

MEDEA IN OVID'S METAMORPHOSES AND THE OVIDE MORALISÉ: TRANSLATION AS TRANSMISSION

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Ovide Moralisé of the early fourteenth century is much more than a translation into Old French of the first-century Latin *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. It has long been observed that mediaeval translators were not driven by a passion for "accuracy," or torn by a sense of the futility of their task as their modern counterparts have been. As a comparison of the two texts clearly shows, the mediaeval poet augmented Ovid's work where he found it lacking, displaying an encyclopaedic erudition in the process. The author of *Ovide Moralisé*¹ also adapted the pagan content of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*² to convey Christian dogma to his audience. Every narrative element, every character, and every symbol is employed to represent a Christian significance by means of allegorical exegeses which are as long as or longer than the passages they explicate.

An excellent example of the mediaeval poet's use of his translation of Ovid's text to transmit his orthodox mediaeval vision to his audience may be found in his treatment of the story and character of Medea from Book VII of *The Metamorphoses*. *Ovide Moralisé* contains the most complete portrait of Medea among the mediaeval narrations of her story.³ It traces the tale from Jason's acceptance of the quest to obtain the Golden Fleece to Medea's attempt to poison Theseus and her subsequent escape. To be sure, there are a number of works in both vernacular and Latin to which the title, *Ovide Moralisé*, has been ascribed. However, the most significant representative of the moralized Ovids for the purpose of this study is the monumental

fourteenth-century French poem edited by Cornelis de Boer. The influence of this vast work has been disputed,⁴ but scholars have detected traces of it in the writings of Guillaume de Machaut (de Boer I.29-43) and Geoffrey Chaucer.⁵ There is also evidence that John Gower used it in composing his narrative of Medea.⁶ Whatever its influence may have been, the *Ovide Moralisé* version of the story of Jason and Medea is a perfect example of the mediaeval mode of allegory which enabled the scholar-poet of the Middle Ages to reconcile two such disparate contexts as pagan narrative and Christian theology without any qualm of intellect or conscience.⁷

Before citing examples of the allegorization of Jason and Medea in *Ovide Moralisé*, it is appropriate to describe the narrative itself and provide some idea of the scope of its sources. The *Ovide Moralisé* author does not merely restrict himself to the contents of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VII for his translation of the text. As well, he adds information from *Heroides* VI and XII,⁸ the letters of Hypsipyle and Medea to the fickle Jason. However, this does not exhaust the list of works which contributed to the mediaeval narrative, as de Boer would lead one to expect (I.23, III.11-12). A close reading of *Ovide Moralisé* VII reveals a diversity of sources, both classical and mediaeval from which the French poet drew in his concern for the continuity and completeness of his subject.

Ovid begins *Metamorphoses* VII with a brief allusion to the rescue of the seer Phineus from the Harpies by the Argonauts and a description of the landing at Colchis which plunges Medea into an immediate and all-consuming passion for Jason that becomes the focal point for Ovid's development of her character. On the other hand, the mediaeval poet follows the pattern of the narrative established by Benoît de Sainte-Maure in the twelfth-century *Roman de Troie*, which was adopted by the prose vernacular romance of Troy and Guido delle Colonne's Latin prose history, all composed during the thirteenth century.⁹ The account of Jason and Medea in *Ovide Moralisé* begins with the inauguration of the quest for the Golden Fleece. Yet even here the author of the fourteenth-century translation found it necessary to add significant details in the interest of completeness. For example, he opens Book VII with a brief version of the story of Phrixus and Helle in order to establish how the Golden Fleece came to Colchis. Ovid acknowledges Phrixus with only a brief allusive line (VII.6), but the mediaeval poet had available to him two more fully realized presentations of Phrixus' adventures in Hyginus' *Fabulae* (21)¹⁰ and Vatican Mythographer I (23).¹¹ While it is not certain what the actual source of the tale of Phrixus was, it is known that

the works of Hyginus and Vatican Mythographer I were current throughout the Middle Ages.¹² From the wanderings of Phrixus, *Ovide Moralisé* proceeds to narrate the enmity of Pelias for Jason (VII.12-188), relying heavily either on Benoît's *Roman de Troie* (703-878) or on one of the prose versions of the Troy saga which it inspired.

