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The Humanist at the Table: On the Pleasure of Feasting during the Polish Renaissance

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In this paper, an attempt is made to present the phenomenon of humanist banquets in the culture of the Polish Renaissance in light of the Epicurean category of pleasure (*voluptas*). Sources analysed in the paper include works of Polish poetry from authors such as Filippo Buonaccorsi „Callimachus”, Conrad Celtis, Jan Kochanowski, Jan Dantyszek „Dantiscus”, Klemens Janicki „Ivanitus”, and the work of Łukasz Górnicki *Dworzanin polski* (Castiglione’s adaptation of *Cortegiano*). The texts are compared to selected ancient sources (especially Horace, Epicurus, Lucretius and Pliny the Elder) with the aim of proving that Renaissance humanists imitated the style of philosophical and literary symposia. In the paper, the wider context of this cultural transformation in the context of Renaissance discoveries and printed editions of ancient texts related to Epicurean and Platonic philosophy or the ancient culture of eating is also presented, which could have first inspired Italian, and later also Polish humanists, to adopt this new form of philosophical and literary banquets.

Key words: humanist banquet, convivium, symposium, Epicureanism, pleasure, eating

In ancient ethical philosophy there were two movements which emphasized the category of pleasure in a special way: hedonism and Epicureanism. The founder of the former, Aristippus of Cyrene, led a luxurious life in Athens and Sicily, claiming that seeking pleasant experiences is more important than reason or deeds. Some anecdotes

about his gluttony have survived.¹ The philosopher emphasized that having money is not the goal, and that it should be spent for pleasure:

To one who reproached him with extravagance in catering, he replied, „Wouldn't you have bought this if you could have got it for three obols?” The answer being in the affirmative. „Very well, then,” said Aristippus, „I am no longer a lover of pleasure, it is you who are a lover of money”²

Another famous Greek glutton, and perhaps the world's first culinary tourist, was Archestratos of Gela, the author of *Hedypatheia*, a didactic poem on the best food that can be found in the Mediterranean. His work was criticized as immoral.³ The second movement, which influenced Renaissance philosophy much more, also proclaimed pleasure to be the aim of life. Nevertheless, Epicurus distinguishes natural and necessary human desires (such as food, drink, shelter) from others which are unnecessary (exquisite dishes) or unnatural (fame, riches, power). „I am delighted with pleasure in the body when I live on bread and water, and I spit on luxurious pleasures, not in themselves but because of the disagreeable things which accompany them”⁴ Although Epicureans advocated for „the simple life”, they were accused of gluttony even during their time, and Epicurus (together with Apicius) became an archetype for gluttony during the Middle Ages.⁵ Gluttony (lat. *gula*) was considered a cardinal sin, which led additionally to others such as anger or adultery.⁶ The reason for such a misunderstanding of Epicureanism might be found in a poem of Horace's addressed to Tibullus (Ep. 1.4)

1 Diog. Laert. II. 8. 66-68; II. 8. 75-76. Cf. Adam Krokiewicz, *Etyka Demokryta i hedonizm Arystypa*, Warszawa 1960, p. 152-153.

2 Diog. Laert. II. 8. 75.

3 Ath. w. 335d-f.

4 Epicurus, Us. 181, in J.M. Rist, *Epicurus. An Introduction*, London-New York-Melbourne 1972, p. 118.

5 Epicurus was aware of the ignorance, prejudice or misinterpretation of his doctrine, cf. Krokiewicz, *op. cit.* p. 78.

6 The English term *Epicure* was a synonym for gourmet until 1820, F. Quellier, Łakomstwo. Historia grzechu głównego, transl. Beata Spieralska, Warszawa 2013, p. 12, 24.

in which he calls himself „a pig from Epicurus’ sty”.⁷ Nevertheless, he was not a hedonist, but rather a follower of Epicurean philosophy as it was properly understood. Epicurus defends himself using these words:

It is not an unbroken succession of drinking-bouts and of merrymaking, not sexual love, not the enjoyment of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table, which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest disturbances take possession of the soul.⁸

Discoveries of ancient manuscripts made by 15th century humanists, such as of Lucretius’ *De rerum natura* or Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives of Prominent Philosophers*, strongly influenced a new look at the question of eating in the Renaissance. Lucretius (ll.28-40) repeats here the Epicurean rule that human nature is indifferent to luxurious feasts, the value of real friendship, and a positive attitude toward nature:

