KRISTIAN JENSEN

Locher's and Grüninger's Edition of Horace from Strasbourg 1498

At the Crossroads between Printed and Manuscript Book Production and Use

Abstract

This contribution aims to exemplify through a case study focused on Germany, how the late fifteenth-century availability of printed classical texts, whether for teachers or for students, facilitated an internationalisation of local textual traditions, sometimes with cultural tensions as a result. Printed books were commodities which modified both ways of engaging with texts and ways of producing manuscript texts. At the same time, pre-existing ways of making and using books formed the expectations of customers which producers of printed books sought to meet or, in a world of international commercial competition, even to exceed, by introducing innovative features which matched the evolving needs of potential buyers. We find a complex interplay of intellectual demands for change, institutionally established user expectations and the need for printers and publishers to create economically viable commodities, where printed books shaped a pre-existing and continued manuscript based literary culture.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, printed books were produced for teachers and students in Europe who already had clear expectations of what a book was and should do. The way people in the late fifteenth century engaged with literature changed as a result of the complex interaction between ideological wishes for change, well established user requirements and textual practices – not least in the settings of schools, universities, and the clerical, legal and medical professions – and finally the necessity for printers and publishers to produce something that met customer expectations and yet had distinguishing features which would enable them to compete with the output of their competitors.[1]

Works of Horace, Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 BCE), have been part of the literary canon in the Latin west for some 2100 years. They were studied after pupils had learned the basics of grammar and had read more elementary texts. His poems are linguistically and, in the post-classical Christian world, especially culturally challenging, unease about the reading in school of texts by pagan authors being voiced regularly from the third century onwards.

His work is associated with an extensive body of commentaries and glosses, some with roots in late classical antiquity, but many being later, not least created from the twelfth century onwards.

The first printed edition of Horace appeared in Venice in 1471 or 1472 (Horatius, Venice: Printer of Basilius, *De vita solitaria*), some twenty-five years after the Gutenberg Bible, the first European printed book. This is roughly in line with other classical texts; the first classical author to appear in print was Cicero in 1465 while, for instance, Vergil's *Aeneid* was first printed in 1469.[2]

The 1472 edition contained the six constituent parts which make up the complete works of Horace: *Carmina* ("Songs," also referred to as "Odes"), *Epodoi*,[3] *Satirae* ("Satires," often called "Sermones"), *Epistolae* ("Letters"), *Carmen saeculare* (a poem commissioned for the "Secular Games" held in Rome in 17 BC), and *Ars poetica* ("the Art of Poetry"). Twenty-two other editions of Horace's complete works appeared in the fifteenth century, as well as some forty-four editions which contain at least one of the six component parts of his works.

This contribution takes as its starting point the only German edition of Horace's complete works, published in Strasbourg on 12 March 1498 by Johann Grüninger (*c.* 1455– *c.* 1533). It is the only one of the twenty-three fifteenth-century editions of Horace's *Opera omnia* to have been printed outside Italy.[4] It is one of only two non-Italian Horace editions to contain printed commentaries.[5] It is the only fifteenth-century Horace edition to contain illustrations. Finally, its printed text is laid out in three columns, presenting a page view completely different from the printed text of all other editions of Horace or of any other classical text.

We seek to demonstrate how this edition aimed to enable teachers relatively easily to convey up-to-date humanist information about classical texts in a way which did not challenge strong ethical norms. The contribution thus seeks to nuance the notion that a moralising reading of classical texts was incompatible with a humanist approach. Drawing on comparisons with printed books with manuscript anno-

2. The very basic school texts of Donatus, *Ars minor*, and Aesop's fables, versions of classical texts, appeared much earlier.

3. An *Epodos* was originally the concluding part of a tripartite poetical composition and the word may be translated as 'concluding song,' but by Horace's time it was a genre on its own.

4. ISTC counts twenty-four *opera omnia* editions. ISTC ih00445000 records *Opera omnia*. Leipzig: Landsberg, 1492. In this it follows BMC III 637. There is no shared title page, the parts often survive in separation and were certainly offered for sale separately, as evidenced by annotations of purchase prices. Following GW, I consider them as six separate editions, although it could be argued that they were in fact eight separate editions.

5. The other edition being ISTC ih00483000, the Lyon 1499/1500 edition of Horatius *Sermones et epistolae* [Lyon]: Wolf, 1499/1500 with the commentary of pseudo-Acron, and edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius.

6. This is based on the copies recorded by ISTC comparing them with those listed in GW.

7. Horatius, Firenze: Miscomini. ISTC and GW 13458 record some 120 surviving copies held in 109 different public institutions. It is surprising that Stadler 27 states that this edition is so rare that she has only been able to inspect one copy very briefly.

8. Karl von Baden (1476–1510), titular Markgraf and canon in Strasbourg and Speyer, later also Cologne.

9. "Ideo germani apud exteros barbari iudicamur et qui bene apud nos instituuntur (quid perraro euenit) doctrina et statu crescunt cum ipsi preceptores alexandrini toto uitae spatio apud uocatiuum et Socratem currentem Platonemque disputantem in miseria delitescant. Non enim possent (si res exigeret) hospitem aut aduenam uirum prestantem latine excipere non eleganter salutare non comiter alloqui." Wimpfeling *Isidoneus*, sig. C4 *recto*. ("That is why foreigners think that we Germans are barbarians and those among us who are well educated– which happens very rarely – grow in learned reputation, while teachers who rely on the grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei spend their whole life hiding behind phrases like 'vocativum,' 'Socratem currentem' and 'Platonem disputantem.' For they cannot, if the need were to arise, greet a guest or an eminent foreign visitor correctly in Latin, cannot address him tastefully, cannot speak with him in a pleasant way.") '*Isidoneus*' is a word made up by Wimpfeling, who explained how it consists of Greek words meaning 'in,' 'way' and 'youth.' So, the whole title means something like 'Introduction to the Education of Young People in Germany.'

10. See for instance the sections *Vtilitas linguae latinae* and *De gymnasio pro pueris prima grammaticae rudimenta nactis instituendo*, in Wimpfeling *Germania*, sigs. e3 *verso* to f1 *recto*.

11. Sig. [*2r], Jacobus Philomusus Locher's letter addressed to Karl, Markgraf of Baden, dated 19472. Iurilli, *Orazio* 47, takes Locher's statement at face value.

12. Most recently as an uncontested fact ("fest steht") by Zimmermann-Homeyer, *Frühdrucke* 158. For Bentley see Stenuit, "Horace" 784, note 13.

tations based on university lectures, given by teachers using the same Italian Humanist sources as the editors of the Strasbourg edition, the article aims to show how the edition functioned in a specific teaching environment at the crossroads between the international commercial distribution of texts in the form of printed books and a very local and personal manuscript book production by students attending lectures.

This is not a rare book. Some 260 copies are recorded in public institutions[6] and an unknown number survives in private hands. It is by far the fifteenth-century Horace edition which survives in the largest numbers, a distant second being the Florence edition from 1482 of which 120 copies are recorded in public institutions.[7] Other editions survive in substantially lower numbers. Marks of use in nearly all inspected copies of the Strasbourg edition add to the impression that we can be relatively sure that it had an impact. There are several further reasons why this edition attracts attention.

Its editor, to use a modern phrase, was Jakob 'Philomusus' Locher (1471–1528), who dedicated it to Karl, titular Markgraf of Baden.[8] The letter of dedication places the edition in a Rhenish cultural world, emphasising the need for German princes to be able to compete internationally by having at their disposal men who could match the cultural achievement of Italian and French envoys, by demonstrating equal Latin linguistic and rhetorical skills.

