EUROPICA VARIETAS TOKAJENSIS - ΔΩΡΟΝ

IN TABERNA QUANDO SUMUS...

Épisodes de la vie des étudiants 1450–1850

Sous la direction de
ISTVÁN MONOK

L'Harmattan

TOKAJ-HEGYALJA EGYETEM

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In taberna quando sumus… Épisodes de la vie des étudiants, 1450–1850

In taberna quando sumus… Episodes from the lives of students, 1450–1850

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Patricius Winery, Bodrogkisfalud, Tokaj-Hegyalja

On the Back-Cover
Nobilis Cave, Bodrogkeresztúr, Tokaj-Hegyalja

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Budapest – Sárospatak
L'Harmattan – Tokaj-Hegyalja Egyetem
2025

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A kiadásért felel a L'Harmattan Kiadó ügyvezetője
és a Tokaj-Hegyalja Egyetem rektora

Le colloque était organisé en collaboration de
l'Université de Tokaj-Hegyalja (Sárospatak), son
groupe de recherche "Speculum" et de
la Bibliothèque de l'Académie hongroises des sciences (Budapest)

Ont collaborés

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Péter Balázs (Traduction des résumés)
Viktória Vas (relecture du texte anglais)

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Welcome adress par M. Szabolcs Kéri, recteur de l'Université Tokaj-Hegyalja

Chers participants, chers collègues, chers amis,

Nous avons l'immense plaisir de vous accueillir par ces lignes dans le cadre de la Rencontre Internationale de Tokaj-Hegyalja, qui se tiendra du 21 au 25 mai 2024. Cet événement, organisé conjointement par l'Université de Tokaj-Hegyalja, l'Université de Sárospatak ainsi que le groupe de recherche « Speculum », en partenariat avec la Bibliothèque de l'Académie hongroise des sciences, se présente comme une véritable célébration de notre riche héritage culturel et historique.

Sous le thème évocateur « In taberna quando sumus… », nous vous invitons à un voyage intellectuel et culturel retraçant la vie étudiante et les traditions viticoles de 1450 à 1750. Ce périple dans le temps met en lumière l'importance des espaces de rencontre, tels que les tavernes d'antan, qui étaient à la fois des lieux de convivialité et de dialogue, et qui ont joué un rôle fondamental dans la transmission des savoirs et des pratiques culturelles. En parcourant cette période charnière, nous découvrirons comment le vin et les échanges sociaux ont contribué à forger des identités et à stimuler l'innovation intellectuelle.

La richesse de cette rencontre réside dans sa capacité à réunir des chercheurs, des historiens, des spécialistes des sciences sociales, et des passionnés de culture venus de divers horizons. Le programme, soigneusement élaboré, propose une série de conférences, de séminaires et d'ateliers qui abordent des thématiques variées : l'évolution de la vie étudiante, l'impact des traditions viticoles sur les pratiques sociales et culturelles, ainsi que l'étude approfondie de textes et d'archives qui témoignent

de cette époque fascinante. Chaque intervention est une invitation à la réflexion et à l'échange, dans le but de tisser des liens entre disciplines et de renouveler notre regard sur un passé aux multiples facettes.

Tokaj-Hegyalja, avec son paysage unique et son riche patrimoine, offre le décor idéal pour cette rencontre. Entre les vignobles emblématiques, les sites historiques et les institutions culturelles locales, chaque lieu que nous explorerons contribuera à enrichir notre expérience collective et à nourrir notre curiosité. Vous aurez également l'occasion de découvrir les savoir-faire ancestraux des vignerons locaux, véritables gardiens de traditions millénaires, qui partagent avec passion leur amour du terroir et leur expertise dans l'art de la vinification.

Nous tenons à exprimer notre gratitude la plus sincère à l'ensemble des organisateurs et partenaires, dont le travail acharné et la vision éclairée ont rendu possible cet événement d'exception. En particulier, nous saluons l'engagement de Dóra Kalydy, Tímea N. Kis et István Monok, dont l'enthousiasme et le dévouement sont les garants du succès de cette rencontre. Leur initiative et leur passion pour la transmission du savoir constituent une véritable source d'inspiration pour tous.

Au-delà de l'aspect académique, cette rencontre se veut également une célébration de la convivialité et du partage. Nous vous encourageons vivement à participer activement aux débats, à poser vos questions et à partager vos réflexions. Chaque contribution enrichit notre compréhension collective et ouvre la voie à de nouvelles perspectives de recherche et de collaboration. Par ces échanges, nous espérons renforcer les liens entre nos institutions et dynamiser notre passion commune pour l'histoire, la culture et le patrimoine viticole.

En lisant ces quelques lignes, nous espérons avoir su éveiller votre curiosité et votre enthousiasme pour ce voyage exceptionnel à travers le temps et les traditions. Que cette Rencontre Internationale soit pour chacun d'entre vous une source d'inspiration, de réflexion et d'échanges fructueux, et qu'elle marque le début d'une aventure intellectuelle et humaine inoubliable.

Nous vous remercions de votre participation et vous souhaitons une expérience enrichissante et mémorable au cœur de Tokaj-Hegyalja.

Avec nos salutations distinguées,

Szabolcs Kéri
recteur de l'Université Tokaj-Hegyalja, Sárospatak

Vins et espaces de consommation dans l'Occident médiéval

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Introduction[1]

Durant la fort longue période qu'est le Moyen Âge, le vin procure un plaisir assez répandu et bien partagé – même s'il ne constitue nullement la boisson la plus consommée du temps, comme on le lit encore trop souvent. Cette consommation de vin se déploie sur de multiples lieux et implique de nombreux acteurs.

Je me limiterai ici à quelques questions ponctuelles avec l'intention de mettre en lumière des documentations jusqu'ici peu explorées. Sur la question des quantités, c'est-à-dire des profils de consommation, je prendrai l'exemple paradoxal des monastères. Seconde question : avec qui boit le buveur (ou la buveuse) de vin médiéval ? Il – ou elle – peut boire en solitaire ou en compagnie, mais la composition de cette dernière est de la plus haute importance. Troisième question : où boit-on du vin ? Ce peut être à la taverne, chère aux historiens des nourritures liquides mais on boit peut-être avant tout chez soi : en 1412, 85 % des foyers de la petite ville provençale de Carpentras, qui compte à peine 4000 habitants, disposent de provisions de vins, souvent quelques dizaines de litres seulement, mais fréquemment aussi plus de 1000 litres, voire, pour une toute petite minorité de notables, plus de 5000 litres[2]. Dernière question, et non la moindre : comment boit-on ? Les manières de boire

[1] Le présent article reprend en partie et élargit chronologiquement le chapitre que j'ai rédigé pour le volume *A Cultural History of Wine in the Medieval Age*, sous presse chez Bloomsbury sous la direction de Paul Freedman et Azélina Jaboulet-Vercherre.

[2] Louis Stouff, « L'approvisionnement des ménages et des maisons religieuses (Communautés religieuses, Écoles, Hôpitaux », in S. Cavaciocchi (éd.), *Alimentazione e nutrizione secc. XIII-XVIII*, Firenze: Le Monnier (Istituto internazionale di storia economica 'F. Datini' Prato), 1997, p. 685.

le vin constituent probablement un signe majeur de distinction sociale, qu'elles s'appliquent à l'ordre des flacons, à leur combinaison avec les mets ou encore au protocole qui accompagne leur dégustation.

Ces modalités de consommation du vin s'effectuent dans des lieux spécifiques, qui sont des espaces à la fois physiques et bien concrets, en quelque sorte matériels – mais aussi immatériels parce que combinant les multiples sens (goût, vue, odeur, toucher, ouïe) qui en font des espaces sensoriels. Je me limiterai donc ici à quelques éclairages d'abord centrés sur trois lieux : le monastère, la taverne et la cour. Puis je tenterai d'élargir le propos en abordant certains aspects des manières de boire et le rôle des médecins dans la régulation – plus ou moins efficace – de ces manières.

1. Boire un peu, beaucoup, passionnément, pas du tout

Du côté de l'Église latine officielle, théologiens, hagiographes et même canonistes privilégient la figure de l'ascète qui s'astreint à de rudes privations alimentaires parmi lesquelles celle de vin figure en bonne place – presqu'autant que celle de viande[3]. Il s'en faut de beaucoup, cependant, pour que les pratiques réelles dans les monastères correspondent à cet idéal.

Quand l'historien du vin médiéval part à la recherche des chiffres de consommation, les plus anciens documents dont il dispose sont précisément constitués par la règlementation monastique. Celle-ci emprunte d'abord la forme des règles elles-mêmes élaborées par les fondateurs des différents ordres entre lesquels se partagent les moines dans l'Occident. Dans un second temps, des coutumiers entreprennent d'assouplir les rigueurs de la règle et de l'adapter à de nouveaux besoins ou à de nouvelles idées[4].

La règle de saint Benoit de Norcia (mort vers 560), revue et corrigée à l'époque carolingienne par Benoit d'Aniane, est la matrice du monachisme occidental. On a souligné ses exigences modérées en matière disciplinaire, y compris en ce qui concerne le régime alimentaire. C'est le cas pour le vin que, il faut le remarquer, saint Benoit autorise, au contraire de bien des règles orientales – telles celles de Pacôme ou de Basile. Certains commentateurs ultérieurs de la règle bénédictine, comme Nicolas de Fractura, abbé de San Vincenzo al Vorturno en Molise, feront le rapprochement avec l'Épître à Timothée qui écarte la consommation exclusive d'eau et permet celle de vin[5]. Saint Paul y écrit en effet :

[3] Roberto Bellini, « Il vino nelle leggi della Chiesa », in G. Archetti (éd.), *La Civiltà del vino. Fonti, temi e produzioni vitivinicole dal Medioevo al Novecento*, Brescia: Centro Culturale Artistico di Franciatorta e del Sebino, 2003, p. 365-420.

[4] Cécile Caby, « Abstinence, jeûnes et pitances dans le monachisme médiéval », in Jean Leclant *et al.* (éd), *Pratiques et discours alimentaires en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, Paris: de Boccard (Cahiers de la Villa Kérylos, 19), 2008, p. 271-292.

[5] « S. P. Benedicti Regula, cum commentariis », in Jean-Pierre Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, vol. LXVI, Paris 1866, col. 648C-D ; Guy de Valous, *Le Monachisme clunisien des origines au XVe siècle*. 2e édition, t. I, Paris: Picard (Archives de la France monastique 39-40), 1970, p. 258-259.

> « Cesse de ne boire que de l'eau. Prends un peu de vin à cause de ton estomac et de tes fréquentes faiblesses » (1 Timothée 5, 23).

Pour autant, les frères ne sauraient boire *ad libitum*. C'est tout le sens du chapitre 40 de la règle bénédictine, consacré à « la mesure de la boisson » (*De mensura potus*), qui lui-même succède à celui sur « la mesure des aliments » (*De mensura ciborum*). En voici le texte in extenso :

> « 1 Chacun reçoit de Dieu un don particulier : l'un celui-ci, et l'autre celui-là » (1 Corinthiens 7, 7). 2 C'est pourquoi nous hésitons un peu à fixer la quantité de nourriture et de boisson pour les autres. 3 Pourtant, à cause de l'infirmité de ceux qui sont faibles, nous pensons qu'une hémine de vin suffit à chaque frère pour la journée. 4 Mais, à certains, Dieu donne la force de s'en priver (*tolerantiam abstinentiae*). Ceux-là doivent le savoir, ils recevront pour cela une récompense spéciale. 5 Quand on a besoin de boire davantage de vin à cause de l'endroit où l'on est, à cause du travail ou de la chaleur de l'été, le supérieur décide d'en donner plus. Mais, en tout cas, il fait attention à ceci : les moines ne boiront pas trop de vin et ils ne deviendront jamais ivres. 6 Pourtant, voici ce que nous lisons : « Le vin n'est absolument pas fait pour les moines. » (*Licet legamus vinum omnino monachorum non esse*). Mais, aujourd'hui, on ne peut pas les convaincre de cette vérité. Alors, mettons-nous d'accord au moins pour dire : il ne faut pas en boire trop, mais avec mesure. 7 En effet, « à cause du vin, même les sages peuvent abandonner Dieu » (Siracide 19, 2). 8 Quelquefois, l'endroit est tellement pauvre qu'on ne peut même pas trouver la quantité de vin fixée plus haut. On en trouve beaucoup moins ou pas du tout. Alors les moines qui vivent là béniront Dieu au lieu de murmurer. 9 Oui, avant tout, voici ce que nous recommandons : que les moines ne murmurent jamais ! »[6].

Notons d'abord que, malgré les scrupules que saint Benoît manifeste à fixer une quantité maximum, il en propose néanmoins une. C'est l'hémine, mesure romaine en usage de son temps et dans le territoire où il agissait, c'est-à-dire l'Italie. Les érudits la fixent à 27 cl[7]. C'est très peu en apparence, l'équivalent de ce que les amateurs actuels de bière appellent en France un « demi ». Mais ne s'agirait-il pas ici de vin à la mode romaine, plutôt fort en alcool et qu'il faut allonger avec un peu d'eau[8] ?

[6] Benedictus Nursianus, *Regula*, chap. XL ; version électronique établie en 1997-2002 par Ulrich Harsch : https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost06/Benedictus/ben_reg1.html#XL (consultée : 11 juillet 2024).

[7] Charles Daremberg et Edmond Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris : Hachette, vol. 3, part 1, Paris, 1900, p. 72, *s.v. Hemina* ; https://dagr.univ-tlse2.fr/consulter/1661/HEMIKOTYLION ; consulté le 11 juillet 2024.

[8] Christophe Badel, « Les joies de la *gula* romaine », in Florent Quellier (dir.), *Histoire de l'alimentation. De la Préhistoire à nos jours*, Paris, Belin (Références), 2021, p. 347.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la valeur exacte de l'hémine est l'objet d'âpres débats dans le monachisme bénédictin, débats qui se prolongent jusqu'en plein XVIIe siècle. Il est vrai qu'elle définit la ration vinaire quotidienne du moine ; la discussion entre commentateurs se fait clairement métrologique : faut-il estimer avec Pierre du Mas – fondateur de la congrégation de Chezal-Benoit dans les années 1480 et l'un des promoteurs du retour à la pureté de la règle de Benoit de Norcia – que l'hémine « contient une livre un quart de liquide », ce qui la rend presqu'égale « au tiers d'une quarte de vin parisien »[9] ? Ou bien doit-on suivre le savant carolingien Smaragde (IXe siècle), adepte de la Réforme de Benoit d'Aniane, en reprenant la définition donnée autrefois par l'encyclopédiste Isidore de Séville : « L'hémine de vin pèse (*appendit*) une livre, qui, doublée, fait un setier »[10] ?

En tout état de cause, l'hémine n'est qu'un point de repère, voire un ordre de grandeur, nullement une obligation. C'est l'abstinence qui constitue l'objectif normal et ultime du moine. Si le « moins » (ou le « rien ») est ainsi un idéal, le « plus » peut être autorisé par le chef de la communauté au vu des circonstances, de la nécessité qu'impose par exemple le travail ou la chaleur de l'été. Une faille dans laquelle commentateurs et adaptateurs de la règle, et ceux qui cherchent à en assouplir l'application, essaieront de se faufiler.

En attendant, les moines doivent se garder absolument de tomber dans l'ébriété. Comme le rappelle un pénitentiel monastique du IXe siècle, celle-ci est une composante essentielle du péché capital (ou pour mieux dire du vice majeur) qu'est la *gula*. Le moine qui s'y adonne jusqu'au point de vomir sera astreint à une pénitence (au pain et à l'eau) de 30 jours – 40 s'il est revêtu de l'ordre sacerdotal[11].

En conclusion du chapitre sur « La mesure de la boisson », Benoit de Norcia remarque que « quelquefois, l'endroit [où s'installe le monastère] est tellement pauvre qu'on ne peut même pas trouver la quantité de vin fixée plus haut. On en trouve beaucoup moins ou pas du tout ». Ce qui, se réjouit-il, conduit les frères à bénir Dieu plutôt qu'à murmurer. Vision on ne peut plus optimiste : en fait, comme le suggèrent bien d'autres documents, les moines pourraient avoir passé une bonne partie de leur temps à boire du vin, ou tout au moins à en chercher.

C'est ce que répète une abondante littérature anti-monastique, et plus largement anti-cléricale, quand elle décrit par exemple tel abbé dont toutes les occupations

[9] « S. P. Benedicti Regula, cum commentariis », in Jean-Pierre Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, vol. LXVI, Paris 1866, col. 643, 646-652.

[10] Alfredus Spannagel et Pius Engelbert éd., *Smaragdi abbatis Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti*, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt (*Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, 8), 1974, p. 258.

[11] *Excrapsum de aliis pluribus penitencialibus et canonum*, Saint-Gall, Stiftsbibliotek, Codex 550, p. 169 ; https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/csg/0550/169 ; consulté le 11 juillet 2024.

journalières consistent à boire et à mange[12]. Ou encore tel moine affichant le plus grand ascétisme jusqu'à ce qu'il accède à l'épiscopat et se transforme instantanément en « porc affamé »[13].

Cette hypocrisie semble sous-jacente à l'enluminure d'un livre de diététique assez répandu sous ses différents titres à la fin du Moyen Âge et attribué à un certain Aldebrandin de Sienne, médecin actif sur les foires de Champagne[14]. Illustrant le chapitre sur le vin, elle montre un moine descendu dans une cave dont il possède les clefs – est-ce le cellérier, officier qui, dans les grandes abbayes, a la gestion de l'approvisionnement en boisson ? Il vient de percer un tonneau afin de remplir un pichet qu'il tient par la main gauche, tandis que, de la droite, il porte à sa bouche une large coupe. Est-ce là une simple dégustation ? Mais tout, dans le regard, le mouvement de la bouche, les gestes, évoque l'avidité en même temps que la peur de se faire surprendre[15].

Les coutumiers ou les traités spécialisés dans la vie monastique rappellent les multiples occasions où les moines pouvaient, à leurs risques et périls, boire du vin – quand ils ne le devaient pas en vérité, parce qu'ils étaient malades ou avaient peur de l'orage ! Le vin est à chaque page du *Régime de santé* écrit à la toute fin du XIVe siècle par un certain Léonard pour son propre monastère bénédictin, celui de Saint-Jacques de Liège. On le sert aux frères qui ont subi la saignée – selon un calendrier saisonnier sans cesse répété depuis des siècles – comme durant les fêtes, et en ce cas, au déjeuner comme au diner, lors des légères collations de l'après-midi comme le soir avant de se coucher. Et bien sûr à l'occasion des réceptions offertes par l'abbé aux hôtes de passage ou aux invités de marque : on ne s'y contente pas des « vins du couvent » provenant des vignes locales mais on y sert aussi des vins dits « forts », procurés par le marché et dont les « fumées montent à la tête », avertit le bon Léonard[16]. Peut-être des crus de Beaune qui commencent alors à atteindre, sous l'impulsion quasi « gastrono-diplomatique » des ducs de Bourgogne, une certaine renommée[17].

La même recherche de qualité est affichée en 1438 par le prieur parisien de Saint-Martin des Champs lorsqu'il convie à sa table des gens également de qualité. Il envoie alors acheter du vin vieux au Cloître des chanoines de Notre-Dame dont la cave était réputée. Lorsqu'il dîne seul, il fait venir du vin nouveau de deux tavernes

[12] Bruno Laurioux, « À la recherche du moine gastronome au XIIe siècle », in Tiziana Lazzari et Francesca Pucci Donati (dir.) *A banchetto con gli amici. Scritti per Massimo Montanari*, Roma: Viella (I libri di Viella, 397), 2021, p. 575-585.

[13] Thomas Wright éd., *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London: Camden Society, 1841, p. xl-xliv.

[14] Marilyn Nicoud, *Les Régimes de santé au Moyen Âge. Naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*. Rome: École française de Rome (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 333), Rome, 2007, t. I, p. 114-144, 410-418 ; t. 2, p. 987-988.

[15] Aldobrandino da Siena, *Li Livres dou Santé*, London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 2435 (fin du XIIIe siècle), fol. 44v ; https://imagesonline.bl.uk/asset/308 ; consulté le 11 juillet 2024.

[16] Geneviève Xhayet, « Une diététique liégeoise du XIVe siècle : le *Régime de Santé* du frère Léonard de Saint-Jacques », *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 165 (2007), p. 373-414.

[17] Roger Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1959 ; réimpr. Paris : Flammarion, 1977, 291-300.

voisines : les « Trois Pucelles » et le « Barillet » cité par François Villon, le poète des mauvais garçons[18]. La taverne est en effet un autre espace social et sensitif dans lequel on boit.

2. Boire en (plus ou moins bonne) compagnie

Dans les villes qui prennent une importance croissante dans l'Occident chrétien à partir du XIIe siècle, les confréries ou autres groupes structurés de métiers organisent au moins une fois par an une *potatio* où l'on boit en groupe et, semble-t-il, assez abondamment. C'est le cas dans le Nord de l'Europe, par exemple à Saint-Omer, dont les statuts de la guilde marchande portent les traces d'anciens usages remontant au minimum au XIe siècle[19]. Ces pratiques semblent se poursuivre, avec plus ou moins d'intensité, dans le cadre assez différent des confréries de dévotion et /ou de quartiers. Celle des pèlerins de Saint-Jacques à Paris, qui rassemble la bourgeoisie de la capitale, organise un festin annuel, pour lequel, en 1339, les confrères disposent chacun de près de 3 litres de vin, majoritairement du blanc, tiré des vignes alentours (le fameux et réputé vin « français », c'est-à-dire d'Île-de-France). Mais, après la Peste Noire, la ration tombe à moins de 2 litres voire à moins de 1 litre en 1382 ; il est vrai que désormais c'est le rouge de Beaune qui l'emporte, soit un vin plus fort et sans doute de meilleure qualité[20].

La plupart du temps, c'est cependant à la taverne que l'on boit ensemble du vin. Éventuellement en l'accompagnant de quelques victuailles, qui parfois n'ont d'autre but que d'exciter les convives à boire encore davantage. Comme en témoigne le grand professeur de médecine Jacques Despars dans une notice du copieux commentaire au *Canon* d'Avicenne qu'il mit en forme au XVe siècle :

> « Il y a un plat qui est très souvent préparé dans ces bas pays [Pays-Bas] par les aubergistes et les taverniers ; pour exciter à boire les nombreux débauchés [qui se trouvent dans leur établissement], ceux-ci posent sur

[18] Siméon Luce, « Les menus du prieur de Saint-Martin-des-Champs en 1438 et 1439 », *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 26-2 (1882), p. 111-117 ; Jean Favier, « Les vins que buvait François Villon et ceux qu'il aurait aimé boire », *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1984, pp. 105-106 ; https://www.persee.fr/doc/bsnaf_0081-1181_1984_num_1982_1_8924 ; consulté : 15 juillet 2024.

[19] Georges Espinas et Henri Pirenne, « Les coutumes de la gilde marchande de Saint-Omer », *Le Moyen Âge*, 14 (1900), p. 189-196.

[20] Patrick Rambourg, *Les Repas de la confrérie Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins à Paris, de 1319 à 1407*, mémoire de maîtrise université Paris VII, 1996, p. 68-71 ; Id., « Les repas de confrérie à la fin du Moyen Âge : l'exemple de la confrérie parisienne Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins au travers de sa comptabilité (XIVe siècle) », in Fabienne Ravoire & Anne Dietrich (dir.), *La Cuisine et la table dans la France de la fin du Moyen Âge. Contenus et contenants du XIVe au XVIe siècle*, Caen : Publications du CRAHM, 2009, p. 63, 68, 76-78.

> les braises de fines lamelles de viande de porc, appelées "carbonnées", qu'ils font très peu cuire. Les ivrognes les mangent avec du pain et les font disparaître avec le vin »[21].

Ce témoignage est confirmé par un autre, de la même époque mais situé bien loin des Pays-Bas, à savoir en Italie. Dans son *De honesta voluptate* (autrement dit *Du plaisir convenable*, le premier traité occidental qui examine de front tous les aspects de la gastronomie et écrit à Rome vers 1465), l'humaniste Platina met en scène un personnage affublé du surnom évocateur de *Bibulus* et qui se plait à consommer tout ce qui peut exciter sa soif : jambon ou tranches de viande grillées appelées précisément « charbonnées » (Laurioux 2006, p. 248)[22].

C'est à la taverne que se traitent les affaires universitaires, que se fomentent entre voleurs les mauvais coups, que se déclenchent de violentes querelles et que celles-ci s'apaisent autour du geste fondamental de partager la cruche de vin[23]. L'Âge d'or de ces établissements spécialisés s'observe dans toute l'Europe, de Londres à Palerme en passant par Paris – où un registre fiscal de 1313 en recense plus de 500, soit un pour 400 habitants environ[24]. Rien d'étonnant : le « Second Moyen Âge » est aussi un Âge d'or pour la consommation de vin. À Bruges, on a pu l'estimer à 85 litres par habitant et par personne en 1420-1422 ; fait intéressant, une centaine d'années plus tard, le chiffre est trois fois moins élevé – dans cette région, la consommation de vin commence alors à reculer devant celle de la bière[25].

L'exemple de Rome est bien connu grâce au remarquable ouvrage de Daniele Lombardi. Dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle, la riche documentation romaine (rien à voir avec Paris qui a perdu ses archives municipales et royales du Moyen Âge) permet de repérer 580 points de vente pour le vin, pour une population loin d'atteindre celle de Paris mais qui s'enrichit des nombreux pèlerins venus en pèlerinage dans la capitale de la chrétienté, notamment à l'occasion des jubilés qui ont tendance à se multiplier (tous les 50 puis tous les 25 ans). Ces points de vente, les « Statuts de la communauté du métier des taverniers » consolidés en 1482 nous en montrent la grande diversité : à côté des taverniers de plein exercice, qui associent la nourriture et le logement, on y trouve des taverniers occasionnels, des *osti* dont la première fonction est d'offrir à dormir, mais aussi des « cuisiniers » (*cuochi*),

[21] Danielle Jacquart, « Le regard d'un médecin sur son temps : Jacques Despars (1380?-1458) », *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 138 (1980), p. 50.

[22] Bruno Laurioux, *Gastronomie, humanisme et société à Rome au milieu du XVe siècle. Autour du* De honesta voluptate *de Platina*. Firenze: Sismel-Galluzzo (Micrologus' Library, 14), 2006, p. 248.

[23] Claude Gauvard, « Cuisine et paix en France à la fin du Moyen Âge », in Martin Aurell *et al.*, *La Sociabilité à table. Commensalité et convivialité à travers les âges*, Rouen : Publications de l'université de Rouen, 1992, p. 325-334.

[24] Bruno Laurioux, *Manger au Moyen Âge. Pratiques et discours alimentaires en Europe aux XIVe et XVe siècles,* 2e éd., Paris: Hachette (Pluriel), 2013, p. 209.

[25] Raymond van Uytven, « Le combat des boissons en Europe du moyen âge au XVIIIe siècle », in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (éd.) *Alimentazione e nutrizione secc. XIII-XVIII*, Firenze: Le Monnier-Istituto internazionale di storia economica 'F. Datini' Prato, 1997, p. 60.

autrement des traiteurs-restaurateurs qui préparent avant tout des plats de viande ou de poisson, bref tout un secteur du prêt-à-manger important pour de grandes villes où abonde une main d'œuvre souvent formée de célibataires qui ne cuisinent pas à domicile[26].

Certaines de ces tavernes ou auberges sont restées en place, telle l'auberge de la Vache située non loin de la Pazzia Campo dei Fiori en plein centre de Rome. On peut encore en observer l'enseigne. Les comptes de la Camera Urbis établis lors du jubilé de 1475 donnent une image assez nette de l'activité de celui qui était alors le patron de cette Osteria, un certain Lello di Mascio. Il ne vendit pas moins de 35 000 litres de vin, ce qui en faisait l'un des plus gros vendeurs de la ville. L'Osteria della Vacca est toujours prisée des promeneurs qui visitent aujourd'hui Rome, non pas pour le vin qu'on y vendrait mais pour le souvenir de Vannozza Catanei, la maîtresse du pape Alexandre VI (alias Rodrigo Borgia) et mère de ses enfants Lucrezia et Cesare[27].

Mais quels vins buvait-on dans les tavernes romaines du XVe siècle, que l'on se trouvât ou pas dans une année de jubilé ? Là encore, les registres fiscaux et douaniers compilés par Daniele Lombardi apportent de riches informations. Grâce au commerce maritime et routier, convergeaient sur la capitale de la Chrétienté d'importantes cargaisons de vins (environ 85 000 hl par an) en provenance de Ligurie (Moscatello ou Latino di Taggia) ou de Corse, du Sud de l'Italie (Latino, San Severino de Campanie ou Calabrese) comme des environs de Rome (Romanesco). Cependant, les prix de ces vins sont on ne peut plus différents : ils s'étagent de 1 à 10 comme on peut le voir sur le tableau ci-dessous ; les plus coûteux sont les vins du Nord (Ligurie), les moins onéreux sont les vins de proximité, venus des vignes romaines elles-mêmes, du Latium ou des régions peu éloignées d'Italie méridionale.

[26] Daniele Lombardi, *Dalla dogana alla taverna. Il vino a Roma alla fine del Medioevo e gli inedita* Statuta communitatis artis tabernariorum Alme Urbis Rome *(1481-1482)*. Roma : Roma nel Rinascimento, 2018, p. 323, 353-360.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 324-328.

Tableau 1: Prix du vin au détail (1466-1481). Pour 1 boccale (= 1,82 litre) en bolognini[28]

Type de vin	Prix maximum
Malvasia	10
Moscatello di Taggia	8
Vernaccia, Greco, Fiano	6
Latino di Taggia, Razzese / amabile, Latino della Riviera, Calabrese, Corso	4
Nettuno / Terracina / Sperlonga, Mazzacane, Sanserverino, Mangiaguerra	3
Romano, Latino	1

Or, les taverniers ne sont pas seuls à vouloir acheter du vin procuré par un commerce maritime ou terrestre dont le vin est le produit principal, davantage que la viande et bien au-dessus des grains. Ces professionnels sont en effet soumis à la rude concurrence des cardinaux, qui bénéficient de franchises fiscales et absorbent à eux seuls 28% des quantités importées par voie de mer ; les autres habitants de la ville en consomment 52% ; même lors d'une année de jubilé comme 1475, où les pèlerins font exploser le nombre de consommateurs, les taverniers n'ont droit qu'à 20% des importations de vins. Résultat : la plupart des vins de qualité leur échappe et leurs clients doivent se contenter de crus modestes, comme le latino d'Italie méridionale, même s'ils parviennent à s'emparer cette année-là de modestes quantités de vins plus réputés, comme le greco du royaume de Naples (pour seulement 410 hl mais plus du tiers des quantités de ce vin importées) voire les vins de la Riviera ligure (940 hl mais qui représentent seulement 3% des quantités de ce vin enregistrées à la douane de Ripa)[29].

Si les clients des tavernes pouvaient sans doute apprécier le vin qu'ils buvaient, comment ressentaient-ils l'expérience sensorielle de sa dégustation ? Au-delà des images stigmatisant les débordements auxquels donnent lieu la consommation de vin, nous disposons des enluminures du *Tacuinum Sanitatis*. Bien connues, elles ont rarement été utilisées pour ce qu'elles sont, c'est-à-dire une série offrant d'intéressantes variations. On le sait, ces « Tableaux de la Santé », traduits de l'arabe en latin au milieu du XIIIe siècle, décrivent de manière synthétique les vertus et les défauts, les qualités et les usages de nombreux produits alimentaires – dont le vin qui y fait l'objet de plusieurs notices. À partir de la fin du XIVe siècle, on en

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 379.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 117-130 ; Laurioux, *Gastronomie, humanisme et société à Rome*, *op. cit.*, p. 391-396.

a confectionné des exemplaires de luxe somptueusement illustrés, qui se fondent sur des réalités contemporaines de l'enlumineur. Or, l'image représentant le « gros vin rouge » (*vinum rubeum grossum*) est, dans les différents manuscrits, une scène d'auberge, lieu où se boit un tel vin le plus souvent sur une table caractéristique, à hauts rebords. Dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, qui a circulé tardivement (1445-1451) en Allemagne, les gobelets comme les récipients à verser sont en métal ce qui ne permettait sans doute pas d'observer la couleur du vin[30]. En revanche, dans le manuscrit de Vienne, l'un des plus anciens exemplaires enluminés (entre 1390 et 1400) et d'origine clairement italienne, les gobelets sont bel et bien transparents, donc en verre[31].

C'est également le cas dans le manuscrit, contemporain de celui de Vienne, de la Biblioteca Casanatense de Rome – on le voit sans conteste pour le vin rouge (ici « vinum vetus odoriferum ») mais aussi pour le vin blanc (ou plutôt jaune, « citrinum »). Le geste n'est plus de boire ni de verser le vin mais de l'observer en portant le verre transparent à la bonne hauteur. On notera que le buveur est seul, engagé dans une discussion avec un personnage dont l'habit trahit le statut et la compétence professionnelle. La dégustation entre connaisseurs a remplacé la compétition entre buveurs. L'expertise a pris la place de la gourmandise[32].

3. Les manières de boire

a) L'ordre des vins

L'expertise gustative est pleinement à l'œuvre dans l'un des manuscrits les plus délicats de la série des *Tacuina Sanitatis*, conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de France et datant de 1380-1390. La scène se passe cette fois à la cave ou au sortir de la cave. Les deux personnages au premier plan tiennent leur gobelet de manière élégante, par en-dessous comme le précise Eiximenis parlant des Italiens – nous y reviendrons. Ils portent la même livrée. Nous ne sommes plus dans une taverne – la table si caractéristique a disparu – mais déjà à la cour[33].

Revenons à Rome, du moins probablement : si la date et la localisation du menu très détaillé que nous allons prendre ici pour guide ne figurent pas sur le document qui le conserve, ils se déduisent logiquement du positionnement archivistique de ce dernier. Il s'agit probablement d'un des quatre fastueux banquets que donna, entre janvier et juillet 1473, le cardinal Pietro Riario, neveu du pape Sixte IV, peut-être organisé pour célébrer le retour à Rome du cardinal Oliviero Carafa après son

[30] *Tacuinum Sanitatis*, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9333, fol. 84v ; https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105072169/f182.item ; consulté le 15 juillet 2024.

[31] Daniel Poirion & Claude Thomasset, *L'Art de vivre au Moyen Âge. Codex Vindobonensis Series Nova 2644 conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale d'Autriche*, Paris : Félin, 1995, fol. 87r.

[32] *Theatrum Sanitatis*, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 4182, fol. 87r.

[33] *Tacuinum Sanitatis*, Paris, BnF, ms. n. a. lat. 1673, fol. 77r ; https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105380445/f185.item ; consulté le 15 juillet 2024.

expédition contre les Turcs. Il ne comportait pas moins de 16 services, à la manière italienne du temps. Chacune de ses scansions comprend deux rubriques : *Cibi* est une liste de mets, *Representazione* une description des entremets. La rubrique *Cibi* s'achève presque toujours par l'indication d'un vin, par exemple « calabrese », « de Marcha », « San Severino Rosso ». On compte au total 11 appellations correspondant à 13 services : deux vins sont en effet servis à deux services différents. Le menu compte 16 services, 3 étant apparemment dépourvus de vin. Les vins, à l'instar des plats, ont donc leur menu mais, contrairement à eux, ils sont imposés[34].

On y retrouve les vins qui circulaient à Rome de 1466 à 1481, dont certains furent proposés par les taverniers à l'occasion du jubilé de 1475. Et d'autres encore, qui étaient peut-être plus rares comme le Cima de Cio ou le vin des Marches. Ils ne figurent d'ailleurs pas au livre de cave antérieur (1455-1457) du maître d'hôtel (*magister domus* du pape) Calixte III (un Borgia déjà, oncle du futur Alexandre VI). Fait notable, dans le menu de 1473, on mentionne parfois la couleur de certains vins pour éviter la confusion entre deux déclinaisons du Romanesco (blanc et rouge) ; cependant, s'il y a bien un San Severino rosso, il n'y a pas de bianco[35].

Si l'on veut se faire une idée plus précise de la gamme chromatique des vins circulant à Rome, il faut aller voir le traité (sous forme de lettre) offert au cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza par Sante Lancerio, bouteiller du défunt pape Paul III Farnese – avec un risque certain d'anachronisme car il fut écrit dans les années 1550. C'est lui qui mentionne que le Racese, si apprécié des Génois, est de couleur dorée (comme le Corso amabile et le Moscatello) et que le Cima de Cio est d'un rouge « très chargé en couleur » – alors que le San Severino est de « couleur cerise ». Il y ajoute d'autres précisions, d'ordre organoleptique : un vin peut être ainsi doux (*amabile*) ou au contraire acidulé (*agrestino*). Enfin Lancerio offre quelques aperçus sur le statut social : le Calabrese n'est pas un vin de Seigneurs, le San Severino rouge est bon pour ceux qui courent à la taverne (pour y jouer) ; quant au Corso, c'est un vin pour des serviteurs mais pas leur maître. De fait, les taverniers ont ces vins à leur carte lors du jubilé de 1475. Leur présence dans le menu de 1473 pourrait signaler une volonté d'inclusivité sociale, qui m'a toujours semblé caractériser le banquet médiéval, surtout par rapport aux repas de l'Époque classique[36].

Il paraît clair que l'ordre des vins servis ne suivait pas leur couleur – les vins rouges ponctuant quelques moments d'un repas dominé, semble-t-il, par les blancs. Les vins acides ou âpres sont rares dans le menu : tout juste peut-on citer le Bianco *brusco*, dont on ignore l'origine. L'ensemble paraît dominé par les saveurs douces ou sucrées, à l'instar de la cuisine de la Renaissance mais aussi en continuité avec des usages médiévaux qui préconisaient de servir en fin de repas l'hypocras, c'est-à-dire

[34] Bruno Laurioux, « Manger par le menu : fonctions et formes des listes de mets du XIVe au XVIe siècle », in Étienne Anheim *et al.*, *Polima 2. Listes d'objets/listes de personnes*, Paris : Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2020, p. 192-193.

[35] Laurioux, *Gastronomie, humanisme et société à Rome*, *op. cit.*, p. 395-396, 575-577.

[36] Emilio Faccioli, *Arte della cucina. Libri di ricette, testi sopra lo scalco, il trinciante e i vini dal XIV al XIX secolo*. Milano: il Polifilo, 1966, vol.1, p. 313-341.

un vin sucré et épicé. Il faut sans doute aussi invoquer les prescriptions médicales qui encourageaient à consommer des vins doux, réputés très chauds, en hiver – ce qui a été vérifié dans les comptes des Seigneurs de Florence à la jointure des XIVe et XVe siècles[37] et ce qui concorderait avec une datation du menu en janvier 1473. Ces vins doux étaient également forts, notion que suggère le terme *fumoso* (qui monte à la tête ?). Lancerio exige cette qualité des vins ordinaires qui risquent d'être légers (Corso) ; en revanche, il invite à la limiter pour les vins qui peuvent être trop doux – tel le Moscatello.

Au-delà de l'apparent désordre du banquet de 1473, chaque service semble fortement caractérisé et l'on aperçoit, pour les vins utilisés deux fois, quelques accords, qui peuvent surprendre. Ainsi le Cima de Cio – plutôt un rouge corsé, rappelons-le – accompagne les poissons frits (pageots, dorades et bars) du 5e service comme les huîtres du 12e – mais ce dernier comporte aussi des truffes. Quant au Romanesco bianco, vin plutôt léger et délicat, qui, selon Lancerio, se boit plutôt en Carême, il paraît se prêter particulièrement aux confections en pâtes : pâtés de chapons, pigeons et veaux, tourtes aux pommes et aux poires[38].

b) Compétitions et vœux

La poésie bachique de l'Occident latin est ancrée sur une sociabilité d'écoliers, les Goliards, qui sont tous des hommes. Parmi les *Carmina Burana*, recueil découvert en 1803 dans le monastère bavarois de Benediktbeuern – que le compositeur Carl Orff devait beaucoup plus tard reprendre dans une adaptation à succès –, un nombre non négligeable sont des chansons à boire, dont certaines sont des parodies de pièces religieuses. L'une d'entre elles a été écrite vers 1160 par l'Archipoète (autrement dit « le Prince des poètes »), protégé de Reginald de Dassel, archevêque de Cologne et chancelier impérial. Reprenant le motif biblique que l'on a déjà repéré dans la règle de saint Benoît (« Chacun reçoit de la nature un don particulier »), il avoue que le sien consiste en ceci :

> « moi je n'ai jamais pu écrire à jeun ;
> un enfant alors, même sans aide, ferait mieux que moi.
> Aussi je hais comme la mort la soif et la faim »[39].

Dans une antique tradition qui lie ivresse et inspiration littéraire, l'Archipoète enfonce le clou :

[37] Allen J. Grieco, *Food, Social Politics and the Order of Nature in Renaissance Italy*, Florence : Villa I Tatti-The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2019, p. 118-143.

[38] Bruno Laurioux, « L'ordre ou la liste : la complexe articulation des vins et des mets dans les menus italiens du XVe siècleé, in Jean-Robert Pitte (éd.), *Les Acords mets-vins. Un art français*, nouv. éd. augmentée, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2017, p. 49-63.

[39] *Carmina Burana*, trad. É. Wolff, Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1995, p. 388.

« Chacun reçoit de la nature un don particulier :
je compose mes vers en buvant du bon vin,
le plus fin que contiennent les tonneaux de la taverne ;
il me fournit les mots en abondance »[40].

Si elle paraît relativement tolérante pour la consommation excessive de vin par des hommes (voire par des clercs), l'Église chrétienne l'identifie en revanche comme un risque majeur pour la moralité féminine et les représentations sociales répercutent largement cette position. Le trouvère Watriquet de Couvin raconte ainsi la mésaventure de trois gaillardes bourgeoises de Paris parties goûter de bon matin, le jour des rois de l'année 1321, un vin nouvellement arrivé à la taverne des Maillets. Comme nos dames ont aussi bon appétit, les chopines sont promptement descendues et la forte *garnache* (vin liquoreux) succède au vin « de rivière ». Quittant à plus de minuit le lieu de leurs beuveries, elles s'écroulent ivres-mortes dans la rue où un malandrin vient les délester de leurs effets. Gisant nues et immobiles, « comme des merdes au milieu de la voie » écrit délicatement l'auteur, elles sont déclarées décédées et se réveillent le soir... au milieu du charnier des Innocents, un cimetière en plein centre de Paris. Quoique « sales et puantes », elles réclament encore, à peine sorties de la fosse, « de la tripe » et, bien sûr, du vin[41].

Fût-elle majoritairement masculine, la sociabilité des tavernes doit respecter elle aussi des règles. L'une des chansons dites *Carmina Burana*, « Quand nous sommes à la taverne » (*In taberna quando sumus*), présente ainsi un véritable concours de beuverie, rythmé de « coups » (c'est-à-dire de toasts) dédiés à toutes sortes d'acteurs : c'est pour le marchand de vin – celui qui leur fournit de quoi étancher leur soif – que les « libertins » boivent leur première coupe. Puis viennent les prisonniers, les vivants, tous les chrétiens, les âmes défuntes (ce qu'on appelle l'Église invisible), mais aussi des personnes nettement plus suspectes aux yeux des autorités ecclésiastiques et temporelles : les religieuses frivoles, les « brigands des forêts » (autrement dit les bandits de grand chemin), les frères dévoyés, les moines errants. Enfin, en une dernière salve de cinq tournées de vin, on boit aux marins, querelleurs, pénitents et voyageurs, et pour finir au pape et au roi. Soldat ou prêtre, maître ou maîtresse, sédentaire ou vagabond, sot ou sage, jeune ou vieux, chacun participe à cette beuverie collective et qu'on suppose ponctuée de vœux énoncés à voix haute et peut-être en alternance[42].

Ce rythme est parfaitement incarné par deux personnages d'une pièce de théâtre écrite au tout début du XVIe siècle, La *Condamnation de Banquet*. Dans cette allégorie à visée moralisatrice, « Je-bois-à-vous » et « Je-plaige-d'autant » représentent par leur nom même l'excès dans la consommation de vin : le premier syntagme est le

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 389.
[41] Laurioux, *Manger au Moyen Âge*, *op. cit.*, p. 176-177.
[42] *Carmina Burana*, *op. cit.*, p. 399-400.

toast, le vœu qui ouvre la compétition entre les buveurs – « À votre santé », dirait-on en français d'aujourd'hui. « Je plaige d'autant » correspond à la réplique actuelle : « À la vôtre ». Le terme « plaige » a en moyen-français une acception juridique, qui désigne la garantie présentée lors d'un procès, le cautionnement. Mais il peut avoir aussi une valeur ludique, renvoyant à la mise qui accompagne le jeu de dés – dans les *Carmina Burana*, on joue d'ailleurs tout en buvant. On est donc bien ici dans la compétition entre buveurs où ceux-ci s'évertuent à surenchérir l'un sur l'autre[43].

Les deux personnages de la *Condamnation de Banquet* sont aussi présentés comme des connaisseurs en vin. « Je-bois-à-vous » le distingue comme « neret » (noir, rouge foncé), « vermeil » c'est-à-dire rouge, ou « cleret » probablement rosé – il insiste donc sur sa couleur. « Je plaige d'autant », lui, se réfère à l'odeur caractéristique qui est celle du vin dit « muscadet » qu'il apprécie le mieux quand on lui en verse un verre entier. On a là les trois étapes de la dégustation du vin mobilisant les trois sens que sont la vue, l'olfaction et le goût. Une question à laquelle s'intéressent beaucoup les médecins médiévaux.

4. La consommation du vin, une affaire de médecins ?

a) Le protocole de dégustation

Les médecins médiévaux ont joué un rôle décisif dans la mise au point d'un protocole de dégustation multisensoriel, dont la généralisation à l'ensemble de l'Occident était loin d'être acquise. Son existence est attestée au XIVe siècle par un auteur étonnant, à la fois théologien, moraliste et encyclopédiste, et finalement peu connu si ce n'est des spécialistes en études catalanes : le franciscain Francesc Eiximenis. Il en décrit parfaitement la phase initiale qui engage le regard et la phase finale qui est la gustation, parfaitement conforme à nos usages œnologiques actuels : aspiration d'une gorgée ou deux, retenues ensuite entre les dents[44]. Dans l'intervalle, on doit sentir le vin ce qui suppose de secouer le gobelet dans lequel il se trouve avant olfaction, étape qu'identifie, cette fois au XVe siècle le médecin Michele Savonarola. Allen Grieco a fait depuis longtemps le rapprochement avec l'inspection des urines qui, hier comme aujourd'hui, intègre ces trois étapes, y compris la gustation. De fait, Eiximenis souligne ce parallèle : « ils le regardent /l'examinent (*remiren*), comme le médecin examine l'urine du malade », soit les termes mêmes de l'uroscopie médiévale[45].

[43] Nicolas de La Chesnaye, *La Condamnation de* Banquet, éd. Jelle Koopman & Paul Verhuyck, Genève : Droz (Textes littéraires français), 1991.

[44] J. J. E. Gracia, « Rules and Regulations for drinking wine in Frances Eiximenis' *Terç del Crestià* », *Traditio*, 32 (1976), p. 369-385.

[45] Bruno Laurioux, « Le vin et la gastronomie au Moyen Âge », in Josiane Pérard et Olivier Jacquet (éd.), *Vin et gastronomie. Regards croisés*, Dijon : Éditions Universitaires de Dijon, 2019, p. 27-35.

Il faut ici rappeler le rôle considérable qu'ont joué les médecins dans le développement de l'œnologie, aussi bien dans l'Antiquité romaine qu'au Moyen Âge – par exemple dans le cadre des cercles gastronomiques pratiquant dès la fin du IIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ le classement des vins (*censura vinorum*). Sans oublier, bien entendu, les longs développements que, au IIIe siècle, Galien consacre dans plusieurs traités aux différentes qualités du vin[46]. L'exemple le plus marquant durant le Moyen Âge est peut-être le commentaire au *Secret des Secrets* pseudo aristotélicien réalisé vers 1300 par un duo constitué d'un Anglais et d'un Wallon, respectivement Jofroi de Waterford et Servais Copale[47].

Si l'on cherche à déterminer la nature et la vertu d'un vin, affirment-ils, il faut d'abord tenir compte du « temps qu'il a duré », autrement dit de son degré de vieillissement : un vin peut être en effet nouveau, vieux ou moyen – c'est ce dernier qu'il convient de préférer. Les autres critères fondant la diversité sont la couleur, la saveur, l'odeur, l'épaisseur (« substance de licor ») et enfin la force ou la faiblesse[48].

En ce qui concerne la couleur du vin, elle dépend, toujours selon ce commentaire du *Secret des Secrets*, du raisin et de l'âge du vin, comme le montre le tableau ci-dessous :

Tableau 2 : Couleurs des vins selon le commentaire au Secret des Secrets de Waterford et Copale

Âge du vin	Grappes blanches	Grappes rouges	Grappes noires
Nouveau (1 an)	Au début sans couleur comme l'eau. Après 1 ans : plus coloré et plus blanc	Au début décoloré et proche de la couleur blanche. Après 1 an, rosé, couleur de rose	Au début, moût noir et obscur. Après 1 an, plus clair et moins noir
Moyen (2-4 ans)	Après 2 ans, couleur du rameau de palmier (*pasme*)	Après 2 ans, roux	Après 2 ans, rouge
Vieux (5-7 ans)	Après 4 ans, citrin, assez jaune	Après 4 ans, rouge	

[46] André Tchernia, « Le cercle de L. Licinius Crassus et la naissance de la hiérarchie des vins à Rome », *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 141-4 (1997), p. 1247-1259 ; https://www.persee.fr/doc/crai_0065-0536_1997_num_141_4_15813 ; consulté le 18 juillet 2024.

[47] Albert Henry, *Contribution à l'étude du langage œnologique en langue d'oïl (XIIe-XVe s.)*, Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique, classe des Lettres, 1996, vol. I, p. 45-53 et vol. 2, p. 37-49.

[48] Azélina Jaboulet-Vercherre, *The Physician, the Drinker, and the Drunk. Wine's Uses and Abuses in Late Medieval Natural Philosophy*, Turnhout: Brepols (Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge), 2014, p. 102-128.

La saveur des vins mobilise un vocabulaire tout aussi large : dans le commentaire au *Secret des Secrets*, le vin peut être qualifié de doux ou d'acide (aigre), ou encore d'âpre ; mais aussi comme sans saveur (*désavouré*) ou à l'inverse comme de saveur forte. Enfin, on peut le juger un peu vert ou piquant, ou encore estimer qu'il tient au palais et est fort en vin – on dirait aujourd'hui en alcool. Le lexique olfactif se limite à l'intensité (pour les vins qui sentent peu voire ne sentent rien du tout) et à l'attractivité (lorsque le vin a une odeur douce ou au contraire horrible) mais celui de la consistance et celui de la puissance sont encore plus restreints : ils prévoient un maximum et un minimum et, entre les deux, un état moyen, jugé le meilleur par l'art médical.

Au-delà de cette typologie rudimentaire, ce sont bien des vins réels et issus de terroirs (*terrages*) parfaitement repérables auxquels se réfèrent Jofroi de Waterford et Servais Copale, en décrivant au passage l'expérience organoleptique qu'occasionne leur dégustation. Le vin francilien est le type même du blanc léger, jeune et acide (*blanc, verdet, froit et poignant*), qui remporte au XIIIe siècle le suffrage quasi unanime des buveurs. Les nectars qu'importe le grand commerce méditerranéen de Grèce ou de Chypre sont autrement forts ; les boire purs comporte donc des dangers et on ne peut s'y résoudre que sur prescription médicale – c'est pourquoi, en temps ordinaire, il convient de les mélanger avec un quart à un tiers d'eau.

Moins dangereux, et même tout à fait équilibré, paraît un autre vin liquoreux, le grenache, sans doute produit dans la Péninsule ibérique. Waterford et Copale le déclarent « de meilleure condition » car

> « Il est modérément fort et a une odeur très douce. Avant qu'il vienne en bouche, il sauvegarde (*salue*) les narines et conforte le cerveau ; il s'attache bien (*prent*) au palais et pique sans blesse ; au cœur il donne joie et allégresse (*leesche*). Et pour le dire brièvement, de tous les vins c'est le parangon (*pervenke*). »

Les autres vins, toujours selon les commentateurs du *Secret des Secrets*, ont tous leur point faible. Ceux de Provence et de Gascogne sont assez forts, mais secs et « très durement serrés », autrement dit ils manifestent pleinement ce que les théoriciens médicaux des saveurs appellent la *sipticitas* ou l'*austeritas*[49]. Le vin d'Auxerre, selon Waterford et Copale, est de fort mauvaise qualité : mélangé à de l'eau, il vaut peu de chose car il perd tout à fait sa saveur (il est *désavouré*) ; mais s'il reste pur il alourdit la tête. C'est le cas aussi du vin de La Rochelle *bastart*, fort et sec tout en ayant une saveur douce – il a toutefois l'avantage de bien relâcher le ventre, ce pourquoi les médecins recommandent de le boire avant d'aller dormir. Qualifiés de nobles, les vins rouges d'Orléans et le vin blanc de Saint-Émilion mènent au sommeil sans alourdir la tête ni le corps ; et c'est également « sans violence » que le vin du Rhin

[49] Charles Burnett, « *Sapores sunt octo*: The Medieval Latin Terminology for the Eight Flavours », *Micrologus. Natura, scienze e società medievali*, 10 (2002), p. 99-112.

relâche ventre et intestins, tout en dégageant une douce odeur de violette – ce que les experts Waterford et Copale dénomment « bruscant », un terme à rapprocher peut-être de l'italien *brusco*.

b) Des manières de boire très diversifiées

Eiximenis attribue l'usage tatillon de regarder le vin et de le goûter aux Italiens et c'est à certains d'entre eux, les Padouans, que Savonarola attribue celui de le sentir avec le même soin. Or c'est loin d'être la coutume générale en Occident. Eiximenis propose à ce sujet un véritable tour d'Europe des manières de boire. Dans une sorte de hiérarchie ascendante, il cite les peuples anglo-saxons (Allemands et Anglais) qui partagent un grand gobelet ou un hanap (parfois à 20 ou 30 personnes) ou ceux qui boivent au même « cantarell » comme les Maures, c'est-à-dire les musulmans d'Espagne. Les chrétiens espagnols et catalans boivent dans une grande coupe, quitte à la laver pour la passer à leur voisin de table. Les Français utilisent certes de petits gobelets pour leur usage individuel mais en y mettant du vin pur – ce qui représente aux yeux de l'Église et de la Faculté un danger aussi bien moral que médical. Seuls les Italiens cumulent les perfections en la matière : ils prévoient autant de gobelets que de buveurs et posent au milieu du tailloir (un plateau de bois ou de métal) un grand gobelet (une carafe ?) pleine d'eau et chacun remplit son propre gobelet d'autant d'eau qu'il lui plaît. Ce que rend possible l'usage d'un gobelet en verre transparent, qui permet de mesurer le dosage et de procéder à la dégustation codifiée[50].

