

Printing and Reading Italian Latin Humanism  
in Renaissance Europe (ca. 1470-ca. 1540)



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By

Alejandro Coroleu

**CAMBRIDGE  
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P U B L I S H I N G

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This book first published 2014

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-5894-3, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-5894-6

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## PREFACE

This book has gathered many debts of gratitude to friends, colleagues, and family. Acknowledging everyone is simply not possible. A general thanks must suffice, even though it is simply insufficient to express the depth of my gratitude to all those who have helped me in the preparation of this book. The University of Nottingham always provided a stimulating atmosphere in which to conduct research for my work. In recent years the Department of Catalan at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona has offered a welcome base and I have benefited from assistance to attend conferences through research project FFI2011-27844-C03-03. Research trips were made possible by grants from the British Academy and the Universitat de Barcelona (through research project FFI2008-01759). I must also thank the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel for the term I spent receiving their hospitality.

A few scholars have been involved with this project from its conception, while others offered their expertise along the way without full knowledge of the extent to which I would abuse their goodwill. My greatest intellectual debt is to Francisco Rico, who first encouraged me to study the spread of Italian humanism in Renaissance Europe, and whose own writings on the subject are the indispensable foundation for this book. I am grateful to Juan Francisco Alcina and to Barry Taylor, who read draft chapters of the book at an earlier stage. Additional encouragement and assistance came from the late Brian Tate, Lluís Cabré, Geoffrey Eatough, Perrine Galand, Jacqueline Glomski, Felipe González Vega, Beatrix Koll, Jill Kraye, Andrew Laird, Mariano Madrid Castro, and Andrea Severi. My wife Veronika has helped me to negotiate many treacherous passages of Latin, and has spotted typos and precious classical allusions lurking beneath the surface. Most crucially, she encouraged me to continue with my project at a time when my energy and confidence were beginning to ebb. David Barnett revised the entire manuscript with characteristic professionalism. His close readings and detailed comments were surpassed only by the ease of his affable manner. Any errors and infelicities that remain are, naturally, my own.

This book is dedicated to my family, here and there, for all their support over the years.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona
AC	Arxiu Capitular
BC	Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona
BL	British Library, London
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
BUB	Biblioteca Universitària de Barcelona, Barcelona
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel
ISTC	Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue, available on-line at <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html</a>
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België / Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
UBS	Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg



## INTRODUCTION

On 1 September 1553 Nicolaus Episcopus Iunior (Nicholas Bischoff the Younger, 1531-65) finished printing his first book in Basle, a sizeable folio volume which included the complete Latin works of Angelo Poliziano (1454-94), an accomplished poet both in Latin and the vernacular, a philosopher, a scholar of high prestige, and the author of an extensive correspondence with other Italian humanists. In his prefatory letter to the jurist Karl Harst (1492-1563), councillor of Prince William of Julies-Cleves, Episcopus explained why he had decided to embark on such a venture: Poliziano merited the highest regard as he had been one of the first “in this fortunate age of ours” (“hoc nostro felice seculo”), alongside Ermolao Barbaro (1454-93) and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94), to restore the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. His works –Episcopus went on to say– would hopefully survive “as long as the written word lives” (“quoad vivent ipsae litterae”).<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing exceptional within the context of sixteenth-century printing about either Episcopus’s praise of Poliziano or his interest in bringing the complete Latin works of the Italian humanist to the press.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, with this volume Episcopus showed himself to be very much in line with other important printers of the time, such as Aldo Manuzio (Aldus Manutius, ca. 1449-1515), whose workshop had issued the first edition of Poliziano’s complete works in Venice in 1498, the Flemish printer and educator Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1462-1535), responsible for two Parisian editions of Poliziano’s *Opera omnia* between 1512 and 1519, and the Lyonese Sébastien Gryphe (Sebastianus Gryphus, fl. 1525-56), who also published the corpus of Poliziano’s Latin texts in the 1520s and 1530s.<sup>3</sup> Portraits of Poliziano as a member of a group of illustrious fifteenth-century Italian scholars abound in other contemporary texts in which he is often either compared to classical writers or described as an author who not only bears comparison with Greek and Roman poets but actually surpasses most of them. To give but one example, Erasmus – for whom Harst had worked in Basle in the 1520s– famously extolled Poliziano and Barbaro as “in all ways inimitable”.<sup>4</sup>

From the 1490s onwards, Poliziano’s vast Latin literary output was read, copied, imitated and translated throughout Europe. During the following century the centrality of the texts is also obvious from their

frequent occurrence in catalogues of Royal<sup>5</sup>, University<sup>6</sup>, monastic and ecclesiastical libraries of Renaissance Europe.<sup>7</sup> The most decisive promotion of Poliziano's Latin works was however provided by the printing press. The sheer number of editions (and, to a lesser extent, of manuscripts) of his Latin poetry and prose is a potent testimony to Poliziano's popularity which had started during his lifetime and then grown steadily in the decades after his death in 1494. Published in Lyon, Paris, Basle and Antwerp, dozens of editions of individual or collected works are a valuable measure of Poliziano's literary stature and of his ascendancy over generations of humanists. An idea of the extent of interest in Poliziano's Latin works in the first half of the sixteenth century can be gleaned from the statistics reproduced in Appendix A, which includes over one hundred and twenty editions (in many cases furnished with commentaries) of his complete Latin works, of collections of his works, and of individual writings printed between 1480 and 1559. Further evidence of the considerable influence exerted by Poliziano on the Renaissance intellectual scene is the widespread use of his works in the classroom. In the first decades of the sixteenth century Poliziano's Latin verse and correspondence came to assume a canonical status within the school and university curriculum of many European academic institutions. Indeed, shortly after his death Poliziano had already become the literary hero of most university professors and schoolteachers, as is made patently clear in the epigraph to a ca. 1510 Lyon edition of his letters.<sup>8</sup>

