

## 7 Conviviality Ancient Banqueting

**Summary** 7.1 First Developments. – 7.2 A General Paradigm. – 7.3 Banqueting and the Sacred Scriptures. – 7.4 Stucki's *Antiquitates Convivales*. – 7.5 Literary Fortune. – 7.6 Conclusions.

### 7.1 First Developments

Several Renaissance works specifically mention ancient banquets, giving a stratified overview of the genesis and development of this branch of antiquarian erudition within the complex system of the tradition and infusion of classical knowledge. The first author to tackle the subject of banqueting, with strong reference to the classics, was Petrarch, who dedicated two whole chapters of his *De remediis utriusque fortunae* to the matter: *De lauto victu* (1.18) and *De conviviis* (1.19). These passages cannot be properly deemed antiquarian, since Petrarch's intentions were to reveal moral issues to be unfolded contextually and to critique the excessive wealth of the bourgeois lifestyle.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, while uncovering these problems, he often recalled sentences written by ancient authors. In this way, he anticipated the antiquarian method, which comprised the accumulation of ancient sources on specific terms<sup>2</sup> or aspects of the theme of banquet-

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**1** Petrarch *Rem.* 1.18-19.

**2** A significant example can be found in the discussions on the *parasitus*, a figure who was widely investigated in Renaissance discussions on banqueting. Petrarch *Rem.* 1.19:

ing and conviviality. Petrarch also initiated the use of lexical analysis, which then became commonplace in the philological anthologies assembled by the Renaissance antiquaries that followed.

In this light, it is possible to acknowledge all the following antiquarian surveys on banqueting as a development of these former analyses. For example, in his first *Miscellanea*, Angelo Poliziano explained the meaning of the so-called *coena hecalia*, starting from Plutarch's passage of *The Life of Theseus*;<sup>3</sup> Ermolao Barbaro discussed issues surrounding the number of table guests in his *Castigationes plianianae*, especially in the passage related to how many people should sit down to take part in a banquet;<sup>4</sup> in his *Cornucopia linguae latinae*, Niccolò Perotti provided a detailed discussion on vocabulary related to the semantics of cuisine (*coquo*, *coquus*, *coquinaria*) and dining (*caenatoria*);<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503), in one

“De parasitis brevem accipe regulam: dum illos affatim paveris, rodent, arridebunt, plaudent manibus, laudabunt virum optimum, liberalem, denique patrie patrem dicent, nichil ad ultimum Graie adulationis omiserint, de qua satyricus loquens adulandi gentem prudentissimam et comedam nationem asseruit, et reliqua pueris quoque notissima. Sin aliquando cessaveris, si quidem sponte, avarum, sordidum, miserum diffamabunt; sin inopia, homunculum non malum certe sed stolidum et ineptum, teque tuamque domum fugient ut scopulum. Tunc intelliges illud Flacci: Diffugiunt cadis | cum fece siccatis amici [Hor. *carm.* 1.35.25]”.

**3** Poliziano 1489, XXIV: “Quaedam super Hecale anu in memoriam data: deque poesi Callimachi: tum ex epigrammatis priapeis expositum locus: et ime alter apud Statium: quodque vitiose legitur de eo in Apuleianis codicibus [Apul. *met.* 1.23]”.

**4** Barbaro 1493, XXVIII, 2 [10]: “*Nondum enim plures quam convivae numerabantur* Deest numerus; propterea legi potest aut: “nondum enim plures tribus convivae numerabantur”, a numero videlicet Musarum quas tres initio fuisse tradit Pausanias: Meleten, Mnemen, Aodem, hoc est Meditationem, Memoriam, Cantilenam [Pausan. 9.29.2-3], post a Piero Macedone inventas novem, quibus nunc feruntur vocalibus (ibid.), aut, si non tribus, saltem quatuor vel quinque. Arcestratus poeta: ἔστωσαν δ' ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες οἱ ξυνάπαντες | ἢ τῶν πέντε γε μὴ πλείους ἤδη γὰρ ἂν εἴη | μισθοφόρων ἀρπαξιβίων σκηνῇ στρατιωτῶν, hoc est: convivae aut tres aut quatuor aut non plures quinque sunt, alias manipularium et raptu viventium conventus fuerit [Athen. 1.7.4e]. Iulius Capitolinus in Vero: Eius - inquit - convivium tale fertur in quo primum duodecim accubuerunt, cum sit notissimum dictum de numero convivarum: septem convivium, novem convitium [Hist. Aug. 5.5.1]; etiam si Platonis Sumposium octo et viginti celebraverunt [Athen. 1.7.4e], in Timaeo quatuor aut quinque requiruntur illis verbis Εἶς, δύο, τρεῖς, ὁ δὲ δὴ τέταρτος [Plat. *Symp.* 17a]; et Athenaeus auctor est olim non plures quinque in convivium adhiberi solitos [Athen. 15.10.671a]”. See also Pozzi 1973, 3: 951-2.

**5** For example, while talking in general about the word *toga* (an ancient Roman garment), Perotti expands on the topic by focusing on the *toga triclinaris*, often used during meals, and from there moves on to the meaning of the word *caenatoria*, which relates to the rooms where the meals (especially dinner) were held; see Perotti 1489, 77: “Suetonius de Augusto. Forensia et calceos nunquam non intra cubiculum habuit [Suet. Aug. 73.1]. Toga triclinaris, cum qua discumbere in conviviis solebant [Varr. *ling.* 9.33.47]; haec coenatoria dicebantur [Hist. Aug. 19. (Maximin.) 30.5]. Martialis. Coenatoria mittat advocato [Mart. *epigr.* 10.87.8]. Idem de coenatoriis. Nec fora sunt nobis sed nec vadi-  
monia nota | his opus est pictis accubuisse thoris [Mart. *epigr.* 14.136.1-2]. Vocabantur etiam recidipna compositio ex utraque lingua vocabulo. Recinium enim apud nos est vestis antiquissima quadrata, ut Varro refert, cuius mediam partem retrorsum iacie-

of his treatises on humanistic virtues, *De conviventia* (1498), which dealt with banqueting in general, often referred to ancient Greek and Latin literary sources on banqueting to explain or support his arguments;<sup>6</sup> *De honesta disciplina* (1504) by Pietro Crinito (1465-1507) contained five chapters on banqueting features from various perspectives;<sup>7</sup> two years later (1506), Raffaele Maffei also dedicated four chapters to banqueting in his monumental *Commentaria Urbis Romae*;<sup>8</sup> in the *Antiquarum lectionum libri*, Celio Rodigino wrote about several issues regarding the specific vocabulary used for the feasts, focusing on gluttony and moderation in eating, hospitality, and general banqueting vocabulary, sometimes also with curious ethnographic digressions;<sup>9</sup> the *Geniales dies* by Alessandro D'Alessandro also devoted space to the matter, elucidating many nouns related to

bant, unde reciniati mimi dicebantur [Varr. *ling.* 5.30.132]. δειπνοϋς vero apud graecos coenam significat. Itaque recidipna dictae sunt vestes, quas vocant coenatoria. Iuvenalis. Rusticus ille tuus sumit recidipna Quirine [Iuv. 3.67]. Eadem etiam triclinaria dicuntur". See also Perotti 1489, 118 (where he discusses the word *coquus*), 161 (where he refers to the semantic field of the word *coquinaria*), and especially 323-4 (where the etymology and derivations of the verb *coquo* are listed).

**6** Pontano 1498, 211-32: *Diversa esse convivorum genera; Non esse repugnandum consuetudini in conviviis; De conviviis splendoris gratia susceptis; De secunda mensa; De conviviis honoris gratia susceptis; Qui et quales ahibendi sint convive.*

**7** Crinito 1504, 113-14 [III.10 *De populis qui humana carne vescantur, et quae Hieronymus de Scotis, gente Britannica, scripserit*]; 296-7 [XIV.6 *De centenariis coenis, ac verba Tertulliani exposita, tum de lege Fannia, et militariis apris et columnis*]; 301-2 [XIV.11 *Qua urbanitate Antonius Geta imperator per litterarum ordinem convivia strueret, quibusque notis fercula ipsa paenotaret*]; 383-4 [XIX.10 *Locus elegans Heliogabali Imperatoris de suis conviviis in discumbendo, ac de sigmate etiam mensa, et quid ea voce apud Martialem poetam significetur*]. See also Angeleri 1955.

**8** Maffei 1506, 752-5 [XXXII *De mensis ac cibus deque his quae ad ea pertinent, ac primum quis priscorum cibus; De conviviis; Tempus edendi et apposita mensae; De mensarum sumptu ac polyphagia*].

**9** Ricchieri 1516, 354-6 [VII.45 *Gualae detestatio. Epaminundae historia. Frugalitatis laus. De Spartanis, Aegyptiis, Magis, Gymnosophis. De prophetis item in Creta, Diogene, Triptolemi praeceptis, et Prophyrii, Philoxeno, et Gnathone, necnon de Philosycis, Philobotryis, Philomelis, ac Melomachia*]; but especially 761-8 [XIV.53 *Ieiunii ratio ex medicorum scitis. Firma aetas quar intelligenda. Item quid Hieronymus de Ieiuno, et Porphyrius; XIV.55 In pisce communi spinacem non esse, quid significet. Arithmeticae proportio in convivio probabilior, an geometrica. Cur coenam dicant δαίτα. Camasenae apud Empedoclem quid; XIV.56 Candyli quid sint. Item Abyrtace. Abyrtacopoei, Candys, Caryceumata, καρυκοποιεῖν, Carycopoei Delphi, Caryca. Paropsis. Paropsimation. Onthyleus. Carica. Mimarcis. Nogalismata. Mimata. Haematia, buli pro insinisis; XIV.57 Prandii, et Coenae vocabula tam Graece, quam Latine unde inflectantur. Acratisma, Ariston, Dipnon. Monophagi, an veteribus in usu fuerint Prandia. Ignis laus, et salis. Quae sint bellaria pergrata. Triclyniorum, et Convivorum appellationes plusculae. De androne, ac thiaso. Symbolum quid, et symbole. Convivorum species, Ilapine, Gamos, Eranos, Sportularum convivium; XIV.58 *De scimpodio, et stibadiis, item anaclinteriis seu accubitus. Sederentne, an accubarent priores. Item vocabula plura ad convivii dominum, et servos spectantia. Copides coenae. Physicilli panes. Titthenidia. Corythallia Diana, Aeclon Coena. Copissare. Synaetiae. Epaecla bellaria. Cammatides. Cammata. Psaeata. Logodipnum. Dipnologia. Gastronomica. Gastronomi; XIV.59 *Harmodii Melos in conviviis. Cantile-***

*coena, convivium* and *mensa*;<sup>10</sup> in a digression concerning the institution of the triumvirate, Wolfgang Lazius, explained various aspects of the ancient banqueting system;<sup>11</sup> similarly, Jean Brodeau (1500-1563) wrote about wine and the meaning of the word *mensa*;<sup>12</sup> Guillaume du Choul supplied information about the banquets held for Roman Priests;<sup>13</sup> Alessandro Sardi dedicated three whole sections to table etiquette;<sup>14</sup> the Jesuit prelate Petrus Faber (1506-1546) offered an entire chapter on banquets in his encyclopaedic work on ancient culture;<sup>15</sup> Aldo Manuzio the Younger wrote two letters on an-

*narum genera. Paecon quid, et Poenia manus. Praestentne ex floribus corollae, an arborum ramis. De unguentis pauca*].