Yea, though pleasantly enough from time to time they can prepare for us in many ways a lap of luxury, yet nature herself feels no loss, if there are not golden images of youths about the halls, grasping fiery torches in their right hands, that light may be supplied to banquets at night, if the house does not glow with silver or gleam (...) And yet, for all this, men lie in friendly groups on the soft grass near some stream of water under the branches of a tall tree, and at no great cost delightfully refresh their bodies.⁹

Plato’s *Symposium*, translated into Latin (1484) and commented by Marsilio Ficino, could have influenced not only Renaissance discussions on love, but could have also inspired humanists to imitate the custom

7 At the Villa of the Papyri (Herculaneum) which could have been a meeting place for Epicureans, a pig statue was found, housed today at the National Archeological Museum of Naples. David Konstan, Epicurean Happiness: A Pig’s Life? in *Journal of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. VI, 2012, <https://www.revistas.usp.br/filosofiaantiga/article/download/43309/46932>. Cf. Benjamin Farrington, *The Meanings of Voluptas in Lucretius*, *Hermathena* 80, Dublin 1952, p. 27; William Augustus Merrill, *On the Influence of Lucretius on Horace*, Berkeley 1905.

8 Epicurus, *Letter to Menoecus*, transl. Robert Drew Hicks, <http://classics.mit.edu/Epicurus/menoec.html>.

9 Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, transl. Cyril Bailey, Oxford 1948, p. 65-66.

of debating during feasts: „What these Italian humanists found fascinating about the dialogue is obvious. They all moved in aristocratic circles and appreciated the ennobling prototype of their own societies in the Athens of Socrates and Plato”.¹⁰ Ficino claims that: „Only the meal [convivium] embraces all parts of man, for (...) it restores the limbs, renews the humours, revives the mind, refreshes the senses”.¹¹ Feasts in honour of Plato’s birthday were organized each year on November 7th.¹² The concept of *voluptas* became popular again in the thoughts of Renaissance philosophers (Cosimo Raimondi, Francesco Filelfo), who emphasized the needs of the body.¹³ Lorenzo Valla tried to reconcile Epicureanism and Christianity in *De voluptate* (1431), claiming that searching for pleasure is a the great human motivation for life, whose highest form is God’s love. Marsilio Ficino, in a work of the same title (1457), differs between hedonistic sensual pleasure and divine pleasure, joy of the soul.¹⁴ And in the famous *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (1496) we read: „If you see a man dedicated to his stomach, crawling on the ground, you see a plant and not a man”.¹⁵

It was difficult to reconcile Christian doctrine with Epicureanism, primarily because of Epicureanism’s strong materialism and lack of faith in the existence of the soul. There are some similarities between both doctrines, e.g. that food and every natural need is easily procured by nature or God; nevertheless, according to Epicureans the gods are neutral and indifferent, while the Christian God is a caring Father („So don’t worry, saying, ‘What shall we eat?’ or ‘What shall we drink?’ or ‘What shall we wear?’ For the pagans run after all these things, and

10 Diskin Clay, The Hangover of Plato’s Symposium in the Italian Renaissance from Bruni (1435) to Castiglione (1528), in J. Leshner, D. Nails, F. Sheffield, *Plato’s Symposium: Issues in Interpretation and Reception. Hellenic Studies Series 22*. Washington 2007, http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_LeshnerJ_NailsD_SheffieldF_ed.Symposium_Interpretation_Reception.2007.

11 Marsilio Ficino, *De sufficientia*, Citation from: Carolyn Nadeau, *Food Matters: Alonso Quijano’s Diet and the Discourse of Food in Early Modern Spain*, Toronto 2016, p. 179.

12 Jarosław Bedyniak, Dworzanin polski Łukasza Górnickiego wobec sympozjonu literackiego. Charakterystyka gatunkowa, in: *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich* 57, p. 221.

13 Eugenio Garin, *Powrót filozofów starożytnych*, transl. A. Dutka-Mańkowska, Warszawa 1993, p. 34, 56, 90.

14 Estera Lasocińska, Inspiracje epikurejskie w literaturze renesansu, baroku i oświecenia, in *Humanitas. Projekty antropologii humanistycznej. Część II. Inspiracje filozoficzne projektów antropologicznych*, Warszawa 2010, p. 237-245.

