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**Ovid, Christianity and Etiquette:
The Uses of Latin Poetry in Colonial Mexico City**

Abstract: This article takes a close look at one of the earliest books to be published in the Americas. In 1577, just a few decades after the introduction of printing in Mexico City, Antonio Ricardo, a printer from Torino, published this anthology of poems under the auspices of the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo. In addition to the exilic works of Ovid (Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto), the textbook also contains Christian poems attributed to the patristic authors Gregory Nazianzus and Sedulius as well as others that contain advice for young people on practical matters such as proper table etiquette. This rare volume helps us to see more clearly how the earliest European educators in Mexico went about inculcating the poetic language and cultural sensibilities that they felt would provide their American students readiest access to the traditional liberal values, religious feelings, and practical virtues that their teachers valued so highly.

Key words: Ovid, Jesuit, Mexico City, Latin, Sedulius, Gregory Nazianzus

What pedagogical value did the earliest European educators in the New World assign to Latin poetry?¹ A rare volume containing poetic works of Ovid, Sedulius, Gregory Nazianzus, and others may help to give us a clearer answer to this question.² In 1577, just

¹ For a general overview of the important role of the classics in colonial Latin America, including a survey of early editions and translations of classical authors, cf. Tom B. Jones, "The Classics in Colonial Hispanic America," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 70 (1930), pp. 37-45.

² The copy I consulted is to be found in New York Public Library, KE 1577. I wish to thank the late Virginia Brown and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for the support I received from them in order to visit New York City and study this early printed edition *in situ*. My thanks as well for the helpful criticism offered by members of the audience at the annual meeting of the Classical

a few decades after the introduction of the first printing press in Mexico City (1535) and the printing of the first book in the western hemisphere (1539), Antonio Ricardo, a printer from Torino, produced this anthology of poems at the newly founded Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo.³ The Jesuits had arrived in Mexico in 1572 and Ricardo worked for them during his stay in Mexico from 1577 to 1579 before moving on south to Peru.⁴ Ricardo even had an office in the Colegio.⁵ This is, to our knowledge, the first volume of Ovid's poetry printed in the western hemisphere. It antedates by over two centuries the first school edition of his works published in the United States (W. Spotswood's edition of Ovid was printed in Philadelphia in 1790). Indeed, it precedes by nearly fifty years the first literary work to be completed in what is now the United States, namely, George Sandys' famous translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (completed at Jamestown and first published in London in 1626).⁶

Catholic missionaries in 16th-century Mexico found a way, at least for a while, to make good use of a language, namely Latin, that was neither their own first tongue nor that of the indigenous peoples in whose land they were now living. Of course, Latin had long been the language of empire and ecclesiastical power in western Europe. At the end of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Jupiter famously agrees that the Trojan refugees will adopt the natives' language, namely Latin, once the fighting is over and peace has been sealed

Association of the Midwest and South in Tucson, Arizona, where an earlier version of this paper was presented in 2008.

³ For the possible role of the distinguished Jesuit Latinist Vincencio Lanuchi (b. 1540) in the production of this volume and its connection with the instruction of Latin grammar and rhetoric in the fledgling Colegio, cf. Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Colegios y Profesores Jesuitas que enseñaron latín en nueva españa* (1572-1767) = Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Clásicos 8 (Mexico City, 1979), pp. 30-1: "Los alumnos y los profesores tuvieron un desempeño semejante al del curso anterior; pero ahora pudieron gozar de dos textos elaborados, probablemente, por Lanuchi...."

⁴ On the Jesuit Blas Valera who may have authored a grammar of the Quechua language in Latin as well as a history of Peru, cf. Sabine Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas. The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (Ann Arbor, 2003).

⁵ Lawrence S. Thompson, *Printing in Colonial Spanish America* (Hamden and London, 1962), p. 29. Cf. Henry R. Wagner, *Sixteenth-Century Mexican Imprints in Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (New York, 1924), pp. 249 ff.

