

# THE AMATORY EXCERPTS OF OVID IN THE *FLORILEGIUM GALLICUM*: EVIDENCE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THIS POET IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

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## I. Knowledge of Ovid in the Twelfth Century

Ever since L. Traube coined the phrase in 1911,<sup>2</sup> the Twelfth Century has been known as the "Aetas Ovidiana," the century during which Ovid's poetry was read, imitated, excerpted, glossed, and allegorized more frequently than that of any other classical author. The frequency of Ovidian references has led many to assume that the twelfth-century scholars who cited Ovid so often must have enjoyed an intimate and thorough knowledge of the poet's works.<sup>3</sup> Although there are a number of possible sources from which scholars of that age might have encountered Ovid,<sup>4</sup> this study confines itself to the *Florilegium Gallicum*, described as "de loin le plus important et le plus riche des florilèges classiques antérieurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle."<sup>5</sup> A careful consideration of the excerpts from Ovid's amatory poetry as they appear in the *Florilegium Gallicum* reveals that this florilegium offered its readers a very limited and superficial understanding of the poet.<sup>6</sup> The obvious textual manipulation by the excerptor of this important twelfth-century florilegium resulted in a bowdlerized Ovid, drained of most of his wit, wickedness, and vivid physical imagery.

A superficial knowledge of Ovid becomes apparent in a consideration of the number of citations and their content in manuscripts of the twelfth century and in the works of contemporary writers. While Ovid may have been known and thoroughly understood by a small elite, the impression is

inescapable that the majority of those who cited him knew his work through frequently quoted lines, removed from context and often severely edited.

Manuscript evidence, if considered by number alone, can be misleading. Of 228 manuscripts containing Ovid cited by Munk Olsen, only five dating to the twelfth century contain the complete *Amores*, whereas eleven contain excerpts. Six dating to the twelfth century contain the complete *Ars Amatoria*; seven contain excerpts (nine containing excerpts pre-date the twelfth century). Seven dating to the twelfth century contain the complete *Remedia Amoris*; only four contain excerpts. In contrast to this preference for excerpts from the amatory poetry, the complete *Metamorphoses* is represented in forty-five twelfth-century manuscripts with excerpts in only eleven; the complete *Heroides* appears in eleven manuscripts with excerpts in only five.<sup>7</sup> Thus the manuscript evidence strongly suggests that, with the possible exception of the *Heroides*, the twelfth-century readers of Ovid preferred his mythological and epistolary poetry to his amatory poetry. The evidence of glosses on the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* is much more frequent than that for the amatory poetry.<sup>8</sup> These works were the more popular and the more readily adapted to the tastes and needs of a Christian society.

Nevertheless, in learning centres where the study of classical authors flourished, Ovid was read with care. In Henri d'Andeli's *Bataille des sept Arts*, Ovid was "campioni d'Orléans."<sup>9</sup> Ovid was also "l'autore prediletto di Arnolfo, il piatto forte del suo insegnamento."<sup>10</sup> Secular Latin poetry also reveals a thorough understanding of Ovid's amatory poetry and its poets drew heavily from him. The *Amores* and *Heroides* were ready sources for examples of "courtly love," the love of surrender, self-sacrifice, of the recreation of virtue.<sup>11</sup>

Serlo of Wilton knew Ovid well and drew extensively upon his poetic style and outlook. He compared himself to Ovid ("Pronus erat Veneri Naso, sed ego mage pronus") in the first line of a poem which modelled its light-hearted self-criticism on *Amores* II, 4. Serlo composed an elegy describing the seduction of a girl who "Nec renuit, nec parat,"<sup>12</sup> the detailed nature of which clearly echoes *Amores* I, 5, although the explicit tone of Serlo's scene lacks the suggestive restraint of the Ovidian one.

The Goliardic verses of Walter of Châtillon also show the strong influence of Ovid in style and content. In one of his longer moralistic satires,<sup>13</sup> Walter incorporates lines from *Amores* II, 8, 14 ("quod decuit magnos, cur michi tibi turpe putem"), from *Ars Amatoria* II, 280 ("si nichil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras"), from *Heroides* III, 117 ("tutius est

iacuisse thoro, tenuisse puellam"), and from *Remedia Amoris*, 749 ("non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem").

For Hildebert of Lavardin, the elegiac couplet of Ovid's amatory poetry lent itself easily to his own moralizing and experimentation with rhyme. Although Hildebert does not quote directly from Ovid, Ovid's poetry served as the basis for letters written by him to women of literary accomplishment and for a lengthy elegy written about his own exile.<sup>14</sup>

Only a genuine familiarity with Ovid and other ancient poets could have enabled Matthew of Vendôme to produce his own manual of verse composition, the *Ars Versificatoria*, the fourth section of which instructs in the manipulation of ancient authors. In the *Descriptio Naturae*, examples of rhetorical devices are drawn directly from Ovid (A.A. III, 564-65, an example of paranoia; *Her.* VI, 135-36, an example of antithesis; A.A. III, 9, an example of synecdoche; *Rem.* 814-15, an example of how to end a work). Matthew's knowledge of Ovid was solid even if his own verses lacked the poetic sensitivity of Ovid; however, Matthew's use of Ovid and other ancient authors as illustrative tools for his pupils encouraged the superficial knowledge of these authors. His pupils aspiring to neither a scholastic nor a literary life might know Ovid only through such truncated examples as are found in the *Ars Versificatoria*.

Hugh of St Victor, like Matthew of Vendôme, saw a practical justification for discretion and selectivity in one's studies. One should not devote the same amount of attention to all studies, but the greater amount to certain of those deemed more useful. One needed to be aware of certain areas in order to be a better-informed judge of their utility.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps the most outstanding scholar of the century, John of Salisbury, was well-schooled in classical authors. Indeed, in the *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum*, his criticism of those who disparage or reject ancient writings reflects the growing tendency of literate society toward a limited and superficial knowledge of classical authors.<sup>16</sup>

Matthew of Vendôme, Hugh of St Victor, and John of Salisbury were members of an elite, small in number but vocal. Yet this vocalism must not be taken to include the less vocal majority whose literacy took a more practical turn. The very fact that the students of Matthew of Vendôme and others like him were instructed by excerpts from Ovid, and that John of Salisbury found it necessary to make the superficial learning of his contemporaries an object of his satire, is convincing evidence of the growing numbers who knew classical authors only on the surface.

The large number of florilegia produced during the twelfth century (Munk Olsen's list, which represents only those containing classical authors, totals forty-five by the time of the end of the century<sup>17</sup>) must certainly have been the result of an ever-increasing demand for convenient sources of quotable *sententiae*. The demand continued to grow, for the thirteenth century saw even more florilegia produced or copied.

Two long and important florilegia were products of the twelfth century. The *Florilegium Angelicum* was designed, specifically, for a pope, probably Alexander III, who was actively involved in correspondence, and, more generally, for any official who wished to ennoble his letters with pithy quotations from ancient authorities.<sup>18</sup> Four of the seventeen extant manuscripts of the *Florilegium Angelicum* date to the twelfth century, ten to the thirteenth.<sup>19</sup>

By far the best-known of the twelfth-century florilegia is the *Florilegium Gallicum*. Its length and variety of genres assured a wide use. Compiled in northern France, probably at Orléans,<sup>20</sup> the *Florilegium Gallicum* contained a variety of pagan as well as Christian writers.<sup>21</sup> Thirty authors and eighty-nine different works were represented, with a preponderance of excerpts from Ovid. Its primary purpose was the transmission of moral *sententiae*, with a secondary purpose of instructing in Latin composition.<sup>22</sup> Manuscript evidence attests to the fact that its popularity was both immediate and ongoing, increasing during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.<sup>23</sup>

The appearance in scientific and ecclesiastical writing of the twelfth century of lines occurring in the *Florilegium Gallicum* is evidence that Ovid's poetry could serve purposes far removed from its original intent.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the fact that some scientific and ecclesiastical authors drew upon florilegia suggests two things: that they had themselves been educated through contact with florilegia and that they quite naturally incorporated Ovidian excerpts into their own writings with no awareness of the original context of such excerpts.

*Amores* I, 15 is an eloquent defense of poetry as the bestower of immortality on its creators. Ovid's tribute to his predecessors overshadows the initial criticism leveled by "Livor" against his refusal to direct his energies to more practical matters. Yet it is a denial of the temporality of "Livor," not the immortality of the poet, which the reader of Peter Cantor's *Verbum abbreviatum* XI, *contra invidiam* understands in the quotation from *Amores* I, 15, 39 ("Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit"). Indeed, he quotes from the *Metamorphoses* also to strengthen his point ("Semper abest risus nisi quem fecere dolores," II, 777).

In a shrewd appeal to the arts of flattery in *Ars Amatoria* I, 619 ff., Ovid offers examples of the salutary effects of attentive praise; as the speed of a race horse is enhanced by attention to its grooming, so Juno's bird preens only when praised, folding its pretentious plumes if ignored. The use of this skill of timely praise is recommended by the poet for quite practical purposes in holding the attentions of a lover. These productive uses of flattery are nowhere to be found in Alexander Neckham's use of nature to illustrate moral precepts in *De naturis rerum* I, 39 where he quotes only *Ars Amatoria* I, 627-28 ("Laudatas ostendit avis Iunonia pennas: / Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes").

Radulfus Ardens, in his *Homilia Prima*, compares *Amores* III, 4, 5, which he appears to have edited to "Et si servetur bene corpus, adultera mens est," to Matthew 5:28 ("Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam moechatus est eam in corde suo"). The line appears in the *Florilegium Gallicum* as "Ut iam conserves bene corpus: adultera mens est." Another *Amores* reference occurring in the *Florilegium Gallicum* appears to have been very popular.<sup>25</sup> *Amores* III, 4, 17 ("Nititur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata") was quoted by Radulfus in the *Homilia Prima*, by John of Salisbury in the *Polycraticus*, *Lib.* I and again in *Lib.* III (where he added "Quod non licet, acrius erit"), and again in *Ep.* CCXLIX, written to Archdeacon Baldewin. Alain de Lille, in his *Parabolus, Caput Primum*, used a shortened and edited form of the same line ("Nititur in vetitum quod in agros defluat aequor").

Gerald of Wales "borrowed extracts from the *Florilegium* [Angelicum] to confirm his opinions or bolster an argument by appeal to authority, and to embellish his own work with examples which illustrate a moral virtue or ideal state."<sup>26</sup> The *Florilegium Gallicum* was "the source for most of Gerald's knowledge of Seneca's *De Clementia*."<sup>27</sup>

The same appears to be true for Gerald's knowledge of some of Ovid's amatory poetry. In the *Symbolum Electorum, Ep.* I, he quoted *Amores* I, 8, 104 ("Impia sub dulci melle venena latent"), a reading which agrees with the *Florilegium Gallicum*. In *Epistola ad Stephanum Langton*, he quotes *Remedia* 119 ("Dum furor in cursu est currenti cede furori"), in agreement with the *Florilegium Gallicum*. In the same work *Remedia* 27-8 ("Quis matrem nisi mentis inops in funere nati / Flere vetet? Non hoc illa monenda loco est") again agrees with the *Florilegium Gallicum*, as does *Amores* I, 10, 48 ("Non habet eventus sordida praeda bonos") quoted in both *Distinctio* II, XXVIII and *Distinctio* III, X. *Ars Amatoria* II, 113-4 ("Forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos, / Fit minor et spatio carpitur ipso suo"), quoted in

the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, D II, IV, *Ars Amatoria* II, 277-8 ("Aurea nunc vere sunt saecula: plurimus auro / Venit honos; auro conciliatur amor"), quoted in *Gemma Ecclesiastica* D II, XXVII, *Ars Amatoria* II, 437-8 ("Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis, / Nec facile est aequa commodo mente pati"), quoted in *Speculum Ecclesiae* D, II, XXXIV and D, II, I, all agree with readings of the *Florilegium Gallicum*. *Remedia* 808 ("Lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat"), in *Distinctio* I, VII, also agrees with the florilegium.

