

Translat Library

2024 | vol. 6, no. 8

A Fragment of a Thirteenth-Century
Manuscript of Ovid's *Heroides*
with an Orléanais Commentary
(Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya,
MS 9295/1)

JOSEP PUJOL

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Departament de Filologia Catalana | Institut d'Estudis Medievals

How to Cite this Article

Josep Pujol. «A Fragment of a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript of Ovid's *Heroides* with an Orléanais Commentary (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1)». *Translat Library* 6, no. 8 (2024).



This work is published under a Creative Commons license (CC BY 4.0), with the exception of the Plates, which are under copyright of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7275/tl.2824>

ISSN: 2604-7438

A Fragment of a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript of Ovid's *Heroides* with an Orléanais Commentary (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1)

JOSEP PUJOL

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

ABSTRACT: Among the newly cataloged fragments of manuscripts of the Latin classics held in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona, there is a fragment of a thirteenth-century French manuscript of Ovid's *Heroides*. It contains the text of part of epistles 1, 3, and 4, with an *accessus*, a marginal commentary, and interlinear glosses. The *accessus* is a new witness to the text catalogued as 183 in the *Incipitarium Ovidianum*, whereas the introductions to *Heroides* 1 and 4 and the marginal glosses transmit the anonymous commentary preserved in *catena* form in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Fabricius 29 2°. This note provides a description of the manuscript, identifies its contents within the medieval commentary tradition, and offers as an appendix an edition of the *accessus*, the introductions, and a sample of marginal glosses. Annotations by seventeenth-century hands suggest that by this time these leaves were bound in a book possessed by a prominent member of the Majorcan Despuig family who was acquainted with the poetry of Ausiàs March (1400–59).

KEYWORDS: *Heroides*, Medieval Commentaries, *Accessus ad Auctores*, Orléans Commentaries to Ovid, Ovidian Manuscripts, Ausiàs March.

The Department of Manuscripts of the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona holds several recently cataloged fragments of medieval codices of Latin classical texts—not yet in the online catalog—that had been reused as guard leaves or as part of the binding of later man-

uscripts and printed books.¹ Unfortunately, the process of removing and restoring these fragments has left little record, and therefore it is now impossible to retrace their late-medieval or modern history. Only some users' annotations can shed some light on their history, as is the case of MS 9295/1 (hereafter B), which consists of two folia from a thirteenth-century manuscript of Ovid's *Heroides* with marginal and interlinear commentary, to which casual annotations by two seventeenth-century hands were added. This note provides a description of the manuscript, identifies its contents within the medieval commentary tradition, and offers as an appendix a partial edition of the commentary.

The Manuscript: Text and Commentary

The manuscript consists of two parchment leaves now measuring 195 by 160/165 millimeters, written probably in northern France in the second half of the thirteenth century.² Ovid's text, marginal commentary, and interlinear glosses have been written by a single scribe in a small Northern Textualis Libraria script, which occasionally—especially in the commentary—admits the single compartment *a* of Semitextualis.³ It was given the layout for the standard three-column page, with the main text in the central column and the glosses filling the lateral ones (the outer column being slightly broader than the inner one). Horizontal double ruling in lead for both text and glosses is barely visible in the first lines of f. 1v, as is the vertical ruling for the initials of each verse line in the central column. (The upper margins of f. 1r and v also show the three

¹ This article is a result of project 21-05532S, the Medieval School Commentary *Bursarii super Ovidios* and the Reception of Ovid in Medieval Schools, funded by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic. I am thankful to Anna Gudayol for drawing my attention to the manuscript and to Frank Coulson and Wilken Engelbrecht for their generous help with paleographical issues. One of the anonymous reviewers has contributed significant improvements.

² Both leaves were trimmed for their new function as guard leaves. The original manuscript must have been much higher (about 240 millimeters) and a bit wider.

³ See Derolez 2003: 118–22. Other remarkable features are the forked ends of the ascenders and the use of mostly long final *s* in the commentary, alternating with round *s* in Ovid's text; fusions are limited to *d* (and sometimes *b* and *p*) before *e*.

pricking holes to prepare the vertical ruling.) F. 1 contains the text of *Heroides* 1.1–49; f. 2 that of *Heroides* 3.142–54 and 4.1–47 (see below).⁴ From the regular number of lines per page (f. 2r and v have thirty lines; 1v has only twenty-nine, but that might be an exception, as is f. 1r) and the number of lines of text missing between *Heroides* 1.50 and 3.141, one can conclude that these leaves are the two halves of the external bifolio of a quaternion, folded with the flesh side out.⁵

A large plain initial *h* (four lines) in red and mostly effaced black decoration opens *Heroides* 1 and the manuscript itself. Of the smaller initial (two lines) to *Heroides* 4, only a red paragraph mark subsists as the letter *Q* has been almost effaced. (Traces of red are still visible.) Initials of verse lines have been highlighted with red strokes. Series of marginal glosses on both external columns have long paragraph marks in *littera duplex* style, alternating red only with black and red decoration. Wherever the verse lines do not occupy the whole writing box, the copyist used decorative line fillers or, as in f. 2v, capriciously elongated horizontally the shape of final round *s*.

The inner edges of each sheet were folded onto the spine of the book in which they were used as guard leaves, and they were cut out to make room for the sewing cords of the binding. Loss of text due to these cuttings affects the *accessus* and some glosses in the inner column. The present f. 2 must have been used as the front guard sheet, bound upside down and with the verso as outer page, as can be deduced from an erased possession note (see below). The present f. 1, in its normal position, was the final guard sheet.

Contents:

f. 1r: *accessus* to the *Heroides* (*Inc. Ov.* n. 183) (inc. “In principio huius libri ·iiii^{or}· inquiruntur principaliter”) and introduction to *Heroides* 1 (inc. “Penelope igitur

⁴ Line numbering follows Heinrich Dörrie's edition (1971).

⁵ Despite the rising number of school books composed of senions in the thirteenth century, the compositional unit in many manuscripts of the Latin classics continued to be the quaternion (as, for instance, in manuscripts O and T in the list below). For statistical data, see Busonero 1999: 48–49, 51–53, 73–74.

filia fuit Ycari pulcherrima nimie castitatis”); text of *Heroides* 1.1–19.

f. 1v: text of *Heroides* 1.20–49

f. 2r: text of *Heroides* 3.142–154, acephalous introduction to *Heroides* 4 (inc. “cum uelo n[. . .]o [. . .]uertentem eum eminus”), and text of *Heroides* 4.1–17

f. 2v: text of *Heroides* 4.18–47

Marginal glosses to *Heroides* 1.2, 3–4, 11, 12, 13–14, 15–16, 17–18, 19–20, 23–26, 27, 32–35, 36, 39–40, 47–57; 3.147–148, 150; and 4.2, 5–9, 15, 18–19, 19–20, 25–26, 29–32, 37–50. The marginal commentary often gathers in a single paragraph a series of chained glosses; this feature is reminiscent of the *catena* commentary from which they must have been drawn (see below).

The manuscript bears witness to the importance and the spread of the school commentaries from Orléans.⁶ The general *accessus* to the *Heroides* corresponds to the text cataloged as n. 183 in the *Incipitarium Ovidianum* (Coulson and Roy 2000; hereafter *Inc. Ov.*), tentatively attributed by its authors to Arnulf of Orléans.⁷ According to the *Inc. Ov.*, four other witnesses of this *accessus* have been identified so far:

⁶ On Fulco, Arnulf, and William of Orléans, see Engelbrecht 2006 and 2008. They all commented on Ovid and other classics; texts can be identified in *Inc. Ov.* Arnulf’s commentaries were brought to light by Ghisalberti 1932; several have been edited in full (Marti 1958, Roy and Shooner 1996, Rieker 2005, Gura 2010a; see also Coulson and Nawotka 1993 and the works of David Gura cited in the following footnote). Attention to William of Orléans’s *Bursarii* was first drawn by Shooner 1981; it was edited and studied by Engelbrecht 2003, who has newly commented on it (2022) and prepared a new edition (forthcoming). There are no editions of Fulco’s commentaries (see *Inc. Ov.* 56, 71, 94, 161, 173, 415); some of his *accessus* have been edited in works on Ovid’s commentaries (see, for example, Ghisalberti 1946: 45–46; and Hexter 1986: 23, for his *accessus* to the *Heroides*). For the anonymous so-called Vulgate commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, see Coulson 1987 and 1991; and Coulson and Martina 2021.

⁷ Both Engelbrecht (2006: 59) and Gura (2010b: 174; 2015: 132; 2017a: 132; 2017b: 9) echo this hypothetical attribution, but Gura (2010a: 12) does not mention it in his list of Arnulf’s works. According to Noacco (2022: 12, n. 27), Roy and Shooner include a *Heroides* commentary among Arnulf’s works in an unpublished article.

A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript of Ovid's *Heroides*

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Pluteus 38.8 (F). Italy, 1415. It contains Statius' *Achilleis*, Ovid's *Heroides* (ff. 18–73r) and Boethius' *De scholastica disciplina*. The *accessus* and the introductions to each letter were added by a second hand in *Hybrida* script. Inc. “In principio huius libri [. . .] principaliter: materia, utilitas, finalis causa, cui parti filosofie suponatur” (f. 18r) (Bandini 1775, col. 261–62). Digital facsimile: <https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/740756/rec/1986>.