15 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, 8.40, transl. A. Robert Caponigri, https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Giovanni_Pico_della_Mirandola.

your heavenly Father knows that you need them” [Matthew 6:31-33]). This biblical fragment also corresponds to Horace’s *carpe*. This conflict is represented in the protagonists of Mikołaj Rej’s *Wizerunek własny* (1558), based on Marcello Palingenio Stellato’s *Zodiacus vitae* (1531). One of them, Epicurus, proclaims that human senses naturally seek pleasure (it is innate and good) while Minerva, his opponent, is against *voluptas*.¹⁶

Printed editions of ancient works related to food strongly influenced Renaissance cuisine and eating culture. Poggio Bracciolini found one copy of the manuscript of *Cena Trimalchionis* (Colonia, 1423), while the other copy was found in Traù, (Trogir, Croatia, 1650). The famous *De re coquinaria* of Apicius, a Roman compilation of recipes for cooking, was published in print (Milan, 1498 and Venice, 1500). A complete edition of *Deipnosophistae*, containing the stories of famous Greek gourmets and recipes from lost Greek cookbooks was issued by Isaac Casaubon in 1612. We can assume that all of these popularized sophisticated, exquisite ancient cuisine, with its pleasure in eating without guilt. Bartolomeo Platina, fascinated by the Roman approach to cuisine, publishes the first European printed cookbook, entitled *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (ca. 1470-75). Platina defends himself against the critics of his book:

They upbraid me about food as if I were a gluttonous and greedy man and as if I were proffering instruments of lust and, as it were, spurs to intemperate and wicked people (...) I have written to help any citizen seeking health, moderation and elegance of food rather than debauchery.¹⁷

Platina is aware of being misunderstood, just like Epicurus, by the Stoics and hypocrites who accused him of a lack of moderation. He notes that *voluptas* is a neutral term, and that even Cicero and Aristotle referred to Epicurus: „For Cicero had no one with whom he could dispute more safely than with dead Epicurus”.¹⁸ He knows that Epicurus was „the best and holiest of men” according to Laertius, and that it

16 Estera Lasocińska, *op. cit.* p. 246.

17 Bartolomeo Platina, *Platina’s On Right Pleasure and Good Health*, ed. Mary Ella Milham, Asheville 1999, p. 4-5. Cf. Dave DeWitt, *Kuchnia Leonarda Da Vinci*, Poznań 2007, p. 55.

18 Dave DeWitt, *ibid.*

was his corrupted followers who steered the doctrine over to vice.

Before Platina wrote this book, he was a member of the Roman Academy, which was fascinated by the culture of ancient Rome. This humanist sodality led by Pomponio Leto (who had planted his own vineyard according to the methods of Varro) was blamed for undermining faith in the immortality of the soul and for eating meat on a Friday, as well as for an attempt on the Pope's life. Platina was finally arrested by Paul II in 1468. Tortured, he placed all the blame on his colleague, Filippo Buonaccorsi „Callimachus”, who had drunk too much wine, throwing kings and popes off the throne in his sick imagination.¹⁹ Buonaccorsi escaped and found shelter in Poland at the court of Bishop Gregory of Sanok. Later, he wrote his biography *Vita et mores Gregorii Sanocei*, claiming that the bishop was an Epicurean who did not fast too much, but was not a glutton, and had a mid-sized belly. Gregory organized humanist meetings and dinners and invited many foreigners (Italians) because there was too much drunkenness among his compatriots, the Poles.²⁰

In later years (from 1472), Callimachus lived in Cracow where Conrad Celtis founded Sodalitas litteraria Vistulana, the first humanist society in Central Europe. Intellectual banquets organized by the sodality gathered professors, burghers and some nobles who debated on many themes, e.g. ancient and Italian poetry. Among the guests there were also some foreigners, such as the Croatian Bernardo Gallo of Zadar, who was Callimachus' secretary.²¹ Wine (or less often, beer) was an indispensable element in such meetings. In Callimachus' poem dedicated to Jakub of Boksyce, one of those banquets is described in the following way:

Let Ulysses talk about the tables of Alcinous,
About the abundance of wine poured into Phaeacian jugs (...)
I am delighted with your modest and inexpensive feasts
At which a frequent joke interweaves with the charm of words.