Gerald must have had access to another florilegium or to a complete manuscript of Ovid as well, however, for he quoted *Remedia* 161, a line not included in the *Florilegium Gallicum*. When he used *Amores* I, 8, 104 in the *Symbolum Electorum*, Ep. I, his reading agreed with that of the *Florilegium Gallicum*, but when he quoted it in *Expugnatio hibernica* II, 16, he read "Impia sub dulci melle venena ferens." He quoted *Remedia* 323 twice also in two different forms. In *Distinctio* I, XI he wrote "Et bona sunt vicina malis", while in *Distinctio* III, VIII he wrote "Mala sunt vicina bonis; errore sub ipso, / Pro vitio virtus crimina saepe tulit". The *Florilegium Gallicum* contains these lines but reads for 323 "Et mala sunt vicina bonis errore sub illo."

Gerald quoted *Remedia* 91-92 in *Expugnatio hibernica* I, 7 ("Principiis obsta, sera medicina paratur. / Cum mala per longas invaluere moras"), again from a source other than the *Florilegium Gallicum*. The "mala" which have gained strength through neglect are, of course, Ovid's "mala" of love. It is an unwanted or burdensome love that must be resisted in its beginnings and for which remedies, not the least of which is Ovid's poetry, are too late if too long neglected. The poet's boastful claims of his effectiveness as a healer which precede these lines, and the *double entendre* of his suggested remedies which follow them, are all lost on Gerald's readers.

If Gerald's readers knew Ovid's amatory poetry only through Gerald's own works, they did not know the Ovid of first-century Rome. Indeed, no reader familiar with Ovid only through the *Florilegium Gallicum* or similar florilegia knew Ovid of the first century. As the *flores* to follow will show, they knew an Ovid deliberately edited away from the original.

## II. Amatory Flores of Ovid in the *Florilegium Gallicum*

The following archetype of the amatory poetry of Ovid as it appeared in the *Florilegium Gallicum* has been reconstructed from collations of the four extant manuscripts of the *Florilegium Gallicum*, generally held to offer the best text: Par. Lat. 7647 (p); Par. Lat. 17903 - Notre Dame 188 (n);

Arras 64 (a); and Escorial Q.I. 14 (e). Since the excerptor responsible for the *Florilegium Gallicum* edited, rewrote, and rearranged at will, these changes have been indicated in the text: changes made intentionally or as a result of careless error are underlined by double lines; words or phrases underlined by a single line indicate a possible intentional change or a change which already existed in the manuscript(s) used by the excerptor, that is, an inherited change; where manuscript evidence strongly suggests inherited change, no underlining occurs. The intentional changes will be discussed in detail in the final section of this paper. The reconstructed archetype is numbered at the left according to E.J. Kenney's edition.<sup>28</sup>

## Amores

## Ovidius in primo Amoris

- I.2 10 # Leve fit quod bene fertur honus.  
 Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammās  
 Et vidi nullo concutiente mori  
 Verbera plura ferunt quam quos iuvat usus aratri  
 Detractant prensi cum iuga prima boves 5 Detractant  
 Asper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis dum  
 Frena minus sentit quisquis ad arma facit
- I.3 7 # Si me non veterum commendant magna parentum  
 Nomina, nec nostri sanguinis auctor eques. si  
 Nec meus innumeris renovatur campus aratris 10  
 Temperat, et sumptus parcus uterque parens
- I.3 13 # At nulli cessura fides, sine crimine mores Et  
 Nudaque simplicitas, purpureusque pudor

(tit.) Ovidius in primo pnae, Amoris n, sine titulo e.

3 concuciente ae.

5 Detractant n. pensi na, prensi a<sup>1</sup>.

6 duus a.

7 Frema p.

8 # om.ae. veterem p veterum p<sup>2</sup>nae. facta pro magna e. Elegi II i.m.n<sup>3</sup>.

9 actor.p.

10 Non n.

11 parens uterque parens a.

12 Ut n, At n<sup>1</sup> pae. censura p cessura p<sup>2</sup>. vires pro mores n.

13 Nutaque e.

I.4	45	#	Multa miser timeo, quia feci multa proterve. Exemplique metu torqueor ipse mei de ortu diei.	15	
I.6	65	#	<u>Ecce</u> pruinosos molitur lucifer axes Inque suum miseros excitat ales opus		Iamque
I.7	63	#	<u>Minuit</u> vindicta dolorem		minuet
I.7	66	#	Quamlibet infirmas adiuvat ira manus.		
I.8	49	#	Labitur occulte fallitque volatilis etas. Et celer admissis labitur annus equis Era nitent usu, vestis bona querit haberi Canescunt turpi tecta relicta situ	20	
I.8	55	#	Certior e multis nec tam invidiosa rapina est Plena venit canis de grege preda lupis	25	
I.8	62	#	Crede mihi res est ingeniosa dare.		
I.8	82	#	Sepe simultates ira morata facit.		
I.8	92	#	Fit cito per multas preda petita manus		
I.8	104	#	Impia sub dulci melle venena latent		
I.10	37	#	Non bene conducti vendunt periuria testes. Non bene selecti iudicis archa patet. Turpe reos empta miseros defendere lingua Quod faciat magnas turpe tribunal opes	30	Nec Nec
I.10	43	#	Gratia pro rebus merito debetur inemptis		
I.10	45	#	Omnia conductor solvit mercede soluta <u>Nec</u> manet officio debitor ille tuo	35	Non

14 Oulta e. procerve p. III *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

(tit.) de ortu diei *om.n*.

16 pruinosos: prun *n* stat. corr. *n*<sup>1</sup>. axes: auxes *pa*, ortus e. VI *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

18 minuit *pa*. In eodem *n*. VII *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

19 infirma *p*, infirmas *a*, infirmas *p*<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup> *ne*. ire *n* ira *n*<sup>2</sup>.

20 Labitu e. oculte *n*.

24-25 *om.e*.

25 preda . . . plena *n*.  $\delta$ (=deest) *i.m.n*<sup>2</sup>.

26 ingeniosa *pna*, ingenuosa *p*<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup> e.

28 Sit *n*.

29 *om.n*.

30 X *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

33 fatiat *ne*. opus *n*.  $\delta$ (=deest) *i.m.n*<sup>2</sup>.

36 Nec *pna*, Hec e. maneat a manet a<sup>2</sup>. suo *n*.



- I.10 48 # Non habet eventus sordida preda bonos
- I.11 18 # Et tacito vultu scire futura licet.
- de Sompno Matutino
- I.13 7 # Nunc etiam sompni pingues, et frigidus aer.  
Et liquidum tenui gutture cantat avis. 40
- I.15 39 # Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit
- II.9 39 # Infelix tota quicumque quiescere nocte 60  
Sustinet, et sompnos premia magna vocat.  
# Stulte quid est sompnus gelide nisi mortis imago?  
Longa quiescendi tempora fata dabunt
- II.10 23 # Sepe fit ut graciles non sint sine viribus artus sufficiam  
graciles...sunt  
Pondere non nervis corpora multa carent. 65 nostra
- II.9 9 # Venator sequitur fugientia, capta relinquit  
Semper et inventis ulteriora petit.
- II.9 17 # Roma nisi immensum vires promosset in orbem  
Stamineis essent nunc quoque tecta casis esset  
# Fessus in acceptos miles deducitur agros. 70
- II.9 22 Tutaque deposito poscitur ense rudis
- II.9 21 Longaque subductam celant navalia pinum
- II.9 20 # Mittitur in saltus carcere liber equus.
- II.10 33 # Querit avarus opes et que lassavit eundo quaerat  
Equora, periuro naufragus ore bibit. 75 lassarit arando  
bibat
- II.10 31 # Induit adversis contraria pectora telis induat  
Miles ut eternum sanguine nomen emat et

37 Nec *pa*, non *p*<sup>2</sup> *ne*.

(tit.) In eodem de etc. *n*. somno a. XI *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>

40 teneri *n* tenero *n*<sup>2</sup>. XIII *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

41 facta a. quiescet *n*. XV *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>

60 totam *pa*. noctem *p*. IX *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

62 post *n* nisi *n*<sup>2</sup>.

64 in *pae*, ut *p*<sup>2</sup> *n*. nec *e*. sunt *n*. arctus *n*. X *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

66 reliquid *n*. IX *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

72 cedant *p*. pupim *e*.

74 *eque p*. et que *p*<sup>2</sup>.

75 X *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

77 eternum *p*.

## De navigante

- II.11 23 # Sero respicitur tellus ubi fune soluto  
Tendit in immensum panda carina salum Currit  
 Navita sollicitus ventos exhorret iniquos 80 cum ventos  
 Et prope tam letum quam prope cernit aquam
- Contra mulieres que sponte faciunt abortiva
- II.14 5 # Que prima instituit teneros convellere fetus.  
 Milicia fuerat digna perire sua.
- II.14 9 # Si nos antiquis placuisset matribus idem  
 Gens hominum vitio deperitura fuit. 85
- II.14 27 # Vestra quid effoditis subiectis viscera tellis?  
 Et nondum natis dira venena datis?
- II.14 23 # Quid plenam fraudas vitem crescentibus uvis:  
 Pomaque crudeli vellis acerba manu?  
 # Sponte sua matura fluent, sine crescere nata 90 sponte  
 Est precium parve, non leve vita more fluant matura sua
- II.16 30 # Corpore nos facili dulce feremus honos.
- II.18 3 # Turpiter ignave veneris cessamus in umbra Nos, Macer, ignava  
 Et tener ausuros grandia frangit amor
- II.19 3 # Quod licet ingratum est. quod non licet acrius 95  
 urit.

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(tit.) om.a., In eodem de etc. n.

78 XI i.m.n<sup>3</sup>.

79 Vendit n tendit n<sup>2</sup>. inmensum n.

80 sollicitus: sal n, stat. corr. n<sup>1</sup>. eh p ex p<sup>1</sup>.

(tit.) In eodem contra etc.n. Contra om. e. fatunt p, fatiunt e. abortum e.

82 evellere n. XIII i.m.n<sup>3</sup>.

83 militia pe.

85 Mens n. vicio pa.

86 Grata pro vestra n. visera e viscera e<sup>1</sup>.

87 nundum pa.

88 penam a.

89 creduli pn, crudeli p<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>ae.