Despite Locher's controversies with Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) and others, this was a shared concern in the Rhenish humanist environment. In 1497, the year before the publication of Locher's Horace edition, Wimpfeling had repeatedly expressed the same concern in his *Isidoneus germanicus*: a poor command of Latin was the reason why 'we Germans' were considered 'barbarous' by foreigners, even the few who were well educated not being able to greet visiting dignitaries in elegant Latin.[9] Wimpfeling reverted to the theme in his oration *Germania* from 1501, addressed to the burghers of Strasbourg, where he especially framed it in terms of competition with France.[10] In his letter of dedication Locher wrote that he had based the text of Horace on ancient manuscripts available in Germany.[11] This statement should be read within the context of the German cultural rivalry with Italy and France, but Richard Bentley (1661–1742) took it as fact and it is still repeated as such.[12] However, in two important articles Bernard Stenuit has shown that for the Horatian texts themselves Locher depended on one of the editions printed in Venice from 1492 onwards that contained four commentaries, those of An-

13. On pseudo-Acron in the fifteenth century see Formenti, "Corpus pseudacroneo."

14. Stenuit, "Le texte d'Horace" and Stenuit, "Horace" refers to the 1492 edition Horatius, Venezia: Pincius, 1492/93. ISTC ih00455000. For the later editions containing these texts see ISTC ih00456000; ih00457000; ih00458000; ih00459000; and ih00460000.

15. Only one single fifteenth-century copy of Horace is recorded by ISTC as having been printed on skin, a copy of the first edition, the copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France of the *editio princeps* (Horatius, Venezia: *Printer of Basilius, 'De vita solitaria'*). See CIBN H-268.

16. Pieper, "Schulfibel" 66.

17. Pieper, "Schulfibel" suggests that the elitist theme may be based on a poem in the 1490 edition of Arrivabene by Franceso Superchi also called Philomusus, but there are no textual similarities to suggest any relationship beyond both authors generically recalling the theme of Horace, *Carm.* 3.1.1. Similarly, the textual analysis which led Pieper to the conclusion that there is an intertextual relationship with a poem by Landino in the 1482 edition and a poem by Locher seems feeble. The shared topos of bringing a forgotten author back to life is too common for us to assume any relationship. There are no significant verbal similarities and the two poems are written in two different metres, Locher's in elegiac distichs, while Politianus's is Aeolian (the second Asclepiadean).

18. "O vos lectores tetricis semonibus aures / arrigite et doctum uatis adite nemus." "O readers, prick up your ears for these stern works and enter the grove of the learned."

tonio Mancinelli, pseudo-Acron,[13] Porphyrio, and Christoforo Landino. Stenuit[14] shows that where Locher deviated from the Venetian text, he followed textual suggestions made in Mancinelli's commentaries produced in the same editions. The coordination between Locher's printed text and his commentary is not perfect, however: he sometimes expresses a preference for a reading which his text does not reproduce. Stenuit assesses Locher's text as poorly established, while granting that the edition is interesting for its innovative inclusion of numerous woodcuts.

Like all fifteenth-century folio editions of the works of Horace with commentaries, it is printed on chancery size paper, measuring about 300×400 mm per sheet, the smallest of the standard paper sizes.[15] The small folio format would contribute to a conclusion that this was not a book aimed at the very top-end of the market.

An argument has been made that the Strasbourg edition was aimed at a market more elite than the Florentine edition in which the commentaries of Landino were first printed.[16] This suggestion is based on a poem of four lines, two elegiac distichs: "qui venis Aonii nemoris spectare sorores / illotis manibus ledere sacra caue. / Non hec monstrantur fatuo spectacula uulgo / huc ueniant quorum mens benedocta sapit." Here Locher tells the reader that the poems are not for the thoughtless masses, and that one should come to them with clean hands and a wise mind.[17] This generically echoes the sentiment of Horace's *Odi profanum uulgus et arceo* (*Carm.* 3.1; "I hate the uninitiated crowd and keep them at bay"), and sets the scene for a moralising reading of Horace's poems, but it contains no suggestion of a social hierarchy of suitable readers. The short poem follows immediately after a longer poem of ten elegiac distichs, also by Locher, which provides a context. The burden of this poem is that Horace has something to offer a wide range of people or, more precisely, a wide range of buyers: the word *eme* ("buy") in the imperative, is repeatedly addressed at people with different emotional and intellectual inclinations. People of all market segments are, however, exhorted not only to pay, but also to pay attention to Horace's learned and stern poems.[18] 'Stern' is an unexpected description of Horace's poems for us and is suggestive of how Locher wanted to direct their reading in a moralising direction. None of this, however, would support the view that he sought an audience more elitist than buyers of other commented editions of Horace's complete works.

The layout

The essential layout is one of three columns. The width of the columns is standardised, reflecting a consistency imposed by the physical equipment used by the typesetter to manage the layout. In the *Carmina*, *Epodes*, and the *Carmen saeculare*, the two lateral columns each measure 44 mm, while the central column allows lines up to 65 mm, many individual lines being much shorter. In the *Ars poetica*, *Sermones* and *Epistulae* the maximum length of the lines in the central column is 77 mm. This reflects the metre of these poems, hexameters, which regularly have more syllables than most of the lyric metres used in the other works. Here the lateral columns are therefore narrower, namely 36 mm.

The text of Horace

In the central column we find the text of Horace's poems printed in a roman type, measuring 89 mm per twenty lines, that is to say that it would have measured 89 mm per twenty lines if it had been 'set tight.' However, here the type is 'leaded': the printer created extra blank space between the lines of text by inserting metal strips between the lines of type. Printers often used leading to enable users of the printed books to write their own manuscript interlinear notes or glosses, in which case the printer could use strips of metal which had the same length as the lines of text. But in this instance leading was done to make room for the printing of glosses, on one or two lines between the lines of the text, so varying, shorter units of leading must have been used. Each poem begins with space for a capital letter to be supplied by hand, a guide letter making it clear what letter should be supplied. Typically in red and/or blue, if professionally supplied, this would have been a strong visual indication of the beginning of each poem. However, as we shall see, Grüninger signposted this in numerous different ways and users or owners of many copies did not think it necessary to supply the initial, making do with the guide letters in their blank spaces, again suggesting that for most, this was a useful book not one bought as a luxury object.

The headlines

Each poem is preceded by a headline, identifying the category of Horace's works to which they belong, for instance that it is an Ode,
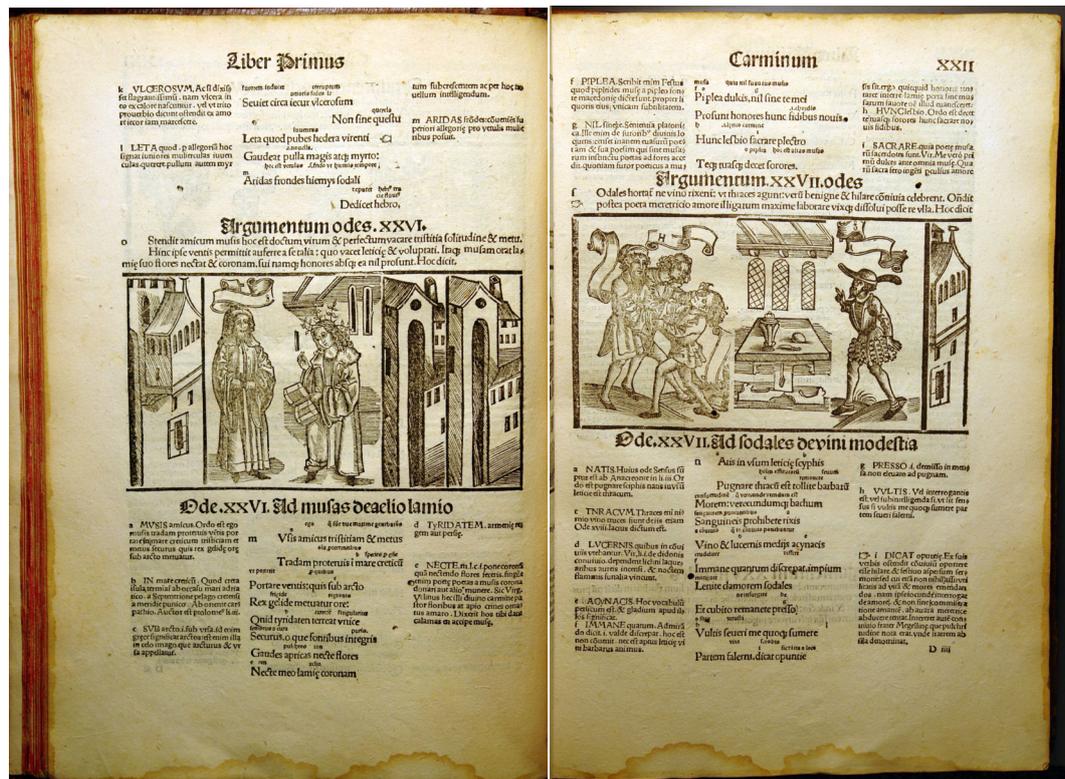
Figure 1: Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sigs. Diii *verso* and Div *recto*.