Although attention to his original Latin writings was to continue in the second half of the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth century, after the 1550s perceptions of Poliziano seem to change. Interest in his works becomes confined to editions of his Latin translations of classical philosophers such as Epictetus, and of ancient commentators on Aristotle (for example, Alexander of Aphrodisias). More importantly, Poliziano ceases to be considered a suitable author for Latin teaching and imitation, becoming valued instead primarily for his scholarship or his writings in Italian. Since the mid-sixteenth century, this image of Poliziano and evaluation of his work have remained unchanged, right up to the twentieth century and beyond. Despite the impressive corpus of editions which demonstrates the significance of the Latin Poliziano within Renaissance literary culture, modern scholarship on him has concerned itself chiefly with his vernacular poetry and with his philology, best represented by his commentaries on classical poets, and by the *Miscellaneorum liber*, a collection of printed notes on grammatical, chronological and antiquarian topics.<sup>9</sup> When modern critics have paid attention to the reception of Poliziano's Latin writings in Renaissance Europe, emphasis has traditionally

been placed on the influence of his methods of literary and philosophical analysis. Such an approach would certainly be valid if our survey were limited to the group of eminent sixteenth-century scholars and antiquarians who modelled their methodology on Poliziano's. Yet this more recent interest in his textual criticism and exegesis only accounts for a relatively small sample of Renaissance views on Poliziano. Indeed, back in the sixteenth century, at a time when humanism was spreading throughout Europe, lecturers, schoolmasters and printers paid more attention to Poliziano's adaptations of classical poets and his ideas on imitation, than to his philological acumen. As this book will show, for many of his contemporaries and for humanists of the succeeding generations, Poliziano's encyclopaedic learning, relevant as it was, became in the end only secondary to his other more educational values.<sup>10</sup>

This discrepancy between the author's printing and academic posterity in the first half of the sixteenth century and the lack of canonical esteem most of his Latin texts currently command is not exclusive to Poliziano. We find several other Italian Latin humanists of the Quattrocento whose reputations have suffered a similar fate. A good case in point is the Tolentino-born humanist and translator Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), whose Latin epistles and speeches received hundreds of printed editions in Renaissance Europe, but are now all but consigned to oblivion. The example of the poet and Carmelite reformer Battista Mantuanus or Battista Spagnoli (1447-1516) –commonly known in the English-speaking world as “Mantuan”– is also illustrative. Lilio Giraldi was no doubt right when, in his *De poetis nostrorum temporum dialogi duo* (“Two dialogues on the poets of our time”, 1551), he compared Mantuan's poetry to a raging stream bursting its banks: among the Carmelite's 55,000 lines of Latin verse are works which can safely be passed over in silence. Yet the scant attention given to Mantuan's poems in modern times contrasts strikingly with the enthusiasm with which his writings were applauded in the early sixteenth century, when his work enjoyed a successful career in print, and his bucolic and hagiographic poetry was a staple of many a school and university curriculum. This disparity between perceptions based on nineteenth- and twentieth-century views and the Renaissance reception of Italian humanism even extends to Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304-74), traditionally regarded as the movement's founding father. As William Kennedy notes, the canonization of Petrarch's vernacular poetry “unfolds as a fascinating narrative inscribed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century commentaries appended to the text”.<sup>11</sup> In his study Kennedy examines these commentaries “in the light of subsequent poetic practice in Europe” (p. 4). In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries,

however, glosses –both in manuscript and in print– were also added to Petrarch’s Latin texts (and not only to his poetry) in equal (if not greater) measure, and his Latin style in verse and prose was copied by a large number of Neo-Latin writers across the continent. Furthermore, Petrarch’s Latin output (mostly, his eclogues, letters and philosophical writings) was used in secondary school and university curricula throughout Renaissance Europe, as we shall see.

The first aim of this monograph is to highlight such misrepresentations, and draw attention to the perils of imposing our scholarly prejudices and preoccupations on the literature of Italian Latin humanism, and on the reception of this corpus in Renaissance Europe. In an important book, Christopher Celenza provides an account of why Renaissance Latin texts (what he calls “lost literature”) were overlooked primarily because of nineteenth-century interests foreign to the Renaissance itself. The bias evident in Jakob Burckhardt’s classic discussion of humanism in his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860) has been partly responsible for this trend.<sup>12</sup> It would, of course, be inaccurate to claim that these Latin works in prose and poetry are still being ignored by historians and philologists today: a considerable portion of this literature (including the four writers discussed above) has relatively recently been edited and translated, studied on university courses, and been the subject of scholarly publications and conferences. Yet, when attention is paid to the European reception of the Latin literature of Italian humanism from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, research on the matter tends either to be subsumed into larger narratives on the penetration of new Italian cultural products into a particular geographical area, or to be confined to specific case studies.<sup>13</sup> In both these approaches, little consideration is given to printing trends in the Renaissance, or the formation of the university and school canon in the sixteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

This book seeks to remedy some of these deficiencies. There is certainly no shortage of secondary bibliography devoted to the contribution of Italian humanist grammars and expositions of good Latin style manuals (such as Lorenzo Valla’s *Elegantiae linguae latinae*) to the reform of Latin teaching in the schools and universities of Renaissance Europe. My task has been greatly facilitated by previous studies on this subject, above all by Ann Moss’s impressive and wide-ranging *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn* and I duly acknowledge my debt to her views throughout this monograph.<sup>15</sup> Some of the sources discussed by Moss also feature here. But unlike Moss, whose book is primarily concerned with tracing the shift from the Latin of late medieval intellectuals to the Latin of

the humanists, the principal objective of the present study is to appraise the historical significance of the seminal texts of Italian Latin humanism within print culture and the academic setting of Renaissance Europe. The chief objects of investigation in this volume are editions of the Latin writings of Petrarch, Filelfo, Poliziano and Mantuan produced outside Italy, although attention is also given to works by other Italian humanists. I have chosen to focus on these authors partly because of their intrinsic literary and intellectual qualities, but mainly because of the extensive appeal they achieved towards the end of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century, in sharp contrast with the relatively narrow scholarly attention they currently command. In the present work I examine editions published in France, the Low Countries, the German-speaking world and Spain, with reference to earlier Italian editions when appropriate. (Except for a few instances, I have excluded England from my enquiry as the study of English humanism falls outside my area of competence.) The timespan of my investigation is the period between ca. 1470 and ca. 1540, coinciding, not by chance, with the life of Erasmus of Rotterdam (ca. 1469-1536), and a crucial time when humanism was taking root in many European territories. The study begins in the early 1470s, when the first editions of some of the texts under review were printed, and concludes in the 1540s, when there was a significant decline in the number of editions of Italian Latin humanist works produced by European printers. This terminal point should not, however, be taken as absolute, particularly in those examples concerning the impact of Italian Latin humanism in Spain, where I describe editions and analyse historical and literary material from as late as the last quarter of the sixteenth century (and in a few cases even beyond 1600).

