divergent group of book producers.

Closely related to the research field of the history of the book is the history of reading, which has emerged as a consequence of the understanding of the material text.¹⁵ The material

⁹ Nichols (1990); Cerquiglini (1989).

¹⁰ Maguire and Smith (2016); Bellingradt, Nelles, and Salman (2017) extended the definition of the materiality of the book so that it also encompasses, for example, the material aspects of book circulation.

¹¹ McLuhan (1967): 'the medium is the message' is his well-known one-liner, emphasizing the medium as the most decisive factor in communication.

¹² Febvre and Martin (1958), firstly published in English as *The coming of the book* in 1976. On the medium as an important element within social history see Briggs and Burke (2009).

¹³ Darnton (1982).

¹⁴ Chartier (1989), 1-10.

¹⁵ Cavallo and Chartier (2003), 2: 'Any history of the practices of reading is thus necessarily a history of both written objects and the testimonies left by their readers'; on materiality and the history of early modern reading in particular: Andersen and Sauer (2002), Chartier (2008), Richards and Schurink (2010), Deutermann and Kiséry (2013), King (2010). Carlo Ginzberg's micro-history (1976) has been very important to the development of the material approach within the history of reading (Ginzberg examined the reading habits of a specific person based on sparse data). His work has been a stimulus to micro-historical research since the 1990s: via handwritten marginalia or ego documents particular readers' reading habits have been under investigation in the wider context of their lives (Jardine and Grafton (1990) on Harvey; Sherman (1995) on Dee; Grafton (1997), 135-83 on Budé; Grafton and Weinberg (2011) on Casaubon). Subsequently, based on his study of readers' marginalia, William Sherman (2008) provided insight into how books were used in general, beyond the individual reader.

form in which a text is presented to a reader is crucial for studying reading habits. Readers may be free in giving meaning to a text, but they are limited in their interpretation by the format that the medium presents to them.¹⁶ In general, many studies have demonstrated that knowledge and development of thought are controlled by the way media organize and transfer information.¹⁷

Paratextuality is an influential concept in the analysis of the ways in which media influence readers. Since the publication of the German and English translations of Genette's work in the 1990s, scholars from various research fields have acknowledged the importance of studying paratextual elements, especially in literature and digital media studies.¹⁸ Gérard Genette introduced the paratext as a hermeneutical method for systematically studying how readers are guided to modern literature.¹⁹ He was a structuralist literary theorist who defined paratext as a crucial 'liminal space' between text and reader.²⁰ In other words, paratexts mediate between texts and their readers; thus, they function as 'thresholds of interpretation'. The homogeneous character of Genette's research corpus made it possible to apply this hierarchical and systematic notion of text and paratext. His corpus consists of French literary novels from the eighteenth to the twentieth century and he envisaged the novelists' texts as abstract entities presented to the reader by subordinate paratexts. His definition of paratext was a purely textual one: 'almost all the paratexts I consider will themselves be of a *textual*, or at least verbal, kind', and '[m]ost often, then, the paratext is itself a text'.²¹

Proceeding from a book historical perspective, I consider paratext not only as a textual element, but, because it is printed within the context of the material book, paratexts also have

¹⁶ Cavallo and Chartier (2003), 1-36.

¹⁷ Physical appearance directs the reader (Mak (2011)), the medium affects the physiology of the brain (Carr (2011)), our way of reading is related to the presentation of the text (Mangen *et al.* (2013)), and media affect the subconscious way in which we frame information (Van der Weel (2011)). Ample research has been done on digital reading: see for example Marshall (2010), who discusses in her third chapter how digital materiality guides the reading process.

¹⁸ Åström (2014), 5, 17.

¹⁹ Genette (1987): *Seuils*; in German translation: *Paratexte. Das Buch vom Beiwerk des Buches* (Frankfurt a.M./New York: Campus, 1992); in English: *Paratexts. Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997). Genette distinguished between epitext and peritext as different types of paratext; however, both terms have not become as renowned as the overarching 'paratext'. Genette uses peritext for all elements materially and directly connected to the text, such as title page, index, cover, and font. Epitext refers to elements materially separated from the text, but substantively linked to it: these include interviews, reviews, or ads.

²⁰ The strong influence of the paratext on a text's reception has been clearly demonstrated by neuroscientific analysis (Altmann *et al.* (2014)).

²¹ Genette (1997), 7 (the italics are original); cf. Ajouri, Kundert, and Rohde (2017), 9-12, who distinguish between materiality and paratextuality as different approaches to literature.

a material identity.²² This paratextual materiality includes font, typography, and lay-out as prominent aspects that give texts their material forms.²³ A further adaptation of Genette's concept concerns the idea of hierarchy between text and paratext. To be applicable to the Early Modern Period, the concept of paratext cannot be defined in terms of a hierarchical relation to the text. Already in the late 1980s, Bernard Cerquiglini argued that the medieval text must be characterised by a high degree of 'variance', lacking a fixed and authorial status.²⁴ This is no less true for the early modern text: the idea that a printed form provides textual fixity has been strongly contested by Adrian Johns. He argues that a text remains fluid precisely because it has been printed: the printed form provides ample opportunities for change.²⁵ Moreover, for the Early Modern Period, Michael Ott convincingly argues that the concept of an abstract text as we know it today had not yet developed. He only sees 'eine beginnende Abstrahierung des Textes, indem der Text zum Medium (der Stimme) des Autors wird', a text that is only gradually becoming a vehicle for an author to perform.²⁶ Accordingly, early modern text and paratext had not yet developed as disembodied elements: they could not be identified as separate categories within their material contexts.²⁷ On the contrary, early modern text and paratext present a highly entwined synthesis in the physical structure of the book.²⁸

Proceeding from the early modern 'embodied' form of textuality, Esther Laufer addresses the inadequate qualification of paratext as 'frame', as it implies a hierarchical

²² In her introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, Leslie Howsam for example introduces paratext as part of the material book: Howsam (2015), 4.

²³ Mak (2011), Proot (2014; 2015), Rautenberg (2008).

²⁴ Cerquiglini (1989).

²⁵ Johns (1998), contra Eisenstein (1979); cf. also McKitterick (2003) and Baron, Lindquist and Shevlin (2007). William Slights (2001), for example, demonstrated this with his study on marginalia: printing enabled printed marginalia to function as a framing vehicle for a text in a given context. In so doing, they were guiding the reader's interpretation. Marginalia's effectivity in reaching the publisher's goal, however, must not be overestimated (Slights (2001), 74).

²⁶ Ott (2010), 26.

²⁷ Ott (2010), 11-5; cf. Sherman (2007), 69-70.

²⁸ Enenkel (2015), 7 speaks of early modern text and paratext as 'ein miteinander unauflöslich verflochtenes Ganzes' in contrast with Genette's approach to dedications as 'freie, spielerische Gestaltungen literarischer Topik'; Slights (2001), 13 on printed marginalia: 'the properly managed Renaissance reader was encouraged to view such "supplementary" notes as fully integrated parts of what he or she was reading. Text and supplement, textuality and contextualization were virtually inseparable in this model of reading.' The interwoven identity of the early modern text and paratext is also apparent in the book's often self-reflexive character: paratexts such as prefaces and dedications frequently comment on the book's own quality and usefulness (Smith and Wilson (2014), 3-4).

understanding of the text as main element and the paratext as supporting mechanism. To abandon this hierarchical notion, she supports the terminology of 'Rahmenbedingung' (framing condition), indicating the inevitability of the paratext.²⁹ Early modern paratext does not just provide a frame in which a text should be read, it is a fundamental and inevitable condition for an early modern text to have a material presence. The role of the early modern paratext is too prominent to be characterised as merely subordinate, because it determined to a large extent the possibilities of the medium of the printed book, encompassing a wide range of functionality.³⁰ Furthermore, dividing early modern books into paratext and text is not always straightforward. The commentator could have considered the 'main text' merely as his vehicle to introduce the ancient world to the reader; the reader may have chosen an edition primarily for its commentary.³¹ In the same way, illustrations could have been the principal reason for taking an edition of the *Metamorphoses* at hand.³² All this corresponds to the 'holistic consideration of books' that Michael Saenger proposed regarding the Early Modern Period. He made a plea to 'give front matter the same kind of scrutiny which we are accustomed to giving main texts', because in the early modern book 'there is no sharp distinction between text and paratext'.³³

Recently, various studies have explored the concept of paratext as a method to approach early modern textual culture. These studies have been either wide-ranging in focus, providing an eclectic view on paratextuality,³⁴ or rather specific, concentrating on particular types of paratext that are investigated more thoroughly.³⁵ These studies have not only perceived the paratext as an element of reader guidance, but also as the result of the combined activities of all kinds of individuals involved in the material production of texts.³⁶

²⁹ Laufer (2017), 79.

³⁰ von Ammon and Vögel (2008), ix; they claim furthermore that the important role of early modern paratext resulted in 'völlig neue Möglichkeiten der Produktion, Distribution, und Rezeption' (p. xiii).

³¹ Enenkel (2014b), 208: 'In a considerable number of cases the readers attached to commentaries an importance that greatly surpassed even that of the supposed "main" texts. Sometimes it is hard to say whether a Neo-Latin commentary should be regarded as "text" or as "paratext".'

³² cf. Enenkel (2014a), 3; Laufer (2017), 105.

³³ Saenger (2006), 11; Laufer (2017), 78-9.

³⁴ von Ammon and Vögel (2008), Mak (2011), Smith and Wilson (2014), Ajouri, Kundert, and Rohde (2017), Belle and Hosington (2018); cf. Jansen (2014) for paratext and ancient culture.

³⁵ Grafton (1999), Smith (2000), Slights (2001), Rautenberg (2008), Gilmont and Vanautgaerden (2001/2008), Enenkel and Nellen (2013), Enenkel (2014a/b), Crab (2015), Jansen (2016), Fowler (2017), Wolkenhauer and Scholz (2018).

³⁶ Analysing paratexts has been the method in both kinds of research: Slights (2001) investigates early modern readership; Enenkel (2014a/b), on the other hand, focusses on the presentation of reading material.

Moreover, scholarly interest in a more systematic analysis of the early modern paratext as an overarching mechanism has also increased.³⁷ Proceeding from these perspectives, I seek to contribute to them by investigating the paratext in a different way: based on a coherent corpus of early printed editions of one and the same text, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. My focus is a dual one: I will investigate the strategies behind individual paratexts and the paratextual infrastructure in the early modern editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In this way, I will be able to trace and investigate paratextual strategies systematically and to analyse the range of paratextual functionality within a specific context. This will not only shed new light on early modern paratextuality, but will also deepen our understanding of early modern approaches to ancient literature, as I will argue in the second section.

2 MATERIAL RECEPTION

The notion of the material text provokes the idea of material reception: paratextuality, as both textual and material, has implications for our understanding of the early modern interaction with texts, and thus also of the early modern appropriation of ancient literature.³⁸ 'Appropriation' is one of the key concepts within classical reception research, showing and explaining the mechanism of selection within the reception process. Lorna Hardwick defines classical appropriation as 'taking an ancient image or text and using it to sanction subsequent ideas or practices (explicitly or implicitly)'.³⁹ Three verbs in this definition show the process of reception as profoundly active: first, selecting a text; second, putting it to use; and third, applying it for legitimation, validation, or the promotion of contemporary purposes. In my study, I will consider the physical editions containing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the material manifestations that put the ancient text to use.

³⁷ Laufer (2017), 80, meaningfully speaks of 'paratextuelles Funktionsensemble', addressing the paratext not as individual element, but as part of a construct; in the same way, Mak (2011), 34 speaks of a 'paratextual apparatus', Hernández and García (2015), 65 discuss the 'conjunto de elementos paratextuales'; Jansen (2014), 1 'aims to offer a synoptic study of the interplay of paratexts' related to ancient culture. Moreover, Genette already claimed that it is 'the paratext' that 'enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers', indicating the sum of paratextual elements rather than one out of many paratexts in an edition (Genette (1997), 1).

³⁸ Cf. Pabel (2005), 253: '[...] printed books through their paratexts show the blending of guarantees of cognitive reliability with the self-promotion of printers, editors, and authors in the process of creating credit. By this process, new readers [...] could make new texts out of ancient scripts.'

³⁹ Hardwick (2003), 9.

Intertextuality through literary motifs, style, and topics, particularly in France and England, traditionally has received much attention within medieval and early modern Ovidian reception research.⁴⁰ A more modest number of studies have focussed on the early modern reception of Ovid in commentaries, translations, art, book illustrations, and philology.⁴¹ Among them are studies that have taken into account parts of the material contexts of Ovid's texts, such as the printed commentary, engravings, or specific editions. Already in the 1980s, Ann Moss's investigation of fifteenth-century commentaries in France focussed on the physical editions of Ovid's works as a research corpus. Moss asked questions such as 'which editions of Ovid publishers in France thought likely to be well received', and hence concluded that publishers were guided by commercial interests in presenting their editions as school text-books.⁴² By analysing the material presentation of Ovid's text as particularly aimed at its educational use, Moss has shown that materiality was a decisive element in Ovid's early modern reception. Her study did not just take 'the *Metamorphoses*' as the starting point of her research: Moss considered this text not as a standardised literary work that self-evidently includes an authoritative quality. On the contrary, she has shown that Ovid's classical text was changed in the process, and that it was embodied within its material context of the book. In this way, the material text is just as important within a text's appropriation as its contents.⁴³

⁴⁰ In their *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, Miller and Newlands (2014), 3, for example introduce the *Metamorphoses* from a clear literary perspective: 'innovative reshaping of the Roman epic code', which is 'crucial for understanding imperial epic'; referring to contributions by Shakespeare, Ariosto, and Spenser: 'the *Metamorphoses* reaches the peak of its [literary] influence in the Renaissance'; 'translation involving radically different [poetical] approaches by prominent English poets allowed Ovid's epic to reach a wide audience'. On Ovid in medieval Europe: Hexter (2002), Clark, Coulson, and McKinley (2011), Gatti (2014), Fulmo (2014), Gerber (2015), Griffin (2015); for early modern France: Troisième (2006), Chatelain (2008), Taylor (2017); for early modern England: Brown (1999), Burrow (2002), Carter (2011), Reid (2014), Akbari (2016). The Anglo-Saxon research field of Ovidian reception has shown special interest in poetry from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, focussing on prominent poets such as Shakespeare (Martindale and Martindale (1990), Taylor (1990)) and Milton (Martindale (1986), Kilgour (2012)). It shows Ovid's important role for taking part in the contemporary literary competition by English early modern poets (Moss 2014).

⁴¹ Commentary: Moss (1982, 1998), McKinley (2001), Luck (2005), Knox (2013), Montiel and Morán (2016); translation: Lyne (2001), Faems *et al.* (2011), Brown and Taylor (2013), Hooley (2014), Schmitzer (2016); art: Martindale (1990), Thomas Wilkins (2000), Allen (2002), Bull (2006), Sluijter (2000, 2007), Barolsky (2014), McGrath (2015); book illustration: Walter and Horn (1995), Huber-Rebenich (1995), Huber-Rebenich *et al.* (2004-2014), Diez-Platas (2015); philology: Tarrant (1999, 2004), Possanza (2013), Gatti (2014).

⁴² Moss (1982), 2, 59.

⁴³ cf. Deutermann and Kiséry (2013), 5 on interaction between matter and form, between literary content and materiality.

Moss's approach to reception preceded important developments within the field of classical reception studies, in particular the shift from a scholarly focus on texts to an investigation of reading practices. Since the 1980s, the scholarly interest in classical reception has strongly increased, and its research field has been under significant development.⁴⁴ The traditional research field of the Classical tradition used to be based on the problematic notion of a fixed textual quality to be transmitted from Antiquity to later times.⁴⁵ This assumption is problematic because quality is not only embedded in a text itself. It is to a large extent attributed to a text by its users. Research of what was previously called the 'afterlife' or 'Nachleben' of classical Antiquity therefore developed in what leading scholars such as Lorna Hardwick and Charles Martindale coined 'Classical reception studies'. Discarding the notion of the fixed textual quality, this approach sought to study classical reception as a dynamic process of appropriation.⁴⁶ In this process texts are constantly subject to adaptation, enhancement, expurgation, etcetera: reception thus also changes the classical source that is being appropriated.⁴⁷ These changes can be identified in the early modern editions of classical texts, editions that not just facilitated but also constrained readers in how to use them.⁴⁸

Proceeding from this scholarly notion of reception as a dynamic process, only very recently Craig Kallendorf called for a material turn in classical reception studies. 'Virgil's

⁴⁴ See on this development within classical reception studies: Hardwick and Stray (2007), Martindale (2006), Martindale (2010), 297-303.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Highet (1949), 1, who states in his introduction: 'When the civilization of the west began to rise again and remake itself, it did so largely through rediscovering the buried culture of Greece and Rome. Great systems of thought, profound and skilful works of art, do not perish unless their material vehicle is utterly destroyed. They do not become fossils, because a fossil is lifeless and cannot reproduce itself. But they, whenever they find a mind to receive them, live again in it and make it live more fully.'

⁴⁶ Goldhill (2002), 297, describes the turbulent process of cultural appropriation, and criticising the terminology: "'Reception" is too blunt, too passive a term for the dynamics of resistance and appropriation, recognition and self-aggrandisement, that make up this drama of cultural identity.'

⁴⁷ In the last decades, especially translation has been defined as method for re-contextualisation (Barker and Hosington (2013), xviii-xxi; Belle and Hosington (2018), 5-9). For example, Stockhorst (2010), 23 defines the role of translation in the process of cultural development as follows: 'In translation, texts do not just change their language, but foremost their cultural frame of reference. Thus, significant transformations inevitably occur in the course of their de- and re-contextualisation, be it through the material or structural changes that go with the linguistic border crossing, or through semantic shifts due to a different interpretative access.' Weststeijn (2015), 108-27, for example, provides a clear case study of adaptation as part of the early modern translation practice in his research on Franciscus Junius. This process of re-contextualisation corresponds to the important place of *imitatio* within the early modern approach of Antiquity (Green 1982), including the translation of classical works: *imitatio*, the re-contextualisation of traditional elements, even functioned as the natural way to expand one's knowledge (Jansen (2008), 48-9), and resulted in new literary genres (Visser (2005)).

⁴⁸ Grafton (2003), 192-3.

poetry', he argues from the perspective of literary history, 'is not just a disembodied text, but a series of textual incarnations in a variety of physical forms.'⁴⁹ Ada Palmer has put such a material approach into practice with her analysis of Renaissance readers of Lucretius, resulting in a cultural history of reading, rather than a literary one.⁵⁰ First, she analysed the annotations that specific humanist readers made in their Lucretius manuscripts and editions, and she interpreted early modern paratexts on Lucretius. Secondly, Palmer studied all these reading habits within the context of Lucretian philosophy to create an overview of the appropriation of Lucretius in the Early Modern Period. This makes her study valuable to the history of reading and to our view on the reception of Lucretius.

My study extends this novel approach to classical reception by focussing more systematically on the physical contexts in which ancient works have been passed on. I consider the dynamic character of the classical text by approaching Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a material text. Starting from the question 'which *Metamorphoses*?' I investigate its various physical editions. I examine how the material contexts in which early modern readers encountered Ovid's text intended to affect their readership and to provide Ovid's text with moral, commercial, or scholarly quality. My focus is not on one specific reader or one particular type of reader; I intend to document and explain the variety of readers, as corresponding to the variety of editions. Thus, I explain how these specific material contexts were an important aspect of the ancient poet's early modern reception.

3 PRINTING OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES* IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no fewer than 108 editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were printed in the Low Countries.⁵¹ This makes the early modern print tradition of Ovid's text in the Low Countries especially interesting, compared to Ovidian printing elsewhere in Europe.⁵² Antwerp in the sixteenth century and Amsterdam in the seventeenth were leading centres of national and international book production. This resulted in a relatively high number of editions of the *Metamorphoses* printed in these two printing capitals. Although Italy and France in the sixteenth century still produced a higher number of

⁴⁹ Kallendorf (2015), 5.

⁵⁰ Palmer (2014).

⁵¹ For my definition of 'edition', see Section 4 of this chapter. My census is mainly based on the STCN, STCV, and USTC databases; I have identified some additional editions that are not included in these databases (see: Appendix 1).

⁵² Based on the USTC database, 479 editions of the *Metamorphoses* were printed in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe.

Ovidian editions, the prominence of the Low Countries also increased in this century, prompted by the Antwerp printer-publisher Christopher Plantin in particular. In the seventeenth century the production of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Northern Low Countries became Europe's most extensive.

Ann Moss's survey of Latin editions printed in France before 1600 counts sixty-four entries of the *Metamorphoses*, with Lyon surpassing all other cities as the most important place of production of the text with forty-six editions.⁵³ The number of French editions is comparable to that produced in the Italian peninsula; particularly Venice was an important centre of Ovidian printing.⁵⁴ Up until 1570 England, on the other hand, remained greatly dependent on continental editions of classical texts, which were widely available to readers there.⁵⁵ Twenty-three editions were published in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. Antwerp had a special position in this respect, because fourteen of these editions were printed in this printing capital. The leading Antwerp printer and publisher Plantin singlehandedly published seven of them in the second half of the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century, the relative prominence of the editions printed in the Low Countries only increased, indicating a clear shift from France and Italy to the Low Countries as the leading region of book production. Marie-Claire Chatelain's bibliography of seventeenth-century Latin editions of Ovid's works printed in France only counts thirteen editions of the *Metamorphoses*; in the same period in the Low Countries, she counts forty-four editions. This means that the greater part of the early modern European editions containing the Latin *Metamorphoses* were printed in the Dutch Republic. Amsterdam in particular was an important place of production, responsible for twenty-six seventeenth-century Latin editions.⁵⁶ Even French and Spanish

⁵³ Moss (1982), 66-79; I have excluded the editions that Moss has labelled as 'paraphrase'. The USTC database, however, now identifies no less than eighty Latin editions printed in sixteenth-century France, including fifty-three Lyon editions.

⁵⁴ According to the USTC database, sixteenth-century book producers in Italy printed sixty-nine Latin editions of the *Metamorphoses*, including forty-nine editions from Venice.

⁵⁵ Reid (2014), 179-80; the first Latin edition of the *Metamorphoses* printed in England was John Kingston's *P. Ovidii Nasonis Opera* (USTC 507198) from 1570 (ibid. 180-1).

⁵⁶ Chatelain (2008), 709-24; seventeenth-century Latin editions of the *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries according to Chatelain: 44; in France: 13; in England: 11; in the German empire: 5. The USTC database provides different numbers: seven for France and twelve for Germany; it includes no editions from seventeenth-century England, and six Latin editions printed in Italy. The database shows an increasing seventeenth-century prominence of the vernacular: twenty-two French translations were printed in France, and ten Italian translations in Italy. Chatelain's numbers for the Low Countries deviate from my own census, that counts forty-seven seventeenth-century Latin editions from the Low Countries, of which twenty-six editions were printed in Amsterdam. However different the exact numbers from these sources, the general view on the Low Countries' prominence remains intact.

translations were printed in the Low Countries.⁵⁷ These numbers for Ovid's text confirm that the Low Countries, especially Antwerp in the sixteenth century and Amsterdam in the seventeenth, made an important contribution to the European book market in general.⁵⁸ Apart from illuminating their immediate context, the editions published in this region can thus also shed light on a wider European culture of the book.⁵⁹

	16 th century	17 th century
France	80 (Lyon: 53)	13
Italy	69 (Venice: 49)	6
Low Countries	23 (Antwerp: 14)	47 (Amsterdam: 26)

Latin editions printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (based on the USTC database (France and Italy) and my own census (Low Countries)).

The relatively high number of Ovidian editions printed in the Low Countries can be explained when we look at the latter's economic, cultural, and intellectual climates. Sixteenth-century Antwerp was an international centre of commerce with a cosmopolitan population. This stimulated the exchange of knowledge that was an important trigger to a flourishing printing

⁵⁷ According to Chatelain (2008), four French translations were printed in the Low Countries; most French translations (fifty-five), however, were printed in France itself.

⁵⁸ The numbers on the *Metamorphoses* correspond to general developments in the book production in the Low Countries. Both Antwerp and Amsterdam once functioned as the printing capital of Europe, producing books that for the greatest part were to be shipped abroad immediately. During a considerable part of the sixteenth century, starting in 1520, Antwerp printed more than fifty percent of all books printed in the Low Countries. In total, the sixteenth-century Low Countries accounted for ten percent of the European book market, and this book production had a clear cosmopolitan character (Petegree and Walsby (2010), xiii-xxi). After the Dutch Revolt and the Fall of Antwerp, in the last decades of the sixteenth century Northern cities became leading centres of book production (Rasterhoff (2017), 35-62). In the seventeenth century, Holland even had the largest book production in Europe (Dijstelberge and Verkrujssse (2010); Prak (2013), 259, 266). Rasterhoff (2017), 66 estimates that 35 percent of the Republic's book production would have been at least partly intended for an international market.

⁵⁹ In her study of the seventeenth-century French reception of Ovid, Helena Taylor (2017) has shown the importance of the print production from the Low Countries for the wider European cultural contexts: Dutch editions are a prominent part of her research corpus.

industry. Especially in Spain, with its relatively undeveloped printing industry, Antwerp entrepreneurs saw ample business opportunities and exported Spanish books printed in their city.⁶⁰ Also, the city's vigorous cultural climate and its community of all kinds of artists created a susceptible environment for a sturdy print production.⁶¹ In the second half of the century, Christopher Plantin became the most influential entrepreneur within the Antwerp printing industry. His workshop developed into an internationally renowned centre of humanist printing, as well as important supplier of ephemera, religious booklets, and almanacs. Plantin himself mentioned the city's commercial infrastructure and the wide availability of material resources and laborers as important triggers for his decision to come to Antwerp.⁶²

The political, social, and religious discord around the time of the Fall of Antwerp in the late sixteenth century stimulated the flow of business expertise from the Southern to the Northern Low Countries. This resulted in a rapid development of book production in Holland, which to a great extent was stimulated by similar beneficial conditions as once in sixteenth-century Antwerp.⁶³ Hence, there was a clear shift to the North as the dominant region of book production. Especially in Amsterdam (the province's commercial centre) and in Leiden (a university town) local circumstances generated a new demand for and supply of knowledge, and thus stimulated the increase of printing activities.⁶⁴ Universities in the Northern Low Countries, particularly the one in Leiden, functioned as influential and internationally renowned centres of early modern learning, that stimulated progressive and innovative thinking. In particular Dutch philology, personified by internationally esteemed scholars such as Joseph Justus Scaliger, Daniel and Nicolaas Heinsius, and Hugo Grotius, was renowned throughout Europe, because of the scholars' text critical and historical publications.⁶⁵ The seventeenth-century urban society of merchants and other businessmen in the Low Countries simultaneously encouraged the development of knowledge that was practically applicable: the Dutch East India Company's flourishing trading activities stimulated a focus on the knowledge of eastern languages, geography, cartography, and mathematics.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the stable political infrastructure of decentralised government and a relatively high degree of religious tolerance were crucial factors in the Republic's leading role as producer of books in

⁶⁰ Rial Costas (2016), for example, investigates the case of religious books in the Spanish language printed by Plantin.

⁶¹ Waterschoot (2001).

⁶² Langereis (2014), 59.

⁶³ Prak (2013), 265-269.

⁶⁴ Hoftijzer (2001), 251-2; Rasterhoff (2017), 56.

⁶⁵ Van Miert (2018).

⁶⁶ Bots (2018), 86; Prak (2013), 263-4; cf. Van Miert (2009), 35-40.

Europe. Lastly, the relatively high level of education and a dynamic cultural life in a city like Amsterdam have also been identified as important stimuli for the local print market in the Northern Low Countries.⁶⁷ These conditions functioned as fertile circumstances for the book world and its book producers, resulting, for instance, in a relatively high number of editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

This number of editions went hand in hand with an intense use of Ovidian mythology. Since the early 2000s a modest number of studies have shown that Ovid has had a strong influence on literary works, paintings, and theatre, amongst other genres of cultural expression. Two major studies in particular have made an important contribution to our knowledge of the early modern reception of Ovid in the literary field in the Netherlands. Olga van Marion has investigated the literary reception of Ovid's *Heroides* and has shown a variety of interpretations and variations of the text in the vernacular as well as in Latin.⁶⁸ From her study, Ovid emerges as a popular author for allegorical and literary appropriation in the early modern Southern as well as the Northern Netherlands. More recently, Anke van Herk has discussed Ovid as an important author within the context of early modern theatre in the Low Countries. She demonstrates how the rhetoricians (groups of poets and stage performers) appropriated Ovid's mythology to experiment with novel types of theatre, comprising eroticism and emotion. The popularity of the *Metamorphoses* in this background of socially engaged theatre can be explained by its strong tradition of allegoric and moralising interpretation, and hence by its ability to function as an adjustable frame for a contemporary social context.⁶⁹

Great interest in Ovidian mythology also existed in visual culture, as has been shown by Eric Jan Sluijter for the Low Countries especially. He reveals a direct link between the painting of Ovidian scenes and Ovid in book culture, and sees vernacular editions of the *Metamorphoses* as the most important source for artists' knowledge of ancient mythology.⁷⁰ The *Metamorphoses*, a well-known mythological compendium of ancient distinction, functioned as a source for popular mythological stories. Sluijter convincingly downplays the role of moralisation as a prominent aspect of mythology in painting: the long moralising tradition accompanying the text was not a primary source of interest but functioned as a

⁶⁷ Hoftijzer (2001), 252-5.

⁶⁸ Van Marion (2005).

⁶⁹ Van Herk (2012), 226.

⁷⁰ Sluijter (2000), esp.: 12, 91-2; (2007). Bull (2006), 34 adds two additional sources that were prevalent for artists working on mythology: classical antiquities and mythographies.

welcome pretext to be able to justify the depiction of frivolous and erotic scenes.⁷¹ The series of woodcuts and engravings that visualised Ovid's mythological stories, and that were printed together with and without Ovid's text have been of great influence on the iconography of mythological topics in European art history, with a leading role for Dutch painters.⁷²

The presence of Ovidian themes in visual culture of the Low Countries is not restricted to painting. This has been shown, for example, by Jan Pluis and Reinhard Stupperich in their research on Ovidian decorative ceramic tiles. They have demonstrated a clear and strong connection between the early modern print tradition of the *Metamorphoses* and the designs on contemporary tiles.⁷³ Woodcut or engraved illustrations accompanying the text of the *Metamorphoses* in early modern editions functioned as examples to copy. Also, tapestry was a genre of pictorial art in which Ovid's mythology provided attractive themes for display. The Antwerp tapestries that adorned the walls of the town hall in Nijmegen during the European peace conference held in the city between 1678 and 1679 are a famous example. It is difficult to connect the mythological stories to the specific contexts of the international negotiations. Rather, it would have been the landscape environment and the hunting scenes surrounding the mythological stories – which themselves provided the possibility of moralistic interpretation – that were intended to appeal to the delegates.⁷⁴

These studies together provide a glimpse on the diverse appropriation of Ovid's mythology in the early modern Low Countries. Not only was there a wide variety of manifestations of Ovidian mythology – in art as well as in literature –, these manifestations were also aimed at a widely divergent audience – painting and classical poetry were often more elite fields of interest, while rhetoricians' theatre was accessible to a broader public.

⁷¹ Sluijter (2000), 163-9. In fact, customers frequently did not even request a mythological scene in particular, but left it to the painters to decide what they would portray, as long as it was 'a touching love story or a painting with nude figures' (McGrath (2015), 174).

⁷² Bull (2006), 17-8, 215; Sluijter (2000), 13. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was regularly present in Amsterdam painters' libraries (Kattenberg and Baars (2014)). In early modern times mythological paintings were often simply characterised as 'Ovidian'. A clear, although eighteenth-century, example of this synonymous notion is an advertisement of an auction from 1745, which mentions a wide variety of paintings, including one displaying mythological iconography, that is easily denoted as 'Fabulen uyt Ovidius' (Fables from Ovid): 'Bekentmakingen', in: *Opregte nieuwe Groninger courant*. Groningen, 24-09-1745. Consulted on Delpher (02-11-2016): <https://bit.ly/2ytQ3p6>. However popular Ovid was in painting, identifying mythological scenes in paintings as Ovidian is not as uncomplicated as it seems: a painted scene was often a construction based on many different sources (Allen (2002), 336-7).

⁷³ Pluis and Stupperich (2011).

⁷⁴ Kruijssen and Moormann (2011), 56.

4 RESEARCH CORPUS

In constructing my research corpus, it was my aim to identify as many editions of the *Metamorphoses* as possible, printed in the Southern and Northern Netherlands between 1500 and 1700. The demarcation of this timespan has been determined on the one hand by the rise of print. The earliest printed editions of the *Metamorphoses* were printed in the Low Countries, in the first decade of the sixteenth century in Deventer.⁷⁵ On the other hand, I have chosen to confine my investigation of paratext to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as this period includes the full development of paratext from its medieval manifestations to its early modern potential – coined by von Ammon and Vögel as the ‘Pluralisierung des Paratextes’. In the eighteenth century, however, a devaluating attitude towards paratext developed that criticized and parodied its influence. This resulted in a decreasing prominence of the paratextual infrastructure.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the Dutch book production was at its peak around 1660: from that point onwards, the book market started to mature. As a result, many book producers no longer invested in innovative printing to reduce their risks.⁷⁷

The corpus of works used for this study includes all individual editions of the *Metamorphoses* that consist of Ovid's text, or part of this text, in Latin or in a vernacular language, printed in the Low Countries (that is both the Southern and the Northern part). The term ‘individual edition’ refers to every edition that has its own unique fingerprint, following the analytical bibliographical practice of the *Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN) and the *Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen* (STCV).⁷⁸ These two databases were the main sources for compiling the corpus. In complementary data collections I have been able to identify some additional editions.⁷⁹ This results in a research corpus of 108 individual editions. There are sixty-eight Latin editions, thirty-seven editions consist of a vernacular translation, and three editions include both a Latin and a vernacular version (two French, one Dutch). Five editions

⁷⁵ My corpus includes one exception: an edition printed in 1477 in Leuven and edited by Johannes Andreas (Ed.1), a reissue of the *editio princeps Romana* printed in 1471 by Fanciscus Puteolanus.

⁷⁶ Von Ammon and Vögel (2008), x-xiii; they acknowledge a ‘Prozeß der Form- und Funktionenveränderung des Paratextes im Übergang von Früher Neuzeit zu Moderne’ (p. xii). Nonetheless, paratext remained a prominent part of book culture.

⁷⁷ Rasterhoff (2017), 159.

⁷⁸ See www.stcn.nl; www.stcv.be. These websites also include explanations of the fingerprint method.

⁷⁹ Google Books; the catalogues of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (www.stabikat.de) and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (www.bsb-muenchen.de); the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (www.ustc.ac.uk). Nijhoff and Kronenberg (1923-71), and Cockx-Indestege, Glorieux, and Op de Beeck (1968-1994) provided additional information on some of the editions. The four editions of the *Metamorphoses* in Valkema Blouw (1998) have been included in the STCN database (TB 3908-3911). Cf. Pettegree and Walsby (2010), vii-xii on the limitations of the data collections concerning books printed in the Low Countries.

offer a French translation, there are two Spanish translations, and the remainder of thirty-three vernacular editions contain a Dutch translation of Ovid’s text. Of these, seventeen editions present Florianus’s prose translation of 1552, ten editions the new, anonymous translation of 1643. Of the seventy-one editions with a Latin text, sixty are complete text editions: single editions of the *Metamorphoses* as well as editions that are part of an *opera omnia* production. Ten of the eleven anthologies are school editions: seven were printed in Deventer in the early sixteenth century, and particularly intended for use in the local Latin school. Three other editions provide the sections of the *Metamorphoses* that were prescribed by the *Hollandse Schoolordre* (Dutch School Order) of 1625. Appendix 1 provides a list of all the editions of my research corpus, together with a reference number, that will be used throughout this study to refer to each individual edition.

108 editions								
68 Latin		32 Dutch			5 other vernacular		3 combined Latin-vernacular	
57	11	17	10	5	3	2	2	1
complete	anthologies	Florianus	anonymous	other	French	Spanish	French	Dutch

The number of editions subdivided over various categories

A note on the status of translations is required. Early modern translations, in our modern definition of translation, cannot always be defined as ‘versions of Ovid’s text’. Early modern translators had great freedom in their handling of the source text.⁸⁰ This could result in a considerable divergence between source and translation, although editions still claimed the translator’s work as a translation of a work authored by Ovid. Translated editions of the *Metamorphoses*, for example, unambiguously state on their title page that they contain Ovid’s text. Therefore, I did not exclude any vernacular translation from the corpus that in our modern perspective rather would be characterised as an interpretation.

My definition of an ‘edition’ excludes two other clearly Ovidian products, as they do not comprehend Ovid’s text. The first exclusion concerns two printed editions with engravings of scenes from the *Metamorphoses*. These illustrations bear brief captions, but do not present Ovid’s text. One of the two examples is *Metamorphoses, argumentis brevioribus ex Luctatio Grammatico collectis expositae* (‘*Metamorphoses*, displayed with rather short summaries collected from Luctatius the Grammarian’), printed in 1591 by the *Officina Plantiniana* in

⁸⁰ Burke (2005), 26; Barker and Hosington (2013), xviii-xxi.

Antwerp.⁸¹ The edition consists of Pieter van der Borcht's series of etchings, provided with the summarised abstracts from the *Narrationes fabularum ovidianarum* ('Narrations of the Ovidian fables'), attributed to Lactantius Placidus.⁸² Although the edition shows a strong connection to the *Metamorphoses*, it does not include Ovid's text and can therefore not be rendered an edition of Ovid's work. The second type of edition I excluded from the corpus for not including Ovid's text is the late seventeenth-century *Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux* by the French poet Isaac de Benserade, printed in 1677 and 1679 by Abraham Wolfgang in Amsterdam.⁸³ The title clearly connects this work to Ovid's text as well as deviates from it: 'en rondeaux' informs the reader that the book does not concern a translation, but a reworking of Ovid's text in another poetic genre, in which Benserade selected only parts of Ovid's contents to include in his own poetry.⁸⁴

I do not claim that this corpus comprises a comprehensive list of editions printed in the early modern Low Countries. Such a list cannot be composed. As several of the editions have only survived in one copy, it is almost certain that other editions did not make it to our modern time.⁸⁵ Furthermore, it is possible that an edition is not held by the libraries I searched (either digitally or personally), but remains hidden by copies in private collections. The wide variety of editions included in my research corpus nevertheless provides an abundant range of possibilities in the publication and the presentation of the *Metamorphoses*.

5 ANALYTICAL APPROACH AND STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

In his original design of the terminology of paratext, Genette distinguishes between epitext and peritext. The focus of my survey of Ovidian paratext is on what Genette has labelled the 'peritext' – the elements sharing a direct material context –, for the editions of the *Metamorphoses* are my research objects. Early modern 'epitext' – the elements outside this

⁸¹ BT 3913. The other example is: *Metamorphoseon sive transformationum Ovidianarum libri quindecim*. [Antwerp]: P. de Jode/Amsterdam: W. Janssonius, [1st half 17th century], mainly consisting of Antonio Tempesta's engravings (STCN 080120636).

⁸² On Lactantius: Hays (2014), 131-4.

⁸³ Respectively STCN 097602442, 098062301.

⁸⁴ These two instances are clear examples of the complexity of Ovidianism. Although both Benserade and the Plantin book do not display Ovid's text, they add layers of interpretation, selection, and framing to his contents. Due to this wide variety of Ovidian manifestations, it is generally impossible to detect what the exact source of a particular Ovidian reception had been. On Benserade: Moog-Grünewald (1995).

⁸⁵ On the survival of early modern books: Pettegree (2016). It is not possible to provide a survival rate of early modern books in general: survival is highly dependent on various factors such as genre, format, and language. On the incompleteness of the STCN database: Pettegree and Der Weduwen (2018).

direct context – to the editions of my corpus barely exists, apart from a few newspaper advertisements by booksellers. My methodology focusses on two aspects of the paratext: first, I will investigate the paratextual infrastructures in search of the book producers' mechanisms of appropriation of the *Metamorphoses*. Second, this research aims to interpret how these mechanisms functioned. To operationalise this dual research approach, I will analyse in particular four different categories of paratextual strategy, that each have played an important role in the early modern appropriation of Ovid, taking into account their textual and material conditions. This typology of paratextual functionality consists of: 1) creating commercial credibility; 2) facing criticism; 3) dealing with obscenity; 4) filtering and framing the contents of the *Metamorphoses*. These first two paratextual strategies concern the *Metamorphoses* as an entity: they mediate between the text as a whole and its intended audiences. The last two strategies involve specific contents, rather than Ovid's work in its totality. This typology of four paratextual strategies addresses the presentation of Ovid and his mythological content, both in general and in specific cases, to intended audiences. It also focuses on the more practical circumstances of book production as a commercial activity.

As appropriating strategies in the varying presentation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* will take central stage, my study foregrounds the active role of book producers. They function as middlemen, in that they are the mediators between Ovid and the reader.⁸⁶ These producers consist of a varied group of entrepreneurs within the early modern book world, including, of course, women.⁸⁷ Their precise roles within the production process are frequently not clearly distinguishable. Some of them are printers, publishers, or typesetters, others are booksellers, or interpreters (such as commentators, translators, illustrators, and indexers). To these middlemen paratexts were essential elements in mediating their printing products, and they were frequently aware of their potential influence on the reader.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ cf. Yeazell (2015), 6, who applies this term 'middleman' to a context of early modern painting. In book history the more general term 'agent' is current as indication for an individual involved in knowledge transfer (cf. Baron *et al.* (2007), 19), as well as 'bookman' and 'intermediary'. A more recent term within the research field of the history of knowledge is 'knowledge-brokers': the crucial intermediaries within learned networks. All of these terms, however, encompass a broader group of people involved in knowledge production and distribution than the ones I focus on, or do not refer to their mediating character between text and reader.

⁸⁷ Women have played an influential role in the early modern book world (Broomhall (2002); Smith (2012); Wyffels (2018)). A prominent example from my own research corpus is the widow of Abraham de Wees, who continued a flourishing printing company for years after her husband had passed away, and produced Vondel's translation of the *Metamorphoses* in 1671 (Ed.94). Also, Plantin's daughters acted as proof-readers in the family business (Voet (1969-1972) 1, 142-5).

⁸⁸ Sherman (2007), 70; Silva (2016); Berger (2004), 32 speaks of paratexts operating 'within a web of considerations'.

The structure of this book is based on my analytical approach: succeeding this first introductory chapter, the next four chapters each address one paratextual strategy, focussing on one specific type of paratext. Chapter 2 investigates the paratextual strategy of creating commercial credibility, by focussing on the title page: how did book producers create a title page to increase their commercial credibility? The title page is the most important place for book producers to address their intended audience, because the early modern title page would have been the reader's first encounter with a book's contents. This chapter will show how rhetorical mechanisms focussed on symbolic capital and claimed unique selling points. Chapter 3 examines how middlemen faced criticism via three front matter paratexts: dedication, preface, and *vita*. They could use the front matter to frame the totality of their printing product, in particular to deal with criticism aimed at the reading of Ovid, his *Metamorphoses*, and mythology in general. My investigation will show how three different reactions on this criticism intended to persuade the reader of the usability of the text. Chapter 4 will look at commentaries to the *Metamorphoses* to investigate how commentators dealt with perceived forms of pagan obscenity. In notes and comments on specific passages within Ovid's text, commentators applied various methods to mediate potentially dangerous content. This analysis will conclude that most commentators did not eschew dealing with obscene elements and that they provided allegorical interpretations of these elements to guide the reading process. My analysis of the index in Chapter 5 foregrounds filtering and framing of contents as key paratextual strategies. Although filtering and framing are, of course, strategies that other middlemen also applied in their commentaries, the index in particular must not be regarded as a paratext that neutrally discloses Ovid's contents. On the contrary: by investigating the paratextual strategy enclosed in the index, it will become clear that this paratext played an important role as a mechanism for filtering and framing. I will argue how index mechanisms became more varied over time to better fit different reading experiences.

Proceeding from the results of Chapters 2 to 5, in Chapter 6 I will analyse the interaction of paratexts within the overall paratextual infrastructure, by means of a case study of two different editions. My investigation will demonstrate how middlemen applied the paratextual infrastructure to create a particular reading experience. As these cases widely differ from each other, I will also argue how such constructs of paratextual infrastructure contributed to a variety of receptions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in important ways.

I hope to explain in my conclusion in what way the material shape of books can help us to understand the process of classical reception. Furthermore, I will argue that the analysis of my research corpus reveals how this reception was simultaneously determined by innovation and tradition. In this way, my approach to classical reception in the Early Modern

Period through the material text can explain the Ovidian paradox mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter. My investigation shows how different paratextual strategies presented Ovid's stories about sex and violence to the early modern reader as suitable reading materials, even in the classroom.

Chapter 2

THE TITLE PAGE: CREATING COMMERCIAL CREDIBILITY

In 1541 Johann Arnoldus Bergellanus, probably a corrector in a German print shop, published a poem in praise of the invention of print. However, the poem is also critical of specific aspects of the new medium. Bergellanus disapproves, for example, of the trend of adding snobbish and overly obscure printer's marks to title pages. In fact, his observation on this practice provides us with a unique insight into the ways in which critical readers could respond to book producers' presentations of their printing products:

'And our present time for its books appropriates marks, and places them to be seen at the first page. Riddles of the Sphinx in various languages cling to them, that even smart Apollo himself cannot solve. [...] Everyone supposes to enlighten his books by this deceit, and then hopes for indecent profit.'¹

Bergellanus makes this observation in the context of his discussion about unintelligible printer's marks, which frequently consisted of allegorical images accompanied by Latin and Greek adages, deliberately positioned on title pages of books to impress readers and create credibility. Book producers intended to impress the reader with the scholarly character of these marks, and, thus, to enhance the value of editions. Bergellanus was clearly unimpressed: he perceived their complexity as obfuscation and this way of seeking credit as 'deceit'.

Whether or not one agrees with Bergellanus's criticism, the example clearly shows that book producers regarded the title page as an important initial paratext to communicate with

¹ Bergellanus, *De chalcographiae inventione poema encomiasticum* (Mainz, 1541), 299-302, 317-8 (cited in: Wolkenhauer (2002), 87-8): 'Vendicat ac praesens aetas insignia libris, | Et prima facie conspicienda locat. | Sphingis et adhaerent variis aenigmata linguis, | Solvere quae sol[]ers Delius ipse nequit. | [...] | Quilibet hoc fuco libris accedere lucem | Augurat, et foedi spem capit inde lucri.' A printed marginal note indicates the subject of this section of the poem: 'De typographorum insigniis' specifies the 'insignia' in the poem as printer's marks.

book consumers. The title page was not merely a neutral notification of the book's content, but its early modern functionality was also, and perhaps even primarily, commercial. In this chapter I will investigate the commercial appropriation of Antiquity: how did early modern book producers apply rhetoric in the design of their title pages in order to enhance Ovid's commercial value?

In the first section of this chapter, I will stress the development of the early modern title page within its commercial context. The next two parts will analyse the title page's commercial representation, and show how rhetoric creates textual and visual frames. Firstly, I will investigate how the printer-publishers of these editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* represented themselves: the textual imprint and the visual printer's mark were the most important places to frame their business activities in general. Complementing this, my second focus will be on the representation of the edition: I will analyse how the title page textually creates the edition's special identity, for example by emphasising distinctive features or characteristics; I will also analyse the engraved title page as a visual presentation of the edition. My analysis will show how Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was a highly commercialised printing product, that created ample business opportunities in which book producers balanced between a traditional presentation of the text and an innovative approach.

1 THE COMMERCIAL VALUE OF THE EARLY MODERN TITLE PAGE

In the past two decades, there has been renewed scholarly interest in the development of the early modern title page, especially during the transition from manuscript to print.² Ursula Rautenberg's quantitative analysis of incunabula title pages printed in Germany, the Low Countries, and Venice has significantly contributed to our knowledge of incunabula printing. Her study weakens Margaret Smith's earlier conclusion that the early title page was originally added to protect the gatherings of folded sheets in the unbounded book block. Judging from Rautenberg's research, there is too little quantitative evidence for this idea.³

While Smith examined the development of the title page as the product of the economics of mass production, Rautenberg's investigation proceeded from this perspective and has led to a more analytical view of the commercial function of the title page. Rautenberg distinguishes two independent main title page models: an entirely typographical model and an illustrated one. The former, applied far more frequently, initially aimed to identify the book to distributors and sellers of the copies in a practical manner. Moreover, publishers

² Smith (2000); Rautenberg (2008).

³ Rautenberg (2008), 96, contra: Smith (2000), 21.

increasingly explored the communicative possibilities of the title pages towards the reader. The second model of the illustrated title page was always primarily a medium intended for prospective buyers.⁴

From the perspective of the book producers themselves, the title page was the place where they encountered their readers for the first time.⁵ Already in an early stage of its development, printers and publishers deployed the title page as a marketing tool to sell as many copies as possible.⁶ At the end of the fifteenth century, book producers increased the title page's level of information and decoration, merely as advertising equipment.⁷ They were well aware of its potential influence: throughout the Early Modern Period they were involved in designing the title page, and deliberately composed the data on the book's contents, distribution, and production.⁸ The Antwerp publisher Balthasar I Moretus, for example, instructed his engraver Peter Paul Rubens on how to design title pages that contained an allegorical interpretation of the book.⁹ Moreover, authors and readers considered the title page an essential element of the book: as his correspondence shows, Plantin for instance hastily apologised to a dissatisfied reader of an antiphonary which he had sold without a title page.¹⁰

The sixteenth-century expansion of knowledge stimulated the further development of the title page. Religious conflicts, humanistic scholarship, and the discovery of the New World, together with the increased production possibilities of the printing press, generated an explosive growth of the book market.¹¹ The resulting overload of printed information led to a more analytical presentation of the book's content, enabling readers to recognize quickly what a particular book had to offer.¹² The producers could guide such readers in specific

⁴ Rautenberg (2008), 97; cf. Wagner (2008), 140-6.

⁵ Maclean (2012), 125 strikingly notes in a Genettean way: 'The title page acted as the threshold between the contents and the reader.'

⁶ Wagner (2008), 143-6; Eisenstein (1982), 160; Smith (2000), 12, 22, esp. 91-108.

⁷ Smith (2000), 22. Still in 1582, however, Plantin (Ed.25) provided information on the edition's content – the inclusion of an index, argumenta, and summaries – on a separate page within the front matter, instead of on the title page itself, as already had become common practice.

⁸ See case studies in Sorgeloos (2008), Guilleminot-Chrétien (2008), and De Landtsheer (2008) for examples of the early modern publisher's active role in title page design.

⁹ Voet (1969-1972) 2, 215-6; on Rubens reading Ovid as inspiration for his paintings: McGrath (2015).

¹⁰ Voet (1969-1972) 2, 166-7, *33 (ill. 35). The antiphonary was an easily sellable and clearly distinguishable printing product. Perhaps Plantin thought that it was too expensive to provide it with a title page. For authors' critique of middlemen's 'foolish titles' to their works: Shevlin (1999), 52-3.

¹¹ Blair (2010), 11.

¹² Proot (2015), 59.

directions. Typography, for example, increasingly emphasized essential elements such as the author and the title of the work.¹³ It led to less variety in the typographical layout, in which vernacular publications followed the typographical trends of Latin title pages. Hence, finding a balance between traditional and innovative elements became an important aspect of the development of the early modern title page. Ostentatious changes in format ran the risk of alienating customers who might feel estranged from the more established presentation they had been used to. The pace of the developments was also slowed down by economic reasons, because printers did not easily discard expensive printing materials such as woodblocks, copperplates, and fonts.¹⁴

Straightforward typographical presentation was all the more important for the title page's functionality as an advertising poster. From the end of the sixteenth century, it was common practice to print far more title pages of a work than copies.¹⁵ Separated from the book block, these extra title pages were used as advertising materials, for example in book stalls and print shops.¹⁶ In Genette's terminology: the peritextual title page also had an epitextual functionality. Again, Plantin's correspondence shows an example. His Parisian representative requested that the printer send him 'posters and preliminaries, for display, because this makes the books sell well'. The bookseller was referring to title pages that he could use as marketing materials.¹⁷ Such a commercial application of the title page made the poet Ben Jonson complain that his name was used as a commercial device, noticing 'my title-leaf on posts or walls, | Or in cleft-sticks'. This practice continued throughout the eighteenth-century, as for example Alexander Pope's outcry shows: 'What tho' my Name stood rubric on the walls? | Or plaster'd posts, with Claps in capitals?'¹⁸ Pope's disapproval emphasizes the importance of the title page's typography: it is the rubric and the capitals that gave the text its flagrant – or in the book producer's view: advertising – character, showing a clash between the author's intellectual respectability and the book producer's commercial interests.

The book producers' commercial focus also provoked more general criticism. Early modern authors characterised book producers, for example, as 'low-born men who want everything to be done for no payment'.¹⁹ Early modern readers were commonly inclined to

¹³ Gilmont and Vanautgaerden (2008), 11.

¹⁴ Proot (2014), 296-303.

¹⁵ Shevlin (1999), 48-9.

¹⁶ On the wide variety of book traders: Salman (2014).

¹⁷ Voet (1969-1972) 2, 422: 28th February 1570, a letter from Egidius Beys to Plantin. Voet notes: 'His idea was to use the posters, or title-pages serving as such, to advertise new publications'.

¹⁸ Cited in: Shevlin (1999), 48.

¹⁹ Cited in: Maclean (2012), 44.

mistrust the printed materials they encountered as a result of widespread piracy and plagiarism, as Adrian Johns has shown.²⁰ The reliability of an edition was, therefore, no given fact. How publications were received was greatly determined by the printer-publishers' reputation in general and their other printing activities.²¹ This resulted in a tension between the consumer's approach to the early modern title page and the producer's intentions: while readers took its claims with a grain of salt, it was the printer-publishers' first opportunity at least to try to gain their readers' confidence.

This context of suspicion is especially relevant to the *Metamorphoses*. Many book producers printed Ovid's text and it was widely available in various editions (illustrated and unillustrated, vernacular and in Latin, with or without a vast paratextual infrastructure), providing readers with ample choice. Moreover, the book's appropriateness and utility were the subjects of strong debate – as I will discuss in the next chapter. These circumstances stimulated book producers to apply rhetoric to seduce readers into buying their Ovid.

2 TEXTUAL AND VISUAL SELF-REPRESENTATION

Symbolic capital plays an important role in convincing readers to buy a book. According to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic capital is an essential element in commercialising cultural goods.²² If 'prestige' and 'authority' are not reconverted into symbolic capital, they are ineffective capital to secure profits. For publishers, 'the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects (with a trademark or signature) or persons [...] and therefore to give value, and to appropriate the profits from this operation.'²³ Following Bourdieu, I will now investigate how two aspects of self-representation – the textual imprint and the visual printer's mark – displayed symbolic capital and thus added value to editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

²⁰ Johns (1998), esp. 30-40, 187-265.

²¹ A printer-publisher's name alone could invest the edition with credibility (Johns (1998), 147: this seems especially true for more polemical texts, on the title page of which the name of a publisher could inform the prospective reader about the viewpoint to be expected). The actual Latin word 'fides' (trustworthiness) appears on five title pages of editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries between 1500 and 1700 (all instances are related to the editing process: 'castigata ad fidem'). This illustrates the publishers' fear that customers would not trust their editions.

²² Bourdieu (1980), 262 defines symbolic capital as 'a "credit", which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees "economic" profits'.

²³ Bourdieu (1980), 262.

2.1 The rhetoric of the imprint

The imprint might seem a rather neutral piece of information: common formulas such as ‘by ...’ in Dutch and the Latin equivalent ‘apud ...’ denoted the name of the bookseller, printer, or publisher.²⁴ Furthermore, the place and year of production are standard elements of the imprint. Despite this standardization, printers and publishers regularly personalised detailed elements of their imprints, and applied them as constructs of credibility. By providing essential information on their identity, printers and publishers gained a prominent material presence in the book, that associated them with their printing product, and vice versa.²⁵ Thus, the imprint was a commercial device for self-representation. Three elements of the imprint were particularly important for adding commercial value to the editions of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*: the place of production, the book producer’s address, and the special identity of the publishing company.

2.1.1 The place of production as an advertisement

As Andrew Pettegree’s case study on Luther’s Wittenberg has shown, the typography of a town’s name in imprints of editions could function as a strong rhetorical device.²⁶ By using capital letters, many imprints typographically emphasize the place of printing as an important element on the title page. Antwerp functioned as an indication of quality in particular. From the late fifteenth century, book producers had already foregrounded Antwerp on their title pages, printing heraldic marks that displayed its coat of arms.²⁷ The early sixteenth-century printer-publishers Godfried van der Haeghen, Michael Hillen van Hoochstraten, and Joannes Steelsius typographically emphasized Antwerp, and even focussed the reader’s attention more on the city than on their own names.²⁸ Their emphasis on Antwerp has to be related to their international intentions. The former two middlemen provided a Latin edition of the *Metamorphoses* that could be exchanged on the international book markets. Steelsius printed

²⁴ These words do not differentiate between printer and publisher, and therefore the middleman’s exact role in the production of the edition remains unclear. Moreover, early modern terminology differs from the modern interpretation (Dijstelberge and Verkruijsse (2010), p. 159-160). In contrast, the word ‘impensis’ unambiguously acknowledges the financier of the edition. When Plantin used the formula ‘apud ...’ it means that he only sold the books, which he did not print himself (De Landtsheer (2008), 68); on Plantin’s imprint formulas: Voet (1969-1972) 2, 8-12.

²⁵ Middlemen probably stored and used their imprints as standing type, because of their frequent application in several printing products. This gives them a certain level of independence from the title page on which they were printed, as this was no exclusive application (cf. Proot (2014), 275).

²⁶ Wittenberg became a prominent typographical part of the brand Luther: Pettegree (2015), 162-3.

²⁷ Meeus (2018), 79.

²⁸ Ed.9, 10, 12.

a Spanish translation by Jorge de Bustamente that was intended for export to Spain.²⁹ During its flourishing sixteenth century, Antwerp was a wealthy city of commerce, internationally known for its production of luxury goods, such as tapestry, jewellery, paintings, and books.³⁰ The city administration was well aware of the fact that Antwerp's book production generated prestige and economic gain for the city, and therefore even protected its book producers, for example from restrictive Spanish legislation.³¹ The Ovidian printer-publishers displayed this international prestige in their imprints: they hoped to transfer something of the city's prestige to the book itself through an emphasis on the edition's origin (the renowned printing capital of Antwerp). The rhetoric in these Latin editions was aimed at international buyers in particular, who might be influenced by the fame of the city.

Thus, the emphasis on Antwerp was a deliberate typographical choice.³² This becomes clear from other Antwerp imprints that were not intended for an international market. The first vernacular Dutch edition from 1552, for example, did not particularly emphasize Antwerp as its city of printing.³³ This vernacular edition was primarily intended for a local market in Antwerp itself, as I will argue in my next chapter. Without competing translations printed in other cities, there was no special need to apply Antwerp's symbolic capital as a guarantee for quality. However, a different publication context of this translation did result in rhetorical changes to the imprint: when the Antwerp translation was first printed in Amsterdam in 1588, the imprint had Amsterdam in capital letters. The Fall of Antwerp in 1585 stimulated the development of Amsterdam as Europe's new printing capital: many tradesmen, including printers, migrated to the Northern Netherlands.³⁴ Advertising Amsterdam as the city of printing may be related to this historical development: Amsterdam book producers may have felt the urge to emphasize the origin of their products from the young Dutch Republic to contrast them with printed books from Antwerp, which was now under Catholic Spanish rule. In this context, Amsterdam could achieve commercial credit through its political status.