the number of the book, the number of the poem, and a brief indication of the content. The text is based on that found in the editions printed in Venice from 1492 onwards, probably written by Mancinelli, but Locher omitted the traditional information on the metre, and occasionally he modified the wording. Grüninger used a large gothic type measuring 147 mm per twenty lines. The headlines with their large font size make it easier to navigate one's way through the book. However, short as they are, they are not neutral finding aids. In many cases they set a clear strategy for reading the text. *Carm.* 1.27, *Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis*, ("Wine cups are made to have fun" see fig. 1 above) is stated to be an exhortation from Horace to his friends to drink wine in moderation. This may be good advice, but Horace's poem does not mention moderation.

The interlinear glosses

Interlinear glosses, in Latin, are printed in a very small gothic type, some 48–52 mm per twenty lines.[19] The glosses provide elementary explanations of the meaning of words through the provision of synonyms. The glosses found here were probably chiefly aimed at expanding the range of vocabulary and idioms of the students, to

19. BMC I 112 measures 48 mm, GW says 52 mm. Because we never get more than two lines together, it is not feasible to give exact measurements.

20. Horatius, Venezia: *Pincius*. ISTC ih00455000.

21. Schuh, *Aneignungen* especially 194–95. His conclusion is further supported by the manuscript notes in Leipzig printed editions made by students attending the same lectures. A gloss in one book never occurs as a marginal comment in another.

22. Just over 50 known fifteenth-century editions of Alexander de Villa Dei have interlinear glosses, for instance, and many even use their presence as a promotional statement, as do editions of Aesop. We also find printed interlinear glosses in editions of Adam Magister, Cato, Donatus, Aesop and for instance the 1495 edition of Adam Magister, Cologne: Quentell (ISTC ia00046000). Likewise in numerous editions of the verse school text *Poeniteas cito* by Guilelmus de Montibus, one of which was printed by Grüninger around 1497.

achieve *copia*, a richness of expression. There are few paraphrases and no vernacular translations, which would more straightforwardly have been an aid for students to understand the text. All the glosses that I have examined, by no means all of those in the volume, can be shown to have been extracted from the commentaries printed in the Venetian Horace editions from 1492 onwards.[20] In the Venetian editions no distinction was made between information of a glossing nature and information of a more explanatory nature, but the material Locher has selected for the glosses is found verbatim in the Venetian editions within their extensive commentaries on the passages in question. Locher identified and segregated this type of information to match the needs of a specific teaching environment. Based on other evidence, Maximilian Schuh has made a strong case that in standard German university practice glosses and commentary were dictated in two separate procedures, first glosses and then commentary;[21] Locher's segregation of the material would suit such a teaching context, a theme which will be discussed further below.

It has been suggested that this edition is unusual among incunables in printing interlinear glosses (Pieper, "Schulfibel" 64). They are, however, frequent in north-European elementary school books, not least in books printed in the western parts of the German-speaking lands. We mostly find them in printed editions aimed at a basic level of instruction, including Latin grammars aimed at the very elementary level of Latin teaching.[22]

The commentary

On each side, a column of commentary flanks the central text column. These are printed in a roman type, measuring 64 mm per twenty lines, larger than the font used for interlinear notes but smaller than the roman font used for Horace's poems themselves.

The commentary is sequential, from top to bottom first in the right and then in the left column. This means that it is not necessarily closely associated with the word on which it comments. Each marginal comment is, however, preceded by a *lemma*, a single or a few words from the text to which the commentary relates. These are set in capital letters of the same roman type as the rest of the commentary. Furthermore, a single lower-case letter, still of the same roman type, anchors the commentary to the text where it is matched by a small interlinear

superscript letter. This ready-made help for linking text and commentary was already used in manuscript law texts in the twelfth century.[23] In the earliest printed editions of the *Corpus juris ciuilis*, such reference letters were only printed with the marginal notes, while the matching letters within the text itself had to be inserted by hand. Perhaps that was because making space for printing these letters in the text itself required leading all the lines, a laborious procedure and expensive in paper. However, in general, printers increasingly sought to produce merchandise that required as little additional post-production manual intervention as possible. The earliest occurrence which we have found of reference letters printed both in the margins and in the text is Johannes Antonius de Honate's edition of the *Corpus juris* from Milan in March 1482 (ISTC ij00548300).

The market for high-value law texts was fiercely competitive, and it would seem that printers and publishers of legal texts felt that this was now a reference system which they had to deliver in its complete form: buyers were likely to prefer editions where they did not have to complete the reference system themselves, nor to pay someone else to do it for them. The take-up was fast. Almost immediately we find the full system in Venetian and Lyonnais editions of the *Corpus juris*. The first occurrence in a printed edition of canon law of this full cross-refencing of notes and text was from Basel also in 1482, an edition of the canon law text of Gratian, and it was fast followed by other Gratian editions.[24] The rapid take up by one publisher of a feature used by another, gives us a strong impression of the fiercely competitive environment of the production of printed books. Another example of the rapid competitive modification of existing textual corpora has been studied in detail for the fifteenth-century production of the Bible by Jensen, "Printing the Bible."

Grüninger first used the system in his Gratian edition from 1484, fourteen years before he deployed it in his Horace edition in 1498. While it was by then a firmly established feature in expensive editions of the laws, it was an innovation for Grüninger to introduce the system to a literary text; I have found no other fifteenth-century example. This suggests that the commercial pressure under which printers and publishers operated led to a greater fluidity in their approach to different genres, features hitherto reserved for one genre being introduced to others in order to help a product gain an advantage in the market. It also suggests that, using a feature which previ-

23. See, for instance, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS BAV Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. A.31.

24. Gratianus, Basel: Wenssler ISTC ig00371000. This edition which was completed on 5 Sept. 1482 was immediately followed by Gratianus, Venezia: Herbort, completed on 21 Oct. 1482. ISTC ig00372000. The first time it was used by Grüninger was in Gratianus, Strasbourg: Grüninger, completed on 4 Sept. 1484. ISTC ig00375000.

25. Iurilli, "Corpus oraziano" 154 describes Mancinelli's commentary as "un commento maturato nello Studio romano… un'esegesi attenta sia *all'artificium* stilistico che al contenuto filosofico, e aliena ormai dal pregiudizio gnomico-pedagogico di ascendenza medievale."

26. Niutta, "Zarotto" 23, describing the absence of moralising content in Mancinelli and (25) identifying the ethical readings of Landino as a residue of a medieval tradition. For a fifteenth-century controversy around Landino's commentary see Di Benedetto, "Fonzio."

27. For the long tradition of ethical readings of Horace see for instance Friis-Jensen, "Horatius Liricus et Ethicus," Fredborg, "Virtue" and Fredborg "Ars poetica." Also Chronopoulos, "Ethics."

28. Badius, *Silvae,* Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 1492. ISTC ib00003000. The *Silvae morales* is divided into twelve books, the ten first of which are dedicated to a moralising theme each. It includes twelve whole poems by Horace and one extract. The moralising reading is also privileged in Badius's editions of his own commentary with those of others, first from 1503 and much reprinted since, the first part being Horatius, Paris: Badius, 1503.