Restait toutefois un problème à régler : fallait-il goûter son vin avant ou après l'avoir « baptisé », c'est-à-dire allongé d'eau ? Ce mélange était clairement une tradition venue tout droit du banquet grec et de la littérature médicale antique. Elle donna lieu au Moyen Âge à des prescriptions diététiques comme à des parodies poétiques[51]. C'est ainsi que le manuscrit des *Carmina Burana* contient un *Débat du vin et de l'eau*, dont l'auteur se prononce clairement contre cet usage :

> « Quand on verse ensemble dans un verre
> du vin et de l'eau, ils se mêlent ;
> cette union néfaste
> ne saurait susciter d'éloge,
> et le nom de confusion
> lui conviendrait mieux »[52].

[50] Laurioux, « Le vin et la gastronomie au Moyen Âge », *op. cit.*
[51] Jaboulet-Vercherre, *The Physician, the Drinker, and the Drunk*, *op. cit.*, p. 133-141.
[52] *Carmina Burana*, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

Dans ce poème, chacun des deux breuvages défend sa supériorité. Si l'eau reproche au vin de ruiner la vie des buveurs qu'il précipite dans les vices, le vin accuse l'eau de faire ballonner leur ventre et de « fomenter des troubles dans leurs entrailles » – prise de conscience des dangers de l'eau bien antérieure à la biologie pasteurienne. D'autres débats opposent le vin et la bière, qui commence à jouir d'un statut plus envié à la fin du Moyen Âge[53]. Il est donc clair que l'histoire de la consommation du vin doit être considérée avec celle des autres boissons.

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[53] van Uytven, « Le combat des boissons en Europe », *op. cit.*

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The Symbolism of Wine-drinking at Humanist Feasts in Conrad Celtis's Poetry

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Humanist feasts – occasions for eating, drinking, and engaging in learned conversations, which formed the basis of symposion literature – were highly significant events for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanists. These gatherings served purposes of both entertainment and intellectual discourse, reinforcing group identity. Humanists could only thrive in community, and discursivity is a distinctive feature of humanist poetry.

Feasts in the circles of Conrad Celtis (1459–1508), the German „Arch-Humanist," could take various forms. Regardless of the reality of such events, they often appeared idealized in his poetry. He could even present the elements and events of the feast in mythical, cosmological, or quasi-ritualistic contexts. This paper provides a concise summary of the rich symbolism of feasts as portrayed in Celtis's poetry, with particular attention to the varied meanings attributed to wine-drinking. Importantly, the focus here is not on the historical reality of these gatherings, but rather on how they are represented in Celtis's poetic imagination.

Conrad Celtis was the first poet laureate of Germany and lectured on poetry and rhetoric in several German cities. Most notably, he spent the final period of his life at the University of Vienna. Celtis primarily composed poetry, creatively blending various classical and medieval genres, textual and visual media, and literary and

natural philosophical themes. As an enthusiastic teacher, he inspired numerous humanists who later achieved significant careers, and he established or supported the so-called sodalities.[1]

The sodality movement and academic networks received new momentum in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Central Europe. During this period, the self-representation of humanists as elite groups in society became a prominent theme. This was one reason behind the mythological or mystical presentation of feasts in Celtis's poetry. Here, I will not delve into the debate regarding the sodalities founded by Celtis – whether the *Sodalitas Rhenana* or *Sodalitas Danubiana* were formal organizations with defined memberships and symbols, or merely informal humanist circles that appear as distinct societies in Celtis's ideological framework. The newer scholarly literature leans toward the latter interpretation, though the truth likely lies somewhere in between.[2]

For humanist circles, the ideal model for any scholarly feast was the classical *symposion* or *convivium*, which combined learned discourse with various forms of entertainment.[3] In Celtis's poetry – especially in his odes – one can often sense his intention to align the gatherings of humanist sodalities with these classical patterns. For instance, Celtis provides a poetical description of the meetings of the Heidelberg sodality in his ode to Johannes Wacker (Vigilius) (Od. III, 5, 29–44),[4] who hosted the so called *Sodalitas Rhenana*.[5]

> …Quo [= in Heidelberg] tecum
> (memini) tempora trivimus
> diversis studiis, nunc Latios libros,
> Graios et Solymos, nunc Ciceronis, his
> artes contulimus bonas.

[1] On Celtis's life see primarily L. W. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis. The German Arch-Humanist* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

[2] See more on the issue in my monograph *Born for Phoebus. Solar-astral Symbolism and Poetical Self-representation in Conrad Celtis and his Humanist Circles* (Vienna: Praesens, 2018), 19–25.

[3] Two basic traditional types of *convivia* can be discerned: the one, exemplified by Plato's *Symposion,* was more scientific and had relatively strict rules; the other, modelled after Xenophon's *Symposion,* was more loosely organized and involved various sorts of entertainment. The feasts of Celtis's sodalities in general seem to have stood closer to the latter type of *convivium*. In general, the humanists feast provided the basis for the developement of scientific academies in the Renaissance; the early sodalities had a more liberal and open character than the later academies (V. De Caprio, "I cenacoli umanistici," in *Letteratura italiana,* vol. I, ed. A. A. Rosa, Torino: Einaudi, 1982, 809).

[4] The edition of Celtis's odes: *Oden, Epoden, Jahrhundertlied. Libri odarum quattuor, cum epodo et saeculari carmine*, ed., tr. Eckart Schäfer (Tübingen: Narr, 2012).

[5] According to Entner ("Was steckt hinter dem Wort *sodalitas litteraria?* Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zu Konrad Celtis und seinen Freundeskreisen," in *Europäische Sozietätsbewegung und demokratische Tradition: die europäischen Akademien der Frühen Neuzeit zwischen Frührenaissance und Spätaufklärung*, ed. Klaus Garber et al. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996; p. 1079), the poem records memories of Celtis's 1485 stay in Heidelberg, when the circle there was not called *Sodalitas Rhenana* yet. About Vigilius as a host: Hermann Wiegand, "Phoebea sodalitas nostra. Die Sodalitas Litteraria Rhenana," in id., *Der zweigipflige Musenberg. Studien zum Humanismus in Kurpfalz* (Ubstadt-Weiher: Regionalkultur, 2000), 41.

Nunc vatum placidi carmina legimus,
nunc quod pontificum scrinia sentiunt,
nunc quod Caesareis consulibus scatet,
grato volvimus otio.
Quum nox stelligeram protulit aream,
quot stellas gererent lucidae imagines
intentis oculis connumeravimus,
et quo quaeque foret loco.
Quae numquam Oceano conditur ultimo,
et quae praecipiti mergitur impetu,
et quae cardinibus se moveat vagis
certo prendimus organo.

First, he summarises the scholarly activity of the group: studying Latin and Greek authors and observing the night sky – a commonplace that recurs frequently in the poetry of Celtis, the renowned lover of the stars. After completing their studies, they indulged in well-deserved entertainment. Cups of wine (*Bacchi... cymbia*) were served as they joked, played dice, sang, danced, and even partook in the „joys of Venus" (vv. 45–63).

Hinc Bacchi laticis cymbia fervidi
fervens mensa tulit cum variis jocis.
Hic nummos nocuam perdit ad aleam,
alter carminibus vacat.
Hic flexu volucri saltibus incitus
exercet variis corpora motibus,
ut risum eliciat, dum rudis aemulus
lapsu praecipiti cadit.
Alter cornigeri pocula numinis
amplexus pateris ampla patentibus
haurit, dum titubat lingua madens mero
verbisque officium negat.
Faunos, Capripedes, et Satyros leves
saltantes Libycis in regionibus,
nos circum juvenes ludere crederes,
qui tantos moveant jocos.
Nec desunt Veneris gaudia fervidis,
occultis latebris atque cubiculis,
consurguntque feris proelia motibus,
dum pes cum pede nectitur.

One can find a similar succession of serious and merry conversations, heavenly wonders, and earthly enjoyments in Celtis's ode to the *sodales* of Buda (*Od. II, 2*). In this poem, they discuss cosmological issues, such as the movement of the Sun (vv. 25–40), and enjoy excellent feasts, banishing the winter cold with the warmth of Bacchus (vv. 41–44; 81–84). This Pannonian Bacchus likely refers to the Sirmian wine, mentioned in various sources related to the *Sodalitas Danubiana*. Although Celtis speaks in these two poems about general activities rather than one specific *symposion*, his descriptions clearly evoke the combination of learning and merriment typical of such gatherings. In these poems, wine does not carry mystical symbolism; nevertheless, it remains an indispensable element of the elite feasts.

Wine-drinking, however, also appears in less noble contexts at less refined feasts. Dieter Wuttke discovered an intriguing orgiastic epigram in a Nuremberg manuscript, representing a preliminary phase of the fourth book of Celtis's epigrams. The poem, written down by certain „Italus" and „Balbus" on the spot, appears to have been improvised during a feast. According to Wuttke, all three – Italus, Balbus, and Celtis – participated in composing the poem. It mocks a certain Pinifer, who is depicted drinking wine („Bacchus") and copulating simultaneously at the feast. The identity of Pinifer, however, cannot be determined.

> Ex herebo ad divos, ex divis fertur ad umbras
> Et pergit geminum Nuncius ales iter.
> Ex vino ad cunnos e cunnis fertur ad haustus
> Alternatque duplex Pinifer unus iter.
> Inguina vix tersit vulvis stillantibus uda:
> Protinus infuso proluit ora mero.
>
> (…)
> Cui tantum humoris Bacchusque et vulva ministrat
> Solus ut egypti damna levare queat:
> Alterna scripsere manu post pocula: Balbus
> Atque Italus: iussu Celti diserte tuo.[6]

Those with a good command of Latin can appreciate the ludicrous content of the poem, which details Pinifer's activities *ex vino ad cunnos* and back again to the chalice. Although the humanist tradition of rhetorical exercises on erotic and even pornographic themes is well known,[7] the circumstances surrounding the origin of this poem – including its improvisational nature and the fact that it was recorded by different hands – suggest that it may reflect an actual revelry. Whatever the

[6] Ms. Nuremberg, cent. V.A.3, f. 108v. Edited in: D. Wuttke, "Drei Celtis-Funde," in *Horaz und Celtis,* ed. U. Auhagen et al. (Tübingen: Narr, 2000), 325-326.

[7] See László Jankovits, *Accessus ad Janum. A műértelmezés hagyományai Janus Pannonius költészetében* [*Accessus ad Janum*. Traditions of Interpretations in the Poetry of Janus Pannonius] (Budapest: Balassi, 2002), 71-83.

reality, wine-drinking appears here in its most profane context, as an instrument of drunkenness and orgiastic pleasure. Fortunately, this poem was not included in the fine copy of the fourth book of Celtis's epigrams.

More characteristic of Celtis's poetry are those poems that elevate the feast to mythical and cosmological realms. The central figures in these poetic worlds are primarily two gods of poetic inspiration: Apollo and Bacchus. Apollo, or Phoebus – meaning „shining" – plays a central role throughout Celtis's poetry.[8] This deity accompanies the poet throughout his life. In the „Elysium"-like countryside of Franconia, Celtis's birthplace, Apollo teaches him to play the lyre;[9] Apollo crowns him with the laurel wreath of poetry; Apollo defends him against slanderers with his arrows;[10] and poetic frenzy, as one of Plato's divine frenzies, originates from Apollo and the Muses. Taken individually, each of these motifs may be regarded as typical humanist commonplaces, but taken together and employed—as they are here—for self-representation rather than for praising others, they form a kind of comprehensive self-mythology. In more than one poem, Celtis even describes epiphanies in which Apollo appears directly to him as his favored protégé.

Bacchus's role as a god of poetic inspiration also has roots in antiquity, and this association grew stronger during the Renaissance. For humanists, this tradition was highly convenient, especially when combined with the idea of pairing – or even identifying –Bacchus with Apollo. This idea was developed by classical authors like Plutarch and Macrobius and further elaborated by Renaissance authors like Marsilio Ficino. Celtis drew on this tradition; in this way, Bacchus, too, could be integrated into a cosmic context. In Celtis's hymn to Bacchus (*Od. III, 12*), the poet praises the god's inspiring and healing powers and prays for a bountiful grape harvest. Here, Bacchus is described as the *comes* (companion) of Phoebus.

Celtis's *Ode III, 15* and *Epode 16* appear to be unique in humanist and late medieval poetry in general: they directly celebrate the Sun in a distinctly paganizing context. While many elements of the rituals depicted in these poems could be explained away as classical commonplaces or playful poetic motifs, and although Christian ideas are woven into the syncretic worldview of these works, the poems nevertheless present feasts as Phoebus-celebrations tied to significant turning points in the Sun's annual cycle.

Ode III, 15 describes a feast of the Heidelberg circle, often referred to as the *Sodalitas Rhenana*, celebrating the Sun during the summer solstice. It is an Alcaic ode composed of 11 stanzas:

[8] See more in general: Orbán, *Born for Phoebus,* 170-221.

[9] Am. I,12,57-58; cf. also Od. IV,8. The edition of the *Amores: Quattor libri amorum secundum quattuor latera germaniae; Germania generalis; Accedunt carmina aliorum ad libros amorum pertinentia*, ed. Felicitas Pindter (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934).

[10] Od. I,19 *In Crispum Clogomuram*; Od. II,16,21f *Ad vetulum poetastrum* (Riedner); Epod. 9 *In Bassareum medicum*; Ep. I,27 *In maledicum*; Ep. III,53 *Ad lectorem*; Ep. III,54 *Ad invidum*. Apollo stretching his bow and targeting his enemies is represented in „The author" woodcut of the *Amores* (f. a7r). The edition of Celtis's epigrams: *Fünf Bücher Epigramme von Konrad Celtis,* ed. K. Hartfelder (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1881).

AD SODALITATEM LITTERARIAM RHENANAM, UT SECUM EPULUM REDEUNTE PHOEBO AB CAPRICORNO INSTRUANT.	TO THE LEARNED RHINISH SODALITY, THAT THEY SHOULD PREPARE WITH HIM A FEAST ON PHOEBUS'S RETURN[11] FROM CAPRICORN
Intende nervis, Calliope, novis, oro, latinae carmina tibiae, et quicquid olim mota claro Graia cohors modulata Phoebo est, qui nunc retorquet verticefulgido rotam coruscam, noctibus imperans, barbam rigentis Capricorni ignivoma feriens lucerna. Idcirco Phoebi grata sodalitas, quam Rhenus altis litoribus fovet, sidus salutemus, vetusti pocula concelebrando Bacchi, nec mensa largis cum dapibus vacet, sub Africanis qualis erat plagis, Sic nos sacris Phoebi peractis ad citharam facilem canemus. Illustre mundi, Phoebe pater, caput, cuius recessum singula sentiunt, et cuius adventu recentes parturiunt elementa formas:[13] adesto doctis te rogo vatibus lucem ferendo, ut carmina posteris annosa scribamus diserti, continuis placitura saeclis. Hinc quae requirit nostra necessitas, victum atque amictum corporis annuas, et stet beato fama cursu, spiritus hos ubi liquit artus. Non linquo taetram Tartareos lacus timere mentem, nec canis inferus, triforme monstrum, me movebit, Aeacus aut Rhadamanthus urna. Ieiuniorum difficiles dies servet, cucullus quem tetricus gravat,	Calliope, intone on new strings the songs of the Latin flute, I pray, and whatever the Greek host once sang inspired by bright Phoebus, who is now turning around the flashing wheels [of the chariot] at the shining vertex,[12] commanding the nights, and beats down upon the beard of frozen Capricorn with his fire-spitting lamp. So, dear sodality, nourished by the high-banked Rhine, let us greet Phoebus's star, and revere cups of old Bacchus in communal celebration; a table rich with meals should not be missing either, such as there was under African climes; and after the sacrifices to Phoebus, let us sing with the lyre in harmony in this way: Father Phoebus, bright head of the world, whose departure everything feels, and upon whose return new forms are born from the elements: Attend your learned poets,[14] I ask you, by bringing us your light, so that we may eloquently compose long-living songs for posterity, songs that the following centuries will appreciate. Then grant us whatever we need, food and clothing for the body, and may our fame stay on a blessed path, after the breath left the members of the body. I will not bequeath a soul so foul that I should be afraid of the lake of Tartarus, nor will the infernal dog, the three-headed monster, affect me, or Aeacus or Rhadamanthus with his urn. May the exhausting days of the fasting be observed by those whom the grim hood burdens, and who keep moving their lips murmuring and whispering in front of the crowd.

[11] *Redeunte Phoebo* can be interpreted both as a causative or a temporal ablativus absolutus.

[12] In astronomical literature *vertex* denotes the point at which the Sun reaches the highest point in its orbit.

[13] The address of Phoebus is followed by a request, so I opted here for a colon instead of the period in Schäfer's edition.

[14] Here the meaning of *vates* as priests of Apollo, mediators between Apollo and the people, is also connotated on grounds of the ritual context.

35	longique murmuris susurro concutiens sua labra vulgo. Mi sed beatum docta sodalitas reddat favorem, scriptaque comprobet, [lost line] fortuito ruitura fato, praeter moventem corpora spiritum, qui clara linquit munera posteris, virtutibus qui praemium dant, et vitiis sua probra pangunt.	For me, however, may the learned sodality grant their blessed support, and approve my works; [anyway, everything?][15] will be destroyed by fortuitious destiny, except for the spirit that moves the body, and which bequeathes its splendid gifts to posterity, which rewards virtuous deeds, and renders punishment for faults.

The first part of the ode consists of an invocation to Calliope, and indirectly to Phoebus and the other Muses (vv. 1–8), followed by Celtis's instructions to the sodality to prepare a special celebration (vv. 9–16). Stanzas 5–7, exactly the middle part of the ode, form a small hymn, featuring a direct invocation to Phoebus in verse 17 (*Illustre mundi…*) and a prayer in verses 21–28 (*adesto nobis…*). In the third part (vv. 29–44), the poet describes the eternal spirit's journey in the other world, and the anticlerical sideswipe – featuring an ugly hooded monk muttering to himself – only enhances the paganizing atmosphere of the entire poem. Finally, the ode concludes with the humanist poet's well-known belief that his poetry will ensure him a favorable fate after death.

The ode offers a vivid cross-section of the complexity of Phoebean symbolism in Celtis's poetry. Here, I must limit myself to highlighting only the main roles in which this god appears. First, Phoebus is addressed as the Sun at the center of the universe, invoked during the summer solstice, when the Sun is at its strongest point in the year. Secondly, Phoebus is invoked as the god of poetry, who inspires the *sodales* and helps them earn eternal fame; even the cups of Bacchus on the rich table are mentioned in the context of *furor poeticus*. Thirdly, the poet implicitly compares the power of Phoebus (the Sun) to that of God; the prayer and hymn form, Apollo's omnipotence, and the soul's ascent lend the poem a Christian hue. In summary, the reader of the odes witnesses a Phoebus Apollo placed simultaneously in astronomical, poetological, and (in *Ode III, 15*) Christian contexts, with a kind of syncretism that is highly reminiscent of Florentine Platonism. Celebrations like the *Palilia* revived by Leto's Roman Academy or the annual commemoration of Plato's birthday in Ficino's circles seem to be similar in spirit to the ones Celtis describes.

Epode 16 can be paired with *Ode III, 15*: this poem also addresses Phoebus primarily as a Sun-god, but here the turning point in the Sun's course is the winter solstice. The *sodales*, yearning for his warmth and beneficial rays, sing for his return from Capricorn. It is not necessary to examine this poem in detail here, as the descriptions of the celebrations in *Ode III, 15* and this *Epode* overlap to a great extent.[16]

Another special occasion for a feast is a birthday. Classical literature – Tibullus, Propertius, and others – provides models for birthday poems, which revive in

[15] Replacement after Schäfer, in Celtis, *Oden,* 253.

[16] For analyses of the poems in more detail, see Orbán, *Born for Phoebus*, 239-245.

stylized form ancient rituals, such as sacrifices to the *genius* of the family. Celtis wrote about his own birthday in no fewer than four of his poems, inviting his fellows and imagining how the feast and other festivities should be arranged. Several passages relate to the sacrifice to the *genius*.[17]

The most detailed among these is *Amores II, 10*: here, Celtis calls upon Elsula, his lover at the time, to prepare his 30th[18] birthday feast for him and his friends. He describes the ceremonial – and indeed ritual – accessories, as well as the prospective events of the day: from the learned conversations at the feast to eating, drinking, exchanging best wishes, and finally the „consummation" of the festive day. This consummation means lovemaking at night. As one of the ritual acts, the poet revives a classical custom – a special kind of libation (*Am. II, 10, 55–58*):

> Interea ternos cyathos tibi Gratia praestat
> Vertere, sed Musae dant mihi rite novem
> Et Phoebus decimum calicem mihi forte favebit,
> Phoebus qui media temperat astra via.

Elsula is instructed to draw wine three times in honor of the three Graces, while Celtis, as the lyrical subject, should draw nine times in honor of the Muses. Additionally, he asks for a „tenth chalice" from Phoebus, „who controls the stars from his path [sphere] in the middle." Here, Celtis once again develops the classical motif in a „cosmic" direction.

In all four poems, the prospective celebration is stylized as a series of religious rites. The motif of a sacrifice to the *Genius* always appears, and in general, the events are depicted as celebrations of Phoebus – or Phoebus and Bacchus – whose spirit and symbolism permeate the poems.[19]

Thus far, all the sources we have surveyed are textual, but visual and material sources can also convey the symbolism of feasts and poetic inspiration outlined above. The *patera*, or golden bowl, of Augustinus Moravus, now preserved in the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden, is one of the most precious art-historical treasures associated with Central European humanism of that period. At the same time, it is an intriguing artifact that sheds light on humanist group identity and the concept of poetic inspiration.

The only certain information about the bowl's origin comes from the inscription at its bottom: AVG[USTINUS]. OLOM[UCENSIS]. SIBI. ET. GRATAE. POSTERITATI. MDVIII („Augustinus of Olomouc for himself and for grateful posterity in 1508"). The bowl also features the coat of arms of Augustinus, a

[17] Od. II,17,58-60: *…celebrabo prisco / more natalem, Genioque nostro / sacrificabo.*
[O]d. III,2,18: C*ras ego Phoebo geniale ponam / prandium…*
[A]m. II,10,36-7: *Ipse ego tunc veniam caris comitatus amicis / Et Genio solitas sacrificabo dapes.*
[A]m III,12,41-2: *Ergo age natales cras pones Ursula mensas / Et Genio sacras instrue larga dapes…*
[18] V. 3: *Quippe ego in hac numero terdenas nocte Calendas.*
[19] More on the birthday poems: Orbán, *Born for Phoebus*, 232-239.

clerical dignitary, a member of the Buda and Vienna humanist circles, and a close friend of Celtis. There is no evidence, however, that Augustinus commissioned the *patera* specifically for either the „Danubian" or the Olomoucian sodality.[20] In the literature,[21] various possibilities have been proposed for its place of origin, but none have been conclusively proven.[22]

The bowl is designed in the style of a *patera*, a classical sacrificial vessel.[23]

Fig. 1. The golden bowl of Augustinus Moravus.

[20] Tibor Klaniczay, for instance, regarded the *patera* as belonging to the Danubian Sodality (*A magyarországi akadémiai mozgalom előtörténete* [The prehistory of the Hungarian academic movement], Budapest: Balassi, 1993, 67f). Though later scholars (e.g. Lubomir Konečný, "Augustine Käsenbrot of Olomouc, His Golden Bowl in Dresden, and the Renaissance Revival of 'Poetic' Bacchus." *Artibus et Historiae* 24/48 [2003], 193) rightly emphasize the lack of evidence, Klaniczay made an interesting assumption regarding the Augustinus–Cuspinianus relationship, the truth of which cannot be excluded. Cuspinianus (a leading member of the Vienna circle after Celtis's death) mentions in the dedicatory letter of the edition of Marbode's *Libellus de lapidibus preciosis* (Vienna: Vietor, 1511) a certain new year's present of great beauty and artistic value, given to him by Augustinus (*me strena Saturnalitia et pulcherrima simul et artificiosissima donasses,* f. a1v). In Augustinus's *Catalogus epispocorum Olomucensium,* that appeared likewise in 1511 in Vienna, the first line of Cuspinianus's dedicatory epigram (*Cuspinianus lectori,* f. a1r) seems to be a reference to the *patera*-inscription: *Ite leves procul hinc, moneo, procul ite prophani.* As Klaniczay suggested, the two data render it possible that the present concerned was the *patera* (*A magyarországi,* 72).

[21] The *patera* has been reviewed in many studies, though generally shortly; for this literature cf. Konečný, „Augustine," n. 1. The most important study seems to be this article of Konečný.

[22] In Konečný's opinion („Augustine," 186-9) at least the Bacchus roundel is likely to be of Italian origin, but this, too, is just an assumption without serious evidence.

[23] I. Hlobil and E. Petrů, *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia* (Olomouc: Votobia, 1999), 160.

Fig. 2. The Bacchus roundel in the golden bowl of Augustinus Moravus.[24]

The base of the *patera* features a medal depicting a winged Bacchus figure, surrounded by an inscription. Its sides are adorned with twenty-two golden Roman coins – most of them original, although some have been replaced. Additionally, there is another inscription along the edge of the patera:

PHOEBIGENUM SAC(T)RATA COHORS ET MYSTICUS ORDO
HAC PATERA BACCHI MVNERA LARGA FER(R)ANT
PROCVL HINC PROCVL ESTE PROPHANI
(„Let the sacred host[25] and mystical order of Phoebus's sons offer the rich presents of Bacchus in this bowl.[26] Away, away, you uninitiated!")

The inscription around the winged figure reads:
GENIO LIBERO Q[ue] PATRI („For Genius and Father Liber")

[24] Source of both: Konečný, „Augustine."
[25] Following Konečný, I opted for „host" instead of „group" or „team." On the one hand, *cohors* in a poetic context does not always mean armed forces, see e.g. the phrase *cohors musarum*. On the other hand, humanists liked to refer to themselves in military terms, e.g. as *commilitones*.
[26] Or „the rich presents in this bowl of Bacchus."

LIBER PATER was a god identified with Bacchus in Roman times; as an adjective, *liber* means „free," and it has become commonplace to associate the name *Liber* to the liberating effects of wine or Bacchic rituals. In Celtis's circles, too, the wine-god was often referred to by the name *Liber Pater.*[27] *Genius,* the other „addressee" of the shorter inscription, is also primarily a god, to whom sacrifices were offered on festive occasions. Since only one deity is depicted in the picture, and its characteristics reference to both to *Liber pater* and *Genius,*[28] it may be regarded as a double deity, uniting *Liber pater* and *Genius* in one god (such a *numen mixtum* was not uncommon in Renaissance art[29]).

We observe a strong opposition between the sacred and the profane spheres, all within a classical, paganizing (but not anti-Christian) context. A sacrifice or festive act is referred to, evoking the atmosphere of mystery religions and Orphic rituals. Can the initiate defeat even death? The sacrifice appears to be offered to Bacchus – or Bacchus-Genius – the god who was reborn according to Greco-Roman mythology. Bacchic mysteries were famed for promising initiates a kind of new life after death. In the Renaissance (starting with Boccaccio), Bacchus was often associated with the eternal cosmic cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. Although there is no space here to analyze the texts and imagery in detail, several elements point toward initiation and rebirth as central ideas of the ritual feast: Bacchus depicted as a winged child, Bacchus as *Genius*, the caduceus staff at the bottom of the roundel, the association of *Liber Pater* with liberation from death, and the Orphic allusions in the inscriptions.

At the same time, Bacchus was also a god of *furor poeticus*, and the *sodales* who ritually drank wine were, above all, poets. The word PHOEBIGENUM appears as the first word of the longer inscription, signifying a connection to Phoebus. In humanist ideology – especially within Celtis's circles – being linked to Phoebus was a distinctive mark of true poets. Thus, the mystical allusions could also relate to poets as *vates* (prophetic poets), or to the triumph over death through the eternal fame of true poetry.

The *patera* reflects the spirits of both Phoebus and Bacchus, even in its external design: its circular shape and pure gold material evoke the Sun, while its intended function as a vessel for wine links it to Bacchus.

The element of humor and fun is not absent from the *patera*, either. Terms such as SACRATA COHORS („sacred cohort") and MYSTICUS ORDO („mystical order") might be interpreted facetiously, suggesting that the entire artifact can also

[27] An example from Celtis's poetry that can be well related to the *patera*-inscriptions: *Ergo viventes capiamus arctae / gaudium vitae, pateris sacrantes / Liberi patris…* a few lines below: …*Genioque nostro / sacrificabo* (Od. II,17,53-55; 59-60).

[28] On the one hand, there are grapes next to the winged boy, on the other hand, *Genius* was often represented as a winged being or a youth holding a *cornucopia* in Roman art.

[29] Cf. e.g. E. Panofsky, "The Subject of the Stockholm Painting: 'Bacchus, Master, Lover of the Laurel,'" in id., *A Mythological Painting by Poussin in the Nationalmuseum Stockholm*, 36-44 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1960).

be viewed with an air of playfulness. The phrase MUNERA LARGA FERANT („may they bring abundant gifts") could even be interpreted as an allusion to Priapus, the phallic god.

In all, what appears from one perspective as a serious ritual conducted by ambitious and self-conscious poets can, from another perspective, be seen as playful and self-ironic. This ambivalence – the mingling of seriousness with humor – is characteristic of Celtis's poetry and that of some of his *sodales*. The motifs of the Bacchus roundel and its inscriptions overlap significantly with the major themes of Celtis's *oeuvre*. The fondness for *symposia*, feasts, and ceremonies; the centrality of Phoebus, Bacchus, and the concept of poetic inspiration; the inclination toward mythologizing and paganizing mystification; and the use of humor and sexual allusions – all are shared by the *patera* and Celtis's poetry.

The warm friendship between Celtis and Augustinus Moravus is attested by their correspondence.[30] Could the *GENIUS* of the *patera* also refer, among others, to Celtis's personal guardian spirit? Could the idea of triumph over death reflect Celtis's enduring desire for everlasting fame? It has been suggested in scholarship[31] that the *patera*, made or donated in 1508 – the year of Celtis's death – might have been created in his memory. This possibility cannot be excluded. However, the central issue is not who commissioned or owned the *patera*, but rather its rich symbolism and the breadth of meanings it embodies – meanings characteristic of the spirit of Celtis's circles. The bowl's components are carefully thought-out and polysemous in intriguing ways, and its intellectual significance matches its beautiful external appearance.

In this investigation, we have seen the wide spectrum of contexts in which humanist feasts and wine appear in poetry. In one type of Celtis's poem about humanist feasts, wine-drinking simply represents amusement and well-deserved entertainment after learned discourses, reflecting the classical *convivia*, which combined intellectual and social aspects. Celtis often described these feasts in a restrained, topical manner, frequently in a *carpe diem* context. However, orgiastic feasts were not absent from Celtis's poetic world. From the perspective of self-representation and group identity, the more significant feasts are those presented as quasi-ritual celebrations, where Bacchus and Phoebus are invoked as quasi-cosmic entities and gods of poetic inspiration. In Celtis's poetic imagination, such special occasions included the summer and winter solstices, his own birthdays, and the *patera* of Augustinus Moravus, with its mystical texts, which also serves as a symbolic object for ritual celebration. These poems provide a compelling cross-section of Celtis's favourite themes, showing how he mythifies and cosmologizes special events, thus contributing to the group identity of poets or *sodales* as an elite within society.

[30] Summarized by C. Gastgeber, „Augustinus Moravus und seine Beziehungen zum Wiener Humanistenkreis," in *Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis. Proceedings of the International Symposium to Mark the 500th Anniversary of the Death of Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis* (1467-1513), ed. P. Ekler, F. G. Kiss (Budapest: OSZK et al., 2015), 11-18.

[31] Marosi, „Die goldene."

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'I am a fool!' Student Initation Rites in Hungary from the late Middle Ages to the 17th Century

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Introduction

Vienna's cathedral, the *Stephansdom* preserves a remarkable monument of late medieval student initiation rites. During the recent restoration of the cathedral, researchers discovered late medieval graffiti in the upper part of the double chapel north of the western façade, around the Baroque doorway of the relic chamber dedicated to St Valentine. The drawings, which at first glance appear to be incoherent graffiti, revealed a violent but forgotten facet of late medieval university education: the rite of the *depositio* or *beanium*. Among the thirty or so drawings and inscriptions, dated to 1479, researchers found two fool's heads with donkey ears, drawings of male genitalia, satirical coats of arms, and several names, dates and fragments of sentences (Fig. 1.). The longest of these was a line with internal rhyming: "Manus beanorum maculant loca sanctorum", i.e., "The hands of the *beani* contaminate the sacred places." It was inscribed even twice on the wall, while a shorter confession of a *beanus*, "I am a fool" ("Ich pin ein nar") was written down only once (Fig. 2.). As the cathedral hosted university rituals, and the concept of *beanus* was closely (though not exclusively) connected to the university, it was most probably the *beani*, or the freshly registered first-year students, who had to write these confessions on

the walls, and to admit to polluting the most holy places of the city. One of the graffities can be perhaps read as "…ich Barfuss" (Fig. 3.) who could be identified with Michael Parfus (Barfuss) of Szekszárd (de Saxardia) who registered at the university in the summer semester of 1476.[1] He could be the earliest known victim of this student initiation rite from Hungary.[2]

Fig. 1. A fool with donkey's ears. Vienna, Stephansdom, St. Valentine Chapel, 1479.
Photo: Courtesy of Renate Kohn.

[1] *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien* (Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Wien 1. Abt.), Bd. 2, 1451-1518/1. Text, bearbeitet von Willy Szaivert und Franz Gall, (Graz/Wien/Köln 1967), 145. This research article was funded by the ERC COG Project nr. 864542 – KnowStudents.

[2] Renate Kohn, "Weihekreuze und Narren. Zeugnisse von zwei sehr unterschiedlichen Zeremonien in der Valentinskapelle," *Der Dom* 2013/1, 2–7; ead., "Die Metamorphose vom Esel zum Menschen, vom Narren zum zukünftigen Gelehrten," in: *„MIR Texte"*(Online-Publikation des Timelab MIR, http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/fileadmin/bilder/MIR/MIRtext4.pdf) 4 (2013); ead., "Momentaufnahme aus einem Studentenleben. Das Zeugnis einer Initiationszeremonie in der Valentinskapelle im Stephansdom," in: *Wien 1365. Eine Universität entsteht*, eds. Heidrun Rosenberg, Michael Viktor Schwarz, (Vienna: 2015, 148-161 ead., "St. Stephan als Bühne für festliche Zeremonien der Universität Wien," in: *Akademische Festkulturen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart - Zwischen Inaugurationsfeier und Fachschaftsparty*, eds. Martin Kintzinger, Wolfgang Eric Wagner, Marian Füssel, (Basel: Schwabe, 2018), 99–122. I would like to thank Renate Kohn for allowing me to use her photos and for sending me the photo of the inscription with the name of Michael Barfuss.

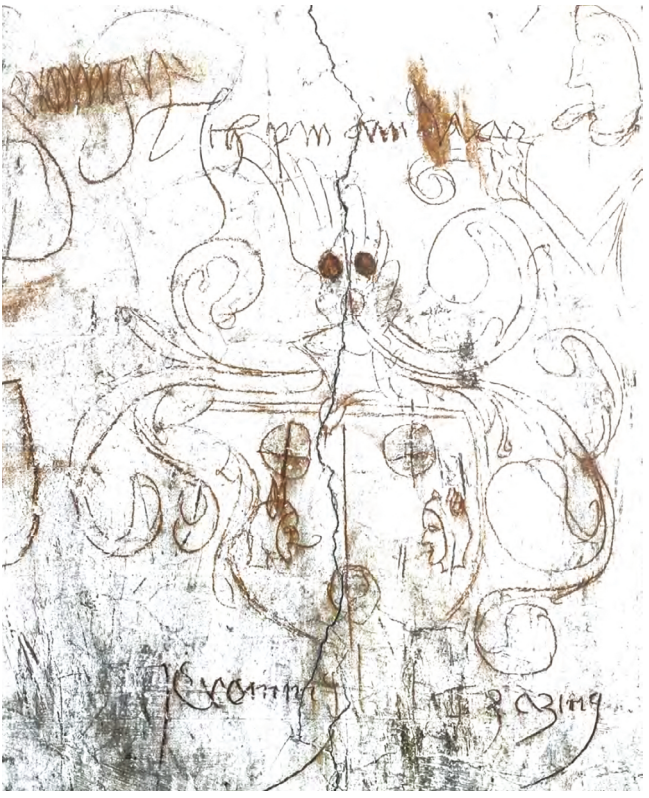

Fig. 2. “Ich pin ain Nar. Jeronimus Kisling.” “I am a fool. Jerome Kisling.” Stephansdom, St. Valentine Chapel, 1479. Photo: Courtesy of Renate Kohn.

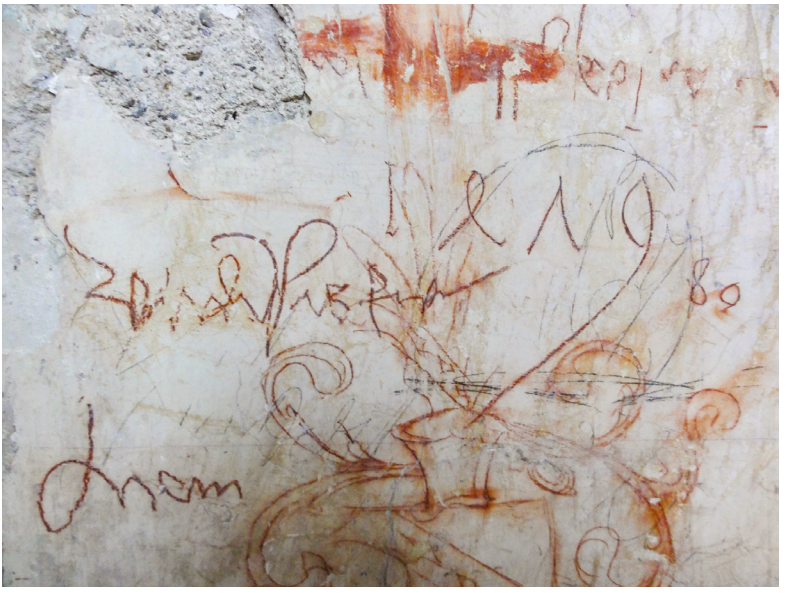

Fig. 3. The signature of Michael Barfuss of Szekszárd (…ich Parfus) with the date 1479. Stephansdom, St. Valentine Chapel, 1479. Photo: Courtesy of Renate Kohn.

Who Were the *Beani*?

Who were the *beani*? The word is of French origin, and is a Latinized version of *béjaune*, – greenbird in English – composed of *bec* (beak) and *jaune* (yellow). The French word *béjaune* has been used metaphorically in the meaning of an unexperienced or ignorant person since the Middle Ages (because most young birds have yellow beaks), and this composed form was transposed into Latin as bejaunus, and the entire rite called *bejaunium* or *beanium*.[3] In Latin, however, it received the meaning of a "new student, who has recently enrolled to the university."[4] The freshmen had to undergo an initiation ceremony from at least the first half of the 14th century in Paris, and from there, the custom became widespread throughout Europe. Until the end of the 15th century, the most important sources about these initiation rites are the university statutes banning them, which clearly show the route of their spreading across the Continent. A statute of the University of Paris from 1340 ruled that every member of all the university faculty was supposed to report if they noticed any kind of violence against the freshmen or extortion of money from them under the penalty of the expulsion from the university, [5] and it was repeated in 1342: "Since we often receive complaints from many that some people, by their powerfulness, rob the goods of the simple students on the occasion of the freshman initiation (*bejaunia*), if they do not get enough of it, which, by piling evil upon evil, they wish to tax at their pleasure, the freshmen, forced to do so by the robbers, are obliged to spend a large part of their money, which would enable them to remain longer at the university. Hence, having heard of the above, the assaults, beatings, and other mischiefs which usually occur on such occasions, and which keep many away from our university, and thereby do no small injury to the studies begun here […], we have decided that no one, in any faculty, shall dare to ask money or receive anything else from freshmen on the occasion of a freshman initiation, nor shall he accept anything except from his fellow students with whom he is living..."[6]

[3] Gilles Ménage, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue françoise*, Paris: Briasson, 1750, vol. 1., 171. The French word "bec-jaune" occurs in the meaning of a "naïve beginner" in *the La Farce de maistre Pierre Pathelin*, a 15th century comic farce. *La Farce de maistre Pierre Pathelin*, ed. C. E. Pickford, Paris, Bordas, 1967, 38, 42, 43.

[4] "novellus studiosus, qui ad Academiam nuper accessit", Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatiatis, Niort: Favre, 1883, I, 613. The middle Dutch word was *beedjaen, beedjanen*.

[5] "Decretum Universitatis Parisiensis super correctione detractorum bejaunorum" (Feb. 8, 1340), in *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, eds. Henricus Denifle and Aemilius Chatelain, Paris 1891, vol. 2., 494–497, here 496, partly translated in Lynn Thorndike, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages*, New York: Columbia, 1944, 192–93.

[6] "Et quia plurimorum frequentius querelas accipimus quod nonnulli per eorum potentiam bona simplicium scolarium occasione bejaunie sue rapiunt nisi eis satisfiat de bejaunia quam etiam mala malis accumulantes taxare nituntur pro libito voluntatis et sic in hoc magnam partem sue pecunie coacti per raptores hujusmodi exponunt de qua possent diutius in studio sustentari hinc est quod nos attendentes predicta nec non insultus verbera et alia pericula que solent exinde evenire quodque etiam per talia plures a nostro distrahuntur studio quod in nostri et prelibati studii redndat non modicam lesionem huic morbo tam pestifero medelam adhibere cupientes … Primo quod nullus cujuscunque facultatis existat a bejaunis seu de novo venientibus ad Studium Parisiense occasione bejaunie sue pecuniam seu quodvis aliud exigat vel recipiat exceptis sociis cum quibus inhabitant qui pro bejaunia domus poterunt

Thus, the initiation could be spared if the freshmen paid enough, but the poorer students had to suffer beatings and tortures. Central European universities seem to have quickly taken over these customs from Paris. At the University of Vienna, the abuse of *beani* was first prohibited in 1385, and shortly afterwards with almost the same expressions in 1392 in Cologne, in 1427 and 1429 in Leuven, in 1479 in Copenhagen, or in 1490 at the University of Valence.[7] However, the custom proved to be ineradicable, and the ban was first replaced by conditional permission, stricter regulation, and later by compulsory attendance at initiation. In 1456, the founding statutes of the University of Greifswald capped the amount of money that could be collected per person, and made the rite compulsory unless the student was the child of local parents, or the dean made an exception for other reasons.[8] In Erfurt in 1447, the amount of money that could be collected was also regulated,[9] and in Heidelberg in 1466, the Faculty of Arts forbade to sing "Salve" with them and to throw dung at them.[10] In Tübingen in 1477, it was forbidden to "harass or in any way disturb the novices, who are called *beanus*, by unnecessary harassment, on pain of a fine of half a florin, which is due for this, and may be greater if the degree of the offence requires it."[11] In Ingolstadt in 1492, the dean was empowered "to inflict any punishment on the assailants and tormentors of the novice students called *beanus*, and to use the punishment thus inflicted for their own purposes."[12] Thus, universities regulated these rituals and tried to keep control of them, though with little success, as the number of surviving bans and legal procedures show in the statutes.

These procedures seem to have been ritualized at some point, but little is known about the ritual itself until the last decade of the 15th century, although the Viennese drawings attest to the humiliation of the freshmen already in 1479. The later, widespread name of the ritual, the deposition of the horns (*depositio cornuum*), or simply

recipere dum tamen predicti bejauni hoc offerant spontanea voluntate." Ibid., 524. Initiation rites were common already in earlier monastic communities, about which see Wilhelm Fabricius, *Die akademische Deposition (depositio cornuum)*, Frankfurt am Main: Völcker, 1895, 14–16.

7 Fabricius, *Die akademische Deposition*, 34; Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien*,Vol. 2. *Statutenbuch der Universität*, Vienna: Gerold, 1854, 77; Franz Joseph von Bianco, *Die alte Universität Köln und die spätern Gelehrten-Schulen dieser Stadt*, Part I, Cologne: Gehly, 1855, 258; E. H. J. Reusens, "Statuts primitifs de la Faculté des Arts de Louvain", *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission royale de l'histoire* 3rd ser. 9 (1867), 154 (1427), 171 (1429) – https://doi.org/10.3406/bcrh.1867.2826; *Universitas Studii Haffnensis: stiftelsesdokumenter og statutter 1479*, ed. Jan Pinborg, Copenhagen: Københavns Universitet, 1979, 116–117; Marcel Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789*, vol. III/1., Paris: Larose et Forcel, 1892, 395.

8 *The Manuale scholarium. An original account of student life in the mediaeval university*, transl., introd. Robert Francis Seybolt, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921, 21; citing Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten, *Geschichte der Universität Greifswald mit urkundlichen Beilagen*, Greifswald: Koch, 1856, vol. 2., 304.

9 *The Manuale scholarium*, 21.

10 *Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg*, ed. Eduard Winkelmann, Heidelberg: Winter, 1886, vol. 1., 183: "nec aliquis quemquam beanorum ad cantandum salve conpellat aut cum stercoribus proiciat, sub pena retardacionis."

11 *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Universität Tübingen aus den Jahren 1476 bis 1550*, Tübingen, Laupp, 1877, 54.

12 Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut, München*, Munich: Kaiser, 1872, vol. 1., 95, vol. 2., 103.

deposition (*depositio*) refers to the central element of the initiation rite. A description with the title "Ritus et ordo depositionis" from around 1600 at the Jesuit University of Prague gives a full-fledged account of this part of the rite: "The main role in the entire ceremony is played by the depositor (*depositor*), who used to be the dean of a faculty, a professor or a study prefect. He was accompanied by two assistants (*socii*) who performed the ceremony. They were students. They presented the depositor with a kneeling boy begging for a deposition. The depositor asked them if they wanted to bear everything patiently and forget their unpolished manners. Then the boys were brought out and called in small groups for their own deposition. This consisted of *removing horns, painting beards, measuring, cutting and trimming, combing, pulling teeth, cleaning tongues and ears, and even literary questions*. Then all the deposited students were gathered again and the depositor explained to them the symbolism of the ceremony: Cutting off the horns is said to mean putting off stubbornness, painting the beard means maturity, measuring and trimming life and manners according to academic laws, combing and cutting the hair putting off softness, plucking the tooth and cleaning the tongue means moderation in speech, ear cleaning is the persistence in listening to lectures. The depositor also gave the boys salt, which the Jesuits borrowed here from the sacrament of baptism, where it is also a symbol of wisdom. The ceremony ended with the boys being declared free from beanism and worthy of matriculation."[13] A 1716 description from Uppsala in Sweden gives even more details how violently freshmen were humiliated: "Their faces were blackened, long ears and horns were affixed to their hats, the rim of which was turned down, into the corners of their mouths were put long pigs' teeth, which they had to hold in their mouths like small pipes on pain of being beaten with sticks; a long black cloak was hung over their shoulders. Thus, […] the depositor […] drove them in front of himself like a herd of oxen or asses into a hall where an audience awaited them. He had them stand in a circle, with himself in the middle and making faces, dumb shows, laughing at their strange appearance and then addressed a talk to them, ranging from burlesque to seriousness. […] Thereupon he asked them various questions, which they had to answer. But the pigs' teeth in their mouths prevented them from speaking clearly, so that they grunted like swine, for which reason the depositor called them swine, hit them lightly across the shoulders with a stick and rebuked them. These teeth, he said, represented excesses, since the understanding of young people was obscured by over-indulgence in eating and drinking. Then from a sack he pulled wooden tongs which he pressed round their necks and shook them for so long until the teeth fell onto the ground. […] Then he tore off the long ears, giving them to understand that they would have to study diligently if they did not want to remain like asses. Further he took their horns which denoted brutal coarseness and took a plane. Each *beanus* had to lie down first on his stomach, then on his back, then on both sides. In each position,

[13] Karel Beránek, "Beánie v Klementinu." In: *Pocta Dr. Emmě Urbánkové. Spolupracovníci a přátelé k 70. narozeninám*, ed. Pavel R. Pokorný, Prague: Státní knihovna ČSR, 1979, vol. 1., 25–34. (My translation.)

he plained their whole body […]."[14] This procedure seemed already strange not only to its witness, the French traveler Aubry de la Motraye, but also to the Swedish professor Carl Fredrik Georgii, who cited it 39 years later, in 1755. In the meantime, this custom was eradicated in the early 18th century, to which we will later return.

The Ritual of Deposition

The earliest detailed descriptions of the rite of "depositio cornuum" survive from the late fifteenth century. The *Manuale scholarium* is an introductory book to the freshmen of Heidelberg University, first published in 1489, which consists of simple Latin dialogues. The second dialogue is about a young student, who arrives alone in a university town and is guided there by a master, but is suddenly confronted by two older students, Camillus and Bartoldus. As they step in, they pretend to identify the young student by his stench:

> Camillus: What's the stink that's smelling up this place? We can't stand this! There's either been a corpse rotting here, or a goat, filthiest of beasts. Most worthy masters and excellent fellows, how can you sit in the midst of this smell? I can hardly close my nose to keep it out. I must go. If I stay any longer, I'll become so infected that I'll faint, and hit the ground head first. I'm off! Come on, Bart.
>
> Bartoldus. Stay a little while, and we'll see where this smell comes from.
> Camillus: That's a good idea. Look into all the corners of the house, to see whether you can't find out where this stink, like a hog-pen, comes from.[15]

References to the rite multiply around the turn of the fifteenth century. Johannes Schram's *Questio fabulosa*, published in Erfurt in 1494,[16] is a humorous disputation which also discusses the question of whether and how the *beani* might join the lazy guild of pigs (*Schweinzunffe*). The text provides scholastic arguments (referring to

[14] Rainer A. Müller, "Student Education, Student Life," in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. Walter E. Rüegg, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), vol. 2, 349–350. Müller cites Hans-Werner Prahl, *Die Universität: eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, Munich, C. J. Bucher, 1981, 38 (correctly 60), who gives no reference here, only refers to "a Swedish dissertation", though the story was often quoted in previous scholarly literature, as well. This dissertation is Carl Fredrik Georgii, *De origine initiationis novitiorum in academiis*, 28 May 1755, resp. Joannes Fryksell, (Uppsala: L. M. Höjer, 1755), 15–17, but even Georgii cites the story from the French travel account of Aubry De La Motraye, *Voyage du Sr. De La Motraye en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, La Haye: Johnson-Van Duren, 1727, vol. 2., 316–318, who actually witnessed the scene in 1716 during his travels in the North of Europe.

[15] *The Manuale scholarium*, 24. The Latin text is critically edited in Pierre Riché, *Manuale scholarium: Texte et traduction*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014, 38. – https://doi.org/10.1484/M.TH-EB.5.106392

[16] Johannes Schram, *Questio fabulosa* recitata per Johannem Schram ex Dachaw, inclyto in gymnasio Erfordensi sub disputatione quotlibetari, presidente protunc concertationi venerabili magistro Johanne Gansz ex Herbsteyn theologie baccalario, Erfurt, 1494, b2r; in a modern edition: Friedrich Zarncke, *Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter*, Leipzig: Weigel, 1857, 111-112.

the *Doctrinale*, the grammatical handbook of Alexander de Villa Dei)[17] for the need of purifying the dirty animals, and suggests that "mel, latex, aqua, vinum" (honey, liquid, water and wine) can clean the dirty beasts. (fig. 4.)

Fig. 4. The guild of pigs on the title-page of Schram's *Questio fabulosa* (1494)

The word became widely known, and some even tried to find an ancient etymology for it, to integrate it into the classical Latin vocabulary of the humanists. In 1500, Konrad Celtis discussed the word *beanus* to his follower, Marcus Bauernfeind (Rustinimicus), the head of the St. Maurice school in Olomouc in Moravia. According to the account of Bauernfeind, Celtis derived the word "peani" from the ancient Greek παιᾶνον, which he interpreted as calf (*vitulus*), using a remark of Macrobius as his source (*Sat*. 3, 2, 10), where the same etymological derivation of *vitulari* and παιανίζειν is found – obviously without the reference to the *beani*, which was Celtis's own.[18] In the 1480s, a university master, Johannes Faber de Werdena composed a poem about the differences between the students and the *beani*, claiming that the latter were uncivilized and raving (*bachantes*).[19] In Faber's poem, the meaning of the expression *beanus* was extended to include all kinds of venereal vices (being a follower of Venus, spending money on prostitutes), and is not directly related to initiation rites.

[17] Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* I, 2, 397.

[18] "cur illi, qui nostrae litteris in Germaniae gymnasiis initiantur, 'peani' vocitentur. Respondisti facete, docte et erudite (ut omnia soles scite et antiquariter discutere) παιᾶνον (ms.: παιανος) vitulum a Graecis vocitari; nam Παιάν armentorum apud veteres deus credebantur); hinc deductum verbum παιανίζω." Konrad Celtis, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, ed. Hans Rupprich, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1934, 418–419. On Bauernfeind, see Ulrike Denk, *Alltag zwischen Studieren und Betteln: die Kodrei Goldberg, ein studentisches Armenhaus an der Universität Wien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna, Vienna University Press, 2013, 344. – https://doi.org/10.14220/9783737000772

[19] The poem was printed twice (1. *Liber Faceti docens mores hominum*, Leipzig, printer of Capotius, 1486/88, 16v; GW 9692, 2. *Facetus alio vocabulo Moralis appellatus*, Leipzig: Kachelofen, c. 1490, 20r-v; GW 9693). There survive three manuscript copies (Melk, cod. 991, 29r; Munich, University Library, 4o cod. ms. 126, 89r-90r; Scheyern, Klosterarchiv der Benediktinerabtei, ms. 49, 273-273v), and the copy in Munich contains a marginal commentary.