²⁹ Antwerp had a small but steady community of Spanish merchants (Lampo (2017), 125). Presumably, this edition was intended for them as well.

³⁰ Langereis (2014), 56-9: the international prestige of Antwerp and its abundant business opportunities motivated Christopher Plantin to move from France to the Low Countries to establish his commercial activities in the city.

³¹ Christman (2015), 71.

³² It should be investigated more thoroughly whether or not it was a common commercial strategy of the sixteenth-century imprint to emphasize the names of printing capitals such as Antwerp, Venice, Paris, Basel et cetera more vehemently than less renowned printing towns. My examples support this hypothesis.

³³ Ed.16.

³⁴ Briels (1974), 83-111; Lampo (2017), 248-53; Asaert (2004), 192-204.

2.1.2 A local rhetoric

From the sixteenth century onwards, book producers increasingly added details about their addresses to the places of production mentioned on the title page.³⁵ The address functioned as an invitation for prospective customers to visit a store.³⁶ This local rhetoric supposedly increased the transparency of business activities: customers could judge by themselves if the middleman was a reliable businessman. No matter whether customers actually seized this opportunity, the middleman's credibility benefitted from it. All of this is relevant for editions that were produced for a relatively local market: although books printed in the Dutch language could be sold throughout the Low Countries, they were certainly not intended for export abroad. Therefore, vernacular editions of the *Metamorphoses* in particular contained such specific addresses.³⁷

A visit to a workshop was particularly relevant if the place sold books, apart from producing them: thus, the imprint as a navigational tool was most valuable to booksellers.³⁸ Middlemen who represented themselves specifically as booksellers also provided their particular shop address.³⁹ This concerns imprints such as 'for Jan van Hilten, bookseller, in the Beursstraat' and 'for Abraham Wolfgang, bookseller, at the corner of the Beurs [i.e. Stock Exchange], under the [house with the sign of] Wrath'.⁴⁰ These two examples point to an important difference: customers would be able to find Wolfgang's shop more easily, as only the combination of a street name and a shop sign led to the exact location. As houses in early modern streets did not have numbers, these signs were necessary guiding devices, especially in cities such as Antwerp and Amsterdam that had many shops.⁴¹ Customers walking through

³⁵ Meeus (2018), 81.

³⁶ Maclean (2012), 129.

³⁷ Only fourteen of the forty vernacular editions (35%) not include specific address information. Amongst them are two Spanish editions (Ed.15, 32): the absence of a specific address shows that they were particularly intended for the international market. In Chapter 3 I will discuss the first Dutch translation's strong local embedment.

³⁸ Cf. Smith (2014), 23: 'Imprints often identify booksellers more explicitly than printers, whose names are abbreviated or reduced to initials, suggesting that the identity of the printer was relevant primarily to other stationers, who could easily identify them by their initials and materials, while booksellers spelled out their identity for the benefit of a wider public.'

³⁹ Within my research corpus, there is one exception: Albertus Pafraet in Deventer only provided the text 'Daventrie Prostant in aedibus / Alberti Paffraed' on the title page of his edition from 1519 (Ed.8). Probably in early-sixteenth-century Deventer there was no need for more specific guidance, as the only printers active in this city in 1519 were Pafraet and Jacobus de Breda (cf. Ed.3-5), whose locations would be well-known.

⁴⁰ Resp. Ed.61: 'Voor Ian van Hilten, Boekverkoper, in de Beurs-straat'; Ed.81: 'Voor Abraham Wolfgang, Boekverkooper, op de hoek van de Beurs, onder de Toorn'.

⁴¹ Hoftijzer (1988), 43.

the Hoogstraat in Antwerp, for example, would be able to find Willem Lesteens's workshop by checking the shop signs hanging to the façades: Lesteens's title page exclaimed that his shop was 'in the Hoochstraat, in the Golden Pelican'.⁴² Other ways of identification were also possible: Gerard van Wolschaten specified his location to his clientele by referring to a well-known landmark: 'By Geeraerd van Wolsschaten, next to the abbey of St. Michael'.⁴³

2.1.3 Creating international prestige

The intended readers of internationally traded books in Latin would often not have had the opportunity to visit the workshop in person.⁴⁴ For them, book producers applied a different rhetoric: to increase trust among an international readership, Latin editions of Ovid's text emphasized their academic affiliation, or pointed to the company's scale.

In a scholarly humanistic context, the identification as an academic printer added trustworthiness: the fact that a printer was trusted by an academic institution to provide scholarly printed material strengthened his position in the international scholarly community. Although not every European scholarly reader may have known a printer's name, his academic affiliation nonetheless intended to convince the reader of the book's reliability. Immediately after their appointment in 1626, Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevier, academic printers in Leiden, advertised their official relation with the university on their title pages. In this year they produced a school edition of the *Metamorphoses*; although the edition was obviously not intended for academic use, its title page nevertheless foregrounded their academic affiliation through the claim 'Academiae Typographus'.⁴⁵ Their strategic representation as reliable printers successfully addressed prominent European scholars who had their works printed with the Elzeviers.⁴⁶

Even though most printers could not claim a similar academic affiliation, the label 'officina' came close rhetorically. By framing themselves as 'officina', instead of using a more frequently applied formula such as 'apud' or 'typis', book producers intended to guide readers' expectations by implying success and, thus, a proven trustworthiness. The label suggests that the printer is not just a man with a printing press, but a craftsman who leads a successful professional company. The term 'officina' was certainly applicable to the large companies run by Plantin-Moretus and Elzevier. More modest printing houses that used the qualification,

⁴² Ed.43: 'inde Hoochstraet, inden Gulden Pellicaen'.

⁴³ Ed.71: 'By Geeraerd van Wolsschaten Naest d'Abdije van S. Michiels'.

⁴⁴ On the necessarily international market of Latin books: Maclean (2012), 207-210.

⁴⁵ Ed.48.

⁴⁶ Dongelmans *et al.* (2000), 10: a good example is Galilei's *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche* in 1638.

such as Van der Loe and Hackius, showed that they too considered the label ‘officina’ a valuable frame to sell Ovid.⁴⁷

Although he was appointed as the Leiden academic printer in 1586 and could have claimed through the imprint that his edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* was an academic printing product, Franciscus Raphelengius chose to present himself as ‘Officina Plantiniana’.⁴⁸ He considered his company’s identity as a branch from his father-in-law’s renowned company in Antwerp more valuable than his affiliation to the young Leiden university.⁴⁹ Although Plantin had sold his Leiden company to Raphelengius in 1585, who from then on operated as an independent firm, Raphelengius continued to use the brand ‘Officina Plantiniana’. Thus, Raphelengius appropriated Plantin’s fame as an international producer of humanistic books to elevate his own printing activities.⁵⁰

To improve the commercial value of their edition of the *Metamorphoses*, Willem, Pieter, and Joan (II) Blaeu used an alternative to ‘officina’: ‘Ex Typographia Blaviana’ (from the Blaeu printing company).⁵¹ To institutionalize their company, the Blaeu brothers chose to deviate from their father Joan’s imprints of his editions of Ovid, that simply stated ‘typis Ioannis Blaeu’ ([printed] from the type of Joan Blaeu).⁵² The Blaviana brand did not focus on the scale of the Blaeu brothers’ own business activities, but foregrounded the quality of their printing products: it presented these products as descendants of a superior printing tradition. Their term ‘Blaviana’ brought to mind the entire Blaeu family history of skilled printers: grandfather Willem Janszoon Blaeu already had a famous reputation as a skilled printer, and ‘Blaviana’ particularly referred to Joan (I) Blaeu’s famous cartographical productions, published for example as *Cosmographia Blaviana* and *Geographia Blaviana*.

⁴⁷ In the case of the Officina Hackiana, the term ‘officina’ may also be related to the fact that the company was led by the three brothers Cornelius, Jacobus, and Petrus; in this way the name of the company would represent the three participants as a solid family business. On the Officina Hackiana, see Hoftijzer (1996).

⁴⁸ Ed.29 (‘Ex officina Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium’); Ed.34, 39 (‘Ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii’). On Raphelengius as an academic printer, see Van Gulik (1975); Hoftijzer (1990), 12-4.

⁴⁹ In his turn, Raphelengius himself would become an indication of printing quality: in 1621 the Leiden printer Jan Maire, using the Hebrew type of Raphelengius, noted as recommendation on two title pages of Hebrew books: ‘Typis Raphelengianis’ (Voet (1969-1972) 1, 176).

⁵⁰ Plantin’s reputation had an international commercial value: in a 1586 letter Plantin complained about middlemen in Paris, Lyon, Cologne, and Italy who used the prestige of his name without his consent (Maclean (2012), 102, 289 n. 19).

⁵¹ Ed.100.

⁵² This novel frame corresponds to the brothers’ new business strategy: they no longer published independently, as their father had done, but printed by commission. The brothers increasingly focussed on the book trade and printed on request for other middlemen’s joint ventures (Van Netten (2014), 246). This case shows that they included self-representation as part of a new business model.

2.2 The symbolic power of the printer's mark

Textual information on the early modern title page did not stand on its own: it was accompanied by visual aspects. The printer's mark was such a prominent visual element of the title page design.⁵³ The early modern printer's mark was more than a company logo that enabled the reader to recognise the printing house: it intended to represent the company's identity.⁵⁴ It functioned as a seal of quality, visualising the producer's approval of the edition.⁵⁵ Some marks were highly individual tokens of the book producers' businesses, while others followed existing trends, or were even copies of other book producers' marks.⁵⁶

The Antwerp printer Michael Hillen van Hoochstraten presented an allegorical mark intended to appeal to educated readers of Ovid's text. This mark occupies a large part of the page; together with Ovid's name it is the most eminent and eye-catching aspect.⁵⁷ It depicts the Roman god Saturn (representing time) at the very moment he is going to devour one of his own children, surrounded by other allegorical elements that refer to time and mortality.⁵⁸ The mark presents an allegorical puzzle, which required scholarly knowledge to tease out its meaning.⁵⁹ Thus, Van Hoochstraten represented himself as a book producer acquainted with humanistic scholarship. Furthermore, the mark is a self-reflexive allegory of a businessman who was aware of the risky business of printing that for many colleagues ended unfortunately.⁶⁰ The example shows how printer's marks enabled book producers to position their products in a particular ideological context.⁶¹ Their frequently allegorical character was

⁵³ On the development of the printer's mark: Wolkenhauer (2002); Wolkenhauer and Scholtz (2018). For an overview of Dutch marks: Van Huisstede and Brandhorst (1999); for Leiden marks in particular: Hoftijzer (2018). For the Southern Netherlands: Vanderweghe and Op de Beeck (1993); Meeus (2018).

⁵⁴ Fowler (2017), 32; cf. Smith (2014), 28.

⁵⁵ Maclean (2012), 127.

⁵⁶ Hoftijzer (2018), 182.

⁵⁷ Ed.12.

⁵⁸ On ancient mythology in printer's marks: Ludwig (1999), 113-21.

⁵⁹ Hillen van Hoochstraten copied this 1537 mark from the Mainz printer Peter Jordan and used it in many of his editions. The mark in his edition of Ovid lacks the usual three Latin texts that surrounded the woodcut and pinpointed its allegorical interpretation of time (Wolkenhauer (2002), 328-337). Wolkenhauer (2002) also shows what sources readers could have used in their interpretation of the mark, amongst others: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 15.234 ('tempus edax rerum') and Erasmus's *Adagium* 670 ('Nosce tempus'). The reference to Ovid is quite appropriate on a title page of the *Metamorphoses*, but the fact that Hillen van Hoochstraten used this mark on many of his title pages downplays the probability of an intentional link.

⁶⁰ Meeus (2018), 87; this was a common topic for book producers to include in their marks (ibid. 85-93; Hoftijzer (2018), 179).

⁶¹ Cf. Meeus (2018), 77.

not necessarily related to the specific content of the *Metamorphoses*, but provided a more general presentation of the printed book and its producer.

These scholarly constructs of the early sixteenth-century title pages, portraying allegorical scenes and texts, were deliberately complicated. This provoked critique, as Bergellanus's poem already showed. To increase the mark's commercial functionality, an emblematic device with a short textual aphorism, generally called *impresa*, became popular amongst book producers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶² This type of mark created ample opportunities for specific messages. It tempered the visual prominence within the title page layout: the *impresa* has a smaller format and a more simplified content than its predecessors.

A famous example is Plantin's trade mark 'constantia et labore' (with persistence and diligence, alluding to Plantin's work ethic), allegorically envisioned by the two legs of his compass.⁶³ Plantin's device, also used by Raphelengius in Leiden, functioned as an influential role model for the application of printer's marks by printer-publishers in the Dutch Republic.⁶⁴ Editions of the *Metamorphoses* with this seal of quality intended to invoke the impression of a reliable, scholarly product, corresponding with Plantin's fame as a printer. The Elzeviers used their marks in a similar way. In 1620, Isaak Elzevier introduced the simple Latin adage 'non solus' (not alone, probably referring to the necessity to cooperate within the book trade) as his printer's mark, depicted in a banner near a tree, a grapevine winded around its trunk.⁶⁵ Next to the tree an old, seemingly wise and scholarly man reaches for the grapes.⁶⁶ The Elzeviers thus communicated two clear messages to their customers. First, the mark stressed that their editions of the *Metamorphoses* were reliable ones: it identified the edition as a printing product from a well-known printing company. The mark even framed the Elzeviers as competitors of the revered Parisian printing house Estienne, from which they had copied the theme of the old man standing near a tree.⁶⁷ Secondly, a tree with a vine was a well-known

⁶² Meeus (2018), 84; Hoftijzer (2018), 170.

⁶³ Plantin's visual display of the title page compensates for his relatively modest mark in opulence: Plantin's title pages to the *Metamorphoses* featured a classically architectural woodblock frame, providing the editions with an erudite and momentous appearance. In doing so, Plantin presented his edition of Ovid on a stage, as a monument (cf. Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 6-9 for the interpretation of the architectural setting as a stage and monument; also: Fowler (2017), 15-22). Cf. Sorgeloos (2008), 91 on the commercial functionality of Plantin's marks; Meeus (2018), 90.

⁶⁴ Hoftijzer (2018), 176.

⁶⁵ Hoftijzer (2018), 180-1.

⁶⁶ For the identification of the old man as wise and scholarly, see Schlüter and Vinken (2000), 302-5.

⁶⁷ Schlüter and Vinken (2000), 302-3; Hoftijzer (2018), 180. Competition between printers via their marks was a common phenomenon: Fowler (2017), 33-4.

classical and early modern topos referring to unity, harmony, and partnership, which scholarly readers would have recognised.⁶⁸ Altogether, the tree, the adage, and the wise man presented Elzevier as a solid partner in scholarly activities.

3 THE TEXTUAL AND VISUAL PRESENTATION OF THE EDITION

The rhetoric of self-representation alone often might have been insufficient to persuade customers to buy the book: complementing this rhetoric, title pages aimed at increasing the credibility of the editions themselves. In this section I will analyse how book producers used textual rhetoric to claim a unique identity for their editions. The title itself and additional statements on the contents of the edition played an important role in this context. The visual presentation of the edition by the engraved title page, my second focus, positioned an edition within the Ovidian tradition.

3.1 The rhetoric of the title formula

In the last two decades of the fifteenth century, the use of a title page rapidly increased; these early title pages just consisted of a simple label-title, as Margaret Smith coined it.⁶⁹ This rather straightforward, but unfixd label-title primarily functioned as an identifier of the contents of the book.⁷⁰ This important stage in the development of the title explains that the early modern title of a work was less fixed than it is now.⁷¹ In correspondence, authors frequently give their own works names that differ from the title pages; moreover, authors frequently criticised titles that book producers gave to their works.⁷² This illustrates the middlemen's interference in title page design to exploit the possibilities to commercialise the title. The book producers' commercial interests resulted in early modern title formula's that included a high degree of information, encompassing the character of the contents and the intended way of reading. In

⁶⁸ The topos would remind readers of the *Metamorphoses* of the fable of Vertumnus and Pomona: the former tries to convince the latter to marry, and in doing so allegorically refers to the harmony between a tree and a vine, which strengthens both sides (*Met.* 14.661-7).

⁶⁹ Smith (2000), 59.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 60-1.

⁷¹ On the historical development of the title, see: Shevlin (1999), 45-8; she analyses the early modern title as an important commercial feature: 'commercial considerations continued to eclipse the development of the title's aesthetic relationship to the text it labelled' (p. 52).

⁷² Gilmont and Vanautgaerden (2008), 10-1 provide some striking examples of authors who refer to their own work in a different way than their title pages do; Shevlin (1999), 52-3 discusses the author George Wither's criticism of 'foolish titles'.

early modern England Boccaccio's *Decameron*, for example, was initially printed as *The modell of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence, and Conversation*, branding it as a source book on good behaviour.⁷³ In the same way, a title to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed in 1610 presents the intended way of reading as: *Metamorphosis, or Poetic fables and their ethical, natural and historical interpretations*.⁷⁴ The correspondence of the publisher Balthasar I Moretus shows how book producers actively interfered in claiming such an identity. In 1598, Moretus wrote to Justus Lipsius that the title page of a reissue of the author's *De amphitheatro* was almost convenient; it only lacked an acknowledgement of the corrected and augmented status of the edition (*correctior et auctior editio*). This should be noted on the title page 'in some formula' (*formula aliqua, in libri frontispicio*), the publisher wrote. Moretus's apparent indifference to the exact formulation of such an addition shows that he was foremost concerned with the commercial strategy in general; the precise wording he left to others.⁷⁵

3.1.1 Typography as a rhetorical device

Title page design involves typography, an important rhetorical device: as the first step towards a commercial appropriation of the *Metamorphoses*, the words 'Metamorphoses' in Latin and 'Metamorphosis' in the vernacular fundamentally and unambiguously identified Ovid's work on nearly every title page.⁷⁶ To foreground this identification, almost every title page typographically emphasized this title by size, font, interspace, or colour, most often second in prominence after the author's name. The typographical emphasis on 'Metamorphoses' intended to catch the customer's eye in book stands, markets, and shops.⁷⁷ Moreover, the identifying title was especially important for the epitextual role of the title page as an advertising flyer. The first Dutch translation, for example, names its content 'Metamorphosis | dat is: Die herscheppinghe oft | veranderinghe' (Metamorphosis, that is the recreation or

⁷³ Armstrong (2007), 48.

⁷⁴ Ed.38: *Metamorphosis, seu Fabulae poeticae earumque interpretatio ethica, physica, et historica*.

⁷⁵ [...] nec quicquam video deesse, praetor formulam aliquam in libri frontispicio, correctioris et auctioris editionis. Quae omittenda omnino non videtur quod eius solius praetextu Privilegia caesarium et regium vim suam habebunt, tamquam novum aliquod opus esset' (Iusti Lipsi Epistolae [98 08 00]; cited in: De Landtsheer (2008), 66).

⁷⁶ The traditional, Dutch vernacular way of denominating the work is, curiously enough, the singular. This seems to be characteristic for the Dutch translations in particular. Spanish and French titles, sometimes printed by the same middlemen that also printed the Dutch translations, consequently used the plural: *Las Metamorphoses* (Ed.15), *Las Transformaciones* (Ed.32), *Les metamorphoses* (Ed.96); cf. English titles: Golding's *The Fyrst Fower Bookes of P. Ovidius Nasos Worke, Entitled Metamorphosis* (1565), Caxton's *The Booke of Ovyde Named Metamorphose* (1480).

⁷⁷ Shevlin (1999), 47-9.

transformation), printed in black letter font that decreases in size with each line.⁷⁸ It was a common vernacular practice to provide additional explanations of the word ‘Metamorphosis’;⁷⁹ the typographical emphasis, however, immediately identified the book’s content. The central part of the title of an edition from 1618 stands out by its colour and size: ‘Ex P. Ovidii Nasonis | Metamorpho- | sewn libris XV. | electorum | libri totidem, | ultimo integro.’ The line consisting of ‘Metamorpho-’ has the largest font size by far and was printed in red, identifying at first sight the edition’s content amidst all the textual information.⁸⁰

The standardised application of the title’s typography provided other book producers with opportunities to deviate deliberately from this tradition. Five 1643 editions that included a new translation provided the threefold Dutch title *Metamorphosis, dat is verandering of herschepping* (Metamorphosis, that is transformation or recreation). A large font size foregrounds ‘verandering’, and, thus, contrasted with the traditional emphasis on ‘Metamorphosis’, typographically claiming a novel identity of the edition.⁸¹ Moreover, a roman font instead of the traditional black letter of the earlier translated editions provided the new translation with a modernised character.⁸² In this way, the typography of the title showed that the edition broke with the Dutch vernacular tradition, without discarding ‘Metamorphosis’ as the traditional and crucial identifier.

3.1.2 A showcase of critical tools and editing

Approximately eighty percent of all title pages of my research corpus provided additional textual information on the edition’s content as part of the title formula.⁸³ Thereby, they claimed their unique selling points as the innovative aspects of the editions: one of the later

⁷⁸ Ed.16.

⁷⁹ There are only a few vernacular title formulas that do not also include the Latin ‘Metamorphoses’. A prominent exception is Vondel’s translation as *Herscheppinge*, which deliberately excluded the Latin reminiscence, as I will argue in Chapter 6. Also Latin titles may contain explicative subtitles, for example: *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseōn, hoc est, Transformationum libri quindecim* (Cologne: Gymnich, 1542), and Ed.38: *Metamorphosis, seu Fabulae poeticae earumque interpretatio ethica, physica, et historica*.

⁸⁰ Ed.42; on the title page of this edition the red colour also has an aesthetical function, as also the fourth and sixth lines are printed in this colour in an alternation of black and red lines.

⁸¹ Ed.61-65.

⁸² The use of roman font instead of black letter corresponds to the development of font types on title pages, at least as has been investigated for the Southern Netherlands: the use of black letter decreased from the second quarter of the seventeenth century (Proot (2012), 78).

⁸³ Exceptions are for example the vicesimo-quatro editions printed by Raphelengius and Blaeu, the title pages of which simply state ‘Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV’ (Raphelengius, Ed.29, 34, 39) and ‘Publii Ovidii Nasonis Operum tomus II. quo continentur Metamorphoseon libri XV’ (Blaeu, Ed.44, 47).

editions that included Florianus's translation, for example, claimed 'newly adorned with illustrations'; the second Dutch translation of 1643 acknowledges 'newly translated'; the title page in Heinsius's first text edition states 'editio nova', referring to the editing process.⁸⁴ By framing their Ovid as 'new', these book producers implied that there was something 'old', too: the word, therefore, suggests a breach from tradition, and intended to influence the reception of the book.

Although 'new' implies 'published for the first time' from a modern perspective, in early modern book culture this word was also widely used in relation to editions that did not contain anything new. To frame an edition misleadingly as 'new' was a common commercial technique.⁸⁵ Initial true claims on the 'newness' of editions remained a part of title pages of reprints. Many printer-publishers produced exact copies of existing editions of the *Metamorphoses* because it was a relatively inexpensive production process of an approved and profitable printing product. The 1643 translation was printed for the last time in 1662, then still framed as 'newly translated'; in the meantime, a third Dutch translation by Seger van Dort had appeared, clearly depriving the previous one of its novel identity.⁸⁶ Until the eighteenth century, book producers were used to claiming Heinsius's textual corrections as a novel element of their editions.⁸⁷

Latin editions in particular foregrounded the scholarly quality of the textual editing and the availability of a commentary as novel aspects. Book producers always mentioned the commentary as a special feature on their title page, as an interpretation of Ovid but also as a way to sell the text.⁸⁸ Thus, a certain commentary could distinguish an edition from previous ones, and position it within the book market. The title page to Heinsius's text edition and commentary (printed in 1659 by Elzevier), for example, notes: 'Nicolaus Heinsius, son of Daniel Heinsius, has corrected [the text] on infinite places based on reliable manuscripts, and added observations.'⁸⁹ This acknowledgement tried to gain credit: it emphasized that Heinsius not merely provided some new edition of Ovid's text, but had carried out research to come to this

⁸⁴ Ed.55; 61-65; 83.

⁸⁵ Cf. Maclean (2012), 124.

⁸⁶ It may have been the case that the availability of the *Metamorphoses* in Dutch was still strongly connected to Florianus (the only translation available until 1643, and last published in 1650). 'Newly translated' may have felt true for any other translation.

⁸⁷ Reissues and copies of this edition, by Elzevier as well as by other publishers, continued to use the claim 'new edition' until the eighteenth century (cf. Ed.95, 101, 110, 125).

⁸⁸ That is, with one exception: Ed.9, which has some basic marginal notes to which the title page does not refer, although it profusely mentions other paratextual elements of the edition.

⁸⁹ Ed.83: 'Nicolaus Heinsius, D.F. locis infinitis ex fide scriptorum exemplarium castigavit, & observationes adiecit'. On Heinsius revising the text: Chatelain (2008), 22-29.

new edition. Moreover, as the son of a renowned humanist he was to be trusted with ‘adding observations’ that were relevant to the reading experience, as the reader was intended to believe.

Thus, new edited versions of Ovid’s text or new commentaries were embedded within the scholarly tradition. New editions frequently proclaimed on their title pages that the existing knowledge from previous editions was included in the new edition, and that the latter was thus an accumulation of knowledge. In this way, book producers applied two commercial strategies: building on eminent material adds credibility to the new edition; and framing the previous editions as incomplete and therefore less useful adds value and urgency to the new one. For example, in 1670 Borchardus Cnipplingius composed a new multi-volume edition of Ovid’s oeuvre, containing Heinsius’s annotations, as it claims on the collective title page: ‘With all of Heinsius’s notes and very distinguished ones of others: many have been added to these [...], by the work of Borchardus Cnipplingius.’⁹⁰ The typography emphasizes Heinsius’s name as much as Ovid’s: Heinsius is part of the edition’s symbolic capital. The publishers made clear on the title page that their new edition included everything that the Elzevier edition from 1659 contained (‘all of Heinsius’s notes’). Moreover, the new edition was provided with much more material (notes ‘of others’, ‘many have been added’). Through an emphasis on the paratextual content of their edition, the publishers clearly wanted to overthrow the Elzevier edition as the established preeminent version of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. This earlier edition, which only contained Heinsius’s notes, was presented as incomplete and therefore insufficiently suitable for the study of Ovid’s text. Such a commercialisation of paratextual material to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* culminated in the early eighteenth century: the variorum edition by Petrus Burmannus claimed on its title page: ‘with the complete notes of Jacobus Constantius, Henricus Glareanus, Jacobus Micyllus, Hercules Ciofanus, and Daniel and Nicolaus Heinsius, and with summarised notes of others, to which Petrus Burmannus even added his own annotations.’⁹¹ In other words: Burmannus had studied all eminent annotators of Ovid, incorporated their ideas, summarised some lesser known commentaries, and still had to eliminate some lacunas. Its intentions are crystal clear: there are no better options for reading Ovid than through Burmannus’s innovative collection of commentaries.

⁹⁰ Ed.92: ‘Cum integris Heinsii lectissimisque variorum notis: quibus non pauca [...] accesserunt, studio Borchardi Cnipplingii.’

⁹¹ Ed.131: ‘cum integris Jacobi Constantii Fanensis, Henrici Loritii Glareani, Jacobi Micylli, Herculis Ciofani, Danielis et Nicolai Heinsiorum, et excerptis aliorum notis, quibus et suas adnotationes adiecit Petrus Burmannus.’

3.1.3 The value of name-dropping

Burmanness's list of no less than six names – even complemented with 'others' – shows the early-eighteenth-century culmination of the rhetoric of dropping names of famous humanists or translators as the collaborators of an edition. This mechanism already featured on sixteenth-century title pages of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Book producers tried to assign the personal credibility of affiliated middlemen to their printing products by naming them on the title page.

In Latin editions prominent humanists had a common presence on the Ovidian title page. Godfried van der Haeghen, for example, mentions on his Antwerp title page from 1529 not merely that the edition was genuinely edited afresh, but also provides the name of the German humanist editor: 'Amended on the basis of reliable old copies by Johannes Sichardus'.⁹² Some publishers were not satisfied with just dropping a name, and intended to further increase the authority by mentioning a specific expertise. Jacobus Pontanus's edition, for example, notes: 'By the industry and labor of Jacobus Pontanus of the Society of Jesus; abundant annotations of Valerius Andreas Dessilius, jurist, and Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis, professor of rhetoric in Salamanca.'⁹³ All three contributors are named with their specific field of expertise, which frames the edition as a Catholic source for use in a professional context.

In vernacular editions the translator was of important commercial value: a new translator's name indicated an original contribution to the vernacular Ovidian tradition. The title page of the first vernacular translation of the *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries, Clément Marot's French version of Ovid's first book, ostentatiously acknowledged the translator as 'Clement Marot de Cahors en Quercy, Valet de chambre du Roy', indicating his official position as a court poet to the French king.⁹⁴ Thus, the identity of this edition, to which some of the translator's other works were added, is foremost poetical: Ovid's text was not appropriated as an ancient source, but as vernacular poetry. Two other translators provided their editions with a more scholarly identity. The first edition containing the translation by the French Pierre du Ryer announced the translator as 'Mr. Pierre Du-Ryer Parisien, de l'Academie Française'.⁹⁵ The 1677 title page provided a prospective reader, who might not have been familiar with Du Ryer, with an explanation of the symbolic capital invested: Du Ryer was not just some Frenchman, but an esteemed member of the prestigious Académie française. In 1678, a Dutch translation simply stated: 'Translated by Abraham

⁹² Ed.9: 'Castigata ad fidem veterum exemplariorum a Ioanne Sichardo'.

⁹³ Ed.42: 'Studio & opera Iacobi Pontani de Societate Iesu; Valerii Andree Dessilii, Iurisconsulti, & Franc. Sanctii Brocensis, Salmanticae Eloquentiae Professoris, uberiores notationes.'

⁹⁴ Ed.10.

⁹⁵ Ed.96, 97, 113; on Du Ryer's allegorical commentary: Chatelain (2008), 167-75.

Valentijn'.⁹⁶ However neutral at first sight, this statement also contributed to the credibility of the book, based on the translator's local reputation. At the time when this translation was printed, Abraham Valentijn was head of the Dordrecht Latin school, and thus a locally recognised authority. Thus, this piece of information on the title page implicitly suggests that his edition of the *Metamorphoses* was a reliable one.

The identity of a new translation, however, did not necessarily depend on its translator. The first Dutch translator Johannes Florianus, affiliated to the Antwerp Latin school, was not acknowledged as translator on the title pages to his translations until 1637, almost a century after the initial 1552 publication. In the sixteenth century, other selling points had been considered of more value, and the translator, who made himself known only in the front matter of the edition, was of no importance for the commercial functionality of the title page.⁹⁷ In contrast, the 1637 title page at once presented Florianus as the 'highly-learned' translator.⁹⁸ In the early seventeenth century, Florianus's name had become something of a classic itself: it was strongly connected to the only existing and very frequently published Dutch translation of the *Metamorphoses*. This strong tradition gave Florianus's name commercial value: the title page acknowledged the translator's notoriety, and used it as an advertising mechanism. Another, new translation that was published in 1643 even left the reader unaware of the identity of its translator. Its book producers did not consider the translator a commercial asset, most probably because he was rather unknown. This becomes even more clear from the fact that the title page does acclaim another translator, whom the book producers considered of more importance: the famous poet Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft contributed to the edition with an additional translation of one of Ovid's *Heroides* (the letter from Menelaus to Helena).

3.1.4 The rhetoric of announcing illustrations

The acknowledgement of illustrations included in the edition was a third rhetorical device to attract readership. Illustrations were costly elements within the production process: woodblocks or copperplates had to be bought or produced, and adding illustrations to Ovid's text required extra paper, the printer's highest expense.⁹⁹ It is, therefore, not surprising that book producers highlighted the illustrations on their title pages.

⁹⁶ Ed.99: 'Vertaalt door Abraham Valentyn'.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 3 on the embedment of this translation in the local Antwerp cultural milieu.

⁹⁸ Ed.55: 'Door den Hoogh-geleerden loh: Florianum in onse Nederduytsche spraek over-geset.'

⁹⁹ Privileges also displayed the high investment in illustrations; for example the privilege in Ed.43 explicitly included the illustrations in the title description: 'De Keyserliicke maiesteyt heeft toegelaten te drucken de *Metamorphoses Ovidii [...]*, getranslateert in die nederduytsche spraecke, ende verciert met veele schooner

In 1637, Pieter van Waesberghe considerably invested in new illustrations to Florianus's translation. The abundant endorsement on the title page ensured that future customers of the book would know about his investment: 'Now newly adorned with graceful images, all of which cut after the lively drawings of the renowned painter Antonio Tempesta.'¹⁰⁰ The middleman printed Tempesta's name as prominent as Ovid's, to emphasize the uniqueness of the illustrations in his edition even more strongly.

Illustrations had not been printed in Latin editions until variorum editions in the second half of the seventeenth century started to include series of fifteen engravings as an opening of each of Ovid's books. In 1661, the publisher and bookseller Pieter Leffen was the first to add illustrations to the Latin text. Not surprisingly, then, he highlighted these on his title page. The collective title page to Leffen's three volumes of Ovid's works endorsed no less than four elements: notes, illustrations, indexes, and the edition in general.¹⁰¹ Its full text is:

'The complete works of Publius Ovidius Naso, divided in three volumes, with the most accurate revision of Nicolaus Heinsius. With the very carefully chosen notes from various [authors], in all of his books; and most masterful copperplate engravings,

figueren [...], verbiedende de selve alle andere Printers ende Boecvercoopers nae te drucken, oft elders gedrukt binnen siinen lande te vercoopen, alst blickt by de brieven van siine Maiesteyt te Bruessel gegeven, ende onderteekent'. The original italics describe the work that was protected, slightly deviating from the title on the title page.

¹⁰⁰ Ed.55: 'Nu nieuw'lijcx verciert met Konst-rijcke Figueren, altsamen ghesneden naer de gheestige Teykeninghe vanden vermaerden Schilder A. Tempeest.' The illustration series was copied from the initial publication of Tempesta's etchings in 1606 as *Metamorphoseon sive transformationum Ovidianarum libri quindecim, aeneis formis ab Antonio Tempesta florentini incis*i by Petrus de Iode in Antwerp. Most title pages did not just acknowledge illustrations but also endorsed them. Title pages to the Florianus translation state that the edition is 'decorated with many beautiful images'; a French translation speaks of 'enriched with very beautiful images', and a reprint of Vondel's translation notes 'With beautiful copper plates' (Ed.30: 'met veel schoone figuren verciert'; 97: 'enrichie de tres-belles Figures'; 114: 'Met schone kopere platen'). Of course, there are exceptions: the original publication of Vondel's translation in 1671 (Ed.94), for example, does not mention its illustrations at all, although they must have been an important unique selling point of the edition. The absence of the illustrations on the title page in this latter case seems to be related to the standardised publication format of Vondel's oeuvre that did not include a claim on illustrations (for this Vondel format: see Chapter 6).

¹⁰¹ This type of edition includes a collective title page as opening to the complete works, after which subsequent title pages announce the individual volumes. It was printed in the Low Countries for the first time by Willem Jansz Blaeu in 1619 (Ed.44), thereafter a common type of publication. Although earlier titles of sixteenth-century editions mentioned Ovid's *opera*, these editions only included the *Metamorphoses* (cf. Ed.20). This claim might have been an advertisement of what book producers intended to publish but eventually never did, a common commercial technique (cf. for example Van Netten (2014), 58).

added to every single book of the *Metamorphoses*, disclosing their contents [‘argumenta’]. With most extensive indices, both of subject-matters, and of words; an edition most refined and accurate.’¹⁰²

The title page at once made these distinguishing features known to the future purchasers of the book.¹⁰³ The claims positioned Leffen’s printing product within the book market: the illustrations were a prominent aspect in this edition that deviated from the traditional way of presenting Ovid’s Latin text. Moreover, as unprecedented elements within this Latin context the illustrations needed an explanation of their functionality: they visually indicate the *argumenta* of the books of the *Metamorphoses*. ‘Argumentum’ is the term generally used to indicate a short summary preceding an individual fable: a visual *argumentum* was something unusual, and therefore the publisher acknowledged its existence.

3.2 Visual presentation of the edition

Not only textual information was an important means to influence readers: engraved title pages functioned as visual instruments to create a credible identity for editions. In the sixteenth century, the engraved title page became a common paratext, consisting of a full-page engraving that included visual and some textual elements.¹⁰⁴ The textual information provided on engraved title pages is rather sparse: it concisely indicates basic elements such as the author, title, editor or commentator, and imprint. Therefore, the graphic design of these

¹⁰² Ed.85: ‘Pub. Ovidii Nasonis opera omnia, in tres tomos devisa ex accuratissima recensione Nicol. Heinsii. Cum notis selectissimis variorum, in omnes ejusdem libros; & Figuris aeneis artificiosissimis, singulis libris MetamorphoseΩn praeifixis, argumenta eorundem indicantibus. Cum indicibus locupletissimis, tum rerum, tum verborum: editio nitidissima, accuratissima.’ This rather abundant endorsement on the title page was inordinate. As my previous examples in this chapter have shown, book producers most often chose to pinpoint one or two features on their title pages, which they furthermore advertised in less embellished language than Leffen did (he applied no fewer than six superlatives).

¹⁰³ The book producer clearly considered this collective title page commercially more important as an instrument to attract readership than the three engraved title pages to each volume. These three specific title pages functioned more as navigational tools: compared to the collective title page, the individual page to the *Metamorphoses* contains very little information on the paratextual infrastructure; it just says ‘with very deliberately chosen notes of many’. Ed.85: ‘Cum notis selectissimis variorum accurante Cornelio Schrevelio’. It shows that the three volumes were considered as one edition of Ovid’s complete works, although they were bound in different volumes and were therefore most probably sold individually.

¹⁰⁴ On its development: Peil (2008); Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 1-47; Fowler (2017). The development of the engraved title page is interrelated to the frontispiece, which became a common paratextual element at the end of the sixteenth century as well (Gilmont and Vanautgaerden (2008), 11-2), and to the emblem (Höltgen (2008), 393).

pages is an important aspect of their functionality. Balthasar Moretus, for example, provided clear instructions on the graphic design of these title pages to the painter and engraver Peter Paul Rubens.¹⁰⁵ Designs were based on a vast repertoire of ancient iconography and more recent motifs and symbols, presenting the reader with a puzzling, but not all too enigmatic introduction to the book's content.¹⁰⁶ The aesthetic value of an engraved title page could be a unique selling point of a book; moreover, it visually encompassed meaning, interpretation, and commendation.

The combination of a typographical and an engraved title page was a common way of presenting Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, although book producers included the typographical title page far more frequently: almost half of the editions of my research corpus include an engraved title page; only ten of these are not accompanied by a typographical one, too.¹⁰⁷ Multi-volume editions of Ovid's opera omnia usually have one general typographic title page, followed by an engraved one for each volume, or vice versa. In singular editions containing the *Metamorphoses* the engraved title page is frequently bound in front of the typographic one. In the remainder of this chapter, I will investigate how book producers applied these constructs within their commercial appropriation of Ovid.

3.2.1 The tradition of mythology

Two frequently reprinted engraved title pages to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* show a strong focus on mythology. Thus, the first one framed the *Metamorphoses* as an instructive, moral source, and thereby started a traditional way of presenting Ovid's text. The second one adapted this traditional frame to encompass a wider readership.

¹⁰⁵ Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 46; Höltgen (2008), 394; Peil (2008), 303-9, 311-4. Refined and rich decoration on sophisticatedly constructed frontispieces and engraved title pages could function as the unique selling points of books: for example, the seventeenth-century *Officina Plantiniana* was internationally renowned for its print production partly because of the well-designed title pages by Peter Paul Rubens (Voet (1969-1972) 1, 212); on Moretus's instructions: *ibid.* 2, 215-6, cf. 199 for a sixteenth-century example. Also authors and editors were involved in title page design (Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 35). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the aesthetical appropriation of Ovid was not as common, but there are some exceptions: in Chapter 6 I will investigate the Vondel translation (Ed.94) as an example with an aesthetical focus. In the eighteenth century this focus became increasingly common: in the first half of this century luxury editions in folio appeared on the market that were provided with richly decorated ornamentation: Ed.137-139.

¹⁰⁶ Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 34-5; Voet (1969-1972) 2, 215.

¹⁰⁷ The ten editions which were provided with only an engraved title page are: Ed.56, 59, 71, 72, 73, 91, 93, 98, 103, 105. Middlemen commonly included engraved title pages separately, outside the edition's collation; therefore, one cannot always be certain whether a copy was originally provided with an engraved title page, as they may have been taken away at a later stage.

In 1629, Johannes Janssonius printed one of the first two engraved title pages to the *Metamorphoses* in the Low Countries.¹⁰⁸ It depicts a banner with some sparse data: rather straightforward information on the author, title, Daniel Heinsius as the editor, printer-publisher, and year of publication. Mythological characters surround this banner as the visual rhetoric of the page: the banner is held up by *putti*; the goddess Venus is situated on a cloud above; underneath, the Roman gods hold a convention. Many printer-publishers adopted this title page for their own editions (cf. Ill. 5), because the investment of copying a powerful and compelling existing title page was lower than designing an original one. The editions that adopted the title page highly vary: they include Latin as well as vernacular ones, and they were printed between 1629 and 1662.¹⁰⁹ This shows that the 1629 title page became a traditional way of presenting the *Metamorphoses*.

The 1629 title page acknowledged that the edition provided a text on mythology: it foregrounds the Roman gods as the most prominent representatives of pagan mythology. The focus on this basic mythology in the visual design gave the prospective reader a glimpse on the intended functionality of the book: book producers considered the mythological content of the *Metamorphoses* especially suitable to young readers, because it would convey moral lessons, as I will argue in Chapters 3 and 4. Therefore, this mythological frame especially suited a school book: two editions with Farnabius's educational commentary included this engraved title page.¹¹⁰

In 1661, Pieter Leffen published an engraved title page that focussed on mythology in a different way. It depicts only one scene as an iconic representation of Ovid's text: in the guise of a bull Jupiter abducts the girl Europa to Crete. Other book producers would copy the composition until 1702.¹¹¹ Leffen's deviation from the traditional mythological presentation of Ovid's work is a symbolic statement: the edition was not only intended as educational material, but also aimed at the more experienced reader. Thus, Leffen no longer limited his edition to a restricted use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a compendium of allegorical fables, but also invited readers to a profound reading experience that provided detailed guidance on specific passages.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Ed.49; in the same year, also Elsevier published an engraved title page to the *Metamorphoses* (Ed.50).

¹⁰⁹ Succeeding editions that included the same engraved title page composition, whether printed from the same copperplate or from a copy of this plate, are: Ed.51, 53, 61-65, 67, 68, 70, 77, 80, 81, 87, 88.

¹¹⁰ Ed.70, 77; cf. Ill. 5.

¹¹¹ Ed.85, 91, 92, 93, 100, 111, 112.

¹¹² As I will discuss in Chapter 4, this fits the dual identity of Leffen's contents: it provided scholarly notes as well as a basic guidance to Ovid's text.

3.2.2 The role of visual imagery in a Christian context

A look at the engraved title pages of the Pontanus editions shows the flexibility of this paratext in conveying meaning. The Antwerp middleman Michiel Cnobbaert printed an edition by the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus in 1659, which included a first engraved title page to Pontanus's edition (Ill. 3). Its clear interpretation frame sought to counteract the critique of Ovid's text as a compendium of frivolous love stories without any sincere meaning.¹¹³ The engraving in the Cnobbaert edition is a quite poor copy of the page that had introduced George Sandys's English translation in 1626.¹¹⁴ Apart from depictions of several gods (most prominently Venus and Minerva), it contains relatively much Latin text. These engraved texts, together with the graphic elements, introduce the *Metamorphoses* as a source on Christian morality. The text '[Ovid] has taught [us] what is formed by love and wisdom' most clearly presented the contemporaneous relevance of the text, referring to the moral examples that Ovid's text would provide. As a summary of interpretation, 'virtue [is the way] to Heaven' guided readers to their ultimate objective. The phrase '[Ovid] impresses a little bit divine air to the earth' implied that Ovid's text brought a supernatural sparkle in a recognisable form. Finally, the words 'from these [four elements] all things arise' referred to the four personifications of the elements at the beginning of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹¹⁵ Ovid describes here the origin of the

¹¹³ Ed.84; on the early modern critique of reading the *Metamorphoses*, see Chapter 3.

¹¹⁴ George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished*. London: [William Stanby], 1626. In a succeeding edition Sandys added notes with moralising interpretations of Ovid's stories: *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures*. Oxford: John Lichfield, 1632. The second edition also contains a copy of the engraved title page of the original edition, by a far more skilful engraver than Cnobbaert's man. On Sandys's translation: Brown and Taylor (2013), 215-9; Lyne (2001), 198 ff.; Hooley (2014), 344-6.

¹¹⁵ Ed.84: 'Docuit quae amore et sapientia formantur'; 'Ad aethera virtus'; 'Affigit humo divinae particulam aerae'; 'Ex his oriuntur cuncta' (cf. *Ov. Met.* 1.431). Cf. Skinner (2018), 236-7. In the 1632 edition of Sandys's translation a preliminary poem (titled 'The minde of the frontispeece and argument of this worke') explicates the latter quote's reference to Book 1 of the *Metamorphoses*; moreover, it further emphasizes virtue over passion, referring to both Venus and Minerva on the title page: 'FIRE, AIRE, EARTH, WATER, all the Opposites | That stroue in Chaos, powrefull LOVE vnites; | And from their Discord drew this Harmonie, | Which smiles in Nature: who, with rausht eye, | Affects his owne made Beauties. But, our Will, | Desire, and Powres Irascible, the skill | Of PALLAS orders; who the Mind attires | With all Heroick Vertues: This aspires | To Fame and Glorie; by her noble Guide | Eternized, and well-nigh Deify'd. | But who forsake that faire Intelligence, | To follow Passion, and voluptuous Sense; | That shun the Path and Toyles of HERCVLES; | Such, charm'd by CIRCE's luxurie, and ease, | Themselves deform: 'twixt whom, so great an ods; | That these are held for Beasts, and those for Gods. | PHOEBVS APOLLO (sacred Poesy) | Thus taught: for in these ancient Fables lie | The mysteries of all Philosophie. | Some Natures secrets shew; in some appeare | Distempers staines; some teach vs how to beare | Both Fortunes, bridling Ioy, Griefe, Hope, and Feare. | These Pietie, Deuotion those excite; | These prompt to Vertue, those from Vice affright; | All fitly minging Profit with Delight. | This Course our Poet steeres: and those that faile, | By wandring stars, not by his Compasse, saile' (cited from:

world out of chaos, when the four elements are still in disarray. By referring to the beginning of the text, the title page invited readers to start reading as it were, and discover the valuable contents by themselves, within the title pages' frame of interpretation.

The Antwerp publisher Joannes Baptista Verdussen went yet one step further. When he prepared a new edition of Pontanus's censured version of Ovid's text in 1687, he completely excluded the mythological interpretation context.¹¹⁶ Verdussen's four successive editions only included an engraved title page (Ill. 8). The image that the title page invokes, together with its concise textual data, creates a strong frame on how the edition had to be used, or, in comparison to the earlier mythological title pages, how Ovid should not be read. The 1687 title page displays the Roman laureate poet Ovid, writing his *Metamorphoses*. Textual scholarship is at the core of his work: Ovid holds a copy of a book in his lap while another one is on the floor beneath him. The only reference to Roman religion is a small caduceus, the staff of Mercury, on top of the book on the floor. There is a scene in the background depicting a convention of honourable men, one of them standing on a platform behind a pulpit. The character of this group of men is unclear, but the scene implies a serious use or readership of the *Metamorphoses* concentrated on the rhetorical value of the text. The textual elements reinforce this serious intention of the edition: the text describes Pontanus as a member of the Society of Jesus and the striking words 'expurgated of all obscenity' stand out as a textual advertisement.¹¹⁷ By excluding the mythological context from the title page, this edition presents the *Metamorphoses* not as an attractive, mythological compendium, but as proper Catholic reading matter and an exemplum of rhetorical language.¹¹⁸

4 CONCLUSIONS

Proceeding from the title page as a commercial instrument, this chapter made clear how book producers applied textual and visual rhetoric to sell Ovid. They used more general techniques

ovid.lib.virginia.edu/sandys/contents.htm); 'The mind of the frontispiece' is the common early modern denomination of an explicative text to the engraved title page (Höltgen (2008), 394); cf. Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 46-7 on the necessity of such title page explanations.

¹¹⁶ Ed.103, 108, 118, 119. Verdussen had already published two earlier editions of Pontanus's text that included another engraved title page, which displayed Ovid himself as a poet who receives divine inspiration from the pagan gods (in Chapter 3 I will discuss this type of engraved title page as part of my analysis of Ovid's visual presence in the editions).

¹¹⁷ In Chapter 4, 3.2, I will further analyse Pontanus's practice of censoring Ovid's text.

¹¹⁸ This emphasis can also be interpreted as a response to criticism of the *Metamorphoses* as an un-Christian source (cf. Chapter 3, 2.1).

to invest their editions with credibility, as well as techniques that specifically dealt with the *Metamorphoses*: on the one hand, printer-publishers represented themselves and their companies; on the other hand, they displayed the unique selling points of their own editions of Ovid's work.

Already in the sixteenth century, the title page functioned as a device for book producers to position their editions of the *Metamorphoses* within a book market in which this text was widely available. To gain credibility for a new edition, rhetorical mechanisms focussed on the edition's symbolic capital: the reputations of translators, editors, commentators, illustrators, booksellers, and printer-publishers were important elements to increase commercial value. The second way in which to invest credibility was through an innovative display of the *Metamorphoses*: book producers suggested added value for their edition by claiming its unique selling points. In doing so, their representations of Ovid's text communicated with the Ovidian printing tradition: book producers continually presented their editions as better equipped than the earlier versions, or as products that deviated from a traditional format.

Scholarly interest in the early modern title page has largely focussed on tracing developments. These developments, such as an increasing emphasis on a commercial role and a gradually more structured layout, can also be seen in my research corpus. The case of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, however, also showed the strength of traditional appropriations. In the second half of the seventeenth century in particular, innovative as well as traditional title pages were used simultaneously. Various types of title pages that were once innovative, moreover, became a traditional way to present Ovid's text: printer-publishers adopted the innovations as a convenient business opportunity to profit from a popular read. My next chapter, however, will show that the *Metamorphoses* was also an object of continuous criticism, which book producers wanted to counter through the application of certain defence strategies.

Chapter 3

THE FRONT MATTER: RESPONSES TO CRITICISM OF OVID

In early modern culture, mythological knowledge had an ambivalent status: it was deemed necessary but it was also denounced. In *The Complete Gentleman* (1622), the English poet Henry Peacham was quite strict about it: with respect to mythological statues, an ‘ingenuous gentleman’, [...] ‘must be able to distinguish them, and tell who and what they be’.¹ Peacham deemed poetry an important source of mythological knowledge.² As such, his words were exemplary of a common view of mythology as a necessary part of a cultured early modern habitus. However, at the same time mythology was an object of continuous criticism in learned circles. For example, Karel van Mander, the first Dutch commentator on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, acknowledges this scholarly dispute in his preface. He notes how readers often approached the *Metamorphoses*: ‘ridiculing it, and despising it as meaningless features’; they considered it a collection of ‘lies, unworthy to read’.³

This paradoxical position of mythology in the Early Modern Period strongly influenced the front matter in editions of the *Metamorphoses*. In this chapter, I will argue that publishers and editors applied three particular strategies to confront criticism of Ovid and his readers. Firstly, I will examine what criticism they recognised in their prefaces and dedications, and by

¹ Cited in: Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 27.

² The mythological handbook was another influential source, especially in the sixteenth century (Mulryan and Brown (2006); Seznec (1972), 279; Hartmann (2018)): Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae* (Venice 1567); Lelio Gregorio Giraldi, *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia* (Basel 1548); and Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini colla spositione de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice 1556). Such handbooks presented a collection of many sources that otherwise would be scattered and poorly available (cf. Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 29).

³ Karel van Mander, *Wtleghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidii Nasonis* (Haarlem 1604), fol. *4^r: ‘Welck Boeck, in vijfthien Boecken vervatt, is van over eenighe laren in onse spraek in ondict in Druck uytghecomen: daer veel niet van hebben weten te maken, dan bespotten, en als ydel dinghen te verachten, segghende, dat het al loghenen waren, en niet weerdte te lesen: soo qualijck is hun het bolster-knaghen becomen, niet scherptandigh ghenoech wesende tot de voedtsaem keerne door te moghen bijten.’ In his commentary, Van Mander explained Ovid in three ways: historical, natural, and ethical; Natalis Comes and Barthlémy Anneau served as his role models in this respect (Spies (1999), 71).

which arguments they explicitly countered it as a defence. I will subsequently investigate how book producers identified artists and young readers as the intended audience in order to legitimize their edition. In the final part of the chapter, I will focus on the representation of Ovid in these editions: I will show how the author's representation in *vitae* and portraits functioned as an authorising defence.

1 PARATEXTUAL FUNCTIONS OF THE PREFACE AND DEDICATION

Modern studies of early modern front matter show that the preface and dedication importantly helped to shape the identity of a book: they functioned as mediators that provided access to the public space, as a statement of publication.⁴ Early modern works did not always speak for themselves, but frequently needed dedications and prefaces to claim their identities.⁵ The English poet Michael Drayton, for example, complained about book producers who did not add a decent prefatory section, regretting 'that [they] haue despightfully left out, or at least carelessly neglected the Epistles to the Readers, and so haue cousoned [imposed] the Buyers with vnperfected Bookes'.⁶ As an author, Drayton considered his preface an undisputed part of his work. Authors self-evidently presumed that the preface and dedication were not singular manifestations in the initial publication of their text, but would continue to be printed in future editions.⁷

⁴ Dunn (1994), 1-16; this was not an early modern development: Enenkel (2015), 46-7; Enenkel (2008), 40-1. The editions in my research corpus clearly show that the title page had become more important for the act of publication than the front matter: about forty percent of the editions in my research corpus do not include a preface or a dedication. Especially editions printed in the first half of the sixteenth century lacked these paratextual elements. From the total of seventy-one Latin editions, thirty-five editions do not include preface or dedication; for the vernacular editions this ratio is 37:16. In contrast, sixteen Latin editions and sixteen vernacular editions include both preface and dedication. Thirty-one Latin editions include a dedication, eighteen a preface; eighteen vernacular editions include a dedication, sixteen a preface.

⁵ Schwitzgebel (1996), 2 even states: 'Im 16. Jahrhundert gelangt kaum ein Buch ohne Vorrede zum Leser'; my own research corpus, however, shows that this claim is slightly exaggerated (cf. n. 4). Early modern readers, nevertheless, considered the front matter of equal importance to the rest of the book: for example, Luther considered Erasmus's prefaces to the New Testament particularly dangerous, which negatively influenced his general opinion of Erasmus's works (Visser (2017), 93-4).

⁶ Cited in: Anderson (2002), 637.

⁷ Schwitzgebel (1996), 2; Enenkel (2015), 8-9; in my research corpus, nine prefaces and nine dedications were re-used in several editions; thirteen prefaces and eleven dedications were printed in only one edition.

Preface and dedication were overlapping genres with a shared epistolary format: the general reader or a specific dedicatee was addressed as the receiver of a letter.⁸ Proceeding from this idea, I distinguish two general functionalities of the early modern front matter to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: information and legitimation.⁹ Prefaces and dedications in early modern editions of Ovid's work functioned as devices to inform the reader about the book's practical usability, and to legitimise the edition by foregrounding authority and didactic claims.

The first function (information) displays the paratextual infrastructure of editions, advertising the reader how to make best use of the book in question. In a prefatory letter, Pieter Mortier straightforwardly admonished readers that they ought to use his index to the transformation episodes: 'But, benign Reader, before leaving this foreword, linger just one moment, and not any longer, with a list of particular Transformations, subdivided in general chapters, and brought together.'¹⁰ The opposite page, on which this index is printed, contains a list of metamorphoses divided in thematic categories such as 'Rock', 'Tree', and 'Deer', with reference to book and verse. Statements like Mortier's admonishment have a commercial character: they emphasized a unique selling point of the edition. Book producers especially foregrounded commentaries. The publisher Pieter Leffen, for example, nonchalantly mentioned the eminent notes in his address to the dedicatee: '[Your] merits encourage me to dedicate Ovid, the most talented of the poets, *now amplified by outstanding notes, to your name*' (my italics).¹¹ In his first edition of Ovid's oeuvre, Daniel Heinsius also had commercial motives in encouraging the reader to use his notes: 'We have added notes to every tome, but concise ones.'¹² Heinsius's notes followed after Ovid's text at the end of each tome; the

⁸ Enenkel (2015), 7: 'Die grundlegenden Unterschiede in Aufgabenbereich, Textformation und Topik, die Genette zwischen Widmung und Vorwort feststellte, gehen für die Situation von 1350-1650 nicht auf. Widmungen spielten für die Literaturvermittlung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts eine eher nebensächliche Rolle. In der Zeit von 1350-1650 decken sie jedoch einen breitgefächerten Aufgabenbereich ab, der von Autorschaftskonzepten und Autorinszenierungen bis zur konkreten Lesesteuerung und Wissensvermittlung reicht.' Cf. Schwitzgebel (1996), 8, who notes 'daß sich die Widmungsvorreden inhaltlich und strukturell nicht von anderen Formen der Vorreden ('An den Leser' oder 'Vorrede' genannt) unterscheiden, außer daß sich sie um bestimmte Elemente ergänzt sind'.

⁹ Cf. Schwitzgebel (1996), 4-5, who also recognises a third function in her investigation of sixteenth-century prefaces: theorisation, in the sense of offering theoretical reflection on the nature and significance of the text. In my view, however, this third function can for the most part be seen as a part of the legitimizing strategy.

¹⁰ Ed.109, fol. *v: 'Maar, goedwillige Leeser, eer gy van dit Voorbericht aftreed, laat u noch slechts eenen oogenblik, en niet langer, ophouden met een lijst der bysondere Herscheppingen, onder algemeene Hoofdstukken verdeeld, en zaamengebracht.'

¹¹ Ed.85, fol. *4: '[...] merita me incitarunt, uti ingeniosissimum Poetarum Ovidium, *notis exquisitis nunc auctum, tuo consecrarem nomini*' (my italics).

¹² Ed.50, t. 1, fol. [2*4]': 'Notas Tomis singulis subiunximus: sed breves.'

publisher may have thought it therefore necessary to pinpoint the notes, because they might have been overlooked otherwise. The emphasis on the brevity of notes was also important, for example to Pontanus, who explains in his preface: ‘I did not want you, reader, to be burdened with a massive load, with an infinite book. To quote three hundred commonplaces and authors for one and the same case, in order to obtain a little fame, and by that pleasure, I held misleading and useless.’¹³ This suggests that publishers feared that readers might view abundant commentaries as inaccessible: they framed the annotations as ‘concise’ precisely to create the widest possible audience for their editions.