19 Joanna Olkiewicz, *Kallimach doświadczony*, Warszawa 1981, p. 30-31, 36.

20 Joanna Olkiewicz, *ibid.* p. 56. Harold B. Segel, *op. cit.* p. 19, 46; Estera Lasocińska, *op. cit.* p. 239.

21 Joanna Olkiewicz, *ibid.* p. 92-95, cf. Anna Skolimowska, Ioannes Dantiscus and the Croatian Humanists Jakov Banićević and Marko Marulić, in *Colloquia Maruliana* 24, Split 2015, p. 181.

And serious conversations or considerations do not cease
While eating – though noiseless laughter still sounds –
When the mind, kindled by wine, does not get confused and drunk,
Though we can exceed the measure of sober words (transl. DB).²²

A comparison to the feast of Alcinous can also be found in an epigram written by the Epicurean Philodemus from the Villa of the Papyri, in which he invites Piso to partake in a simple meal at his home on the occasion of Epicurus' birthday:

...feast of the twentieth invites you to come after the ninth hour to his simple cottage. If you miss udders and draughts of Chian wine, you will see at least sincere friends and you will hear things far sweeter than the land of the Phaeacians. But if you ever cast your eyes on me, Piso, we shall celebrate the twentieth richly instead of simply.²³

The humanist feast has to be moderate: food and wine, though necessary, are only one element accompanying the most important and immaterial part of the feast: the conversation. Buonaccorsi's thought here resembles a letter of Pliny the Younger, a response to his friend inviting him to dinner:

I will come to dinner, but even now I must stipulate that the meal be short and frugal, and brimming over only with Socratic talk. Nay, even in this respect there must be a limit fixed [...] But for our dinner let us agree not only to have a modest and inexpensive feast but to break up in good time.²⁴

Serious literary or research considerations are accompanied by many jokes (which we may assume to have been witty and perhaps poetic), as in the Anacreontic tradition. Callimachus is grateful to

22 Filippo Buonaccorsi, *Alcinoi mensas et fercula narret Ulixes*, in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej 1470-1543*, ed. Antonina Jelicz, Szczecin 1985, p. 70-71. Jakub z Bokszyca was a physician, medicine and theology doctor, then canon of St. Florian church in Cracow.

23 Philodemus, Epigrams (11. 44), in *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, ed. A.S.F.Gow, D.L.Page, <http://www.attalus.org/poetry/philodemus.html>. The last phrase suggests that poor Philodemus was looking for a patron (as in Kochanowski's *Foricoenia*).

24 Plin. *Ep.* 3. 12, transl. J.B. Firth, <http://www.attalus.org/old/pliny3.html#12>. Martial used similar principles, cf. *Mart.* 11. 52; 19. 48; 5. 78.

the host both for dinner and restful sleep:

Mind, not covered with clouds of too heavy dishes, flies out
While the body falls into the deep darkness of sleep (...)
So I admit, that it was because of my stomach that I partook in
so many
Pleasant moments during conversations, and feasts, so delicious
in taste;
I will say that you have found my appreciation to have doubled
I can be grateful both for food and sleep (transl. DB).²⁵

In both cases we can see that the dinner should not to be too heavy in order for the attendees to be able to talk, to be able to think clearly, and to be good poets. Andrzej Krzycki (Andreas Critius) in his satires on Jan Górski of Miłosław presents him as a fat, greedy and unfair man, jealous of Krzycki's poetic talent, saying: „You'd like to be able to do it, but lyre flinches before crooked hand, and heavy belly before song”.²⁶

Another feature of humanistic feasting culture is egalitarianism and tolerance. In another poem, Callimachus defends his girlfriend's father who was a potter, for which he was ridiculed. He says that the art of making pottery contains all other arts, and among them the one „whose purpose is to feed well (...) and that who reigns the kingdom of taste serving only the palate”.²⁷ Without pots, civilisation would not have developed, and humans would live like animals. Gregory of Sanok would invite women to his banquets, which was not common at this time. It is worth remembering that women were frequently present at humanist banquets (e.g. as Gregory of Sanok's court), rather as interlocutors than as lovers, being present if not in the flesh, at least in poets' thoughts and songs (which proves the centuries-old relation between Bacchus and Venus, wine and love).