29. For instance, the *argumentum* to *Carmen* 1.5, sig. a6 *verso*, "Inuectiva in meretricem auaram. Sed ridens illam more suo uexat." "An invective against a mean prostitute. But he abuses her in his usual laughing manner." This is, as ever, derived verbatim from Landino.

ously was associated with the most expensive books, Grüninger and Locher took great care to create a product which required little or no manual intervention by the user. This would make it possible for a wide group of university teachers to use the edition, making it easier for all and reducing the risk of less confident teachers getting lost even with the relatively small amount of commentary produced by Locher.

As mentioned above, the establishment of the Horatian text was the focus of Bernard Stenuit's contribution, and he importantly found that all of Locher's marginal notes that engaged with the establishment of a correct text were based on the commentary of Mancinelli. However, by contrast, the much more frequent non-textual marginal observations, are preponderantly based on Landino's commentary, although they very occasionally draw on Mancinelli. All material found in Locher's marginal notes so far examined can be shown to derive from the commentaries contained in the Venetian editions produced from 1492 onwards.

Mancinelli's commentary can be placed in the Roman environment around Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428–98), an important Rome-based Humanist with a strong philological interest.[25] Its focus on philology and rhetoric has been described as distinctively humanistic, and "alien from the gnomic and didactic prejudice predominant in the middle ages." By contrast, the commentary of Landino has been described as retaining a residue of the medieval focus on a moralising reading of Horace.[26] Seeing Landino as a throwback to the past rather than as evidence of contemporary practice disables us from understanding how integral ethical readings of texts were in schools and universities which we call humanist. It could be argued more convincingly that Landino's – and Locher's – humanist ambitions are not diminished by their strategies for steering the reading of Horace in an ethically acceptable direction. Indeed, the evidence suggests that a moralising aim was as integral to humanist teaching of Horace as it was in the high Middle Ages.[27] This is equally supported by the French humanist Badius Ascensius, whose first commentaries on selected poems and excerpts from poems by Horace appeared in 1492 in his unambiguously named *Siluae morales*.[28]

The moralising nature of Locher's commentary is supported, rather than modified, by his selection of phrases from Landino, pointing out that Horace's tone was habitually ironic and humorous.[29] While this is closer to a modern reading of Horace it was yet another way in which he could mediate the ethically challenging themes of the poems.

More specifically, Locher's moralising commentary illustrates how he engaged with the live contemporary issue about the desirability of Christian schoolboys reading pagan authors. His promotion of the reading of classical poets in schools or universities had pitted him against Wimpfeling, among others, who objected on Christian and ethical grounds to their being taught to teenage boys in universities.[30] We may see Locher's strong guidance towards a moralising reading as integral to his response to the fierce objection to his promotion of the reading of classical poets.

It may be possible to direct the readers' attention away from undesirable passages by attracting their attention elsewhere, and it may also be possible to interpret passages in a moralising direction. But sometimes nothing can hide the undesirable message of Horace's poems. We do not find that even the most challenging poems are omitted from Horace's complete works;[31] however, on a few occasions, the commentator gives up. In *Epode* 12, Locher's first marginal comment acknowledged the offensiveness of the text. He provided very few glosses and left unexplained the most sexually loaded words, often the words which might especially have required glossing to enable a students to grasp the meaning of the text.[32] Similarly in *Epode* 8, Locher left the most offensive words without commentary, provided very few interlinear glosses and cut the preceding summary of the poem short, saying: "It is rather obscene what is said in this ode."

There is also a non-verbal element associated with Locher's commentary. We find a printed *maniculum*,[33] a hand with a finger pointing to passages that Locher sought to single out as especially important (see fig. 1). This is a feature which one would typically expect readers to add by hand, deciding for themselves what is important, part of a personal engagement with the text, but here even this aspect of textual engagement has been pre-decided. In many cases, but not all, the indicated passages may be taken to be moralising, and often, but again not always, they relate to passages which are listed in an index called *Directorium ad uirtutes* ("Index to virtues"), a finding aid unique to this Horace edition.

The illustrations

Above the headlines we find woodcut illustrations. A few illustrations in the edition are printed from a single wood block but, with a few exceptions, the illustrations immediately preceding a poem are

30. The controversy has been well documented and discussed by Délégué, *Théologie.* See also Stenuit, "Horace" 782–83.

31. The strategy of textual omission is one which Fredborg, "Virtue" 207 has noticed in one twelfth-century manuscript only.

32. Horatius, Strasbourg: Grüninger, sig. Rii *verso* on Epodos 8: 'Satis tamen obscena sunt quae hac ode dicuntur' and sig. Rvi *recto*, on Epodos 12: 'Satis obscena que hac ode dicuntur.'

33. On the role of the *maniculum* in general see Sherman, "Manicule."

34. I have not myself undertaken a count of the illustrations. For these figures and the fundamental information on the woodblocks see Kristeller, *Bücher-Illustration* 89, note 83. Zimmermann-Homeyer, *Frühdrucke*, 151–58 has recently examined Grüninger's use of images from an art historical perspective. The blocks being reused may be the reason why she pays little attention to the Horace edition, her brief account of which relies on largely out-of-date publications.

35. Brant, Strasbourg: Grüninger which was first published between 11 Feb. 1494 and 23 May 1495. ISTC ib01081000. Also, later Grüninger editions.

36. Terentius, Strasbourg: Grüninger. ISTC it00094000.

37. Locher, Strasbourg: Grüninger. ISTC il00264000.

38. *Plenarium,* Strasbourg: Grüninger. ISTC ie00087500. This edition of the Gospels and Letters of the New Testament in liturgical order was published on 28 Mar. 1498, sixteen days after the Horace edition, but evidently the wood block made for it were already available.

made up of impressions from more than one block. There are illustrations at 168 points in the book, 101 different woodblocks used and re-used over and over again, making a total of 623 separate woodblock impressions.[34] Thirty-one of the 101 blocks deployed were made for this edition, whereas eight were originally made for Grüninger's version of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* of 1494–95,[35] forty-nine for his Terence edition from 1496,[36] seven for his 1497 edition of some of Locher's own works,[37] and finally six for Grüninger's German-language *Plenarium*.[38]

In the Terence edition, the main source of the woodcuts, the width of the text block corresponded to the width of five illustrative woodblocks (fig. 2). Adapting pre-existing wood blocks to the complex layout of the Horace edition posed some technical challenges for Grüninger. He deployed a number of tactical solutions which left irregularities in the fixed layout. He used pared down, narrower versions of some of the scene-setting blocks, when he was short of space. On the other hand, where he had a surplus of space, he created double frames between illustrations or sometimes he made one or several frames for the illustrations and one for spaces left blank. On other occasions, he left blank spaces unframed next to or between framed illustrations.

Figure 2. Terentius, *Comoediae.* Strasbourg Johann Grüninger, 1 November 1496. The British Library, C.3.c.16, sig. o vi *verso*, with an illustration made up of impressions from five separate woodblocks.
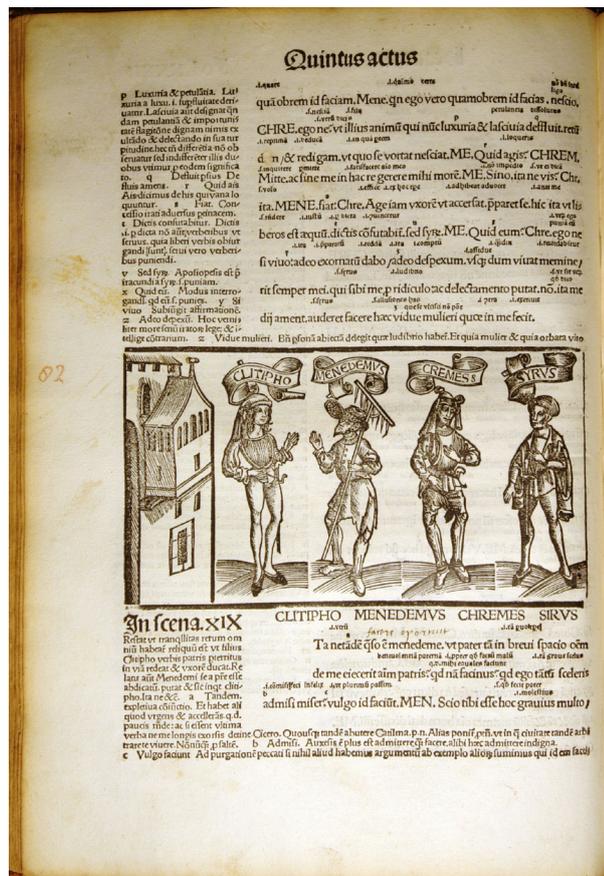
The conjoint use of blocks of different sizes required the typesetter – the compositor – to pack out gaps to ensure that the material for printing was firmly fixed in a printer's forme. On several occasions we observe slippage of the typeface surrounding the illustrations, possibly suggesting that it was difficult to pack the variously sized woodblocks solidly enough for the text block to remain stable in the forme during the printing process. The resulting wobbly lines stand out in the otherwise regular layout.[39] (See fig. 3). All this must have made the work of the compositors much slower and therefore more expensive. Of course, the additional paper needed to make space for the illustrations will also have added to the production costs.

