

# Horace scholiasts Porphyrio and 'Acro' in early modern printed editions (1474—1838)

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## **Abstract**

Reviewing the printing fortune of ancient scholia on Horace, Porphyrio and 'Acro', I examine the degree of importance attached to ancient scholia before they appeared in nineteenth-century critical editions. To what purpose were the scholia first printed? Where did they stand in relation to contemporary commentaries?

## **Keywords**

Horace; scholia; Porphyrio; 'Acro'; printing; editions

## **Resumen**

*Porfirio y Acrón, escolialistas de Horacio, en ediciones modernas (1474 - 1838)*

Se revisa la fortuna impresa de escolios antiguos sobre Horacio, Porfirio y Acrón, y se analiza la relevancia de los escolios antiguos antes de que aparecieran en ediciones críticas del siglo diecinueve. ¿Con qué propósito se imprimieron escolios por primera vez? ¿Qué relación guardan con los comentarios contemporáneos?

## **Palabras clave**

Horacio; escolios; Porfirio; «Acrón»; imprenta; ediciones

Carolingian scholars preserved for us two blocks of late antique Horace scholia:<sup>1</sup> they revised the late third-century commentary of Pomponius Porphyrio<sup>2</sup> and compiled a heterogeneous body of marginalia, now known as Pseudo-Acro.<sup>3</sup> The latter body of scholia was detached from the Horace text by the humanists and, circa 1400, received the attribution to the second-century commentator Helenius Acro.<sup>4</sup> Renaissance scholars' enthusiasm for ancient scholia is apparent from the 48 fifteenth-century manuscripts of 'Acro' and 22 manuscripts of Porphyrio.<sup>5</sup> Early printers — as we shall presently see — also placed a high value on 'Acro' and Porphyrio, but the printing career of these corrupt and fragmentary scholia was far from secure.

Let us review printed editions of Porphyrio and 'Acro', in order to gauge the importance attached to ancient Horace scholia by their publishers. We shall examine physical appearance, layout, content of the editions and observe the position accorded to ancient scholia in relation to contemporary commentaries. Prefatory remarks by the editors and their collaborators should clarify the purpose of the publications and, sometimes, reveal an interest in the scholiasts' identity or expectations of the scholia genre.

This overview is accompanied by a chronological Index of Editions containing ancient scholia.<sup>6</sup> In my discussion, I shall refer to the editions by their date,

1. This article is a byproduct of the author's study of medieval Horace scholia, *Reading Horace* (forthcoming), which contains a survey of scholarship on Horace scholia copied and compiled in that period.

2. Ancient, medieval, and some Renaissance *Testimonia de Porphyriane* are appended to Holder's edition (1894). Summary descriptions are offered by Borzsák (1998), Schmidt (1997), Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: xlvi—xlix). Recent discussions are provided by Diedrich (1999) and Kalinina (2007).

3. The two main components of the Pseudo-Acro compilation were identified and characterised by Noske as fifth-century *Expositio A* on lyric and ninth-century *Paragaphon* scholia on *opera omnia*, based on a six-century commentary (1969: 269—76). Interesting points are discussed by Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: l—li) and more extensively by Borzsák (1998).

4. The misattribution to Acro was noted by Keller, the most recent editor of 'Pseudo-Acro'scholia (1903: 311—7; 1904: ix—x). The manuscript containing the original attribution is described by Noske (1969: xvi—xvii). A comprehensive recent note is offered by Munk Olsen (2009: 35—6).

5. Cf. Villa (1994: 127—34).

6. I have so far come across no catalogue of Horace scholia editions. The Horace volume of the Kristeller *Catalogus* (1960—) has yet to appear in print, while his *Iter Italicum* (1963—) lists only Renaissance manuscripts. An extensive index of publications of Horace's text with and without commentary is provided by Zeune (1825: 1941—91); a more recent, but less comprehensive and not entirely reliable list is offered by Lenchantin de Gubernatis (1945: liii—vi = 1958—1960: xlv—vii). Overviews of commented Horace editions, without a specific focus on ancient scholia, are offered by Niuitta (1993), Rocca (1996), and, in greatest detail, by Iurilli (1994). All three studies mention ancient commentaries only in the context of early editions. Iurilli's enlarged 2004 publication deals mainly with the Italian reception of Horace, but the final chapter summarising Horace's fortuna in the 18<sup>th</sup> century mentions Baxter 1701 and Baxter-Gesner 1752 editions (2004: 78). The third volume of the *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, containing articles on individual scholars, commentators, printers et al., similarly focuses on early commented editions; it offers little on Badius, nothing on Bentinus etc.

place of publication, and — where appropriate — publisher or editor. The full and often clumsily extensive titles of editions are given in the Index.

The date of Horace's *editio princeps* is uncertain.<sup>7</sup> Ancient scholia form part of the first dated Horace edition, brought out in 1474 by the Milanese publisher Antonio Zarotto (Zarothus) with the financial backing of Marco Roma:<sup>8</sup> its first volume printed on the 16<sup>th</sup> of March contains Horace's complete works, the second volume printed on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August contains 'Acro'.<sup>9</sup> At about the same time in Rome, Francesco Marchese (Marchisius) and Angelo Sabino, with the financial backing of Giovanni Luigi Toscani, bring out an edition of Horace's lyric and *Ars Poetica*,<sup>10</sup> where the commentaries of Acro and Porphyrio follow each poem. Horace's *opera omnia* with both commentaries are produced ca 1481, in Venice or Treviso, by the poet Ludovico Strazzaroli Pontifico (de Strazarolis) and Raffaele Regio, who taught in Padua and Venice.<sup>11</sup> Unlike the Roman edition, this one accompanies Horace with Acro alone; Porphyrio, edited by Regio, is placed separately at the front of the volume. Zarotto emulates this format in his second edition of 1485,<sup>12</sup> but the 1486 reprint, edited and sponsored by Alessandro Minuziano, brings a change: Porphyrio's commentary, labelled 'Porphyrio' in capitals, follows the (unlabelled) Acronian notes after each poem.<sup>13</sup>

The Roman, Trevisan, and 1486 Milanese editions contain prefatory letters of dedication, which reveal something of the publishers' concerns. In the ca 1474 Roman edition, Toscani facetiously remarks to his colleague Marchese that their undertaking will be criticised as adulterous, irreverent, and off-putting for the student and that their daring juxtaposition of poetry with commentaries will be ridiculed, in Horace's own words, as adding a human head to a horse's body.<sup>14</sup>

7. The oldest editions listed in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke IX* (Leipzig 2008) are the Venetian 1471 edition by Basilius (GW 13449) and the Neapolitan 15/11/1474 edition by Arnold von Brüssel (GW 13450).

8. Ganda (1980: 111, 125).

9. The method of publishing commentary separately from the text was a feature of five early Servius editions (1470–1475), catalogued by Mambelli (1954).

10. Bianca (1987: 234) and Iurilli (1994: 582) note that the popularity of lyric is a post-Petrarch fashion, when lyric also becomes the subject of contemporary commentary. For the popularity of the *Ars Poetica* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century see Friis-Jensen (1995: 229–230).

11. The place of printing is unknown. Catalogues, including the *Indice generale degli incuboli delle biblioteche d'Italia III* (Rome 1954) and *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke IX* (Leipzig 2008), identify Venice as the likely location. Tre-

viso, home town of de Strazarolis 'Travisanus', and Padua, from where Regio addresses his dedication to Venetian noble Morosini, have been suggested as alternatives.

12. Zarotto apparently borrows the *titulus* for the newly added Porphyrio from the 1481 Venice/Treviso edition.

13. Minuziano draws attention to this layout in his dedication to Bartolomeo Calco (1486, Milan): «ita expositores in poetae marginibus collocavi, ut facile cognitu sit omnibus, quid Acro quid eruditus Porphyrio super eodem sentiant.»

14. Toscani to Marchese (1474, Rome): «<e>runt qui inventum hoc nostrum lenocinii reum dicant, Heli, quod Odis et Epodis ac poesi Acronem et Porphirionem commiseri curaverit, quasi et in figuratis nominibus adulterio locus relinquatur. nec deerunt qui arguant hanc rerum mixturam operi relligionem ac maiestatem detrudere, doctrinam salem ac candorem Flacci inducta circum scriptioe deturpare, legendi

In the same edition, Marchese complains about the corrupt state of the text and the need to rely on a single Acro exemplar.<sup>15</sup> Marchese's publication of lyric and the *Ar*s is mentioned as «Romae nuper impressa duntaxat demidiata» in the 1481 edition, where Regio urges the reader to compare it with the superior quality of his own new text. However, Regio's collaborator Strazzaroli calls his bluff: in the dedication of the Horace-cum-Acro part of the same volume he laments that the three Acro manuscripts available to him are far from satisfactory:

de Acrone autem, cuius tria habebamus volumina, nullum fere verbum, ne dicam sententiam, aderat in uno quod idem in aliis aut adesset aut non depravatum si aderat legeretur : perinde ac si non unum sed diversos exponerent Horatios...

The situation with Porphyrio's text is much the same. In words to be echoed by many after him, Regio praises Porphyrio to the skies and bewails the poor state of the commentary, hoping that his own efforts at emendation may prove satisfactory.<sup>16</sup> The 1486 reprint of Zarotto's 1485 (second) edition is prompted by the discovery of a new exemplar. In the dedication to Bartolomeo Calco, Alexander Minuziano regrets the corrupt state of the former unique exemplar and boasts of his new find:

...itaque hos libros studiosissime quantum sub unico exemplari, eoque temporum iniuria exeso librorumque incuria mendosissimo, recognovimus. caeterum impressis libris et recognitione iam publicata, venit ad manus meas Porphyrio quidam antiquissimus...