91 precum p, pretium n. prave p parve p<sup>2</sup>.

92 XVI i.m.n<sup>3</sup>.

93 innave p ignave p<sup>2</sup>. XVIII i.m.n<sup>3</sup>.

II.19	31	#	Quod licet et facile est quisquis cupit arbore frondes Carpat et e <u>medio</u> flumine potet aquam		magno
			In III contra illum qui gloriatur in stulticia sua:		
III.1	21	#	Fabula nec sentis tota iactaris in urge Dum tua preterito facta pudore refers Cum aliquis instigat iratum		
III.2	34	#	In flammam flammam in mare fundis aquas	100	
III.4	3	#	Siqua metu dempto casta est ea denique casta est Que quia non liceat non facit illa facit. Ut iam conserves bene corpus: adultera mens est Nec custodiri ni velit <u>illa</u> potest Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia <u>serve</u> . Omnibus exclusis intus adulter erit	105	servaris ulla corpus claudas occlusis
III.4	13	#	Vidi ego nuper equum contra sua vincla tenacem. Ore reluctanti fulminis ire modo. Constitit, ut primum concessas sensit habenas Frenaque in <u>effusas</u> laxa iacere <u>iubas</u> Nititur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata Sic interdictis imminet eger aquis	110	effusa iuba
III.4.25			Quicquid servatur cupimus magis, ipsaque furem <u>Preda</u> vocat, pauci quod sinit alter amat.		cura

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- 96 arbore stat. corr. ex abbore  $p^1$ . XIX *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.  
97 pumine  $p$  flumine  $p^1$ . potat  $n$  potet  $n^2$ .  
(tit.) instultia  $p$ . Lib III El I *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.  
99 feres *pro* refers  $pa$ .  
(tit.) In eodem dum etc.  $n$ .  
100 fundit  $pa$  II *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.  
101 est (?) *om.pa*. IIII *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.  
103 mensem  $pa$ .  
104 in  $e$  ni  $e^2$ . ipsa  $n$ .  
105 post 106  $pa$ , corr.  $a^2$ .  
108 Ora  $n$ . fluminis  $pn$ .  
109 Constituit  $a$  Constitit  $a^1$ . sentit  $p$  sensit  $p^2$ .  
110 comas  $e$ .  
111 Nititur  $p$  Nititur  $p^2$ . cupimus semperque  $n$ .  
114 paucique  $pa$ , pauci quod  $p^2a^2$ . que  $e$ . sunt  $a$  sinit  $a^1$ .

- III.6 59 # Ille habet et silices et durum in pectore ferrum 115 vivum  
pro durum  
 Qui tenero lacrimas letus in ore videt lentus
- III.8 3 # Ingenium quondam fuerat preciosius auro  
 At nunc barbaria est grandis, habere nichil
- Contra ambitionem
- III.8 45 # Contra te sollers hominum natura fuisti  
 Et nimium dampnis ingeniosa tuis 120  
 Quid tibi turritis incingere menibus urbes? quo  
 Quid tibi discordes vertere in arma manus? quo addere  
 Quid tibi cum pelago? terra contenta fuisses.  
 Cur non et celum tertia regna petis?
- III.8 53 # Eruimus terra solidum pro frugibus aurum. 125  
 Possidet heu partas sanguine miles opes. inventas  
 Curia pauperibus clausa est dat census honores  
 Inde gravis iudex, inde severus eques  
 Omnia pessumdant, illis campusque forumque possideant  
 Servit, et hi pacem crudaque bella gerunt serviat,  
130 et om., gerant
- III.9. 37 # Vive pius, moriere pius cole sacra colentem  
 Mors gravis a templis in cava busta trahet
- III.9 19 # Scilicet omne sacrum mors inportuna prophanat  
 Omnibus obscuras incit illa manus

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115 # *om.n.* in *om.e.* V *i.m.n.*<sup>3</sup>.

117 quoddam *pa*, quondam *p*<sup>1</sup> *na*<sup>1</sup> *e.* preciosius *p*, pretiosius *e.*  
*aurum n* auro *n*<sup>2</sup>. VI *i.m.n.*<sup>3</sup>.

118 Et *n* barbarica *pa*, barbaries (?) *a*<sup>1</sup>.

(tit.) In eodem contra etc. *n.* ambitiosum *p.*

121 tibi *p.*

124 Cur corr. ex. Cui *a*<sup>1</sup>. tertia *pe.*

125 solitum terra *n.*

126 paratas *n* partas *n*<sup>2</sup>.

127 sensus *n* corr. *n*<sup>2</sup>.

128 unde...unde *n.* iudes vel vides *n* iudex *n*<sup>2</sup>.

129 possumdant *p* pessumdant *p*<sup>2</sup>, pessundant *e.*

130 hii *ae*, hunc *p.*

131 moliere a moriere *a*<sup>1</sup>. VIII *i.m.n.*<sup>3</sup>.

132 trahent *p*, trahit *n*, trahet *p*<sup>2</sup> *ae.*

133 Scilicet *e.* ut omne *p* corr. *p*<sup>2</sup>. importuna *p.* profanat *e.*

- III.11 7 # Perfer, et obdura, dolor hic tibi proderit olim. 135  
Sepe tulit lassus succus amarus opem
- III.11 42 # Non facit ad mores tam bona forma malos  
Cupias quod necesse est etsi gravet.
- III.11 35 # Odero si potero, si non: invitus amabo.  
Nec iuga taurus amat, que tamen odit habet.
- III.12 41 # Exit in inensum iucunda licentia vatam 140 fecunda  
Obligat historica nec sua verba fide
- III.14 47 # Prona quidem vinci cupientes vincere palma est tibi cupientem  
Ad manifeste peccantem nec erubescantem
- III.14 13 # Sit tibi mens melior saltemque imitare pudicas saltemve  
Teque probam quamvis non eris esse putem
- III.14 7 Quis furor est que nocte latent in luce fateri? 145  
Et que clam facias facta referre palam?
- III.14 11 Tu tua prostitues fame peccata sinistre?  
Commissi perages inditiumque tui?
- III.14 27 Indue cum tunicis metuentem crimina vultum  
Et pudor obscenum diffiteatur opus 150

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135 X *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

136 avarus *e*.

137 fama molos *p* fama malos *p*<sup>2</sup>.

(*tit.*) *om.n.* et si *p*.

139 quod *pae*.

140 Exi *p* Exit *p*<sup>2</sup>, Uxit *n.* inensum a iucunda *p.* XI *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

141 Obligat *e.* historica *e*.

142 Una *pro* Prona *n.* cupientis *e.* XIII *i.m.n*<sup>3</sup>.

(*tit.*) De manifeste *etc.p*, In eodem ad *etc.n.* erubescantem (?) *e*  
erubescantem *e*<sup>2</sup>.

143 pudicas *e* pudicas *e*<sup>2</sup>.

144 Meque *n.*

146 fatias *e.* factam *n.* fefelle a referre a<sup>1</sup>.

147 Ne tua prostituas *n.* Totua a Tu tua a<sup>1</sup>.

148 Comissum *n.* indiciumque *pa*.

149 vultuum *p*.

150 difiteatur a diffiteatur a<sup>2</sup>.

## Ars Amatoria

Ovidius in primo de arte amandi

I. 3	#	Arte cite veloque rates remoque reguntur.	moventur
		Arte levis currus, arte regendus amor	
I. 10	#	Puer est etas mollis, et apta regi	
I. 19	#	Et tauri cervix honeratur aratro.	
		Frenaque magnanimi dente teruntur equi.	5
I. 45	#	Scit bene venator cervis ubi retia tendat	
		Scit bene qua frendens valle moretur aper	
		Aucupibus noti frutices, qui sustinet <u>hamum</u>	hamos
		<u>Scit bene</u> que multo pisce natentur aque	Novit
I. 93	#	Ut redit itque frequens longum formica per agmen 10	
		Granifero solitum cum vehit ore cibum	
		Aut ut apes saltusque suos, et olentia nocte	
		Pascua, per flores et thima summa volant	
		Sic ruit ad celebres cultissima femina ludos.	
I. 99	#	Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipse 15	
		Ille locus casti dampna pudoris habet	
I. 84	#	Quique aliis cavit, non cavet ipse sibi.	
I. 159	#	Parva leves capiunt animos	

(tit.) Ovidius in primo *pnae*, de arte *ne*, amandi *n*.

- 2 arte regendus amor post spatium *n*, om. *pae*, add.  $p^2 a^2$ , leves *n*.
- 3 Puer *n* Puero  $n^2$ . regis *a* corr.  $a^1$ .
- 4 honerata *p* honeratur  $p^2$ .
- 6 Sit *e*. tendit *n*, tentat *a*, tendat  $pn^2 a^2$ , tenuat *e*.
- 7 Sit *e*. frendens *n*.
- 9 Sit *e*.
- 10 Et *n*. idque *n*.
- 11 Gramineo *pae*. ferit *pro* vehit *n*.
- 12 sollitiisque *n*  $\delta$  (=deest) *i.m.n^2*.
- 13 fores *a*. tima *a*.
- 15 spectentem *p*, spectantur *n*, spectentur  $p^2 n^2 a^2$ . et *ne*, ut  $pn^2 a^2$ .  
spectentur et ipse veniunt *e* veniunt spectentur et ipse  $e^2$ .
- 16 # *e*.
- 17 cavet nec *n* cavit non  $n^2$ .
- 18 parcia *pa* pauca  $a^2$ .

De tiberio cesare adolescente ituro contra partas in ultionem crassi  
ab eis interfecti:

I.181	#	Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur in annis Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer Parcite natales timidi numerare deorum Cesaribus virtus contigit ante diem Ingenium celeste suis velotius annis Surgit et ignave fert male dampna more	20	
I.191		Auspitiis animisque patris puer arma movebis Et vinces animis auspiciisque patris. Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes Nunc iuvenum princeps deinde future senum	25	
I.237	#	Vina parant animos, faciuntque caloribus aptos Cura fugit multo diluiturque mero. Tunc veniunt risus, <u>tunc</u> pauper cornua sumit <u>Tunc</u> dolor, et cure, rugaque frontis abit Tunc aperit mentes evo rarissima nostro: Simplicitas, artes excutiente deo	30	tum tum
I.271	#	Vere prius <u>taceant volucres</u> estate cicade. Menalius lepori det sua terga canis	35	volucres taceant
I.328	#	Et <u>satis</u> est uni posse placere viro		Et quantum
I.348	#	Et <u>capiunt</u> animos plus aliena suis Fertilior seges est aliensis semper in agris Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.	40	est uno . . . carere capiant

(tit.) incipit in eodem n. ultione n. cesasi pro crassi p.

24 innave p ignave p<sup>1</sup>. mala na.

26 auspitiisque n.

29 fatiuntque ne. caloribus om.pa, amplexibus p<sup>2</sup> caloribus p<sup>3</sup>.  
coloribus n corr. n<sup>2</sup>.

32 abit om.n.

33 rarissima a corr. a<sup>1</sup>.

34 excuciente a.

36 dat n det n<sup>2</sup>.

37 om.n.

39 alieno...arvo pa, arvis e.

Quod leticia obsit, dolor prosit.