In the Terence edition the images functioned as finding aids and as an aid to memory. Some blocks indicated whether the scene in question is set indoors or outdoors. Individual blocks could with relative ease be adapted to be reused in all Terence's comedies, with their recurring, if differently named, standard characters: the young men, the cunning slave, the lovely prostitute, the madam, the old man, etc. They had scrolling name panels above each person and the illustrations worked as a visual guide to the characters that appear in a specific scene, which of course also made reading easier.

39. See eg. sig. Lii *recto*.

Figure 3. Horatius, Opera. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Ev *recto*. The type of the headline under the illustration has slipped.

40. Zimmermann-Homeyer, *Frühdrucke* 155 seems to suggest that they may be meaningful.

When reused in the Horace edition, the names of the Terentian characters have largely been eliminated, leaving blank the scrolling name panels above the figures, but often they still contain a few letters creating a rather puzzling effect (see illustration 4).[40] The suitability of the stock characters of the Roman comedy to illustrate Horace's lyrical poems is perhaps questionable and it is sometimes hard to see how the characters and the poems relate. The reused cuts never achieve the specificity they had in the Terence edition. The repeatability is also uncertain for many of the figures cut specially for the Horace edition. On occasion one gets the impression that blocks are used simply to fill up space, such as in illustration 4, where the four figures represented bear no obvious relationship to the text of the *Carm.* 1.4.1 *Soluitur acris hiems*. On other occasions Grüninger seems to have completely given up finding illustrations that match the poem in question (see fig. 5). Perhaps he made the most of the investment he had already made, reusing existing blocks to render his book more attractive for the smaller additional cost of making comparatively few new blocks for this edition.

Figure 4. Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Avi *recto*: *Carmen* 1.4.1 *Soluitur acris hiems*. It is hard to identify any relationship between the poem and the illustration. Note also the remaining superfluous letters in the scrolling name band above the figure at the right.

Figure 5. Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Bi *recto*. Ode 1.6 where it seems that Locher and Grüninger gave up finding illustrations to meet either the requirement of the poem or the established layout.
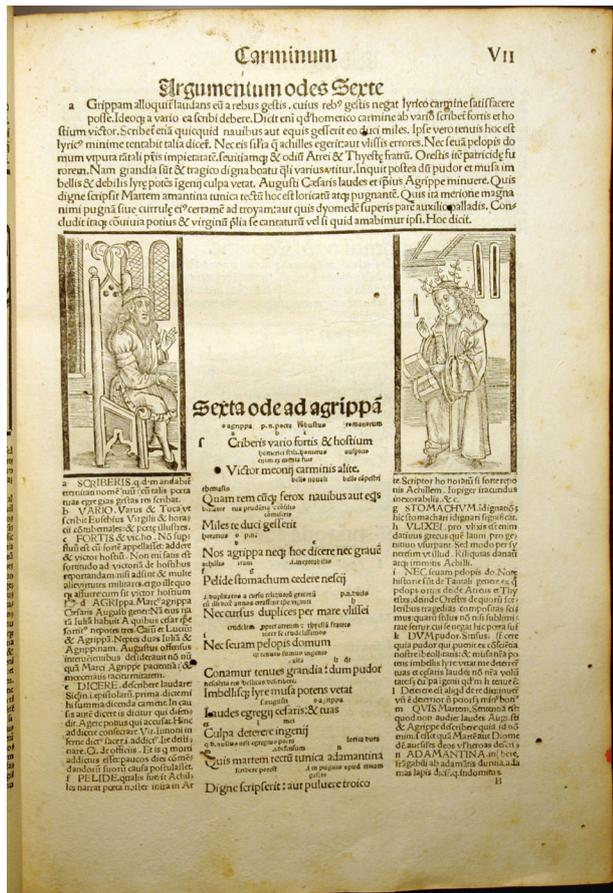
Some of the newly cut blocks are more directly relevant, for instance one showing a man with a lyre Horace – or perhaps it is Locher 'Philomusus' himself – but it is not easy to understand why this block is included before some poems and not before others.

Nonetheless, in the Horace edition, the illustrations structure the pages clearly, indicating where a new poem begins. This was also signposted by the use of different font sizes, with the result that each poem is visually very strongly delimited. Furthermore, images can serve a mnemonic purpose, if a more generic one than in the Terence edition. For instance, the illustration to *Carm.* 2.5 (sig. Fiii *verso*) can be read as representing a dashing young man and a bashful young woman, giving a visual illustrative and a mnemonic indication of the message of the poem, as also expressed by its headline: *Non tentandas puellas innubilas*, ("You must not seduce underage girls").[41]

This role also seems to be performed by the frequent repetition of an image of an older man with a right index finger lifted in a gesture that can be understood as admonitory.

The frequent reuse of illustrations from the *Narrenschiff* has an unequivocal moralising function,[42] and even the images of young

41. Sig. Fiv *verso*.

42. Eg. sig. Fii *recto*.

women, which to a modern eye might seem endearing, may in some contexts have been read, or at least have been meant to have been read, as warnings against the temptations of female charms. This reading would be supported by the interpretative apparatus, which to a modern reader seems to present a generically misogynistic attitude, an attitude which is not completely alien to Horace himself.

Even if not consistently, to some extent at least, the images are part of "guiding the processes of textual mediation"[43] in a moralising direction, distracting from a perturbing, and even more perturbingly ambiguous, sexual permissiveness of the poems. This is not invariably so, however, and a careful joint reading of poems and images leaves one with the impression that the chosen layout imposed a requirement to select woodblocks for each poem, a structural need which perhaps was greater than the need for meaningful deployment of images.

43. In the words of Enenkel, "Illustrations" 167.

Figure 6. Horatius, *Opera*. Edited by Jacobus Locher. Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 12 March 1498. The British Library, IB.1471, sig. Eiii *recto*. The wheel of fortune, from a block made for the 1494 *Narrenschiff* edition (sig. a iii *verso*), illustrates the instability of human life, a recurrent Horatian theme. The inclusion of the figure named `Mercurius' is more puzzling. Note that the two constituent blocks are of different height, and that they jointly did not match the width of the text block. Packing was required in both directions to stabilise the forme from which the page was printed.
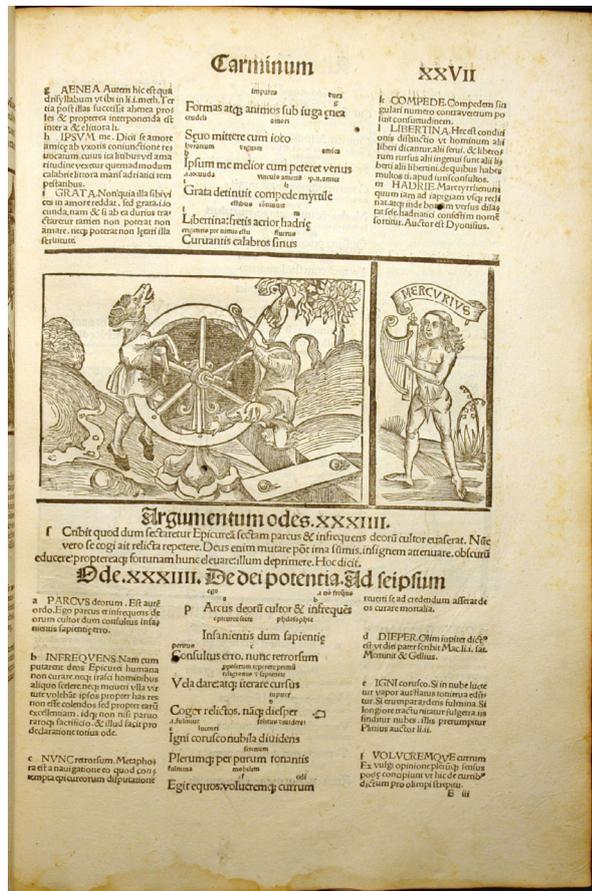
The *Argumenta*

Before the illustrations – on very few occasions after them – comes a short *Argumentum*, a summary of the poem, running across the width of all three columns. It is set in the same roman type as the text of Horace.

