

Antiquarian studies on ancient banqueting during the Renaissance: the role of the *Antiquitatum convivialium libri tres* by Johann Wilhelm Stucki (1542–1607)

DAMIANO ACCIARINO

Ca' Foscari University, Venice, Italy

During the Renaissance, studies on ancient banqueting became part of mainstream ancient history. Among the early treatments of the subject, the monumental treatise, *Antiquitatum convivialium libri*, written by the Swiss humanist and Reformed theologian, J. W. Stucki, was a notable breakthrough. The article argues that Stucki was the first humanist to conceive of ancient banqueting as having universal significance, influencing all later writers on the topic. In addition, he used his book as a resource to intervene in confessional disputes with data from antiquarian erudition. After Stucki's publication and its censorship by the Roman Catholic Church, there was a significant boost in such works throughout Europe. The phenomenon was very heterogeneous in light of diversities relating to contrasting Protestant and Catholic regions. This article focuses on the development of different approaches to the topic arising from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds at the time.

KEYWORDS J. W. Stucki, Renaissance humanism, Reformation, antiquarian learning, banqueting, the Lord's Supper, censorship, religio-cultural politics

Introduction to Stucki and his banqueting study

The most valuable and comprehensive antiquarian treatise on ancient banqueting published during the sixteenth century was composed by Johann Wilhelm Stucki, Swiss humanist and Protestant theologian.¹ Stucki is little known in our times,

¹ *Antiquitatum convivialium libri III [...] auctore Io. Guilielmo Stuckio* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1582) [hereafter AC]. Cf. to n. 40 below. For a digitized version of the copy in the Zentralbibliothek Zurich, see *e-rara* at: <http://www.e-rara.ch/>.

since he has not been the subject of any modern studies, biographical or otherwise, apart from some dictionary entries. The basic facts of his life are these: born in 1542 in the Winterthur area, he died at Zurich in 1607. His higher education was cosmopolitan, attending colleges at Basel, Lausanne, Strasbourg, Paris, Tübingen, and Padua. In many of these centres he was exposed to some renowned humanist philologists and jurists. 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. It was after this that Stucki went to Padua where he studied under the jurist and humanist scholar, Guido Pancirolo, as well as learning Aramaic and Syriac from Rabbi Menachem there. On returning to Zurich, Stucki did some teaching in Hebrew and Old Testament in Zurich, and in 1568 became professor in the ‘Carolinum’, where he taught Logic, Rhetoric, and Old Testament theology. Within the Reformed doctrinal spectrum he inclined to Calvinist predestinarian ideas; this was a 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 also a biographer of Zurich literati like Johannes Wolf, Josias Simler, Bullinger, and Ludwig Lavater. He had a special interest in the cultural history of classical antiquity; it was in this domain that he published his most impressive book, encyclopaedic study of banqueting in antiquity, and the subject of this article.²

The literary history of *Antiquitatum convivialium libri* [Studies on Banqueting in Antiquity] from its initial publication (1582) to its impact and later editions suggests that it played a formative role in determining the study of banqueting by means of a new approach to ancient history and philological methodology. In addition, Stucki could be considered the first writer who systematically availed of data on ancient banqueting for application in confessional disputes. This was on behalf of the biblically based, distinctive, Reformed concern for the *cultus verae religionis* [true worship] as against the perceived contamination and pollution of Catholic rites.³ Before Stucki’s publication, texts on ancient banqueting were few. Therefore, considering the expansion of works on the topic thereafter, one can infer that Stucki provided a new impetus and style to the subject throughout Europe, when compared to the scattered and fragmentary nature of efforts before that.

Earlier works on banqueting in antiquity

The most significant predecessors of Stucki in the field were Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), Bartolomeo Sacchi [or Platina] (1421–1481), Francesco Robortello (1516–1567) and Joost Lips (1547–1606). They were all included in Stucki’s inventory of

² Some autobiographical information on Stucki is in the prefaces to his *AC* or its MS anonymous Italian version now accessible in Damiano Acciarino, *De’ Conviti degli Antichi. Opera adespota*. (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2012). Otherwise see Kasper Waser, *De vita et obitu [...] Iob. Guilielmi Stuckii, sacrarum litterarum professoris in Schola Tigurina, oratio historica habita publice & edita a Casparo Wasero [...]* (Zurich: Wolf, 1608); Friedrich Koldewey, ‘Stucki, Johann Wilhelm’, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 36 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), 717–20; *Historisches-Lexikon der Schweiz/Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse/Dizionario storico della Svizzera* (Fondation dictionnaire historique de la Suisse, 1998–), s.v. ‘Stucki, Johann Wilhelm’, by Christian Moser, accessed 20 September 2014, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10867.php>.

³ Noted at the time by Fulvio Orsini, *De triclinio Romano* (Rome: Giorgio Ferrario, 1588), 2–3.

sources, even though the works of each were very different, both in length (shorter) and in thrust (no universal significance).

Flavio Biondo's *De Roma triumphante*, written in the mid-fifteenth century and printed for the first time in 1503, represents the archetype of the discussion on banquets from the perspective of antiquarian erudition, setting some of the guidelines that recur in later authors. The section on banquets, 'De conviviis', is discussed in just a few pages at the end of chapter 8, explaining only some aspects of the conduct of individuals in ancient Rome as opposed to the form of public behaviour. For the first time a substantial distinction in antiquarian learning, public and private, is established, placing the banquet issue in the sphere of private life. Accordingly, the banqueting system was addressed in a non-institutional context.⁴ That section, through the description of various aspects of rural life (hunting, fishing, and agriculture), underlines a fundamental transition in the humanist approach to the understanding of where banqueting comes from: 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 wine abuse and excessive eating, regarding the classical symposium as a sort of special subset of banqueting. In this way, he shifts the study from didactic reportage to a moral discussion, commending moderation in eating and drinking.⁵

Another early literary effort is the *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* by Platina.⁶ This represents the effective debut of banqueting monographs, with several philological passages devoted to classical antiquity, even if sometimes premature as shown by the formal layout and divided criteria of the rationale.⁷ The work derives mainly from a recipe book by Maestro Martino de Rubeis, personal chef for the patriarch of Aquileia around the mid-fifteenth century.⁸ Platina's book is almost entirely formatted as a list of foods and dishes aiming at celebrating, with Epicurean relish,⁹ the balanced pleasures of the stomach. But even the relationship with classical sources is not completely without hazard, since Platina urges that ancient authors cannot be blamed for excess and gluttony.¹⁰ *De honesta voluptate* was probably born out of the tradition of Roman philological scholarship carried out by Pomponio Leto, who also transcribed and amended Columella, Varro, Pliny and maybe even the work of the famous Roman cook, Apicius.¹¹ The very essence of antiquity as perceived to be in Rome in the late

⁴ Cf. F. Biondo, *De Roma triumphante libri decem* (Brescia: Angelo Britannico, 1503), 160.

⁵ Biondo, *De Roma triumphante*, 175.

⁶ B. Platina, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (Rome: Ulrich, 1473–75?). Nothing specifically on banqueting is traceable before that. However, as will be mentioned below, such a topic could turn up under different guises.

⁷ See B. Platina, *On Right Pleasure and Good Health: A Critical Edition and Translation of De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, ed. M. E. Milham (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 48–49.

⁸ Cf. *L'arte della cucina in Italia: libri di ricette e trattati sulla civiltà della tavola dal XIV al XIX secolo*, ed. E. Faccioli (Turin: Einaudi, 1987), 128–30; 220–21.

⁹ This book is part of the humanist trend inaugurated at the beginning of the fourteenth century by Lorenzo Valla with his *De voluptate* and subsequently by Francesco Filelfo in some letters, bearing in mind Platina's aim is stated in I.10: *Quid observandum in vita ad voluptatem*. According to E. Garin, *L'umanesimo italiano: filosofia e vita civile nel Rinascimento* (Bari: Laterza, 1970) (62–69), Platina wrote this work to answer accusations of Epicureanism. Cf. C. Benporat, *Cucina italiana del Quattrocento* (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 46.

¹⁰ Platina, *De honesta voluptate* (1475), I r–v.