London, British Library, MS Burney 219 (L). France, thirteenth century It contains the *Heroides* with general *accessus* and introductions to epistles 1, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 16 and incomplete interlineal and marginal commentary (only ff. 1r–2v, 8v–9r, 12v, 17r–27v). Inc. “In principio huius libri quattuor principaliter inquiruntur, scilicet materia, utilitas, causa finalis, cui parti philosophie subponitur.” (f. 1r) (*Catalogue Burney*, 60).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. class. lat. 1 (O). Italy, thirteenth century. It is a complete corpus of Ovidian texts “with marginal commentaries principally drawn from the Orleanais commentators Arnulf and William” (Coulson 2013: 30), beginning with the *Heroides*. Inc. “In principio huius libri quattuor principaliter inquiruntur, scilicet, materia, intentio, finalis causa, cui parti philosophiae supponatur” (f. 1r) (Coxe 1854, col. 109–11; Coulson 2013).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8320 (P). It is a composite volume. Its Ovidian section (ff. 27r–33v) (France, thirteenth century) is a selective *catena* commentary of Ovid's amatory and exile poetry; the “glosule de ouidio epistolarum” (f. 28va) in ff. 28vb–31v. Inc. “In principio huius libri quattuor principaliter inquiruntur: materia, intencio, finalis causa, cui parti philosophiae subponatur” (f.28vb) (*Catalogus*, 448–49). Digital facsimile: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721145t/f34.item.r=latin.zoom>

Two additional manuscripts can be added to this list:

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabricius 29 2° (C). Northern France, thirteenth century. It is a collection of *accessus* and commentaries, mostly Ovidian. Ff. 11ra–19rb contain a *catena* commentary on the *Heroides*, identified as “glosule eroidum” and “glosule ouidii epistolarum” (f. 11ra). The *accessus* has been reduced to the *inquirenda*: “In principio huius actoris quattuor principaliter debent inquiri. Materia, utilitas, finalis causa, cui parti philosophie supponitur.

Hec omnia patent.” (f. 11va) It is cataloged as *Inc. Ov.* n. 179 (Coulson 2013: 35, n. IV; Coulson 2013: 21–26, 33–37). Digital facsimile: <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/60/eng/11+recto/?var=1>.⁸

Trier, Stadtbibliothek und Stadtarchiv, Hs. 1088/28 8° (T). It is a composite codex. Its second part (Germany, thirteenth century) contains the *Heroides* with marginal and interlinear glosses drawn from William of Orléans’s *Bursarii* and other commentaries (f. 48r–101v). At the end of the *Heroides* (f. 101r and v) an *accessus* has been added by the same hand; its first lines (inc. “Rumpere liuor edax”, expl. “nouauit opus”) correspond to the first part of the *accessus* in the *Bursarii*, but it then follows without interruption the whole *accessus* “In principio huius actoris quattuor inquiruntur, scilicet materia, intentio et finalis causa, et cui parti philosophie suponatur” (Kentenich 1931: 111–12; Engelbrecht 2003: xxvii). Digital facsimile: https://dfg-viewer.de/show?tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimbks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FT1088%2FT1088-digitalisat.xml&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=205&cHash=1751db5110266431e4243ff06492739a.

All of these manuscripts (except for C, which omits all but the first sentence) transmit the same *accessus*, which in most of them (B, C, L, O, and T) is followed by the same long introduction to the first letter. B shares typology, layout, and paratexts with O, as they both contain the *Heroides* with commentary in *scholion* form, the commentary consisting of this *accessus*, the introductions to the letters (as far as can be judged by the extant fragments in B), and the same interlinear and marginal glosses, also preserved in C in *catena* format.⁹ However, as regards its wording, the text of the *accessus* in B is very much closer to the text in L. They both offer a slightly longer redaction of the *accessus* than any other manuscript

⁸ This manuscript was brought to light by Coulson, who commented on some of the *accessus* and drew a catalog of its contents (2013, 33–37). The *accessus* to the *Heroides* in f. 5v has been attributed to Fulco of Orléans (*Inc. Ov.*, n. 161).

⁹ L was intended to receive a marginal commentary that remained unfinished. Beside the *accessus*, it has the same introductions to epistles 5, 11, and 12 as those copied in C and O; the scarce marginal glosses point in the same direction. Introductions to 13, 14, and 16 are taken from William’s *Bursarii*. I have not been able to identify the source of the introductions to 7 and 19.

and lack only the etymological explanation of Latin *epistola* that can be found, possibly as an interpolation, in P (see *Inc. Ov.* n. 183), O, and T (which often read in opposition to the rest).¹⁰

B and L, along with F and C, also share the confusion of *utilitas* and *intencio* in the opening sentence of the *accessus*: where they read “*materia, utilitas, causa finalis et cui parte philosophie supponatur,*” O, P, and T correctly read “*intencio*” instead of “*utilitas,*” which is in fact a synonym for “*causa finalis*” (the Aristotelian equivalent of *utilitas*, often replacing it in non-Aristotelian prologues; see Minnis 1984: 28). However, B, F, and L (C does not develop these categories) rightly explain the items *materia*, *intencio*, *utilitas* (that is, *causa finalis*) and the branch of learning to which the text belongs.¹¹ Despite their minor variants, this common error strongly links all of these manuscripts, regardless of their format.¹²

The *accessus* is twofold and seems to have been formed by accretion from an original nucleus. First, we have a standard *accessus* in which the author briefly treats the four categories stated in the opening sentence.¹³ There is nothing remarkable about it besides the consideration of the writers and the addressees of the letters as the *materia* of the work, which seems to steam from a previous *accessus* (see *Inc. Ov.* n. 438).¹⁴ But then the author seems to have felt that something was missing, given the dramatic character of the work; and from “*Vel possumus dicere*” on, he comes again to the *materia* (the “*persone mittentes epistolas*”) and

¹⁰ The etymology, derived from Isidor's *Etymologiarum* 6.8.17 (Hexter 1986: 156, n.), is commonplace and can be found in other *accessus* to the *Heroides*. As shown in the appendix, items and examples in the *accessus* can be moved, suppressed, reduced, amplified, or taken from other *accessus*.

¹¹ The copyist of B mistook them again (or simply made the explanation match the categories in the opening sentence) in the second part of the *accessus* (see appendix).

¹² However, the error has not enough separative strength, as it could have been noticed and corrected by an attentive scribe.

¹³ For a survey of the treatment of Ovid's *Heroides* in medieval *accessus*, see Hexter 1986: 154–63; and Pujol 2018: 63–68 (with bibliography to the date).

¹⁴ *Accessus* II in Huygens (1970: 30) and 2 in Wheeler (2015: 26), from the well-known twelfth-century Tegernsee collection (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19475).

the *intencio* (*duplex*, as we shall see), adds the *titulus libri*, touches on the author's *propria intencio* of each letter, and ends with the author's *finalis causa* of the work. In the lengthy passage about the *titulus libri*, the author includes commonplace information on the literary origin of Ovid's letters (see *Inc. Ov.* n. 438 and 185).¹⁵ He stresses the preeminence of women's epistles over men's (much in the way that was to be systematized by William of Orléans) and then delves into the problem of the *intentiones*—that is, the fact that every single letter conveys a particular *intentio auctoris* (and has a definite *utilitas*) but also the *intentio* of its fictive writer. This feature has an Orléanais origin, and it seems to have been first introduced by Fulco and later systematically applied by William in his *Bursarii*.¹⁶ This leads to a long introduction to the first letter, which opens with the statement of Penelope's *intencio* and in which the author underlines Penelope's struggle to resist the suitors and the difficulties of delivering her letter to Ulysses.¹⁷ The fourth epistle (Phaedra's) also has a lengthy and detailed introduction, only a small part of which has been preserved in B.

As stated above, these introductions to the first and the fourth letters, as well as the whole of the marginal commentary, can also be found in O in *scholion* format and in the anonymous dense *catena* commentary to the *Heroides* copied in C. As seen in the description above, the general *accessus* in C has been drastically reduced to stating its four categories: "In principio huius actoris quatuor principaliter debent inquiri. Materia, utilitas, finalis causa, cui parti philosophie supponitur. Hec omnia patent" (f. 11va).

¹⁵ *Accessus* II and III in Huygens (1970: 30–33) and 2 and 26 in Wheeler (2015: 26–28, 86–92).

¹⁶ See Engelbrecht 2006: 219–22. Fulco's *accessus* (*Inc. Ov.*, n. 161) is copied in C, among other manuscripts; see editions by Ghisalberti 1946: 45–46; and Hexter 1986: 223; as well as William's *accessus* in Engelbrecht 2003: 2, 9–11.

¹⁷ The three *accessus* in the Tegernsee collection (see n. 14) have some common features with the introduction to *Heroides* 1 in B, C, and partially O. See Huygens 1970: 29–33; and Wheeler 2015: 26, 28, 92; as well as the perceptive remarks by Hexter (1986: 146–151 and 154–163).

Despite the variant “actoris” (as in T) for “libri,” the now familiar confusion of *utilitas* and *intencio* obviously links this text to the *accessus* that we are discussing here.¹⁸ Maybe the compiler of C thought he could dispense with a complete *accessus* to the *Heroides* because he had already one in a previous section (the anthology of *accessus ad auctores* in ff. 5vb–6rb) and because the author's and the letter writers' *intentiones* (stated in the introductions to each letter in the ensuing commentary) covered the main categories: hence, “hec omnia patent.”¹⁹ Be this as it may, this reduced *accessus* is followed by the introduction to Penelope's letter that we find in B, L, O, and T and by a rich and systematic glossing of the work. Moreover, the fact that also the marginal glosses and the introduction to *Her.* 4 in B, as in O, have all been drawn from the *catena* commentary preserved in C has further implications. First, it suggests that *Inc. ov.* n. 179 is a truncated version of n. 183 and therefore that *Inc. Ov.* n. 179 and n. 183 may well be parts of the same commentary, which has been adapted to different functions and formats. If so, any suggested authorship for the *accessus* (n. 183) could be applied to the whole set of anonymous introductions and *glosule* to the *Heroides*—on which further research is needed.²⁰ C and P are school grammatical compilations that display the authoritative commentary in *catena* format. They differ only in that C has preserved the whole set of introductions and glosses with merely a hint at the topics of the *accessus*, while P preserves the complete *accessus* and a summarized version of the introductions but is extremely selective as to the glosses, mostly explanations of mythological allusions. Two other manuscripts, O and the newly discovered B, testify to the step

¹⁸ This may have prompted its being cataloged independently, not as a variant of n. 183, in *Inc. Ov.*

¹⁹ See Coulson 2013: 22–26, 33–34.