I do not, of course, claim to be the first to have stressed the central educational role played by the literature of Italian Latin humanism within the spread of humanism in Renaissance Europe.<sup>16</sup> Nor can I pretend to have provided an exhaustive account of the way in which this corpus of writings was made available by printers and subsequently appropriated by educators, scholars and writers at the time. That said, this survey breaks new ground in several ways. Firstly, my analysis is not limited to grammar and rhetoric handbooks, but includes humanist verse, letters and oratorical works, philosophical writings and pedagogical treatises. And the way in which each of these texts and genres was favoured by Renaissance printers or used in the Renaissance classroom is not reviewed in isolation but rather contextualised with reference to the other disciplines of the *studia humanitatis*. Secondly, my study confirms Peter Burke's dictum that "it would be a mistake to assume that the package of concepts, methods and

values that we now call humanism was accepted or rejected as a whole”.<sup>17</sup> This was, of course, far from a straightforward process: humanist methods and practices were in many instances met with indifference and even antagonism, and curricular reform did not always necessarily ensue. My approach is also distinct from many other surveys on the diffusion of Italian humanism in Western Europe from the last quarter of the fifteenth century in that it is not determined exclusively by national boundaries.<sup>18</sup> In addition, this study does not restrict itself only to the major intellectual figures of the time. Rather, I have sought to show how minor individuals also engaged with the tenets and literary genres of Italian Latin humanism, most commonly schoolmasters confronted with the harsh reality of teaching the rudiments of the Latin language, who are rarely afforded the role they deserve in accounts of the spread of Latin humanism beyond Italy. On this point I concur with Juliette Groenland, who has argued persuasively for the need to bring the contributions of more lowly-ranked humanists to the fore in order to assess how humanist ideals were put into practice in the Renaissance classroom.<sup>19</sup> For this reason, and because so many of my characters and editions are less well-known, I have erred on the side of chronological precision (one may say punctiliousness), providing Latin and vernacular names for historical figures (except when the character is sufficiently famous) and dates both for them and for when texts were written or published, and full bibliographical details of copies inspected by me. For the benefit of a wider academic audience, I have also provided English translations or paraphrases of all lengthy passages in Latin, Catalan and Spanish.

One final goal of this book has been to assess the influence of the key texts of Italian Latin humanism on some of the national literary traditions, in Latin and in the vernacular, emerging in this period. My own education and research interests have led me to give priority here to the spread of humanism in Renaissance Spain and to the literary culture of Castile and the Crown of Aragon, a less well-known sphere for scholars of European humanism and Neo-Latin literature working outside the area of Hispanic Studies. For the last five hundred years Spain’s contribution to Renaissance intellectual life and letters has been a source of continual controversy among European scholars. The term “*ultimus angulus Hesperiae*” (“remote corner of the Western shore”), was first used as an insult against Spain in 1435, in a riposte by Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1369-1444) to an attack on his new translation of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* by the Bishop of Burgos, Alfonso de Cartagena (1384-1456). Criticism of the status of Spanish literature and culture persisted throughout the following centuries,

culminating in the early decades of the twentieth century in a series of attacks against what was perceived as Spain's cultural backwardness and her failed attempts to embrace modernity. Of these, Viktor Klemperer's negative answer to the question "Gibt es eine spanische Renaissance?" ("Is there a Spanish Renaissance?") is perhaps the most famous and extreme example of a tendency to denigrate, or deny altogether, the literary and intellectual achievements of Renaissance Spain.<sup>20</sup>

Fortunately perceptions have changed greatly since Klemperer's denial of 1927 and there is now a broad consensus regarding the importance of Renaissance Spanish culture and the active role played by Spaniards in the dissemination of the *studia humanitatis* from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The study of the diffusion of humanist ideas in Renaissance Spain has undergone a remarkable transformation in the last fifty years. Yet, it has inevitably been defined by preceding scholarly traditions, subject to methodological conventions, and coloured by the prevailing political and cultural context in which historiographical exposition has emerged. The most obvious example of the latter is the trend, still prevalent despite some noble attempts to highlight the manifestations of Spanish humanism in areas other than Castile, to ignore the impact of Italian humanism on the cultural life of the Crown of Aragon.<sup>21</sup> Traditionally, research on the spread of humanism in Castile (and, by extension, Spain) has assigned a central role in the genesis of this intellectual movement to Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522), whose textbook on Latin grammar, the *Introductiones latinae* ("Introduction to Latin") of 1481, was designed to replace the medieval manuals employed at the time at the University of Salamanca. This emphasis on Nebrija's significant linguistic contribution has overshadowed the importance of the considerable corpus of Latin writings produced in Castile during the second half of the fifteenth century, in which humanist traces can also be easily recognised.<sup>22</sup>

Research into the spread of humanism in the territories of the Crown of Aragon has not, however, been immune to critical preconceptions. Rather, it has been marked by a tendency to overemphasize the humanist credentials of early followers of the intellectual trends pioneered by Italian humanists. This is best exemplified by the figure of Bernat Metge (ca. 1350-1413), a prominent member of the royal chancery in the Crown of Aragon, the creator of a rich and cultivated prose in Catalan, and the first writer in the Iberian Peninsula to adapt Petrarch. In the first four decades of the twentieth century –when a series of distinguished scholars coined the term "Humanisme català" ("Catalan humanism") to denote an alleged early vernacular humanism at the heart of late-medieval Catalan literature–

Metge was heralded as a fully-fledged humanist.<sup>23</sup> Brilliant and groundbreaking as it was, this scholarship nevertheless overstated the classical bent of Metge and other early fifteenth-century Catalan writers, who, though sensitive to Italian cultural innovations, failed to endorse fully the spirit of the *studia humanitatis*. Later more nuanced accounts of the advent of humanism to the Crown of Aragon have uncovered the shortcomings – both cultural and in their mastery of Latin prose– of chancery officials of the period, whilst pointing out the highly problematic nature of the “Humanisme català” cultural construct.<sup>24</sup> In recent years the term has been employed thoughtlessly and indiscriminately to describe any Catalan cultural product from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: however, it must be emphasized that the term “humanism”, when applied to the Catalan-speaking lands, should be reserved for the activity of a group of Latin authors writing in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, some of whom will feature in chapter 4 below.<sup>25</sup>

This brief survey of research on the dissemination of Italian humanism in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon from the last decades of the fifteenth century shows how studies on the subject have tended to focus on the dates and extent of the penetration of humanist interests into both territories. By contrast, little attention has been paid to the manuscript and printed circulation and to the academic recognition of the seminal texts of Italian Latin humanism in Renaissance Spain. In the chapter devoted to Spanish humanism I have therefore provided an evaluation of the way in which a significant number of Latin texts of Italian humanism were transmitted, in the original or in translation, in Spain at the time. Though a small amount of the manuscript and printed material discussed has long been known to scholars, most editions (particularly those published in the territories of the Crown of Aragon) are presented here for the first time.