It is notable that ancient scholia, whatever the quality of their text, were considered a worthwhile investment for the printer.

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avidum tironem si quasi delibaverit litteras ne non sine interprete Oratii mentem percipere posse videatur a legendo avertere, atque telam artificis omnem disrumpere. separatim hec imprimi utilius et commodius fuisse, magisque ad dignitatem singulos collaturos quam coniunctos, iustus quoque quod suum est unicuique volenti reddi debuisse quam in communionem redigi incitos: nihil aliud hoc esse quam humano capiti cervicem iungere equinam...» Iurilli points out the novelty of combining two commentaries (1994: 582).

**15.** Marchese to Toscani (ca 1474, Rome): «...sed hoc mihi molestum fuit, quod in his Horatii libris qui te maxime hortante impressi sunt, non eam quam vehementer optassem emendationis exhibere diligentiam potui, at certe quantum in me fuit et curam omnem et studium adhibui, sed Acronis exemplaria ut

scis defuere: unum habuimus nec id quidem satis emendatum...» I thank Carlotta Dionisotti for observing that this *exemplar* of Acro may well be Zarotto's edition.

**16.** Regio to Morosini about Porphyrio (1481, Venice/Treviso): «huius tam egregii litteratoris quem ego vel priscis omnibus grammaticis anteferrem dum censuerim lucubrationes in Horatium sive librorum negligentia sive temporis iniquitate pene amiseramus. tot enim in his extabant inversa, transposita, manca, errata ut non modo non intellegi sed ne legi quidem multis in locis possent... In Pophyrionis vero enarrationibus castigandis id quod potuimus †per quam† sollicita usi sumus diligentia quae quidem si impressorum non violabitur negligentia haudquaquam dubito quin nostrae emendationis munus tibi discretissimisque fratribus Andreae atque Marco maxime cordi futurum sit.»

The fifteenth century saw the appearance of several new commentaries: on the *Ars* by Tommaso Schifaldo and Martino Filetico, on lyric by Antonio Calcillo (Chalcidius).<sup>17</sup> Calcillo had lectured on Horatian lyric in Rome in 1465–1466. The commentary arising from Filetico's ca 1470–1471 course on the *Ars* may be dedicated to none other than Toscani.<sup>18</sup> Yet the early printing of Horace, notes Iurilli (2004: 24), does not seem to be connected with contemporary scholastic activity.

The first Renaissance commentary to appear in print is that of the Florentine professor Cristoforo Landino, printed by Antonio Miscomini in Florence in 1482.<sup>19</sup> Landino — unlike most contemporaries — not only covers Horace's entire opus but claims to rival the ancient scholia.<sup>20</sup> This popular commentary had its critics. Minuziano, in the 1486 Zarothus reprint, acidly remarks, in words much quoted by modern scholars, that it is his duty to remedy the damage inflicted by a certain recent commentary.<sup>21</sup> Landino's commentary was never printed in Milan,<sup>22</sup> but before the century was out it had featured in at least nine editions published elsewhere. In Venice (1490/1), Giovanni Francesco Superchio (Philomusus) combined Landino with the ancients, surrounding small sections of centre-page Horace text with copious Acro, Porphyrio, and Landino (in that order), punctuated by marginal 'lemmata' and pointers.

A year later, Antonio Mancinelli added a second modern commentary (on lyric) to the three printed so far. Mancinelli's 1492 edition was repeatedly reprinted and fathered a long line of Venetian publications of Horace '*cum quatuor commentariis*',<sup>23</sup> to which further contemporary commentaries, notes, metrical explanations and *vitae* were prefixed and appended. The layout of Mancinelli's edition differs from Superchio's in one subtle detail: Mancinelli places his own exegesis first, followed by Acro, Porphyrio and Landino. The place of Acro's *vita* and *expositio metrica* is taken by *Ode quid per Ant. Mancinellum* and *Horatii Venusini Vita per Ant. Mancinellum edita*.

17. Villa names several more Renaissance commentators: Giovanni Cuffarino, Franciscus Buti of Pisa, Andrea Volso *dub.* (1994: 134 seq.). It is clear from the same catalogue, that at least one medieval commentary, the 12<sup>th</sup>-century French *Materia* commentary published by Friis-Jensen (1990), continued to be copied: it is found in six, presumably Italian, 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts. See also Friis-Jensen (1995).

18. Bianca (1996, esp. 276).

19. Landino had already produced a commentary on the *Aeneid* in 1478.

20. Cf. Cardini (1974: 249).

21. Minuziano to Calco (1486, Milan) : «... cum vererer, ne si id penitus detrectassem, pluri-

um de majestate Oratiana nobis tolleretur, ob temerarium et veluti sacrilegum cuiusdam conatum, qui recentissimas in Flaccum interpretationes edidit. de quibus verissime dici potest id quod de Rupilio rege noster inquit Oratius 'pus atque venenum' tam sensuum quam verborum huius eminentissimi vatis — id quod nisi Porphyriionis antidotis repressum fuisset, brevi totus contabuisset Oratius.»

22. For subsequent critics, including Ugolino Verino, Badius, Celio Rodigino, see Bausi's 'Landino' article in the *Enciclopedia Oraziana III* (Rome 1998: 307–9).

23. The 1543 Venetian edition '*cum quinque commentariis*' contains three modern commentaries.

The first non-Italian scholar to engage in commenting on Horace was the Flemish humanist Josse Bade van A(s)sche (Jodocus Badius Ascensus).<sup>24</sup> Badius' *Silvae Morales* anthology, published in 1492 in Lyon, contained excerpts from Horace and other authors, accompanied by his own commentary.<sup>25</sup> At the turn of the century, Badius published the whole of the *Satires* and *Epistles* with Acro's and his own commentaries (1499/1500, Lyon). In 1516 Badius' lyric commentary appeared in Giovanni Britannico's Venetian edition (printed by Alexander Paganini) together with Porphyrio, Mancinelli, and Britannico's hexameter commentary. Badius' own complete commented Horace, printed in Paris by Petit in 1519, replicates the Venetian '*cum quattuor commentariis*' pattern. Following the Venetian example, here Badius replaces the gothic typeface of his Lyonese Horace with Roman type.

In 1533 the Parisian printer Robert Estienne (Stephanus) brought out another Venetian-style publication, Bernardino Martirano's edition of the *Ars Poetica*. Acro and Porphyrio are flanked by commentaries by Martirano's Calabrian compatriot Giovan Paolo Parisio (Aulus Janus Parrhasius), deceased 1522, and the Swiss poet scholar and musician Heinrich Loriti (Glareanus).<sup>26</sup> After one reprint of this separate edition of the *Ars Poetica* (1536, Paris), Glareanus and Parrhasius joined a long list of commentators in the enlarged 1544 Venetian edition of *opera omnia*.<sup>27</sup>

The popularity of Horace editions with multiple ancient and modern commentaries is obvious from the prolific number of reprints through the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> It is clear from the appearance of the books, that they are designed for a scholastic market: the complete Horace volumes are of folio size (excepting the 1506 hexameters and 1533 *Ars Poetica*) and their margins are filled with copious commentary notes. Contemporary commentaries forming the bulk of these books are designed for teaching. They aim to give a much more systematic and detailed explanation of the text than is offered by ancient scholia; their level is fairly elementary. Mancinelli makes his purpose explicit in the dedicatory epistle to Pomponius Laetus:

hinc illud fateri audeo in Odis ipsis et in Epodis Carmi<n>eque Saeculari per me enucleatis (prius autem a tribus aliis Acrone Porphyryone Landino *haud satis*) nihil pene deesse ad rerum aut sensus cognitionem.

24. At this time, the German scholar Jakob Locher (Philomusus) returned to Strasbourg from his Italian travels and produced, in 1498, the first major German publication of Horace's works equipped with his own commentary. Unlike Badius, Locher did not (to my knowledge) publish any ancient scholia.

25. 1492, Lyon (J. Trechsel) *Silvae Morales cum interpretatione Ascensii: In XII libellos divisae...* A detailed catalogue of Badius' editions is provided by Renouard (1908).

26. Parisio's commentary was published separately by Martirano in 1531 (Naples, J. Sultz-

bach); Glareanus' edition of Horace, accompanied by his own notes and Niccolo Perotti's metrical treatise, was printed in 1533 (Freiburg, J. Faber Emmeus).

27. Martirano's edition was reprinted once more almost a century later (1621, Lyon).

28. I have traced seven Venetian and two Milanese reprints of Mancinelli's 1492 edition, four of Britannico's 1516 Venetian, three of Badius' 1519 Parisian editions, and eleven of the 1544 Venetian *opera omnia*.

Similarly, Badius prefaces his commentary (1503) with an exhortation to students («Adhortatus sum vos, adolescentes optimi, sepe numero antehac...»). In the dedication of his *Ars Poetica* commentary, Glareanus disparages the youth of his day and sees his mission in educating: «ut iuventus utilissimis imbuta initiis frugem aliquando ferret uberem». It is revealing that, although ancient scholia were not considered sufficient on their own, they nonetheless continued to occupy a firm position in the teaching context, alongside modern exegesis.

The ancient commentaries gradually gain prominence over their modern neighbours. In the preface to his 1499/1500 Lyon edition of Horatian hexameters, Badius describes his own commentary as a humble scholastic auxiliary,<sup>29</sup> but Acro — as a prize for the experienced reader:

non etenim aliud nobis propositum fuit quam verborum ordinem non sine facili explanatione contexere; ne tamen doctioribus maturae desint fruges, Acronis viri argutissimi commentarium praeposuimus.