The second function of the front matter (legitimation) was more about ideological than practical guidance. It played out on two different levels: it concerned the author and editor’s authority, and the trustworthiness of the edition itself. Although mediation between author and reader with the aim of legitimizing an edition was particularly relevant in the case of an unknown, new, or obscure author, it was also part of early modern volumes with classical texts. In the latter cases, their paratext legitimised both the classical author and editor through various authorising strategies such as the use of preliminary poetry, portraits of editors, translators, and commentators, and dedications to powerful Maecenases.¹⁴ The multi-layered text of the dedication was an important legitimating paratext. It uses the patronage of an influential person as an edition’s mark of quality. The dedicatee was meant to authorise the edition, acting as the mediator between author and reader: he guaranteed, as it were, the work’s value.¹⁵ Within this rhetoric, the dedicator had to find a balance between praise of the dedicatee, self-presentation, and framing and justifying his contents.¹⁶ Early modern title pages to ancient works show the importance of this rhetoric: they frequently acknowledge

¹³ Ed.42, fol. A^r: ‘Ego te, Lector, immense mole, chartis infinitis onerandum non putavi. [...] Trecentos testes & auctores in unam eandemque rem advocare ut ad gloriolam speciosum, sic ad fructum supervacaneum duxi.’

¹⁴ See Enenkel (2015) for this wide variety of strategies. Ibid. 16: ‘Obwohl die antiken Autoren selbst als *auctoritates par excellence* galten, gab es in der Frühen Neuzeit offensichtlich ein überaus ausgeprägtes Autorisierungsbedürfnis, das bewirkte, dass man sogar antike Autoritäten durch Anbindung an andere Autoritäten verstärkte und untermauerte.’ In the editions of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, both preliminary poetry and middlemen’s portraits are uncommon. A prominent exception, however, is Seger van Dort’s translation (Ed.71): the front matter includes no fewer than nine poems (fol. [*5]^v-[*8]^v) that foreground Van Dort’s poetical competence in playful constructs (there is, for example, a fourfold acrostic). Furthermore, it is the only edition that displays an image of a middleman: the first page of the translation itself (fol. A^r) for the most part consists of a prominent portrait of the translator. It displays Van Dort within a medallion of laurel leaves, designed by the Antwerp painter Erasmus Quellinus II, who also wrote one of the preliminary poems. Altogether, the paratextual infrastructure strongly consolidates Van Dort’s prestige.

¹⁵ Enenkel (2008), 43-7; Enenkel (2015), 10-7.

¹⁶ Lewis (2008), 6.

the edition's dedicatee to authorise its publication at first sight. For example, a Spanish title page to the *Metamorphoses* notes: 'Dirigidas a Estevan de Yvarra Secretario del Consejo del Rey nuestro Señor'.¹⁷ The physical, authoritative presence of this high-ranking nobleman (Estevan de Yvarra, the secretary of the king's counsel) on the title page of this book intends to increase the book's dignity and trustworthiness. Furthermore, this dedicatee functions as the pretext to associate king Philip II himself (el Rey) to this edition.¹⁸ In this way, the title page anticipates the authorizing function of the dedication even before the reader has accessed the dedication itself.

Generally, dedicators were well aware of the potential effect of their dedications: for example, praising specific expertise not only positively reflected on the dedicatee, but also qualified him to judge this specific expertise of the dedicator.¹⁹ The editor Victor Giselinus, for example, wrote a dedication to the German humanist Georg Fabricius, to be included in his edition of the *Metamorphoses*, first printed by Plantin in 1566.²⁰ Giselinus's refined construct shows how this editor intended to gain trustworthiness for himself and his edition. In the first sentence of the dedicatory letter, Giselinus connects himself to Fabricius: 'Although I have only recently become known to you, Fabricius, and although, furthermore, that many and exceptional reasons of mutual affection between us have not yet occurred, I nevertheless decided that you must be addressed here by me, more than anyone else of my acquaintances, because of many reasons.'²¹ Further on, Giselinus elaborates on the exceptional quality of Fabricius's own philological work on Ovid. However flattering the words, the high esteem that the dedicatee receives intends to increase the prestige of the edition itself. Giselinus refers to Fabricius's scholarly activities in order to present himself as a qualified scholar. To amplify his claim, Giselinus refers to his correspondence with Fabricius: 'as you wrote to me' functions as the pretext to an elaboration on Fabricius's philology.²² Giselinus's own dedicatory letter is his answer to the well-known humanist. This is how Giselinus frames himself as a member of the international humanist community with important connections to other members of the Republic of Letters. Highlighting a social distance between dedicator and dedicatee is an

¹⁷ Ed.32; cf. Enenkel (2015), 105.

¹⁸ Cf. Ed.71 (fol. *2^r ff.), similarly dedicated to a high-ranking official within the close circle of the king: 'Edelen, Wysen, Seer Voor-sinnighen Heere myn Heere Aurelius-Augustinus Malinaeus Riddere, Raets-Heer ende Raedt van Syne Conincklycke Mayesteyt in den Secreten Raede, Supreme Admiraliteyt, &c.'

¹⁹ Enenkel (2008), 40-3.

²⁰ Ed.21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31.

²¹ Ed.25, fol. A2^r: 'Quamquam & nuper admodum tibi, Fabrici, innotuerim; neque etiamnum ita multae ac singulares mutui inter nos amoris caussae intercesserint; te tamen potius quam alium quemquam meorum omnium multis de caussis hic mihi affandum esse existimavi.'

²² Ed.25, fol. A2^r: 'ut ad me scribis'.

instance of topical modesty: Giselinus presents Fabricius as a distant connection, difficult for him to reach; in this way, he only increases Fabricius's esteem.

Daniel Heinsius applied a different rhetoric in his preface to construct a similar, scholarly frame for himself. He sees his preface as an essential tool to understand the rationale of the book: 'Dear reader, to understand what is provided by us through this edition, halt at the threshold for a moment.'²³ Readers might consequently expect from the preface information on the paratextual infrastructure. Heinsius, however, intends to inform the reader above all of the fact that he was a trustworthy editor; therefore, his answer to the question 'what is provided by us through this edition' is: an edition that enables a reliable reading of Ovid. In formulating this answer, Heinsius rhetorically refers to his sources, thus positioning himself in a tradition of renowned philological scholarship: he mentions no fewer than eight authoritative names, including Janus Gruterus and Josephus-Justus Scaliger, and a number of other anonymous middlemen.²⁴ Thus, by showing himself to be at the centre of a scholarly network, he frames himself as a similarly competent editor and commentator.

In particular, Latin editions elaborately foregrounded the process that preceded printing activities: their prefaces commonly acknowledged existing text editions and claimed that emendations had been made. The preface in the first Plantin edition, for example, notes: 'How many things we corrected in these books of Ovid from old copies, now does not appear necessary for us to recount'.²⁵ This apophasis demonstrates the scholarly embedment of the edition, and intends to frame it as a trustworthy and up-to-date version of Ovid's text.

Legitimation was especially important for confronting criticism of the *Metamorphoses*. In the next section, I will focus in more detail on this specific function of the front matter.

²³ Ed.50, fol. [2*4]: 'Amice lector, ut intelligas quid hac editione sit a nobis praestitum, in limine aliquantum siste.' This phrase shows that Heinsius was well aware of paratextuality (even using the same metaphor (threshold) as Genette would do centuries later).

²⁴ Heinsius mentions Plantin's edition by Naugerius as an important source; furthermore, he made use of Scaliger's philological work, and Pergens had sent him Gruterus's annotations (both Scaliger and Gruterus were also mentioned on the edition's title page); for the sake of *brevitas* Heinsius did not include the valuable interpretations by Bersmannus, Ciofanus, and Micyllus. All these scholarly authorities were provided with laudatory qualifications: Gruterus, for example, is qualified as 'very famous' (*clarissimus*); this qualification holds a certain truth, because as the librarian of Heidelberg's Palatine library, Janus Gruterus (1560-1627) played an important role in the disclosure of the library's rich manuscript collection (see for example Gruterus's role in the rediscovery of the *Palatine Anthology*: Van Miert (2011)).

²⁵ Ed.27 (21), 'Lectori': 'Quam multa in his Ovidii libris ex antiquis exemplariis correximus, neque necessarium nobis visum est nunc referre'.

2 COUNTERING CRITICISM OF THE *METAMORPHOSES*

2.1 Criticism

The value of poetry was not self-evident to all early modern readers. A prominent opinion concerned poetry as mere amusement: its often whimsical stories written in a delightful language required defence of its use, for instance as part of education.²⁶ This prompted Joost van den Vondel, for example, to argue in the preface to his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

‘Now, since the mythological stories are subject to misuse and discredit by foolish people, like all other things, and have become the target of their arrows, we believe it is not unavailing to elaborate on it and to defend it more extensively ourselves, with infallible leaves [i.e. books/sources].’²⁷

Vondel's reference to the ‘misuse and discredit’ of Ovid's text makes his plea rather urgent: it is a defence of the utility of the *Metamorphoses*, in the face of existing criticism. Despite the massive print production of Ovid's text, the *Metamorphoses* were also to some extent regarded as an unworthy object of study throughout the Early Modern Period.²⁸ The opening sentence of a French preface first printed in 1677 is crystal clear about this: ‘One must not think that the fable is invented just for pleasure.’²⁹ It continues: ‘So, one must not think the fable is useless, and that it is an invention of the soul that longs to play and that does not much

²⁶ Orgel (2015), 17-8; cf. Jansen (2016), 2, n. 2.

²⁷ Ed.94, fol. [2*4]r: ‘Nu aengezien de fabelen haer mis bruik en d'opspraak der oordeelloozen, gelijk alle andere dingen, onderworpen zijn, en hunne pijlen ten doele staen, vinden wy niet ondienstigh dit hooger op te haelen en breeder, ook zelf uit onfaelbaere bladeren, te verdaedigen.’

²⁸ Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 464, 583; Sluijter (2000), 179: preliminary poems in Van Mander's *Uitlegging* prominently show instances of criticism; *ibid.* 190-2: critique from seventeenth-century poets foremost involved the licentiousness of the stories; they did not show a disbelief in an allegorical explanation of mythology. Spies (1999) discusses the early modern debate on the role of paganism in Dutch vernacular poetry. The seventeenth-century Dutch poet Jacobus Revius provides an early modern example of this tension between mythology and its utilitarian value in his *Heydens houwelijck* (Pagan marriage): ‘O dichters, wildy u vermaken inde minne | Vande Romeynsche of de griecsche Piërinne | Snoeyt af al watse heeft van weytsche dertelheyt, | Van domme afgody, en spitse schamperheyt, | Omhelsetse daer na, sy sal u kinders geven | Die u gedachtenis in eeuwicheyt doen leven’ (consulted on DBNL: <https://bit.ly/2GyJcyF>). In this poem, Revius advises the reader how to deal with mythology: discard all elements of frivolity, idolatry, and cynicism; thereafter, mythology will turn out to be a useful source.

²⁹ Ed.104 (preface first printed in Ed.96), fol. *r: ‘Il ne faut pas s'imaginer qu'on ait inventé la Fable seulement pour le plaisir.’

consider the elevation of others as long as it entertains itself.³⁰ This preface undoubtedly argues against the idea that mythology was a useless subject merely intended for idle entertainment. When compared to a utilitarian way of reading, reading for pleasure was not an honourable activity. In the sixteenth century, the editions with the first Dutch translation already mentioned that people did not regard the *Metamorphoses* as a valuable object of study: at the time the fable was seen ‘more as entertaining than as curing’.³¹ A second source confirms the veracity of this idea: in 1604, Karel van Mander discussed the reception of this translation. In his preface to his commentary (*Uitlegging*) to the *Metamorphoses* he writes that people disagreed with Ovid’s availability in translation: the publication was ridiculed, disdained, and characterised as a collection of lies, unworthy of reading.

The most important reason for this critical reception of the *Metamorphoses* as a frivolous text is its explicit content, the stories about immoral, violent, and lascivious behaviour, which contrasted with a moral and Christian way of life. This tension is for instance apparent in the words of the printer Isaac Burghoorn who characterised Ovid’s work as ‘incomprehensible’ and ‘strange savouring’. These are intended to be negative characteristics, because Burghoorn follows them up with ‘nevertheless the book is irreproachable’. This book producer did not clarify which kind of criticism of Ovid he wanted to disprove. Most probably, he referred to the *Metamorphoses* as ‘strange’ in relation to Christian values: later on, he characterises the text as a ‘foretaste’ for the Bible.³² Some front matter paratexts even critically acknowledged the presence of dangerous content, which shows that the latter was seen to hinder an earnest reading of Ovid. Schrevelius’s preface from 1662 unambiguously states: ‘Yet, I will not deny that dishonest passages are mingled with honest ones, licentious and abhorrent with chaste, but they are not so common.’³³ His phrasing (‘I will not deny’) implies that a view of the *Metamorphoses* as partly dangerous was quite common.

³⁰ Ed.104, fol. *v.*2r: ‘Il ne faut donc pas s’imaginer que la Fable soit inutile, & que ce soit l’invention d’une esprit qui veut se jouer, & qui se soucie peu de l’édification des autres, pourveu qu’il se divertisse.’

³¹ Ed.22, fol. A3r: ‘meer [...] om te vermakene, dan om te genesene’.

³² Ed.55, fol. (+)5^v: ‘dit ongrondeerlijcke, vreemt-smakende, ende niettemin onberispelijcke Boeck ghenaeemt *Metamorphosis* ofte *Her-scheppinghe*’; fol. [(+)6]r: ‘soo bevindtmen dat voor-nementlijck desen *Metamorphosis* ofte *Her-scheppinghe* gheen kleyne voorsmaeck en gheeft van de onverteerlijcke vrucht der *Bibelsche Schriften* [...]’. Paganism was problematic in explicit religious contexts: Stronks (1996), 261-304 discusses how Dutch Calvinist ministers struggled in their appropriation of mythology; Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen (2002) argues that the classical genre of epithalamia in the Early Modern Period was deprived of pagan reminiscences in favour of biblical truths. The engraved title pages to Pontanus’s Catholic editions of the *Metamorphoses* can be interpreted as a response to such criticism: the title pages explicitly pinpoint a Christian reading, or even exclude mythology and foreground a utilitarian reading (cf. Chapter 2, 3.2.2; Ill. 3 and 8).

³³ Ed.85, fol. *4^v: ‘Non ibo tamen inficias, honestis inhonesta, pudicis impudica et tetra admisceri: verum illa adeo crebra non sunt [...]’.

2.2 Explicit responses

Almost every preface to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries tried to disprove criticism directed at the reading of the text or its mythological content. Some of them do so in quite animated ways, particularly when they attack the critics. Others focus on the criticism itself: middlemen explain in their prefaces why it is unfounded. A third line of defence foregrounds Ovid's value and so counters the criticism with a positive response.

2.2.1 Attacking and explaining

As Vondel's description of the critics as 'foolish people' shows, the anonymous group of critics came to be under attack. Karel van Mander also doubted the intellectual capacity of the critics: they had not been able to pull off the outer layers of the text and get to the valuable core.³⁴ Schrevelius had an even more disdainful opinion:

'Still, one can find obscure little fellows, who dare to degrade all the most eminent writers [...], and have an opinion about them that contradicts so many generations. The one condemns Homer, the other criticises many things in Virgil, a third one says Ovid is not able to speak Latin, another one again says other things, which embarrasses and annoys me.'³⁵

In this preface, Schrevelius argues that Ovid's qualities make it impossible to judge his work negatively, however much certain critics (labelled contemptuously with a diminutive 'obscuri homunciones') try to reject all great authors.

The criticism itself was also proven false. Van Mander approached the *Metamorphoses* as a source with an outer layer and a core, aiming at an allegorical reading of the text. His view was a traditional one, rooted in a medieval appropriation of the *Metamorphoses*.³⁶ This

³⁴ Karel van Mander, *Wtleghingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidii Nasonis* (Haarlem 1604), fol. *4^r: 'Welck Boeck, in vijfthien Boecken vervatt, is van over eenighe laren in onse spraek in ondict in Druck uytghecomen: daer veel niet van hebben weten te maken, dan bespotten, en als ydel dinghen te verachten, segghende, dat het al loghenen waren, en niet weerdt te lesen: soo qualijck is hun het bolster-knaghen become, niet scherptandigh ghenoech wesende tot de voedtsaem keerne door te moghen bijten.'

³⁵ Ed.85, fol. *4^v: 'Inveniuntur tamen obscuri homunciones, qui nobilissimos quosque scriptores [...] in ordinem cogere, & de eis adversus tot seculorum sententiam iudicare audeant. Alius Homerum damnat; alius in Virgilio multa reprehendit; alius Ovidium ait nescisse Latine loqui, alius alia, quorum me pudet pigetque.'

³⁶ Coulson (2015), 50-61: the well-known *Ovide Moralisé* was a later medieval example of the allegorical tradition that dates back to the twelfth century (particularly Arnulf of Orléans's commentary). Seznek (1972) is

medieval tradition strongly influenced the early modern appropriation of Ovid, as the first Dutch vernacular dedication (1552) by Hans de Laet shows: the printer-publisher designated the dual identity of the text as an important reason for criticism of the *Metamorphoses*, stating that ‘its flower lays hidden under the bark’.³⁷ Throughout the Early Modern Period, this topos was used to explain the difficulty of poetry: the true meaning of the *Metamorphoses* could only be inferred by looking beyond the overlay of mythology and literary style (the ‘bark’). The poetical layer conceals the valuable contents. This idea suited humanist ideas on education, in that humanists considered a playful presentation the most efficient way of learning: the tradition of *serio ludere* (serious play), for example, encompasses such a dual identity of texts.³⁸ Through reasoning, readers could easily crush the bark to understand the real value of poetry underneath, as the first vernacular preface metaphorically states. Vondel’s seventeenth-century preface still refuted the idea that readers could not discern the true meaning of mythology, and rejected the assumption that for them the difference between good and evil remained ‘hidden underneath the foliage of the fables’.³⁹ Moreover, Vondel argued that the outer elegance of Ovid’s fables no longer prevented readers from understanding their true Christian value: Christianity had deeply penetrated into society, and, thus, had stripped the pagan childish fables of all their remaining credibility. Therefore, there was nothing left to fear from mythology, or so his preface argues.⁴⁰

2.2.2 Positive approaches

By focussing on the value of the *Metamorphoses*, some middlemen chose a positive approach to criticisms. Although he acknowledged the existence of dangerous contents, Schrevelius stated that these elements were rare and were submerged in honorary and incorrupt parts: ‘these [dangerous contents] are not that much numerous, that they are not drowned in the

the classical study on the early modern reception of pagan mythology. On Van Mander’s preface, see: Sluijter (2000), 179-83; on allegory in early modern Dutch poetry: Spies (1991).

³⁷ Ed.22, fol. A3^r: ‘dat haer bloeme onder de schorsse leghet verborghen’.

³⁸ O’Callaghan (2015), 229-30: the tradition of *serio ludere* is importantly based on Lucian, whose work humanists (such as Erasmus and More) considered as suitable for an educational context; in the classroom, the concept of *serio ludere* was important for rhetorical education. Both Erasmus and More prominently contributed to the humanist tradition with their respective works *Laus stultitiae* and *Utopia*.

³⁹ Ed.94, fol. 3*2^r: ‘onder het loofwerk der fabelen geschoolen’.

⁴⁰ In 1677, the poet Joachim Oudaan used this argument (pagan gods as a threat to Christianity) against the use of mythology (Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 583); Oudaan probably derived this argument from the Frenchman Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (Spies (1999), 74-5); it shows that Vondel’s defence was not a topical subject of his preface, but part of an actual literary discussion.

many good parts: honest and approvable narratives.⁴¹ Thus, he focused on the positive aspects of Ovid's work: the abundance of chasteness in the *Metamorphoses* minimised the influence of its licentious and abhorrent contents. A few moles do not disgrace a beautiful body, as the preface metaphorically tells its readers.⁴² Burghoorn was also not worried about the criticism that he acknowledged in his preface, because 'veritas temporis filia' (truth is time's sister). In other words, sooner or later people would admit that the *Metamorphoses* is a truly valuable source of knowledge; moreover, authoritative scholars had already done so.⁴³

Middlemen derived another important argument for reading mythology from the fact that the ancients themselves had acknowledged the value of mythological stories for the instruction of society. 'All precepts of Wisdom used to be confined in the fables', as a French preface concisely states.⁴⁴ Also without referring to the criticism, middlemen framed Ovid's apparent frivolity in the *Metamorphoses* as an essential aspect of the educational function of the text. Especially, they derived the most common argument for legitimising the *Metamorphoses* from the well-respected ancient poet Horace's *Ars Poetica* (his treatise on what poetry should encompass). In early modern times, his text had a prominent role in the humanistic debate on poetry.⁴⁵ One passage in particular, still Horace's best-known quote, became important in the early modern defence of Ovid:

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit *utile dulci*,
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.⁴⁶

Presenting useful contents in an amusing form was a common early modern way of instruction, as we already have seen in relation to the concept of *serio ludere*.⁴⁷ A translator

⁴¹ Ed.85, fol. *4^v: 'verum illa adeo crebra non sunt, ut non bonis, honestis ac probandis narrationibus, multis partibus praeponderentur'.

⁴² Ed.85, fol. *5^r: '[...] in formosis corporibus naevos notamus, non propterea totam formam despiciamus'.

⁴³ Ed.55, fol. [(+6)^v].

⁴⁴ Ed.104, fol. *2^r: 'Autrefois tous les preceptes de la Sagesse estoient enfermez dans les Fables.' A traditional, medieval view on ancient authorities considered them 'wise pagans' (Sheehan (2010), 676); the focus on ancient authorities in my examples shows that this was still a strong concept in the Early Modern Period. On mythography in humanist thought: Hartmann (2018).

⁴⁵ Verhaart (2014), 37-8; Laureys (2014).

⁴⁶ Horace, *Ars Poetica* 343-4: 'He who combines the useful with the pleasurable wins every vote by delighting and instructing the reader at the same time.'

⁴⁷ Cf. Section 2.2.1 of this chapter. Apart from Horace, it was also based on Lucretius: the latter explains in his *De rerum natura* that he presents his utilitarian contents in poetical form, comparable to a doctor who deceives a child by smearing honey on the rim of a cup with bitter medicine (4.11-25).

of the Greek author Lucian, often regarded as a subversive author, for example, argued in the preface to his edition: 'It is a waste of time to try to present moral instruction in a direct form, as it will be so unpalatable that none of it will take effect. You must put it into pretty language, attractive and amusing, just as Christ found it advisable to express his philosophy through parable and allegory.'⁴⁸ Horace's *utile dulci* became a topos in many prefaces to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to underline the idea that the ancients had already commonly accepted the instructive use of mythology.⁴⁹ The printer-publishers De Laet and Muller, for example, summarise *utile dulci* in their front matter: 'Above all must be praised, the one who teaches benefit by pleasures.'⁵⁰ In doing so, prefaces not always explicitly refer to Horace: a 1637 preface addressed a 'knowledge and pleasure gaining reader'.⁵¹ The combination of pleasant and utilitarian reading in this phrase shows Horace's influence on the perception of the *Metamorphoses*.

In the seventeenth century, vernacular prefaces increasingly contained a historiography of the mythological story: a preface from 1621 generally stated that 'philosophers and poets' used to apply stories to educate people; in 1671, Vondel specifically designated Homer, Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, the Bible, and Lactantius as authoritative supporters of the use of mythological stories.⁵² This historiographical frame intended to prove the value of mythology through the authorisation by highly respectable ancient authors. Homer and Hesiod were supposed to have introduced the fable from Egypt to Greece; Plato and Aristotle educated their students through fables, instead of through clear, unembellished language. Vondel appropriated Augustine and the Bible as important Christian advocates of mythology; he also cites Lactantius's commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, in which the latter praises Ovid's work and states that Ovid acknowledges God as the creator of the world: 'At the beginning of his illustrious work, Ovid states, without withholding God's name at all, that the world has been created by God, whom he mentions as the builder of the world.' This citation grants Ovid a place into the heart of Christian dogma. The extensive disquisition has but one goal: to clarify that mythology has an authoritative history and does

⁴⁸ Petrus Mosselanus on his translation of Lucianus's *Κατάπλους* (cited in: Goldhill (2002), 47, n. 120).

⁴⁹ In early modern times, Horace's quote was already widely cited, for example in English fiction (Wilson (2014), 125).

⁵⁰ Ed.22, fol. A^r: 'Hy is boven al weert gheeert, Die tprofijt met ghenuechten leert.'

⁵¹ Ed.55, fol. [(*)6]^r: 'leer ende lust-scheppende Leser'.

⁵² Ed.46; 94.

not contradict Christian morality. On the contrary: 'In this mirror of poetry the ancients' theology reveals itself [...].'⁵³

During the entire Early Modern Period, precisely the perceived moral content of the *Metamorphoses* was presented as the most important reason and incentive to read this text. Front matter paratexts characterised Ovid's narratives as natural ways of learning, as 'genuine instructions that show the deformity of vice, and that teach to avoid at the same time what they cause to hate'.⁵⁴ Ovid's unique qualities had thus resulted in an oeuvre packed with exempla, 'partly to encourage the way of virtue, partly to restrain from crimes'.⁵⁵ De Laet's dedication in the first Dutch translation presents such a moralistic appropriation of the text, and authorises it through a historical dimension. According to De Laet, morality had decreased in the course of time: human kind had degenerated, and decreasingly tolerated worthy education. The ancient poets had already recognized this development: 'they noticed (as we do every day) that, while the world is progressing, the people are going backwards; and that they are weaker in virtue, and feebler to accept sufficient education'.⁵⁶ They constructed their 'Poeterye' as a reaction to this situation. Through this reasoning, De Laet legitimised his edition as an authoritative social cure: an ancient solution (moral poetry) had to cure a contemporary reader's deficiency (lack of virtue). Thus, reading Ovid's mythology would end moral decay. Mythology in particular was able to do this, the dedication continues, because it is a middle way between reality and fiction; therefore, it can be adapted to actual situations.⁵⁷ Moreover, even people who did not accept the fable as a useful instrument would be pleased by its poetical elegance.

⁵³ Ed.94, fol. 3^v: 'Ovidius bekent in den beginne van zijn doorluchtigh werk, zonder eenighzins Godts naem t'ontveinzen, dat de werrelt van Godt, dien hy den bouheer der werrelt noemt, geschapen is' (Lact., *Divinae institutiones* 1.5, 13); 'In dit spiegelglas der dichtkunste openbaert zich de godtgeleertheit der ouden, en hunne wijsheit [...].'

⁵⁴ Ed.104, fol. *2^v: 'des instructions veritables, qui font voir la difformité du vice, & qui enseignent à l'éviter en mesme temps qu'elles le font hair.'

⁵⁵ Ed.85, fol. *4^v: 'partim ad virtutem iter praemonstrantium, partim a sceleribus deterrentium'.

⁵⁶ Ed.22, fol. A2^{r-v}: 'Want si merckende (ghelijck wy daghelijcx ondervinden) als hoe dat de werelt meer voort gaet, hoe dat de menschen meer achter waert ghaen: ende hoe si slapper ter duecht sijn, hoe si ooc weecker sijn om goet onderwijs te verdragene.'

⁵⁷ Ed.28, fol. A2^r: '[...] soo hebben sy ten lesten d'middel gevonden van de Poeterije: die welcke niet heel warachtich en was, op dat sy haer te beter soude laten buyghen ende setten na de teericheyte van den ghenen die hen niet seer gheerne en hadden geraect; noch oock niet heel versiert, op dat sy souden schijnen te spreken van t'selve dat gebeurt was ende noch daghelijcx mocht ghebeuren.'

On the whole, most middlemen refrained from giving an exact definition of Ovid's presumed moral value.⁵⁸ An early eighteenth-century preface, presumably written by the translator Jan van Meerbeeck, is an exception. It provides a more detailed glimpse of the early modern approach to moral interpretation. Van Meerbeeck emphasizes that Ovid's love stories should not be regarded as an obstruction to reading the text, but show 'how one should behave when passion drives us'. Furthermore, he states that Ovid demonstrates how to deal with someone else's affections, that one will not always find perfection in love, and that it is, instead, better to stay away from 'the forces, the violence, and a thousand troubles, which spring from love, that does not happen by reason'. In conclusion, the translator summarizes the moral value of the work: 'The Fables [...] provide us with a model for everything we do, so that we cannot expect anything useful without them'.⁵⁹

3 FRAMING AN INTENDED READER

A different way in which middlemen tried to forestall criticism of the *Metamorphoses* in the front matter was their identification of an appropriate readership. In editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, this resulted in the identification of two categories in the front matter: artists and young readers. Painters, sculptors, rhetoricians, and other artisans were targeted as the intended audience of vernacular editions: until the middle of the seventeenth century middlemen addressed them in prefaces to the text. For example, the translator Seger van Dort encouraged artists to read the *Metamorphoses* in his rhymed translation, because he was certain that this 'sketch of all sketches' contained everything they would want to know.⁶⁰ This

⁵⁸ A preface printed in 1621 (Ed.46: 'Aen den Goetwillighen Leser') is a clear exception: it mentions that the edition provides an example 'against passion and disorderly love' ('teghen de wellusticheyt ende onghereghelde affectie'). This edition only contains a translation of Ovid's love story about Venus and Adonis in Book 5; this limited content provoked the unusually specific interpretation frame. In contrast, the English translator Arthur Golding, for example, is more direct in his 'Too the Reader': 'Eche vice and vertue seemes to speake and argue too our face, | With such perswasions as they haue their dooinges too embrace' (*The fyrst fower bookes of P. Ouidius Nasos worke, intituled Metamorphosis*. London, 1565 (USTC 506410), fol. *3^v).

⁵⁹ Ed.128, fol. 3d', [5d]': 'Waer uyt men weeten can, hoe men sigh draeghen moet | Wanneer die passi ons, haer toghten voelen doet'; 'Al is't dat men in die, niet al volmaecktheyt vint | De craghten, het gewelt en duysent swaerigheden | Die comen uyt de min, die niet geschiet naer Reden | Syn oorsaeck dat den mensch, comt in een groot gevaer | Soo dat het beter was, gebleven verr' van daer'; '[De Fabels] geven een model op alles dat men doet | Soo dat men sonder die niet nuts verwaghten moet'.

⁶⁰ Ed.71, fol. [(*)5]': 'Dit Boeck moet open gaen, de schets van alle schetsen | Die Belden verft en houwt, doet Architecten metsen. | Wat dat ghy weten wilt schrijft Naso in sijn tael | Leest dit vertaelt in hem ghy vindet al-

tradition of addressing the artist community in particular, had begun in 1552, when the Antwerp printer Hans de Laet targeted his edition of the first Dutch translation to those interested in vernacular humanism. Middlemen of Latin editions particularly addressed young readers in their front matter: Ovid had to teach them moral behaviour in an educational reading context.

3.1 A reading context of vernacular humanism

The publication of the first Dutch translation by Florianus (Antwerp: 1552, and subsequently Amsterdam: 1588) was strongly embedded in the local cultural contexts.⁶¹ The translation, as indicated earlier the first edition in my research corpus to include a preface and a dedication,⁶² was very much a local project, initially in Antwerp: Hans de Laet was its Antwerp printer, Johannes Florianus, head of the local Antwerp Latin school, its translator, Nicolaes de Schermer, a local politician, its dedicatee, and the members of the Saint Lucas guild were its intended readers. Until the seventeenth century, fourteen reprints were published with the same paratextual infrastructure, mainly in Antwerp and Amsterdam.⁶³ They all contain not just a dedication in Dutch, but also a preface in Latin.

The introduction of these front matter elements into the Ovidian printing tradition in the Low Countries shows strong affinity with the contemporary vogue of vernacular humanism. Late Renaissance Humanism had included the vernacular languages in educational, intellectual, and political contexts as a compelling and valuable extension of Latin. As a result, a boost in vernacular printing took place in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the vernacular languages also became a subject of scholarly interest.⁶⁴ Cornelis

te-mael.' The title page to this edition already claimed this intended readership: it displays Poesis and Pictura, the personifications of poetry and painting, and claims that the book is 'very useful for all painters, sculptors, and poetry lovers' ('seer nut voor alle Schilders, Beltsnijders ende Liefhebbers der Poesie').

⁶¹ On Florianus, see the dated article by Willems (1922), who nonetheless addresses some relevant biographical data.

⁶² Until 1552, only a dedication to the annotations of Henricus Glareanus was printed in several editions (cf. Chapter 6, 1.1).

⁶³ In 1566 by De Laet (Ed.22); in 1588 (Ed.28), 1599 (Ed.33), 1609 (Ed.36) and 1621 (Ed.45) by Harmen Jansz. Muller and his heirs in Amsterdam; in 1595 (Ed.30), 1608 (Ed.35), and 1631 (Ed.52) by Peeter Beelaert and his widow in Antwerp; in 1615 by Jan van Waesberge in Rotterdam (Ed.41); in 1615 by Gheleyn Jansens in Antwerp (Ed.40); in 1619 by Willem Lesteens in Antwerp (Ed.43); in 1637 by Pieter van Waesberge in Rotterdam (Ed.56), and about the same time again (Ed.59); and once again in Pieter van Waesberge's 1637 edition containing Antonio Tempesta's engravings (Ed.55). The many editions made Florianus's translation an influential factor for the early modern Ovidian reception in the Low Countries. Cf. Ill. 2.

⁶⁴ Boutcher (1996), 193-4; Waquet (2002), 81-2; Van de Haar (2018), 122.

Kilianus, Plantin's scholarly editor, for example, explicitly stated that he 'hoped to enhance the language of the homeland'.⁶⁵ Antwerp printers actively participated in local networks involved in vernacular humanism and constructed a standardised Dutch language, with a uniform and institutionalised vocabulary and spelling. In 1553, the year after his edition of the *Metamorphoses*, De Laet himself published *Het tresoor der Duytscher talen* (The treasure of the Dutch language) to introduce a new, accessible juridical vocabulary. Christopher Plantin, for example, printed the world's first vernacular dictionary in 1573, after years of research and compiling activities by his editors.⁶⁶

The migration of many printers from the Spanish Southern Netherlands to the nascent Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth century stimulated such a wide-spread vernacular enhancement in the North.⁶⁷ For example Karel van Mander, who produced the first Dutch commentary to the *Metamorphoses*, was a Flemish emigrant in the Northern Low Countries whose circle of rhetoricians was actively involved in the vernacular development.⁶⁸ Literary interest in the Dutch vernacular had already increased, instigated by Italian and French examples such as Petrarch and the French Pléiade, and by a growing national identity. Members of the chambers of rhetoric, so-called rhetoricians, were actively involved in publications that promoted the development of Dutch as a cultural and scholarly language. They intended to elevate the Dutch language through the example of classical literature.⁶⁹ The first Dutch translations of Cicero and Homer, Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert's translations of *De Officiis* and the *Odyssey* (both published in 1561) originated in this context for example.⁷⁰ Coornhert was an important apostle of the Dutch language in the Northern Netherlands. His main goal was the moral elevation of society, to which a standardised Dutch language had to contribute. Harmen Jansz. Muller printed some of his works. Coornhert did not operate from within the knowledge infrastructure of institutions such as the church and the chambers of

⁶⁵ *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* [...]. Antwerp: Johannes Moretus (1599), fol. [*2]: 'in patrio sermone excolendo' (cited in: Langereis (2014), 373, n. 9).

⁶⁶ *Thesaurus theutonicae linguae. Schat der Neder-duytscher spraken*. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1573 (STCN 385913575); cf. Langereis (2014), 72-5.

⁶⁷ Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 41; 43; 98; 139. Cf. Chapter 2 on the migration of printers to the Northern Netherlands.

⁶⁸ Van Dixhoorn (2009), 277-8; Van de Haar (2018), 121-3.

⁶⁹ Van Dixhoorn (2009), 268; Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 40, 155; Van de Haar (2018), 137.

⁷⁰ Cicero, *Officia Ciceronis, leerende wat yeghelijck in allen staten behoort te doen*. Haarlem: J. van Zuren, 1561 (STCN 830083707); Homerus, *Deerste twaelf boecken van Odysseae, dat is de dolinghe van Ulysse*. Haarlem: J. van Zuren, 1561 (STCN 830112502). The subtitle to the Cicero edition elucidates Coornhert's moral objectives: 'teaching what everyone should do in every condition'. On Coornhert's criticism of paganism: Spies (1999), 69-70.

rhetoric; he built his own network of humanistic intellectuals and rhetoricians. This network clearly shows the interactivity between the intellectual and creative domains within the early modern society of the province of Holland.⁷¹ Within this context of cultural exchange, vernacular humanists tried to transfer ancient ideals of literary activity to Dutch poetry. Ancient texts could furthermore provide examples of themes and rhetorical language, through which the rhetoricians could upgrade their vernacular literary work with humanistic elements. The first stage of this development saw an increasing demand for classical literature in translation.⁷²

The front matter of Florianus's first Dutch translation of the *Metamorphoses* connected the edition to these vernacular developments: it identified the vernacular humanists as intended readers, and instructed them how to use the text. Thus, the dedication and preface had a crucial role in identifying the right readership: they clearly show that the editions were closely embedded within the local cultural and humanistic networks of Antwerp and Amsterdam. In doing so, the front matter perfectly fitted the book producers' activities at the time: both printer-publishers that produced Florianus's translation in Antwerp and Amsterdam (De Laet and Muller) were already involved in vernacular humanistic printing. Therefore, their names on the title pages might have functioned as marks of a reliable vernacular product.

The dedication is clearest about the intended reader: it frames the edition as an indispensable tool for every kind of artist. In acknowledgment of this fact, the title page stated that the book was intended 'for the pleasure as well as the benefit of all noble minds and artists such as rhetoricians, painters, engravers, goldsmiths etc.'⁷³ In the dedicatory text, De Laet even claimed that the edition was 'most necessary for all artists and noble minds': knowledge of ancient mythology is necessary to an understanding of literature, painting,

⁷¹ On the humanistic influence on rhetoricians: cf. Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 93 ff. On Coornhert: Van Dixhoorn (2009), 274-6; Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 97-105. On the rhetoricians' study of the vernacular Dutch language: Van de Haar (2018).

⁷² For example, the first published Dutch translation of: Virgil in 1556, Cicero and Homer in 1561 (STCN 830083707; 830112502), Ovid in 1552 (Ed.16), Seneca in 1562 (STCN 830052232), Phaedrus in 1567, Horace in 1569; all are prominent classical authors first translated into Dutch in the second half of the sixteenth century; cf. Geerebaert (1917). Despite this development, the general use of pagan sources was also strongly criticised: the influential advocate of the Dutch vernacular Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, for example, rhetorically asked in his poem *Hert-spiegel*: 'Should a Dutch poet be acquainted with Greek and Latin, while it was here the first pastors lived?' (cited in: Spies (1999), 70).

⁷³ Ed.22: 'Seer geneuchlijc ende ooc profijtelijc voor alle edele gheesten ende konstenaers als Rhetrosijns Schilders Beeld-snijders Goutsmeden etc.' All editions contain a closely related variant of this sentence. Cf. Ill. 2.

engraving, sculpture, and rhetoric.⁷⁴ The presence of Nicolaes de Schermer as the dedicatee specifies and authorises this claim as an important element in the Antwerp framing strategy: by addressing him, De Laet placed the *Metamorphoses* within the specific context of the Saint Lucas guild, in which painters and other artists were unified. De Laet explicitly states that De Schermer was the chairman of the ‘painters’ guild’ (‘Hooftman van der Schilders Camere’). He also emphasizes De Schermer’s outstanding political reputation as a mayor and a city councillor, underlining his popularity with the people and further increasing his high esteem. De Laet expresses the hope that his edition will take advantage of the reputation of its dedicatee. De Laet’s dedication of the book to a noble representative of this guild suggests that the dedicatee agrees with the necessary functionality of the edition. Thus, the dedication is also used, in line with what I argued above, as an instrument to authorize the edition. The Amsterdam editions even more directly placed the translation within the local context. The printer and bookseller Harmen Jansz. Muller dedicated the translation to the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric De Eglantier, addressed by the chamber’s motto ‘In Liefte Bloeyende’ (Flourishing in Love). The absence of many personal details on De Schermer in De Laet’s dedicatory letter easily enabled Muller to reuse the text after some minor alterations.

In yet another way, the dedication identifies the guild members as the readers of the edition. De Laet claims that guild members appealed to him to publish a translation. There probably is some truth in this, because it would have been easy for his intended readers to disprove De Laet’s claim. At least, the claim corresponds to actual circumstances: most painters and rhetoricians did not master the Latin language.⁷⁵ Moreover, requests for translated classical texts fitted a context of local cultural entrepreneurs engaged in transferring humanistic knowledge to vernacular culture.

The second front matter paratext, a preface in Latin, made clear that the audience of the editions was not limited to artists. As many rhetoricians did not have knowledge of Latin, the Latin preface was meant to appeal to a different type of reader than the vernacular dedication, probably to be situated in a scholarly context.⁷⁶ Florianus’s Latin preface intends to make clear that the book was not only usable to artists, but also acceptable to more studious readers. The preface claims the translation as a product of humanistic activity; it

⁷⁴ Ed.22, fol. A3^v: ‘voor alle constenaren ende edel gheesten grootelijck is van noode’; Ed.28, fol. A3^r: ‘Want wie can hedensdaechs eenighe schriften, schilderijen, ghesneden oft ghegoten werck, oft yet dat vander ouder tijdt is, verstaen: oft wie can hem in de conste van rhetorica yet vermeten, hij en moet kennisse van Poeterijen hebben?’

⁷⁵ Van Dixhoorn, Mareel, and Ramakers (2018), 17. The painter Peter Paul Rubens was an exception; he consulted Ovid’s Latin: McGrath (2015), 160, 164-5.

⁷⁶ Waquet (2002), 87.

exhibits classical erudition, and members of the Republic of Letters are invited to make improvements. In doing so, it follows a common pattern for prefaces to accompany humanistic publications that were used for scholarly purposes. This additional humanistic element communicated to educated readers that they could legitimately buy the book.

The combination of a vernacular dedication and a Latin preface in De Laet's edition shows how tightly connected the worlds of humanistic intellectuals and painters, rhetoricians, and other artisans were.⁷⁷ That this first Dutch translation originated in the urban cultural landscape shows that the vernacular cultural production in the Low Countries was deeply related to the humanistic world.⁷⁸ This edition of the *Metamorphoses* embodies the actual penetration of the vernacular reader in a humanistic context, and, conversely, it embeds humanistic culture in the vernacular sphere of the rhetoricians and other artists.

3.2 An educational reading context

The second group of intended readers whose identification functioned as a strategy of legitimation for the *Metamorphoses* were young readers who had not yet mastered the Latin language. Humanist influence considerably transformed education in the Low Countries between 1400 and 1600: the availability of education increased and the local government replaced the church as the organising institution.⁷⁹ Humanists such as Erasmus and Vives published treatises and school texts, most importantly *Colloquia*, which aimed at the improvement of education. They were particularly interested in the psychological aspects of the best transfer of knowledge to children.⁸⁰ Learning Latin and Greek, and reading the classics were considered the finest way to acquire knowledge. Erasmus even claimed that in those two languages almost everything worth knowing had been passed on.⁸¹ The emphasis on religious and moralistic aspects was central to the humanistic educational debate: humanists

⁷⁷ The dedication of De Laet's edition of Ovid's *Heroides*, printed in 1559, mentions both groups of readers, vernacular as well as scholarly: learned readers would be pleased with the edition because it warned the common public not to be tricked by love (*Der Griecxser Princerssen, ende Ionckvrouwen clachtige Sendt brieven*, fol. *3^v-*6^r).

⁷⁸ Van Herk (2012) provides a striking example of this: rhetoricians adopted Ovidian themes as a source for their plays. See Chapter 1 for Ovid in painting, tapestry, and tile design.

⁷⁹ Goudriaan *et al.* (2004), 3.

⁸⁰ Grendler (1989), 117-8, 201; Bloemendal (2003), 25-6.

⁸¹ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*: 'almost everything worth learning is set forth in these two languages' (CWE 24, p. 667, 3-4). Furthermore, the view that considered Christian sources as most suitable for the education of youth was a strong one. In this view, these sources contained the best of both sides: early Christian writers wrote their texts in classical formats and conventions, and their works contained pure Christian content (Spies (2004), 224).

generally believed that knowledge from classical Antiquity led to moral and pious behaviour.⁸² The classroom practice largely trained students in memorising the classics, before interpreting them.⁸³ With parts of the classics fixed in their minds, school boys were then assigned more challenging tasks such as translating Latin texts into Greek and vice versa, rephrasing specific contents, reconstructing hexametrical verses, and composing plays and speeches.⁸⁴ Another important aspect of education was learning how to read: students were trained in utilitarian reading, as opposed to reading for pleasure. This concerned poetry in particular: students learned how they could use poetically adorned texts through a focus on rhetorical aspects and composition.⁸⁵

Book producers thus explicitly addressed this group of young readers and presented their editions as supportive tools for the education of youth.⁸⁶ In their front matters, they especially acknowledged young readers as the intended users of their commentaries. The editor Schrevelius claims in his 1662 preface to provide annotations and commentaries, especially selected to support inexperienced readers in their interpretations of Ovid's intentions:

'[...] notes are added as a service to youngsters, very well chosen, to understand the intention of the author. We added abstracts everywhere; we started each book of the *Metamorphoses* with very accurate illustrations; with sufficiently extensive and useful indices of facts, words and fables.'⁸⁷

⁸² Grendler (1989), 230-1, 237-40; Bloemendal (2003), 14.

⁸³ Jardine and Grafton (1987), 27; the authors have noted a main discrepancy between humanist theory and educational practice, contested by, for example, Grendler (1989), 408; cf. Black (2001), 22-8 on this debate; cf. Chapter 4 on classroom commentaries, that shows how Ovid was not only memorized but also interpreted.

⁸⁴ Black (2013), 245; Bloemendal (2003), 24-6; Bot (1955), 53-8; Enenkel (2014b), 212.

⁸⁵ Orgel (2015), 17-8.

⁸⁶ Apart from the editions that address young readers in their front matter, a small group of florilegium editions indicate on their title pages 'for the use at schools' ('in usum Scholarum'). These school books (Ed.48, 54, and 78, printed from 1626 to 1656) supplied students and schools with the reading material prescribed by the *Hollandse Schoolordre* (Dutch School Order), the official educational programme of the provinces of Holland and West-Friesland (cf. Kuiper (1958)); they included Ovid's Books 1, 2, 8, and 13. Moreover, in the early sixteenth century, florilegium editions were already printed in Deventer for the local Latin school (Ed.2-8); these included Books 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the *Metamorphoses*.

⁸⁷ Ed.85, fol. [*6]: '[...] notae in gratiam iuniorum additae, selectissimae, ad mentem auctoris intelligendam. Argumenta ubique addidimus: Figuras accuratissimas singulis libris Metamorphosôn praefiximus: cum Indicibus, rerum, verborum ac fabularum satis copiosis ac utilibus.'

Altogether, the preface wants to suggest, the paratextual elements of the edition provide a suitable reading context, and present to youngsters an accurate, useful, and concise book. In his 1618 edition, Pontanus clearly distinguished two groups of readers: on the one hand, learned men who rightly know how to value the contents of the pagan text; on the other hand, young men who are not able to do so on their own. Pontanus acknowledges to his reader that he added commentary for this group, because they needed the guidance, even if more experienced readers may find this incorrect:

‘Let them keep the passages which we declined, the more than enough hazardous, and – not to conceal anything – sometimes even godless elements, and the elements which are detested by nature itself, I do not forbid them, who realise this independently, and who reject this entire project of cleansing poets full of impudence, for the sake of the Christian youth [...].’⁸⁸

A new edition edited by Pontanus and first printed in 1647 supports this view: according to the title page, it was ‘purged of all obscenity’, and, thus, clearly intended for Christian youth not able to cope with subversive contents.⁸⁹

4 AUTHORISATION BY OVID

A last prominent reaction in the front matter to possible reservations against the *Metamorphoses* was an emphasis on the authority of the ancient author Ovid. In Latin as well as vernacular prefaces, editors and publishers alike positively reviewed Ovid’s professional qualities as a poet.⁹⁰ Pieter Leffen’s edition (1662), for example, praised Ovid for his erudition and the refinement of his poetry. The preface relates this grandness to Horace’s *utile dulci* topos, and presents Ovid as the best example of this method.⁹¹ A 1637 edition quite

⁸⁸ Ed.42, fol. A^r: ‘Repudiata a nobis, ut plus satis lubrica, &, ne quid dissimulem, nonnumquam etiam nefanda, atque a natura ipsa abhorrentia sibi retineant, nihil interdico, qui a nobis seorsum sentient, totumque hoc institutum poetas lasciviarum refertos perpurgandi, ad usum scilicet Christianae iuventutis aversantur [...].’

⁸⁹ Ed.66: ‘Ab omni obscoenitate purgati’. In Chapter 4, I will further investigate Pontanus’s censure.

⁹⁰ Apart from prefaces, title pages also contributed to Ovid’s prestige; his name was never absent from the title page, and almost all title pages foregrounded the author: Ovid’s name is accompanied by an epithet, it is displayed in a larger or different font, or coloured red. The title pages of the Florianus editions, for example, include an epithet such as ‘renowned and enlightened poet’, and a large woodcut displaying the poet (Ed.16: ‘vermaerden en gheleerden Poët’; cf. Ed.22, 30, 35, 40, 41, 43, 45, and 52; Ill. 2).

⁹¹ Ed.85, fol. *4^v.

extensively praises Ovid's erudition in writing about his 'intelligent expressions': 'the highly educated and prudent poet Publius Ovidius Naso, who was thoroughly trained in fertile rhetoric, while he displayed a profound knowledge of law here and there in his writings'.⁹² This preface presented Ovid as a scholarly and intellectual author; rhetoric and law point to a utilitarian reading context, and words such as 'intelligent' and 'educated' function as a legitimising frame that presents the *Metamorphoses* as a sincere and useful text.

It is not the preface, however, that most prominently defines Ovid's prestige. Middlemen foremost applied two other paratexts in the front matter to frame Ovid's image: the visual representation of Ovid through portraits, and his biography, the *vita*. These will show how book producers emphasized Ovid as an ancient authority.

4.1 Ovid's visual prestige

There are two categories of Ovid's visual representation in early modern editions of the *Metamorphoses*: medallions of his head and full portraits.⁹³ The former category mainly focussed on the scholarly and utilitarian identity of the *Metamorphoses*; in contrast, the latter category foregrounded a poetical reading of this text.

From the fifteenth century onwards, authors' portraits demanded a certain degree of authenticity, contrasting the generic, visual presence of the classical author in the manuscript tradition. Images no longer depicted a universal figure and the portrait had to show some particular resemblance.⁹⁴ Therefore, portraits of Ovid in the early modern editions were no generic classicizing representations of the *poeta laureatus*;⁹⁵ well into the second half of the seventeenth century they were traditionally based on the head of a statue believed to be an antique representation of Ovid. This model had been excavated in Ovid's birthplace Sulmona, and was owned by the Ovid commentator Hercules Ciofanus.⁹⁶ This traditional image depicted

⁹² Ed.55, fol. (†)5^r: 'herssen-rijcke uyt-druckinghen'; 'den Hoogh-geleerden ende verre-sienden Poët Pub.

Ovidius Naso, dewelcke grondelijc was geoeffent in de vruchtbare welsprekentheyt, terwijl hy hier en daer in zijne schriften een grond-vaste Rechtsgeleertheyt bethoont heeft [...].'

⁹³ Around 30 percent of the editions includes a visual image of Ovid. There are eight types of medallions: most of the Florianus editions include the same woodcut type (Ed.16, 22, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 40, 41, 43, 45); only Ed.52, 56, 74, and 75 do not provide an image of Ovid; Pieter van Waesberghe deviated from this standard image with two alternatives (Ed.55 and 59); Ed.50, Ed.71, and Ed.94 have their unique images; late seventeenth-century book producers provided two more types (luxurious editions with Du Ryer's notes: Ed.96, 97; and Pieter Mortier's editions: Ed.104, 106). Ovid's full portraits have three different kinds, which all display variations on Ovid who is sitting down to write: Ed.72, 73, 89, 98; Ed.95, 76, 90, 101; Ed.103, 108 (cf. n. 102).

⁹⁴ Fowler (2017), 25-7.

⁹⁵ On the tradition of depicting ancient poets as *poeta laureatus*: Enenkel (2015), 336-8.

⁹⁶ Trapp (1995), 256, 267-8; Taylor (2017), 57.

Ovid from head to shoulders within a medallion: Ovid wears a laurel wreath on his head, and a clasp fastens his Roman tunic on his left shoulder; his name is included in the illustration.

Initially, Ovid's portrait in the Low Countries only occurred in vernacular editions. We already saw that vernacular translations of the classics were an upcoming genre in the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the author's portrait functioned to underline the genre's historical authenticity: Ovid's portrait literally gave a face to the classical author, and thus humanised the classical text. The title page of the editions with the first Dutch translation included the medallion as a prominent and eye-catching woodcut (Ill. 2). This visual presentation of Ovid as a laureate poet and a solemn Roman nobleman emphasized the acclaimed status of the work, and the image represented Ovid as the 'famous and learned poet', as he was characterised on that title page. Through this dual statement the edition was presented as a reliable source for serious usage. This shows how the title page not only functioned to create commercial credibility, as I have argued in the previous chapter, but simultaneously was a response to criticism of reading the *Metamorphoses*. Indeed, the functionalities were interconnected: to create commercial credibility, editions had to respond to criticism.

Latin editions started to include a portrait not earlier than the first decades of the seventeenth century. Daniel Heinsius's edition (1629) is the first Latin edition that prominently displayed Ovid's image on its title page.⁹⁷ The creative design of the engraved portrait was based on traditional iconography. From the mid-seventeenth century, a novel model came in vogue that was based on what was perceived to be a numismatic representation of Ovid. Nicolaus Heinsius identified Ovid's image via an interpretation of the Greek letters that, in his view, displayed Ovid's name.⁹⁸ Heinsius first included the novel image as a medallion in the general front matter to his 1658-1661 *opera omnia* edition, appropriating Ovid's portrait not only as an authorisation of the edition by the ancient author, but foremost as an authorisation of himself as the editor.⁹⁹ Ovid's new portrait distinguished the edition from the Ovidian tradition. Heinsius's use of the novel portrait represented him not only as a philological scholar, but also as an antiquarian specialist who was able to connect his philological work with other ancient source materials. A caption above the portrait ostentatiously claims that it was derived from a golden coin from the collection of 'the most celebrated and unparalleled

⁹⁷ Ed.49.

⁹⁸ Trapp (1995), 256, 272-3 (the interpretation was proven false in the early eighteenth century); Taylor (2017), 57-60.

⁹⁹ *Operum tomus 1. Scripta amatoria complexus* (Elzevier 1661), fol. [*12]*; the second volume of this *opera omnia* edition contains the *Metamorphoses*: Ed.83.

heroina Felice Rondinini’, who was well-known for her salon in Rome.¹⁰⁰ Heinsius’s apparent acquaintance with the revered Roman elite underscores his international scholarly reputation, and shows that he was part of an international scholarly network.

From 1650 onwards, engraved title pages started to depict Ovid’s full image.¹⁰¹ The central part of these pages displays Ovid as a *poeta laureatus*, who thoughtfully sits at a table with a pen in his hand, ready to write down the divine inspiration he is receiving from the surrounding gods. Two versions of this image existed: the one displays Ovid looking up to the gods, while the goddess Minerva rests her right hand on his shoulder and Venus prominently stands in front of him (Ill. 6); the other shows Mercury providing instructions to Ovid with his caduceus (Ill. 7).¹⁰² This novel presentation seems designated to appeal to a studious readership as well as a readership for leisure. On the one hand, this image represents the *Metamorphoses* as a part of the ancient heritage: it shows the very moment at which a Roman laureate author writes his text. On the other hand, it presents a more antiquarian reading tradition that considers Ovid’s text a work of art: the fictitious representation of the genesis of the *Metamorphoses* alludes to literary and poetical quality as legitimations for reading, rather than its scholarly usefulness.¹⁰³

4.2 The *vita* as a response to criticism

Ovid’s visual representation corresponded to how he was presented in front matter biographies. Approximately forty-five percent of the editions (48) in my research corpus included such a *vita* of Ovid.¹⁰⁴ This paratext functioned as a defence strategy against criticism

¹⁰⁰ Trapp (1995), 272.

¹⁰¹ My discussion of the engraved title page in the context of this chapter only concerns the depiction of Ovid; for a more comprehensive discussion of the engraved title page, see Chapter 2. Two types of Ovid’s portrait busts were included in engraved title pages: a traditional image as described in the previous paragraphs (Ed.50, 55, 71, 94); and a divergent image in a Biblical context that also depicts Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and the serpent with an apple in its mouth (only printed twice by Pieter (I) van Waesberge: Ed.56, 59).

¹⁰² The first type displays the poet writing underneath a convention of gods, and can be found in the following editions: Ed.76, 90, 95, 101, 110, 125, 142 (from 1652 until 1735), all small-format editions containing Nicolaus Heinsius’s version of the text. The second type pictures Ovid writing at a table underneath Jupiter, and was printed in: Ed.72, 73, 89, 98 (from 1650 until 1678). The editions with Pontanus’s version of the text include yet another type of engraved title page, which portrays Ovid as a scholarly author (Ill. 8; see Chapter 2, 3.2.2).

¹⁰³ This antiquarian identity yet stronger developed in Burmannus’s early eighteenth-century opera omnia editions (Ed.120-123): these include a frontispiece with Ovid’s portrait, referring to his poetical fame, and an engraved title page. These increased the focus on Ovid as the laureate poet who writes divine verses about delicate stories.

¹⁰⁴ Vernacular editions more regularly included a *vita* than Latin ones: only the vernacular editions Ed.15, 32, 46, 71, and 104 lack a *vita*, in contrast to approximately half of the Latin editions.

by foregrounding Ovid's decent behaviour and his literary authority, and, thus, it sought to elevate the prestige of the edition.

The early modern *vita* was significantly influenced by the medieval biographical tradition in the prologue (*accessus*) to classical works.¹⁰⁵ The structure of this prologue was adopted from the grammarian Servius's fourth-century commentary on Virgil's *Aeneis*. There was a strict relation between poet and work, and sometimes the works were used as a source for details on the author's life. Early modern *vitae* still strongly drew on Ovid's own autobiographical accounts, as demonstrated by the title of a *vita* in 1553: 'The life of P. Ovidius Naso, collected from his own works'.¹⁰⁶ This biography consists of citations from several of Ovid's works, followed by a clarification. The early modern biographies are chronologically structured; thus, the narrative resulted in the climax of Ovid's banishment, which received considerable attention. A prominent medieval narrative that survived in early modern biographies concerns, for example, the cause of this banishment: Ovid was said to have witnessed Augustus's sexual activity.¹⁰⁷ Other fixed elements include Ovid's birth, education, career, marriages, and burial place.

Influential sixteenth-century biographies by the authoritative humanists Ciofanus, Manutius, Giralduus, and Crinitus largely shaped Ovid's later biographies and gave them a rather fixed content.¹⁰⁸ From the second half of the sixteenth century, no new insights were added to these important sources for the compilation of Ovid's *vitae*: authors who composed their own version of Ovid's life, adopted elements from one or several of these scholarly sources. Therefore, Ovid's *vita* did not show a middleman's own, original scholarly talents: the inclusion of one or even more *vitae* created an erudite context for the edition, as the *vitae* connected the edition to the scholarly tradition.¹⁰⁹ Daniel Heinsius, Nicolaus Heinsius, and Cornelius Schrevelius, for example, included Giralduus's biographical text in their editions for an erudite user context. The editor Borchardus Cnipplingius limited himself to even older sources: he included two rather obscure medieval manuscript biographies in the opening

¹⁰⁵ For the medieval and early modern history of Ovidian biography: Hexter (2002) and Taylor (2017), 32-42.

¹⁰⁶ Ed.17: 'P. Ovidii Nasonis vita ex eius ipsius libris collecta'.

¹⁰⁷ This can be traced to the Italian philologist Caelius Rhodiginus's *Antiquae Lectiones* (1517), who refers to the tenth or eleventh-century Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius (Taylor (2017), 33).