The study that follows explores the privileged position within the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century curriculum of those works which encapsulate the spirit of the *studia humanitatis*. The main thesis of this book is that, even though these texts were not conceived as works to be used in schoolrooms or lecture halls as part of the humanist movement, they were nevertheless put to a variety of pedagogical uses far removed from their authors’ original aspirations.<sup>26</sup> The two focuses of this monograph are the (early) printed page and the Renaissance classroom. First and foremost, I examine books, and emphasis is placed throughout on the material form of the editions studied. But I also take into consideration other cultural and social documents, such as the personal correspondence of printers, registers of European booksellers, library catalogues from the



period, as well as school and university regulations. The four chapters are organized around issues of book production, distribution and consumption. Chapter 1 provides a contextual framework for understanding the dissemination of non-Italian editions of Italian Latin humanist works after 1470. My line of enquiry begins with some preliminary questions: Where and by whom were these texts printed? Who was the target readership? Who commissioned these volumes? In chapter 2, I focus on the role of the commentary as an educational tool at schools and universities by analysing the annotations to Mantuan's hagiographic poems, Petrarch's bucolic poetry and Poliziano's *Silvae*, which were published in three very different milieux between 1499 and 1538. Chapter 3 examines some of the ways in which the literature of Italian Latin humanism in a range of forms and genres (verse, letters and speeches, philosophical texts and pedagogical tracts) was celebrated by Renaissance schoolmasters and university lecturers in academic institutions throughout Europe. This chapter explores the unexpected ways in which the key texts of Italian Latin humanism were incorporated into the daily routine of Renaissance teaching. Chapter 4 looks at the circulation of Italian humanistic texts in Renaissance Spain, where these works attracted the interest of printers and teachers well into the second half of the sixteenth century. The chapter concludes by showing how this corpus also sparked the creativity of indigenous writers, in Latin and in the vernacular, thus contributing to the rise of new literary forms and genres, such as the picaresque novel.<sup>27</sup>

# CHAPTER ONE

## SOCIAL NETWORKS

A movement based on the restoration, interpretation and imitation of ancient Greek and Roman texts, humanism has long been recognized as originating in Italy towards the middle of the fourteenth century. Within a century and a half (roughly, the period from the late fourteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century), it spread from there to the furthest recesses of Europe, influencing almost every facet of Renaissance intellectual life, from language learning to the development of science, from biblical studies to art.<sup>28</sup> Critics have linked humanism –a modern coinage– with “humanista”, a Latin word invented in the fifteenth century. This term was used to designate a teacher of a defined group of subjects, the *studia humanitatis*, which normally consisted of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy, and was recognized as an academic discipline distinct from the philosophical, medical and theological studies now known as scholasticism. In a highly self-conscious fashion (which in fact concealed many of the continuities between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages), from the late fourteenth century Italian humanists claimed to have ushered in a new era of cultural rebirth. The foremost scholar and advocate of this new learning, Petrarch, established a dividing line between ancient Roman times and the period immediately afterwards.

This chronological break primarily affected the cultural and linguistic spheres: humanists promoted a style of Latin composition which aimed to emulate the elegant Latin of classical authors of the Golden Age, and in turn shunned the coarse Latin employed by scholastic philosophers. They thus strove to reform the teaching of Latin in schools, first in Italy and subsequently (albeit at very different speeds) in other parts of Europe, by replacing the old textbook-based schooling with direct access to the ancient poets and prose writers who provided “the instruments as well as the objects of thought, eloquent speech, and writing, in all kinds of spheres”.<sup>29</sup> The humanist movement received an additional impetus with the invention in the West of printing with movable type around the middle of the fifteenth century, which enabled editions of classical texts to be disseminated, often accompanied with extensive paraphrases. With the

advent of the printing press, the key Latin texts of Italian humanism also began to be published across Europe, mostly by a small group of printers often working in close collaboration with those responsible for teaching in schools and universities. This chapter examines the circumstances which led to Latin works of Italian origin receiving attention in a range of locations across the European religious divide, by looking at the ways in which editions of these texts were produced and circulated in Europe from the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

### **Printing trends**

During the first half of the fifteenth century, one of the channels through which the knowledge associated with the new intellectual trends elaborated by Italian humanists spread throughout Europe was via personal contacts. This form of diffusion was partly facilitated by a shared academic language, Latin, and partly –in Agostino Sottili’s words– by the “ecumenical character of the medieval and Renaissance university”, which enabled Italian professors to work abroad, and other Europeans to study in Italy.<sup>30</sup> But it was not just people who were travelling; books did too. Initially the Latin literature of Italian humanism (most notably Petrarch’s works) circulated in manuscript form; it first reached the European market in that format, and manuscript copies of Italian humanist works continued to be in demand even after the advent of the printing press.<sup>31</sup> It was, however, in the course of the decades following the invention of printing when this body of texts became a markedly cosmopolitan product which could be adapted to different contexts and markets.

Humanist books crisscrossed Europe in a variety of ways. International by nature, any edition of a Latin humanist text could, in theory, be imported and used anywhere in Western Europe. Kristian Jensen has shown how even modest editions could become “potentially commercial, mass-produced objects with a pan-European distribution.”<sup>32</sup> Volumes were eagerly sought and traded by European printers and booksellers. The correspondence of Johannes Amerbach (ca. 1440-1513) shows how he regularly supplied humanists throughout Europe with Aldine editions of Italian texts. Sometime after 1501, for example, Johann Goetzonis wrote from Strasbourg to request copies of Poliziano’s complete works and of Filippo Beroaldo’s commentaries on the classics and asked Amerbach, who was visiting the Frankfurt fair at the time, to acquire for him any new Italian publications that he deemed worthy of interest.<sup>33</sup> But purchasing copies (most commonly, folio editions) printed in other countries was both complex and expensive, particularly for students, who were after all the

average target readership for most of the literature of Latin humanism. For printers, it was less onerous and financially more viable to produce local reprints of these texts, an example being Richard Paffraet (fl. 1477-1511), who not only imported books from Cologne, but also published works by Mantuan, Petrarch and Poliziano in his home town of Deventer in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, and was in turn engaged in supplying the English market.<sup>34</sup> It must be emphasized that an absence of local editions of an Italian humanist in a particular area should not necessarily be interpreted as a lack of interest in his work: a clear example of this are the numerous foreign editions of Mantuan's bucolic verse extant in libraries of Renaissance Spain, where the text –possibly for religious reasons– went otherwise unprinted in the sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Indeed most editions of Mantuan's pastoral poems and of other Italian humanist writings held in Spanish libraries or included in the inventories of Spanish booksellers of the period were supplied from abroad, first by the Venetian presses and subsequently by printers from Lyon.<sup>36</sup>