- I.359 # Mens erit apta capi tunc cum letissima rerum tum  
 Ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo  
 Pectora dum gaudent nec sunt attrita dolore. adstricta  
 Ipsa patent, tacita tunc subit arte venus blanda tum  
Tunc cum tristis erat defensa est Ilium armis 45 tum Ilios  
 Militibus gravidum leta recepit equum

Quod singula tempus habent

- I.399 # Tempora qui solis operosa colentibus arva,  
 Fallitur et nautis aspicienda putat  
 Nec semper credenda ceres fallacibus arvis.  
 Nec semper viridi concava puppis aque 50
- I.374 # Ut fragilis glacies interit ira mora
- I.389 # Tollitur index  
 Cum simul in partem criminis ipse venit semel ipsa  
 Non avis utiliter viscatis effugit alis.  
 Non bene de lapsis cassibus exit aper. 55 laxis
- I.442 # Flectitur iratus voce rogante deus.  
 # Promittas facito, quid enim promittere ledit  
 Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest.  
 Spes tenet in longum semel est si credita tempus. tempus...  
 longum

(tit.) In eodem quod etc.n, absit ne.

41 ens e.

42 Et n. luxuriabat p luxuriabit p<sup>2</sup>.

43 atrita pa.

46 gravidum a gravidum a<sup>2</sup>. equum n.

(tit.) In eodem quod leticia obsit dolor prosit n, om.pae.

48 aspitienda n.

49 armis pro arvis n.

50 pupis pa.

51 glacies a.

52 In eodem i.m. n.

53 ipse pnae ipsa p<sup>2</sup>.

54 affugit a effugit a<sup>1</sup>.

55 lapsis n laxis n<sup>2</sup>. casibus n cassibus n<sup>2</sup>.

56 decus a deus a<sup>1</sup> vel a<sup>2</sup>.

57 om.p. fatito e.

58 pollitis e.



I.450	#	Sic dominum sterilis sepe fefellit ager. Sic ne perdidit non cessat perdere lusor Et revocat cupidus alea <u>blanda</u> manus	60	
				saepe
I.471	#	Tempore difficiles veniunt ad aratra iuveni Tempore lenta pati frena docentur equi Ferreus assiduo consumitur anulus usu. Interit assidua vomer aduncus humo. Quid magis est <u>durum saxo</u> ? quid mollius unda? Dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua.	65	
I.478		Capta vides sero pergama capta tamen.		
I.482	#	Per numeros veniunt <u>cuncta</u> gradusque suos	70	ista
I.509	#	Forma viros neglecta decet.		
I.505	#	Sed tibi <u>ne placeat ferro</u> torquere capillos		nec ferro placeat
I.562	#	<u>Facile</u> est omnia posse deo.		in facili
I.574	#	Sepe tacens vocem verbaque vultus habet.		
I.585	#	Tuta frequensque via est per amici fallere nomen Tuta frequens licet sit via crimen habet	75	
I.591	#	Iurgia precipue vino stimulata caveto Et nimium faciles ad fera bella manus		
I.627	#	Laudatas ostendit avis iunonia pennas Si tacitus spectes illa recondit opes Quadrupedes inter rapidi certamina cursus Depexequae iube plausaque colla iuvant	80	pinnas
I.637	#	Expedit esse deos: et ut expedit esse putemus Dentur in antiquos tura merumque focos Nec secura quies illos similisque sopori.	85	

62 *om.n. cupibas e corr. (?) e<sup>2</sup>.*

64 *doceatur a docentur a<sup>1</sup>.*

66 *Inter n corr. n<sup>2</sup>. adunctus p.*

69 *Ccapta n corr. n<sup>2</sup>. #e.*

71 *docet n decet n<sup>2</sup>.*

78 *feriles e.*

82 *iuv. p. colla p<sup>1</sup>.*

84 *dentur stat. corr. ex denturi a<sup>1</sup>. thura ne.*

85 *secura n.*

	Detinet innocue vivite numen adest.	
	Reddite depositum, pietas sua federa servet	
	Fraus absit vacuas cedis habete manus	
I.645	Fallite fallentes ex magna parte prophanum.	
	Sunt genus in laqueos quos posuere cadant.	90
I.655	# <u>Nec</u> enim lex equior ulla est.	Neque
	Quam necis artifices arte perire sua	
I.717	# Quod refugit <u>multi</u> cupiunt, odere quod instat	multae
	Lenius instando tedia tolle tui.	
I.735	# Attenuant iuvenum vigilate corpora noctes	95
	De malitiosis.	
I.739	# Mixtum fas omne nefasque <u>est</u>	est om.
	Nomen amicicia est. nomen inane fides	
I.749	Nil nisi turpe iuvat. cure <u>est</u> sua cuique voluptas	est om.
	Hec quoque ab alterius grata dolore venit.	
I.756	# Mille animos excipe mille modis	100
	De diversitate morum.	
I.757	# <u>Non eadem tellus</u> parit omnia vitibus illa	nec tellus eadem
	Convenit, hec oleis, his bene farra virent	
	Pectoribus mores tot sunt quot in orbe figure:	in ore
	Qui sapit in numeris moribus aptus erit.	

- 86 Detine p Detinet p<sup>2</sup>. vite a vivite a<sup>2</sup>.
- 88 Fraus p Fraus p<sup>2</sup>. habere pa, habete p<sup>1</sup>ne.
- 89 profanum e.
- 90 laquos e. posure n.
- 91 est om.n.
- 92 Quam corr. ex. Qui (?) a<sup>1</sup>.
- 93 refugit multe capiunt . . . instat p refugis multe cupiunt . . .  
instas p<sup>2</sup>, capiunt e.
- 95 vigilate stat. corr. ex vigilute n<sup>1</sup>.
- (tit.) om.n. maliciosus a.
- 96 fax a. est om.pae.
- 97 amicitie n. est om.n.
- 98 tibi n nisi n<sup>2</sup>.
- 100 Nille e.
- (tit.) incipit In edem n In eodem n<sup>2</sup>.
- 101 # om.p.

I.767	#	<u>Ne</u> doctus videare rudi, petulansve pudenti	105	si
I.765	#	<u>Non bene</u> conveniet cunctos <u>mos</u> unus ad annos		nec tibi
I.763	#	Hic iaculo pisces, illic capiuntur ab <u>hamo</u>		modus
		Hic cava contento retia fune trahunt		hi illi hamis
				hos
II.13	#	<u>Non</u> minor est, virtus quam querere parta tueri		nec
		Casus inest illic, hic erit artis opus.	110	hoc
II.43	#	Ingenium mala sepe movent.		
II.107	#	Ut ameris amabilis esto.		

Quod fragili forme corporis iungendus sit stabilis decor mentis:

II.112	#	Ingenii dotes corporis adde bonis		
	#	Forma bonum fragile est quantumque accedit ad annos		
		Fit minor et spatio carpitur ipsa suo	115	
		Nec viole semper, nec candida lilia florent		hiantia
		Et riget amissa spina relicta rosa		
		Et tibi iam venient cani formose capilli		
		Iam venient ruge que tibi corpus arent.		
		<u>Nunc</u> molire animum qui duret, et astrue formam.	120	iam
		Solus ad extremos permanet ille rogos		formae
		Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes		
		Cura sit, et linguas edidicisse duas.		
II.123		Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus ulixes.		

- 
- 105 peculansve *pa*, petulansve *ne*. pudendi a pudenti  $a^2$ .
- 106 mox *n* mos  $n^2$ .
- 107 iacula *p* iaculo  $p^2$ .
- 108 cava cava *p* corr.  $p^2$ . contento *i.r.p* contendo *a*.
- 109 minorem *p* minor est  $p^2$ .
- 111 ingenium *a*. sepe mala *p* mala sepe  $p^1$  (?).  
(*tit.*) ungenderus *p*.
- 114 accidit ad anuos *p* accedit ad annos  $p^1$ .
- 115 spacio *pn*. capitur *ne*, carpitur  $pn^2ae^2$ .
- 116 nec: *n ex c statim a^1*.
- 118 formose *a* formosi  $a^2$ .
- 119 qui *n*.
- 120 mollire *na*. et *sscr. n^2*.
- 121 extremus *e* extremis  $e^1$ . illo *a* illi  $a^2$ .
- 124 fomosus *p* formosus  $p^3$ . facundus: formosus *n*, corr.  $n^2$ .

II.128	# Ille referre aliter sepe solebat idem	125	
II.145	# Dextera precipue capit indulgentia mentes Asperitas odium, sevaque bella movet		
II.151	# Este procul lites, et amare prelia lingue. Dulcibus est verbis <u>mitis</u> alendus amor.		mollis
	# Lite fugant nupteque viros nuptasque mariti Inque vicem credunt res sibi semper agi	130	fugent
	De cautela pauperis.		
II.167	# Pauper agat caute. timeat maledicere pauper Multaque vicitibus non patienda ferat		amet
	De obsequii utilitate.		
II.179	# Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus Frangis si vires experiare tuas	135	
	Obsequio transnantur aque, nec vincere possis Flumina si contra <u>que</u> rapit unda nates		tranantur quam
	Obsequium tigresque domat numidasque leones Rustica paulatim taurus aratra subit		
II.197	# Cede repugnanti cedendo victor abibis	140	
	De labore militie.		
II.235	# Nox et hiems longaque vie sevice dolores <u>Militie</u> castris et labor omnis inest		Mollibus his

125 #  $ras.n, om.e. id est n idem n^2$ .

126 cadit pae capit  $p^2na^2e^2$ .  $\delta(=deest) i.m.n^2$ .

127 suaque p sevaque  $p^2$ .

128 Iste ne, Este  $n^1$ , Ite  $e^2$ . premia pro prelia pa.

131 agit p agi  $p^2$ .

(tit.) om.n.

132 aget p amet  $p^2$ . capte a caute  $a^2$ .

133 patientia n patienda  $n^2$ , pacienda a.

(tit.) In eodem etc.n.

135 Frangit pa. experiare a, experiere e.

137 qua pa.

138 Umidasque p.

(tit.) om.n., milicie pa.

141 Mox n. hiemps p, hyems n.

142 milicie a.

		Sepe <u>ferunt imbres</u> celesti nube <u>solutos</u>	feres imbrem solutum
		Frigidus <u>in</u> nuda sepe iacebis humo.	et
II.271	#	Turpiter his emitur spes mortis, et orba senectus 145 Ha pereant per quos munera crimen habent	
II.275	#	Carmina laudantur, sed munera magna petuntur Dum modo sit dives barbarus ille placet.	ipse
		Aurea <u>nunc</u> vere <u>sunt</u> secula plurimus auro	sunt . . . nunc
		Venit honos, auro conciliatur amor	150
		Ipsa licet venias musis comitatus homere Si nichil attuleris, ibis homere foras.	
II.313	#	Si latet ars prodest, affert deprensa pudorem Atque adimit merito tempus in omne fidem	
		De nociva temporis varietate.	
	#	Sepe sub <u>autumno</u> cum formosissimus annus	155 autumnum
		Plenaque purpureo subrubet uva mero.	
II.317	#	<u>Et</u> modo frigoribus premimur modo solvimur estu.	Cum premitur solvitur
		Aere non certo corpora languor habet	
II.334	#	Sit suus in blanda sedulitate modus	
II.337		<u>Non tibi</u> quo dederas a littore carbasa vento,	160 Sed non cui
		Utendum est medio cum potiere freto.	est om.
II.341	#	Quem metuis taurum, vitulum mulcere solebas	taurum metuis
		Sub qua nunc recubas arbore virga fuit.	