¹¹ Platina, *On right pleasure*, 48–49.

decades of the fifth century influenced Platina along the path of antiquarian studies, associating his work to a revived idea of the past. Although very substantial, this text did not, however, have much short-term impact, being for a long time an isolated case with little relevance in the banqueting debate.¹²

Quite interesting is also an unfinished treatise of historical interpretation by Francesco Robortello in 1559, of which there is only the first volume of three.¹³ This volume, structured as an index (the corresponding text was to be found in the second and third volumes that were never published), shows how antiquarian learning was functioning in the awareness of ancient historiography, especially in shaping habits and attitudes. Thus moving from the histories¹⁴ of the first fifteen Roman emperors (including Julius Caesar), Robortello dedicated part of his study to the investigation of morals and customs in both private life and public affairs. Looking at the principal sources (Suetonius for the first twelve emperors, Dio Cassius and Aelius Spartianus for the others), banqueting customs (gastronomy, eating habits, traditions, rituals etc.) were just discussed in passing, illustrating how an overall perspective was still lacking, and how the investigative method always conformed to interpretative necessities.

Greater attention must be given to Joost Lips (Justus Lipsius) because of his chronological proximity to Stucki's work: his five-book commentary on ancient texts was published in 1575, just seven years before AC. The section on banqueting covers the entire third book (pp. 77–128), entitled 'Sermo convivialis, in quo conviviorum veterum ritus proponuntur, in eam rem varii scriptores emendantur, explicaretur.'¹⁵ This short treaty, built into the wider structure of the commentary and planned as a dialogue, chiefly aims at expounding and interpreting crucial passages and obscure elements of classical literature (especially Plautus) on ancient banqueting. In the fifty pages of the 'Sermo convivialis', Lips includes interlocutory phrases, well summarized 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 cursim.'¹⁶ Therefore, although showing evident limitations, Lips's work had the power to establish its own direct tradition, continuing for decades its original spirit.

Like Stucki, Lips came from Northern Europe, and was probably aware of all those theological and confessional debates entangled with the banquet issue and especially the Lord's Supper earlier in the sixteenth century (as we will see below). It is worth underlining that the author includes in his philological analysis at least two central aspects of these religious disputes: the definition of the bloodless meal, which was made along with the earthly meal (c. 89); also, the question of the recumbent meal (c. 91). These topics were treated by Stucki as well, but with greater emphasis and relating the ancient data directly to the confessional issue.

¹² *De honesta voluptate* was reissued and translated several times, but it engendered no imitations intermingling dietary matters with antiquarian studies.

¹³ *De vita et victu populi Romani sub imp. Caess. Augg. tomus primus* (Bologna: Benacci & Rubeus, 1559).

¹⁴ Divided into (I) *Magistratus ac Pontifices*, (II) *Forensia seu Iudicialia*, (III) *Sacra*, (IV) *Coloniae, Municipia simul et Provinciae*, (V) *Leges ac Constitutiones*, (VI) *Militaria et Castrensia*, (VII) *Mores et Consuetudines*, (VIII) *Familiae*.

¹⁵ Justus Lipsius, *Antiquarum lectionum commentarius, tributus in libros quinque* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575), chs 77–128; other indications of Lips's studies on ancient banqueting are also in his *Epistolicarum quaestionum libri V* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1577), for example, the letter to Joseph Scaliger (Book I, 8) and the one to Pierre Pithou (Book III, 2).

¹⁶ J. C. Boulenger, *De conviviis libri quatuor* (Lyon: Ludovic Prost, 1627), *ad lect.*

In addition to these four works, there were several other publications in which the ancient banquet is specifically mentioned, giving a more stratified picture of the situation. First of all, the subject was examined by analysing the lexical items in the philological anthologies of the Renaissance. Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), in his first *Miscellanea*, explains the meaning of the syntagma ‘*coena hecalia*’ [Hecale’s meal], starting from Plutarch’s passage of *The Life of Theseus* (13–14);¹⁷ Ermolao Barbaro (1454–1493) discusses the problem of the number of table guests;¹⁸ a work by Pietro Crinito (1465–1507) has four chapters on banqueting features from various perspectives;¹⁹ Ludovico Ricchieri (Caelius Rhodiginus) (1469–1525) talks about some issues regarding the specific vocabulary of the feasts;²⁰ the Neapolitan scholar, Alessandro D’Alessandro (1461–1523), devotes space to the matter in a large book, elucidating many nouns related to *coena* and *mensa*;²¹ the Austrian humanist, Wolfgang Laz (1514–1565) explains different aspects of the ancient banqueting system;²² similarly, Jean Brodeau (1500–1563) talks about the meaning of the word *mensa* and wine;²³ Guillaume du Choul (1496–1560) provides information about the banquets of Roman priests;²⁴ Alessandro Sardi (1520–1588) dedicates three entire sections to the rituals of the table;²⁵ Piero Vettori (1498–1584)²⁶ clarifies the significance of *coena sine sanguine*; and Marc-Antoine Muret (1526–1585) discusses how many times a day ancient Romans ate, taking into account all the Latin and Greek words for ‘meal’.²⁷

From all these, one can see how the semantics of banqueting was a key point of interest for philologists working to improve the comprehension of classical texts, bringing back life to those words that had lost their meaning throughout the centuries. This philological enthusiasm came from the early humanists when a renewed perception of the ancient world provoked a critical revision of inherited knowledge on the basis that the understanding of words led to the understanding of culture.

Second: ancient banquets were frequently mentioned in medical treatises, especially when these books concerned nutrition and dietary therapies and classical authorities confirmed their reliability.²⁸ Consequently, sources such as

¹⁷ A. Poliziano, *Miscellaneorum centuriæ primæ ad Laurentium Medicem præfatio* (Florence: Antonio Miscomini, 1489), XXIV.

¹⁸ E. Barbaro, *Castigationes plinianaæ*, ed. G. Pozzi (Padua: Antenore, 1973), XXXVIII, 10.

¹⁹ P. Crinito, *De honesta disciplina*, ed. C. Angeleri (Rome: Bocca, 1955): III, X.

²⁰ L. Ricchieri, *Lectionum antiquarum libri XXX* (Basel: Froben], 1542), *ad ind.*

²¹ A. D’Alessandro, *Genialium dierum libri sex* (Rome: Mazochi, 1521), *ad ind.*

²² W. Laz, *Commentariorum reipublicæ Romanæ libri XII* (Basel: Oporinus, 1551), 370–79.

²³ J. Brodeau, *Miscellaneorum libri sex* (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1555), *ad ind.*

²⁴ G. du Choul, *Discours sur la religion des anciens Romains* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1556), 237; 287.

²⁵ A. Sardi, *De moribus et ritibus gentium libri III* (Venice: Ziletti, 1557), book I, 21–23.

²⁶ P. Vettori, *Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII* (Florence: Giunti, 1582 [last edn]), VII, 16.

²⁷ M.-A. Muret, *Variarum lectionum libri XV* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1580), XII, 90.

²⁸ Worthy of mention are ‘De optima victus ratione’ and ‘De humano victu epistula’ by Bishop Paolo Giovio, both in 1527: see P. Giovio, *Lettera di Paolo Giovio vescovo di Nocera sul vitto umano a Felice Trofino vescovo di Chieti ed iscrizioni sulla sala da pranzo*. ... trans. and ed. Giambattista Giovio (Como: Ostinelli, 1808); L. Belo, *De prandio et coena liber* (Bologna: Jacob Keymolon Alostese, 1533); A. Turini, *Disceptatiuncula medica Andreae Turini ad [...]*D. Clementem eius nominis septimum, *aduersus opinionem Matthæi Curtii de prandii et cœnæ ratione* (Paris: Jerome Gourmont [1524–1559]); G. B. Da Monte, *Consultationes medicinales in duos distinctæ tomos* [‘De alimentis differentiis’] (Lyon: J.-F. de Gabiano, 1558); G. Gabuccini, *De morbo comitali* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1561); Matteo Corti, *De prandio ac caenæ modo libellus* (Rome: P. Manuzio, 1562); C. Durante, *De bonitate et vitio alimenterum centuria* (Pesaro: Cesano, 1565); S. Bersano, *De nutritivo cibo*, 1576; A. T. Petronio, *De victu Romanorum, et de sanitate tuenda libri quinque* (Rome: Stamperia del Popolo Romano, 1582); G. Cardano, *Theonoston, seu de vita producenda atque incolumitate corporis conservanda* (Rome: G. B. Robletti, 1617).

Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus and Avicenna were associated with the Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*, with the emperors' biographies in the *Historia Augusta*, and with many others that could provide a huge range of examples relevant to medical discussions. Sometimes even the Roman grammarian, Festus, was mentioned to enrich these treatises, reaffirming how diagnosis was assisted by linguistic considerations; for during the Renaissance, the philological factor had interpretative value in reconstructing the still unclear, empirical information transmitted in the classical tradition.²⁹

Lastly: important are all those publications on gastronomy in general and on contemporary banquets. References to the contemporary world were not only an incidental detail to colour the discussion. Rather, they were considered like prompts that could provide equivalent and concrete examples to assist the re-imagining of a lost reality,³⁰ demonstrating how history acted in the flow of time.

Banqueting indeed was an important subject for sixteenth-century publishers who printed regularly works describing the most famous banquets of the period, etiquette, food, and dress code for dinner guests;³¹ in addition, there were gastronomical textbooks,³² made famous two renowned Italian cooks, Cristoforo Messisbugo (d.1548)³³ and Bartolomeo Scappi (1500–1577).³⁴ These works influenced the development of studies on ancient banqueting not only in their layout but also in their content, with descriptiveness being the common trait. One may recall that Platina's model was a contemporary Renaissance cookbook. Accordingly, during the Renaissance even gastronomy became a means of transmitting the tradition of classical knowledge.

²⁹ Cf. A. Momigliano, *Tra Storia e Storicismo* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1985), 11–13; N. Siraisi, 'History, Antiquarianism, and Medicine: Girolamo Mercuriale', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64, no. 2 (2003): 231–51; J. Cotton, 'Materia medica nel Poliziano', in *Atti del IV Convegno Internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento* (Florence: Sansoni, 1954): 237–45; M. G. Nardi, 'Niccolò Leonico e A. Poliziano', in *Atti del IV Convegno Internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento* (Florence: Sansoni, 1954): 247–51; D. Mugnai Carrara, *La biblioteca di Niccolò Leonico* (Florence: Olschki, 1991).

³⁰ Barbaro, *Castigationes*, LVIII-LIX.

³¹ Cf. T. Pandola, *Il famoso convito così delle giostre come del banchetto, che lo illustrissimo & eccel. s. duca di Piacenza, & di Parma, ha fatto nella mag. città di Piacenza nello anno 1561* (Milano: Moscheni, 1561), and M. Buonarroti [the Younger], *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze della cristianissima maestà di madama Maria Medici regina di Francia e di Navarra* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600); see also Benporat, *Cucina italiana*, 57–70. In this way the straightforward description (ekphrasis) of banqueting was what developed into the description of official celebrations as reflected in the treatises on ancient banqueting that expanded into this field; cf. P. Zimmermann, 'Renaissance symposia', in *Essays presented to Myron P. Gilmore* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978), 362–74.

³² Notable are: O. Lando, *Commentario delle cose più notabili [Itinerario gastronomico per l'Italia]* (1548); D. Romoli [Panonto], *La singolare dottrina* (Venice: Tramezzino, 1560); V. Cervio, *Il trinciante* (Venice: Tramezzino, 1581); on these texts see Faccioli, *L'arte della cucina, ad ind.*

³³ C. Messisbugo, *Banchetti compositioni di vivande, et apparecchio generale* (Ferrara: Buglhat & Hucher, 1549); id., *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* (Venice, 1559).

³⁴ Bartolomeo Scappi, a Lombard and secret chef for the austere Pope Pio V, and so not over-worked; see Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, vol. 8 (Rome: Desclée, 1912), 40. But he had commissions from other popes. He composed an important textbook on gastronomy (1570); see *Bartolomeo Scappi, Opera dell' arte del cucinare*, ed. G. Roversi, *Testi antichi di gastronomia*, 12 (Sala Bolognese: Forni, 1981). 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, see J. Di Schino and F. Luccichenti, *Il cuoco segreto dei Papi* (Rome: Gangemi, 2007). The sixth book in his *Opera* is *De' convalescenti, et molte altre forti vivande per gli infermi*, one of the first dietary manuals for the sick.

Banqueting in Protestant regions

While scholars in Italy were developing a methodology for antiquarian studies and setting criteria for the study of banqueting, in northern Europe the religious banquet became a central issue in highly public doctrinal debates within Protestant circles and in Catholic-Protestant controversies. This can be seen especially in the eucharistic controversy from the late 1520s onwards, which discussed the effective nature of the Lord's Supper, the Mass, its sacrificial significance, the essence of communion, the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament — real or figurative, and so on.³⁵

However, around the mid-sixteenth century in northern Europe, historical research strongly based on documentary sources, began to be increasingly applied to doctrinal contexts. Writings on ancient history preferring empirical evidence to questionable subjective claims,³⁶ became a crucial reference point in the argumentation of theologians, providing verifiable specific data to reinforce the authority of their positions. One might affirm that these *realia* [material facts]³⁷ sometimes represented the very basis on which argumentation was built, becoming the foundation of 'positive' or 'historical' theology.³⁸

Following the publication of the thirteen volumes of the *Historia ecclesiastica* by the Lutheran Magdeburg Centuriators led by Matthias Flacius, the humanist historical approach was increasingly applied to studies of the Church's past. This work consisted in an overview of the main ideas and developments in Christian history century by century; in this context, the banqueting debate recurred in all the volumes, as when, for example, some aspects of the Last Supper were discussed, utilizing categories that could be found in writings on antiquarian erudition. In its preamble, the authors explain that it is important to examine deeply the sources, especially religious ones.³⁹

This background of new historical methods and cultural developments that also affected theological literature was the humanist context in which the writing on ancient banqueting by Stucki came into being.

³⁵ Examples of tracts in the second half of the sixteenth century are: Gaspar do Casal, *De coena, et calice Domini quo ad laicos, & clericos non celebrantes: libre tres* (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1563); Bernardino Ochino, *Syncerae et verae doctrinae de coena Domini defensio* (Zurich: Gessner, 1556); Claude de Sainctes, *Examen doctrinae Caluinianae et Bezanae de coena Domini* (Paris: Claude Frémy, 1566); N. Selnecker, *Libellus brevis, et utilis de coena Domini* (Strasbourg: Christian Mylius, 1568); T. de Bêze, *Aduersus sacramentarium errorem pro vera Christi praesentia in coena Domini* (Geneve: Jacques Stoer, 1574).

³⁶ Cf. A. Momigliano, *Le radici classiche della storiografia moderna*, ed. R. Di Donato (Florence: Sansoni, 1992), 61–62.

³⁷ Cf. E. Carrara, 'De' Conviti degli Antichi', in *Vincenzo Borghini. Filologia e invenzione nella Firenze di Cosimo I*, ed. G. Belloni and R. Drusi (Florence: Olschki, 2002), 15.

³⁸ This 'positive' theology engendered increasingly scholarly and philologically advanced aware biblical commentaries and early Church histories in particular; see H. Jedin et al., *Riforma e Controriforma* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1976), 661–71.

³⁹ Matthias Flacius et al., *Ecclesiastica historia* (Basel: Oporinus, 1560–74), *ad. ind.* The Roman Catholic alternative to the *Centuriae* of Magdeburg was C. Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1588–1607) in twelve volumes. Unlike *Historia ecclesiastica*, this work is done in annual-chronological order rather than by topics; it discusses ancient banqueting mainly during the first two centuries AD. Baronius, too, did not shy away from both scriptural and classical sources as well as contemporary ancient histories when coming to terms with meals, secular or sacred, in the framework of ecclesiastical usage; cf. Baronius, *Annales, ad. ind.*

Stucki's tractate

The book⁴⁰ was published in Zurich in 1582 by Christopher Froschauer.⁴¹ There were three more editions: in 1597 by Johann Wolf, in 1613 at Frankfurt by Andrea Cambierius, and in 1695 at Amsterdam by Iacobus Hackius as part of Stucki's *Opera omnia*. The aim of this article is to deal with the structure, method and literary impact of the first edition, taking it as the most relevant for its influence on European learning in the late Renaissance and for the long-term repercussions for antiquarian scholarship.