It is important to point out that initially print did not always quicken the pace of circulation of the Latin literature of Italian humanism in Renaissance Europe, as we can see from the manuscript success of Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis* ("Praise of Florence", ca. 1423), a text which was not to be printed until the twentieth century.<sup>37</sup> With regard to the printing of works by Italian humanists across Europe a certain pattern can be established. Interest in this corpus emerges, as we might expect, in major printing and commercial centres such as Paris, Basle, Lyon and Antwerp; in cities with famous universities (Vienna, Leipzig, Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca), but also in towns which boasted an important local Latin school (Deventer, Münster and Strasbourg). As a rule, in all but the most important printing houses, editions of Latin Italian humanist works were produced locally and were intended primarily for use in local schools and lecture halls. As was the case with Thomas Anshelm (ca. 1470-1523) in Tübingen, printers generally worked very closely with local lecturers and schoolmasters, who persuaded them to produce editions of individual works in user-friendly octavo format, a detail which might explain why several editions of the same work came to be published in the same location by different printers in a very short span of time.<sup>38</sup>

Several of the volumes discussed in this monograph include dedicatory letters. Many humanists viewed such dedicatory epistles as opportunities for career building. They were used by these writers as vehicles for self-promotion, as a means of gaining financial rewards and to advance their own humanist cause. Examination of this material (as well as other "paratexts" such as prefaces, liminary verse, colophons and so forth) is

crucial if we are to understand fully the way authors, publishers, patrons, editors and translators prepared a given text for its readership. As Terence Cave notes in relation to the textual accompaniments in early editions of Thomas More's *Utopia*, such promotional material is extremely mobile, and the layout and presentation of incunabular and sixteenth-century European editions of Italian Latin humanism also vary according to the circumstances in which they were produced and received.<sup>39</sup> Let us consider the case of Johannes Murmellius (1480-1517), a character who will appear at different stages throughout this book.<sup>40</sup> After studying at the famous Latin school in Deventer (the same school which Erasmus had attended in the 1480s), he matriculated at the University of Cologne in 1496 where he became a Master of Arts eight years later. During the early decades of the sixteenth century Murmellius was appointed "conrector" (deputy headmaster) and "rector" (headmaster) of Latin schools in Westphalia and the Low Countries (among others, in Zwolle and Deventer). He also wrote a variety of textbooks intended for humanistic instruction, in which he defended the introduction of several recent poets into the curriculum.<sup>41</sup> Accordingly, he decided to produce annotated editions of Mantuan's Latin eclogues (1508), and two of Poliziano's *Silvae* –the *Manto* and the *Rusticus*– which were published in quick succession in August and September 1510 in Münster and possibly in Deventer too.<sup>42</sup> He dedicated his edition of the *Manto* to Henricus Johannes Bathavus (fl. 1510s), "studiorum humanitatis professor", who, like Murmellius himself, produced editions of works by Latin poets for the Münster-based printer Lorenz Bornemann.<sup>43</sup> In an epigram included in the prefatory material to his edition of the *Manto* Murmellius praises Bathavus for his erudition and describes him as "a learned student of Filippo Beroaldo" (sig. C 3<sup>v</sup>). Given that Murmellius (as editor) and Bathavus (as corrector) had worked together on an edition of passages by Pliny the Younger, published in Deventer two years earlier, it is not difficult to see why Murmellius chose to dedicate his edition of the *Manto* to his countryman and collaborator.<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, however, Bathavus's name does not appear on the title page of Murmellius's edition of the *Rusticus* which was published a few months later, further proof of the mobility and adaptability of the paratextual material included in humanistic editions.

Modest they may be, Murmellius's reprints of Poliziano show that more often than not scholarly editions of Italian Latin humanist texts were not dedicated to powerful patrons, but rather to fellow humanists, as a means of securing their status and consolidating networks, which were essential to intellectual and economic success.<sup>45</sup> Murmellius's volumes also demonstrate how European editions of texts by the group of Italian

humanists under review –particularly editions of their *Opera omnia*– were typically joint enterprises involving fellow printers, commentators, correctors, translators and editors. On occasion, more illustrious characters were involved in this process: for example, Claude La Charité has recently uncovered evidence of the crucial role played by François Rabelais in Sébastien Gryphe’s edition of Poliziano’s complete works published in Lyon in 1533.<sup>46</sup> In some cases, the stimulus to print a particular work came from other printers. Johannes Froben (ca. 1460-1527) is a case in point: on Nicolas Bérauld’s advice, he issued an edition of Poliziano’s *Rusticus* in Basle in 1518.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, it is not uncommon to find printers continuing a well-established local tradition of printing works by Italian humanists. A good example of this is provided by the Basle-based printer Andreas Cratander (d. 1540), responsible for an edition of Poliziano’s letters in 1522 and his translations of Alexander of Aphrodisias’s *Naturalia problemata* in 1520, and of Epictetus’s *Enchiridion* in 1531, and whose heirs issued a reprint of Poliziano’s correspondence in 1542.<sup>48</sup> Sometimes, as with Filippo Beroaldo’s speeches or Pico della Mirandola’s tracts, texts were included in editions of larger collections of works on a similar theme. In a few cases attention to Italian authors went hand in hand with interest in other European humanists, as is the case with Nicolaus Episcopi, who not only published Poliziano’s Latin texts, but also an edition of Juan Luis Vives’s complete works in 1555 and Guillaume Budé’s *De asse* a year later. He was, however, not the only Basle printer who showed interest at the time in Italian Latin humanism: in 1554, for example, Henricus Petrus published Petrarch’s complete works, in Latin and in the vernacular.<sup>49</sup>