⁶ Mark Morford, "Early American School Editions of Ovid," *Classical Journal* 78 (1982-3), pp. 150-8.

with marriage, treaties, and laws (*Aeneid* 12.832-40). Latin did indeed become the *lingua franca* of the vast and powerful Roman empire and long after the empire itself finally collapsed in the West, Latin would continue to be the official language of the Roman Catholic Church's liturgy and decrees for centuries to come. While this venerable and prestigious language was hardly a neutral vehicle for communication, nonetheless it had the potential to play the same kind of useful role in colonial Mexico that it had for so many centuries in medieval and early modern Europe, helping to bridge numerous and significant cultural, national, and religious differences.⁷ By contrast, like most of the other European vernaculars, Spanish was a language spoken and understood by very few outside of Spain itself, at least in the 16th century. Certainly there is nothing particularly "Spanish," as we shall see, about the contents of this volume. None of the poets whose works it includes had any particular association with Spain.⁸ Grammar instructors in many of the countries of pre-modern Europe, not just Spain, frequently incorporated the poetry of Ovid and Sedulius in the first stage of the traditional liberal arts curriculum.⁹

It was not only expatriate missionaries and the next generation of priests who were learning to read and write Latin in Mexico in the 16th century. The Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco which was established by Franciscan missionaries in 1536 offered "to the sons of Aztec lords" a rigorous and traditional classical education: "Latin grammar, followed by rhetoric, poetics, logic, philosophy, and even medicine, all taught through the medium of Latin."¹⁰ Classical Latin authors in the school's library included Cicero, Juvenal, Livy, Plutarch, Sallust, Seneca, and Virgil.¹¹ One of the

⁷ Cf. Françoise Waquet, *Latin, Or the Empire of a Sign: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*; transl. John Howe (London and New York, 2002).

⁸ Ovid was born in Italy, studied at Rome, traveled in Greece, and was exiled to Tomis on the Black Sea. Sedulius was probably a native of Rome but may also have spent time in Greece. Gregory Nazianzus lived in what is now Turkey, but studied in Athens and was later bishop of Constantinople.

⁹ On Sedulius' reception in pre-modern Europe, see chapter 7 of Carl P.E. Springer, *The Gospel As Epic: Sedulius' Paschale Carmen* = Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* II (Leiden, 1988).

¹⁰ Nicholas Ostler, *Ad Infinitum: A Biography of Latin* (New York, 2007), p. 267. Our volume is the second in what appears to be a set, following Andrea Alciato's popular *Emblemata* (first published in 1531). Cf. Romero, *Colegios y Profesores Jesuitas*, p. 30.

¹¹ Miguel Mathes, *Sant Cruz de Tlatelolco: la primera biblioteca académica de las Américas* (Mexico City, 1982), pp. 32-65. Aesop's fables were so popular in

Franciscans who started the mission in 1524 declared that after some initial struggles many of his Aztec pupils became “good grammarians, composing long ... orations (in prose) and hexameter and pentameter verses.”¹² From the same source comes a story about a Castilian priest who had recently arrived in Mexico and who could not believe that the Indians had learned as much Latin as it was claimed they had. After hearing an Indian student recite the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed in perfect Latin, the priest challenged the accuracy of one word in order to test the student. The student responded by asking the priest: *Reverende pater, cuius casus est?* Since the priest himself did not fully comprehend Latin grammar, he left “quite at a loss, covered with confusion.”¹³

One of the most intriguing features of this intriguing Latin volume is the prominent position it assigns to Ovid’s poetry.¹⁴ That this pagan author would come first in a volume of poetry that carries the imprimatur of the *Archiepiscopus Mexicanus* may well have more to do with the specific content of the specific Ovidian poems printed here, namely, the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, than with any sort of deep attachment to Ovid’s poetry in general. The first book of the *Tristia* was written in the course of Ovid’s difficult journey to exile in Tomis while the second consists of his plea to the emperor Augustus to reverse his harsh decision to banish the poet from Rome. The remaining three books describe most eloquently Ovid’s growing pessimism about ever being able to return home to his beloved city and his discontent with his current surroundings. Ovid’s *Epistulae ex Ponto* contain some of his most poignant poetry written in exile. These verse epistles in four books are addressed to old friends whom Ovid implores to help him return home from exile. The first book describes the state of his health and his deep fondness for Rome. The last book in the collection is Ovid’s final poetic production, an assemblage of 16 poems in which he describes the climate and geography of Tomis

Mexico that they were translated into Nahuatl. Cf. Gordon Brotherston and Günther Vollmer, *Aesop in Mexico: Die Fabeln des Aesop in aztekischer Sprache* (Berlin, 1987).