²⁰ Commenting on the introduction to *Her.* 6 in C, Engelbrecht (2006: 219–21) assumes this commentary to be the work of Fulco, implicitly because the independent *accessus* in f. 5v has been attributed to him (see *Inc. ov.* n. 161). However, there does not seem to be any evidence that links the commentary to the preceding compilation of *accessus* (quite the reverse, as the commentary in *catena* form is preceded by the opening sentence of the *accessus* considered in this article and the same *accessus* opens the summarized *catena* commentary in P and has been copied in B and O along with glosses derived from that *catena* commentary).

further of selecting glosses—or, more precisely, strings of glosses—from a manuscript very much like C, as tools with which to successfully disclose the meaning of the authoritative Ovidian text on the same page.²¹ Given its connection with C, B is a valuable, albeit fragmentary, example of the survival of the old *catena* school commentaries in a *scholion* format that broadened their potential uses and shaped the reading practice of the *auctores* through the late Middle Ages.²²

The Seventeenth-Century Annotations

Despite its present location, there is no evidence that the manuscript was in Catalonia in medieval times. A few lexical annotations and a barely readable marginal *nota* by a medieval hand are in Latin. All the remaining annotations in Latin and Catalan were written by two different hands in the early seventeenth century.

The chronology of the hands is easy to assess, as some annotations are associated with dates. For example, on the top margin of f. 1r, the oldest hand wrote in Catalan: “a xxj de setembre MDCxiiij he fets seta[nta-]nou anys” (I have turned seventy-nine on September 21, 1613); this same hand wrote the date “MDCxviii” on the top right corner of the same page and is also responsible for the writing of the proverb “luna vetus veteres,

²¹ F does not seem to have been conceived as a systematically commented manuscript; *accessus*, introductions, and some marginal glosses were added in successive steps in less formal scripts; the general *accessus* was taken from the commentary discussed in this article. In L, only the *accessus*, a few introductions, and a short series of glosses were copied (see n. 9). T has the *Heroides* with a completely different marginal commentary (partly from the *Bursarii*); as stated above, the *accessus* is copied at the end, intertwined with the *Bursarii accessus*.

²² We owe to Ward (1996) the definition of both formats: in the *catena*, glosses follow one another with only lemmata to refer to the text; in the *scholion*, glosses are arranged around—and between the lines of—the text they explain. Gura has established how the transformation from the *catena* format into the *scholion* format responds to the shift, in the thirteenth century, from a teaching strategy to a reading strategy that places the text of the *auctor* at the center of the reading operation. See Gura 2010b; Gura 2017b: 9–12, 16–19, 32–33; and Coulson 2010.

juvenes nova luna requi | rit" on the bottom margin of f. 2v (with the leaf upside down).

The second hand is far more interesting. A blank space between marginal glosses in f. 2v was filled with a possession note and the date "MD-Cxxij." The note was deliberately erased yet can be read under ultraviolet light: "Es den Jo batista | Despuig" ([This book] belongs to Joan Batista Despuig). In the seventeenth century, there were two members of the Majorcan family Despuig bearing this name. The older was Joan Baptista Despuig i Mir, who was born circa 1540 and died in 1627. He was a prominent member of the Majorcan nobility and served the Spanish monarchy of Philip II as a politician and diplomat. His grandson Joan Baptista Despuig i Despuig, who died in 1656, does not seem to have had his political prominence.²³ The Biblioteca Pública of Palma, in Majorca, preserves a composite volume containing two incunable editions of Sallustius and the epitome of Titus Livius (Inc. 476), which bear possession notes by Joan Baptista Despuig and show the historiographic interests of this cultivated nobility.²⁴

Most of the annotations by the hand of Joan Despuig quote well-known Latin verse lines and proverbs, as in "Diruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundus" (Horace, *Epodes* 1.1.100) on f. 1v (top margin); "Ne quid nimis," "festina lente," "felix qui rerum potuit | cognoscere causas" (Virgil, *Georgics*, 2.490); and "Frusta sapit, qui non sibi sapit" on the recto and verso of f. 2. The only exception is a line taken from the works of the medieval Catalan poet Ausiàs March (Valencia, 1400–59): "Dins los extrems lo mig virtut | atura," line 25 of his poem XXXII: "Entre ls

²³ See *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, s.v. *Despuig*, <https://www.enciclopedia.cat/gran-enciclopedia-catalana/despuig>.

²⁴ See CICLE, Corpus de Incunables de Clásicos Latinos en España, <http://www.incunabula.uned.es/cicle.php?modo=entidades&accion=verEntidades&id=458>. It follows that the book to which these folia belonged came from Majorca. It might be one of the volumes (manuscripts, incunabula, and ancient editions) donated to the Biblioteca de Catalunya by the Majorcan priest, poet, and translator Llorenç Riber (1882–1958) at the end of the Spanish Civil War. I owe this valuable information to Anna Gudayol, who is currently carrying out research on the preservation of book collections during the war.

estremes al mig virtut atura” (Virtue shuns extremes and in the midplace lies).²⁵ The quotation was undoubtedly prompted by its proverbial formulation of a widely known Aristotelian idea. The line does not seem to have been copied directly from a manuscript or an edition but written from memory, as shown by its corruption (not documented in any medieval or early modern manuscript or edition). Even removed from its context, it preserves the memorable force it has as the opening line of the fourth stanza of a moral poem about individual virtue.

Besides being transmitted by a rich fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript tradition, March’s works were printed in 1539 (Valencia), 1543 (Barcelona), 1545 (Barcelona), 1555 (Valladolid), and 1560 (Barcelona). Though the poem XXXII was addressed to the poet’s lady, sixteenth-century editions printed it within the series of “obres morals” (it became the “cant moral” III from 1543 on), and it is likely that whoever wrote the line (probably Joan Baptista Despuig) had read it carefully in one of those editions and kept this particular line in his memory. Whatever the circumstances, this casual quotation shows that March’s poetry was read and remembered well into the seventeenth century in the circles of the educated Catalan nobility. Far from being forgotten, March retained his appeal as an illustrious poetic model and moral philosopher who meditated on love and virtue—and deserved to be translated temporarily into Latin elegiac distics and therefore “ovidianized” by the Valencian humanist Vicent Mariner (Tournon, 1633).²⁶

²⁵ “L’ome pel món no munta’n gran valer” (March 2005: 143–144). English translation by Robert Archer (March 2006: 102–105).

²⁶ Edition by Coronel 1997. See also Lloret 2023.

Appendix

This appendix offers a partial edition of the paratexts of B: the *accessus*, the introductions to *Heroides* 1 and 4, and some of the marginal glosses.

The edition of the *accessus* and the introduction to *Her.* 1 in section I is based on B. To preserve the text as it was read in this manuscript, only obvious scribal errors particular to this copyist have been corrected. (An important exception is the sentence “qui in ardorem . . . in arborem,” in which a copyist realized the error “in ardorem” and added the correct reading “in arborem” at the end yet did not cancel the wrong lesson, perhaps because he thought it made some sense.) Therefore, errors and omissions shared with other manuscripts (such as “utilitas” in line 1 or the omission of “illicitum” before “adamauit” in line 5) have been kept. Tentative restitution of text lost due to material damage (in angular brackets) is mostly based on L. The apparatus records only the most significant variants in order to show more clearly the grouping of manuscripts as well as the different forms that the *accessus* takes in every manuscript. Orthographic variants, synonyms and synonymal expressions, and changes in word order have not been included.

Besides the fact that C omits almost all the *accessus* except the *inquirenda* sentence, all manuscripts omit some relevant items. On the one hand, O, P, and T are the only ones to include the Greek etymology of *epistola*, lacking in the more complete *accessus* in B and L. On the other hand, F, O, and P share several omissions. They all lack the sentence “Cum in singulis diuerse sint . . .” F and P omit the second explanation of *materia* and the origin of Ovid's letters. F also omits the *duplex intencio*, which means that Ovid's and Penelope's intentions, as well as the complete introduction to *Heroides* 1, are lacking. P lacks the reason for calling the book *Heroidum uel epistolarum liber*, the sentence introducing the *duplex intencio*, and the introduction to Penelope's letter. O lacks the paragraph on the *causa finalis* and the introductory sentence to the introduction to the first letter. The examples of illicit love can appear and disappear: only B, F, and T have Canace, and Phillis is omitted too in P as an example of foolish love. Canace's example may be in fact a later interpolation, as T has not included it in its proper place but inserts it between the example of Phillis and her death. Likewise, L, which always reads closely to B, does not include Canace. T has a further addition just after the *inquirenda*, as it includes a summarized explanation of the origin and the etymology of the epistles taken from the opening

sentences of *Inc. Ov.* n. 438.²⁷ It also copies from William's *Bursarii* in its explanation for calling the book "ab heroidibus" instead of transmitting the redaction common to B, L, F, and O and adds a remark on the reason for calling the book "liber primus" because a second one (the *Amores?*) will follow.