\* \* \*

One of those Italian professors referred to at the beginning of this chapter who relocated to other parts of Europe was Publio Fausto Andrelini (ca. 1462-1518). A native of Forlì, after his studies in Bologna and Rome, Andrelini moved to France in 1488, and the following year he was admitted to lecture publicly at the University of Paris. Shortly after his arrival in the French capital, Andrelini began writing a collection of Latin pastoral poems (twelve eclogues in total), which revolve around contemporary political events and Andrelini’s own life. The first eleven eclogues were said to have been printed in Paris in 1496, a conjectural date based on the year the tenth eclogue (the latest one in this group) was completed.<sup>50</sup> The correct date of the *editio princeps* of Andrelini’s

*Bucolica* is, however, around 1500 when the poems were published in Paris by Jean Richard, the first in a long run of printings of the work by early sixteenth-century Parisian printers, with editions by, among others, Raoul Laliseau in 1501, Guide Marchand in 1506, Josse Bade in 1515, Richard again in 1518, and Jean Petit in 1521.<sup>51</sup>

At the peak of his reputation in Paris during the 1490s Andrelini gained access to the court, and was appointed poet royal in 1496, a post which he held for about twenty years. He also became a member of the literary circle around Robert Gaguin (1433-1501). Clear proof of the close link between Andrelini and Gaguin is Andrelini's dedicatory letter to his friend, which prefaces all the Parisian editions of his *Bucolica*. Gaguin's circle included humanists like Bade and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (ca. 1460-1536), who fostered classical learning and spiritual renewal.<sup>52</sup> These were, of course, ideals also shared by Erasmus, who enjoyed Gaguin's patronage from the time of his arrival in Paris in the autumn of 1495. It was in fact through Gaguin that Andrelini made his acquaintance with Erasmus that same year.<sup>53</sup> Andrelini even wrote a prefatory letter for the first edition of Erasmus's *Adagia* published in Paris in 1500. It is no surprise that Andrelini and Erasmus remained on good terms for a number of years. Both men sought inspiration from pagan and Christian antiquity alike. Andrelini devoted part of his university career to editing the works of classical poets, Ovid in particular, whose *Fasti* he published in 1499 before turning his hand to the *Tristia* two years later. But he also showed interest in early Christian poetry, as did Erasmus. In 1500 Andrelini lectured on Juvenecus's *Evangeliorum libri*, encouraging his students to combine imitation of the poets and orators of the pagan world with their early Christian heirs.<sup>54</sup>

Andrelini's enthusiasm for the Christian poets of late Antiquity as repositories of good morals and stylistic excellence was not uncommon in early sixteenth-century Europe.<sup>55</sup> In 1501 Aldus Manutius published a collection of poetry by early Greek and Latin Christian writers entitled *Poetae Christiani Veteres*.<sup>56</sup> In addition to works by Juvenecus, the Latin texts in Aldus's two-volume set featured the hymns of Prudentius and Sedulius (whose *Carmen Paschale* was also included), Proba's *Carmina sive Centones Vergilii*, the work of Prosper of Aquitaine (who versified some *sententiae* of Augustine in the earlier fifth century) and the poem *De resurrectione*, then attributed to Lactantius (240-320). In the preface to his collection Aldus explained why he had decided to print these texts. He hoped that the Christian poets and prose writers selected, who "had lay hidden for almost one thousand years, would be treasured and taught in schools".<sup>57</sup> Inspired by Aldus, Josse Bade cited similar reasons for

publishing editions of religious verse in the early years of the sixteenth century. He did not, however, limit his choice of religious poetry to early Christian Latin writers but also included the poets of Italian Latin humanism. One of these editions was prepared by Jacques Toussain (ca. 1490-1547), who went on to become professor of Greek at the Collège Royal.<sup>58</sup> The volume includes works by Cyprian (200-258), Ausonius (ca. 310-394) and Claudian (ca. 370 – d. after 404), as well as poems by Toussain himself, Jacopo Sannazaro, Giovanni Pontano and Andrelini. In his dedicatory letter, in which he praises Lefèvre d’Etaples and calls Andrelini “praeceptorem nostrum” (“my teacher”), Toussain exhorts his young addressee Pierre d’Aumont to read the texts eagerly as “you will require nothing else in order to approach the high mountain of sacred doctrine”.<sup>59</sup> The content of this edition –with its mixture of classical and contemporary work, the obligatory references to fellow humanists in the prefatory epistle, and the clear educational aim of the volume– make it an exemplary illustration of the often complex way in which humanist ideals were encapsulated in early printed editions.

## Consumption

As will become apparent from the analysis of some of the volumes in the following chapters, a substantial number of European editions of Italian humanist texts include hand-written annotations (marginalia) and provenance notes. These paratextual documents have until recently not commanded the attention of scholars, yet they are extremely important as they provide invaluable evidence of the way in which these volumes were used, as well as information about the annotator’s social conditions.<sup>60</sup> A significant percentage of these works are included in made-up volumes, or *Sammelbände*, which contain several items produced around the same time from two or three different locations. The bindings can date back to the time when the separate constituent parts were published, but it is not uncommon to find compilations assembled as late as the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> Leaving aside geographical and chronological criteria, the collections are usually organized thematically or according to literary genre, very often with an educational end in mind. Most of the authors are classical (almost always Latin or in Latin translation) even though humanistic texts are duly accommodated, as are collections of hymns and other religious works.

One such collection is preserved in the library of Salzburg University, although at least two of its four constituent parts were previously held in the city’s episcopal library. Unlike other *Sammelbände* made up only of



printed texts, it contains works both in print and in manuscript form, proof that for many decades both formats lived side by side. The three printed texts are an incunabular edition of Francesco Negro's treatise on letter writing, and two editions published by Matthias Schürer (ca. 1470-1519) in Strasbourg in 1514: an edition of Ovid's *Heroides*, supplemented with the texts of the *Medicamina faciei feminae* and the spurious *Nux*; and an edition of a large selection of Filelfo's correspondence with an appendix of fifteen short epistles by Angelo Poliziano.