In his 1519 Paris edition, Badius puts Acro and Porphyrio first in the *titulus*; in the text itself they appear ahead of both Badius and Mancinelli, altering the order of Mancinelli's own 1492 edition.<sup>30</sup> The Venetian editions of Badius examined by me (1536, 1545, 1546) retain the traditional order, whereby Acro and Porphyrio are sandwiched between modern commentators, but from 1543 Venetian *tituli* replicate the Parisian ones, headed by Acro and Porphyrio.

The apex of ancient commentators' prominence among the moderns is the Basel editions printed by Heinrich Petri (Henricpetri) in 1545 and 1555. A third commented edition was issued in 1580, the year following Henricpetri's death, by his son Sebastian. Like the Paris and Venice publications, these folio volumes are produced for teaching,<sup>31</sup> but Petri revises the presentation of both commentary and text. In the 1545 edition, a wide column of Horace is accompanied

**29.** The method and purpose of Badius' 1500 commentary on the *Ars Poetica* — namely offering his reader access to a variety of relevant material in digested form — is discussed by Weinberg (1955).

**30.** In Badius' 1506 edition of the *Epistles*, his own commentary, marked 'Ascen' in the margin, likewise follows Acro.

**31.** The 1545 Basel edition recommends Horace for the teaching of both morality and Latinity: «Qui igitur volent teneros puerorum animos ita formare, ut iis gaudeant, quibus oportet ..., quique volent studiosorum ingenia pura elegantique eruditione et lingua excolere, hunc poetam pueris tradant assidue versandum.» The senti-

ment is echoed by the 1580 edition, extolling Horace among other classical authors as teacher of both morality and eloquence. The *titulus* of the 1580 edition advertises its usefulness for both scholars and teachers: «Vt igitur omnes studiosi legere, iunioribusque interpretari sine remora possint.» The 1555 editor, Georg Goldschmidt (Fabricius), not only considers Horace a particularly suitable school-room author («lectione inprimis dignum et adolescentibus explicandum semper iudicavi»), but commemorates the building of a new school in his dedication («quod bonarum artium studiis honorem habetis eximum, id quod nuper pulchris aedificijs, in extruendo a fundamentis ludo novo, declarastis»).

by a narrow *italic* column of commentary,<sup>32</sup> which spills into full page after the poem. Acro and Porphyrio are praised in the *titulus* («...Acronis et Porphyrius optimorum, sine controuersia, autorum...»), and their scholia are placed before a selection of contemporary commentators, varying from poem to poem.<sup>33</sup>

The two-volume 1555 Petri Horace, edited by Georg Goldschmidt (Fabricius), is particularly remarkable. In the first volume, Acro and Porphyrio alone accompany Horace's text;<sup>34</sup> contemporary commentaries are relegated to the second volume, with the exception of the Freiburg professor Johan Hartung, who precedes Horace in volume I. Like others before him, Fabricius attempts to improve the text of scholia with the help of manuscripts. He approaches scholia on a par with ancient authors:

cum autem interpretum Horatianorum libri corruptiores fuerint *quam ullius adhuc Latini scriptoris monumenta* fuisse compererim, multis saepe locis, et in Italia et in Germania, codices manuscriptos inquisivi.

An annotated codex sent by George, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, enabled Fabricius to produce a much improved Acro.<sup>35</sup> Less fortunate with Porphyrio manuscripts,<sup>36</sup> Fabricius notes which elements appear to be lacking from his commentary:

desideratur enim narratio Porphyrius de vita Horatii, cuius ipse mentionem ad Sermones facit libri primi, Satura sexta: desiderantur graeca epigrammata, quae ab eodem commentatore aliquoties adducuntur, et plurima fortasse alia.

Here Fabricius calls to witness Porphyrio's commentary itself (ad *Sat.* 1.6.41). We shall presently see him exploit grammatical texts as evidence for the identity of the scholiasts.

The third Basel Horace, produced by Petri's son in 1580, was edited by Nicolaus Hoeniger.<sup>37</sup> This single-volume edition endeavours to represent a

**32.** Italic fonts were used for the commentaries by Estienne in his 1533 edition of the *Ars Poetica*.

**33.** Additional modern material agglomerated at the front and back of 'cum quattuor commentariis' editions is here incorporated into the body of the commentary after the relevant poem.

**34.** Acro and Porphyrio take pride of place even in the index (1555, Basel): «...in Acronis et Porphyrius tum aliorum autorum commentaria...»

**35.** Fabricius (1555, Basel): «...accesserunt ad Odarum commentationes non pauca, ad Artem poeticam multa, ad Sermones plurima ... sed hoc minime vanum aut superbum est, me huius libri integritatem, copiamque secutum, multo

quasi habitioem, et nitidiorum in palaestram literariam producere Acronem Helenium.»

**36.** Fabricius (1555, Basel): «in Porphyrius ex paucis membranis antiquis, emendavi tantum aliqua, addidi pauca, dissipata, ut spero, colligi omnia. In Epistolis nihil a codice antiquo auxiliij fuit, id quod expetebam maxime, propter disputationes et διαλογισμους, verbis subobscuris...»

**37.** The *Short-title catalogue of books printed in the German-speaking countries... I* (London 1962, 416) names Fabricius (deceased 1571) as the editor of the 1580 publication. The 1580 volume includes Fabricius' 1555 dedication among other old prefaces, but it is not clear to me what contribution — if any — Fabricius made to this new edition before his death.



greater number of commentators than the two previous Petri publications, the ancient scholiasts retaining pride of place. Eulogising Henricpetri in his preface, Hoeniger mentions still more ardent admirers of ancient scholia, who would have ancient annotations alone as a sufficient tool for interpreting Horace.<sup>38</sup>

One such champion of ancient scholia is a slightly earlier Basel editor of Horace, Michael Bentinus. I have postponed the discussion of his 1527 edition, which stands out among its contemporaries. In contrast to the folio 'text-book' editions, this octavo volume contains the text of Horace and a single commentary of Acro placed at the back, much in the style of today. Unlike '*cum quattuor commentariis*' editions, this presentation did not take on and, to my knowledge, was never reprinted. (Bentinus died of the plague in the autumn of 1527.) Fashion notwithstanding, Bentinus considered Acro's commentary a useful and self-sufficient tool for the study of Horace. In his dedication to Konrad Heresbach (Herzbachius), tutor to the dukes of Cleves, Bentinus explains why he singled out Acro:

Porro interpres et si non vetustissimum, utpote Prisciani et Servii, quem semel aut iterum citat aetate posterior, certe omnium iudicio inter Horatianos interpretes facile primum sibi locum vindicat. Nam Porphyrius bonam partem desideramus. C. Aemilium, Modestum, Gelenium et caeteros, de nomine tantum novimus, quorum si extarent commentarij, facile paterer recentiores, si ita videretur, obsolescere. Verum cum hic unus ab interitu vix servatus sit, indignus sane visus est, qui contemptu et typographorum incuria totus periret.

There are two interesting points. Firstly, Bentinus is dissatisfied with what is available of Porphyrio.<sup>39</sup> Secondly, he mentions two new names among the scholiasts: Aemilius and Gelenius. The source of his information is '*Q. Horatii Flacci vita ex vetusto quodam exemplari descripta*' placed before the Horace text and ending with the words «...commentati sunt illum Porphyrio, Modestus, Gelenius, Acron, omnium optime C. Aemilius.» The same brief *vita* printed in the earliest editions by Regius (1481) and Zarothus (1485) ends with the more familiar list: «...commentati in illum sunt Porphyrio Modestus Helenus[,] et Acron omnibus melius.» Bentinus obtained his *vita* from a codex lent him by Johannes Sichardus.<sup>40</sup> This codex Sichardi *vita* is cited by Schweikert (1865: 3,

38. Nicolaus Hoeniger to Huldrich Coccio (?) (1580, Basel): «... Henricus Petri ... iam dudum complectens aliquot virore doctorum in hunc poetam lucubrationes expressit, applausu commoquo studiosiorum haud vulgari: diverso tamen quorundam iudicio, nam Acronis et Porphyrius commentarios, ut nonnulli caeteris omnibus anteferebant, sic quoque ad mentem poetae nostri et ad sententias explicandas sufficere omnino contendeant.»

39. Fabricius (1555, Basel) recalls Bentinus'

dissatisfaction: «Priscos autem in hunc poetam commentarios eiusmodi iniuria et calamitas si non attigisset, ut ad Heresbachium aliquando scripsit Bentinus, facile pateremur recentiores quosdam interpretes obsolescere.»

40. The author regrets not having timely access to Lehmann's (1895) study of Sichardus' work. Bentinus to Heresbach (1527, Basel): «Proinde curavimus, ut et nitidior, et emendatior tuo nomini conductus in lucem prodiret. Autoris vitam ex antiquo codice, cuius copiam nobis

note 9): «commentati sunt illum Porphyrius, Modestus, I. Gelenius, Acron *omnium optime Acron*.» Schweikert points out that ‘omnium optime C. Aemelius’ arose from a collation of Sichardus’ ‘omnium optime Acron’ and the standard ‘Acron omnibus melius’.<sup>41</sup>

The error perseveres in the subsequent Basel editions up to and including Hoeniger’s (1580). In Fabricius’ 1555 edition, ‘C. Aemelius’, together with Julius Modestus and Terentius Scaurus, receives an acknowledgement in the *titulus* to volume I: «admixtis interdum C. Æmilii. Julii Modesti et Terentii Scauri annotatiunculis». In his preface, Fabricius lists the ancient scholiasts, stating, in true scholarly fashion, the source of his knowledge about each.<sup>42</sup> In most cases, the evidence consists of a citation or a mention by the grammarians, but the name of Aemelius is known to him from a fragment used in the earlier Basel edition, that is by Bentinus.<sup>43</sup> While stating clearly that the writings of ‘Aemelius’, Modestus and Scaurus are lost, Fabricius expresses the hope that some portion of their material might survive — within ‘Acro’. Over-optimistic though this suggestion may be, Fabricius’ open-minded observations about ‘Acro’ are valuable. He suggests Acro as a possible repository for older material, because it often combines several explanations of the same point.<sup>44</sup>

The correct version of the *vita* was re-discovered in manuscripts of St Peter’s Abbey at Blandijnberg (Mont-Blandin) near Gent by Cruquius, to whose editions of Horace we shall turn presently. In his 1565 *Epodes* edition, Cruquius refers to the *vita* for the trio of ancient commentators («comentatoribus... quos tres invenio in vita Horatij manuscripta, Porphyrius, Helenius[,] Acronem, et Julium Modestum»); the *vita* itself appeared in his 1578 edition of Horace’s complete works.