Section II offers an edition of the introduction to *Heroides* 4, which is particularly interesting for the length and the wide scope of the story. As more than half of the text is missing (and the extant fragment severely damaged) in B, the transcription of the text in this manuscript, without any editorial intervention other than punctuation and capitalization (text a), is followed by an edition of the whole text from C with the significant variant readings of O, which is the only other manuscript to transmit the complete text, and of the fragments of B (text b). As with the text in the previous section, errors such as the omission of the cause of the murder of Androgeus by the Athenians and the subsequent mistake "uidentes" for "inuidentes" in C (line 8) have not been corrected, and only two necessary minor restitutions have been made.

Section III edits a sample of the marginal glosses found in B (those in f. 1, which correspond to *Heroides* 1, 1–49) alongside an edition of the glosses in C as proof of the identity of the commentary in these two manuscripts.

Editions are respectful of the orthography of the manuscripts; only *v* and *u* have been regularized as *u* (*V* when capital) and *j/i* as *i*. Punctuation and use of capitals follow modern rules. Lemmata, which are underlined in the manuscripts, have been printed in small capitals.

²⁷ Huygens's *accessus* II (1970: 30), which is *accessus* 2 in Wheeler (2015: 26).

I. *Accessus* and introduction to *Her.* 1 (text based on **B**, f. 1r)

Conspectus siglorum

B. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1

C. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Fabricius 29 2°

F. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 38.8

L. London, British Library, Burney 219

M. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19475

O. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. class. lat. 1

P. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8320

T. Trier, Stadtbibliothek und Stadtarchiv, 1088/28 8°

In principio huius libri quatuor inquiruntur principaliter:
materia, utilitas, causa finalis et cui parti philosophie supponatur.
Materia est tam illi qui mittunt <epistolas> quam quibus
mittuntur. Intencio sua est tractando de sua materia stultum
5 et illicitum amorem reprehendere et legitimum commendare.
Illicitum per Phedram, que priuinum suum adamauit, et per
Canacem, que similiter fratrem suum illicite adamauit;
stultum per Phillidem, que stulte et illegitime Demophontem
hospitem adamauit, que in ardorem flendo propter eius absenciam
10 mutata est in arborem; legitimum enim commendat per
Penelopem, que legitimum et immutabilem seruauit amorem.
Vtilitas nostra est scire adherere amori legitimo et stultum
illicitumque spernere. Ethice supponitur quia loquitur de
moribus. Vel possumus dicere quod persone mittentes per
15 epistolas introducte sunt materia. Intencio duplex est, persone
mittentis et actoris. Titulus talis est: *Ouidii Nasonis Liber herohydum
uel epistularum incipit*. Et bene dicitur “herohydum” et non
“heroum”, quia licet alique epistule mittantur heroydibus
ab heroybus, tamen a maiori parte et secundum actoris
20 propositum ab heroydibus nuncupatur liber iste, quia plures
epistule sunt ibi que mittuntur ab heroy<di>bus heroybus quam
e contrario. Est sciendum ante tempus Ouidii epistolas non

esse <factas Rome>, set ad imi<tacionem> cuiusdam <Greci cuius> epistolas uiderat, primus epistolas in suo tempore fecit.

25 Item notandum quod in unaquaque epistula consideranda est propria intencio. In hac epistola intendit actor commen<dare Penelopem legitime s>uo uiro, scilicet Vlixii, adherentem, et idem non agentes reprehendere. Finalis causa est caste diligentes exemplo Penelopes eandem consequamur gloriam <et ne inceste et immoderat>e diligentes exemplo Phillidis et

30 Briseydis ad talem pene deueniamus exitum. Intencio uero Penelopes est persuadere uiro absentii, scilicet <Vlixii, ut cito redeat.> Cum in singulis diuerse sint persone et diuerse diuersis mittantur epistole, introducit Ouidius hanc epistulam missam a Penelope ad Vlixem. Penelope igitur filia fuit Ycari pulcherrima nimie castitatis, ad hoc enim studuit ut suam solum conseruaret castitatem cum a multis procis peteretur. Huius maritus fuit Vlixes, qui erat dux Grecorum et ad destruendam Troiam cum Agamanone uenerat et ibi per decem annos cum

40 toto exercitu morauerat. Troia autem destructa, cum repatriaret, quia deos in multis offenderat per mare per decem annos errauit. Cum enim esset Troie templum Palladis intrauit et eius ymaginem aportauit, quod nemo ante tempus ipsius aususerat agredi uel intrare, et secum detulit in Greciam. Penelope uero legitimam seruans copulam, cum uidit omnes repatriare

45 preter maritum suum, cum autem a multis procis sollicitaretur, omnes aspernata solius mariti calebat desiderio; que cum ubi esset Vlixes ignoraret, mittit ei hanc epistolam, que si inueniri posset ille ad eum mitteretur, et eo

50 inuento illi tribuatur, in qua eum de reditu monens dicit itaque: O VLIXE.

1 libri *BFLOP*: actoris *CT 2* utilitas *BCFL*: intencio *OPT*; 2 *post* supponatur: hec omnia patent *add. C*: sciendum est itaque ouidius primum rome scripsisse epistolas non inimitando quemquam romanorum quorum nullus adhuc epistolas scripserat . set quendam grecum cuius epistolas uiderat . epistola ait . quasi . supra missa quia

supra mittitur *add. T 3-33* Materia...redeat: *om. C 3* materia (sua *FP*) *BLFP*: materia huius libri *O*: materia ouidii in hoc opere *T*; epistolas *FLOPT*: *om. B 4* tractando... materia *BFLOT*: *om. P 5* reprehendere *BLOP*: reprehendere et corrigere *FT 5* adamauit (amauit *L*) *BFL*: illicite...adamauit (amauit *P*) *OPT 6-7* et per Canacem... adamauit *BFT* (*transposuit post demophonta dilexit T*); *om. LOP 7* illicite *F*: stulte *B*: *om. T 8-10* stultum...in arborem *BFLO*: *om. P 8* stultum *BFLO*: *om. T*; et illegitime *BLT*: et illicite *F*: *om. O 9-10* que in ardorem...in arborem *B*: et in arborem flendo propter eius absentiam se suspendit et mutata fuit *F*: et in arborem flendo mutata fuit propter ipsius absentiam *L*: et in arborem pre nimio dolore mutata fuit *O*: quia in arborem propter sua tristicia mutata fuit *T 10* enim *B*: autem *FL*: amorem *OT*: *om. P 12* stultum *BFLO*: *om. P 13-14* quia loquitur de moribus (hominum *add. LT*) *BOLT*: quia pertinet ad mores hominum et secundum mores hominum loquitur *F*: quia de moribus tractat *P 14-15* Vel possumus...sunt materia *BLOT*: *om. FP 15-16* Intencio...actoris *BLOPT*: *om. F 15* Intencio *LOPT*: utilitas *B*; persone *BOPT*: *om. L 16* mittentis *LPT*: mittentes *BO*; liber *BFLOP*: liber primus *T 17* uel *BLOPT*: et *F 17-22* Et bene dicit...e contrario *B*: non dicit primus quia hoc opus per particularia opera non diuisit / *gt(?)* numerus et ordo heroidum dicit et hominum non quia si aliquas pistolas inueniamus quas mittant viri heroidibus preter autoris propositum fieret / et a maiori parte opus suum ultra dato quia plures sunt pistole / que mittuntur ab hominibus mulieribus hominibus quam ille que mittuntur ab hominibus mulieribus *F*: nam si aliquas inueniamus quas uiri mittunt heroidibus hoc est extra actoris propositum uel a maiori parte quia plures mittuntur ab heroidibus quam a uiris *L*: nam si aliquis obiceret quare dicitur magis liber heroydum quam heroum [...] quia mulieres sepius scribunt ad uiros quam uiri ad mulieres *O*: vnde dicit primus quia sequitur secundus . et si quas inuenimus epistolas quas mitterentur viri heroidum .id est. nobilioribus mulieribus . preter actoris propositum est . set potest fieri questio quare pocius intituletur ab heroidibus quam ab heroibus cum ad utilitatem virorum sicut puellarum scribatur. Solutio quia mulieres plus locuntur in hoc libro quam uiri *T*: *om. P 21* heroydibus: di *suppl. 22-51* Est sciendum...*O* *VLIEX* *om. F 22-24* Est sciendum...fecit *BLOT*: *om. P 22* epistolas *BLO*: *om. T 23* factas Rome *LOT*: *om. B*; imitationem *LOT*: tacionem *deest B 23-24* Greci cuius *L*: cuiusdam greci *OT*: *deest B 24* post fecit: et dicitur ab epi qui est supra et stolos que est missio quasi supramissio *O*: epi grece supra latine stolos missio inde epistola quasi supramissio *P*; epi grece supra latine . stolos missio inde epistola quia suppra post alia verba mittitur quia aliquid mittimus alicui cum quo prius locuti fuimus . vnde epistole