¹⁰⁸ Hercules Ciofanus, 'Vita Ovidii', published in his commentary on Ovid's complete works (1578); Aldus Manutius, 'Vita Ovidii ex ipsius operibus', in: *Ovidii Metamorphoseon libri quindecim* (Venice 1502); Lilius Giralduus, *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem* (Basel 1545), Book IV; Petrus Crinitus, *De poetis Latinis* (Florence 1505), 3.46.

¹⁰⁹ Taylor (2017), 35-6.

volume of Ovid's complete works; with his knowledge of these sources Cnipplingius, too, intended to prove his own erudition.¹¹⁰

Apart from this authoritative function, the contents of the biographies also offered valuable opportunities to refute criticism of the author. This especially concerns the vernacular biographies. The first Dutch biography strongly influenced the vernacular reception of Ovid's life: from 1552 onwards, it accompanied the first Dutch translation; it was adopted in the second anonymous translation of 1643; and it was once again included in Abraham Valentijn's translation of 1678. Two instances in this biography that cannot be found in other Latin biographies strike the eye because they clearly emphasize Ovid as a man of moral integrity. First, the *vita* claims: 'Also was he of worthy and decent manners, drinking only properly diluted wine, and eschewing any ill-mannered and disruptive indecency.'¹¹¹ This addition, that was not included in Latin *vitae* in such a detailed way, implicitly confronts criticism of Ovid as an intemperate or even lascivious poet. Secondly, the *vita* discusses the possible causes of Ovid's banishment. One of these causes was the popular medieval interpretation that Ovid had used Corinna as a pseudonym in his love poetry, indicating Augustus's daughter Julia. This interpretation would point to the ancient poet's indecent behaviour. Therefore, the vernacular *vita* strongly rejects the probability of this interpretation: 'This seems to show no great resemblance to the truth'.¹¹² This defence, again, clears the poet of an indecent context.¹¹³

5 CONCLUSIONS

Proceeding from the front matter as a set of paratexts that performed important legitimising functions, this chapter has shown how various middlemen used preface, dedication, and *vita* to respond to this criticism and to position their editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* within the commercial book market. They especially paid attention to vernacular editions and editions intended for inexperienced readers: strategies of defence are most frequent in these instances. These strategies included three different reactions to criticism: middlemen explicitly countered it, designated an intended reader for the *Metamorphoses*, and authorised

¹¹⁰ Ed.92: the headings make clear that these are the *vita* in a manuscript owned by the humanist Pomponius Laetus, and the eleventh-century *vita* by the Roman grammarian Festus in the Codex Farnesianus.

¹¹¹ Ed.28, fol. Av^r: 'Oock heeft hij van goeder ende zedigher manieren geweest, gheen en wijn drinckende dan wel gewaterden, ende schouwende alle onghemanierde ende onghereghelde oncuysheyt.'

¹¹² Ed.28, fol. [Avi]^r: 'Dit en schijnt metter waerheyt gheen groote ghelijckenisse te hebben'; cf. Taylor (2017), 31.

¹¹³ Cf. Josephus-Justus Scaliger's view of Ovid as a moral man (James (2014), 250).

the ancient author Ovid. These categories were not separate: middlemen combined them in their defence of their own editions and of the reading of Ovid's text.

Modern research has demonstrated that the front matter was a fundamental part of early modern printing. It is, therefore, striking that many editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* lacked mediation. As we have seen, in my research corpus the preface and dedication only appeared after 1552: Hans de Laet was the first middleman to apply these paratexts to frame his translated edition within a specific intended context of readers. The Latin editions printed before 1552 did not include these front matter paratexts. Moreover, editions that were labelled 'school editions' had no such legitimising elements: they were specifically produced for classroom use and it was the teacher's task to provide a safe reading experience. Also, many seventeenth-century editions in small bibliographical formats show a lack of mediation by means of front matter. This mainly suggests that book producers did not always consider a defence necessary. Only when book producers started to have specific intentions with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* did they introduce the front matter paratexts as their rhetorical tools to initiate, accompany, and guide the introduction of a novel printing product. This application of paratextual functionality clearly shows how paratext played an important role in the reception of Ovid's work. The paratext enabled book producers to implement the *Metamorphoses* into a specific cultural context that functioned as their commercial market.

By foregrounding criticism in general, this chapter evokes the question how middlemen actually dealt with Ovid's passages that most prominently provoked critique. Chapter 4 tries to find the answer to this question by investigating in particular how commentators presented stories that they considered obscene.

Chapter 4

THE COMMENTARY: NEGOTIATING OVID'S DANGEROUS SIDE

The commentary was arguably the most suitable paratext to deal with the contents of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in detail. After having investigated in Chapter 3 how middlemen dealt with criticism aimed at reading the *Metamorphoses* in general, in this chapter I will examine the editorial treatment of specific, potentially dangerous passages. What paratextual strategies did editors apply in presenting these contents to their readers?

In the first part of this chapter, I will investigate how the commentaries on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are embedded in the international commentary tradition. Secondly, I will analyse how commentators of the *Metamorphoses* operated within this tradition: I have developed a typology of four domains of interpretation, based on the techniques applied by commentators. Thirdly, I will investigate how commentators within these domains negotiated the potentially obscene contents. As I will argue, obscene elements were especially problematic in the context of young readers, but less so in other reading situations. Therefore, commentaries intended for school use most clearly dealt with potentially dangerous aspects.

1 THE COMMENTARY TRADITION

Early modern commentary on ancient texts is one of the paratexts that has drawn most scholarly attention. Some studies have focussed on the commentary tradition of a specific text,¹ others have investigated the genre in general.² These studies have shown that the commentary, a widely applied tool for the organisation of knowledge, functioned as an important intermediary between Antiquity and the early modern reader. Commentary, as has

¹ Moss (1982, 1998) and McKinley (2001) on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; Palmer (2014) on Lucretius; De Beer (2014) on Pliny the Elder; Crab (2015) on Valerius Maximus; Kallendorf (1999, 2013) and Jansen (2016) on Virgil's *Aeneid*.

² Most (1999), Grafton (2010), Enenkel and Nellen (2013), Enenkel (2014a/b).

also become clear, is not a uniform genre, but an adaptable paratext. The commentary disclosed humanist views on education, philology, and historical analysis, which made it possible for ancient texts to receive continuous interests.

In the Early Modern Period itself, book producers generally considered the margins of an early modern page as a place to guide the reader. Nevertheless, the commentary was not regarded as an individual peritext: early modern readers considered it in coexistence with the source text as a fundamental part of their reading experience. Annotations could even have been the main reason for a reader to take a book in hand.³ The construction of a commentary depended on the social environment in which various players lived and worked.⁴ Author, commentator, printing and publishing institution, benefactor, reader, and commentary tradition, amongst others, all had their share in the way in which a commentary saw the light. Commercial interests also shaped a commentary, as publishers often had specific views of the readers they wanted to reach.⁵ Apart from supporting the reader by offering explanations, which was ostensibly the prime aim of a commentary, the commentator could also have been focused on his own reputation within the social environment in which he was writing. He could approach the commentary as a self-legitimizing showcase of his own ingenuity, and connect his name as an erudite philologist or pedagogue to the authoritative text he was commenting on.⁶

³ Slights (2001), 11-3: 'Text and supplement, textuality and contextualization were virtually inseparable in this model of reading'; and more theoretically stated out of the annotator's viewpoint, p. 84: 'Marginating a text combines acts of author-definition and text-definition with reader-definition. It points to possible uses of the book as extensions of the reading activity.' Although Slights focusses on printed marginalia, his general remarks on the functionalities of the margin are also true of commentary editions, as the notes of the commentary regularly appear in the margin around the text. Slights did not include marginal commentary in his study of printed marginalia, which he defines as 'words [...] printed in the predominantly white space' (p. 61). Nevertheless, a clear distinction between printed marginalia and commentary printed in the margin cannot easily be made, as printed marginalia sometimes include extensive commentary on the text, and commentary sometimes only consists of basically one-worded remarks. See for examples showing that commentary cannot be characterised as merely a secondary text in the book: Enenkel (2014a), 3; De Beer (2014), esp. p. 345-351 (on Pliny the Elder); Enenkel and Nellen (2013), 27-28.

⁴ Jansen (2016), 82.

⁵ Crab (2015), 270-1; 'All in all, Renaissance commentators, editors and printers of Valerius Maximus obviously wanted to reach as broad a readership as possible' (p. 270). The same is true of every early modern commentary on classical texts, if not of the largest part of early modern book production. A concrete example is Plantin, who was eager to print Lipsius's edition of Tacitus whilst the commentary had not been finished yet. It shows his commercial intentions, rather than his scholarly concern (De Landtsheer (2014), 283, 303, 315).

⁶ Cf. for example Crab (2015), 259-260 on Lipsius's approach to Valerius Maximus in his commentary.

The early modern book production of the *Metamorphoses* in the Low Countries presents us with seventeen different commentaries printed with Ovid's text. These include extensive commentaries by a single author (for example the editions containing the commentaries by Thomas Farnabius or Jacobus Pontanus); *annotationes* provided as an appendix (such as by Henricus Glareanus and Nicolaas Heinsius); short marginal notes as commentary (by Victor Giselinus and Gisbertus Longolius); variorum editions containing a selection of notes by various authors (as edited by Borchardus Cnipplingius and Cornelius Schrevelius); as well as explications of each individual fable printed underneath that story (especially in French by Pierre du Ryer and Antoine Banier).⁷ In total, 36 out of the 108 editions have some kind of commentary. Almost all of these editions are Latin ones, with just three exceptions providing the French explications of Du Ryer.⁸ Vernacular editions with a commentary were published only towards the end of the seventeenth century when scholars debated their intended audience and when the vernacular languages were increasingly used to unlock scholarly activity.⁹

Although these commentaries were published in the Low Countries, the character of this commentary tradition was transnational. As most editions including a commentary were in Latin, these at least partly were intended for an international book market.¹⁰ The commentators were humanists from all over Europe, whose works were published throughout the continent. The commentary tradition in the Low Countries was influenced by scholars from the Low Countries itself and from France, England, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. Therefore, an investigation into the commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries will also shed light on the general European reception of the *Metamorphoses* and on an international transfer of knowledge.

⁷ In this chapter I interchangeably use three common terms to indicate comments on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – notes, commentary, and annotations – as was done in early modern commentary practice. On Du Ryer's appropriation of the *Metamorphoses*: Chatelain (2008), 167-72; on Banier's: 201-5. Banier's work was printed in the Low Countries only from the eighteenth century onwards.

⁸ Latin editions with some kind of commentary: Ed.9, 11, 12, 14, 17-21, 23-25, 27, 31, 37, 38, 42, 50, 57, 58, 70, 72, 73, 77, 83, 85, 91-93, 96, 97, 100, 102, 104, 105, 107. The three French editions with the commentary by Du Ryer: Ed.96, 97, 104. Of Ed.26 I have not been able to clarify whether it contains any commentary, and therefore it has not been included in this census.

⁹ Verhaart (2013) gives a clear example of this development by investigating the debate between Jean Le Clerc and Petrus Burmannus who was the editor of a scholarly variorum commentary on the *Metamorphoses*.

¹⁰ The Latin book market was a necessarily international business: Maclean (2012), 207-210.

1.1 Strong medieval roots of allegory

As a scholarly genre, the commentary is marked by tradition as well as innovation.¹¹ On the one hand, early modern commentators on ancient texts strongly relied on a continuous tradition of commentary since Antiquity; on the other hand, they took the opportunity to present their innovative appropriations of the text and to include new text-critical knowledge. The early modern commentary tradition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was greatly influenced by medieval hermeneutic practices. Especially the allegorical method by the fourteenth-century Petrus Berchorius (Pierre Bersuire) in his *Ovidius moralizatus* left a clear mark on the early modern interpretation frame of Ovid's myths as hidden truths open to multiple interpretations.¹² Berchorius distinguished four categories of allegorical interpretation: natural and historical interpretations, both of which he deemed less relevant, and tropological and spiritual interpretations, both of which he considered very important. Berchorius's natural interpretations consider the stories about the gods as explanations of the actual planets and natural phenomena. Historical allegories present Ovid's fables from an actual historical perspective. The final two categories of allegory (tropological and spiritual) provide the fables with an interpretation as a substitute of Christian moral behaviour and as a representation of Christian dogma respectively.¹³ Berchorius thereby approached the fables as if they were Christian: without considering aspects of language, he interpreted mythological characters and stories as Christian allegories.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, humanist scholars increasingly began to cast doubt on this specific way of interpretation. Erasmus, for example, denounced Berchorius's method, characterising it as 'crassly stupid', because it 'gives a Christian adaptation – distortion rather – of all the myths in Ovid'.¹⁴ Still in the early seventeenth century, the mythographer Karel van Mander rejected the medieval kind of interpretation: he argued that Ovid's pagan fables must not be anachronistically interpreted as allegories of Christ, since Ovid wrote in a pre-Christian era.¹⁵ Eventually, Berchorius's work was placed on the *Index librorum*

¹¹ Jansen (2016), 82.

¹² This notion of the *Metamorphoses* as hidden truth already existed in the Middle Ages (Coulson (2015), 59-61). Berchorius, as part of this medieval tradition, did not comment on the language but wanted to explain the myths' allegorical truths (Moss (1998), 61-2). In the fourteenth century, Berchorius's work, including paraphrases of the fables in the *Metamorphoses*, even frequently replaced Ovid's original poem (Fulmo (2014), 120).

¹³ Moss (1982), 24-6; see also: Moss (1998), 61-68.

¹⁴ Erasmus in a letter to Maarten Lips (CWE 6, p. 23-4, 654-5).

¹⁵ Van Mander, 'Voor-reden', in: *Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem 1604), fol. *4^v: 'Ick hebbe (soo ick meen) in dese Metamorphosis uytlegginghe eenichsins aendachtighe voorsichticheyt ghebruyckt, en vermijdt t'ghene my (van anderen in ander spraeck ghedaen wesende) niet docht te behooren, te weten, dese Heydensche Fabulen te

prohibitorum in 1559, because – as Ann Moss has suggested – Berchorius's 'whimsical lack of historical decorum' displayed Christian dogma 'as trivial as the fables'.¹⁶

1.2 A new kind of allegorical reading

The late fifteenth-century commentary by the grammarian and rhetorician Raphael Regius embodies this clear shift from Berchorius's allegorical approach to Antiquity to a historicized, humanist way of reading the text.¹⁷ Regius's commentary became the most influential introduction to the *Metamorphoses* in the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Regius approached Ovid's text as a model of literary rhetoric and as a rich source of historical information. In doing so, he was an exponent of a general trend. In the wake of the rise of humanism, ancient poetry came to be considered as an encyclopaedic source to the ancient world. According to Erasmus in his *De ratione studii*, for example, the ancient poets had based their verses on a wide range of information, which could be traced back by closely reading their texts.¹⁹

Furthermore, Regius read Ovid's work as a moral paradigm. He stripped off the anachronistic, allegorical interpretations, and instead read Ovid's myths from a secular perspective by considering the fables as examples of pagan virtues and vices.²⁰ Following his example, many commentators devoted extensive attention to moral guidance.²¹ They considered ancient mythology, with its stories from a very different world, separated from everyday society, as an acceptable, even expedient frame of reference for moral

trecken op eenen gheestelijcken sin, en op Christum te duyden: want dese dinghen hebben gheen overeencomste noch ghemenschap: Den Poeet kende Christum doch niet: zijn versieringhen dienen oock niet Christum te vercondighen, ghelijcker gheschreven is' (STCN 83038197X; DBNL: <https://bit.ly/2INHsnW>).

¹⁶ Moss (1982), 27; cf. Bujanda (1990), 634-5 (the *Index* itself does not provide an explanation).

¹⁷ Guthmüller (1986), 40. See on the context, character, and contents of Regius's commentary: Moss (1998), 29-60; Guthmüller (1986), 40-6; McKinley (2001), 127-60.

¹⁸ Knox (2013), 336; despite its popularity in other parts of Europe, the commentary was not printed in the early modern Low Countries.

¹⁹ CWE 24, p. 673, 14-9: 'Certainly in an exposition of the poets, who are accustomed to flavour their compositions with knowledge drawn from every quarter, you must command a good supply of mythology, and whom is it better to seek this than Homer, the father of all myth? But the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* of Ovid, although written in Latin, are of no small importance.'

²⁰ Moss (1982), 29; see also: Moss (1998), 29-32.

²¹ Grendler (1989), 260-3; Crab (2015), 69; Enenkel and Nellen (2013), 22: 'Commentators assumed that moral lessons would be provided *ex tempore* at the master's own discretion. In other words, the teacher's ethical recommendations involved firmly embedded knowledge that did not need to be put into writing. Despite reservations of this kind, ethical instruction frequently prevails [...].' Boccaccio's *Decameron* is a prominent example of a text that used to be mainly approached through moralising paratexts during the Early Modern Period (Armstrong (2007), 50).

interpretation.²² This humanist reception of Ovid in commentaries was part of a broader view of education, which also included techniques of negotiating the alien side of ancient culture, in line with the methodology advised by pedagogues. In his *De ratione studii*, Erasmus, again, recommended such moral framing as a successful method for teachers. According to him, certain passages of the authors that he had recommended to teachers for use in classes were less appropriate for the intended schoolboys, as they could have a bad influence on their behaviour. Competent teachers, however, should be able to minimize the impact of, for example, the sexual connotations. Beforehand, they should provide an alternative, interpretative context for the passages that could provoke subversive thoughts. In this way they could steer the students' attention in another direction. Erasmus illustrates this strategy by means of Virgil's second *Eclogue*, which recounts the shepherd Corydon's burning love for the boy Alexis. First, Erasmus admonishes a teacher who is going to read this *Eclogue* with his students to deliberate extensively upon the theme of friendship: Virgil's poem shows how two unequal parts cannot form true friendship. Erasmus: 'If, then, he prefaces his remarks in this way, and thereupon shows the passages which indicate the mistaken and boorish affections of Corydon, I believe the minds of his audience will suffer no ill effects, unless someone comes to the work who has already been corrupted.'²³ This method corresponds with the equally selective ways in which Italian school teachers were inclined to present the more lascivious texts.²⁴

Moral instruction, however, was not always the main concern of commentators, as has been demonstrated, for example, for editions of Valerius Maximus and Virgil.²⁵ Some humanists believed that close reading of the ancient authors would automatically lead to moral interpretation, as the ancient text would speak for itself.²⁶ Other commentators frequently provide more than one type of explanation: they could explain the same myth, for example, by an euhemeristic interpretation and as a moralistic exemplum.²⁷ This diversity of meaning was traditionally considered as an important value of poetry, and it was already prevalent in medieval ways of reading classical texts. The twelfth-century Virgil commentator

²² Van Herk ((2012), 226) pinpoints this as a major reason for the use of mythology in the early modern Dutch moralistic theatre which dealt with marital morality and sexuality. Cf. my previous chapter, in which I discuss how front matter paratexts legitimize Ovid's mythology.

²³ Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, CWE 24, p. 686-7, 34ff.

²⁴ Black (2001), 316.

²⁵ Crab (2015), 69; Kallendorf (1999), 53-4; cf. Black (2001), 325: 'the more usual pattern is to find a few allegories swimming in a sea of literal mythological comment'.

²⁶ Grendler (1989), 252; Black (2001), 27-8.

²⁷ Brumble (1998), xxii-xxiv.

Bernardus Silvestris, for example, notes: 'one must pay attention to the diverse aspects of the poetic fictions and the multiple interpretations in all allegorical matters if in fact the truth cannot be established by a single interpretation'.²⁸ In the seventeenth century also, the mythographer Karel van Mander noted something comparable in his preface: he first provides each story with a historical explanation next to a natural one, to conclude by explaining the myth from a moral perspective.²⁹ Readers could then choose the explanation that most fitted their individual reading context.³⁰ This long and continuous tradition of allegorical reading made it axiomatic for early modern readers of the *Metamorphoses* to choose the parts of the text that were useful in their search for hidden meanings of mythology.

1.3 Three commentary formats

In the sixteenth century, the traditional medieval format of extensive commentary that dominates the page lay-out and encloses the main text gradually decreased in use.³¹ Two different formats of notes developed as a renewed early modern commentary practice: *commentarii* (notes underneath and next to the target text, as a running commentary), and *annotationes* (annotations as an appendix following the target text, or even without the target text at all).³² In the seventeenth century, moreover, variorum editions came in vogue, offering a compilation of notes by various commentators. These three formats each had different characteristics, facilitating different reading contexts.

²⁸ Cited in: Brumble (1998), xxiii.

²⁹ Van Mander, 'Voor-reden', in: *Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem 1604), fol. *4^v: 'Veel hebb' ick ghevolght dese wijze, te verhalen eerst de gheschiedenis, daer de Fabel op is ghebouwt: daer nae, watter natuerlijck mede aenghewesen is: ten lesten, de leerlijcke en stichtlijcke uytlegginghen' (STCN 83038197X).

³⁰ This had already been true for the medieval reader: Berchorius, for example, provided multiple interpretations of the same fable, leaving it to the reader which one to pick as the most suitable (Fulmo (2014), 122).

³¹ Grafton (2010), 230; Crab (2015), 267.

³² Glareanus, who commented on various ancient sources, including the *Metamorphoses*, shows that a strict distinction between those two formats is not easy to make: he noted that *annotationes* 'can appear in the place of *commentarius*' (cited in: Crab (2015), 183: '*annotationes* [...] loco *commentarii* saepe esse possunt'). As may already be expected from Glareanus's remark, this terminology of *commentarii* and *annotationes* was not applied very strictly in the printing practice of the Early Modern Period. For example, sometimes notes printed next to the text are labelled *annotationes* on the title page or in the preface, and the term *notae* was applied to both *commentarii* and *annotationes*. On the word *commentarius*: Ramminger (2008).

1.3.1 *The role of annotations in establishing a reliable text*

Annotationes were a new step in the evolution of humanist commentaries: apart from a line-by-line explication of the text, as produced in Late Antiquity (for example by Servius and Donatus on Virgil), and appreciated in the Medieval Period, *annotationes* now dealt with only a selection of interesting themes and topics, in particular concerning text criticism.³³ *Annotationes* existed as a supplement separated from Ovid's text and were a popular format of commentary in the sixteenth century in particular. A prominent example are the notes by Andreas Naugerius, an important contributor to the scholarly interest in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.³⁴ In 1515 the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius printed Naugerius's edition of the *Metamorphoses*, supplemented with his *Annotationes* that comment on his text critical procedure based on manuscript evidence. Subsequently, Naugerius's edition was generally acknowledged as the best version of the *Metamorphoses*, and it was adopted in many other editions throughout Europe.³⁵

The format of *annotationes* was especially suitable for text critical commentary.³⁶ Scholarly readers of Ovid who were interested in textual criticism and in the editing process did not need a comprehensive commentary to understand the full text. The material separation between the target text and the comments as present in the *annotationes* format, therefore suits this more specialized, technical way of reading. Glareanus's annotations show

³³ Grafton (2010), 230; Crab (2015), 267. It must be noted that it is not possible to distinguish a strict linear development within the genre of commentary during the Early Modern Period, as a wide variety of occurrences existed (Eenkel and Nellen (2013), 60).

³⁴ Possanza (2013), 322. On Naugerius: Luck (2002; 2005); Possanza (2013), 321-2.

³⁵ Luck (2005), 155-6; the 1515 edition is generally referred to as the 'second Aldine', in relation to the 'first Aldine' printed by Manutius in 1502, not yet revised by Naugerius. The Plantin edition printed in 1566 introduced Naugerius's version of Ovid's text to the Low Countries, conspicuously stating the editor's name on its title page. At the back of the edition, succeeding an index, Plantin included a letter to the reader introducing the text critical approach by Naugerius. Without being specific, this letter refers to older versions of the text as the source of the emendations. It claims hands-on philology and ensures the reader that the effort in editing Ovid's text has been the editor's own, and does not just lean on the authority of the philological undertakings of others: '& veteres quidam libri, post hos impressos, ad manus nostras pervenerunt'; '& illorum admonere lectorem volumus: nequis forte id suspicetur, abuti nos velle veterum librorum auctoritate, & quae nos emendavimus, ex illis credi emendata' (Ed.25, fol. [e7]'; the italics are not original). A list of textual variants in the later Aldine edition of 1533 succeeds this claim (Ed.25, fol. [e7]': 'Varietas lectionum in Metamorphos. Ovidii, ex Aldina editione, Ann. M.D.XXXIII'). Thus, Plantin emphasized the Italian philological ground work to display the scholarly value of his own reprint.

³⁶ Justus Lipsius made a clear distinction between *commentarii* and *notae*, in which he considered the former to clarify 'unclear or ambiguous' aspects, and the latter to provide text critical comments (De Landtsheer (2014), 282).

a special interest in textual criticism,³⁷ and Nicolaas Heinsius would later also choose this format. Proceeding from Naugerius's work, Heinsius published his *annotationes* in 1659 to each of Ovid's fifteen books, considering for the most part text critical comments.³⁸ This commentary instantly became the most influential early modern contribution to text critical scholarship on the *Metamorphoses*, and it became the standard version of Ovid's text, adopted by many later editions.³⁹ The large impact of the Heinsius edition has to be related to his innovative approach to Ovid's text, as well as to his international fame as a philological scholar. Heinsius was the first humanist editor to be able to base his version of Ovid's text on a wide range of available manuscript versions around Europe.⁴⁰ In many instances he was able to consult these in person by using his international network within the Republic of Letters. His accompanying commentary to the text played an important role in advocating its prominence. With this paratext, Heinsius presented himself as a distinguished philologist who adopted an inclusive method in dealing with textual variants. In several comments, he provided not simply the best solution to a contaminated passage, but provided the reader with several options.⁴¹ In doing so, he presented himself as an editor with a vast manuscript knowledge.

1.3.2 *Commentarii as guidance for young readers*

Establishing a reliable text edition based on manuscript evidence cleared the way for scholarly interest outside the domain of textual criticism. The *annotationes* format was ill-suited for the direct guidance of unexperienced readers because of its material separation between the notes and the target text. The extensive notes to the text in *commentarii* could deal with this more easily, as the reader would find target text and comment on the same page as one integral reading experience. This type of commentary to the *Metamorphoses*, including five

³⁷ Cf. Chapter 6, 1.1.2.

³⁸ Tarrant (1999), 289, together with other sources, takes 1661 as the year of publication of Heinsius's edition with the notes, succeeding an edition of 1552 without the notes (Ed.76). Thus, he adopts the year of publication that was mentioned on the title page of the last of three volumes of the opera omnia edition. The second volume, consisting of the *Metamorphoses*, however, provides 1559 as the year of publication on its title page, succeeding the first volume of 1558 (cf. STCN 852978138). Hence, 1661 seems to be the year in which the publication of the entire three volume edition was completed by the third volume, not the year in which all volumes were published together.

³⁹ Ed.83; paratexts in this edition denote Heinsius's *annotationes* as 'observationes' and 'notae'.

⁴⁰ In fact, the editions including Heinsius's version of the text are 'inconsistently revised versions' of the edition that his father Daniel Heinsius had published in 1629 (Ed.50) (Tarrant (1999), 298).

⁴¹ Tarrant (1999), 295-298.

different collections of notes, was more frequently printed in the Low Countries than the three collections of *annotationes*.

From the early sixteenth century on, oral guidance by teachers had been transferred to print.⁴² This resulted in the production of running commentaries that were frequently intended for young readers. Commentators considered particularly this group to be in need of guidance while reading the classics.⁴³ Accordingly, full text editions of the *Metamorphoses* that were explicitly intended for educational use in the Low Countries were only published with a commentary.⁴⁴ Victor Giselinus, Gisbertus Longolius, Jacobus Pontanus, Thomas Farnabius, and Petrus Rabus all provided notes that were intended to guide young readers. In the sixteenth century Longolius's marginal commentary was most prominent (I will further analyse it as part of my first case study in Chapter 6). The Jesuit pedagogue Pontanus prepared his commentary in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, with the aim to make Ovid particularly suitable to the education of noble Christian citizens. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the English schoolmaster Farnabius did not render the available collections of notes fit for his educational practice. He produced a comprehensive commentary in a handy-sized format, with a stronger focus on contextualisation than Longolius's rather basic reading comprehension.⁴⁵ Judging from their many reprints, Farnabius's notes became highly popular. In 1686, Petrus Rabus's commentary, which was based on the work of his colleague Johannes Minellius, was printed as the last example of the school commentary tradition in the Low Countries. Together with Pontanus and Farnabius's notes, it will be investigated in Section 3 of this chapter.

These commentary editions frequently have a repetitive character: within the context of one story, as well as throughout the commentary as a whole, notes repeat earlier notes. Rabus, for example, provides the reader in three different ways with the same basic information. First, there is an *argumentum* (a synopsis preceding the text), which is a very common paratextual element in school editions. It provides, for example, a summary of Latona's story: her pregnancy with twins Apollo and Diana, her wandering, and the encounter with the farmers in Lycia when she is in search of drinking water. Secondly, Rabus incorporates partly overlapping, synoptic remarks in the first note to many mythological stories, indicated by a superscript number 1 in front of the initial that marks the beginning of a new story. On

⁴² Grafton (2003), 199: '[A] humanist expert packaged the ancients for him, processing them and transforming them from jagged, unmanageable, sometimes dangerous texts into uniform, easily retrievable, reproducible bits of utterance and information.'

⁴³ Enenkel and Nellen (2013), 17-23.

⁴⁴ School editions that did not include a commentary were florilegia; on the educational context: see Chapter 3, 3.2.

⁴⁵ Cf. Jansen (2016), 50-1. Pontanus's commentary was printed in folio, Farnabius's edition in duodecimo.

Latona's story, for instance, it notes: 'The poet is going to narrate how Latona was prohibited from drinking by some Lycian farmers, whom she transformed into frogs [...].'⁴⁶ Thus, this first note does not add much to the *argumentum* mentioned above. Thirdly, there are Rabus's succeeding comments. These are also repetitive in character, further echoing crucial information already provided. On Ovid's first reference to Latona (through the word *diva* (goddess) in verse 6.314) the margin reads: 'Latona, who gave birth in one delivery to twins: Apollo and Diana.'⁴⁶ Although it is characteristic of school commentaries to repeat fundamental information on the fables' narrative content, with this triple infrastructure Rabus provides an excessive example. It indicates that readers were not expected to know anything in advance, or remember information provided previously. It also means that the commentary offers readers the possibility to read only parts of it. This makes sense in the context of early modern education, as only parts of the *Metamorphoses* had a place in the curriculum.⁴⁷ The repetitive character also suggests a focus on vocabulary: the comments do not always provide new information, but every paraphrase of the information provides new vocabulary training.

1.3.3 The variorum edition: a process of accumulation

The continuing production of new commentaries was to an important extent a process of accumulation, not of substitution. From their initial publication onwards, most commentaries were reprinted during a long period of time, alongside other available commentaries. In the second part of the seventeenth century, this accumulative tradition was reinforced by the development of the variorum edition.

Variorum editions were commentary editions that included an anthology of earlier annotations of different annotators – designated as *cum notis variorum* on their title pages.⁴⁸ The abundance of available commentaries made it rather difficult for readers of specific ancient texts to find their way. Variorum editions came in vogue as a solution to this type of information overload. By incorporating older commentaries, the variorum editions secured their continuity in print. For example, the notes by Farnabius printed for the first time in 1636 in England, found their place in the edition by Cnipplingius printed in 1670 and 1683, together with, amongst others, the annotations by Nicolaas Heinsius from 1659. Early commentaries

⁴⁶ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 6.314: 'Narraturus Poeta, quomodo Latona a quibusdam Lyciae rusticis bibere prohibita, eos in ranas verterit [...].'⁴⁶ On *divae* in verse 316: 'Latonae, quae uno eodemque partu gemellos, i. Apollinem & Dianam peperit.' All citations from Rabus' commentary in this chapter are derived from Ed.107.

⁴⁷ Cf. Chapter 3, 3.2.

⁴⁸ Writing a new commentary was considered an act that was more praiseworthy than compiling one from existing annotations by others. Lipsius, for example, emphasized the originality of his commentary on Tacitus in his preface: 'scripsi hos Commentarios, non exscripsi' (De Landtsheer (2014), 303-4).

by sixteenth-century Italian humanists such as Raphael Regius and Hercules Ciofanus were still deemed interesting in the eighteenth century when they were incorporated in variorum editions.⁴⁹

The selection of notes included in each variorum edition offers important clues to its intended audience. The variorum edition by Schrevelius, for example, is intended for young readers. Cornelius Schrevelius (1608-1661) was headmaster of the Latin school in Leiden and published editions of many ancient authors. He edited Ovid's *opera omnia*, the second part of which contained the *Metamorphoses* and was printed in 1662 just after his death. This edition includes many notes of previous commentators: foremost the commentaries of Raphael Regius, Farnabius, and Pontanus, and a small number of notes from the early sixteenth-century annotators Hercules Ciofanus and Jacob Micyllus, to which Schrevelius himself made some concise additions. In the general preface to his *opera omnia*, Schrevelius made clear that his edition was suited for young readers: 'very well-chosen notes have been added [to the text] in support of youngsters, in order to understand the author's reasoning'. According to this preface, Schrevelius embedded the selected notes into a thorough paratextual infrastructure which also contained abstracts, illustrations, and indices. All elements together would enable the reader to understand the text.⁵⁰ In fact, Schrevelius barely made a selection from Farnabius, for almost all the latter's comments are copied. He was more rigorous in his selection of Pontanus's comments: he chose the shorter notes on basic textual elements such as vocabulary and paraphrasing in particular. This resulted in a variorum edition in which inexperienced readers would find the collected annotations from the commentary tradition that are understandable to them.

⁴⁹ On Ciofanus's commentary: Looney (1996), 171-3; on Ciofanus' early modern appreciation and his correspondence with Plantin: Heesakkers (1978). Notwithstanding its continuous availability in print, Ciofanus's commentary was also criticized, for example by Nicolaas Heinsius: he exclaimed that Ciofanus's hollow adoration of the ancient poet had restrained everyone from using Ovid as an example ('Quid detrimenti passus sit [Naso] a populari suo recordaris. Qui dum maximam vim codicum scriptorum vana crepat ostentatione, omnes deterruit a medicina optimo vati admovenda' (cited in: Heesakkers (1978), p. 156, n. 8)).

⁵⁰ Ed.85, 'In Ovidii Opera Praefatio', fol. [*6]: 'notae in gratiam juniorum additae, selectissimae, ad mentem Auctoris intelligendam. Argumenta ubique addidimus: Figuras accuratissimas singulis libris Metamorphoseōn praefiximus: cum Indicibus, rerum, verborum ac fabularum satis copiosis ac utilibus'.

2 FOUR DOMAINS OF INTERPRETATION

Early modern commentators were aware of the varied opportunities they had in appropriating ancient texts in a commentary. In the preface to the three parts of his *opera omnia* variorum edition of Ovid, the editor Cnipplingius singled out three main functionalities: 'So you have here, dear reader, something that advances the practice of rhetoric; you have something that sheds light on obscure aspects; thirdly, you have something that investigates with you the traces of Antiquity.'⁵¹ This statement explains Cnipplingius's intentions. Ovid could function as a rhetorical source, the commentary clarifies Ovid's obscurities, and the edition is a starting point to learn about Antiquity in general. Cnipplingius's neat observation does not only apply to his own edition, but can in fact be applied to the commentary tradition in general. Ann Moss has marked three general categories of notes in her study on the Ovidian commentaries from the Renaissance, of which Cnipplingius himself mentioned the first two. According to Moss, the *Metamorphoses* were intended 'as a source of information about the ancient culture and language that humanist schools were found to promote; as a model of writing that displayed all the devices invented by the art of rhetoric to persuade, delight, and instruct; and as a repository of fables that various techniques of interpretation could turn to purposes of edification and even moral improvement'.⁵²

Proceeding from Cnipplingius's meta-paratextual statement and Moss's general categorisation, I would like to propose four domains of early modern interpretation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. These four domains are characterised by their own techniques of interpretation, serving different types of readers. These domains will allow us to analyse the commentaries more systematically. In this way, it is possible to see more clearly how different commentators intended to guide different readers. The commentaries can clarify or contextualise both Ovid's language and content.⁵³ With 'content' I refer to the mythology described in Ovid's stories (including the historical, geographical, and religious information they relate, but also their narrative form), while 'language' refers to aspects of Ovid's poetic

⁵¹ Ed.100 (vol. 1), 'Ad benevolum lectorem', *4^v-*5^r: 'Habes hic ergo, Candide lector, quod pure dicendi studium exerceat; habes, quod obscuriora luci exponat; habes denique, quod tecum antiquitatis lustret vestigia.'

⁵² Moss (1998), xiii.

⁵³ Reader traces in editions containing classical texts support this diverse way of reading the classics: on the one hand, they focus on textual peculiarities, on the other hand, they concentrate on the contents (see for example the readership of Virgil in Kallendorf (2015), 91-5). Also, Marijke Crab's study on commentaries to Valerius Maximus shows a continuous concentration on both text and contents, apart from the wide variety within the genre and through time (Crab 2015).

style, rhetoric, syntax, morphology, and idiom.⁵⁴ The following schema displays these four domains and their interpretation techniques:

	language	content
clarification	vocabulary textual criticism	explanation of details elucidation of story-line
contextualisation	rhetoric intertextuality	(moral) allegory encyclopaedic information

The four domains of early modern interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* and their interpretation techniques

In the remainder of this paragraph, I will illustrate how these four domains of interpretation were put to use on the basis of typical examples from my research corpus.

2.1 Clarification of language

Clarification of Ovid’s language concerns vocabulary and textual criticism. The former puts the *Metamorphoses* to use as learning material for Latin language skills. Remarks on vocabulary include paraphrases of difficult words, and synonyms. For example, in dealing with the story of Latona and the Lycian farmers, Rabus’s comments indicate that *retulit* should be understood as *respondit*, and that Ovid’s poetic language of *tenues undas* (delicate streams) just means *labiles aquas* (sliding waters).⁵⁵ The first instance seems to be aimed at vocabulary expansion: a synonym for quite a common word is provided, as the verb *referre* is generally used in the sense of ‘to answer’. The second instance provides a more literal paraphrasing of Ovid’s poetic style, showing readers a more prosaic register. Apart from expanding vocabulary, commentaries also used paraphrasing to help readers to develop proficiency in Latin. Especially with regard to poetry, frequently consisting of poetical constructions and figurative language, the paraphrase both clarified the language and provided training in Latin

⁵⁴ Cf. Chatelain (2008), 78-81 on the appropriation of Ovid’s language in commentary.

⁵⁵ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 6.330 and 6.351.

fluency.⁵⁶ It provided inexperienced readers with tools to help them understand the language, and furthermore encouraged improvement of their own command of Latin. Hence, the clarification of language dominated school commentaries to a high degree.

A second type of language clarification concerns the textual tradition. Notes on textual criticism include short references to variant readings of the text. Textual criticism was prominent in the more scholarly editions that sought to reconstruct a text to its original state as much as possible. Nicolaas Heinsius's comments are the most prominent and influential examples of this kind of language clarification. In 1659, Heinsius provided his edition from 1652 with an extensive collection of notes on textual criticism.⁵⁷ In these notes Heinsius explains the variants he came across during his hand-on research on the text.⁵⁸

2.2 Contextualisation of language

Contextualising language takes place when a commentary locates a specific term or phrase within a context of rhetoric or intertextuality. Commentators indicate figures of speech and make references to commonplaces within or outside the text itself.⁵⁹ Commentaries intended for an educational context frequently emphasized rhetorical elements. Rabus, for example, annotates Ovid's characterisation of the cyclops Polyphemus as 'dreadful to the woods' with the comment that 'woods' is a metonymy for 'wild animals'.⁶⁰ In doing so, he provides his readers an example on how to embellish language by a figure of speech. Analysing such rhetorical techniques was important for basic education in the Latin language. Teachers trained students through class exercises to put the rhetorical examples they encountered in

⁵⁶ Enenkel and Nellen (2013), 19; Enenkel (2014b), 212.

⁵⁷ Ed.76 and 83; cf. Chatelain (2008), 22-5; Tarrant (1999).

⁵⁸ Heinsius not only claims his knowledge of the old manuscript tradition, he also shows himself as a critical philologist. He frequently uses the first person singular to do so, giving himself a central role throughout the commentary (cf. Section 1.3.1 on Heinsius's self-representation). The following comment, for example, notes: 'many rather old [manuscripts] place this verse [i.e. *Met.* 9.111] in front of the one that begins with *Tradidit Aonius* [i.e. 9.112]. I think that it must be deleted, together with many others that have been forged by an alien hand' (Ed.83, on *Met.* 9.112: 'vetustiores plerique hunc versum praeponunt illi, cuius initium, *Tradidit Aonius*. Ego cum aliis multis ab aliena manu procusis censeo delendum esse'). Heinsius did not explain his reason to indicate that this verse line was not an original one: he believed that the reader of his notes would simply trust his judgement on the matter. Tarrant (1999) discusses the rather modest tone Heinsius uses in his commentary (in the example above, he modestly proposes an exclusion, rather than presenting it as a textual defect he himself had discovered).

⁵⁹ Enenkel and Nellen (2013), 19-20.

⁶⁰ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 13.761 ('horrendus sylvis'): 'Feris. Metonymia.'

ancient texts into practical use. Cross-references pinpointed other examples of these stylistic elements, in order to train the student to recognise them.

Farnabius uses a more sophisticated way of guiding readers into rhetoric. This is for example shown in his appraisal of Ovid's use of pathos in the description of Latona. She unsuccessfully begs a group of farmers for drinking water, asking them to look at her two newly born children stretching their arms out of thirst. In his commentary on this story Farnabius notes: 'Charming pathos, and a very ingenious invention by the poet.' It is striking that Farnabius not merely identifies Ovid's use of pathos, but praises the poet explicitly for using it in this way, showing his readers his admiration. By using the word in Greek (πάθος), Farnabius frames his note into the context of poetical theory.⁶¹ Further on, Farnabius explains Ovid's famous onomatopoeia of the frogs' sound: 'Immediate repetition of these words "sub aqua, sub aqua" elegantly expresses the frogs' croaking.'⁶² Again, Farnabius not only points at rhetorical language, but evaluates it, by praising Ovid's use of it. By applauding rhetorical language instead of just mentioning it, Farnabius tried to persuade his students to use these examples as inspiration for their own work.

2.3 Clarification of content

Parallel to the clarification of language, commentaries can also clarify and contextualise Ovid's content. Content clarification typically requires two levels of explanation: on the one hand ancient historical aspects of the content are illuminated, and on the other hand commentators focus on elucidating the story-lines. Victor Giselinus's short marginal notes, included in editions printed by Plantin, clearly focus on this kind of guidance.

Aspects that were alien to early modern Christian society, such as ancient religion, daily life, and the calendar are in special need of clarification. For instance, commentaries pay attention to the domains of the ancient gods as an aspect of the ancient religion. Ovid relates the power of Cupid, the instigator of love, that even conquered the triple reign of Jove, Neptune, and Hades. Giselinus rendered this account problematic, because it says, referring to Cupid in the second-person: 'you even control the one that rules over the deities of the earth'. The commentator notes the contrast with Homer, who states in the *Iliad* that the earth has been designated as common ground, after Jove had received the sky, Neptune the sea, and Hades the underworld as their respective areas of influence. Giselinus, therefore, explains to his readers who Ovid indicates by 'the one that rules over the deities of the earth': '[Ovid]

⁶¹ See for example Quintilian, who emphasized the Greek origin of poetical theory by mentioning that the Latin word *affectus* is just a translation of the original Greek *pathos* (Quint., *Inst.* 6.2.8).

⁶² Farn. (Ed. 77) on *Met.* 6.360: 'Festivum παθος, atque ingeniosissimus conceptus poetae.', resp. 6.377: 'Repetitio immediata harum vocum sub aqua, sub aqua ranarum coaxionem eleganter exprimit.'

seems to understand Neptune, following one of the old sources; because Homer identified the earth as common, *Iliad* 25 [i.e. 25.193].⁶³ In so doing, Giselinus refers to the widely varying mythographic tradition as an explanation of the difference between Homer and Ovid.

Commentators frequently deemed clarification necessary because of Ovid's poetical language that hindered a straightforward understanding. Giselinus clarifies Ovid's typically learned accounts of rather basic information. For example, Ovid recounts the passing of three years in this way: 'Titan had finished a third time the year that has ended by the watery fish'. Giselinus explains to his readers the astrological character of the fish in this context: 'the fish as the ultimate sign of the zodiac finish the year'.⁶⁴ Similarly, Giselinus also explained that Ovid's 'Chaonic tree' and 'Heliadic forest' stood for 'oak' and 'poplars' respectively.⁶⁵

Clarification of Ovid's narratives sought to explain elements in Ovid's version of the myths that could possibly lead to misunderstanding of the story-line. When Hercules, for example, in his final contemplations before dying, refers to the frustrating well-being of his antagonist Eurystheus, the sudden appearance of the latter required clarification. Victor Giselinus notes: 'who, by Juno's hesitation, has driven me to such a great danger'.⁶⁶ In this marginal note, Giselinus does not disrupt the narratological flow of Hercules's thoughts by intervening with the commentator's voice. Instead, he composed his explanation as if it were part of these deliberations by adopting Hercules's voice. This example shows how the material presence of the commentary directly next to Ovid's account provokes a blended reading experience: both elements together intended to provide a meaningful coherence, rather than the 'paratext' just supporting the 'main text'.⁶⁷

2.4 Contextualisation of content

In the final and fourth category of appropriation, commentators contextualise Ovid's content. This is done in two ways: by using the content as starting point for an encyclopaedic elaboration on the ancient world, and by framing it into an, often moral, allegorical interpretation.

⁶³ *Met.* 5.369-70: 'tu [...] | [...] domas ipsumque regit qui numina [terrae]'; Giselinus (Ed.25): 'Neptunum videtur intellegere, aliquem veterum secutus; nam Homerus terram commune facit, *Iliad.* 25'. Giselinus' problem with this passage was solved eventually: 'terrae' has been indicated as corrupt for 'ponti', proving Giselinus's interpretation of Neptune to be correct.

⁶⁴ *Met.* 10.78: 'Tertius aequoreis inclusum Piscibus annum | finierat Titan'; Giselinus (Ed.25): 'pisces enim in Zodiaco ultimum signum annum claudunt'.

⁶⁵ *Met.* 10.90-1.

⁶⁶ Giselinus (Ed.25) on *Met.* 9.203: 'qui hortatu lunonis ad tot pericula me impulit'.

⁶⁷ Cf. Slights (2001), 69.

In contrast to comments that clarify ancient content that is part of the text, encyclopaedic commentary provides the reader with information that is additional. The notes are not strictly necessary to understand Ovid's story and the topic under investigation in these notes is not part of the ancient text. A good example of such a note is Farnabius's elaboration on Ovid's story about the fight between Hercules and the river god Achelous in Book 9. Ovid describes this fight as a wrestling combat. Farnabius seizes this theme to digress with an explanation of the ancient Greek wrestling practice:

'They are about to wrestle; they rubbed oil and wax-ointment on themselves, so that their sweat was retained by their obstructed pores, because the flowing of sweat leads to exhaustion; [cf.] Lucan book 4, verse 622[-623]: "*Exhausitque virum*", [i.e.] Hercules [exhausted] Antaeus, "*quod creber anhelitus illi | prodidit et gelidus fesso de corpore sudor.*" ["He exhausted the man, which his heavy gasping and the cold sweat running from his fatigued body betrayed."] Moreover [they rubbed themselves with oil], so that the hands of the seizing antagonists glided away; lastly, so that the skin was protected against wind and cold. Furthermore, if they not had accurately scattered the dust upon themselves – one even says there were oil managers or wax-ointment masters –, the adversaries threw sand, which they called "wrestling sand", and scattered it upon each other: so that the bodies, [otherwise] slippery by the oil and wax-ointment, allow grappling manoeuvres from both sides, although it was glorious to win "without the dust of the arena". [cf.] Pliny, book 35, caput 11 on the pancratiast Dioxippus; see Hieronymus Mercurialis, *De arte gymnastica*, book 1, caput 8.⁶⁸

Farnabius's references to alternative sources on the topic of wrestling clearly indicate an antiquarian interest: Ovid's text serves as a starting point for the instruction of readers on a particular aspect of ancient culture. He does not clarify Ovid's content, but contextualises it: although Ovid situates the two mythological characters in a wrestling context, the reader does not need to know about the exact ancient Greek ointment practice in order to understand

⁶⁸ Farn. (Ed. 77) on *Met.* 9.35: 'Luctaturi; oleo aut ceromate inungebantur, quo, poris stipatis contineretur sudor; namque ex hoc diffulente lassitudo; Lucan. 4. l. v. 622 *Exhausitque virum*, Antaeum Hercules, *quod creber anhelitus illi Prodidit, & gelidus fesso de corpore sudor.* tum ut laberentur apprehendentium antagonistarum manus; denique ut figeretur cu[t]is adversus ventos & frigus. Quod nisi ipsi se, ait etiam aliptae aut ceromatistae, pulvere legitime inspessissent, adversarii se invicem iacta arena, hanc ἀφήν vocabant, consperserunt: ut corpora oleo & ceromate lubrica mutuas palaestritarum prehensiones admitterent, quamvis gloriosum erat ἀκροῦτιν vincere. Plin. lib. 35. c. 11. de Dioxippo pancratiaste, vide Hier. Mercurialem lib. 1 de arte Gymnastica. cap. 8.'

Ovid's fable. In fact, Ovid does not even mention this practice. Thus, Farnabius embraced the common commentary practice of appropriating ancient texts as a starting point for providing cultural-historical information.

As has become clear from the previous example, commentators could seize stories to dwell on unconnected topics. In the same way, they also connected sometimes rather far-fetched moral interpretations to the ancient text. In Book 5, for example, the goddess Ceres is ridiculed by a boy for drinking water, who finds her greedy. Pontanus comments on Ovid's words 'he calls her greedy', as follows:

'He added an insult to his laughter, and exclaimed that she, who abundantly drank out of thirst, was a drunkard. It is indecent for a woman to drink excessively and *ad fundum*, which means, drinking with your mouth wide open, *sauffen*. What can I say about her getting drunk?'⁶⁹

Pontanus wanted to be certain that his readers understood him, and therefore he used three different languages to elucidate the topic of his comment. In Latin, Greek, and German he defines a way of drinking that he deems particularly inappropriate to women. The cause of his denunciation of drunkenness, however, is Demeter drinking water. Ovid's text does not say that she is gulping the water, nor that she is greedy. Only the boy makes fun of her in this way, and it does not become clear whether his amusement is justified or decent. It is the word 'greedy' that triggered Pontanus to digress on inebriety. His digression does not clarify the text to the reader, as there is no connection between drunkenness and Demeter drinking water. Although Pontanus presented his comment as an interpretative note on the text, in fact he used the text to teach on a topic concerning moral behaviour.

3 NEGOTIATING OBSCENITY

The variety of ways in which commentators approached the ancient sources prompts the question how they dealt with passages that they considered potentially dangerous. Explicit sexuality in classical literature was thought to be in need of early modern mediation by a commentary.⁷⁰ Proceeding from my typology of approaching techniques, in this current

⁶⁹ Pont. (Ed.42) on *Met.* 5.452 ('avidamque vocavit'): 'Risui convicium addidit, & pro siti bibentem largius bibulam exclamavit. Est autem indecorum mulieri immodeste & ἀμυσί, hoc est, ore latius patente bibere, *sauffen* [this German word is provided in a blackletter font]; quid dicam fieri ebriam?'

⁷⁰ Enenkel (2014a), 2.

section I will look at specific passages within the ancient poem: how did commentators negotiate what they deemed to be dangerously obscene? I will focus on how three commentators – Pontanus, Farnabius, and Rabus – dealt with contents that they perceived as obscene. Pontanus certainly was the most rigorous: he excluded large parts of the *Metamorphoses* from his edition. Farnabius and Rabus did not, which provokes the question how they intended to guide young readers in their confrontation with passages that could be perceived as obscene.⁷¹ However, before studying these commentators in more detail, I will first address two general key questions: what did obscenity mean, actually, in early modern Europe, and how did humanists deal with it?

3.1 Readership as the guideline for decorum

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, the topic of obscenity in early modern Europe has attracted some scholarly attention.⁷² These studies show that the history of obscenity is a complicated area, starting with the definition of the concept itself.⁷³ In general, the obscene is taken to denote sexual transgression. The term reflects a strong negative moral judgement. Yet, what constitutes transgression differs per cultural context and period. Therefore, as a normative concept obscenity constantly exposes cultural tensions, for example, between ancient cultural codes regarding gender and sex and their reception in early modern Europe. Studying objections against obscene elements, thus, illuminates the boundaries of what is considered moral and immoral, and of what prompts denunciation in a particular context.⁷⁴ This is the key to an understanding of early modern obscenity: intended readership provided the guidelines for decorum. I will illustrate this by looking at two different reading contexts: a scholarly-humanistic and an educational one.

‘Hardcore humanism’, as Karl Enenkel calls it in his study of humanist erotic and pornographic literature, accepted all elements handed down from Antiquity as manifestations

⁷¹ I have chosen to focus my investigation on these three prominent commentators, because of the broad dispersal of their commentaries in the seventeenth century: they were both printed individually and included in variorum editions.

⁷² Roberts *et al.* (2011), Hunt (1993), Leemans (2002), Enenkel (2014c), Hollewand (2017), Houben (2014).

⁷³ Cf. Butterworth (2011), 37: ‘the Renaissance obscene was at once recognisable and hard to pin down’.

⁷⁴ Cf. the concluding remark on the subject in Roberts *et al.* (2011), 443: ‘En somme, l’obscène est bien un défi à l’interprétation, comme en témoignent la multiplicité des interprétations tentant d’éclairer les obscénités rabelaisiennes. Entre ordre et désordre, l’obscène brouille les limites entre le représentable et le non représentable, entre l’instance auctoriale, l’acteur, l’interprète, l’objet, d’une part, et le lecteur, spectateur ou auditeur d’autre part. Suscitant un choc esthétique et moral, il tend à bouleverser, à transgresser, en même temps qu’il exerce un pouvoir qui est aussi une remise en ordre du monde selon sa loi, celle d’une vérité qui peut être réjouissante mais également violente.’

of classical culture, including elements that could not be merged easily with the contemporary Christian context.⁷⁵ Erotic ancient texts, as a humanistic source of erudition, were not associated with similar contemporary examples of morally subversive literature, such as pornographic novels or popular bawdy song lyrics. The humanistic approach to sexually explicit contents in ancient sources not only included editing and discussing for example Martial, Catullus, and the *Priapeia*, but for a great part also involved *imitatio* and *aemulatio* of these texts.⁷⁶ Many humanistic scholars were authors of Neo-Latin, erotic poetry. Although their poems sometimes contained rather explicit descriptions of sexual activities and human body parts, they were also stylised, literary products. This humanistic, erotic poetry was very much related to ancient examples, with which the humanists played an intertextual game. This made the poems rather complicated constructs, stocked with scholarly references, and grammatical and intellectual jests. This learned character of the poetry shows that it was intended as intellectual pastime for a narrowly confined circle of learned scholars, and not for a wide public.⁷⁷ That is what distinguishes it from the more common pornography of novels and songs.⁷⁸

Not the obscene elements in ancient texts themselves were problematic, but it was the context in which they were handled that was of most concern. Although explicit sexual content in ancient literature was accepted by most humanists as a topic of interest amongst

⁷⁵ Enenkel (2014c), 491; cf. Findlen (1993), 79.

⁷⁶ Cf. Roberts *et al.* (2011), 61: the two case studies included in this volume (McKenzie (2011) on Ovid and Ford on Catullus) indicate that the early modern approach to obscenity was greatly influenced by ancient sources, which functioned as a 'key frame of reference on, and engagement with obscenity'. From the very beginning, this scholarly humanistic approach to obscenity also provoked much criticism. The opponents of sexually explicit literature especially feared its presumed corrupting effect on its readers. The early sixteenth-century humanist Agrippa of Nettesheim, for example, most plainly compares Dante, Boccaccio and Piccolomini, amongst many others, with procurers (*lenones*), whose poetical works would lure readers into prostitution (in: *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum atque artium declamatio invective* (1527), quoted from the 1536 edition (publisher unknown), c. 64: 'Permulti autem historici lenones extitere, quorum nomina obscura sunt: multi etiam inter praeclaros scriptores istis operam navarunt, cuiusmodi ex recentioribus Aeneas Sylvius, Dantes, Petrarca, Bocacius [...]').

⁷⁷ Karen Hollewand provides the compelling case study of the banishment of the Dutch humanist scholar Hadriaan Beverland, showing the importance of the reading context with regard to obscenity: 'Although his humanist colleagues seemed perfectly happy to discuss the sexual antics depicted in classical writings with him in private, his colleagues openly criticized his [public] writings, warned him against printing them, and pleaded with him not to complete his *magnum opus* [on ancient and Biblical sexuality]' (Hollewand (2017), 282).

⁷⁸ Enenkel (2014c), 490-501. Although our modern notion of 'pornography' cannot be applied to these humanistic activities, the pornographic genre did exist in other manifestations (cf. Hunt (1993), Leemans (2002), and Houben (2014)).

learned men, these humanists did find it problematic in the context of young readers. Many early modern humanists deemed the private scholarly study of subversive elements not dangerous, as it involved learned men who were trained to cope with such elements. To discuss transgressive forms of sexuality openly with a larger audience, however, was problematic, especially when this audience consisted of youngsters. Although the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, for example, entrusted adult readers to judge lascivious texts themselves, for ‘some things agree to some temperaments’, as he reasoned,⁷⁹ non-adult readers had to be protected from such contents, as they were not able yet to judge critically and to restrain themselves. They had to be assisted in their reading practice at the least. Vives advocated an even more radical approach to poets such as Ovid: ‘There are so many things in the poets, which are charming, beautiful, great and worthy of admiration, that poets ought not to be excluded from boys’ study, but should be expurgated. [...] Obscene passages should be wholly cut out from the text, as though they were dead, and would infect whatever they touched.’⁸⁰ The prominent Jesuit advocate of Counter-Reformation Antonius Possevinus similarly argued for a severe selection of proper material out of the classics in his *Bibliotheca selecta*: ‘But the verses in which [Lucretius] displays Venus’, he warns after praising the author’s work, ‘must not be presented to young readers’.⁸¹ Similarly, from Greek epigrams only ‘the ones can be selected which concern either sacred or chaste topics’. Accordingly, poems that ‘accuse those false Greek gods of adultery, greediness, and similar atrocities’ ought to be neglected.⁸²

An adversarial view on this topic, as for example expressed by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century scholar David van Hoogstraten, did not gain much support. Van Hoogstraten (author of a mythological schoolbook) claimed that good students would automatically select valuable elements in mythology while ignoring subversive parts. He legitimized his view by referring to Plato’s advice to start education with mythology as a safe

⁷⁹ Cited in: Bushnell (1996), 124.

⁸⁰ Cited from: F. Watson, *Vives, on education: a translation of the De tradendis disciplinis of Juan Luis Vives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913, p. 128 (book 1.4).

⁸¹ Possevinus, *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum* (Cologne: Joannes Gymnicus, 1607), vol. 2.17.23 (p. 432): ‘At proponendi adolescentibus versus illi non sunt, quibus [...] Venerem invocat’. Possevinus foremost aims at the end of Lucretius’ fourth book, in which he turns to the subject of sex.