**10** For *coena* see d'Alessandro 1522, 132 [*coena exequalis*]; 138 [*coena platonica*]; 143 [*coenae ferales*]; 147 [*coenaculariam exercere quid; coenaculum quid sit*]; 163 [*coenae centenariae*]; 295 [*coenandi loca hyeme et aestate quam diversa*]; 296 [*coenis panes tantum adhibere soliti qui*], 299 [*coenandi tempus olim quod*]. For *convivium* see 132 [*Convivia cur post funus fieri solita*]; 138 [*Convivia a quo cibo auspicari solita*]; 253 [*Convivando qui de magnis rebus agere soleant*]; 295 [*Convivandi caremoniae seu mores gentibus diversis olim quales*]; 296 [*Convivarum unius menasae numerus apud diversos quis*]; 298 [*Convivia quorundam quam longa*]. For *mensa* see 295 [*Mensis secundis apud Graecos quid exhiberetur; Mensis argenteis quis primus Romae usus*]; 296 [*Mensis singulis seu lectis quot coenare soliti; Mensis unis quot convivas Graecis adhibere satis*]; 334 [*Mensis mille quis aliquando pransus*].

**11** Lazius 1551, 362-79 (III.iii. *De triumviris et triumvirato omnis generis*). The banqueting issue emerges when the author touched upon the *Triumviri epulones, qui publici conviviis, deorumque et munerum epulis praesidebant*, see especially Lazius 1551, 371-9, where several issues emerged: *Discumbendi ratio et consuetudo apud Romanos; Romanorum mensae figurae; Sigilla plutealia; Lectus triclinaris; Servorum ministrarum genera; Puella vina ministrabant; Anacliteria lectorum; Foeminae mensis adsererunt; Discumbendi mos inclinante imperio; Prandium duplex fuit Romanis; Coena; Coenarum genera; Coena recta; Coena dapsilis; Coena acromatica; Coena pontificalis; Coena duode-naria; Coena adventitia; Coena novendialis; Coena philosophica; Coena repotia; Sportula; Collatio vetusta; Coena coloniaris; Commessatio; Symposium; Publica convivia; Natalia; Convivia puerperalia; Funebria convivia; Convivia navalia; Convivia militaria; Epulum praetorium; Epulum senatorium; Epulum decurionale; Sacra convivia; Iovis epulum; Lecisternia; Lectisternia deorum*.

**12** Brodeau 1555, 139 [IV.10. *Columellae loca*, where the syntagma *vinum cibarium* is also discussed] and 210-11 [V.33. *Mensae Siculae, Italicae*].

**13** du Choul 1556, 239-40 [*Des Sept-hommes Epulones*], 244-6 [*Consécration de pontifes*] and 301-3 [*Sacrifice*].

**14** Sardi 1557, 43-8 [I.xx. *Quae ederent antiqui, biberentve*], 49-53 [I.xxi. *Convivia, pocula, et vasa, coenae ordo apud Graecos, Ioci convivales, mulieres in convivio, balnearumque usus*], 54-9 [I. xxii. *Romanorum coena, vindemia, ebrij, coronae, fratres Arvales, discumbentes, ministri, et quae post convivium agantur*].

**15** Faber 1570, 49-63 [VI. *Sportulae solemnes coenae, solemnes et festis dies populi vel singulorum civium. De nuptialibus funebribus natalitiis conviviis. Coenae ferales, ludus ad iudices. Convivia triumphalia, imperatoria, consularia, praetoria. Ludorum diebus epulum populo dari solitum. Bestiarum, Meridiani. De provincialibus magistratum conviviis. Coena dialis. Senaturus prandendi mos. Coena popularis. Apicij, Plutarchi, Suetonij, et Senecae loci expositi*]. A section on banqueting also features in another work from Faber, entitled *Agonisticon*, which deals with ancient athletes and their lifestyles; here he discusses the types of dinner and meals that should be eaten by those engaged

cient banquets, one regarding their organisation and the other on the *convivium tempestivum*;<sup>16</sup> Piero Vettori clarified the significance of *coena sine sanguine*;<sup>17</sup> and Marc-Antoine Muret discussed how many times a day ancient Romans ate, taking into account all the Latin and Greek words for ‘meal’.<sup>18</sup>

From all these examples, and several others, it is clear how banquet-ing semantics were a key point of interest to improve the comprehension of classical texts, rejuvenating words that had lost their meaning throughout the centuries. This philological enthusiasm emerged from the early humanists who, with a renewed perception of the ancient world provoked a critical revision of inherited knowledge through a belief that the understanding of words led to an understanding of culture.

Ancient banquets were frequently mentioned in medical treatises, especially when these books concerned nutrition and dietary therapies, and classical authorities confirmed their reliability.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, sources such as Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus and Avicenna were associated with, for example, Athenaeus’s *Deipnosophistae*, the emperors’ biographies in the *Historia Augusta*, and many others ancient texts that provide a huge range of examples of relevance to medical discussions. At times even the Roman grammarians were mentioned to enrich these treatises, reaffirming how the practice of diagnosis was assisted by linguistic considerations. This is especially the case since the philological method employed during the Renaissance also played a cognitive role in reconstructing the still unclear empirical information transmitted through the classical tradition.<sup>20</sup>

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in public games and sports [*Coena exhiberi solita victoribus; Coena exhibita ob musico-  
rum agonum victoriam; Coena viatica dari solita; Coena victorialis in aedibus Agathonis;  
Conviviis privatis excipi solita hieronicae*]; see Faber 1592, 164-6.

**16** Manuzio 1576, 59-66 [IV. *De accumbendi et comedendi ratione*] and 67-72 [V. *De convivio tempestivo seu intempestivo*].

**17** Vettori 1582, 78 [I.vii.16. *Coena sine sanguine vocatam esse a Graeco poeta, quam Plautus terrestrem appellavit: ambo autem tenuem pauperemque mensam intellexerunt*].

**18** Muret 1580, 90 [IV.xii. *Antiqui quotiens die cibum sumpserint*].

**19** For a general overview on this mutual exchange occurring in Renaissance publications, see De Renzi 1845, 3: 385. The following are worthy of mention: *De optima victus ratione* and *De humano victu epistula* by Bishop Paolo Giovio, both in 1527 (Giovio 1808); *De prandio et coena liber* (Belo 1533 – for a bibliography on the authorship of this publication see Fantuzzi 1782, 2: 161-2); *Disceptatiuncula medica aduersus opinionem Matthæi Curtii de prandii et coenæ ratione* (Turini 1555); *De cibis boni et mali succi* (Balamio 1555); *Consultationes medicinales*, especially the chapter *De alimentis differentiis* (Da Monte 1558); the very famous *De prandio ac caenae modo libellus* (Corti 1562 and 1568); *De bonitate et vitio alimentorum centuria* (Durante 1565), which establishes the positive and negative aspects of food; *De usu ciborum liber* (Cardano 1569); *De nutritivo cibo* (Bersanio 1576); *De victu Romanorum* (Petronio 1582); *Theonoston, seu de vita producenda atque incolumitate corporis conservanda* (Cardano 1617).

**20** Nardi 1954; Cotton 1957; Momigliano 1985, 11-13; Mugnai Carrara 1991; Siraisi 2003.

Moreover, the publications on contemporary banquets and gastronomy in general are also important. References to the contemporary world were not only an incidental detail to colour the discussion. They were also considered to be prompts that could provide equivalent and specific examples to assist with the reimagining of a lost reality, demonstrating how history acted over the passage of time. Indeed, banqueting was an important subject for sixteenth-century publishers who regularly printed works describing the most famous banquets of the period, etiquette, food, and dress codes for dinner guests;<sup>21</sup> there were also gastronomical textbooks,<sup>22</sup> made famous by two renowned Italian cooks: Cristoforo Messisbugo (d. 1548),<sup>23</sup> and Bartolomeo Scappi (1500-1577).<sup>24</sup> These works influenced the development of studies on ancient banqueting, not only in terms of their layout but also their content, with descriptiveness being the common trait.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, even gastronomy became a means of transmitting the tradition of classical knowledge during the Renaissance.

## 7.2 A General Paradigm

However, there was a paradigm of four works capable not only of influencing the antiquarian approach on banqueting between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but also unveiling the universal traits of the research conducted on this matter.

**21** For example: *Il famoso convito così delle giostre come del banchetto* (Pandola 1561) and *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze della cristianissima maestà di madama Maria Medici regina di Francia e di Navarra* (Buonarroti 1600). For a general overview, see Benporat 2007, 57-70. In this way, the straightforward description of banqueting developed into a description of official celebrations, as reflected in the treatises on ancient banqueting that expanded into this field; see Zimmermann 1978.

**22** The following are notable examples: *Commentario delle cose più notabili* [Itinerario gastronomico per l'Italia] (Lando 1548); *La singolare dottrina* (Romoli 1560); *Il trinciante* (Cervio 1581); regarding these texts, see Faccioli 1960.

**23** His well-known treatises are *Banchetti compositioni di vivande, et apparecchio generale* (Messisbugo 1549) and *Libro novo nel qual s'insegna a far d'ogni sorte di vivande secondo la diversità de i tempi così di carne come di pesce* (Messisbugo 1559).

**24** Bartolomeo Scappi, secret chef for the austere Pope Pius V; see von Pastor 1942, 40 regarding this very curious figure of the Italian sixteenth century. However, Scappi was commissioned by other popes as well. His seminal textbook on gastronomy (Scappi 1570) was celebrated for centuries. Scappi also taught in Bologna. In 1536 he prepared a banquet in Rome to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the coronation of Charles V. For further details on Scappi and his legacy, see Di Schino, Luccichenti 2007. The sixth book in his *Opera de l'arte del cucinare* is entitled *De' convalescenti, et molte altre forti vivande per gli infermi*, which was a dietary manual for the sick.

**25** See the edited volume Davidson, Lollini 2014 on this issue, especially the contribution regarding the representations of food in Bolognese humanistic circles (Cova, Severi 2014).