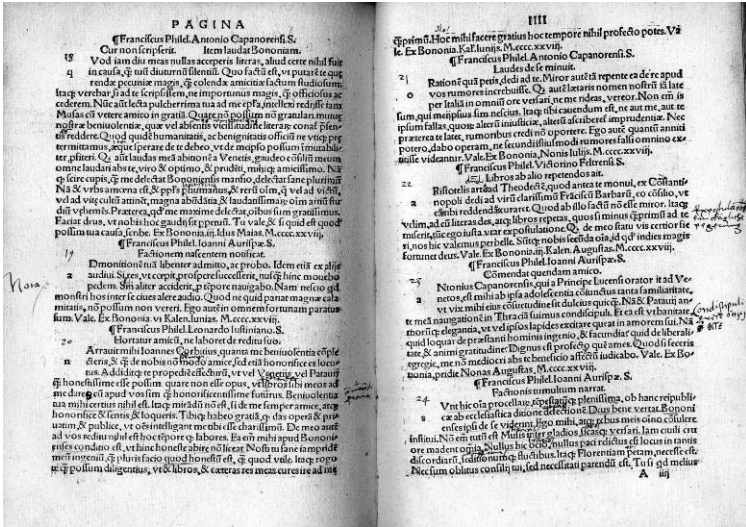


Fig. 1.1

The last item in our annotated manuscript copies of Horace's *Carmen saeculare* (with interlinear and marginal lexical paraphrases and marginal annotation), and two Pseudo-Ovidian texts; and the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Credo* in French.<sup>62</sup> The copy of the edition of Filelfo's correspondence displays all the marks of a schoolbook. Annotation by the same hand that has densely filled the margins and interlinear spaces of Ovid's text is rather sparsely distributed in Filelfo's epistles (Fig. 1.1), an indication perhaps that they were set for individual study in contrast to Ovid's poems which were clearly taught in the classroom. A total of 430 letters are numbered in red ink, and the title of each is followed by a printed *argumentum*. In many cases the annotator provides manuscript synopses of the contents of the text. Thus, Filelfo's letter to his son Xenophon on 7

June 1459 is summarised first in print (sig. K ii<sup>v</sup>: “Docet quibus artibus institui debeat futurus medicus”, “he shows with which techniques the future physician should be instructed”), to which the annotator adds a succinct “Laus Medicine”.

A further collection, held in the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel, is worthy of note because of the selection of texts contained therein, the inclusion of manuscript annotations and the type of readership it attracted. This made-up volume includes five texts published in Nuremberg, Hagenau and Strasbourg in 1530 and 1531: Eliseo Calenzio’s *Croacus, de bello ranarum et murium* (“The War of Frogs and Mice”); the tragedy *Imber aureus* (“Golden Rain”) by Antonio Telesio (1482-1534); an edition of Marco Girolamo Vida’s didactic poem *De arte poetica* (“The Art of Poetry”); Ulrich von Hutten’s *De arte versificandi* (“The Art of Versifying”); and a selection of “colloquiorum formulae” extracted from Terence’s comedies.<sup>63</sup> The volume has a Latin manuscript note on the inside front cover dated 19 March 1631, in which the owner of the book, a certain Doctor Sebastian Hormoldt (1570-1637), values the volume at two guilders and records that he has read all five texts included in the compilation (“Perlegi hos libros omnes ego Sebastianus Hormoldt D.”).<sup>64</sup> However, this Wolfenbüttel *Sammelband* must have been bound some years earlier, as attested by an anonymous manuscript note, also on the inside front cover, dated “anno 1579 mense Iulio”. It is worth noting that these are not the only manuscript annotations found in the collection preserved at Wolfenbüttel: the pages of Vida’s *De arte poetica* in particular are filled with brief annotations in Latin, consisting mainly of marginal notes with only a few interlinear glosses.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, on the title page of the Nuremberg edition of Vida, the *ex libris* “Sum Henrici Stephanaei” (or “Stephanoei”) has been scribbled in black (Fig. 1.2). Similar ownership marks (“Sum Henrici Stepha”, “Sum Henrici Stephan”, and “Sum Henrici Steph” twice) feature in the other constituent texts of this made-up volume held in the Herzog August Bibliothek.

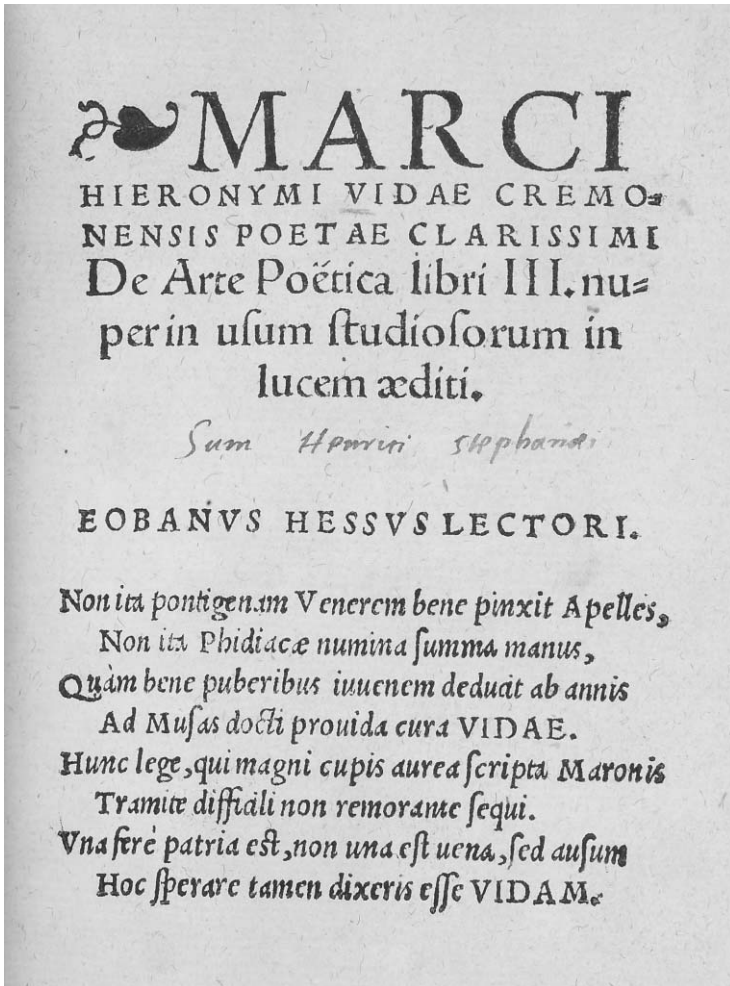


Fig. 1.2

It would be very tempting to relate these *ex libris* to the famous French printer Henri Estienne (1531-1598), son of Robert Estienne (ca. 1499-1559), and ascribe the authorship of the annotations to him. However, samples of Estienne's handwriting (including his *ex libris*), as reproduced, for example, by Louis Clément, have thus far proved unhelpful, and a preliminary examination would not seem to support a possible link