At this point, *Ovide Moralisé* comments on the character of Jason:

En sor que tout si le forma
De bones teches et de mours,
Que, s'il fust loiaus vers amours,
En tout le monde n'eüst té,
Mes moult petite leauté
Ot vers amours en son aäge
Si l'en avint deulz et damage,
Si com porrez ou cont oïr. (VII.29-35)

(Above all, she [Nature] formed him
Of every good quality and manner,
So that if he were loyal towards love,
Everyone would have spoken of it,
But he had so little loyalty
In his life for his love(s),
That it caused sorrow and shame,
As you will be able to hear in this story.)

The judgement of Jason's character presented in the passage above is almost ubiquitous among mediaeval writers. It is usually found in works which derive from Benoît's poem, including Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, at the moment when Jason swears fidelity to Medea on an icon of Jupiter before entering her bed. Furthermore, in Jean de Meun's continuation of *Le Roman de la Rose*, the condemnation of Jason as "li maus trichierres, / Li faus, li desloiaus, li lierres" (13225-6, "the evil trickster, the false, the disloyal one, the thief")¹³ follows his abandonment of Medea after she has helped him accomplish his quest and saved his life. Finally it must be noted that Dante used Jason as the type of the seducer in *Inferno* (XVIII.82-99).¹⁴

In order to drive home the point that such vehement disapprobation of Jason is mediaeval in origin and tone, it must be observed that Ovid makes no such evaluation in *Metamorphoses* VII when Jason swears his oath of

fidelity to Medea (94-99). Ovid places censure of Jason's disloyalty only in the letters of the women he betrays, Hypsipyle and Medea (*Heroides* VI, XII), while *Ovide Moralisé* establishes the essential flaw in Jason's character before he has had a chance to be false to anyone. Thus it is a judgement in the form of foreshadowing.

The *Ovide Moralisé* mentions among the reasons for Pelias' hatred of Jason the prophecy of the man with the single sandal who would eventually supplant Pelias (VII.47-55). This motif is not to be found either in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or in any of the mediaeval versions of the story which precede *Ovide Moralisé*. It is a bit of information which the poet of the moralized Ovid probably obtained from Hyginus (*Fabulae* 18).

From Benoît de Sainte-Maure (751-68) and Guido delle Colonne (I.62-95) is borrowed the rumour of the Golden Fleece and the impossible tasks which guard it. In *Ovide Moralisé*, its purpose is to suggest to Pelias how to eliminate the dangerous Jason (VII.92-130). Also borrowed from the mediaeval narratives is the account of the Argonauts' landing at Troy, where they receive discourteous treatment at the hands of Laomedon (VII.194-242; compare Benoît's *Troie* 965-1112 and Guido's *Troiae* II.1-125). In *Ovide Moralisé*, this episode is embellished with an account of Hercules' first destruction of Troy and the ravishing of Hesione, who is given as a spoil of war to Hercules' companion, Telamon. The rape of Hesione is cited as a direct cause of Paris' abduction of Helen and the eventual annihilation of Troy (VII.222-37). This addition is interpolated from earlier mediaeval versions of the story relating the first war between the Trojans which occurred after Jason's safe return to Greece with the Golden Fleece and Medea (see, for example Guido's *Troiae* IV.343-60).¹⁵ However, *Ovide Moralisé* employs this episode as foreshadowing and places it out of the sequence found in earlier mediaeval narratives of Troy because the fourteenth-century poet's purpose is to follow the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of which the story of Troy is only a part.

A significant amendment to both classical and mediaeval narratives of Jason and Medea is the inclusion in *Ovide Moralisé* of an account of Jason's sojourn on Lemnos (VII.251-72). This brief episode may be seen as a condensation of Ovid's *Heroides* VI (see also Hyginus *Fabulae* 15). However, the narrator of *Ovide Moralisé* cannot resist including his own comment on Jason's treatment of Hypsipyle, which agrees with earlier mediaeval evaluations of his character:

Il li plevi qu'il la prendroit
 A feme, quant il revendroit,
 Et l'emmenroit en Grece o lui,
 Mes moulf tost l'ot mise en oubli,
 Puis qu'il ot le dos torné. (VII.263-67)

(He swore to her that he would marry
 Her, when he should return
 And would take her to Greece with him,
 But he quickly forgot all about her
 As soon as he had turned his back on her.)