Beani in Hungary and in Central Europe

The broader meaning of the term *beanus* is attested from an earlier Hungarian source, too, and it is possible that it can be connected to the Viennese student initiation rites. The term *beanus* is mentioned as a slander as early as 1425 in a document from Pozsony (Pressburg/Bratislava). László Sóvári Sós, the provost of the collegiate chapter in Pozsony, and the body of canons there got into a big argument in 1425, which ended in litigation. One of the points of contention arose from the fact that the provost Sóvári Sós wanted to take away the fish that his subordinates, the canons were fishing for, and when he was prevented from doing so, he attacked them in a rage with a slander. According to the acts, *magister* Jacobus, one of the canons, witnessed that "the same provost, filled with rage and anger, went into a fury, shouting: 'I am the provost, and your natural lord, and I will divide all your property at my pleasure, and I will have Michael and Philip Choler's [two canons – F. G. K.] share." When he was informed that they would not divide the fish in this way, "with an angry look, and with a furious roar, calling me by my first name (*tibizando*), cursing and slandering me, the provost said to me: 'What are you, what are you worth in the Church?' When magister Jacobus replied that he is worth the same in the Church as the provost, Sóvári Sós added still more angrily, 'You are not a magister, but only a *beanus* and a *ribaldus*!' and added, 'Silence, you *ribaldus*, or I will have you chained and chained and taken to Bratislava!'"[20]

It is unlikely that Sóvári Sós and the canons, magister Jacobus, Michael and Philipp Choler, who were most probably German native speakers, conversed in Latin. Rather, the use of the word *beanus* here may have been an element of the cultural background of magister Jacobus, or of his companion, Canon George: both Canon George of Sopron (Georgius de Sopronio), who was a lawyer of the royal chancery,[21] and Canon James of Buda were masters of the arts, and Canon George a professor of the liberal arts in Vienna.[22] The word *beanus* was part of *their* cultural code and not that of Sóvári Sós who presumably used an appropriate

[20] "Idem dominus prepositus ira et furore repletus insanivit clamando: »Ego sum prepositus et dominus vester naturalis et omnes rerum vestrarum ego volo dividere ad placitum meum et volo etiam recipere portiones Michaelis Choler et Philippi.« Et quia ego pie volens eum informare dixi, quod nullus singularis canonicus habet adhuc aliquam portionem ex eo, quod nulla divisio facta est propter debita ecclesie. Illis solitis quitquid supererit, tunc primo dividetur. Mox torvo vultu et clamore furioso tibisando, iniuriando atque etiam vilipendendo idem dominus prepositus dixit mihi: »Et etiam tuam portionem recipiam!« et subdidit: »Quid tu es, quid vales in ecclesia?« Cui respondi: »Quantum ad statum meum, tantum valeo in ecclesia, sicut vos in statu vestro, quod sepius ostendi coram multis prelatis et signanter coram domino cardinali Branda et coram rege et coram baronibus et adhuc ostendere possum coram eisdem.« Tunc idem prepositus magis et magis furore accensus dixit mihi: *»Tu non es magister, sed es unus beanus et unus ribaldus*!« et subiunxit: »Taceas tu ribalde, alias te vinculabo et vinculatum dirigam ad Posonium!« C. Tóth Norbert-Lakatos Bálint-Mikó Gábor, *A pozsonyi prépost és a káptalan viszálya (1421–1425). A szentszéki bíráskodás Magyarországon – a pozsonyi káptalan szervezete és működése a XV. század elején*, Budapest, MTA TKI, 2014, 263.

[21] He received his master's degree in 1414 in Vienna. Ibid., 226.

[22] Ibid., 227. Cf. "testimoniis *magistrorum Georgii et Thome artium professorum* ac domini Iacobi Budensis canonicorum Posoniensium", ibid., 265.

vernacular slander instead of *beanus* and *ribaldus*. Sóvári Sós, who was appointed provost over the educated canons in 1421 against their will, is not known to have had any university education or qualifications, and presumably did not have any.[23]

The *beanus* rituals retained their popularity in the 16th century especially in Germany. In 1508, Andreas Meinhard published a dialogue in praise of the University of Wittenberg.[24] The thirteenth chapter of this work described a story in a dialogue, where Prometheus and Deucalion, two students of the university humiliate a freshman, and "free him from the *beanium*."[25] The dialogue starts with a scene where the two main characters smell around, sensing a stench of unknown origin, which they try in vain to identify with a tanner, a goat, or a corpse. As it turns out, the source of the stench is again the *beanus*, who cannot speak, thus cannot answer to the slanders cast upon him. They humiliate him by dressing him up with used clothes, wash him with black soap, paint him in black, comb him with a horse brush, and make him bear from his stomach a *beanulus*, i.e., a smaller *beanus*.[26] After the two older students humiliate, denigrate and mock him for his lack of knowledge and being a beast (*bestia*), the freshman is tortured with various tools, and finally comes to his mind, realizing a long speech that he was in a dehumanized state of mind before.

Luther, who visited the University of Wittenberg for the first time in 1508, the publication year of the dialogue, and became a professor there from 1512, became a staunch supporter of the *beanus* rites also later. He claimed that these initiations taught the young students not to be arrogant, rid themselves of vice, and served as a warning for the hardships students have to endure during their studies. On one occasion, he himself liberated a student from the *beanium* (*Bachanterey*), and said: "He should bear in mind that his studies and being a student is subjected to a lot of disfortune, displeasure and reluctance [...] it starts with the deposition and its vexations, and lasts until the grave, so he has to remain patient. Because the deposition is nothing else buth the work of the Law, which teaches us to get to know ourselves, who we are and how we are created, and that we have to humiliate ourselves, both in front of God and men, as it is fit to anyone in his own status."[27] In 1539, he noted to three freshmen, who had to endure the deposition, that "[t]his ceremony is intended to make you humble, so that you may not be haughty and

[23] Ibid., 208.

[24] Andreas Meinhard, *Dialogus illustrate ac augustissime urbis Albiorene vulgo Vittenberg dicte…*, Leipzig: Martin Herbipolensis, 1508.

[25] Ibid., J1v-K2v. For a discussion, see William I. Schreiber, "The 'Depositio Cornuti' at Wittenberg University," *Germanic Review* 20:1 (1945): 21-32.

[26] Ibid., J4v.

[27] "Er sollte wissen daß seine Studia und dieser Studentenstand vielem Unglück Unlust und Widerstand unterworfen wäre und allerley Anstoß haben würde. Es hebt sich mit dem Deponieren und Vexieren an und bleibet auch bis in die Grube, darum so sollt er sich zur Geduld schicken. Denn das Deponieren ist nichts anders denn ein Werk des Gesetzes, das uns lehret, daß wir uns selbs erkennen, wer und wie wir sind, und uns demütigen sollen beide fur Gott und den Menschen, wie einem iglichen in seinem Stande gebühret daß man nicht hochmütig und stolz werde." Martin Luther, *Pädagogische Schriften und Äußerungen*, hrsg. von Horst Keferstein, Langensalza: Hermann Beyer, 1888, 158.

arrogant and given to wickedness. Such vices are horns and other monstrous parts that are not becoming to a student. Therefore, humble yourselves. Learn to be patient. You'll be subjected to hazing all your life. […] So, this deposition of yours is only a symbol of human life in its misfortunes and castigations."[28] Luther's positive interpretation of the initiation rituals was based on a symbolism that was already present in the dialogues of the late medieval student handbooks, as the *Manuale scholarium* and *Dialogus* of Wittenberg.

In 16th century Germany, especially at the Protestant universities, the custom grew even more popular than it was before, as the symbolic interpretation created a sophisticated cover-up to explain away the cruel physical brutality of the initiation. Friedrich Widebrand, in his Latin poem *Figure of the school deposition* (*Typus depositionis scholasticae*, Wittenberg, 1569), explained the moral meaning of the custom along the symbolic interpretation of Luther: the horns represent the unbridled, immoral lifestyle of the young, the music and dancing, the dice game, and other immoralities. That is why freshmen must shed the horns that are attached to them, to become worthy of serious university studies. At the same time, the frustration of student life prepares freshmen for the conflicts of adulthood: if the students become pastors, city councilors, landlords, or simply husbands when they mature, they will encounter people who will scold and tease them every day, just as freshmen are scolded and teased by the depositors.[29] It would be exaggerated to attribute the long-lasting popularity of deposition in Germany and other Protestant lands to the influence of Luther's ideas exclusively, but the lack of prohibition, and the regulated character of the rites ensured the survival of these cruel humiliation rites until the early 18th century.

The Ritual of Deposition in Hungary: Frölich's Critique

As Hungary was deeply influenced by the Protestant Reform, and many of the first generation of Reformers attended the university of Wittenberg in the 16th century,[30] one might expect that the custom of deposition would have been adopted in Protestant colleges in Hungary, too. Despite earlier claims to the contrary,[31]

[28] *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*, vol. 4, Weimar: Böhlau, 1916 (= Graz 1967), n. 4714, 443-44. Martin Luther, *Table talk*, (Luther's Works, vol. 54.), eds. Theodore G. Tappert, Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1967, 362.

[29] Friedrich Widebrand, *Typus depositionis scholasticae, heroico carmine descriptus*, Wittenberg: Petrus Seitz, 1569.

[30] On the students, see András Szabó, *Natio Hungarica. Die Mitglieder der ungarischen Studentengemeinschaft in Wittenberg 1555–1613*, transl. Albert Friedrich, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021. . – https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666565540

[31] Örs Dóczy ("Beavatás-történetek," *A csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve* 2007-2008, 99–114, here 104–105) mistakenly claims that the deposition was a known custom in the College of Nagyenyed (Aiud, RO). His 19th century source, Károly P. Szathmáry (*A gyulafehérvár-nagyenyedi Bethlen-főtanoda története*, Nagy-Enyed: by the author, 1868, 24–26) clearly states that he describes the customs of early modern academies in Germany, and not those of Hungary.

the historical evidence seems to contradict this hypothesis. As István Kulcsár, the editor of the periodical *Hasznos mulatságok* (*Useful entertainments*) summarized his experience in 1823: "In our Hungarian schools and universities, have never existed and still do not exist such awful customs from abroad, and we hope that these won't become popular either, even if the blessing of initiation is required in many places today."[32] But there exist also earlier proofs of the absence of the deposition in scholastic life in Hungary. These ritualized forms of aggression, saturated with violence, were already viewed with aversion outside of Germany in the 16th and 17th centuries. As we will see, Jesuits long hesitated whether the deposition should be introduced to colleges of the society in Germany. Additionally, there is an important, but previously neglected source about the aversion to these customs from Hungary. David Frölich (1595–1648) was a German-speaking mathematician, who studied at the university of Frankfurt an der Oder and then made a living from publishing calendars in Czech, German, Hungarian and Latin in Wrocław, Lőcse (Leutschau, Levoča, SK) and Bártfa (Bartfeld, Bardejov, SK), while living in Késmárk (Käsmark, Kežmarok, SK). In 1643–1644, he published the *Bibliotheca seu Cynosura peregrinantium* (*Library or pole-star of travelers*), a travel guide in three parts which followed a Ramist structure, and outlined the questions the traveler should consider before setting off on a journey.[33] A special section was dedicated to "peregrination", or travelling to academies for studies, just between the sections on schools and cemeteries.[34] Frölich explains that future students should consider the various academies from different points of view, including their foundation, their age, their history, the number of disciplines taught there, their most famous professors, their salaries, because all these data reveal the quality of education one could get at these places. Frölich's investigation embraces other aspects of academic life, as well, including language use (Latin or vernacular), student housing, the cost of living, or whether the university organized public anatomical demonstrations (whether in daylight or in candlelight!) and physical experiments. Finally, after examining whether it is allowed to hunt for deer, rabbits and other animals, and considering the size of the library, Frölich reaches the end of his ponderings with discussing the types of academic dispositions. Importantly, he noted that "these ridiculous customs are absent from the academies of Spain, Italy, France, Belgium and Britain, but in Germany, they are strictly observed."[35] Therefore, those who plan to study in Germany, must consider whether they can get an exemption from the painful duty of deposition. Frölich notes that in 1628, Transylvanian and Hungarian

[32] „A mi magyar iskoláinkban és Universitasunkban sem régebben nem voltak, sem most nintsenek keletben az efféle Külföldi tsúfos nevezetek, és reményljük, hogy ezután sem jönnek keletbe, ha mindjárt több helyeken a beavatás áldomássát megkívánják is." *Hasznos mulatságok* 1823/semester 1, nr. 15., 118-119.

[33] David Frölich, *Bibliotheca, seu Cynosura peregrinantium*, Ulm: Wolfgang Endter, 1643–1644. RMK III 1628. On David Frölich's life, see Ilona Pavercsik, „David Frölich sajátkezű feljegyzései műveiről I-II," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 112 (1996): 292–319, 429–450.

[34] Frölich, *Bibliotheca,* Liber tertius, Partis prioris, Ulm: Endter, 1643, 258–299.

[35] Ibid., 297.

students were granted dispensation from Prince Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg at the academy in Frankfurt an der Oder, where Frölich himself had studied, because, as he says, "these nations are afflicted and 'deposed' more than enough by the barbarous Turks." He adds that Hungarians have enjoyed such a privilege previously in Heidelberg.[36] I do not know of any other source reinforcing these claims: neither the surviving university statutes from 1610,[37] nor those of the Faculty of Arts from the 1640s mention any such privilege in Frankfurt an der Oder.[38] Nevertheless, it seems possible that Prince Georg Wilhelm, whose sister Katherine became the wife of Prince Gábor Bethlen of Transylvania in 1626 and who remained in close connection to her after the marriage, made such an exemption for Hungarian students because of the close diplomatic ties.[39] This exemption was considered so important, that it was copied into the city chronicle of Levoča by Caspar Hain, perhaps as a piece of good advice to his fellow countrymen.[40]

Frölich's approach to deposition and the customs of *beanium* demonstrate how cumbersome the presence of such a habit was felt by first year students. According to the *Bibliotheca*, if there is no chance to avoid a deposition, one must find out by what means the deposition is carried out and compare the universities according to the rudeness of the custom. One should ask "whether the deposition is carried out at the time of a public market, and whether there are male and female viewers, local, or from abroad?" Or "if it is private, by which professors and students is it carried out, and what costs are connected to it?" "Whether also the local craftsmen (*mechanici*) are admitted to the viewing of the deposition?" "Are there multiple depositors or only a single one?" The various deposition tools might cause different kinds of humiliation, therefore these have to be compared, too: "What are the deposition clothes and tools? Is there a hood? a vest? boots? a beard? a saw? a hatchet? a pickaxe? mattocks? a rosary? feathers? a club? a razor? a comb? soap? drill? a drawing compass? a polishing file? a hammer? an anvil? a rake? a stage? a ladder? a two-pronged fork? scissors? tongs?"[41] At many places, the *beani* were required to invite the depositor and the other participants of the ritual to a banquet,

[36] „Hungari et Transylvani in Academia Francofurtana Anno Christi 1628. ab Electore Brandeburgensi Georgio Wilhelmo privilegium de cornibus Beanorum non deponendis (eo quod hae nationes a barbaris Turcis satis superque affligantur et deponantur) impetrarunt. Eadem quoque immunitate quondam in Academia Heidelbergensi gaudebant." Ibid., 297–298.

[37] „Nec tollimus morem receptum de deponendis beanis, ut vocant, ut omnes a professoribus hac occasione statim initio ad hunc actum peculiariter vocatis admoneantur de vitae genere, quod sunt ingressuri et de omni officio suo." *Die allgemeinen Statuten der Universität Frankfurt a. O. (1510–1610),* ed. Paul Reh, Breslau: Marcus, 1898, 56.

[38] „Statuta facultatis philosophicae in academia Francofurtana," ed. Paul Reh, in: *Jahres-Bericht des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Gross-Strehlitz f. d. Schuljahr 1898–99*, Gross-Strehlitz, 1899, 1–20.

[39] See Gábor Kármán, „Gábor Bethlen's Diplomats at the Protestant Courts of Europe," *Hungarian Historical Review* 2 (2013), 790–823.

[40] Hain Gáspár, *Lőcsei krónikája*, ed. Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster, Aurél Kauffmann Aurél, (Lőcse: Reiss, 1910), 186.

[41] „An unus tantum sit Depositor vel plures? Quae vestimenta et instrumenta sint depositoria: qualis cuculus, thorax, caliga, barba, serra, dolabra, dentes, bidentes, globuli precatorii, pennale, clava, novacula, pecten, smegma, terebra, circulus, lima, malleus, incus, rostrum, suggestum, scala, furca, forfex, forceps." Frölich, *Bibliotheca,* Liber tertius, Partis prioris, Ulm: Endter, 1643, 298.

and also the costs of this dinner had to be taken into account: "Whether the deposed [beanus] has to invite the person who absolves him, the dean, the rector, the depositor, and their fellows for a feast, and how much money has to be spent on this feast?"[42] Often, the entire ritual of deposition could be redeemed by the *beanus*, and its amount was a matter of consideration, as well: "From whom, and for what amount the proof of deposition and the academic registration can be redeemed?"[43] Following all these detailed considerations, according to Frölich, the traveler could make a much clearer decision about where to go.

Frölich's evidence makes stronger the hypothesis that the custom of deposition and the ritual humiliation of the *beani* was hardly known and not practiced in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania in the first half of the 17th century. The word *beanus* is not present in the widely used Latin-Hungarian dictionary of Albert Szenci Molnár (1604), and deposition appears only in the general sense of "putting down", although he must have met this custom during his studies in Wittenberg, Dresden, Heidelberg, and Strasbourg, or during his time in Altdorf and Marburg in Germany.[44] According to Marian Füssel, this late medieval custom died out in many places during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, which he interpreted in terms of Norbert Elias' "process of civilization": to many students and scholars, these violent rituals started to look "awkward" and barbaric.[45] Frölich's statements, however, seem to contradict this evaluation of the phenomenon. It seems that it was considered a custom that was specific to the universities of the Holy Roman Empire, and to the academies connected to the German tradition (as e.g., Prague). E.g., in the Netherlands, where Frölich claimed that the custom is unknown, the initiation rituals were far from being that violent as in Germany,

[42] "An Absolventem, Decanum, Rectorem, Depositorem et populares suos Depositus convivio excipiat et quantum in ejusmodi convivium impendendum." Ibid., 298.

[43] "A quo et quanti testimonium depositionis et immatriculationis Academicae redimendum." Ibid., 298. Frölich's following questions refer to another custom, the deposition of the printer, which became widespread among typographers in several German cities in the 17th century. See William Blades, *An Account of the German Morality Play Entitled 'Depositio Cornuti Typographici*, (London: Trübner and Co., 1885); Karl Theodor Gaedertz, *Gebrüder Stern und Ristens Depositionspiel*, (Lüneburg: Stern, 1886).

[44] Szenci Molnár does not mention deposition in his diary. It is possible that Hungarian students, who switched from one university to the other within one semester, could avoid the deposition rituals. Early modern university statutes often prescribe the necessity of deposition, and prohibit the visiting of any lectures without participating in one. These regulations might have referred to students who switched places within one semester, as Molnár did. The word *beanus* is also missing from dictionary of Ferenc Pápai Páriz (1708).

[45] Marian Füssel, "Rituale in der Krise? Zum Wandel akademischer Ritualkultur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung," *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 55 (2009), 137–153, here 147 and Marian Füssel, "Riten der Gewalt. Zur Geschichte der akademischen Deposition und des Pennalismus in der frühen Neuzeit," in: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 32 (2005): 605-648. Hannah Skoda took a different approach to the depositions, trying to grasp the motivations of the perpetrators, and claiming that the aim of these rituals was to parody the "hypocrisy of academic claims to represent a civilising space" and "to engage with ideas about violence." In fact, the early institutionalization of the practice, the omnipresent idea that only an academy which has an initiation rite is a true academy, and Luther's understanding of this custom as a moral allegory, all seem to challenge the conclusion that the deposition could have been considered a subversive rite. Cf. Hannah Skoda, "Frying Pans, Limpets, Donkeys and Becs-Jaunes: Thinking about Violence in Late Medieval Universities," *Global Intellectual History*, 20 (2023, June), 1–20. – https://doi.org/10.1080/23801883.2023.2201956

and it was forbidden to involve any students in such practices as early as 1601 in Franeker.[46] Frölich's case shows that there existed open critics of it much earlier than its disappearance in Germany the late 17th and 18th centuries, as we will see in the case of the depositions at Jesuit universities, and it is hard to interpret the long lasting tradition of this custom only in terms of the process of civilization.

The Jesuit in Hungary and the Ritual of Deposition

Hungary's first and only university with a higher faculty (theology) in the early modern period was the University of Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau, SK), founded by the former Jesuit Archbishop of Hungary, Péter Pázmány in 1635.[47] It was preceded by a college, that was founded in the 16th century, and managed as a Jesuit gymnasium since 1616. Péter Pázmány donated 100.000 florins to build a new building, student homes, and a church for the new university, and he was personally involved in the beginnings of the university activities, such as the design of the seal of the university or the first performance of a school drama. The single piece of information about a deposition in Trnava is a note from the rector of the university, György Dobronoki in his diary from January 16, 1636: "I was at luncheon with his Eminence [the Archbishop, Péter Pázmány], together with Father Matthaeus Maurach. He commended that we should receive the Palatine, who is coming here for the funeral of Lord Nicolaus Forgách, the general of Košice who died in Bratislava (Pozsony), with some literary salutation. He urged me that we should start the academic deposition at once this year, and I answered that we will."[48] The diary does not contain any information on the actual deposition (which most probably should have taken place in the autumn), but there is no reason to doubt that Dobronoki fulfilled the wishes of the Archbishop, although we do not know

[46] A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, *Vier eeuwen Nederlandsch Studentenleven*, (Voorburg: Boot, 1939), 123–124. The source is edited in W. B. S. Boeles, *Frieslands Hoogeschool en het Rijks Atheneum te Franeker*, (Leeuwarden: Kuipers, 1878), vol. 1., 281.

[47] Szentpétery Imre, *A Bölcsészettudományi Kar története 1635–1935* (A Királyi Magyar Pázmány PéterTudományegyetem története 4), (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935), 3-11 és Tusor Péter, "Az 1635-ös egyetemalapítás pápai elismertségének kérdéséhez," *Gerundium* 13/3-4 (2022): 89–125. – https://doi.org/10.29116/gerundium/2022/3-4/5

[48] "Cum P. Matthaeo Maurach fui apud Eminentissimum in prandio. Commendavit mihi ut d. Palatinum venturum huc ad sepulturam d. Nicolai Forgach Generalis Cassoviensis Posonii defuncti exciperemus aliqua salutatione literaria. Depositionem Academicam ut hoc statim anno inchoaremus, ursit respondi me satisfacturum." *Actuum academicorum collegii Societatis Jesu Tyrnaviae tomus XVII.*, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, Collectio Prayana, Tomus 30/1., 4v. It was first mentioned by Szentpétery, *A Bölcsészettudományi Kar*, 14. On the diary, see Orsolya Báthory, "Dobronoki György S.I. latin nyelvű diáriuma," in: *Pázmány Péter és kora* (Pázmány Irodalmi Műhely. Tanulmányok 2), ed. Emil Hargittay, Piliscsaba: PPKE, 2001, 372–394.

how and until when these deposition rituals were continued.[49] The university acts of 1658 mention the issues connected to depositions,[50] but no exact description of the rituals in Trnava survives.[51]

Dobronoki's account reveals that it was the archbishop's specific wish that a deposition should be performed at the university. The motifs behind Pázmány's desire to organize a deposition can be understood from the ambiguous relationship of the Jesuit order to this custom. Many universities of the order – e.g. the university of Prague and Vienna – were originally founded in the later Middle Ages and had a continuous tradition of student initiation rites, which remained typical in the Holy Roman Empire until the late 17th-early 18th century. In Prague, where a Jesuit academy coexisted with the Protestant Charles University since 1562, the Jesuits organized a deposition from 1573 in order to compete with the Charles University.[52] Following this strategy, at the University of Olomouc (founded as a Jesuit gymnasium in 1566, and elevated to university in 1573), the Jesuits similarly organized a deposition on October 15, 1576 for the first time, and this custom was continued in later years, as well. The oldest student register of the University states that "the first deposition was celebrated following the custom and habits of the German academies, during which the enrolled students were liberated from the *beanium* and entered among the students."[53] Already among the first students, deposed on October 15th and 16th, 1576, we find two students from the Kingdom of Hungary, Michael Novack of Trnava, a nobleman, Ladislaus (László) Telegdi of Trnava, and they were followed by several others.[54]

The process of the deposition is not described in the university register, but it might have resembled the custom which is described in the *Progymnasmata Latinitatis* (1588), the very popular educational dialogues of the German Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus (1542–1626), who taught in the College of Dillingen in Svabia for most of his life. In the first part, which includes dialogues dealing with schools

[49] See Szentpétery, *A Bölcsészettudományi Kar…*, 63.

[50] *Deliberationes, determinationes, acta et statuta consistorialia academiae S. J. Tyrnaviensis ab anno 1658*, Hungarian National Archive (MNL MOL), Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Acta Ecclesiastica, Irregestrata, Coll. Tyrn., fasc. 9. nr. 34.), cited by Szentpétery, *A Bölcsészettudományi Kar…*, 63.

[51] Szentpétery, *A Bölcsészettudományi Kar…*, 63–64 described the deposition rituals based on the monograph of Krones about the University of Graz, which are however entirely based on the rites of Ingolstadt from 1683 (see below). So in fact, both Krones and Szentpétery cite the rites of Ingolstadt from 1683, while attributing it to Graz and Trnava, respectively. István Mészáros summarized the same description without citing any historical sources: István Mészáros, "Pázmány Péter, az egyetemalapító," in: *Új Ember,* 41/20 (1985), 6. .

[52] Jiří Fiala, "Beanismo exuti," *Žurnál Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci*, 31/1 (2021), 40.

[53] "prima depositio more institutoque academiarum Germanicarum celebrata est, in qua inscripti beanismo exuti et in numerum studiosorum relati sunt." *Nejstarší matrika olomoucké univerzity. Die älteste Matrikel der Olmützer Universität (1576) 1590–1621*, eds. Vladimír Spáčil, Libuše Spáčilová, (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2016), 67.

[54] Ibid., 67–68, 69 (Martinus Sczaladiensis ab Egerseck, Paulus Polosthai Posoniensis), 72 (Martinus and Simon Banowski, and Matthaeus Illicinus who had already been deposed in Vienna; Count Gabriel Majláth/Meylandt), 73 (Abel Körmendi/Cermendi of Galgóc/Hlohovec). László Telegdi is probably identical to Ladislas Telegdi, archdeacon of Sasvár, who inherited a part of the library of his uncle, Miklós Telegdi, bishop of Pécs, *locum tenens* of the Archbishopric of Esztergom in Trnava. Ferenc Kollányi, "Könyvek a XVI. és XVII. századbeli főpapi hagyatékokban," *Magyar Könyvszemle*, N. S. 3 (1895), 211.

among other subjects, two students, Narcissus and Gulielmus discuss the deposition (*Progymnasma* 83).[55] Narcissus complains to his fellow student that he had to go through "horrible things" (*horribilia*), and these initiation rites are so humiliating that they would rather suit a mule-driver and a herdsman (*mulionem aut bubulcum*), and not a future student. Narcissus's account includes the traditional elements of deposition (he was mocked by the senior students as "archibeanus"; he was beaten by various tools – a saw, a hatchet, a mattock; his clothes were ripped off, his head shaved and his hair combed, he was ridiculed for not being able to open an inkstand), but the dialogue is not focused on the details of the rite, but rather on the emotional damage it causes in the humiliated Narcissus. It is probably the first account which describes the feelings of the victimized *beanus* caused by the long torture,[56] and exposes its details with clever amplifications. Narcissus feels offended not only because of the physical pain he had to endure, but also because of the fact that he had to pay for his own humiliation, display gratitude for it, and to promise not to take revenge for it ever.[57] The greatest dishonor however was not physical harm but psychological torment: this happened to him when his torturers searched his haversack, and pretended to have found a letter of his mother, which they read out loud. The letter included the forged laments of his mother, and recalled how painful it was to bear the baby Narcissus, how he suckled the nipples of his mother, how he was petted by her as a baby goat, and as a little sparrow. Clearly, this scene had not only a dehumanizing effect on the figure of Narcissus as the previous comparisons to various animals, but contained also emasculating elements, which deeply embarrassed him. In Pontanus's dialogue, he ended his complaints with the lesson which we have seen in Frölich's *Bibliotheca*: "Had I know that such things would happen, I would have gone to the Academies where they say nothing like this happens."[58] Gulielmus represents the older students' side who survived the same rite three years ago, and apologizes for the ritual to the outraged Narcissus, but explains that there must have been a probable reason (*verisimilis ratio*) why this

[55] Jacobus Pontanus SJ, *Progymnasma Latinitatis sive Dialogorum volumen primum […] de rebus litterariis*, (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1588), 247–253. Fabricius (*Die akademische Deposition*, 47, fn. 80) claims that the rituals described by Pontanus are related to the University of Prague where he studied from 1558 and entered the Jesuit order in 1564. The idea that the *Depositio* is derived from the rituals in Prague was first suggested int he index of the *Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo-Ferdinendeae Pragensis* without any evidence (Prague: Gerzabek, 1832, I/2, 553). Nevertheless, the coincidence of the discussions about deposition in the Jesuit elite (1586; see later) and the publication of Pontanus's dialogue (1588) suggest that the rituals described by him were supposed to be exemplary models to be followed in other colleges. Moreover, the psychological dramatization of the scene in Pontanus's dialogue is completely a novel literary element in the tradition, and thus cannot be retraced to the university of Prague.

[56] "Non erat comoedia, erat eculeus, et taurus Phalaridis." Ibid., 250.

[57] "Quin etiam (infandum) pro tantis iniuriis et ignominiis tanquam bene meritis nesio quantum argenti solvere necesse habui, gratias agree, et sacramentum conceptis verbis dicere, non me ultorem aliquando fore." Ibid., 250.

[58] "Si scissem haec futura, abiissem ubi sunt academiae, in quibus nihil istorum fieri perhibent." Ibid., 252.

custom became so widespread, and Narcissus should rather stay silent about his indignity to others. Therefore, the *beanus* finally draws the conclusion that he will later treat the new students in the same way as he himself was treated.

Pontanus's dialogue was published only two years after the issue of depositions was discussed at the highest level in the Jesuit order. In February 1586, Georg Bader SJ, the provincial of the Austrian province, wrote even twice to Claudio Acquaviva, the general of the Jesuit order, that deposition rites are unavoidable in Germany, if the Order wishes that its schools are taken seriously there. To this request, Father Ximenez replied from Rome that they have already written about this issue to the University of Prague, as well, and ordered them to abolish all kinds of such silly rites, or at least to regulate them.[59] Obviously, Pontanus's dialogue, and especially its end is a reaction to this regulation. Gulielmus's final note echoes the warnings from Rome: "I would not deny that some things could be omitted [from the rite], and others could be performed more mildly."[60]

It is not clear whether the rites became milder at once, or only later, as this aspect of Jesuit education is a relatively neglected field in research. In 1587, the yearly reports (*litterae annuae*) of the Jesuit University of Graz commemorate that a "deposition of the horns" was held (probably meaning a full-fledged, abusive deposition ceremony), and it pleased the founder of the University, Archduke Charles II of Austria so much, that he also let his own nine-year old son, Ferdinand (the future emperor Ferdinand II), be deposed.[61] Just like Georg Bader, the provincial of the Austrian province, the "litterae annuae" also emphasize that this custom was necessary for the integrity of the university (*ne quid ad integrum academici Graecensis nomen ei posthac deesse videretur*). Franz von Krones, the 19th century historian of the university claimed that the deposition became less cruel by 1630, when the university register remarked that the deposition under the rector Vitalis Pellizerolli was "milder and with due decorum".[62] Krones interpreted this remark in the sense that depositions became more symbolic and physically less abusive after 1630. The only argument he adduced was the regulation of depositions from the Jesuit University of Ingolstadt from 1683, i.e., more than fifty years later. These regulations are in fact much more symbolic: the chief depositor, Quintus, and his deputy, Substitutus, asked the candidate students a series of questions, the answers

[59] Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1907), vol. 1., 270–271. Duhr cites Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Epistolae e Germania ad generales SI scriptae*, XXXIII, 593, XXVII, 53, XXVII, 63; P. Ximenes to Bader, Orig. Reg. Ad Austr. 4v, which I had no occasion to check.

[60] "Non inficias ierim porro, quaedam omitti, alia modestius committi posse." Pontanus SJ, *Progymnasma*, I, 253.

[61] "ludicras inter ceremonias cornua deponerent, priusquam matriculae inscriberentur. Haec adeo probata fundatori Serenissimo, ut Ferdinandum filium, etsi antea nominatum literariae iuventutis principem, eodem ritu initiari iusserit, ne quid ad integrum academici Graecensis nomen ei posthac deesse videretur. Tantum abest ut infra illustres majorum ceras id quisquam esse autumet, quod sanguinis Augusti princeps peculiari sibi ornamento duxit." The *Litterae annuae* of 1587, cited by Franz von Krones, *Geschichte des Karl-Franzens-Universität in Graz*, (Graz: Karl-Franzens-Universität, 1886), 312.

[62] Krones, *Geschichte*, 290–291.

to which required the *beanus* to take an oath. The depositors then anointed the lips of those present with the salt of wisdom, their noses and temples with the wine of strength and tenderness, and poured water on their heads, which symbolized purity of mind.[63] Quintus then dedicated the newly initiated students to the patrons of the faculty, St Catherine and St Francis Xavier. Obviously, there is no guarantee that the symbolism of the 1683 ceremonies in Ingolstadt had been introduced in Graz already in 1630, and the sophisticated reconstructions of later scholarship, e.g. about the alleged deposition ceremony of Count Nicholas Zrínyi, who studied in Graz in 1630, lack any evidence.[64] Further research would be needed to study the history of depositions at Jesuit universities, taking into account the Jesuit University of Vienna, where two foreign students, Nicolaus and Sigismund Grudziński were eyewitnesses of these rituals 1650.[65] As their tutor, the Jesuit Bartholomaeus Nathaniel Wąsowski describes in his account entitled "Europea Peregrinatio", the young Polish aristocrats could escape the humiliation by paying a concessionary fee, and their names were entered in the register in the presence of the dean and the professors without crawling on all fours in donkey scene, and similar procedures.[66] This seems to contradict the theory that the Jesuits depositions became "milder" after 1630. In fact, it seems that the violent customs held out in Graz until 1726 at least, when the feasts connected to deposition were finally forbidden for good ("ein für allemal").[67]

A Dramatic Deposition in Sárospatak: Comenius and His *Schola Ludus*

Apart from the Jesuit university of Trnava, the only significant literary monument about a deposition in Hungary from the 17th century survives from the academy of Sárospatak. The Protestant school in Sárospatak was not a university, as it had

[63] Krones, *Geschichte*, 314, citing the ms. *Forma et ratio gubernandi academias et studia generalia Societatis Jesu in Provincia Austriae* (Austrian National Library, cod. 12030). An identical description can be found in Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut, Ingolstadt, München*, (Munich: Kaiser, 1872), vol. 2, 463-465.

[64] Cf. Károly Széchy, *Zrínyi Miklós*, (Budapest: MTA, 1896), vol. 1., 59–60. In fact, Széchy took the theory of Krones at face value, and quoted the description of the 1683 Ingolstadt deposition as if had been identical to the 1630 ceremony in Graz.

[65] Because of the reconstruction works in the Czartoryski Library, I could not access the diary of the Jesuit Bartholomaeus Nathaniel Wąsowski, the tutor of Nicolaus and Sigismundus Grudziński (Cracow, Bibl. Czart. ms. XVII 3031, p. 13). See Henryk Barycz, *Historja Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w epoce humanizmu*, Cracow, Naklad Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1935, 656). Barycz claims that these customs were restricted in Vienna at an unspecified date (citing the *Acta facultatis artium*, IV 225a). On Wąsowski, see Małgorzata Wyrzykowska, "Vienna and its works of art in the eyes of Polish travellers in the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century," *Quart* 56/2 (2020), 50. – https://doi.org/10.19195/quart.2020.2.74522

[66] I owe this account to Zdzisław Pietrzyk, "Relacja z podróży jezuity Bartłomieja Nataniela Wąsowskiego," *Staropolskie podróżowanie*, eds. Bogdan Rok, Filip Wolański, (Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2016), 264–265.

[67] Krones, *Geschichte*, 55–56, 315.

no higher faculties, and it did not offer any degrees: it mainly served the education of future Calvinist pastors in the 17th century. Zsuzsanna Lórántffy, the widow of George Rákóczi I, Prince of Transylvania, who lived in Sárospatak, decided to invite a professor of international fame to the academy, in order to raise the level of education. In 1650, Johann Amos Comenius accepted the invitation after some hesitation, and planned to organize a school of "pansophia", where all disciplines could be studied.[68] Among Comenius's several projects in Sárospatak, the school drama called *Schola ludus seu Encyclopaedia viva* (*The school-play / The School as a game as a living encyclopaedia*),[69] had a special significance. In this unusual chain of school dramas written in 1654, and published in Sárospatak in 1656,[70] he aimed at creating a dramatic version of his *Ianua linguarum* (*Gateway to languages*). Comenius divided the vocabulary of his *Ianua linguarum* into eight school dramas, which he called parts, and each dealt with specific subjects as the cosmos, the human world, crafts, etc. The fifth part focused on universities and their four faculties, and each act concentrated on a specific field of it.[71] At the beginning of the fifth part, the King who is present in all the pieces, calls his councilors, who explain notions connected to the university, as the meaning of bachelor, or master. After a councilor explains the origin of the word 'academy', its meaning, its main areas of teaching and the levels of training, the King asks to be shown how students from the *schola trivialis* are admitted to the academy, as Apollonius, the King's friend, has heard that it is accompanied by special ceremonies ('ceremonias peculiares').[72] In the third scene of the first act, two new students arrive in town, and they are received by the rector and the bedel, who explain them the rules of behavior at the university.[73] After giving an oath, the unsuspecting novices think that the ceremony is over, but the bedel warns them that it has just started, and they will undergo a deposition. The rector tells them of the historical roots of deposition (which he traces back to Athens and Gregory of Nazianze),[74] and the bedel shows them the tools of deposition in the company of a new figure, the *depositor*. They bring a cap decorated with bull horns,

[68] Ősz Ferenc, "Comenius 'önéletrajza'," in: *Comenius példája*, eds. Ferenc Földy, Ferenc Kiss, Dániel Kováts (Sárospatak: 2004), 17–34.

[69] The title of Wilhelm Bötticher's German translation is "The school as a game" (*Die Schule als Spiel*), which renders well Comenius's idea that studying should be as joyful, entertaining and playful as playing. Johann Amos Comenius, *Die Schule als Spiel*, transl. Wilhelm Bötticher, (Langensalza: Bayer und Söhne, 1888). The excellent Hungarian translation by János Bollók bears the title "Playful school" (*Játszó iskola*): *Comenius és a magyar iskola*, ed. Csaba Csorba et al., (Sárospatak: Magyar Comenius Társaság, 1999), 95.

[70] Johannes Amos Comenius, *Schola ludus seu Encyclopaedia viva*, (Sárospatak: Georgius Renius, 1656). Later editions in Amsterdam, 1657 and 1664.

[71] Markéta Klosová, "Actors and Acting in the *Schola ludus* cycle by John Amos Comenius," in: *Új eredmények a színház- és drámatörténeti kutatásban*, eds. Anett Farkas, Gabriella Körömi, (Eger: Líceum, 2022), 181–196. – https://doi.org/10.17048/Ujeredmenyekaszinhaz.2022.181

[72] Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius), *De studii pansophici impedimentis […] Schola ludus*, (Veškerých spisů Jana Amosa Komenského IX), ed. Otakar Kádner, (Brno: Ústřední spolek jednot učitelských na Moravě, 1915), 301.

[73] Ibid., 295–302.

[74] Ibid., 303. The historical roots of hazing appeared already in the 16th century publications dealing with depositions.

donkey's ears, an axe, a saw, a mattock, and the depositor starts to shout at the novices: "What is this disgusting stench? I am struck by the air of barbaric stench! Phi! You, you fools, is this stench coming from you? You dumb fool! What are you doing in the Academy, you who cannot speak? You stood before the rector like a mute statue, like a donkey in human skin! Start braying 'hee-haw'! Tell me, what's a beanus?" After the novice's answer that he does not know, the depositor continues: "Well, well, well, the braying donkey! What else is 'I don't know' but a donkey's answer."[75] It is clear that the scene's dramaturgy directly imitates the late fifteenth century *Manuale scholarium* as an intertext: the bedell and his companion smell out the freshmen because of the stench of the first-year students, and they chastise them with similar words, as in the *Manuale scholarium* Camillus did: "What is this stench? What infects this place?" ("Quis hic fetor est? Quis locum illum inficit?").

After calling them a donkey, the depositor decorates their heads with bull horns: "I can see exactly how you'll turn into some kind of fist-pumping bull if you don't get your horns broken off Well, I'll put your likeness on you, the badges of a horned bull." Following these humiliations, the depositor starts to recite seven hexameters. These lines reveal the textual sources of Comenius: they are copied out from the *Typus depositionis scholasticae*, the poem of Friedrich Widebram cited above, which is a hitherto unrecognized intertext of the *Schola ludus*. Widebram's poem, first published in Jena in 1567,[76] was often reprinted, and appeared in many anthologies dealing with academic life in Germany, including the section on academies in the *Encyclopaedia* of Johann Heinrich Alsted (1630).[77] It is however for sure that Comenius used not Alsted's version, because in the following part of the scene, he also cites a comical rhymed poem of Widebram:

> We are planing a splintery board,
> We make a rough peasant,
> what's crooked, we straighten it,
> and the high, we press it down.
> The wild ass is starving,
> and cabbage would fit in his mouth,
> Where his tender spot is,
> We must look for a sharp nail.[78]

[75] Ibid., 304.

[76] I had access to the second edition: Friedrich Widebram, *Typus depositionis scholasticae*, (Wittenberg: Seitz, 1569), B1r.

[77] Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Encyclopaedia septem tomis distincta*, (Herborn: s.n., 1630), vol. 2., 1521–1523. See Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications, 1543-1630*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 217. – https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198174301.001.0001

[78] "Lignum fricamus horridum, / crassum dolamus rusticum, / curvum quod est, hoc felectimus, / altum quod est, deprimimus. / Ferox asellus esurit, / lactuca labris convenit, ubi malignus nodus est, quaerendus asper clavus est."

Widebram's poem did not appear in Alsted's encyclopedia, only in the *Typus depositionis…*, and in other anthologies, as the editions of the collection of texts related to deposition, entitled *De origine, causis, typo et ceremoniis* of Johannes Dinckel,[79] where it was introduced by an etching which represented the planing of the *beanus* (Fig. 5.)

Fig. 5. The planing of the beanus. Dinckel, *De origine,* C6r.

Thus, Comenius purportedly looked for authentic descriptions of the deposition and literary texts related to it, so that he could represent it as an academic custom in his drama. After the planing of the *beanus*, the King shouts "stop!" to the rector ("Rector, sisti iube!"), and calls the entire performance silliness ("ineptiae"). He argues that academies should have nothing to do with such silly habits: "Where do these foolish ceremonies come from into the workshop of Wisdom?"[80] Despite the King's dismay, the rector defends the ritual: "academies, however, refuse to give them up, but cling to the habit with tooth and nail." He explains that they have a more serious, deeper meaning: "These frivolous things hide something serious in themselves […] also The initiates are ceremonially offered the vessel of wisdom and the wine of cheerfulness by the professor present, who encourages them to

[79] Johannes Dinckel, *De origine, causis, typo et ceremoniis illius ritus, qui vulgo in scholis Depositio appellatur, Oratio Iohannis Dinckelii*, (Erfurt: Mechler, 1578), C6r. Later editions in 1579 and 1582. It was also published in the *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum*, ed. Janus Gruter, vol. 6., Frankfurt am Main: Hoffmann, 1612, 1106.

[80] Komenský (Comenius), *De studii pansophici… Schola ludus*, 305.

remember that they have cast off wildness, crudeness and all that can disfigure true humanity."[81] Thus, Comenius warns that true academies need a similar initiation rite even if it seems cruel and wild at the first sight. As the rector justified the presence of this scene by the fact that also true academies have these rites, Comenius might suggest by this that a similar kind of ritual might be necessary in Sárospatak if it wants to elevate its level of education.

Conclusion

The late medieval and early modern student initiation rites, known as *beanium* or depositio, also left their mark on the cultural history of Hungary. The country lacked a strong university tradition, as the medieval university foundations (Pécs, Óbuda, Bratislava) of the 14th and 15th centuries did not survive, and until the founding of the first early modern university, the Jesuit University of Trnava in 1635, there was no institution of higher education in the country. Nevertheless, some traces of these rituals have survived among Hungarian students and scholars, and their response to the emotional and physical challenges of these rites is often revealing. On the one hand, it seems that the student deposition as an institutionalized ritual was alien to Hungarian schools before 1635, as there were no universities, and the deposition was strictly associated with institutions of higher education. Therefore, local intellectuals as David Frölich showed great aversion to these customs in the first half of the 17th century. On the other hand, two examples, that of Péter Pázmány in Trnava and Johann Amos Comenius in Sárospatak, show that some intellectuals accepted the necessity that a real university needs an initiation rite, i.e., a *beanium* or a deposition. Péter Pázmány successfully initiated this custom in Trnava for the sake of the university, and Comenius argued for the necessity of these "barbaric" rites in his *Schola ludus*, despite the King's reluctance. Both examples show the strong influence of the German academic system, where these rites were considered an essential part of university education until the 18th century.

[81] Ibid., 305.

Reconstructing Student Life in the 1450s. Insights from the Poetry of Janus Pannonius

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1. Introduction

The oeuvre of Janus Pannonius provides valuable insights into the student experience in 15th-century Italy, shedding light on life at Guarino da Verona's renowned school in Ferrara. By revisiting Pannonius's epigrams, this paper uncovers fresh perspectives on both an influential figure in the history of education and the broader contours of student life in the 1450s.

2. Reconstructing the school of Guarino

Guarino da Verona was described as "the master of his generation" by Enea Silvio Piccolomini[1]. After an extensive period of travel, Guarino finally established a center of educational excellence in Ferrara during the 1430s, with support from the Este family.

[1] Pio II, Meserve, M. y Simonetta, M. (eds.). *Commentaries. Vol. I. Books I-II.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 103.

By the time he founded his school, Guarino had already achieved significant renown. He was a prominent humanist, having made notable contributions to scholarship, including engaging in discussions with the Count of Carmagnola[2] and Poggio Bracciolini on the lives of Scipio and Caesar[3]. His legacy also includes important translations[4] and editions[5], which further solidified his reputation in the humanist movement.

The success of Guarino's educational program can also be understood through the analysis of Battista Guarino's work, *De ordine docendi et studendi6*, which outlines the principles that underpinned his father's teaching methods. Guarino's ultimate objective was to cultivate a new type of humanist, characterized by a distinct set of competencies and adherence to a prescribed code of values[7]. Scholars such as Rosmini[8] and Sabbadini[9] have argued that Guarino's educational approach empowered his students to emerge as leading cultural figures of the 15th and early 16th centuries.

Guarino's school, however, stood out for two additional distinctive characteristics. First, it became a prominent center for Greek studies. As noted by Diller[10] and Thomson[11], Guarino's students were among the first to gain a comprehensive understanding of authors such as Diogenes Laertius, Xenophon, and Polybius. Second, the school attracted a significant international presence, drawing humanists from across Europe. This created an environment of dynamic exchange, where students from diverse backgrounds engaged in discussions and collaborative learning.

Paul F. Grendler[12] has suggested that the extent of this internationalism may have been somewhat exaggerated over the years, noting that foreign students were often more vocal in their praise of the school than their Italian counterparts. Nonetheless, the global character of Guarino's school remains undeniable.

[2] R. Sabbadini, *Guarino veronese: e la polemica sul Carmagnola*. Citadella: Tipo-litografico Fratelli Visentin, 1896.

[3] D. Canfora, *La controversia di Poggio Bracciolini e Guarino Veronese su Cesare e Scipione*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2001.

[4] A. Grillone, *La traduzione latina del "Nicocles" isocrateo di Guarino Veronese Introduzione, edizione critica e commento*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002.

[5] Concerning the work on Celso or Plauto, see R. Sabbadini, *Guarino veronese e gli archetipi di Celso e Plauto*. Citadella: Raffaello Giusti, 1886. Concerning Strabo, e.g., see D. Marcotte, "Éditer Strabon, de Guarino Veronese à François Lasserre. La tradition humaniste et le palimpseste", *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé,* 1,1 (2019) 49-78.

[6] See B. Guarini, L. Piacente (ed.), *La didattica del greco e del latino. De ordine docendi ac studendi e altri scritti*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2002.

[7] See Lombana Sánchez, "Valores y espiritualidad renacentistas en la escuela de Guarino de Verona", *Specula* 10, septiembre (2024) 95-108.

[8] C. de Rosmini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese e de' suoi discepoli: libri quattro*. Milan: Nicolò Bettoni, 1805.

[9] R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese: (con 44 documenti)*. Milan: F. Galati, 1896.

[10] A. Diller, "The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 24* (3-4) (1961) 313–321, here 317-321.

[11] I. Thomson, "Some Notes on the Contents of Guarino's Library", *Renaissance Quarterly,* 29, 2 (1976) 169-177.

[12] See P.F. Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, p. 187.

3. The voice of Janus Pannonius

3.1 The place of Janus in Guarino's school and his reciprocal admiration

One of the foreign students at Guarino's school was Janus Pannonius. As one of the most respected students, he was warmly recommended to Francesco Barbaro with the following laudatory words:

Hunc Ianum, contubernalem meum, gente Pannonium, Italicum moribus, doctrina mirandum immo vero stupendum, tibi commendo; eum suscipe in tuorum numerum.[13]

Guarino's recommendation exemplifies his deep affection for a scholar who left a profound impression on Italy during his time. This admiration was mutual, as Janus described Guarino's school in several of his works, offering insights into student life and praising his master. Janus expressed his deep reverence for Guarino's erudition, particularly his mastery of the Greek language, in the following verses:

Te precor, o nostri decus et nova gloria saecli,
qui calles linguas, docte Guarine, duas,
quo iam tot fuimus sub praeceptore per annos,
hospes ut in cena nunc meus esse velis.
Quam dedit Euandro laudem Tirynthius hospes,
hanc dabis ipse mihi, si meus hospes eris.[14]

Janus also argued that his decision to move to Ferrara was motivated solely by Guarino's presence. He presented this sentiment to Leonello d'Este in the following way:

Quod, Leonelle, tuam, princeps, accessimus urbem
Arctoi gelido nuper ab axe poli,
da veniam: non nos rerum inclita fama tuarum,
nec domus augustis splendida traxit avis,
nec tua praefulgens vario Ferraria cultu,
nec septemgemini brachia amoena Padi.
Non oculos, avidas huc pascere venimus aures,
quarum Guarini manat ab ore cibus.[15]

[13] Guarino Veronese, R. Sabbadini (ed.), *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese: raccolto, ordinato, illustrato da Remigio Sabbadini*. Venice: Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, 1915-1919, here Ep. 870, 32-34.

[14] JP, Ep. 16. The works of Janus Pannonius (JP) are quoted after Gyula Mayer et. al. (eds.), *Iani Pannonii opera quae manserunt omnia* I-III. Budapest: Balassi Kiado, 2006-2018.

[15] JP, Ep. 1.

These epigrams reveal the fundamental principles underlying Guarino's educational vision. The school's atmosphere was defined by its focus on specific tasks, such as the teaching of Ancient Greek, and its distinctly international character. It becomes evident that Guarino's teachings and wisdom were pivotal to the school's success.

Beyond these considerations, Janus Pannonius's poems also encompass a variety of themes and subjects that reflect the challenges and concerns commonly faced by students of the time.

3.2 Money

Students in the Early Modern Age frequently expressed concerns about financial difficulties. The term *pauperes*, as they were colloquially designated[16], reflected a harsh reality for many. In the case of Janus Pannonius, however, his situation cannot necessarily be described as poverty, as his family financed his stay abroad. His mother contributed by selling wool, while his uncle, János Vitéz, provided additional financial support:

> *Quicquid lana tibi, quicquid tibi tela lucelli*
> *contulerat, merces erudientis erat.*
> *Imbiberam tenerae vix prima elementa Minervae,*
> *nec mala venturi iam documenta dabam,*
> *cum tuus Ausonias tradit me frater ad oras,*
> *longinquo et Musas quaerere in orbe iubet.*[17]

Despite this generous and dedicated support, such resources were insufficient to cover all expenses. Consequently, Janus was often compelled to seek additional financial assistance. This necessity is poignantly illustrated in the following verses, addressed to the Bishop of Modena, which reflect his existential predicament:

> *Nec remanere queo, sed nec discedere possum,*
> *talia iussa vocant, talia vincla tenent.*
> *Pressus in angusto quid agam, quae numina clamem?*
> *Sunt, puto, sed miseris dura favere negant.*
> *Te precor, affer opem, Mutinae placidissime praesul,*
> *o decus, o Musis prime patrone meis.*
> *Non tamen aut Boreae pulsurum flabra cucullum*
> *aut mulae posco mollia terga tuae,*

[16] See Ulrike Denk, *Alltag zwischen Studieren und Betteln: Die Kodrei Goldberg, ein studentisches Armenhaus an der Universität Wien, in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2013, pp. 24-34.

[17] JP, El. 24, 101-106.

nec frenum aut sellam, nec quicquam tale. Quid ergo?
Debeo Guarino pauca: fideiubeas.[18]

Janus's search for supplementary financial resources was a recurring challenge. His oeuvre includes several humorous epigrams in which he expresses gratitude to Guarino for his affection and advice, while simultaneously requesting financial compensation:

Commendas et amas, Guarine, nostrum,
quem de te tibi misimus libellum.
sed laudes et ames librum licebit,
malles versiculis parem monetam.[19]

In the absence of a precise reference to the book in question (*libellum*, *Ep.* 224, 2), it has been assumed that Janus was referring to his *Panegyricus in Guarinum*, a laudatory work dedicated to his master[20]. Did he believe he was entitled to at least modest financial compensation for his efforts?

These epigrams suggest that financial interactions between masters and students were not uncommon and that assistance may have flowed in both directions. Given the economic pressures of the period, students often resorted to loans. It is likely that Janus was no exception. However, over time, his circumstances appear to have shifted, and he may have transitioned from borrower to lender, engaging in practices that bordered on usury.

Cum debes mihi, Sylla, fingis iram,
ne te scilicet aes meum reposcam,
sed dicam: 'Tibi habe, modo gravari
desistas, et, ut ante, sis amicus.'
At numquam hoc ego dixerim, sed illud:
'Quantum me libet oderis, licebit,
obtrectes, miniteris, insequaris,
dum tantum mihi creditum refundas.'[21]

Praestiteram decimis nummos tibi mille Calendis.
Exigo: tu iuras prorsus habere nihil.
Quid nostra? iam redde datum: qui mutua sumpsit,
is debet, non qui solvere, Galle, potest. [22]

[18] JP, Ep. 227.
[19] JP, Ep. 224.
[20] See I. Thomson, *Humanist pietas. The panegyric of Ianus Pannonius on Guarinus Veronensis.* Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1988, p. 43.
[21] JP, Ep. 274.
[22] JP, Ep. 51.