Like most of the antiquarian topics discussed throughout the Renaissance, banqueting also paid a substantial debt to the scholarship of Flavio Biondo. It was in fact Biondo's *Roma triumphans*, written in the mid-fifteenth century, that served as the archetype for discussions on banquets from the perspective of antiquarian erudition, setting some of the guidelines that recur in later authors. The section on banquets, *De conviviis*,<sup>26</sup> is discussed in just a few pages at the end of book VIII. Therein, some aspects of the conduct of individuals in ancient Rome are described. For the first time, a substantial distinction in antiquarian learning was drawn between public and private life,<sup>27</sup> positioning the banquet issue firmly in the sphere of the latter.<sup>28</sup> Through a description of the various facets of rural life (hunting, fishing, and agriculture), this section highlights the fundamental transition in the humanist approach in understanding where banqueting derived: the analysis begins with establishing how nourishment was procured, passing gradually to culinary culture and meals, with cross-references to the vocabulary of everyday life. Biondo also devotes some pages to the effects of gluttony and drinking wine to excess, regarding the classical symposium as a special subset of banqueting. In this way, he shifted the study from didactic reportage to a moral discussion, commending moderation in eating and drinking.<sup>29</sup>

**26** Biondo provides a description of the use of reclining on *triclinia* in a section preceding the funerary rituals in book II of this work (Biondo 1559, 42: “Epulum fuit estque quod et convivium, appellatus ciborum etiam variorum lautus decensque apparatus. Sed triclinium hic veteri latinoque more, aliter quam multis retro seculis, sicut et nostro per abusionem factum videmus, a Livio positum est. Non enim pars aliqua domus, sicut nunc utimur, triclinium fuit, sed coacta in locum unum parandae paucorum coenae suppellex necessaria. Et quidem trclinj verbum habuisse originem constat a tribus lectis, qui contigui sternerentur, super quibus convenientes ad convivium, sicut Turci nonc et Graeci faciunt accubarent. Hinc Horat.: Saepe tribus lectis videas coenare quaternos | et quibus unus avet, qua vis aspergere cunctos | praeter eum qui praebet aquam [Hor. sat. 1.4.86-8]. Et Iuvenalis: Ergo duos post | Si libuit menses, neglectum adhibere clientem, | Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcitra lecto | una simus ait [Iuv. 5.14-18]. Et Virgil.: Inde thoro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto [Verg. Aen. 2.269]. Sed postea sicut in multis factum esse videmus, triclinium mutatae rei formae, verbo remansit, et apparatus ad mensam factus, triclinium est dictus. Quod auleis tapetisque quosdam alios velis purpureis aut byssinis argenteis nonnullos eburneisque cratibus et laminibus obduxisse, infra in partibus morum, allatis singulorum qui sui sunt nominibus ostensuri sumus. Qua in clausura poculorum, patinarum, craterarum, vinariorum, aquariorum et vasorum ex argento aurove, et crystallinorum myrrhinorumque abacus omnis continebatur. Ubi igitur toto for strata erant triclinia, quae multa tanto in spacio esse oportuit, tempestas cum procellis coorta coegit plerosque tabernacula statuere”); see also Federici 2006, 221-37.

**27** Momigliano 1950, 287.

**28** Biondo 1503, 160.

**29** The discussion on banqueting is not approached immediately. Before reaching the section on banqueting *De conviviis* (Biondo 1559, 175-8), Biondo discussed many other related aspects of the issue, such as *Vita rustica urbana antiquior* and *Agricultura dignitas* (168-9), the discussion on the *Tres agriculturae partes*, the question *Quae prosint*

Agrorum cultura cum ijs, quae hominum sustentationi atque etiam delectationi sive gignuntur, in illis sive industria a patrefamilias diligentiore comparantur ostensis, traxit nos quorundam ex priscis ipsarum rerum, praesertim vini abusus ad ebrietatis eorum descriptionem: unde non indecens esse ducimus, conviviorem et coenarum, quae caste et sobrie fierent, et earum quae opipare ac laute parentur, exinde maiorum antedictis ebrietatum et habitatum effusius comessationum immoderates consuetudines ostendere.

Another early effort, published in around 1473, is *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* by Bartolomeo Platina.<sup>30</sup> This represents the effective debut of banqueting monographs, with several philological passages dedicated to classical antiquity.<sup>31</sup> Since this work derives mainly from a recipe book by Maestro Martino de Rubéis, the personal chef for the patriarch of Aquileia around the mid-fifteenth century,<sup>32</sup> its structure is almost entirely formatted as a list of foods and dishes aiming at celebrating the balanced pleasures of the stomach with Epicurean relish.<sup>33</sup> In this light, the relationship with classical sources could encounter some difficulties, challenging Christian morality; however, Platina insists that ancient authors cannot be blamed for excess and gluttony.<sup>34</sup> *De honesta voluptate* was likely born out

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*agris* and *De magistro pecoris* (169-70). Biondo discusses birds, mentioning *Ornithones* and *Columbae* among others, the *Quam ob causam coturnices damnatae* (170) issue, and the *De apum pastione* (171). Afterwards he focuses on hunting, evoking the *Vivaria* and the *Priscorum delectatio ex venatione*; then on fishing, focusing on *De piscinis* (171-2); and then on agriculture, focusing on the *Lustratio agrorum*, the *Disciplina rustica* and the *Villici officium* (172-3). Regarding the latter, there is also a discussion on *Quando primum orti instituti*, the lexicographic survey on *Rei rusticae vocabula*, and the juridical reference to the *Lex Laurentiana* (173-4). Lastly, Biondo touches upon wine, considering several aspects related to the *Vini usus Romae* (174-5).

**30** Platina 1475.

**31** Milham 1998, 48-9.

**32** Faccioli 1987, 128-30 and 220-1.

**33** This book is part of the humanist trend that was birthed at the start of the fourteenth century by Lorenzo Valla with his *De voluptate* and then some letters by Francesco Filelfo, given that Platina's aim is stated in 1.10: *Quid observandum in vita ad voluptatem*. According to Garin 1952, 62-9, Platina wrote this work to respond to accusations of Epicureanism. See also Benporat 1996, 46.

**34** Platina 1475, 1-2: "Errant et quidem vehementer, Amplissime Pater B. Roverella, qui hanc nostram susceptionem nequaquam dignam, quae tuo nomini ascriberetur, putarint, quod et voluptatis et valetudinis titulum prae se ferat. Verum cum mihi atque omnibus eruditissimis spectata sit ingenii tui vis, et acumen morum, et honestissimae vitae constantia, doctrinae ac eruditionis magnitudo, maluit vigilantum mearum patronum ac iudicem (si quid perverse scriptum inest) facere, quam alium quempiam. Instabant acriter male. Voli (sat scio) de voluptate ad virum optimum ac continentissimum non fuisse scribendam. Sed decant quaeso hi stoicidae, qui elatis superciliis non de vi, sed de nominum vocibus tantummodo diiudicant, quid mali in se habeat considerata voluptas?"



of the tradition of Roman scholarship carried out by Pomponio Leto, who also transcribed and amended Columella, Varro, Pliny and perhaps even the works of the famous Roman chef, Apicius.<sup>35</sup> The very essence of antiquity, as perceived in Rome in the late decades of the fifth century, took Platina along the path of antiquarian studies, associating his work with a revived idea of antiquity.

A significantly extensive (circa 50 pages) antiquarian discussion on ancient banqueting was written in 1546 by the German humanist and physician Johann Hagenbut, better known as Janus Cornarius, and published in 1548 in Basel.<sup>36</sup> A famous philologist and translator of ancient Greek medical texts, Cornarius centred his dis-

Est enim huius ut valitudinis vocabulum medium. De voluptate, quam intemperantes et libidinosi ex luxu et varietate ciborum, ex titillatione rerum venerearum percipiunt, absit ut Platyna ad virum sanctissimum scribat. De illa voluptate, quae ex continentia victus et earum rerum, quas humana natura appetit, loquor. Neminem enim adhuc vidi adeo libidinosum et incontinentem, qui non aliqua tangeretur voluptate, si quando a rebus plus quam satis est concupitis declinavisse. Valet apud vos (ut video) Cicero auctoritatis, qui quidem ut Aristoteles Platonem, Pythagoram, Zenonem, Democritum, Chrysippum, Parmenidem, Heraclitum, sic Epicurum segetem et materiam eruditionis a doctrina sua facit, quocum enim tutius congregaretur quam mortuo Epicuro habuit Cicero. Valebit et apud me Senece, Lucretii, Laertii auctoritas, qui Epicurum ut virum sanctissimum atque optimum miris laudibus extollunt. Dicere autem non decere sapientem merore confici, cum perturbationis dolorisque vacatio constantes efficiat voluptates, quid mali immo quid non boni in se habet? Ad foelicitatem enim voluptas illa quae ex honesta actione oritur, ut medicina ad sanitatem aegrotantem hominem perducit. Quis est praetera tam stupidus, tamque (ut isti volunt) a sensibus oob sanctitatem, et tetricam vitam alienus, qui non corpore et animo aliqua profundatur voluptate? Si et in victu mediocritatem, unde bona valitudo et in actione integritatem ac constantiam, unde foelicitas oritur retinuerit? Non improbatur hoc nomen a Platone, non ab Aristotele, qui signate admodum de rebus ipsis locuti sunt. Fecit Metrodori ac Hieronymi luxus et libido, ut Epicuri viri optimi schola et doctrina vicio daretur. Non ergo quid vir bonus, sed quid depravatores sectae addere culpandum erat. Desinant praeterea hi rerum estimatores et quasi trutina quid in dies ab unoquoque fit librantes carpere, quod de valitudine aut ratione victus, quam Graeci dietam appellant, addendo quaedam ad curandas aegrotationes praecepta, de natura rerum et obsonii perscripserim. Tantum enim abest, ut hoc institutum a viro civili sit alienum, summorum etiam philosophorum auctoritate et praecepto, ut quemadmodum in praelio qui civem olim, sic qui in pace multos nunc cives rationem victus afferendo servaverit, plures civicas merere videatur. Obsonia mihi obiciunt, ut guloso et edaci, utque instrumenta libidinum et quaedam quasi calcaria intemperantibus et flagitiosis addenti. Utinam ipsi aut natura aut instituto, ut Platyna mediocritate et parsimonia uterentur, non videremus hodie tot popinarios in urbe, tot ganeones, tot gnatones, tot scurras, tot aduatores libidinum, et obstrusarum diligentissimos ob edacitatem et avariciam conquistatores. Scripsi ego de obsoniis Catonem virum optimum, Varronem omnium doctissimum, Columellam et Celium Apitium imitatus, non quo legentes ad luxum adhortarer, quos certes inter scribendum semper a vicio deterrui, sed quo et civili viro valitudinem, lauticiem victus potiusquam luxum quaerenti prodessem, et posteris ostenderem hanc nostram aetatem ingenia habuisse quae maiores si non aequare, imitari saltem in quovis genere dicendi auderent”.

35 Milham 1998, 48-9.

36 Cornarius 1548, 3-47. The work is entitled *De conviviorum veterum Graecorum, et hoc tempore Germanorum ritibus, moribus ac sermonibus; item de Amoris praestantia, et de Platonis et Xenophontis dissension libellus*.

sertation on the specific aspects of ancient Greek banquets set out by Plato's and Xenophon's *Symposia*. In this work, written in epistolary form,<sup>37</sup> he discusses the ritual nature of banquets described by these two authors, focusing mainly on the ceremonies connected thereto. This involved dancing, singing, hospitality, and digressions on the supplies utilised, drinking habits, and the nature of the conversations held.<sup>38</sup> Many of these details were compared with the

**37** Cornarius 1548, 47: "Atque haec sunt quae de Conviviorum veterum Graecorum, et hoc tempore Germanorum ritibus, moribus ac sermonibus, itemque de Amoris praestantia, et de Platonis ac Xenophontis dissensione, ad te optime Lasane, longiore commutatione scribere mihi visum est, quo non epistolam solum, sed iustum fere libellum, pro longi silentij usura, de me haberes".