The tone of this passage has much in common with Dante's brief description of Jason among the seducers in Hell. Both Dante and *Ovide Moralisé* include the story of Hypsipyle to augment Jason's portion of shame. They thus establish a precedent for presenting Medea with her predecessor in Jason's affections which will be followed by authors later in the fourteenth century. The negative portrait of Jason created through the association of his treachery to both Hypsipyle and Medea will remain constant in the works of Boccaccio, even though he does not treat Medea kindly, and in the works of Chaucer, who includes Medea among his good women. However, whether or not Medea is portrayed sympathetically, Jason is universally condemned.

From the point at which Jason and the Argonauts arrive at Colchis, the text of *Ovide Moralisé* VII follows *Metamorphoses* VII fairly closely. The mediaeval poet reintroduces the classical sequence of the trials which Jason must endure to win the Golden Fleece as presented by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* VII.29-31, 100-58), mentioning the tasks several times in the course of the narrative (*Ovide Moralisé* VII.104-23, 380-86, 582-641). Furthermore, with the aid of Ovid's *Tristia* (III.ix.19-32),¹⁶ the murder and dismemberment of Absyrtus, which is not in *Metamorphoses* VII, is included among Medea's enormities (VII.655-78).

On the other hand, a number of significant elements from the mediaeval tradition are missing from the version of the tale in *Ovide Moralisé*. These include the love tryst of Jason and Medea which takes place in her chamber, her five gifts to Jason, among which is a fabulous ring of protection and invisibility, the island of Colchis on which the trials take place, and the tower from which Medea observes her beloved in action. *Ovide Moralisé* replaces these motifs with others which were essential to the classical versions of the story, but which were ignored by mediaeval

writers. Among these are the murder of Pelias with the unwitting help of his daughters, the burning of Creusa (but not Creon), the slaughter of the children (present in only two thirteenth-century variants, *Le Roman de la Rose* and *Le Roman de Troie en Prose*), and the episode of Aegeus and Theseus. Some of these will be discussed below.

Upon the successful completion of the trials and escape from Colchis, the narrator of *Ovide Moralisé* VII pauses to present a resumé of events up to the safe return of Jason and Medea to Greece. *Ovide Moralisé* specifically mentions Athens as the first city that the victorious Argonauts enter (VII. 682), which is not in any of the classical accounts. The passage itself is strongly reminiscent of the moral comments with which Guido delle Colonne punctuates the *Historia destructionis Troiae* (see, for example, II.241-69). In *Ovide Moralisé* the reflection on the narrative up to this point includes the following statement:

Medee iert la toison doree,
 Qui tant fu close et enserree,
 Que nulz hom ne pooit chevir
 De lui soustraire ne ravir
 Sans son conseil et sans s'aye,
 Dont maint en perdirent la vie
 Qui la vaudrent sans son otroi
 Fortraire à son pere le roi.
 Jason ama, quant el le vit,
 Qui par son conseil la ravit
 À son pere et à son lignage,
 Si l'emporta par mer à nage,
 Et pour eschaper à son pere
 Desmembra Medea son frere,
 Pour ce furent de mort retrait,
 Si com la fable le retrait. (VII.693-708)

(The gilded fleece was in Medea's control,
 Which was so closely guarded
 That no man could accomplish
 Stealing or ravishing it from her,
 Without her advice or aid,
 For which many lost their lives
 Who wanted to steal it from her father, the king,

Without her consent,
 She loved Jason as soon as she saw him,
 Who by her counsel abducted it [her] from her
 Father and her lineage,
 Then he carried it [her] on a voyage over the sea,
 And in order to escape her father,
 Medea dismembered her brother.
 Because of this they were saved from death,
 As the fable tells.)

The idea of Medea participating in the theft of the fleece is an essential element of the tale in both classical and mediaeval versions. It is one of the acts upon which moral evaluations of Medea are based. For example, Benoît's *Roman de Troie* and its vernacular prose derivatives accuse Medea of folly for helping Jason to obtain the fleece and for leaving her family for him. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* goes a step further in identifying Medea as the "spolia altera" (VII.157, "another spoil"), with which Jason returns to his homeland. Guido delle Colonne (*Historia* II.255-60) employs Medea as an example of libidinous behaviour to which all women are prone by nature. Following Ovid, *Ovide Moralisé* develops the concept of the double spoil which Jason plunders, "La toison emporte et la bele / Jason" (VII.645-66; "Jason carried off the fleece and the beauty"). Therefore part of the moral disapprobation in the above passage is derived from the self-betrayal of Medea's actions, as well as the violence to father and brother.