The *Argumentum* to *Carmen* 1.27 (*Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis*, "Wine cups are made to have fun") warns against fighting – representing the message of the poem better than the headline which we examined above (see fig. 1). Next it warns that if you get involved with a prostitute you will have a troublesome time, and there is hardly any remedy for it. While the woman in question is not explicitly identified as a prostitute, Horace may have intended to suggest that she was by comparing her with Charybdis. But this is not clarified in the commentary or elsewhere and would not have been understandable to the school level reader, had the *Argumentum* not guided their reading in that direction. Warnings against prostitutes, women in general and sex outside marriage – the latter of which is of no concern in Horace's poems – are often the focus of the *Argumenta*.

At the end of each *Argumentum* the message is invariably reinforced by the concluding words: *Hoc dicit* ("That is what he says"), sometimes abbreviated to '*h. d.*' These words explicitly impose the offered summary as the one true meaning of the poem and have some importance, as they are the only substance added by Locher himself to the interpretative apparatus of the poems found on the text pages. Everything else can be found in the pages of the Venetian edition on which he based himself.

The font size chosen for the various elements on the page indicates their hierarchical importance. The order is first Horace's poetic text, followed by the *Argumentum*, printed in the same type. The headlines to the *Argumenta* are in the same large gothic type as the headlines to Horace's text, so in terms of typographical prominence the text of the *Argumenta* has the same weight as the poetical text. However, the *Argumenta* are set tight, that is not leaded, and go across the whole width of the page, indications that Locher had no expectation that a teacher would provide either linguistic explanation or substantive commentary on them. In terms of typographical prominence, the *Argumenta* are followed by the marginal notes and finally by the very small, and elementary interlinear glosses. It is the *Argumenta* which most consistently direct the reader towards a moralising reading, and this is reinforced by their typographical prominence.

The running headers

Finally, at the top of each page, there is a running header and, on each *recto*, also a folio number both in the same larger gothic type. The folio numbers are important because they provide the reader with the ability to navigate the volume independently of the structure provided by the works of Horace themselves. As noted above, alone among Horace editions from the fifteenth century this edition has an index of morally noteworthy passages, *Directorium ad uirtutes*. The *Directorium* does not refer to the structure of the poetry but to the folio numbers. This means that it was designed to be used with this edition only, not with any other edition, where the same text would not appear on the same folio. Jointly with the folio numbers the *Directorium ad uirtutes* makes it easier to read the supposedly moralising statements in separation from the texts, simultaneously decontextualizing individual statements and guiding the potential reading of entire poems in a specific direction.

Such fragmented, moralising reading is not as unfamiliar to a modern reader as we might think. We may know it best from contemporary reading strategies for religious texts which, if read integrally, would pose religious and ethical problems, but we also find a modern on-line Horatian reading tool which presents the Horatian texts as an assemblage of wise but decontextualized sayings and even less than the *Directorium* directs readers towards a reading of whole

Figure 7. A screenshot from the web resource *Goodreads.*

poems, least of all those which could offend our contemporary sensitivities[44] (see fig. 7).

More broadly we know the potential for the fragmentation of reading offered by word searching of digital text, which enables each reader to focus on those aspects of a text which meet their pre-existing expectations. Even more radically Artificial Intelligence 'reading' of texts enables words to be systematically decontextualized and potentially reinserted into new, machine-generated contexts, often unknown and unknowable both to the creator of the text and to a human reader.

The three-column layout

With its three-column layout Locher's edition stands out from all other printed editions. The Rome edition from about 1474,[45] which was the first edition to print both text and commentary, gives first the text and then, sequentially, the Porphyrio commentary and the pseudo-Acron commentary. The slightly offbeat edition from Treviso from 1481 produced first the commentary of Porphyrio as continuous text separately from the works of Horace. But from sig. aiii *recto* onwards the commentary of pseudo-Acron was produced on the same page as the text of Horace.[46] There the text itself is contained in one column of standard width but of varying height, on both rectos and versos aligned with the inner margins of the text block, and surrounded by commentary on three sides.[47] This 'commentary-on-three-sides' layout is next found in the Florence edition of Horace with Landino's commentary from 1482, and in the later Venetian editions of Horace with Landino. The same layout is adapted to accommodate the three commentaries of Porphyrio, pseudo-Acron and Landino from Venice 1490/91,[48] and finally the numerous editions which added a fourth commentary, that of Mancinelli from 1492 onwards (see fig. 8). After the Treviso edition the only two fifteenth-century exceptions to this layout are the edition of the *Ars poetica* by Tilman Kerver from Paris in 1500, in which the text of Horace and the commentary of Badius Ascensius are produced sequentially, and the three-column layout of our Strasbourg edition.

The earliest example of the systematic use of commentary-on-three-sides layout is from 1476 in the Venice edition by Jacobus Rubeaus of Vergil.[49] The format rapidly became the vastly predominant approach for classical poetry and indeed for classical prose. The commentary-on-three-sides approach is numerically extremely predominant in the survival of fifteenth-century Horace texts, as indeed it is

44. See online.

45. Horatius, Roma: de Wila. ISTC ih00472000.

46. Horatius, Treviso. ISTC ih00451000. The Milan 1485 edition of Horace with Porphyrio and pseudo-Acron followed the approach of the Treviso edition.

47. Towards the end of the Treviso edition the layout changes again, now to two columns, the small amount of commentary no longer justifying the commentary-on-three-sides approach.

48. Horatius, Venezia: Arrivabenus, ISTC ih00454000.

49. Vergilius, Venezia: Rubeus, ISCT iv00166000. BMC VII p. xiii says: "Possibly the earliest instance of such an arrangement applied to a literary text." More than that, it seems to be the earliest printed instance of this arrangement for any text.