Even privileged students like Janus, who had the opportunity to study abroad and later became highly respected humanists, frequently struggled with financial difficulties.

3.2.1 Financial Concerns in Context

Revisiting these poems reveals observations that remain relevant today, particularly in the humanities, where financial sustainability is often lamented. Interestingly, Janus anticipated this notion, noting that classical poets brought immense pleasure but did not generate income. This sentiment resonates with modern debates on the value of the humanities. He expresses this idea in the following verses:

> *Vos, Ovidi, Lucane, Maro, si forte potestis,*
> *mutua praestetis bis mihi, quaeso, decem.*
> *Cessatis; iam vos faxo Iudaeus habebit,*
> *qui servat magnae lintea iuncta viae.*
> *Istic ignavi tineas et pascite mures;*
> *nil opus est vestris nunc mihi carminibus.*
> *Nunc mihi opus nummis; quarto vos mense videbo,*
> *venerit interea si quid ab Hungaria.*[23]

These circumstances fostered an environment in which individuals engaged in usurious practices, further compounding students' financial challenges. Janus, keenly aware of such realities, dedicated verses to this phenomenon:

> *Lucanum et iuncto pariter Nasone Maronem*
> *redde mihi Iuda, seu mage tu Salomon.*
> *Quid dubitas? Ego tris olim tibi nempe libellos –;*
> *inspice, si Iani chartula nomen habet.*
> *Quis modus usurae; sortem, inquis, fenus adaequat.*
> *Si verum dicis, perfide, non redimo.*
> *Hic pereant; tanti vix illos auctio vendet.*
> *Insanit, suamet pignora quisquis emit.*[24]

[23] JP, Ep. 259.
[24] JP, Ep. 260.

3.3 Works exchange

Janus's poetry reflects an intense exchange of poems between students, often with economically beneficial results but occasionally aimed purely at enhancing one's reputation. The pursuit of the highest possible renown—usually derived solely from the master—is evidenced by emotional exchanges between writers, characterized by a tendency to emulate and imitate one another.

Students frequently shared their works and requested others to read them, highlighting the collaborative and competitive aspects of this practice. However, such requests were not always made politely or respectfully, and issues of misappropriation and accusations of plagiarism often arose. The following two epigrams provide insight into this exchange:

> *Mitte tuos tandem nobis, Agapete, libellos,*
> *mitte, inquam: censor non ero, lector ero.*[25]

> *Quod mea, Laurenti, placide munuscula sumis,*
> *quam si tu tribuas, plus, mihi crede, facis.*
> *Donator det magna licet, maiora rependit,*
> *qui devinciri se sinit officio.*[26]

In the case of Janus Pannonius, a particularly illustrative example concerns the collections of his works and his exchange with Tito Vespasiano Strozzi. The poetic correspondence between the two authors demonstrates how such exchanges facilitated the dissemination of their works and enhanced their reputations.

One noteworthy manuscript collection preserved in Stuttgart[27] includes copies of Janus Pannonius's works made by the German humanist Dietrich von Pleningen, a prominent scholar and student of Battista Guarino. As evidenced by several factors[28], including entries in the *editio princeps* of Pliny's letters[29] and annotations in a *Book of Hours* about the death of Guarino's daughter[30], Dietrich maintained a close relationship with Guarino. Furthermore, Dietrich owned a manuscript collection of Guarino's letters[31], reinforcing the connection between the two.

[25] JP, Ep. 361. Similar examples can be found at Ep. 230, 400 and 401.

[26] JP, Ep. 71.

[27] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et. phil. qt. 21.

[28] See A. Lombana Sánchez, "Dietrich von Pleningen's contribution to the manuscript legacy of Janus Pannonius: the ms. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et phil. qt. 21", *Humanistica lovaniensia* 73 (2024) 99-114.

[29] Cf. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Inc. 2º 13 110, 2 Ex. Dietrich owned this book. The book and the letter were examined and edited by Franz Römer, "Ein Freundschaftsbrief des Battista Guarini an Albrecht von Bonstetten", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 36 (1987) 138-146. Even if the author cannot fully determine Guarino's writing, possibly because the letter was written hastily, the author advocates it. See id., 139.

[30] This already quoted book of hours (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod brev. 87), records the death of Guarino's daughter on December 29th: "Filia Guarini obiit".

[31] It is ms. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et. phil. qt. 29.

The Janus-manuscript in Stuttgart (Cod. poet. et. phil. qt. 21) was copied by Dietrich himself in Ferrara, presumably at Guarino's school or residence, as evidenced by a colophon:

"τελοσ *[sic] 1477 die 15 mensis Iunij Ferrariae hora 15 per me Theodericum Plinium.*"[32]

The fact that Dietrich von Pleningen copied here the *Panegyric* and the poetic exchange between Janus Pannonius and Tito Vespasiano Strozzi suggests that both works—at the very least—were in circulation at Guarino's house in Ferrara and were available to interested scholars and pupils. It can therefore be inferred that these poems were read and disseminated in this manner.

Indeed, it is likely that Battista Guarino exhibited the *Panegyric* to his students. At the same time, the poetic correspondence may have served as an example of contemporary poetic discourse. This exchange of poems likely motivated the creation of a "useful collection," which has been preserved with minor variations in four different manuscripts[33]. These manuscripts may represent copies made by other students who visited the Guarinos.

The Stuttgart manuscript leads us to assume "that a collection existed in which Janus and Tito were put together. Since Strozzi was a popular poet in Ferrara, we can also suppose that the poetic discussion between Pannonius and Strozzi might have already been in circulation at that time."[34]

The works of both authors were thus in circulation in Ferrara, where they were read and appreciated by students.

3.4 Sexuality

Janus's poetry frequently explores themes of sexuality, often with considerable creativity. These epigrams, characterized by erotic themes and stylistic emulation of Martial's writings, were sometimes censored or critiqued but remained widely read and enjoyed by students. The following epigram exemplifies this approach:

Scripta quod et ludunt et amant mea, Rufe, modestis
illa placere negas: pluribus ergo placent.[35]

Sexuality appears to have been a common topic of discussion among students. Moreover, the influence of Antonio Beccadelli's *Hermaphrodite*, a work strongly

[32] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et. phil. qt. 21, f. 27v.

[33] The poetical exchange has been preserved in: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. poet. et. phil. qt. 21; Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, ms. C. VII. 1; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 8244 ; Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. 1080 (a.T.9.17).

[34] See Lombana Sánchez, "Dietrich von Pleningen's contribution to the manuscript legacy of Janus Pannonius", here p. 112.

[35] JP, Ep. 79

supported by Guarino[36], is evidenced by the evident interest in erotic poetry among his pupils. However, tensions regarding these themes likely became more pronounced over time. Guarino may have expressed disapproval of Janus's erotic poems when they were first presented to him. This interpretation is supported by the following verses, in which Janus reflects on Guarino's reaction:

Perlegeres nostrum cum forte, Guarine, libellum,
dixisti – ut perhibent –: 'haec ego non doceo.'
Non haec tu, venerande, doces, Guarine, fatemur,
sed quibus haec fiunt, illa, Guarine, doces. [37]

Here, Janus seems to suggest that Guarino may have indirectly endorsed such poetry, possibly as a result of his defence of Beccadelli or within the broader context of Latin literary studies. While these verses demand cautious interpretation—since the scenarios described are products of imagination and humor—it is worth noting that some scenes seem grounded in real experiences.

This is particularly evident in poems where brothels and procuresses are depicted. Visiting prostitutes was a common practice of the time, and it is plausible that Janus's companions may have taken him to a brothel. The following poem vividly portrays such an incident:

Quo me, quo trahitis, mei sodales?
Ad foedum, puto, vadimus lupanar,
nam quis tam procul hic locus recessit,
post pomoeria sacra, post tot hortos,
cellis vilibus et frequens cathedris,
fucatae quibus insident puellae,
structuris caput arduae superbis,
collo pendula vela gestitantes,
nec pressae teretes sinu mamillas.
Quidnam hoc? Ille manu levi retractat,
ille amplectitur, hic perosculatur,
in cellam praeit ille subsequentem.
Ite hinc, ite, malam in crucem, scelesti;
non vos ducere me deambulatum
dixistis, simul ire cum negarem?
Hoc iam me indice resciet Guarinus.[38]

[36] See Guarino Veronese, *Epistolario*, here Ep. 823. Thomson, *Humanist pietas*, p. 40, said: "Guarino defended it fiercely in 1426, and although he was forced to write a partial retraction in 1434, he never changed his basic position that the personal morals of an author must not be confused with those of the characters he writes about".

[37] JP, Ep. 199.

[38] JP, Ep. 176.

The role of the procuress is also firmly established in Janus's poetry. It is reasonable to suggest that Magdalena, mentioned in one of his poems, was a procuress who facilitated romantic relationships. In the following poem, Janus pleads with Magdalena to intercede on his behalf in his pursuit of Prisca, her relative:

Commater mea, Magdalena, quantis
te possum precibus misellus oro,
praestes auxilium meo furori.
Priscam depereo tuam propinquam,
hanc, quae continuis fere diebus
ad te ventitat assequente nullo,
tecum lusitat, ambulat, lavatur,
tecum cantilat, et tuos per hortos
cervo saltitat ocior quadrimo.
Novi, quam tibi nil neget iubenti,
quantum consilio tuo acquiescat.
Tu si praecipias, diebus octo
potum non capiet, cibo abstinebit.
Commenda, precor, huic meos amores,
neu me despiciat, mone propinquam,
quodsi plus aliquid mihi ordinares,
illud quod prohibet pudor fateri,
donarem tibi quicquid ipsa velles.[39]

This poem underscores the role of intermediaries in romantic relationships during Janus's time. Magdalena is portrayed as someone whose influence over Prisca is significant enough to potentially sway her affections, reinforcing the complex social dynamics that permeated both personal and literary interactions in the period.

4. Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the findings presented.

Firstly, Guarino's school significantly contributed to the cultural vibrancy of Ferrara, attracting students from various countries and fostering a dynamic intellectual environment. The diverse topics discussed by the students ranged from economic challenges to the pursuit of fame. Moreover, a highly active exchange of poems likely took place, as exemplified by the poetic correspondence between Janus Pannonius and Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, which facilitated the transmission of their works.

[39] JP, Ep. 289.

Sexuality also appears to have been a significant subject of discussion among the students. Visits to brothels and the role of procuresses suggest that such themes were not only part of the poetic imagination but also reflected aspects of their lived experience.

The line of investigation proposed here invites further exploration in related areas, such as the role of students in shaping urban life[40] or the social functions of marriages as sites of cultural and recreational interaction[41]. Despite these broader avenues for inquiry, it remains evident that students of this period are a topic of crucial significance and enduring academic interest.

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[40] See JP, Ep. 244:
Quae poterat dici studiosa, Bononia, quondam,
"unc eadem dici seditiosa potest.

[41] See Béatrice Charlet-Mesdjian, "Discours sur le mariage dans le livre II des Élégies de J. Pannonius ", in D. Sacré & J. Papy (eds.), *Syntagmatia Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*. Leuven: Leuven University Press 2009, pp. 61-71.

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Le buveur de la taverne. Pochard ou esthète du vin ? (France du Nord, XIVe-mi XVIe siècle)

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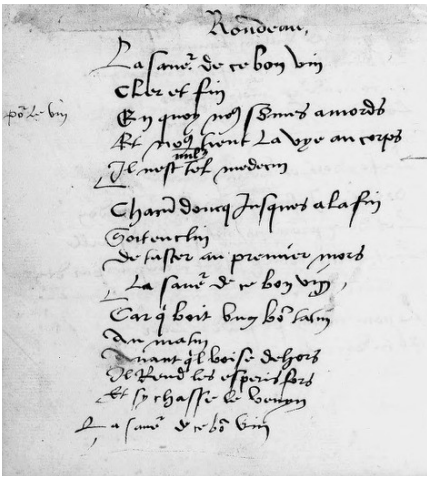
La littérature médiévale regorge de récits dont la taverne est le théâtre. On y rencontre des buveurs, parmi lesquels des étudiants. Ils parlent, chantent, jouent, s'interpellent, se disputent… Quoi qu'ils fassent, toutes leurs activités tournent toujours autour du vin, comme l'illustre le poème « In taberna quando sumus » des *Carmina Burana*. Les textes littéraires, particulièrement ceux du corpus bachique, apparaissent comme des sources intéressantes pour l'histoire sociale, notamment pour l'histoire de la consommation du vin. Ces paroles de pochards, on les retrouve dans des fabliaux, de petits poèmes de formes diverses (ballades, rondeaux, blasons, chansons à boire…), des proverbes et maximes. Ils rapportent des tranches de vie, des ambiances et des traits d'esprit qui livrent une information précieuse sur les comportements et les aspirations des buveurs de la taverne. En effet, aux détours des considérations et péripéties vineuses, les poivreaux révèlent ce qu'ils aiment ou n'aiment pas : en un mot, leurs goûts. Les consommateurs avinés des tavernes ne seraient donc pas indifférents à la qualité des produits servis par les taverniers. Se pourrait-il qu'ils soient attentifs aux qualités organoleptiques des crus vendus par les taverniers, c'est-à-dire aux saveurs, aux arômes, aux odeurs, aux robes des vins ? Pour répondre à cette question, nous allons nous intéresser sérieusement à ce qu'ils disent.

Paroles de joie et de dérision

Dans un premier temps, il faut souligner que l'univers bachique est fondamentalement joyeux. Le vin est une boisson festive, et ses louanges se prêtent systématiquement à la dérision et au détournement des normes. Un manuscrit de 248 folios rédigé sur papier entre 1520-1550, créé en France du Nord et conservé par la Bibliothèque nationale de France[1], concentre entre les folios 177v et 180r plusieurs textes poétiques consacrés à l'univers du vin et de la taverne : *Rondeau [pour le vin]* (fol. 177v, refrain *La saveur de ce bon vin*), *Ballade contre ceulx qui mectent de l'eaue au vin ou contre noz ennemy* (fol. 178v à 179r, refrain *Qui nous a mis de l'eaue en nostre vin*), le *Blason du bon vin* (fol. 179r), *Ballade pour ceulx qui ayment le vin* (fol. 179v, refrain *Se boire estoyt paradys / Tout le monde seroyt saulvé*) et *Ballade a ce propoz* (fol. 180r, refrain *Kahu, kaha, faict on finance*). Ces textes bachiques, d'auteurs et de dates inconnus, mêlés à des dictons, nous font entrer de plain-pied dans l'univers de la taverne. *Le Rondeau [pour le vin]* propose une approche sensuelle de la dégustation dans une louange de la saveur du bon vin (Fig. 1).



Rondeau [pour le vin]

La saveur de ce bon vin
Cler et fin
En quoy nous sommes amords
Et nous tient la vye au corps
Il n'est nul tel medecin.

Chante doncq jusques a la fin
Soit enclin
De taster au premier mors
La saveur de ce bon vin

Car qui boit ung bon satin
Au matin
Avant qu'il boise dehors
Il rend les esperis fors
Et sy chasse le venyn
La saveur de ce bon vin.

Fig. 1. Rondeau [pour le vin] (Bnf. Ms fr. 2206, fol. 177v)

Selon ce rondeau, le « bon vin » est un produit addictif (*en quoy nous sommes amords*), tonifiant pour le corps (*et nous tient la vye au corps*), fortifiant pour l'esprit (*il rend les esperis fors*), thérapeutique (*il n'est nul tel medecin*). Depuis l'Antiquité, les traités scientifiques louent en effet les vertus médicinales du vin, de sorte qu'elles peuvent apparaître comme la qualité principalement recherchée d'un « bon vin » : le bon vin

[1] BnF. Ms français 2206. Consulté en ligne : https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107208130.

serait un vin qui est bon pour la santé[2]. En réalité, la poésie bachique détourne volontiers ce thème en faisant généralement du vin une panacée qui offre aux ivrognes une justification habile pour s'abandonner à la boisson : boire du vin, c'est bon pour la santé. Ainsi voit-on par exemple dans une chanson à boire normande (France) rédigée soit à la fin XIVe-début XVe siècle, soit vers 1570, un médecin soigner l'ensemble des maux d'un vieillard en lui préconisant de boire exclusivement du vin[3].

Vieillart
Conseillez-moy pour ma santé,
Car vous sçavez la médecine,
Et vous serez bien contenté.

Médecin
Recipe pour ton ordinaire,
Et te donne à travers les dens,
Du rouge sirop d'Orléans.

Médecin
Pour vous j'employeray ma doctrine,
Vous conseillant fidellement,
Et ne vueil point de votre argent.

Vieillart
La goutte aux jointures des os
Me tient alors que le temps change,
Si bien que j'en pers le repoz.

Vieillart
Que fault-il pour ma toulx guarir
Et le rheume qui me tourmente
Et cuide me faire morir ?

Médecin
De décoction de vendange
Recipe trois voltes, et plus
Ne songe tant à tes escus.

Médecin
Recipe du jus de la plante
Qui se soutient par eschalas,
Deux ou trois fois à ton repaz.

Vieillart
Tous vos receptes c'est le vin.
Le vin est-ce chose si bonne ?
Sans lui ne seriez médecin.

Vieillart
J'ay l'estomac débilité
Si bien qu'à grant peine il digère
M'engendrant une crudité.

Médecin
A tous ceulx-là le vin ordonne
Qui en humeur me sont egaulx ;
Car le vin guarit tous mes maulx.

Ce dialogue fictif entre un patient et son médecin, qui s'inspire d'une littérature et d'un savoir scientifique médical antique et médiéval largement partagé, sert ici

[2] Voir par exemple Yann Grappe. *Sulle tracce del gusto. Storia e cultura del vino nel medioevo*. Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2006. Benoît Musset. Entre salubrité, conservation et goût : définir le « bon vin » en France (1560-1820), in *Revue Historique*, 677, 2016, pp. 57-82.

[3] Olivier Basselin. *Les vaudevires, poésies du 15e siècle, par Olivier Basselin, avec un discours sur sa vie, et des notes pour l'explication de quelques anciens mots.* Edition par Jean Le Houx. Vire, 1811, pp. 22-24. La datation de ces textes est problématique. Leur auteur a d'abord été identifié comme un foulon de la ville normande de Vire, nommé Olivier Basselin et mort en 1418 au moment du siège par les Anglais. Cette attribution a ensuite été contestée par Armand Gasté qui considère ces textes comme l'œuvre de Jean Le Houx vers 1570. Cf. Armand Gasté. *Olivier Basselin et le vau de Vire.* Paris, 1887.

à justifier, en parfaite mauvaise foi, tous les excès de boisson. Le détournement du savoir médical réside dans l'ignorance volontaire des nuances des prescriptions thérapeutiques concernant l'usage du vin. En effet, ces traités recommandent d'adapter la consommation de tel ou tel vin à la complexion de chaque individu, selon son âge, son sexe, son statut, son activité, son environnement, les symptômes de ses maux… : *the right wine for the right person*, pour reprendre l'expression d'Allen Grieco[4]. Pour les piliers de tavernes, ces subtilités n'ont aucune importance. Tout est bon, pourvu qu'on s'enivre. Dans la même veine, le *Rondeau [pour le bon vin]* développe le poncif selon lequel boire du vin favoriserait la vivacité de l'esprit de l'ivrogne (*il rend les esperis fors*). Ainsi, dans le recueil bachique normand déjà cité, trouve-t-on un texte qui loue les bienfaits du vin sur l'éloquence des buveurs, au détriment de la qualité du latin cependant[5]. On imagine que les étudiants devaient se délecter de cette dérision.

Certes hoc vinum est bonus *:*
Du mauvais latin ne nous chaille,
Se bien congru n'estoit ce jus,
Le tout ne vauldroit rien que vaille
Escolier j'appris que bon vin
Aide bien au mauvais latin.

Ceste sentence praticquant,
De latin je n'en appris guère ;
Y pensant estre assez sçavant,
Puisque bon vin aimoye à boire.
Lorsque mauvais vin on a eu,
Latin n'est bon, fust-il congru.

Fy du latin, parlons françois,
Je m'y recongnois davantaige.
Je vueil boire une bonne fois,
Car voicy un maistre breuvaige :
Certes se j'en beuvoye soubvent,
J'en deviendroye fort eloquent.

Durant que ce vin j'avaloys,
Qui me chastouilloit soubz la langue,
Me sembloit-il que je faisoys
En cour quelque belle harangue :
J'avoye bien du consentement ;
Las ! Il s'est passé vistement.

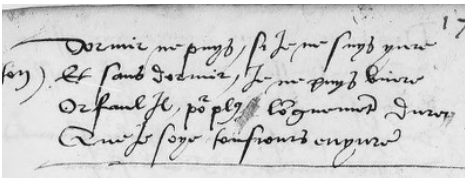
Le vin est volontiers loué par les pochards pour ses vertus thérapeutiques et tonifiantes. Pourtant les enseignements raisonnés des traités savants sont détournés et tournés en dérision. On voit ainsi qu'il ne faut pas exagérer l'importance des liens entre gastronomie et diététique. Ils existent assurément, comme il existe aussi, au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance, un réel plaisir de boire et d'apprécier le vin selon des catégories organoleptiques : couleur, odeur, saveur, force alcoolique. Ces considérations, de l'ordre de l'esthétique œnologique, sont parfaitement autonomes des considérations médicales. En réalité, une fois qu'on a exclu les critères médicaux qui agissent comme des paravents grotesques, c'est exclusivement le domaine de la dégustation qui, dans le *Rondeau [pour le vin]*, permet de définir ce qu'est le bon

[4] Allen Grieco. Medieval and Renaissance wines. Taste, dietary theory, and how to choose the 'right' wine (14th-16th centuries), in *Mediaevalia*, 30, 1, 2009, pp. 15-42.
[5] Olivier Basselin. *Les vaudevires…*, pp. 17-18.

vin. Un vin se déguste (*taster*) pour identifier ses qualités : *Soit enclin / De taster au premier mors / La saveur de ce bon vin*. Le bon vin est *cler* et *fin*, soit deux qualificatifs qui décrivent à la fois la robe et la saveur du breuvage.

Paroles d'excès et de modération

Le manuscrit français 2206 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France livre au folio 178r quelques « dictons » bachiques, dont ce proverbe en forme de louange de la bonne ivresse, « celle qui rend la santé, ou celle qui fait rire »[6].



Dormir ne puys si je ne suys yvre
Et sans dormir je ne puys vivre.
Or fault il pour plus longuement durer
Que je soye toujours enyvré.

Fig. 2 : Dicton (Bnf. Ms fr. 2206, fol. 178r)

Les proverbes de ce type abondent durant la période médiévale : *Il n'est breuvage que de vin ; Il n'a pas soif qui yaue ne boit ; Toute religion s'accorde au bon vin ; Qui bien mangue et bien boit, bien chie et bien poit, il n'a mestier de mire…*[7] Dans la littérature médiévale, le vin apparaît en effet le plus souvent comme une boisson bonne, saine, agréable, festive… en un mot : désirée. Eustache Deschamps, natif d'une Champagne dont il loue à plusieurs reprises les qualités viticoles, se lamente lorsqu'il se trouve dans des pays sans vin comme la Bretagne (*Gros et froit, sans nulle plaisance, / Sanz bons vins, sanz poisson de mer ; / Ô doulz air et pais de France*)[8] ou la Flandre (refrain de la ballade : *Je suis perduz quant on ne boit de vin*)[9]. Mais ce même auteur, buveur invétéré au palais avisé, n'aime pas les excès et, s'il apprécie le bon vin, il recommande de le tremper à l'eau :

- Maistre, et quel vin ? – Au froit faictes l'assault,
Qui soit raiant, gracieux, vert, claret,
Frique, friant, odorant, vermillet,

[6] Danièle Alexandre-Bidon. Le gosier en pente. L'ivresse au Moyen Âge, in *Revue de la BNF*, vol. 53, 2, 2016, pp. 28-36 (En ligne : https://doi.org/10.3917/rbnf.053.0028).

[7] Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Les Recueils de proverbes français (1160-1490). Sagesse des nations et langue de bois*. Paris, Champion, 2011. Marie-Thérèse Lorcin. « Le vin est bon qui en prend par raison ». Le vin dans les recueils de proverbes français et les fabliaux, in *L'Atelier du CRH*, 12, 2014 (En ligne : http://journals.openedition.org/acrh/5967).

[8] Ballade intitulée « Regrets du pays », dans Eustache Deschamps. *Œuvres complètes*, publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale par le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire et Gaston Raynaud. Paris, SATF, vol. 7, 1878-1903, pp. 86-87.

[9] Eustache Deschamps. *Œuvres complètes*…, vol. 5, pp. 58-59.

Non pas trop fort, et soiez diligens
Du bien tremper, si facent toute gens ;
Mouillez toujours vo bouches a grant effort.
Par le conseil de tous phisiciens,
Remede nul n'y a que de boire fort.[10]

Eustache Deschamps, dans son apologie du vin et de la convivialité qui lui est associée, s'inscrit dans la veine de la littérature moralisante, invitant à la mesure, à la tempérance et à la méfiance. Le vin consommé sans modération débouche sur des dérèglements condamnables. Nombreux sont les proverbes qui mettent en garde contre ce danger : *Le vin est bon qui en prend par raison ; Quant plus boit len, plus veult len boire ; Qui boit et reboit trop fol se tient ; Ce fait vin que ne fait iaue ; Plus a de paroles en un mui de vin qu'il n'a en cent charretes de froment ; Vin et confession descouvrent tout ; Bien vault yvres desvez ; Par vin, par fame et par dez / Si vient tout homme a povretez*[11]. La leçon de la tempérance et la condamnation de l'ébriété apparaissent comme des *topoi* littéraires. Motivations médicales (mises en avant par Eustache Deschamps) et morales se mêlent pour condamner la consommation immodérée des vins forts. Lorsqu'on parcourt la littérature médiévale sur la question de la modération de la force du vin, deux camps s'affrontent irrémédiablement. D'un côté, on a ceux qui réprouvent absolument la pratique du trempage, comme en atteste un petit poème aussi violent que truculent consigné dans le manuscrit français 2206 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, la *Ballade contre ceulx qui mectent de l'eaue au vin*[12], dont il existe au moins une variante intitulée *Ballade joyeuse des taverniers*[13].

[10] Eustache Deschamps. *Œuvres complètes*…, vol. 5, pp. 130-132.
[11] Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Les Recueils de proverbes français… ;* Marie-Thérèse Lorcin. « Le vin est bon qui en prend par raison ». Le vin dans les recueils de proverbes…
[12] BnF, Ms français 2206, fol. 179v-180r.
[13] François Villon. *Œuvres complètes,* suivies d'un choix des poésies de ses disciples, édité par Pierre Jannet. Paris, 1876, pp. 147-149.

Ballade contre ceulx qui mectent de l'eaue au vin, ou contre noz ennemy

D'ung traict de dart, d'une lance asserée,
D'ung long foussart, d'une grosse massue,
D'une guysarme et d'une grand espiée,
D'ung grant planson, d'une hache esmoulue,
D'un gros maillet et d'une besague,
D'un fort espieu et d'une sacqueboute,
Peult il avoir la cervelle desroute,
Et tot le corps despecé par morceaulx,
Le cœur fendu, desrompeu les boyaux,
Le chief rompu d'ung bon branc asserin,
Et puys gecté aux chiens et pourceaux,
Qui nous a mys de l'eaue en nostre vin.

D'ung canon ayt a la teste crever,
Et du tonnerre abbatu en la rue,
Et la sien corps et sa chair dessirée
De gros matins, et toute desrompue,
Et de raillon, puist il perdre la veue,
Tant que jamays a ne boire plus goutte
Et de la taigne, gravelle ou de goutte,
Soyt il espris, os, chair et trestous les boyaulx,
Et que son corps soyt garni de tous maulx,
Et trainé jusques a l'eaue du Rin
Et soyt bruslé au marché aux pourceaulx,
Qui nous a mis de l'eaue en nostre vin.

De feu Gregoys ayt il la langue percée,
Et d'une pierre ayt il l'echine rompue,
D'un groz grasson soyt sa chair decouppée,
Et au gibet, a gros cloux estandu
Et que charniere, pierre ou baston luy rue,
Et de famyne puist il avoir en soulte,
Et sy supplie et requiers, qu'on luy boulte
Parmy le cueur deux gros rouges barraulx,
Et escorché soyt de deux maulvais cousteaulx,
Et de gros sel, pouldre comme ung matin,
Et enfouy en ung tonneau de chaulx,
Qui nous a mis de l'eaue en nostre vin.

Envoy
Prince, je dys : honnis soient les museaux,
Et puissent crever par force de venin,
Les faulx larrons, traistres et desloyaulx,
Qui nous a mis de l'eaue a nostre vin.

Ballade joyeuse des taverniers

D'un gect de dart, d'une lance asserée,
D'ung grant faussart, d'une grosse massue,
D'une guisarme, d'une flèche ferrée,
D'ung bracquemart, d'une hache esmoulue,
D'ung grand penart et d'une bisagüe,
D'un fort espieu et d'une saqueboute ;
De maulx briguans puissent traver tel route
Que tous leurs corps fussent mis par morceaulx,
Le cueur fendu, desciré par monceaulx,
Le col couppé d'un bon branc acherin,
Descirez soient de truye et de pourceaulx
Les taverniers qui brouillent nostre vin.

D'un arc turcquois, d'une épée affilée
Ayent les paillars la brouaille cousue,
De feu gregoys la perruque bruslée,
Et par tempeste la cervelle espandue,
Au grand gibet leur charongne pendue,
Et briefvement puissent mourir de goutte,
Ou je requiers et pry que l'on leur boute
Parmy leur corps force d'ardans barreaulx ;
Vifs escorchez des mains de dix bourreaulx,
Et puis bouillir en huille le matin,
Demembrez soient a quatre grans chevaux,
Les taverniers qui brouillent nostre vin.

D'un gros canon la tête escarbouillée
Et de tonnerre acablez en la rue
Soient tous leurs corps, et leur chair dessirée,
De gros mastins bien garnye et pourvue,
De forz esclers puissent perdre la veue,
Neige et gresil tousjours sur eux degoutte,
Avecques ce ilz aient la pluye toute
Sans que sur eux ayent robbes ne manteaulx,
Leurs corps trenchez de dagues et couteaulx,
Et puis traisnez jusques en l'eau du Rin ;
Desrompuz soient à quantre-vongts marteaulx
Les taverniers qui brouillen nostre vin.

Prince, de Dieu soient mauldiz leurs boyaulx.
Et crever puissent par force de venin
Ces faulx larrons, maulditz et desloyaulx,
Les taverniers qui brouillent nostre vin.

De l'autre côté, on a ceux qui, sans renoncer au plaisir de la boisson, font de la sobriété une règle de vie. Cependant, une chose réunit ces deux camps opposés : le souci de la qualité du vin. Ainsi un pochard normand de Vire (Olivier Basselin ou Jean Le Houx) exprime son amour du vin dans des chansons à boire. Pour être au monde, pour être heureux, pour être joyeux, il faut du vin. Mais le buveur n'est pas contenté par n'importe quel vin : chaque strophe évoque le *bon vin clairet*, la *bonne liqueur*, le *bon vin* :

Me voulez-vous guarir de la berlue ?
En ung verre bien net
Fault seulement mettre devant ma veue
Ce joli vin clairet
Qui chaleur donne a l'ame morfondue.
Encore chopeine pleine,
Encore chopeine.

Me voulez-vous, quand je suys en colere
Regaillardir le cœur ?
Tant seulement il me fault faire boire
Ceste bonne lyqueur,
Qui le chalgrin converte en bonne chière.
Encore chopeine pleine,
Encore chopeine.

Me voulez-vous faire conter et dire
Mille propos joyeulx ?
De ce bon vin dites-moy que je tire
Quelque bon coup ou deux :
L'homme songeart il faict cauzer et rire.
Encore chopeine pleine,
Encore chopeine.[14]

L'ivrogne apparaît ici comme un esthète, attentif à la robe du vin et à sa qualité. Il exige du *bon*. La qualité du breuvage importe beaucoup à la qualité de l'ivresse. De fait, il existe une réelle appréhension œnologique des vins, et aussi des experts dans le domaine de la dégustation œnologique, les *bons cerveaux de tavernes* évoqués par Olivier Basselin (ou Jean Le Houx) :

Je ne me puis degouster
De hanter
Ces bons cerveaux de taverne

[14] Olivier Basselin. *Les vaudevires…*, p. 76.

Qui, pour gouster les bons vins,
Sont bien fins,
Sachant comment on les discerne.[15]

Il arrive que les consommateurs des tavernes veuillent boire du « bon », voire du « très bon », au point d'avoir des exigences. Ainsi l'anecdote comique intitulée *La manière d'avoir du vin*, consignée dans les *Repues franches de François Villon et ses compagnons* rédigées vers 1480[16], imagine comment François Villon, « pique-assiette facétieux », approvisionne à l'œil en bon vin ses compagnons par le truchement d'une astuce qui trompe le tavernier de l'auberge parisienne de la *Pomme de pin* : il se fait servir du vin blanc de Bagneux (qu'il escamote avec de l'eau), qu'il refuse de payer en arguant qu'il ne consent qu'à boire du vin blanc de Beaune (Bourgogne). Le ressort comique est doublé par l'invraisemblance de la requête : le vin de Beaune est toujours rouge.

L'un fist emplir de belle eaue clere,
Et vint à la Pomme de Pin […]
Demandant s'ils avoient bon vin,
Et qu'on luy emplist du plus fin,
Mais qu'il fust blanc et amoureux.
On luy emplist, pour faire fin,
D'ung tres bon vin blanc de Baigneux.
Maistre François print les deux brocs,
L'un emprès l'autre les bouta ;
Sans se haster, il demanda
Au varlet : « Quel vin est-ce là ? »
Il luy dist : « Vin blanc de Baigneux.
- Ostez cela, ostez cela,
Car, par ma foy, point je n'en veult.
Qu'esse-cy ? Estes-vous bejaulne ?
Vuidez-moi mon broc vistement.
Je demande du vin de Beaulne,
Qui soit bon, et non aultrement. »
Et, en parlant, subtillement
Le broc qui estoit d'eaue plain
Contre l'aultre legierement
Luy changea, a pur et a plain.

[15] Olivier Basselin. *Les vaudevires…*, p. 61.
[16] *Le recueil des repues franches de maistre François Villon et de ses compagnons*, édition par Jelle Koopmans et Paul Verhuyck. Genève, Droz, 1995, pp. 33-39.

On parle volontiers de « bon » vin, et on distingue même le « meilleur ». Ce qualificatif « bon » désigne un phénomène social très puissant : les médiévaux, quelles que soient leurs origines sociales, veulent se faire plaisir. Le bon est lié à une appréciation dont il est toujours très difficile, voire impossible, de déterminer précisément les raisons, car les possibilités sont très nombreuses. Un vin peut être apprécié comme bon en fonction de son origine, son âge, sa couleur, son ou ses cépages, sa douceur ou, au contraire, son caractère sec… Ainsi, en octobre 1457, la ville d'Orléans prépare une livraison de 40 tonneaux de vin pour le duc d'Orléans, en prenant soin de sélectionner un tonneau de *vin vermeil de deux ans*, spécifiquement *pour la bouche de monseigneur, pour ce que encores il ne beuvoit que vin vieil*[17]. Un buveur peut aussi apprécier un vin pour la combinaison de deux qualités, comme le montre par exemple Olivier Basselin qui exprime son goût pour le vin clairet, et particulièrement celui d'Orléans :

Je suys né Bas Normand, mais ma bouche avinée
Dict estre d'Orleans,
Et que le vin clairet, qui est de sa contrée,
Je doibs loger céans.[18]

Il y a buveur et buveur : le glouton et l'esthète. Il faut en effet distinguer ceux qui boivent exclusivement pour l'ivresse de ceux qui boivent à la fois pour l'ivresse et le plaisir que leur procure le goût du bon vin. Ces deux qualités de buveurs et buveuses se côtoient, d'après le fabliau *Les trois dames de Paris* (vers 1320). Alors que l'une des trois observe qu'elle vide rapidement les pots de vin remplis à ras bord, la femme d'Adam de Gonesse la reprend. Il ne faut pas boire le vin rapidement sans le goûter ; il faut le savourer « à petits traits » pour le laisser sur la langue (*pour plus sus la langue croupir*), et mieux savourer sa « douceur en bouche » et sa force :

« - […]
Je ne boif trop plus volontiers ;
Se mes pos iert plains touz entiers,
N'en y ara assez tost goute.
- Hé, que tu as la gorge gloute »
Dist Margue Clippe, « bele niece !
Je n'avrai encore en grant piece
But tout le mien, mais tout à trait
Le buvrai a petit trait ;
Pour plus sus la langue croupir,
Entre deux boires un soupir
I doit on faire seulement

[17] Archives municipales d'Orléans. CC665, fol. 35v.
[18] Olivier Basselin. *Les vaudevires…*, p. 59.

Si en dure plus longuement
La douceur en bouche et la force »[19]

Glouton ou esthète, ivrogne ou sobre, le buveur médiéval est confronté à une diversité de crus. Les différences se marquent par la couleur, par l'odeur, par la saveur, par la force ou la faiblesse, par l'âge, par l'origine géographique, par le prix… Innombrables sont les sources qui attestent qu'un vin n'est pas l'autre, et que tout ne se vaut pas. Fondamentalement, il y a le bon et le mauvais vin ; il y a aussi le goût des uns qui n'est pas le goût des autres.

Paroles d'esthètes

Les descripteurs les plus habituellement utilisés pour évoquer les qualités des vins sont couramment mobilisés dans la littérature bachique de la fin du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance, par exemple dans les chansons à boire d'Olivier Basselin, les débats, blasons et autres fabliaux et contes. Le *Blason du bon vin*, consigné dans le manuscrit français 2206 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, est particulièrement intéressant parce qu'il nous livre un condensé de cette terminologie œnologique alors en vigueur. On sent dans ce court texte la truculence, la joie et le bien-être des buveurs.

A ung bon vin fault qu'il y ayt XXII lettres, c'est assavoir bbb, ccc, nnn, vvv, ssss, fffff.
Par les bbb : bel, bon, beuvable.
Par les ccc : clair, courtoys, coulouré.
Par les nnn : nect, nouvel, naturel.
Par les vvv : vermeil, vineux, vertueux.
Par les ssss : sain, sec, sade, savoureux.
Par les fffff : fin, froys, fryant, fleurant, franc, fumeux[20]

[19] Albert Henry. *Langage œnologique en langue d'oïl…,* Vol. 1, p. 168 (vers 114-123).
[20] Bibliothèque nationale de France. Ms français 2206, fol. 179r.

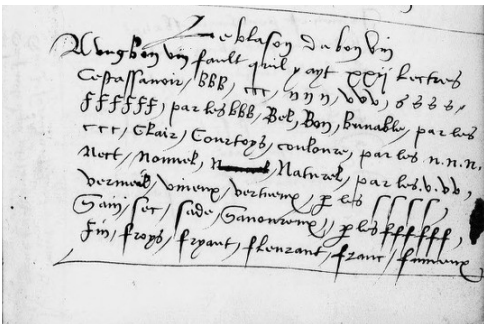


Fig. 3 : Le blason du bon vin (BnF. Ms français 2206, fol. 179r)

Que signifient réellement ces qualificatifs ? C'est à cette question qu'Albert Henry, éminent philologue romaniste belge, a consacré un ouvrage paru en 1996 intitulé *Contribution à l'étude du langage œnologique en langue d'oïl (XIIe-XVe s.)*, dont l'aboutissement est un glossaire œnologique, complété par un glossaire général. Ces très précieux outils de travail reposent sur l'analyse attentive d'un corpus volumineux : quelques documents d'archives wallonnes, des textes techniques (le *Régime des corps,* le *Segré des segrez,* le *Livre de la propriété des choses* de Barthélemy l'Anglais, le *Rustican*, le *Viandier de Taillevent*, le *Mesnagier de Paris*, le *Régime* d'Arnaud de Villeneuve), quelques textes littéraires à thème « œnologique » (la *Bataille des vins* d'Henri d'Andeli, les *Vins d'Ouan*, la *Desputoison du Vin et de l'iaue*, le *Martyre de Saint Baccus* et les *Trois dames de Paris*), et enfin quelques extraits de textes littéraires[21]. A la lueur de ce riche corpus, on accède au sens des 22 qualificatifs du *Blason du bon vin*, qui peuvent être classés en six groupes : les qualificatifs qui ont trait aux qualités organoleptiques (saveur, vue, odeur, teneur alcoolique), ceux qui se rapportent au caractère sanitaire de la boisson (appréhension médicale) et enfin un qualificatif relatif à l'âge du vin (Fig. 4).

		Définition (d'après Henry)	**Saveur**	**Visuel**	**Odeur**	**Alcool**	**Sanitaire**	**Âge**
B	*bel*	beau		■				
	bon	de qualité (en général)	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	
	buvable	consommable					■	
C	*clair (cler)*	limpide		■				
	courtoys (court)	corsé				■		
	coulouré	qui a de la couleur		■				

[21] Albert Henry. *Contribution à l'étude du langage œnologique en langue d'oïl (XIIe-XVe s.).* Bruxelles, Académie royale de Belgique, 2 volumes, 1996. Le volume 1 publie le corpus de texte. Le volume 2 publie les annotations et commentaires des sources, et les deux glossaires.

		Définition (d'après Henry)	Saveur	Visuel	Odeur	Alcool	Sanitaire	Âge
N	*nect (net)*	exempt de toute ordure						
	nouvel	vin jeune de l'année						
	naturel	sans addition, non frelaté						
V	*vermeil*	de couleur rouge						
	vineux	qui a l'odeur et la saveur du vin, vin riche en alcool						
	vertueux	Efficace par ses propriétés, produit les effets attendus						
S	*sain*	bon pour la santé						
	sec	Définition peu claire						
	sade	sapide, qui a du goût						
	savoureux	équilibré entre les saveurs acides, sucrées et amères						
F	*fin*	délicatesse combinée des caractères essentiels : couleur, sève, bouquet, saveur						
	Froys, frais, frisc	vin d'un tonneau récemment mis en perce, ou alors vin au bon équilibre entre l'acidité et les autres caractères, ou encore vin à une bonne température						
	fryant	vif et frais, appliqué aux vins jeunes						
	fleurant	flairant, odorant, qui a une odeur ou qui dégage une odeur						
	franc	naturel et pur, c'est-à-dire non mélangé, « sans odeur ou saveur étrangère »						
	fumeux							

Fig. 4 : Les qualificatifs œnologiques du Blason du bon vin (Bnf. Ms français 2206, fol. 179r)
En noir : sens premier – En gris : sens dérivé

Ce tableau met en évidence un fait essentiel quant à l'analyse sensorielle des crus au Moyen Age. Les buveurs sont avant tout attentifs à la structure des vins, c'est-à-dire à leurs caractères généraux. Les qualificatifs *courtois*, *vineux*, *sec*, *sade*, *savoureux*, *fin*, *froid*, *frais*, *frisc*, *friant*, *franc*, mais encore *fort*, *faible*, *allaitant*, *gracieux*, *sustancieux*, *gros*, *âpre*, *dur*, *pur*, *simple*, *saillant*, *frémiant*, *cras*, *raide, vert*… se réfèrent à des impressions générales concernant la structure des boissons goûtées : sensation de fraîcheur ou de chaleur, sec ou doux, facilité ou difficulté à boire, âpreté ou douceur, force ou faiblesse alcoolique, longueur en bouche… telles sont les caractéristiques qui font prioritairement l'objet d'observations et pour lesquelles il existe un vocabulaire globalement partagé par tous. Après la structure, le buveur est attentif à la couleur des vins et à la dimension sanitaire. On remarquera une absence

remarquable : l'analyse aromatique. Il est en effet très rare qu'on trouve dans les textes des expressions aromatiques florales, végétales, minérales, animales… pour décrire les qualités organoleptiques des vins, alors que cette analyse est proéminente dans l'œnologie actuelle depuis les années 1970, avec le développement de la notion de typicité[22].

Ainsi, loin des stéréotypes, les buveurs des tavernes médiévales sont attentifs à la qualité des produits qui leur sont vendus. Ils veulent boire du bon vin, et la littérature témoigne abondamment de leur fréquente déception. Ils ne sont en effet pas dupes des fraudes innombrables pratiquées par les intermédiaires de la longue chaine d'approvisionnement, entre le vigneron producteur et le consommateur[23].

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Le recueil des repues franches de maistre François Villon et de ses compagnons, édition par Jelle Koopmans et Paul Verhuyck. Genève, Droz, 1995, pp. 33-39.

Tradition of Wine Culture in Latin Travel Literature: Hieronymus Münzer and his Itinerarium

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The consumption of wine by the Romans was comparable to that of contemporary societies, despite an evident decline through the centuries. A notable epigraphic find from Pompeii, specifically the one found at the so-called Fabius' inn*1*, provides insight into the dietary habits of Roman families. Those with sufficient means would indulge in wine on a daily basis, even if it resulted in reduced expenditure on other goods. Notably, bread was the sole exception, consistently appearing as a staple item on shopping lists. During the day, taverns fostered a convivial atmosphere – however, at nightfall, they transformed into gambling establishments, despite the legal prohibition of such activities. This shift in function is exemplified by the presence of boards designed for the *ludus duodecim scriptorum*, a game analogous to our backgammon, which could be surreptitiously presented in a manner that was reminiscent of a menu*2*. We can envisage such groups of people engaging in games of chance to determine the amount of alcohol to be consumed by each participant, which often led to disputes and heated political debates. Within this unregulated environment, a unique set of social norms emerged. Dark was the night, both

[1] *CIL* IV 5380.

[2] An illustrative example of this phenomenon is provided by the marble plaque at the Musei Capitolini, *ap.* Lanciani, R. A., 1876, Tav. XXI, image 1 ("Ara di Vermino", *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 4, pp.165-210, cited in Schädler, U., 2018, "Encore sur la 'marelle ronde': cent ans après Carl Blümlein", *Kentron* 34, pp. 87-98).

figuratively and literally. The city of Rome was noted by a malodorous air, an observation that would be replicated centuries later by Charles Dickens, this time related to London*3*. The residents inhabited compact living spaces, referred to as *insulae*, where they cohabited in close proximity to one another. The consumption of wine served as a source of temporary solace, elevating their moods amidst the prevailing circumstances.

Hieronymus Münzer's vision was markedly divergent from the aforementioned. The author, whose name was commonly latinized as Hieronymus Monetarius, was born in Austrian territory (Feldkirch) in the 15th century. He obtained a doctorate in Medicine in Pavia and practised his profession in Nuremberg, where he collaborated in the composition of the renowned chronicles. Münzer departed Nuremberg on two documented occasions, in 1484 and 1494, coinciding with two notable waves of plague. In 1494, he seized the opportunity provided by these epidemics to embark on a journey that led him to "the Spains" (then comprising Portugal), where he sought to establish contact with the royal family. His aim was to undertake a venture similar to that of Christopher Columbus, a voyage that would have profound consequences for the known world*4*. Münzer's travel has been designated the most significant single journey made to Spain in the Middle Ages. In the course of his travels, he authored his *Itinerarium sive peregrinatio per Hispaniam, Franciam et Germaniam5*. The work is significant as a testament to Latin literature in the 15th century, as an exceptional specimen of travel literature composed in Latin, and as a representation of the cultural milieu of the era. Fortunately, a recent edition of the original text has been published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica6*, though

[3] Despite its length, the cite is provided for the powerful images it conjures: "As soon as we were out of the pig-sty, we entered on the Campagna Romana; an undulating flat (as you know), where few people can live; and where, for miles and miles, there is nothing to relieve the terrible monotony and gloom. Of all kinds of country that could, by possibility, lie outside the gates of Rome, this is the aptest and fittest burial-ground for the Dead City. So sad, so quiet, so sullen; so secret in its covering up of great masses of ruin, and hiding them; so like the waste places into which the men possessed with devils used to go and howl, and rend themselves, in the old days of Jerusalem. (…) When we were fairly going off again, we began, in a perfect fever, to strain our eyes for Rome; and when, after another mile or two, the Eternal City appeared, at length, in the distance; it looked like —I am half afraid to write the word— like LONDON!!!" (Dickens, Ch., 1913, *American notes for general circulation and pictures from Italy*, Chapman & Hall, London, p. 307).

[4] The most comprehensive work to date regarding Münzer's life is the one by Tina B. Orth-Müller, published as part of the edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (2020). A recent publication by Lacarra provides an account of his biography, building upon the contributions of preceding scholars in this field (Lacarra Ducay, M. del C., 2023, "El viaje por España de Jerónimo Münzer (1494-1495), antecedentes y consecuencias", in Lacarra Ducay, M. del C., and Lozano López, J. C. (dir.), *Con otros ojos. El arte aragonés visto por los viajeros*, pp. 11-44, Institución Fernando el Católico, pp. 31-34).

[5] Preserved as part of the *Codex Latinus Monacensis* 431, fols. 96-103, in the Bavarian State Library, formerly at the Library of Hartmann Schedel, renowned humanist in Nuremberg who lived from 1440 to 1514.

[6] *Hieronymus Münzer Itinerarium*, ed. by Klaus Herbers, 2020, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag. Five editions preceded that one (considering as a whole Pfandl's versions from 1917 and 1920).

translations are limited and frequently incomplete[7]. The present study sets out to analyse the role of wine in Münzer's *Itinerarium*, exploring its function across three distinct axes: as a work of Latin heritage, as a travel book, and as a book of customs.

Image 1 - Map of the *Hispaniae* in the 15th century, from a 1456 edition of Ptolomaeus' *Cosmographia*. University of Salamanca (Spain), General Historical Library, Ms. 2586, ff. 70v-71r

The advent of the Renaissance marked a significant departure from the culinary practices of the classical era, with notable transformations in food treatment and preparation techniques. In contrast, production of wine and viticulture remained relatively consistent from the prehistoric era to the 15th century in the Mediterranean region. The influence of Alexander the Great and the expansion of the Roman Empire played a pivotal role in this regard, leading to the dissemination of wine production to regions such as Spain, Britain and Dacia. Wine, perhaps originating

[7] It was Friedrich Kunstmann (misspelled as "Kumtmann" and "Kumstmann" in various sources) who is credited with being the first editor of the modern era to rescue Munzer's work, at least partially, in his edition of Münzer's *De inventione Africae maritimae et occidentalis videlicet Genee per infantem Heinricum Portugalliae*, in 1854. Prior to that, only A. Schmeller, librarian in Münich, mentioned the *Itinerarium*. The first Spanish publication of the part of the *Itinerarium* referring to the Iberian Peninsula was undertaken by L. Pfandl ("Itinerarium Hispanicum", in the *Revue Hispanique* 48, published in 1920), while the first Spanish translation of this part was made by J. Puyol in his "Viaje por España y Portugal en los años 1494 y 1495" (1924, in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 84). Another notable effort was made by García Mercadal, J. (compilation, translation and notes), 1952, "Jerónimo Münzer", in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal. Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta fines del siglo XVI*, Madrid, Ediciones Aguilar, S. A. Other publications that may be cited include Alba, R., 1991, "Nota introductoria", *Jerónimo Münzer: Viaje por España y Portugal (1494-1495)*, pp. IX-XVII, Madrid, Ediciones Polifemo. Among the translations that have been published within the last hundred years (into Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, and English), only the French version by Péricard-Méa (2009) is complete. Therefore, the English translations included in this essay are of my own authorship.

from Anatolia, gained popularity over other fermented beverages and evolved into a prominent trade centre. Concurrently, it acquired increasingly significant social, economic, and cultural implications[8].

The study of wine production has been enriched by ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological perspectives. This approach has been systematically applied since the 18th century, when Lazzaro Spallanzani observed that ancient techniques were still in use 1500 years after their initial descriptions. In the 21st century, an alternative approach to this topic involves the use of biomolecular techniques, examining the organic remains present in vases and other containers utilised by ancient cultures.

Nevertheless, this concise exposition is founded upon Latin literature; hence, the primary sources inscribed in classical literature relevant to the understanding of wine and its production must be acknowledged. The majority of these texts are classified as technical literature, a category that is characterised by its unique idiosyncrasies. In essence, technical literature is defined by its specialised content, which employs a precise and highly specific lexicon. Moreover, it frequently assumes the reader to be already possessed of fundamental knowledge, thus rendering it what might be termed "unprotected literature", as opposed to volumes containing epic or lyrical content. The term "unprotected" in this context signifies the absence of restrictions on content modification by third parties, allowing for alterations to ensure accuracy and precision. While the practical utility of technical literature is indisputable, and the educational and intellectual value of poetry is widely acknowledged, we contend that the latter does not qualify as a comprehensive manual for life in the conventional sense.

It is recommended that attention be drawn to the following works. First of all, *De agri cultura* (or *De re rustica*) by Cato, a pioneering volume on the subject, which includes methods of cultivation and growth of vines. Varro's *Res rusticae*, building on the previous work, incorporates a component of experimentation added to the time-tested practice, and provides guidelines based on the seasons of the year and the movements of the stars. This element, which may appear somewhat esoteric from a modern perspective, can be traced back to the origins of contemporary biodynamic agriculture*9*. Another notable work is *De re rustica*, by Columella, which stands as the most comprehensive and systematic agricultural manual written in Latin that has survived to the present day. A substantial portion of its content, approximately one quarter, is dedicated to viticulture, elucidating the optimal climatic conditions for the cultivation of diverse wine types. Columella was also the author of a partially preserved work, *De arboribus*, which contains analogous content. The *Naturalis Historia*, a seminal work by Pliny the Elder, stands as a testament to the depth and breadth of Latin literature. It is noteworthy as the first encyclopaedia

[8] A comprehensive examination of this subject can be found in Dodd, E. K., 2020, *Roman and Late Antique Wine Production in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Comparative Archaeological Study at Antiochia ad Cragum (Turkey) and Delos (Greece)*, Oxford, Archaeopress.

[9] This approach was developed in the 20th century, in close connection with the anthroposophy of Rudolf Steiner, and has gained significant popularity in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

written in Latin, offering a comprehensive compendium of knowledge. The fourteenth book of this work is dedicated to the cultivation of vineyards and the production of wine, with Pliny paying close attention not only to Roman varieties, but also to a wide range of foreign species. The *Opus agriculturae*, by Palladius, is a manual designed to be accessible and easy to understand for individuals interested in working on a farm. Lastly, the *Geoponika*, a Byzantine manual, is fundamentally based on the Roman agricultural treatises previously mentioned, with a focus on the eastern Mediterranean region.

This is not an exhaustive list, but there are many other ancient texts in which viticultural processes are mentioned, although no longer as a central element. Out of these names, I will refer to the Saserna, father and son, who made an early allusion to climate change, due to which vines could be grown in places where they had been previously unrecorded (ca. 400 BCE)*10*. We must also consider the mentions that can be found in the Bible and rabbinical texts[11].