There are a number of significant restorations of classical motifs in *Ovide Moralisé* which remain to be noted. For at least two, the murder of Pelias (VII.1247-1360), and the episode of Medea at Athens (VII.1673-80, 2069-114), there are clear Ovidian sources (*Metamorphoses* VII.297-349, 398-424). However, for the story of Jason's betrayal of Medea, his marriage to Creusa, and Medea's subsequent revenge, which engulfs her rival and her two sons by Jason, no adequate Ovidian original exists. Although there are allusions to the burning of Creusa and the slaughter of the children by Medea scattered throughout Ovid's works (*Amores* II.xiv.29-33, *Ars Amatoria* I.335-36, *Heroides* XII.175-82, *Metamorphoses* VII.394-97, *Fasti* II.624, *Tristia* II.526),¹⁷ none provides the completeness of detail presented in *Ovide Moralisé*, from which only the mention of Creon as a victim of Medea's revenge is omitted (VII.1361-506). The section in question begins when, after slaying Pelias with the unwitting, well-intentioned assistance of his

own daughters, Medea flees their grieving wrath. The narrator continues:

Endementres se maria
 Jason, et Medee oubliä.
 Moulst fist que folz, moulst i mesprist,
 Quant la lessa et autre prist. (1365-68)

(Meanwhile Jason remarried
 And forgot Medea.
 He acted like a great fool, greatly he deceived himself
 When he abandoned her and took another.)

As Jason did with Hypsipyle, so he does with Medea. Out of sight is out of mind where Jason's women are concerned. However, here Jason's treachery is exhibited as folly and self-deception foreshadowing the tragic events to come. Unlike most of the previous mediaeval versions of the tale, *Ovide Moralisé* will reconstruct the burning of Creusa and the stabbing of the children with great attention to detail.

At line 1381, *Ovide Moralisé* begins a lengthy interpolation which is modelled fairly closely on *Heroides* XII. Its purpose is to recapitulate the narrative up to this point. Dramatically, it provides Jason with an opportunity to reconsider his treacherous deed and relent, which, of course, he does not do. However, it also gives the audience a chance to consider the nature and depth of Jason's crime against Medea, while it builds tension by arresting the action just before Medea's revenge erupts to wreak havoc on her victims. Then swiftly, in thirty-six lines (VII.1469-98), Medea's vengeance is described, commencing thus:

Atant envoie à la meschine,
 Cele qui fortrait li avoit
 Jason, qui siens estre devoit,
 Une chemise trop deugiee
 Et plus blanche que noif negiee. (VII.1470-74)

(Then she [Medea] sent to the young woman [Creusa]
 Who had stolen Jason from her
 Who ought to have been hers [Medea's]
 A very fine dress
 Whiter than newly fallen snow.)

The above passage clearly identifies Creusa's culpability in having stolen Jason from Medea, an idea which none of the classical sources develops. In such works as Euripides' *Medea*¹⁸ and in Seneca's play of the same title, Creon arranges the ill-fated marriage between his daughter and Jason. Creusa (who is called Glauce in Euripides' play) is rather a victim of Creon's bad judgement, Jason's lust and opportunism, and Medea's wrath, than of her own sinful actions. The fact that *Ovide Moralisé* does not portray Creusa as an innocent pawn but as a young woman accountable for her actions, mitigates much of the blame which Medea incurs for her destruction.