Interesting as the ‘Aemelius’ corruption may be, even more significant is the attitude towards ancient commentary that is visible behind it: the very identity of the scholiast has become a subject of enquiry. These investigations were no doubt facilitated by the publication of the late-antique grammarians.<sup>45</sup> Fabricius refers to Charisius as witness for the existence of Modestus and to Priscian for Porphyrio.

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fecit Io. Sichardus amicus noster cum primis humanis et eruditus, quod et brevis et tamen hoc praeter caeteros haberet, quod eius interpretes ordine recenseret, huc apponendam putavimus.»

41. Inexplicably Schweikert (1865) blames Fabricius and his 1555 edition for this error.

42. Fabricius (1555, Basel): «...Iulium Modestum, artis scriptorem fuisse disertissimum dicit Charisius. Scauri autem decimum in Artem Poeticam librum, idem adducit. Helenium Acronem bis citat Porphyrio, Porphyrius Priscianus etc.»

43. Fabricius (1555, Basel): «Interpretes Horatiani ex vetustissimis fuerunt quinque, C. Aemilius, Iulius Modestus, Terentius Scaurus,

Helenius Acron, Porphyrius. De Aemilio et Modesto accepimus e fragmento codicis vetusti, vitam Horatij continente, quod editioni suae praeposuerunt Basilenses.»

44. Fabricius (1555, Basel): «Æmilii, Modesti, Scauri scripta penitus interierunt: nisi aliquae (ut ego suspicor) annotatiunculae sint commentariis Helenianis admixtae. Nam in unum locum saepissime binae, interdum tres pluresve expositiones leguntur, neque semper unius generis: similiter de una eademque historia diversae proferuntur sententiae...»

45. Priscian was printed in 1470. Charisius, discovered at Bobbio at the end of the century, was printed in 1532.

While ancient scholia enjoyed a privileged position in the Basel editions, other contemporary publishers put them to purely utilitarian use. Producing an octavo Horace in 1533, the Lyonese printers, Melchior and Gaspar Trechsel, drew on Acro, Antonio Mancinelli, and Matteo Bonfini to provide a brief marginal note about each poem (*'interlineares ... notulas'*). The Trechsel brothers named the three commentators on the title page, but other commented editions produced in the same period — for example Lyon 1536 and 1557, Venice 1548, H. Estienne's 1549<sup>46</sup> — do not name a single commentator. By contrast, the slender octavo volume produced in 1556 by the Cologne printer Gualterus Fabricius boasts a catalogue of commentators comparable to the Basel edition of 1545 (adding Pietro Vettori and Francesco Luigini, omitting Servius). The commentary following each poem and occasionally appearing in the narrow margin is, however, of necessity brief and selective. Commentators are only occasionally mentioned by name at the end of a note. This edition was reprinted through the sixties: twice in Cologne and twice in Leipzig. Unacknowledged annotations in sixteenth-century editions and the role played in them by ancient scholia remain subject to investigation. It is clear, however, that these editors had little concern for the identity of the commentators.

The age and identity of ancient commentators, affirmed by Fabricius, were re-evaluated by the Flemish scholar Jacob van Cruicke (Jacques de Crucque, Cruquius). The title of his first commented edition, *Odes 4* (1565, Antwerp), draws attention to the false attribution of scholia: «... cum commentariis falso adhuc Porphyrii et Acroni adscriptis.» Dissatisfied with the content and corrupt state of the scholia he found in Blandinian manuscripts, Cruquius refuses to attribute them to the great and famous ancient scholars.<sup>47</sup> Instead, marginal material amalgamated from several manuscripts is published under the non-committal label 'Commentator'.<sup>48</sup> *Odes 4* were followed by the *Epodes* in 1567,

46. 1536 Lyon (S. Gryphius) *Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini, poetae lyrici poemata omnia, doctissimis scholiis illustrata*; 1548 Venice (F. Bidonus, M. Pasinus) *Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini poetae lyrici poemata omnia scholijs doctissimis illustrata*; 1549 Paris *Q. Horatii Flacci Poëmata, scoliis et argumentis ab Henr. Stephano illustrata. Jam recens recognita simul ac adnotatiunculis, quae brevis commentarij vice esse possint, illustrate*; 1557 Lyon (T. Paganus) *Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini poetae lyrici poemata omnia, ad castigatissimi cujus exemplaris fidem quam accuratissime restituta, scholiisque doctissimis illustrata.*

47. Cruquius (1565, Antwerp): «...nam hinc evenit, ut nullo suo merito, primi illi commentatores, viri doctissimi, et male audierint saepe, et vapularint saepius illorum gratia, qui et illit-

terati simul et improbi cum praeclaras elucubrationes, tum labores certe maximos maximorum virorum tam perditè conspurcarint, et usibus eripuerint nostris.» Cf. the 1578 preface to the *Vita* (Antwerp): «in editis olim per Henricum Petri operibus Horatii, inter innumeros fere explanatores legere quidem est virorum doctissimorum Acronis et Porphyrii numeros et nomina, sed in plerisque eis adscriptis miror atque detestor non oscitantiam typographi, ut quem fortasse mucosum fecit lucri crassus odor, sed ineptos cuculos, qui tantos viros non reveriti suae stupiditatis labe non puduit aspergere.»

48. Cruquius (1565, Antwerp): «quare — ut in commune omnibus commentatoribus consulerem, quos tres invenio in vita Horatii manscripta, Porphyriionem, Helenium[,] Acronem,

the *Satires* in 1573, and the complete works in 1578. The ‘Commentator’ precedes Cruquius’ own notes in all these editions.

The importance of ‘Commentator’ lies in its preserving material from the Blandinian manuscripts destroyed in the fire of 1566. This material consists of Horace variants<sup>49</sup> and scholia, of which the former have predictably attracted far more scholarly attention. The evidence of the ‘Commentator’ was judged worthless by scholia editor Keller (1904: x-xiv), because Cruquius had compiled and edited marginal material.<sup>50</sup> Nisbet and Hubbard (1970: li) follow Keller’s judgment, but Pasquali (1952: 381-2) re-asserts the value of the ‘Commentator’.<sup>51</sup> A specific example of ancient information preserved by Cruquius is cited by Borzsák.<sup>52</sup>

The margins of Henri Estienne’s (Stephanus’) 1575 pocket edition of Horace (re-edited in 1588 and 1600) contain his brief explanations and variant readings. A collection of *Diatribae*, that is discussions of Horatian textual problems, is appended to the text.<sup>53</sup> The second edition (1588: 151–68) also includes an assortment of Porphyrio emendations: «In veri Porphyrii commentarios emendationes, necnon quaedam ad eosdem accessiones: ex quodam veteri libro sumptae». Estienne begins his discussion of Porphyrio with an unexpected statement: «ex doctis aliquot viris, a quibus docti olim in Horatium commentarii scripti fuerunt, superest tantum Porphyrio». Acro is clearly considered beneath

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et Iulium Modestum — hoc Commentatoris vocabulum his annotationibus proprium feci, propterea quod annotationes essent asscriptae margini in quatuor codicibus Blandiniis sine alicuius auctoris nomine, qua gratia non parva suspitione moveor, ut iudicem has ex varijs commentatorum dictis et sententiis esse sertas, quae nisi habito meliori exemplari distinguere non poterunt aut secerni.»

**49.** The accuracy of Cruquius’ Blandinian variants is doubted, because Cruquius’ report of non-Blandinian Leidensis 127, also known as *Codex Divaei* or *Curionis*, was found unsatisfactory by 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars. A list of passages demonstrating Cruquius’ incompetence was produced by Matthias in the final chapter of his dissertation (*Quaestionum Blandinianarum capita tria*, Halle 1882), known to me only through Endt’s report (1906: 3). The debate is summarised by Lenchantin (1937: 147–8). Cruquius’ report was re-evaluated by Pasquali (1952: 381–5).

**50.** Comparing the ‘Commentator’ to scholia recently published by Holder (1894) and Keller (1902–1904), Keller’s pupil Endt (1906,

Vorwort) suggests that Cruquius used Greek and Roman authors as well as Renaissance Horace commentators to improve his ‘Commentator’.

**51.** Modern prejudice associated with Cruquius’ ‘Commentator’ is pinned down precisely by Massaro (1995: 229, note 7): the ‘Commentator’ is all too readily dismissed as an amalgamation, while vestiges of ‘authorial’ presence continue to linger around Pseudo-Acro — at least, I may add, as long as Keller’s ‘Pseudo-Acro’ remains the standard edition.