It is also important to highlight the influence of wine (and, by extension, the agricultural world in general) on the Romans. As a nation with a strong connection to the land and a tendency towards less abstract thinking in comparison to the Greek people, the Romans utilised country terms for concepts such as "nothing" (*nihil*, signifying "not even the thread" of a bean), "going crazy" (*delirare*, meaning "to get out of the furrow", akin to missing the track when ploughing) or "rival" (*rivalis*, one who fought to be close to the river bank and have access to water). *Adminiculum*, a word that originally referred to the stake that is placed to support the vines, jumped to the familiar register (with the meaning of "aid", "help"), and later moved to the technical register (meaning "adverb").

Turning once more to the subject under discussion, with regard to travel literature in Latin, it should be noted that its development may be traced back to the fictional narratives of Petronius and Apuleius. During the period of Antiquity, this genre was not widely cultivated, and it was not until the advent of pilgrimages

10 Quoted in Columella, *De re rustica* I, 4-5: *Multos enim iam memorabiles auctores comperi persuasum habere longo aevi situ qualitatem caeli situmque mutari, eorumque consultissimum astrologiae professorem Hipparchum prodidisse tempus fore, quo cardines mundi loco moverentur; idque etiam non spernendus auctor rei rusticae Saserna videtur adcredidisse. Nam eo libro, quem de agricultura scriptum reliquit, mutatum caeli situm sic colligit, quod quae regiones antea propter hiemis assiduam violentiam nullam stirpem vitis aut oleae depositam custodire potuerint, nunc mitigato [iam] et intepescente pristino frigore largissimis olivitatibus Liberique vindemiis exuberent*. "For I have found that many authorities now worthy of remembrance were convinced that with the long wasting of the ages, weather and climate undergo a change; and that among them the most learned professional astronomer, Hipparchus, has put it on record that the time will come when the celestial poles will change position, a statement to which Saserna, no mean authority on husbandry, seems to have given credence. For in that book on agriculture which he has left behind he concludes that the position of the heavens has changed from this evidence: that regions which formerly, because of the unremitting severity of winter, could not safeguard any shoot of the vine or the olive planted in them, now that the earlier coldness has abated and the weather is becoming more clement, produce olive harvests and the vintages of Bacchus in the greatest abundance." (Trans. by Harrison Boyd Ash, *Columella. On Agriculture, Volume I: Books 1–4*, Loeb Classical Library 361, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941).

11 Wine is commonly mentioned in the Bible, symbolising joy, blessing, and sacredness, often used in rituals and celebrations. It also serves as a moral metaphor and a warning against excess.

that further examples came to light. From that moment, *itineraria* frequently incorporated detailed descriptions of pilgrimage routes, particularly to the Holy Land. These works played a pivotal role in shaping the understanding of sacred geography among medieval Christians. An outstanding example would be the *Bordeaux Itinerary*, dated to 333 AD, which outlines a pilgrimage from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*12*. The *Itinerarium Antonini* (3rd century) is more of a list of roads and paths, and the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (ca. 9th century) portrays Brandan of Clonfert as a medieval Aeneas in a story that may contain a significant amount of legend. Travel was also used as an excuse to describe animals and fantastic beings (*De rebus in Oriente mirabilibus*, ca. 11th century). Consequently, we are left with Egeria's testimony in her *Peregrinatio*, an exceptional text from the 4th century. From the 14th century onwards, there was a significant growth in the genre*13*, and Münzer is part of this development.

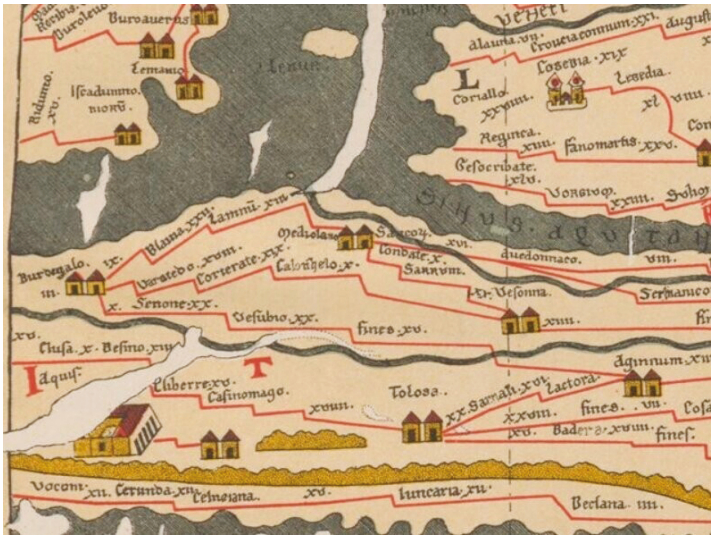


Image 2 - Bordeaux, as shown in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (1st-4th cent. CE), extracted from the facsimile edition by Konrad Miller (1887/1888)

The motivations behind Latin travel literature, including Münzer's work, could be multifaceted. Scholars have noted that these texts often reflect a blend of personal, religious, and economic motivations, as well as the broader cultural exchanges that occurred through travel*14*. The genre functioned not only as a source of in-

12 The significance of travel in the religious life of the period is effectively emphasised in this work. For a recent, comprehensive overview, see Bibikov, M. V., 2024, *Early Medieval Latin 'Itineraria' and Descriptions of the Holy Land. Drevneishie Gosudarstva Vostochnoi Evropy* 45, pp. 336-344.

13 This phenomenon was preceded by a notable increase in the documentation of pilgrimages, as evidenced by written accounts from that period. See Rouxpetel, C., 2019, "Reductio Orientis? De l'étrange au familier dans les récits de pèlerinage occidentaux en Terre sainte (XIIe-XIVe siècle)", in Burkardt, A. (dir.), *Médiateurs et instances de médiation dans l'histoire du voyage*, Limoges, PUL, pp.303-320.

14 Fischer, S., 2024, "Latin orientalism: Travel and Pilgrimage Literature", in Stella, F. (chief ed.), *Latin*

formation about distant lands for the reader, but also as a medium for engagement with themes of identity, belonging, and the nature of the "other" in the medieval imagination*15*. This will be particularly salient in the context of Münzer's travels, which, as we shall prove, were influenced by the cultural and political dynamics of his era, including the interactions between different religious and ethnic groups.

If we pay close attention to the route that Hieronymus Münzer took, we can see many stops in Spanish and Portuguese cities. His sojourns in most cities lasted for no more than a day, with the notable exception of Toledo, where he remained for a duration of three days. It is noteworthy that his itinerary partially overlaps with those of other German humanists of the time. There is no evidence to suggest any connection between Münzer and the Kingdom of Hungary, which was then embroiled in a series of wars of succession. Münzer's travels took him to the Rhine and Nuremberg, yet most of his time was spent in Spain and Portugal.

In order to comprehend the Spain encountered by the traveller, it is imperative to consider two crucial events: the recent encounter with America and the reconquest of Granada, which signified the dissolution of the last Muslim kingdom. Moreover, Münzer had the privilege of meeting the Catholic Monarchs (Isabel I and Ferdinand II) in Madrid and engaged in discourse with Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, an author whose recent study has revealed his seminal contributions to the development of the first vocabulary of Amerindian languages in Latin*16*.

Münzer is typically portrayed as a pragmatic observer, making numerous references to the quotidian life of the people he encounters, including the fields and towns, the cities, the monasteries and castles, and certain individuals and foods. In this study, I have sought allusions to wine in a broad sense, with a view to elucidating its role in society and in the work of the humanist. In order to conduct a more exhaustive investigation, it was decided to identify the specific references made by Münzer concerning various types of wine, including *rubeum*, *album*, *nigrum*, *mustartellum*, and *nobilissimum*. In addition, the different types of grapes were considered, along with a range of associated elements, such as *amphora*, *ampulla*, *cantharus*, *cellare*, *convallis*, *expressor*, *flascula*, *plaustrum*, *pomum*, *propina*, *uter*, and *vas*. The selection presented herein enables the reader to accompany Hieronymus on his travels and, concomitantly, to construct a brief narrative surrounding the culture of wine in the 15th century. It is imperative to reiterate that the term "the Spains" or *Hispaniae* signifies Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal, the four Iberian kingdoms.

Literatures of Medieval and Early Modern Times in Europe and Beyond. A millennium heritage, series *Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages*, vol. 34, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins, p. 296.

[15] Khanmohamadi, S. A. (2019), "Bridge essay: "home" and "abroad" in medieval travel and trade narratives", in Seigneurie, K. (ed.), *A Companion to World Literature*, New Jersey, Wiley-Blackwell, vol. 2, 28.

[16] The list is to be found under the epigraph of *vocabula barbara*, a collection of indigenous terms used by the native Americans, which was published upon request by Antonio de Nebrija in the third decade (of his *De orbe novo decades*, 1516), and subsequently gathered by Miguel de Eguía in 1530.

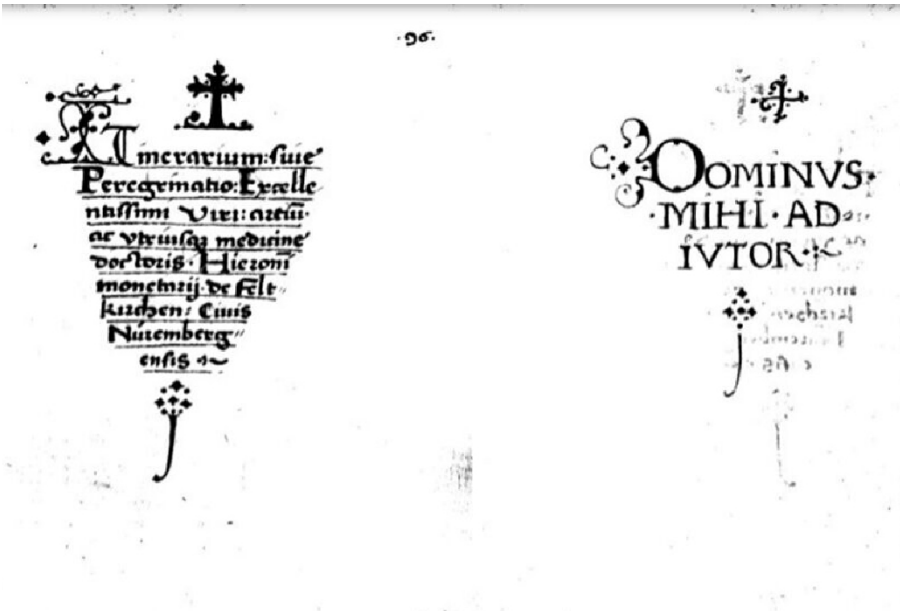


Image 3 - *Codex Latinus Monacensis*, fol. 96r-v, displaying the beginning of Münzer's *Itinerarium*, digitised by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

With the sole exception of Madeira and Porto, Münzer provides detailed information regarding wine in all other regions of the peninsula that he visits, with varying degrees of depth. Prior to arriving in Barcelona, the first region he highlights is Perpignan (which was Spanish until the 17th century), noting that

> *terra nobilissima omnibus fructibus et precipuo vino mustartello delicatissimo. Villa autem est credo ut Ulma celebris mercatoribus et pannis de lana nobili*. [fols. 110v-111r]*17*
>
> "it is a land abundant in all kinds of fruits and, uniquely, in a delicious muscat wine. This city, akin to Ulma, is renowned for its numerous merchants and the superior quality of its woolen cloth."*18*

Wine emerges as a distinguishing factor between affluent regions from a commercial perspective, and it is a hallmark of culturally advanced societies, as will be subsequently demonstrated. To illustrate this point, we may imagine Hieronymus Münzer, travelling on horseback through the peninsula, stopping at some inn during the hours between dusk and dawn, and resorting to the use of Latin with the monks (and with some noblemen, like the count of Tendilla*19*). He would

17 The Latin fragments are taken from Herbers' edition (2020) in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, as it is the newest and most comprehensive to this day.

18 Henceforth, all translations to be included will be of my own authorship.

19 Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, second count of Tendilla, also known as "the Great Tendilla". He was closely associated with the humanist Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, and participated in a military campaign against the Nazarí Kingdom of Granada.

travel with three companions who could possibly know some Spanish, but they would not need it much, taking into account the abundance of German merchants throughout the territory.

The practice of bestowing wine as a welcome gift appears to have first emerged in reference to Barcelona, where travellers encountered German merchants who extended them an invitation:

> *Invitati ad eorum domos ex solo auro et argento bibimus et commedimus more Cathelanorum. Astiterunt continuo musici cum diversis generibus instrumentum, ut recrearemur choreas, saltaciones more Maurorum? Credo baronem aut comiten in Almania honorem talem non posse exibere, quod fructibus, quam vario vino reficeremur, non est opus narrare, personis eorum aut filiis aut amicis eorum possemus refundere.* [fol. 116r]
>
> "We were invited to their homes, where we were served on gold and silver dishes; we ate and drank in Catalan style. During the banquet, musicians with various instruments played continuously to entertain us, sang choruses and danced in the Moorish style. Such entertainment would not be afforded to a baron or a count in Germany. As it is not possible to mention all the fruits and various wines with which we recovered our strength, let us give the praise to our guests, their children and their friends."

Wine, therefore, is a product that can be used every day, but it also becomes a luxury product. In this particular excerpt, two recurring elements in Münzer's oeuvre are foreshadowed: firstly, the repeated references to the Moors (or the *moriscos*, converts to Christianity after the Reconquest), whose customs are depicted with an absence of disapproval, despite the historical context and the rise of Christianity in Europe. This reveals Münzer's open character. Secondly, he draws numerous comparisons with Germany as he explores new territory.

He then moves on to Montserrat, where he provides a detailed description of four hermitages (Our Lady of Montserrat, Santa Cruz, Santísima Trinidad, and San Salvador). At this point, the author incorporates wine into his discourse, combining it with praise for the region, highlighting its potential as a location for the solitary man due to the abundance of wine.

> *Habet unaqueque pulcram capellam optime ornamentis decoratam (…), item sua cubilia, cenacula, coquinas et alia. Habent item omnes cisternas de aqua frigidissima, que eis raro aut numquam deficit et per canulas ereas effluit ut vinum ex vase (…). Fratresque omni octavo die, etiam magnis festivis descendentes ad monasterium viatico Dominico se provident, panesque et vinum et alia sufficientissime eis ministrantur. Contemplator et solitarius nobiliorem locum vix posset eligere.* [fol. 117v]
>
> "Each one [of the hermitages] features a beautiful chapel adorned with exquisite ornaments (…); a bedroom, a kitchen, and cisterns of very cold

water that is never or rarely lacking, consistently supplied by copper pipes, similar to those used to transport wine from the winepresses to the vats. (…) The monks residing there descend to the monastery every eight days or those coinciding with solemn festivals, to procure their viaticum, receiving ample provisions of bread, wine, and other essential items. This location would undoubtedly appeal to a contemplative man with a penchant for solitude."

Image 4 - *The monastery of Montserrat, seen from the East side*, 1860, engraving by J. Severini of a drawing by F. Ruiz, published in *El Museo Universal* 4 (52), p. 412, image of public domain

In the vicinity, within the Monastery of Poblet, it is said that the history of King Don Jaime is recounted, including how

> *Tandem indutus monachalem habitum celibem vitam vivos migravit ad Dominum. Ibique preclarissimo monumento ex marmore candidissimo tumulatus est. (…) Numquam etiam tot et tanta et tam grandia vidi vasa sicut in eorum cellario, quorum in uno XVII numeravi, quod XXX plaustra in unum ingrediantur.* [fol. 119v].
>
> "he subsequently adopted the monastic habit, following an honest life, and his eventual surrender of his soul to the Lord. He was buried there [in Poblet], in a lavish tomb constructed from white marble. (…) I have never seen so many and such large vessels as those they have in the cellars; in one of these I counted up to seventeen, and there are some that hold thirty carts."

The author employs the term *plaustrum*, which refers to the carts, presumably with two wheels, that were utilised in his country. It appears that it was customary to use these carts for the transportation of wine in the cellars of the Cartuja de las Cuevas in Seville.

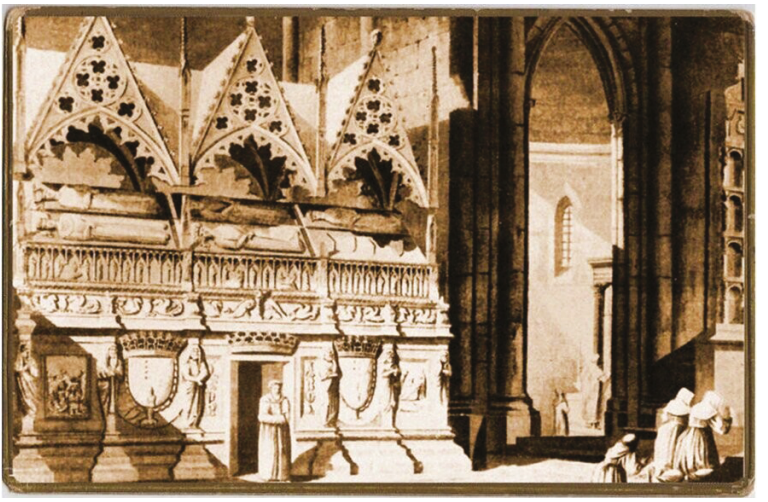


Image 5 - 1920 postcard reproducing the tombs of the monastery of Poblet, (engraving by Alexander Laborde, 1806); image of public domain

As the narrative progresses, wine emerges as a pivotal element that distinguishes the Moors, serving to categorise individuals. The utilisation of wine as a means of classification encompasses two distinct approaches: the first pertains to the consumption patterns of wine, and the second focuses on the individual's stance on abstinence.

> *Prima die Octobris (…) ad castellum Geneser ad ripas Yberi fluvii venimus. Est autem Yberus fluvius ex montibus Cesaraugustam perfluens navigabilis ut Danubius circa Ratisponam, dividens regnum Valencie et Katheloniam. Et ad ambas ripas eius multa sunt castella Sacarrenorum de fide Machometi. Quos tollerant principes, quia laboriosi et diligentes sint in re rustica, nec vinum bibunt, et magnum tributum ab eis extrahunt.* [fol. 120r]
>
> "On the first day of October (…) we arrived at Ginestar, situated along the Ebro riverbank. This river, flowing at the foot of the walls of Zaragoza, is navigable like the Danube in the vicinity of Regensburg, and marks the border between the Kingdom of Valencia and the land of Catalonia. On both banks of the Ebro, there are numerous castles belonging to the Moors, a people who, due to their industriousness and agricultural expertise, were tolerated by the kings. However, they do not consume wine and must pay a substantial tribute."

Further on, Münzer expresses his admiration for the Valencian gardens, highlighting the abundance of fruit, and also points out other notable elements, such as the

> *(…) nobilissimum vinum in Morfedra, quod olim Saguntum vocabatur et tempore glorie Romanorum in flore erat, et quasi ad mare erat prolongata (…). Educitur etiam ex villa Alakant maxima copia vini nobilissimi ad Angliam et Germaniam. Similiter integre naves cum uvis passis exiccatis et optime a Sarracenis preparatis per totam Europam sparguntur, ad Angliam, Franciam, Ytaliam, etc.* [fol. 125r-125v]
>
> "generous wine in Murviedro, a former settlement called Sagunto, which was very prosperous in Roman times, with a village that almost reached the sea (...); [we might as well highlight] the generous wine from Alicante, which is exported on a large scale to England and Germany, and the city's shipment of raisin grapes to England, France, Germany, Italy and other European nations, skilfully prepared by the Moorish."

As the journey progresses, further references are scattered, elucidating the significance of wine for commercial activities throughout Europe. These accounts also incorporate detailed descriptions of various wine mixtures that were commonly utilised during that historical period. And so, in the eastern part of Alicante

> *nascitur item in locis maritimis versus orientem magna copia vini albi, sed magis nigri de Alakant dictum*, *quod ad Brittanniam, Angliam, Flandriam et alia loca Europe mittitur. In Flandria item vinum Rinense et aliud tingitur et fortificatur (…). Erant die illo XXVI naves ibi ex Pyscaya, Flandria etc., que vino et aliis naves suas onustant* [fol. 130r].
>
> "a significant amount of white wine is produced, but it is even more that of the so-called red [wine] of Alicante, which is vastly marketed in England, Scotland, Flanders, and other parts of Europe. People in Flanders use it to fortify the wine from the Rhine region. (…) On the day of our visit to the city, we observed twenty-six ships from Biscay, Flanders, and other regions departing the harbour for a cargo of wine."

Additionally, Saint Simon's accounts mention how Louis XIV was administered wine as a treatment for gangrene, which intriguingly –at least for some–, led to the king's demise.

In the subsequent segment of the text, the work is regarded as a Castilian chronicle, which is utilised for the purpose of studying the Granada War against the Nasrid dynasty's Emirate of Granada, as evidenced by the references to certain episodes related to that war as part of conversations with local inhabitants and other travellers. Despite this, references to Moors remain largely free of bias. Wine is once again presented as a token of gratitude, this time in the magnificent Alhambra, where it is said that

> *exeuntes autem post occasum solis castellum in multam noctem ad hospicium venimus, ubi invenientes militem unum nobilem et supra una mula familiarem*

sedentem cum avena, vino, panibus, gallinis, perdicibus, que omnia generosus comes nobis ad hospicium dono dedit. Non possumus magnificenciam illam refundere, sed aput regem et principes nostros de hac re gloriabimur. [fol. 141r]

"we left [the Alhambra] when the sun had already set, and when we arrived at the door of our inn we found a soldier, plainly sitting on a mule, who was bringing us oats [for the horses], wine, bread, chickens, and partridges, all of it on behalf of the generous count. We are unable to match this level of generosity, but we will certainly speak highly of it before our king [Ferdinand II the Catholic] and our princes."

To the northwest of Granada is the territory inhabited by the Moors, a subject upon which Münzer offers the following observations:

Sarraceni enim maxime delectantur in ortis, et adeo ingeniosi in plantandis et rigandis illis, ut nihil supra. Est etiam populus, qui modico contentatur et ex fructibus in maiori parte vivit, qui eis per totum annum numquam deficiunt. Nec vinum bibunt, sed uvas pasas, quas bautzas vocant, innumerabili copia conficiunt. Item iumenta eorum, ut equi, asini, facile pascuntur. Habet item Granata maximos montes, planicies, convalles, que propter penuriam aque non possunt rigari vel ab homine habitari. [fols. 143v-144r].

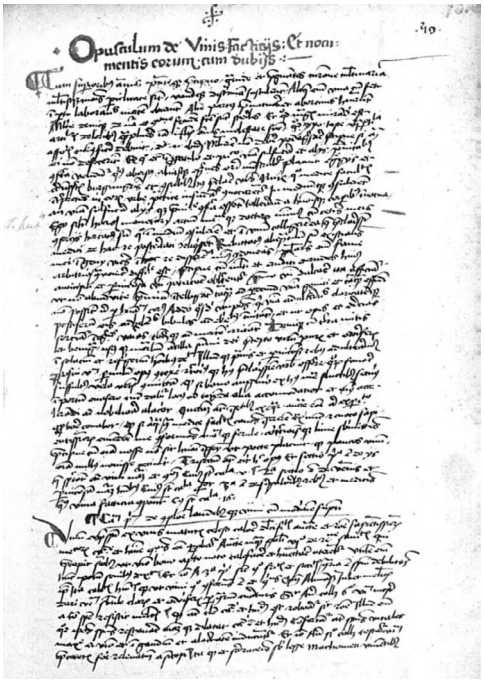
"The Moors are very fond of horticulture and extremely ingenious, both in agricultural practices and in the domain of irrigation. Moreover, they embody a modest disposition, deriving sustenance primarily from fruits, which are almost all year round in their availability. They do not drink wine, but instead produce enormous quantities of raisins (called 'bautzas') using the grapes and, in short, even their horses find food in a variety of environments. There are, however, mountains, plains, and valleys where the lack of water makes it impossible to irrigate plantations and to live."

The *Itinerarium* continues, and wine is elevated to an even more luxurious status. The city of Granada is characterised by its seven hills, of which Münzer stops particularly at the one called Albaicín. Hieronymus recounts the time of the siege, when the inhabitants of other surrounding towns that the Christians were taking looked for refuge there, and highlights the sobriety of the Muslims, who do not drink wine, but the land has enough fruit to support a much larger town, and so they could survive.

It may have been observed that the reception of Latin travel literature, including Münzer's *Itinerarium*, has evolved over time. Initially, these texts were primarily aimed at a scholarly reader, often reflecting the interests of the clergy and educated elites. However, as the genre developed, it began to reach a wider audience, influencing perceptions of foreign cultures and contributing to the formation of a

collective European identity[20]. The interplay between history and fiction in these narratives gives rise to significant questions regarding authorial intention and audience reception, as evidenced in the works of other medieval authors[21].

In conclusion, it can be asserted that wine is the most extolled beverage in Münzer's oeuvre. It is a pivotal element in the description of a locale, and a key factor in the comprehension of a nation and its denizens. The status of wine is elevated by its association with the royal family and noblemen, serving as a token of gratitude and a symbol of civilisation. It is also notable that Münzer authored an additional brief treatise on wine, which remains unedited and untranslated, the *Opusculum de vinis facticiis*, and which merits further examination[22]. Münzer's work remains as a seminal work in the field of Latin travel literature, offering a comprehensive insight into the rich tradition of medieval travel writing. It reflects the multifaceted nature of travel during the period, influenced by religious fervour, cultural exchanges, and evolving literary conventions. As part of a broader genre, Münzer's work contributes to our understanding of medieval perceptions of geography, identity, and the interconnectedness of different cultures.



[Image 6 - Schedel, Hartmann (coll.) (15th-16th centuries), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *CLM* 224, *Colligite fragmenta ne pereant*, f. 59r, displaying the beginning of Münzer's *Opusculum de vinis facticiis*; digitised by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek]

[20] Phillips, K. M., 2016, "Travel, writing, and the global Middle Ages", *History Compass* 14 (3), p. 81.

[21] Staunton, M., 2017, "Richard of Devizes, Walter Map, and Richard de Templo. History and Literature", in Staunton, M., *The Historians of Angevin England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 128-150.

[22] In the *Codex Latinus Monacensis* 224, entitled *Colligite fragmenta ne pereant*. Münzer's work, the *Opusculum de vinis facticiis*, is located between the ff. 59r-73v.

Wine has the capacity to facilitate philosophical discourse, particularly with regard to the profound enigma of love and death. It functions as a catalyst for pleasure, a means of fostering companionship, and yet it can also be a component of deceit. Moreover, wine has a role in religious cults and, as previously mentioned, is linked to both day and nightlife. It is therefore fortunate that for some people, such as the old *Hispani*, drinking and living (*bibere* and *vivere*) are quite the same.

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Schools, Baths, and Taverns: Everyday Life in Early Modern Pozsony/Bratislava

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Changes in the Functions of Pozsony/Bratislava in the Early Modern Period

The town of Pozsony (modern Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia; German: Pressburg)[1] underwent significant changes during the early modern period. The Ottoman expansion following the Battle of Mohács in 1526 drastically altered the political and economic landscape of the Carpathian Basin. The division of the Kingdom of Hungary into three parts resulted in 40% of its former territory coming under Habsburg rule. Consequently, the status of Pozsony changed considerably[2] Pozsony's role during this period was multifaceted. The town was already a regional centre in the western border region of the Kingdom of Hungary in the late Middle Ages. The Battle of Mohács reshaped Hungary's fate for centuries. Pozsony's economic significance temporarily increased after 1526. Following the conquest of Buda in 1541, the economic functions of the former capital were largely assumed by the cities of western Hungary, particularly Pozsony and Nagyszombat (modern Trnava, Slovakia). The strategic location of Pozsony along the Danube also gained prominence from a military perspective, as the area served as a base and supply

[1] The name of the town appears in historical sources as Posonium (Latin), Pozsony or Pressburg. The original Slovak name was Prešporok. The term Bratislava was not used until territorial changes after World War I. So in the following I will consistently use the historical term Pozsony.

[2] Generally to the changing functions of the towns in the early modern: Miller 2008. 156–159.

point for the Habsburg armies. From the 1550s to the late 17*th* century, Pozsony became the primary location for the Hungarian Diets, though it is important to note that not all Diets of this period were held there, and the town never became a permanent seat of the feudal Parliament.[3]

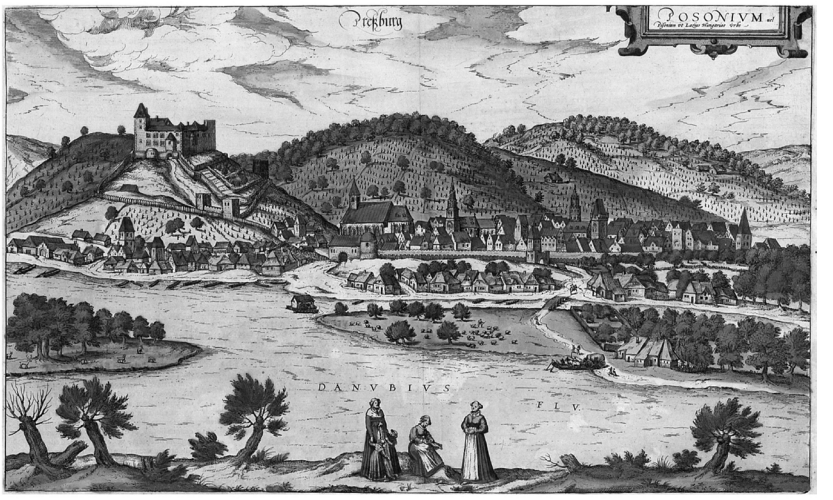
Within a short time after the battle of Mohács, Pozsony became an administrative and political centre of the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule. At the Diet in 1535, the estates of the Hungarian Kingdom officially recognised the strengthening of Pozsony's status. Legislation passed during this period established the town as the administrative centre of the kingdom.[4]

In summary, while Pozsony became a key administrative and political center of the Habsburg-ruled Hungarian territories from the 1530s onwards, it did not function as a true royal seat. The defining characteristics of a royal capital were only partially evident in early modern Pozsony. Instead, the town served as a political and, with certain limitations (shared with Vienna), an administrative capital. Although it never achieved the status of a royal capital, its economic and social structure transformed significantly.[5]

The tax registers of 1542–1543 provide indirect evidence about Pozsony's population. These records list 1,026 taxable citizens.[6] Estimating the total population is challenging due to two key uncertainties: first, the average household size of taxable citizens, likely 4–4.5 people, and second, the exclusion of non-citizens from the tax list.[7] Multiplying 1,026 by 4.5 suggests an approximate population of 4,600. However, the number of non-citizen residents is even harder to estimate. It is likely that immigration increased Pozsony's population to around 5,600–5,800 by the mid-16*th* century.

According to the town's chamber books, the number of new citizens admitted annually was low. Between the 16*th* century and the first half of the 17*th* century, an average of only 2–5 individuals gained citizenship each year, with some years (e.g., 1610) recording no citizenship payments at all.

[3] Pálffy 2013. 13–26.
[4] Fraknói 1874. 559.
[5] To the functions of Residencetowns: Schilling 2004. 21.
[6] AMB MmB TR 3 d 3.
[7] Based on the last wills, it can be said that a number of 1.5 to 2.6 children was characteristic of the middle and upper classes. Unfortunately, we have no data on similar indicators for the lower classes.



Pozsony/Bratislava, 1588
Georg Braun–Franz Hogenberg, Civitates orbis terrarum, liber quartus,
Köln, Bertram Buchholtz, 1594, 44.

Opportunities for the Educated Class: Intellectual Careers in the Town

In this changing era, it is worth briefly exploring the professional opportunities available to educated citizens in Pozsony. The development of the early modern urban bureaucracy created a growing demand for roles requiring a high level of education. In the more important administrative posts, it was no longer prestige or wealth that was the main criterion, but practical experience of administration and increasingly, an adequate theoretical knowledge. Within the town's hierarchy, legal professionals increased greater influence. Judges, mayors and council members were re-elected annually, and even when positions were hereditary among the wealthiest citizens, they were rarely held by the same person for more than 4–5 years in a term. However the town notary, the chamberlain, on the other hand, remained in place for several years without interruption, i.e. they represented continuity in the municipal bureaucracy. In his examination of the bureaucratic structure of early modern Vienna, Pauser describes the role of the notary as the ‚cornerstone' of the town administration, because of wide range of his administrative activities.

Professional stability is evident in the long tenures of the notaries in Pozsony. Michel Stützl served as town notary from 1529 to 1545, Heinrich Schedel (or Schädl/Schädel) from 1546 to 1552, and finally Thomas Entzenweiß from 1552

to 1571. By contrast, at least 14 persons held the title of judge during this same period. Both Entzenweiß and Stützl held the notary position for nearly two decades, underscoring the office's role in maintaining administrative consistency.

The sources

To analyze the topic of schools, I will analyse two primary groups of sources in order to investigate the topic indicated in the title. One important group of sources is formed by the chamber books, wich detail the town's income and expenditures for the relevant years.[8] The second group includes the testaments of citizens. These last wills provide general information about the intellectuals in the town and, more importantly, insights into the education of young citizens. Before delving into these sources, it is worth providing a brief overview of the town's schools.

Schools in the Town

In Pozsony, primary education was provided by parish schools. During the early modern period several parochial schools existed within the town. Their structure was straightforward: the parish priest employed a teacher who managed the educational duties. Records from the mid-14*th* century confirm the existence of a school near the Church of St. Martin, likely located on Káptalan Street. The school probably operated earlier in the century as well.[9]

Another school was certainly established in the suburb of Vödric during the last decades of the 14*th* century and information from the mid-15*th* century indicates that there was also a school near the parish of St. Lawrence. Finally, in 1529, a school adjacent to the church of St. Michael is mentioned in the sources. In summary, at least four or five parish schools can be identified up to the 16*th* century.[10] These schools usually taught basic skills, mostly reading and writing, and basic arithmetic. In addition to these basic skills, there was also a strong emphasis on the teaching of religious hymns. Early records suggest that these schools were attended exclusively by boys. The education and upbringing of girls was most probably the responsibility of the nuns. The first mention of an institution specifically for educating girls appears in 1616, when the Clarissa nuns established a school.[11] In addition to parish schools, Pozsony had also monastic and chaplaincy schools. The purpose of the chaplaincy schools was primarily to train church staff. It is plausible that one of these chaplaincy schools evolved into the town school at the church St.

[8] AMB MmB K.
[9] Ortvay 1903. 310., 312.
[10] Ortvay 1903. 313. Schönvitzky 1896. 8–9.
[11] Ortvay 1903. 311–313. MKL Pozsony.

Martin mentioned earlier.[12] It may be noted that attempts to establish an institution of higher education were made during the reign of King Matthias in 1467. However, the short-lived Academia Istropolitana, though it is not the focus of this study.

Schools in the Budget of the Town

Let us now examine the sources previously mentioned. The chamber books of Pozsony offers a wide range of information and analytical opportunities for researching the town's history. The potential of this source type has been highlighted in recent studies,[13] which I have also contributed to in several studies.[14]

The chamber account books of Pozsony not only record expenditure and income, but also provide a wealth of additional information about the community of the town. Accordingly, data related to school expenses can be surprisingly revealing. The account book of the fiscal year of 1550–1551 includes a dedicated chapter on construction work at the parish school of St. Martin („die Schuel […] pei S. Merten kirchen").[15] In addition to the chapter mentioned above, other sporadic data on the works have survived.[16] It remains unclear whether these entries describe renovations or entirely new construction. Based on the phrasing („in der Schuel zu pessern"), renovation seems more likely.[17] In any case, according to the texts, the town has carried out considerable construction work. Several arches were added and the carpenters constructed a new roof. („zalt Zimerleuten die Schuel zu decken").[18]

Once the necessary raw materials were obtained, several craftsmen were employed, including stone cutters, masons, carpenters and their assistants. At least four masters and 15–20 assistants and other workers worked intermittently for several months. By spring 1550, work was already underway on the building and the final phase of the work was not completed until March 1551.[19] The town hired a special master builder certainly to oversee the work. The importance of the work is shown by the fact that the master was a native of Trier in Germany. („Maister Mathis von Trier").[20] It may be noted that the older literature on the subject consistently – and erroneously – identifies the master as a Viennese.[21]

The records also provide insights into the school's size and equipment. The texts suggest that smaller buildings were attached to the main school and were also rebuilt („im Furhaus zwai gwelb auffainander, […] zu verwerffen").[22] The school

[12] Schönvitzky 1896. 6–7.
[13] Kenyeres 2019.
[14] Tózsa-Rigó 2009. Tózsa-Rigó 2012. Tózsa-Rigó 2020. Tózsa-Rigó 2021.
[15] AMB MmB K 109 p. 193–195.
[16] AMB MmB K 109 p. 157–158., 167.
[17] AMB MmB K 109 p. 157.
[18] AMB MmB K 109 p. 193.
[19] AMB MmB K 109 p. 194.
[20] AMB MmB K 109 p. 194.
[21] Ortvay 1903. 312. Schönvitzky 1896. 10.
[22] AMB MmB K 109 p. 194.

featured a small tower, which was reroofed by carpenters at Pentecost („prima turn in der Schuel zu deckhn").[23] In August 1550, five windows were ordered from a stonecutter and in September six windows were built in.[24] This suggests that a larger number of students may have been studying in the school at the same time. We also have information on the interior fittings. Among other things, the town has ordered a new door frame and locking mechanism („pressrigl und thuergstel in die Schuel zu machen"), which have been installed.[25] The classroom floor was paved with bricks.[26] We also learn that the school had heating and its own kitchen. A master mason was commissioned to build a stove and kitchen oven („Ofen und Kuchenherd in der Schuel zu machen").[27] This group of data also informs us about the students' daily lives. The size of the classroom is typical of the fact that the aforementioned master Mathis had previously built a separate foundation for the stove. („ain Ofen fues zu machen").[28] As internal equipment were purchased three blackboards for 6 schillings.[29]

It is also worth looking at how much the town spent on the school overall and how much of the total budget was spent on these costs. At the end of the above-mentioned chapter we can read that the costs outlined above amounted to nearly £76.5 denarii („Summa £76 3 ß 4 d").[30] The sporadic entries may include other expenses, or there may be other expenses scattered around, such as those for raw materials or equipment. Overall, therefore, the town spent between £90 and £100 on the school in the year under review. Compared to the town's total annual budget of 5,500–8,000 pounds denarii in the 1550s, this was a minor amount. In the 1550s, the total annual expenditure of the town was between 5500 and 8000 pounds denarii.

However, school-related expenses represented a significant portion of the town's building costs, which were primarily allocated to vineyards (7% of total expenditure, amounting to nearly £150). Of this, the town spent about two-thirds on schools. It may also be noted that this was only one of the schools of the institutions previously listed.

The construction's success attracted teachers from Vienna to Pozsony in subsequent years. Besides the main teacher (scholasticus), two assistants were hired—one of whom taught singing.[31] By 1567, the main teacher earned 25 Forints, with 10 Forints provided by the town and the remainder by the church.[32] The magistrate often paid for teachers' clothing and occasionally supplemented their salaries. Instead

[23] AMB MmB K 109 p. 157.
[24] AMB MmB K 109 p. 193–194.
[25] AMB MmB K 109 p. 158.
[26] AMB MmB K 109 p. 194.
[27] AMB MmB K 109 p. 167.
[28] AMB MmB K 109 p. 194.
[29] Schönvitzky 1896. 11.
[30] AMB MmB K 109 p. 195. According to Baraczka's calculations, 1 pound denarius was equivalent to 1.25 hungarian florins. Baraczka 1965. 244.
[31] Schönvitzky 1896. 6., 11.
[32] Frankl 1873. 48. Schönvitzky 1896. 12.

of monetary compensation, teachers were frequently given shares of the town's wine stock. It was also common for the chamberlain to send wine not just to the teacher, but to the schools in general. In the late 16*th* century, for example, Marcus Boldizsár served as a teacher in Pozsony. In a 1594 letter to the town council, he recounted his earlier tenure as a schoolmaster (schuelmeister) in Komárom, from which he had been forced to flee due to a Turkish siege. Having lost all his possessions, he requested help from the council.[33]
Students paid 10 denarii at enrollment. Poorer students were often supported by the town, both financially and materially.[34] Ordinary citizens also occasionally contributed to the education of young people.

Information from the Testaments

In addition to the account books examined so far, the other group of sources analysed are the early modern Testaments. Among other things, these contemporary documents tell us about the role of education in the everyday thinking of citizens. They also give us an idea of how non-pecuniary care is reflected in family strategies. The second volume of the *Book of Testamentary* (i. e. *Protocollum Testamentorum*) was examined. This book covers last wills of the citizens written between 1529 and 1557. A total of 388 last wills were recorded in the source under study.[35]
These testaments offer insights into two critical questions: how the proportion of intellectuals changed over time and how citizens planned for the education of the next generation. The wills of the period can be examined not only as a personal source, but they can also interpreted as reflections of the growing importance of elite groups within the community. Although intellectuals formed a small percentage of the total testators compared to merchants and craftsmen, their presence grew significantly. Late medieval wills show that intellectuals accounted for 1.6% of testators, but this figure rose to 4.6% between 1529 and 1557. This increase is even more striking considering that the number of wills written annually rose from 9–10 at the century's start to nearly 30 by the 1570s and 1580s. Since intellectuals likely drafted wills more consistently than other groups, their growing share underscores their increasing prominence. Heinz Schilling's research on elite groups in Hanseatic cities identifies a similar trend beginning in the 1550s, where intellectuals closed the gap in wealth and prestige with merchants and affluent craftsmen who traditionally dominated urban elites.[36] The initial stages of a similar process are also attested to by sources from Pozsony from the period under discussion.

[33] Frankl 1873. 116.
[34] Frankl 1873. 48. Schönvitzky 1896. 12.
[35] AMB MmB PT II.
[36] SCHILLING 1985. 9–13.

Intellectuals were almost exclusively members of the wealthy elite. Among the testators, we find three town notaries or their wives, three town chamberlains or their wives, two customs officers (tricesimators), a schoolmaster and his wife, a free notary, a market judge, a surgeon, a pharmacist, and the wife of a doctor of law.

Educating the „Next Generation": Non-Pecuniary Provisions

The primary function of wills is to distribute the property of the person who is about to die among the relatives and friends he or she leaves behind. However, many wills contain provisions which might be categorized as „care of a non-pecuniary nature." Four types of provisions can be distinguished. These include instructions for the care and/or upbringing of dependents, closely linked to these are references to the preservation of the share of the assets left to the minor's heir, and two other categories of provisions relating to the promotion of the marriage or education. Of the types listed, it is obviously the latter two which are more divorced from the narrower issue of the distribution of property. There are many cases in wills where various combinations of the types of order outlined here (e.g. care, upbringing and preservation of a share of the property, etc.) are involved.

If no money was left, a common alternative was bequeathing wine. The wine could not, of course be used directly for teaching purposes, but the procedure was to sell the wine and use the proceeds to finance education.

Educational support was a significant way to influence a beneficiary's future. In total, eleven such provisions are known, seven came from members of the wealthy elite. For example, a middle-class vineyard owner left a vineyard to his foster son on the condition that the son learn a handicraft („ein Handwerkh lernen lassen").[37] In contrast, all the other educational provisions referred obviously to intellectual studies, using terms such as *zum Studien*, *in Studie*, *ad studia*, *studiern*, or *Schul*. These examples suggest that – although the analysable sample is very small – the upper classes placed a higher value on formal education as a pathway to improved employment opportunities.

Among the testators were a judge, a councilor, a town notary, a guild master of the Confraternity of St. Paul, a customs officer and a pharmacist. Unsurprisingly, the last wills of intellectuals include, proportionally more frequently money or other bequests for the education.

A special mention should be made of the last will of pharmacist Egidy Märll. Märll had no immediate relatives, so he bequeathed a large property, including his pharmacy, to his assistant Leopold. The bequest came with the stipulation that Leopold must supply the schools of the town with ink for a year and provide

[37] AMB MmB PT II. f. 107v.

medicine to underprivileged guild members pursuing their studies („doch das ain Jar langk allen schuelen tinten geb und den armen gsellen auff der schuel artznej darnach die ain jeder bedurffen wird").[38]

As far as the testators are concerned, children were the least frequent beneficiaries of educational provisions of the non-pecuniary care, with only four such instances recorded. An example of kinship support within the intellectual class is the provision of tricesimator Georg Lerchenfelder of 1541, whereby he bequeaths 50 gulden to his nephew Karl Stützl, son of notary Michel Stützl. It is important to note here the possible costs of studies. Lerchenfelder also mentions that the 50 gulden should cover two years' education for the young man („davon er inn studie auff zwai jar notturfigkhlich verlegt worden mag").[39] Unfortunately, the customs officer did not specify the nature of the studies.

Information about study locations is scarce. Only the wealthy councillor Steffan Pfaffstetter mentioned in 1541 that his two sons were studying in Moravia. He instructed his wife to keep them enrolled there and requested that the executors of his testament send them to Breslau (modern Wrocław) or another suitable town if necessary.[40]

In the case of educating or schooling, we can also examine what part of the assets was seperated for this purpose. In two of the eleven provisions, the main heir was the beneficiary. In contrast to the case of marriage, there are no cases where the amount exceeds 100 Forints, and only one case where the amount exceeds 50 Forints. There are two cases of amounts of less than 10 Forints. A wealthy farmer left his children a house and vineyards and added further 10 Forints to one of his sons, and specifically states that the latter's share of the estate is to be used for his education („damit er in die schuel gee, und guete Eerliche kunst darfür erlerne, die do der seel und leib inn Christenlichem leben dienen").[41] In the will of a wealthy craftsman, there is also an example where the testator does not set aside a separate part of his estate for this purpose. The tanner Blasi Früewirt leaves his eight minor daughters and one minor son a house, vineyards, wine and 300 Forints in equal shares. And for the son he leaves that if he wishes to study, he shall do so by his own efforts („wover aber mein sohn Melchior ferrer studiern wollte, solle er es von seinem aignen unkosten tun").[42]

It can be concluded that less wealth was left to finance schooling than to pay for marriage. The opportunity for young people to make a living in this was therefore less important than marriage, which was one of the most important events in their lives and on whose success the future of the family depended to a large extent.

[38] AMB MmB PT II. f. 85v.
[39] AMB MmB PT II. f. 145r.
[40] AMB MmB PT II. f. 137r.
[41] AMB MmB PT II. f. 166r.
[42] AMB MmB PT II. f. 337v–338r.

Study Time of Craftspeople

For young craftsmen was the situation special. The craft guilds required a certain length of apprenticeship, wich varied depending on the profession. The apprentice lived in the master's house and, although he was paid for his work, the master exercised parental authority over him similar to those of a father. Upon completing their apprenticeship, which usually lasted three or four years, the apprentice was admitted to the guild. The tradition of mandatory migration became widespread in Hungarian guilds during the 15*th* century. The young craftsmen had to learn the profession during the required years of wandering. However, this obligation had another function besides gaining experience. On the one hand, it strengthened contacts between towns, and on the other, it made it possible to take on new apprentices to replace those who had emigrated. The rules of many guilds stipulated that the years of wandering had to be spent abroad, preferably in German-speaking area.

Becoming a master craftsman was a significant milestone in his or her life. After completing their wandering years, candidates had to produce a masterpiece for evaluation by established masters. In addition, guild rules often required candidates to host an expensive dinner, at which, usually a considerable amount of wine was consumed, which the candidate had to pay for, as part of their initiation.

Documents for Leisure in Everyday Life

Leisure activities played a prominent role in the everyday life of the early modern citizenship – just as they do in the everyday lives of modern people. In the minds of early modern citizens, the boundaries between work and leisure were less rigid. It is important to realise that most people experienced work and leisure time in the same social milieu. Among the leisure activities, drinking together, various games and dancing were of special importance.

The immediate social environment strongly influenced leisure activities. The most frequent venues of the public sphere in everyday civic life were the inns, the taverns, i.e. the *Leithäuser* and the baths. We have relatively significant sources that originated from the city authorities and regulated the activities of these establishments. Unfortunately, on the other hand, we have very few sources that tell us how the citizens actually spent their leisure time in the Leithäuser or in the baths. In this respect, Any sources are therefore invaluable. any source that shed light on this aspect of civic life is of outstanding importance.

When analysing the relevant sources, I will focus in this chapter on the community of the town of Pozsony. In the early modern period, the city was home to one of the most important German-speaking communities in the Kingdom of

Hungary. As an inevitable consequence of Ottoman expansion in the Carpathian Basin, Pozsony became the administrative centre of the Hungarian territories under the rule of Ferdinand I. in 1535.
This chapter examines a source documenting witness interrogations related to a tavern brawl in Pozsony in 1539.[43] The fundamental question that arises which groups of information can be obtained from such a source. This information can be grouped as follows:

1. Where the *Leithaus* was located in the city?
2. Details about the tavern's size.
3. The guests, in this case specifically the brawl's participants.
4. The equipment and furnishings of an early modern tavern.

While the brawl itself is of lesser importance, the associated information can be interpreted as important contributions to everyday life in Central European towns during the early modern period.

Baths in the town

Much like taverns, public baths served not only as places for relaxation and refreshment but also as places for social interaction. Homes in the town did not have designated rooms for personal hygiene. Baths attendant performed a wide range of tasks similar to barbers. In addition to preparing baths and shaving guests' hair, they offered rudimentary health care, such as bloodletting, treating ulcers, and resetting limbs. It was common to eat and drink in baths, and many baths were operated in conjunction with pubs.

Historical records mention two public baths in Pozsony. They were called Upper and Lower Baths. The so-called Upper Baths became town property in 1517. An interesting detail is that the baths were also equipped with a kettle for boiling water in 1533. Five years later, the town sold it to Sebastian, a baths attendant. The precise location of the bathhouse is unfortunatelly unknown. The other, the Lower Bath, was certainly located near the Fisherman's Gate. This was the southern city gate and opposite the banks of the Danube. This bathhouse was sold by the town to the baths attendant Jakob in 1536 and repurchased by the town from private owners in 1585.

In the analysed townbook the venue of the conflict in 1539 is mentioned once as Jewish Baths (*Judenpad*) and another time as Lower Baths (*Im untern pad*). There was also a tavern in the public bath, or more precisely next to the bath. The term Judenpad might have been another name for the Lower Bath, as the professional background of the guests may also point to this possibility. As will be analysed in

[43] AMB MmB AP II. f. 7r–11v.

detail later, there were many fishermen and leather workers among the guests of the aforementioned baths and tavern, even at the time of the brawl. The majority of the representatives of these crafts lived and worked in the New Town (*Neustadt*), which was located along the banks of the Danube and in front of the Fischertor. In the light of the name Judenpad, it can also be concluded that the bathhouse was located in the south-eastern part of the Old Town near to Fisherman's Gate (*Fischertor*), where *Judenstrasse* (Jewish street) was also located.

Information about a tavern brawl in relation to analyses of everyday history: size, guests, and equipment of a wine tavern in an early modern town.

In the following, I will discuss how a tavern (referred to as a „Leithaus") could function in the 16*th* century. The information in the Actionale Protocollum indicates that the conflict occurred in a wine tavern operated alongside a bath. The evidences suggest that the baths and the tavern shared a common courtyard. Based on one of the witness statement, it can be inferred that some guests were in the courtyard of the baths or the *Leithaus* („Knupffer was in the hoff Inn Judem pad"). According to the testimonies, the guests also drank in the baths (*padstub* i.e. Badstube) prior to the conflict.

The tavern is consistently referred to as Leithaus in all four testimonies. Generally, the host aimed to maximize wine sales. To encourage consumption, innkeepers endeavored to meet their guests' various needs beyond merely quenching their thirst. Tavern staff typically served both wine and food, and hosts sought to increase consumption through additional attractions, such as performances by jugglers. Richard Perger aptly describes the work of the Viennese wine masters with the term „catering". In this respect, both the work of the Viennese wine masters and that of the Leitgeber in Pozsony can be characterised as that of a host-manager.

In the light of this information, a combined tavern and baths can be interpreted as a highly innovative business model. Witness statements frequently describe how the guests utilized the facility. For instance one of the fishermen mentions that one of participant in the brawl insulted another craftsman over an earlier conversation in the bath. The quarrel therefore began earlier, when the participants were still in the baths. On the basis of this important detail, it can be concluded that the guests – at least in this case – first recovered in the baths and only then did they start drinking in the tavern.

The brawl took place in the tavern, where the inner room is referred to as stubn („room"). This term appears four times in the texts and it is highly likely that wine was sold in this space. The size of the room can only be deduced on the basis of indirect information. Although most witnesses understandably tried to escape of the *stubn* during the brawl, those involved in the conflict and passive bystanders spent some short time in the room. Based on the testimonies, at least 17 or 18 people were present in the tavern at the simultaneously , divided between the building and the courtyard. Of course, we also have to take the staff into account. So we can imagine the tavern as a room in which at least 20 or perhaps 22 people could be present. The owner was also mentioned in the *Townbook*. Since the term *Wirt* („host") is mentioned and not the term *Leitgeber* or *Zapfer*, it can be concluded that the *Wirt* was also the owner of the baths and the tavern.

Unfortunately, there is no available information about the size of the baths. However, it is evident that the baths and the wine tavern shared a courtyard and were likely situated on the same property. Another issue is the uncertainty regarding the number of taverns in Pozsony. The largest section at that time was undoubtedly the municipal inn, the so-called *Gruenstubl* (Green Room). The green-coloured building was located in the city centre, not far from the Lower or Jewish Baths. Although many burgher families owned vineyards and often consumed their own wine rather than purchasing it at taverns, it is reasonable to assume—given the estimated population of Pozsony in the 1530s and 1540s (approximately 5,300–5,500 citizens)—that several other inns were operational.

Based on the witness statements, it was clear that only men were in the tavern during the brawl, although both men and women could sell wine. It can be reasonably assumed that men predominantly frequented these establishments, not just during conflicts. Earlier it was mentioned that there were 17 or 18 people in the tavern at the same time. The uncertainty can be attributed to the fact that several men are mentioned only by their first names. Among the attendees, the professions of 12 men can be determined. The socio-cultural background of these people should be analysed as far as possible.

The largest group of the guests were fishermen. During the brawl six or seven fishermen master or other apprentices of the fischerman's guild were present. Two participants in the conflict, Georg and Mert Riemer, are also mentioned in a witness statement as fishermen ('*die Vischer*'). The last will of a witness Emrich Rietzinger can be read in the *Protocollum Testamentorum* of Pozsony. Rietzinger was drinking with other fishermen in the tavern when the Riemers began fighting with their opponents. In his last will, Rietzinger mentioned not only his profession, but also the place of his house. He lived in the suburb of Wedritz (Hungarian: Vödric). This district lay on the banks of the Danube, to the west of the previously mentioned Neustadt. Based on the tax register of the town, it can undoubtedly be said that numerous fishermen and other craftsmen, such as Riemer, tanners and furriers, lived in Wedritz. Rietzinger also worked in the municipal service as a tax collector.