supra missiones dicuntur quia post \dagger oia lurica \dagger materiam et sermones mittuntur epistole *T* 25-26 Item...intencio *BLT*: *om. FOP* 25 Item notandum quod *B*: *om. LT* 26 In hac epistola intendit actor *BLPT*: Intencio auctoris est *O* 26-27 commendare Penelopem legitime suo uiro: dare Penelopem legitime *s deest B (suppleui apud PT)*: commendare Penelopem et legitime viro suo *L*: commendare penelopem legitimo amori *O*: commendare penelopem legitime uiro *P*: commendare penelopem legitime proprio uiro *T* 27 scilicet *Vlix* *B*: *om. LOPT*; adherentem *BOPT*: adherere *L* 27-28 et idem...reprehendere *BLPT*: *om. O*; reprehendere *BLP*: reprehendit *T* 28-31 Finalis causa...exitum *BLPT*: *om. O* 28 Finalis causa *BLP*: utilitas eiusdem finis uel finalis causa *T* 29 consequamur *BP*: consequantur *LT* 29-30 et ne (ne *om. T*) incese et immoderate *LPT*: *deest B* 30 exemplo *LPT*: excepcione *B* 31 pene *BLT*: *om. P*; deueniamus *BP*: ueniant *L*: deuiamus *T*; exitum *BLT*: amoris exitum *P* 31-32 Intencio uero Penelopes est (uero *om. O*) *BO*: persone uero mittentis que est Penelope est intencio *L*: penelope filia fuit icari . vlixes coniunx eius. intencio est penolopes mittentis hanc epistolam *P*: Intencio penolopes mittentis in hac epistola est *T* 32 absentis *BL*: *om. OPT*; *Vlix* *LOPT*: *deest B* 32-33 ut (quod *L*) cito redeat *OPT*: *deest B* 33-35 Cum in singulis diuerse sint persone et diuerse diuersis mittantur epistule, introducit Ouidius hanc epistolam missam a Penelope ad Vlixem *BLT*: hec primam epistolam mittit penelope vlix *C*: *om. OP* 35-51 Penelope...*OV*LIXE *B**C**L**O**T*: *om. P* 37 castitatem *B**C**L*: uirginitatem *O*: uirginitatem...id est castitatem *T* 38 erat *B**C**L*: fuit *OT* 39 cum Agamanone *BT* (*transp. ante ad Troiam T*): cum agamenone rege grecie (grecorum *O*) *C**L**O* 41 quia deos in multis offenderat: *transp. post* errauit *O* 42 Cum enim esset Troie (ad troiam *O*) *B**C**L*: dum iret ad troiam *transp. ante* quod nemo *T*; templum palladis intrauit *B**C**L**O*: *om. T* 43 eius ymaginem *BC*: ymaginem ipsius palladis *L*: palladium id est ymaginem ipsius palladis *post. ingredi O*: palladium de templo palladis *T* 44 agredi uel intrare *B*: intrare uel ingredi *C*: intrare uel agredi *L*: ingredi *O*: agredi *T* 44-45 Penelope uero *BT*: Penelope uero coniunx (uxor *L*) eius (ipsius *O*) *C**L**O*; legitimam seruans copulam *BCO*: seruans castitatem *L*: *om. T* 45-51 cum uidit...*O* *V*LIXE *B**C**O**T*: *om. L* 45-46 cum uidit omnes repatriare preter maritum suum *BCO*: uidens alios repatriare *T* 46-48 cum autem...ignoraret *BC*: *om. OT* 48 ignoraret *BC*: ignorans *ante correctionem B* 48-51 mittit ei hanc epistolam, que si inueniri posset ille ad eum mitteretur, et eo inuento illi tribuatur, in qua eum de reditu monens dicit itaque: *O* *V*lix *B**C**O*: scribit ei presentem epistolam hanc et cetera *L*: scribit ad ulixem hanc epistolam in qua commouere intendit ut ad se reuertat ut hiis visis ad litteram accedamus . hanc tua penolope et cetera *T*

II. Introduction to *Heroides* 4

Conspectus siglorum:

B. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1

C. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Fabricius 29 2°

O. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. class. lat. 1

a) Fragmentary text of **B**

... cum uelo n...o uertentem eum eminus aspexisset ...um
suum interfecisse, de tur<r>i se in mari precipitauit, unde
Neptunus, pater eius, deum marinum eum secum constituit.
Tandem post ea multum temporis, cum ex Phedra Theseus duos
5 filios haberet, ipse contra Amazones, feminas illas que magne erant
fortitudinis ... que masculos deuorabant, insur... que The-
seus interfecit preter solam reginam, que Ypolite uocabatur
ubi(?) ... quia magis decoris erat de ... adamauit et ex ea ge-
nuit filium scilicet nomine matris Ypolitum dictum. ...
10 pulcritudinis et ...udinem a(?) Phedra ... dearsit nec hoc ...
manifestare ausa est cum mire prius extitisset castitatis. Set cum
Ypolitus cum ea causa uenandi moraretur in siluis, nec
cum eo presenti aliter pudore impedita loqui poterat,
mittit ei hanc epistolam, intendens eum ad amorem suum
15 allicere. Nec est dubium quin sit reprehensibilis, contra naturam
agat. Furit enim amore priuini et multas ...cit coniecturas de
Theseo, quia iam lectum suum spernat et matrem Ypoliti
occiderit, et cetera.

b) Complete text from **C**, f. 12rb; variant readings from **O**, f. 4v

Phedra Ypolitio

QVAM NISI TV DEDERIS. In hac epistola intendit auctor
reprehendere Phedram de illicito amore. Intencio mittentis
est Ypolitum ad amorem suum allicere. Minos uero rex Crete
5 fuit, cuius pater erat Iupiter, mater Europa. Minois uero Pasiphe,

filia Solis, <fuit> uxor, ex qua habuit duas filias, Adriagnam et
 Phedram, et filium Androcheum et alium Minotaurum,
 quem creditit esse filium. Cum autem esset depositus
 Minotaurus in Laborintum, id est, in quandam domum
 10 Dedali, Androgeum, quem precipue diligebat, misit Athenas
 causa proficiendi, quod uidentes Athenienses eum occiderunt,
 fingentes eum de turri lapsum fuisse. Quo cognito Minos
 Athenas inuasit et destruxit et imperio suo subiugauit, et reddi
 sibi tributa coegit, quattuor scilicet corpora hominum et tria
 15 aliorum animalium singulis annis a Minotauro deuoranda.
 Cum autem Athenienses hoc septem annis persoluissent,
 Theseus, regis Athenarum filius, scilicet Egei, sorte mittendus
 erat. Cum autem pater eius uidit hoc non posse mutari,
 dedit ei uela ex una parte alba, ex altera nigra, et precepit sociis
 20 ut si deuoraretur, nigram partem uersus Athenas mitterent;
 si uero a modo superstes esset, candidam partem uerterent. Qui
 cum uenerunt ad Cretem duas filias Minois inuenerunt,
 Adriagnam et Phedram, quarum una, scilicet Adriagna, dixit
 Theseo se eum liberaturam cum Laborintum intrare deberet
 25 si eam duceret in uxorem. Vnde data fide et accepta, dedit
 ei Adriagna globum picis et sepi quod inmitteret ori Minotauri
 sibi occurrentis quod masticaret, et extracto gladio quem sibi
 tradidit ei capud amputaret. Necnon ei filum tradidit quod in
 limine Laborinti ligaret; sciebat enim quod occiso Minotauro
 30 remeare nisi per filum nesciret. Per que omnia post Teseus
 euasit secum duxit utramque sororem, set tandem relicta
 Adriagna sola in littore Chie insule nocte quadam in patriam
 rediit, set oblitus est albam partem uelorum uersus Athenas
 uertere. Cum autem Egeus cum nigro uelo redeuntem aspexisset
 35 eminus, ratus filium suum mortuum esse de turri se in mari
 precipitauit; unde Neptunus, pater eius, deum marinum
 esse constituit. Tandem post multum tempus, cum ex Phedra
 duos filios haberet, ipse contra Amazones, feminas illas que
 quidem magne fortitudinis et ferocitatis erant et omnes masculos
 40 denecabant, insurrexit in eas Teseus et eas interfecit preter

reginam, que dicitur Ypolite. Illam autem quam magni decoris erat
 retinuit et ex ea genuit filium secundum nomen matris dictum
 Ypolitum. Hic autem magne pulcritudinis et fortitudinis
 erat, cuius pulcritudine Phedra conmota eius arsit amore.
 45 Nec hoc alii manifestare ausa est cum mire huius exstitisset
 castitatis. Set cum Ypolitus causa uenandi assidue in siluis
 moraretur nec cum eo presenti aliter pudore impedita loqui
 poterat, mittit ei hanc epistolam, intendens eum ad amorem suum
 allicere. Nec est dubium quin sit reprehensibilis,
 50 cum contra naturam agat. Furit enim amore priuigni,
 et multas <dicit> coniecturas de Theseo, quia omnino
 lectum suum aspernatur et eciam propriam matrem occiderit.

3 reprehendere C: om O; mittentis C: phedre O 4 Ypolitum C: priuignum suum
 O; post allicere: istoria talis est add. O 5 cuius pater erat Iupiter, mater Europa C:
 et filius Iouis et Europe O 5-6 Minois uero Pasiphe, filia Solis C: cuius pasiphe filia
 phebii et Iunonis(?) O 6 fuit O: om. C 8-9 Cum autem esset depositus Minotaurus
 (minotaurum a.c.) C: Set cum sciret quod reuera non erat filius suus depositus
 est O 11 quod uidentes Athenienses C: athenienses autem ei inuidentes quod in
 prudentia multum profisciebat O 13 Athenas inuasit C: collecto maximo exercitu
 athenas inuasit O 14 coegit C: constituit O 14-15 et tria aliorum animalium C: om.
 O 17-18 sorte mittendus erat. Cum autem pater eius uidit hoc non posse mutari
 C: missus ad cretem . cui pater O 19 ei C: om. O; alba, ex altera nigra C: nigra . et
 alia parte alba O; sociis C: sociis eius O 20 si deuoraretur C: si non a minotauro
 deuoraretur O 20-21 mitterent; si uero a modo superstes esset, candidam partem
 C: om. O 22 uenerunt C: uenissent O 24-25 se eum liberaturam cum Laborintum
 intrare deberet si eam duceret C: cum laborintum intrare deberet . se eum a morte
 liberare . si legitime duceret eam O 26 et sepi C: om. O 27 masticaret C: cum ipse
 demasticaret O; sibi tradidit C: ipsa ei tradiderat O 30 post C: postquam O 31 duxit
 C: adducit O; utramque sororem C: adriagnam et phedram O 31-33 set tandem
 relicta Adriagna sola in littore Chie insule nocte quadam in patriam rediit C: et
 dummodo nocte quadam peruernire in patriam studens adriagnam reliquit solam
 in littore . quam bachus aduenit et in curru suo etenim demenauit O 33 oblitus
 est C: theseus oblitus O; uelorum C: om. O 33-34 uersus Athenas uertere C: uertere
 uersus athenas . nigram partem uertit O 34-35 redeuntem aspexisset eminus C:

euntes eos(?) uideret *O* 35 ratus *C*: putans *O*; mortuum esse *CO*: interfecisse *B*; de turri *CB*: de turris sue cacumine *O* 36-37 unde Neptunus, pater eius, deum marinum esse (esse: eum secum *B*) constituit *CB*: quem nereus et neptunus pater deum marinum constituerunt *O* 38 duos filios haberet *C*: theseus duos filios haberet *BO* 38-40 feminas illas...interfecit *C*: insurrexit . que dicuntur uel erant magne fortitudinis et ferocitatis . et homines deuorabant . Illas autem omnes interfecit (eas *expunt.*) theseus *O* 40 denecabant *C*: deuorabant *BO* 41 quam (quia *B*) magni decoris *CB*: quia pulcherrima *O* 42 retinuit *C*: retinuit et adamauit *BO* 42-43 filium secundum nomen matris dictum Ypolitum *CB*: ypolitum nomine matris uocatum *O* 44 cuius pulcritudine Phedra conmoti eius arsit amore *C*: quem phedra cognoscens eius amore succensa est *O* 45 alii *C*: alicui *O*: *deest B*; huius *C*: prius *BO*; exstitisset *CB*: esset *O* 46 causa uenandi *CB*: *om. O* 47-48 nec cum eo presenti aliter pudore impedita loqui poterat *CB*: nec nunquam cum eo presencialiter esset *O* 48 intendens *CB*: temptando *O* 50 priuigni *CB*: priuigni sui *O* 51 dicit *scripsi: om. C*: ...cit (*mutil.*) *B*: ei ostendit *O*; coniecturas *CB*: perfidias *O* 51-52 quia omnino lectum suum aspernatur et eciam propriam matrem occiderit *C*: *om. O*

III. Glosses to *Heroides* 1, 1-64 (B, f. 1r and v; C, f. 11r)

Conspectus siglorum:

B. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1

C. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Fabricius 29 2°

O VLIXE. Hic Vlixes, -sis; Vlixus, -xi; Vlixus, -xi; Vlixus, -xi; unde Itacensis Vlixei. PENELOPE TVA, in tuo perseuerans amore, MITTIT TIBI HANC EPISTOLAM, tibi dico lento in reditu. NIL MICHl. Ne ille obiceret: uis ut ego rescribam, non ut ueniam, ad hoc illa: et si rescribas non minus uenias. TROIA IACET, et cetera, quare non debes amplius morari. TROIA IACET CERTE INUIDA DANAI PVELLIS, pro Helena rapta, uel INUIDA quia maritos eorum detinuit. IACET inquam, set uix, cum difficultate, tanti enim fuit momenti, PRIAMVS, rex Troie, et TOTA TROIA integra, quia non potuit cadere nisi cum difficultate. Vel aliter: INUIDA PVELLIS, SET VIX Priamus FVIT TANTI ET TOTA TROIA quod deberet facere quod esset inuisa, uel Helenam rapiendo uel maritos detinendo. Vel ita: TROIA IACET, unde amplius non deberes morari cum iaceat quia et cetera. Vel ET TOTA TROIA, integra, VIX FVIT TANTI precii uel momenti quod eo saluo uel ea durante deberes tantum morari. VIX PRIAMVS TANTI precii ut tam diu debuissis ibi morari ad eam capiendam. Vel aliter: VIX FVIT TANTI, id est tante debilitatis quod possit destrui a Grecis.

[1] O VLIXE. Hic Vlixes, -sis; uel hic -xus, -xu, secundum antiquos. PENELOPE tua, id est in constanti perseuerans amore, MITTIT TIBI HANC EPISTOLAM, LENTO in reditu, et cetera.

[2] NIL MICHl. Ne ille obiceret: uis ut ita rescribam, non ut ueniam; et si rescribas tamen uenias, et cetera.

[3-4] TROIA INUISA PVELLIS DANAI, pro Helena rapta, uel inuisa quia maritos earum retinuit. TROIA IACET, quare amplius non deberes morari. Iacet inquam VIX, id est cum difficultate. Vel TROIA IACET, que integra VIX FVIT TANTI PRECII uel momenti quod eo salua uel morante uel durante Troia tantum deberes ...ari. Vel sic: VIX PRIAMVS FVIT TANTI PRECII ut tam diu ad Troiam morari debuisses capiendam. Vel aliter: VIX FVIT TANTI, id est tante debilitatis que posset a Grecis destrui, quia fortis erat ualde, et cetera.

LACEDEMONA, id est Lacedemone regne Grecie, uel secundum quosdam Lacedemon, ciuitas Grecie. ADULTER, Paris. QVANDO EGO, id est quando fuit hoc quod non timui? GRAUIORA PERICVLA VERIS, ueris periculis, quia pericula de te timebam quae uerum essent te pati, et ita erit ablager. Vel aliter: GRAUIORA PERICVLA VERIS illius temporis, et est genitiuus, quia in illo tempore sunt maiora tempora quam in alio, quia uentus res est mutabilis. RES EST SOLLICITI, id est amans spe est anciosa. FINGEBAM, cogitabam, TROIAS, Troianos (Tros, Trois). NOMINE IN HECTOREO. Hector filius Priami fuit mire fortitudinis et prudentie [pulcritudinis a.c.]. Cum ergo Penelope tanta eius probitate audiret et audaciam, stupefacta erat, timens ne aliquid malum marito suo faceret. SIVE QVIS ANTILOCVM. Antilocus iste filius fuit Nestoris strenuissimus qui ab Hectore interfectus est, quod audiens Penelope causa mariti sui timebat, et hic est. SIVE QVIS, aliquis, NOSTRI CAUSA TIMORIS ERAT, timebat enim ne te ut Antilocum interficeret Hector.

[12] RES ...quia ille qui amat ...s quantum sunt sine...enim est amor ...ama ergo timet.

[13-14] IN TE FINGEBAM, id est cogitabam. Troias, Trois declinatur. NOMINE HECTOREO. Hector fuit filius Priami, regis Troie, mire fortitudinis et prudentie. Cum ergo Penelope tantam audiret illius probitatem et audaciam, et etiam cum nomen eius audiret, stupefacta erat c...ans ne aliquis marito suo interficeret.

[15-16] ... Antilocus ille fuit filius ...ab Hectore inter ... Penelope causa ... est ANTILOCVS NOSTRI ne te interficeret Hector ...Antilocum ...<in>terfecit.

MENECEIADM, Patroclum. Patroclus unus Grecorum fuit Achillis socius uel armiger, ut quibusdam placet, qui quoniam Actoris filii, Menechei filius, Meneciades appellatur. Hic autem cum uidisset Grecos ab Hectore interfici et ab Achille nullum auxilium eis dari (erat enim propter Briseidem Agamenoni regi nimis iratus), subito armis Achillis indutus Hectore obuiam processit, sperans eum uisis armis terrere, ac ille nulla tocuis timens, uel, ut quidam uolunt, quia nunciatus est ei a Titone illum esse Patroclum, singulariter cum eo dimicauit et eum interfecit. DOLO tuo, uel dolos illius, quia male contigit ei. SVCCESV quia a stulticia sua falli potuit. SANGVINE TRIPTOLOMI. Tricolomus filius fuit Hercules Atheniensis, et Grecus erat qui in eodem bello interfectus (*MS* interrui?) a Sarpedone, qui rex de Archadie regione, que pars est Grecie, et rex Licie, et Liciam hastam habuit. Achaia est in Grecia, inde ACHAIA. Barbara dicitur omnis gens preter Grecam et Latinam. SET BENE timebam de te. SET DEVS EQVVS CASTO AMORI, equus michi, quod saluus es. FVMANT de sacrificiis. BARBARA PREDa Troianorum. NIMPHE, sponsate, inde paranimphus, que iuxta nimpham stans, id est sponsam. DONA, id est sacrificia, ILLI, mariti, SVIS FATA uel fatis puelle MIRANTVR infortunia. SENES, patres eorum.

[17-18] SIVE MENECEIADM, id est Patroclum. Patroclus unus Grecorum fuit socius Achillis, ut quibusdam placet, qui quoniam fuit filius Actoris, filii Menecii, et Meneciades de dictum est. Hic autem cum uidisset Grecos ab Hectore inferfici et nullum ab Achille dari auxilium (erat enim propter Briseydem nimis iratus regi), subitoque armis Achillis protectus obuiam Hectori processit, sperans ipsum armis uisis terreri, et ille non citauit, et, ut quidam uolunt, nunciatus fuit i a Titone esse Patroclum, et cum eo pugnavit et interfecit.

DOLOS MIOS, uel dolos illius, quia male contigit ei. SVCCESV, quia astucia tua falli potuit.

[19-20] ... Tricholomus, filius Hercules Atheniensis, et Grecus erat qui in eadem bello ...sauci... a Sarpedone qui Sarpe... est pars Grecie et rex Licie et ... Achaia in Grecia est ... dicuntur Achiui Greci bar... omnes preter Grecos et Latinos, et cetera.

[23-26] SET BENE CONSVLVIT, de te timebam. SET DEVS EQVVS AMORI CASTO, id est michi caste te amanti, et quod Troia destruat scio sacrificiis. BARBARA PREDa Troianorum. NIMPHE, sponsate, inde paranimphus, stans iuxta sponsatam, FERVNT DONA, id est sacrificia, ILLI, mariti, SVIS FATIS PVELLE mirantur infortunia. SENES, id est patres eorum uel antiqui, et cetera.