**52.** Borzsák (1998: 23) points out that Cruquius not only cites the «fugio campum lusumque trigonem» reading at *Sat.* 1.6.126 of the ‘Blandinus Vetustissimus’, but also preserves a scholion about the same game at *Sat.* 2.6: «solebant autem Romani in Campo Martio ludere pila trigonali.» The Pseudo-Acronian note on the same lemma is similar, but lacks the crucial description of the ball.

**53.** Despite this critic’s sharp eye for error, the second and third editions (1588 and 1600), which post-date Cruquius’, still contain the erroneous *vita*.

mention, while Porphyrio is praised to the skies: «quanto magis Porphyriosisive commentarios sive scholia evolvo, tanto pluris illum faciam». Estienne adduces a number of textual arguments to prove the great age and value of the commentary: explanations of pagan rites, old linguistic usage, a copious display of Greek. Porphyrio is treated not as material to be published alongside Horace in order to elucidate the poet's text, but as a critic's palaestra, in other words, a text in its own right.<sup>54</sup>

Some of the editions described above continue to appear in the following century: Cruquius' edition of *opera omnia* is reprinted in 1611, Martirano's *Ars Poetica* — in 1621. In 1632 the Cologne Jesuit Philippe Bebius prepares, for use in Jesuit schools, a 'purged' edition of Horace's lyric, which is essentially grounded in the sixteenth-century tradition. Horace was added to the Jesuit curriculum some seventy years earlier;<sup>55</sup> in 1569 the Roman printer Vittorio Eliano produced an Horace purged for Jesuit schools. This became a model for northern, mostly German, '*Horatius Romae expurgatus*' publications, still printed in the eighteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Bebius' Horace stands out among these, being accompanied by several commentaries: Ceruti's Paraphrase, Acro, Porphyrio, Chabot, Lambin and van der Beke (Torrentius). The commentaries are placed after the text, not around it, but the use of multiple commentators recalls sixteenth-century Venetian-style editions.

The format of the next edition containing ancient scholia is radically different. As advertised in its title, the 1653 octavo Horace produced by the Leiden printer Franciscus Hackius contains a selection of notes by ancient and modern scholars («...cum commentariis selectissimis variorum...») in addition to the very popular commentary of Bond, reproduced in full («...et scholiis integris J. Bond»). The commentary of John Bond — physician and once Master of the Free School, Taunton — was first printed in London in 1606, saw some twenty reprints in England and on the continent prior to the Leiden edition, and continued to appear in the eighteenth century. Both in Bond's original edition and in its reprints, the annotations are presented in the form of footnotes. In his preface, Bond boasts of his numeric system connecting each note to the text, just as we do today: «ita tamen ut singulas annotationes ad figuras arithmeticas referas in contextu...» Hackius uses line numbers in preference to footnote numbers, but otherwise retains Bond's format and incorporates notes by other

54. It is not clear to me if «*veri* Porphyriosis» merely expresses Estienne's high regard for the commentator, or responds to (Cruquius'?) doubts about attribution of scholia.

55. Comparing Jesuit syllabuses from 1551 and 1565, Gendler notes the addition of Terence, Horace, Ovid, and other authors in the

1565 syllabus (1989: 241). The syllabuses are published by Lukács (1965—1981).

56. The original 1569 Roman (V. Helianus) edition is accompanied by Aldo Manuzio's notes: *Quintus Horatius Flaccus ab omni ob-scaenitate purgatus ad usum Gymnasiorum Societatis Jesu. Aldi Manutii de metris Horatianis: eiusdem annotationes in Horatium.*

scholars into the footnotes, acknowledging each by name. Hackius' Horace was followed by three reprints over the next twenty years. Bond's format set the trend for the eighteenth century, starting with William Baxter's Horace printed in London in 1701.

The title of Baxter's edition «...una cum scholiis perpetuis, tam veteribus quam novis; præcipue vero antiquorum grammaticorum, Helenij Acronis, Pomponique Porphyriionis...» and the educational purpose suggested in his preface («publicoque eruditorum usui proponere») raise expectations of a detailed commentary. In fact, the comments provided in the Bond-style footnotes of this octavo volume are necessarily select and brief. Baxter cites the ancient scholia collectively as 'Vet. Schol.', offering no explanation for this label. Baxter's high regard for ancient scholia is clear from his *Instituti operis ratio*, beginning with their praise:

in hoc commentario veterum scholiorum reliquiae, quas tanquam tabulas e navigio summa cum diligentia ex imperitis rudioris aevi compilatoribus collegimus, merito suo facem praefereunt.

Baxter backs modern judgment with ancient authority: for instance, «Muretus, Lambinus, Torrentius cum Vet. Schol.». Baxter is also interested in the identity of the ancient commentators, for he notes that Porphyrio subsumed earlier commentaries including that of Acro — presumably deducing this from the mention of Acro in Porphyrio's text. Baxter goes on to explain that ancient commentaries were re-edited by later 'magistri' and 'librarii', including 'Pseudo-Acro', 'Pseudo-Porphyrio', and the particularly valuable 'interpretis Cruquianus', «caeteris multis in rebus et plenior et purgator».<sup>57</sup> Apparently, Baxter does not realise that the Cruquian 'Commentator' is the editor's creation, but he coincides with Cruquius in the opinion that Acro's and Porphyrio's commentaries are lost. Indeed Baxter's reluctance to attribute ancient scholia may arise from the same principles as Cruquius' use of 'Commentator'.

Half a century later Baxter's Horace was revived by the German schoolmaster, Johann Matthias Gesner. His 1752 Leipzig edition, printed by Caspar Fritsch, was followed by several reprints. In his preface, Gesner affirms the need for a succinct commentary explaining proper names, mythical, historical, geographical, and genealogical allusions.<sup>58</sup> Like Baxter, Gesner sees ancient

57. Baxter (1703, London): «Pomponius Porphyrio, homo doctus atque diligens, incertum quo aevo, stante certe deorum cultu, Helenii Acronis, vetusti Grammatici, forsan etiam aliorum fusiora commentaria in breve compendium redegerat. magistri librarii sequentis aevi hunc itidem compilavere; quorum in numero cum Pseudo-Acrone et Pseudo-Porphyrione, Cruquianus interpretis nominandus venit, etsi hic quidem sit caeteris multis in rebus et plenior

et purgator.»

58. Gesner (1752, Leipzig): «denique cum plurimi, quin plerique sint Horatiane elegantiae studiosi, qui vel per aetatem, vel per quascunque alias vitae suae rationes, non possunt satis intelligere poetam, novatorem in verbis non nunquam, multa e Graeco fonte licentius derivantem, saepe ad fabulas, historias, geographiam, genealogias, personas sua aetate nobiles, post paullo ignorantiae quadam nocte

scholia as valuable, but too fragmentary to serve this purpose on their own.<sup>59</sup> The second reprint (1788) was edited by Johann Carl Zeune, who enlarged the apparatus, provided an index of proper names, and also added annotations, especially on the hexameter works. The purpose of the edition remains scholastic. Ancient scholia retain their modest place: only contemporary works of scholarship are mentioned in the preface.<sup>60</sup> Zeune does not seem to use manuscripts, for his Horace variants are drawn from printed editions.<sup>61</sup> The Gesner-Zeune augmented edition was also published in Glasgow and London from 1796 onwards. Among the six British editions, at least the one printed in London in 1822 clearly advertises its school-room destination, *in usum scholae Carthusianae*. Re-making the *in usum Delphini* series, the London printer Abraham John Valpy used the Gesner-Zeune edition, together with the original 1669 *in usum Serenissimi Delphini* edition by Despez, as the basis for his 1825 four-volume commented Horace.<sup>62</sup> No ancient scholia are visible in the new Delphin apparatus.

In 1788, the year Zeune's Horace appeared in print, the Cambridge classicist Henry Homer and the physician Charles Combe embarked on a larger edi-

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sepultas, alludentem; quibus neque vacet neque alias integrum sit ad alios libros transire, magnos commentarios volvere, qui praesertim destituant saepe, ubi minime opus erat, studiosos: hac ergo conditione cum et maior et nobilior pars sit lectorum Horatii: *optabile sane erat tallium exemplarium exstare copiam, quae breves, ne onerent et velut obruant ipsum poetam, sed quantum praestari potest, bonas interpretationes eorum locorum habeant.*»

**59.** Gesner (1752, Leipzig): «horum si hodie sinceri exstarent commentarii... mire inde adiuvaretur jucundissimi poetae intelligentia. sed dolendum est, ita a posterioribus priorum labores esse corruptos, truncatos, interpolatos, uti nunc opus sit homine subacti multo usu et longa consuetudine iudicii, qui veteris purpurae lacinias, interdum vix filamenta, eruere ex istis centonibus et inde lucem suam dare Horatio possit.»

**60.** Zeune (1788, Leipzig): «quoniam argumentorum enarratio ad rei intelligentiam non parum facere existimatur; omnia, qua potui, diligentia, inprimis Semonibus Epistolisque illa praeposui... omnino autem hic, inprimis in personarum ratione, quantum fieri potuit, Iani doctissimi, qui Horatii Carmina elegantissime edidit, et Wielandii viri ingenui et doctrina clarissimi, qui Sermones et Epistolas, additis

observationibus lectu dignissimis, Germanice reddidit, opera me usum esse gratus profiteor. si quid in hac editione a me praestitum fuerit, quod iuventuti scholasticae ad facilius et rectius Horatium intelligendum prosit, vehementer laetabor.» Zeune presumably refers to the 1778–1782 commented edition of the Odes by Christian David Jani and the German translation of the hexameters by Christoph Martin Wieland.

**61.** Zeune (1788, Leipzig): «Textum nonnullis in locis, sed caute et parce, ad fidem *librorum* mutavi...» Sources of variant readings named by Zeune are Bentley, the 1559 Venetian edition, Glareanus (1536), Chabotius (1615), Lambinus (1596), and Crusius' annotations (in his copy of Glareanus' edition).