145 spes stat. corr. ex ? p<sup>1</sup>.

146 ah ae.

149 Aurea corr. ? p<sup>1</sup>.

151 comitatur n.

153 affer e. depensa n.

154 Adque p.

(tit.) noticia p.

155 autumnno a.

156 una a uva a<sup>1</sup>.

157 frigoribus stat. corr. ex fugoribus p<sup>1</sup>.

158 langor ae.

159 Sic a Sit a<sup>1</sup>.

160 quod p cui p<sup>2</sup>. ad p a p<sup>2</sup>. littore p, littora n littore n<sup>2</sup>.

162 tantum pa taurum p<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>. metius e metuis e<sup>2</sup>.

	Nascitur exiguus: sed opes acquirit eundo		
	Quaque <u>meat</u> multas accipit amnis aquas	165	venit
	# Nichil assuetudine maius.		
II.351	# Da requiem, requietus ager bene credita reddit		
	Terraque celestes arida sorbet aquas		
II.357	# <u>Est</u> mora tuta brevis, lentescunt tempore cure.		Sed
	Vanescitque absens, et novus intrat amor.	170	
II.373	# <u>Non est</u> fulvus aper media tam sevus in ira,		sed neque
	Fulmineo rapidos cum rotat ore canes		. . . est
	Nec lea cum catulis lactentibus ubera prebet.		rabidos
	Nec brevis ignaro vipera lesa pede		
	Femina quam soti deprensa pellice lecti	175	
	Ardet et in vultu pignora mentis habet.		
	In ferrum flammisque ruit positoque <u>putore</u> .		decore
	Fertur. ut aonii cornibus icta dei		
II.390	# Gloria peccati nulla petenda <u>tui</u> est		sui
II.412	# <u>Quedam</u> animi multum signa nocentis habent.	180	haec
II.435	# Sunt quibus ingrata timida indulgentia servit		
II.437	# Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis		
	Nec facile est eque commoda mente pati.		
De creatione mundi.			
II.467	# Prima fuit rerum confusa sine ordine moles		
	Unaque <u>erant</u> faties sidera, terra, fretum	185	erat

164 opes: a p stat. corr. p<sup>1</sup>. acquirit e.

165 metat n.

169 Ast n.

173 latentibus na, lactentibus n<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>.

175 socil pa. depensa n deprensa n<sup>2</sup>.

178 ut aonii cornibus icta dei om. pae. post spatium n.

179 om.n.

180 Euedam e.

181 tumida n.

182 Incutiant e.

183 comoda p.

(tit.) In eodem etc.n.

185 facies pa. sydera e.

		Mox celum impositum terris, humus equore cincta est	
		Inque suas partes cessit inane chaos	
		Silva feras, <u>aer volucres</u> accepit habendas	volucres aer
		In liquida pisces delituistis aqua.	
		Tum genus humanum solis errabat in agris	190
		Idque mere vires, et rude corpus erat.	
		Silva domus fuerat. cibus herba, cubilia frondes	
		Iamque diu nulli cognitus <u>ullus</u> erat.	alter
		Blanda truces animos fertur mollisse voluptas.	
II.505	#	Qui sermone placet taciturna silentia vitet	195
		Qui canit: arte canat, qui bibit: arte bibat.	
		Sed neque declament medio sermone diserti	
		Nec sua non sanus scripta poeta legat	
II.513	#	<u>Semina</u> non semper sulci cum fenore reddunt	Credita fenere
		<u>Non</u> semper dubias adiuvat aura rates.	200 Nec
II.516	#	<u>Proponas</u> animo multa ferenda <u>tuo</u>	Proponant . . . suo
	#	Quot lepores in atho, quot apes pascuntur in hibla	
		Cerulea quot baccas palladis arbor habet	bacas
		Litore quot conche tot sunt <u>mala</u> .	in amore dolores
		Que patimur multo spicula felle madent	205
II.530	#	Dedecet ingenuos tedia ferre sui	

186 impositum est e.

187 In que p Inque  $p^2$ . cesset n cessit  $n^2$ . cahos a.

189 deliquistis e.

190 Dum n.

191 Idque a His  $a^2$ . corptus vel corpus p corpus  $p^2$ .

192 om.n.

193 om.n.

194 Slanda n Blanda  $n^2$ .

195 taciturna: vel nocitura i.m. $n^2$ .

197 deserti pna, diserti  $p^2n^2e$ .

199 Femina e Semina  $e^2$ . fenorre p fenore  $p^2$ .

201 Propenas p Proponas  $p^2$ . Pproponas n. Ponas e. multas n. corr.  $n^1$ .

202 Quod pn Quot  $p^2n^2$ .

203 palladis a palladas  $a^2$ .

204 littore ae. chonche n. mala exp. $p^3$ , in amore dolores  $p^3$ .

206 Deducet p Dedecet  $p^2$ , Tedecet e.

- II.532 # Non omni tempore sensus adest obest
- II.537 # Est nulla nisi ardua virtus. sed
- II.603 # Exigua est virtus prestare silentia rebus  
At contra gravis est culpa tacenda loqui. 210  
O bene quod frustra captatis arbore pomis  
Garrulus in media tantalus aret aqua.
- II.626 # Nil emitur magno nunc nisi posse loqui. Atque . . . nil  
Quod processu temporis multa firmentur vel mutentur
- II.649 # Dum novus in viridi coalescit cortice ramus,  
Concutiat tenerum quelibet aura: cadet. 215  
Mox eadem ventis spatio durata resistet etiam pro eadem  
Firmaque adoptivas arbor habebit opes
- II.655 # Ferre nove nares taurorum terga recusant.  
Assiduo domitas tempore fallit odor
- II.653 # Eximit ipsa dies omnes e corpore mendas 220 omnis  
Quodque fuit vitium desinit esse mora
- II.657 # Nominibus mollire licet mala
- II.662 # Sepe latet vitium proximitate boni et lateat
- II.695 # Qui properant nova musta bibant mihi fundat avitum properent  
Consulibus priscis condita testa merum 225  
Nec platanus nisi sera potest obsistere phebo  
Ledunt non nullos prata novella pedes et laedunt nudos
- In III
- III.9 # Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes  
Spectetur meritis femina queque suis. quaeque puella

207 sens n sensus n<sup>1</sup>.

209 Exigua p Eximia p<sup>3</sup>.

212 aret corr. ex ardet n<sup>2</sup>.

213 nil pro nunc n.

(tit.) De processu etc.p.

215 cadit n.

216 spacio pa.

218 novas n.

221 vicium a. oesinit n.

222 vicium a.

225 piscis n. test e testa e<sup>1</sup>.

226 potem p potest p<sup>2</sup>. vento pro phebo e.

In III om.ne.



## In II

II.669	#	Dum vires animique sinunt tolerate labores	230
II.670	#	Iam veniet tacito curva senecta pede. Aut mare <u>navigiis</u> aut vomere findite <u>terram</u> Aut fera belligeras addite in arma manus	remigiis . . . terras
III.59	#	Venture memores iam nunc estote senecte Sic nullum vobis tempus abibit iners.	235
De volubilitate temporalium:			
III.62	#	Eunt anni more fluentis aque Nec que preteriit iterum revocabitur unda Nec que preteriit hora redire potest. Utendum est etate, cito pede labitur etas. Nec bona tam sequitur quam bona prima fuit Hos ego qui canent frutices violaria vidi, Hac mihi de spina grata corona data est	240
III.73	#	Quam cito me miserum laxantur corpora rugis. Et perit in nitido qui fuit ore color	
III.76		Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas <u>Et renovant cervos cornua iacta senes.</u> Nostra sine auxilio fugiunt bona.	245 nec faciunt
III.82	#	Continua messe senescit ager.	
III.93	#	Quis vetet apposito lumen de lumine sumi	
III.121	#	Prisca iuvent alios, ego me nunc denique natum Gratulor. hec etas moribus apta meis	250

In II *om.ne.*230 annique *ae.* tolerare *pa.e.*235 nobis *e.*(tit.) vobilitate *p* volubilitate *p*<sup>3</sup>, vobulitate *n* volubulitate *n*<sup>1</sup>.236 eunt *p* pretereunt *p*<sup>2</sup>. fluentis *n.*238 preterunt *pa*, preteriit *p*<sup>2</sup>*a*<sup>2</sup>.239 est *om.e.* cita *p* cito *p*<sup>2</sup>.240 Ne *p* Nec *p*<sup>2</sup>, Ner ? *n*, Nec *n*<sup>1</sup>. prima bona *p* bona prima *p*<sup>2</sup>.242 michi *p.*247 ausilio *n.* tempora *add.post* bona *e*<sup>2</sup>.249 vetat *p.*251 hic *p* hec *p*<sup>2</sup>.

	Non quia nunc terre lentum subducitur aurum	
	Lectaque diverso littore concha venit	
	Nec quia decrescunt effoso marmore montes	
	Nec quia cerulee mole fugantur aque	255
	Sed quia cultus adest, nec nostros mansit in annos	
	Rusticitas, priscis illa superstes avis.	
III.172	# Quis furor est census corpore ferre suos?	
III.218	# <u>Plurima</u> dum fiunt turpia facta placent.	multaque
III.229	# Multa viros nescire decet.	260
III.249	# Turpe pecus mutilum, turpis sine gramine campus.	
	Et sine fronde frutex, et sine crine caput.	
III.256	# Pluraque sunt semper deteriora bonis	
III.291	# Quo non ars penetrat?	
III.315	# Res est blanda canor.	265
	# Pro facie multis vox sua lena fuit.	
III.370	# <u>Magnum</u> opus <u>est</u> mores composuisse suos	maius, est om.
	De ludentibus cum talis vel aleis.	
	# <u>Tunc</u> sumus incauti, studioque aperimur in ipso.	tum
	Nudaque per lusus pectora nostra patent	
	Ira subit deforme malum lucrique cupido.	270
	Iurgiaque et rixe, sollicitusque dolor.	
	Crimina dicuntur, resonat clamoribus ether	
	Invocat iratos, et sibi quisque deos	
III.397	# Quod latet ignotum est ignoti nulla cupido est	est (2nd) om.
III.405	# Cura ducum fuerant olim regumque poete	275 deum
	Premiaque antiqui magna tulere chori	fuerunt

252 nunc: non n.

253 litore p.

257 et prescis e. superstes p.

258 fere e.

262 capud p.

266 facile pa facie p<sup>2</sup>. Proh facile e.

(tit.) om.n.

268 incauti: au i.r.a.

269 Nudaque a Nuda quoque ad a<sup>2</sup>. per om.pae, add. p<sup>3</sup>. in lusu e.

274 innotum p ignotum p<sup>2</sup>. est (1) om.p. est (2) om.n.