**38** The first philological case discussed is a solid representation of the method applied by Cornarius. It concerns an emendation to Plato's *Symposium* that was developed to facilitate a better understanding of a metaphor involving wine cups and water consumption; see Cornarius 1548, 6-7: "Εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, φάναι, ὦ Ἀγάθων, εἰ τοιοῦτον εἶη ἡ σοφία ὥστ' ἐκ τοῦ πληρεστέρου εἰς τὸ κενώτερον ρεῖν ἡμῶν, ἐὰν ἀπτώμεθα ἀλλήλων, ὥσπερ τὸ ἐν ταῖς κύλιξιν ὕδωρ τὸ διὰ τοῦ ἑρίου ῥέον ἐκ τῆς πληρεστέρας εἰς τὴν κενωτέραν [Plat. *Symp.* 175d]. Hoc loco quomodo per lanam, id est, δι' ἑρίου, aqua ex pleniore calice in magis vacuum fluere possit, non video. Et si de calice ex quo potes accipias, et talem quempiam quale est ἀμφικύπελλον apud Homerum intelligas, satis sit impurus etiam purissimae lanae in poculis usus. At ego non de calice ex quo bibimus accipio, sed de magni illis puteis, in quos aqua per subterraneos cuniculos ac canales, ex fontibus quibusdam emanans deferetur, et inde ubi pleni sunt et redundant, itidem per canales, in alios atque puteos elabatur. Horum autem puteorum magna est per omnes fere Germaniae urbes copia, et illa elabentes redundans aqua, ein uberfal appellatur. Nec mirum tales puteos, calices Platoni dici, quum Dipnosofistae Athenaei magna pocula recte argenteos puteos appellari posse asserant. Ex illis ergo puteis, calicibus hic appellatum aqua diffluit, ex pleniore in magis vacuum, non per lana, sed per canalis instrumentum: hoc est, non δι' ἑρίου, quod corrupte legitur, sed ex δι' ὀργάνου, quod pro illo legendum esse assero, non ex alicuius exemplaris praescripto, sed ex rerum ipsarum per coniectura expansione, quam tamen non diutius valere volo, quam donec quis meliorem lectionem ac sententiam produxerit". Afterwards, Cornarius touches upon the exhibition of dancers and musicians during the banquet (14: "Primum igitur omnium Plato in *Symposio* suo, tibicinam recens ingressam eijcit; Xenophon autem et tibicinam et saltatricem per totum *Symposium* exhibit, et ipsarum productorem sive magistrum, non solum colloquentem inducit, sed etiam Socrati illudentem ac conviciantem"), the topic of conversation, which is love (15-16: "Multo vero minus proclive fuerit, tali loco, tales sermones producere, quales illi viri de proposito laudandi Amoris argumentum habuerunt, maxime quum post omnes omnium orationes, a singulis pro suae professionis dignitate habitas [...] Et ut sit convivator, et sint tales conviviae, qui eiusmodi sermones habeant, tamen non facile fuerit reperire Platonem, qui singulorum orationes pro dignitate excipiat ac describat"). Another aspect discussed is the amount of drinking (28-9: "Est autem et haec una quaedam, quod apud Platonem etiamsi ex consilio Eryximachi Medici primum in hoc consentient, ut quisque quantum velit bibat, et hoc ad voluptatem, tamen tandem magna pocula poscunt, et allato vaso refrigeratorio, plures quam octo heminas capiente. [...] At apud Xenophontem poculis bibunt parvis, et ut ita bibant"), from which a digression occurred on the Germans' approach to drinking (29-37: *Germani circa pocula variante*), where the laws regarding drinking are explained. Other issues discussed concerned the events held during banquets, both in antiquity and during Cornarius's time (37-8: "At vero illi ludi quos Xenophon in suo *Symposio* exhibit, qui non ab ipsis convivis, sed a luditionibus et histrionibus, miraculorum specie quadam eduntur, et qui a saltatrice ac tibicina fiunt: sunt quoque nostro seculo frequentes, verum in Germanorum convivijis raro exhibentur"), the attitude of guests (40:

banqueting habits adopted in sixteenth-century Germany. This process, even if narrowed down to a limited corpus of sources, shows the actual hermeneutic approach towards a reality which is often almost impossible to understand without comparison and analogy. Attention must also be devoted to Justus Lipsius's *Sermo convivialis, in quo conviviorum veterum ritus proponuntur, in eam rem varii scriptores emendantur, explicaretur*.<sup>39</sup> This work was a section of his five-book commentary on ancient texts published in 1575. In line with Cornarius's work, the primary aim of his short treatise, which was built into the wider structure of the commentary and planned as a dialogue, was to expound on and interpret crucial passages and obscure elements of classical literature (especially Plautus's work) on ancient banqueting.<sup>40</sup> In the fifty pages of the *Sermo convivialis*, Lipsius includes interlocutory phrases, which were summarised well in the words of an author fifty years later who dealt with the same material: "Lipsius [de conviviis] polite ut omnia, sed multa levi manu, et

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*Odiosum est enim, inter pocula sapientem ostentare conari*), and the number of commensals (41: *At vero de numero conviviarum apud nos nihil certi habetur. Plato se habet, Xenophon octo, ut una cum convivatore illic septem, hic novem sint*).

**39** Lipsius 1575, 77-128.

**40** One particularly interesting example is the clarification of the ancient Roman idiom *hospites muscas*, meaning that some guests acted like actual parasites; see Lipsius 1575, 82-3: "Nihil vero necesse erat, inquit Carrio, nam ego muscam sum, ut antique loquebantur, invocatus advenio. Et admirante me insolentiam verbi, subiicit Carrio, Itane assiduus Lipsi in Plauto es, et fugit te hoc verbo? Nam veteres parasitos et eiusmodi nugas hominum, qui alienis conviviis non vocati superveniebant, facete muscas vocarunt. Ita interpretandi Plauti versus, qui plerisque aenigma videntur, Poenulo: Hispitiu[m] te aiunt queritare. CO. Querito. | LY. Ita illi dixerunt qui hinc abierunt modo | te quaeritare a muscis. CO. Minime gentium. | LY. Quid ita? CO. Quia a muscis si mihi hospitium quaererem, adveniens huc | irem in carcerem recta via. Quaerebat ille adolescens hispitiu[m] a muscis, id est, liberum ab arbitris et adventoribus [Plaut. *Poen.* 3.4.75-9]". Other indications of Lipsius's studies on ancient banqueting are also contained in his *Epistolarum quaestionum libri V*: for example, the letter I. 8 to Joseph Scaliger, where a fragment of Varro is amended, see Lipsius 1577, 17-18: "quaerebat a me nuper Scaliger, adolescens doctus litteras veteres, quid in Varronis fragmenta essent aquilinae paterae? Locum producebat ex lib. I De vita pop. Rom. [Non. *De gen. vas.* 545-6]: Item erant vasa vinaria, sini, cymbia, aquilinae paterae, gutti, sextarij, simpvium. Non mentiar, conticui. Opinor, et Varro ipse, siquis rogasset. Abiit ille: ego consideravi intentius, et, nisi me fallit, repperi. Lego enim cymbia, culignae, paterae. Nugas agam, sit e nunc doceam caussam erroris, adhaesisse litteram a fine vocis factumque aculignae, inde vulgatum illud. Nugae, inquam, ista. Sicut culignam Festo vas esse potorium [Paul. *Fest.* 44.12-13]; or in the letter III.2 addressed to Pierre Pithou, where some passages of Petronius are explained, see Lipsius 1577, 90-2: "Meae sententiae testes has notas do, quae, cuicumodi illae, non nisi ab eo, qui cum cura legerit, eruantur. In convivio Trimalcionis: Ceterum in promulsi dari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat in altera parte olivas nigras, in altera albas [Petron. 37]. Alias, in promulsida danda. Sed legendum in promulsidariis. Ulpianus De auro et arg. leg. promulsidaria vasa appellat [*Pandect.* 34.2.19.10 (Ulpian. *ad Sabin.* XX)]. Hic promulsidaria intelligit cibos qui in gustu".

cursim”.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, although showing evident limitations, Lipius’s work had the power to establish its own direct tradition.

Cornarius and Lipsius hailed from Northern Europe and were likely aware of all the theological and confessional debates entangled with the banquet issue, and especially the Last Supper, emerged during the sixteenth century. It is worth underlining that both Cornarius and Lipsius included some of the central aspects of these religious disputes in their philological analyses: the former discussed the issue of (Christian) love as the core of the Last Supper,<sup>42</sup> while the latter discussed the definition of the bloodless meal, which was presented along with the earthly meal and the question of the recumbent meal.<sup>43</sup>

### 7.3 Banqueting and the Sacred Scriptures

These topics in fact were usually treated with greater emphasis and by directly applying ancient data to the confessional issue. In northern Europe, the religious banquet became a central issue in highly public doctrinal debates held in Protestant circles and Catholic-Protestant controversies. This can be seen especially in the eucharistic controversy which occurred from the late 1520s onwards, which discussed the effective nature of the Last Supper, the rituals of the Mass, its sacrificial significance, the essence of communion, the presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament – real or figurative, and so on.<sup>44</sup> However, historical research conducted in northern Europe around the

<sup>41</sup> Boulenger 1627, *ad lect.*

<sup>42</sup> This was a digression concerning love as the topic of conversation in ancient banquets, showing that love was also the core of the Last Supper, as described in the Gospel of John; see Cornarius 1548, 20: “Et non alio iucundiore condimento instructa fuit illa ultima Christi coena, in qua Ioannes Apostulus hoc amoris nectare ebrius, in sinu Iesus exuperanti quadam amoris benignitate effusa [*Jn.* 21:20], discipulos suos, et nos quoque qui per sermonem eorum in ipsum credituri essemus, velut clare Ioannis XVII patrem pro nobis rogat, corporis ac sanguinis sui, atque sic omnium beneficiorum ac meritorum passionis ac mortis suae, participes fecit [*Jn.* 17:1-26]. Haec, inquam, producere qui posset, ad praesentis de Amore argumenti explicationem”.

<sup>43</sup> Lipsius 1575, 89: “Eiusmodi coenas, inquit Carrio, Plautus terrestres appellat, Horatius egregie, coenas sine sanguine, imitatione Graeca, ut opinior. Apud Diphilum Parasitus auguria captans ex fumo colinae, ἐάν δὲ πλάγιος καὶ λεπτός, εὐθέως νοῶ | ὅτι τοῦτό μοι τὸ δεῖπνον ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ αἶμ’ ἔχει [*Athen.* 6.29]”; and 91: “Primum omnium scitis veteres Ro. uti et Graecos non sedisse ad mensam, ut nunc solitum est, sed accubuisse. Quem morem etiamnum plerisque Oriens usurpat. Hic Deinius, Ne gravare, inquit, in ipso aditu interpellandus es. Nam Homerus certes, aliter ac tu, heroās illos suos sicut et procos Penelopes sedentes in convivio facit. Est in mente versus *Odys.* δαιτυμόνης δ’ ἀνὰ δώματ’ ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ | ἦμενοι ἐξείης [*Hom. Od.* 7.8-9]”.