Figure 8. Commentary-on-three-sides layout. Four lines of text by Horace, the rest is commentary. Horatius, *Opera*. With the commentaries of Antonio Mancinelli, pseudo-Acron, Porphyrio and Cristoforo Landino. Venice: Philippus Pincius, for Bernardinus Resina, 28 Feb. 1492–93. The British Library, IB.23625, sigs a1 *verso* and a2 *recto*.
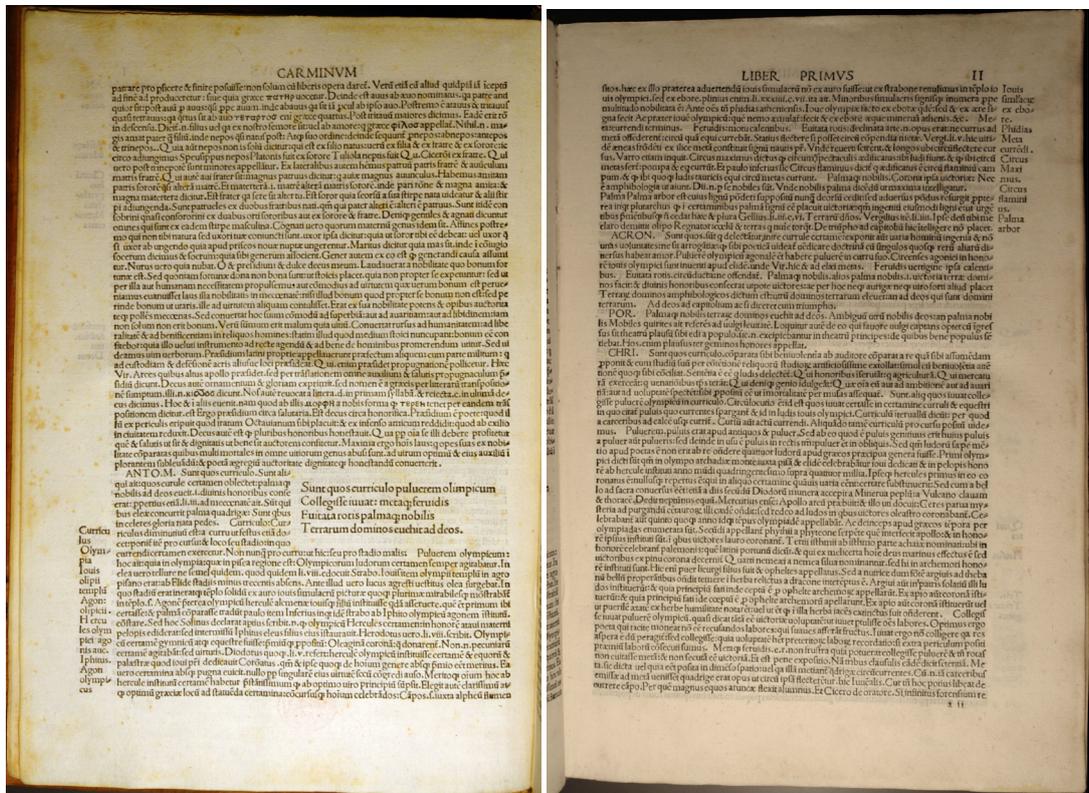
50. Adding up the numbers indicated by GW.

51. I have looked at all forty-three Horace manuscripts in the British Library, and four in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. I have seen the following in digital form: fourteen on Gallica, thirty-one in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, eight in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, two in Bonn University Library, one in Trinity College, Cambridge, one in Bamberg State and University Library, one in Dillingen, one in Düsseldorf, one in Heidelberg and one in the Czech national library in Prague. The ninety-seven Horace manuscripts in the Vatican Library are all depicted and described in Buonocore, *Codices.* I have additionally seen eighteen of them in digital form.

for other commented classical texts. The number of recorded Horace copies with this layout surviving in public institutions alone comes to 821,[50] that is roughly the same number as the total of surviving pre-modern Horace manuscripts. It is perhaps not surprising that some modern scholars have taken the 'commentary-on-three-sides' layout as the norm. However, while it does exist, it has proved hard to document the systematic use of this type of layout in manuscript books.[51] Having looked at some 220 Horace manuscripts, and numerous other fifteenth-century manuscripts of classical poets, I have so far identified only four which share most but not all of its characteristics. Two of these manuscripts were, like the printed editions, produced with text and commentary conceived jointly in this layout from the outset. One is an undated, possibly Italian, fifteenth-century manuscript (London, British Library, Harley Ms 2556) probably made for school use. It only differs from the printed layout in allowing two boxes of text on one page, whereas in the printed editions you only have one box of text. By allowing two boxes of text one would

need less advance planning to achieve a distribution of text and commentary which used the paper to best advantage. The other (Praha, Narodni Knihovna III G 15) is from the German-speaking area and is very similar to the printed layout, from which it mainly differs in that the text box is pushed to the outer not to the inner margins. It is conceivable that this manuscript postdates the printed books.[52]

Two Horace manuscripts at the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms Plut. 34.19 and Ms Plut. 34.9) also display this layout, although neither does so consistently and one of them only on one page. In these two manuscripts it looks as if commentary and text were not planned together in one production phase. There will be others like these, and it may be that this layout was more prevalent in manuscript books with poor survival rates, low status volumes for school use where text and commentary were produced in at least two separate processes. Printers may have been familiar with manuscripts which broadly presented this lay-out, as the result of two or more separate production processes, and used them as models but now for a pre-planned and systematic use of the layout. However, it does not seem premature to conclude that the overwhelming, if short-lived, prevalence of this approach only began with printed books from the mid-1470s. Its advantages for producers of printed texts are not hard to identify. With large amounts of commentary, it provides maximum flexibility in managing the distribution of text and commentary, reducing the amount of paper required for producing an edition; paper costs was the most significant upfront investment in the production of a printed book. While it is easy to lay out the text so that you enable others subsequently to fill the three margins with commentary to a greater or lesser extent, it requires significant preplanning to match text and commentary to make best use of the page. This amount of preplanning is worthwhile if you are hoping to sell many books – printed – rather than just one or a few manuscript books.

This layout, however, offered the reader little help with matching text and commentary, not least in the Venetian editions which produced four commentaries, so that a reader needed to match the text with four different passages often one or even two pages apart. This probably suggests – as does the vast amount of commentary itself – that the Venetian editions were aimed a much more confident and learned readership who required less support than those at whom Locher and Grüninger aimed their edition.

Although the commentary-on-three-sides layout was a fairly re-

52. It is dated to 1400–33, possibly in error for 1443 as it contains a manuscript date of 1443. This inscription is however in a much later hand. The online record refers to Truhlar, *Catalogus* n. 540.

cent standard it was well-known to Grüninger and to Locher. We know already from the work of Stenuit that the two men were familiar with the Venetian editions which laid out their commentaries like this. The question is therefore what induced them to choose the three-column layout instead. There are at least two parts to an answer to this. When texts and commentary were produced jointly in manuscripts we often see a two-column approach, similar to the one Grüninger used for his Terence edition. Nor is it rare for manuscripts to facilitate a three-column approach, whether the commentary may have been produced in one or more separate operations.[53]

53. I am grateful to Dr Karen Margareta Fredborg who suggested the importance for my theme of distinguishing between manuscripts created with three columns from the outset and those where subsequent owners used available margins, achieving a three-column approach.

Figure 9. Vergil and other authors. Germany or Austria (Melk?), c. 1473. A manuscript of a classical text prepared for a three-column layout. The British Library, Burney MS 272.

But more specifically I wish to suggest that Grüninger and Locher produced a layout which very precisely matched the needs of a target audience of teachers. Fifteenth-century editions of Horace and of other classical poets printed in Leipzig do not include printed commentaries. However, we find that numerous surviving copies have copious manuscript commentaries in the two margins and glosses between the lines. The books were produced specifically so that students could themselves systematically add interlinear glosses and commentaries by hand in two marginal columns. This was a for-