The dress which is the agent of Creusa's demise is described as more beautiful than the work of Pallas or Arachne (VII.1476-78). The comparison is original with *Ovide Moralisé*. Its effect is to identify Medea with the archetypal symbol of feminine intellect and cunning, weaving. The text continues, "Bele iert, mes dessouz la biauté / Tapissoit grant disloiauté" (VII.1479-80, "It was beautiful, but beneath the beauty, great treachery was hidden"). If one recalls the original description of Jason in the light of the comment cited above, a comparison between two treacherous agents, Jason and Medea's gift is suggested. In both cases, treachery is masked by a beautiful exterior. In this context, partial responsibility for the tragedy is placed on Jason. When Creusa dons the dress, she is completely incinerated by the power of its magic (VII.1481-83). The narrative continues:

Ore est doublee la haïne
 Que Jason avoit vers Medee.
 À lui ne pot estre acordee.
 Et quant Medea sot de voir
 Qu'el ne porroit sa pais avoir,
 D'ire et de rage forsenà.
 Sa rage tant la demena,
 Que deus enfans, qui sien estoient,
 Por ce que lor pere samblôient
 Ocist en desit de Jason,
 Puis mist en flambe sa meson,
 Si s'enfui par l'air volant. (VII.1484-95)

(Now the hatred which Jason had
 Towards Medea was doubled.)

She could not be reconciled to him.
 And when she knew that she
 Would not be able to have her peace, [i.e. what she wanted]
 She went out of her mind with anger and rage.
 Her rage so demented her
 That two children, which were hers,
 Because they resembled their father,
 She killed to spite Jason.
 And then she set fire to his house,
 And fled flying through the air.)

A number of significant implications emerge here. The first is that Jason's hatred is doubled by Medea's murder of his bride. This implies that he first manifested his hate by abandoning Medea; it is the strongest statement of Jason's motivation for betraying Medea to date. A second and perhaps more startling revelation is that Medea actually expected to be reconciled to her wandering husband once her rival had been eliminated. Thirdly, in consequence, the murder of the children and the burning of the house are depicted as Medea's reaction to the final realization that Jason's love was lost to her forever. This remarkable sequence exists nowhere in the classical sources. It is suggested by a number of hints in *Heroides* XII (173-90, 207-12) in which upon hearing Jason's wedding procession pass by her house, Medea calls Creusa a whore (*paelix*), weeps over the likeness of her sons to their father, and threatens that her anger will effectively direct the weapons at her disposal, sword, flame, and potions, towards the hearts of her enemies. While she does this, she also pleads with Jason to return to her. However, *Heroides* XII does not mention the poisoned dress or the actual slaughter of the children. In only one extant classical source which would have been available to the mediaeval poet are both of these elements to be found.¹⁹ Seneca's *Medea*²⁰ presents both the poisoned robe (568-88, 817-32) and the slaying of the children (916-1027), both of whom are killed on stage and one of whom is slain before Jason's horror-filled eyes.

Thus the story of Jason and Medea as told in *Ovide Moralisé* employs elements derived from both classical and mediaeval sources. The mediaeval structure of the narrative established by Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* and continued in Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* is adapted by *Ovide Moralisé* to organize material from other works which

were used to flesh out the pieces of the tale in Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*. Ovid's *Tristia* and *Fasti*, Hyginus' *Fabulae*, the work of Vatican Mythographer I, and Seneca's *Medea* can be identified as contributors to the version of the tragedy in *Ovide Moralisé*.

The effects of such erudition and concern for detail are manifold. For example, the important addition of Hypsipyle to the narrative reinforces the mediaeval condemnation of Jason's actions and character. In addition, all Medea's enormities are reintroduced: the murder of Absyrtus, the slaughter of Pelias, the poisoned incendiary robe which dispatches Creusa, the slaying of the children, and the attempted poisoning of Theseus. Except for the Theseus episode, all are used to demonstrate the depth of Medea's commitment to Jason, as she reminds him in her lengthy appeal to him (VII.1464-69), adapted from *Heroides* XII. Thus the presentation of Medea's crimes serves to underscore Jason's guilt and his treachery to one who had loved him so completely.

Before completing discussion of *Ovide Moralisé* VII, some account must be taken of the allegories with which the story of Jason and Medea is interwoven. On the surface they have little or nothing to do with deriving any moral from the events of the classical tale as composed by Ovid. Instead, the mediaeval poet constructs his allegory purely by analogy, linking Christian dogma to pagan motifs on the basis of figural likenesses. This was a common practice among Christian writers from the era of the early Fathers through the waning of the mediaeval world.²¹ One or two examples from the many interspersed throughout the narrative should provide sufficient illustration.