<sup>44</sup> Examples of treatises in the second half of the sixteenth century are: Casal 1563 (*De coena, et calice Domini quo ad laicos, & clericos non celebrantes: libre tres*); Ochino 1556 (*Syncerae et verae doctrinae de coena Domini defensio*); Saintes 1566 (*Examen doctrinae Caluinianae et Bezanae de coena Domini*); Selnecker 1568 (*Libellus bre-*

mid-sixteenth century that was firmly based on documentary sources began to be increasingly applied to doctrinal contexts. Empirical evidence was preferred to questionable subjective claims, and became not only a crucial reference point in the argumentation of theologians, but also provided specific and verifiable data to reinforce the authority of their positions. One might affirm that these *realia* sometimes represented the very basis on which argumentation was built, becoming the foundation of ‘positive’ or ‘historical’ theology.

Issues related to banqueting within the Sacred Scripture arose at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, which is when Lorenzo Valla began conducting philological surveys on the New Testament. This resulted in his *In Novum Testamentum Annotationes*, which was completed in 1444 but edited and printed for the first time by Erasmus only in 1505. Valla did not go into any deep or systematic discussions on ancient banqueting, but arranges some quick digressions on food or conviviality regarding, for example, washing before a meal (specifically lunch) and the use of bread in commemorating the Last Supper.<sup>45</sup> In his *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum* (1516), Erasmus himself dedicated several passages to explaining aspects of banqueting related to Easter rituals and the Last Supper.<sup>46</sup> It was

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*vis, et utilis de coena Domini*); Bèze 1574 (*Aduersus sacramentarium errorem pro vera Christi praesentia in coena Domini*).

**45** Valla 1505, 17<sup>b</sup>: [Lc 11:37] “*Pharisaeus autem coepit intra se reputans dicere quare non baptizatus esset ante prandium. Quidam codices habent quare non lavatus esset. Graece est, Pharisaeus autem videns admiratus est quod non prius lotus est, sive esset, sive baptizatus est, ὁ δὲ Φαρισαῖος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι. Nec naturalis sermo est interrogantis sic, quare non baptizatus esset, sed quare non baptizatus est?*”; regarding the bread and other occurrences, see 35<sup>a</sup>: [1 Cor. 11:23-4] “*Accipit panem et gratias agens egisset: εὐχαριστήσας; neque est copula inter verba imperativa, sed tantum accipite, comedite: λάβετε, φάγετε; neque sequentium verborum idem ordo sed hic. Hoc meum est corpus τοῦτο μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα. Verum quod maximum est non dicitur quod pro vobis tradetur, sed quod pro vobis frangitur τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλῶμενον, quod congruit cum illo ex actibus apostolorum. Quotidie quoque errant unanimiter perseverantes in templo, et frangentes circa domos panes, pro eo quod est dante panem quem frangant, hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Plerique accipiunt commemorationem, ut dicimus, commemorationem defectorum, et ut omnes veretes accipiebant pro mentione, ut apud Terentium. *Nam iste commemoration | quasi exprobatio est immemoris beneficii* [Ter. *Andr.* 41]. At nunc significat recordationem sive in mei memoria εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Quotienscumque biberitis in meam commemorationem, quidam hunc locum corrumpunt dicentes bibitis πίνετε, eodem modo corrumpunt sequentem”.*

**46** Erasmus 1527, 134: “*Coenaculum] ἀνώγειον, triclinium intellegit, sed lectis stratis, in quibus olim discumbebatur. Dictum est autem Graecis, ἀνώγειον, quod subductius sit a solo, quod veteres in superior aedium parte coenitent*”; 262: [Act. 1:13] “*In coenaculum] εἰς τὸ ὑπερωον. Hic coenaculum non significat eum locum in quo coenatur, sed superiorem domus partem. Id quod Graeca vox indicat. In coenaculum ascenderunt] ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερωον, idest, ascenderunt in coenaculum, hoc est, ingressi civitatem, conscenderunt coenaculum. Nostra lectio perinde sonat, quasi ingress coenaculum conscenderint eo ubi manebat Petrus. Lyranus putat esse πρωθύστερον. In Glossa Ordinaria nescio quis admonet, Graecae lectionis. Quamque nec in Latina lectione opus erat ulla figura. Siquidem hypostigme addita dictioni introissent, excludit*

just a matter of time that the philological and antiquarian investigations on the Bible, and on sacred texts in general, would influence the approach towards sacred history. In this sense, two of the clearest examples can be found in the thirteen volumes of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1560-74), which was assembled by the Lutheran Magdeburg Centuriators led by Matthias Flacius, and in Cesare Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588-1607), in which the antiquarian approach was increasingly applied to study the Church's past for the purpose of acquiring a new historical reliability. These works investigated the main ideas and developments in Christian history, carried out with synchronic and diachronic approaches, respectively. The banqueting debates recurred constantly throughout their entire development. One example of this was when some aspects of the Last Supper were discussed, utilising categories that could be found in writings on antiquarian erudition.<sup>47</sup>

amphibologiam. In aliquot vetustis nostrae linguae codicibus, habebatur, ascenderunt in superiora ubi manebat Petrus, et fieri potest, ut supra coenaculum fuerit locus altior, quod capite huius operis decimo vocat δῶμα, quo Petrus ascendit oraturus"; and 443: [1 Cor. 11:27] "*Panem etc.* τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, id est, panem hunc. Hic palam corpus consecratum panem vocat, non quod adhuc sit panis eo modo quo si panis vivus et vitam conferens veram. *De pane illo edat*] Illo, hoco loco non additur apud Graecos, sed interpres explicuit vim articuli, quod et alias saepenumero facit. Ambrosius legit, *De pane edat. Indigne* ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυρίου, id est, indigne Domino. Ad eum modum legit et Chrysostomus [PG 61.233.44 (Joan. Chrys. *Homil. in epistulam I ad Corinthios*); PG 59.262.30 (Joan. Chrys. *Homil. in Joannem*)], utroque loco addens Domini nomen. Ambrosius item repetit Domini nomen: itaque quicumque ederit panem hunc aut biberit calicem Domini indigne Domino, iudicium sibi ipsi manducat [PL 17 0243 C (Ambrosiast. *Comm. in Epist. ad Corinth.*)]. Quanquam in nonnullis Graecorum codicibus legitur τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναξίως, ut Κυρίου utrolibet possit referri, panem Domini, aut panem indigne Domino".

**47** The issues on banqueting attested to in the first volume of the Magdeburg Centuries can be found, for example, in the chapters entitled *Ritus circa coenam* (Flacius 1559, 1:2.6, 499-500) and *Ritus circa ieiunia* (Flacius 1559, 1:2.6, 503), but also in the discussion on marriages (*De coniugio*), where it was affirmed that some rituals hailing from the Gentile culture such as the *convivia nuptialia* (Flacius 1559, 1:2.4, 452) were received and accepted by Christians. Many passages are devoted to the debate on the *Coena Domini* and its ramifications, including among the others the long chapter entitled *De coena domini* (Flacius 1559, 1:2.4, 360-3) or the paragraph on the *abusus Coenae Dominicae* in the chapter entitled *De scandalo dato* (Flacius 1559, 1:2.4, 449). In Baronio's first volume of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, analogous digressions feature, such as those touching upon the banqueting uses of the ancient Romans, *Convivandi modus apud priscos Romanos* (34.XXXVI), or the similarities between the latter and those of the Hebrews *Convivandi modus Judaeorum Romanorum similis* (34.XXXVII) which were directly connected to the discussion on how the commensals acted (*coenantibus eis, idem quod, recumbentibus eis* 34.XLIV), what they ate (*manducare quid* 34.XLV) during the *Coenam Dominicam*, and at what time this ritual took place (*qua hora coepta* 34.LXI); see Baronio 1588, 157-8.

#### 7.4 Stucki's *Antiquitates Conviviales*

A new methodological background and cultural development that also affected theological literature was the humanist context in which the most valuable and comprehensive antiquarian treatise on ancient banqueting published during the sixteenth century was composed. The author was Johann Wilhelm Stucki, a Swiss humanist and Protestant theologian. Stucki was born in 1542 in the Winterthur area, and died in Zurich in 1607. His higher education was cosmopolitan, attending colleges in Basel, Lausanne, Strasbourg, Paris, Tübingen, and Padua. As a young man he was appointed by the Zurich Council as an aide, secretary, and French interpreter for Peter Martyr Vermigli, the Italian professor of theology in Zurich, who had been appointed as a Zurich delegate at the interconfessional Colloquy of Poissy in France. Stucki then went to Padua, where he studied under the jurist and humanist scholar, Guido Panciroli, as well as learning Aramaic and Syriac under the tutelage of Rabbi Menachem. On returning to Zurich, Stucki lectured on Hebrew and the Old Testament, before becoming a professor at the 'Carolinum' in 1568, where he taught logic, rhetoric, and Old Testament theology. Within the Reformed doctrinal spectrum he leaned towards Calvinist predestinarian ideas; this made him the target of criticism at the religious colloquy of Berne in 1588, which he attended as a Zurich delegate. Stucki published a few Old Testament commentaries and was a biographer of Zurich literati such as Johannes Wolf, Josias Simler, Heinrich Bullinger, and Ludwig Lavater. He had a special interest in the cultural history of classical antiquity, which also touched upon mythology and pagan religion;<sup>48</sup> it was in this domain that he completed his most impressive book, an encyclopaedic study of banqueting in antiquity.<sup>49</sup> His *Antiquitates conviviales*<sup>50</sup> was printed for the first time in Zurich in

<sup>48</sup> In fact, he published the *Sacrorum, sacrificiorumq. gentilium brevis et accurata descriptio* (Stucki 1598), which dealt with the religious ceremonies and rituals of pagans.

<sup>49</sup> Biographical information on Stucki is reported in the preface of Stucki 1582, but mainly in Waser 1608, and the funeral oration published on the year of his death entitled *De vita et obitu Joh. Guilielmi Stuckii*; more recent surveys can be found in Koldewey 1875-1912; Moser 2012; Acciarino 2012, 21-2.

<sup>50</sup> Stucki 1582. The full title can give an idea of the breadth of content that this work involved: *Antiquitatum convivialium libri III in quibus Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Romanorum aliarumque nationum antiqua convivorum genera, necnon mores, consuetudines, ritus ceremoniaeque conviviales, atque etiam aliae explicantur, et cum iis, quae hodie com apud Christianos, tum apud alias gentes a Christiano nomine alienas in usu sunt, conferuntur: multa Grammatica, Physica, Medica, Ethica, Oeconomica, Politica, Philosophica denique atque Historica cognitu iucunda simul et utilia tractantur: plurima sacrorum prophanorumque auctorum veterum loca obscura illustrantur, corrupta emendantur: denique desperatus deploratusque nostrorum temporum luxus atque luxuria gravi censura damnatur.*

1582 by Christopher Froschauer.<sup>51</sup> Then three more editions were published: the first by Johann Wolf in 1597; the second in Frankfurt by Andrea Cambierius in 1613; and the third in Amsterdam by Iacobus Hackius in 1695 as part of Stucki's *Opera omnia*.<sup>52</sup> In terms of its structure, method and abundance of featuring sources, this treatise (especially the first edition) should be considered the most relevant work on banqueting ever written, not least for its influence on European learning in the late Renaissance and its long-term repercussions on antiquarian scholarship.