The book amounts to 485 pages of which 397 are paginated. The other pages include the frontispiece, the dedicatory letter,⁴² the letter to the readers, the summary, index of names, the glossary, some epigrams in honour of the author, the conclusion, and an analytical index. The work is divided into three books, each representing three broad themes: the first is onomasiology [what are the names for things?], the second is etiquette, and the third is the dining dynamics of ancient banquets. This order is quite flexible, so that these topics could be found in more than one part, but with different intentions, in a complex weave of allusions and cross-references typical of the encyclopaedic nature of the treaty.

In relation to the former literary output on ancient banqueting, AC deals with an evident need to unify information that until then was scattered and confused. In his preface, Stucki underlines this necessity in view of the multifarious cultural stratifications, 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 that, thanks to the broad range of the matter, 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 conviviis scribit, simul de plurimis humanae vitae officiis scribat'; in other words, his intention to say that writing about banqueting means writing about life.

With regard to the method that was developed to meet all the requirements, Stucki does not shy away from the philological reconstruction of a text. In fact, his exegetical intentions emerge from the explanation of certain obsolete and obscure words.⁴³ A primary task is covered by the study of etymology and semantics supported by systematic linguistic comparisons of specific nomenclatures, including contemporary terms, to reconstruct the signifier-meaning relationship lost over centuries of cultural change.

⁴⁰ Title in full: *Antiquitatum convivialium libri III in quibus Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Romanorum aliarumque nationum antiqua conviviorum 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.*

⁴¹ Froschauer's business had from the start religious and political connotations, given that it was Zwingli who encouraged him to open a publishing house; the first work published was a German translation of Erasmus's *Querela pacis*; see Jedin, *Riforma*, 189.

⁴² Addressed to Diethoegus Ringgius and Konrad Meyer, Zurich senators.

⁴³ Stucki, AC, Praefatio ad lectorem.

From a national perspective, this comparative urgency may have derived from the need to construct a sort of thematic glossary linked to modern language to remove any possible interpretative errors of words not fully intelligible. Therefore, this criterion becomes a useful philological parameter to fill in the lexical gaps of modern languages by applying a sort of transitive relation between different linguistic elements, consisting in an interposed recovery of meanings.

But these parallel passages do not only aim at ascribing to an ancient word or expression a corresponding value in the current language, but also help identify, in the formation of language even beyond its literary use, those dynamics that might have also been active in classical languages. Hence, Greek, Latin, Hebrew are juxtaposed with modern languages, such as French, Spanish, Italian and in this case, mostly German, because of the origin of the author. Such a goal is established from the opening paragraphs of the first section, which talk about the various names for banquets; Stucki states that for didactic reasons he had first to explain the specific vocabulary.

One of the most illustrative models of this approach is found at the end of the discussion on ancient banqueting etymologies, where a parallel with Germanic languages is drawn, showing very well a practical application of the method:⁴⁴

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, vesperna, 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, vesperna, coena, prandium: vel in Brot, id est, panem, ut Morgenbrot, id est, ientaculum, Abendbrot, id est, vesperna: vel denique in zächen et ürten (quae duo vocabula symbolam sive collectum significant) et Abendzäch, Abendtürten, id est, vespertina compotatio.

Stucki openly demonstrates the usefulness of retracing linguistic history throughout different domains and tries to evidence its efficacy in better shaping the semantic culture of the subject. Hence, he tries to trace back the variety of banqueting vocabulary to common roots identifying the whole system of derived forms. In this way, he wants to grasp the basic mechanisms that reveal constant dynamics despite the diachronic and diatopic variations, similar in all languages: the objective is to show how a naturally acquired idiom can have the same effects that govern ancient languages. In this sense, even Stucki finds in the national idioms a clear, expressive source capable of restoring new lymph to a world otherwise silent, comparing similar dynamics even though distant in time. Analogy is the instrument used to implement this theory: parallel linguistic effects should derive from parallel linguistic causes based on their varied phenomonic nature.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Stucki, AC, 3

⁴⁵ See R. Drusi, *Ricercando scrittori e scritture. Studi su Vincenzo Borghini* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2012), 32–33.

Here, a meaningful relation could be found with what was recently brought to light by Riccardo Drusi on the comparative method masterly accomplished by Piero Vettori — who stated that ‘the three linguistic domains, Greek, Latin, and Vernacular, converge into one unitary reflection of singular coherence.’⁴⁶ The philological analysis exceeds the specific culture of the text, receiving information directly from those elements that, from an anthropological view, recur without relevant variations in different cultures: thereby the linguistic variety and chronological differences lose their cultural overtone and become fortuitous, expressive vehicles of concepts unvaried in their own substance.⁴⁷

The large amount of space accorded by Stucki to the names becomes a necessary passage for a complete analysis of any literary source. Through this ‘linguistic archaeology’ and the synoptic comparison of items, the banqueting semantics is brought to light and the meaning of every single expression, syntagma or word is unfolded, depending on the multiple occurrences from which a real and tangible value converges.

The quantity of cited sources is enormous (numbering 564 ancient and modern authors) and never matched by later scholars on the same subject.⁴⁸ In this boundless, exegetical scenario, some of the categories are particularly interesting if considered as depending on the comparative method. For example, the geographic and ethnographic quotations display exotic anecdotes originating in Africa, Asia, and South America, evaluated in careful comparisons with classical antiquity; from this unexpected and meaningful resemblances emerge. When Stucki mentions Aygnam, the Brazilian necrophagous god (‘Aygua’ in his text),⁴⁹ he cites the contemporary *Histoire* by Jean de Léry (1536–1613), adding a sequence of cross-references that touch the Pre-Columbian populations, the Normans, the Israelites, and the Greeks in the verses of Pausanias.⁵⁰

From this brief overview, it is possible to see that AC is structured as a thematic encyclopaedia, where the antiquarian data assumes a universal character because of its precise existence in history, or in the words of Eugenio Garin: ‘the awareness of the past as such and worldly vision of reality and explanation of human history.’⁵¹

Censorship of Stucki’s work

It is important not to forget that the religious origin of the author and the period in which AC was written were the two elements that determined the *damnatio memoriae* [erasure of memory of him] immediately after the first edition; in fact, scholars who wrote on ancient banqueting after 1582 neither mentioned Stucki’s name nor his treaty for over thirty years. It was the case that a sophisticated

⁴⁶ Drusi, *Ricercando scrittori*, 18.

⁴⁷ Drusi, *Ricercando scrittori*, 15–38.

⁴⁸ e.g., in Orsini, *De triclinio Romano*, cited verifiable sources amount to just ninety.

⁴⁹ Stucki, *Antiquitatum convivialium*, 79.

⁵⁰ See J. de Léry, *Hisore d’un voyage fait en terre du Brésil* (Geneve: Antoine Chuppin, 1578); Acciarino, *De’ Convitti*, 22–24.

⁵¹ Garin, *L’umanesimo italiano*, 22. See also Momigliano, *Le radici classiche*, 75; Piero Innocenti, vol. 1, *Il bosco e gli alberi: storie di libri, storie di biblioteche, storie di idee* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1984), 106.

humanist study coming from a Protestant land composed by a known heretical author, and which handled a topic largely neglected by Roman Catholic scholars (bearing in mind its inherently probable inter-confessional consequences), would hardly have been greeted openly by the Catholic world during the last decades of the sixteenth century. This was a time when the strict policy of the Counter Reformation operated the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. In fact, Stucki's name (first class) appears in the 1596 edition of this *Index* in 1596.⁵² Yet there is persuading evidence that this interdiction was established even before, perhaps around the year of Stucki's book, maybe through a manuscript circulation (common practice for the sanctioning of texts, integrated only later in the printed editions of the indexes of forbidden books). In fact, in the MS censorship protocol ratified by the Holy Office,⁵³ the passages of the AC that had to be modified⁵⁴ were listed in detail. A tangible example can be found in the censored volume conserved at the Panizzi library in Reggio Emilia.⁵⁵

One of the other causes that could have occasioned or expedited the censorship is that Stucki, in writing his book took inspiration from his master, the Zurich theologian and son-in-law of Henry Bullinger. This was Ludwig Lavater (1537–86)⁵⁶ (himself a banned author for Catholics), writer of the influential and for Stucki inspiring *Historiae de origine et progressu controversiae sacramentariae de Coena Domini* (1563),⁵⁷ still a very controverted issue in the post-Tridentine era.⁵⁸

⁵² *Index librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina synodo delectos* (Rome: Impressores Camerales, 1596), p. 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 then on p. 43: 'Auctorum Primae Classis [...] Ioannes Stuckk.' Before being officially included in the Roman Index, Stucki's work was already condemned in the *Index Hispanus*; cf. Archive of the Sacred Office (= ASU), Series XI, vol. 1, f. 21–vol. 2, f. 784. See also *Index des livres interdits: Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*, vol. 9, ed. Jésus-M. Bujanda, Centre d'Études de la Renaissance (Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Geneva: Droz, 1990), 597.