First, the Golden Fleece itself is allegorized thus:

C'est la sainte virginité
 De la mere, ou la deïté
 Se vault joindre par mariage
 Charnelment al umain lignage,
 Si dona l'erbe et la racine
 De la salvable medecine. (VII.743-48)

(It is the holy virginity
 Of the mother, where the deity
 Desired to join Himself in fleshly marriage
 To the human race.)

Thus was given the leaf and root
Of salvific medicine.)

This is a rather striking identification, especially since, as has been noted, Medea was also identified with the Golden Fleece. Thus both the pagan heroine and the Christian Queen of Heaven are signified by the same symbol. The mediaeval mind could hold two such disparate significances simultaneously without strain or confusion.

In the same vein, the taking of the fleece by Jason is likened to Christ's assumption of fleshly human existence from which the salvation of humankind is derived (VII.799-820). The cauldron and the potion by means of which Jason's father Aeson is rejuvenated become images of the sacrament of Baptism and the power of God's grace through which Christ achieves the miracle of redemption. Christ suffers a martyrdom resembling Aeson's dismemberment and is reborn through his divine potency just as the powers of Medea's herbs restore Jason's aged sire to youth (VII.1087-246). In contrast, Medea severing Pelias' head and thrusting his body into a cauldron filled with an impotent mixture of Medea's herbs (VII.1355-60) figures God decapitating the Devil, thus effectively countering the evil fiend's ancient enmity towards humanity with God's incessant, superabundant love (VII.1580-642). In accord with the brief development of her character in *Ovide Moralisé*, Creusa represents the fraud perpetrated on men and women by the false beauties of the material world and the human form, for which God takes a most bitter vengeance by burning such deceivers in the eternal fires of judgement at the end of the world (VII.1644-72). Finally, the cup of poison which Medea offers Theseus figures the cup of bitter suffering which is the medicine that God, in His eternal wisdom, love, and mercy administers to men and women for the health of their immortal souls (VII.2115-68).

It is important to note that none of these allegories presents Jason or Medea in an unfavourable light. However, Pelias' daughters (VII.1504-604) and Creusa represent the diabolical dangers which mortal Christians face every day of their sojourn on earth and from which they are able to escape only through divine intervention. The interesting point is that in the allegories both Jason and Medea have positive significances. They represent some salvific activity of God the Father or Christ. While it is difficult to determine what effects these allegorical glosses may have had on characterizations of the hero and heroine in later treatments of the story, it is hard to imagine that the consistently positive analogies would have

had no redemptive influence on the presentation of their respective portrayals. In fact, the rehabilitative results of the allegories on Medea's characterization may be observed in two late fourteenth-century versions of the tale, Chaucer's inclusion of Medea among the love-martyred ladies in *The Legend of Good Women* and John Gower's sanctification of Medea in his *Confessio Amantis* (V.3232 ff.).²²

Taken as a whole, the narrative of Jason and Medea as presented in *Ovide Moralisé* is sympathetic to the heroine whose remarkable gifts were exploited by a lover who knew no loyalty. Its evaluation of Jason would certainly have no meaning apart from the mediaeval context of *fin' amor* in which loyalty is a primary virtue. Furthermore, whether as narrative or allegorical exegesis, *Ovide Moralisé* exhibits an unmistakable mediaeval quality in its translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VII. The Ovidian version is fleshed out in the mediaeval text with information from a variety of sources. There is exhibited a passion for continuity and completeness in the fourteenth-century poem in contrast to Ovid's work, which is more allusive. In *Ovide Moralisé*, all of the diverse and seemingly disparate elements are given a place in the whole much in the same way as the juxtaposition of the components of a mediaeval cathedral.²³ In a similar vein, the allegories provide the moral to be derived from the characters and events presented in the pagan tale, just as a mediaeval homily derives significance from a biblical text. Thus the classical work is adapted by the mediaeval poet to transmit a view of his world that is consistent with the context of his time.

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NOTES

¹ Cornelis de Boer et al., eds., "*Ovide Moralisé*": *Poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle*, Vols. I and III (Amsterdam 1915, 1931). All further references to this work will appear as volume or book and page or line numbers in parentheses following each citation of commentary by

editors or text.

² Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, 2 vols., English tr. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library (1916, 1921; rpt. Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 1968). All references to this text will appear as book and line number in parentheses following each citation.