**62.** In his 1752 edition, Gesner already saw himself as fulfilling the task begun by the original *in usum Delphini* editors. Without referring specifically to the 1669 *in usum Delphini* Horace, in his preface Gesner notes that those series, however laudable their intent, left much to be desired (1752, Leipzig): «spectabant hoc prudentes viri qui Delphino tum suo, et per hunc studiosis reliquis parari iubebant eorum, qui classici vocantur, latinorum scriptorum editiones: sed quantum h.e. quam parum quidam, quam nihil plerique profecerint, saepe iam homines eruditi conquesti sunt.»

tion, which would include a comprehensive variety of deserving commentaries.<sup>63</sup> Homer died in 1791, before the first volume was completed, and the monumental two-volume Horace was published as Combe's edition (1792—1793, London). Making use of a dozen earlier editions and commentaries (listed under the heading *Nomina auctorum et operum, ex quibus notas desumsi*), Combe chose as his basis the 1772 reprint of Gesner's Baxter Horace.<sup>64</sup> While Combe himself made no reference to ancient scholia, he inherited 'Schol. Vet.', together with other annotations, from Gesner's edition.

The main shifts in the fortune of scholia publication from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century can be summarised as follows. Early Renaissance scholars reproduce scholia indiscriminately from available manuscripts. From the 1490s, ancient scholia share the page with contemporary exegeses. Scholia are prominent in early-sixteenth-century north-European publications by Badius, but the trend for later publication of scholia is set by annotated pocket-editions produced from the 1530s. From this time on, most editors cite only snippets of ancient scholia to illustrate a point or to support a judgement. The exceptional Basel editions produced in the middle of the sixteenth century are the last comprehensive publications of scholia until the nineteenth century. These editions also draw attention to the identity of the scholiasts and the question of authorship, which continues to occupy the minds of later scholars.

After over two centuries of sporadic and partial publication, ancient scholia regain their prominence in the nineteenth century. Two Germanic editions of the *Ars Poetica* appear in 1824. A scholastic edition produced by Franz von Paula Hocheder — then a Würzburg schoolmaster, later professor in Munich — prefaces Horace's text with 'Acron' and Porphyrio summaries of Horace's *praecepta* (1824: xvii). Hocheder accompanies Horace with his own notes in German, but also reproduces Porphyrio's commentary from a 'tenth-century' Munich manuscript (presumably Clm 181 s. ix m.) in the Appendix (Dritte Anhang). In the Vorrede (vii), Hocheder explains that reading Porphyrio's text as it stands will help to sharpen his students' critical acumen.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Emer-

**63.** Combe (1792—1793, London) Proemium: «*Editiones Flacci cum notis et animadversionibus, quae in hoc seculo plurimae in publicum prodierunt, quamvis et eruditione et ornamentis summis nonnullae abundant, omnes tamen variorum observationibus carent. In hac nova editione, si cura adhibeatur ut eae notae seligantur, ex variis autoribus, quae apud doctos iudices utilissimae habentur, sperandum est, me non modo studiosorum commodis haud male consuluisse, sed etiam in elegantiorum hominum bibliothecas aliquid ornamenti contulisse.*»

**64.** Combe (1792—1793, London): «Quoniam Baxteri Flaccus, cum notis Gesneri editus, tum

apud exteros tum nostrates, propter egregiam accuratorem et notas, non mediocrem laudem consecutus est, hujusce editionis contextum, nisi in locis quibusdam, ab incuria typographorum, manifeste pravis, nihil prorsus mutare ausus, pro exemplari adhibui.»

**65.** Hocheder (1824, Passau, vii): «... Aus gleicher Ursache ist der obenbenannte Comm. Pophyr. in einem Anhang mit allen seinen Tugenden und Mälgeln beigefügt worden, damit die Schüler nicht allein vom Alterhume hören, sondern dasselbe gewisser Maßen auch sehen, und somit in die Acten der Gelehrten blicken und ihr eigenes Vermögen, Muthmassungen zu bilden, üben.»



ich Hohler's Viennese edition provides an apparatus of German footnotes and Porphyrio's commentary, printed separately at the back (1824: 76–84). In his introduction, Hohler refers to Porphyrio on points of interpretation and, in passing, calls him a precious commentator.<sup>66</sup>

Braunhard's 1831–1838 Leipzig edition of Horace's *opera omnia* contains both Porphyrio and 'Acro', appearing by instalments before each Horatian work. Unlike Baxter, Braunhard is optimistic about the survival of ancient scholia:

qui Acroni et Porphyrii abiudicant omnia et semper nescio quem Pseudoacronem et Pseudoporphyriorem in ore habent, nae illi parum se praestant criticos. nam neque argumentis firmant hanc suspicionem, neque satis adtente legisse eos oportet scholiastas. hoc enim si fecissent, vidissent sane, plurimas eorum adnotationes antiquissimam aetatem et stantem adhuc deorum cultum prodere.

Braunhard does not see scholia as a text which needs to be edited: if we are to trust the preface, he prints the scholia from a single manuscript.<sup>67</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the scholia appear once more, for the first time since the fifteenth century, as separate texts in their own right. Pauly's 1858 edition claims to be the first to pick up the work of Fabricius (1555): *Scholia Horatiana quae feruntur Acronis et Porphyrii post G. Fabricium nunc primum emendatiora edidit F. Pauly*. Pauly uses a single manuscript for Porphyrio (Wolf. Aug. 85) and, for Acro, one manuscript (Wolf. Gud. 81.38) supplemented by early editions ('Patavia' 1481, Milan 1486, Fabricius, Cruquius 1579). Pauly's work is described by Schmidt as the last pre-modern edition (1997: 261). Germanic scholarship of Pauly and his contemporaries is evaluated by Noske (1969: 3–12).

While these and later nineteenth-century publications do not satisfy the modern concept of a critical edition, they serve the same purpose: their aim is to publish the text of scholia, rather than use it to illustrate Horace.

### Chronological index of printed editions of Porphyrio and 'Acro'

\* following a date indicates that I have seen a copy of this edition; with few exceptions, the majority of the editions were consulted at the British Library.

† = *sic*, marking printing errors. I standardise capitalisation, but retain spelling. Names of printers (and sponsors, in the case of *incunabula*) are indicated in brackets. Dedicatees are indicated for incunabula editions only.

Modern catalogue references are similarly limited to the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, [GdW].

66. Hohler (1824, Vienna, 1): «...nach Porphyrius, von welchem ein schätzbarer Commentar ueber dieses Gedicht aus dem Alterthume uebrig ist, soll hier der erstgenante L. Calpurnius Piso gemeint seyn...»

67. Braunhard (1831–1838, Leipzig, 7): «neque mihi deerat codex Lipsiensis primus... unde etiam Acronis et Porphyrii scholia ad Horatium accepi.»

[GdW 13456]

1474\* (Horace +) Acro (including *vita, expositio metrica*)

4<sup>o</sup>A. Zarothus, Milan

*Tituli*

1. Acronis commentatoris egregii in Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini opera expositio incipit
2. [expl.] Acronis viri quam doctissimi commentaria diligenter emendata in Q. Horatii Flacci opera per Antonium Zarothum Parmensem Mediolani impressa mcccclxxiv Idibus Sextilibus

[GdW 13471]

1474/5\* Horace lyric and *Ars Poetica* + Acro, Porphyrio

fol.F. A. Marchisius & A. Sabinus (sponsored by I. L. Tuscanus), Rome (Wendelinus de Wila / B. Guldinbeck)

*Tituli* 1. Vita Horatii secundum Acronem

2. Vita Horatii secundum Pophyrionem

3. Quinti Horatii Flacci Odarum ad Moecenatem liber primus

4. [expl.] Explanatio Porphirionis in arte poetica feliciter explicat

*Dedications*

1. Ioannes Aloisius Tuscanus aduocatus consistorialis Francisco Helio Parthenopeio salutem

2. Franciscus Marchisius Aelius Perthenopeus† domino Ioanni Aloisio Tuscano amico lepidissimo poete dulcissimo Oratorique periter† et iuriconsulto clarissimo s.d.

[GdW 13457]

1481?\* Porphyrio; Horace + Acro (incl. vita, exp. metr.)

fol.R. Regius (Porphyrio) & L. de Strazzarolis (H. + Acro) (sponsored by Marco Roma); Venice or Treviso (Mich. Manzolus)

*Tituli* 1. Porphyrionis in Qu. Horatii Flacci operibus comentum† incipit

2. Acronis commentatoris egregii in Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini operae expositio incipit

3. Τελος Quinti Hor<r>atii Flacci omnium operum cum Acronis Disertissimi commentatoris expositione

*Dedications*

1. Raphael Regius Aloisio Mauroceno patricio Veneto salutem plurimam dicit

2. ad reverendissimum in Christo patrem et d. dominum Angelum Phaseolum Dei et apostolicae saedis gratia episcopum Feltrensem Ludovicus de Strazarolis Tarvisanus

[GdW 13461; 13463]

1485\* Porphyrio; Horace + Acro (incl. vita, exp. metrica)

fol.A. M. Conagus, Milan (A. Zarothus), 1486\* A. Minutianus (A. Zarothus);

*Tituli* 1. Porphyrionis in Qu. Horatii Flacci operibus comentum† incipit

2. Acronis commentatoris egregii in Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini operae expositio incipit

3. [expl.] Porphyrionis in Quinti Horatii Flacci opera commentaria, eiusdemque Horatii opera cum Acronis commentatoris expositione in hoc cotinentur volumine, Medi-

olani impressa per Antonium Zarotum parmensem anno domini Mccccclxxxv impensis Mariae Conagi

*Preface 1485* (after Porphyrio) Augustinus Maria Conagus ad lectorem

*Dedication 1486* Alexander Minutianus Appulus† magnifico viro Bartholomaeo Chalco Ducalium secretorum magistro Mecoenati suo s.