¹² Ostler, *Ad Infinitum*, p. 269.

¹³ Ostler, *Ad Infinitum*, p. 269.

¹⁴ On 5r-25r: Ovid’s *Tristia*; on 25r-37v: Ovid’s *De Ponto*.

and continues his increasingly desperate appeals to friends back home for assistance.¹⁵

No doubt, early European colonials in Mexico, especially those with strong attachments to Rome, found it easy to understand the deep longing of the exiled Ovid for the civilized comforts of the eternal city. This is what Serge Gruzinski suggests: “Ovid’s image as a learned poet exiled to the edge of the known world would have appealed to the hundreds of clergymen condemned to spend the rest of their days in the Americas, thousands of leagues from home among barbarians who were no better than the peoples of the Black Sea.”¹⁶ It is not hard to imagine that Ovid’s eloquent but homesick words struck a resonant note with many of these learned Europeans so far from home in Mexico City.

While this volume contains only the exilic poetry of Ovid, it should be noted that other Ovidian works were also popular reading at this time in Mexico.¹⁷ An examination of the inventories of ships carrying freight between Spain and Mexico in the year 1576 shows that nine copies of the *Metamorphoses* arrived that year in Mexico City.¹⁸ And we know of some people in Mexico who were not only collecting the works of Ovid but were also reading them with considerable care. In March 1566, Don Pablo Nazareo, an Indian prince from Xaltocan, quoted Ovid’s *Ars amatoria* 3.653-656 in a long letter to King Philip II of Spain. The scholarly Aztec prince (a relative of the great Moctezuma) even provided a reference in his letter in case Philip’s knowledge of Ovid was inadequate: *ut ait*

¹⁵ For a good introduction to both of these works and bibliographical references, see Peter Green, *The Poems of Exile: Tristia and the Black Sea Letters, With a New Foreword* (Berkeley, 2005).

¹⁶ Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*; transl. Deke Dusinberre (New York, 2002), p. 92.

¹⁷ Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* was read allegorically and extensively in late medieval and early modern Christian Europe. On the survival and influence of this important Augustan poet see, among others, Charles Martindale, ed., *Ovid Renewed. Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1988) and Theodore Ziolkowski, *Ovid and the Moderns* (Ithaca, 2005).

¹⁸ Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*, p. 91. For an account in general of the important role of books in the Spanish conquest of Latin America in the 16th century, see Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World* (New York, 1964).

Ovidius ille libro tercio de arte [“as that well known Ovid said in the third book concerning the art”].¹⁹

While there is no attempt in this 1577 anthology to explain away or allegorize the works of the pagan poet Ovid, there can be no doubt that the book into which his exilic works have found their way is explicitly Christian. In addition to Ovid’s poetry, it contains “some very elegant poems of Saint Gregory Nazianzus” (329/330-389/390) in Latin translation,²⁰ along with one of the popular hymns of the early Christian Latin poet, Sedulius (fl. 425-450), *Cantemus socii, Domino*.²¹ The frontispiece of the book includes an emblem that features the name of Jesus, indicating clearly the Christian character of this volume in general and its association with the Society of Jesus in particular:

P. OVIDII NASONIS

TAM DE TRISTIBUS

QUAM DE PONTO

UNA CUM ELEGANTISSI-

mis quibusdam carminibus divi

Gregorii Nazianzeni.

¹⁹ Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*, p. 94.

²⁰ Gregory was one of the influential “Cappadocian fathers” and a prolific author of Greek prose and poetry. The latter has not been the subject of extensive study until fairly recently, but see now Peter Gilbert, *On God and Man: The Theological Poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus* (Crestwood, 2001); John McGuckin, *Saint Gregory Nazianzen: Selected Poems* (Oxford, 1995); Carolinne White, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Autobiographical Poems* = Cambridge Medieval Classics 6 (Cambridge/New York, 1996); C. Moreschini and D.A. Sykes, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Poemata Arcana* (Oxford, 1997); and Christos Simelidis, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* = Hypomnemata 177 (Göttingen, 2009).