In addition to the fishermen, two tanners (a master and an apprentice) can be identified among the visitors. The tanner master Wolfgang Hofer lived in the aforementioned Neustadt. The Testamentary Book also reveals that Hofer had his own signet ring, which he used to authenticate guild members' wills.

Two other craftsmen can be mentioned as well. Based on the town's chamber books, it can be determined that the town often ordered various jugs, pot lids and pots from the potters. It is interesting to note that in 1529 the town council ordered crockery for the town's wine tavern. One of the two potters, named Thomas Nievergold – similar to the previously mentioned Emrich Rietzinger – also worked as a tax collector.

In the case of two other people, one could indirectly deduce their profession from their surname. Based on this logic, it is possible to identify a brewer (Jörg Preuer) and a locksmith (Corbinian Slosser) among the guests. However, we should be careful with such conclusions, we could f.e. see with the Riemers in particular that the family name was not necessarily identical with the person's real profession. It can still be determined that two men were certainly craftsmen. They are mentioned as Maister Jacob and Maister Joachin. Unfortunately, no further information about them can be found in the sources. The Riemers' opponent was Hans Knüpfer. The sources offer no useful information about him. The testimonies only state that he was drinking with the Fischermen when the two Riemer entered the tavern and that the brawl started shortly afterwards.

The majority of the guests were therefore from the middle class (master craftsmen, tax collectors) and the lower middle class (guild apprentices). Most resided in the suburbs, specifically Neustadt and Wedritz, near the Fischertor (Fishermen's Gate).

Tavern Furnishings in Early Modern Pozsony

Unfortunately, only one reference was made to what the guests had been drinking. In the testimony of a tanner, it can be read that he was drinking wine together with other craftsmen („peim wein gewesen") when the altercation escalated into a brawl. We gain no further information about the specific types of wine served is provided. However, based on information from other sources, it is reasonable to assume that the people of Pozsony most frequently drank white wines.

I mentioned earlier that the guests could often buy food in the taverns. People could also eat in the tavern shown here. It was mentioned several times in the testimonies that the tavern also had a kitchen. One witness probably arriving after the main events of the brawl, noted that one of the combatants was lying on the floor of the main room while the other was in the kitchen („der ander Riemer sei inn der kuchel gelegt").

The equipment and furnishings of an early modern tavern can be partly reconstructed from the available testimonies, though details remain sparse. I mentioned earlier that the guests were mainly or almost exclusively craftsmen and journeymen. In this respect, it is reasonable to assume that there were simple furnishings in the *Leithaus*. Several testimonies indicate that the craftsmen sat at tables while drinking wine, e.g.: „He sat down with Maister Jacoben [...] and drank". In another document we can read: „he sat down with me". Based on this, it is likely the tavern was furnished with basic wooden benches and tables.

The testimonies also provide insight into smaller objects and vessels used by the brawlers to beat each other. Among the most frequently mentioned items were cans (Kandl) and pouring-spout cans (Rör or Röhr). They appear in the different phases of the conflict and inform us about the classic anatomy of a brawl. I would only emphasise a few details here. According to Rietzinger's testimony, the aforementioned Knüpfer used a can with pouring spout („[er] hab die rör inn der hanndt gehobt") in the quarrel after he lost his patience because of the insults from the Riemers. He later used the Röhr very effectively against the Riemers: „[he] hit the Riemer over the head with it". One of the witnesses emphasised that the Riemers did not use any object in the conflict. In contrast, another witness recalled that one of the Riemers ran out of the room and brought another Röhr (*plosse rör*) from the courtyard. Knüpfer also used a can to, for example he „made a *kandl* and hit the Riemer on the head". An utensil was also mentioned. Due to the difficult to read part of the text, Master Joachin was hit in the face in a fierce argument („*sei mit ainer gapeln zugeloffen*").

Conclusion

To summarise briefly, fortunately, we historians can only imagine the effectiveness of these everyday objects in quarrels. Although at first glance such a brawl might be considered an extraordinary event, it was, in fact, an interesting part of the everyday life of the town. These sources provide a relatively rare snapshot of the early modern period. Nevertheless, researchers can analyse the groups of information it contains quite effectively in order to observe the everyday life of early modern citizens in Central Europe more closely.

Overall, the early modern sources from the town of Pozsony provide a solid basis for gaining insight into the everyday lives of students and craftmens of the period as well as the relationship between wine and daily life.

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School is Play, not Prison! A Teacher-Student Conflict in Trencsén in Valerian Mader's "Mirror of School"

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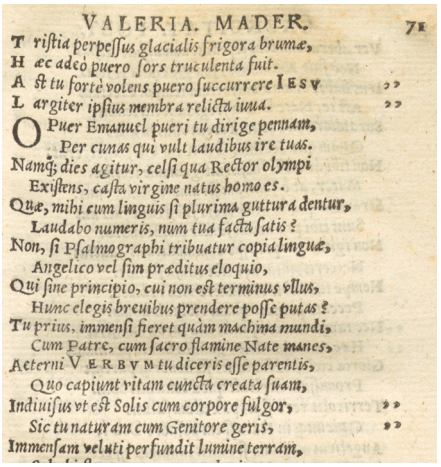
This article investigates a teacher-student conflict at the school in Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) in the late 16th century through one of Valerian Mader's poems.[1]

The event (or events) likely took place in the latter half of 1581 or early 1582. The 77-distich poem can be interpreted as a judicial speech (*genus iudiciale*), in which

[1] Summary of his biography: In a noble family, he was born to Nicolaus Mader, an influential citizen of Trencsén (Trenčín, SK) on May 19, 1558). He had four brothers: Josephus, Nicolaus, Johannes, Georgius as well as a stepbrother: David. He began his elementary studies in Sempte (Šintava, SK) before 1568. Between 1573–1577 (?), Mader studied as a pupil of Petrus Barossius in Trencsén, then, with help of Simon Jesensky (Jessenius), in Bártfa (Bardejov, SK) under Thomas Faber, Georgius Radashinus and Severin Sculteti, then at least from the autumn of 1577 in Zsolna (Žilina, SK) under Nicolaus Colacinatus. He stayed in Kassa (Košice, SK) from December 1578 until around April 1579. Between April 1579 and sometime in the summer, he travelled in Transylvania. He certainly visited Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, RO) and most likely Kolozsvár (Cluj, RO). He studied in Sárospatak between autumn of 1579 and December 1580. In 1580, he returned to Trencsén where became a teacher (*synergus*) and Lutheran priest between February 1581 and February 1582. Mader married Dorothea before March 1582. They had a son and a daughter who both died in their childhood before 1586. From 1582, he was the priest in Beckó (Beckov, SK), and later in Kiripolc (Kostolište, SK) until January 1586. According to a letter, he was a parish minister in Trencsén on March 21, 1600. The last information on Mader is his ministry in Márkusfalva (Markušovce, SK) in 1605. Miklós Pálfy, *Katalog der Handschriftensammlung der Hallenser Ungarischen Bibliothek* (Halle-Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1965), 102; Miloslav Okál, *Život a dielo Valeriána Mádera*, in *Literárnomúzejný letopis* 20 (1986), 144–176; Zoltán Csepregi, *Evangélikus lelkészek Magyarországon (ELEM). Proszopográfiai* rész I, *A reformáció kezdetétől a zsolnai zsinatig (1610) I/2: M–R* (Budapest: MEDiT, 2015), 7; Dávid Molnár, *Valerian Mader igavonó ökröcskéje: a Libellus exercitiorum poeseos scholasticorum*, in *Valerian Mader, Libellus exercitiorum poeseos scholasticorum (1588)*, szerk. Dávid Molnár (Budapest–Sárospatak: L'Harmattan Kiadó, Tokaj-Hegyalja Egyetem, 2024) 7–60 (9–15).

Mader passionately articulates grievances against his students. Although the exact cause of the conflict remains unclear and open to speculation, the text suggests that Mader expressed no remorse for his actions. Through an analysis of the possible causes of the dispute, this article provides insights not only into Mader's pedagogical principles but also into the "Organizational and Operational Regulations" of the elementary school in Trencsén during this period.

The poem is included in the author's only known book, published in 1588 by Bálint Mantskovit's printing house in Galgóc (Hlohovec, Slovakia).[2] The book's title is *Libellus exercitiorum poeseos scholasticorum, propter tirones artis versificatoriae, ut quomodo ea comparanda, promovenda, amanda et conservanda sit, exemplum capiant, in lucem editus* (*A Little Book of Students' Poetic Exercises, Published for Beginners of the Art of Poetry, to Provide Examples on How to Compose, Develop, Love, and Preserve Them*).[3] Most of the verses in the collection were written by Mader during his student years. According to its title, the book—designed as a formulary or model for occasional poetry—was intended for beginners interested in the art of poetry. The instructional nature of the book is evident in Mader's use of brackets in the margins (see the figure) to highlight allusions and references to classical, biblical, or contemporary sources.[4]


VALERIA. MADER. 71

Triſtia perpeſſus glacialis frigora brumæ,
Hæc adeò puero ſors truculenta fuit.
Aſt tu fortè volens puero ſuccurrere IESV ,,
Largiter ipſius membra relicta iuua. ,,
O Puer Emanuel pueri tu dirige pennam,
Per cunas qui vult laudibus ire tuas.
Namq; dies agitur, celſi qua Rector olympi
Exiſtens, caſta virgine natus homo es.
Quæ, mihi cum linguis ſi plurima guttura dentur,
Laudabo numeris, num tua facta ſatis?
Non, ſi Pſalmographi tribuatur copia linguæ,
Angelico vel ſim præditus eloquio,
Qui ſine principio, cui non eſt terminus vllus,
Hunc elegis brevibus prendere poſſe putas?
Tu prius, immenſi fieret quàm machina mundi,
Cum Patre, cum ſacro flamine Nate manes,
Aeterni VERBVM tu diceris eſſe parentis,
Quo capiunt vitam cuncta creata ſuam,
Indiuiſus vt eſt Solis cum corpore fulgor, ,,
Sic tu naturam cum Genitore geris, ,,
Immenſam veluti perfundit lumine terram,

Fig. 1: Brackets in Mader's *Libellus*

[2] Gedeon Borsa, *XVI. századi magyarországi nyomtatványok a bécsi Nationalbibliothekban*, in *Magyar Könyvszemle* 80 (1964), 162–166 (164–165).

[3] The only known copy of the book is preserved in Vienna at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (*35.X.164). This copy was in the possession of Hieremias Sartorius (*Valerian Mader, Libellus...*, op. cit., 427), who – according to the inscription – gave it to a physician, whose name is unreadable: „<...> *Medicinae Licenciato d. d. hunc libellum, amicitiae ergo Hieremias Sartorius jam Scholae Trenchinii Rector 14 Junij: Anno D. 1588*." Based on the dedication, the volume was printed before June 14, 1588. Another copy of Mader's book was certainly in the possession of István Illésházy (1541–1609). *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából: Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése* (Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, 11), ed. János Herner, István Monok (Szeged: JATE, 1983), 151.

[4] Early modern poetics applied the same method, aiming to teach the art of poetry rather through examples than definitions.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first part, which falls under the book's main title, contains 77 poems by Mader, along with 12 poems addressed to him as peritext. The second part, titled *Libellus adoptivus*, includes 27 poems and four letters addressed to him.[5]
The subject of the present study, the poem addressed to the students of Trencsén, can be found on pages 60–64 of the original printed version, under the title *Ad studiosos Trenczinienses, discipulos suos* (*To the Students of Trencsén, His Disciples*).[6]
The poem can be roughly divided into five thematic sections:

Burnout? (lines 1–14)
Vacation (lines 15–24)
Accusation (lines 25–49)
Apology (lines 50–120)
Promise (lines 121–154)

In the analysis of the poem, I do not proceed line by line but instead untangle the themes. (I provide the line numbers and quote excerpts of the original Latin text as well.)

Prologue (lines 1–24)

The beginning of the poem serves as a poetic introduction that lulls the unsuspecting reader. Mader suggests that he has grown somewhat tired of teaching, is burned out, and simply needs a small break, a vacation. However, enough is known about his life to suggest that his claims of burnout should not be taken too seriously. Yet, at first glance, this all sounds quite believable. The rhetoric of poetry elevates the ordinariness of the presumed story, transforming it into something almost fabulous. I quote the poet (lines 1–12): "Just as a good bow can break (*frangitur*) from constant pulling back and no longer remains as it was before,[7] so a good talent is also vitiated and limited (*artum fit*), believing there is no need for moderation (*nullum modum*) in studies.The singer's throat also becomes hoarse (*raucescit*) from too much singing, and can no longer sound as earlier. And those who never want to spare their labouring hands, they ruin their infirm hands with work. Thus, we too – whether teaching beginners or celebrating God – have grown weary of the art of singing and will withdraw from our usual work until our instruments (*organa*) regain their strength (*capiant vires novas*)."

[5] His model might have been: Georg Sabinus Brandeburgensis, *Poemata* (Leipzig: Ernst Vögelin, 1563), Z4[r].
[6] Modern edition: *Valerian Mader...*, op. cit., 311–315. The poem is presented at the end of the paper with minor modifications in punctuation compared to the original edition.
[7] See Erasmus, Adagium no. 3477: „*Arcus tensus rumpitur.*"

Mader not only left the school but also departed from Trencsén altogether. He writes that he will visit the headmaster of a school in a neighbouring town, lying beyond the "red mountain" (*post montem rubrum*).[8] However, before leaving, he had to complete his household duties. One of these tasks would be his apology, written in the form of a poem, to defend himself against the accusations of anonymous students in Trencsén (lines 15–24).

It is worth noting that Mader held his teaching position in his hometown for about a year, from February 1581 to February 1582. Although it is not known for certain whether he left voluntarily or was dismissed, based on his career trajectory, it is more likely that he was dismissed. A teaching and pastoral position in Trencsén would have been financially and prestigiously more advantageous than the subsequent pastoral office in Beckó (Beckov, Slovakia).

The Conflict

The question still remains: why did Mader leave the school of Trencsén? What kind of conflict can be unravelled from the lines of the poem, a conflict that erupted between the teacher and his students and likely cost him his teaching position? From lines 29–36, it can be inferred that Mader refused to let students leave the school. According to the text, these students did not reveal the reasons for their departure. Without knowing their motives – such as death of a family member or other personal matters – Mader withheld permission. This likely was not an isolated incident.

Through his poem, Mader addresses these students: "Through these lines and poems, we remind these young men: let each one stand before me." (*Ergo per hos iuvenes numeros per et ista monemus carmina, stet faciem quilibet ante meam.*) He suggests that, instead of speaking behind his back, the students should openly say to him in person what they plan to do. (*Praesenti praesens et quod cupit ore loquatur, propositum dicat quilibet atque suum*). His indignation is palpable when he writes about rumours that many students want to leave. But to where? Many want to go home? He doesn't know, because no one has informed him of their plans (*Multos, nescio quo dicunt discedere velle, et patrium multos cernere velle solum, sed quia nil istis*

[8] I am not exactly sure what Mader means by the phrase "*mons ruber*" (red mountain). At the border of Poland and Slovakia, there is a mountain range called the Red Mountains (Czerwone Wierchy, Červené vrchy) in the Tatra, but it is definitely not located near Trencsén. There is the famous Thurzó-Fugger-Pálffy Castle of Vöröskő (Červený Kameň) about 90 kilometers south of Trencsén, and about 30 kilometers north of Trencsén is the village Vöröskő (Červený Kameň, also known as Rotenstein or Rothenstein) [for the tip, thank you to Éva Gyulai]. It is also possible that he visited Martinus Malobicenus in Uherský Brod (Magyarbród), who was rector in the city until 1582, and there is known a poem addressed to him in which Mader asks the headmaster for paper (*Valerian Mader...*, op. cit., 53, 349–350, 425). In this case, he might referred to Červený kopec near Brno. The problem here is that this "red mountain" is 90 kilometers away even from Uherský Brod, and the Latin preposition "*post*" is also difficult to interpret from the perspective of Trencsén.

certi de rebus habetur, nec mihi quis minimo detulit ista sono.) However, if these students have made up their minds, for their own benefit they should inform their teacher! This is their duty, and Mader orders them to do so by the virtue of his official authority (*Quid statuit, pro se, debet mihi quisque referre, officii quod ego nomine mando mei*).[9] Approvals for departure can only be requested from their teacher. (*Haec mihi concessa est a praeceptore facultas, non propriis ausis haec ego facta sequor*).

Based on lines 45–46, "anonymous denunciations" appear to have been submitted to the rector of the school. According to the text, several ungrateful students (*ingrati discipuli*) accused Mader of something, but – likely due to fear – they did not reveal their names (*latores non ego ferre queam*). Mader angrily rejects the false accusations (*falso crimine*) made against him by these unjust (*iniqui*) individuals. He reassures both himself and the reader, claiming that he maintains a clear conscience, and thus, these slanders cannot tarnish his reputation (lines 47–49).

Although the specific accusations against Mader cannot be fully discerned from the poem, it is likely that he overstepped his official authority. While speculation should be avoided, Mader appears to accuse some of the students of leaving without his permission.

Instead of returning home, they reportedly frequented filthy taverns (*turpes tabernas*), which Mader mentions in line 57: those students who visit sordid taverns in the darkness of the night should leave the school and not return. (*Qui turpes adeunt obscura nocte tabernas* [...]. *Tale quis indomitum novit se pectus habere, discedat quo vult, nec rediturus eat*.)

It is also possible that the students' problem with Mader went beyond mere institutional discipline and they did not simply want to sneak out to taverns but were actually considering leaving the school permanently because of their teacher. There are several references to this in the poem. Mader defensively uses the tool of accusation, a rhetorical device from judicial speech (*genus iudiciale*). For simplicity, I have placed the section of accusation between lines 25 and 49, but actually Mader's anger resurges repeatedly throughout the poem and he makes various accusations against them in other parts of the poem as well.

The principles of Mader's pedagogy?

Mader's pedagogical principles can ultimately be derived from the longest thematic unit of the poem, his apologia, which consists of 70 lines. Following the conflict-resolution method of "the best defense is attack," Mader defends himself with various accusations against the students. He does not hide his disdain for the "brigand," "fruitless," and "drone" students. However, he also makes it clear that he takes care of virtuous students who dedicate themselves to sacred studies, treating them as if

[9] Regarding this, see the vine in John 15.2–16.

they were his own siblings. Furthermore, those who follow his honourable orders (*mandatis honestis*) will become worthy of his affection (lines 51–54).[10] For clarity, however, Mader adds that he cannot tolerate stiff-necked, stone-hearted students. These are the ones who not only frequent taverns at night but also stir up turmoil and use cruel weapons at school[11] (lines 55–58). (*Non possum durae cervicis ferre latrones, saxea qui infracto pectore corda gerunt, qui turpes adeunt obscura nocte tabernas, inque schola turbas armaque saeva movent.*)

Mader states that anyone who has reached the level of self-awareness to recognize disorder (*indomitum*) in their own soul should leave the school and never return. He describes the school as a "little garden of virtuous youth", where there is no place for weeds (61–62 lines). (*Tale quis indomitum novit se pectus habere, discedat quo vult, nec rediturus eat. Hortulus est iuvenum quidam schola culta bonorum, pravus in hac nullum debet habere locum.*) Mader continues by warning that "the impiety and corrupt morals of one [student] can eventually contaminate a thousand good youths and lead them to evil deeds" (63–66 lines). (*Unius impietas corrupti denique mores, mille queunt iuvenes commaculare bonos, ad mala praecipiti mortales facta*[12] *feruntur, quae bona sunt rarus facta probare solet.*) Mader expresses no desire to keep these "godless" individuals; instead, he declares that they should be expelled with a whip and flee as far away as possible (67–68 lines). (*Tales inde procul cedant fugiantque scelesti, si caesi nolunt hinc abiisse flagris.*) He goes on to argue that better students will come in their place. He compares the expulsion of unfit students to the removal of unfruitful trees that bear no fruit for their owner. Such trees must be cut down so that proper fruit trees can be planted in their stead (69–72 lines). (*Arbor ut utilibus quae non est fructibus aucta scinditur et duro verbere tacta cadit, intereaque locum melior plantatur in illum, quae fructum domino fert onerosa suo.*)

Mader does not limit his metaphors to unfruitful trees but also describes such students as useless drones, created solely for the destruction of fruits (*non aliter fucos, fruges consumere natos*) (line 73). He exclaims that these drones should be kept as far away as possible from their community (*hinc procul a nostris sedibus esse velim*)!

He is equally critical of those whose minds are preoccupied solely with gorging themselves. If such individuals are not presented with full pots (*si non plenis aliquando fertur in ollis*) and baskets overflowing with white bread (*albo si non capsula pane tumet*), they immediately criticize the quality of the studies and seek out another

[10] See again: John 15.

[11] In the histories of the College of Debrecen and College of Sárospatak, student uprisings are well-documented. They often involved in violent expressions of discontent towards the leadership. These protests typically arose from disputes regarding the wine sales. Szombathi János, *A sárospataki főiskola tanárainak életrajza*, szerk., ford. Soltész János (többekkel), in *Sárospataki Füzetek* 8 (1864), 875–877, 885. Horváth Mónika, *Adalék egy diáklázadás történetéhez: Kazinczy Péter ismeretlen levele Fáy Lászlóhoz 1667-ből*, in *Theologiai Szemle*, új folyam 65 (2022), 21–25.

[12] An important pedagogical challenge was that, due to the sin of Adam, humans are inherently inclined toward evil. Education must destroy the "old Adam" within a person and elevate the "new man." The summary of the Augustinian idea can be found here: Gerald Strauss, *The State of Pedagogical Theory c. 1530: What Protestant Reformers Knew About Education*, in *Enacting the Reformation in Germany: Essays on Institution and Reception*, ed. Gerald Strauss (London: Routledge, 1993), 69–94 (85–86).

school where they can fill their bellies (*viscera*) with greasy food. Mader sarcastically suggests that such individuals should leave and study their bellies instead (*ventris studiosi*, lines 75–84). He firmly believes that better, more dedicated students will take their place.[13]

In lines 39–40, Mader states that if a student wishes to leave the school secretly, he has no desire to keep them there against their will. He emphasizes that forcing unwilling students to stay serves no purpose, just as hunting with a dog that does not want to hunt is pointless.[14] (*Non hunc invitum volumus tenuisse scholarem, venatum invito nil iuvat ire cane*.) He continues by declaring that the school is not commonly referred to as a prison (*non carcer*), but rather as a playground (*ludus*): *non carcer, ludus, sed enim schola dicitur esse*.[15]

The Latin word *ludus* conveys the dual meaning of "school" and "play," as in *ludus litterarum, ludus litterarius*,[16] or *ludi magister*.[17] In other words, the school is not a *carcer litterarum* (a prison of learning), but a place of play and enjoyment. Mader argues that no one needs to escape from school as they would from a prison. Instead, students can leave freely—but they should not expect to return to this "playground." Mader asserts that learning is a game and must be played at school. According to him, anyone who refuses to study at the school in Trencsén, even when given the opportunity, will not study anywhere else—not even in Prague (*Sed qui Trenczinii cum posset discere non vult, hunc puto nec Pragae discere posse magis*.)

[13] Regarding this, see the instructions written in 1609 for the curators of the school in Bán (Bánovce nad Bebravou, SK), located 30 kilometers from Trencsén. Mészáros István, *XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a „studia humanitatis"* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 225.

[14] A similar idea can be found in Erasmus' treatise on the education of children: „*Ergo si foetus aut nullos aut insipidos gignit arbor citra curam insitionis, si canis nascitur inutilis ad venatum, si equus ineptus ad usum equestrem, si bos ineptus ad arandum, nisi nostra accesserit industria, quam efferum, quam inutile animal evadet homo, nisi studiose simul ac mature fingatur institutione?*" Erasmus, *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin, in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, I.2. (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1971), 39. See also: Hor. ars. 467: „*invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti*." And the emblem no. 27 with the same title: Jean Jacques Boissard, *Emblematum liber* (Francofurti ad Moenum: s. t., 1593), 55 (embl. 27) (see fig. 2).

[15] Ibid., 24, 53; Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin, in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, I.2. (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1971), 259.

[16] See: Hor. sat. 1.6.71–72; Liv. 3.44.6.1–2, 6.25.9.1–3; Plin. nat. 9.25.1–4; Sen. epist. 71.6.5–7.

[17] See, e.g.: Mart. 7.64.7.

Fig. 2: Emblem no. 27 (Boissard, 1593)

Resignation letter in distichs?

Starting from line 87, Mader diplomatically suggests that he does not feel strongly about continuing as a teacher at the school in Trencsén. He paraphrases a well-known passage from Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 12:4–11), which states that God grants different gifts to different souls. This passage implies that no one possesses all talents simultaneously: one may have the gift of healing, another of eloquence, another of prophecy, etc. This idea, in its classical form, was widely known in the early modern periodm, often expressed as *Non uni dat cuncta Deus* ("God does not grant all things to one person.") Similarly, Virgil's phrase from the Eclogues (8.63) reflects this sentiment: *Non omnia possumus omnes* ("We can't all of us do everything").[18] A version of this saying was frequently applied in pedagogical contexts to emphasize that intellectual differences among children must be recognized and that each should be nurtured and developed according to their talents.[19]

Mader writes that he does not favour (*praefert*) the school in Trencsén over other erudite institutions. He acknowledges that there are other schools that teach nobler

[18] See also: Lucan. 2, 146; Liv. 22, 51, 4; Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon. Ein Hausschatz für das deutsche Volk*, Bd. I–V (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1867–1880), V, 296. Online (08.12.2024): https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/wander_sprichwoerterlexikon05_1880/?p=160&hl=Non

[19] See: Strauss, *The State of Pedagogical Theory*..., op. cit., 79.

subjects. He refers to this well-known saying in lines 87–89: *diversis diversa Deus nam munera donat* ("For God gives different gifts to different people).[20] God grants the gift of streaming eloquence to one, the talent for writing to another, wisdom and foresight to a third, and a strong spirit to a fourth. Some are blessed with a beautiful body, while to others, the light of intellect is given in an unattractive form (lines 90–96).

Mader reflects that he could also teach elsewhere—there are schools beyond Trencsén! (Of course, he could not have known at the time that he would never teach anywhere else after this.) Modestly, he adds that—thanks to God—he is not lacking in talent (lines 99–100): "*Et mihi concessi non desunt dona talenti, pro quibus est summo gratia habenda Deo*."

However, doubts also begin to surface. He has a confession to make: before God, no man is wihout sin, and no one in this world has ever been entirely free of guilt. No one is fortunate in every respect, and each person must endure the blemishes and flaws of their own nature. Mader admits to his own spiritual shortcomings. He confesses that he is prone to shameful anger, which awakens the beast within him (lines 113–114): "*Hunc ego confiteor naturae, agnoscoque naevum, me turpis quoties efficit ira ferum*." Yet, Mader immediately regrets it each time (line 115).

Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to suggest that the conflict at the school in Trencsén was more serious than Mader reveals in the poem. Whatever exactly happened, one thing is certain: beyond his year-long teaching position in Trencsén, there is no evidence of Mader's career at other educational institutions. From 1582 onwards, his career appears to have been limited to pastoral work. Therefore, the situation was likely more serious than Mader admits in his poem.

Epilogue (lines 121–154)

Mader concludes his poem with promises (*propositum redeo, sed iam pertexere finem*). He addresses the virtuous students of Trencsén, whom he praises as having souls purer than snow, free from cunning (*astutus*), fraud (*fraus*), and deception (*dolus*), and nurtured by the local muses. These students, he writes, are capable of receiving his words with a peaceful mind (*placida mente*). Mader sends the following message to his students about the prospects of a teaching career: "I cannot promise you much money, food, or the abundant wealth of prosperity, nor a respectable salary, because I myself am lacking in these things. This is indeed the life of the poor, and this great poverty burdens me just as it does you. I eat the same food you do.[21] But

[20] See the same in another poem of Mader, where he recommends a book by Marsilio Ficino: „*Omnia non uni dat sua dona Deus*." Molnár, Dávid, *In Hungaria vero dementis est quaerere Ficinum? Valerian Mader's poem about Marsilio Ficino*, in *Studi Finno-Ugrici: Annali dell Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 1 (2021), 1–24.

[21] It is worth quoting a detail of the dining regulations of the Reformed Church College in Sárospatak

in your love, awaiting worthy reward from the Highest God, I endure everything with patience." He also promises to pass on to his beloved community everything he has learned at the erudite schools under Colacinus, Severinus,[22] and others: the cultivation of faith and sacred teachings, the art of eloquence, knowledge of notable and sacred places in the Bible, compiling a compendium, reading Melanchthon's *Examen*,[23] or delighting in the songs of excellent poets. Finally, he pledges that, although it was not previously required, Greek grammar will now also be taught at the school in Trencsén. However, Mader prefers to end his poem with the practical observation that it is ultimately more useful to accomplish something than to make excessive promises. He assures his students that his promises can always be trusted.

Yet, the final sentence raises doubts about the sincerity of his zeal. His above promises seem more like a strategic lure, as Mader perhaps merely wishes to discover what plans his students have. As in the beginning of the poem, he urges them to come forward: „*Ergo quod admonui subito ad me quisque venite, consiliumque mihi voce referte suum*."

Summary

Mader's poem provides a glimpse into a seemingly banal teacher-student conflict. While the exact cause remains unknown, it is evident that the situation was serious enough to prompt Mader's departure from the school in Trencsén. The poem functions as an open letter intended for public reading, akin to a notice on the school's bulletin board. Like Mader's other works, this poem enriches our understanding of the life of this otherwise ordinary 16th-century figure, offering personal details about his character and teaching philosophy. From the poem, it is clear that Mader was a man prone to sudden anger. His rigid expectations and harsh criticisms paint the image of a form-master who was likely resented by many. What stands out is

from 1638 (students had to pay for the food): "If the meat is served with sides (cabbage, peas, lentils, porridge) the praebitor cannot buy more meat than twenty-five dinars' worth. If there are no sides, he is to purchase fifty dinars' worth of meat. As for giving out wine, the senior and praebitor should give priority to the interests of their master and not of the students, exactly as it is noted in the regulations: the contents of every tenth barrel is to be given out by measure; if four of forty have already been distributed, then dare he not give out any more". It is quoted by Dienes, Dénes – Ugrai, János, *History of the Reformed Church College in Sárospatak*, tr. Réka Goodson, Petra Dienes (Sárospatak: Hernád Kiadó, 2013), 34.

[22] He studied in Bártfa under Severin Sculteti until the summer of 1577, and then in Zsolna under Nicolaus Colacinus from the autumn of 1577.

[23] This is typically a work by Melanchthon concerning the examination of candidates before their ordination as pastors. In other words, Mader was addressing those who were preparing for the pastoral office. See for this: Monok, István, *Luthers und Melanchthons Werke in ungarländischen Bibliotheken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. In: Luther und die Evangelisch-Lutherischen* in *Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Augsburgisches Bekenntnis, Bildung, Sprache und Nation vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Bd. 167), Hrsg. von Márta Fata, Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2017), 201–221. For example, at the school of Selmecbánya (Banská Štiavnica, SK), the rector read this to the students in the highest class (*prima classis*) on Sundays: „*Die Solis mane Rector examen Philippi scholasticis praelegat*." Mészáros, *XVI. századi városi...*, op. cit., 182.

the palpable anger with which he describes his students, calling them brigands, drones, unfruitful trees, gluttonous, insatiable, cunning, deceitful, and treacherous. At the same time, however, he employs a rhetorical strategy akin to dangling a carrot before a donkey, attempting to lure the wayward students back onto the right path. Beyond its personal content, the poem offers valuable insight into the pedagogical expectations and principles of the time. Unfortunately, the students' response to Mader's accusations and pleas is unknown. Based on Mader's poem, however, it seems likely that some students viewed the school in Trencsén—as many students throughout history have surely felt about their own schools—not as a playground, but more as a prison.

Ad studiosos Trenczinienses, discipulos suos

Ut bonus assiduo tractatu frangitur arcus,[24]
Ipsius et nullus qui fuit, usus erit:
Ingenium sic saepe bonum vitiatur et artum
Fit, nullum in studiis quod scit habere modum.
Cantoris multo raucescunt guttura cantu,
Quaque prius potuit voce sonare nequit.
Quique laboriferis manibus vult parcere numquam,
Destruet infirmas ille labore manus.
Sic nos cantandi defessi vocibus arte,
Sive docendo rudes seu celebrando Deum,
Amplius a solito cessabimus usque labore,
Dum capiant vires organa nostra novas.
Intereaque graves animus fert linquere Musas,
Atque simul nostrae splendida tecta scholae.
Ibimus ad nostris vicinam moenibus urbem,
Quae stat post montem conspicienda rubrum,
Sobrinum studio visendi ardoreque fratrem,
Pieriam propria qui regit arte scholam.
Nec non divini qui spargit dogmata verbi
Quippe virum sancta relligione gravem,
Sed velut oeconomi res non est ista fidelis
Neglectam prorsus deseruisse domum,
Sic prius haud dictos faciemus nos quoque gressus,
Quam capiat finem res peragenda domi.
Ergo per hos iuvenes numeros per et ista monemus
Carmina, stet faciem quilibet ante meam.
Praesenti praesens et quod cupit ore loquatur,

[24] 1 *Ut bonus assiduo … arcus*] Erasmus, Adagium no. 3477: „*Arcus tensus rumpitur.*"

Propositum dicat quilibet atque suum.
Multos, nescio quo dicunt discedere velle,
Et patrium multos cernere velle solum,
Sed quia nil istis certi de rebus habetur,
Nec mihi quis minimo detulit ista sono.
Quid statuit, pro se, debet mihi quisque referre,
Officii quod ego nomine mando mei.[25]
Haec mihi concessa est a praeceptore facultas,
Non propriis ausis haec ego facta sequor.
Si quis habet iustas, cur hinc discedere causas,
Atque scholae nostrae linquere, tecta velit,
„Non hunc invitum volumus tenuisse scholarem,"
Venatum invito nil iuvat ire cane.[26]
Non carcer, ludus, sed enim schola dicitur esse.
Qualibet ingeniis est schola docta bonis.
Sed qui Trenczinii cum posset discere non vult,
Hunc puto nec Pragae discere posse magis.
Crimine si quisquam me falso damnet iniquus,
Ingrati faciunt quod modo discipuli.
Detestor turpes quod poena vindice mores,
Et quod lurcones non ego ferre queam,
Nil tamen ista meam laedent convicia famam,
Quandoquidem recti conscia corda gero:
„Qui bonus est, studiisque sacris incumbit, honore
Hunc ego quam fratrem non leviore colo.
Et qui mandatis non contradicit honestis
Est etiam iuvenis dignus amore meo."
Non possum durae cervicis[27] ferre latrones,
Saxea qui infracto pectore corda gerunt,
Qui turpes adeunt obscura nocte tabernas,
Inque schola turbas armaque saeva movent.
Tale quis indomitum novit se pectus habere,
Discedat quo vult, nec rediturus eat.[28]
Hortulus est iuvenum quidam schola culta bonorum,
Pravus in hac nullum debet habere locum.
„Unius impietas corrupti denique mores
Mille queunt iuvenes commaculare bonos,

[25] 33–34 *Quid … mando mei*] Cf. Vulgata, John 15.
[26] 39–40 *Non hunc invitum … ire cane*] Erasmus, *De pueris statim* … op. cit., 39. See also: Hor. ars. 467; Boissard, *Emblematum* … op. cit., 55 (embl. 27).
[27] 55 *durae cervicis*] See: Vulgata, Exod. 32.9, 33.3, 33.5, 34.9; Vulgata, Deut. 9.6. See also: Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* 4.8.259.
[28] 60 *nec rediturus eat*] cf. Ov. epist. 17.158.

Ad mala praecipiti mortales facta feruntur,
Quae bona sunt rarus facta probare solet."
Tales inde procul cedant fugiantque scelesti,
Si caesi nolunt hinc abiisse flagris.
Arbor ut utilibus quae non est fructibus aucta
Scinditur et duro verbere tacta cadit,
Intereaque locum melior plantatur in illum,
Quae fructum domino fert onerosa suo,
Non aliter fucos, fruges consumere natos,
Hinc procul a nostris sedibus esse velim.
Qui non discendi studio Musaeo sequuntur,
Sed multum ut comedant absque labore cibum.
Qui, si non plenis aliquando fertur in ollis,
Aut albo si non capsula pane tumet,
Mox alias dicunt: 'Fratres, abeamus in oras,
Crescit ubi in studiis docta iuventa magis.'
Scilicet hic studium florens his dicitur esse,
Sunt ubi praepingui viscera plena cibo.
Tales si cupiunt, abeant ventris studiosi,
Exigua non sint hic maneantque mora.
Fors aderunt fucis hinc discedentibus istis,
Doctrinae et tanget quos pietatis amor.
Non aliis istud Musaeis praefero doctis,
Sunt mage qui nobis nobiliora docent,
Diversis diversa Deus nam munera donat.
Huic Deus eloquii flumina larga dedit,
Ut quodcumque velit facili depromere lingua,
Seu cupiat calamo verba notare, queat.
Illi consilium prudens est pectore robur,
Ast aliis maius corporis esse solet.
Corporis alter habet speciosam (res bona) formam,
At lucem mentis corpore turpis habet.
„Vivit at ex omni nullus vir parte beatus,"[29]
Naturae naevos[30] fert homo quisque suae.
Et mihi concessi non desunt dona talenti,
Pro quibus est summo gratia habenda Deo.
Et me culpa patris primi circumstat Adami,
Et me prima statim fecit origo malum:
„Scilicet, ante Deum non est homo crimine purus,

[29] 89–97 *Diversis ... parte beatus*] cf. Verg. ecl. 8.63; Lucan. 2.146; Liv. 22.51.4. But also see in a poetic sense: Prop. 3.9.7–8.
[30] 98 *Naturae naevos*] Cic. nat. deor. 1.79.8; Hor. sat. 1.6.67.

Nullus[31] in hoc insons criminis[32] orbe fuit."
Hoc pietatis at est verorum discipulorum:
Qui optant discipulos post habuisse pares,
Ut praeceptorum tolerent errata suorum,
Ceu tolerat patris filius ipse sui.
Quidam praecipitem mox excandescit in iram,[33]
Quam tamen haud longo tempore corde tenet.
Tales discipuli debent avertere flammas,
Non irae causam sponte suapte dare.
Hunc ego confiteor naturae, agnoscoque naevum,
Me turpis quoties efficit ira ferum.
Contritoque meum detestor pectore lapsum,
Et vehemens quod sim quandoque corde gemo,
Christus ab iratis velut est mala passus Hebraeis,
Sic culpae poenas pertulit ipse meae.
Haec ego dum pecco semper solatia quaero,
Et credo clemens quod mihi Christus erit.
Propositum redeo, sed iam pertexere finem,
Sermo sequens ad vos dicitur iste meus:
Ad vos ingenuae quos enutriere Camenae,
Pectora qui fertis candidiora nive,[34]
Astuta prorsus qui fraude doloque caretis,
Vos istos placida sumite mente sonos:[35]
'Non possum vobis multos promittere nummos,
Fercula, nec fluxae prosperitatis opes,
Non lautas etiam praebendas, his ego namque
Destituor, vita est pauper inopsque mea.
Quae vos, haec quoque me paupertas opprimit ingens,
Qui fertur vobis hunc ego sumo cibum.
Omnia sed vestri haec tolero patienter amore
A summo expectans praemia digna Deo.
At quaecumque in me Dominus largusque bonusque
Contulit et larga pro bonitate dedit.
Inque scholis doctis didici quaecumque moratus,

[31] 104 *Nullus*] The word "Nullas" is emended by hand in the print.

[32] 103–104 *ante Deum … criminis*] Ps. 143.2; Rom. 3.23.

[33] 109 *excandescit in iram*] The phrase appears multiple times in 16th–17th-century prints. Their source was probably Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, which was commonly used in elementary schools. See: Columnis, Guido de, *Historia destructionis Troiae* (The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication, no. 26), ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), 136, 202.

[34] 124 *candidiora nive*] Ov. am. 3.7.8; Catull. 80.2.

[35] 126 *sumite mente sonos*] Georgius Purkircher, *Liber sapientiae Salomonis*, in *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Miloslaus Okál (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 57 (6.44).

Seu Colacine tua, seu Severine tua,
Illa tibi – multum carissima turba – fideli
Ceu par est cura, dogmata sancta dabo.
Sive cupis artes dicendi discere, sive
Scripturae sanctos praecipuosque locos,
Seu cupis amplexu compendia digna, Philippi
Examen iusto nomine dicta, legi,
Stellati, seu te delectant carmina vatis,
Quo non est toto doctior orbe liber.
Crede, mihi pariet tantum res nulla laborem,
Quem non te propter sustinuisse velim.
Insuper et Graecae tradentur grammata linguae
Hactenus in nostra non repetita schola,
Sed praestare iuvat plus quam promittere multa.
Promissis certus quilibet esto meis!
Ergo quod admonui subito ad me quisque venite,
Consiliumque mihi voce referte suum.'

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XVIIIth Century Calvinist Student

Additions to the History of a Student Uprising at the Reformed College in Sárospatak

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Much research has been conducted on the history of education in Central and Eastern Europe. Recently, scholars have also focused on the students, teachers, and curricula of various schools. However, studies on the functional difficulties of educational institutions – such as conflicts between students and teachers, and particularly student uprisings – have so far yielded few results. This study contributes to the understanding of one such critical event in the history of the Reformed College in Sárospatak (in German: *Potok am Bodroch*): the student uprising of 1667.

This study is based on a letter from 1667, written by one of the former students and later patrons of the Reformed College, Péter Kazinczy (1636–1682). This source provides details about the student uprising that took place that year and, in addition, sheds light on how the Hungarian nobility maintained their networks and conveyed important information during the early modern period.

Péter Kazinczy and László Fáy († before 1694), the sender and recipient of this letter, respectively, were both members of the Protestant nobility. Their families played a significant role in the public life of Upper Hungary[1] in the 17th century. The Protestant nobility – especially in this region of the Kingdom of Hungary – held strong political positions, backed by the Calvinist princes of Transylvania against the Habsburgs. To consolidate their power and influence, noble families

[1] Upper-Hungary was the north and eastern part of the Habsburg Monarchy (the *Felvidék; Hungaria Superior*). Today this is located in the southern part of Slovakia and north-eastern part of Hungary.

built extensive familial and political networks. As a result, they participated collectively in significant events of the period. Moreover, their correspondence provides valuable insights into the history of this region.[2]

In recent years, researchers have primarily focused on Péter Kazinczy and his family through the publication of the diary of his son, András Kazinczy (†1728).[3] But what sources do we have for reconstructing the life of Péter Kazinczy himself? We know that he completed his studies at the Reformed College in Sárospatak and, at the age of twenty, entered the service of the Rákóczi family.[4]

The Rákóczis were one of the most influential aristocratic families in the region, possessing estates not only in Upper Hungary but also in Transylvania and Poland, making them one of the wealthiest families in both the Kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania. Additionally, they had influential family connections and extensive political contacts. The Rákóczi family is well known among historians due to their prominent role on the European stage in the 17th and early 18th centuries. György I Rákóczi ruled as Prince of Transylvania from 1630 to 1648, followed by his son, György II Rákóczi, who held the position from 1648 to 1660.[5]

The Rákóczis were deeply involved in the patronage of cultural life in Transylvania and Upper Hungary. They were key supporters of the Calvinist Church until their return to Catholicism in 1660, and they actively promoted Calvinist education. For instance, they invited the renowned Czech professor Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670) to teach in Sárospatak. They also supported talented students in pursuing their studies in Western Europe.[6]

After completing his education in Sárospatak, Péter Kazinczy took on leadership roles in two counties[7] in Upper Hungary. From 1659, he served as a representative at the Diet in Pozsony (*in Slovak: Bratislava, in German: Pressburg*).[8] In 1669, he became involved in the *Magnate Conspiracy*, a revolt led by Hungarian (and, to some extent, Austrian) prelates, barons, and nobles against Habsburg rule following the events of 1664. The background to this conspiracy was the Treaty of Vasvár, which, despite the Christian victory over the Ottomans at the Battle of Saint Gotthard, granted the Ottomans more extensive Danubian territories than ever before.[9]

[2] Benczédi, 1980, 10–17. About the spreading and the most important significances of Protestantism in Upper-Hungary and Transylvania see Murdock, 2000; Murdock, 2004.

[3] Herner, 1990, 161–173.

[4] Künstlerné, 2014, 51.

[5] On György I Rákóczi and his son, György II Rákóczi see for example Makkai, 1954; Mészáros, 1981, 317–320; Makkai–Szász, 1986; Duchaňova, 2013, 254.

[6] Mészáros, 1981, 351.

[7] The county (in Latin: *comitatus*) was an administrative subdivision of the country as a whole and each was led by a *comes* (in German: *Obergespan*), who was usually the member of a well-connected aristocrat family. Ember, 1946, 40–42; Evans, 1979, 239; Brakensiek, 2009, 156–157.

[8] Váczy, 1912, 6–10; Künstlerné, 2014, 51.

[9] Evans, 1979, 261–263.

As an ambitious nobleman, Péter Kazinczy encouraged his followers to support Ferenc I Rákóczi[10] in the conspiracy. However, the Habsburg Court in Vienna was alerted to the uprising and swiftly suppressed it. As a result, Kazinczy was arrested for his involvement. He was later released from prison thanks to the intervention of Zsófia Báthory (1629–1680), the mother of Ferenc I Rákóczi. As part of the agreement securing his release, Kazinczy converted to Catholicism.[11]

Following his conversion, Kazinczy developed even closer ties with the Rákóczi family. He became the administrator of their vast estates and served as their legal representative. From 1676, he held the position of deputy *comes* (county head) of Sáros County. The pinnacle of his career came in 1681 when, with the support of the Archbishop of Esztergom – the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church – he was appointed *protonotarius* (chief judge's notary). He passed away in 1682.[12]

The recipient of the 1667 letter was Ladislaus Fáy, who at the time served as a councilor to Palatine[13] Francis Wesselényi (1605–1667). In the 1640s, he had likely been a student at the Reformed College as well. By the 1650s, he had become one of the leaders of the Upper Hungarian counties, serving as an assessor. Like Kazinczy, Ladislaus and his brother, Stephen (†1710), were also involved in the *Magnate Conspiracy*. As a result, Ladislaus Fáy was captured by the Habsburgs in 1670. He was sentenced to execution for sedition but was ultimately pardoned thanks to his connections and supporters.[14]

After introducing the background of the letter, I will briefly discuss student uprisings in general. What kind of events were these? What was their significance?

Student uprisings typically broke out when students believed that their rights and liberties were being violated or when the leadership of an institution sought to suppress them. An uprising could also emerge in response to internal tensions within the school that affected students' intellectual and spiritual lives. In such cases, the goal of the uprising was often to bring about reforms. In the history of Protestant education in Hungary, this kind of resistance had already occurred several times (1627, 1631, 1644, 1650, 1657) at the Reformed College in Debrecen. As the center of Calvinism in Hungary, Debrecen's school had a very similar structure to the Reformed College in Sárospatak.[15]

Péter Kazinczy's letter to Fáy provides extraordinary insight into the internal affairs of the Reformed College. Additionally, it reveals the close relationship

[10] Francis I Rákóczi (1645–1676) was the elected Prince of Transylvania. He was one of the Hungarian aristocrats who participated in the *Magnate Conspiracy*. His father, György II Rákóczi was the former Prince of Transylvania from 1648 to 1660. Evans, 1979, 265.

[11] Evans, 1979, 261–263; Künstlerné, 2014, 51.

[12] Künstlerné, 2014, 51. The prothonotary of the chief judge was the delegated judge at the diet. Eckhart, 1946, 169, 313; Ember, 1946, 49, 59.

[13] Palatine (in Latin: *palatinus, comes palatinus*) was the highest-ranking office in the Kingdom of Hungary. Ember, 1946, 251–252; Evans, 1979, 238–239.

[14] Hörcsik, 1998, 166; Horváth, 2020, 182.

[15] Mészáros, 1981, 321, 323; Dienes, 2013, 40–42.

between the two Protestant noblemen. This connection explains why Kazinczy was able to write so openly about the events at the school in 1667. In fact, he hoped that Fáy could help restore the college's reputation.

According to Kazinczy's letter, the uprising broke out due to changes in the right to operate a tavern (*ius educilli* in Latin), which eventually escalated into an armed conflict. Since the late sixteenth century, the college had held the right to distribute wine from its own vineyards in the tavern of Sárospatak. Occasionally, the towns of the Hegyalja district or other patrons of the college donated wine to the *coetus* (the student community), which was distributed according to similar regulations. However, in 1667, Stephen Bocskai, the *curator general* of the school and *comes* of Zemplén County (where the college was located), granted the teachers permission to sell large quantities of wine in the tavern. This decision financially harmed the students, who feared that if they conceded on the tavern issue, their other rights might also be threatened in the future.[16]

From the previous research of Gerzson Szinyei, we know that the college leaders initially attempted to resolve the conflict peacefully, making several efforts to pacify the students. However, the situation was further complicated by certain religious and secular leaders who appeared to support the students' rights but were actually using the crisis to increase their own influence over the college.[17] A deeper underlying issue was at play as well: the withdrawal of financial support from the Reformed College following the conversion to Catholicism of Zsófia Báthory, wife of the Prince of Transylvania, and her son, Francis I Rákóczi. In 1663, the Jesuits were allowed to settle in Sárospatak, where, with the support of Catholic landlords, they actively worked to convert the town's inhabitants.[18]

Kazinczy's letter also reveals that, prior to this conflict, he had met with officials who were concerned about the situation at the college. The reason he wrote to Ladislaus Fáy was to share information about the Calvinist Synod in Sárospatak on October 5, where – due to the students' behavior – the participants voted to expel the rebellious students. Additionally, the Synod urged the teachers to exercise stricter control over the youth.[19] However, such measures failed to restore peace, as the students refused to obey their teachers. They hoped that through Kazinczy's intervention and that of his acquaintances, they could mitigate the consequences of the expulsions, as punishing innocent students would have been unjustified.[20]

In the opening lines of the letter, Kazinczy mentioned two meetings he had attended. One of them was with Stephen Bocskay, the *curator general* of the college. A day before writing the letter, Kazinczy considered consulting with the leadership

[16] Rüsz-Fogarasi, 2009, 65–66; Dienes, 2002, 41–42.
[17] Szinyei, 1904, 40–45.
[18] Péter, 2006, 32; Dienes, 2013, 42; R. Várkonyi, 2014, 20.
[19] Kazinczy mentioned „*the stubborn behaviour of students*" and how „*they wanted to disparage the decisions of the Zemplén Synod and the teachers*". Horváth, 2022, 23.
[20] Szinyei, 1904, 45.

of the Calvinist Church, one of whom was Dean Pál Tarcali (†1667), who was also the *curator*[21] of the college at the time. Unfortunately, we have no information about the other participants in these meetings.[22]

At these gatherings, Kazinczy urged the attendees to do everything in their power to restore order and discipline at the Reformed College.[23] He then succeeded in convincing Stephen Bocskay to send a delegation to the students in an attempt to resolve the conflict. Kazinczy strongly advocated for unity in supporting the decisions of the Zemplén Synod and emphasized that it would be beneficial if, despite the disregard for the law, *„the Dean would not lose his power"* at the Reformed College.[24] Finally, Kazinczy advised the students to show respect for their teachers, warning that failure to do so would result in their requests being denied.[25]

According to Péter Kazinczy, if the students complied with the decisions of the Calvinist Synod, they could later request leniency. He stressed that the dean held the de facto leadership of the college, and for this reason, his decisions had to be followed unquestioningly by all students. At the same time, he made it clear that reconciliation between the rebellious students and the Reformed College could not come at the expense of existing Calvinist Church regulations.[26]

In addition to these meetings, Kazinczy attempted to arrange another one. He believed that the events at the school needed to be properly explained to the students' supporters and the college's patrons,[27] as misinformation could otherwise lead them to continue backing the uprising. It was essential to clarify that the *curator* was determined to punish the rebellious students.[28] The situation could change significantly if the students expressed remorse for their actions.[29]

[21] The curator or administrator of the college worked with the leading of the institute. Dienes, 2013, 161–162.

[22] Szinyei, 1904, 42; Nyakas, 1994, 183.

[23] How Kazinczy wrote, *„nem az lata sententiák, vagy az Ecclesiastica jurisdictionak tollálására valo lenne az Terminus, hanem sub spe complanationis Controversiae*" [„this process would not be suitable to suspend the judgment or ecclesiastical jurisdiction but for equalization of disagreements"]. Horváth, 2022, 23.

[24] On May 13, 1667, the vicars of the diocese of Zemplén discussed controlling of the college through supervisors. They also agreed to punish the students because of the uprising, as they believed the youth had humiliated the teachers of the institute. Szinyei, 1904, 42. „Az Esperesh Uramék Tőrvénye annihiláltatnék, ki semmiképpen megh nem erőtelenedhetik." You can read the quoted words of the text here: Horváth, 2022, 23.

[25] Horváth, 2022, 22–23.

[26] Horváth, 2022, 23.

[27] There are three significant types of patronage. On the one hand, it meant supporting various churches and their institutions and indiviuals, especially artists. On the other hand, it could be a patronage activity if a patron supported the education, teaching and recommended talented students to influential people for several positions and finally, it includes the book publications and their preparation. Károlyi, 2021, 8.

[28] *„hanem valami Capitalisson kivül valo büntetésrül fogh elmélkedni. Nekem tetzenek, hogy az Deákságh magok megh alázassaval valo supplicatioval compareálnának*" [the leadership of the college] do not want to give a capital punishment for the students but I think it would be great if the youth could join to the assembly humbly with a petition"]. Horváth, 2022, 24.

[29] Horváth, 2022, 23.
How Kazinczy wrote, *„Nekem tetzenek, hogy az Deákságh magok megh alázassaval valo supplicatioval compareálnának, mért az dolgoknak nehézsegi, kiket kegyelmetek akkor fog plenius megh érteni, nem ugy Ratiokat, mint supplicatiot kivannak az ő reszekrül*." [„I would prefer if the youth could join humbly to the

Kazinczy scheduled the assembly with the patrons for November 6.[30] The primary reason for writing the letter was to ask Ladislaus Fáy for assistance in organizing the meeting, specifically in inviting the Lutheran nobility from his region to attend.[31]

Why was Fáy chosen for this task? He likely had an extensive network in Upper Hungary, making him well-positioned to mobilize the nobility for the negotiations. This assumption was based on Kazinczy's knowledge of Fáy's connections. Kazinczy knew that Ladislaus Fáy and his brother, Stephen, had participated in the first assembly of the *Magnate Conspiracy* in 1666, where they had the opportunity to meet and establish relationships with members of the Lutheran nobility. Gatherings of this kind served as platforms for discussing current affairs and exchanging ideas.[32]

Péter Kazinczy's letter focuses on a single episode in the history of the Reformed College in Sárospatak. The students took a stand to protect their own interests. Kazinczy encouraged the college's ecclesiastical and secular leadership to find a resolution to the conflict as soon as possible without undermining the institution's governance. In this process, Kazinczy envisioned an intermediary role for Ladislaus Fáy, whose task was to gather the Lutheran nobility and facilitate the negotiations.