HAC IBAT. Fatum erat Troianorum quod si equi Resi potauissent de Xanto, fluuio Trioano, nunquam Troia caperetur, et ita huiusmodi fatum erat Grecorum etiam quod si sagitte Herculis interessent statim caperetur. SIMOIS fluuius est Troie. SIGEA, id est Troiana, a sige, quod est latere. Ibi enim uolens regnare Saturnus latuit propter metum Iouis. Vel Sigeum promontorium iuxta Troiam. TENDEBAT, tentoria ponebat, uel contendebat armibus. Hec omnia depingebant de mero in mensis suis. ILLIC EACIDES, id est Achilles [interl.]. Jupiter genuit Eacum, Eacus Peleum, Peleus Achillem. HIC ALACER MISSOS. Vel misos a Misia, que pars est Tracie [uel misos a fauentibus diis in urbem expunt.]. Occiso siquidem Reso, albi equi eius rectro itinere tendebant in urbem, set Hector audito strepitu armatus exiens ab urbe eis obuians equos missos a fauentibus diis in urbem terruit. Itaque ad Vlixem redeuntes ab eo capti sunt. Vel aliter: cum Greci bellare deberent, equos suos ante mittebant uel fugabant ut sic fugati inter Troianos tumultum facerent, quos uidens Hector terruit eos, uel retro fugauit, et hoc est MISSOS. Vel equos Grecorum adaquatam missos. Vel aliter littera est ordinanda hic:

[33-35] HAC IBAT. Fatum erat Troian... equi Resi potassent de Xa<n>to... nunquam Troia caperetur. Item ... erat quod si sagitte Herculis ... tim Troia caperetur. SYMOYS ... Sygeya, id est Troiana, a Syge... tere la ubi enim uolens reg...e Sat... latuit propter metum ... promonterium iuxta ... toria ponebat ... omnia depingebant in mensis cum mero. ILLIS EACIDES. Nomen patronimicum conuenit tam nepotibus quam filis per appellationem. Eacus autem genuit Peleum, Peleus Achillem, et cetera.

[36] HIC ALACER MISSOS. Vel missos a Missia regine, que est pars Tracie, uel missos a diis fauentibus Troie ad urbem. Occiso siquidem Reso, equi eius albi ad Troiam retro itinere fugiebant, set Hector audito strepitu exiens ab urbe armatus equis obuians eos perterruit. Itaque ad urbem uenientes a Dyomede capti sunt. Vel aliter: cum Greci bellare deberent, equos suos ante se mittebant uel fugabant ut illi sic turbati ante Troianos tumultum facerent, quos uidens Hector perterruit et retro fugauit, et hoc est missos. Vel equos Grecorum missos ad aquatum. Vel aliter ordinanda est littera: HIC ALACER MISSOS, id est AMISSOS, scilicet equos quos moriens amiserat et aut prius habebat in morte amisit et ipse proprio curru alligatus detrahebatur ab equis, et illos se trahentes sonitu proprii cadaueris terruit, et cetera.

HIC LACER ADMISSOS, suos scilicet quos admiserat moriens, aut quos prius habebat in morte amisit et ipse proprio currui alligatus dum trahebatur ab equis se trahentes sonitu cadaueris sui equos perterruit. Vel ADMISSOS, id est ueloces. Et hec omnia audierat [audieret a.c.] Penelope. OMNIA NAMQVE. Nestor quidam Grecorum ualde senex, et erat de Pilo insula. Illuc miserat Penelope Telemacum filium [suum expunt.] domini sui, scilicet ut quosque rumores ibi audiret a Nestore Penelopi referret. SENIOR, ualde senex; quociensque comparatiuus gradus ponit sine casu, potest construi cum aduerbio ualde. ILLE, natus. RETVLIT ET FERRO RESVMQVE DOLONAQVE. Dolon fuit unus Troianorum quem Troiani emiserant de nocte ut Grecis insidiaretur, exploratu<ru>s quid Greci agerent uel pararent; a Diomede et Vluxe captus est, qui ugens eum conficere quid Troiani parassent, eum postea interfecerunt, et de inde ad castra Resi profecti sunt, quem ipse Dolon, eum scilicet, uenisse edocuerat, et extra ciuitatem tentoria sua posuisse, eumque cum suis in lecto interfecerant et equos eius aduxerant, qui si Xantum gustassent nunquam Troia caperetur a Danais. Resus secum multos adduxerat equos in Hismonio, monte Tracie, nutritos et extra Troiam hospitatus est.

[36-39] OMNIA NAMQVE. Nestor fuit quidam Grecorum ualde senex, et erat de Pilo insula. Iluc miserat Telemachus filium suum et Vluxe ut ... rumores ibi a Nestore de patre suo audiret, ei referret. SENIOR ... senex quia quociensque comparatiuus ponitur sine casu, potest construi cum hoc aduerbio ualde. Ille, scilicet natus, RETVLIT RESVM ET DOLONA CESOS ferro tuo et <ponitur> materia pro materiato, quia Vluxe et Dyomedon istos et multos alios interfecerunt.

[39-40] RETVLIT. Dolon fuit unus Troianorum quem Troiani nocte emiserant ut Grecis insidiaretur, exploraturus quid Greci agerent et quid pararent; a Dyomede et Vluxe captus est, qui cogentes eum confiteri quid Troiani parassent, eum postea interfecerunt et tamen ad castra Resi uel temptoria profecti sunt, sicut Dolon edocuerat uenisse et extra ciuitatem temptoria sua posuisse, eumque cum suis in lecto interfecerunt et eius equos adduxerunt, qui si Xantum fluium gustassent nunquam Troia a Danays caperetur. Ille siquidem Resus multos equos secum adduxerat in Missiam, partem Tracie, nutritos, et extra Troia hospitatus est. VT, id est qualiter, HIC Resus SOMPNO, id est per sompnum, et ILLE DOLO, scilicet Dolon.

VT, id est qualiter, HIC RESUS SOMNO, per sopnum, ILLE DOLO, scilicet Dolon. AVSVS ES TANGERE TROICA CASTRA DOLO, id est dupliciter, uel quia noctu tetigit castra Resi, que erant Troica, uel quia noctu intrauit templum Palladis et ibi accepit Palladium et ymaginem Palladis. Fatum enim erat quod si illud non habuerent Greci nunquam Troia destrueretur. AB VNO, a Diomede. AT BENE, et cetera. Prouidebat enim sibi ne lederetur, MEMOR antequam bellum esset. VSQVE SINVS mei, MICVERE, tremuere, DVM pro donec, AMICVM Troianis. HISMARIIS, Tracensis. Hismos uel Hismarius mons est Tracie ubi optimi equi nutriebantur antequam equos suos adduxerat. Troia iacet SET QUID PRODEST, et cetera. ET MVRVS. Ita lege: et quid illud esse modo SOLVM QUOD FUIT ANTE MVRVS? Ita dico: si maneo, et cetera, et SI VIR MICHI ABEST CARENDVS a me, DEMPTO FINE, destructa aliis puellis, INCOLA, cultor, CAPTIVO Troianis, absque Pergama, VICTOR scilicet Grecus, LVXVRIAT, habundat, OCVLIT, abscondit. VICTOR ABES TV NEC SCIRE MICHI LICET QVE CAUSA SIT tibi, MICHI, a me, usquam, id est in aliquo loco. NOS PILON, aliud opidum unde Nestor erat scilicet. NELEIA ARVA, a Neleo, fratre Nestoris.

[41-42] AVSVS ES TANGERE ... pliciter legitur, uel quia noctu ... que erant castra Troica ... templum Palladis et ibi ac ... fatum eum erat quod ... nunquam Troia caperetur uel ... a Dyomede qui terr... talia factam et cetera.

[44-46] AT BENE CAVTVS ... sibi ne lederet... quam ulterius esset vs... MICVERE, id est tremue... HYSMARIIS, Tracen... mareis mon... ut optimi ... bantur ... sus equos ... suos ... duxerat ... et cetera.

[47-57, 63-64] SET MICHI QUID PRODEST NVRVS. Ita lege: ET QUID PRODEST MICHI ILLVD MODO SOLVM quod fuit nurus, et ante ita dico: SI MANEO, et cetera, et uir abest, carendus michi, id est a me, DEMPTO FINE, id est semper, DIRUTA, id est destructa aliis mulieribus. Incola, id est cultor, CAPTIVO, id est a Troianis rapti, QVE, Pergama, VICTOR, Grecis, LVXVRIAT, habundat, OCVLIT, id est abscondit. VICTOR ABES NEC SCIRE LICET, id est ubi tu sis. NOS PYLON, ad illud opidum unde Nestor erat; Neleya a Neleyo, patre Nestoris.

Plates



Plate 2: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1, fol. 1v.