²¹ On ff. 53v-55v, beginning *HYMNUS INCIPIT SEDVLII PRAESBYTERI, IN QVO Carmine reciprico dimidium versus primi, finem complectitur versus secundi*. For more on this hymn and its reception in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, see Carl P.E. Springer, *The Manuscripts of Sedulius* = Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 85, part 5 (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 12-13.

MEXICI.

In Collegio Sanctorum Petri et Pauli

Apud Antonium Ricardum

M.D.LXXVII

[“The *De Tristibus* as well as the *De Ponto* of Publius Ovidius Naso together with some very elegant poems of Saint Gregory Nazianzus. In Mexico. In the College of Saints Peter and Paul. At the publishing house of Antonio Ricardo, 1577.”] At the center of the emblem, we find the words *Nomen eius Iesum vocabis* [“You will call his name Jesus;” cf. Matthew 1.21] surrounding the initials *IHS* (the common Latin abbreviation for Jesus). Around the center we read: *DULCE TUUM NOSTRO FIGAS IN PECTORE NOMEN NAMQUE TUO CONSTAT NOMINE NOSTRA SALUS* [“May you imprint your sweet name in our breast, for our salvation rests upon your name.”]

Those who designed, published, and first taught from this book must have expected that its readers would not have found the juxtaposition of pagan and Christian writings, set side by side in the same volume, jarring.²² Centuries before Antonio Ricardo published this textbook, the early Christian controversialist Tertullian posed a famous rhetorical question in precisely this regard: “What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?” While Tertullian would probably have answered his own question along the lines of “obviously, nothing at all,” there have been many other Christians through the centuries, from patristic writers like Clement of Alexandria and Augustine to later churchmen like Ignatius Loyola and Cardinal John Newman, who have found substantial areas of commonality between the two great symbolic cities and what they represent. Indeed, for centuries much of higher education in the West embraced what has been called “The Great Tradition,” namely, the idea of an “education rooted in the classical and Christian heritage,”²³ or, as Martin Luther put it, the “languages and the arts, which can do us no harm, but are actually a greater

²² On the high regard for the classics in traditional Jesuit education, see the recent volume edited by Edmund Cueva, Shannon Byrne, and Frederick Benda, *Jesuit Education and the Classics* (Newcastle, 2009).

²³ *De praescriptione haereticorum* 7.9: *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? Quid academiae et ecclesiae? Quid haereticis et christianis?*

ornament, profit, glory, and benefit, both for the understanding of Holy Scriptures and the conduct of temporal government.”²⁴ The Jesuit educators who planned and used this volume of pagan and Christian poetry so many centuries and miles removed from the north African church leader clearly fall within the anti-Tertullian camp.²⁵

One suspects, with Gruzinski, that this ability to live comfortably with a set of apparently mutually exclusive categories (i.e. pagan/Christian) made it easier for the European settlers of Mexico and other parts of what we now call Latin America²⁶ to find common ground between their own culture and that of the native peoples who surrounded them. When it came to interaction with their indigenous neighbors, Catholic missionaries tended in general to be more open to the syncretization of native religions with established Christian practices and beliefs than were Protestants.²⁷ The contrast with the intellectual world of the North American Puritans in this regard could not be starker. The learned New England divine Cotton Mather, for instance, rejected the pagan Muses as “no better than harlots” (in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* of 1726). A Congregational minister who was later to become President of Yale, Timothy Dwight, blamed the study of the classics, in particular, the myths, for promoting immorality and discouraged the reading of Homer on Sunday.²⁸ The Europeans who settled North America tended to maintain their genetic and cultural identities intact for the most part. This is not surprising since many of them, like the Pilgrims who landed in Massachusetts in 1620, did not come to America in order to convert the natives,

²⁴ Richard M. Gamble, *The Great Tradition: Classic Readings on What It Means to Be an Educated Human Being* (Wilmington, 2007), pp. 371-381.