³ For purposes of comparison see Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, 6 vols., ed. Léopold Constans (Paris 1904-1912), 1621-29. All further references to this text will appear as line numbers in parentheses following each citation. *Le Roman de Troie en prose*, Vol. I, eds. Léopold Constans and Edmond Faral (Paris 1922) 14. *Le Roman de Troie en prose: Version du Codex Bodmer 147*, ed. Françoise Vielliard (Genève 1979) 33. All further references to these texts will appear as page numbers in parentheses following each citation.

⁴ Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity* (Princeton 1966) 232-33.

⁵ John Livingston Lowes, "Chaucer and the *Ovide Moralisé*," *PMLA* 33 (1918) 302-25.

⁶ Joel N. Feimer, "The Figure of Medea in Medieval Literature: A Thematic Metamorphosis," City University of New York diss., 1983, pp. 291-93.

⁷ Tuve (at n. 4) 25-55, 219-29.

⁸ Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, English tr. Grant Showerman, Loeb Classical Library (1921; rpt. Cambridge, Mass. 1947) 68-83, 142-59. All further references to this text will appear as letter and line numbers in parentheses following each citation.

⁹ Guido de Columnis, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge, Mass. 1936), bks. I-III. All further references to this text will appear as book and page numbers in parentheses following each citation.

¹⁰ Hyginus, *Fabulae*, ed. H.F. Rose (Leyden 1933), sections 18-25. All further references to this text will appear as section numbers in parentheses following each citation.

¹¹ Georg Henry Bode, ed. *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres* (Cellis: E.H.C. Schulze, 1834) 23. All further references to this text will appear as page numbers in parentheses following each citation.

¹² Frank Dominguez, *The Medieval Argonautica* (Potomac, MD. 1979), 8-26. Also Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, tr. Barbara F. Sessions, Bollingen Series 38 (1953; rpt. Princeton 1972) 90-104.

¹³ Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 3 vols., ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris 1974). All references to this text will appear as line numbers in parentheses following each citation.

¹⁴ Dante Alighieri, *Divina Commedia*, 3 vols., English tr. J.A. Carlyle, rev. H. Oelsner (London 1900).

¹⁵ Ovid includes an account of the first destruction of Troy by Hercules in *Metamorphoses* IX.200-20, but it is not connected with the saga of the Argo, nor is it clearly stated that Hesione's rape is the cause of Helen's. There does exist a classical tradition found in Herodotus, *Histories* I.2-3 and Valerius Flaccus, *The Argonautica* I.531-73, which establishes the abduction of Medea by Jason as the direct cause of Paris' rape of Helen.

¹⁶ Ovid, *Tristia: Ex Ponto*, English tr. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Loeb Classical Library (1912; rpt. Cambridge, Mass. 1975) III.ix.19-32. All further references to this text will appear as book, letter and line numbers following each citation.

¹⁷ Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, English tr. J.H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library (1929; rpt. rev. Cambridge, Mass. 1969). Also *Ovid's Fasti*, English tr. Sir James George Frazer, Loeb Classical Library (1931; rpt. Cambridge, Mass. 1951). All references to these texts will appear as line numbers in parentheses following each citation.

¹⁸ Euripides, *Medea*, in *Euripides' Drama*, Vol. IV, English tr. Arthur S. Way, Loeb Classical Library (1912; rpt. Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 279-397.

¹⁹ Hyginus, *Fabulae* XXV mentions only the poisoned crown and states that Creusa, Creon, and Jason were consumed in its fires prior to Medea's killing of her children. Vatican Mythographer I, p. 25, mentions the tunic, but not the murder of the children.

²⁰ Seneca, *Medea*, in *Tragedies*, Vol. I, English tr. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library (1917; rpt. Cambridge, Mass. 1960) 225-316. All further references to this text will appear as line numbers in parentheses following each citation.

²¹ Seznec (at n. 12) 92-4.

²² *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F.N. Robinson (2nd ed., Boston 1957) 506-7. John Gower. *The Complete Works of John Gower*, Vol III, ed. G.C. Macaulay (London 1901; rpt. Grosse Pointe, Mich. 1968).

²³ Donald R. Howard in his discussion of Chaucer's shaping of the *Canterbury Tales* makes a similar analogy in *Chaucer: His Life, His Works, His Times* (New York 1987) 441.