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assembly with their petition, because of the difficulties which you will understand completely, we need a petition which was written by the students."] Horváth, 2022, 24.

30 Dienes, 2001, 9.

31 Péter Kazinczy wrote that „*tempestine intimallyam kegyelmeteknek, hogy mivel ezen Controversia agitur inter nos, igy az megh irt Terminussonis, ha szinten az Lutheranus Uraimek eő kegyelmek jelen nem lennenekis, cooperalhatna kegyelmetek*" [„I would like to inform you, because of this disagreement between us, if the Lutheran noble men are not able to join to the assembly, you could cooperate with them."] Horváth, 2022, 24. The Lutheran noble families in the region during the War of Independence of Rákóczi were the Radvánszkys, Jánokys, Kajalis, Keczers from Lipócz, Okolicsányis, Szirmays and so on. Oláh, 2016.

32 Benczédi, 1980, 19.

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Alla scoperta di Roma antica e moderna Vita studentesca come esperienza culturale nel Collegio Germanico-Ungarico (1720–1780)

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I rapporti culturali italo-ungheresi del XVIII secolo furono notevolmente influenzati dal fatto che gran parte degli alti prelati ungheresi completò i propri studi presso il Ponteficio Collegio Germanico-Ungarico (Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum) di Roma, trascorrendo così un periodo prolungato nella Città Eterna grazie al programma di formazione quadriennale.

Fu Ignazio di Loyola a fondare nel 1551 a Roma il Collegio Romano (Collegium Romanum), precursore dell'Università Gregoriana, nello spirito della Riforma cattolica e del Concilio di Trento. Un anno dopo fu istituito il Collegio Germanico, che nel 1584 si trasferì nel grande palazzo costruito da Papa Gregorio XIII.[1] Sebbene il collegio non sia più in funzione, l'edificio è ancora oggi conosciuto come Palazzo del Collegio Romano, con la facciata principale che si affaccia su Piazza del Collegio Romano.[2]

[1] Le opere più complete sulla storia del collegio: Andrea Steinhuber, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, I–II (Freiburg: Herder, 1895). Peter Schmidt, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Roma und die Germaniker. Zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminaris (1552–1914),* Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 56 (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1984).

[2] Le fonti principali della sua storia: Ricardo García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773),* Series facultatis historiae ecclesiasticae vol. 66 (Roma: Pontificiae universitatis Gregorianae, 1954), 204–262. Vedi anche: Claudia Cerchiai, a cura di, *Il Collegio Romano dalle origini al Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 2003).

Il Collegio Ungarico fu istituito su iniziativa di István Szántó Arator nel 1579 e l'anno successivo venne unito al Germanico, formando così il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico come istituto per la formazione dei sacerdoti. Gli studenti ungheresi seguivano le lezioni presso l'edificio del Collegio Romano, mentre le ripetizioni e altre attività si svolgevano nel Collegio Germanico-Ungarico. Fin dalla fondazione, diverse centinaia di studenti ungheresi hanno compiuto gli studi presso l'istituto, che visse il suo periodo di massimo splendore nella prima metà del XVIII secolo, imprimendo in quegli anni delle tracce indelebili sulla cultura ungherese.[3] La soppressione dell'ordine gesuita nel 1773 non segnò la fine del Collegio, poiché la formazione continuò sotto la guida di sacerdoti secolari. Tuttavia, l'imperatore Giuseppe II, nel 1781, come parte delle proprie misure di politica ecclesiastica, proibì agli studenti provenienti dai territori dell'Impero di studiare a Roma, e il collegio fu trasferito a Pavia, per essere poi definitivamente chiuso nel 1798.

Gran parte degli studenti ungheresi proveniva inizialmente da famiglie aristocratiche, poiché era necessario un supporto finanziario significativo per coprire i costi degli studi. Successivamente, soprattutto nella seconda metà del secolo, diversi ecclesiastici di alto rango, riconoscendo l'importanza degli studi a Roma, finanziarono le spese di studio di svariati studenti di talento, ma di umili origini. L'obiettivo degli studi a Roma era focalizzato sull'acquisizione da parte dei giovani intellettuali di un'alta formazione teologica, rendendoli inoltre esperti nelle questioni della politica e cultura europee, sviluppando altresì conoscenze e relazioni nella corte papale. Al ritorno in patria, questi seminaristi ebbero un ruolo importante nel rinnovamento della Chiesa cattolica e della vita religiosa ungherese, nella ricostruzione delle sedi vescovili, nella creazione di collegi e biblioteche, come anche nella pubblicazione e diffusione di opere letterarie legate alla spiritualità. Seguirono l'esempio del mecenatismo papale e aristocratico romano, ponendo grande enfasi sul sostegno alla letteratura e alle arti, cosicché nell'istruzione e nell'educazione cattolica del XVIII secolo ebbero un ruolo importante l'adozione e la prosecuzione di modelli italiani. Tra questi vescovi ritroviamo Ferenc Barkóczy (1710–1765), Ignác Batthyány (1741–1798), Károly Eszterházy (1725–1799), Ignác Koller (1725–1773), Ádám Patachich (1717–1784), Ignác Séllyei Nagy (1733–1789) e János Szily (1735–1799).

[3] Pubblicazione delle iscrizioni degli alunni ungheresi: Endre Veress, *Matricula et acta alumnorum Collegii Germanici et Hungarici ex regno Hungariae oriundorum 1599–1917*, Fontes Rerum Hungaricarum 2 (Budapest: Typis Societatis Stephaneum Typographicae, 1917). Sugli studi romani degli intellettuali ecclesiastici ungheresi cfr.: István Bitskey, *Il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico di Roma: Contributo alla storia della cultura ungherese in età barocca* (Roma, Viella, 1996). Le ricerche più recenti: Tamás Véghseő, „La raccolta inedita di Endre Veress sulla storia del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico", in *I collegi per stranieri a/e Roma nell'età moderna*, vol. I: Cinque-Settecento, a cura di Alessandro Boccolini, Matteo Sanfilippo e Péter Tusor, Studi di Storia delle Istituzioni Ecclesiastiche 10., 57–62 (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2023). *Libro delle ordinazioni del Pontificio Collegio Germanico-Ungarico. Ordinazioni degli Alunni dai Paesi della Sacra Corona d'Ungheria (1599–1713)*, a cura di Péter Tusor (Budapest–Roma: Gondolat Kiadó, Fraknói Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, HUN-REN Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Moravcsik Gyula Intézet, 2024).

Lo scopo di questo studio è presentare, sulla base delle fonti sopravvissute, la vita romana degli studenti del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico e, attraverso l'esame degli anni trascorsi in Italia, offrire un quadro più dettagliato dell'influenza degli studi romani sull'attività dei vescovi ungheresi del XVIII secolo. L'indagine non si concentra solo sulle conoscenze teologiche e filosofiche acquisite durante gli studi, ma anche su quali monumenti potessero visitare in città, cosa potessero scoprire del patrimonio culturale di Roma e dei suoi dintorni, e come riuscissero a entrare in contatto con i circoli dell'aristocrazia romana dell'epoca. Lo studio mira a fornire un quadro completo della formazione offerta dal Collegio Germanico-Ungarico e delle esperienze culturali e sociali romane, nonché del loro impatto a lungo termine sulla direzione ecclesiastica ungherese.

Anche se il grado di influenza italiana nelle attività dei vescovi fu ovviamente determinato anche dai rispettivi interessi individuali, è comunque possibile identificare alcune aree tematiche in cui l'impatto e l'importanza degli anni romani sono fortemente evidenti per tutti gli ecclesiastici.

In questa indagine esamino principalmente l'impatto degli studi svolti a Roma nella storia della cultura d'Ungheria, analizzando le radici romane dei seguenti fenomeni: il sostegno alle arti, l'introduzione di riforme dell'istruzione, la raccolta di libri e la fondazione di biblioteche, nonché la diffusione dei teatri e la popolarità delle rappresentazioni teatrali.

La vita studentesca a Roma come esperienza culturale

Grazie ai diari, ai regolamenti, ai programmi di studio e alla corrispondenza del XVIII secolo conservati nell'archivio dell'istituto, è possibile ottenere un quadro dettagliato delle esperienze culturali che hanno trasformato i giovani che studiavano al Collegio in protagonisti della vita ecclesiastica ungherese, mecenati della letteratura, del teatro e delle arti, e fondatori a loro volta di biblioteche e seminari.[4]

I giovani ecclesiastici talentuosi studiavano teologia a Roma solitamente per quattro anni, accolti come studenti dell'istituto dai superiori romani generalmente su intercessione di un vescovo ungherese. Erano il Papa e la direzione gesuita a determinare il funzionamento e l'educazione all'interno della scuola, regolando in dettaglio la vita del Collegio. Una giornata-tipo iniziava con la sveglia, seguita da preghiera, studio e messa, e solo dopo veniva servita la colazione. Dopo due ore di lezione era il momento del pranzo, seguito da riposo, studio, lezioni di lingue, ritiro nelle camere, e di nuovo studio. La giornata si concludeva con la cena.

[4] Aiuta a orientarsi nell' archivio: Tóth Tamás, „A Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum Levéltára [Archivio del Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum]", in: *Magyarország és a római Szentszék (Források és távlatok). Tanulmányok Erdő bíboros tiszteletére.* szerk. Tusor Péter, Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/8, 137–156 (Budapest–Róma: MTA–PPKE 'Lendület' Egyháztörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2012).

L'alimentazione era semplice; nei diari del Collegio, che riportavano gli eventi mese per mese, si menzionava in particolare quando veniva servita la pizza. All'epoca si preparava la cosiddetta "pizza bianca", una semplice pasta di pizza con pochi condimenti. Il pomodoro era per molto tempo considerato velenoso, e solo verso la fine del XVIII secolo si diffuse come condimento per la pizza.[5]

Nella gerarchia interna del Collegio, il rettore era seguito dal ministro, che era principalmente responsabile delle relazioni con l'esterno. I direttori spirituali si occupavano dell'educazione spirituale, mentre i prefetti supervisionavano gli studi e le attività quotidiane.[6] Una guida di 37 punti scritta a metà del XVIII secolo per i prefetti fornisce una visione ancora più dettagliata della vita quotidiana del Collegio.[7] Gli studenti non potevano invitare nessuno nelle proprie stanze o nell'edificio, e non potevano lasciare l'istituto senza accompagnatori. Dovevano assicurarsi di essere sempre in uniforme e di non sporcarla in caso di pioggia. Era vietato chiedere a qualcuno di comprare qualcosa per loro. Gli educatori cercavano di conoscere le relazioni personali degli studenti, sapevano con chi stringevano amicizia e cercavano di prevenire amicizie troppo strette. Gli studenti non potevano tenere caffè, cioccolato, vino e altre bevande. Erano proibiti specchi, ciprie, coltelli, libri inappropriati e strumenti musicali, e quindi né la musica, né la pratica con strumenti erano consentiti. Regole specifiche erano in vigore anche al di fuori dell'istituto. Gli studenti lasciavano spesso l'edificio del Collegio, poiché era lì che si svolgevano sia le lezioni, sia gli eventi celebrativi più importanti. Era loro consentito di camminare in fila per due, senza fretta, non potevano parlare con altre persone, dovevano seguire il percorso designato e non erano ammesse deviazioni. Potevano visitare solo i luoghi approvati dai superiori, il che era possibile nei giorni di riposo e durante le vacanze. Era vietato partecipare a eventi teatrali e musicali mondani. Nei diari del collegio sono state conservate anche annotazioni che registrano la cattiva condotta di alcuni studenti. Ad esempio, Ádám Patachich, futuro vescovo di Nagyvárad (oggi: Oradea, Romania) e poi arcivescovo di Kalocsa, infranse più volte il regolamento del Collegio conversando spesso nelle stanze altrui e parlando in modo irrispettoso ai suoi superiori.[8]

Gli studenti, tuttavia, anche in mezzo a regole severe, acquisirono numerose esperienze culturali che contribuirono a renderli, successivamente, mecenati delle arti come prelati in Ungheria. È sopravvissuto un documento che elenca in dettaglio quali palazzi, ville e giardini potevano visitare durante i giorni liberi e le vacanze.[9]

[5] Paolo Puddu, „Le innovazioni del Settecento", in *Conoscenza del cibo: dalla preistoria ai cibi di Frankenstein* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2002), 1000–1004.

[6] Bitskey, *Il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico...*, 104.

[7] Archivio Storico del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico, Roma (di seguito indicato come: ACGU), Hist. 366. *Regole dei prefetti.*

[8] Tamás Tóth, «*Si nullus incipiat, nullus finiet*». La *rinascita della Chiesa d'Ungheria dopo la conquista turca nell'attivita di Gábor Patachich e di Ádám Patachich, Arcivescovi di Kalocsa-Bács (1733–1784)*, Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae 6 (Budapest– Roma–Szeged: PPKE Egyháztörténeti Kutatócsoportja–Gondolat 2011), 100–101.

[9] ACGU, Hist. 783. *Germanici Memorie, Regole, etc.* Per l'elenco completo delle attrazioni consentite, vedere l'appendice.

La lunga lista comprendeva i più importanti edifici e punti di riferimento storico-artistici della Roma del XVIII secolo: tra i palazzi visitabili c'erano le residenze rappresentative delle famiglie Borghese, Barberini, Colonna, Chigi, Cesarini, Carolis, Conti e Farnese, oltre al palazzo Doria Pamphilj, vicino al Collegio Romano. Gli educatori avevano l'obbligo di sorvegliare attentamente gli studenti durante le visite ai palazzi e alle ville, poiché in questi spaziosi edifici era facile per i giovani sfuggire al controllo degli accompagnatori. La descrizione specificava che questa attenzione doveva essere massima nel palazzo Doria Pamphilj, uno dei più grandi e sontuosi. Durante le visite, agli studenti non era permesso andare su piani diversi o entrare in stanze separate, principalmente per evitare l'esposizione a "vanità mondane" che potevano essere presenti nelle sale dell'aristocrazia romana; nei palazzi erano spesso presenti casinò e giochi, come il biliardo. D'altro canto, le famiglie aristocratiche romane custodivano preziose collezioni d'arte privata: grazie a queste visite, ad esempio, gli studenti potevano ammirare un vero e proprio museo all'interno del Doria Pamphilj, fondato nel 1651 da Giovanni Battista Pamphilj, il futuro papa Innocenzo X.

L'influenza del pensiero illuminista portò all'apertura di numerosi musei moderni, accessibili al pubblico e con lo scopo di proteggere le opere d'arte antiche, facilitandone lo studio e la comprensione.[10] I Musei Capitolini, le cui sale furono aperte al pubblico da papa Clemente XII, erano permessi agli studenti del Collegio. Nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo le collezioni papali si ampliarono notevolmente grazie agli scavi condotti a Roma e nel Lazio, oltre che per le donazioni di collezionisti e commercianti di antichità. Fu così che nacque anche il Museo Clementino in Vaticano, fondato da Clemente XIV, che raccoglieva principalmente sculture antiche, ed era tra i musei visitabili dagli studenti.

Tra le collezioni d'arte autorizzate vi erano anche il Museo Zelada con la collezione del cardinale Francesco Saverio de Zelada,[11] e la Galleria Giustiniani, vicino al Pantheon, che custodiva dipinti e sculture di Giorgione, Tiziano, Raffaello e Caravaggio. Gli studenti potevano visitare anche l'Accademia Francese di Roma, situata dal 1725 nel palazzo Mancini su via del Corso, che ospitava artisti illustri come Boucher, Subleyras, Fragonard, David, Robert e Houdon.

Il museo più accessibile per gli studenti era la collezione eterogenea situata nell'edificio del Collegio Romano, che comprendeva materiali che spaziavano dall'etnografia alla fisica, dalla zoologia all'esoterismo, dalla mineralogia alla botanica. La collezione aveva avuto origine dalla donazione di Alfonso Donini, segretario

[10] Maria Pia Donato, „Il vizio virtuoso. Collezionismo e mercato a Roma nella prima metà del Settecento" *Quaderni storici* 1 (2014): 139–160.

[11] Francesco Saverio de Zelada (1717–1801), di origine spagnola, trascorse tutta la sua carriera a Roma, ricoprendovi numerosi incarichi ecclesiastici. Nominato cardinale nel 1773, divenne bibliotecario della Santa Romana Chiesa il 15 dicembre 1779, mantenendo questo incarico fino alla sua morte. A lui si deve la costruzione dell'Osservatorio astronomico, tuttora esistente, presso il Collegio Romano. La sua collezione di epigrafie è stata raccolta nella seconda metà del secolo ed è impressionante per quantità e qualità. Maria Letizia Caldelli, Giorgio Filippi, *La collezione epigrafica del Cardinale De Zelada: (1717–1801)*, Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 5 (Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2021).

del senato capitolino, fatta per incentivare l'istruzione dei giovani. Successivamente, questa "galleria" si arricchì con il museo privato di Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), gesuita che ne fu curatore e responsabile fino alla propria morte. La collezione divenne una tipica Wunderkammer e, nel XVII secolo, una delle attrazioni per i visitatori a Roma. Nel XVIII secolo, la collezione fu sistemata in un corridoio del terzo piano del Collegio, includendo anche la raccolta di libri e manoscritti di Kircher, che potrebbe essere stata trasferita al Collegio Romano tra il 1705 e il 1870.[12]

Gli studenti potevano visitare Castel Sant'Angelo una volta l'anno e Palazzo Montecitorio raramente, poiché sede del tribunale. I giardini di Roma non potevano essere esclusi dalle visite, e oltre ai giardini dei palazzi, i Giardini Vaticani rappresentavano una delle principali attrazioni per i seminaristi. Conoscevano anche la villa e il giardino del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta, situati sull'Aventino. L'unica fontana menzionata nella lista dei luoghi visitabili era la Fontana dell'Acqua Acetosa, nota per le sue acque curative, ma che nel XVIII secolo aveva già perso parte delle sue qualità.

Gli studenti potevano entrare liberamente nelle chiese, ma solo occasionalmente in quelle più lontane dal centro città. Molti pellegrini che giungevano a Roma seguivano il cosiddetto "pellegrinaggio delle sette basiliche", un itinerario che si sviluppò già nel XVI secolo e che è praticato ancora oggi. La partecipazione a questo pellegrinaggio era consentita solo agli studenti stranieri del Collegio, che potevano visitare anche la basilica di San Lorenzo fuori le mura. La visita alle quattro basiliche principali di Roma era un'attività amata dagli studenti del Collegio e avveniva solitamente durante un'escursione collettiva.[13]

Nei diari del Collegio è spesso annotata anche un'altra escursione. Durante le vacanze, gli studenti visitavano frequentemente Frascati, a soli 22 km da Roma.[14] Dal XVI secolo, grazie al crescente apprezzamento dei papi e delle nobili famiglie romane, Frascati ricevette importanti impulsi urbani e culturali. Spesso menzionata nei diari di viaggio, divenne una tappa obbligata per i celebri viaggiatori del Grand Tour, tra cui Goethe e Stendhal nel XVIII e XIX secolo: la città era rinomata per le sue eleganti e imponenti ville e residenze, appartenenti a famiglie aristocratiche romane e a rappresentanti della corte papale.

Queste esperienze culturali sono rintracciabili nell'attività urbanistica dei vescovi ungheresi che studiarono a Roma. Per citarne alcuni esempi: Ferenc Barkóczy e Károly Eszterházy trasformarono l'aspetto urbano di Eger con le proprie costruzioni; Barkóczy fece costruire una villa sui colli vicino a Eger.[15] János Szily si inter-

[12] Maria Antonietta Fugazzola Delpino, Elisabetta Mangani, „Il Museo Kircheriano" in *Il Collegio Romano dalle* origini..., 265–319.

[13] Per esempio: ACGU Hist. 113. Diario III. f. 206.: „scolari in processione per la visita delle 4 basiliche" (marzo 1725).

[14] ACGU Hist. 113. f. 241. Diario III. f. 241.: „Gita a Frascati – 1733 aprile con 4 padri".

[15] Ágnes Dóbék, „The Italian Influence on 18th-Century Hungarian Culture in the Light of the Activities of a Hungarian Prelate, Ferenc Barkóczy", *Acta Philologica* 60 (2023): 93–105.

essò ai resti dell'antica Szombathely,[16] mentre Ádám Patachich a Nagyvárad (oggi: Oradea Romania), Ignác Nagy Séllyei a Székesfehérvár e Ignác Koller a Veszprém costruirono un imponente palazzo episcopale.[17]

L'istruzione romana e il suo impatto sullo sviluppo dei seminari ungheresi nel XVIII secolo

Oltre agli edifici rappresentativi del governo ecclesiastico, furono istituiti seminari importanti in diverse città ungheresi, tra cui Eger, Kalocsa, Szombathely e Nagyvárad. Nei programmi di studio vennero prescritti testi sempre più moderni, pubblicati nella prima metà del secolo, e il livello dell'insegnamento delle scienze naturali migliorò costantemente. Negli studi romani dei prelati fondatori dei seminari si può rintracciare quella mentalità che poi influenzò anche l'insegnamento nei seminari in Ungheria. Come sottolinea anche la monografia di Riccardo García Villoslada, "[il collegio] raggiunse il suo apice dall'inizio del XVII secolo fino al 1740 circa, all'epoca dell'ascesa al trono di Papa Benedetto XIV. [...] Il XVII e XVIII secolo in Italia furono l'epoca della scienza barocca, che determinò anche il livello della formazione impartita al Collegio Romano".[18] Sulla base di un programma di studi del XVIII secolo giunto fino a noi, si può delineare il corpo di conoscenze trasmesso agli studenti durante la formazione romana.[19] Teologia, diritto canonico, nonché fisica e metafisica erano le materie predominanti nell'insegnamento. Queste lezioni di 45 minuti si alternavano ogni giorno, con la possibilità di ripetere il materiale la sera e il sabato sotto la guida di insegnanti e ripetitori, i quali provenivano dalle fila degli studenti stessi. La formazione scientifica occupava una posizione di rilievo nel curriculum, svolgendosi nell'ambito dell'insegnamento della matematica, che includeva anche la geometria e l'astronomia. L'importanza straordinaria dell'insegnamento delle scienze naturali è esemplificata anche dalla collezione del Museo Kircherianum, nella quale l'esposizione degli strumenti fisici

[16] Sára Sánta, „Chronicle of The First Planned Excavation in Hungary: István Schönvisner and De Ruderibus",
[A]*cta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 55 (2019): 233–245.

[17] Per approfondire il rapporto tra gli alti prelati ungheresi e gli artisti italiani del XVIII secolo vedi: Klára Garas, „Maestri italiani e veneziani nell'Ungheria del secolo XVIII", in *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria fra Arcadia e Illuminismo. Rapporti italo-ungheresi della presa di Buda alla rivoluzione francese*, a cura di Béla Köpecz e Péter Sárközy, 265–274 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982); Maurizio Tani, *La rinascita culturale del '700 ungherese. Le arti figurative della grande committenza ecclesiastica* (Roma: Viella, 2005).

[18] Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio*..., 204–262.

[19] ACGU. Hist. 480, 481. *Studienplane*.

risale al 1740, quando padre Orazio Borgondio, allora curatore del museo, allestì una sala contenente strumenti matematici, astronomici e di altro genere per lo studio della filosofia naturale, che all'epoca includeva anche la fisica.[20]

Lo studio dell'ebraico e del greco si svolgeva nelle ore libere, con lezioni tenute dai professori di fisica e teologia per coloro che ne facevano richiesta. A parte i giorni festivi, solo settembre era privo di lezioni, ma alla fine di questo mese si tenevano gli esami relativi all'anno accademico appena concluso. Esistevano prescrizioni specifiche per l'insegnamento della teologia e della polemica, così come della fisica, geometria e metafisica.

Il materiale delle lezioni seguite al Collegio Romano, annotato dai seminaristi, si trova oggi nell'archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana.[21] Secondo la tipica prassi gesuita, i professori dettavano e gli studenti annotavano integralmente il contenuto delle lezioni e, sebbene l'Ordine incoraggiasse la stampa di manuali che sostituissero gli appunti, la pratica della dettatura rimase in vigore fino alla soppressione dei Gesuiti. Questa prassi era dovuta in parte al desiderio di consentire ai professori di non essere vincolati a un singolo libro, insegnando con la massima libertà possibile nel contesto di una lezione pubblica.

L'insegnamento delle scienze naturali e della filosofia fu in gran parte determinato dai materiali di Giovanni Battista Tolomei (che insegnò tra il 1692 e il 1696) e Giulio Gori.[22] Le celebri lezioni di Tolomei furono pubblicate nel 1696 sotto il titolo *Philosophia mentis et sensuum*, in cui conciliava le dottrine aristoteliche con quelle cartesiane. Come professore di filosofia, il suo insegnamento si distingueva per una nuova interpretazione del pensiero aristotelico e un'apertura ai problemi filosofici contemporanei, in particolare al sistema di pensiero cartesiano. Tolomei ebbe contatti anche con Leibniz durante il suo viaggio a Roma, ottenendone il riconoscimento. Giulio Gori insegnò filosofia (1722–1725, 1743–1744) e diritto canonico (1743–1756) al Collegio Romano qualche decennio più tardi. I suoi manoscritti per le lezioni di logica, fisica e metafisica, pur seguendo lo schema scolastico tradizionale di questioni, obiezioni e risposte, davano ampio spazio anche alle idee moderne. Un altro eminente professore del Collegio nel corso del XVIII secolo fu Ruggero Giuseppe Boscovich (1740–1760), di origine dalmata, le cui ricerche e studi si distinsero principalmente nel campo della matematica e della fisica, senza però dimenticarne anche l'impegno come poeta neolatino.[23] Come dimostra l'opera di Boscovich, i professori del Collegio rappresentavano spesso più aree del sapere.

[20] Villoslada, Storia del Collegio Romano..., 187, 238–40.

[21] Ad es. cfr.: Giulio Gori, *Lettere filosofiche.* (manoscritto, Archivum Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae. Mss., 736.)

[22] Anna Rita Capoccia, „Modernità e ortodossia: strategie di conciliazione e dissidenza nell'insegnamento della filosofia nei collegi gesuitici del primo Settecento", *Les Dossiers du Grihl* 2 (2009). https://journals.openedition.org/dossiersgrihl/3678

[23] Su Boscovich cfr.: Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano*..., 240–243.

Molti di loro erano membri dell'Accademia dell'Arcadia, il che potrebbe aver avuto un ruolo significativo nell'elezione di numerosi ecclesiastici ungheresi come membri dell'Arcadia.[24]

Nel corso del XVIII secolo gli studenti di teologia a Roma poterono partecipare alle riforme ecclesiastiche introdotte grazie agli sforzi di Benedetto XIV, che ebbero un impatto anche sull'istruzione. Gli studi compiuti presso il Collegio Romano ebbero un effetto stimolante e servirono da modello per la creazione di nuove strutture educative e formative nei seminari ungheresi.

Letture libere: il ruolo delle biblioteche dei collegi romani nella formazione degli studenti

Nel 1748 Papa Benedetto XIV elogiò il fatto che in ogni collegio della Compagnia di Gesù ci fosse una biblioteca, sottolineando in particolare la collezione del Collegio Romano.[25] Le biblioteche erano una delle fonti attraverso le quali gli studenti potevano accedere alle correnti intellettuali presenti a Roma. Sia nel Collegio Romano che nel Collegio Germanico-Ungarico le biblioteche erano a disposizione degli studenti: i libri non solo servivano a completarne la formazione accademica, ma offrivano anche letture extracurriculari su temi di storia, letteratura e medicina. La biblioteca del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico poteva essere utilizzata solo in giorni prestabiliti. Secondo la ricerca di Orsolya Száraz, che ha descritto la collezione del XVII secolo, la biblioteca "cercava di soddisfare i sistemi di teologia cattolica post-tridentina, le pratiche devozionali e la visione scientifica del mondo, e come tale può essere considerata moderna".[26]

[24] L'Accademia dell'Arcadia fu fondata a Roma nel 1690 come una società di studiosi con l'obiettivo di promuovere una poesia che si distaccasse dall'estetica barocca e ritornasse alle forme classiche. Non solo scrittori e poeti italiani, ma anche autori di altri Paesi potevano essere ammessi tra i suoi membri. Al loro ritorno in patria, questi membri spesso mantenevano i contatti tra loro, e il movimento dell'Arcadia esercitò la propria influenza su diversi Paesi e realtà culturali. I membri ungheresi dell'Arcadia nel XVIII secolo erano ecclesiastici, che generalmente entrarono a far parte dell'Accademia durante i propri studi al Collegio Germanico-Ungarico o grazie a contatti romani: tra questi vi furono Mihály Frigyes Althann, Ignác Desericzky, Antal Gánóczy, Ádám Patachich, János Hannulik, János András Kempelen, Imre Kreskay, Kristóf Migazzi e Zsigmond Kollonich. Althann, Patachich, Migazzi e Kollonich furono alunni del Collegio, ma quasi tutti trascorsero lunghi periodi a Roma, probabilmente entrando in contatto con studenti e professori del seminario centrale gesuita. Per ulteriori informazioni sui legami ungheresi con l'Accademia dell'Arcadia, cfr: László Szörényi, „Arcadia latina nell Ungheria del diciottesimo secolo", in *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria*..., 293–304.

[25] Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano...,* 192.

[26] Száraz Orsolya, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Germanici et Hungarici Romae*, Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmak történetéhez, 17/3 [Archivio per la storia dei movimenti spirituali dei secc. XVI–XVIII] (Budapest–Eger: MTA Könyvtár és Információs Központ; Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, 2015).

Il Collegio Romano comprendeva diverse biblioteche, ognuna dedicata a un particolare campo di studio: una per la teologia, una per la filosofia, una terza per la retorica e una quarta per gli studi minori. Oltre a queste quattro biblioteche, ce n'era una quinta, costituita da collezioni provenienti da importanti lasciti. Questa era la Bibliotheca Maior, conosciuta anche come Bibliotheca Secreta, dove l'accesso ai documenti era limitato. Molti cataloghi della Bibliotheca Maior sono sopravvissuti e si trovano attualmente nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma. Questi cataloghi elencano solo i libri stampati, e si presume che non sia mai stato redatto un catalogo dei manoscritti.[27]

Le collezioni delle biblioteche romane servirono da modello per i sacerdoti che, una volta tornati in patria, fondarono nuove biblioteche. Nel corso del XVIII secolo in tutte le sedi episcopali d'Ungheria furono istituite delle biblioteche (la maggior parte erano ancora collezioni private, ma alcune erano aperte al pubblico). Una parte significativa delle raccolte di libri create dagli ex-studenti romani consisteva in opere in lingua italiana o scritte da autori italiani e, oltre alla letteratura ecclesiastica, vi era rappresentata anche la letteratura secolare (letteratura, arti figurative, storia).[28] Alcuni libri furono acquistati attraverso agenti nei mercati librari tedeschi e italiani, mentre altri vennero portati direttamente da Roma.

I teatri romani e la loro influenza sul teatro ungherese

Oltre alle visite alle celebri attrazioni di Roma, il periodo carnevalesco di febbraio faceva parte integrante della vita studentesca nei collegi romani. Dai diari del Collegio emerge che il teatro era uno degli svaghi preferiti dagli studenti del XVIII secolo. Come in tutte le istituzioni scolastiche gestite dai gesuiti, anche nei collegi romani il teatro scolastico rappresentava un importante strumento educativo. Al Collegio Germanico-Ungarico le rappresentazioni teatrali si tenevano soprattutto durante il carnevale, precedute dall'elezione del "re" tra gli studenti, che godeva di privilegi speciali durante il periodo carnevalesco.[29] Purtroppo, sappiamo poco sulle rappresentazioni drammatiche scolastiche in queste istituzioni scolastiche, poiché i titoli delle opere sono raramente riportati nei diari del Collegio. Tuttavia, diversi testi drammatici, sia manoscritti che stampati, sono conservati nell' archivio dell'istituto, alcuni dei quali risalenti alla seconda metà del XVIII secolo

[27] John Diamond, „A Catalogue of the Old Roman College Library and a Reference to Another", *Gregorianum* 32 (1951): 103–114.

[28] Ad esempio, circa un terzo della collezione privata del vescovo Ferenc Barkóczy (1765) è in italiano o di autori italiani: Dóbék Ágnes, *Barkóczy Ferenc (1710–1765) egri püspök könyvtára [Biblioteca di Ferenc Barkóczy, vescovo di Eger]*, A Kárpár-medence kora újkori könyvtárai XI. (Budapest: MTA–KIK, 2021).

[29] Biskey, *Il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico...*, 121–122.

e scritti da autori gesuiti romani, o adattamenti di opere di Metastasio.[30] Tra gli autori più frequenti troviamo Giovanni Andrea Lorenzani, che alla fine del XVII secolo scrisse drammi principalmente in lingua italiana; Giuseppe Enrico Carpani, membro dell'Accademia dell'Arcadia; e le opere bibliche e storiche di Metastasio, che comparivano spesso sui palcoscenici.

Il teatro gesuitico era caratterizzato da rappresentazioni sacre e dall'eredità del dramma classico, inserendosi nella dinamica del teatro barocco. Il periodo di maggiore splendore del teatro gesuitico fu tra il XVI e il XVII secolo, ma le rappresentazioni spettacolari continuarono anche nei secoli successivi. Il repertorio era principalmente composto da tragedie in latino, sebbene non mancassero opere in varie lingue nazionali (a Roma la recitazione in latino rimase prevalente fino alla metà del XVIII secolo). Gli autori e registi delle opere teatrali erano quasi sempre gli insegnanti di retorica, mentre i ruoli erano interpretati dagli studenti. Lo stesso testo veniva spesso rappresentato in diversi collegi e talvolta adattato all'occasione del giorno. Le rappresentazioni teatrali erano precedute da composizioni poetiche e retoriche eseguite dagli studenti sotto forma di preghiere, discorsi e intermezzi, spesso in onore di ospiti illustri, e anche queste esercitazioni di retorica facevano parte del programma educativo.[31]

Nel Regno d'Ungheria del XVIII secolo, al di fuori delle rappresentazioni teatrali a scopo educativo nelle scuole ecclesiastiche, solo in alcuni castelli nobiliari venivano rappresentati spettacoli teatrali. La maggior parte delle rappresentazioni era in latino. I vescovi ungheresi, tra cui Ferenc Barkóczy, Károly Eszterházy, Ádám Patachich, József Batthyány e László Pál Esterházy, si confrontarono per la prima volta con spettacoli teatrali di grande elaborazione e complessità proprio a Roma. Una volta tornati in patria, durante il loro mandato venivano frequentemente accolti con rappresentazioni teatrali, in linea con le consuetudini cerimoniali dell'epoca. Le opere teatrali messe in scena in loro onore riflettevano le nuove tendenze del teatro scolastico gesuitico della seconda metà del XVIII secolo, la cui origine era Roma: l'uso delle lingue nazionali, l'influenza di Metastasio, e l'introduzione di poesie e ariette durante gli intervalli. Questi elementi contribuirono significativamente all'evoluzione del teatro ungherese, portando a una maggiore diversificazione delle forme e dei contenuti teatrali in patria.[32]

[30] ACGU Hist. 535. *Il Gionata, componimento sacro per musica da cantarsi nel Collegio Germanico Ungarico*. Roma, 1768 [testo stampato].; ACGU Hist. 535. *Il popolo di guida liberato dalla morte per intercessione della regina Ester [...] da cantarsi nel Collegio Germanico Ungarico*. Roma, 1769 [testo stampato].; ACGU Hist. 535. *Gioas Re di Guida, componimento sacro per musica del Sig. Ab. Pietro Metastasio romano da cantarsi nel Collegio Germanico Ungarico*. Roma, 1777 [testo stampato].; ACGU Hist. 535. *Giuseppe riconosciuto, componimento sacro per musica da cantarsi nel Collegio Germanico Ungarico*. Roma, 1782 [testo stampato].; ACGU Hist. 535. *Il trionfo di Mardocheo, componimento sagro per musica da cantarsi nel Collegio Germanico Ungarico*. Roma, 1778 [testo stampato].; ACGU Hist. 530. *Il deliquente onorato, tragicomedia*, 1787 [manoscritto]. Altri manoscritti italiani, latini e tedeschi di opere teatrali rappresentate presso il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico: ACGU Hist. 531 (in tedesco, autore sconosciuto), 532 (in italiano, drammi manoscritti di Giovanni Andrea e Francesco Lorenzani), 533, 534 (in latino, autore sconosciuto).

[31] Oldani, Louis J., Yanitelli, Victor R., „Jesuit Theater in Italy: Its Entrances and Exit.". *Italica* 1 (1999):18–32.

[32] Dóbék Ágnes, „La fortuna di Metastasio nella cultura teatrale ungherese del Settecento", in *Norma*

Dopo gli studi a Roma: mantenimento dei contatti con il Collegio

Oltre alle rappresentazioni teatrali durante il periodo del carnevale, altri eventi importanti includevano le dispute pubbliche delle tesi degli studenti laureandi e le cerimonie di conferimento del dottorato, che si tenevano solitamente presso il Collegio Romano e nella chiesa di Sant'Apollinare, situata vicino al Collegio Germanico-Ungarico. Le cerimonie degli studenti provenienti da famiglie influenti erano accompagnate da cantanti e orchestre, e spesso vi assistevano numerosi cardinali. Tuttavia, anche senza grande pompa, la difesa del dottorato era considerata molto costosa. Nella corrispondenza degli studenti si trovano diversi casi in cui il seminarista chiedeva all'arcivescovo di Esztergom o ad altri influenti prelati ungheresi di coprire i costi della disputa pubblica. Ad esempio, Gábor Zerdahelyi, che studiò a Roma dal 1761 al 1765, si rivolse all'arcivescovo Ferenc Barkóczy per un aiuto finanziario.[33] A questo caso è collegata una lettera datata 10 luglio 1764, inviata da Thomas de Burgo, prefetto del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico, a Barkóczy.[34] Nella lettera de Burgo riferisce dei progressi scolastici di Zerdahelyi: afferma che Zerdahelyi studia teologia con particolare cura e zelo, meritando così il sostegno di Barkóczy. Dopo che l'arcivescovo ebbe coperto le spese della discussione, Zerdahelyi, in segno di gratitudine, gli dedicò le proprie tesi. In seguito, raggiunse una posizione elevata e nel 1800 fu eletto vescovo di Besztercebánya (oggi Banská Bystrica, Slovacchia).

Come dimostra la corrispondenza tra Barkóczy riguardante gli studi di Zerdahelyi, gli ex-studenti romani che in seguito ricoprirono alte cariche ecclesiastiche in Ungheria generalmente mantenevano i contatti con il Collegio anche dopo il proprio ritorno in patria. Nell'archivio del Collegio si trovano lettere su questo tema da parte di Ferenc Barkóczy, Károly Eszterházy, László Pál Esterházy, György Klimo,[35] Ignác Koller e Ádám Patachich.[36] Il contenuto delle lettere riguardava spesso la trasmissione di notizie dall'Ungheria, ma più frequentemente includevano

e contestazione nel XVIII secolo, Domenico Cecere, Alessandra Di Ricco, Anna Maria Rao, 149–160 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2023.

[33] Veress, *Matricula et acta alumnorum...,* 199–200. Archivio del primate, Esztergom, AEV 1417/Nr. 5.

[34] Archivio del primate, Esztergom, AEV 1417/Nr. 4.

[35] Il vescovo Klimo fu capo della diocesi di Pécs, nell'Ungheria meridionale. Fu nominato vescovo da Maria Teresa nel 1751. Proveniente da una famiglia povera, non ebbe l'opportunità di studiare a Roma e non visitò mai l'Italia, ma aveva una vasta rete di contatti con italiani grazie agli anni trascorsi a Vienna. Come vescovo, diede grande importanza ad aiutare i giovani di talento della sua diocesi a studiare a Roma, finanziandone gli studi.

[36] La maggior parte di essi si trova nel fondo BF18. Altri fondi con lettere relative all'Ungheria sono ACGU, Hist. 1035., Hist. 1040., Hist. 1048.

corrispondenze con il rettore del Collegio in merito alla formazione delle nuove generazioni, raccomandando giovani chierici delle rispettive diocesi per l'ammissione e continuando a seguirne i progressi durante gli studi.

Conclusione

Il contatto diretto con la Città Eterna, con la sua ricca storia e le sue tradizioni culturali, ha permesso ai futuri prelati ungheresi non solo di acquisire una solida formazione teologica, ma anche di sviluppare un profondo apprezzamento per le arti, la letteratura e le scienze. Questo periodo di studio a Roma ha avuto un impatto duraturo sull' attività dei seminaristi una volta ritornati in patria, contribuendo in modo significativo al rinnovamento della Chiesa e della vita intellettuale in Ungheria.

La vita studentesca a Roma si rivelò quindi un'esperienza di totale immersione nella cultura italiana, formando la visione e l'opera di una generazione clericale che ebbe un ruolo fondamentale nella diffusione dei modelli culturali italiani in Ungheria, soprattutto nei campi dell'architettura, della fondazione di biblioteche, della promozione artistica e della riforma scolastica.

Questo studio sottolinea l'importanza della Roma del XVIII secolo come crocevia di saperi e come fucina di idee che avrebbero influenzato profondamente il panorama culturale ungherese delle epoche successive.

Appendice

Elenco delle attrazioni romane visitabili dagli studenti del Collegio Germanico-Ungarico

Segnatura: ACGU, Hist. 783. *Germanici Memorie, Regole, etc*. Il manoscritto in formato ottavo è gravemente danneggiato, lacerato e incompleto lungo le piegature.

[P]alazzi <...> *andare i Signori Alunni nei giorni di vacanza*

Altieri, Borgehese, Barberini, Colonna, Carbognano, Chigi, Cesarini, Carolis, Conti, Campidoglio statue, o pitture; Farnese, Galleria del Collegio Romano, S. Michele, Ottoboni, o' Fiano; [Ca]ncellaria, [Pam]philj Doria, [Qu]irinale, <...> l'organo, o' cimbalo, <...> [merav]igliosi Aurora, o' Giardino; <...> [Vati]cano Museo Clementino, [Libr]eria al Vaticano, [?]neria al Vaticano, [Ode]schalchi, <...> [?] arelli alla Longara, [Cors]ini alla Longara, [Cas]tel S. Angelo – i novizi una volta; Monte Citorio – rarissime volte a causa de Tribunali; [Fabb]rica de Vetri; Accademia

di Francia, Bondanini – al Popolo, Palazzo del Papa – a Campo Marzo, Palazzo Spada, Gabrielli, Museo Zelada, Galleria Giustiniani, Museo Soderini, Palazzo Stoppani, Appartamento del Sig. Card. Casali a Campo Marzo.

Si permetta fino a nuovo ordine che i Signori Alunni possino andare a vedere li sudetti Palazzi e Ville nei giorni delle Vacanze intra annum, come anche nelle Vacanze di Quaresima con la riserva come sopra.

<...> *Alle quali si permette, che vad[ino] tanto nelle vacanze fra l'Anno, quanto Quaresima*

Acqua Acetosa, Altieri, Albani, Alberoni, Bolognetti, Borghese a Pinciana, Barberini a S. Pietro, Corsini – Giardini, o' Villa; Costaguti, Priorato di Malta, Farnese – Giardino, Villa, e Orti; Ludovisi, Mattei, Medici – qualche volta, Negroni – di raro, Ottoboni, Patrizi, Pamphilj, Ferroni, Quirinale, Strozzi – Dell'E. mo Duca di York, Torres, o' Galera di Francia; Vaticano – Giardini, Villa Lanti, Monte Mario a Quaresima, S. Agnese fuori le mura, S. Pancrazio.

La gita poi a S. Paolo fuori le mura, tre fontane, S. Sebastiano, e S. Lorenzo si concede a soli Forastieri in occasi[one] della visita delle sette chiese.

Finalmente S. Agnese fuori, e S. Pancrazio per <...> non s'accordando, essendo lontane.

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Wine adulteration in Tokaj-Hegyalja according to the Hungarian-related printed sources

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Wine adulteration was a fairly common phenomenon in the early modern period, not only in the case of excellent, reputable wines that could be sold dear. These were typical practices that caused perceptible changes in the supposed quality - taste, texture, aroma - and/or quantity of wines in order to increase revenue for sellers without harming the health of consumers. On the other hand by the 17th century, chemical wine adulteration also became typical, which means that additives such as lead sugar were used to sweeten it, which was seriously harmful to health. The way as the most profitable wines, such as Rhenish and Moselle, were regularly adulterated, was similar in the Tokaj-Hegyalja wine region and, in connection with these wines, beyond it. These were sometimes astonishing, not typical cases, such as a merchant from North Alsace called Hoffmann, who, according to the physician and nobleman János Dercsényi's report, after many vinestocks from Tokaj-Hegyalja had been brought to him, made straw wine from the grapes and sold it under the name Tokaji.[1] In my essay I deal just with a small detail of this topic, reviewing what information was considered important to record about the wine adulterations by the students, who wrote their medical dissertations in whole or in part about the medicinal effects of the Tokaji wines in the 18th century, supplemented with a Hungarian author who at that time dealt with the wine adulteration methods as a practicing physician.

[1] Making straw wine or Strohwein was a traditional way in Alsace: the bunches of grapes were dehydrated in an airy place, during this procedure a significant part of the juice was lost, and then wine was made from it. See Dercsényi 1796, 8–9. and Dercsényi 1799, 7–8.

The main question is how fit the mentioned methods to the contemporary fraud practices of the foreign wine regions and how these can be adapted to the cases known by the Hungarian local officiers. Despite the fact that purposive wine counterfeiting was a typical practice throughout Europe, not just in the early modern period, but also in the Middle Ages: for example Arnaldus de Villanova, professor at the University of Montpellier, wrote about many wine fraud practices in his (later several times edited) manuscript *Liber de vitis*.[2] But its Hungarian aspects are less known: Géza Komoróczy is the only Hungarian author who dealt with this topic in detail, but just from a commercial point of view; he published a monograph on the northern trade of Tokaji wines in 1944, in which he devoted a chapter to the adulteration of these as well.[3] Five authors discussed about the medicinal properties of Tokaji wines at the level of mention or in entirety in their medical dissertations in the 18th century. By way of introduction, it can be noted that the authors in the first half of the 18th century had dealt less, and in the second half of it dealt more with the wine counterfeiting methods. While the earliest authors had reported only on the fact of wine fraud, later there was also written about certain types of the harmless wine manipulation, finally, authors of the second half of the 18th century described the dangerous chemical methods of wine adulteration in detail as well. This illustrates the way in which these procedures became considerably generally known later. In addition to these printed reports, it was not typical until the beginning of the 19th century that the description of wine adulteration procedures would have been available in Hungarian language to the Hungarian professional public.

As dietetics and parallel to this, chemical medicine evolved, so came into prominence the knowledge about these advantages of wines; a particular increase can be seen in the number of dissertations about the medicinal properties of wines, including about the Tokaji wines during the 18th century. The first author from this point of view was Johann Valentin Kauppers, born in Neuwiller, who dealt with the medical properties of the Rhenish wines in his dissertation called *De natura et praestantia vini Rhenani in medicina*, it was edited in Halle an der Saale in 1703.[4] In this context, he mentioned in the second chapter the Hungarian wines as well, especially the Tokaji as these wines will not cause a headache even after drinking large quantities. He also mentioned, that although the physicians and the general public believe that Hungarian wines are responsible for the spread of *Morbus Hungaricus* (actually the epidemic typhus or camp fever), which was thought to be typically in Hungary, this is not true.[5] This dissertation was later republished by his supervisor under his own name, the famous professor Friedrich Hoffmann,

[2] See Sigerist 1943, 27–33.
[3] Komoróczy 1944, 104–115.
[4] Kauppers 1703.
[5] Kauppers 1703, 10–11.

who added a remark to the text that Tokaji has already started to be counterfeited with raisins and sugar,[6] but he has not dealt with the adulteration of Tokaji wines in detail yet, he merely recorded the fact that it exists.

János Péter Komáromy, born in Sopron, West Hungary and became chief physician of Sopron and later of Vas County, defended his doctoral dissertation about the characteristics and medicinal effects of the local wines, compared them with the wines of Tokaj; it was published under the title *De vino Hungarico Soproniensi* in Basel in 1715.[7]

Johann Melchior Welsch, born and later working in Nördlingen, defended his doctoral thesis called *De vini Hungarici excellente natura, virtute et usu* in 1721 at the University of Halle an der Saale under the supervision of Friedrich Hoffmann.[8] This is the first doctoral dissertation that focuses specifically on the medicinal properties of the Tokaji wines. Similar to Kauppers', his work was later published several times under Hoffmann's name and with the help of these volumes, the curative effects of the Tokai wines became internationally well-known, much better than before.[9]

Sámuel Domby, born in Erdőbénye, which is one of the earliest villages belonging to the Tokaj wine region, defended his doctoral dissertation under the title *De vino Tokaiensi* at the University of Utrecht in 1758,[10] later became chief physician of Borsod County. His dissertation is also special because he was a physician of local origin, who also had a sufficient in-depth experiential knowledge of both Tokaj wines and the wine region.

The latest medical student was Johann Michael Schosulan, born in Waidhofen an der Thaya in Lower Austria, who had defended his doctoral dissertation under the title *Dissertatio inauguralis medica de vinis* at the University of Vienna in 1767[11] and became dean there between 1781 and 1797.

Finally, János Dercsényi was born in Upper Hungary in Szepesszombat (Spišská Sobota, Sk) and studied medicine at the University of Vienna. As the chief physician of Zemplén County (where the Tokaj-Hegyalja wine region can be located), he wrote a German book called *Ueber Tokaj's Weinbau* about the Tokaji wines and wine region;[12] adding to this, based on the Italian scientist Adamo Fabroni's well-known book[13] he dealt with the wine counterfeiting methods in detail, which can be located not just in Tokaj-Hegyalja, but also in Europe. The reason that the non-German-speaking readers can understand it is that, this volume was translated into Hungarian by Gábor Őri Fülep in 1799.[14]

[6] Hoffmann 1740a, 343.
[7] Komáromy 1715.
[8] Welsch 1721.
[9] for example Observatio XXIV. Historia vini Tockaviensis Hungarici cum ejus indole, genesi ac virtute, Friedrich Hoffmann, *Observationum physico-chymicarum selectiorum libri III*, Halae, Simon Jacob Renger, 1736, 72–81.
[10] Domby 1758.
[11] Schosulan 1767.
[12] Dercsényi 1796.
[13] Fabroni 1787.
[14] Dercsényi 1799.

Among them, dissertations of Komáromy, Welsch, Domby and Dercsényi focused in detail on the Tokaji wines, so a comparison of some of their arguments may be interesting from a science historical point of view.[15] Komáromy had basically followed the tradition of Paracelsus' medicine when he linked the excellence of Sopron and Tokaji wines to the high sulfur and according to this, the gold content of the soil. The essential difference between Welsch and Domby that the earlier one wrote about the Tokaji on the ground of Hoffmann's theory, which means that therefore are so unique and healthy these wines because of containing many clear, diminutive, partly invisible elements (it is called *aether*), which help to move the liquids in the whole body.[16] This aspect was used by the iatromechanical medicine, which had the greatest influence on explaining how the human body works. Authors like Hoffmann or Welsch showed it as a hydraulic process, the main reasons for the illnesses are in this case the blocking, damaging or lesion of these miniature vessels. Opposite to this Domby argues on the ground of the German chemist and apothecary Caspar Neumann and others that there are different clear, also diminutive, partly invisible elements (it is called *spiritus* or *phlogiston*),[17] that are necessary to the human body because they operate the whole human body with the help of a kind of warming effect. This was actually an iatrochemistry aspect, which Domby believed. He guessed that therefore so healthy and unique is the Tokaji because these miniature elements are able to appear in the human blood and lymphatic circulations to support this with the caloricity. János Dercsényi had already taken a stand against this phlogiston theory, when, with reference to Antoine Lavoisier, he emphasized, that phlogiston was not needed for burning, even for the wine-growing and for the wine-making process.

However, it would be obvious, but for reasons of the earlier mentioned limited point of view I will not examine private manuscripts or correspondents on this topic, although there is, for example, an early 18th century recipe book in Dresden at the Sächsischen Landesbibliothek,[18] which includes recipes about how to adulterate Tokaji wines; this is the first known on this subject.[19] In the same way, I will not deal with archival documents, especially the records of the Chamber of Spiš dealing with wine counterfeiting in Tokaj, of which Géza Komoróczy mentioned several instructive examples from the 17th and 18th centuries.[20] Finally, I will also not deal with authors who wrote about Tokaji wines from a non-medical point of view. For example Paul Keler, who was born in Upper Hungary in Bártfa (Bardejov,

[15] In detail see: N.Kis 2023.
[16] In detail see: N. Kis 2023, 6–7.
[17] Nowadays we know that this element is the pure alcohol or ethanol.
[18] MSCR. Dresd. App.3405
[19] The second known was written by the lawyer and editor Márton Borsos only in 1846. He described the cases of poisonous wine adulteration similar to Schosulan (with mercury, arsenic and lead) and beyond him (with copper), but wrote about just the lead sugar in detail, see: Borsos 1846, 78-79; I will deal with these in a forthcoming study.
[20] Komoróczy 1944, 107–115.

Sk) and wrote an essay about the Tokaj wines as a student at the Torun Academic Gymnasium in 1712, also mentioned, but did not detail the fact of the local wine adulteration.[21]

The commonality between these authors is that they examined primarily the wine adulterations to understand their impact on the human body and not on the purse or on the reputation of the wine region. Except for Komáromy's dissertation, the authors did not typically focus on the wine adulteration practices that were highlighted as a problem by the institutions and individuals responsible for the undisturbed running of the wine region; who took actions against counterfeiting primarily because of saving the reputation, namely the protection of origin and according to this, the profit.

It is also clear that the common knowledge about the human body and about the wine itself (like the terroir, varieties and fermentation processes) also increased unequivocally between 1703 and 1799, which is the timeframe of my essay. The importance of chemistry came to the front among medicinal studies, which were increasingly focused on chemically producible medicines, on methods of chemistry to determine the functioning of the body, and on the observations and experiments of the chemical field. This difference of attitude also contributed to putting down numerous wine counterfeiting procedures in dissertations written by doctors and medical students, the details of which go far beyond the reports in the offices and in the correspondence of merchants.