²⁵ The Jesuits were eventually expelled from the Spanish colonies in the Americas by a royal decree enacted in 1767. Even in exile, however, the Jesuits continued to write Latin poetry, including the monumental *Rusticatio Mexicana, seu rariora quaedam de agris Mexicanis decerpta* in 15 books, by the Guatemalan-born Rafael Landívar (1731-1793) as well as a New Testament epic, *De Deo Deoque Homine Carmina Heroica*, by Diego José Abad (1727-1779). See Ostler, *Ad Infinitum*, pp. 274-5.

²⁶ This descriptive term is of relatively recent vintage, coined by the Colombian author José Caicedo in 1856 (Ostler, *Ad Infinitum*, p. 260).

²⁷ On the limits of syncretism, especially for the Franciscans and Dominicans, see Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and Evangelising Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572* (Berkeley, 1966).

²⁸ Caroline Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life 1780-1910* (Baltimore and London, 2002), p. 15.

but because they were ostracized in Europe and could find no safe place there to pursue their own controversial religious beliefs and practices. When they got to America, it seems, the Puritans in New England were less interested in seeing to the spiritual improvement of their indigenous neighbors than they were in achieving for themselves the civic security and societal perfection that they had been unable to realize in Europe.²⁹

It seems clear, furthermore, that the Jesuit educators at the Colegio did not regard the study of Latin poetry as a rarefied field incompatible with the busy demands of daily life in the newly discovered continent, but believed instead that Latin poetry could still be used to help educate young people for a thoughtful and productive life even in a world in which the language had never before been used. For Jesuits and others in the early modern period, education was not simply a matter of ensuring students' intellectual development, but a process of moral maturation that included instruction in such mundane but useful matters as etiquette.³⁰ In addition to the nostalgic poetry of the pagan Ovid, whose subject may have appealed more to teachers than to students, as we have seen, and the spiritually uplifting Christian poems of the hymn writer Sedulius and the theologian Gregory Nazianzus, this textbook also features several short Latin poems filled with quotidian wisdom about how to live properly and well. These latter appear to be expressly designed for young people.

Indeed, one of these practical poems is addressed *Ad iuventutem* ["To the youth"]. It gives sensible advice to be followed *dum*

²⁹ The Christian poets, not the pagan Ovid, are given the last word in this volume. It concludes with poems attributed to Gregory Nazianzus on 56r-64v: *Miracula Christi secundum Mattheum versibus elegiacis* (beginning *Haec quae mortali Christus cum carne patravit*); *Vita humana* (beginning *Trochus est parum certus, parumque stabilis*); and *Vita Christiana* (beginning *Conveniunt cuius lachrymae, excubiaeque, laborque*).

³⁰ Educational emphasis on etiquette was by no means limited to Latin America. As a young man, George Washington is supposed to have copied out "Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation," a set of 110 rules which were intended to "polish manners, impress the obligations of moral virtue, teach how to treat others in social relations, and, above all, to inculcate the practice of a perfect self control." The rules include such basic advice about manners as "Spit not in the fire" and "Sleep not when others speak." See Richard Brookhiser, *Rules of Civility: The 110 Precepts that Guided our First President in War and Peace* (Charlottesville, 1987).

mensae accumbitis [“when you are sitting at the table”]³¹ and warns readers in advance: *Nemo cibum capiat, nisi consecratio fiat. Priuetur mensa, qui spreuerit haec documenta.* [“Let no one take food, unless a blessing has been offering. Let him be removed from the table who scorns these warnings.”]

Vultum hilarem habeatis.

Sal cultello capiatis.

Quid edendum fit, ne petatis.

Non depositum capiatis.

Rixas, et murmur fugiatis.

Membris rectis sedeatis.

Mappam mundam teneatis.

Ne scalpatis, caueatis.

Aliis partem oblatorum tribuatis.

Morsa non reiiciatis.

Modicum (si crebro) bibatis.

*Gratias Christo semper agatis.*³²

[“Have a happy countenance.

Use the little knife to take salt.

Don’t ask what’s to eat.