⁸² Ibid. 2.17.27 (p. 447): ‘Ex libro item Epigrammatum seligi possent, quae tum ad sacra, tum ad moralia pertinent’, and: ‘Ac tamen quae falsos illos Deos arguunt adulterii, avaritiae, ac similium vitiorum, reliquenda essent, ut iacent’.

start.⁸³ In the early sixteenth century the Venetian printer-publisher Aldus Manutius had already argued that his edition of Lucretius would not pose any danger when read by young readers individually. The truth in Lucretius's work would naturally prevail.⁸⁴ Manutius's reasoning, however, was obviously also driven by a commercial perspective; he defended his octavo edition that was printed without any commentary.

The early modern reception of the ancient poet Martial shows how different contexts resulted in different responses to its explicit passages. In fact, one might say that this created two Martials: one of them obscene, and the other one morally commendable. On the one hand, Martial's obscene epigrams were embraced in scholarly poetical circles where they were read and imitated with enthusiasm, for example by the Dutch Neo-Latin poets Janus Secundus and Janus Dousa.⁸⁵ On the other hand, in the same period Martial also became known as a preeminent moral poet. His epigrams were used as moral examples in educational contexts.⁸⁶ Effective editing and skilful use of paratexts made such paradoxically contradictory appropriation possible. The Jesuit editor Matthaeus Rader, for example, noted in the foreword to his edition of Martial: 'Let him aspire nothing in these temples and sanctuaries of wisdom, but chaste, sacred, and appropriate things; so that the youth will not lose its innocence, while seeking knowledge.'⁸⁷ Rader excised parts of Martial's text in his editing; in his preface, he labelled these excluded parts as offensive. By only selecting the decent material out of Martial's larger poetical corpus, he successfully adapted the author's work to the needs of the Jesuit education programme for schoolboys.

As this example shows us, presenting ancient texts to early modern young readers, instead of learned humanists, involved deliberate, at times even drastic, actions and decisions when dealing with obscene contents. A general way of dealing with the obscene did not exist, and humanists had to make their own individual choices in this respect. According to most humanists, methods of exclusion and adaptation of subversive elements were justified within scholarly practice.⁸⁸ The humanist ideals on the moral education of society through ancient

⁸³ Van Hoogstraten (1716), 'Aen den lezer'. References to Plato are a topos which is also present in, among others, Van Mander's introduction (1604), as well as in Natale Conti's mythological handbook, titled *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem*, Venice: 1567 (sc. Sluijter (2000), 180).

⁸⁴ Palmer (2014), 206.

⁸⁵ Veenman (1995), 12-4.

⁸⁶ Veenman (1995), 8-11.

⁸⁷ Cited from the 1627 edition as digitized by Google Books (<https://bit.ly/2z6j3nc>): 'Nihil ad haec templa & sacraria sapientiae, nisi castum, sanctum, integrumque adspiret; ne iuventus dum quaerit scientiam, perdat innocentiam'; cf. Hollewand (2017), 284.

⁸⁸ Early modern editors of ancient literature frequently excluded and adapted potentially dangerous contents. See Harrison (2014) on Horace, and Butterfield (2014) on Lucretius. J.J. Scaliger, for example, advised editor

culture excused the humanist scholars of the need to provide a comprehensive, one might say objective, disclosure of this culture.⁸⁹

3.2 Censoring obscenity: Pontanus

Following Vives and Possevinus's recommendations to excise obscene elements from ancient poetry, the Jesuit editor Jacobus Pontanus (Jakob Spanmüller, 1542-1626) excluded almost 2,400 verse lines from his editions of the *Metamorphoses*, about 20 percent of Ovid's text.⁹⁰ No other edition simply excluded verse lines, so this makes Pontanus an interesting source to investigate in this context.⁹¹

Pontanus produced two editions of the *Metamorphoses*: one was a plain text edition for school use, the other contained a commentary for teachers printed in 1618, which has no known reprints.⁹² Yet, his commentary was frequently included in variorum editions and was, thus, circulated widely. As one of the contributors to the *Ratio studiorum*, the Jesuit treatise on education of 1599 in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, Pontanus was directly involved in shaping the educational culture of Jesuit schools in his period. His work as a commentator has to be seen in this context: Pontanus wanted to provide suitable educational materials that proved the undiminished value of the classics, in particular their moral usefulness.⁹³ In the preface of his commentary, Pontanus acknowledged that he did not comment on every part of the text, because some parts were 'dangerous', 'godless', and 'condemned by nature itself'.

Claudius Salmasius to exclude some of the epigrammes from the *Anthologia Graeca* from his edition, whilst most of the poems do not contain anything that could affect the reader's high esteem of this corpus: '[...] id nunc impensius hortari non verebor, ut scilicet epigrammata Graece, resectis illis pauculis, edas, quae lectori ruborem suffundere possunt. Nam multa sunt quae tantum de amoribus verba faciunt, ita ut nullius lectoris verecundiam offendere possint' (Botley and Van Miert (2012), 7, ep. 1607 08 19, p. 248). As shown in another letter by Scaliger to Salmasius, excluding obscene contents was not only instigated by a concern for intended readers: the editor's reputation was also at stake (Van Miert (2011), 252).

⁸⁹ Cf. for example Erasmus, *De ratione studii* (CWE 24: 678, 12-13), who recommends slightly corrupting ancient texts if necessary for young students; also Vives (cf. n. 81).

⁹⁰ Pontanus excluded the following verse lines: *Met.* 1.454-474, 1.490-542, 1.588-621, 2.409-465, 2.533-632, 2.708-759, 3.273-338, 3.353-406, 4.51-388, 6.108-126, 6.438-609, 7.29-71, 7.78-88, 7.687-752, 8.1-151, 8.592-610, 9.101-133, 9.454-688, 9.714-797, 10.152-161, 10.247-739, 11.229-265, 11.303-318, 13.750-759, 13.855-903, 14.1-74, 14.654-771.

⁹¹ On Pontanus: Moss (1998), 159-164; as a didactic: Blum (1993); on his approach to gender: McKinley (2001), 160-70.

⁹² Pontanus's commentary edition (1618): Ed.42; his text editions (1647-1698): Ed.66, 79, 84, 89, 98, 103, and 108.

⁹³ Pontanus had already focussed on Ovid as repository of morality in his *Ethicorum Ovidianorum libri quatuor*, a compilation of commonplaces and short treatises on moral topics, printed in 1617.

Instead, he simply did not provide these passages at all. In particular young, inexperienced readers had to be protected, because they would not be able to disapprove of these elements automatically by themselves, as experienced readers would.⁹⁴

Although Pontanus stated that he had written his commentary for students, it is not plausible to assume that his edition was directly used by them, as it is printed in an expensive and unwieldy folio edition.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Pontanus states in his preface that he did not elaborate on mythological and geographical information, for which he refers to other sources in his comments.⁹⁶ As students were not expected to reach out to complementary source material and would have had difficulties to gain access to these reference works anyway, Pontanus's edition seems to have been intended especially for teachers, who could consult it in preparation for their lessons. This is where his work differs from the school commentaries that I will investigate further on: his work is not directly aimed at students.

In the preface to his edition, Pontanus assures his readers that, although he occasionally quotes verse lines in his annotations that he refused to incorporate in his edition, even these lines are not in any way prohibited. He adds: 'Yet I would like you to believe that I quote nothing unchaste.'⁹⁷ On the title page and in the preface of his edition, he explicitly states that he has not incorporated the full text of the *Metamorphoses*, but he only generally alludes to excluded passages. In his editions Pontanus most often leaves the reader unaware of what happened to the text. In the schoolbook without commentary, no markers indicate

⁹⁴ Pont. (Ed.42), fol. A-A^v: 'Repudiata a nobis, ut plus satis lubrica, &, ne quid dissimulem, nonnumquam etiam nefanda, atque a natura ipsa abhorrentia sibi retineant, nihil interdico, qui a nobis seorsum sentient, totumque hoc institutum poetas lasciviarum refertos perpurgandi, ad usum scilicet Christianae iuventutis aversantur: nec dictis, quod tolerabilius foret, sed maledictis horribilibus insectantur.'

⁹⁵ Jansen (2016), 47 argues that a folio edition containing Pontanus's Virgil commentary was intended for both students and teachers, because Pontanus himself states in the preface that he will win gratitude from 'all you who eagerly read Maro within domestic walls, and all you who teach the same to students professionally' ('quique intra domesticos parietes Maronem lectitatis, quique eundem [...] pro cathedra discipulus interpretamini') (translation and citation: Jansen (2016), 46-7). Instead of interpreting 'you who read within domestic walls' as students at home, I think it more plausible to explain them as humanists without a teaching post, contrasted by 'you who teach professionally'.

⁹⁶ Pont. (Ed.42), fol. A^v: 'In fabulis recensendis, & regionibus describendis parcius fui, teque ad Mythographos, & Geographos, & quae appellant Dictionaria poetica misi. Ex multa lectionum varietate vetustorum & impressorum codicum, a doctis viris annotata, cum delectu quasdam in contextum asciumus: quasdam ad oras paginarum adscripsimus.' In this phrase, Pontanus shows his awareness of paratextual space, as he mentions that some of his references are provided in the commentary underneath the text, and some in the margin next to it. It does not become clear whether he conceives these spaces differently.

⁹⁷ Pont. (Ed.42), fol. A^v: 'Quod nonnumquam versus ad confirmandum profero, qui in hoc nostro contextu non apparent, scito, quod per te vides, me hosce Commentarios & aetate & iudicio grandioribus edere, qui Ovidiana ut sunt legere nullo edicto Praetorio prohibentur. Nihil tamen impurum citare me credas velim.'

missing lines or abridgements at all, and verse lines are not provided. Although the commentary edition does provide verse lines, these are not the common ones that we are accustomed to in modern editions of the text. When verse lines are missing, Pontanus nevertheless continues the verse numbering, as if nothing at all has been erased. In this way, he presents the abridged text as a new, seemingly complete, unity. Although inconsistently, asterisks occasionally inform the reader that something has happened to a passage. They acknowledge to the intended audience of teachers that Pontanus had expurgated the text on certain points, and that his edition was, thus, an appropriate one to use at schools.

All censored passages deal with love affairs, in which characters are ardently in love, inflamed by their passions, or burning from instant craving. Ovid frequently applied the metaphor of fire to characters falling in love, emphasizing its intensity. Pontanus excluded nearly all of these instances. In contrast, the love story of Orpheus and Eurydice was appropriate for reading: Eurydice is only 'beloved' (*amatam* 10.61), they are described as just 'tightly connected souls' (*iunctissima pectora* 10.70-1), and Ovid has Orpheus explain that his arrival in the Underworld shows that 'love has prevailed' (*vicit Amor* 10.26). Ovid does not relate their affections in detail, but just mentions their love as an abstract theme. Since Pontanus wanted to withhold elements referring to more passionate love and its physical consummation, this story presented no problems. Pontanus also chose to keep intact a passage on Medea even though it mentions the flames in her heart. In this instance however, the phrase encompasses a warning against such feelings, as Medea herself says: 'Get rid of the raging flames in your maiden heart, if you can, poor girl.'⁹⁸ This example shows that Pontanus deemed it necessary to reject descriptions of passionate emotions explicitly, or otherwise exclude them.

In censoring the text Pontanus sought to avoid disruptions of Ovid's storylines. In doing so, he applied three particular techniques: he chose the precise lines he had to cut, he included concise prose summaries that contain the essential story elements that he had excised, or he even tampered with Ovid's original Latin text to connect verse lines that were unconnected in Ovid's original.

A clear example of the first technique, of selective excising to preserve narrative coherence, is shown in the two passages dealing with the character Aglauros, daughter of the Athenian king Cecrops.⁹⁹ Pontanus excluded these passages from his edition, although in itself the character does not seem to be problematic. The problem, however, is its narratological position. The girl Aglauros is connected to three story elements: she opens a box given to her by the goddess Minerva who forbade her to do so, she hinders Apollo from approaching her

⁹⁸ *Met.* 7.17-8: 'Excute virgineo conceptas pectore flammam, | si potes, infelix.'

⁹⁹ *Met.* 2.552-561 and 2.737-759.

sister, and Minerva and Apollo join forces to punish her for this behaviour. One could argue that these are all unproblematic story elements. The Aglauros story, however, is narratologically embedded in a story about another girl, Coronis, who is involved in adultery. Therefore, Pontanus was unable to extract the Aglauros passages as an isolated story from the rest of the text. In this way, Ovid's narrative, and not the actual contents, made Pontanus decide to exclude these elements.¹⁰⁰

The second technique (of adding prose summaries) supports the reader in keeping track of the storyline of, for example, Procne, together with her sister Philomela, taking revenge on her husband by killing their little son. Pontanus excluded the cause that triggered Procne to commit this cruel act, but has to mention it somehow because otherwise the story would not make sense anymore. Therefore, he briefly summarised the first part: 'Procne, queen of the Thracians, took revenge on her husband king Tereus for she was furious because of her sister Philomela who most brutally was deprived by him of her chastity, and of her tongue, so she could not betray him'.¹⁰¹ The use of summaries allowed the editors to present the story in the way they deemed most helpful or instructive.¹⁰² By presenting this cruel story of abduction, rape, and mutilation in a one-sentence summary, Pontanus did not need to provide Ovid's quite comprehensive description of Tereus's burning passion that instigated all this, and his lively depiction of the crimes. In this way, Pontanus found a solution to preserve the narrative, but without exposing the problematic aspects.

In another instance, to stay on track of the story-line after jumping into the middle of one of Ovid's fables, Pontanus adds '[Tiresias]' after the word 'he' in the first verse line to explain to whom the word refers.¹⁰³ What follows is Tiresias's unproblematic account about Narcissus. However, there is another story preceding this one in which Ovid introduces Tiresias; in this story Jupiter and Juno ask him who enjoys sexuality most: the male or the female. This was clearly not the kind of story Pontanus intended to present to his readers. Again, Pontanus felt the need to chasten the text, but did not want to create gaps in the story-lines.

¹⁰⁰ This instance is a fine example of Ovid's narrative technique in the *Metamorphoses*. The main story is that of the raven Corvus, who discovers Apollo's girlfriend Coronis cheating, and hastens to inform Apollo. On the way, he meets the crow Cornix, who warns him that she caught Aglauros in the act of opening Minerva's box and was punished for what she saw. Cornix also tells about Neptune trying to rape her and about Nyctimene who slept with her own father. Done with all the chattering however, Corvus decides to continue his plan and flies away.

¹⁰¹ Ed.108, p. 139: 'Progne regina Thracum in Tereum maritum regem ob sororem Philomelam ab eo pudicitia, & lingua, ne proderet, immanissime spoliata exulcerata, ultionem promittit [...].'

¹⁰² Cf. for example Butterfield (2014), 101 on summaries as methods to censure Lucretius.

¹⁰³ *Met.* 3.339, Ed.108, p. 65: 'Ille [Tiresias] per Anonias fama celeberrimus urbes'.

My last example of Pontanus's interventions in the text provides two instances of the deliberate corruption of Ovid's verse lines. Pontanus sought to exclude one clause of a sentence on the nymph Liriope, 'who once Cesiphos enclosed in his meandering river and violated, imprisoned in his waters'. To exclude this clause, Pontanus had to connect the parts preceding and succeeding it. His intervention resulted in a textual adaptation, introducing into Ovid's text two new, metrically correct, verse lines. Ovid's original text is as follows:

'[...] Liriope, quam quondam flumine curvo | implicuit clausaeque suis Cephisos in
undis | vim tulit. Enixa est utero pulcherrima pleno | infantem nymphe, iam tum qui
posset amari, | Narcissumque vocat.'

([...] Liriope, who once Cesiphos enclosed in his meandering river and violated,
imprisoned in his waters. The most beautiful nymph from her pregnant womb gave
birth to a child, and, as soon as that he could be loved, she named him Narcissus.)¹⁰⁴

Instead of this original text, Pontanus's edition says:

'[...] Liriope. Puerum pulcherrima nymphe | enixa est utero, iam tunc posset amari, |
Narcissumque vocat'

([...] Liriope. The most beautiful nymph from her pregnant womb gave birth to a boy,
who even at that time could be loved, and she named him Narcissus).¹⁰⁵

To provide a metrically correct verse line, Pontanus exchanged Ovid's 'infantem' for 'puerum'.¹⁰⁶ Pontanus used textual adaptation also as a method of censoring. For example, the scene in which the nymph Galatea refers to herself lying in the arms of her lover Acis, was too explicit for Pontanus. With a simple adjustment to Ovid's Latin text he erased the erotic connotation and turned the verse line into a chaste scene. He changed 'lying in the lap of my Acis' to 'lying next to my sister'.¹⁰⁷

The effect of the interventions mentioned above is an increased emphasis on aspects that Pontanus deemed important: concrete instances of desirable behaviour such as decency and charity. This is evident in Medea's monologue on whether or not to follow Jason and betray her homeland, and on the sincerity of Jason's love for her. The beginning of her

¹⁰⁴ *Ov. Met.* 3.342-6.

¹⁰⁵ *Ed.*108, p. 65.

¹⁰⁶ These alterations only were printed in the school edition; the commentary edition intended for teachers (*Ed.*42) presents Ovid's original text.

¹⁰⁷ *Met.* 13.786-7: 'meique | Acidis in gremio residens', in Pontanus' version this becomes: 'meamque | Germanam iuxta residens'.

contemplation, in which she acknowledged her affection, was not problematic in itself, and subsequently found its way into the editions. Pontanus used typographical means to guide the interpretation of the reader on this matter. While the main text was printed in italics, some verse lines were printed in roman type, thus signalling these verses to the reader. In this way, the following phrase is emphasized: 'An unknown power draws me unwilling: on the one side desire persuades, on the other reason does. I see and favour the better, but follow the worse.'¹⁰⁸ Pontanus excluded the extensive centre part of the monologue in which Medea doubts marriage. Its concluding remark, on the contrary, was included: 'She spoke, and for her eyes stood decency, fidelity, and modesty, and Love already will take flight.'¹⁰⁹ Thereby, Pontanus comprised the core of Medea's reasoning thus making it easier for the reader to follow his intended lesson: although one might be overwhelmed by feelings of affection, one must always behave decently.¹¹⁰

Deleting sexuality and emphasising love characterizes Pontanus' strategy in presenting Ovid to his readers. In his comments to the text, Pontanus shows a particular interest in love within marriage as well as in love in a more general sense. For instance, he comments on Ovid's fables to promote charity. When Latona says that her life depends on the water she is not allowed to drink, Pontanus interprets this as aggressive blackmailing of which he disapproves: 'Alas, she begs for her life: that she will die of thirst. She accuses them of homicide, or rather of killing a god, if they keep refusing. Is there still something left to move motionless hearts? Yes, there is. Look, I will love.'¹¹¹ Pontanus then presents an alternative type of behaviour: instead of threatening her opponents, Latona should have shown them her love by compassion and kindness. This would have melted their opponents' hearts. The same appreciation of love appears in other instances too. For example, in Book 5 of the *Metamorphoses*, where Cupid is told to have as many as a thousand arrows to hit his subjects. Pontanus comments: 'He needs many arrows, because he must strike many. For what is more loved by all people than love? What more practiced? So Venus knew how much this arrow of Cupid was worth.'¹¹² The comment does not elaborate on the contents of the story, but

¹⁰⁸ *Met.* 7.19-21.

¹⁰⁹ *Met.* 7.72-3.

¹¹⁰ Cf. McKinley (2001), 161-3, who interprets Pontanus' approach to this myth within the Christianising context of original sin.

¹¹¹ Pont. (Ed.42) on *Met.* 6.356-7: 'Hem, per vitam suam rogat: prae siti enim morituram se. Latenter homicidii, seu potius deicidii, si negare perseverent, eos arguit. Est ne ad permovenda adamantina corda aliquid relictum amplius? Est vero. Vide, amabo.'

¹¹² Pont. (Ed.42) on *Met.* 5.380: 'Opus est illi multis sagittis, quia multos vulnerare habet. Quid enim apud omnes gentes amoribus amabilius? Quid usurpatius? Novit ergo Venus quantum quaeque valeat sagitta Cupidinis.'

contains an interpretation that shows how important these words actually were according to the commentator. He emphasizes this phrase about Cupid to elucidate a more general, moral interpretation, that is not necessarily connected to the contents of the fable.

3.3 Contextualising obscenity and diverting attention: Farnabius and Rabus

Pontanus's method of erasing the contents that he rendered lascivious evokes the question how other commentators who refrained from excluding parts of Ovid's text presented such passages to their readers. To find an answer to this question, I will investigate two examples: Farnabius and Rabus's commentaries were printed in the second half of the seventeenth century, and available in the same period as Pontanus's censured school text editions.¹¹³

Thomas Farnabius (1575-1647) was a London schoolmaster, who edited and commented on classical texts for young readers. He published Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in 1636; it succeeded editions of Virgil, Horace, the *Anthologia Graeca*, and many more.¹¹⁴ His 1636 commentary to the *Metamorphoses* was first printed in the Low Countries in 1639 by the Amsterdam printer Johannes (I) Janssonius, followed by another six editions, and his annotations were incorporated in several variorum editions. His commentary is often concise compared to other commentaries, which suggests that he had an inexperienced readership in mind. The absence of a preface to the edition also is exemplary of its school context: the teacher introduced his students to the text so a preface would have been superfluous.¹¹⁵ His commentary foremost consists of clarifications of Ovid's content and of interpreting notes that contextualise both content and language; Farnabius does not pay a lot of attention to the basic clarification of Ovid's language.

¹¹³ Farnabius's commentary was printed in seven editions from 1639 until 1696 (Ed.58, 70, 72, 73, 77, 93, 105). Rabus's commentary was printed in two late seventeenth-century editions (Ed.102 and 107).

¹¹⁴ Paleit (2012) provides a short but useful biography of Farnabius in the context of the early modern English Renaissance; Moss (1998), 231-134; on Farnabius's Virgil commentary see: Jansen (2016), who characterises this commentary as follows: '[Farnabius] seems to focus more on explaining the language and content of the poem itself, to make it better accessible to a readership of students at the intermediate level, than on using the poem as a starting point for providing information that appears to be not directly relevant to the narrative of the epic' (p. 50-1).

¹¹⁵ Although the Dutch editions lack a preface, the original 1636 London edition included a prefatory text that characterises the *Metamorphoses*' contribution to knowledge as follows: 'it comprises philosophy of every kind, hidden, as it were, under a mantle of fables, embracing the doctrine Pythagoras communicated silently, and the teaching promulgated by the elders of the Stoa, the Academy, and the Lyceum, transmitting their precepts and maxims on nature, moral behavior, and political philosophy; and lastly, it provides a continuous history of the world from its beginning down to the time of Augustus, linking the episodes together with astonishing ingenuity' (translation: Moss (1998), 235).

In 1686 Petrus Rabus (1660-1702) produced a frequently reprinted edition including annotations by Johannes Minellius. In the preface to his edition, Rabus warns the reader not to expect text critical notes, because he did not take the effort to correct the text, or to even think about it. He intended his notes to support the youth in their reading.¹¹⁶ As both Minellius and Rabus were teachers at the Latin school in Rotterdam, this is not surprising. Minellius had died in 1683 before he was able to finish his commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, and that is why Rabus completed his task, which the title page of the editions mentions: 'with the posthumous annotations of Johannes Minellius, which Petrus Rabus in large part has completed and emended'.¹¹⁷ The commentary extensively clarifies potentially obscure elements, thereby showing its educational purpose. Because of this extensiveness, it is striking that the school commentary by Rabus hardly provides contextualisation of Ovid's contents, but contains ample clarification of a wide variety of elements concerning both language and content. As we will see, many of the notes offer guidance to either syntax or understanding (*ordo* and *sensus*), as Rabus himself notes.¹¹⁸

In the remainder of this chapter, I will investigate in more detail Farnabius and Rabus's approaches to three examples of passionate love: Tereus who is in love with Philomela, Pygmalion who adores his marble statue, and Myrrha who is craving for her father.¹¹⁹

3.3.1 Tereus: confronting rape and violence

Book 6 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* comprises one of his most gruesome myths. The fable recounts the story of Tereus who falls in love with his sister-in-law Philomela, and abducts, rapes, and mutilates her. It is not the rape itself that turns this story into one of Ovid's most macabre episodes, it is the poet's elaborate description of horrific details that make it particularly graphic. Ovid vividly describes how Tereus amputates Philomela's tongue, and how Philomela together with her sister Procne cuts his son in pieces, by way of revenge.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Ed.102, 'Lectori Benevolo S.D. Petrus Rabus', fol. *3^r.*3^v.

¹¹⁷ Ed.102: 'Cum annotationibus posthumis J. Min-Ellii, Quas magna ex parte supplevit atque emendavit P. Rabus'. Rabus attributed less credit to himself in the preface: it just states that the edition in large part ('magna ex parte') consists of Minellius' notes, and omits that those notes were in large part edited and completed by Rabus, as the title page mentions. For reasons of convenience I have chosen to consequently designate this commentary here as Rabus's, because I am unable to distinguish between Minellius and Rabus's contributions. In doing so, it is of course not my intention to disregard Minellius's initial work.

¹¹⁸ Rabus uses this terminology for example in his note on *Met.* 6.519.

¹¹⁹ Respectively *Met.* 6.438-674; 10.243-297; 10.298-502.

¹²⁰ Notwithstanding its gruesome details, in early modern times the story was used to educate boys as well as girls (Tholen (2016)).

Before turning to Farnabius and Rabus's approaches to this story, a brief look at Pontanus is in order, to show what aspects he considered problematic in this specific case. Although he excluded the story part of the abduction and rape, he did think it appropriate to include the part about Philomela and Procne's revenge. Ovid sums up the revenge options which Philomela's sister considers, and Pontanus paraphrases these as follows in a comment: 'She clearly mentions four ways, by which she considers to punish him. For she wants to burn his palace, and to throw the adulterer in the middle of the flames; she wants to poke out his eyes, or cut of his tongue, as he himself did with her sister; she wants to wound him till death.'¹²¹ At first sight, this seems to be an accurate paraphrasing of Ovid's text, but there is one element that Pontanus neglects. Ovid also mentions Tereus's penis ('the members that brought shame to you'), as a symbol of the very essence of the gruesome story. By excluding this part of the story in his paraphrasing annotation, Pontanus hides it from his reader and downplays its prominence. Thus, he presents the reader with a uniform view: he excludes the subversive text about rape, and also neglects specific poetical references to that passage.

Farnabius seems to have agreed with Pontanus on the potentially dangerous effects of the Philomela episode. Although he does not excise Ovid's text, he makes clear in the margin to this story that he was unwilling to comment on it, and he elucidates the solution he felt obliged to provide: 'In order to avoid that the margin is blanc and free of notes, or impure and polluted with love stories: it seems that the fable is related to another story, as passed on by Antoninus Liberalis, whose work *Metamorphoses* is rather unknown.'¹²² This comment makes clear how Farnabius struggled in dealing with the Philomela episode. On the one hand, he refused to comment on Ovid's story; on the other hand, he felt obliged by duty not to leave the margin blank and to provide a decent filling. The remainder of his comment contains his extensive summary of a similar story on the mythological character Polytechnus by the rather obscure ancient mythographer Antoninus Liberalis. Liberalis's story only briefly refers to lust and rape with a plain phrase that states: 'In the woods Polytechnus deprives her of her virginity'.¹²³ He did portray other aspects of the story, such as the revenge and transformations into birds, far more elaborately. By filling his margin with this extensive

¹²¹ Pont. (Ed.42) on *Met.* 6.614ff ('aut ego, cum facibus regalia tecta cremabo, | artificem mediis immittam Terea flammis, | aut linguam atque oculos *et quae tibi membra pudorem* | *abstulerunt* ferro rapiam, aut per vulnera mille | sontem animam expellam'): 'Distincte enuntiat 4. modos, quibus eum punire cogitarit. Vult enim aut regiam incendere, & adulterum in medias flammas iniicere: aut sive oculos effodere, sive linguam, quod ipse sorori fecit, praecidere: aut vulneribus usque ad mortem consauciare. [...]'

¹²² Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 6.452: 'Ne a notis pura vacet margo, neve amatoriis impura sordeat, adnectere visum est fabulam, uti alias refertur ab Ant. Liberali. cuius *Metamorph.* liber rarior est.' Farnabius axiomatically designates the marginal space as important within his edition.

¹²³ 'Cui Polytechnus in sylva virginitatem eripit.'

summary of Liberalis's account, Farnabius absolves himself of the task to comment on Ovid's account of Tereus's raging passion and rape. He intends to censure Ovid's explicit content, diverting attention from it as a way of contextualising the story within the mythographic tradition.

Pontanus and Farnabius thus to some extent refused to deal with this story. Rabus, however, contextualised the content by framing it as a moral example. He not only used the commentary to do so, but also applied typographical means. In particular, Rabus emphasized those elements that would have provoked the other commentators' disapproval: Tereus' uncontrolled lust and the rape that results from it. In lines 459-60 Ovid describes three causes of Tereus raping Philomela: 'Indeed her beauty was worth [being loved], but congenital lust aroused him, and also the race in these regions is inclined to Venus. He burns by his own defect and by that of his kin.' Philomela's beauty, Tereus's carnal nature, and the lasciviousness of his clan lead to the tragedy. As if Ovid was insufficiently explicit, Rabus adds a paraphrase: 'Philomela's beauty surely was worth being loved as well as by all others, as indeed by Tereus, who was stimulated deeply by inborn lust for women.'¹²⁴

To turn this story into a moral example, Rabus pinpointed four aphorisms – *epiphonemata*, as they are labelled by Rabus – in Ovid's text, by highlighting them in roman font instead of the italic font in which the rest of Ovid's text was printed.¹²⁵ In this way, the four aphorisms stand out amidst the other verse lines of the text. Each aphorism comes with a note in the commentary, providing an explanation.¹²⁶ The aphorisms address four different, general themes: utility, eloquence, ignorance, and misfortune, on which they provide general lessons. Apart from moral examples as such, these aphorisms had an important function in early modern education as starting-points for writing assignments.¹²⁷ The first of Ovid's quotes, 'so much the true benefit is hidden' (which refers to the initial happiness on the marriage between Procne and Tereus, that later would be regretted) is simply labelled

¹²⁴ *Met.* 6.458-60: 'Digna quidem facies, sed et hunc innata libido | exstimulat, pronumque genus regionibus illis | in Venerem est; flagrat vitio gentisque suoque.' Rabus (Ed.107): 'Facies Philomelae digna quidem erat amari cum ab aliis omnibus, tum vero a Tereo, qui maxime ingenita libidine in mulieres stimulabatur.'

¹²⁵ See III. 13; all the Rabus editions are provided with this typographical feature. It is most likely that, as the editor, Rabus himself was the middleman who initiated this – instead of, for example, the printer –, because typography and appropriation of the text work strongly together in this case.

¹²⁶ The four aphorisms, followed by Rabus's comments (Ed.107), are: 1) *Met.* 6.438: 'Usque adeo latet utilitas.' Rabus: 'Epiphonema.' 2) *Met.* 6.470: 'Facundum faciebat amor'. Rabus: 'Eloquentem. Facundus dicitur, qui facit verbis quidquid vult.' 3) *Met.* 6.473: 'Proh superi! Quantum mortalia pectora caecae | noctis habent!' Rabus: 'In quanta rerum omnium inscitia hominum animi versantur. Epiphonema.' 4) *Met.* 6.575-6: 'Grande doloris | ingenium est, miserisque venit solertia rebus.' Rabus: 'In adversis rebus homines fiunt solertes, & ingeniosi.' Cf. III. 13.

¹²⁷ Cf. Erasmus, *De ratione studii* (CWE 24: 677, 15).

‘Epiphonema’, without further explanation. Rabus thought it could speak for itself: people cannot understand the reasons of life.

Its corresponding note generalises the second aphorism, ‘love made him eloquent’ (which expresses how Tereus’s longing has a positive effect on the way he makes an emotional plea). Rabus provides his reader with a synonym (*eloquens*) of Ovid’s Latin word for eloquent (*facundus*). Moreover, he explains of the word *facundus*: ‘Someone is called eloquent, who achieves by words what he wants.’ Tereus is lifted from his obscene context as a rapist, by singling out his position as a rhetorician. In this way, he can function as a good example of how eloquence – the students’ main goal in their education – is a necessary element in adulthood.

A third aphorism addresses the topic of the ignorance of the human mind. Again, a reference to Tereus is typographically marked to achieve this effect: ‘Good gods! How the blind night seizes mortal hearts!’ With this phrase Ovid expresses how Philomela’s father, Pandion, misjudged Tereus’s lack of honesty. Rabus’s comment generalises this specific case to a generic fact: ‘In what great ignorance of all things are the minds of humans tossed around.’ This seems to be an important lesson for Rabus, who repeats his own comment in another instance further on in the story, again addressing the blindness of the human mind.¹²⁸

The fourth topic comprises misfortune, and seems to be a word of solace for those coping with misery. Ovid’s Latin text states that ‘the abilities of sorrow are immense, and solace comes by miserable matters’. Rabus notes: ‘In miserable matters humans become clever, and ingenious.’ In other words: misery has its benefits.

3.3.2 *Pygmalion: negotiating sex*

In Book 10 Ovid narrates the story of Pygmalion, the sculptor who falls in love with the ivory statue he has made. He beseeched Venus to give him a wife just as beautiful as his own creation, not daring to ask her for the statue itself to come alive, which is exactly how the goddess answers his plea. Pontanus excluded the story from his editions, most likely because of Ovid’s vivid description of Pygmalion’s passionate feelings, which make him indulge step-by-step his imaginative affection that gradually turns into physical love.¹²⁹ Phrases such as ‘Pygmalion eagerly absorbs in his chest the fires for the artificial body’, ‘he kisses it, and believes this to be answered’, and ‘with his hands he also touches her breasts’ focus the story

¹²⁸ *Met.* 6.653, n. 235.

¹²⁹ Pontanus did include the preceding verse lines 10.243-6, in which Pygmalion decides to live a celibate life in response to women’s behaviour, a choice that finds approval in Pontanus’s comment to these lines (cf. McKinley (2001), 163-4).

on bodily affection, and must have convinced Pontanus of its inappropriateness.¹³⁰ Both Farnabius and Rabus approached the Pygmalion story by contextualizing its content: they dealt with its potentially obscene content by moralising it, thus attempting to divert the reader's attention.

Keeping his schoolboy readership in mind, it is striking to see that Farnabius's moral interpretations tend to be related to girls, and Pygmalion is a good example of this tendency. His notes here focus on how girls should behave. He starts with a comment on the first line of the fable, where Ovid mentions Pygmalion's general aversion to women 'who are spending their time with offenses'. Farnabius clarifies what these offenses were: 'to prostitute'.¹³¹ By explicitly emphasising prostitution, and Pygmalion's abhorrence of it, Farnabius creates a moral frame to do with proper and improper behaviour in love affairs. To Ovid's phrase 'velle moveri' (which describes that Pygmalion's sculpture would have wanted to be moved if being a real girl) he notes: 'And willing to be moved: if not natural shame, properly learned modesty, and silence forbade this to girls, "and things that bring decency to girls"'.¹³² Farnabius interprets 'moveri' in this case as romantic or sexual activity and deems it improper behaviour, contrasting Ovid's text in which 'velle moveri' does not have a negative connotation per se. In Farnabius's reasoning Pygmalion's sculpture is not a proper example of an early modern girl, because girls are not allowed to answer romantic or sexual intentions; natural shame and proper upbringing should lead them to abstain from such things.¹³³ Further on, Farnabius comments on the phrase 'the touched statue becomes soft' as follows: 'There has never been a single girl of ivory or marble, but many I think that were hard and inaccessible at first to suitors, but then weakened by yielding and constant prayers.'¹³⁴ This includes an implicit warning: although one may be tempted to yield, it is important that reason prevails. Farnabius does not literally formulate such concrete guidance; he just provides his readers with

¹³⁰ Resp. *Met.* 10.252-3: 'haurit | pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes'; 256: 'oscula dat reddique putat'; 282: 'manibus quoque pectora temptat'.

¹³¹ Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 10.243 ('aevum per crimina agentes'): 'Quaestum diurnum corpore facientes.' *Quaestus* is a common word for prostitution, the phrase *quaestum corpore facere* for to prostitute (cf. Lewis and Short s.v. I.B).

¹³² Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 10.251: 'Et moveri velle, nisi vetaret hoc virginibus, a natura insitus pudor, & a proba educatione acquisita verecundia & silentium ἃ τε παρθενοῦς κόσμον φέρει'.

¹³³ A moral approach to this passage is traditional: Victor Giselinus, providing the marginalia to the edition initially printed by Plantin in 1566 (Ed.21), already noted in quite similar terms (Ed.25, p. 275): 'Well-educated girls out of shame barely dare to move before men' ('Virgines bene educatae prae pudore in conspectu virorum vix se audent movere').

¹³⁴ *Met.* 10.283: 'temptatum mollescit ebur'; Farn.: 'Non una & sola fuit haec virgo eburnea aut marmores, plurimas credo duras, primum difficiles amatoribus, obsequio tamen & assiduis precibus emollitas.'

comments on the behaviour of characters in the fables. It is up to the readers themselves to derive the lessons.

Farnabius also uses the Pygmalion story to create yet another, psychological frame of interpretation: he presents Pygmalion as an example of a lack of emotional stability. This is a popular theme in other school commentaries as well. It frequently emerges in Farnabius's notes, and in this case concerns Pygmalion's uncontrolled and foolish emotions. To make his point, Farnabius refers to the Hellenistic author Philostephanus Cyrenaeanus who clarified how the reader should interpret the story in a moral way.¹³⁵ The place of the reference mark in the text shows the reader why Farnabius cites Philostephanus: it is placed just before the phrase 'Pygmalion burns with love for the artificial body'.¹³⁶ Philostephanus, fully quoted by Farnabius, narrates a similar story about another Pygmalion, king of Cyprus, and his love for a statue of the goddess Venus. He elaborates on the deplorable stupidity of Pygmalion's emotional state that contrasts with the ancient sanctity of the statue. Pygmalion's blinded mind, reason, and judgement made him bed the statue, which proved to be foolish because of the void imagination of lust. Farnabius continues by mentioning yet another ancient source, Pseudo-Lucian, who relates a story of the same kind about a young man loving without restraint.¹³⁷ Once again, Farnabius gives his readers quite a literal moral lesson through his extensive condemnation of vain passion. The interplay between source text, reference mark, and commentary made clear what the story of Pygmalion was supposed to teach.

In Rabus's strategy, finally, silence and distraction are key. In his comments he avoids a discussion of the mental and physical affections Ovid vividly describes. He diverts the reader's attention from Pygmalion's erotic experience by clarifying Ovid's content and language. For example, he does not comment upon Pygmalion touching the breasts of the newly transformed girl. Instead, Rabus explains Ovid's learned references, such as 'Hymettian wax', providing it with the explanation that Hymettus is a Greek mountain rich of honey.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Philostephanus's work was preserved by the early Christian author Arnobius, as Farnabius mentions in detail.

¹³⁶ *Met* 10.252-3: 'haurit | pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes'.

¹³⁷ Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 10.252: 'Philostephanus [i.e. Cyrenaeanus] in Cypricis [i.e. *De Cypro*] author est, inquit Arnobius l. 9 [actually, *Adversus Nationes* 6.22]. Pygmaleonem [!] Regem Cyprici simulacrum Veneris, quod sanctitatis apud Cypricos & religionis habebatur antiquae, adamasse ut foeminam; mente, animo, lumine rationis iudicique caecatis; solitumque dementem tanquam si uxoria res esset, sublevato in lectulum numine copularier amplexibus atque ore; resque alias agere libidinis vacua imaginatione frustrabiles. Sed legatur & historia nobilis cuiusdam iuvenis, qui simulacrum Veneris Cnidiae impotens amabat apud Lucianum in *Amoribus* [i.e. Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores* 13].'

¹³⁸ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 10.284-5 ('Hymettia [...] | cera'): '*Hymettus* Atticae mons est, optimi melis fertissimus.'

Another frequently used type of comment is a short clarification on word level: Rabus for example provides 'sedit' as a synonym for 'subsedir', and clarifies 'ad aras' with 'apud altaria'.¹³⁹

Three comments show how Rabus tried to direct the reader's attention away from the dangerous nature of Ovid's story by strongly emphasising the concept of a lifelike ivory statue instead of Pygmalion's affection. First, he emphasizes the former by clarifying Ovid's phrase 'the art is concealed': 'it seems lifelike, not made out of ivory'. Secondly, he neglects Pygmalion's fiery affections, and instead comments on the word 'simulati', explaining it as 'made in similitude of a girl'. Thirdly, Rabus explains the phrase 'he does not acknowledge it as being of ivory yet', with the quite obvious note: 'Although he touches the statue, and feels that it is made of ivory, he is not able to convince himself of the fact that it is ivory, so vivid it appears.'¹⁴⁰

Similarly Rabus intends to divert attention away from physical aspects described in the story. Ovid describes Pygmalion's fear of leaving bruises on the statue because he passionately holds it in his hands. Rabus focusses his comment on the word *livor* that Ovid uses here for 'bruise'. He defines it as 'a black spot, that happens to appear on an injured body' and also gives an interpretation of *livor* as an allegory of jealousy, that is not connected to the story at hand.¹⁴¹ Rabus in this way once again ignores the aspect of passion.

3.3.3 Myrrha: exposing incest

The story of Pygmalion is immediately followed by Ovid's account of Myrrha. It contains a comprehensive account of Myrrha's struggle to control her incestuous feelings, to which she yields more and more, until finally she lures her father into sexual intercourse. Ovid himself introduces the narrative with a warning, through the mouth of the mythological singer-songwriter Orpheus, the storyteller in this fable:

'Now I will sing of a dire tale; be far away from here, daughters, far away parents! Or, if my songs will appeal your minds, do not trust this part of my account, and do not

¹³⁹ Resp. *Met.* 10.284 and 273.

¹⁴⁰ Rabus (Ed.107) resp. on *Met.* 10.252 ('ars adeo latet'): 'Ut viva videretur, non ex ebone confecta'; on *Met.* 10.253: 'In similitudinem virginis facti'; on *Met.* 10.255 ('nec adhuc ebur esse fatetur'): 'Quamvis tangat statuum, eburneamque esse sentiat, sibi tamen eburneam esse persuadere non potest, adeo viva videbatur.'

¹⁴¹ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 10.258 ('metuit, pressos veniat ne livor in artus'): 'Et timet, ne mambra, manum pressa, livorem & nigra quaedam signa concipiant. Livor est illud signum subnigrum, quod in corpore percusso videri solet: cui quoniam invidiorum color similis est, livor pro invidia saepe ponitur.' Rabus does not mention Raphael Regius as the source of this note, unlike Schrevelius who does also include this remark in his edition.

believe that it actually happened, or, if you do believe it, also believe in the punishment of this action.’¹⁴²

This disclaimer must have strongly appealed to the early modern commentators, who gratefully adopted its message. Rabus comments on this warning with a paraphrase that does not really deviate from Ovid’s text, emphasising that this story is not a true one.¹⁴³ Farnabius adds a citation from Ovid himself, using the same religious formula at the opening of his *Ars amatoria*: ‘Be far away, slender chaplets, sign of honesty’.¹⁴⁴ Apart from pointing out an intertextual reference, he too emphasizes the taboo character of the tale that follows.

Farnabius and Rabus appropriated the authority of Ovid as an ancient author. The fact that Ovid himself exposed his dangerous content cleared the way for a direct approach to the story. Neither Farnabius nor Rabus decided to hide the explicit content, nor did they try to divert the reader’s attention into another direction. Farnabius commented on verses 10.336-7 (‘He was worthy to be loved, but as a father’) by citing an intertextual reference derived from Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*: ‘Myrrha loved her father, but not as a daughter should’.¹⁴⁵ Although Farnabius in this way does provide the text with another euphemism, he does not seem to shy away from the nature of the relationship. Further on, he elucidates Ovid’s poetic words ‘full of her father’ with the explicit paraphrase ‘pregnant by her father’, displaying the outcome of the narrative. Rabus even adds ‘by semen’.¹⁴⁶ This was clearly not something that Farnabius and Rabus wanted to hide from their young readers.

When in lines 343 and 344 Myrrha describes what she longs to do with her father – looking at him, touching him, talking to him, and kissing him –, and regrets that nothing more is allowed her, both Rabus and Farnabius make clear that ‘nothing more’ means coitus, ‘the final stage of love’, in Rabus’s terms.¹⁴⁷ Farnabius is even disappointed that Ovid does not

¹⁴² *Met.* 10.300-303: ‘Dira canam; procul hinc, natae, procul este, parentes! | Aut, mea si vestras mulcebunt carmina mentes, | desit in hac mihi parte fides, nec credite factum, | vel, si credetis, facti quoque credite poenam.’

¹⁴³ ‘Aut si mea carmina vos delectabunt, nolite credere ea fuisse facta, quae hoc loco scribentur de Myrrha, Cinyrae filia.’ (‘Or if my songs please you, do not believe that these matters have happened, which are written down here on Myrrha, the daughter of Cinyra.’)

¹⁴⁴ *Ov. Ars am.* 1.31: ‘Este procul, vittae tenuous, insigne pudoris’.

¹⁴⁵ *Met.* 10.336-7: ‘dignus amari | ille, sed ut pater, est’; *Ars am.* 1.185: ‘Myrrha patrem, sed non ut filia debet, amavit.’

¹⁴⁶ *Met.* 10.469: ‘plena patris’; Farn. (Ed.77): ‘Gravida ex patre’; Rabus (Ed.107): ‘Sc. *semine*, i.e. ex patre gravida facta.’

¹⁴⁷ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 10.343: ‘Coitum significat: i. si mihi cum eo concumbere non licet, quae est ultima amoris linea.’

mention this fifth stage of love explicitly. His comment shows that he expects Ovid to provide the moral lessons himself: he asks him why he did not mention the coitus. Farnabius criticises the author for this negligence and for thus making it difficult for the readers to discard the act.¹⁴⁸

The sexual aspect itself – the incestuous relationship between a father and a daughter – was clearly not something that needed additional moral condemnation from a commentator. Farnabius seems to assume that this aspect is clearly condemnable and in no need of explication. Instead, he contextualises the dangerous content in two ways. Firstly, he focuses on Myrrha's emotional state of mind; secondly, he provides an allegorical interpretation of this content.

Farnabius did not focus on the incest itself as potentially dangerous, but Myrrha's response to her feelings and subsequent behaviour are presented as such. He points out her wavering thoughts, concluding that her ratio finally succumbs to her wicked mental state.¹⁴⁹ His comment represents her as a naïve girl, because she deliberates with herself whether or not to leave the country in order to escape the fulfilment of her unnatural desires. Farnabius asks himself: 'Really? Do you just confuse the words "blood" and "family" with the law of nature and kinships, and pass over the tragic cases of incest? And meanwhile you do not fear the Furies, who are to avenge this crime of yours?'¹⁵⁰ In phrases like these, Farnabius renders Myrrha's attitude towards her situation as reckless and deficient: she does not know of proper family relations, and instead acts worse than literary examples of incest have already shown. Farnabius even points to suicide as the final solution to her problems, by adding an epigram from the *Anthologia Graeca* on the word 'death': 'the ultimate solution to love'.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ In his comment on *Met.* 10.343, Farnabius refers to a note he had made to *Met.* 9.562, being (Ed.77): 'Intra quattuor, ex quinque illis amandi lineis [...] sine suspitione licet consistere: cur non & quintam? Cur non & quinta illa [...] nectaris parte, non imbuere nos, sed proluere datur?' (Within four, out of these five stages of love, it is allowed to halt without suspicion; why not also the fifth? Why is it not given that we not soil, but clean ourselves, with also this fifth part of the [...] nectar?)

¹⁴⁹ Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 10.323ff: 'Vacillat primum dubia, labascit mox impotens hinc naturalem brutorum Venerem probat, gentium sed barbarum morem defendit. Ad sanio rem subinde mentem reversa sese increpat, nefandam libidinem damnat. Sensui tandem malesano succumbit victa ratio.'

¹⁵⁰ Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 10.346: 'Itane? Naturae, gentiumque jure, sanguinis generisque nomina tragicos supergressa incestus, promiscue confundis? Neque interim eiusmodi scelerum ultrices Furias perhorrescis?'

¹⁵¹ Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 10.378 ('mors placet'): 'Remedium ultimum amoris, ut habet epigramma incerti auctoris lib. I. Antholog. c. 27 [...].' In general, Farnabius is specially interested in the devastating effect of love. In a comment on the word 'Chimaerifer' (bringing forth the Chimaera, *Met.* 6.339) in Ovid's sixth book, which the poet uses as an epithet to the geographical region of Lycia, he constructs a systematic, but quite complicated argument to condemn lust. Farnabius comments on the word, implying that the mythological 'monstrum' Chimaera, a beast consisting of parts of various animals, has its origin in this region. In doing so,

Farnabius's second way of contextualising this dangerous content is to offer an etiological interpretation: Myrrha's myth explains the natural phenomenon of the myrrh tree. At the end of the fable, Myrrha is transformed into a crying tree. In his last note to the story, Farnabius makes use of Fulgentius to comment as follows:

'Fulgentius tells us that the father chases her with drawn sword. She is transformed into a myrrh tree, which the father strikes with his sword. Thence Adonis is born. What does this story mean? Myrrh is of a family of trees that crack open by the warmth of the sun. Because it brings forth by the power of the sun – as if pregnant by a phallus –, it is said to having loved her father. That is why she produces cracks just at the time of delivery, through which sap exudes, that is called myrrh. And the lamentable girl with smelling drips pours sweet tears out of bare cracks.'¹⁵²

Instead of hiding the immoral elements, Farnabius follows Fulgentius who does not shy away from the incestuous relationship between the girl and her father, but connects it to an etiological interpretation. In this reading Myrrha's father can be seen as the sun: the sun cracks open the bark of the myrrh tree, which is an analogy of the father as the cause for his daughter to give birth. Furthermore, the cracks in the bark of the myrrh tree that emit the myrrh are allegorised through Myrrha's weeping after her transformation into the tree. His

Farnabius applies a four-step technique of appropriation. Firstly, he explains why Ovid used this word: it has to be related to a volcano in this region. Secondly, he explains what the Chimaera has in common with the volcano: like the monster, the volcano has three parts: the upper part is attained by lions, the middle part by fire and the lower part by snakes, as the Chimaera was a fire-breathing lion-dragon. Thirdly, Farnabius attaches a moral ('Ethice') interpretation of this threefold structure: the Chimaera/volcano has to be interpreted as love, which invades by attack, continues through lust, and finally leaves behind stings of sorrow and regret.' Fourthly, Farnabius concludes by providing a commonplace of *monstrum* later in the text, in which this word refers to the unfortunate story of the girl Byblis, who was consumed by her blameworthy love for her brother Caunus. Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 6.340 [339]: 'Chimaera mons est Lyciae ignivomus [...]. Quem fabulati sunt monstrum triforme [...]. Interpretantur autem montem, cuius pars summa leonibus, media igne, ima serpentibus infestatur. Aut Ethice, amorem, qui cum impetu invadit, per libidinem progreditur, in fine aculeos doloris & poenitentiae post se relinquit, l. 9. x. [!] 668.' *Met.* 9.666-7: 'Fama novi centum Creteas fortisan urbes | implesset monstri [...].'

¹⁵² Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 10.490-500: 'Pater, inquit Fulgentius, evaginato eam persequitur gladio. Illa in arborem myrrham conversa est, quam pater gladio percutiens, Adon exinde natus est. Quid sibi vult haec fabula? Myrrha est ex genere arborum quae Solis calore crepant. Iam quia Solis vi quasi genituali praegnans parit, patrem amasse dicitur: illa itaque justo partus tempore rhagades facit, per quas succum defudat, quae *myrrha* dicitur: & redolentibus lacrymosa guttulis fletus suaves scissuris hiantibus emittit. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 12. c. 15. [...].'

comprehensive, conclusive note turns the story away from the sexual lust that aroused Myrrha, and emphasizes mythology as vehicle to explain natural phenomena.

In contrast, Rabus does not provide any moralistic commentary on this episode. His notes clarify Ovid's language, by paraphrasing or explicating the more figurative elements. He shifts the focus from the potentially dangerous contents to the linguistic aspects of the text. By explaining its language through paraphrase, Rabus foregrounds the text's poetic nature, and highlights the story's vocabulary, instead of its contents. He paraphrases, for example, Ovid's line 387 – 'vincula delaniat: tum denique flere vacavit' – as: 'Postquam vincula delaniavit, tum tandem flendi tempus habuit nutrix'. He displays how the students themselves were expected to paraphrase texts: he forms a sentence in which he presents the story elements in a chronological order, using a main clause and a subordinate clause, connected by a proper conjunction.

A wide range of language clarifications can be noticed in Rabus's no less than seven notes to Ovid's five verse lines 372-376, which comprise a comparison of Myrrha's inner wanderings to a tree that has been chopped, but has not yet fallen down.¹⁵³ Rabus's first comment identifies the phrase as a figure of speech, labels it a comparison, and explains the analogy: 'With this comparison the poet shows, in how strong a discord Myrrha's mind whirled.'¹⁵⁴ Together, the other six notes paraphrase one or two words by providing synonyms that sometimes exclude the figurative elements. 'Securi saucia' (wounded by an axe), for example, is paraphrased as 'percussa securibus' (chopped by axes): the figurative element of 'wounded', as it is literally related to animals, is replaced by 'chopped', as terminology that is more applicable to trees. The poetical word 'trabs' (tree) is provided with the common 'arbor'. Thus, apart from explicating poetical language, Rabus simultaneously teaches his readers two Latin words for tree. Rabus also adds explications: on Ovid's phrase 'it is uncertain to what direction it will fall', Rabus comments: 'to which side, forwards or backwards, to the right or to the left'.¹⁵⁵ This example again clearly shows the educational purpose of the commentary. The four directions that the tree can fall to do not elucidate Ovid's text: a schoolboy is capable of imagining a falling tree. Moreover, Rabus presents his readers with lexicological training in a sufficient way. The Latin words for the directions he provides – *anterior*, *posterior*, *dextra*, and *sinistra* – are presented within a visual interpretation context that supports the function of memory. With this grammatical focus, Rabus turns parts of the story into an exercise in

¹⁵³ *Met.* 10.372-6: '[...] utque securi | saucia trabs ingens, ubi plaga novissima restat, | quo cadat in dubio est omnique a parte timetur, | sic animus vario labefactus vulnere nutat | huc levis atque illuc momentaque sumit utroque'.

¹⁵⁴ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 10.372: 'Hac similitudine ostendit Poeta, quanta in ambiguitate animus Myrrhae versaretur.'

¹⁵⁵ Rabus (Ed.107) on *Met.* 10.374: 'In quam partem, anteriorem an posteriorem, dextram an sinistram.'

phraseology and vocabulary, implicitly directing the attention away from their potentially dangerous content.

4 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has shown how paratext facilitated the early modern appropriation of classical Antiquity by creating divergent interpretation frames. Early modern commentaries to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* show four different domains of interpretation; they clarify and contextualise both the work's language and content. In these ways young readers in particular were instructed how to read those passages that did not naturally fit well with the norms and values of their contemporary Christian society. The commentary tradition offered several mechanisms to place obscene passages into a non-obscene interpretation frame. This guiding of young readers through commentaries was part of a broader strategy to negotiate dangerous elements within the classics. Censuring the text and diverting the reader's attention were important within humanist didactic theory. Commentators put this into practice in their commentary guidance: as this chapter has made clear, commentaries most frequently appropriated early modern obscenity within the *Metamorphoses* by providing a contextualising interpretation frame of rhetorical instruction or moral allegory. Although the importance of moral allegory as a prominent approach to ancient sources seemed to decrease with the rise of humanism, Pontanus, Farnabius, and Rabus all prominently provided their intended readers with moral allegories of erotic contents. Commentators also used clarification as a way to divert the reader's attention from the obscene elements to the more grammatical level of poetic expression and vocabulary.

What this chapter also has shown is that the material shape of the commentaries enhanced their impact. Book producers applied typographical means to guide the reader's attention to what they considered important. Furthermore, the material coexistence of the comments and the target text on the same page stimulated a blended reading experience in which both elements together presented the commentators' appropriation of Ovid. Commentators were aware of the visual impact of their annotations in their editions of Ovid's work. Hence, Farnabius filled his margin so that his reader would not be intrigued by a blank space next to an obscene passage.

Traditional criticism of the *Metamorphoses* rejected the text because of its obscene elements. Commentators took this criticism into account for instance by trying to neutralize these elements, and they were often successful in offering young readers of the *Metamorphoses* a relevant context for their reading experience. As a result, until the

beginning of the eighteenth century, the many reprints of the commentaries investigated in this chapter produced a traditional and significant gateway to the *Metamorphoses* for generations of young readers. In the next chapter I focus on the index as another gateway to Ovid's contents, that was sometimes strongly connected to the commentary.

Chapter 5

THE INDEX: A FILTERING AND FRAMING DEVICE

‘The index is lying’, Erasmus distressingly noted about an index entry on the work of the Italian diplomat Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi.¹ He also cast doubt on the indexer in general: ‘I do not know whose work it is, nor does it matter, but whoever the author was, he behaved disingenuously.’² In Erasmus’s opinion, the indexer gave readers access to Pio’s work in a deceitful way. This shows that Erasmus was well aware of the index as an influential paratext. In an introduction to his own indices to the *Adagia*, he assured his readers that his specific method of ordering the lemmata would be effective: ‘Following this objective, you cannot fail in finding what you seek’.³ On the one hand, Erasmus acknowledged an early modern demand for finding aids. He supposed that readers used his indices to find certain contents. On the other hand, Erasmus knew that the index greatly influenced what readers would be able to find. The search results that Erasmus’s index produced, representing this author’s ‘objective’, are strictly limited to the index lemmata. Unsurprisingly, then, the index was a device of special interest to middlemen: they appropriated this paratext to provide varying degrees of access to the contents they considered important.

This will also be very interesting in the case of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, the contents of which include not only a tantalising amount of mythological facts, names, and episodes, but also disputed topics such as sexuality, as I have shown in the previous chapter. This chapter argues that the indices to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* were not only mechanisms to support the reader in finding certain contents. Their titles already foreground the indices’ selective way of presenting Ovid’s work: ‘Table of the most necessary fables’, ‘Copious index of fables and

¹ CWE 84, *Against the Index to Alberto Pio*, p. 373. The lemma notes that ‘Erasmus disapproves of gifts to churches’.

² *Ibid.* 363.

³ Erasmus, *Adagiorum opus*. Basel: Froben and Herwagen, 1529, *Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus ad lectorem de duobus Indicibus*: ‘Hunc scopum sequens, non poteris falli, quin quod quaeris invenias’ (cited in: Vanautgaerden (2012), 122).

memorable topics', 'Index of fables, and the most extraordinary subjects in the *Metamorphoses*'.⁴ This begs a question of course: what are Ovid's most necessary fables? What are his memorable and not so memorable topics? What are the most extraordinary subjects in the *Metamorphoses*?

These questions cannot be answered objectively and that is precisely why this chapter investigates the index as a paratextual device that middlemen used to guide the reader. It consists of two parts. The first part will introduce the genre of the early modern index by discussing its development and general character in relation to early modern reading practice. In the second part, I will argue that filtering and framing were two important index mechanisms used to provide varying ways of access to the *Metamorphoses*.

1 BOOK PRODUCERS' SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE INDEX

In the first place, the index was a navigational tool to answer a demand for finding aids on the part of early modern readers. The development of this index functionality is strongly related to changes in the way in which readers processed information. Pre-print knowledge management had been generally aimed at supporting memory and overviewing texts, rather than at retrieving specific content: the ordering of information had, therefore, been based on topical or hierarchical criteria, rather than on alphabetical criteria.⁵ From the twelfth century on, more analytical modes of reading became prevalent under the influence of the development of universities. Readers no longer mainly wished to read certain texts intensively, but sought to manage larger corpora of authoritative works by means of new navigating strategies. The rise of anthologies is one example: these enabled readers to *consult* certain sources out of specific interest without having to *read* the complete texts. Furthermore, readers no longer had to depend on their memory to retrieve the sources they had read, for they could easily consult an anthology for information.⁶ This kind of discontinuous reading gradually became a common practice.