malised three-column approach, as we can see in many copies of these Leipzig editions, in which ruling supplied by hand structures the page into three columns (see fig. 10 and 11).
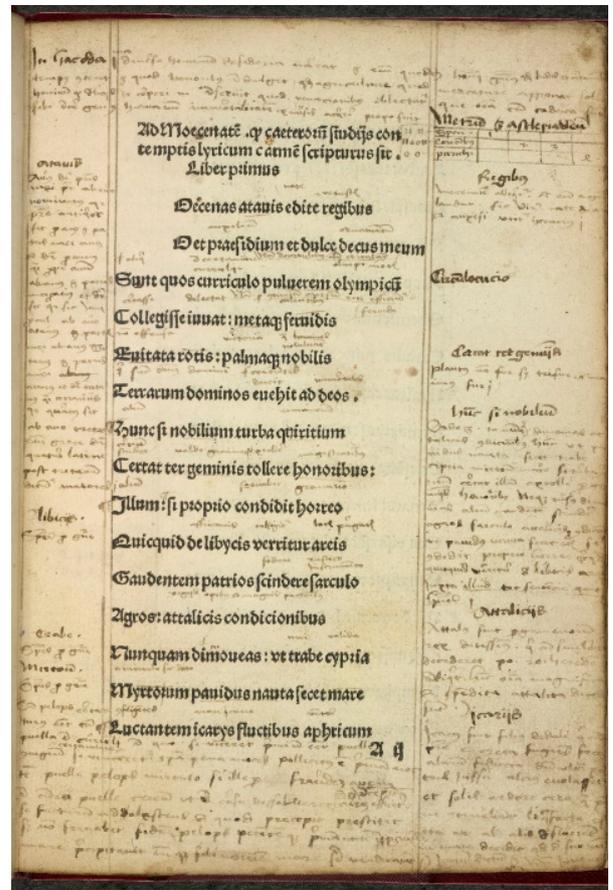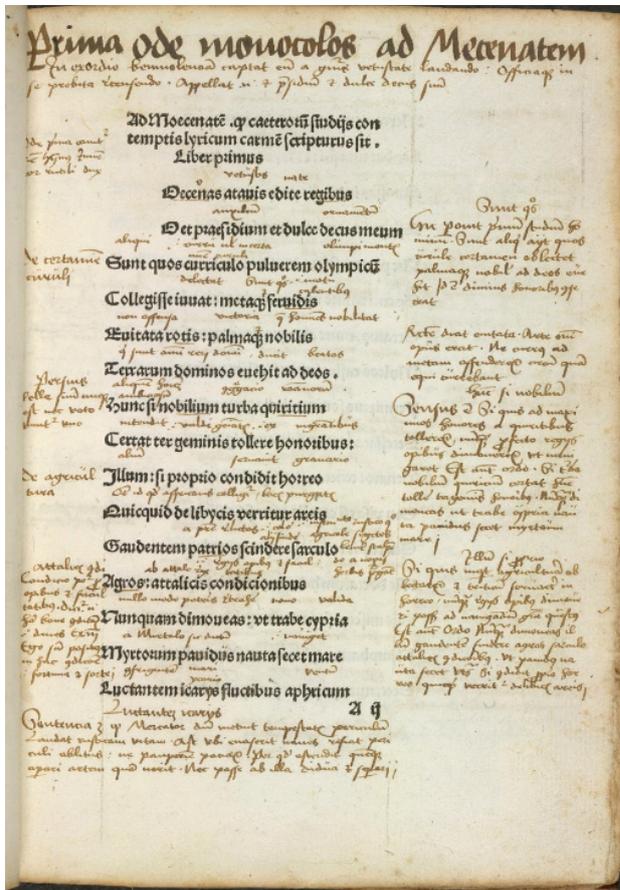

Figure 10. Horatius, *Odae* [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1492] GW 13502. The British Library, IA.11867, sig. aii *recto*.

Figure 11, Horatius, *Odae* [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1492] GW 13502. The British Library, IA.11865, sig. aii *recto*.

The layout of the printed texts in the Strasbourg edition is therefore the same as that which we find in the printed Leipzig editions once students had added notes from the lectures they attended.

We saw that the Strasbourg edition was based on the commentaries found in Venice editions. An examination has in recent years been undertaken of interlinear and marginal glosses in Leipzig editions of classical poets, many of which had been made by students who in the 1490s attended lectures of a teacher in the University of Leipzig called Honorius.[54] These were extraordinary lectures on classical texts, including Horace, which neither in Leipzig nor elsewhere

54. Johannes Honorius Cubitensis. See Jensen, "Exporting."

were part of the university curriculum, and the lectures were aimed at arts faculty university students, typically in their mid to late teens. The far fewer surviving editions of Horace from other German cities suggest that they too were aimed at students being taught at this level in extraordinary lectures.

It was possible to prove that Honorius derived the texts he read to his students from commentaries which were contained in Venetian editions. When it comes to Horace, we even know which edition Honorius owned, the basis for the content of the lectures that he gave on Horace. In Leipzig Honorius, however, had to do the work himself to generate the comparatively restricted amount of material which he wanted to dictate so that his students could add it as interlinear glosses and marginal comments. He reduced, extracted and arranged the extensive content of the Venetian editions, to present his students with up-to-date Italian approaches to the text in a form and a quantity which was compatible with the teaching context in which he and his students worked.

For his Strasbourg edition Locher used the same Venetian texts as Honorius did for his Leipzig lectures, and Locher like Honorius was aware that the amount of information in the Venetian editions went well beyond what it would be manageable to convey to students. Based on the commentaries in the Venetian editions, Locher undertook the same sort of work as Honorius, but he did not do it just for his own students. A buyer of Locher's edition found that all the intellectually demanding and labour-intensive steps in dealing with the Humanist commentaries had already been taken for him. These included the digesting, abridging, organising and presenting of the overwhelming amounts of information in a format which matched the teaching practice of universities, at least in German-speaking lands.

Thus, the layout of Locher's pre-selected and pre-digested volume reflects the appearance of how a student's own copy of the text should end up looking after the lectures, whether completely or partially in manuscript. The printed Leipzig editions with their space for interlinear glosses and two columns of marginal notes were aimed at students, and they produced individual parts of Horace's works separately, so that a student would not have to buy an expensive opera omnia, without knowing if there would be lectures offered in more than a small part of the corpus. By contrast, the Strasbourg edition was not meant to facilitate the work of students in a lecture room, but that of their teachers.[55] The edition provided what the teacher needed and not more than was needed. Locher made contemporary,

55. As suggested by Pieper, "Schulfibel."

56. Edinburgh University Library, shelfmark CRC Inc.F.8. See online.

57. The copy in Kežmarok, Lyceálna knižnica (Slovakia), contains numerous interlinear glosses, supplementing the printed glosses. It is likely to have been used in the environment of the University of Cracow, as we on sig. V 6 *recto* find a manuscript *Intimacio Magistri Pauli Crosnensis.* Paul from Krosno, now in Lithuania, got his MA from Cracow in 1506 and began teaching at Cracow in 1508. On Paulus Crosnensis see Glomski, "Fifteenth-Century" 140. It is not realistic to assume that all students attending lectures in Cracow around that time could have a copy of this Horace edition, and that teaching would have been structured around it. If this were a student copy it would suggest that the lecturer only provided glosses and no commentary. This seems unlikely, and may be that this is a volume prepared by a teacher. See online. It is bound with a copy of Lucanus, *Pharsalia* Venezia: Bevilaqua, from 1498. ISTC il00307000. This copy is annotated in the same hand. The edition is essentially unsuitable for student use and this would further suggest that the whole volume belonged to a teacher.

58. Miethke, *Studieren* chapter 19, emphasises the group dictation in class rooms as an important part of the manuscript production of texts.

up-to-date humanist Italian commentaries accessible also for a broad range of university teachers so that their students in turn could have access to the same level of information as the students of the intellectually self-confident Honorius. This of course does not exclude that a student could have owned and used a copy. A full investigation of all copies has not been undertaken, but while there is limited evidence of interaction with the marginal commentary, several copies contain notes supplementing the interlinear glosses. For instance in the copy now in Edinburgh University Library, the regularity, complex structure and tidiness of the notes, suggest that we are confronted with the preparatory work of a teacher further adapting the information to the level of his students.[56] The copy now in Lyceálna knižnica (Kežmarok, Slovakia), on balance also suggest that this and the other item in the volume were owned and annotated by a teacher, probably not in Germany but in Poland.[57]

Ensuring that Horace's poems were read in such a way that they did not become too culturally challenging or offensive was integral to this process of digesting the Venetian commentaries for German teachers. Even the innovative practice of tying text together with guide letters is part of this picture of a book made to support teachers as much as possible in their work. A practice which had been designed for complex legal texts was introduced to a literary text for university use, leaving little room even for a teacher to misunderstand what commentary belonged where.

Thus heavily dependent on a continued manuscript production by students in university classrooms,[58] this edition is equally a product which was only possible in the economy of printed books, a teachers' tool based on the most up-to-date humanist editions, presented in a layout which matched the reading and teaching practice of universities at least in German speaking lands.

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ca). Venezia: Johannes Herbort, de Seligenstadt, 21 Oct. 1482. ISTC ig00372000; GW 11364.

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GW. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.

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