The impact of the editions of *Antiquitatum convivialium libri* which followed its initial publication (1582) suggests that this work played a formative role in determining the study of banqueting through a new approach to the matter. Stucki could also be considered the first scholar to systematically avail himself of data on ancient banqueting for application in confessional disputes.<sup>53</sup>

As established previously, prior to Stucki's publication, monographs on ancient banqueting were quite rare. Banqueting was instead included in more general dissertations and considered more an accessory field of knowledge than the central theme of investigation. Therefore, given the expansion of works on the topic thereafter, one can infer that Stucki provided a new impetus to the subject throughout Europe, especially when compared to the scattered and fragmentary nature of previous efforts.

The book is *in folio* and amounts to 485<sup>a-b</sup> pages, of which 397<sup>a-b</sup> are paginated. The other pages include a frontispiece, a dedicatory letter (to Diethoegus Ringgius and Konrad Meyer, both Zurich senators), a letter to the readers, a summary, an index of names, a glossary, some epigrams in honour of the author, a conclusion, and an analytical index. The work is divided into three books, each representing three broad themes: the first focuses on onomasiology, the second on etiquette, and the third discusses the dining dynamics of ancient banquets. These topics also often overlap, and so each can be found in more than one part, but with different intentions. This results in a complex weave of allusions and cross-references typical of the encyclopaedic nature of the treaty.

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**51** Froschauer's business had religious and political connotations from the start, not least because it was Zwingli who encouraged him to open a publishing house; see Jedin 1976, 189.

**52** Stucki 1597; 1613; 1695.

**53** See Stucki 1587, in which the knowledge gathered in the *Antiquitates Conviviales* was converted substantially in the *de Coena Domini* dispute. The key role covered by banqueting in confessional debates was also noted by Orsini 1588, 2: "Romanam antiquitatem, atque adeo Graecam ipsam, a qua potissimum fluxit Romana, multis sane nominibus conferre ad intellegentiam cognitionemque complurium Sacrae Scripturae locorum, omnes ij norunt, qui in evolvendis antiquitatum monumentis, aliqua cum diligentia sunt versati".



Regarding the preceding literary output on ancient banqueting, the *Antiquitates Conviviales* deal with an evident need to unify information that until then had been scattered and confused. In his preface, Stucki underlines this need in view of the multifarious cultural stratifications on offer, the abundance of sources, and all those ancient and modern authors who “multa symposiaca passim in operibus suis sparsisse, atque adeo peculiare de symposiis libros conscribisse”; he also affirms, thanks to the broad range of the subject, that it is possible through ancient banqueting accounts to encounter a huge range of human issues, adding that “convivia universam fere vitam complectantur, fieri non potest, quin is qui convivii scribit, simul de plurimis humanae vitae officiis scribat”; in other words, he claims that writing about banqueting means writing about life.<sup>54</sup>

In terms of the method used, Stucki does not shy away from the philological reconstruction of a text. In fact, his exegetical intentions emerge from his explanation of certain obsolete and obscure words.<sup>55</sup> This key task is covered by his study of etymology and semantics, which are supported by systematic linguistic comparisons of specific nomenclatures, including contemporary terms, to reconstruct the signifier-meaning relationship lost over centuries of cultural change. This comparative urgency may have derived from the need to construct a thematic glossary linked to modern language to remove any possible interpretative errors of words that were not fully intelligible. Therefore, this criterion was a useful philological parameter to fill in the lexical gaps of modern languages by applying a transitive relationship between different linguistic elements, resulting in an interposed recovery of meanings. However, these parallel passages not only aim to ascribe a value in the current language to a corresponding ancient word or expression, but also to help identify, in the formation of language even beyond its literary use, those dynamics that might also have been active in classical languages. Hence, Greek, Latin, Hebrew are juxtaposed with modern vernaculars, such as French, Spanish, Italian and, in this case, mostly German, because of the origins of the author. This goal is established from the opening paragraphs of the first section, which deal with the

<sup>54</sup> Stucki 1582, *ad lect.*: “Multa itaque ad privatam publicamque vitam atque mores bene informandum regendumque per quam utilia documenta ethica, oeconomica, politica atque etiam militaria ex antiquis literarum monumentis deprompta in hoc volumine continentur. Multa praetera valetudinid tuendae atque conservandae medica ac salutaria praecepta in eodem reperies”.

<sup>55</sup> Stucki 1582, *ad lect.*: “Habebunt adhaec linguarum atque grammaticae studio si vocabulorum quorundam elegantium obsoletorum obscurorumque explicationem”.

various names for banquets; Stucki states that he needed to explain the specific vocabulary at the outset for didactic reasons.<sup>56</sup>

Stucki openly demonstrates the usefulness of retracing linguistic history throughout different domains of study, and attempts to prove its efficacy in better shaping the semantic culture of the subject. He therefore attempted to trace back the wide variety of banqueting vocabulary to common roots, identifying the whole system of derived forms. His objective was to understand the basic mechanisms that reveal the constant dynamics despite the diachronic and diatopic variations common to all languages: the aim was to demonstrate how a naturally acquired idiom can have the same effects that govern ancient languages. In this sense, Stucki even found that national idioms demonstrated a clear, expressive source that could restore a new lymph to an otherwise silent world, comparing similar dynamics despite their distance in time.<sup>57</sup> Here, a meaningful link could be identified with the comparative method masterfully accomplished by Piero Vettori – in which the three linguistic domains, Greek, Latin, and Vernacular, converge into one unitary reflection of singular coherence.<sup>58</sup> The philological analysis exceeds the specific culture of the text, receiving information directly from those elements which, from an anthropological view, recur without relevant variations in different cultures. This causes linguistic variety and chronological differences to lose their cultural overtones, instead becoming fortuitous, expressive vehicles of concepts unvaried in their own substance.<sup>59</sup>

The number of cited sources is enormous (564 ancient and modern authors) and has not been matched by later scholars on the same subject. In this boundless, exegetical scenario, some of the categories are particularly interesting if considered to be dependent on the comparative method. For example, the geographic and ethnograph-

**56** One of the most illustrative models of this approach can be found at the end of the discussion on ancient banqueting etymologies, where a parallel with Germanic languages is drawn, providing a clear practical application of the method; see Stucki 1582, 3: “Germanice convivium vulgo Maal, Gastmaal, Gasterey, Banquet, Weerdschap a Belgis appellatur. Notabis praeterea omnia fere convivorum nomina Germanica definire vel in Maal, ut Abendtmaal, id est, vespertina, Nachtmaal, id est, coena: vel in Suppen, quod pultem sive pulmentum significat, quo Germani maxime delectantur, ut Morgensuppen, id est, ientaculum: vel in Stuck, id est, frustum, ut Früstuck, id est ientaculum: vel in Trunck, id est, potum sive potationem, ut Abendtrunck, id est potatio vespertina, Schlaafftrunck, quasi dicas ὑπνοπόσιον, id est, comessatio: vel in ässen, id est, edere, ut morgen ässen, abendt ässen, zünacht ässen, Imbiß, id est, ientaculum, vespertina, coena, prandium: vel in Brot, id est, panem, ut Morgenbrot, id est, ientaculum, Abendbrot, id est, vespertina: vel denique in zächen et ürten (quae duo vocabula symbolam sive collectum significant) et Abendtäch, Abendtürten, id est, vespertina compotatio”.

**57** Drusi 2012a, 32-3.

**58** Drusi 2012a, 18.

**59** Drusi 2012a, 15-38. For linguistic comparison and the use of analogy in the antiquarian method, see also Grafton 2019.

ic quotations display exotic anecdotes originating from Africa, Asia, and South America. These are evaluated in careful comparisons with classical antiquity; from this, unexpected and meaningful resemblances emerge. When Stucki mentions *Aygnam*, the Brazilian necrophagous god (*Ayguá* in his text),<sup>60</sup> he cites the contemporaneous *Histoire* by Jean de Léry (1536-1613), adding a sequence of cross references that touch on the Pre-Columbian populations, the Normans, the Israelites, and the Greeks in the verses of Pausanias.<sup>61</sup> From this

**60** Stucki 1582, 79: “De Americensibus autem haec litteris memoriaeque recens prodidit Ioannes Leryensis testis αὐτόπτης, (de quo paulo ante dictum est). A prima statim nocte, postquam cadaver defuncti, eo quoquo dictum est, ritu terrae fuit mandatum, magnas patinas farinae, volucrum, piscium, aliorumque ciborum prius bene concocatum plenas una cum potu caovin dicto, defuncti sepulchro imponunt, idque more plane diabolico tandiu facere continuant, donec[ic] ipsum cadaver putrefactum esse existimant. Id autem faciunt, quia huiusmodi menti errore sunt imbuti, ut existiment diabolium, (quem sua lingua Ayguam appellant) nisi alios cibos, quos devoret, ibi praefantes habeat, ipsum cadaver effossorum rursus, atque devoratum esse. Ab hoc errore, addit author, illos abducere eo nobis fuit difficilius, quod Normandi quidam interpretes, qui ante nos in regionibus illis versati sunt, sacerdotum Belis imitatione, cibos illos sepulchris impositos, noctu clam surripuerunt, quos miseri illi homines a diabolo illo suo devoratos fuisse crediderunt. Haec itaque Normandorum fraus illos in suo illo errore obstinatos reddidit, ut quantumvis vel ipsa experientia summo studio illis demonstrare simus conati cibos illos, quos vesperi in sepulchro collocaverant, crastino die illibatos adhuc reperiri, vix tamen paucis quibusdam id persuadere potuerimus. Atque hic quidem agrestium illorum hominum error parum admodum a Rabinorum, hoc est, Doctorum Iudaicorum, necnon Pausaniae delirijis videtur differre. Rabbinum enim, quorum multa alia sunt errorum opionumque falsarum monstra atque prodigia, defunctorum corpora credunt diabolici cuiusmodi potestati esse permissa, quem illi Zazelum aut Azazelum appellant. Atque ad hanc quidem impiam absurdamque suam opinionem confirmandam, quaedam sacrarum litterarum loca, ut Lev. 16. Isa. 65. et in primis illa Dei verba ad serpentem Gen. 3. (vesceris pulvere toto vitae tuae tempore) impie impudenterque detorqueunt. Quoniam enim, inquit illi, corpus humanum ex terrae pulveribus atque luto (qui quidem diaboli est cibus illi a Deo assignatus) est conflatum, idcirco illud eius potestati esse subiectum, donec in spiritualem naturam fuerit conversum. Pausania similiter daemonis cuiusdam mentionem facit, cui nomen Eurinomos, a quo oraculorum Delphinorum interpretes mortuorum carnes omnino devorari, nec quicquam ab illo praeter ossa reliquum fieri constanter affirmarunt”. See also Bry 1590, 223-4 (in which an engraving of this god is provided); Cholières 1600, 92; Câmara Cascudo 2002.