1.1 How the index became a unique selling point

From the thirteenth century onwards, the necessity to manage knowledge became an ever more urgent problem as readers increasingly experienced an overload of information, at first

⁴ Resp. Ed.71: 'Tafel. Van de nootsaekelijckste Fabelen'; Ed.83: 'Fabularum et rerum memorabilium copiosus index'; Ed.65: 'Blad-wyzer der fabelen, en besonderste dingen der Metamorphosis van Pub. Ovidus [!] Nazo'.

⁵ Cevoloni (2014), 51-2.

⁶ Mak (2011), 43; Hamesse (2003), 108.

foremost provoked by an encyclopaedic reading practice of the Christian sources.⁷ A book's navigational infrastructure thus became an ever more important aspect of its usability. To facilitate the possibility of reading a particular selection of a text, reading aids such as headings, running titles, and indication of paragraphs were added to text editions. They provided navigational guidance.⁸ Moreover, lists of entries started to provide a systematic disclosure of a book's contents.

The handwritten index in manuscript books foremost supported the personal memory of the reader who compiled or commissioned the index. Printing stimulated a more systematic production of indices, because text editions were typographically unified to an increasing extent. An index was no longer applicable to the handwritten book in which it was provided as an optional element, but it became a conventional part of every copy of the edition.⁹ In this way, printing increased the impact of the index.¹⁰ The printed index intended to guide a larger, anonymous group of readers, and therefore not only supported an individual memory, but also stimulated a more collective, social memory.¹¹

Alphabetical indices have been produced since the thirteenth century, starting in the religious context of the Cistercians's cloisters as well as at the Paris and Oxford universities. At the universities, the necessity of making precise text references was an important stimulus for developing the index system.¹² A strict alphabetical order only gradually became a standardised criterion for a useful index. It had only occasionally been applied before the second half of the sixteenth century (with a sometimes illogical alphabetical order).¹³

⁷ Blair (2010), 45-6.

⁸ Rouse and Rouse (1989), 95-8; such navigational tools already were in use in the Carolingian period (Teeuwen (2018), 152).

⁹ Eisenstein (1989), 682-3; Blair (2010), 144.

¹⁰ There were many early modern kinds of indices, and the index cannot be strictly distinguished from the table of contents (Wall (2014), 170; Blair (2010), 137-42). See: Zedelmaier (1992), p. 99-101 on the broad early modern definition of 'index', which also included entire works called 'Index', consisting of a list of books; the best-known example might be the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

¹¹ Cevolini (2014), 51. Cevolini's restriction of the manuscript index to individual usage is rather too limited. Although manuscripts were produced by individuals as unique objects, mostly they were used by more than one reader. Therefore, the individual manuscript indices, sometimes itself copied from another manuscript, were more than just individual guiding devices. The invention of printing, nevertheless, highly increased this social impact of the index.

¹² Rouse and Rouse (1989), 102-4.

¹³ Blair (2010), 142: 'Many sixteenth-century indices offered only a roughly alphabetized list of entries based on the summary statements printed in the margins of large books, without any or much attention to consolidating related entries.' Wall (2014), 170 mentions some illustrative examples of the inefficient way of early modern indexing: "'All are melancholy" under the letter "A"; "Best site of an house" under "B", and so on.

An important related form of information management that stimulated the alphabetical disclosure of content, was the reading practice of commonplacing. Early modern readers extracted certain contents of a text to compose their commonplace books: individual scrapbooks with compilations of interesting *loci communes* (commonplaces or *topoi*), ordered by topic.¹⁴ This was foremost a scholarly way of reading.¹⁵ Students in Latin schools had already been taught to read in this common early modern way of collecting *loci communes* and kept this habit as an important technique of knowledge management in their professional lives.¹⁶ Commonplacing made the index a welcomed feature in support of this reading practice: in the index readers could easily find topics they could include as commonplaces. Accordingly, early modern indexers adopted *loci communes* as their general method of arranging and disclosing topics and themes across a wide array of available information, and thus met their readers's demands.¹⁷ The Spanish humanist Juan de Caramuel's instructions on how to compose a good index clearly emphasize this common early modern way of scholarly reading as the starting point for an indexer. According to his instructions, published in 1661, the indexer should begin by closely reading the text, and making marginal notes on every interesting aspect. Thereafter, the marginal notes had to be ordered alphabetically to form the index.¹⁸ Notwithstanding this ideal practice, an indexer frequently started from existing material. Older indices were simply copied, or indexers altered an existing index to function in a new edition.¹⁹

The commonplace reading practice increased the reader's familiarity with the use of an index as a reading aid. Handwritten annotations show that early modern readers used the index to find specific contents.²⁰ By making alterations that matched their personal interests, readers showed that they were aware of the confined, selective nature of indices and did not consider them to be static paratexts.²¹ William Sherman for example discusses a reader who was not satisfied by the range of entries in one of his books: he made additions to the list of more general *loci communes*, and also added entries of personal interest related to legal and political administration.²² A reader of the *Metamorphoses* added two useful entries to its

¹⁴ Blair (2010); Zedelmaier (1992), 75-98.

¹⁵ Moss (1996), 194; Blair (2010), 142-4.

¹⁶ See for example Stolberg (2016), 251-2.

¹⁷ Zedelmaier (1992), 75-98.

¹⁸ Grafton (2011), 27. On Caramuel's advise on indexing, see Schmutz (2001).

¹⁹ Grafton (2011), 183.

²⁰ Cf. for example a copy of Ed.71 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1712033 A.lat.a. 1229; <https://bit.ly/2NfshjL>), in which various kinds of readers' written marks can be found in the index (fol. [2e8]^r-[2e7]^r).

²¹ Visser (2011), 71-2.

²² Sherman (2008), 132-4.

index for future use.²³ Sometimes the book producers even invited readers to complement the index with their own *topoi*.²⁴ Readers also created their own indices when the existing index did not sufficiently support their individual reading. A reader of a copy containing Nicolaas Heinsius's edition of Ovid's *opera omnia*, for example, wrote his own 'Index of authors who are being corrected in the comments by Nicolaas Heinsius' on the flyleaf in the back of the book.²⁵

Strong demand for the index subsequently turned this paratext into a commercial asset: the index could function as an advert on title pages for instance: '[Provided] with comments and an index', and '[Provided] with largely extensive indices, some of matters, others of words'.²⁶ Accordingly, in early modern editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the index is rarely just called 'Index'. Almost every index title claims the usefulness of the index by referring to its contents: 'Index of stories, and of matters that are most frequently and continuously noticed', and 'Index of noteworthy matters in the text itself as well as in the comments on it', to cite just two instances.²⁷ Titles also provided additional information, for example on the intended reader and its functionality: 'Useful for the pleasure enjoying reader', and 'ready to find all the stories in this book'.²⁸ In the sixteenth century, an alphabetical index was especially presented as a unique selling point: index titles frequently claim its compilation 'in alphabetical order' as a feature of special interest.²⁹

These paratextual claims, however, were not always valid, as the criticism by Erasmus already exemplified. Moreover, the index was also criticised more fundamentally: it would invoke laziness in readers, because they were not triggered anymore to make any effort to

²³ Ed.92; in the copy hold by the British Library, London (11386.f.5), a reader added to the index: 'Acis XIII 719', and 'Galatea XIII, 719'. These numbers referred to book and verse, but actually indexed the commentary section to the verses that mention these two mythological characters.

²⁴ Moss (1996), 121-2. Erasmus, for example, invited his readers to complement the index he provided to his *Adagia* (Vanautgaerden (2012), 119).

²⁵ Ed.83; copy held by the Dutch Royal Library, The Hague (235 E 17): 'Index auctorum qui in notis Nic. Heinsii corriguntur'.

²⁶ Ed.37: 'Cum scholiis & indice'; Ed.85: 'Cum indicibus locupletissimis, tum rerum, tum verborum'.

²⁷ Ed.96: 'Table des fables, et des choses plus signalées contenuës en ces Metamorphoses d'Ovide'; Ed.70: 'Index rerum, tum in Autore ipso, tum in notis ad eum memorabilium' (III. 10). Only the index title in the Vondel translation does not claim its content, basically stating 'Bladwyzer' (Ed.94, 114; III. 11).

²⁸ Resp. Ed.55: 'Dienstelijck voor den Lust-lievenden Leser'; Ed.16: 'greet om te vinden alle die Historien van desen Boecke'. Cf. III. 9.

²⁹ Cf. Cevolini (2014), 54. See for example Ed.12 (1539): 'Index fabularum [...] secundum ordinem alphabeti', and Ed.16 (1552): 'Een register by a.b.c. [...]'.

retrieve information.³⁰ Anthony Grafton mentions an indexer who even deliberately referred only to pages, instead of specific text passages, in order not to fuel the reader's indolence.³¹ And, while emphasizing the value of the alphabetical index amid an overload of information, Conrad Gesner also complained about the sometimes laborious practice of consulting indices.³²

1.2 Composing an index to the *Metamorphoses*

Approximately sixty-three percent of the early modern editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries include an index as a prominent element of their navigational infrastructure. Indices were more frequently provided to translations than to Latin editions: only thirty percent of the translations does not include an index, against forty percent of the Latin editions.³³

Only very little, however, is known about who compiled these paratexts. Publishers contracted and involved other middlemen in the various stages of print production: the latter carried out a wide range of tasks from proof reading to producing paratexts such as summaries, title pages, prefaces, and indices.³⁴ According to Voet, Christopher Plantin paid proof-readers and others outside his workshop to make the index, but only for editions that he himself had initiated or had some special interest in. In other instances, the authors themselves had to provide an index.³⁵ Quintinus Steenhartsius and Antoine Tyron were freelance middlemen paid by Plantin for making indices in the period 1563-67, when Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was also indexed.³⁶ Tyron was a schoolmaster who made an index to Lucretius in 1565, Steenhartsius did the same for Plantin's edition of Cicero in the same year.³⁷

³⁰ Cevolini (2014), 54; Visser (2011), 71. See also Juan de Caramuel's reasoning on the pros and cons on the index (Schmutz (2001); Grafton (2011), 27).

³¹ Grafton (2011), 14-16, cf. p. 42-3.

³² Blair (2010), 141.

³³ Except the translation by Abraham Valentijn (Ed.92 and 106), all translations of Ovid's complete work were initially provided with an index. Book producers published some reissues of the translations by Johannes Florianus (Ed.52, 56, 59, 74, 75) without the initial index. Also, Ed.46 and Ed.82 (only including a translation of a small part of Ovid's text) do not have an index. Latin editions without an index in particular include schoolbooks (Ed.2-8, 48, 54, 78) and the small vicesimo-quatro formats (Ed.29, 34, 39, 44, 47, 49, 53, 57, 68, 76, 86, 90, 95).

³⁴ Grafton (2011), 10-18.

³⁵ The involvement of the author in compiling the index was a common practice. Grafton (2011) mentions, for example, Isaac Casaubon being angered on the way how an index to one of his works had been compiled, after which he himself took over to finish it (p. 26). Also Erasmus worked on his own indices (ibid. p. 158-9; Vanautgaerden (2012), 117-25).

³⁶ Voet (1972), vol. 2, p. 175, 289-90.

³⁷ Voet (1972), vol. 2, p. 290, n. 1.

They, or similar men, were also the compilers of the index to the *Metamorphoses*. Regrettably, it is not known whether these men received specified instructions on how to compose the index, or whether they made their own, unrestrained decisions.

The early modern editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* include fifteen individual indices; many indices in the editions are reprints from these fifteen original collections of entries.³⁸ Hence, indices were in print over a period of several decades. The long print history of Plantin's index clearly shows how book producers strongly relied on existing indices. This index, originally produced in the 1560's, was included in various sixteenth-century editions by Plantin himself; a century later, it was copied in the Heinsius edition of 1659; and it was once again included in the editions by Petrus Burmannus from 1713 and 1727.³⁹ Rabus's edition (first printed in 1686) provides an index that is for the most part based on the Plantin index, to which some entries were added or descriptions were altered.⁴⁰

The indices to Ovid show differing degrees of accuracy. Some indices clearly show the middleman's scrutiny. The indexer of the Vondel translation (1671), for example, had a concern for the lemmata's stylistic qualities (Ill. 11). When indexing three love affairs of the god Neptune, for example, the indexer did not use the exact same phraseology, but varied his vocabulary. Three similar words (my italics) mention rape: 'Neptuin [...] *beslaept* Eools dochter', 'Neptuin [...] *schoffeert* Isimédie', and 'Neptuin [...] *onteert* Bizaltis'.⁴¹ In contrast, indices in other editions were of less interest to the book producers, as reflected by errors in alphabetization, spelling, and layout. A Latin index printed in 1553, for example, clumsily mistakes 'navem' for 'avem'. This mistake at once reveals the indexer's method. The entry 'Ardea oppidum in navem [...]' (the city of Ardea into a *ship*) refers to the story in

³⁸ These include nine Latin indices, referring to the editions from which I cite throughout this chapter: Ed.17 (Van der Loe); Ed.19 (Plantin); Ed.25 (Plantin); Ed.42 (Pontanus); Ed.89 (Pontanus); Ed.93 (Farnabius; cf. Ill. 9); Ed.100 (Cnippingius; Ill. 10); Ed.85 (Schrevelius); Ed.107 (Rabus). There are six vernacular indices: Ed.28 (Florianus's translation); Ed.65 (anonymous 1643 translation); Ed.71 (Van Dort's translation); Ed.94 (Vondel's translation; Ill. 11); Ed.104 (Du Ryer's translation); Ed.113 (Du Ryer's translation). Pontanus's schoolbook edition (Ed.89) includes an 'Index Fabularum in Metamorphosi Ovidiana' that is a slightly abbreviated version of a short list that he also provided in his commentary edition (Ed.42). This list contains short descriptions of the elements that Pontanus considered sufficiently chaste to include in his edition (cf. Chapter 4, 3.2). It is ordered per Ovid's fifteen books, following the order of occurrence in the text, and thus deviates from the other indices. The index to Du Ryer's translation (Ed.104) is of a similar format.

³⁹ Resp. Ed.21, 83.

⁴⁰ Ed.102; the Rabus index provides the reader with more detailed information about various mythological stories: this index of story elements presents the *Metamorphoses* as a more comprehensive source of mythological information.

⁴¹ Ed.94, fol. 3r2^v-[3s4]^v: 'Bladwyzer'.

Metamorphoses 14.576-7 where a bird (*avem*) is rising out of the ashes of the burned city. The printed annotation in the margin next to these lines correctly notes: ‘Ardea in avem’ (Ardea into a *bird*). The indexer wrongly copied *navem* as an entry from the marginal *avem*. Furthermore, the entry refers to the wrong page number.⁴² The different degrees of accuracy in compiling these two indices is a result of an increased quality of the index in general in the seventeenth century, when higher demands resulted in more accurate tools than a century before.

2 ACCESS THROUGH FILTERING AND FRAMING

In general, the indices to the *Metamorphoses* consist of alphabetically arranged entries of mythological names, referring to page numbers or specific verse lines. However homogeneous in form, individual indices could guide the interpretation of the text in different ways.⁴³ To analyse how indexers applied their index as a tool of information management to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, and how the index functioned within the process of this text’s cultural transfer, two techniques are of particular interest: filtering and framing.⁴⁴

As even the most generous index cannot contain every word in the book, any index provides a selective representation of the contents of a book: it functions as a filter. As a consequence, indexers might simultaneously obscure other parts of the work (for example controversial topics). Thereby it guides the attention of the reader into a specific direction and, therefore, navigation turns into framing an interpretation as well. Interpretations of Ovid’s text could be included as index entries, and the entries could be phrased in such a way that they added an interpretation. This resulted in three types of access to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.

2.1 Access for a specific audience

The first type of access provided by the combination of filtering and framing concerns three specific groups of readers. In the following instances, I will explore how indexers constructed the index to meet the particular demands of experienced readers, artists, and schoolboys.

⁴² Ed.17, fol. [a8]’-[b4]’v: ‘Index fabularum & aliorum quorundam apud Ovidium, secundum ordinem alphabeti’. In this specific instance, the index possibly copied the wrong page number 172 from a previous edition (177 would have been correct).

⁴³ Zedelmaier (1992), p. 100-1; Pettegree (2010), 294-5; cf. Eisenstein (1989), 683-4.

⁴⁴ Visser (2011), 74-6.

2.1.1 The guidance of inexperienced readers

In Latin as well as vernacular editions, the most frequently applied entry formula designates ‘transformation’ as the most prominent topic of the text. In this formula the plot of the transformations becomes the most important aspect of Ovid’s fables described as ‘A into B’: for example ‘Acis in flumen’ (Acis [transforms] into a river). By applying this filter, nine out of fifteen indices focus on mythology as the contents of Ovid’s text.⁴⁵

A prominent example is the first index to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries: four different Antwerp book producers (Godfried van der Haeghen, the widow of Merten de Keyser, Michael Hillen van Hoochstraten, and Jan van der Loe) included this index in seven similar editions between 1529 and 1563.⁴⁶ This first ‘Index of stories and some other matters in Ovid’ focussed on elementary mythological content by referring foremost to the mythological transformations through the formula ‘A into B’. Other lemmata, too, primarily designate rather elementary aspects of Ovid’s mythology. The index includes entries on certain roles or functionalities of mythological characters. Chiron and Iris, for example, are indexed for their respective profession as a teacher and a messenger.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it provides common mythological topics such as ‘Gigantomachia’ and ‘Herculis labores’. This primary focus on mythological contents results in a rather elementary degree of access to Ovid’s text. Thus, this index does not particularly address experienced readers, but displays a rather basic reading experience of the *Metamorphoses*. The position of the index is rather striking: it is included in the front matter of the edition.⁴⁸ This makes the index a prominent paratext, that the reader would come across before even getting to Ovid’s text. In this way, the index functioned as an introduction of subjects, as an alphabetical table of contents.

The indexer of the edition of the London schoolmaster Thomas Farnabius barely included transformations into his index (Ill. 9). Through a combination of filtering and framing techniques, Farnabius’s index displays entries that relate to humanist school practice and,

⁴⁵ These nine indices with a considerable number of entries of the type ‘A into B’, based on my census under the letter A: Ed.17 (Van der Loe): 30%; Ed.25 (Plantin): 36%; Ed.107 (Rabus): 26%; Ed.28 (Florianus’s translation): 63%; Ed.65 (anonymous 1643 translation): 24%; Ed.94 (Vondel’s translation): 37%; Ed.113 (Du Ryer’s translation): 31%; the indices to Ed.89 and Ed.104 are not alphabetically ordered, but easily show the prominence of the standard formula. Five indices do not include the standard formula in a substantial way: Ed.71 (Van Dort’s translation): 10%, and the Latin indices in Ed.42 (Pontanus): 2%; Ed.93 (Farnabius): 0%; Ed.100 (Cnippingius): 3%; Ed.85 (Schrevelius): 7%. I have not been able to check the percentage in the index to Ed.19.

⁴⁶ Ed.9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 20: ‘Index Fabularum & aliorum quorundam apud Ovidium, secundum ordinem alphabeti’.

⁴⁷ Ed.17: ‘Chiron pedagogus’; ‘Iris nuntia lunonis’.

⁴⁸ In reprints the index was moved to the back of the edition.

thus, emphasize a particular educational programme. Four categories of entries provide this educational access.

First, the indexer selected rhetorical details in Ovid's texts. The index designates where schoolboys were able to find useful examples of figures of speech through clear entries such as 'oxymoron' and 'syncopes'. Another lemma, 'ironic scoffing', itself highlights how language can be used as a rhetorical device: even without browsing to this particular instance, the reader is already instructed through the formulation of this entry. Secondly, the index provides entries that frame mythological characters allegorically. The lemma 'Medusa's allegory' not only navigates to the story on Medusa, but instantly elucidates the intended way to read Ovid's text. Thus, when compared to Plantin's index, for instance, which contains entries on Medusa's transformation, Farnabius's index provides a more specific type of access. Thirdly, the index has a strong antiquarian filter: instead of indexing mythological contents, a considerable number of entries concerns knowledge on diverse aspects of Antiquity.⁴⁹ These include topics that do not primarily refer to Ovid's narrative, such as 'balls to irritate wild animals in the arena'.⁵⁰ A fourth category presents the *Metamorphoses* as a collection of useful passages on emotional well-being: 'the boundaries of love' refers to two instances of incest (Byblis and Myrrha) as examples of improper affection; 'a friend, a part of the soul' designates true friendship; 'anger provides weapons' guides the reader to Ovid's account of the bloody wedding of Perseus as a warning to keep control of your emotions; 'before one dies, nobody is happy' indicates a stoic view on life.⁵¹ This focus on emotional stability is also in line with the strategies in commentaries intended for schoolboys.⁵²

In this way, by tagging, as it were, specific categories in Ovid's text, the index fits the education provided in Latin schools. This education was based on the command of the Latin language, while the teacher framed the mythological stories within an interpretation context of allegory and morals.⁵³ To a lesser extent, the index also introduced the ancient texts as an encyclopaedic source of knowledge on the ancient world as preparation for a humanist reading practice of the ancient sources.

⁴⁹ 35 percent of the lemmata under A, for example, refers to a wide variety of non-mythological subjects, such as animals ('Aetates animalium'; 'Animalia ex corruptione'; 'Aquila serpentem rapiens'), historical data ('Atheniensium regum series'), and more philosophical topics ('Amoris lineae'; 'Ante obitum nemo felix'; 'Amicus, pars animae').

⁵⁰ Ed.93, resp.: 'Oxymoron'; 'Syncopationes'; 'Insultatio Ironica'; 'Pilae ad irritandas feras in arena'.

⁵¹ Ed.93: 'Amoris lineae'; 'Amicus, pars animae'; 'Arma ministrat furor'; 'Ante obitum nemo felix'. Cf. Chapter 4, 3.3.3 on Farnabius's commentary to Myrrha's incestuous affections, in which he focusses on her mental state.

⁵² See Chapter 4, 2.1.1.

⁵³ On this early modern education, cf. Chapter 4, 3.2.

2.1.2 The index as a navigational tool for artists

The first Dutch vernacular index on the *Metamorphoses* (printed in 1552 by Hans de Laet in Antwerp with Florianus's translation) was strongly influenced by the Latin tradition in editions by Van der Haeghen, the widow De Keyser, Hillen van Hoochstraten, and Van der Loe. The vernacular indexer adopted the common Latin format 'A into B' as his most important type of lemma. Also, the navigational infrastructure in this vernacular edition resembles its Latin predecessors: the index entries refer to a page where marginal notes guide the reader to a specific place in the text. Apart from these similarities, the differences are prominent, and they show how the vernacular lemmata in particular were useful to its intended audience, namely a wide range of artists that were members of the Antwerp guild of Saint Luke (as argued in Chapter 3).

The vernacular scope is generally on plain transformations. A notably high percentage (63) of the entries in the index to Florianus's translation take the form the entry formula 'A into B'. This mythological focus filters out all the transformations and as such, again, presents a rather selective reading of Ovid's text. On the mythological character Actaeon, for example, the vernacular index basically notes 'Actaeon transformed into a stag', whilst the index in the Latin editions adds that Actaeon is the grandson of Cadmus.⁵⁴ After browsing to a particular page that a lemma referred to, the vernacular reader would receive more detailed guidance in identifying the different scenes of the fable. Marginal notes divide Ovid's various stories into smaller steps than is the case in the Latin tradition. This strict focus on transformations, combined with an extended guidance towards these climaxes, provided the intended readership of artists with suitable access to the *Metamorphoses*. This group was especially interested in the visual drama of these myths to incorporate in their art work, and the guidance provided in the edition made it easy to navigate through its plots.

Moreover, the producers of this Dutch translation sought to increase the value of the index by presenting it by its title as a finding device of 'histories'.⁵⁵ This word is exceptional in comparison to the Latin tradition, that uses the common terminology of 'fabulae'.⁵⁶ The definition of 'history' in the early modern vernacular had come to deviate from its early modern Latin understanding. The vernacular interpretation context of 'history' involved stage performances and pictorial compositions in particular, as developed from its Latin medieval definition.⁵⁷ Thus, the index title emphasizes the practical value of the Dutch text of the *Metamorphoses* as a storehouse of useful material for artistic production.

⁵⁴ Ed.28: 'Acteon in een hert verandert'; Ed.17: 'Actaeon Cadmi nepos in cervum'.

⁵⁵ Ed.16: 'Een register bij a.b.c. greeet om te vinden alle Historien van desen Boecke'.

⁵⁶ Cf. n. 46.

⁵⁷ Bietenholz (1994), 149.

2.1.3 Types of lemmata for experienced readers

Plantin's contemporary, sixteenth-century index to the Latin text also included a high number of entries on transformations (36 percent of all lemmata), but beyond that, it also provided access to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for a more experienced readership, for instance by offering references to more specialized forms of knowledge about the text and the ancient world.⁵⁸ Plantin's index title – 'Copious index of stories and noteworthy matters' – claims to provide more generous access to Ovid's contents, something which was also sustained in quantitative terms.⁵⁹ Three aspects enabled Plantin's readers to look beyond the most prominent mythological storylines. First, Plantin's indexer also included Ovid's more obscure characters, such as 'Antiphates Laestrigonum rex' and 'Melicertes'. Secondly, he provided richer and more detailed entries on the characters. For example, on the mythological character of Aeneas, Plantin's index provides five lemmata instead of three in the earlier Latin index. Both indices refer to Aeneas's voyage, the transformation of his ships, and his deification; the Plantin index furthermore acknowledges Aeneas's encounter with the Cumaean Sybil and his piety.⁶⁰ Thirdly, Plantin's indexer not only included entries on mythological episodes, but also provided non-mythological lemmata such as *loci communes* on more general themes and concepts. These include, for example, explanations of natural phenomena such as 'a wolf's rage' and 'alterations of the moon'.⁶¹

The indices in the seventeenth-century variorum editions by Cornelius Schrevelius and Borchartus Cnippingius (Ill. 10) provided an even more structured access to an experienced readership than Plantin had done a century before. Their indexers turned away from the traditional format 'A into B' and defined their own categories of entries. The index titles in each of these variorum editions distinguish between three types of entries. They claim to include subject-matter (*res*) and words (*verba*). Furthermore, the Schrevelius index mentions the additional category of mythological stories (*fabulae*); the Cnippingius index title speaks of sayings (*sententiae*).⁶² Both indices mainly consist of entries on mythological contents,

⁵⁸ Plantin's editions: Ed.21, 23-25, 27, 31. His earlier edition Ed.19 includes a more basic 'Index Fabularum' that provides foremost mythological entries.

⁵⁹ Plantin's index includes almost 600 entries; the earlier Latin index (Ed.17) counts approximately 400 lemmata.

⁶⁰ Van der Loe (Ed.17): 'Aeneae naves in nymphas', 'Aeneae navigatio in Latium', and 'Aeneas deus indiges factus'. Plantin (Ed.25): 'Aeneas inter deos indigetes', 'Aeneae naves in Nymphas', 'Aeneae congressus cum Sibylla Cumana', and 'Aeneae pietas'.

⁶¹ Ed.25: 'Lupi rabies'; 'Lunae mutationes'.

⁶² Ed.85, fol. 3g^f-[3i4^f]: 'Rerum, Fabulorum, ac Verborum in P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosin, index locupletissimus'; Ed.92, fol. 3e3^v-[3e8^r]: 'Index Verborum, Sententiarum, & Rerum accuratissimus'. On the rather complicated linguistic, philosophical, and rhetorical categories of 'res' and 'verba' in Renaissance

followed by the category of *res*; *sententiae* and *verba* only include a very small percentage of the lemmata.⁶³ By analysing these categories, I will show how the entries within them were intended for highly educated readers: in many instances their character is rather complex, and mythological content only has a subordinate role. They provide the occasions to elaborate on etymology, intertextuality, semantics, or specific aspects of ancient culture.

The absence of the word *fabulae* in the Cnipplingius index title may seem surprising in view of the fact that half of its actual entries refer to mythological contents. In comparison to the more extensive Schrevelius index, however, it is an accurate deviation. Cnipplingius's index has filtered more drastically to include only the best-known myths.⁶⁴ The variorum edition by Schrevelius offers an index containing about seventeen hundred entries. This is exceptionally extensive in comparison to all other indices to the *Metamorphoses*: the contemporary variorum edition by Cnipplingius includes a more average number of around seven hundred entries. The Cnipplingius index, therefore, provided a less elaborate access to Ovid's text. For example, it does not have an entry on Aesculapius, while Schrevelius offers an extensive lemma on this god.

Schrevelius's index does not only provide references to mythological contents, but it also frames Ovid's mythological stories as answers to detailed questions on ancient culture. In this way, the mythological entry on Aesculapius functions as an encyclopaedic lemma providing antiquarian knowledge. A user of the index comes across specific references to the god's place of birth, why he is transported from Greece to Rome, what his attributes are, why snakes are consecrated to him, amongst other details. Although the Schrevelius index now and then makes use of the traditional formula 'A into B',⁶⁵ it also adds details to the plain transformations and questions on their contexts. The entry on Aemus provides a clear example: 'Aemus, king of Thracia, together with his wife transformed into mountains, and why'.⁶⁶ The entry signals a mythological transformation (Aemus and his wife into mountains), but also provides antiquarian information (Aemus was the king of Thracia). Moreover, it also questions its context of origin ('and why'). The more selective nature of the Cnipplingius index, by contrast, considered this mythological story too obscure. The indexer focussed on Ovid's more traditional stories that could also be found in earlier indices. By excluding *fabulae*, the

thought, see Kessler and Maclean (2002). However, the application of these categories in the index is much more straight forward, as explained further on in this section.

⁶³ A census of the entries under A results in the following distribution in the Cnipplingius index: *res* 38%, *verba* 6%, *fabulae* 54%, *sententiae* 2%; Schrevelius: *res* 49%, *verba* 1%, *fabulae* 50%, *sententiae* 0%.

⁶⁴ Schrevelius: Ed.85; Cnipplingius: Ed.92.

⁶⁵ Cf. n. 47.

⁶⁶ Ed.85: 'Aemus Rex Thraciae una cum uxore in montes mutatus, & cur.'

Cnippingius index title indicated that the index did not make a special effort at providing access to Ovid’s mythology.

It did have another unique selling point, though: unlike the Schrevelius index, the Cnippingius index included a category of sayings (*sententiae*), a rhetorical term referring to brief expressions of a memorable thought. An example of such an entry in the index is ‘Habere virum optat’ (she wishes to have a husband). This entry refers to *Metamorphoses* 10.364 (‘optet habere virum’). A comment on this phrase provides an intertextual perspective, referring to instances of the same formula in Virgil, Terence, Ennius, and Homer. The index applied a similar method to disclose for example the saying ‘Haeret amor’ (*Met.* 3.395). Although these entries refer to passages concerning topics such as love and marriage, they do not pay attention to their actual contents but instead focus on intertextual references. It suggests that these lemmata were meant to help readers to use the *Metamorphoses* as a resource of useful quotations in their own writing.

By mentioning *verba* as a category in the index title, the two indices by Schrevelius and Cnippingius claim to provide entries on word level. These indices are the only ones to include a small but meaningful number of lemmata that address semantic and even text critical peculiarities. The Schrevelius index pinpoints text critical issues: it includes, for example, the entry ‘Impete pro impetu’, displaying a variant reading of Ovid’s text (*Met.* 8.359). Both indices provide entries on idiom. The Schrevelius index includes the entry ‘Intabescere quid’, referring to a scholarly note on the meaning of this verb in Ovid’s context. The index also provides an entry on the conjunction ‘and’, referring to its emphatic power.⁶⁷ The Cnippingius index, for example, includes the entry: ‘*Grator* and *gratulor* are used without distinction.’ It refers to Cnippingius’s commentary to *Metamorphoses* 9.245: ‘The ancient authors use the words *gratulor* and *grator* without distinction.’⁶⁸

The fourth, substantial category of *res* encompasses a wide variety of subjects that together function as an encyclopaedic source on the ancient world. This category functions as an antiquarian frame. The broad scale of topics in the Schrevelius index includes, amongst many others: ‘ballista, a war instrument’, ‘hecatomb’, ‘nectar’, ‘what is marrying properly’, ‘what is a plectrum, and why is it called this’, and ‘three iambic poets are offended’.⁶⁹ These entries address certain cultural phenomena or specific objects. Schrevelius also pays attention to philosophical themes, such as ‘on the immortality of the soul’, ‘everything is governed by

⁶⁷ Ed.85: ‘Et, coniunctio, vim emphaticam habet in Aetiologia’.

⁶⁸ Ed.92: ‘Grator, & gratulor promiscue usurpantur’; cf. the comment on p. 460: ‘Gratulor & grator promiscue usurpant auctores antiqui.’

⁶⁹ Ed.85: ‘Ballista, instrumentum bellicum’; ‘Hecatombe’; ‘Nectar’; ‘Nubere proprie quid’; ‘Plectrum quid, & unde dictum’; ‘Poetae iambici maledici tres’.

faith', and 'man according to some consists of three parts', all of which give insight into ancient views on these topics.⁷⁰

2.2 Access through interpretation frames

In the previous section I have shown how three different types of lemmata accommodated divergent groups of readers. The index, however, also influenced readers in a more indirect way, by providing ideological guidance that intended to manipulate their interpretations.

2.2.1 A dogmatic reading

A common window of access to the *Metamorphoses* was religion: four indices in particular include lemmata that present a religious interpretation frame.

Thomas Farnabius's index constructs a religious interpretation frame by including a modest number of pagan religious matters as entries amongst other antiquarian knowledge. Farnabius's antiquarian filter includes for example the entry 'veiled head, et cetera, in sacrificing', which refers to ancient offer rituals.⁷¹ These religious entries level, as it were, the way to a Christian interpretation of Ovid's myths. Keeping Farnabius's schoolboy readership in mind, teachers could use Christian religious concepts to explain the ancient text. Significantly, the Farnabius index refers to parts of Ovid's text that are given a Christian interpretation by the commentary. Two lemmata – 'theological stories' and 'stories from holy sources' – present a collection of mythological stories which in Farnabius's commentary are given a Christian or Biblical origin.⁷² In so doing, they frame these parts of Ovid's text as Christian by origin. The indexer's references to allegorical interpretations of mythological stories also support a Christian interpretation frame. The entry 'Latona's allegory', for example, does not index the mythological character, but is a reference to the intended early modern Christian interpretation that Farnabius's commentary provided.⁷³

In the latter instance, an entry directly refers to the commentary section of the edition. This is how the index in Pontanus's edition primarily functions, as the index title – 'Index of

⁷⁰ Ed.85: 'de Animae immortalitate quid senserint saniores Philosophi [...]. eius μετεμψύχωσις secundum Pythagoram'; 'Fato omnia gubernantur, secundum Stoicos'; 'Homo secundum quosdam tribus partibus constat, & quibus'.

⁷¹ Ed.93: 'Caput velatum, &c. in sacrificiis'; other examples include: 'Profani arcentur sacris', 'Sacra, ut Diis inferiis fiant', 'Vitta'.

⁷² Ed.77: 'Theologica fab.', 'Fabulae e sacris fontibus'.

⁷³ Ed.77: 'Latonae allegor.'; Farn. (Ed.77) on *Met.* 6.314: '[...] Jupiter autem ex Latonam h. e. Deus ex tenebris creavit lucem & luminaria.' ('But Jupiter out of Latona, i.e. God out of darkness, has created light and stars.')

memorable topics in the comments’ – already states.⁷⁴ Apart from referring to an interpretation provided in the comments, the index itself also displays interpretations. One of the entries for example mentions ‘God moved the mouths of the prophets’.⁷⁵ This is a safe, Christian interpretation of a passage about Pythagoras, which both the index and the commentary provide.⁷⁶

Within its religious frame, the Pontanus index shows a special interest in Godly power. This becomes evident through an examination of the lemmata on Jupiter in particular. The ruler of the pagan gods is framed as the God from the Old Testament through entries that allude to the Biblical context in Genesis. These lemmata include ‘he divided the year in four seasons of the year’ and ‘why he did not destroy the world with fire’.⁷⁷ Not all Jupiter’s pagan mythological context, however, was simply erased from the index. One entry mentions that ‘he reprimands the Sun’, another that ‘he begat Mercury from Maia’.⁷⁸ Although these entries refer to the mythological stories about Phaeton and Maia, their pagan identities were obscured. Without mentioning Phaeton, the reference does not specifically allude to this myth; it is also open for interpretation in a more general sense of almighty Godly power. The index even included Jupiter’s adulterous affair with the nymph Maia within this religious frame. The indexer’s choice of phraseology deprives the entry of its subversive context: by using the word ‘genuit’ (begat), the index implies a sincere context, instead of an instance of adultery. Readers could, for example, think of the Biblical context of Noah, who fathers his sons by this same word.⁷⁹ To enable such a Biblical frame on Jupiter, the index applied a chastening filter to avoid further reference to dangerous contents, such as sexuality. The commonplace entry ‘Deorum’ (of the gods), for example, consists of twenty-two lemmata that indicate safe interpretation frames, such as ‘gods with a beard’ and ‘their various assemblies’.⁸⁰ No reference is made to the gods’ sexual escapades. Although the index provided the reader with an entry on Jupiter that says ‘in which forms he has changed’, the reference turns out to be a dead end, as it guides the reader to an unrelated passage. Regardless of whether this is an erratum or a deliberate delusion,⁸¹ the entry wants to explain

⁷⁴ Ed.42, fol. 3k^f-[3k6]^f: ‘Index rerum memorabilium in commentariis electorum ex Ovidii Metamorphosew libris XV’.

⁷⁵ Ed.42: ‘Prophetarum ora Deus movebat’.

⁷⁶ *Met.* 15.143.

⁷⁷ Ed.42: ‘quattor anni temporibus annum distinxit’; ‘quare mundum incendiis non consumpsit’.

⁷⁸ Ed.42: ‘Solem obiurgat’; ‘ex Maia Mercurium genuit’.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Gen.* 5:32: ‘Noe vero cum quingentorum esset annorum, genuit Sem, Cham et Japheth.’

⁸⁰ Ed.42: ‘dii barbati’; ‘varia eorum concilia’.

⁸¹ The former explanation seems to be more plausible than the latter, as the indexer could easily have decided to simply skip this entry from his index if he thought it unsuitable.

what kind of transformations took place, not what these transformations were about. So, although it does include mythological content, the index provides a general commonplace entry instead of highlighting Ovid's narrative.

A second index in Pontanus's edition uses a similar ideological filter to provide a consistent representation of a Biblical Jupiter. This 'index of fables' in the front matter of the edition emphasizes Jupiter's chaste character by filtering Ovid's mythological contents, large parts of which were hidden from users of the Pontanus edition.⁸² In Book 6, for example, Ovid provides an enumeration of the many instances of Jupiter's indecent behaviour, but also of the behaviour of Neptune, Apollo, Bacchus, and Saturn. In these stories the gods, incognito through their transformation, assault their victims.⁸³ The 'index of fables' includes a list of these no less than eighteen transformations, but conspicuously excludes the sexual contexts of these stories. By displaying the transformations neutrally, the index's filter stripped Jupiter of his subversive role as a sexually obstinate polygamist adulterer. Moreover, the index diminishes the danger of these contexts even further by placing a neutralising entry – 'Arachne into a spider' – at the end of this sequence of raping gods. Arachne is clearly an oddity within this list, as her transformation was a punishment for hubris. This inconsistency of the sequence obscures the actual stories.⁸⁴

The examples above foremost consider the selection of lemmata as a technique of guidance. Two vernacular indices show how also the presentation of lemmata could guide the reader into a religious interpretation of Ovid. The indices that accompanied Johannes Florianus and Seger van Dort's translations formulate their lemmata in terms that align with a Christian perspective. The editions containing the translation by Florianus include for example the entries 'man is being created', 'a path to hell' and 'the world is being created', dogmatically contextualising Ovid's mythology.⁸⁵ The phrasing of entries in the Van Dort index – the 'Table

⁸² Ed.42, fol. [+4]-v: 'Index fabularum in Metamorphosi Ovidiana quo ordine a Luctatio Placiade distinguuntur'. It provides a list of entries displaying mythological stories in their order of appearance, according to the summaries attributed to the fourth-century Lactantius Placidus. Most lemmata consist of the basic, traditional format 'A into B', indicating story elements within Ovid's work. The index of fables only vaguely refers to the location of a story in the book, by providing only the number of each fable. As it does not provide the exact verse lines, the index's lack of navigational functionality does not support readers in their own investigation of the stories. In this way, the index functions as a table of contents rather than as a search tool. In a slightly abbreviated form, it was included in Pontanus's eight school editions (for example: Ed.89).

⁸³ *Met.* 6.103-128.

⁸⁴ In any case, a reader would not have been able to find the accounts, as Pontanus's censoring excluded this part of the text from the edition; cf. Chapter 4, 3.2.

⁸⁵ Ed.28, fol. 2h^r-[2h4]: 'Een Register by a.b.c. gereet om te vinden alle de Historien van desen Boecke'; 'mens wort gheschapen'; 'Een wech ter hellen'; 'De werlt wort gheschapen'.

of the most necessary fables'⁸⁶ – also presents a rather dogmatic reading of Ovid: in several lemmata the index repeatedly includes the terms Heaven and Hell; furthermore, it selected the almighty power of the gods and human acknowledgement of this power as the most interesting parts of the mythological stories. This guides the interpretation of Ovid's mythology into a sphere of Christianity: readers were presented with good and bad examples of behaviour towards the divine. These index entries frame mythological characters as devout, or in contrast, as impious. The index opens, for example, with an entry on Abas, 'despising the Gods'. A later entry mentions that Polyphemus 'despises Jupiter'. Andromeda, on the contrary, 'thanks the Gods', and an entry on Nestor mentions 'his devotion' to the gods.⁸⁷ Godly power is also displayed by entries that mention punishments by the gods. The lemmata concerning Pallas Athena recall two instances: she 'penalizes' Aglauros and Arachne for their wrongdoings – she furthermore 'helps' Perseus. The entries on Venus and Ceres even mention three occasions of them punishing humans. Entries on Jupiter inform the reader that he 'rules the world' and 'punishes the world'. Moreover, he 'makes Romulus a God', as he does with Hercules, and he 'comes as a human being to the world'.⁸⁸

2.2.2 A moral reading

The indices in Plantin, Petrus Rabus, and Pontanus's Latin editions, and in the translated edition by Seger van Dort, provide a second prominent thematic focus: that of moral guidance. As I have argued in my third chapter, during the Early Modern Period the emphasis on the moral interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* remains the most important formal justification for reading the text. The front matter framed the text as an instructive source that provided moral examples of behaviour to imitate or to avoid. Pontanus and Rabus emphasized the usability of their editions in the context of elevating youth; Van Dort's preface pinpointed the text's particular value as a source book for sculptors and painters: a moral interpretation of the myths functioned as an important legitimation for mythological artwork.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Ed.71, fol. [2e8]-[2e7]: 'Tafel van de nootsaekelijckste Fabelen, bequaem voor alle Lief-hebbers'.

⁸⁷ Ed.71: 'Abas verachter der Goden'; '[Polyphemus] veracht Iuppiter'; '[Andromeda] bedanckt de Goden'; '[Nestor] sijn vromicheyt'. In this same way, the index in the vernacular edition by Vondel includes Baucis and Philemon because of their devotion, while their cottage transforms into a church, instead of a temple. Erysichthon's blasphemy, for example, is also recounted (Ed.94, fol. 3r2^v-[3s4]^v): 'Bladwyzer'; 'Baucis en Filemons godtvruchtigheid'; 'Baucis hut in een kerk'; 'Erizichtons godtloosheit'.

⁸⁸ Ed.71: '[Iuppiter] regeert de Werelt'; 'straft de werelt'; 'maect Romulus eenen Godt'; 'maect Hercules een Godt'; 'als mensch comt op de werelt'.

⁸⁹ Sluijter (2000), 163-9.

Within this common early modern approach to mythology, index entries framed Ovid's mythological characters as role models. In Rabus's edition, entries added short descriptions to the indexed mythological names (often referring to good behaviour). In this way, they do not primarily guide the reader to the mythological stories as such, but specifically frame them as examples of this behaviour. The index makes mention of Aeneas, for example, because of his *pietas* towards his father, presenting him as a loyal man; Baucis and Philemon 'hospitably accommodated Jupiter and Mercury'; the entries 'Caeneus' bravery' and 'Piritous' virtue' pinpoint outstanding courage.⁹⁰ The Pontanus index in particular focusses on chastity: it frames the goddess Diana as an example of decency by insistently referring to 'her everlasting virginity'. Furthermore, this index also includes more general entries on abstinence, such as: 'Chastity's three aides, which they are' and 'Cherishing virginity, an evident example'.⁹¹

Other entries focus on bad behaviour to display sinners. Niobe, for example, is presented as an example of bragging in Rabus's index.⁹² Framing Ovid's text as a source on immoral behaviour sometimes leads to approaches in contrast to the ones that I described in the previous section on religious framing. The index in the editions printed by Plantin, for example, does not obscure the gods' licentious manners, but highlights such behaviour as examples of sinful behaviour. The indexer considered adultery to be an important topic. He used the word 'adulteria' in various entries, where it indicates a moral warning. 'The adultery of Venus and Mars' is even indexed twice.⁹³ Saturn, Neptune, and Bacchus's adulteries are also provided as entries.

The index to Seger van Dort's translation frames Ovid as a source of moral guidance in a different way. It is the first vernacular index to provide stock categories that indicate a commonplace reading practice of the vernacular *Metamorphoses*. It guides the reader to entries consisting of clustered *loci communes* on moral topics such as love and emotions, amongst other more general matters. Negative emotions are highlighted in entries on shame, sadness, and anger: in these instances the index provides the reader with examples that show how emotional distortion disrupts one's life. Love and morality are shown from both a positive and a negative perspective: 'Fidelity' and 'praise of marriage' are presented as mythological examples worthy of imitation; on the other hand, the entry 'sexual immorality' lists negative examples such as Menephron, Pasiphae, Biblis, and Myrrha.⁹⁴ This latter entry consists of a refined combination of filtering and framing. The index indicates morals based on extreme

⁹⁰ Ed.107, p. [622] ff.: 'Fabularum et memorabilium index'; 'Aeneae pietas in parentem'; 'Baucis & Philemon hospitio excipiunt Iovem & Mercurium'; 'Caenei fortitudo'; 'Pirithoi virtus'.

⁹¹ Ed.42: 'eius perpetua virginitas'; 'Castitatis tria praesidia quae'; 'Φιλοπαρθενίας notable exemplum'.

⁹² Ed.107: 'Niobes [...] iactantia'.

⁹³ Ed.25: under the S of 'Sol', the Sun who betrayed them, and under the V from Venus.

⁹⁴ Ed.71: 'Trouw'; 'Houwelijckx loff'; 'Oncuyshey'.

examples, not on instances that confront reality. These selected examples represent a quite specific kind of licentiousness: Pasiphae involves bestiality, the other three are known for their incestuous relationship. In their extremity, they function as revulsive cases of sexuality. The *Metamorphoses*, of course, includes many more examples of sexual licentiousness than only the four instances listed in this entry. The many stories on adultery are excluded for example. Although the index thus frames the *Metamorphoses* as a source of examples on unchaste behaviour, at the same time it filters Ovid's content by providing only extreme, one might say indisputable instances.

2.3 The index as a commercial asset

The index could also present the contents of the *Metamorphoses* in a more commercial way, to entice new groups of readers to buy an edition rather than to guide their interpretations ideologically. Index titles and their acknowledgements on title pages could, as we have seen, help to make a book more attractive and accessible to various market segments. Moreover, even individual lemmata could have a commercial function, for example by highlighting the attractive parts of the text. The index to the anonymous translation of 1643 applied rhetorical language in combination with a clear selection of contents, and thus functioned as an enthusing list of juicy mythological stories, rather than as handy reference tool.⁹⁵

The 1643 index title claims to include more than just the fables: 'Index of fables, and the most outstanding matters of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*'.⁹⁶ Thus, this title functioned as an advertorial, seeking to convince the reader with the superlative 'most outstanding'. Since 1552, Ovid's text had been available only in Florianus's translation. Unsurprisingly, then, this new translation in 1643 stressed its innovativeness. The title's claim holds some truth: the index selected more diverse aspects from Ovid's mythological stories than its only vernacular predecessor had done. The 1643 index deviated from the traditional entry format 'A into B', that had provided the strongest vernacular access to Ovid's text since 1552.⁹⁷ Instead, it included stories that were not mentioned in the existing vernacular index, for example on the lesser known characters of Memnon and Iris.⁹⁸ Also, it provided stories in more detail: Aeson,

⁹⁵ The edition's poor navigational infrastructure in general was not very concerned with structuring the reading process. On the actual pages no further navigational guidance is provided as an access to the text: no marginal notes indicate the indexed story elements, and not even indentions divide the individual fables.

⁹⁶ Ed.65: 'Blad-wyzer der fabelen, en bezonderste dingen der Metamorphosis van Pub. Ovidius [!] Nazo'.

⁹⁷ Instead of 63 percent of lemmata under the letter A in the index to Florianus's translation, the index from 1643 only has 24 percent in this category 'A into B'.

⁹⁸ Ed.65: 'Memnons asch in vogelen verandert'; 'Iris, lunos voorloopster'.

for example, no longer appears as only a name, but is accompanied by the explanation 'rejuvenated by Medea'.⁹⁹

Strikingly, the entries of the 1643 index selected love and violence as the most interesting topics within the mythological stories. In no other index are love and violence so consistently highlighted. Two vernacular Dutch verbs (my italics) consequently display the many romantic encounters: '*Galathea van Poliphemus bemint*' (*Galathea is loved by Poliphemus*), and '*Glaucus op Scylla verlief*' (*Glaucus is in love with Scylla*). The index also includes love affairs that other indices left out. Daphne, for example, is not only indexed because of her transformation into a tree – as almost every index does –, but also with an exceptional entry, which reads 'Apollo falls in love with Daphne'. No previous index had pinpointed their liaison.¹⁰⁰ Even subversive love affairs are not kept from view. On the contrary, they are described without any restraint: 'Pasiphae lives with a bull in promiscuity', 'Cassandra raped by Ajax, son of Oleus' and 'Coronis loved by Apollo', who 'is, discovered in adultery, shot by him'.¹⁰¹ This latter example shows the second popular topic in the index: violence. The indexer frequently described causes of death in detail: 'Dido stabs herself', 'Emanthion, [is] beheaded by Coronus', 'Iphis hangs herself' and 'Itys eaten by his father'.¹⁰² Additionally, gruesome murder is provided: 'Hippodamas dashes his daughter from a rock' and 'Athamas furiously pulls apart his little son'.¹⁰³

The diminutive 'little son' in the former example is a clear instance of how the index tries to attract the reader's attention by using the rhetoric of pathos. The index's inciting style of language prominently deviates from the traditional path of neutrally descriptive entries. The vivid descriptions intended to enthuse the reader. Cadmus, for example, does not simply beat a dragon, but a 'horrible monster'. The nymph Canens, transforming into air, is admiringly framed as 'a wonderful singer'. The 'misery of the Trojans' is indexed instead of just the Trojan war.¹⁰⁴ This is another clear instance of how pathos is woven into the index entries. These

⁹⁹ Ed.65: 'Eson door Medea verjongt'.

¹⁰⁰ Ed.65: 'Apollo op Daphne verliefd'. Latin editions do not even mention Apollo and Daphne within the same context, as if Ovid himself did not connect them in his narrative. The Florianus editions only provide a marginal note to Ovid's text mentioning 'The story of Apollo and Daphne', without further context.

¹⁰¹ Ed.65: 'Pasiphaë leeft met een stier in onkuysheyd'; 'Cassandra van Ajax, Oleus zoon, verkracht'; 'Coronis van Phoebus bemint' 'wort van hem, in boelering bevonden, doorschoten'.

¹⁰² Ed.65: 'Dido, door steekt zich'; 'Emanthion, door Coronus onthooft'; 'Iphis verhangt zich'; 'Ithys van zijn vader geëten'.

¹⁰³ Ed.65: 'Hippodamas smijt zijn dochter van een rots'; 'Athamas razende verscheurt zijn zoontje'.

¹⁰⁴ Ed.65: 'Cadmus, verslaet een gruwelijk gedrocht'; '[Canens], een wonderlijke zangster verandert in een mist wolk'; 'Ellenden der troyanen'.

vivid aspects are of course not necessary to understand the entry's content; they intended to trigger readers' curiosity by appealing to the entertainment value of the *Metamorphoses*.

3 CONCLUSIONS

Readers expected to a certain extent that their books offered them help in managing the information and knowledge contained in them. As an important part of the edition's navigational infrastructure, the index helped readers to find their way around the riches of Ovid's text. But finding one's way is not a straightforward process. This chapter has shown how indexers by combining the techniques of filtering and framing applied the paratext as a mechanism to influence the reader's access to and perception of Ovid's text.

As a navigational tool the index functions in two general ways. On the one hand, the entries present what the indexer considered to be the most important content of the edition, within the ancient text as well as the commentary. The entries, thus, filter the information, resulting in different levels of access. On the other hand, the index itself raises topics that function as interpretations of the text. Moreover, by specifically phrasing the lemmata indexers created interpretation frames. The level of access that the index provided, influenced the usability of the edition in important ways: it disclosed the text for example as a source on moral education, or as a reference guide for painters.

It is important to note that index mechanisms also became more varied over time: the sixteenth-century Latin as well as vernacular indices (Van der Loe, Plantin, Florianus) include the standard formula on transformations as a prominent commonplace in the text. In the seventeenth century, Latin middlemen (Pontanus, Farnabius, Cnipplingius, Schrevelius) increasingly turned away from this standard way of access to the *Metamorphoses*. The mechanisms of filtering and framing led to a higher degree of variation, in an attempt to better answer particular demands for reading experiences. From a text that foremost concerns the topos of transformation, the *Metamorphoses* became a more general source on antiquarian knowledge about the ancient world, a text that provided specific guidance to young readers, and a work that was suitable for Christian interpretations.

This development was also relevant to the application of the index as a commercial element. Book producers intended to show and increase the unique value of the index by already presenting it on the title pages and through the index title itself. In the sixteenth century in particular book producers considered its alphabetical order a unique selling point. In the seventeenth century, the index titles increasingly pinpointed specific characteristics such as the categories of entries that the index included. Even the phraseology of lemmata

could function in a commercial way. This shows how middlemen became increasingly adept at influencing their readers' access to the *Metamorphoses* through the index.

Building on the investigation of prominent individual paratexts in Chapters 2 to 5, the last chapter will focus on the interaction between these paratexts and introduce the concept of a paratextual infrastructure as a valuable perspective to investigate Ovid's early modern reception.

Chapter 6

PARATEXTUAL INTERACTION: TWO CASE STUDIES

Book historians Jean-François Gilmont and Alexandre Vanautgaerden envisioned the book as an organism: '[I]l faut considérer le livre dans son ensemble comme un organisme dans lequel chaque élément est en relation étroite avec les autres organes.'¹ My previous chapters focussed on these *organs* of the book: they have shown how middlemen in their editions applied various paratexts as appropriating techniques to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In this chapter, I will put the idea of the book as an *organism* to the test by focussing on how the integral ensemble of the individual paratexts, which I call the paratextual infrastructure, presented Ovid's work to readers. In doing so, I will argue that the metaphor of the book as an organism has to be specified: discerning various species of organisms helps us better to understand how the individual organisms actually lived. The paratextual infrastructure provided book producers with the opportunities to construct strategically their own particular presentations of the *Metamorphoses*, facilitating a variety of early modern receptions of this ancient source.

How did this variety take shape? To answer this question, I will focus on two case studies of early modern paratextual infrastructures to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The first case shows an 'amphibious' infrastructure (to extend the metaphor of organisms): it paradoxically combines two widely divergent reading contexts in one edition. The paratextual infrastructure of my second case study, which one might perhaps call 'parasitical', builds on the authority of Ovid's classical work, and uses it as a host, as it were, to highlight the poetic achievement of Vondel.

¹ Gilmont and Vanautgaerden (2008), 13.

1 COMBINING DIVERGENT READING CONTEXTS

My first case study shows how book producers provided a paratextual infrastructure that simultaneously accommodated two ostensibly contrasting reading contexts: a scholarly and an elementary one. Both these reading contexts include various paratextual elements that together self-evidently address a different type of reader of the *Metamorphoses*: the former fits an experienced readership, the latter focusses on untrained readers. In 1534, the Basel printer Henric Petri first published this paratextual infrastructure. It was subsequently introduced in Antwerp in 1538 by the widow of the printer Merten de Keyser. In 1539, another Antwerp printer (Michael Hillen van Hoochstraten) printed a similar edition, presumably based on De Keyser's. Jan van der Loe followed in 1545 with an edition, presumably copied from one of the earlier Antwerp publications.² Judging from this prompt succession of editions by various printers, this format was a reliable way to earn money in the Antwerp book world.

At the base of the two divergent reading contexts of all these Antwerp editions are two individual sets of widely varying annotations, that were originally not intended as one unit. The annotations by the Swiss humanist Henricus Glareanus (1488-1563) cater for an advanced, scholarly reader: Glareanus presents Ovid as a starting point of a broad humanist view of Antiquity. Gisbertus Longolius (Gisbert van Langerack, also known as Gilbert de Longueil, 1507-1543), however, a Dutch humanist and head of the Deventer Latin school, had inexperienced readers in mind for his annotations: he foremost interprets the *Metamorphoses* as a rhetorical exercise in the Latin language.³

To analyse these reading contexts, I will focus on two levels of paratextuality: presentation and interpretation. The former concerns the way how book producers addressed their audience. The latter points to the way in which they intended this audience to read Ovid.

² In 1534, Henric Petri published in Basel: *P. Ovidii Nasonis Opera veterum exemplarium auxilio ab infinitis emendata Henrici Glareani annotationes in metamorphosin & ad verba & ad res intelligenda magni usus. Praeterea Longolii, quae lectorem plurimum in impeditis locis iuvare possunt* (USTC 681914). Petri composed a printing concept that was precisely copied to the editions in the Low Countries, including the triangular shaped typography and the full paratextual infrastructure. The succeeding editions printed in the Low Countries are: Ed.11 (widow of Merten de Keyser, Antwerp 1538), Ed.12 (Michael Hillen van Hoochstraten, Antwerp 1539), Ed.14 (Jan van der Loe, Antwerp 1545), Ed.17 (Jan van der Loe, Antwerp 1553), Ed.18 (Jan van der Loe, Antwerp 1558), and Ed.20 (Dierick Gerridt Horst, Leiden 1563). The examples in my case study are derived from Ed.17.

³ On Glareanus's life and works: Groote (2010); Crab (2015), 173-206 analyses Glareanus's commentary on Valerius Maximus, and comparably argues: 'The supposition that Glareanus' commentary was intended for younger students must [...] be questioned' (p. 185). On Longolius: Nellen and Surdèl (2005), Finger and Bengel (1987), Moss (1982), 41-2.

1.1 A scholarly reading context

The publishers who produced the Antwerp editions presented their products as suitable reading materials for an experienced readership. Also the paratextual guidance on interpretation stimulated such a scholarly approach to Ovid. This resulted in a reading context that experienced readers would have recognised, and possibly even appreciated.