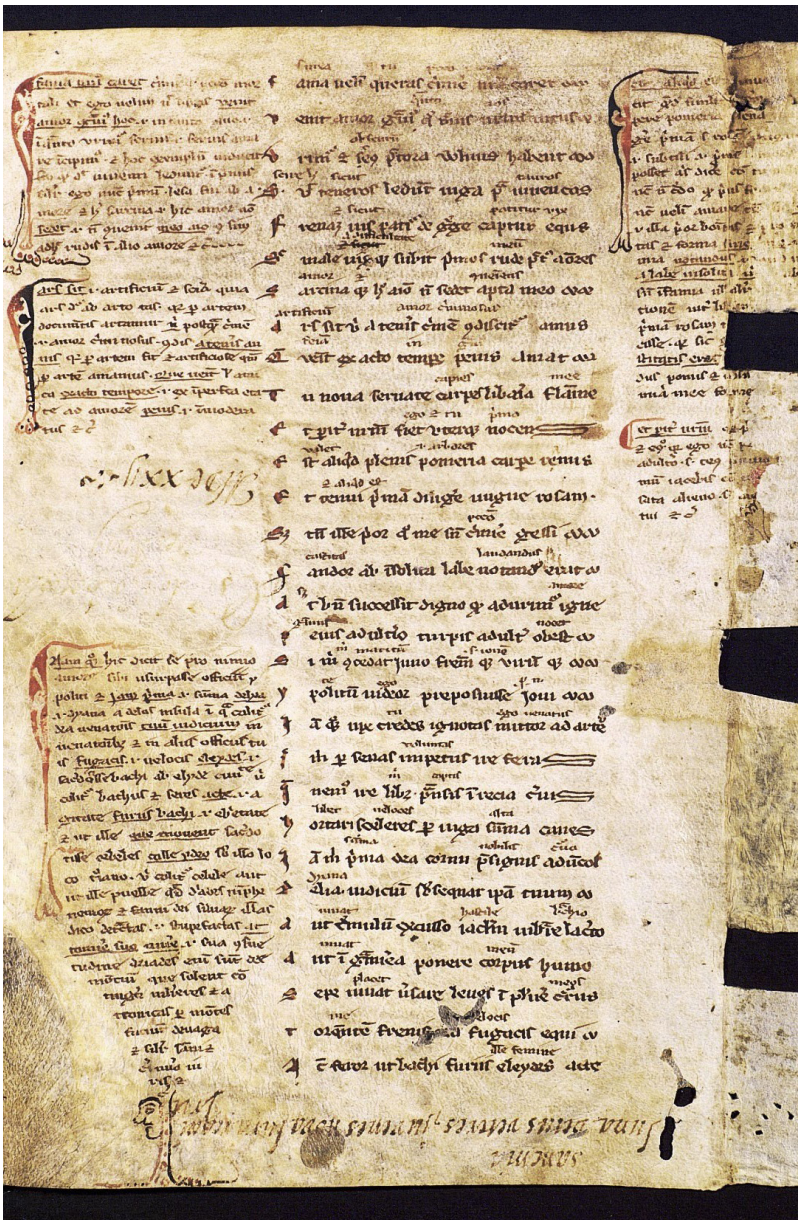


Plate 4: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1, fol. 2v.

Manuscripts Cited

- Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 9295/1.
 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Fabricius 29 2°.
 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 38.8.
 London, British Library, Burney 219.
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19475.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. class. lat. 1.
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8320.
 Trier, Stadtbibliothek und Stadtarchiv, 1088/28 8°.

Works Cited

- Bandini, Angelo Maria. 1775. *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae . . . Ang. Mar. Bandinius recensuit, illustravit, edidit*. Tomus 2. Florence: Praesidibus Adinventivus.
- Busonero, Paola. 1999. “La fascicolazione del manoscritto nel basso medio-evo.” In *La fabbrica del codice: Materiali per la storia del libro nel tardo medio-evo*, edited by Paola Busonero, Maria Antonietta Casagrande Mazzoli, Luciana Devoti, and Ezio Ornato, 31–139. Rome: Viella. Published in English as “Quiring in Manuscripts of the late Middle Ages.” 2022. In *Trends in Statistical Codicology*, edited by Marlena Mariaci, 205–307. Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110743838>.
- Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. 1840. New Series, vol. 1, part 2. The Burney Manuscripts. London: British Museum.
- Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae*. Pars tertia. Tomus tertius. 1744. Paris: Typographia Regia.
- Coronel Ramos, Marco Antonio. 1997. *L’Ausiàs March llatí de l’humanista Vicent Mariner*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim.
- Coulson, Frank T. 1987. “The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.” *Mediaevalia* 13: 29–61.
- Coulson, Frank T. 1991. *The “Vulgate” Commentary on Ovid’s Metamorphoses: The Creation Myth and the Story of Orpheus*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Coulson, Frank T. 2002. “Addenda and Corrigenda to *Incipitarium Ovidianum*.” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 12: 154–80.
- Coulson, Frank T. 2009. “Addenda and Corrigenda to *Incipitarium Ovidianum* (II).” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 19: 88–105.

- Coulson, Frank T. 2010. "The *Catena* Commentary and Its Renaissance Progeny." *Manuscripta* 54: 153–70.
- Coulson, Frank T. 2013. "Reading the Classics in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: New Manuscript Discoveries." In *Cicero Refused to Die: Ciceroian Influence through the Centuries*, edited by Nancy van Deusen, 21–38. Leiden: Brill.
- Coulson, Frank T., and Piero Andrea Martina, eds. 2021. *Commentaire Vulgate des Métamorphoses d'Ovide. Livres I–V*, translated by Piero Andrea Martina and Clara Wille. Paris: Classiques Garnier.
- Coulson, Frank T., and Krzysztof Nawotka. 1993. "The Rediscovery of Arnulf of Orléans' Glosses to Ovid's Creation Myth." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 44: 267–99.
- Coulson, Frank T., and Bruno Roy. 2000. *Incipitarius Ovidianum: A Finding Guide for Texts Related to the Study of Ovid in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 3. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Coxe, Henry O. 1854. *Catalogi codicum manuscritorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ pars tertia codices Græcos et Latinos Canonicianos complectens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Derolez, Albert. 2003. *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Engelbrecht, Wilken. 2003. "Filologie in de Dertiende Eeuw: De *Bursarii super Ovidios* van Magister Willem van Orléans (fl. 1200 AD)." PhD dissertation, Palacký University Olomouc.
- Engelbrecht, Wilken. 2006. "*Carmina Pieridum multo vigilata labore / exponi, nulla certius urbe reor*: Orléans and the Reception of Ovid in the *Aetas Ovidiana* in School Commentaries." *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 41: 209–25.
- Engelbrecht, Wilken. 2008. "Fulco, Arnulf, and William: Twelfth-Century Views on Ovid in Orléans." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 18: 52–73.
- Engelbrecht, Wilken. 2022. "The *Bursarii super Ovidios*: A Medieval 'Philological' *Catena* Commentary on Ovid." *Eirene* 58: 39–77.
- Ghisalberti, Fausto. 1932. *Arnolfo d'Orléans, un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII*. Milan: Hoepli.
- Ghisalberti, Fausto. 1946. "Medieval Biographies of Ovid." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 9: 10–59.
- Gura, David T. 2010a. "A Critical Edition and Study of Arnulf of Orléans' Philological Commentary to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." PhD dissertation, Ohio State University.

- Gura, David T. 2010b. "From the Orléanais to Pistoia: The Survival of the *Catena* Commentary." *Manuscripta* 54: 171–88.
- Gura, David T. 2017a. "Living with Ovid: The Founding of Arnulf of Orléans' Thebes." In *Manuscripts of the Latin Classics, 800–1200*, edited by Erik Kwakkel, 131–66. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Gura, David T. 2017b. "The Ovidian Allegorical Schoolbook: Arnulf of Orléans and John of Garland Take Over a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript." *Pecia* 20: 7–43.
- Hexter, Ralph J. 1986. *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars Amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum*. Munich: Arbedo-Gesellschaft.
- Huygens, R. B. C. 1970. *Accessus ad auctores. Bernard d'Utrecht. Conrad d'Hirsau. Dialogus super auctores*. Expanded critical edition. Leiden: Brill.
- Kentenich, Gottfried. 1931. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier. X: Die philologischen Handschriften*. Trier: Selbstverlag der Stadtbibliothek.
- Lloret, Albert. 2023. "L'original d'impremta de l'edició de Tournon (1633) i un altre testimoni perdut de la traducció llatina d'Ausiàs March." In *Estudis en honor del professor Rafael Alemany Ferrer*, edited by Marinela Garcia, Francesc Llorca, Lluïcia Martín, Josep Lluís Martos, Joan M. Perujo, and Gabriel Sansano, 273–81. Alacant: Universitat d'Alacant.
- March, Ausiàs. 2005. *Poesies*, edited by Pere Bohigas, revised by Amadeu-J. Soberanas and Noemí Espinàs. Barcelona: Barcino.
- March, Ausiàs. 2006. *Verse Translations of Thirty Poems*, edited and translated by Robert Archer. Barcelona: Barcino. Woodbridge, UK: Tamesis.
- Marti, Berthe E. 1958. *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule super Lucanum*. Rome: American Academy in Rome.
- Minnis, A. J. 1984. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. Aldershot, UK: Wildwood House.
- Noacco, Cristina. 2022. "Introduction." In *Ovide moralisés latins. Arnoul d'Orléans, Allegoriae. Jean de Garlande, Integumenta. Giovanni del Virgilio, Allegoriae*, edited by Jean-Marie Fritz, with the collaboration of Cristina Noacco. Paris: Classiques Garnier.
- Pujol, Josep, ed. 2018. *Publi Ovidi Nasó, «Heroïdes»: Traducció catalana medieval de Guillem Nicolau*. Barcelona: Barcino.
- Rieker, Jörg Rudolf. 2005. *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule Ovidii Fastorum*. Florence: Sismel—Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Roy, Bruno, and Hugues V. Shooner. 1996. "Arnulfi Aurelianensis «Glosule de Remediis amoris»." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 6: 135–96.

- Shooner, Hugues V. 1981. "Les *Bursarii Ovidianorum* de Guillaume d'Orléans." *Mediaeval Studies* 43: 405–24.
- Ward, John O. 1996. "From Marginal Gloss to *Catena* Commentary: The Eleventh-Century Origins of a Rhetorical Teaching Tradition in the Medieval West." *Parergon* 13: 109–20.
- Wheeler, Stephen M., ed. and trans. 2015. *Accessus ad auctores: Medieval Introductions to the Authors (Codex latinus monacensis 19475)*. Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University.