**61** de Léry 1578: “Toutefois pour retourner à nos *Tououpinambaults*, depuis que le François ont hanté parmi eux ils n’enterrent pas si coustumierement les chose de valeur avec leurs morts, qu’ils souloyent faire auparavant: mais, ce qui est beaucoup pire, oyez la plus grande superstition qui se pourroit imaginer, en laquel ces pauvres gens sont detenus. Des la premiere nuict d’apres qu’un corps, à la façon que vous avez entendu, a esté enterré, eux croyans fermamente que si *Aygnan*, c’est à dire le diable, en leur langage, ne trouvoit d’autres viandes toute prestes aupres, qu’il le deterreroit et mangeroit: non seulement ils mettent de grands plats de terre plein de farine, volailles, poissons et autres viandes bien cuicts, avec de leur bruvage dit *Caovin*, sus la fosse du defunct, mais aussi iusqu’à ce qu’il pensent que le corps soit entièrement pourri, ils continuent à faire tels serservices, vrayment diaboliques: duquel erreur il nous estoit tant plus mal aisé de les divertir, quel les truchemens de Normandie qui nous avoyent precedez en ce pays-la, à l’imitation des prestres de Bel, desquels il est fait mention en l’Escriture, prenans de nuict ces bonnes viandes pour les manger, les y avoyent tellement entretenus, voire confirmez, que quoy que par l’experience nous leur mostrissions que

brief overview, it is possible to see that his *Antiquitates Conviviales* is structured as a thematic encyclopaedia, where the antiquarian data assumes a universal character because of its precise existence in history. In essence, this means that the presentation of the matter influenced the content itself, demonstrating how Stucki's methodology became paramount in subsequent scholarship.

## 7.5 Literary Fortune

However, immediately after the publication of this treatise, a peculiar phenomenon occurred: scholars who wrote on ancient banqueting after 1582 mentioned neither Stucki's name nor his treatise for over thirty years, determining its actual *damnatio memoriae* immediately after the first edition. In order to understand this dynamic, it is important to remember that the confessional positions of the author and the period in which his work was written represented two critical elements within its reception in scholarly and erudite environments. A sophisticated humanist study emanating from a Protestant land, and which handled a topic largely neglected by Roman Catholic scholars (bearing in mind its inherently probable inter-confessional and doctrinal consequences), would hardly have been greeted with open arms by the Catholic world during the last decades of the sixteenth century.

It is therefore no surprise that Stucki's name was included in the first class of the 1596 edition of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.<sup>62</sup> There is persuasive evidence that this interdiction had been established previously, perhaps around the year that Stucki's book was published, and perhaps through circulation of a manuscript (common

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ce qu'ils y mettoient le soir s'y retrouvoit lendemain, à peine peusmes nous persuader le contraire à quelque uns. Tellement qu'on peut dire que ceste resuerie des sauvages n'est pas fort different de celle des Rabins doctoeurs Iudaïques: ne de celle de Pausanias. Car les Rabins tiennent que le corps mort est laissé en la puissance d'un diable qu'ils nomment *Zazel* ou *Azazel*, lequel ils dissent estre appelé prince du desert, au Levitique: et mesme pour confirmer leur erreur, ils destournent ces passages de l'Escriture où il est dit au serpent, Tu mangeras la terre tout le temps de ta vie: car, dissent-ils, puis que nostre corps est créé du limon et de la poudre de la terre, qui est la viande du serpent, il luy est suiet iusques à ce qu'il soit transmué en nature spirituelle. Pausanias semblablement raconte d'un autre diable nommé Eurinomos, duquel les interpreteurs des Delphiens ont dit qu'il devoroit la chair des morts, et n'y laissoit rien que les os, qui est en somme, ainsi que l'ay dit, le mesme erreur de nos Ameriquains". See also Acciarino 2012, 22-4.

**62** *Index* 1596, 12: "In prima [classe] non tam libri, quam librorum scriptores, continentur, qui aut haeretici, aut nota haeresis suspecti fuerunt: horum enim Catalogum fieri oportuit, ut omnes intelligant, eorum scripta, non edita solum, sed edenda etiam, prohibita esse"; and 43: *Auctorum Primae Classis* [...] *Ioannes Stuchk*. Before its official inclusion in the Roman Index, Stucki's work had already been condemned in the *Index Hispanus*; see 5 ASU, Series XI, vol. 1, f. 21-vol. 2, f. 784. See also Bujanda 1990, 597.

practice for the sanctioning of texts, integrated only later in the printed editions of the indexes of forbidden books). In fact, in the manuscript censorship protocol ratified by the Holy Office,<sup>63</sup> the passages of the *Antiquitates Conviviales* that had to be modified or deleted<sup>64</sup> were listed in detail. A good example can be found in the censored volume stored at the Panizzi library in Reggio Emilia.<sup>65</sup>

It is plausible that the prohibition of a work treating a matter that the Catholic Church still wished to control provoked an editorial bounce-effect. By 1588, the *De triclinio Romano* of Fulvio Orsini and Pedro Chacón (1526-1581) had already been published in Rome;<sup>66</sup> in

63 ASU, Prot. CC (25), 431rv-448rv.

64 The censorship of books during the Counter-Reformation prescribed certain limits on the editorial tendencies of the time to determine whether a text was acceptable or 'pernicious'. The counter measures were forms of prohibition that banned texts condemned by all Catholic countries, with revisions of their work provided instead; see Rondò 1963, 146-7; Rozzo 1997, 219-20; Frajese 2008, 276-80.

65 Catalogue Panizzi 16 A 527. This book was originally stored in the library of the convent of Santo Spirito dei Minori Osservanti, near Reggio Emilia, and merged in the Biblioteca Panizzi after the suppression of the convents proclaimed by Napoleon in 1796. Many of the volumes from this convent were censored according to the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of 1619, including among others Conrad Gesner's *Epitome Bibliothecae* (Gesner 1555 – catalogue Panizzi 17 B 81). The same happened with Stucki's volume. However, *Index* 1619, 522-6 refers to the pagination of the revised version of the *Antiquitates Conviviales* (Stucki 1597), while the volume censored was the *principes* (Stucki 1582). Since the two editions had different page numbers, the censor had to deal with a discrepancy in the layout of the contents, and probably ended up deleting only corresponding passages that could be easily identified. The Panizzi volume of Stucki featured in an exhibition held in Reggio Emilia; see Festanti 2009. One of the other reasons that could have occasioned or expedited the censorship is that, when writing his book, Stucki took inspiration from his master, a Zurich theologian and son-in-law of Heinrich Bullinger. This was Ludwig Lavater (1537-1586). A banned author for Catholics and writer of the influential *Historiae de origine et progressu controversiae sacramentariae de Coena Domini*, a very controverted issue in the post-Tridentine era; see Lavater 1572. In the prefatory letter to the reader, Stucki evokes his masters by praising and celebrating Lavater among others, stating that he had directed him to the studies on banqueting; see Stucki 1582, *ad lect.*: "Nam primo in ipsa patria mea charis., quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis, et pueritiae memoriam recordari ultimam inde usque repetens Lud. Lavaterum, acerrimi ingenii iudicii que virum, omnique doctrinarum genere politissimum, quemadmodum praeclara illius literarum monumenta testantur, video mihi principem ad suscipiendam et ingrediendam hanc studiorum rationem extitisse". Stucki devotes some space to the topic previously treated by his master at the beginning of his work: Stucki 1582, 5-9: DE CONVIVIORVM ORIGINE, FINE VSV ET ABVSV: *Epulum Paschale. Convivia Christianorum Ecclesiae primitivae [...] Coenae Dominicae finis [...] Cur Coena Dominica dicta [...] S. Augustini testimonia de fine Coenae Dominicae [...] Coena Dominica pax dicta [...] Foedera Eucharistiae communione sancita [...] Dolendum Coena Dominicam fieri rixarum seminarium [...] Conviviorum abusus luxuriosus apud Christianos*. See also Jedn 1976, 295-300, 425-30 and 455-62.

66 Orsini 1588. Pedro Chacón's work survived the rigours of Spanish censorship without addressing any of the difficulties to be found the banqueting side. The protocol is recorded in Madrid, BNE ms. 9089, cc. 141r-142r: "Censura sobre los Discursos de Pedro Chacon. He recebido los discursos de Pedro Chacon de Buena memoria y me pa-

1592 the *Reliquiae convivii prisci* of Hendrik van de Putte (1574-1646), also known as Henricus Puteanus, was published in Milan;<sup>67</sup> in 1596, the *Historia vinorum, de vinis Italiae et de conviviis antiquorum* of Andrea Bacci (1524-1600) appeared in Rome;<sup>68</sup> and in 1615, *Il Convito* by Ottaviano Rabasco was published in Florence.<sup>69</sup> One can include in this list the manuscripts of Ulisse Aldrovandi's *De modo accumbendi in mensa apud antiquos et de tricliniis antiquorum dissertatio*, housed in Bologna,<sup>70</sup> Pirro Ligorio's *Compilatione dell'antichi convivii*, arranged in Ferrara,<sup>71</sup> and *De' Conviti degli Antichi*, assembled in Florence perhaps by the physician Paolo Mini (1526-1599) – all likely written around or soon after the *Antiquitates Conviviales*. None of these works ever mention Stucki, but they sometimes acknowledge his text tacitly or cryptically. Indeed, the Florentine manuscript has been proven to be a vernacular translation, abridged and modified, of the first book of Stucki's compilation.<sup>72</sup> Given all the statistical evidence available, the remarkable growth of studies on ancient ban-

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rean muy bien trabajados y que se deven publicar por honrra de qui en los hizo y pro-  
vecho de los amigos de las antigallas de Roma”.

**67** Puteanus 1592.

**68** Bacci 1596.

**69** Rabasco 1615.

**70** Aldrovandi's work is located at the Bologna University Library (BUB Aldrov. 71, cc. 257-304). It is dedicated to cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, and its *terminus post quem* is certainly June 1577. This was the year Aldrovandi travelled to Rome, stopping at the Medici court in Florence on the way. During his stay, he had the opportunity to attend to an oration on ancient banquets held by Piero Vettori, as stated at the very beginning of the treatise (c. 257r: “Ill.mo et R.mo Cardinali Paleoto | Ulysses Aldrovandus S.P.D. | Cum mente Junio elapso Roma redirem Bononiam, Florentiae inter prandendum apud R.m Nuntium ad magnum Ducem, habitus esset sermo ab ecc.mo Petro Victorio quomodo mensa esset, de modo accumbendi in mensa apud antiquos, et cum multa hinc inde a nobis dicta essent de modo accumbendi in lectis stratis”). It is not currently possible to establish the exact date of composition of the work; however, given the general raising of treatises *de conviviis* since Stucki and the attention to confessional issues displayed by Aldrovandi's patron, it is reasonable to assume that this work was also assembled in around 1582.

**71** Ligorio's work, which is located at the Biblioteca Ariostea (BCA II 384), should be dated to the twilight years of his life spent in Ferrara 1580-84, probably 1583. The presence of two different works by Aldrovandi and Ligorio on ancient banqueting could represent a specific cultural dynamic. During that time (1580-81), both scholars were consulted by Paleotti on another delicate issue related to visual art (see Acciarino 2018). This could point to a dialogue on delicate religious issues conducted through antiquarian erudition and fostered by a very active and learned patron, which in fact Paleotti was.