1.1.1 Presentation: persuading an experienced reader

The paratextual infrastructure gradually persuades scholarly readers to use the editions through various paratexts within a cohesive construct. The general title page identifies the state-of-the-art scholarly character of the edition, a second title page acknowledges the separate scholarly environment, and a dedication introduces the experienced reader to this environment. To understand how this construct worked, some close-reading of these various elements is necessary.

The identification of the edition as a relevant object of study was the first step in persuading the scholarly reader. It was the main aim of the title page (cf. Ill. 1). Its upper part claimed a rich content: the edition not only includes the *Metamorphoses*, but also some fragmented primary sources as additional material.⁴ A reference to a recently retrieved ancient text places the editions in a context of scholarly developments at the time. Moreover, Ovid's works were 'revised from infinite mistakes with the use of venerable copies'.⁵ This statement refers to the common humanistic practice to restore texts by comparing various manuscript versions. Thus, it emphasizes the professional production of this edition and foregrounds the extent of the alterations that were made. The elements jointly build a frame that presents the edition as scholarly credible.

The most prominent reference, however, is to Glareanus's annotations. As they are the most important scholarly contents of the paratextual infrastructure, an advertisement on the title page identifies them for the experienced reader: 'Henricus Glareanus's annotations on the *Metamorphoses*, very useful in understanding the language as well as the content.'⁶

⁴ Ed.17: 'Item, fragmenta quaedam Ovidii ex libris, qui magna ex parte periere, Epigrammatwn. Et non male natum carmen ad Pisonem.' This includes a 'poem to Piso'; it refers to a work now commonly known as the anonymous *Laus Pisonis*. Adam Petri firstly printed this poem in Johannes Sichardus's 1527 edition of Ovid's work (USTC 681337). Sichardus found the text in a manuscripts (now lost), as he claimed in the *editio princeps*. On the *Laus Pisonis* and its humanist tradition: Di Brazzano (2004). The typography gives less prominence to this part of the title page, as the text is printed in a small roman font, and is aligned as a block instead of a triangular shaped typography such as the two textual elements above it.

⁵ Ed.17: 'P. Ovidii Nasonis opera, veterum exemplarium auxilio ab infinitis mendis emendata'.

⁶ Ed.17: 'Henrici Glareani annotationes in Metamorphosis & ad verba & ad res intelligenda magni usus.'

This qualifies the functionality of the annotations: their broad range of textual aspects (*verba*) as well as content (*res*) makes them greatly helpful to an interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*. *Verba* and particularly *res* could comprise a wide variety of topics, and indicate a more scholarly approach to the text.⁷ The phrase ‘to understand’ (*ad intelligenda*) is important: it implies that the notes support a more profound knowledge of Ovid’s text.

After having persuaded experienced readers to use the edition, the paratextual infrastructure easily steers them to the interesting parts: as clear markers, a second title page and a dedication precede Glareanus’s annotations, which the infrastructure includes as an independent supplement to Ovid’s text. They further introduce the scholarly reader to the scholarly reading context. Both paratexts affirm the scholarly identity of the edition: the title page designates the annotations as ‘haud vulgares’ (not at all ordinary, common, or general). This characterisation highlights them as outstanding: their exclusive status makes them unique contributions to the commentary tradition (although the claim itself remains rather vague). The dedication to a man of apparently high standing itself foregrounds the special character of the annotations: Glareanus would not have sent his dedicatee dreadful work. He further amplifies the uniqueness of the edition by addressing his dedicatee: ‘Welcome these nocturnal studies of mine’.⁸ The framing of the annotations as ‘nocturnal studies’ emphasizes the effort Glareanus made in writing his comments, even late at night by candlelight. Further on in his dedication, Glareanus once more highlights his own effort: he wishes that the mistakes in his interpretations will be cordially countered, as he himself had done with the many mistakes he discovered in other scholars’ works. The reader learns foremost from this topical phrase that Glareanus himself discovered many mistakes in multiple commentaries. Moreover, the annotator praises Raphael Regius’s commentary on the *Metamorphoses* (only recently published in 1518) to which he frequently refers in his annotations. In this way, he places himself and his work within the latest scholarly developments. This echoes the claim on the general title page that the edition is an up-to-date version of the *Metamorphoses*: the paratextual infrastructure coherently presents the edition to experienced readers. In doing

⁷ On this categorisation of *verba* and *res*, also used in index titles, see Chapter 5.

⁸ Glareanus, *In P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosin [...] Annotationes [...]*, [dedicatory letter], A3^v: ‘Accipe igitur illustriß. D. Poppo has meas lucubrationes’. Addressed without many personal details, the dedicatee Poppo von Henneberg (of an esteemed German family) functions as Glareanus’s ideal reader. He represents him as ‘the most distinguished sir’ and ‘count of Henneberg’. Despite this identification, the dedicatee was of no specific interest to the readers of the editions printed in Antwerp: they would not have known him.

so, the paratextual infrastructure communicates that the edition is of interest even to readers who already possess an annotated edition of the *Metamorphoses*.⁹

Apart from the specific scholarly frame on the editing process and the annotations, the Antwerp paratextual infrastructure aimed to persuade experienced readers through a more general claim to scholarly credibility: the lower parts of the general title pages contain a prominent, scholarly printer's mark.¹⁰ Van der Loe, for example, displays a rectangularly shaped woodcut, depicting an allegorical scene explained by the surrounding text (cf. Ill. 1). Printed on the four outer sides of the woodcut this text consists of two adages, both provided in Latin as well as Greek: 'Even a fly has a spleen', and 'Also an ant has its gall'.¹¹ Both adages are allegories of anger, implying that even the insignificant can be enraged, – these allegories were well known to early modern humanists.¹² Van der Loe frequently used this device on the title pages of his printing products; in doing so, he presented himself as a credible, humanist printer. The use of Greek especially functioned as a distinctive mark: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, proficiency in this language remained a more exclusive affair, even for humanist scholars.¹³ Therefore, the prominence of Greek on the title page showed that Van der Loe was a scholarly entrepreneur, to be trusted by his equally scholarly readers.

1.1.2 Interpretation: an experienced reading practice

Experienced readers who were persuaded to use the book would encounter paratextual guidance that was appropriate for their proficient level of reading. The paratextual presentation of the Antwerp editions thus corresponds to their paratextual interpretation.

Upon turning the title page, a critical reader could have thought that its claims were not to be trusted. The additional primary sources mentioned on the title page (fragments from Ovid's 'Epigrams' and the 'poem to Piso') were not included in the edition.¹⁴ In contrast, the edition did include an additional scholarly text that the title page had not acknowledged: a

⁹ Cf. Maclean (2012), 83: 'the laudable pursuit of ever-improved editions flowed into commercial strategies designed to provoke new purchasing by those who already possessed what they probably thought of as an adequate working edition of a given text or texts'.

¹⁰ Cf. Vandeweghe and Op de Beeck (1993), 137, mark 16 (Ed.12); *ibid.* 157, mark 3 (Ed.17); *ibid.* 157, mark 5 (Ed.18).

¹¹ Ed.17: 'Habet & musca splenem' | 'ἔχει καὶ ἡ μύττα σπλήνα'; 'Et formicae sua bilis inest' | 'ἔνεστι καὶ χολή μύρμηκι' (Vandeweghe and Op de Beeck (1993), 157, mark 3).

¹² See, for example, Erasmus's *Adagia* 3.5.7 and 2.5.31.

¹³ Goldhill (2002); Tholen (2017).

¹⁴ I have not been able to check whether Petri's 1534 edition already excluded these additional sources. Directly following the text of the *Metamorphoses*, the edition does include Ovid's *Tristia* 1.7, 11-40 and 3.14, 19-24, which are not announced on the title page.

chapter from the work of the humanist scholar Joannes Baptista Egnatius that concerns an intricate comment on a particular verse line.¹⁵ Thus, it provided an experienced reader with a scholarly perspective on the text, as it concerned the ancient context of the *Metamorphoses*, one of the main interests of humanist readership.

A prominent feature of the front matter is a *vita* of Ovid, directly following the title page. Within the paratextual infrastructure, it functions as an extensive introduction into the ancient context of Ovid's work: 'The life of P. Ovidius Naso collected from his own works' provides twelve pages with a chronological account of the poet's life, and makes use of additional secondary historical sources. Preceding each citation is a succinct account of its content, printed in a slightly smaller, roman font, distinguishing itself from Ovid's fragments in italics. The reasons for Ovid's exile, a prominent topic in early modern Ovidian life writing, received considerable attention.¹⁶ Experienced readers would have recognised in this front matter paratext a humanistic approach to Ovid's work: to understand the ancient texts, humanists included biographical information about the author.

The paratextual infrastructure thus prepared the reader, as it were, for the scholarly core of Glareanus's annotations. These annotations themselves fitted this construct perfectly: Glareanus rhetorically addressed scholarly readers.¹⁷ For example, he explicitly expresses his trust in readers' judgements: 'I leave it to the reader's judgement', he notes on a variant reading of a specific word.¹⁸ A good example of his embracing of the reader as a scholarly partner is his only comment on Ovid's story about Apollo and Daphne. It states that the meaning of a particular verse line is somewhat obscure; Glareanus acknowledges that other commentators do not sufficiently explain it, and that he himself also does not fully understand it.¹⁹ The annotator invites his reader to contribute to the scholarly discussion. Of course, this was of no support to those inexperienced readers who were in need of more elementary language assistance.

¹⁵ Ed.17, fol. [198]^v: 'Ex Ioan. Baptist. Egnati Racemationum cap. 18. ex Metamorphoseos ultimo carmen illud: & spissi littoris Ancon, explicatum, & quoad Ancon procul dubio legendum sit probatum.' A note to this verse line (*Met.* 15.718) announces that this paratext succeeds the text of the *Metamorphoses*: 'Lege Racemationionis Ioannis Bapt. Egnatii cap. 21 [!]' (fol. 193^v). It discusses the variant reading 'Ancon' for the word 'Antium'. The text was excerpted from: Joa[n]. Baptiste Egnatii Veneti *Racemationes* (Venice: Ioannes Tacuinus de Tridino, 1508); it was already part of Gimnich's first edition of Longolius's notes (cf. n. 22).

¹⁶ Taylor (2017), 33-34.

¹⁷ Petri may have printed the annotations without the commentator's consent. Therefore, I do not claim that the annotations and the paratextual infrastructure to which they belong were produced in cooperation; it is likely that Petri adopted Glareanus's annotations and constructed his paratextual infrastructure accordingly.

¹⁸ Glareanus (fol. [B7]^v) on *Met.* 7.223: 'Ego lectoris iudicio relinquo.'

¹⁹ Glareanus (fol. [A5]^v) on *Met.* 1.494: 'Non satis luculenter, hunc locum efferunt commentarii, neque ego plane intelligo: Consuetudo aliqua exprimitur vulgo nota, sed nobis non admodum.'

The dedication to the annotations had already perfectly managed readers' expectations: Glareanus reiterates his applause for Raphael Regius's contemporary commentary on the *Metamorphoses* in his comments and presents an up-to-date collection of notes. Glareanus shows his reader that his appropriation of Ovid was fundamentally based on the early modern commentary tradition: his annotations are for a great part responses to earlier observations and interpretations. Regius had a great influence on Glareanus's content: Glareanus copied or summarised Regius's opinions on the text, and refers to the latter's commentary (for example 'exponit [explains] Raphael', or in brackets '(inquit [says] Raphael)').

Through their actual contents, the annotations are appropriate elements within a paratextual infrastructure that address scholarly readers. Glareanus foremost focused on three topics of scholarly interest: textual criticism, commonplaces, and antiquarian knowledge.²⁰ In doing so, he included both *res* and *verba*, as the title page already claimed. In many instances, Glareanus combined his various interests within one annotation. In this way, Glareanus's annotations do not comment on Ovid's text systematically, but irregularly address topics of the annotator's personal interest. The annotations do not primarily guide or support the reader of Ovid's work, but are interesting deliberations on their own.

Apart from the general character and the contents of Glareanus's notes, the image that the annotator presented of himself also supports the scholarly claim of the paratextual infrastructure. As we have seen, the edition cultivates Glareanus's symbolic capital through a typographical emphasis on his name on the general title page and the material separation of his notes as an independent addition to the *Metamorphoses*. This claim to prestige is reflected in the authoritative character of the annotations. Glareanus frequently uses the first person: phrases such as 'I do not understand' (*non intelligo*), 'I can remember' (*ego memini*), and 'I think' (*puto*) foreground the annotator's voice as an esteemed factor in the scholarly approach to Ovid. Moreover, Glareanus repeatedly advertises himself as an authority with an overview of the manuscript tradition: in a text critical comment he refers to 'various manuscripts' (*quidam codices*) as his source. Furthermore, he shows that he is able to read the commentary tradition critically; on an instance of *hic* in Ovid's text, he comments: 'Raphael [Regius] reads *hic*. [...] Others read *haec*, an unimportant case.'²¹ Although Glareanus claims that the topic is not of much concern, this is in conflict with the fact that he pays attention to it in a note: he foremost focusses on himself as an authority on the subject.

²⁰ This resembles Glareanus's approach to Valerius Maximus, cf. Crab (2015), 273: 'Glareanus was oblivious to the examples' moral and instructive value, instead characterising Valerius Maximus as a true historian'.

²¹ Glareanus (fol. B2') on *Met.* 4.327: 'Raphaël hic legit. Nam exponit hoc loco. Alii haec legunt, res non magni momenti.'

1.2 An inexperienced reading context

Despite this strong emphasis on a scholarly reading practice, the paratextual infrastructure of the sixteenth-century Antwerp editions also targeted untrained readers. They would have clearly recognised an elementary reading context: the presentation typographically flanked Ovid's text within direct marginal guidance, a feature, in fact, that was announced on the title page. The contents of these notes showed how these readers were intended to read the text.

1.2.1 Presentation: *persuading an inexperienced reader*

In four steps the paratextual infrastructure marks the Antwerp editions as appropriate for inexperienced readers. First, the title page acknowledges Longolius's annotations, and rather generally refers to their functionality: 'Furthermore, Longolius's [annotations], which are able highly to support the reader on multiple locations'.²² A comparison with the advertisement of Glareanus's annotations helps to identify 'the reader' of Longolius's annotations. It shows a clear difference between the phrases that address the functionality of the commentaries. While Glareanus's annotations are 'of use in understanding' (*ad intelligenda magni usus*), Longolius's notes intend 'to support the reader' (*lectorem iuvare*). In other words, Longolius's annotations were 'reading aides', while Glareanus's notes should be rather conceived as 'understanding aides'. These are two different levels of guidance: one aimed at a basic readership, the other at a proficient one. An experienced, scholarly reader did not need assistance in the reading activity itself, but could benefit from understanding the words (*verba*) and contexts (*res*). In contrast, an inexperienced reader was not ready for this context, and needed more basic assistance while reading.

The characterisation of Longolius's annotations on the title page perfectly fits their material representation in the edition. A second marker of inexperienced readership within this paratextual infrastructure is the material character of Longolius's annotations: their layout and typography identify them as basic reading aids. The annotations directly accompany Ovid's text, and are not presented in a separate addendum such as Glareanus's notes. They were intended to be used in conjunction with reading Ovid. Readers of Ovid's text are confronted with some of the annotations as a matter of fact: some notes are not situated in the outer margin next to Ovid's text, but are inserted into the text. A smaller italic font clearly marks these annotations, and visually distinguishes them from Ovid's verses. They provide comments in stronger ways than the notes in the margin: no matter whether the

²² Ed.17 (Ill. 1): 'Praeterea Longolii, | quae Lectorem plurimum in impe- | ditis locis iuvare possunt.' In 1534, Johann Gymnich I printed these annotations for the first time in Cologne (USTC 688712). Other publishers copied the annotations at once, and they became widespread, frequently in combination with Glareanus's annotations, as for example by Henric Petri in his edition of 1534 (cf. n. 2).

reader read or skipped them, they always physically disrupted the reading process.²³ Due to their physical position, the marginal notes encourage readers to incorporate them in their reading process. Glareanus's annotations on the other hand are physically and paratextually separated from Ovid's text.²⁴

The front matter further contributes to accommodate the inexperienced reader. A third marker is its 'Index of fables, and of some other matters in Ovid, in alphabetical order'.²⁵ This index is connected to the marginal notes. Two lemmata refer, for example, to the story about Apollo and Daphne: 'Apollo as the inventor of medicine' and 'Daphne into a laurel tree'.²⁶ Thus, by means of this highly selective representation, these two aspects of the story are presented as the most important ones. Marginal notes guide the reader to the exact locations in Ovid's text. In doing so, they disclose Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on a basic level of the transformation narrative. This suggests a readership of individual mythological stories, which, for example, a teacher considered of special rhetorical interest.

1.2.2 Interpretation: an inexperienced reading practice

In contrast to the infrastructure that guided experienced readers to Glareanus's annotations at the back of the editions, markers of inexperienced readership foremost pointed at Ovid's text, which was accompanied by Longolius's annotations. The contents of these marginal notes make clear how inexperienced readers could benefit from the ancient source. As a guiding device for readers who wanted to master the Latin language, the notes affirm the frame of inexperience already foregrounded by other parts of the infrastructure. Four main topics that contextualised Ovid's text and content make the commentary particularly appropriate for classroom use. The structure of the text, rhetorical aspects, lexicography, and some moral guidance are typical of school commentaries, as I have investigated in Chapter 4.²⁷

²³ Not all editions with Longolius's commentary typographically differentiate between annotations in the margin and annotations in the text: other editions provide all annotations in the margin (see, for example, a 1559 edition printed in Paris: USTC 156050). This emphasizes typography and layout as influential aspects of the paratext.

²⁴ Cf. Crab (2015), 205, who suggests that the endnote character of Glareanus's commentary on Valerius Maximus reduced its success. Sixteenth-century readers might not have used it as enthusiastically as marginal notes because of the spatial distance to the ancient text.

²⁵ Ed.17, fol. [a8]'-[b4]': 'Index fabularum, et aliorum quorundam apud Ovidium, secundum ordinem Alphabeti.'

²⁶ Ed.17: 'Apollo Medicinae inventor' (fol. [a8]'); 'Daphne in laurum' (fol. b").

²⁷ Longolius foremost integrates moral commentary with lexical, rhetorical, or structural comments. His note on Ovid's use of the word *irritare*, for example, brings two aspects together. The Ovidian context of the word is *irritare amores* (to stir up love). It is used by Apollo to describe the effect that Daphne provoked. The margin,

The interpretation is also guided visually on the page by placing some of the lengthier annotations in Ovid’s text. This results in blank spaces between the concise comments in the margin. This is how the layout of the margin increased the visibility of these notes that foremost show a rhetorical approach to the source text. Within the inexperienced reading context, readers could, thus, easily obtain an overview of the rhetorical aspects of Ovid’s text. An example shows how this was done: five of Longolius’s annotations to the verse lines with the story about Apollo and Daphne disrupt Ovid’s text (cf. Ill. 12).²⁸ These notes are of a varied character. Two inserted texts provide the reader with guidance on rhetoric: one of them approaches Apollo’s address of his increased affection with the rhetorical terms ‘amplificatio’ and ‘demonstratio’.²⁹ The next comment explains the rhetorical technique of the *captatio benevolentiae*: it indicates this element within Apollo’s plea to Daphne, and furthermore generally states that the *captatio* does not necessarily have to be placed at the beginning of a speech. The note instructs the reader on how to construct an argument. These comments only differ from the marginal notes in length, because marginal comments likewise identify rhetorical aspects: Greek terms, for example, indicate figures of speech (such as ‘Hyperbole’) in the margin; other brief comments identify the type of argumentation (such as ‘Ab

however, notes: ‘irritare crabrones’ (to provoke hornets; Ed.17, fol. B^r (to *Met.* 1.462); the comment does not mention that this is a proverb from Plautus, *Am.* 2.2.84). This neutral connotation of *irritare* juxtaposes the expression with a negative and dangerous situation, and identifies the lexical application of the verb as the main point of interest. In a similar way, Longolius combined clarification of the story-line with moral guidance. On Ovid’s lines that address the quarrel between Cupid and Apollo about who is the better bowman, Longolius notes: ‘Jealousy, which is the cause of the love affair’ (Ed.17, fol. [A8]^v, to *Met.* 1.454-5: ‘Aemulatio, quae est causa amoris’). On the one hand, this annotation clarifies to the reader what had initiated this story of Daphne’s transformation: jealousy between the gods. On the other hand, it negatively contextualises the topic of love by claiming in quite general terms that there is a connection between love and jealousy: Apollo had fallen in love because he was jealous of Cupid; Longolius, thus, implies that love is the revengeful punishment for this behaviour, and not a romantic or desirable emotion. The combination of annotation techniques shows Longolius to be a skilled schoolmaster.

²⁸ Ed.17, fol. [A8]^v-B2^v: 1 (between *Met.* 1.451-2; Ill. 12): ‘Daphnes fabulam recenset Parthenius in amatoriiis narrationibus. Aphthonius Sophista non Penei filiam sed Ladonis amnis appellat, require illius progymnasmata.’ 2 (between *Met.* 1.496-7): ‘Amplificatio a causis aucti amoris, sumuntur autem a demonstratione.’ 3 (between *Met.* 1.507-8): ‘Sollicitus amans estque adeo captatio benevolentiae quae non semper principio seruit.’ 4 (between *Met.* 1.520-1): ‘Tribus artibus praeesse Apollinem docet Aristophanis interpres Manticae, latricae & Musicae. Dicitur autem invenisse medicinam Apollo quod Sol producit herbas in quibus tota fere medicina consummatur.’ 5 (between *Met.* 1.559-60): ‘Haec deus tanquam vates & futurarum minime ignarus. Ad haec consule Plinium libro decimoquinto capite ultimo.’

²⁹ Quintilian, for example, discusses ‘amplificatio’ as an important rhetorical technique, of which he distinguishes four different kinds (*Inst.* 8.4); on ‘demonstratio’, cf. *Inst.* 3.4.12-4.

exemplo').³⁰ The other three interrupting comments have different topics: they show intertextual references or give some additional, encyclopaedic information. Throughout his commentary, Longolius refers to additional sources on Ovid's subjects. Frequent use of the imperative clause encourages the reader actually to consult these sources: 'see the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius Sophista', 'consult Pliny in his tenth book, the last chapter'.³¹ The exclusion of these longer annotations from the margin results in a margin that synoptically provides guidance on the text's narrative and rhetorical basics. As such these basic comments do not disappear behind the more complicated and comprehensive annotations.

1.3 What brought them together: an educational reading context

This case study has shown how editions could be seen as organisms that live thanks to the cooperating organs: the amphibious paratextual infrastructure of the edition includes two systems that address different readers. On the one hand, the editions of this case study were intended for inexperienced readers and supported their understanding and proficiency of the Latin language. On the other hand, Ovid's text is at the core of a scholarly exploration of a wide variety of topics related to the ancient world.

Although the two sets of annotations dominate the paratextual infrastructure, on their own they would not have been able to attract readership in the same way as the total construct of the paratextual infrastructure did. The application of paratext enabled the book producers to present more than just notes: textual and material aspects of the infrastructure together resulted in two recognisable reading contexts that addressed and persuaded two types of readers to use the edition. These clearly recognisable contexts enabled the reception of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on two different levels within the same edition.

³⁰ A second prominent topic of the brief marginal comments is Ovid's narrative. The comments subdivide the storyline and present an easy overview of the narrative to support an inexperienced reader to get a grip on it. Longolius's marginal note 'Daphnes fabula' (Ed.17, fol. [A8]^v), for example, pinpoints the beginning of this story; 'Daphne in laurum' (Ed.17, fol. B2^r) marks her transformation. Strong focus is on this transformation, because another note emphasizes the process of metamorphosis, introducing the section of the text in which Daphne's various body parts one by one transform into parts of the tree: 'Distributio quomodo sit mutata' (Division of the way in which she has transformed; Ed.17, fol. B2^{r-v}).

³¹ Particularly this latter note is quite specific, and, thus, aims at the actual consultation of the source: the comment addressed readers who were able to read additional source texts, and who also had access to them. This suggests that Longolius did not strictly limit his commentary to the elementary level of interpretation, and suggests that he had also, at least for these particular comments, a more proficient reader in mind, such as a teacher.

In the sixteenth century, middlemen were already greatly aware of the implications their paratext could have.³² Therefore, it is plausible that the paradoxical combination of two reading contexts within one edition was intentional. The combination of these two reading contexts suggests that the edition was intended for an educational environment that combines inexperienced and experienced readership. The scholarly readers within that environment are teachers in particular.³³ Early modern teachers might have been triggered by the combination of the edition's scholarly and more basic elements. The title page commends the edition as scholarly and reliably edited, an important quality for educational texts because it improved the text's legibility.³⁴ Thus, this edition provided teachers not only with a reliable text, but also with basic reading aides and some humanistic context as background information for the contents of their lessons. Moreover, this humanistic background was even based on the most recent scholarly studies.³⁵ In this way, a paratextual infrastructure that at first sight seemed to present two contrasting reading contexts, perfectly suited the two participants (students and teachers) of the common context of education.

2 THE *METAMORPHOSES* AS A DUTCH POEM (AMSTERDAM 1671)

My second case study is the 1671 edition of the *Metamorphoses* containing Joost van den Vondel's Dutch translation *Herscheppinge* (Recreation), printed in Amsterdam by Daniel Bakkamude and published by the widow of Abraham de Wees.³⁶ Ovid's text was the last major

³² Andrew Pettegree (2015), for example, has shown that Martin Luther together with his book producers deliberately and actively worked on the development of his image by creating paratextual elements for the editions of his works. Ian Maclean (2012) more generally analysed the sixteenth-century book market as highly aware of paratextual influences.

³³ Cf. Crab (2015), 178, who analyses Petri's editions of Valerius Maximus, including Glareanus's annotations on the ancient author, as 'recommended to scholars as well as school-masters'.

³⁴ Feys and Sacré (2017), 113.

³⁵ Cf., for example, Cornelius Valerius, who strived to include the most up-to-date scholarship into his lessons (Feys and Sacré (2017), 114), and one Louis Godebert, who consulted humanist commentaries in preparation of his teaching activities (Blair (1990), 78).

³⁶ Ed.94. Oey-de Vita (1973), 84-7 argued on the basis of the study of Vondel's manuscript, used in the production process of the book, that Vondel himself was narrowly involved in this process. The manuscript (KW KA 59) is held by the Royal Library in The Hague. The Vondel edition is an eclectic construct of several paratexts that frequently accompanied Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Apart from the vita and preface (which I will discuss in sections 2.2 and 2.3), Vondel also included existing summaries and an index. Vondel translated his summaries (labelled in the edition as 'Inhout') from the humanist scholar Gulielmus Canterus (Willem Canter, 1542-1575), who published his *Novae lectiones* in 1564. This is a collection in four chapters of all kinds of treatises on

work that Vondel translated before his death in 1679. Vondel, who was already in his eighties when he finished the translation, was known for his enormous literary production, which brought him a towering reputation as an equally learned and gifted poet.³⁷

Vondel's translation was printed in a prosperous commercial climate: in the second half of the seventeenth century, the flourishing economic circumstances in the Dutch Republic benefitted a growing book market.³⁸ Around 1650, Amsterdam alone counted circa one hundred printers and publishers. Books increasingly became products of recreation, available to a growing public that demanded vernacular narratives: early modern works as well as popular ancient texts were translated into interesting books.³⁹ This approach to ancient texts focussed less on the utilitarian and scholarly importance of Antiquity, than on the appealing narrative content and its attraction as a suitable leisure activity. The synergy within the paratextual infrastructure of my current case will show how this happened: De Wees and Vondel applied the paratextual infrastructure to present the text as part of Vondel's cherished oeuvre, rather than as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

2.1 Ovid's material transfer to Vondel's oeuvre

The material format of the paratextual infrastructure plays a great part in presenting the *Herschepinghe* as an independent work of Dutch poetry. Vondel's oeuvre has not yet received much attention from a material, book historical perspective that investigates its form.⁴⁰ De Wees's publication format shows that the publisher wanted to sell Vondel: despite small

ancient literature, one of which contains a summary of the fifteen books from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ('Transformationes Ovidii series compendio excerpta', in: *Novarum lectionum libri quatuor*. Basel: Johann Oporinus, [1564], 1.20, 58-68). Canter's work considers *dispositio*, the rhetorical arrangement of content (Moss (1982), 39). From its publication in 1564, Canter's Latin summary in the Low Countries was included as individual paratext in no less than thirteen editions until the publication of Vondel's first Dutch translation of it. Moreover, these summaries were printed as Latin introductions preceding the individual fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*, for example in Schrevelius's variorum edition (Ed.85). Thus, they are clearly part of the early modern paratextual tradition that accompanied the *Metamorphoses* in print. It is plausible that Vondel used the Schrevelius edition in preparing his own: apart from Canter's work, Vondel adopted the short lemmata in Schrevelius's 'Index of contents' as marginal annotations that indicate the main story elements (cf. Michels (1934), 13, who also indicates some deviations between Schrevelius's list and Vondel's marginal notes).

³⁷ His political and religious viewpoints, however, had frequently provoked contemporary criticism, as even, for example, the funeral poetry makes clear: Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 758-61; Vondel's poetical talent was uncontested: Calis (2008), 271.

³⁸ Rasterhoff (2017), 63 ff.

³⁹ Porteman and Smits-Veldt (2013), 627-30.

⁴⁰ This perspective is absent in, for example, Calis (2008) and Bloemendal and Korsten (2012); Dongelmans (2006) discusses some aspects of materiality in eighteenth-century editions.

varieties, Vondel's oeuvre as published by De Wees strikes the eye for its uniform presentation. Vondel and Abraham de Wees sustained a close professional relationship: from 1637 onwards, De Wees functioned as Vondel's main publisher with his widow taking over after De Wees died in 1654.⁴¹ This resulted in an already well-developed publishing concept in which Vondel's later translation of the *Metamorphoses* was also published. Within this format, the *Herscheppinge* – not the *Metamorphoses* – are just another volume of Vondel's oeuvre of narrative poetry.

To communicate that the 1671 edition was a deviation from the Ovidian tradition, the paratextual infrastructure acknowledged a privilege on both the engraved and typographical title pages, and included the full text of this privilege on the verso of the latter page. It was prohibited for fifteen years to publish, print, or copy Vondel's translation in whatever form without consent of the widow De Wees. Such a privilege not only provided a warning to colleagues, but also underlined the investment of printing the edition. The costs for applying for an official privilege were high, and it may have taken considerable time to receive one; therefore, most middlemen only took this effort to protect their investment in the case of steady bestsellers (such as almanacs) or expensive publications.⁴² In this case, the production of new copper plate illustrations was an expensive element within the production process.⁴³

Apart from the translation and the illustrations, the format of the paratextual infrastructure also explains the novelty of the Vondel edition. The publication format of the edition materially transfers Ovid into Vondel's oeuvre: De Wees's standardised way of publishing Vondel's works associates the edition with Vondel, rather than with Ovid. The

⁴¹ Vondel was fined by the city of Amsterdam for his pro-Catholic play *Maria Stuart of Gemartelde majesteit* in 1646 (Calis (2008), 239) and De Wees consequently paid this fine for him. This was exemplary for the relationship they had as poet and publisher.

⁴² Rasterhoff (2017), 114-5; Hoftijzer (1993).

⁴³ The quarto format of the edition enabled the publisher to include larger illustrations than in the editions with the earlier Dutch translations of Ovid's text. De Wees ordered a new illustration series of fifteen images: the Amsterdam engraver Abraham Blooteling (1634-1690) etched them after the examples from the series of one hundred and fifty prints by the Florentine engraver Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630). Vondel himself makes an interesting reference to it, which indicates the attention with which the illustrations were produced: '[...] the plates are being etched by Blooteling, after Tempesta's prints, which have been considered to be the best' (Sterck (1935), 139 (13th June, 1670: Vondel to Antonides van der Goes, who corrected Vondel's translation): 'My verlangt naer uw gelukkige wederkomst, op dat het overschot van Ovidius vertolkte Herschepping bij u voort moght worden overzien, zonder myne misslagen over 't hoeft te zien; want de drukpers roept om werk, en de plaeten worden bij Blooteling ge-etst, naer de printen van Tempeest, de besten geoordeelt'). Most probably, Vondel refers to the publisher's judgement: his brief note implies that there had been an evaluation of the kind of illustrations that should be added. The publisher did not simply include the ones that were most easily available or inexpensive; the quote suggests that aesthetic quality was of most importance.

bibliographic size in quarto at once gave the edition an innovative appearance: this format had never been used before to print an edition of Ovid's full text, and it was common only for early sixteenth-century Deventer schoolbooks.⁴⁴ However, the quarto format was De Wees's conventional way of publishing Vondel. De Wees had presented, for example, Vondel's 1660 translation of Virgil's complete works in quarto format; it includes a similar paratextual infrastructure with comparable title pages, a privilege, dedication, vita, and introductory texts labelled 'Inhoudt' to each section. Moreover, the typography and layout of the Virgil and Ovid translations are interchangeable which underlines their mutual relation within a defined and easily recognisable corpus. This corpus presented the translations of the ancient texts within a combined mythological-historical context, which legitimizes both the mythological and historiographical contents of the text. The Virgil edition includes an additional paratext that explains this context: 'Op de Tytelprint van Maroos wercken' (About the title page of Virgil's works).⁴⁵ This poem, presumably Vondel's, discloses the intended interpretation of the iconography on the engraved title page. It explains how the iconography presents the ancients as a combination of pagan Roman religion and actual Roman history.⁴⁶ Although the

⁴⁴ One exception must be mentioned here: Ed.46 is a quarto edition from 1621, which only includes a translation of Ovid's tenth book. This makes it atypical.

⁴⁵ *Publius Virgilus Maroos Wercken. In Nederduitsch dicht Vertaelt door J. V. Vondel.* Amsterdam: widow of Abraham de Wees, 1660, p. [566-7] (STCN 854225382). The enigmatic character of the iconography of engraved title pages caused a demand for explanation, which became common in books (Corbett and Lightbown (1979), 46-7). Cf. Chapter 2, n. 115.

⁴⁶ Ill. 4: the upper and lower sections of the title page identify the dual context of mythology and history, and provide a frame of antiquarian knowledge. The upper section of this engraved title page depicts a scene in which the most prominent Roman gods and goddesses are seated on clouds around Jupiter, the central figure in this etching. The gods are easily recognisable by their common attributes. This scene is related to the lower part of the title page that does not depict a heavenly setting, but an earthly one: it provides a landscape view of Rome, its Tiber river clearly visible. Hadrian's mausoleum is presented as a recognisable construction, better known as Castel Sant'Angelo already in the Early Modern Period. Two prominent figures in the middle section of the title page further symbolize the contents of the book. The *Herscheppinge* displays two Romans dressed in military clothing: the god of war, Mars, on the right to a text frame, and Julius Caesar on the left. Mars wears a ceremonial helmet and has a lance in his left hand. Caesar, his deified status at the end of the *Metamorphoses* acknowledged through a shining star above his head, wears a laurel wreath, and has an early modern military commander's baton in his right hand. These guises express dignity and prestige, providing the edition with humanist authority. Their postures result in a symmetrical design of the page: both of them pay tribute to Ovid: they have turned their faces towards a text frame, that not only displays Ovid's name, but also his portrait. Although it is relatively small, this bust of a laurel wreathed man within a medallion is honourably ringed by a thick bundle of foliage. This appropriation mechanism was not new: three editions (Ed.55, 61, and 71) included a similar graphic design of the *Metamorphoses*, although with different personifications and of a minor aesthetic quality.

Herscheppinge lacks such an explanation, the mutual relation of the translations makes the poem a useful tool for readers who wanted to understand the engraved title page of the *Herscheppinge* as well.

Aesthetic quality is an important characteristic within the paratextual infrastructure of the Vondel publication format.⁴⁷ The format of Vondel's translation of the *Metamorphoses* immediately presents a splendid richness of visual elements on the engraved title page: the latter implicitly claimed that this was a well-designed book with an aesthetic objective (cf. Ill. 4). The succeeding typographical title page shows a clear contrast with the engraved one: its white space is a prominent element in the meticulous, typographical design. This contrast within the paratextual infrastructure emphasizes the character of both title pages: one is elegant through graphic wealth, the other through sobriety.

This uniformity may have guided consumers of Vondel's oeuvre: there are many early modern volumes in which various, if not all, of Vondel's plays, both translated and original, are bound together. This shows that early modern readers were aware of the material uniformity of Vondel's works, and that they used it as a criterion for collecting. De Wees's printer's device (a well) made the individual publications clearly recognisable as part of Vondel's oeuvre: it functioned as a mark of quality and authenticity, because it unmistakably related the book to De Wees as Vondel's legitimate and trusted publisher.⁴⁸

2.2 Mystification of the Latin context

The strong anchoring of the *Herscheppinge* within the broader publication context of Vondel's oeuvre presents a revered mythological text on Roman history. Yet, the paratextual infrastructure of the edition clearly mystifies the Latin original of the work. This mystification in Vondel's edition creates a diffuse border between the Latin original and its vernacular translation, prominently supported by Vondel's title. This edition is the first instance that provides 'Herscheppinge' (Recreation) as the sole title of Ovid's work. Moreover, the typographical title page frames this title as its most important element.⁴⁹ Earlier instances had already used the term 'herscheppinge' to indicate Ovid's text, but only as an additional term

⁴⁷ Cf. n. 43 on the aesthetic quality of the illustrations in the edition.

⁴⁸ The printer's mark of this well was solely used by the De Wees company and can therefore be interpreted as a strong company logo (cf. Huisstede and Brandhorst (1999) II, 1137-43).

⁴⁹ The spacious layout of the typographical title page emphasizes on the textual information: it foregrounds author, title, and translator. Although the author's name includes three lines, its font size makes the title, 'Herscheppinge', the most prominent element: 'Publius | Ovidius | Nazoos | Herscheppinge. | Vertaelt door | J. v. Vondel.'

to clarify the Latin ‘metamorphoses’.⁵⁰ So the familiar term ‘Herscheppinge’ connects Vondel’s product to the tradition of translating Ovid, while the absence of the Latin title *Metamorphoses* breaks with this tradition, emphasizing the Dutch identity of this edition of Ovid’s work.

The absence of the Latin title is sustained in the elements of the front matter: Ovid’s work is only referred to as *Herscheppinge*. The engraved title page, thus, also presents the ancient poet as the author of the *Herscheppinge*. In the preface, Vondel provides a citation in which Vossius claims that Ovid’s *Herscheppinge* is a work of hidden wisdom. In this instance, the *Herscheppinge* is not presented as Vondel’s translation, but as Ovid’s poem. Vondel even calls Ovid ‘vormverschepper’ (image creator), directly connecting the ancient poet to the translation, titled ‘Herscheppinge’ (*Recreation*), as both terms consist of the same Dutch root ‘scheppen’ (to create).⁵¹ Moreover, the front matter does not include any Latin at all.⁵²

The dedication includes another strategy that places Vondel’s own work on a par with Ovid’s. Vondel claims that by standing in Ovid’s shadow, he emulates the ancient author in Dutch.⁵³ With less modesty, however, he continues to claim that it was his objective to translate Ovid’s poem in such a way that experts would consider the translation an equal to the original. This clever use of the traditional topos of *imitatio* qualifies Ovid as the teacher and Vondel as the ambitious student: ‘A student, keen and studious, cleverly takes over another one’s approaches and habits, and mingles the paint, and applies and proportionately uses it naturally in accordance with the image, that stands in front of him; in such a way, that an expert’s eye cannot distinguish both, the teacher and the student, from each other.

⁵⁰ Cf. Chapter 2, 3.1.1. It is incorrect to claim that Vondel invented this term ‘Herscheppinge’ (as in Calis (2008), 348); Vondel was not even the first middleman to emphasize this title on the title page: a 1621 edition, entitled ‘Metamorphosis: Dat is, De herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe’, typographically emphasizes ‘herscheppinghe’ more prominently than ‘Metamorphosis’ (Ed.45).

⁵¹ Ed.94, fol. [*4]^v, *Loofwerk*, 92.

⁵² Other translated editions provided, for example, a Latin preface (Ed.16) or preliminary Latin poems (Ed.71; on preliminary poetry in the Ovidian editions: cf. Chapter 3, n. 14). Although he downplayed the Latin context, Vondel considers Ovid’s Latin of higher esteem than the Dutch language: ‘we will keep the Latin in the highest rank’, he acknowledges in his dedication, because of the compact character of the language ‘that encompasses a great treasure within a few leaves’ (Ed.94, fol. [*4]^v, *Loofwerk*, 95-6: ‘Wy laeten het Latyn den bovenzang bewaeren | Het welk een’ grooten schat begrypt in weinigh’ blaëren.’) Vondel’s hierarchical view of the Latin language as more encompassing and of higher esteem than the vernacular can also be noted earlier in his poem (Ed.94, fol. *3^v, *Loofwerk*, 19-23), and is foremost a topical notion of the poet’s modesty.

⁵³ Ed.94, fol. *3^v, *Loofwerk*, 19-21: ‘Het luste ons hem, die als een arent opgaet streven, | In zyne schaduw, laegh langs d’aerde, naer te zweven, | Van ver te volgen, op een’ Nederduitschen trant’.

Provoked by poetical appetite, I intended to approach Ovid in this way.⁵⁴ Through this painting metaphor, Vondel both acknowledges Ovid as his guide and states that his own version of the work is equally skilful from a literary point of view. Through this appeal to imitation and emulation of the Latin original, the paratextual infrastructure allows Vondel to claim part of the ancient prestige.

The front matter includes yet another paratext that emphasizes Ovid's quality in general terms: a translation of the poet's *Amores* 1.15. This translated elegy encourages the reader to explore the literary quality of the *Herscheppinge*. The elegy's title directly makes clear what the poem intends to indicate: 'Ovid to the envious. That the names of the poets and his own last eternally.'⁵⁵ In the elegy, Ovid builds on a literary convention in which authors claim eternal fame for their work. In the first line of the poem, Ovid addresses 'devouring Envy' (*Livor edax*), who accuses the poet of spending his life meaninglessly. Ovid, however, claims that he will achieve eternal glory through his literary work, and concludes (in Vondel's translation): 'When the fire of death once has devoured this body, the biggest part of me stays famous in all mouths.'⁵⁶ In other words, Ovid's fame does not depend on his own person, but is preserved in his literary work and, particularly, his readers. Again, no clue is given as to the exact character of Ovid's fame: why his work will be of eternal interest is for the reader to conclude. Dedication and elegy together encourage the reader to move further into the edition to find out its high value.

Within the paratextual infrastructure, Ovid's biography strengthens the ancient poet's literary reputation even further. This biography is for the greatest part Vondel's quite literal translation from the early sixteenth-century Florentine Petrus Crinitus's *De poetis Latinis*.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ed.94, fol. *3^v, *Loofwerk*, 31-8: 'Een leerling, wakker en leezuchtigh, eigent schrander | Aldus de handelinghe en trekken van een' ander, | En mengt de verf, en legt en bezigtzte op haer maet | Natuurlyk naer den eisch van 't beelt, dat voor hem staet, | Zoo net, tot dat het oogh des kenners geen' van beiden, | Den meester en schoolier van een kan onderscheiden. | Ik wenschte Ovidius, van dichtlust aengeport, | Dus t'achterhaelen.' Cf. Ed.71, that includes a preliminary poem in praise of the translator Seger van Dort (fol. [*5]^v). The author of the poem (printer/publisher of the edition Geeraerd van Wolsschaten II) refers to the equality between the ancient poet and the translator in different terms: readers of the translation, he claims by an elegant chiasma, will fairly admit 'that Naso is Van Dort, Van Dort again is Naso' ('[...] | Soo dat wie met verstant compt desen Boeck te lesen, | Bekennen moet te recht (als Naso wort ghepresen) | dat Naso is van Dort, van Dort weer Naso is'). On the topos of imitatio in early modern poetry: Green (1982).

⁵⁵ Ed.94, fol. 2*2^v: 'Ovidius aen de nijdigen. Dat der dichteren en zijn naem eeuwigh duurt.'

⁵⁶ *Ov. Am.* 1.15, 41-2: 'Ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis, | vivam, parsque mei multa superstes erit.' Vondel's translation (Ed.94, fol. 2*2^v): 'Wanneer het lijkvier eens dit lichaem heeft verslonden, | Dan blijft mijn grootste deel befaemt in alle monden.'

⁵⁷ Crinitus intended to organize the available, but unsystematically preserved information on eighty-six Roman poets. The work circulated widely during the Early Modern Period and was frequently used as a source for

However, a comparison between Crinitus's text and Vondel's version shows a striking difference in the presentation of Ovid's image: Vondel intended to present a more righteous Ovid. In the second half of his biography, Crinitus discusses the causes of Ovid's banishment. At this point, Vondel abandoned his source and constructed his own version. One of the possible reasons for Ovid's banishment that Crinitus discusses is Ovid's involvement in an adulterous relationship: 'Many sources think that he has been caught in adultery with Julia, Augustus's daughter.' At this point, Vondel deviates: 'It is totally unlikely and fictitious, that some attribute this to the abuse of Julia, Augustus's licentious daughter [...].'⁵⁸ Through this phrase Vondel frees Ovid of any suspicion of obscene behaviour. He even judges Julia as 'licentious' and, thus, designates her as the instigator, just in case anyone still believed in the adulterous relationship. While Crinitus further explores the relationship as a reason for Ovid's banishment, Vondel clearly does not present Ovid as such. Instead, he deletes dubious aspects of the ancient poet's life by pointing to his nobility. Twice, Vondel adds a few words to Crinitus's text that emphasize this noble character: '[born] from ancient old equestrian race', and 'he always was of equestrian standing, because he possessed a lot of land'.⁵⁹ This ancient prestige helps the *Herschepinghe* to function as an exemplum of vernacular poetry.

Vondel further seeks to underline that the work was a literary piece in its own right through his dedicatee Dirck Buysero (1644-1708), a young poet and politician.⁶⁰ In the previous year 1670, Buysero had finished a translation of the tragic play *Astrate, roi de Tyr* by the French playwright Philippe Quinault. Vondel elaborates on its glorious staging in Amsterdam: 'the whole theatre cheers [...], a grateful sign of how it appeals to the country's

excerpts in printed editions of the poets. On Crinitus and his *De poetis Latinis (DPL)*: Celenza (2015); Palmer (2014), 102-4. Crinitus discusses Ovid in *DPL* 3.46; I consulted USTC 187170 (Paris: Josse Bade, 1508): fol. [C5]^v-[C7]^r.

⁵⁸ Crinitus, *DPL* 3.46, fol. [C6]^r: 'Plerique existimant provenisse hoc ex adulterio cum Iulia Augusti filia.' Vondel, 'Het leven van Publius Ovidius Nazo', fol. [3*4]^r: 'Het is dan geheel onwaarschijnlijk en verziert, dat zommigen dit wijten het misbruiken van Julia, Augustus ongebonde dochter [...].'

⁵⁹ Ed.94, 'Het leven van Publius Ovidius Nazo', fol. 3*2^v: 'uit overouden ridderlijken stamme'; fol. 3*3^r: 'en voerde altijt eenen ridderlijken staet: want hy overlantrijk was'.

⁶⁰ On Buysero: Worp (1891), Willemyns (1942). Apart from Buysero's role in Vondel's vernacular construct, there were probably other reasons to choose him as a dedicatee. Buysero was a wealthy member of an influential family, who sent Vondel a silver cup after the dedication of the work. Although Vondel was a famous poet with an established oeuvre, in his old age he might still have needed the support of a patron: without a regular income from business activities and decreased possibilities to represent himself at social events, the poet would have welcomed the opportunity to sell an expensive silver cup (cf. Reinders and Blom (2011) on Vondel's dedication strategy in publishing his Virgil translations).

capital'.⁶¹ Vondel clearly characterises the work as a translation: 'the French *Astrate* in Dutch attire'.⁶² Vondel hopes that Ovid will encourage Buysero's diligence in the future: '[When] delight will overcome you to speak like this mute book of the image creator [i.e. Ovid], and to follow his manners, which, artful and animated, excel everywhere; [then] you may trust that by this fire your diligence will expand.'⁶³ In this dedication, Vondel mingles translation and poetry: Buysero's poetical translation of the *Astrate* was only the beginning of a poetical oeuvre that would hopefully be inspired by the *Herscheppinge*. Thus, Vondel frames his *Herscheppinge* as a model for Dutch vernacular poetry.

2.3 Vondel as a scholarly poet

Adopting Ovid's literary prestige was not Vondel's only paratextual strategy. As Vondel, at the end of his career, was renowned for his poetic qualities when he finished his *Herscheppinge*, he did not depend on Ovid for his poetic quality. This contrasts, for example, the earlier translator Seger van Dort, whose literary prestige was strongly emphasized by several front matter paratexts of his edition.⁶⁴ Vondel foremost focused on his scholarly identity.

The front matter paratexts show how Vondel applied this strategy. In his preface, Vondel cites his older contemporary Gerard Vossius and introduces him as 'illustrious and lettered', and a 'professor of history in Leiden and Amsterdam'.⁶⁵ Vondel publicly associates himself with his friend (who had died in 1649) by quoting him as an oral source: 'he told me', Vondel notes.⁶⁶ The emphasis on Vondel's close relation with Vossius legitimises the argumentation in his preface, and by association gives him a position in the contemporary

⁶¹ Ed.94, fol. [*4], *Loofwerk*, 65-6: 'al de schouburgh juicht, [...] | Een dankbaer teken hoe 's lants hoofstadt dit behaeght.'

⁶² Ed.94, fol. [*4], *Loofwerk*, 61: 'de Fransche *Astrate* in 't Hollantsch kleet'. In 1662, Buysero had already translated a Latin play by Terentius to the Dutch vernacular: *Heautontimorumenos. Ofte Sels-qeller* (STCN 079156037). His translation of the French play *Astrate* fits the context of the Amsterdam society Nil Volentibus Arduum, to which Buysero was briefly affiliated (cf. Willemyns (1942), 28).

⁶³ Ed.94, fol. [*4], *Loofwerk*, 91-4: 'Bevangt u lust om met dit stomme boek te spreekken | Des vormverscheppers, en te volgen zyne streeken, | Die, kunstryk en vol geest, uitmunten overal; | Vertrou dat door dit vier uw yver groeien zal'.

⁶⁴ On Van Dort's paratextual prestige (Ed.71), see Chapter 3, n. 14.

⁶⁵ Ed.94, *Voorrede*, 3*2': 'doorluchtige en letterwijze heer Vossius, professor der Historien te Leiden en Amsterdam'.

⁶⁶ In the preface to his 1663 mythological tragedy *Faëton*, Vondel had already included such a statement: 'I remember the late professor Vossius saying', he notes, 'that if he would write a commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, it would prove to be the most learned book ever written' (cited in: Spies (1999), 69).

scholarly context. Furthermore, it legitimated Vondel's translation of a classical text, that seemed to be approved by Vossius as a reliable philologist.

In a different way, the preface and vita of the edition intend to ensure Vondel's scholarly credibility. Vondel translated these texts without acknowledging his sources and, thus, adopted the original scholarly authors' contents as his own. Without mentioning Petrus Crinitus's *De poetis Latinis* as the source of his vita, Vondel's translation of Crinitus's scholarly style presents Vondel as the learned middleman. Crinitus rhetorically presented himself, for example, as an Ovidian expert. He acknowledges to have included only the most important aspects of Ovid's life, but also claims that his knowledge goes significantly beyond what he can report in the context of his current work. Vondel translated Crinitus's claim, which refers to Ovid's official positions, as follows: '[...], which positions Ovid acknowledges on various instances, that we omit, to avoid long-windedness.'⁶⁷ Further on, Vondel adopted from Crinitus the following statement: 'It is unnecessary to enumerate Ovid's works, because many authors already deal with this topic, and because this is well-known by the commentaries of the Latin philologists [...].'⁶⁸ In both instances, an oblivious reader would assume that Vondel was the author of this biography: he nowhere identifies Crinitus as his source. He presents himself in Crinitus's words as fully familiar with Ovidian scholarship and displays his knowledge of the omissions in the biography. The literal translation of Crinitus's learned self-representations presents Vondel as an Ovidian specialist.⁶⁹ The same method can be noticed in the preface: although he refers to several ancient sources that explain the usefulness of mythology, Vondel is silent about Natalis Comes's *Mythologiae* as his actual, early modern source on these ancient texts.⁷⁰ In this way, Comes's contents became Vondel's contents. In

⁶⁷ Ed.94, 'Het leven van Publius Ovidius Nazo', fol. 3*2^v: 'welke bedieningen Ovidius, op verscheide plaetsen aenroert, het welk wy, om langkheit te vermijden, overslaan.' This is a literal translation of Crinitus, *DPL* 3.46, fol. [C5]^v: 'de quo habentur complura apud ipsum Ovidium diversis locis, quae sunt a nobis praetermittenda studio brevitatis.'

⁶⁸ Vondel, 'Het leven van Publius Ovidius Nazo', fol. 3*3^r: 'Het is onnoodigh Nazoos werken op te haelen, aengezien veele schrijvers hier van handelen, en dit elk genoegh bekent is door d'uitlegginge der Latijnsche letterkunstenaeren [...].' Translated from Crinitus, *DPL* 3.46, fol. [C5]^v: 'De ipsius operibus haud magnum operae precium est pluribus agere, cum multi de hoc scripserint, eaque vulgo satis nota sint ex commentariis nostrorum grammaticorum.'

⁶⁹ This strategy of credibility differs from Vondel's approach in the front matter to, for example, his *Palamedes* (1625), where he elaborately shows his sources to the reader. The dissimilarity suggests the changed circumstances of Vondel's career: in 1671, the poet no longer aimed at proving his scholarly credibility, but rather at displaying it.

⁷⁰ Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem, in quibus omnia prope Naturalis & Moralis Philosophiae dogmata contenta fuisse demonstratur* (Venice: 1567). On Comes (Natale Conti, 1520-1582?) and his work, see the introduction in Mulryan and Brown (2006), xi ff. For example, Van Mander's

doing so, Vondel presented these traditional elements to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as novel paratexts to his translation.

2.4 Conclusion: Ovid's work as Dutch poetry

My second case study has shown how the paratextual infrastructure could operate as another type of 'organism': appropriating Ovid as a 'host' these paratexts seek to sell above all Vondel's recreation of the *Metamorphoses*, moving beyond the Latin original, and present it as a literary achievement in its own right, a valuable work of Dutch poetry. Two strategies contribute to this frame: Vondel's vernacular translation adopts the ancient authority, and the paratextual infrastructure frames Vondel as a scholarly poet, emphasizing his authorial credibility.

Unlike my first case study, the Vondel edition provides a direct insight into its genesis: De Wees and Vondel worked together on their production of an original contribution to the Ovidian tradition. The analysis of the paratextual infrastructure shows how they operated. De Wees provided the macro-infrastructure: the publication format that identified the edition as part of Vondel's oeuvre. Vondel constructed the micro-infrastructure: he eclectically composed his paratextual apparatus by translating and sometimes adopting existing elements from other editions. Their cooperation resulted in a deviation from the utilitarian, traditional way of presenting Ovid, without alienating readers from this tradition. The edition communicates that Vondel's scholarly and utilitarian context is reliable, so that readers can enjoy his vernacular poetry without any reservations.

3 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter started with Gilmont and Vanautgaerden's metaphor of books as organisms. Based on the case studies in this chapter about the paratextual infrastructure in editions of the *Metamorphoses*, I propose to extend this metaphor in terms of different species living together in one ecosystem. To explain the variety of Ovidian editions, my investigation has shown how the various paratextual parts within the organism of the book are part of a larger construct, that I labelled the paratextual infrastructure. This infrastructure is more than just the cluster of the individual paratexts: as a cooperative body, it presents readers with a

explanations of Ovid's stories are also strongly indebted to Comes (cf. Sluijter (2000), 102). Comes's work was printed as an individual publication more often than as an accompaniment to Ovid's text, of which only one instance was printed in the early modern Low Countries (Ed.38).

particular reading experience. Book producers designed their infrastructures to present Ovid in such an intended way.

The paratextual infrastructure of my first case study provided two reading contexts. On its own terms, Longolius's commentary, for example, clearly appropriates the *Metamorphoses* as a rhetorical exercise. Investigating this appropriation frame within its original material context shows how middlemen presented this frame as self-evident: Longolius's notes are typographically positioned and paratextually presented, resulting in an educational reading context that prepared readers for an unequivocal reception of Ovid in the intended way. The paratextual infrastructure in my second case was a refined construct of appropriation that transferred Ovid from his own utilitarian tradition to Vondel's vernacular poetical context. As part of an antiquarian development, the edition connects the utilitarian tradition with poetical appeal, with Vondel as its trusted mediator.

The high level of divergence between the two paratextual infrastructures in these case studies can explain to some extent how such constructs of paratext could result in varying, even contrasting, receptions of the ancient text: middlemen applied textual and material aspects of various paratexts within the edition as their guiding strategies. Individual paratexts intended to guide the reader, but their embedding in a paratextual infrastructure ensured that this guidance was achieved in and through a reading experience.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In 1652, the English political and military leader Oliver Cromwell gave his daughter Bridget a Dutch wedding present: a luxurious ebony cabinet with decorative panels that displayed painted scenes on the inside which the married couple would certainly have identified as renowned Ovidian stories about the sacrifice of Andromeda and the abduction of Europa (amongst others).¹ On opening the cabinet doors, Cromwell's daughter and her husband could marvel at these and other remarkably irreverent scenes depicting nude women, rape, and misbehaving gods. This makes Cromwell's cabinet somewhat puzzling: scenes of rape are hardly the kind of entertainment one might expect a Puritan politician to give to his daughter who is on the verge of starting her own family.² And yet, he deemed the gift an appropriate one, apparently. Moreover, early modern decorative tiles for instance show that such displays of Ovidian stories were a common phenomenon in domestic contexts in the Low Countries too: they, for example, exhibit Actaeon beholding the naked bodies of Diana and her servants while they take a bath.³ How could the mythological stories in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* be such

¹ The object is called the Fleetwood Cabinet (after Bridget Cromwell's husband Charles Fleetwood). It is held by the National Museum of Ireland – Decorative Arts and History, Collins Barracks in Dublin, and part of *A history of Ireland in 100 objects* (100objects.ie); cf. Fintan O'Toole's description of object 63 (<https://bit.ly/2r2Ckio>). An analysis of the iconographies of the panel paintings would probably display a strong similarity with book illustrations in editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: the cabinet's display of Europa, for example, greatly resembles its iconography on a specific type of engraved title page (as included in Ed.85, 91, 92, 93, 100, 111, 112).

² The guide to the museum says: 'Closed, the cabinet's simple style echoes the Puritanical ethos of his [i.e. Cromwell's] age. Open, it displays an appreciation of wealth and learning'; furthermore, it even labels the inside paintings as 'erotic' (*Guide to the National Museum of Ireland. Decorative Arts & History*, s.a. s.l., p. 15). O'Toole similarly notes: 'Oliver Cromwell's reputation in Ireland is bloody and bitter. That his one personal legacy to the country should be not only particularly beautiful but also rather erotic is history's little black joke' (<https://bit.ly/2r2Ckio>).

³ Plus and Stupperich (2011), 68-9: M 66-8.

cherished cultural resources in the Early Modern Period given their often explicitly erotic, violent, or pagan content and morally subversive tenor?

In this book I have tried to investigate this paradox from a new, book-historical perspective: I have used 'paratext' as a key concept to explain this process of cultural appropriation, denoting the use of textual and material elements that guide the interpretation of a source text. My study has investigated how the paratextual environment of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* guided the reading of this classic work and by extension shaped Ovid's early modern reception. I have analysed the use of paratexts in 108 editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in Latin and the vernacular, printed in the Low Countries, from 1477 until the eighteenth century. My investigation leads to two general conclusions: first, the material shape of the book is an essential source for understanding the early modern reception of Antiquity; secondly, the book-historical sources I have consulted show that the two main strategies of appropriation in use at the time were presenting Ovid within an innovative or rather traditional reading context.