275 Iura n Cura n<sup>1</sup>.

	Sanctaque maiestas <u>erat et</u> venerabile nomen	et erat
	Vatibus et large sepe dabantur opes	
III.411	# Nunc hedere sine honore iacent, operataque doctis Cura vigil musis nomen inertis habet	280
Amores		
I.X.55	Carpite de plenis pendentes vitibus uvas Prebeat alcinoi poma benignus ager.	
III.425	# Casus ubique valet, semper tibi pendeat hamus Quo minime credis gurgite, piscis erit. Sepe canes frustra nemorosis montibus errant	285
	Inque plagam nullo cervus agente venit	
III.441	# Sunt qui mendaci specie grassantur amoris Perque aditus tales lucra pudenda <u>petunt</u>	grassentur talis petant
III.455	# Discite ab alterius vestris timuisse querelis. Ianua fallaci ne sit aperta viro.	290
III.491	# Iudice me fraus est concessa repellere fraudem Armaque in armatos sumere iura sinunt.	
III.501	# Pertinet ad fatiem rabidos compescere mores. Candida pax homines trux decet ira feras Ora tument ira nigrescunt sanguine vene	295
	Lumina gorgoneo, seuius igne micant	
III.509	# In vultu dampnosa superbia <u>nostro est</u>	vestro est om.
III.511	# Odimus immodicos experto credite fastus Sepe tacens odii semina vultus habet	

278 opes opes *p* corr. *p*<sup>2</sup>.

279 edere *p*. sine *e* sepe *e*<sup>1</sup>. opertaque *a* adopertaque *a*<sup>2</sup>.

280 in hertis *pa*.

281 penis *a* plenis *a*<sup>1</sup>. pendentis *n*.

285 frustra *om.n*.

289 Disce *a* Discite *a*<sup>2</sup>. alternis *a*. nostris *n*. timuisse *p* caruisse *p*<sup>2</sup>.

291 replere *p* repellere *p*<sup>2</sup>.

292 utra *e* iura *e*<sup>2</sup>. sumunt *e* sinit (?) *e*<sup>2</sup>.

293 faciem *pa*.

294 trux *om.pae*, sed *add.p*<sup>2</sup>, et *add.a*<sup>2</sup>.

295 nigrescunt *p*.

297 vultus *p* vultu *p*<sup>2</sup>, nostra *n*, vestra *a* vestro *a*<sup>1</sup>.

298 immodicos *ne*.

adde, quod insidiae

- III.539 # Insidie semper sacris a vatibus absunt 300 semper om.  
Et facit ad mores ars quoque docta suos nostra  
Nec nos ambitio, nec amor nos tangit habendi  
Contempto colitur lectus et umbra foro.
- III.545 # Scilicet ingenium placida mollitur ab arte  
Et studio mores convenienter eunt 305
- III.564 # Non bene cum sociis regna venusque manent
- III.583 # Dulcia non ferimus, succo renovamur amaro suco  
Sepe perit ventis obruta cimba suis. renovemur
- III.595 # Tum bene fortis equus reserato carcere currit.  
Cum quos preteriit, quosque sequatur habet. 310 praetereat  
# Quamlibet extinctos iniuria suscitatur ignes.
- III.653 # Munera crede mihi capiunt hominesque deosque  
Placatur donis iupiter ipse datis  
Quid sapiens faciet? stultus quoque munere gaudet.  
Ipse vir accepto munere mutus erit 315 quoque  
pro vir
- III.673 # Efficere hoc facile est, ut nos credamus amari. efficite et  
Prona venit cupidus in sua vota fides.
- III.722 # Pulsantur trepidi corde micante sinus
- III.755 # Carpe cibos digitis, est quidam gestus edendi. quiddam  
Ora nec inmundata tota perunge manu 320 perungue

302 ambitio *n*.304 blanda *pro* placida *e*.306 sociis *e* sociis *e*<sup>2</sup>.308 ventis: *p p* stat. corr. *p*<sup>1</sup>.309 Cum *e*. fortis *p* fortis *p*<sup>2</sup>.310 praetereat *e*.311 Quamlibet *p* Quelibet *p*<sup>3</sup>, Euamlibet *e*. suscitetur *n*. suscitatur *n*<sup>2</sup>.312 crebe *e*. michi *p*.313 iuppiter a iupitere *e* iupiter *e*<sup>2</sup>.314 facit *n* faciet *n*<sup>2</sup>, fatiet *e*, quoque: *i.r.a*.315 *om.pna*.316 hoc: *i.r.a*.319 gustus *pe*, gestus *p*<sup>2</sup>*na*.320 nec nec *n* corr. *n*<sup>2</sup>. perungue *p*.

- domi praesume  
dapes  
capis: es paulo  
...esse
- Neve cibos presume domi sed desine citra.  
Quam cupies paulo, quam potes ede minus
- III.763 # Tu bibe qua patiens caput est animusque pedesque hoc quoque  
Nec que sunt iuxta singula bina vide. constant, nec  
iuxta om.

- 
- 321 Neve cibos presume domi om.pna.  
322 capies: pa, : del.p, cupias e. esse pro ede n.  
323 u e, Turbide n. paciens ae. capud e.  
324 singula ? a ? erasit a<sup>2</sup>. bina vide a vina bibe a<sup>2</sup>.  
vv. 612-615 ex Lib. XII Met. post ultimos versus A.A. habet e.

### Remedia Amoris

#### Ovidius in primo de remediis Amoris

- 45 # Terra salutare herbas, eademque nocentes  
Nutrit, et urtice proxima sepe rosa est.
- 53 # Utile propositum est sevas extinguere flammis  
Nec servum vitii pectus habere tuum. sui
- 79 # Dum licet et modici tangunt precordia motus 5  
Si sapis in primo limine siste pedem. piget  
Opprime dum nova sunt subiti mala semina morbi  
Et tuus incipiens ire resistat equus.  
Nam mora dat vires, teneras mora decoquit uvas. percoquit  
Et validas segetes quod fuit herba facit. 10 quae  
Que prebet latas arbor spatiantibus umbras  
Quo posita est primum tempore, virga fuit.  
Tunc poterat manibus summa tellure revelli tum  
Nunc stat in immensum viribus aucta suis.
- 91 # Principiis obsta. sera est medicina medentis 15 sero medicina  
paratur

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(tit.) Ovidius in primo de remediis pae, O.i.p.d.r. Amoris n.

- 4 vitii ne.  
7 oppime a opprime a<sup>1</sup>.  
8 E e. insipiens e.  
9 Nom p Nam p<sup>2</sup>, Iam n.  
11 Quod n. spaciantibus pa.  
14 inmensum n, in inmensum e. aucta na, acta pe.  
15 obstat p obsta p<sup>2</sup>. vel sic sero medicina paratur i.m.n.<sup>2</sup>, sera est a  
est exp. a<sup>1</sup> (?), medentis a paratur a<sup>3</sup>.

	Cum mala per longas convaluere moras		
	Sed propera, nec te venturas differ in horas		
	Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit.		
96	# Optima vindicte proxima queque dies		
	Flumina <u>magna</u> vides <u>parvis e fontibus</u> orta.	20	pauca de magnis fontibus
	Plurima collectis multiplicantur aquis		
101	# Vidi ego quod fuerat primo sanabile vulnus.		
	Dilatatum longe dampna tulisse more		
104	# Dicimus assidue, cras quoque fiet idem.		
	Interea tacite serpunt in viscera flamme	25	
	Et mala radices altius arbor agit.		
117	# Aut nova si <u>poteris</u> sedare incendia <u>tempta</u>		possis temptes
	Aut ubi per vires procubuere suas.		
	Dum furor in cursu est currenti cede furori		
	Difficiles aditus impetus omnis habet.	30	
	Stultus ab obliquo qui cum descendere possit,		
	Pugnat in adversas ire natator aquas		
	Impatiens animus nec adhuc tractabilis arte.		
	Respuit, atque odio verba monentis habet.		
	Aggrediar melius <u>tunc</u> cum sua vulnera tangi	35	tum
	Iam sinet, et veris vocibus aptus erit.		
	Quis matrem nisi mentis inops in funere nati		
	Flere vetet? non hoc illa monenda loco est.		
	Cum dederit lacrimas animumque impleverit egrum		
	Ille dolor verbis emoderandus erit.	40	
131	# <u>Temporibus medicina valet</u> , data tempore prosunt		temporis ars medicina fere est

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16 Dum n.

19 # om. pna.

20 de parvis fontibus e.

24 Aicimus e Dicimus e<sup>2</sup>.

27 Qut e. possit e. cedare e.

31 obloquio n obliquo n<sup>2</sup>.

33 impaciens a.

37-40 om.n.

38 vetat e.

41 # om.e. tempora n tempore n<sup>2</sup>.

Et data non apto tempore vina nocent  
 Quin etiam accendas vitia irritesque vetando,  
 Temporibus si non aggrediare suis.

- 136 # Fac fugias monitis otia prima meis 45 f.m.f.  
 Hec ut ames faciunt. hec quod fecere tuentur ut pro quod
- Comparatio de salute corporali ad spiritualem
- 227 # Sepe bibi succos quamvis invitus amarus.  
 Eger et oranti mensa negata mihi est 105 est om.  
 Ut corpus redimas ferrum patieris et ignes  
 Arida nec sitiens ora lavabis aqua levabis  
 Ut valeas animo, quicquam tolerare negabis?  
 At precium pars hec corpore maius habet
- 226 # Ut valeas multa dolenda feres. 110
- 234 # Precipuus labor est tempora prima pati Et labor est unus  
Aspicis ut pressos ledant iuga prima iuencos pressos urant  
 Et nova velocem cingula ledat equum
- 293 # Optimus ille fuit vindex ledentia pectus sui pro fuit  
 Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel. 115
- 323 # Et mala sunt vicina bonis errore sub illo  
 Pro vitio virtus crimina sepe tulit.

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42 . tempora n.

43 vina n vitia n<sup>3</sup>, vicia a. vitando p vetando p<sup>2</sup>.

45 # om.e. montis n̄ monitis n<sup>3</sup>. ocia pa. meris n meis n<sup>2</sup>.

46 fatiunt e facere e.

(tit.) om.e.

105 michi p.

106 Ut corr. ex At n<sup>2</sup>.

107 Arida corr. ex Urida n<sup>2</sup>. ora om.e. add. e<sup>2</sup>.

108 Ut corr. ex At: n<sup>2</sup>. tollerare n. tolerare n<sup>2</sup>.

109 At corr. ex Ut n<sup>2</sup>.

110 At n Ut n<sup>1</sup>. animo sscr.a<sup>3</sup>.

111 # om.e.

112 Aspice p.

114 undex a.

115 doluitque a dedoluitque a<sup>3</sup>.

117 vicio pa.