Don’t grab the food in front of you.

³¹ On 38r-40v we find another similar example, Ioannes Sulpicius Verulanus, *Carmen Iuuenile. De moribus in mensa servandis*, followed on 41f-53r by Gregory Nazianzus’ *De suis aerumnis*.

³² The poem is found on 55v. The last four letters *-atis* are missing from the end of each of the 12 lines and supplied once on the margin.

Avoid quarrels and grumbling.

Sit up straight.

Keep your napkin clean.

Be careful not to scratch.

Share portions with others.

Don't spit your food out.

Drink moderately, if often.

Always give thanks to Christ.”]

This poem may not be a literary masterpiece, but it is a *tour de force* of sorts. Not only does it offer invaluable dining tips in twelve successive rhyming lines, but it also reinforces a fine point of Latin syntax in the process. Every line ends with a verb in the second person plural subjunctive (the so-called jussive use of the subjunctive).

The presuppositions of those who put this volume together must have included the conviction that Latin poetry could be used effectively to convey practical, moral advice to young people. By contrast, other Christian colonists of the Americas, farther north and somewhat later, were quick to question the utility of studying the classics. Perhaps the most outspoken early opponent of Greek and Latin in the United States, Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, declared of the years he spent learning Greek and Latin: “I should wish the memory of those years blotted out of my mind forever.”³³ William Livingston, newspaper editor and later governor of New Jersey, argued that the new country had greater need of practical and applied knowledge:

³³ Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, p. 131. Rush did not get far with contemporaries like John Adams, who wrote to Jefferson after Rush's death in 1813: “Classics, in spite of our friend Rush, I must think indispensable.” Nor did the anti-classical arguments sway his son, John Quincy Adams, who was supposed to have spent two hours a day for ten months reading the complete works of Cicero in Latin and referred to six bronze busts of ancient heroes in his home as his “household gods.”

The most intimate acquaintance with the classics, will not remove our oaks; nor a taste for the *Georgics* cultivate our lands. Many of our young people are knocking their heads against the *Iliad*, who should employ their hands in clearing our swamps and draining our marshes.³⁴

Presented with a novel set of opportunities made possible only because they were in a new land, the first settlers of New England set out to recreate themselves afresh in America. Behind them lay the constrictive European past, including the daunting intellectual legacy of the classics; ahead of them there stretched a beckoning, boundless wilderness consisting only of untamed nature and “savage” Indians, an area of limitless potentiality that cried out to be named, farmed, and civilized. From this point of view, many, but not all, of these American settlers to the north considered the serious study of Latin poetry almost entirely a waste of time.³⁵

One suspects that the Jesuit teachers of Latin in Mexico City at this time would have appreciated the impassioned defense of the utility of the classics, penned by Edward Copleston (1776-1849), provost of Oriel College, Oxford. To deprive students of the ability to study Latin poetry, Copleston argues, is “a cruel experiment,” he writes, whose result is “not only a moral blank, but an intellectual barrenness -- a poverty of fancy and invention, a dearth of historical and poetical illustration, a want of all those ideas which decorate and enliven truth, which enable us to live over again the times that are past, to combine the produce of widely distant ages, and to multiply into one another the component parts of each.”³⁶

This rare volume of Latin poetry provides a glimpse into an earlier ideal of education that sought to establish precisely those traditional qualities of sensibility, intellect, and character that might best prepare students for a lifetime of thoughtful citizenship. Even though over 400 years have passed since its publication in Mexico City, this old poetry textbook may serve to inspire those today who still “desire to educate for wisdom and virtue, not power and vanity; find tiresome the present age’s preoccupation with utility, speed, novelty, convenience, efficiency, and specialization; and

³⁴ Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, p. 36.

³⁵ On the important imaginative role that Virgil’s *Aeneid* played for at least some of the North American colonials, see John Shields, *The American Aeneas: Classical Origins of the American Self* (Knoxville, 2001).

³⁶ Gamble, *Great Tradition*, p. 513.

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refuse to justify education as a means to wealth, power, fame, or self-assertion.”³⁷

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³⁷ Gamble, *Great Tradition*, p. xviii.