**72** The Florentine manuscript (BNCF Magliab. XXVIII 52) was certainly written after Stucki's work; for more details see Acciarino 2012, 19-52. Given the interpretations of the translator/manipulator when faced with the original author's text, *De' Conviti degli Antichi* cannot be included in the canon of the forced author corrections; however, at the same time, the activity carried out by its author in general shares some of these principles, thereby cancelling the original intention to subordinate it to legislation and cultural preponderance; Firpo 1961.

queting must be considered important, since it shows a tendency that made the *Antiquitates Conviviales* a constant, albeit implicit, point of reference and comparison throughout the entire period when the subject became fashionable.<sup>73</sup>

The difficulties surrounding the matter were well understood by all authors, even to the extent that sometimes one senses a cautious attitude right from the beginning of their writings. One such case is the Dutch scholar, Henricus Puteanus (a pupil of Joseph Scaliger, Adrien Turnèbe, and Lipsius), who lived in Milan where he attended the court and was a professor of Latin for some years. In the dedicatory letter of his *Reliquiae convivii*, the topic already appears controversial, especially since it could have been unwelcomed or neglected by a constituency of potential readers (“*Librum, quem de ritibus convivialibus Romanorum invisus aliis aut neglectis in hac mea peregrinatione perscripsi, tibi dare dedicare visum*”).<sup>74</sup> Moreover, after having attacked the uncontrolled use of censorship (often indiscriminate and influenced by defamatory voices),<sup>75</sup> Puteanus defends the choice of the subject of banqueting matter in his letter to the reader (while avoiding any “*intemperantiae notam*”); he attempts to associate his work with a prior tradition formed by prudent and learned men, who in the abundance of their works had omitted some points (hence the title).<sup>76</sup> It is clear that his work is structured like Lipsius’s

**73** This is not the case for Joannes Rosinus, another author who took the opportunity to digress on the subject of banqueting in his antiquarian miscellany, *Antiquitatum Romanarum Libri*. This section, entitled *De mensis et convivis antiquorum*, is just a few pages long and deals with the topic only very superficially; see Rosinus 1583, 209-14. His digression on banqueting has no bearing on Stucki’s work – probably because the author had not seen the work of his predecessor before its publication. Of greater interest, however, is that Stucki is never mentioned in the Scottish scholar Thomas Dempster’s seventeenth-century commentary of Roszfed’s work. In the *Paralipomena* to the chapters on banqueting, Dempster provides clarity on the issues explained by Rosinus, relying on several ancient and modern sources, which indicate that he probably deliberately avoided mentioning the Swiss theologian; see Dempster 1613, 358-90.

**74** Puteanus 1592, *dedic.*

**75** Puteanus 1592, *praef.*: “*Multi equidem priusquam gustum aliquem suorum studiorum fructumque percipiant, mora deterriti; plures perniciosissimis calumniantium telis petiti in medio itinere subsistunt, aut gressum referunt. Nam sicuti omni semper aevo fuerunt, qui roderent alienam famam et extinctum vellent nomen litterarum, ita nunc quoque nonnulli inveniuntur, qui, quod ipsi assequi non possunt, in alijs invident, et obtreccatione alienae scientiae nomen aucupantur, qui eo dementiae simul et arrogantiae prorumpunt, ut si binas voces aut formulas male vinctas effutire, aut tardo stylo effodere incipient, censuram rei litterariae sine suffragio gerant. In qua duorum alterum perpetuo faciunt, ut aut carpantur, aut carpant. Non equaliter tamen et pari mensura dant convitia, et accipiunt, indigne enim dant, digne vero accipiunt; et ut semper improbitas virtutem superare conatur, laeduntur minus, quam laedunt. Hosce homines cognoscendos tibi, qui litteras tractas esse censeo, ut caveas, cavendos tamen, ne offendas*”.

**76** Puteanus 1592, *praef.*: “*De Convivio scripserunt nonnulli; sed ita screrunt, ut post uberem messem, quam collegerunt, spicas aliquot relinquerint mihi alijsque tollendas. [...] Non enim Convivium, ne falso accusent, sed Reliquias convivi scripsi, easque (di-*

*Sermo convivialis*, suggesting that this was the model to emulate.<sup>77</sup> Judging by Puteanus's passages on censorship and the nature of the topic, he was probably aware of the risks, seeking to protect himself under the shadow of his eminent forerunners, avoiding any possible association with Stucki and the risk of being subjected to the same treatment. From this perspective, the *Reliquiae convivii* could represent a missing link between the Catholic-Italian and Protestant-northern European perceptions of the matter. Indeed, the absence of any explicit reference to Stucki (this would have been the first time that anyone in Italy had referred to the Swiss theologian even indirectly, perhaps encouraged by Puteanus's geographical proximity to Dutch and Swiss Reformed territories) prefigures those mentions to be made by authors writing in countries where editorial control was less strict.

In fact, Stucki did enjoy considerable literary impact and acclaim. The first author to openly recognise his central role in the antiquarian erudition on banqueting was the German Calvinist theologian and scholar in Transylvania, Johann H. Alsted (1588-1638), in his *Systema mnemonicum*. He draws up an epitome of the *Antiquitates conviviales*, starting from a discussion on the virtue of temperance in eating and drinking,<sup>78</sup> and from a paragraph in the section *De conviviis*.<sup>79</sup> He briefly recapitulates Stucki's model, borrowing his interpretative categories and declaring the model to be the richest source he had come across.<sup>80</sup> The same phenomenon occurs in *Apparatus convivialis*, which was written by the German humanist Caspar Ens (b. 1570), where he confers on Stucki the prestige of having written

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cam quod sentio) non ita curiose collegisse me adfirmo, quin, si quis volet, etiam post me Reliquias Reliquiarum invenire possit".

**77** Puteanus 1592, *praef.*: "Circumfer mentem paullulum, eosque omnes considera, qui hoc munus laudabiliter execute sunt, Philologiae peritissimos viros, et facile erit, ut spretis novis illis ptribus, in sententiam meam pedibus eas. Reperias non ignotos aliquos et proletarios homines, sed Lipsios, Scaligeros, Turnebos, similiaque tot lumina Doctrinae, quae non admirari solum aut venerari, verum etiam imitari nobis contigit". In 1609, Lipsius published another tract entitled *Tractatus ad historiam Romanam cognoscendam*, the fifth book of which is dedicated to ancient banqueting, *De ritu conviviorum apud Romanos* (Lipsius 1609, V). This section is a sort of epitome of his former *Sermo convivialis* (Lipsius 1575, 77-128).

**78** Alsted 1610, 508-10: "Temperantia, quae dicitur frugalitas, est custos vitae; noverca vero vitae est intemperantia; praesertim studiosis, quibus convenit victus frugalis, uti Danielis exemplum confirmat, qui una cum sociis in Babyloniam deportatis, repudiavit regium cibum et potum, leguminibus et aqua sibi postulatis. [...] Sed temperantia illa non solum consistit in victus qualitate simplici, sed etiam quantitate et perceptione".

**79** Alsted 1610, 511-21.

**80** Alsted 1610, 511: "Ex his videre est, quomodo studiosis etiam liceat agitare convivia: in quibus spectari volumus, locum, tempus, convivii genus, convivae, colloquia, edendi bibendique modus, hilaritatis moderatio et morandi tempus, de quibus omnibus cospouse Guil. Stuckius in Antiquitatibus Convivialibus".



such a monumental work that rendered all other studies on the subject almost superfluous.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, *Disputatio historica de conviviiis* by the jurist, Gregor Biccus (d. 1657), originally presented and then published by the Strasbourg Academy defined Stucki as the highest authority (endorsed by Alsted) on the subject, both in terms of his text and rhetorical layout. Stucki also appears at the end of a list of sources in a pre-eminent position.<sup>82</sup>

The example set by the French Jesuit, Jules-César Boulenger (1558-1628), in his *De conviviis libri quattuor* is somewhat different. In his letter to the reader, he acknowledged Stucki as the principal authority on ancient banqueting, but also accused him of over-elaborating his methodology; he also referred to some of Stucki's predecessors, like Lipsius and Chacón.<sup>83</sup> His orthodox Catholic background meant that Boulenger could have opted for silence, like the scholars writing immediately after Stucki's publication. Instead, his reference to Stucki in 1627 possibly demonstrated liberalisation of the debate on banqueting, or at least recognition among non-Italian Catholic circles of Stucki's academic relevance in the humanist sphere.

## 7.6 Conclusions

This survey reveals that the growth of antiquarian studies on banqueting was engendered by a combination of various trends and evolved in different directions, in accordance with contrasting religious and cultural environments. New polarities bloomed from the seeds of the Protestant Reformation and the Council of Trent, affecting the mental predisposition of many scholars; this helped prepare

<sup>81</sup> Ens 1615, 1-2: "Quamvis Apparatus noster Convivalis non culinarijs, sed litterarijs constet ferculis, ac post Gulielmum Stuckium (qui integrum volumen De Convivialibus Antiquitatibus edidit) quidquam ea de re scribere supervacaneum sit, pauca tamen a doctissimo viro in compendium veluti contracta, praemittere visum est, eam in primis ob causam, ut non ritus modo veteres, verum etiam frugalitas antiquorum appareant".

<sup>82</sup> Biccus 1622, *praef.*: "Idque eo confidentius, cum videbam ante me viros in republica literaria principes, in scriptis suis passim symposiaca sparsisse, adeoque peculiariter etiam de conviviis libellos conscripsisse; in quibus familiam dicere videntur Plato, Xenophon, Aristoteles, Plutarchus, Athenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Marsilius Ficinus, Caelius Rhodiginus, Alexander ab Alexandro, Pontanus, Janus Cornarius, Lipsius, Petrus Faber, et quem prae ceteris studiose sequar, Johannes Gulielmus Stuckius, in tribus suis Antiquitatum Convivialium libris, quo omni genera eruditione refertos esse, graviter censet Alstedius".

<sup>83</sup> Boulenger 1627, *ad lect.*: "Scripsere multi olim, hodieque non pauci, de conviviis: Stuckius libros aliquot eruditos, sed multa parerga miscet, Lipsius polite ut omnia, sed multa levi manu et cursim, Ciacconius de triclinio belle, se plaeraque parum explicite. Tot tantisque viris succedaneus tres tibi libellos, benevole lector, do, dico, quos si triclinio tuo exceperis, ut Iupiter Homericus, escae nidore contenti erunt, tu alios succo pasce".

the groundwork for Stucki's work, determine its programme, and open up the subsequent growth of publications on ancient banquets.

Still, in view of the information brought to light, the *Antiquitates Conviviales* represents an effective breakthrough for historical studies on banqueting and elevates the subject to a higher level of research from empirical, historical, linguistic, and cultural perspectives. Moreover, Stucki was the first writer to understand that banqueting, feasting, and its associated social and cultural exchanges could be seen to have universal, human significance. His systematic dissertation influenced all those who later wrote on the topic of banqueting and sacred feasts. Indeed, Stucki's work is generally acknowledged to have preceded a uniform framework of discussion, but this is almost always downplayed when considering the Zurich theologian's magisterial effort: the works of his epigones should be considered critical approaches to his *magnum opus*.

The impact that Stucki had on his contemporaries and posterity emerges surprisingly in the literary evidence, which is evident from the uptick in the number of publications on the issue after his work. In the various cultural and religious domains cited above, one consequence of Stucki's book was that multifarious kinds of antiquarian scholarship from previous decades became more coherent, which resulted in an increase in work and discussions on ancient banqueting. The book's *Wirkungsgeschichte* and the long trail he left in the learned culture of the late Renaissance and post-Reformation era meant it is possible to identify in the first edition of 1582 the catalyst for the further development of antiquarian learning and for the creation of a formative pattern for the entire subsequent tradition.