⁵³ Archives of the Sacred Office, Prot. CC (25), 431 r/v–448 r/v.

⁵⁴ The censorship of books during the Counter-Reformation prescribed certain limits within the editorial tendencies of the time, determining whether a text was acceptable or 'pernicious'. The counter measures were forms of prohibition that banned those texts condemned by all Catholic countries, providing for revision of the work; see A. Rotondò, 'Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'Indice dei Libri Proibiti (1572-1638)', *Rinascimento*, new series 3, 14 (1963): 146–47; U. Rozzo, 'L'espurgazione dei testi letterari nell'Italia del secondo Cinquecento', *La censura libraria nell'Europa del secolo XVII*, ed. U. Rozzo (Udine: Forum, 1997), 219–20; V. Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice: la censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008), 276–80.

⁵⁵ Catalogue: 16 A 527.

⁵⁶ In AC's prefatory letter to the reader, Stucki, in talking about his masters, praises and celebrates Lavater among others, stating that he was the one who directed him to such studies: 'Nam primo in ipsa patria mea charis. quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium prateriti temporis, et pueritiae memoriam recordari ultimam inde usque repetens Lud. Lavaterum, acerrimi ingenii iudicique virum, omnique doctrinarum genere politissimum, quemadmodum praeclara illius literarum monumenta testantur, video mihi principem ad suscipiendam et ingrediendam hanc studiorum rationem exitisse.'

⁵⁷ Stucki significantly devotes some space to this topic at the beginning of his work: AC, 5–9: DE CONVIVIORVM ORIGINE, FINE VSV ET ABVSIV: '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.'

⁵⁸ Jedin, *Riforma*, 295–300, 425–30, 455–62.

Literary impact of Stucki's book

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. Already in 1588 the *De triclinio Romano* of Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) and Pedro Chacòn (1526–1581) was published in Rome;⁵⁹ in 1592 the *Reliquiae convivii prisca* of Hendrik van de Putte (1574–1646)⁶⁰ was published in Milan; in 1596 the *Historia vinorum, de vinis Italiae et de conviviis antiquorum* of Andrea Bacci (1524–1600)⁶¹ appeared in Rome, and in 1615 at Florence, *Il Convito* by Ottaviano Rabasco was published.⁶² One can include in this list the MSS of Pirro Ligorio, ‘Compilatione dell’antichi convivii’,⁶³ compiled in Ferrara, and the anonymous ‘De’ Conviti degli Antichi’, assembled in Florence — both written probably soon after the AC.

None of these works ever mention Stucki, but they all acknowledge his text tacitly or cryptically. Indeed the plagiarizing Florentine MS has been proven to be a vernacular translation, reduced and very modified, of the first book of the Swiss compilation.⁶⁴ The remarkable growth of studies on ancient banqueting, in view of all of the statistical evidence, has to be considered important, because it shows a tendency that made the AC a constant, if only implicit, point of reference and comparison throughout the entire period when the subject became fashionable.

The difficulties surrounding the matter were well perceived by all authors, to the extent that sometimes one senses a cautious attitude right from the beginning of their writings. One case is the Dutch scholar, Hendrik van de Putte (pupil of Joseph J. Scaliger, Adrien Turnèbe, and Joost Lips), who lived in Milan where he attended the court and was professor of Latin there for some years. Already in the dedicatory letter of his *Reliquiae convivii*, the topic appears as controversial, especially because it could be potentially unwelcomed or neglected by a constituency among potential readers (‘Librum, quem de ritibus convivialibus Romanorum invisit aliis aut neglectis in hac mea peregrinatione perscripsi, tibi dare dedicare visum’). Moreover, in the letter to the reader, after having attacked the uncontrolled use of censorship (often indiscriminate and influenced by defamatory voices), Van de Putte defends the choice of the subject of banqueting matter (while avoiding any hint of intemperance); he tries to associate his work with a prior tradition formed of prudent and learned men (excluding those mentioned in the *Index*), who in the abundance of their works had omitted a few

⁵⁹ Orsini, *De triclinio*.

⁶⁰ H. van de Putte, *Reliquiae convivii prisca* (Milan: Pandolfo Malatesta, 1592).

⁶¹ A. Bacci, *De naturali vinorum historia, de vinis Italiae, et de conviviis antiquorum* (Rome: Niccolò Muzi, 1596).

⁶² O. Rabasco, *Il Convito, ovvero discorsi di quelle materie che al convito s'appartengono* (Florence: Giunti, 1615).

⁶³ The work of Pirro Ligorio should probably be ascribed to the last years of his life, spent at Ferrara 1580–84; see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Treccani*. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pirro-ligorio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pirro-ligorio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

⁶⁴ The Florentine MS (National Central Library of Florence, Magliab. XXVIII 52) was certainly written after Stucki's work; for details cf. Acciarino *De' Conviti*, 19–52. It is not possible to include *De' Conviti degli Antichi* in the canon of the forced author corrections, considering the differences between the will of the translator/manipulator when faced with the original author's text; but at the same time the activity carried out by the anonymous author in general shares some of these principles, thereby cancelling the original intention of subordinating it to legislation and cultural preponderance; See Luigi Firpo, ‘Correzioni d'autore coatte’, in *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, ed. anon., Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 123 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1961), 143–57.

things (hence the title). One has to say that his work is structured like Lips's 'Sermo convivialis', suggesting that this was the paradigm that had to be employed.⁶⁵ If one considers Van de Putte's passages on censorship and on the nature of the topic, he was probably aware of the risks, so that he wanted to protect himself under the shadow of his confessionally ambiguous master, avoiding any possible association with Stucki and consequently receive the same treatment.

From this perspective, the *Reliquiae convivii* may represent a missing link between the Catholic Italian perception of the matter and the Protestant, northern European one. Indeed, the plausible allusion to Stucki (this would be the first time that in Italy someone hints at the Swiss theologian even if indirectly, maybe encouraged by Van de Putte's geographical proximity to Dutch and Swiss Reformed territories) is an earnest of explicit mentions to be made by authors writing in countries where the editorial control was less strict.

Nonetheless, Stucki did have a considerable literary impact and acclaim. The first author that openly recognizes his central role in the antiquarian erudition on banqueting is the German Calvinist theologian and scholar in Transylvania, Johann H. Alsted (1588–1638), in his *Systema mnemonicum*. He draws up a sort of epitome of *AC*, starting from the discussion on the virtue of temperance in eating and drinking, and from a paragraph of the section 'De conviviis.'⁶⁶ He recapitulates briefly Stucki's model, borrowing his interpretative categories and indicating it as the richest source he has come across:

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 cospiose Guil. Stuckius in *Antiquitatibus Convivialibus*.

This means effectively that the presentation of the matter influenced the content itself, demonstrating how the Stucki's methodology was paramount in the book.

The same thing occurs in *Disputatio historica de conviviis* by the jurist, Gregor Biccus (d.1657), originally presented in the Strasbourg Academy and then published.⁶⁷ Biccus was an epitomist of Stucki and he copied abundantly in his pages entire parts of *AC*. He defined Stucki as the highest authority (endorsed by Alsted) on the subject, both in his text and in the rhetorical layout (Stucki also appears at the end of a list of sources in a pre-eminent position): 'et quem prae ceteris studiose sequar, Johannes Gulielmus Stuckius, in tribus suis Antiquitatum Convivialium libris, quo omni genera eruditione refertos esse, graviter censet Alstedius.'