How the material shape of books can help to understand the reception of Antiquity

Recently, Craig Kallendorf has emphasized the importance of 'the habit of looking at the material form in which a text is encountered and of asking what the relationship between the two might be'. Such a material approach to classical reception studies would lead to 'a richer, more interesting kind of literary history, one that embraces the importance of the material while returning book history to the centre of literary studies'.⁴ Nobody will disagree with Kallendorf: the so-called 'material turn' has already shown how valuable the analysis of the material text can be. My study has, indeed, made clear that 'the material' provides a richer and more interesting view on classical reception; even more importantly, it shows that this is a fundamental element of the reception process. The individual conclusions to my chapters have demonstrated how individual paratextual elements and paratextual infrastructures facilitated the reception of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as one of the most well-known classical texts by providing guidance to its readers. These chapters have illuminated in detail the types of mediation that the producers of the text deemed necessary.

The first chapter introduced my approach to the concept of paratext, and explained how this concept can contribute to our knowledge of the early modern management of information. Gérard Genette's original understanding of paratext does not entirely fit the sources of the Early Modern Period: his notion of the paratext as a separated, auxiliary element is too narrow and hierarchical for that. Early modern books were constructs of various textual elements of equal importance. Therefore, I approached the editions in my

⁴ Kallendorf (2015), 172.

research corpus as coherent constructs of different types of material texts that together present a reading experience, rather than as a collection of interchangeable elements that support the presentation of Ovid's text. In my analysis, I focus both on particular types of paratext and on broader early modern developments of paratext.

The five succeeding chapters have shown how specific paratexts enabled book producers to appropriate the ancient text to make it fit in different early modern cultural contexts and to appeal to particular groups of readers. Chapters 2 and 3 investigated the general commercial appropriation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* through the use of introductory paratexts: the title page and the front matter. Presenting symbolic capital was the central strategy of the book producers: in their commercial presentations of Ovid's text, they sought to advertise the prestige of their printing houses, Ovid's authority as an ancient author, the editor's scholarly identity, the translator's nobility, and the commentator's reputation. Chapter 2 focussed on the commercial role of the title page. It showed how book producers used typography as an important means to guide the reader's attention: to identify the contents, of course, but also to claim unique selling points, such as the inclusion of an index, commentary, or additional sources, or a novel text or translation. These were key means to distinguish a new edition from the Ovidian tradition, and to convince the reader of the value of another new edition. Another strategy concerned a more general need for credibility: a common mistrust of the book world for its unauthorised reprints and sometimes little care for quality provoked book producers to emphasize their own trustworthiness. The printer's device and imprint were used as marks of quality.

Chapter 3 on prefaces, dedications, and biographies discussed other strategic interests of the book producers. In general, they used their front matters to position their publications; in the case of the *Metamorphoses*, this also meant they had to counter criticism of the supposedly pagan nature of the text. The fierceness of their defence shows it to be much more than just a topical element, but also a reaction to the actual criticism directed at the reading of mythological texts, in particular by inexperienced readers who could not understand the hidden truths within the *Metamorphoses*. The authors of the prefaces and dedications used several main lines of defence: they questioned the arguments of the critics; some explain to their readers why the criticism was unfounded. Most frequently, as the analysis showed, the front matter emphasized authority: middlemen indicated that ancient and early Christian sources had already identified the value of mythological education. Apart from anticipating moral reservations, the front matter could also defend the readership of the *Metamorphoses* in a more practical way by identifying a specific target audience, for whom the edition was a necessary tool. Artist communities or youngsters were thus addressed as specific groups of readers. Apart from prefaces and dedications, book producers used the genre of biography to

present Ovid as a reliable and distinguished classical authority, sometimes also displayed by corresponding visual representations of the poet.

Chapters 4 and 5 explored how middlemen tried to guide their readers in their appropriation of Ovid's mythological content in particular. Commentary and index – core elements of interpretation – functioned as windows into Ovid's text that were meant to regulate and guide the reader's access. As shown in Chapter 4, commentators developed different strategies to neutralise potentially controversial explicit, erotic passages. Especially young readers required guidance, as they would not be able to cope with the potentially subversive content of Ovid's work. In their annotations, therefore, the commentators provided interpretation frames that focussed on rhetorical instruction or moral allegory. Such commentaries distracted readers from a literal interpretation while usefully teaching them alternative humanist skills. A second strategy of distraction made use of silence, by excising or ignoring sensitive and obscene passages, and instead focussing on safe parts of the text.

The index offered a further means to guide the reader in the right direction, as my fifth chapter argued. This paratext functioned as a gateway in that it influenced the accessibility of the edition. Two aspects are crucial to the working of the index as a paratextual device: the selection of entries and their presentation. In both regards, producers of Ovidian editions intended to provide a safe and practical interpretation context as I showed in Chapter 5. Comprehensive indices were unique selling points of editions that catered for experienced readers, who were steeped in the tradition of commonplacing. Other indices intended to serve particularly inexperienced readers. Moreover, the index could function as a frame, for example by presenting moral or dogmatic, ideological interpretations of the source text. Apart from a filtering and framing device, the index could also serve more specifically commercial goals, for example by selecting explicit violence and sexuality as a way to entice readers to buy the edition.

To conclude the analysis of paratextual devices, Chapter 6 offered two case studies to show how the combination of paratexts operated as a meaningful whole, which I labelled the paratextual infrastructure. This paratextual infrastructure could facilitate a strategy of appropriation, presenting readers with particular reading experiences. In my first case, the paratextual infrastructure seemed to be oriented as two different types of readers: it provided both inexperienced and experienced readers with a recognisable reading context, offering help to divergent needs of guidance. My analysis of the paratextual infrastructure of the second case showed how the *Metamorphoses* was appropriated as a host in order to foreground the poetic quality of its renowned translator. Proceeding from these case studies, I argued that generally the paratextual infrastructure provides a meaningful window into an investigation of paratexts, that results in a deeper understanding of their working.

I hope to have shown that the chapters together offer ample evidence of how the material and textual aspects of the Ovidian paratexts could shape the appropriation process of the *Metamorphoses*.

Innovation and tradition

This appropriation process included both innovative and traditional strategies. During the period covered in this study (c. 1500-1700), the use of paratextuality developed in an increasing variety of editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: book producers included paratexts as mechanisms to fulfil their changing strategies of appropriation. They presented novel ways of access to the text: they deliberately applied paratext to frame their editions as useful tools to particular groups of readers, they foregrounded the unique selling points of their editions, and they designed paratextual infrastructures that consciously framed their editions as distinctive contributions to the Ovidian tradition. For example, they introduced Ovid into an educational setting by providing both the teacher and the student with a recognisable reading context; they framed the *Metamorphoses* as the essential handbook for cultural communities; they presented an up-to-date, scholarly reliable version of the text; they presented Ovid's work as a vernacular poem, an emulated version by the famous early modern poet Vondel.⁵ All these editions include an innovative paratextual infrastructure in which the individual paratexts contribute to an overarching paratextual frame: the combinations of paratexts resulted in novel instances of Ovidian reception.

As has become clear from the paratexts in my research corpus, seventeenth-century editions show some signs of a shifting appropriation of the *Metamorphoses*: middlemen not only presented a scholarly or educational reading context, but also framed it in aesthetic terms as a work of art and even entertainment. Also in the seventeenth century the antiquarian approach to the text became even more prominent. Various paratexts contributed to such a development: commentators of the *Metamorphoses* introduced the novel genre of the variorum edition, that included a compilation of notes by earlier commentators; indices began to include lemmata that focussed on antiquarian knowledge, rather than on the topos of transformation; Latin editions started to include illustrations – this antiquarian approach, however, would culminate in the eighteenth century.

Alongside these innovations in paratextual infrastructures, my investigation also demonstrated another pattern in the appropriation process, namely a strikingly conventional approach to the *Metamorphoses*. Printing this text was not the niche activity of a limited group of publishers, but involved a wide variety of entrepreneurs: many book producers only once or twice produced an edition of the text, to have a share of the market for this popular read.

⁵ Respectively: Ed.11, 16, 49, and 94.

They instantly copied novel presentations of the *Metamorphoses* or reprinted earlier editions, sometimes including an entire paratextual infrastructure. In this way, after many reprints, novel appropriations of the *Metamorphoses* turned into traditional displays. Commercial triggers motivated book producers to rely on an already existing presentation of the *Metamorphoses* for their printed editions: within the rather risky business of printing, it was economically safe to copy a successful edition of Ovid's text. Book producers reduced costs, and they secured profits because readers had already shown their interest in the product. This resulted in a high level of similarity between many of the editions. Engraved title pages in particular (expensive elements within a production process) were reused and copied, but other paratexts also experienced this traditional approach: commentaries were reprinted over a period of decades, middlemen copied or only slightly adapted existing indices, and Ovid's representation in biographies and portraits was also highly conventional.

This seventeenth-century persistence of the traditional presentation of Ovid may seem surprising in light of the radical changes that took place in this age: the so-called Scientific Revolution and the beginning of the 'Radical' Enlightenment marked by novel ways of looking at science, philosophy, religion, art, and politics (amongst other aspects of society), and challenges to the relevance of the traditional humanistic canon. Yet, it has also been shown that traditional humanist philology survived and continued to generate scholarly activities.⁶ Accordingly, in lower and higher education the humanistic practice was continued during the years of 'revolution'.⁷ My research corpus has confirmed this continuing market for classical literature. It has also shown that older humanist scholarship survived. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, for example, book producers still printed editions with Farnabius's early seventeenth-century paratextual infrastructure.⁸ Moreover, in the first half of the eighteenth century this tradition continued: even two 1702 reprints of Cnippingius's variorum edition had Farnabius's comments; in the first decades of this century, book producers printed no less than six editions with Rabus's notes; even in 1748, an Amsterdam book producer printed an edition 'ad usum scholarum', including a paratextual infrastructure based on traditional paratextual elements.⁹ All these examples point to continuity in the textual presentation of Ovid, rather than to change and innovation.

Another example of continuity concerns the interpretation. My study has revealed how strong roots in the medieval allegorical interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* prevented

⁶ Grafton (2001); in the second half of the seventeenth century, traditional humanist philology remained an important aspect of scholarly activities (for example in the case of Isaac Vossius: Jorink and Van Miert (2012), 5).

⁷ Van Miert (2009), 361-3; Ross (2015); Feys and Sacré (2017), 118-29.

⁸ Ed.105.

⁹ Cnippingius: Ed.111, 112; Rabus: Ed.115, 116, 127, 133, 134, 140; 1748 school edition: Ed.144.

fundamental changes to this Ovidian tradition, even until the end of the seventeenth century. Although the early sixteenth-century humanists (most prominently Raphael Regius) discarded the medieval tradition of Christian allegory (still prominent in Berchorius's fourteenth-century commentary), the elementary allegorical approach survived, in which Ovid's myths were interpreted as examples of pagan virtues and vices. Thereafter, the early modern approach to the *Metamorphoses* was inclusive, rather than substitutive: in their turn, these early sixteenth-century interpretations were not discarded and replaced, but collected and supplemented. For example, Regius's notes still functioned as an important part of a 1667 edition.¹⁰ Further comparative research on the early modern paratextual infrastructures to other ancient authors could illuminate more general patterns in the textual approach to ancient literature. To better understand this approach to Antiquity, it would also be helpful to position the editions within the wider context of the book producer's activities. This could help us to understand how the publishing of ancient authors fitted within the larger publishing strategies of the early modern book industry.

The lack of paratextual guidance

Apart from these editions with abundant paratextual infrastructures, a minority of the editions, but still a considerable number, were printed without many paratexts (these were especially the editions printed in small bibliographic formats).¹¹ Moreover, although prefaces of editions extensively defended why a reading of the *Metamorphoses* was appropriate, and responded to contemporary criticism concerning the utility of mythology, a lack of further paratextual infrastructure frequently provided a rather uncontrolled access to the text itself. These editions did not actually guide readers via a commentary or an index for example, but readers had to deal with potentially dangerous passages on their own: mostly, they had to create their own reading experience.

Although my study has focused on the use of paratexts and not on their absence, it is intriguing to consider briefly the possible reasons for such a lack of paratextual guidance. One possible explanation might be the hermeneutical tradition of reading Ovid. From the Middle Ages onwards, the previously discussed allegorical tradition of appropriation resulted in a convention of allegorical reading throughout the Early Modern Period. This possibly made strong guidance unnecessary in each and every edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: even

¹⁰ Ed.91: in this variorum edition, Schrevelius collected notes by the early sixteenth-century annotators Raphael Regius, Hercules Ciofanus, and Jacob Micyllus, together with early seventeenth-century comments by Farnabius and Pontanus.

¹¹ Thirteen editions (twelve percent) of my research corpus were printed in the vicesimo-quarto format without many paratexts.

without a paratextual infrastructure that alerted the reader to its valuable meaning, readers would have considered the existence of such a meaning a traditional pretext that legitimised their reading of Ovid's lively stories. The book producers who did provide novel infrastructures, did so for mainly commercial reasons: they intended to differentiate their printing product from the earlier editions of Ovid's work.

Another possible reason, which follows from the first one, is that this collective way of association involves many cultural contexts through which readers could be familiar with classical texts: of course, they did not solely acquire their knowledge through books. Their interpretations of Ovidian mythology were influenced by all kinds of sources, including, for example, visual and material culture: prints, paintings, tapestries, signs, and tiles (amongst many other material manifestations), or specific works of craftsmanship such as the Fleetwood Cabinet mentioned earlier. Without knowing whether Cromwell's daughter Bridget and her husband actually connected the paintings on the inside of the cabinet as moral allegories to their marriage, the general tradition of moralising mythology helps to explain why the 'erotic' scenes were not considered problematic.¹² Indeed, one could compare the observer of this cabinet with its scenes of nudity, abduction, and rape to readers who could marvel at the enjoyable scenes in their books, some of which were even considered lascivious, because of the same general tradition of seeing deeper lessons in the pagan stories.

¹² Sluijter (2000), 163: an allegorical interpretation of mythological scenes, however, was not the painter's nor the viewer's main interest. The amusement of looking at an enjoyable picture was the most important objective of a painting. The English mythographic tradition, for example, connected Andromeda and Europa to the theme of marriage. On this mythographic tradition in general: Hartmann (2018). On the interpretation of Andromeda, see for example George Sandys's *Ovids Metamorphosis Englished, mythologiz'd, and represented in figures*. (Oxford [and London]: John Lichfield [and William Stansby], 1632 (STC 18966)), 168: 'Yet Andromeda, innocent Virtue, shall never misse of that sacred succour, which will not only deliuer her from the present danger, but match her to Perseus, that is, unto Honour and Felicitie [...].' Andromeda's acquaintance with Perseus not only provides her with a congenial marriage, but accordingly turns her life into a safe haven of happiness and prosperity. On the other hand, the bride must not have idealised expectations of married life, as the case of Europa may have taught readers. On Europa, see for example Alexander Ross, *Mystagogus poeticus, or, The muses interpreter explaining the historical mysteries, and mystical histories of the ancient Greek and Latin poets* (London 1647) (USTC 3035145). Juppiter's abduction of Europa triggered Ross to warn girls not to expect an ideal life once married: 'Many Maides are like Europa, they thinke the married life, the onely comfortable and contented life, but many times by experience they find it otherwise, and that they enter with Europa into a sea of cares and dangers, from which they would sain return again, but it is then too late to repent' (cited from the 1653 London edition, p. 121, s.v. 'Perseus').

The actual reader

This book was not about actual readers, although they might provide a valuable perspective on the phenomenon of paratexts. My investigation into the early modern reception of the *Metamorphoses* has considered the presentation of this text by the book producers, themselves readers of Ovid. As middlemen they applied their knowledge of the market in their business strategies to present the text to their intended customers. *Intended* readers, however, were not necessarily the *actual* readers of the *Metamorphoses*. Individual readers approached their books in their own, individual ways. Thus, a copy of Daniel Heinsius's 1629 scholarly edition, could, seventy years later, turn into a schoolbook. In 1696, an uncle wrote an ex-libris annotation to his nephew on a flyleaf of his copy: 'This book, out of his own library, he gave as a present to his nephew Mathias [...], to encourage virtue, for this curriculum of studies. Uncle Isaac [...].'¹³ He donated this edition to support his nephew's moral instruction during his school period ('in hoc curriculo studiorum'). In 1629, however, Elzevier had framed this particular edition as a product of humanist scholarship that presented the most up-to-date version of Ovid's text: it included a learned dedication, a preface that foregrounded the excellent research and inclusion of many materials, and scholarly annotations. Surely, Isaac did not expect Mathias to be foremost interested in these aspects. Moreover, he did not consider them as obstructions to another type of reading. Readers' traces such as these were beyond the focus of my research, but will undoubtedly be a valuable source for an investigation into the impact of the paratextual infrastructures on actual readers.

Bringing together these analyses of the working of individual paratexts and paratextual infrastructures as a whole, my investigation can contribute, I hope, to the study of paratext in early modern books. By focusing on the interaction of individual elements in the paratextual construct, we can gain a new understanding of book producers' strategies. Furthermore, in regard to classical reception studies my study has shown how the paratextual context of ancient texts was crucial to their early modern appropriation. Covering a time in which book producers were important and influential mediators between Antiquity and the Early Modern Period, the Ovidian paratexts can offer a more profound historical understanding of the reception of the *Metamorphoses*.

¹³ Ed.50, copy held by the Royal Library in The Hague, shelf mark 235 E 16 (1): 'Hunc librum, ex bibliotheca sua, dono dedit, nepoti suo Matheo [...], in calcar virtutis, in hoc curriculo studiorum. Avunculus Isaac [...].'

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This project, however, would not have materialised into this book without the assistance of a number of people, whom I would like to thank warmly. Most importantly, in monthly sessions my supervisor Arnoud Visser took time to give me stimulating feedback on different versions of my writing and to evaluate my progress. The Maaswaal College in Wijchen helped me to spend my time most efficiently by giving me ideal timetables, the assistance of its financial administration, and some flexibility. Several people helped me to get my thoughts in order: Susanna de Beer, Nina Geerdink, Dirk van Miert, Jeroen Salman, and Paul van Uum read earlier versions of chapters of this study. Apart from their valuable feedback, I also received relevant criticism from participants in various scholarly meetings organized by the Utrecht Department of Early Modern Dutch Language and Literature and the Utrecht 'Promovendiclub' of fellow PhD candidates involved in early modern studies. Christien Franken edited my English.

The project combines two of my main interests: the ancient world and book history. The Departments of Classics (Radboud University) and Book History (University of Amsterdam) have, therefore, also contributed to this project: they enthusiastically introduced me to these scholarly fields, and individual members further supported my scholarly development even after I had received my MA degrees. Finally, Charlotte granted me a lot of time, and together with family and friends supported me with confidence about my work on the Ovidian paratexts.

Appendix 1

RESEARCH CORPUS

This appendix presents a list of the 108 editions that are my research corpus. Based on the criteria that I explained in Chapter 1, this list includes Latin as well as vernacular editions with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed in the Low Countries from 1477 until 1699.¹ This book also refers to some eighteenth-century editions, pointing, for example, at continuity in ways of appropriation: therefore, an additional list includes the editions printed from 1700 until 1750. Throughout this book, I use the edition numbers (e.g. Ed.1) to refer to specific editions.

I have chosen to include in this table only bibliographic references to online databases: in the first place, the list refers to the *Short Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN) and the *Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen* (STCV); only if these were not available, the table includes a record number of the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC). These databases provide useful links to printed reference works.² The places of publication are standardised according to modern English. I adopted the spelling of the names of the printers/publishers from the thesaurus by Gruys and De Wolf (1989).

¹ Cf. Chapter 1.4 on my definition of 'edition' and the demarcation of my research corpus.

² Including Valkema Blouw (1998), Nijhoff and Kronenberg (1923-1971), and Pettegree and Walsby (2010).

RESEARCH CORPUS (1477-1699)

edition number	year of publication	place of publication	printer/publisher	translator (t) / commentator (c) / editor (e)	short title	STCN (n) / STCV (v) / USTC (u)
Ed.1	1477	Leuven	Johannes de Westfalia	Andreas (e)	Metamorphoses	12922796 (v)
Ed.2	1505	Deventer	Richard Pafraet	-	P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseos liber primus	106553747 (n)
Ed.3	1506	Deventer	Jacobus de Breda	-	Pub. Ovi. Nasonis Metamorphoseos liber tertius	10655378X (n)
Ed.4	1509	Deventer	Jacobus de Breda	-	Metamorphoseos I. II.	106554948 (n)
Ed.5	1511	Deventer	Jacobus de Breda	-	Metamorphoseos I. IV.	107510464 (n)
Ed.6	1514	Deventer	Albertus Pafraet	-	Metamorphoseos I. III.	106554980 (n)
Ed.7	1514	Deventer	Albertus Pafraet	-	Metamorphoseos II. I-III.	106555022 (n)
Ed.8	1519	Deventer	Albertus Pafraet	-	Metamorphoseos I. I.	106555081 (n)
Ed.9 ³	1529	Antwerp	Godfried van der Haeghen	Sichardus (e)	Opera	-
Ed.10	1536	Antwerp	Joannes Steelsius	Marot (t)	Le premier livre de la metamorphose	49868 (u)
Ed.11	1538	Antwerp	wid. Merten de Keyser	Glareanus (c) Longolius (c)	P. Ovidii Nasonis Opera	437948 (u)
Ed.12	1539	Antwerp	M. Hillen van Hoochstraten	Glareanus (c) Longolius (c)	P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorpho.	438006 (u)
Ed.13	1539	Antwerp	-	Marot (t)	Le premier livre de la metamorphose	34557 (u)
Ed.14	1545	Antwerp	Jan van der Loe	Glareanus (c) Longolius (c)	Opera	408444 (u)
Ed.15	1551	Antwerp	Joannes Steelsius	de Bustamente (t)	Las Metamorphoses	440310 (u)

³ Data based on NK 3666.

Ed.16	1552	Antwerp	Hans de Laet	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is: Die herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe	408777 (u)
Ed.17	1553	Antwerp	Jan van der Loe	Glareanus (c) Longolius (c)	Opera	403335 (u)
Ed.18	1558	Antwerp	Jan van der Loe	Glareanus (c) Longolius (c)	Opera	404301 (u)
Ed.19	1561	Antwerp	Chr. Plantin	Giselinus (c)	Metamorphosewñ, libri XV	12919877 (v)
Ed.20	1563	Leiden	Dierick Gerridt Horst	Glareanus (c) Longolius (c)	Opera	428308 (u)
Ed.21	1566	Antwerp	Chr. Plantin	Naugerius (e) Giselinus (e/c)	Metamorphoseon lib. XV	12919877 (v)
Ed.22	1566	Antwerp	Hans de Laet	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is de herscheppinge	399363025 (n)
Ed.23	1575	Antwerp	Chr. Plantin	Naugerius (e) Giselinus (e/c)	Metamorphoseon lib. XV	411918 (u)
Ed.24	1578	Antwerp	Chr. Plantin	Naugerius (e) Giselinus (e/c)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	406415 (u)
Ed.25	1582	Antwerp	Chr. Plantin	Naugerius (e) Giselinus (e/c)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	406601 (u)
Ed.26	1584	Antwerp	P. Beelaert/ D. Vervliet	Naugerius (e) Giselinus (e/c)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	414785 (u)
Ed.27	1588	Antwerp	Chr. Plantin	Naugerius (e) Giselinus (e/c)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	413836 (u)
Ed.28	1588	Amsterdam	Harmen Jansz Muller	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is, Die herscheppinge oft veranderinge	843234997 (n)
Ed.29	1590	Leiden	Franciscus Raphelengius	-	Metamorphoseon libri XV	114483604 (n)
Ed.30	1595	Antwerp	Peeter Beelaert / André Bacx	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is, Die herscheppinghe oft veranderinge	413158 (u)
Ed.31	1595	Antwerp	wid. Chr. Plantin/ Jan Moretus	Naugerius (e) Giselinus (e/c)	Metamorphoseon	413135 (u)
Ed.32	1595	Antwerp	Peeter Beelaert	de Bustamente (t)	Las Transformaciones de Ovidio	440311 (u)
Ed.33	1599	Amsterdam	Harmen Jansz Muller	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is, De heerscheppinghe[!] oft veranderinge[!]	079528945 (n)

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Ed.34	1602	Leiden	Franciscus Raphelengius	-	Metamorphoseon libri XV	1006795 (u)
Ed.35	1608	Antwerp	wid. Peeter Beelaert / André Bacx	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is: Die herscheppinge oft veranderinghe	3133527 (v)
Ed.36	1609	Amsterdam	Harmen Jansz Muller	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is, Die herscheppinge oft veranderinge	080358454 (n)
Ed.37	1610	Antwerp	Joachim Trognesium	-	Metamorphoseon libri XV	6625294 (v)
Ed.38	1612	Antwerp	Gaspar Bellerus	Natalis Comes (c)	Metamorphosis, seu Fabulae poeticae	12914774 (v)
Ed.39	1612	Leiden	Franciscus Raphelengius	-	Metamorphoseon libri XV	115720685 (n)
Ed.40	1615	Antwerp	Gheleyn Janssens	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is: Die herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe	3130180 (v)
Ed.41	1615	Rotterdam	Jan (III) van Waesberge	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is: De herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe	306268965 (n)
Ed.42	1618	Antwerp	heirs Martinus Nutius (II)	Pontanus (e/c)	Ex P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphosewn libris XV. electorum libri totidem, ultimo integro	6641012 (v)
Ed.43	1619	Antwerp	Willem Lesteens / André Bacx	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is: Die herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe	341421944 (n)
Ed.44	1619	Amsterdam	Willem Jansz Blaeu	-	Operum tomus II	851978916 (n)
Ed.45	1621	Amsterdam	heirs Harmen Jansz Muller	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis: Dat is, De herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe	119476118 (n)
Ed.46	1621	The Hague	Aert Meuris	van der Nis (t)	De vyerighe liefde vande godinne Venus, tot den ionghelingh Adonis	852201451 (n)
Ed.47	1624	Amsterdam	Willem Jansz Blaeu	-	Operum tomus II	119474972 (n)
Ed.48	1626	Leiden	Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevier	-	Metamorphoseon liber I. II. VIII. & XIII	115714537 (n)
Ed.49	1629	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	D. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	212691740 (n)

Ed.50	1629	Leiden	Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevier	D. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	832850306 (n)
Ed.51	1630	Amsterdam	Willem Jansz Blaeu	D. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	087265745 (n)
Ed.52	1631	Antwerp	Jan Beelaert/ wid. Peter Beelaert	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is: Die herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe	1007018 (u)
Ed.53	1634	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	D. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	084790083 (n)
Ed.54⁴	1637	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	-	Metamorphoseon Liber 1. 2. 8. 13	-
Ed.55	1637	Rotterdam	Pieter (I) van Waesberge / Isaac Burchoorn	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is: De her-scheppinghe ofte veranderinghe	842413715 (n)
Ed.56	1637	Rotterdam	Pieter (I) van Waesberge	Florianus (t)	Den metamorphosis ofte herscheppinghe	061298719 (n)
Ed.57	1638	Amsterdam	Willem Jansz Blaeu/ Joan (I) Blaeu / Isaac Burchoorn	D. Heinsius	Opera	087193639 (n)
Ed.58	1639	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	Farnabius (c)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	1510160 (u)
Ed.59	1640	Rotterdam	Pieter (I) van Waesberge	Florianus (t)	Den metamorphosis ofte herscheppinghe	1007223 (u)
Ed.60	1643	Amsterdam	Joan (I) Blaeu	D. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	1512226 (u)
Ed.61	1643	Amsterdam	Jan van Hilten	-	Metamorphosis, dat is verandering herscheping	17314828X (n)
Ed.62	1643	Amsterdam	Pieter Robyn	-	Metamorphosis, dat is verandering, of herscheping	087519399 (n)
Ed.63	1643	Amsterdam	Jodocus Janssonius	-	Metamorphosis, dat is verandering, of herscheping	087518279 (n)
Ed.64	1643	Amsterdam	Dirk Cornelisz Houthaek	-	Metamorphosis, dat is verandering, of herscheping	08751785X (n)
Ed.65	1643	Amsterdam	Jan Jacobz Schipper	-	Metamorphosvs[!], dat is verandering, of herscheping	840979614 (n)

⁴ I have identified only one copy that is not included in the STCN: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 8" Wi 4030.

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Ed.66⁵	1647	Antwerp	Johannes Meursius	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	-
Ed.67	1647	Amsterdam	Jan Jacobz Schipper	-	Metamorphosus[!], dat is verandering, of herschepping	089165985 (n)
Ed.68	1647	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	D. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	088982513 (n)
Ed.69⁶	1649	Amsterdam	Joan (I) Blaeu	-	Metamorphoseon libri XV	-
Ed.70	1649	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	Farnabius (c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	314197680 (n)
Ed.71	1650	Antwerp	Geeraerd van Wolsschaten II	Seger van Dort (t)	Den methamorphosis ofte Herscheppinge	3114511 (v)
Ed.72	1650	Amsterdam	Joan (I) Blaeu	Farnabius (c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	212302604 (n)
Ed.73	1650	Amsterdam	Joan (I) Blaeu	Farnabius (c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	08886409X (n)
Ed.74	1650	Antwerp/ Leiden	Peeter Beelaert / Jacob Roels	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is: Die herscheppinghe oft veranderinghe	12913671 (v)
Ed.75	1650	Antwerp/ Rotterdam	Peeter Beelaert / Pieter (I) van Waesberge	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis dat is: Die herscheppinghe oft Veranderinghe	057414335 (n)
Ed.76	1652	Amsterdam	Lowijs (III) Elzevier	N. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	121630366 (n)
Ed.77⁷	1655	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	Farnabius (c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	-
Ed.78	1656	Amsterdam	Johannes Janssonius (I)	-	Metamorphoseon liber I. II. VIII. & XIII.	352850965 (n)
Ed.79	1657	Antwerp	Jacobus van Meurs	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	12914886 (v)
Ed.80	1657	Rotterdam	Pieter (I) van Waesberge	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is veranderingh, of herschepingh	057647674 (n)
Ed.81	1659	Amsterdam	Abraham Wolfgang	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is veranderingh, of herschepingh	303131373 (n)

⁵ I have identified only one copy that is not included in the STCV: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 8" Wi 4036.

⁶ I have identified only one copy that is not included in the STCN: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, A.lat.a. 1016-2.

⁷ I have identified only one copy in a private collection that is not included in the STCN.

Ed.82	1659	Hoorn	A.I. van der Beeck / G. Martensz	-	Wapen-twist van Ajax en Ulysses	056819722 (n)
Ed.83	1659	Amsterdam	Lowijs (III) and Daniel Elzevier	N. Heinsius (e/c)	Operum tomus II	852978138 (n)
Ed.84	1659	Antwerp	Michiel Cnobbaert	Pontanus (e)	Libri XV. ab omni obscoenitate purgati	12919063 (v)
Ed.85	1661	Leiden	Pieter Leffen	Schrevelius (e/c) N. Heinsius (c)	Operum tomus 2	064034895 (n)
Ed.86	1662	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius	D. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	093623437 (n)
Ed.87	1662	Amsterdam	Abraham (II) de Wees / Willem de Hondt	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is veranderingh, of herscheppingh	093411308 (n)
Ed.88	1662	Amsterdam	Abraham (II) de Wees / Willem de Hondt / Jacob van Velsen	Florianus (t)	Metamorphosis, dat is verandering of herschepping	842282386 (n)
Ed.89⁸	1662	Antwerp	Hiëronymus and Johannes Verdussen	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	-
Ed.90	1664	Amsterdam	Daniel Elzevier	N. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	094964521 (n)
Ed.91	1667	Leiden/ Rotterdam	Cornelius, Jacobus and Petrus Hackius	Schrevelius (e/c)	Libri XV. Metamorphoseôn	29268780X (n)
Ed.92	1670	Leiden	Cornelius, Jacobus and Petrus Hackius	Cnippingius (e/c) N. Heinsius (c)	Operum tomus II	840013728 (n)
Ed.93	1671	Amsterdam	Johannes (I) Janssonius van Waesberghe	Farnabius (c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	09538829X (n)
Ed.94	1671	Amsterdam	wid. Abraham de Wees / Daniel Bakkamude	Vondel (t)	Herscheppinge	842258841 (n)
Ed.95	1676	Amsterdam	Daniel Elzevier	N. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	850786894 (n)
Ed.96	1677	Brussels	Franciscus (I) Foppens	Du Ryer (t)	Les metamorphoses	12885783 (v)
Ed.97⁹	1677	Amsterdam	wid. Jan Jacobsz Schipper	Du Ryer (t)	Les Metamorphoses	-
Ed.98	1678	Antwerp	Joannes Baptista (I) Verdussen	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	12914889 (v)

⁸ I have identified only one copy that is not included in the STCV: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, A.lat.a. 1199.

⁹ I have identified only one copy that is not included in the STCN: Museum Plantin-Moretus, B 59.

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Ed.99	1678	Leiden	Daniel van Gaasbeek	Abraham Valentijn (t)	Al de werken. Het tweede deel	844010731 (n)
Ed.100	1683	Amsterdam	Willem, Pieter and Joan (II) Blaeu	Cnippingius (e/c) N. Heinsius (c)	Operum tomus 2	852573480 (n)
Ed.101	1685	Amsterdam	Abraham Wolfgang	N. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	841776598 (n)
Ed.102	1686	Rotterdam	Reinier Leers	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseōn libri XV	057913358 (n)
Ed.103¹⁰	1687	Antwerp	Joannes Baptista (I) Verdussen	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	-
Ed.104	1693	Amsterdam	Pieter (I) Mortier	-	Les Metamorphoses	843338660 (n)
Ed.105	1696	Amsterdam	G. and J. (II) Janssonius van Waesberge	Farnabius (c)	Metamorphoseōn, libri XV	104843594 (n)
Ed.106	1697	Amsterdam	Pieter (I) Mortier	Valentijn (t)	Alle de werken. Het tweede deel	318074133 (n)
Ed.107	1697	Rotterdam	Reinier Leers	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseōn libri XV	277956811 (n)
Ed.108	1698	Antwerp	Joannes Baptista (I) Verdussen	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	12911379 (v)

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS (1700-1750)

edition number	year of publication	place of publication	printer/publisher	translator (t) / commentator (c) / editor (e)	short title	STCN (n) / STCV (v) / USTC (u)
Ed.109	1700	Amsterdam	Pieter (I) Mortier	Valentijn (t)	Alle de werken. Het tweede deel	843242159 (n)
Ed.110	1701	Amsterdam	Henri Schelte	N. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	317896229 (n)
Ed.111	1702	Amsterdam	J. (II) and G. Janssonius van Waesberge, J. Boom, and R. Goethals	Cnippingius (e/c) N. Heinsius (c)	Operum tomus 2	320301095 (n)
Ed.112	1702	Amsterdam	J. (II) and G. Janssonius van Waesberge, J. Boom, and R. Goethals	Cnippingius (e/c) N. Heinsius (c)	Operum tomus 2	320300641 (n)

¹⁰ I have identified only one copy that is not included in the STCV: Museum Plantin-Moretus, A 2851.

Ed.113	1702	Amsterdam	P. and J. (II) Blaeu, G. and J (II) Janssonius van Waesberge, J., widow D. (I), and H. Boom, and R. Goethals	Du Ryer (t)	Les metamorphoses	263847853 (n)
Ed.114	1703	Amsterdam	P. and J. (II) Blaeu, G. and J (II) Janssonius van Waesberge, J., widow D. (I), and H. Boom, and R. Goethals	Vondel (t) Du Ryer (c)	Herschepinge	164275703 (n)
Ed.115	1710	Rotterdam	C. Fritsch and M. Böhm	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	304769258 (n)
Ed.116	1710	Rotterdam	C. Fritsch and M. Böhm	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	229816134 (n)
Ed.117	1711	Antwerp	Joannes Baptista (II) Verdussen	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphose[on] libri XV	12912385 (v)
Ed.118	1711	Antwerp	Joannes Baptista (II) Verdussen	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphose[on] libri XV	12913220 (v)
Ed.119	1711	Antwerp	Joannes Baptista (II) Verdussen	Pontanus (e)	Metamorphose[on] libri XV	7056676 (v)
Ed.120	1713	Leiden	Willem van de Water	Burmannus (e/c)	Operum tomus II	212446592 (n)
Ed.121	1713	Amsterdam	R. and G. Wetstein	Burmannus (e/c)	Operum tomus II	186610602 (n)
Ed.122	1713	Leiden	Willem van de Water	Burmannus (e/c)	Operum tomus II	271318724 (n)
Ed.123	1713	Amsterdam	R. and G. Wetstein	Burmannus (e/c)	Operum tomus II	271317868 (n)
Ed.124	1716	Amsterdam	Etienne Roger	de Bellegarde (t)	Les metamorphoses	317796372 (n)
Ed.125	1717	Amsterdam	J. van Waesberge	N. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	317708457 (n)
Ed.126	1718	Amsterdam	David Mortier	Du Ryer (t)	Les metamorphoses	308008073 (n)
Ed.127	1722	Amsterdam	R. and G. Wetstein	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	310471141 (n)
Ed.128	1727	Utrecht	Lambrecht Berts	van Meerbeecq (t)	Metamorphosis, ofte De XV. boecken van syne herschepinge, met tusschen-gevoegde zede-leeringen	303251697 (n)
Ed.129	1727	Amsterdam	François Changuion	Burmannus (e/c)	Opera omnia 2	292624883 (n)
Ed.130	1727	Amsterdam	J. van Waesberge	Burmannus (e/c)	Opera omnia 2	290976723 (n)

Appendix 1

Ed.131	1727	Amsterdam	R. and J. Wetstein, and William Smith	Burmannus (e/c)	Opera omnia 2	186585349 (n)
Ed.132	1728	The Hague	P. Gosse and J. Neaulme	Du Ryer (t)	Les metamorphoses	314554793 (n)
Ed.133	1729	Amsterdam	M. and H. Janssonius van Waesberge	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	258792426 (n)
Ed.134	1729	Amsterdam	R. and J. Wetstein, and William Smith	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	188827692 (n)
Ed.135	1730	Amsterdam	E. Visscher and I. Tirion	Vondel (t)	Herscheppinge	185517838 (n)
Ed.136	1732	Amsterdam	R. and J. Wetstein, and William Smith	Banier (t/a)	Les métamorphoses	314071822 (n)
Ed.137	1732	Amsterdam	R. and J. Wetstein, and William Smith	Banier (t/a)	Métamorphoses	264441176 (n)
Ed.138	1732	Amsterdam	R. and J. Wetstein, and William Smith	Verburg (t) Banier (a)	De gedaant-wisselingen	212350161 (n)
Ed.139	1732	Amsterdam	R. and J. Wetstein, and William Smith	Garth (t) Banier (a)	Metamorphoses	189895284 (n)
Ed.140	1735	Amsterdam	Sumptibus Societatis	Minellius (c) Rabus (e/c)	Metamorphoseôn libri XV	304978426 (n)
Ed.141	1735	Den Haag	Jean Neaulme	de Bellegarde (t)	Les metamorphoses	273279181 (n)
Ed.142	1735	Amsterdam	J. Wetstein and W. Smith	N. Heinsius (e)	Operum tomus II	186590717 (n)
Ed.143	1744	Den Haag	Jean Neaulme	Du Ryer (t)	Les metamorphoses	288975278 (n)
Ed.144	1748	Amsterdam	A. Wor and heirs G. onder de Linden	Burmannus (e)	Metamorphoseon libri XV	297438611 (n)

Appendix 2

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1: Typographic title page – Ed.17, fol. [a1]^r (Google Books)

Illustration 2: Typographic title page – Ed.33, fol. [A1]^r

Illustration 3: Engraved title page – Ed.84, fol. [A1]^r

Illustration 4: Engraved title page – Ed.94, fol. [*1]^r

Illustration 5: Engraved title page – Ed.77, fol. [*1]^r

Illustration 6: Engraved title page – Ed.90, fol. [*1]^r

Illustration 7: Engraved title page – Ed.98, fol. [A1]^r

Illustration 8: Engraved title page – Ed.103, fol. [A1]^r

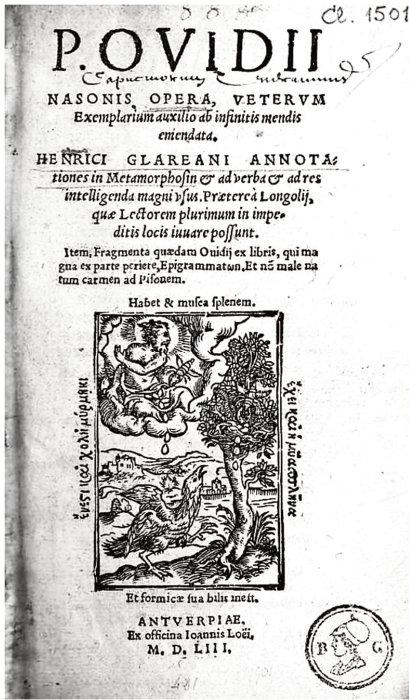
Illustration 9: Index – Ed.77, fol. [V12]^r

Illustration 10: Index – Ed.100, fol. 3e3^v

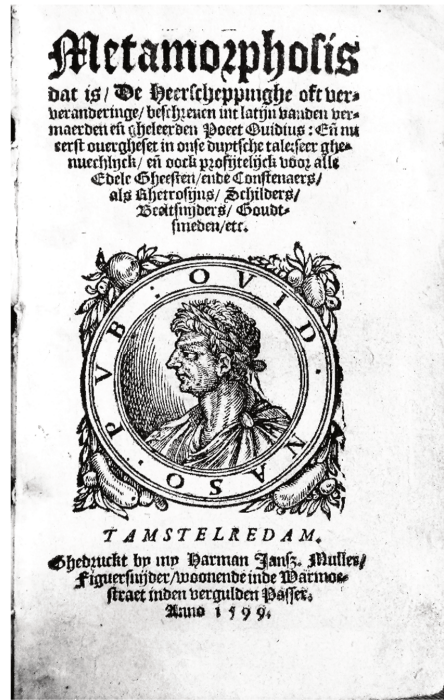
Illustration 11: Index – Ed.94, fol. 3r2^v

Illustration 12: Page lay-out – Ed.17, fol. [A8]^v

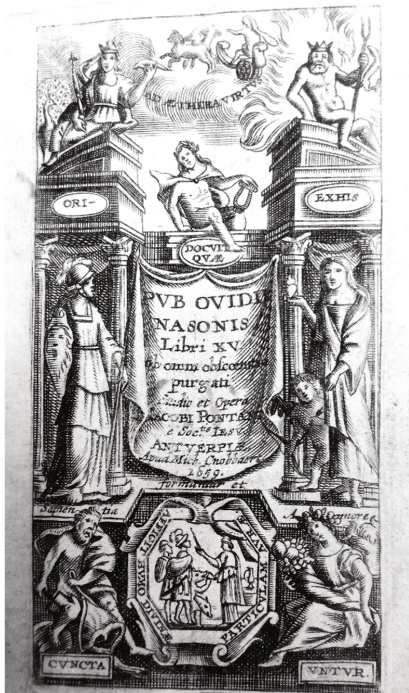
Illustration 13: Page lay-out – Ed.102, fol. L6^r (Google Books)



III. 1



III. 2



III. 3



III. 4



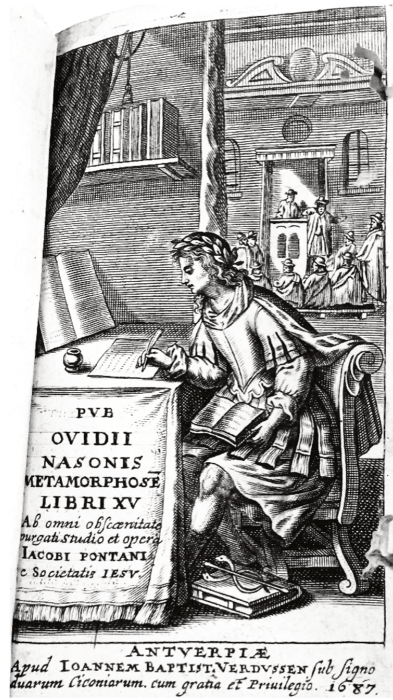
III. 5



III. 6



III. 7



III. 8

I N D E X

R E R U M,

*Tum in Autore ipso, tum in notis ad
eum memorabilium.*

Prior numerus, cui character Roma-
nus, librum; alter, cui barbarus seu Arith-
meticus, versum designat.

A

A Cheloi cum Hercule certamen,	IX, 1
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Aconitum	I, 147. VI, 139. VII, 41E
Acteon	III, 192
Adonis. idem qui Osiris, Attis, Sol	X, 726
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	<i>Amo-</i>

I N D E X

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445. Fab. 1. Trunca frons. 445. 2.	Tauriformis. 450. 80. Etiam Tom. 1.
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Achaia, non Achæia.	595. 70
Achilles hasta vulnus facit, eademque sanat.	598. 112. ejusdem epitaphium.
	628. 618.
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Huc Ades: formula precantium.	424. 597
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Aditus innumeri.	593. 44
Adspirare, pro favere.	6. 3
Aer lucis egens.	8. 17
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		An-

METAMORPH. OVIDII.

Solibus æthereis, altoq; recanduit æstu,
 Accingit se ad aliam fabulam. ἄπασροφί.
 Ædidit innumeras species, partimq; figuras
 Reddidit antiquas, partim noua monstra creauit.
 Illa quidem nollet, sed te quoq; maxime Pyton
 Tum genuit, populisq; nouis incognite serpens
 Terror eras, tantum spatij de monte, tenebas.
 Hunc deus Arcitenens, & nunquam talibus armis
 Ante, nisi in damis, capreisq; fugacibus vsus,
 ἰπιφάνεια. Amplificatio. ἰπαλλὰγ.
 Mille grauem telis, exhausta pene pharetra,
 Perdedit effuso per vulnera nigra veneno.
 Neue ope. (Quod erat historię ad fabulam trahit
 Non enim Apollo instituit Pythia certamina, sed Eurylochus
 Theslalus cum amphyrionibus aggressus Cyrrheos homines
 impios & violentos, vt autor est Pindarus enarrator.)
 Neue operis famam posset delere vetustas,
 Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,
 Pythia. Pythia perdomitæ serpentis nomine dictos.
 A ludorum celebritate. Hic iuuenum quicumq; manu, pedibusue rotæ
 Hercules. Vicerat, *esculeæ capiebat frondis honorem.
 ἠροτάλη. Nondum laurus erat, longoq; decentia crine
 †is. Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore phœbus.
 Daphnes fabula. Daphnes fabulam recenset Parthenius in amatorij narra-
 tionibus. Aphthonius Sophista non Penei filiam sed Lado-
 nis amnis appellat, require illius progymna sinata,
 Primus amor Phœbi Daphne Penéia, quem non
 Sors ignara dedit, sed seua Cupidinis ira.
 Aemulatio, quæ est causa amoris. Delius hunc nuper victo serpente superbus,
 Incepit ab inutili. Viderat adducto flectentem cornua neruo,
 Ab exëplo. Quidque tibi lasciue puer cum fortibus armis?
 *talibus. Dixerat, ista decent humeros gestamina nostros,
 Qui dare certa feræ, dare vulnera possumus hosti,
 Qui modo pestifero tot iugera ventre prementem
 Strauimus

LIBER VI.

251

Iungitur, in fausto committitur amine sermo.
 Cœperat adventus causas, mandata 44 referre 450
 Conjugis, & celeres 45 missa spondere recursus.
 Ecce venit dives magno Philomela 46 paratu,
 Divitiis 47 forma: quales audire solemus
 48 Naiadas, & Dryadas mediis incedere sylvis,
 Si modò des illis cultus, similesque paratus. 455
 Non secus exarsit conspecta 49 virgine Tereus,
 Quam si quis 50 canis ignem supponat arsis,
 Aut frondem, positaque 51 cremet 52 fœnilibus her-
 bus.
 53 Digna quidem facies; sed & hunc innata libido
 Extimulat, 54 pronumque genus regionibus illis 460
 In Venerem: flagrat vitio gentisque suoque.
 Impetus est 55 illi comitum corrumpere 56 curam
 Nutricisque fidem, nec non 57 ingentibus ipsam
 Sollicitare datis, totumque impendere regnum,
 Aut rapere, & saxo raptam defendere bello: 465
 Et nihil est, quod non 58 effrango captus amore
 Ausit, nec 59 capiunt inclusas pectora flammæ.
 Iamque moras malè fert, 60 cupidoque revertitur ore
 Mandata ad Progenes, & 61 agit sua vota sub illâ.
 62 Facundum faciebat amor: quiesque rogabat
 63 Ulteriùs iusto; Progenem ita velle ferebat. 471
 Addidit & lacrymas, tanquam mandasset & illas.
 Proh superi! 64 Quantum mortalia pectora cœcæ
 Noctis habent! 65 Ipso sceleris molimine Tereus
 Creditur esse pius, laudemque à crimine sumit. 475

genitâ libidine in mulieres simulabatur. 54 Thraces enim maxi-
 mē in Venerem sunt proni. Proinde & singuli plures uxores duce-
 bant. 55 Tereo. 56 Custodiam. 57 Maximis donis. 58 Estre-
 natos ac dissolutos homines reddente. 59 Jam enim Terei amor in
 Philomelam deregebatur. 60 Ipse cupidus ad mandata Progenes ore
 revertebatur, id est ad commemoranda Progenes mandata. 61 Sub simula-
 tione Progenes voluntatis, sua vota peragere conatur Tereus. 62 Elo-
 quentem. Facundus dicitur, qui facit verbis quidquid vult. 63 Ultra
 quam honestum est. 64 In quanta rerum omnium inscitia hominum
 animi vertantur. Epiphonema. Vide infra vers. 661. 65 Ipsa præpa-
 ratione.

44 Veloces
reditur.45 Philo-
melæ: quæ
quidem
non fuerat
missa, sed
si missa
fuisset, ce-
lerem pol-
licebatur.
Tereus re-
di. nom.46 Ornatu.
47 Pulchri-
tudine.48 Nym-
phas, quæ
formosissi-
mæ esse vi-
dentur.49 Philo-
meli.50 Flavis
& jam ari-
dis.51 Com-
burat.52 Impo-
sitâ fami-
li-
bus.53 Facies
Philomelæ
digno quæ-
dam erat
amari cum
ab aliis
omnibus,
tamen verò à
Tereo, qui
maximè in-enim maxi-
mē in Venerem
sunt proni.Proinde & singuli
plures uxores
ducebant.55 Tereo.
56 Custodiam.
57 Maximis donis.58 Estre-
natos ac dissolutos
homines reddente.59 Jam enim Terei
amor in Philomelam
deregebatur.60 Ipse cupidus
ad mandata Progenes
ore revertebatur, id est
ad commemoranda
Progenes mandata.61 Sub simula-
tione Progenes
voluntatis, sua vota
peragere conatur
Tereus.62 Elo-
quentem. Facundus
dicitur, qui facit
verbis quidquid
vult.63 Ultra
quam honestum
est.

L 6

Quid

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SUMMARY

Klassieke mythologie was een belangrijk thema in vroegmoderne cultuuruitingen: zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse schilderijen, wandtegels, tapijten, poëzie en toneelteksten vertonen vaak mythologische voorstellingen waarvoor Ovidius' *Metamorfosen* de belangrijkste bron was. Deze tekst was ook een vast onderdeel van het curriculum op de Latijnse school. In boekvorm was Ovidius' werk gedurende de gehele vroegmoderne tijd overvloedig beschikbaar in talloze edities, zowel in het Latijn als in de volkstaal: niet minder dan 108 edities van de antieke tekst verschenen tussen 1477 en 1699 in de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Toch was er tegelijkertijd veel vroegmoderne kritiek op Ovidius' tekst: de *Metamorfosen* bevatte potentieel gevaarlijke, onzedelijke en moreel verwerpelijke verhalen die een deugdelijke interpretatie in de weg stonden.

Mijn studie probeert deze paradox te onderzoeken vanuit een boekhistorisch perspectief. Vanuit het concept 'paratekst' analyseer ik hoe de vroegmoderne boekedities de receptie van de *Metamorfosen* beïnvloedden. Sinds de 'material turn' in de geesteswetenschappen is er brede wetenschappelijke aandacht voor de materiële kant van (literaire) teksten. Onderzoek naar het boek als medium waarin deze teksten staan ontsloten is hiervan een prominent voorbeeld. Gérard Genettes concept van paratekst is niet direct toepasbaar op de vroegmoderne tijd: in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw was het hiërarchische onderscheid tussen hoofdtekst en ondersteunende parateksten nog niet zo duidelijk ontwikkeld als in Genettes moderne onderzoekscorpus. De immateriële tekst bestond nog niet, waardoor het vroegmoderne boek meer een geheel was waarin alle onderdelen een samenhang hadden. Paratekst was daarin dus een onvoorwaardelijk mechanisme. De hoofdstukken 2 tot en met 6 van dit boek onderzoeken hoe dit paratekstuele mechanisme werkte binnen het receptieproces van Ovidius' *Metamorfosen*.

In hoofdstuk 2 analyseer ik op welke manier de titelpagina een belangrijke commerciële functie had voor boekproducenten. De paratekst werd niet alleen gebruikt als openingspagina in een boek, maar ook als advertentieposter in winkels en boekenkramen. Typografie was daarom een belangrijk middel om de aandacht van toekomstige lezers te

sturen. Die aandacht moest allereerst uitgaan naar de identificatie van de inhoud: ‘Ovidius’ en ‘*Metamorfosen*’ zijn altijd prominent weergegeven. Daarnaast gebruikten boekproducenten de titelpagina om hun unique sellingpoints te etaleren. De titelpagina was zo een middel om de editie te onderscheiden binnen een traditie van Ovidiusuitgaven, en de consument op deze manier te overtuigen van de waarde van de nieuwe editie. Een derde strategische functie van de titelpagina was het winnen van vertrouwen in algemenere zin. Vanwege de gangbare praktijk van slordige her- en roefdrukken binnen de boekenwereld, zagen boekproducenten zich gedwongen om hun klanten ervan te verzekeren dat de edities die ze produceerden betrouwbare versies van de *Metamorfosen* waren. Hierin speelden vooral het drukkersmerk en het impressum een prominente rol als kwaliteitsgaranties.

Boekproducenten gebruikten het voorwerk voor andere strategische belangen, zoals ik laat zien in hoofdstuk 3. In algemene zin waren vroegmoderne voorwoorden en dedicaties bemiddelende teksten: ze positioneerden voor de lezer de uitgave binnen een door de producent gewenst referentiekader. In het geval van de *Metamorfosen* werd het voorwerk vooral ook gebruikt ter verdediging tegen kritiek. Aan de ene kant was het van tevoren ondermijnen van eventuele kritiek een traditioneel onderdeel van het voorwerk. Aan de andere kant laat de felle manier van ageren zien dat die was gericht tegen actuele bezwaren tegen het lezen van mythologie in het algemeen of de *Metamorfosen* in specifieke zin. Het bezwaar betrof vooral onervaren lezers, die niet in staat zouden zijn om tot de kern van de tekst door te dringen. Mijn analyse laat zien dat boekproducenten een aantal strategieën toepasten als reactie op dergelijke kritiek. In sommige edities betwijfelen ze het oordeel van degenen die de kritiek leveren, andere edities leggen uit waarom de kritiek ongegrond is. Het vaakst reageren boekproducenten vanuit een autoriteitsargument: antieke en vroegchristelijke bronnen zelf betuigen de waarde van mythologische educatie. Daarnaast bewijzen edities hun waarde door een specifieke doelgroep te identificeren, voor wie de uitgave als een noodzakelijkheid wordt gepresenteerd. Ook Ovidius zelf wordt opgevoerd als autoriteitsargument voor een deugdelijke tekst: in levensbeschrijvingen en afbeeldingen presenteren boekproducenten een waardige en gerenommeerde auteur.

In het vierde hoofdstuk onderzoek ik hoe commentatoren op verschillende manieren probeerden de passages die ten grondslag lagen aan de kritiek op de *Metamorfosen* te neutraliseren. Vooral edities die bedoeld waren voor onervaren lezers van het Latijn blijken strategieën te bevatten om de lezing van erotische passages te beïnvloeden. Commentatoren contextualiseerden de taal en de inhoud van deze passages om de lezer met een niet-obsceen interpretatieframe van retorica of morele allegorie af te leiden van een letterlijke lezing. Afleiding kon ook bestaan uit het negeren van de obscene passage, met veel aandacht voor ongevaarlijke elementen.

Ook de index was voor boekproducenten een belangrijk middel om inhoudelijke sturing te geven, zoals ik concludeer in hoofdstuk 5. De index functioneert als een toegangspoort: de paratekst beïnvloedt in hoeverre de inhoud van een editie toegankelijk is. Twee aspecten spelen hierbij een rol: de selectie van lemmata en hun formulering. Door met deze aspecten te spelen, waren boekproducenten in staat om een bepaalde leeswijze van de tekst te propageren. De index kon bijvoorbeeld worden ingezet om Ovidius' tekst te voorzien van een christelijk of moreel interpretatieframe. In de loop van de vroegmoderne tijd sloten indexen steeds beter aan bij de manier waarop vroegmoderne lezers hun tekst benaderden. Vooral een uitgebreide index die voor een ervaren lezer het uitgangspunt vormde voor een lezing op basis van gemeenplaatsen was een commerciële unieke sellingpoint. Andere indexen richtten zich op onervaren lezers van de *Metamorfosen* door een beperkte focus op het thema verandering.

Boekproducenten pasten de verschillende paratekstuele onderdelen toe vanwege specifieke strategieën van toe-eigening. Maar ook interactie van parateksten is relevant en resulteerde in een betekenisvolle presentatie, dat ik in hoofdstuk 6 introduceer als de paratekstuele infrastructuur. Die paratekstuele infrastructuur kon op zichzelf een overkoepelende strategie van toe-eigening zijn, die lezers een leeservaring bood. Twee casussen laten zien hoe boekproducenten de paratekstuele infrastructuur op verschillende manieren konden inzetten. Mijn eerste casus toont hoe een combinatie van parateksten twee uiteenlopende leesomgevingen creëerde, die elk een andere type lezer aanspraken: zowel een onervaren als een ervaren lezer kon zich in de editie herkennen. De tweede casus behandelt Vondels vertaalde editie uit 1671. Mijn analyse laat zien hoe Vondel en zijn uitgever De Wees Ovidius en de *Metamorfosen* gebruikten om vooral Vondel en zijn werk op de voorgrond te plaatsen.

Mijn onderzoek maakt duidelijk hoe de paratekstuele context van klassieke literatuur bepalend was voor de vroegmoderne receptie van de oudheid. De individuele hoofdstukken van dit boek demonstreren de manier waarop individuele parateksten en hun interactie binnen een paratekstuele infrastructuur de vroegmoderne receptie van Ovidius' *Metamorfosen* als een van de bekendste antieke teksten faciliteerden. De Ovidiaanse parateksten bieden zo, als vroegmoderne bronnen uit een periode waarin boekproducenten invloedrijke mediators waren tussen de oudheid en de contemporaine tijd, een mogelijkheid tot een vollediger historisch begrip van de receptie van de *Metamorfosen*.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

John Tholen (1986) is a classicist and a book historian, with a special interest in Late Antiquity and the Early Modern Period. He obtained two Master's degrees at Radboud University: in Classics (cum laude, 2009) and Teaching Classics (2010). In 2011, he finished a Master's programme in Book History (cum laude) at the University of Amsterdam.

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