343	# Auferimur cultu, gemmis auroque teguntur Omnia. pars minima est, <u>femina sepe</u> sui		ipsa puella
369	# Summa petit livor perflant altissima venti Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa iovis	120	
389	# Rumpere livor edax.		
405	# Frigora sole, Sole iuvant umbre, grata fit unda siti		frigore soles
420	# <u>Et</u> que non prosunt singula: multa iuvant. Parva necat morsu, spatiosum vipera taurum A cane non magno sepe tenetur aper.	125	sed
427	# Quo tua non possunt offendi pectora facto Forsitan hoc alio iudice crimen erit		
445	# Grandia per multos tenuantur flumina rivos <u>Altaque</u> diducto stipte flamma perit Non satis una tenet ceratas anchora puppes. Nec satis est liquidis unicus hamus aquis	130	laesaque
463	# Partius e multis mater desiderat unum, Quam que flens <u>dicit</u> tu mihi solus eras.	135	fortius quem ...clamat
480	# Est aliquid valida sceptra tenere manu		
499	# Sepe ego ne biberem volui dormire videri. Dum videor, sumpno lumina victa dedi.		
515	# Utilitas lateat, quod non profitebere fiet		

- 
- 118 Aufferimus pa, Aufferimur  $p^2 a^1$ . vel decipimur i.m.  $n^2$ .  
119 femina corr. ex femena (?)  $p^2$ .  
121 flumina pa, fulmina  $p^3 a^2$ .  
123 post 124 n corr.  $n^1$ . ad hunc versum In secundo a.  
124 sequi pro siti n.  
125 mulca p.  
126 spaciosum pa.  
129 vindice pa.  
131 diducto; du i.r.a.  
132 cerates equora pupes e, rates pupes pa, rates exp. $p^2$ .  
133 est add.e.  
134 Parcius n, Patius e Partius  $e^2$ .  
135 Quamque p Quam que  $p^2$ , Quamquem n quem quoque  $n^2$ . michi p.  
136 # om.e. liquida pro valida n. manus a manu  $a^2$ .  
139 Utilitas: il corr. ex u  $n^2$ .



	Que nimis apparent retia vitat avis.	140
527	# Corpora vix ferro quedam sanantur acuto Auxilium multis succus et herba fuit.	
	Quod nemo sit sine aliquo dolore	
561	# <u>Hic</u> puteal ianumque timet, celeresque calendas	qui
	# <u>Torget et</u> hunc eris mutua summa sui.	torqueat
565	# Hic male dotata pauper cum coniuge vivit	145
	Uxorem fato <u>credit</u> obesse suo.	credat
569	# Ille habet in reditu navem et mare semper iniquum	et om.
	<u>Cogitat</u> , et dampno littora seva suo	cogitet foeda
	Filius hunc miles, <u>hunc</u> filia nubilis <u>angit</u> .	pro seva te angat
	Et quis non causas mille doloris habet	
585	Tristior idcirco nox est quam tempore phebi Queque levet luctus turba sodalis abest.	quae relevet
615	# Dum spectant lesos oculi leduntur et ipsi Multaque corporibus transitione nocent	
625	# Proximus a tectis ignis defenditur egre.	155
617	# In loca nonnumquam siccis arentia glebis De prope currenti flumine manat aqua	
631	# Non facile esuriens posita retinebere mensa Et multum saliens incitat unda sitim.	multam

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141 satiantur *n.* accuto *p.*

(tit.) Ad eum qui nimis irretitus est amore *habet n.*

143 Sic pro *Hic n.* Kalendas *ae.*

144 eris *add.e*<sup>2</sup>.

145 Sic pro *Hic n.* detota *p* detorta *p*<sup>2</sup>. docta *n* dotata *n*<sup>2</sup>.

147 seper *p.* iniquum *e.*

148 dapno *n.* seva seva *p* seva suo *p*<sup>2</sup>.

149 anget *n* angit *n*<sup>2</sup>.

150 Ut *n* Et *n*<sup>2</sup>.

151 iccirco *n.*

152 Aueque *p.*

153 ledentur *p* leduntur *p*<sup>2</sup>.

156 nonnumquam *e.* arentia *e.*

157 curenti *n.* manat *i.r.p*<sup>3</sup>, natat *n* navit vel venit *i.m.n*<sup>2</sup>.

159 Ut *n* Et *n*<sup>2</sup>. sicim *e.*

642	#	Perfer, erit lucro lingua retenta tuo.	160
672	#	Esse solent magno dampna minora bono	
685	#	Desinimus tarde, quia nos speramus amari Dum sibi quisque placet: credula turba sumus	
De meretricibus			
690	#	Ut flerent oculos erudiere suos	
707	#	Confer amicleis medicatum vellus aenis. Murice cum tyrio turpius illud erit.	165
730	#	Scinditur infirmis causa pusilla nocet. Ut pene extinctum cinerem si sulphure tangas Vivit et e minimo maximus ignis erit	culpa pro causa  vivet
746	#	Divitiis alitur luxuriosus amor	170
749	#	Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem	
776	#	Alterius <u>crescit</u> amore tuus.	crevit
807	#	<u>Vento nutritur</u> . vento restinguitur ignis Lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat	nutritur vento

160 Perfert p Perfer p<sup>2</sup>.

162 Desimus pn, Desinimus p<sup>2</sup>n<sup>2</sup>. amare n.

163 ? post placet habet e.

(tit.) om.n. post 163 e.

164 oculos n.

165 amicleis e amicliis e<sup>2</sup>.

166 tirio p, tirio a<sup>1</sup>, tirrio e,

167 # om.a. Scinditur om.ne.

168 Ut bene n Utque bene n<sup>2</sup>.

169 minimo corr. ex mimo n<sup>2</sup>.

170 Diviciis a.

172 crescet pa.

173 restingitur e.

174 alis alit p alis exp. p<sup>2</sup>. nocet p necat p<sup>2</sup> del.p<sup>3</sup>. necat sscr.p<sup>3</sup>.

### III. Arbitrary Changes and Their Resulting Influence on the Text of Ovid

The excerptor of the *Florilegium Gallicum*, a poet himself, freely edited and rewrote the excerpts he chose from Ovid to suit his own needs. Certain patterns emerge from the textual changes which appear in the archetype reconstructed in Section II.

The more obvious patterns include changes necessitated by the very nature of a florilegium and have been noted already by those who have worked on other sections of the *Florilegium Gallicum*.<sup>29</sup> These include the omission of coordinating conjunctions such as *sed*, *et*, *sic*, or the enclitic *que*. A conjunction more suitable to rendering a complete thought was substituted: *non* for *nec*, *non* for *neque*, *semel* for *simul*, *ne* for *si* or *nec*. Occasionally the addition of an entire phrase was necessary to eliminate a personal reference, as in *Am.* 64 where *sufficiam* was replaced by *fit ut*. Here the change permits the addition of *sepe*, producing a stronger generalization. For the sake of universality, *sepe* and *semper* were frequent additions (*Rem.* 120, *Am.* 64). Independent thoughts were produced in other, more creative ways. In *A.A.* 323, *hoc quoque* was eliminated to avoid the connective and the two lines were strengthened by the initial addition of *Tu bibe*, giving the point of the warning and conveniently balancing the final imperative, *vide*. *Constant* was, then, unnecessary and its metrical function was compensated for by the addition of *iuxta*. Connecting comparatives, relative, or demonstrative pronouns were replaced (*A.A.* 267, *Rem.* 143, *A.A.* 180). The addition of *sum* was often necessary to produce an independent *sententia*.

Frequent changes to future tense or to indicative mood (*Rem.* 27, *Rem.* 173, *Am.* 18, *Am.* 104, *A.A.* 38, *A.A.* 223, *A.A.* 224, *Rem.* 144, *Rem.* 148-9, *Am.* 74-76, *Am.* 90) produced a more general statement. Excerpts containing proper names were generally avoided, but when one did occur, as in *Am.* 93, it was removed. Feminine genders were replaced in an attempt to generalize, but also to avoid reference to the Ovidian image of the warfare of love (*Am.* 59, *A.A.* 93, *A.A.* 53). The substitution for or omission of personal pronouns (*A.A.* 106, *A.A.* 301, *Am.* 65, *Am.* 142, *Rem.* 149), a preference for general rather than particular pronouns (*A.A.* 70, *A.A.* 193, *A.A.* 229, *Rem.* 119) were frequent attempts at generalization.

Another obvious pattern which emerges is the desire for stylistic simplification. This led to word order changes (*A.A.* 59, *Rem.* 45), and the avoidance of chiasmus (*A.A.* 67, *Rem.* 174). Simplification demanded consistency. Thus in *Am.* 9 *si* was changed to *nec* to be consistent with the following line. A similar change was made in *A.A.* 9. In *A.A.* 106 *mos* was substituted for *modus* to be consistent with line 103 and to echo the title of the section, *De diversitate morum*. Simplification frequently resulted in more prosaic words or images (*Rem.* 135, *Am.* 122, *A.A.* 44, *Rem.* 6). Ovidian precision was sacrificed for the sake of simplicity in the substitution of *navigiis* for *remigiis* in *A.A.* 232.

The preceding examples of arbitrary changes were, with the exception of a few, forced upon the excerptor in order to produce sensible, general statements. Although these changes may have lessened the refinement of Ovidian style, they did not seriously impair the Ovidian spirit.

The following examples, more difficult to categorize and prompted by the desire for statements "more acceptable on moral or religious grounds,"<sup>30</sup> resulted in a definite dilution of Ovidian precision and spirit. It was no longer the sophisticated, witty, facetious love poetry that resulted in Ovid's exile, but an "Ovide moralisé" two centuries before the French bowdlerization of the *Metamorphoses* appeared.

An ambiguity, possibly uncomfortable for the Christian reader, is avoided by the substitution of *facile* for *in facili deo* in A.A. 73. The *licentia* of poets must be thought of as *iocunda*, not *fecunda* (Am. 140), for if the unrestrained liberties of poets were fruitful and abundant, not simply occasionally or trivially pleasant, the excerptor would hardly have been justified in including so many poetic *flores*. The Christian excerptor substituted *certe* for *demens* in Am. 52, for he would not have had his readers believe that a sincere confession of faults could have been made by one characterized as *demens*. In order to present the object of greed in as unfavourable a light as possible, the excerptor has substituted *Preda* for *Cura* in Am. 114. The act of coveting, then, was associated with thievery, plunder, and stealth. Thus the act of desiring what is inaccessible which Ovid saw as the basis of love, became in the *Florilegium Gallicum* an evil to be avoided.

The excerptor scarcely could have culled from Ovid's amatory works without treating the subject of love. Nevertheless, his treatment was sparing. Whenever possible, specific references to love are avoided. In A.A. 32 the verb *amet* was replaced by *agat*. When included, references were arranged in such a way as to emphasize love's detrimental aspects as a controlling rather than controlled emotion. In Am. 94 *tener amor* inhibits the accomplishment of great things, and in Am. 93 to linger in the shades of *ignave veneris* is to act *turpiter*. When love is treated as a beneficial emotion, as it is in A.A. 129, it is drained of any physical connotations and infused with a spirituality quite foreign to the Ovidian intention. Here the excerptor has substituted *mitis*, suggesting a mature love, ripened by wisdom, for the purely physical *mollis*. In A.A. 204 *in amore dolores* was replaced by *mala*. Not only did the substitution remove another reference to love, it also suggested the multiplicity, and more strongly, as one reads on, the painful retributions of evil. So suitable to his purposes was the change that, uncharacteristically, the excerptor left the line metrically incomplete.