[GdW 13464]

**1490/1\* Horace + Acro, Porphyrio, Landinus**

**fol. Philomusus, Venice (G. Arrivabene)**

*Tituli* 1. Liber Primus. Mecoenas atavis...

2. [expl.] Horatii Flacci lyrici opera a Georgio Arrivabene Mantuano diligenter Venetiis impressa hic clauduntur. anno salutis Mccccxc pridie nonas Febrarii. laus Deo.

*Dedication* Io. Franciscus Philomusus Pisarensis inclyto principi Ioanni Sfortiae s.d.

[GdW 13465; 13466; 13467; 13469; 13470]

**1492/3\* H. + Mancinellus (lyric), Acro, Porphyrio, Landinus**

**fol. A. Mancinellus, Venice (P. Pincio) 1494\*** (Boneto Locatello), 1495/6 (P. Pincio, B. Fontana), 1498\* (J. Aluysius), 1498? (P. Pincio), 1505, 1509, 1514 (A. de Zannis de Portesio); **Milan 1508\*** (Pachel), 1512\* (L. de Bebulco)

*Tituli*

1. Horatius cum commentariis Ant. Mancinelli, Acronis, Porphyronis, Christophori Landini

2. [expl.] Horatii Flacci poetae opera a Philippo Pincio Mantuano diligenter Venetiis impressa Anno salutis MCCCCXCII Pridie Kalendas Martii. Berardino† Refina litterarum† doctorumque amantissimo pecuniam impendente

*Dedication* Antonius Mancinellus Veliternus Pomponio Laeto Romani eloquii principi summaeque prudentiae viro

[GdW 13474]

**1499/1500\* Horace Satires, Epistles + Acro + Badius**

**4° ed. J. Badius, Lyon (N. Wolff); Paris 1500 (F. Regnault); (Acro on Epistles only) Paris 1505/1506\*** (J. Philippus, expensis J. Granion)

*Tituli* 1. Sermonum Horatij familiare commentum cum Acronis subtilissima interpretatione

2. Epistolarum Horatij familiare commentum cum Acronis subtilissima explanatione

*Dedications*

1. (*Satires*) Iodocus Badius Ascensius Laurentio Burello regio confessori prudentissimo Carmoelitarum candidissimo theologorum divinissimo et praesidiorum suorum longe dulcissimo cum omni veneratione S. D.

2. (*Epistles*) Iodocus Badius Ascensius Religiosis admodum fratribus domus sancti Hieronymi Gandavi ad scaldem divique Batistae aedes: cultis sane cum litteris tum virtutibus viris: sibique longe observandis S. D.

**1516 Horace + Porph., Acro from 1527, Manc. (lyric), Badius (lyric), Britan. (hex.)**

**fol.ed. J. Britannicus**, Venice (A. Pagano); 1520 (de Fontaneto), 1527 (de Monteferrato), 1536\* (Tacuini), 1540 (Roffinellus)

*Titulus* Odarum libri quattuor; Epodon, Carmen Saeculare Porphyrione, Antonio Mancinello, Ascensio interpretibus. eiusdem Ars Poetica, Sermonum libri duo, Epistolarum totidem Joanne Britannico Brixiano interpretibus. Accedit ad novum interpretem index copiosissimus dictionum fabularum et historiarum omnium quae hisce commentariis insunt.

*Titulus 1527* Qvinti Horatii Flacci poemata omnia: commentatibus Antonio Mancinello: Acrone: Porphyrione: Joanne Britanico: nec non et Jodoco Badio Ascensio; viris eruditissimis. Centimetrum Marii Seruii. Annotationes Aldi Manutii romani. Ratio mensuum: quibus Odae tenentur: eodem Aldo auctore. Nicolai Peroti Libellus de metris odarum. Annotationes Matthaei Bonfinis Asculani: suis locis insertate: et ad finem ex integro restituae.

1519\* H. + Acro, Porph., Mancin. (lyric), Badius (hex.) + et. al.

**fol.J. Badius, Paris (Petit)**; 1528, 1529 (Badius), 1543\* (Petit), 1579

*Titulus* Opera Q. Horatii Flacci poetæ amœnissimi cum quatuor commentariis Acronis, Porphyriionis, Anto. Mancinelli, Jodoci Badii Ascensii accurate repositis, cumque adnotationibus Matthaei Bonfinis et Aldi Manutii Romani a philologo recognitis: suisque locis insertis et ad finem ex integro restitutis. Praemisso amplissimo in vniuersum opus indice.

*Titulus 1543* Q. Horatii Flacci opera cum quatuor commentariis, *Acronis, Porphyriionis, Antonii Mancinelli, Iodoci Badii*, anno M.D.XLIII. repositis. Cumque adnotationibus Matthaei Bonfinis et Aldi Manutii a philologo recognitis, suisque locis insertis, et ad fidem ex integro restitutis. Praemissoque et aucto indice. Adiectae in calce libri eundem in authorem Henrici Glareani Heluetii, Poetæ Laureati, viri de omni genere scientiarum benemeriti, annotationes, quibusquidem rite perspectis, multa in commentariis mutila ac corrupta reponere poterit diligens lector.

1527\* Horace; Acro

**8°M. Bentinus, Basel (Valentinus Curio)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini poetæ amoenissimi, exactissimique atque inter lyricos Latinos principis opera cum commentarijs Acronis grammatici haud quaquam uulgaris, nuper quam accuratissime castigati aeditique ac amplissimo indice illustrati

1533\* Horace + Acro + Mancinellus + Bonfinis

**8° Lyon (M. et G. Trechsel frat.)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci poetæ lyrici amoenissimi posterior æditio, cæteris ut emendatior ita locupletior, argumentis, scholijs, et metrica carminum ratione. Nicolai Perotti libellus de metris Horatianarum Odarum. Aldi Manutii Romani in eundem adnotationes non infrugiferae. Interlineares etiam notulas ex Acrone, Mancinello, et Matthæo Bonfinis plurimas iamprimum adiecimus, et sicubi occurrerit varia lectio, diligenter annotauimus.

1533\* Horace *Ars Poetica* + Parrhasius, Acro, Porphyrio, Glareanus

**4°B. Martiranus, Paris (R. Stephanus); Lyon 1536\* (F. Iustus), 1621\* (B. Vincentius)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Ars Poetica, cum trium doctissimorum commentariis A. Jani Parrhasii, Acronis, Porphyriionis. adjectæ sunt ad calcem doctissimæ Glareani annotationes.

**1544\* Horace + Acro, Porphyrio, et al.**

**fol.Venice (Scottus), 1545\*, 1546\* (Roffinellus), 1549 (haer. Ravani), 1549 (Scotus), 1553 (Nicolinis; Scotus), 1559 (Bonelli), 1562, 1567, 1576, 1584 (Gryphius), 1590**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Poetæ Venusini Omnia poemata, cum ratione carminum, et argumentis ubique insertis, interpretibus Acrone, Porphirione, Iano Parrhasito† Antonio Mancinello, necnon Iodoco Badio Ascensio viris eruditissimis, scoliisque D. Erasmi Roterodami, Angeli Politiani, M. Antonii Sabellici, Lvdovici Caelii Rodigini, Baptistae Pii, Petri Criniti, Aldi Manutii, Matthaei Bonfinis, et Iacobi Bononiensis nuper adiunctis. His nos praeterea annotationes doctissimorum Antonii Thylesii Consentini, Francisci Robortelli Utinensis, atque Henrici Glareani apprime utiles addidimus. Nicolai Peroti Sipontini Libellvs de metris Odarum, auctoris vita ex Petro Crinito Florentino, quae omnia longe politius, ac diligentius, quam hactenus, excusa in luce prodeunt.

**1545\* Horace + Porphyrio, Acro, et al.**

**fol.Basel (H. Petri)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Venvsini opera, quibus inter poetas et Latinos et Graecos vix quicque praestantius, cum ad linguam excolendam, tum ad actiones affectusque moderandos, inuenitur. Vt igitur omnes studiosi legere, iunioribusque interpretari sine remora possint, omnium commentaria quae uisa sunt digna ut legantur, per aliquot eruditos grammaticos auxilio ueterum exemplarium, iam denuo castigata addidimus, nempe Acronis & Porphyriionis optimorum, sine controuersia, autorum. Item annotationes iudicio et eruditione magnorum, aeternaque memoria dignorum virorum: Henrici Glareani Helvetii poetae laureati, Erasmi Roterodami, Matthaei Bonfinis, Aldi Manutij a Philologo recognitas, Ludovici Cœlij, Angeli Politiani, M. Antonij Coccij Sabellici, Ioannis Baptistae Pij Bononiensis, Iacobi à Cruce Bononiensis, Seruij Grammatici, Petri Criniti.

**1555\* Horace + Porphyrio, Acro, et al.**

**fol.G. Fabricius, Basel (H. Petri)**

*Tituli* [vol. I] Opera Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini, Grammaticorum antiquis Helenii Acronis et Porphyriionis commentariis illustrata, admixtis interdum C. Æmillii. J. Modesti et Terentii Scauri annotatiunculis: edita auctius et emendatius quam umquam antea per Georgium Fabricium Cheminicensem. Ex Diomedis etiam observationibus indicata in Odis Carminum genera sunt et menda in iisdem sublata. ... Huc quoque accedunt Ioan. Hartungi in omnia Horatii opera breues observationes, quibus docet potissimum ubi hic noster Graecos imitavit. Interpretes reliqui poetae huius in altero huius voluminis tomo tibi exhibentur. Cum gratia et privilegio imperiali Basileae.