between Estienne's hand and that of the *ex libris* in the copy of Vida and other items included in the *Sammelband*.<sup>66</sup> Notwithstanding this palaeographical analysis, the five *ex libris* (and in particular the ownership mark in the *De arte poetica*) could still be connected to Estienne, if of course we accept that Henricus Steph(anaeus) and Henri Estienne are one and the same person. Whatever the true identity of the owner, the texts in the Wolfenbüttel collection would seem to reflect Estienne's philological and literary interests. Unsurprisingly, throughout his long career, Estienne printed, edited or annotated works of similar subject matter. For example, in 1569 and 1589, he issued editions of an anthology of "sententiae" extracted from Greek comedy, and Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* ("Battle of Frogs and Mice") respectively.<sup>67</sup> Procuring copies of the editions held at Wolfenbüttel would not have been difficult for Estienne since all the works bound together in the made-up volume enjoyed a certain degree of exposure throughout the sixteenth century. We know that several editions of Eliseo Calenzio's *Croacus* (including a French translation of the poem attributed to Rabelais) were published across Europe.<sup>68</sup> Alongside the *Batrachomyomachia* and other satirical writings, Calenzio's poem was, for example, included in a 1547 volume entitled *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*.<sup>69</sup> But what of Vida's *De arte poetica*? Could it have been owned (and indeed annotated) by Estienne? This is unlikely for some of the reasons adduced above. Yet, even though an edition of the *De arte poetica* does not feature among the books prepared by him,<sup>70</sup> Estienne must have been acquainted with Vida's treatise, if only through his father's edition of the poem (Paris, 1520). Estienne's interest in poetics is in any case well documented, and it is not unreasonable to imagine him reading the *De arte poetica* privately and occasionally annotating some of its lines.<sup>71</sup> Whatever the case, irrespective of whether the "Henricus" of the *ex libris* (and of the annotations?) is the illustrious French printer or a lesser-known individual, the notes scribbled in the 1531 edition of Vida's *De arte poetica* constitute yet further proof of how the Latin literature of Italian humanism attracted the attention of Renaissance readers in Europe.

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The most compelling evidence of the centrality of Italian Latin humanism within European Renaissance literary culture is, however, their use in educational institutions across sixteenth-century Europe. Without the impetus provided by schools and universities and without their financial resources, very few of the editions discussed in this book would have been printed in the first place. Many teachers, alert to the didactic potential of these works, came to regard the Latin corpus of Italian humanist texts as highly appropriate educational material. From the first decade of the sixteenth century onwards, as more and more local presses and schools were founded and established collaborative relationships, this trend increased rather than diminished. In the Renaissance the most numerous schools were independent or private. They were typically run by a single teacher and sponsored by the fees paid by the parents. Next came municipal schools, for which the local government was financially responsible, and least numerous were church schools, founded and supported by bishops, cathedral chapters or monasteries.<sup>72</sup>

The incorporation of Italian humanist literature into the school curriculum was often encouraged by individuals committed to curricular reform. In some cases teachers themselves recommended that a modern author be included in the plan of studies because he already featured in the curriculum of other Latin schools. For example, Josef Horlen (1460-1521), who taught at the chapter school in Münster, announced his decision in 1516 to include in his course for the following winter a selection of letters by Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429-77). In a letter to the priest Tilmann Müller in nearby Attendorn, he describes the texts as “short, easy and elegant and most suited to the minds of his young pupils”, and goes on to urge his addressee “to expound as soon as possible this illustrious work of selected letters to your young boys there, as I have done with mine here”.<sup>73</sup>

A further example of the uses of Italian Latin humanism in ecclesiastical schools is provided by the Strasbourg physician and humanist Johann Adelphus Muling (ca. 1485 – d. after 1523), who translated Erasmus’s *Enchiridion militis christiani* (“Handbook of a Christian Knight”). In 1508 Muling published an edition of the *Orationes contra poetas gentiles* by Ermolao Barbaro the Elder (1410-71). In this volume Muling gathers together a range of paratextual material which supports Barbaro’s attacks against the harmful effects of pagan literature: the text of Barbaro’s speeches is preceded by an epigram penned by Bade encouraging “youngsters of good character to devote themselves more fervently to the study of literature”, and by a dedicatory letter to the Mainz canon Dietrich Gresemund (1477-1512) singing the praises of Campano, Mantuan and Andrelini, “poeticae artis professores excellentissimos”.<sup>74</sup> Four years later

(in 1512), in Strasbourg, the printer Matthias Schürer published an edition of Fausto Andrelini's twelfth eclogue which, though completed in 1498, had been excluded from all previous editions of his *Bucolica*. The piece was reprinted the following year (ÖNB, 40 S 56), as well as in Basle in 1518, this time in a collective edition of Italian Neo-Latin religious verse prepared by the scholar printer Johannes Froben on the advice of the Alsatian humanist, religious reformer and classical scholar Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), with whom Froben worked very closely. The preliminary letter is dedicated in turn to Maternus Hatten (d. 1546), a priest at the cathedral in Speyer, near Strasbourg, where the volume may have been used in the chapter school.<sup>75</sup>

This close relationship between printers and the teaching community can also clearly be seen both in the way in which Latin Italian humanist literature became part of the university curriculum, and in the means by which university students – a social group proverbially short of money – acquired these texts as they were prescribed for the classroom. In the Faculty of Arts at most German universities professors posted flyers (like the ones discussed below in chapter 3) announcing forthcoming courses and their corresponding fees.<sup>76</sup> This was usually done shortly before teaching began, so the students, who were often not yet fourteen years old at the time of their enrolment, had neither the time nor the means to acquire copies of the set texts. Rather than expecting students to purchase volumes from sources outside their own institution, it was therefore more realistic and practical to rely on local printers, who must have known in advance which texts were needed.<sup>77</sup> Interaction between printers, faculty members and students operated at other levels too. At times professors such as Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523-1601), whose commentaries on Poliziano's *Silvae* at Salamanca will be discussed in chapter 4, selected a specific text deemed to be appropriate for a particular group of students, and accordingly ordered copies from printers who could supply the material at short notice. In other cases, the decision to publish a volume was prompted by the running of extraordinary courses, which traditionally took place in the afternoon. In order to supplement their income professors offered non-statuary courses for which they commissioned volumes from local printers for use in class. Some of Dirk Martens's editions at Antwerp were, for example, devised for this kind of private study, as was an edition of a selection of Filelfo's letters published around 1525.<sup>78</sup>

This combination of commercial considerations and intellectual concerns is most obvious in the layout of a large number of humanistic editions: they are often small, thin and inexpensive volumes with the text set with double spacing in order to accommodate interlinear notes, and