⁶⁵ In fact, again in 1592, Lips published another tract entitled *Tractatus ad historiam Romanam cognoscendam*, in which the fifth book is dedicated to ancient banqueting. This section, a sort of epitome of Stucki's 'Sermo convivialis', was probably known to the Dutch humanist. Stucki is not mentioned in this book. Another author that took Lips as an opportunity to make a digression on banqueting was J. Roszfeld, *Romanarum antiquitatum libri decem* (Basel: Peter Erben Perna, 1583). The section 'De mensis et conviviis antiquorum' occupies just a few pages and only deals with the topic cursorily. Among the sources that he puts forward, Lips is predominant and Stucki is never mentioned. However, the section of Roszfeld, although later than the Swiss theologian's work, does follow the spirit of his predecessor; see Roszfeld, *Romanarum antiquitatum*, 209–14.

⁶⁶ J. H. Alsted, *Systema mnemonicum duplex* (Frankfurt: Palthenius, 1610), II, XIII, 508–21.

⁶⁷ G. Biccus, *Disputatio historica de conviviis* (Strasbourg: Findler, 1622).

Moreover, the German humanist, Caspar Ens (b.1570), in his work, *Apparatus convivialis*, affirms that ‘post Gulielmum Stuckium (qui integrum volumen *De Convivialibus Antiquitatibus* edidit) quidquam ea de re scribere supervacuum sit,’⁶⁸ conferring to Stucki the prestige of having written such a monumental work which made almost superfluous all other studies on the subject.

Somewhat different is the example of the French Jesuit, Jules-César Boulenger (1558–1628), in his *De conviviis libri quattuor*.⁶⁹ He acknowledged Stucki as the principal authority on ancient banqueting in his letter to the reader, but also attributed to him of vitiating his methodology with too much ornamentation; he also mentioned some of Stucki’s predecessors, like Lips and Chacòn. Because of his orthodox Catholic background, Boulenger could have opted for silence, like the Italian writers. Instead, his reference to Stucki in 1627 possibly showed liberalization of the debate on banqueting, or at least recognition in a non-Italian Catholic environment of Stucki academic relevance in humanist circles.

Banqueting controversies

In the various cultural and religious domains we have cited, a consequence of Stucki’s book was that multifarious kinds of antiquarian scholarship from previous decades came closer together, so that there was a boost in work and discussions on ancient banqueting. In the religious sphere, three examples can be mentioned to help complete the picture: first, and as already mentioned, the understanding of *coena pura* or *coena sine sanguine*; second, the matter of the recumbent meal; third, the dining habits of the clergy.

Interest in the *coena pura*, a crucial issue in the history of the Church, originated from the need to understand the real meaning of the Last Supper, not only based on the Gospels accounts, but also considering patristic writings and subsequent tradition literature. Naturally, these early sources were continuously compared to others of the pagan classical world in which Christian sacred feast came into being. Accordingly, problems concerning the history and nature of this fundamental banquet for European Christian culture could be elucidated from both perspectives.

It was deemed necessary to define the exact date of the Last Supper, the place and its specifically sacral distinctiveness, so that one might deduce what kind of meal it was in particular. The *coena pura* was linked to the essence of the *coena Dominica*, to the ritual of the *coena Paschale* [Passover feast], to the dietary habits of the period, to the nature of the ‘sacrifice’ offered, to the symbolic meaning of the holy banquet and to what Christ intended with his words during the eucharist. We cannot elaborate on these matters here other than reiterate that their significance could no longer be dealt with in cultural isolation and in a manner totally subordinate to doctrinal considerations.

⁶⁸ C. Ens, *Apparatus convivialis iucundis narrationibus, salubribus monitis, admirandis historiis, praeclaris exemplis, tam ad augendam eruditionem quam vitam, principum inprimis formandam pertinentibus, instructus* (Cologne: Lützenkirchen, 1622), 1–2.

⁶⁹ See n. 14 above.

It is important to note that before Stucki, Piero Vettori and Joost Lips discussed the *coena sine sanguine* with only a philological interest. And the Magdeburg Centuriators sought to place the religious and theological interpretation in its historical context. However, after AC (1582), the works that examine this subject were more numerous and better based on documentary sources. One was the great work of comparative chronology of ancient civilizations, and not just Greek and Roman, namely *De emendatione temporum* by Joseph J. Scaliger (1540–1609), Italian by descent, a committed Protestant and Lipsius's successor in Leiden. In that work he discussed the Last Supper in light of its location in time.⁷⁰ This passage must have been considered rather problematic, since the French Reformed humanist and jurist, François Hotman, asked in a letter to Stucki for a clarification about the Scaliger's remark: 'tuamque de eo sententiam, ubi commudum erit, perscribas' [Whenever you can, please explain your opinion on the matter].⁷¹ This is a testimony to Stucki's authority in the banqueting debate, and at the same time it shows how the problems associated with this specific subject were still open to discussion.

However, in *De' Conviti degli Antichi*, the anonymous Florentine Italian translation of the AC, an entire chapter is devoted to the *coena sine sanguine*, citing sources not included in the original book. Later on, Fulvio Orsini examined the matter in depth with a large amount of classical, biblical and patristic citations including some not in Stucki like Festus, Spartianus, Apuleius, Jerome, and Augustine.⁷² And in his *Annales ecclesiastici*, Cesare Baronio at one point tries to help solve the complex problem of the banquet genre by citing a pagan author (Festus) in the middle of a Christian discussion.⁷³

In relation to the recumbent meal, several Catholic texts after Stucki appear contradictory, probably manifesting a shifting ideological position throughout the years. In fact, writers had to define whether during the Last Supper the table companions were sitting at the table or reclining on *triclinia* [sort of dining couches]. In the *De triclinio*, the prevailing opinion was that Christ and the Apostles ate in a reclining or recumbent position just like the pagans and the Jews; the same opinion was expressed by Stucki, supported by strong antiquarian evidence. In contrast, Andrea Bacci, although declaring his devotion to Fulvio Orsini and Pedro Chacòn, takes up the opposite position (guests were sitting), maybe to abide by the Catholic perspective, distancing himself from the view of a prohibited author.⁷⁴

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that Orsini's *De triclinio* and Bacci's book, both originating in a Roman curial environment, form a complementary couple. For Bacci wanted to follow in the tradition of studies begun by Orsini and Chacòn,⁷⁵

⁷⁰ J. J. Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum opus* (Paris: Sébastien Nivelle, 1583), VI, 269–73.

⁷¹ 14th October, 1583, in F. Hotman, *Epistulae* (Amsterdam: Gallet, 1700), CXXXI, 174–75.

⁷² Orsini, *De triclinio*, 95–96.

⁷³ Baronius, *Annales*, 34, CXLIX.

⁷⁴ Stucki, AC, 253–54: the participants reclined; Orsini, *De triclinio*, 44–51: Christ and the disciples ate from three dining-couches or settees; Bacci, *Historia vinorum*, 146–48: citing the authority of Plutarch's and Cato's reports about life in the East, the Last Supper would have been eaten in the Asian manner, sitting on the ground.

⁷⁵ Bacci, *Historia vinorum*, 127: 'Quapropter ex peritis nonnullis hac nostra aetate, qui ad intelligentiam auctorum, et ad multorum etiam in scripturis sacris locorum claritatem, susceperunt tam celebres antiquis ritus e tenebris vindicare, plena quidam commentaria de illorum convivij edidere: compendiaro autem magis stylo de Triclinijs scripsit venerandae memoriae hic in Urbe Roma Petrus, Ciacconius Tolentanus, atque his Fulvius Ursinus ex Patriciis Romanis summae doctrinae, ec rerum antiquarum studiosissimus, nobilem addidit appendicon: Ego vero hanc retractans materiam, haud propterea acta agere profitebor.'

although adding new material to complete or modify the others — perhaps even mildly revisionist. For Bacci this may have been the occasion to adjust the Church's view on some matters, revising traditional notions and fallacious ideas.