Demand for Tokaji wines increased dynamically from the mid-16th century onwards, as the previously prominent wine trade from Southern-Hungary, more precisely from the Szerémség (Srijem, Hr / Srem, Rs)[22] was radically reduced due to the Turkish invasions. A letter from the mid-16th century also tells us that by this time Tokaji wines were certainly being adulterated. Baron Hans Rueber, captain general of Upper Hungary between 1568 and 1584, who also had an interest in the wine trade, wrote to the Spiš Chamber informing it that several people sold fake wine in the wine region. The Chamber's reply illustrates well the main difficulty of fighting against the wine adulteration. They wrote that they are aware of the problem, but they could not take action against it because their patrons protected the perpetrators (namely Miklós Zeleméry, Mihály Kórossy and Mihály Sernyey), who committed the adulteration with their knowledge.[23]

From the second half of the 16th century, the trade of Tokaji wines (especially the highest quality aszú and essence) became important both to the West and to the North, not only to Vienna (where, despite the ban on importing Hungarian wines, there were occasionally shipped with temporary permissions), but also to the German-Roman Empire as a whole, for example to the Electorate of Saxony.[24] In addition to the wine exports to the important trading cities of Upper Hungary,

[21] Keler–Jaenichen 1712.
[22] N. Kis 2025.
[23] Komoróczy 1944, 104.
[24] Kornek 2024.

especially to the so-called Pentapolis,[25] the wine trade was also prominent towards the Polish territories (especially Krakow and the royal court of Warsaw) and the Russian Empire. The popularity of Tokaji wines in abroad - besides from their excellent taste - may have been enhanced by their ability to endure longer transport periods without any deterioration. As demand increased, supply tried to follow it, with an increasing number of wine manipulation and adulteration.

Of course, not just the local wine producers, tavern-keepers and merchants made these adulterations, but it was also a well-known phenomenon throughout Europe, and became more widespread in the early modern period, when the market demands increased. The extraordinary popularity of Tokaj wine in the 17th and 18th centuries led to the spreading of its adulteration not only in Hungary but, as I mentioned it earlier, also in abroad. We have a particularly large amount of information about Polish cases[26] and about fighting against them, for example the specifications of wine labels from 1540, the labeling of barrels, the ban on storing wines from different wine regions together (Tokaji could be stored with the wines of Sopron and with the Malvasia and Muscat) or the visual marking of cellars to show which wines are stored in them.[27]

It was a long time before arms, namely official actions were taken up against the adulteration of these wines, to protect the reputation of the wine region as well. The decision of the Council of Governors in 1736 took the preliminary steps against the wine counterfeiting in Tokaj-Hegyalja, when a committee was set up to investigate the causes and methods of it.[28] In its report at the end of this year, the commission described in detail, for example, the abuses of merchants' power, the selling of wine from other regions as Tokaji, and finally the mixing of wine and must with foreign juices, but did not mention the adulteration of wine by chemical sense.

The committee stated in its report that wine counterfeiting has reached a level in Tokaj-Hegyalja that threatened the future of the wine region and caused serious financial damage. Their proposals for solutions were tailored to the priority problems they identified.[29] According to their opinion, the Jewish and Greek merchants, who were already dealing in large numbers with wine trade in Tokaj-Hegyalja at the beginning of the 18th century, should be banned from this activity, because they often used to adulterate the wines (this was also confirmed by the written contemporary sources belonging to the Chamber of Spiš[30]). It was suggested that wines, even musts from other wine regions should not be sold as Tokaji, and the barrels should be verified with various marks.

The royal decree of 11 October 1737, which was issued on the basis of this report, did much to protect the origin of the wine of this region (it was the first time in

[25] Kassa (Košice), Eperjes (Prešov), Bártfa (Bardejov), Lőcse (Levoča) and Kisszeben (Sabinov); see Tózsa-Rigó 2022, 69–70.
[26] Komoróczy 1944, 106.; Vinkler 2013, 16–17.; Tózsa-Rigó 2022, 75.
[27] Komoróczy 1944, 111.; Vinkler 2013, 17.
[28] Komoróczy 1944, 106–115.
[29] Komoróczy 1944, 107–111.
[30] Komoróczy 1944, 105, 108.

the world that a wine region had been closed because of helping the protection of origin), but, as the dissertations examined in this study pointed out, it did not solve all the problems. According to this, various city ordinances were approved against the wine fraud, for example in Miskolc (1724) and Abaújszántó (1724), but they have not proved sufficient. There is much clearly identifiable information about the wine adulteration procedures, from which can be read not just in these official documents and correspondences but also in the mentioned medical dissertations. The most popular case was the watering of wine, mainly, but not exclusively in taverns; according to Schosulan it reduced the medicinal properties of wines.[31]

According to the earlier mentioned local committee found in 1736, one of the most important problems was when wines and musts were sold from other places as Tokaji; this was also discussed in detail by Sámuel Domby in 1758.[32] In addition to this, Domby mentioned the mixing of light beer into the wines to enrich them, adding wine from Lower Hungary or Spanish aszú to the Tokaji, finally mixing it with sugar. Welsch (and, based on him, Hoffmann) described these methods in a similar way, emphasizing that it is easy to find out that the fraud was committed, because drinking large quantities of these wines give a headache and make feel sick.[33] As I mentioned it earlier, in addition to Kauppers' dissertation, Hoffmann mentioned just one method: the adulteration of Tokaji wines with raisins and sugar.

Another avowed way of adulteration was pouring wine from another wine region into a regular Tokaj barrel to take on its aromas and flavors. This was also mentioned by Domby,[34] but one type of these methods was described in detail by Péter János Komáromy in the first chapter of his dissertation in 1715.[35] He reported that the coachmen used to move one of the barrel's rims slightly out of its position, then drill a small hole in the barrel, which they thought would be enough to allow the wine to be poured out. Then they let out one part of the noble wine, filled the barrel with water or with bad quality wine, and restored the colour of the material with the help of the burnt sugar (*Tinctura Sacchar*). Finally, the hole was sealed with a piece of wood inserted in such a way that the drilling became barely visible, and the hoops were put back in place and fitted over the hole to cannot be seen. Therefore, Hungarian wine must be carefully inspected after it arrived to the merchants.

According to the medical students, some cases of the wine preservation also belong to this category, in particular the disinfection of the barrels. The sulphurization of barrels became widespread from the end of the 15th century in Europe[36] and from the 17th century in Tokaj-Hegyalja,[37] to improve the tenability, even the quality of wines by killing micro-organisms, for example to prevent the acidification. Komáromy had already spoken out against the sulphurization, pointing out

[31] Schosulan 1767, 54.
[32] Domby 1758, 11.
[33] Welsch 1721, 32.
[34] Domby 1758, 11.
[35] Komáromy 1715, 14–15.
[36] Pósán 2018, 11.
[37] Komoróczy 1944, 20–21.

that too much sulfur could cause a headache. He even wrote two recipes to promote the previously known smoking with nutmeg and other spices.[38] Schosulan did not recommend it because the process caused that the wine took on the smell of the spices.[39] In the 16th century and earlier, the barrels were still treated with fatty pork bacon in Tokaj-Hegyalja, which often made the wine smelly and rancid.[40] Schosulan also pointed out that red wines should not be sulphurized, because this method changes their colour.[41]

The authors of the second half of the 18th century - in particular Domby, Schosulan and Dercsényi - had already distinguished between the categories of wine manipulation and adulteration, the cases listed earlier belong to the first category. The same duality, that there is the harmless wine manipulation (actually the improvement of color, texture and aromas – or as Schosulan mentioned it after Horace slightly different from this, *COS* like *color, odor, sapor*)[42] and there is the dangerous wine adulteration, were already consistently separated by the authors, who wrote about this topic in the 19th century.

Schosulan wrote most extensively about the contemporary methods of wine manipulation; in the final chapter called *De artificiis vina emendandi*, he listed several practices improving the consistency and color of wines that are harmless to the human body.[43] If the consistency of wines had to be improved, Schosulan reported about different opportunities. To clarify cloudy wines, egg white (*albumen ovi*), crushed alabaster (*lapis alabastri contusus*) or ichthyol (*ichthyocolla*), which is a bituminous, fossils-rich rock, used as medicine had to be added to it. If the acidity was the problem, adding brick dust (*testae*), chalk powder (*creta*) or tartaric acid (*Sal Tartari*, potassium carbonate) to the wine was the resolution against it. Finally, if the wine was too aqueous, its taste could be corrected with the help of pure alcohol (*Spiritus vini*). To correct the colour of wines, Schosulan listed materials that are normally also harmless to the human body, these were the burnt sugar (*saccharum ustum*), the small raisins (*passulae minores*) or the red sandalwood (*lignum santalum rubrum*). In addition to those were listed above, there were interventions with toxic elements, which caused terrible abnormality in the human body. These were the chemical wine adulteration processes, which, according to Schosulan and others, were basically used to sweeten acidic, lower quality wines, first of all with the help of the litharge (*lithargyrio*). Secondly the same happened with sublimated mercury (*Mercurius sublimatus*), finally with the arsenic (*arsenicum*); in the latter case, Scosulan specifically mentioned

[38] Komáromy 1715, 21.
[39] Schosulan 1767, 10.
[40] Komoróczy 1944, 19–20.
[41] Schosulan 1767, 10.
[42] Colour, smell and taste, see Schosulan 1767, 2–3.
[43] Schosulan 1767, 53–56.

the Spanish wines as an example. Even he pointed out that although these wines will be sweet, they will cause a less sweet death („*etsi enim dulcia haecce vina evadant, minus tamen dulcem mortem causant*").[44]

Sámuel Domby also wrote extensively about wines mixing with lead.[45] He reported that the more acidic, lower quality wines were sold under the names Tokaji, Rhine and Mosel, which had been sweetened by adding lead to make them sell in the premium category. It is clear that sweetening of wine with the help of lead-lined vessels, actually with the so-called sapa, which was a preservative syrup, made from simmering must cooked in a leaden vessel, was a well-known phenomenon in ancient Rome.[46] But when the wine was boiled with lead, the toxic compound lead acetate or lead sugar (*Sal Saturni*) was formed, which sweetened the liquid; on the other hand, the litharge used to glaze the vessels proved toxic in itself.

To check whether the lead sugar had been added to the wine, Domby mentioned to the readers the experimental results of the Leiden professor and chemist Hieronymus David Gaubius, who experimented with the so-called secret artificial ink (*atramentum sympatheticum*) to protect Rhine and Mosel wines against adulterating with lead.[47] This was made from one ounce of arsenic, two ounces of smelted lime and twelve ounces of rainwater. When the powdered mixture of these and water were added to the adulterated wine, the liquid turned opalescent and then blackened.

It is interesting that neither Domby nor Schosulan mentioned the widely used „Württemberg wine test", which had been used since the early 18th century to detect the lead content of wines.[48] It was changed after 1794 by the mixture of the German physician Samuel Hahnemann, which replaced the previous wine test, which could give false positive results due to the presence of harmless iron impurities in the wine because of the used metal tools. Hahnemann's mixture was made with sulphur and lime, which, when they were added to the wine containing lead, stained it black and formed a black sediment.[49] Hahnemann regularly dealt with the various European wine adulteration methods, he translated the earlier mentioned volume of Adamo Fabroni into German and published it in Leipzig in 1790,[50] before he published his own *Liquor Vini Probatorius*-method. Presumably this was the version, that been had used by János Dercsényi when he published his dissertation about the Tokaji wines in 1796. The author was particularly interested in the wine adulteration and manipulation practices of the past and present; it is not surprising that he devoted the first chapter on the whole to these topics. Based on Fabroni, he reported on a number of processes, for example on the sulphurisation

[44] Schosulan 1767, 55.
[45] Domby 1758, 12.
[46] Eisinger 1982, 284. Other ancient examples about the wine frauds from Pliny the Elder, see: Bush 2002, 580–581.
[47] Domby 1758, 12.; Gabius 1754, 120–121.
[48] Eisinger 1982, 297–298.
[49] In detail see: Hahnemann 1794.
[50] Fabroni 1790.

of Austrian wines, on the manipulation of sour and ropy French and German wines with a mixture of deer antler (*cornu cervi*) and the so-called viza (a kind of fish) bladder, on the use of walnut and beech wood chips to obtain better-quality wine.[51] Regarding to the Montepulciano wines and the Champagner, he mentioned the must-boiling with grape stone, pear and quince, and especially to the latter, must-boiling with sugar and raisins, then mixing it with the ordinary must to boil over together. In the case of the Tokaji wines, he mentioned the mixing of lime, gypsum,[52] sodium carbonate with wine, but did not mention the dangerous types of chemical wine adulteration methods.

It shows the contemporary spread of knowledge about wine adulteration with lead sugar well, that the authors of these dissertations written at the beginning of the 18th century (Komáromy, Welsch) did not mention it, while the dissertations written in the second half of the century (Domby, Schosulan) described it in detail. Domby's primary, or rather only source on the adulteration of wine with lead was, as I mentioned it earlier, Gaubius. Schosulan based his informations on the chemical wine adulteration on Caspar Neumann, a German chemist and apothecary. His four-volume *Chymiae medicae dogmatico-experimentalis* was published after his death, between 1749 and 1755; the second volume of this was published in 1752, its Chapter 38 is entitled *De vino, der von dem Wein*.[53] The procedures contained therein were taken up by Schosulan, without citing the source, but with reference to several articles in the *Ephemerides*, which was the journal of the *Academia Caesarea Leopoldino-Carolina Naturae Curiosorum* – these articles were mentioned by Neumann. The method of adulterating wine with lead caused a lot of trouble even in the 19th century, but it was already a well-known practice. Lead adulterations may have been accidental in the early modern period, using for example lead-containing devices containing lead or litharge, as in the case of the *Devon colic* in connection with the local cider-making process. But in the case of the *Poitou colic* or the *Colica Pinctonum* in France[54] or others like the *Hüttenkatze* or *Morbus Metallici*, or the *colica paretico* is well-known that the main reason of the lead poisoning was the using lead to sweeten the wines. It was not recognised for a long time, until the second half of the 17th century that the real cause of these epidemics with symptoms of paralysis, blindness, even death were the chronic plumbism.[55] Although the first medical dissertation dealing with wine adulteration procedures was written relatively late, just in 1745 by Heinrich Georg Matthissen,[56] in the second half of the century the chemical wine adulteration procedures were already well established in the professional public, looking for solutions to their

[51] Maybe this was the ground that the using of viza bladder became well-known in Tokaj-Hegyalja from the beginning of the 19th century to improve cloudy vines, see Szepsy 2012, 47–48.

[52] According to Pliny the Elder, adding lime and gypsum to the wines was a well-known phenomenon in ancient Rome and Africa as well, see: Bush 2002, 580.

[53] Neumann 1752, 528–644.

[54] Eisinger 1982.

[55] For example: Stockhausen 1656.; Gockel 1697.

[56] Matthissen 1745.

identification;[57] half a century later, a large number of publications dealing with wine manipulations, even wine adulteration procedures in detail, increased explosively both abroad[58] and in Hungary.[59]

It has been a long jouney, until the society recognized the damaging of the chemical wine adulterations. The first informants about this topic were, at least in Tokaj-Hegyalja, the authors of the mentioned medical dissertations. Their importance is beyond dispute, because they were able to share the results of the researches and methods in connection with the chemical wine adulterations.

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[57] for example Engelhart 1777. But it can be also read Jean-Jacques Rousseau's novel *Émile ou De l'éducation* edited in 1762, that during the chemistry lesson, the dangerous wine fraud method with litharge were also discussed about. It shows that this procedure has already become commonly known.

[58] Wine and spirit…1827; Chevallier 1850 and its German translation into German by Johann Friedrich Westrumb: Chevallier-Westrumb 1856–1857; Hureaux 1855; Denman 1867.

[59] For example: Lübeck-Némethy 1830, which is a translation into Hungarian from the physician János Károly Lübeck›s German textbook; Csíky 1836, 39–41, in which the author specialized to the dietetics, but mentioned harmful effects of chemical wine adulterations on the human body as well; Molnár and Török 1857, who wrote important articles about the most known adulteration processes; Parragh 1863, 224–226: as a technical book, it also deals with the chemical wine adulterations, especially with the lead sugar.

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Les contradictions entre un album recreationis et les leges adolescentiae

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La *Ratio studiorum*, dont les principes de base n'ont subi aucune transformation d'importance au cours des deux siècles suivant sa création, fut une véritable borne dans l'histoire de l'enseignement jésuite.[1] Si la réglementation est bien avare d'avertissements au sujet de la vie extra-scolaire des étudiants, l'étude de l'esprit des prescriptions en question nous permet de comprendre ce que les professeurs et leur milieu avaient exigé d'eux. La méthode la plus efficace d'assurer la discipline et la bonne conduite avait été d'accorder aux élèves l'accès à l'internat : cette possibilité avait intéressé toutes les familles moins aisées, même les protestantes. La stratégie de conversion qui caractérise les séminaires animés par les jésuites est fondée justement sur cet argument.[2] Au 16e siècle, un nombre très élevé de jeunes hongrois poursuivaient leurs études à Vienne : en partie à l'*adeliges Kollegium und Landschule*[3], en partie à l'école animé par l'ordre jésuite. Les deux établissements ont non seulement formé, mais aussi hébergé leurs élèves. Il subsiste, de l'année 1578, un *album recreationis* rédigé par un étudiant ayant fréquenté l'école jésuite de Vienne. L'éditeur de cette source très précieuse n'a pas réussi à identifier son auteur,[4] mais heureusement pour nous ce jeune inconnu avait nommé plusieurs de

[1] *Collectanea de ratione studiorum Societatis Iesu, 1588–1616,* nova ed. penitus retractata Ladislao Lukács, Romae, Institutum Historicum S. I., 1992 (Monumenta paedagogica S. I., 7.; Monumenta historica S. I., 141.)

[2] Vö. Balázs Mihály–Monok István, *Pápai szemináriumok magyarországi hallgatói,* Szeged, JATE, 1990 (Peregrinatio Hungarorum 7.)

[3] Gecsényi Lajos, *A Magyar diákok a bécsi tartományi iskolában a 16. század második felében,* Történelmi Szemle, 34(1992), 95–106.

[4] Szelestei Nagy László, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi jezsuita gimnáziumban 1978-ban (Rekreációs diarium*

ses camarades d'études. Dans son analyse biographique, László Szelestei Nagy a mis en relief la carrière ultérieure des étudiants mentionnés, dans notre intervention, nous nous intéresserons aux aspects recréationnels du journal en question. L'éditeur du texte évoque un épisode lors duquel, à l'occasion d'un dîner organisé par un noble, les étudiants écoutent une jeune fille qui, accompagnée d'un chien, fait de la musique. Un homme plus âgé, encouragé par les gestes de la fille, ne peut pas se retenir d'exécuter la 'danse des soldats'.[5] Lors de leurs 'permissions' (sorties dans la ville et aux environs), les écoliers exécutent un certain nombre de farces entièrement conformes à leur tendre âge (dans les forêts proches du Danube, ils raflent les nids d'oiseaux et observent les serpents, etc.) et ils se rendent aux jeux militaires et aux processions qui ont lieu dans la ville. Le 2 juin 1578, ils se mettent à consommer du vin, en excès :

> „Hoc die habuimus recreationem, iui cum quibusdam rogata licentia ad proximam syluulam, penes quam lac in domo quadam comedimus et uinum quod quidam germanus (condiscipulus meus) praeter opinionem adtullerat bibimus, transeuntes nidos quam plurimos partim pullis, partim ouis partim uacuos inuenimus, post longam recreationem in sylua redeundo serpentem inueni quem propter densitatem ueprium interficere haud potui, post transitum ingressi eandem domum lac frigefactum in aqua gelida, comedimus *vinum quoque cum magna animi letitia et iucunditate bibimus.* Redeundo in hortum pedes sanitatis grotui[?] crines (erant autem nostrum 6) lauimus."[6]

L'on dispose d'une véritable théorie 'philosophico-théologique' de la consommation du vin et de l'eau de la main d'un auteur hongrois relativement bien connu [Bálint Hagymási Bálint (environ 1490 – apres 1517)[7]], mais les recommandations – bien rares au 17e siècle – adressées au jeunes pérégrins convergent surtout sur l'aspect pratique de la question. La consommation de l'eau est généralement déconseillée et l'on recommande à sa place le vin, moins susceptible de provoquer des infections dans l'organisme du voyageur. Le comte György Széchényi (1656–1732) va encore plus loin en interdisant catégoriquement à son fils la consommation de l'eau. Le fils en question, Zsigmond Széchényi (1671–1738) est parti en 1699 pour un *kavalierstour*

töredéke), Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 101(1997), 146–159.; l'étide, sans le texte, in *A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység II, A IV. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus előadásai, Róma–Nápoly, 1996. szeptember 9–14.,* szerk. Jankovics József, Monok István, Nyerges Judit, Budapest–Szeged, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság–Scriptum Rt., 1998, 644–650.

[5] 1578. május 9. „Hoc die fui in prandio apud Christophorum Horuat tempore prandij quaedam mulier uenit cum quadam musica, qua maxime sunt recreati omnes, habens apud se canem saltantem et uarios ludos exercentem. Ibidem Hungarus quidam satis adulta etate exiliens a chorea, quam militum uocant, se abstinere non potuit." (Szelestei Nagy 1997, 152–153.).

[6] Szelestei Nagy 1997, 158.

[7] *Opusculum de laudibus et vitupero vini et aquae* Valentini Cybelii…, Hagenau, Thomas Anshelm, 1517 (VD16 C 6500, RMK III. 215.). Hasonmás kiadása: *Opusculum de laudibus et vituperio vini et aquae* Valentini Cybelii…, Hagenau, 1517 (facsimile) – Hagymási Bálint, *Művecske a bor és a víz dicséretéről és kárhozhatásáról,* ford., jegyzetek, utószó Krähling Edit, Budapest, Jaffa, MTAK, 2017 (Lichniae ex Bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae).

en Italie.[8] Quelques auteurs de littérature de voyage adoptent volontiers la posture du *conseiller*. Véritable best-seller de l'époque, la *Cynosura peregrinantium*[9] du mathématicien de Késmárk, David Frölich (1595-1648) prépare le voyageur aux péripéties les plus variées. Il propose des réponses aux questions suivantes : 'Pourquoi les voyageurs ayant vu un loup subissent-ils une extinction de leur voix?', ou bien, 'Pourquoi les chevaux, les chiens et les autres animaux se souviennent mieux des chemins et des virages que les hommes?'. Frölich multiplie ses conseils, adaptés à une grande variété de situations qui peuvent se produire : comment se comporter lorsqu'on est invité chez une famille illustre ? Comment choisir les auberges pendant le voyage ? Pourquoi s'abstenir de jurer au milieu d'un orage ? Frölich traite dans la dernière partie du second livre *(liber secundus, pars posterior)* la question de l'ébriété, un état qui est impérativement à éviter *(Ebrietatem esse fugiendam)*,[10] en exposant une parabole sur un homme ivre en difficulté.

„89. Ebrietatem esse fugiendam.

> Duo conjunctissimi cives, una sunt pransi, dein pagum ob negotia quaedam certa pacifice adierunt, in quo peractis negotiis vino se obruerunt. Cum autem domum reverterentur, in via rixari, semina discordiae crescere, ob levem causam caeperunt, adeo ut evaginatis gladiis alter proximo suo amputarit sinistram manum, quem dein in isto furore transfodit. Homicida consulit sibi fuga, relictis liberis, uxore et omni domestica re. Misera res, cum vino nos ita implenus, ut etiam conjunctissimis non parcamus, ac nullum discrimen servemus inter amicum et inimicum, inter hominem benemeritum et peregrinum."[11]

A notre connaissance, les universités et les collèges jésuites n'ont pas explicitement réglementé les activités recréationnelles et extra-scolaires (et extra-templaires) des étudiants. Certes, la direction de ces établissements n'a pas manqué d'organiser et de proposer aux élèves quelques activités d'intérêt : processions, participation active á des spectacles scolaires, recréation en communauté. La conservation de la santé et le maintien de la bonne moralité des étudiants avaient été les aspects les

[8] *Széchenyi Zsigmond itáliai körútja 1699–1700*, kiad. Ötvös Péter, Szeged, JATE, 1988 (Peregrinatio Hungarorum, 1.), 32.

[9] *Bibliotheca seu cynosura peregrinantium, hoc est viatorium, omnium hactenus editorum absolutissimum, jucundissimum, utilissimumque in duas partes digestum*… conscriptum a Davide Frölichio…, Ulm, Wolfgang Endtner, 1643–1644 (VD17 3:006913M).

[10] Frölich 1644, pagina 85, nr. 89.

[11] L'ébriété est impérativement à éviter. – Deux amis avaient déjeuné ensemble, puis ils se sont rendus dans un village, ou, leurs affaires terminées, se mirent à consommer du vin, en excès. Sur le chemin de retour, ils s'étaient brouillés et leur différend, au début anodin, s'est dégradé en altercation physique. Ayant perdu son sang-froid, l'un des deux amis ne s'était pas contenté de couper le bras droit de son compagnon, mais il l'a aussi tué en le transpercant de son épée. L'assassin a décidé de laisser derrière lui sa femme, ses enfants et sa fortune et de s'enfuir. Hélas, combien il est regrettable de s'enivrer avec du vin jusqu'á oublier de ménager nos proches et á confondre ami et ennemi!

plus importants des recommandations : dans la suite, je vais essayer d'illustrer les efforts en question en me référant à une *dissertation* parue à Innsbruck en 1691 et à un recueil de règles de vie ayant vu le jour en 1818, á Kassa.

C'est Léopold Ier, qui, en élargissant progressivement le lycée jésuite d'Innsbruck, fondé en 1562, établit (en 1669) l'université de Tyrol. Cette institution, s'étant muni des quatres facultés requises, devint *Universitas* en 1677.[12] Ayant terminé ses études médicales, le Tyrolien Georg Blas a soutenu ses thèses sous la présidence du professeur Ferdinand Karl Weinhardt (1654–1710), médicin de Halle. Ces thèses allaient voir le jour avec une *approbatio* théologique et une *approbatio* médicale. La première est de la plume de Paul Zingnis (?–?), professeur jésuite[13], qui est d'avis que dans l'ouvrage en question *nihil in fidem aut bonos mores peccat*. La brochure s'intitule : *Thesaurus sanitatis inaestimabilis: Quomodo facili methodo plurimos vitae dies integer et incolumnis conservari possit*.[14] Tout au long de l'histoire de l'humanité, le sujet en question était très souvent exploité (et selon les on-dits, les richissimes oligarques américains peuvent désormais bénéficier des résultats du processus visant le renouvellement des cellules humains). Á la fin du 17e siècle, les médicins fournissaient des conseils autrement plus simples aux lecteurs aspirant à la longévité. Comme nous allons le voir, le vin a joué un rôle important dans ces ouvrages. L'auteur a dédicacé son texte à Johann Jakob von Thun-Hohenstein (1641–1701)[15], membre de l'ordre teutonique, chambellan de Haute-Autriche. La dédicace évoque les mérites du chevalier, mécène de l'ouvrage, dans l'expulsion des Turcs Ottomans du Royaume de Hongrie :

> „Quid enim dicam de fortitudine Tua, qui Heorum fortissimus olim in Hungaria horrendos illos Ottomanicae portae molossos et cerberos hiantibus faucibus furores et igne irarum in Christianos exspuentes et spumantes non solum fortissime invasisti, sed etiam communi Militum ope gloriosissime vicisti et evertisci, ut adeo tibi in aliquale virtutis ac gestorum praemium commendatura ad athesim gratiosissime obtigerit?"

Le texte de 300 pages fournit, dans la forme de réponses données á 37 questions différentes, des clés bien pratiques à la conservation de la santé et à la longévité. Il analyse les effets bénéfiques et maléfiques de la consommation des plats et des boissons les plus variés. Puisque l'auteur est originaire de Tyrol, il est naturel qu'il évoque aussi la question de l'influence que les montagnes les plus hautes exercent sur la santé.

> Quia vinum monticolae rarissime bibunt,
> Quia vix semel aut bis in anno carnes eduni,

[12] Jacob Probst, *Geschichte der Iniversität in Innsbruck seit ihrer Entstehung bis zum Jahr 1860,* Innsbruck, Wagner Verlag, 1869.

[13] D'origine tyrolienne, il devint, en 1684 le doyen de la faculté philosophique de l'université de Freiburg/Fribourg en Suisse. En 1687, il fut nommé professeur de théologie á Innsbruck (Probst 1869, 43.; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* 45(1900), 324–325.).

[14] Oeniponti, Carolus Reisacher, 1691 (ÖNB 227254.A).

[15] *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich,* Vol. 45., Wien, 1882 [facsimile: New York, 1973], 28.

Quia solo pane vivunt et cerealibus,
Quia nunquam otiosi suis vaccant laboribus.

Les effets salutaires du vin, ainsi que les conseils sur sa consommation sont exposés dans les réponses aux questions 28-32. Pour introduire le sujet, il s'interroge (28) : *An aqua vel vinum sit salubris ?* Dans sa réponse, il énumère les passages dans lesquels quelques grandes autorités (Aristote, l'Ancien Testament, etc.) ont traité la question. Le nombre très restreint des références contemporaines peut nous étonner. Au totale, bien qu'il ne rejette pas catégoriquement la consommation de l'eau pure, il met en relief les avantages d'une consommation tempérée du vin. La question 29 porte déjá sur la qualité du vin á prendre : *An pro sanitate diutius conservande vinum merum, an vero dilutum praeferendum sit?* Du point de vue de la conservation de notre santé, devons-nous consommer du vin pur, ou bien est-il recommandable de le couper d'eau? La réponse nous paraît assez conforme à l'esprit de notre époque, puisque l'auteur fait dépendre son choix de plusieurs facteurs : la constitution du corps du consommateur, la saison, la température et aussi le type du vin. Dans la suite, il s'interroge sur le moment favorable à la consommation et sur la quantité de vin proposée (30.): *Quo tempora et qua quantitate bibendum sit?* Dans la suite, il cite un tas d'autorités ayant souligné l'importance d'une consommation modérée du vin et les dangers de l'ébriété. Les conséquences néfastes de la consommation excessive constituent la réponse à la question 31 : *Unde temulentia, ejusque phenomena, ac utrum possit esse salutaris?* La question 32 traite de la température des boissons et de la rapidité de l'ingurgitation, ainsi que les effets du *bolus*[16](bol de Tokaj, bol de Hongrie ou bien bol de Silésie, bol de Armenie) : *Num frigide vel calide, affatim vel paulatim, cum vel sine bolo panis bibendum sit?* Dans cette réponse, il ne parle plus que du vin : le texte évoque les périls de consommer l'eau glacée ou très froide.

Les *leges adolescentiae* ayant vu le jour à Kassa, en 1718[17], furent composées dans une école jésuite. Le texte exige que les élèves fréquentant l'établissement prennent soin de leur santé et que dans leurs comportements il s'adaptent aux prescriptions éthiques d'une école bien pieuse.

Les neuf premier paragraphes formulent quelques exigences bien concrètes, mais aussi des recommandations assez vagues : la participation aux exercices spirituels du matin *(Exercitium matutinum)* est suivie de l'évocation des activités extra-scolaires, du comportement seyant à l'école, à l'église, lors des repas et pendant les promenades autorisées l'après-midi. Le texte traite également des obligations qui pèsent sur les élèves après le couvre-feu et pendant la nuit *(quies nocturnae*). Le caractère minutieux des formules est illustré par le fait que dans la partie consacrée

[16] Abrégé 1791, vol. VII, pars II, 201.; Sipos E. 2024.

[17] Dies vitae adolescentis studiosi, sive leges exigendorum à literarum studiosis ad amussim dierum. In gratiam, utilitatem ac salutem omnium scholas virtutis ac musarum frequentantium, iterum excusae, Cassoviae, typis Academicis, 1718.

au comportement exigé à l'église, les rédacteurs soulignent que lors de la Cène, le prêtre officiant doit bénéficier seulement d'une quantité restreinte de vin *(vinum moderate affunde)*.

Le comportement lors de la *Recreatio* est réglementé en 23 points. Entre le texte de 1578 présenté plus haut et les exigences formulées en 1718 nous pouvons observer d'importantes contradictions, qui se manifestent non seulement dans les prescriptions concrètes, mais aussi au niveau des principes généraux qui déterminent leur rédaction.

A partir du 10e paragraphe, il s'agit de se munir des vertus les plus variées, utiles également dans la vie extra-scolaire. (*Virtutes quaedam tum asceticae tum politicae adolescenti propriae in alphabetum redactae,* 1–20). A chaque vertu, l'auteur associe un *locus* biblique. Les chapitres subséquents proposent des recettes permettant aux étudiants de pratiquer une vie pieuse *(Regulae quaedam vitae bene instituendae, Cogitationes piae et suspiria per diem et mane praecipue recolenda, Amuletum castimoniae contra impuras cogitationes, Querela sive dialogus animae et corporis, Epistola cujusdam morbundis ad mundanos)*.

En guise de récapitulation, nous pouvons affirmer que ces textes imprimés – qui tantôt décrivent, tantôt prescrivent le comportement scolaire et extra-scolaire des étudiants – définissent, certes, quelque principes fondamentaux, mais, sans parler trop explicitement, ils permettent aussi aux lecteurs de déduire quels sont les dangers de la 'vie réelle' dont les multiples conseils sont censés protéger la jeunesse. Les documents plus personnels – par exemple les instructions des parents ou des mecènes ayant envoyé un jeune à un voyage d'études – sont beaucoup plus concrets : ces recommandations définissent parfois avec une très grand précision ce que l'élève et son accompagnateur doivent faire ou doivent à tout prix éviter (s'abstenir par exemple de visiter des établissements animés par une autre confession que la sienne, fuir les linges sales à punaises, les filles de joie répandant des maladies et de ne pas consommer de vin en excès, etc.). Hélas, nous disposons de très peu de journaux dans lesquels les étudiants auraient décrit avec une franchise totale leur comportement sans surveillance. Je me permets néanmoins d'évoquer une source très unique, provenant du 17e siècle : il s'agit d'un catalogue de vices, rédigé, certes, par un grand-seigneur crapuleux[18]… il est pourtant bien probable que les élèves en pélerinage avaient été enclins à commettre des actes pareils.

[18] *Vitéz-e avagy ájtatos?" I. Batthyány Ádám sajátkezű bűnlajstroma s „némely fontos kicsiség",* kiad. Szilasi László, Szeged, JATE, 1989 (Peregrinatio Hungarorum, 3.)

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The Winery of the Reformed College in Sárospatak at the Beginning of the 19th Century

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For centuries, viticulture and wine farming have been a reliable source of subsistence for citizens living in the Tokaj Wine Region. Just like the Reformed parishes and local schools operating in Tokaj-Hegyalja - primarily for the sake of their maintenance - took their part manfully in the viticulture and winemaking life of the wine region. No wonder, since the *Calvinists of the Carpathian Basin had and still have many ties to grapes, wine, and wine culture.*

On the one hand, theologically, the respect for wine was not far from them either. Wine was seen as a gift from God, as the most beautiful expression of his blessings.[1] And in the Holy Communion, it reminds us of the shed blood of Jesus. On the other hand, for centuries, grapes and wine were - today we could say that - a means of school and church maintenance for the Reformed churches living in the Carpathian basin. This is especially true for Tokaj-Hegyalja.

Among them, the Reformed Colleges stand out, whose independent management was also a condition for their intellectual and material independence against the centralizing policy of the Habsburg rule.[2] After all, it was in the well-understood interest of the Colleges to build and operate their economic system flawlessly, which they created as the main source of their high-quality education. Thus,

[1] Hodossy-Takács Előd: Bor, teológia, Szentírás. (2015). In: Baráth Béla Levente. Hittel és humorral: Tanulmánykötet a 60 éves Hörcsik Richárd születésnapjára. Debrecen Reformed Theological University; DRHE, Debrecen, Hungary, 2015. p. 21.

[2] Hörcsik Richárd: A Sárospataki Református Kollégium gazdaságtörténete. The Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Archives; Sárospatak – Miskolc, Hungary, 1996. p. 17.

undisturbed education depended on their management, because only a well-profitable college economy could be the basis of the school's independence and spiritual fulfillment.

The Reformed College in the 19th Century

In this work of the self-sustainment, which is called "*college management*", for Debrecen, Sárospatak, Pápa, Nagyenyed, or Marosvásárhely, etc. the sectors of viticulture, wine farming and pub management also played a significant role. A particularly good example of this is the practice of the Reformed College in Sárospatak in the Tokaj Wine Region.[3]

In my study, I would like to present one of the most spectacular economic activities of the Sárospatak Reformed College, the college winery of the first half of the 19th century.

It is astonishing how actively the College's student society participated in the College's viticulture, winemaking and pub management. This benefited them in two ways: they helped finance their own studies. At the same time, this was also a pedagogical principle on the part of the college educational system, the importance of education for a practical life.

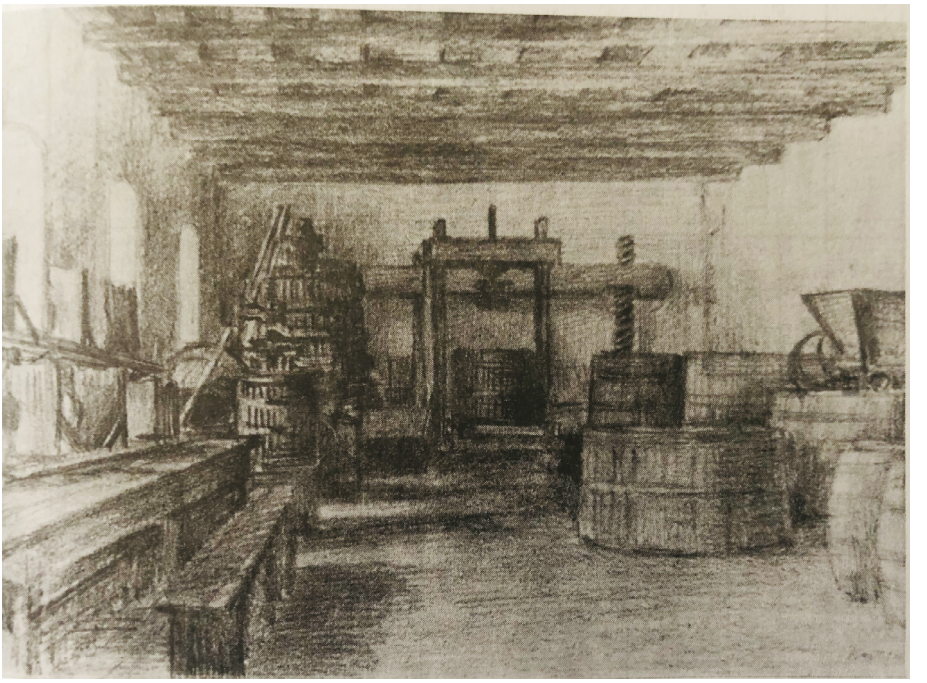
The vineyards of the College

The foundations of the Sárospatak college's winemaking were provided by their vines. In the early 19th century, the College already had 25 vineyards within the

[3] Hörcsik Richárd: „Bodrog partján van egy város..."- Tanulmányok Sárospatak történetéből. Napkút Kiadó; Budapest, Hungary, 2007. p. 126-128.

boundaries of the most important wine-producing towns in Tokaj-Hegyalja (Tállya, Tarcal, Tokaj, Tolcsva, Bodrogkeresztúr, Bodrogolaszi, Erdöbénye, Sárospatak and Sátoraljaújhely). These estates (including wine and pub management) provided a very significant income for centuries - there was a period when they exceeded 30% of the total income!

Although the college's grape and wine farming had varying successes every year, after 1815 it showed the so-called modern „*intensive form of farming*". This was seen in the triple hoeing and management, abundant fertilizing, tying two or three times, the continuous renovation of the stone walls, the use of press houses and presses, as well as the methods of wine treatment: keeping the cellars and barrels clean, and the separate treatment of wines by type. In addition to all this, except for the years of the economic crisis of 1811-1815, the college always tried to spend an adequate amount of money on the vineyards.



The College press house, 1900

Among the works in the vines, the harvest was always the biggest event in the College. It was then that the so-called 24-day *vintage vacation* was granted.[4] The junior students went home and probably helped with the work there. One part of

[4] Bakos, József: A Tokajhegyaljai régi szőlőművelés szókincse, Acta Academiae Paedagogicae Agriensis (Tom. 5.). Eger, Hungary, 1959. p. 26.

the upper school youth actively participated in the school's harvest (*primaries and juratus* as harvest farmers and inspectors), the other part of them went to the harvest supplication to collect the donated wines.

The youth of the school also joined the harvest customs of Tokaj-Hegyalja by organizing their vintage party after the harvest.[5] The senior was a viticulturist, and the students dressed up as shepherds, shepherdesses, vintners, and wine traders, and they also marched with great joy, following the example of the mountain parades. This lovely custom ended in 1836.

The college's winery

The college's winery was an activity between the school's vineyard management and the sale of its wines (praebitoria). In the winery, students: the cellists, the checking primaries carried out the work for a specialist called *bodnár*. Wine farming played an important role in the school's economy, as it produced the necessary amount of wine needed by the high-income pub. For this reason, the school always placed emphasis on the strict control of the winery, which was carried out by the rector and the senior.

The responsibility of the college's winery was to supply the school's pubs with wine. Furthermore, they sold the wines arriving from different places after treatment in smaller and larger batches to traders, thereby providing important income to the „*general treasury*". For example, in 1838, merchants Áron Schwarcz and Ábrahám König bought 100 barrels of the school's wines (the 1834 Fordítás [the wine is made from the second pressing after Aszú is made] and Ordinariun [ordinary wine]).[6] Then the school's winery provided the professors, officials and servants of the college with their benefit in kind (with wine).

[5] Feyér Piroska: A szőlő- és bortermelés Magyarországon 1848-ig. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, Hungary, 1981. p. 372.

[6] The Archives of the Reformed College of Sárospatak (SRKLt). B. LXI./27 040.

Aszú essence from the College winery vintage, 1867

Among these three functions, the most important until the lease of the praebitoria in 1829 was the quantity delivery of wine needed for the sale of wine. After all, the wines sold in the praebitoria brought the most income - in certain periods - to the school. In 1825, for example, the winery sold: a) 27 and a half barrels of wine to merchants for money. b) At the same time, 207 barrels were handed over to the praebitoria.[7] This shows that tapping the same wine in the pub was a much bigger deal than even selling it in batches to merchants.

Types of wines

The types of wines treated in the cellars of the college can be enumerated according to their origin. The college got its wine stock from three sources and ranked it based on whether it was released to pubs or sold to merchants.

[7] Ibid. A sárospataki ref. Főiskola borairól, azok kezeléséről, töltögetéséről kimutatások. 1825.

1. *Allódial or Majorság* wines originated from the school's own vineyards. Among them, the wines produced in Nagy Herceg and Nagy Király yard of Sárospatak were more popular. The quality of allodial wines is shown by the fact that they were usually sold in the pub. These wines were the most expensive in the pub. A report made in 1800 stated that „*Majorság wines have the most pomace,"8* which was due to the nature of the Tokaj-Hegyalja wines.

2. *The oblatum or gift wines* came from the benefactors of the college. Most of the donors brought the wines to Sárospatak themselves, as an 1815 regulation indicates.[9]

The quality of the oblatums - in terms of pub prices - did not reach that of the allodials, but it could have been much better than that of the congestums. It was distinguished from the latter by the fact that the donors were usually noble, bourgeois families with a winery, mainly from Zemplén. However, the congestums were collected in the churches during the harvest supplications. Since these came from many more „farmers", their quality varied greatly.

3. The worst in terms of quality were the so-called *congestum or „gyülevész" wines*. One of the documents labeled it „the viler". These were collected by vintage supplicants. Since the collectors visited not only Tokaj-Hegyalja, but also more distant wine-producing regions, the quality of such wines could not be impeccable. At the time of supplication, either the student or the school emissary transported him to the nearest *vinarium or granarium*. From there, it was transported to the collegium's cellar in Sárospatak after fermentation. The congestum was stored in the Small Cellar.

4. The fourth category *was the purchased wines*; we don't have much knowledge on their quality. The senior bought wine when the self-produced or the gift wines were sold out at the pub. Thus, the purchased wine this way probably could not have been of poor quality. In 1815, for example, due to a bad harvest, the senior was forced to buy wine from merchants. We know that the rector, together with the senior, bargained a lot with the Greek merchant Constantinus for the purchase price.[10] Of the abovementioned four types of wine, most - of course - were the school's own allodial wines in the cellars. In terms of quantity, this was followed by the congestums and then the oblatums. On the occasion of a good harvest, this ratio increased in favor of allodial wines. In 1807, of the 303 barrels, 87% were allodial and 13% oblatum and congestum.

Regarding the production of wines, contemporary sources mention the following types.

1. *The ordinary* (or ordinare, ordinary, *'ordinary wine'*).

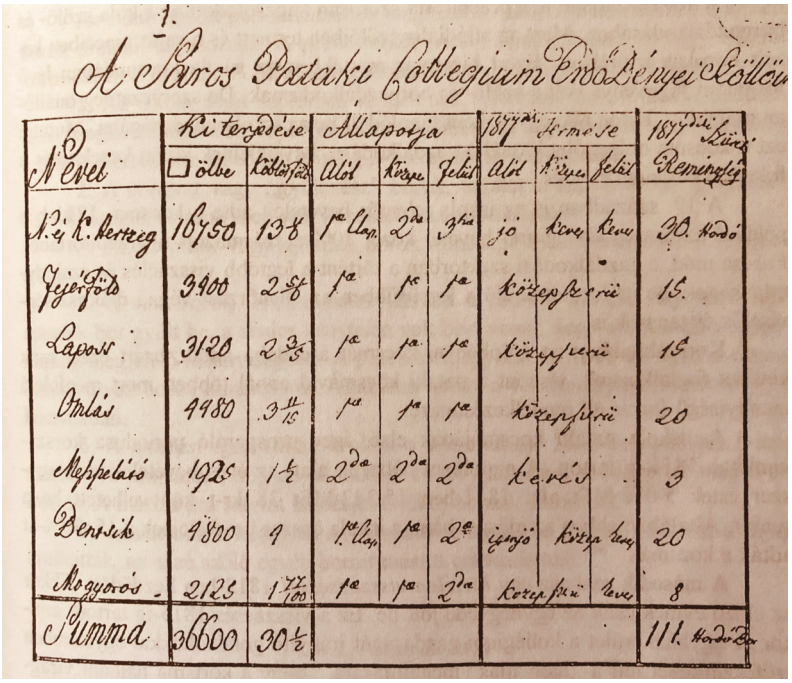
In the examined period, this appellation marked a particularly high-quality wine. Among these, the vini praebitor's accounts often mention pure wine, wine

[8] SRKLt. B-61 368.p. 26.
[9] SRKLt. B-61 368.p. 26.
[10] SRKLt. BB-61 377.p. 29.

made from the pure must of pressed grapes. They often add: allodial pure wine or oblate pure wine. In the pub, however, they often sold the so-called „wine on marc", which was differing from the pure wine. Among them we also find allodial, oblatum and congestum wines on marc. Their quality were obviously worse than that of pure wines, because their prices were cheaper.

2. Another large group of wines was the *made by wines*. The cellar inspection notes, when registering the receipt and issue of wines, among the four rubrics, the „made by" (Majorság, gift and gyülevész) wines were counted first. The ordinary wines were sold within a year or two after harvest, while the made by wines were stored for several years. After all, in the inspection lists we often come across wines made from older vintages[11].

Among the made by wines, we must first mention the *„aszú grape wines made in the best way"*.[12] According to the 1815 order of the "wine-deputation", these must be stored in the college's cellar in Erdőbénye, which is in the best condition, and the chief curator looked after them together with the vineyard inspector. The sale of these high-quality wines was not entrusted to the senior or the cellarman, but directly to the curators.



1.

A Sáros Pataki Collegium Erdőbényei Szőllő

Nevei	Kiterjedése		Állapotja			1877 dik Termése			1877 diki Szüret
	□ ölbe	Köblöt föld	Alót	Közepe	Felül	Alót	Közepe	Felül	Reménység
N. és K. Hertzeg	16750	13 1/8	1a Clap.	2da	3tia	jó	kevés	kevés	30. Hordó
Fejérföld	3400	2 5/8	1a	1a	1a	közepszerü			15.
Laposs	3120	2 3/5	1a	1a	1a	közepszerü			15
Omlás	4480	3 11/15	1a	1a	1a	közepszerü			20
Messzeláró	1925	1 1/2	2da	2da	2da	kevés			3
Bentsik	4800	4	1a Clap.	1a	2a	igenjó	közep	kevés	20
Mogyorós	2125	1 77/100	1a	1a	2da	közepszerü		kevés	8
Summa	36600	30 1/2							111. Hordó Bor

The list of the College's vineyards in Erdőbénye, 1844

[11] SRKLt. „A Sárospataki Ref. Főiskola borairól…" 1845.
[12] SRKLt. B-61 375.p.

Among the wines made was *Máslás*, a high-quality, fat, sweet wine matured from the must poured on the pomace of aszú, which was only sometimes sold in the school's pub. The Fordítás appeared more often on the price list of the pub and in the cellar inventories. (The Fordítás is wine poured over aszú pomace.) Finally, during cellar inspections, we can also find some barrels of small wine (lőre).

Place of wine production: the cellar

The college stored its wine stock in its cellars. There were so-called external vinariums, where the gifts and the „gyülevész" wines were collected on the occasion of the supplication. The task of the supplicants was „to take the wines to the nearest vinarium immediately, and as a reward for their efforts they will receive one forint for each barrel of wine".[13]

The wines from the external wineries were transported home after fermentation by students commissioned by the rector and the School Board, namely until Easter. Depending on whether they were oblatum or congestum, the wines brought to Sárospatak were placed in pre-designated cellars. In Sárospatak, to the Hustác cellars called „Bütös" and „Tóth": on the premises of the college to the „Bernai-cellar" under Berna-row, and after the construction of the new building to the „Praebitoria" and „Kis-pince". The school also had a very good dry cellar in Erdőbénye, where, in addition to the local allodial harvest, Aszú wines were stored. Mainly oblatums were placed in the Bütös of Sárospatak, congestums were always placed in the Kis-cellar, and allodial wines of Sárospatak were placed in the Berna.

Berna-sor is an 18th century building, with a wine cellar below

[13] Ibid. 16. p. 11-15 July, 1814.

The curators in charge of the economic management of the college and the rector always tried to take good care of the condition of the cellars. Despite all this, the school had quite a few problems with the quality of the cellars, at least this was revealed in the 1815 and 1835 inspections. In 1815, the commission examined wines that were „put up for sale".[14]

In the cellars of the college, in our era, 200 to 500 barrels of wine were stored and handled: the bodnar and the cellarmen (usually two) together with the checking and assisting primaries. Since the wine handlers were all students, except for the bodnar, close supervision by the rector and sometimes the vice curator was necessary every now and then.

Treatment of wines

The *allodial-must* was taken to the cellars immediately after the harvest, and from January, after the first fermentation, the gift and gyülevész wines were also delivered from the rural vinariums. These extracted and cleared together. This usually happened around[15] the day of Candlemas,[16] which lasted until the end of February and the beginning of March. After extraction, the marc was put into barrels and taken to be distilled into palinka. Then the wines were extracted a second time in June, when the vines were blooming. Meanwhile, the most important action was taken: the so-called Filling.

For example, in 1825 oblatum and congest wines were first bottled on the 3rd of February, then on the 11th of April 11 and on the 29th of July. It is possible to trace the continuous lessening of the wines that were sold to the praebitoria or to the merchants. Among the *oblatums and congestums* of lower quality, the cellarman had to issue the „deputations" of the professors right after the first filling.

The next wine treatment operation was the so-called „*anschlag*", i.e. sulfurization of the wines. All wine to be served in pubs, be it allodial, congestum or oblatum, had to be sulfurized. This ensured the purity of the wine.

The anschlag did not always go well, however. The deputatio of 1815 complains about this, that the „*reputation of the pubs*" was not brought down by the „well-known alienation of the people of Hegyalja from the sulfurized wine," but „rather by the wrongly done anschlag."[17]

Finally, wine treatment also included keeping the barrels clean. The *officer* (tisztartó) and the *cellarmen* together had to keep the emptied barrels clean. „*And the Senior should keep 200 of such clean old barrels for the collegium and the supplicants*."[18]

[14] SRKLt. A. XXXVIII./15 537.
[15] 3rd of February.
[16] SRKLt. B-61 377.p. 29
[17] SRKLt. B-61 377.p. 29.
[18] Ibid. 384.p. 406.p.

The rest of the used barrels were sold at a bargain price. In addition to the used high-quality „old barrels", of course, the school's bodnar also made new barrels „from well-prepared dry staves with good tires" every year.

The cellarman kept precise records of every important moment of the wine treatment. He also kept a record of how many barrels he issued to whom and for what purpose. Until 1829, when the college tavern was leased, the largest amount of wine from the cellars was given to the praebitoria and only a smaller part was sold to merchants. After 1829, however, the situation changed, as explained in the 1836 „*Works dealing with the economy of the Collegium": „nothing would be more desirable than at that time (i.e. during the harvest) if there is a certain buyer, the wine-must must, in particular the one from Erdöbénye be sold during the harvest, with the exception of a certain number of barrels required by the Collegium*."[19]

Student harvest on Kings' Hill, November 1930

The college's wine management fulfilled its role depending on the vintage and the turnover of the pubs. However, given the circumstances, close supervision by the rector and curator was justified in order to preserve the purity and economy of the wine handling. The school's winery took over the produced and collected wines and until 1829 sold most of them to the pub and then to merchants. But it was equally important that he also provided and managed the in-kind (wine) salary of the professors and the employees of the school farm.

[19] SRKLt. B. LX./26 547.

Summary

I believe that the presentation of the winemaking of the Sárospatak Reformed College, which goes back several centuries, and the winemaking activities between 1800 and 1850, sufficiently proves that the Reformed Colleges had a lot of ties to wine. After all, they engaged in significant farming in the field of viticulture and winemaking, which provided essential resources for their maintenance. While thanks to their so-called student management system, they involved their own students both in the cultivation of grapes, in their winemaking activities and in the process of pub management. With this, they gave an early example of the practice of education for real life. Because those who participated in the college's viticulture and winemaking activities acquired lifelong and usable economic (viticulture and winemaking) knowledge. On the other hand, with this exercise, the students' self-sufficiency was also significantly promoted.

This is how wine became a valued concept in the life of the Reformed Colleges for centuries.[20] This noble tradition was brought to an end by the communist takeover in the 1950s, when not only the schools' finances were nationalized, but also the colleges themselves (with the exception of the Reformed college in Debrecen).

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[20] Hörcsik Richárd: A Református Kollégiumok és a bor, *STUDIA. Debreceni Teológiai Tanulmányok*, 2017/2, 9. évf., pp. 88–94.

XVIIIth Century Calvinist Student

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