As one might expect, sections of any length devoted specifically to love were drawn from the *Remedia Amoris* and they emphasize the ways of avoiding *insidiosus amor*. "Since the compiler was concerned to choose excerpts he thought morally unexceptionable, he often produced a distorted picture of the nature of an author's work."<sup>31</sup> This statement is illustrated by an example from Tibullus, but perhaps nowhere is such distortion more evident than in the excerpts chosen from Ovid.

The sections included by the excerptor under the heading *De creatione mundi* from the second book of the *Ars Amatoria* (II, 467 ff.) in this text, illustrate clearly how selection and textual manipulation produced a moralistic tone far removed from the erotic intent of Ovid's own lines. Ovid's reason for versifying this idea of the process of creation in the *Ars Amatoria* (an idea he was to expand upon considerably in the opening sections of the *Metamorphoses*) was to justify the act of love as a means of mollifying an angry lover. As Venus, or *blanda voluptas*, softened the *truces animos* of the first human creatures who wandered the earth, characterized only by *merae vires* and *rude corpus*, so the *Veneris gaudia* will produce peace and gentleness in a beloved, previously characterized as *saevierit* and *certa hostis*. But the lines of the original poem which so aptly describe the natural inclination of all species to seek the act of love (II, 478-492) were excluded from the *Florilegium Gallicum*.

Indeed, even Ovid's ingenious use of the rational Apollo who legitimizes the efforts of the "Lascivi praeceptor Amoris" by urging each to realize the ideal of "ἄλλοι σεαυτὸν" in pursuing that in which he excels, was passed over by the excerptor. Only the more prosaic examples of lines 505-508 were included, not the more suggestive "Cui faciem natura dedit, spectetur ab illa: Cui color est, umero saepe patente cubet" of the preceding two lines. The Ovidian lines which refer specifically to the lover and his use of the poet's advice (511-12) were omitted by the excerptor. Only those lines which warn of nature's occasional disappointments (513-14) were included. Here the excerptor's replacement of *Credita* with *Semina*, an infrequent divergence from the tendency to generalize, produced an unmistakable agrarian image, divorced entirely from the amatory purposes of the Ovidian passage.

Predictably, line 515 ("Quod iuvat, exiguum, plus est, quod laedat amantes"), with its specific reference to lovers, was omitted. The excerptor began again with the general admonitions of lines 516-20. To ensure the immediacy of the warning, the third person was replaced by the second person in *Proponas* and *tuo*. In line 519 the Ovidian reference to the sorrows of love

(*in amore dolores*) was removed, at the expense of the hexameter, and replaced by *mala*. The purpose of this part of the passage, Ovid's insistence on the lover's perseverance and humble self-sacrifice in the face of temporary rejection, is entirely lost to the reader of the *Florilegium Gallicum*.

In a section headed *De labore militie*, the excerptor has chosen to treat literally one of Ovid's favorite metaphors, the warfare of love. In *Ars Amatoria* II. 233-250, Ovid began his section with "*Militiae species amor est; discedite segnes: / Non sunt haec timidis signa tuenda viris.*" The strength of the command and the periphrastic enhance the severity of the idea of war, but the alliteration and rhyme of the pentameter line lighten the tone, reminding the reader that love is the object of primary concern. This opening couplet, the basis of the entire section in Ovid, was omitted by the excerptor of the *Florilegium Gallicum*. The same Ovidian juxtaposition of harsh and gentle in the next couplet ("*Nox et hiems longaeque viae saevique dolores / Mollibus his castris et labor omnis inest*") was destroyed by replacing *mollibus his* with the literal *militiae*. The personal admonition carried by the second person singular in *Sepe ferēs* of the next Ovidian couplet was replaced in the *Florilegium Gallicum* by the impersonal, generalizing third person plural of *Saepe ferunt*. It was, then, necessary to change the singulars of *imbrem solutum* to *imbres solutos*. The rest of the Ovidian section containing mythological references and continued military image of persistent frontal attack even when the lover has been driven back could not be adapted to suit the literal picture of the excerptor and was therefore excluded. The Ovid who admonished and instructed in the serious, not-always-gentle, but certainly not fatal warfare of love became in the *Florilegium Gallicum* a spokesman for the harsh realities of a soldier's life.

Clearly the excerptor of the *Florilegium Gallicum* did not hesitate to rework Ovid's poetry to produce what he felt was an improved poetic repository of inspirational yet practical moral maxims which he intended as an instructional tool and as a reference aid to contemporary writers and readers. Clearly, also, the purge of all amatory tones which resulted from the excerptor's editing left to what would become a large number of readers little of the original style or intent of Ovid.

The amatory excerpts of Ovid represented in the *Florilegium Gallicum*, so frequently quoted to serve purposes as different as the principles of composition of Matthew of Vendôme and the moralistic writings of Gerald of Wales or Radulfus Ardens, offered readers only the most superficial contact with the poet of first-century Rome, known for his sensuous images and

irreverent attitudes. The Ovid known to scholars and students of the "Aetas Ovidiana" through the *Florilegium Gallicum* was only a shadow of the Augustan poet.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Recent scholarship on the *Florilegium Gallicum* includes R. Burton, *Classical Poets in the "Florilegium Gallicum"* in *European University Studies, Series I, German Language and Literature* (Frankfurt 1983); J. Hamacher, *Florilegium Gallicum* in "Prolegomena und Edition der Excerpte von Petron bis Cicero De Oratore," *Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters*, V (Frankfurt 1975). Recent scholarship on mediaeval florilegia and their influence on mediaeval learning includes A. Goddu and R.H. Rouse, "Gerald of Wales and the *Florilegium Angelicum*," *Speculum* 52 (1977) 488-521; F. Newton, "Tibullus in two grammatical florilegia of the Middle Ages," *TaPhA* 93 (1962) 253-286; B. Munk Olsen, "Les Classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979) 47-121; B. Munk Olsen, *L'Etude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, CNRS I (1980), II (1985); R.H. Rouse, "The 'A' Text of Seneca's Tragedies in the Thirteenth Century," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 1 (1971) 93-121; R.H. Rouse, "Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Orléans," *Viator* 10 (1979) 131-60; R.H. Rouse, "Manuscripts belonging to Richard de Fournival," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973) 253-69; R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "The *Florilegium Angelicum*: Its Origin, Content, and Influence" in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford 1976) 66-114; S. Viarre, "La survie d'Ovide dans la littérature scientifique des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Supplement aux Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* (Poitiers 1966).

<sup>2</sup> L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* (Munich 1909-20) II, 113.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge 1955) 376 ff.; H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (Boston 1927) 126; C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 1927) 107-8).

<sup>4</sup> B. Munk Olsen, *L'Etude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (at n. 1) II, 111-81.

<sup>5</sup> B. Munk Olsen, "Les Classique latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979) 75-76.

<sup>6</sup> The "caveat" issued by S. Viarre, "La survie d'Ovide dans la littérature scientifique des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles" (at n. 1) 76 is strengthened by a study of the *Florilegium Gallicum*: ("Pourtant, un doute s'éveille; nos auteurs, les scientifiques surtout, lisaient-ils vraiment Ovide à fond? L'existence des florilèges vient soutenir notre doute").

<sup>7</sup> Olsen (at n. 4) 111-74.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 118, 120-21. The list includes 25 for the *Metamorphoses* and 7 for the *Fasti*; for the *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria*, and *Remedia* collectively the total is 13.

<sup>9</sup> F. Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orleans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII," *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* 24 (1932) 160.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> P. Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric* (Oxford 1968) I, 163-68.

<sup>12</sup> The entire poem is quoted in Dronke (at n. 11) II, 505-6.

<sup>13</sup> The entire poem is quoted in F.J.E. Raby, *The History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1957) I, 196-98.

<sup>14</sup> *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi: Carmina Minora*, ed. A. Brian Scott (Leipzig 1969), *Carmen* 26, 17.

<sup>15</sup> Hugonis de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon* ed. H. Buttmer (Washington 1939), III, XIII, 14-19: "nihil tamen bonum est quod melius tollit. si omnia legere non potes, ea quae sunt utiliora lege. etiam si omnia legere potueris, non tamen idem omnibus labor impendendus est. sed quaedam ita legenda sunt ne sint incognita, quaedam vero ne sint inaudita, quia aliquando pluris esse credimus quod non audivimus, et facilius aestimatur res cuius fructus agnoscitur."

<sup>16</sup> John of Salisbury, *Entheticus* 41-48; PL 199.966:



Si sapiis auctores, veterum si scripta recenses

Ut statuas, si quid forte probare velis,

Undique clamabunt: "Vetus hic quo tendit asellus?

Cur veterum nobis dicta vel acta refert?

A nobis sapimus, docuit se nostra iuventus,

Non recepit veterum dogmata nostra cohors.

Non onus accipimus, ut eorum verba sequamur,

Quos habet auctores Graecia, Roma colit."

<sup>17</sup> Olsen (at n. 5) 47-121.

<sup>18</sup> R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "The *Florilegium Angelicum*: Its Origin, Content, and Influence" (at n. 1) 66-114. Also A. Goddu and R.H. Rouse, "Gerald of Wales and the *Florilegium Angelicum*" (at n. 1) and R.H. Rouse, "Florilegia and Latin Classic Authors in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Orléans" (at n. 1) 132-60.

<sup>19</sup> R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse (at n. 1) 92.

<sup>20</sup> R.H. Rouse (at n. 1) 153; R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "The Mediaeval Circulation of Cicero's 'Posterior Academics' and the 'De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum'" in *Mediaeval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker* (London 1978) 354; M.D. Reeve and R.H. Rouse, "New Light on the Transmission of Donatus's 'Commentum Terentii'," *Viator* 9 (1978) 236-37; and R. Burton, *Classical Poets in the "Florilegium Gallicum"* (at n. 1) 11.

<sup>21</sup> Burton (at n. 1) has a convenient list of all authors and excerpts included (46-47).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 27.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 26.

<sup>24</sup> Almost half of the 55 quotations from the amatory works of Ovid cited by Viarre (at n. 6) occur also in the *Florilegium Gallicum*.

<sup>25</sup> H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaequae latinitatis medii aevi* (Göttingen 1963) 3, 170.

<sup>26</sup> Goddu and Rouse (at n. 18) 514.

<sup>27</sup> R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse (at n. 1) 91, n.1.

<sup>28</sup> E.J. Kenney, ed., *P. Ovidi Nasonis Amores, Medicamina Faciei Femineae, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris* (Oxford 1961).

<sup>29</sup> A. Gagner, *Florilegium Gallicum* (Lund 1936); P.W. Sutherland, "Quintilian in the Mediaeval Florilegia," Univ. of North Carolina diss. 1950; H.H. Harper, Jr., "Suetonius in Certain Mediaeval Florilegia," Univ. of North Carolina diss. 1952; F. Newton (at n. 1); J. Hamacher (at n. 1); R.H. Rouse, "The A Text of Seneca's Tragedies in the Thirteenth Century," (at n. 1); R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse (at n. 1); Goddu and Rouse (at n. 1); R. Burton (at n. 1).

<sup>30</sup> R. Burton (at n. 1) 356.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 354.