[vol 2] Horatiani huius voluminis tomus alter, quo qui poetae huius opera sive iustis commentariis sive succinctis annotationibus illustrarunt, praecipui omnes compræhenduntur quorum nomina sunt, Christophorus Landinus in omnia Horatii opera, Franciscus Lusius Utinensis in Artem poeticam, Iacobus Grifolius Lucinianensis in Artem poeticam, Iason de Nores Cyprius in Artem poeticam; Eras. Roterd., Aldi Ma-

nutii, Ludovici Coelii, Angeli Politiani, M. Anton. Cocci Sabellici, Ioan. Baptistae Pii Bonon., Iacobi a Cruce Bononiensis, Petri Criniti, Henrici Loriti Glareani annotationes in Horatii opera.

**1556\* Horace + Acro, Porph. et al.**

**8°Cologne (Gualt. Fabricius), 1562 (G. Fabricius), 1564\* (P. Horst); Leipzig 1563, 1568 (E. Voegelinus)**

*Titulus* Opera Q. Horatii Flacci cum metrica carminum ratione et argumentis ubique illustrata, tum etiam doctissimorum virorum Acronis, Porphyronis, D. Erasmi Roterdami, Angeli Politiani, M. Antonij Sabellici, Ludovici Coelii Rhod., Babbistae Pij., Petri Criniti, Aldi Manutij, Matthaei Bonfinis, Iacobi Bononiensis, Henrici Glareani, Peteri Victorij et Francisci Luisini annotationibus in illius operata adjectis.

**1565\* Odes 4 + 'Commentator' (scholia), Cruquius**

**8°J. Cruquius, Brugge (H. Golzius)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci carminum liber quartus, ex antiquissimis manuscriptis codicibus cum commentarijs falso adhuc Porphyroni et Acroni adscriptis, opera Iacobi Cruquii Messinii apud Brugenses litterarum Professoris publici editus. eiusdem in eundem Adnotationes; Brugis Fland. Ex officina Huberti Goltzj MDLXV

**1567\* Epodes + 'Commentator' (scholia), Cruquius**

**8°J. Cruquius, Antwerp (Plantin)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Epodon liber ex antiquissimis septem codicibus manuscriptis, cum commentarijs antiquis emendatus & editus opera Iacobi Cruquii Messinii, apud Brugensis politioris litteraturæ professoris publici. Eiusdem in eundem adnotationes.

**1573\* Satires + 'Commentator' (scholia), Cruquius**

**8°J. Cruquius, Antwerp (Plantin)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Satyrarum, seu potius Eclogarum, libri II. [E]x antiquissimis undecim codicibus manuscriptis, cum antiquis commentarijs, post omnes qui hactenus editi sunt, infinitis locis purgati, & clariùs explicati opera Iacobi Cruquii Messinii, apud Brugensis politioris litteraturae professoris publici. Eiusdem in eosdem commentarij.

**1578\*/9\* Horace + 'Commentator', Cruquius (1597 + Dousa)**

**4°J. Cruquius, Antwerp (Plantin); 1597\*, 1611**

*Titulus* Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex antiquissimis undecim lib. M.S. et schedis aliquot emendatus et plurimis in locis cum commentarijs antiquis expurgatus et editus opera J. Cruquii Messinii apud Bruganos politioris litteraturae professoris publici. Eiusdem in eundem enarrationes, observationes, et variae lectiones, cum alijs quibusdam et indice locupletissimo.

**1580\* Horace + Acro, Porphyrio et al.**

**fol.N. Hoeniger, Basel (H. Petri)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Venusini, poetae lyrici elegantis opera grammaticorum XL tam antiquis quam neotericorum partim justis commentarijs, partim succinctis annotationibus singulari studio et amplissimis sumptibus in unum corpus collectis illustrate:

variisque ac vetustissimis exemplaribus collate et menda in iisdem sublata: quorum auth. nomina et ordinem sequens pagina demonstrabit. iam pridem in studiosae iuventutis gratiam et utilitatem post herculeos labores edita : cum gemino indice rerum, verborum ac sententiarum locupletissimo.

**1588\* Horace; notes on emendation of Horace and Porphyrio**

**8°H. Stephanus, Paris & Geneva (H. Stephanus), 1600\*** Paris (2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> editions of 1575 Parisian edition, which contained no Porphyrio)

*Titulus* Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata novis scholiis et argumentis ab Henrico Stephano illustrata; eiusdem Henr. Stephani diatribae de hac sua editione Horatij, & variis in eum observationibus. Editio secunda, quae, praeter scholiorum locupletationem, aliquot insuper diatribas, & quasdam in veri Porphyriionis commentarios emendationes, necnon quasdam ad eos accessiones habet.

*Additional Titulus 1600* Editio tertia, quae, praeter scholiorum locupletationem, aliquot insuper diatribas, et quasdam in Veri Porphyriionis commentarios emendationes, nec non quasdam ad eos accessiones habet.

**1632\* H. lyric + Cerutus, Acro, Porphyrio, Chabotius, Lambinus, Torrentius fol.P. Bebius, Cologne (Birckmann)**

*Titulus* Q. Horatij Flacci lyrica, prout in scholis Societatis Iesu doceri solent, ab omni obscenitate purgata. Atque in eadem sex tam veterum, quam recentiorum commentarij Acronis, Porphyriionis, Gualteri Chabotii, Dionisii Lambini, Laevini Torrentii, Frederici Ceruti Paraphrasis, a quodam patre eiusdem Societatis correcti ac superiorum iussu et permissu editi...anno MDCXXXII

**1653\* Horace + J. Bond + Acro, Porphyrio et al.**

**8°Leiden (F. Hackius), 1658\*, 1663, Leiden and Rotherdam 1670**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flaccus cum commentariis selectissimis variorum: et scholiis integris J. Bond. Accedunt indices Accurante C. Schrevelio

**1701\* Horace + 'Schol. Vet.', at al.**

**8°W. Baxter, London (Awnsham & John Churchill), 1725\*** (Guilielmus Bowyer), 1735 (J. Batley & J. Wood)

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci eclogæ, una cum scholiis perpetuis, tam veteribus quam novis; præcipue vero antiquorum grammaticorum, Helenij Acronis, Pomponiique Porhyriionis, quorum quae exstant reliquiae; foedis interpolationibus purgatae nunc primum fere integrae reponuntur. Adjecit etiam, ubi visum est, et sua, textumque ipsum plurimis locis, vel corruptum, vel turbatum restituit Willielmus Baxter.

**1752\* Horace; + 'Schol. Vet.', at al.**

**8°W. Baxter, J. M. Gesner; Leipzig (C. Fritsch), 1772\*,**

**1788\* W. Baxter, J. M. Gesner, J. C. Zeune; Leipzig (C. Fritsch), 1802; London, Glasgow 1796\*, Edinburgh 1806\*, London 1809, 1822, 1826**

*Titulus* (begins as Baxter 1701) ...ad cuius secundam editionem recudi curavit et varietate lectionis suisque observationibus auxit Io. Matthias Gesnerus.

*Titulus 1788, 1796* Q. Horatii Flacci Eclogae : cum scholiis veteribus / castigavit et no-

tis illustravit Guilelmus Baxterus. Varias lectiones et observationes addidit Io. Matthias Gesnerus, quibus et suas adpersit Io. Carolus Zeunius, prof. gr. litt. Viteberg.

**1792-1793\* Horace + notes, including 'Schol. Vet'**  
**fol.Ch. Combe, London (T. Payne et J. Edwards)**

*Titulus* Horatii Flacci opera cum variis lectionibus notis variorum et indice locupletissimo

**1824\* *Ars Poetica* + Porphyrio**

**8°Hohler, Vienna**

*Tituli* 1. Q. Horatii Flacci de Arte Poetica liber, vulgo, Epistola ad Pisones. Mit ausführlicher Wort- und Sacherklärung, nebst angehängtem Commentar des Porphyrio, herausgegeben von E. T. Hohler, Hochfuerstlich Schawarzenbergischem Hauslehrer, Rath und Bibliothecar

2. Porphyriionis Commentarius ex vetere codice Parisiensi impressus

**1824\* *Ars Poetica* + Porphyrio**

**8°Hocheder, Passau**

*Titulus* Des Q. Horatius Flaccus Buch über die Dichtkunst, oder Brief an die Pisonen. Erklärt von Dr F. v. Paula Hocheder. (P. Porphyriionis commentum in Horatium de Arte Poetica.)

**1831-1838\* Horace + Porphyrio, Acro, Braunhard et al.**

**8°W. Braunhard, Leipzig**

*Titulus* Q. Horatii Flacci Opera omnia. Textum denuo recensuit, varietate lectionis integra instruxit, optimorum interpretum commentarios subiecit, suas adnotationes cum criticis tum exegeticis adpersit, scholiastarvm veterum Acronis et Porphyriionis scholia typis excvdena cvravit, etc. Guilielmvs Bravnhardvs

**1858-1859 ed. F. Pauly, *Scholia Horatiana quae feruntur Acronis et Porphyriionis post G. Fabricium nunc primum emendatiora edidit F. Pauly.*, Prague**

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**1874ed. G. Meyer *P. Porphyriionis commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum*, Leipzig**

**1894ed. A. Holder *Pomponi Porphyriionis commentum in Horatium Flaccum*, Innsbruck**

**1902-1904 ed. O. Keller *Pseudoacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, Leipzig; reprinted Stuttgart 1967**



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