Moreover, Catholic writers tried apologetically to vindicate the moderation of the eating habits and life-styles of contemporary, higher, secular, and regular clergy against the aspersions of Stucki about their excesses and luxuries — in contrast even to the attested restraint of banqueters in the pagan classical world on the whole. In response, Bacci has almost three pages describing the frugality in the Roman curia, in which simplicity and temperance are preferred to gluttony.⁷⁶ Stucki's polemical remarks are placed just after his mention of the invective against clerical over-indulgence and extravagance articulated by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153); this citation helped intensify the negative image of the Catholic Church with the words of a medieval Catholic saint and reformer.⁷⁷ One should recall that at the beginning of his book, Stucki adopts the high moral ground typical of Erasmian reform humanists and rooted in the moderate ascetic or Stoic tradition by taking exception to high living among clergy, as he perceived it.⁷⁸

Conclusions

As has emerged from this survey, the growth of antiquarian studies on banqueting was engendered by the 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 from the Council of Trent, affecting the mental predisposition of many scholars;⁷⁹ this helped prepare the ground for and determine the agenda of Stucki's work. This is well demonstrated by the line that divides the 'Sermo convivialis' of Joost Lips and Stucki's *AC*, so close in time, but so far apart in ideology. Humanist learning was not immune from confessional overtones.

Still, in view of the information brought to light, the *AC* represents the effective breakthrough for historical studies on banqueting, and elevates the subject to a higher level of research — empirical, historical, linguistic, and cultural. Moreover, Stucki is the first writer to see that banqueting, feasting, and the accompanying social and cultural exchanges associated with it is somehow of universal, human significance. He also helped bring a new dimension to Lord's Supper studies, complementing the conventional doctrinal and exclusively biblical approach with wider contextual, social, and linguistic considerations. His systematic dissertation influenced all later writers who wrote on this topic of banqueting and sacred feasts. Indeed, after Stucki, a uniform framework of discussion is generally acknowledged, even if almost always in a reduced manner compared to the Zurich

⁷⁶ Bacci, *Historia vinorum*, 148–50: 'Honestas mensarum nostri temporis.'

⁷⁷ Stucki, *Antiquitatum convivialium* [1582], 43–45.

⁷⁸ Stucki, *AC*, 9: *Ac ne quid de gentibus apud Christiano nomine, atque religione abhorrentibus dicam, apud nos, nos inquam Christianos, ille conviviorum luxus atque luxuria, ceu lues quaedam contagiosa atque pestifera brevi tempore ita crevit, ut ad summum perducta, nihilque ei amplius addi posse videatur.*

⁷⁹ A decisive development was the attempt at thought-control in the Council of Trent's creation of the Index of prohibited books in 1562 with its 'Ten Rules'; see H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, eds, *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (Barcelona, Freiburg, Rome: Herder, 1963), nos 1851–61.

theologian's magisterial effort: the works of his epigones should be considered in a certain sense as critical approaches to this or that section of his magnum opus.

The impact that Stucki had on his contemporaries and on posterity emerges surprisingly in the literary evidence, if one considers the difference in the number of publications on the issue before and after his work. Because of the book's *wirkungsgeschichte* and the long trail he left in the learned culture of the late Renaissance and post-Reformation era, it is possible to recognize in the first edition of 1582 the catalyst for the further development of antiquarian learning and for the creation of a pattern formative of the entire subsequent tradition.

Acknowledgments

My special thanks are owed to Professor Emidio Campi of Zurich for providing me with essential biographical information on Stucki, and for his general encouragement.

Bibliography

Primary sources and modern editions

- Alsted, Johann H. *Systema mnemonicum duplex*. Frankfurt: Zacharia Palthenius, 1610.
- L'arte della cucina in Italia: libri di ricette e trattati sulla civiltà della tavola dal XIV al XIX secolo*. Edited by Emilio Faccioli. Turin: Einaudi, 1987.
- Bacci, Andrea. *De naturali vinorum historia, de vinis Italiae, et de conviviis antiquorum*. Rome: Niccolò Muzi, 1596.
- Barbaro, Ermolao. *Castigationes pliniana*. Edited by Giovanni Pozzi. Padua: Antenore, 1973.
- Baronius, Caesar. *Annales ecclesiastici*. Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1588–1607.
- Belo, Luciano. *De cenæ ac prandii portione*. Bologna: Jacob Keymolen Alostese, 1533.
- Bersano, S. *De nutritivo cibo*. 1576.
- Bèze, Théodore de. *Adversus sacramentarium errorem pro vera Christi praesentia in Coena domini*. Geneva: Jacques Stoer, 1574.
- Biccus, Gregor. *Disputatio historica de convivis*. Strasbourg: Holland Findler, 1622.
- Biondo, Flavio. *De Roma triumphante libri decem*. Brescia: Angelo Britannico, 1503.
- Boulenger, Jules-César. *De conviviis libri quatuor*. Lyon: Ludovic Prost, 1627.
- Brodeau, Jean. *Miscellaneorum libri sex*. Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1555.
- Buonarroti, Michelangelo [The Younger]. *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze della cristianissima maestà di madama Maria Medici regina di Francia e di Navarra*. Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600.
- Cardano, Girolamo. *Theonoston, seu de vita producenda atque incolumitate corporis conservanda*. Rome: G. B. Robletti, 1617.
- Casal, Gaspar do. *De coena, et calice Domini quo ad laicos, & clericos non celebrantes: libri tres*. Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1563.
- Cervio, Vincozo. *Il trinciante*. Venice: Tramezzino, 1581.
- Corti, Matteo. *De prandii ac caenae modo libellus*. Rome: P. Manuzio, 1562.
- Crinito, Pietro. *De honesta disciplina*. Edited by Carlo Angeleri. Rome: Bocca, 1955.
- D'Alessandro, Alessandro. *Genialium dierum libri sex*. Rome: Mazochi, 1521.
- Da Monte, Giovanni Battista. *Consultationes medicinales in duos distinctae tomos*. Lyon: J.-F. de Gabiano, 1558.
- De' Conviti degli Antichi. Opera adespota*. Edited by Damiano Acciarino. Humanitas, 19. Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2012.
- Du Choul, Guillaume. *Discours sur la religion des anciens Romains*. Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1556.
- Durante, Castore. *De bonitate et vitio alimentorum centuria*. Pesaro: Bartolomeo Cesano, 1565.

- Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*. Edited by Heinrich Denzinger and Adolf Schönmetzer. 36th edn. Barcelona, Fribourg, Rome: Herder, 1963.
- Ens, Caspar. *Apparatus convivialis iucundis narrationibus, salubribus monitis, admirandis historiis, præclaris exemplis, tam ad augendam eruditionem quam vitam, principum inprimis formandam pertinentibus, instructus*. Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, 1622.
- Flacius, Matthias et al. *Ecclesiastica historia*. Basel: Oporinus, 1560–1574.
- Gabuccini, Girolamo. *De comitali morbo libri III*. Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1561.
- Giovio, Paolo. *Lettera di Paolo Giovio vescovo di Nocera sul vitto umano a Felice Trofino vescovo di Chieti ed iscrizioni sulla sala da pranzo ...*. Translated and edited by G. Giovio. Como: Ostinelli, 1808.
- Hotman, François. *Epistulae*. Amsterdam: George Gallet, 1700.
- Index Librorum Prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos*. Rome: Impressores Camerales, 1596.
- Index des livres interdits: Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*. Edited by Jésus-M. Bujanda. Centre d'Études de la Renaissance. Sherbrooke: Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke; Geneva: Droz, 1990.
- Lando, Ortensio. *Commentario delle piu notabili, et mostruose cose d'Italia, et altri luoghi, di lingua aramea in italiana tradotto*. Venice: A. Arrivabene, 1550.
- Laz, Wolfgang. *Commentariorum reipub[licae] Romanae illius, in exteris provinciis, bello acquisitis, constitutae, libri duodecim*. Basel: Oporinus, 1551.
- Léry, Jean de. *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil*. Geneva: Antoine Chappin, 1578.
- Lipsius, Justus. *Antiquarum lectionum commentarius, tributus in libros quinque*. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575.
- . *Epistolicarum quaestionum libri V*. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1577.
- . *Tractatus peculiare octo: ad cognoscendam Historiam Romanam apprime utiles*. Lyon: Christophe Plantin, 1592.
- Mazzuchelli, Giammaria. *Gli scrittori d'Italia cioè Notizie storiche, e critiche intorno alle vite, e agli scritti dei letterati italiani*. Brescia: Giambattista Bossini, 1753–63.
- Messisbugo, Christoforo. *Banchetti compositioni di viuande, et apparecchio generale*. Ferrara: Giovanni Buglhat & Antonio Hucher, 1549.
- . *Libro novo nel qual s'insegna a far d'ogni sorte di vivande secondo la diversita de i tempi cosi di carne come di pesce*. Venice, 1559.
- Muret, Marc-Antoine. *Variarum lectionum libri XV*. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1580.
- Ochino, Bernardino. *Syncerae et verae doctrinae de coena Domini defensio*. Zurich: Gessner, 1556.
- Orsini, Fulvio. *De triclinio Romano*. Rome: Giorgio Ferrario, 1588.
- Pandola, Tiberio. *Il famoso convito così delle giostre come del banchetto, che lo illustrissimo & eccel. s. duca di Piacenza, & di Parma, ha fatto nella mag. città di Piacenza nello anno 1561*, Milan: Francesco Moscheni, 1561.
- Petronio, Alessandro T. *De victu Romanorum et de sanitate tuenda libri quinque*. Rome: Stamperia del Popolo Romano, 1582.
- Platina, Bartolomeo. *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. Rome: Han Ulrich, 1473–75?
- . *B. Platina. On Right Pleasure and Good Health: A Critical Edition and Translation of De honesta voluptate et valetudine*. Edited by Mary Ella Milham. Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998.
- Poliziano, Angelo. *Miscellaneorum centuriæ primæ ad Laurentium Medicem præfatio*. Florence: Antonio Miscomini, 1489.
- Rabasco, Ottaviano. *Il Convito, ovvero discorsi di quelle materie che al convito s'appartengono*. Florence: Giunti, 1615.
- Ricchieri, Ludovico. *Lectionum antiquarum libri XXX*. Basel: Froben, 1542.
- Robortello, Francesco. *Francisci Robortelli Utinensis. De vita, et victu populi Romani sub imp[er]i. Caess. Augg. tomus primus*. Bologna: Benacci & Rubeus, 1559.
- Romoli, Domenico. *La singolare dottrina*. Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1560.
- Romoli, Domenico [Panonto]. *La singolare dottrina [...]*. Venice: Tramezzino, 1560.
- Roszfeld, Johann. *Romanarum antiquitatum libri decem*. Basel: Peter Erben Perna, 1583.

- Saintes, Claude de. *Examen doctrinae calvinianae et bezanae de coena Domini*. Paris: Claude Frémy, 1566.
- Sardi, Alessandro. *De moribus et ritibus gentium, libri III*. Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1557.
- Scaliger, Joseph Justus. *De emendatione temporum opus*. Paris: Sébastien Nivelle, 1583.
- Scappi, Bartolomeo. *Bartolomeo Scappi. Opera dell' arte del cucinare*. Edited by Giancarlo Roversi. Testi antichi di gastronomia, 12. Sala Bolognese Forni, 1981.
- Selnecker, Nicolaus. *Libellus brevis, et utilis de Coena Domini*. Strasbourg: Christian Mylius, 1568.
- Stucki, Johann Wilhelm. *Joannis Guilielmi Stuckii tigurini Operum tomus primus[–secundus]*. Leiden: J. Hackius; Amsterdam: T. Boom, 1695.
- . *Antiquitatum convivialium libri III*. Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1582.
- . *Antiquitatum convivialium libri III*. 2nd revd edn. Zurich: Johannes Wolf, 1597.
- . *Antiquitatum convivialium libri III*. Frankfurt: Andreas Cambierius, 1613.
- Turini, Andrea. *Disceptatiuncula medica Andreae Turini ad sanctiss[imum] in Christo patrem D. Clementem eius nominis septimum, aduersus opinionem Matthæi Curtii de prandii et cœnæ ratione*. Paris: Jerome Gourmont, [1524–59].
- Van de Putte, Hendrik. *Reliquiae convivii prisci*. Milan: Pandolfo Malatesta, 1592.
- Vettori, Piero. *Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII Ad Alexandrum Farnesium s.r.e. cardinalem libri XXV. Ad Ferdinandum Medicem s.r.e. cardinalem libri XIII* Florence: Giunti, 1582.
- Waser, Kasper. *De vita et obitu reverendi, nobilis & clariss. viri Dn. Ioh. Guilielmi Stuckii, sacrarum litterarum professoris in Schola Tigurina oratio historica habita publice & edita a Casparo Waseo, Tigurino*. [...] Zurich: Wolf, 1608.

Secondary sources

- Benporat, Claudio. *Cucina italiana del Quattrocento*. Florence: Olschki, 1996.
- Carrara, Eliana. 'De' Conviti degli antichi.' In *Vincenzo Borghini. Filologia e invenzione nella Firenze di Cosimo I*, edited by Gino Belloni and Riccardo Drusi, 13–16. Florence: Olschki, 2002.
- Cotton, Juliana. 'Materia medica nel Poliziano.' In *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo: atti del IV Convegno Internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento*, 237–45. Florence: Sansoni, 1954.
- Di Schino, June, and Furio Luccichenti. *Il cuoco segreto dei Papi*. Rome: Gangemi, 2007.
- Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Treccani*. Online edn, 2011–. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pirro-ligorio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pirro-ligorio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).
- Drusi, Riccardo. *Ricercando scrittori e scritture. Studi su Vincenzo Borghini*. Padua: Il poligrafo, 2012.
- Firpo, Luigi. 'Correzioni d'autore coatte.' In *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, edited by anon., 143–57. Collezione di opere inediti o rare, 123. Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1961.
- Frajese, Vincenzo. *Nascita dell'Indice: la censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008.
- Garin, Eugenio. *L'umanesimo italiano: filosofia e vita civile nel rinascimento*. Bari: Laterza, 1970.
- Innocenti, Piero. *Il bosco e gli alberi: storie di libri, storie di biblioteche, storie di idee*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1984.
- Jedin, Hubert et al. *Storia del Chiesa: Riforma e Controriforma: crisi, consolidamento, diffusione missanario XVI-XVIII secolo*. Vol. 6. Translated from German. Milan: Jaca Book, 2001.
- Koldewey, Friedrich. 'Stucki, Johann Wilhelm.' In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), vol. 36, 717–20.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo. *Le radici classiche della storiografia moderna*. Edited by Riccardo Di Donato. Florence: Sansoni, 1992.
- . *Tra Storia e Storicismo*. Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1985.
- Moser, Christian. 'Stucki, Johann Wilhelm.' In *Historisches-Lexikon der Schweiz/Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse/Dizionario storico della Svizzera*. Fondation dictionnaire historique de la Suisse, 1998–. Accessed 20 September 2014. <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D10867.php>.
- Mugnai Carrara, Daniela. *La biblioteca di Niccolò Leonicensi*. Florence: Olschki, 1991.
- Nardi, Michele G. 'Niccolò Leonicensi e A. Poliziano.' In *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo: atti del IV Convegno Internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento*, 248–51. Florence: Sansoni, 1954.
- Pastor, Ludwig von. *Storia dei papi*. Rome: Desclée, 1912.

- Rotondò, Antonio. 'Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'Indice dei Libri Proibiti (1572-1638).' *Rinascimento*, new series 3, 14 (1963): 145-211.
- Roversi, Giancarlo. 'Introduction.' In *Bartolomeo Scappi, Opera dell' arte del cucinare*, edited by G. Roversi, vi-xvi. Testi antichi di gastronomia, 12. Sala Bolognese: A. Forni, 1981.
- Rozzo, Ugo. 'L'espurgazione dei testi letterari nell'Italia del secondo Cinquecento.' In *La censura libraria nell'Europa del secolo XVI*, ed. idem, 219-71, Udine: Forum, 1997.
- Siraisi, Nancy. 'History, Antiquarianism, and Medicine: The Case of Girolamo Mercuriale.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 231-51.
- Zimmermann, Price. 'Renaissance symposia.' In *Essays presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, edited by Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus, 362-74, Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978.

Notes on contributor

Damiano Acciarino has recently completed his doctoral studies at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice in the Department of Humanities: Italian Studies.

Correspondence to: Dr Damiano Acciarino. Email: damiano.acciarino@unive.it