Humanistic tolerance at the table, however, had certain limits aimed toward particular customs or guests. Conrad Celtis attempted to create a model for the Platonic symposium of high social culture with poetry reading in Poland. For this reason, drunkenness and rude

25 *Ibid.*

26 Andrzej Krzycki, *Quod mihi versiculos citharamque aptavit Apollo*, in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 184.

27 Andrzej Krzycki, *ibid.* p. 66-67.

jokes were inappropriate. In the poem *De cena Miricae* Celtis is leaving the feast and its host:

I wanted to learn the Sarmatian customs
 By drunkenness, but my fate did not allow it.
 But do invite me again and remove yesterday's goblets of Bacchus
 And the too few clever words
 And I, coming back sober, will make to your feasts
 A gift of Socratic words (transl. DB).²⁸

As Harold Segel notes: „the assimilation of ‘Sarmatian customs’ was not an easy task for Conrad Celtis” – because Poles served wine abundantly during gatherings.²⁹ One of his epigrams confirms these customs, adding also information on breaking the fast:

Fasting Sarmatian refuses cooked fish
 Still devouring baked meat from the bowls standing around
 To drink even more Bacchus with his thirsty belly
 Or to drain cups poured with beer to the brim (transl. DB).³⁰

Humanist and moderate ways of feasting were met with an even worse reception by his German compatriots. He says in his epigram: „When drunk Bavaria is sitting at her tables, there is still bawdy talk about shameless things”.³¹ And in another one: „Our Germania did not want to meet our Muses, since Venus and wine, and playing dice are still nicer for her.”³² Many years later, Jan Kochanowski will write the moral treaty *On Drunkenness, Which is a Vulgar Thing and Unbecoming of Man* (published posthumously in 1589). The poet regrets that every Polish feast is accompanied by drunkenness, which is unnatural for humans, since they were endowed by God with sober reason.

28 Conrad Celtis, *De cena Miricae* (l.21), in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 95-96. Mirika was a pseudonym of Jowian Heydecke, a Cracow town scribe and humanist.

29 Harold B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543*, New York 1989, p. 93-94. Cf. Antonina Jelicz, Wstęp, in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 19-20.

30 Conrad Celtis, *Abstineat a lixo ieiunans Sarmata pisce*, in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 100.

31 *Idem*, *Dum sedet appositis temulenta Bavaria mensis*, in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 104.

32 *Idem*, *Non nostras voluit Germania noscere Musas...* in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 105.

Drunk people stoop down to the level of animals – in that Kochanowski recalls the ideas of Pico della Mirandola. The poet's recommendations for self-control sounds very strict here and are written in a Stoic and Christian spirit. It is interesting that sobriety and moderation were seen by some people only as national customs:

But it seems that you say me: You learned it among Italians. Surely it was not among Germans, because they are as gluttonous as we are. But an attentive man has to do not what he sees in others, but what is appropriate for himself (transl. DB).³³

Kochanowski's opinion on the Poles and Germans is similar to Celtis', though it was expressed a century later. It seems that Polish diplomatic and educational travels to Italy resulted in the adoption of southern table culture which was more moderate. Both poets agree on this point, just like Klemens Janicki, who admires Italian customs which he got to know while he studied in Padua (1538-1540). He writes in his elegy:

The moderation and good manners remained in their life
Food and dress are characterised by moderation
And drunkenness is such an ugly delinquency
Like stealing sacrifices for gods.
Nobody is selling himself to you, Bacchus,
Except for German youth, so disliked for that (transl. DB).³⁴

Polish students in Padua had many occasions to feast: doctoral graduations were accompanied by *banchetti di laurea* for scholars and citizens, along with dances.³⁵ It was the perfect opportunity to make new acquaintances. Some students devoted themselves to science. Stanislaus Hosius, later a cardinal, studied in Bologna and Padua (1530-34) and avoided „what young people dedicate themselves; jokes between lazy people, harlots capable of capturing life and property (...) frivolous revelries. He preferred to walk in virtue and unite rather with simi-

33 Jan Kochanowski, *Iż pijaństwo jest rzecz sprosna a nieprzystojna człowiekowi*, http://staropolska.pl/renesans/jan_kochanowski/pijanstwo.html.

34 Klemens Janicki, *Quam legis, Euganea tibi littera venit ab urbe...*, v. 56-57, in *Antologia poezji polsko-tacińskiej...*, p. 242.

35 Jan Ślaski, *Kochanowski i contubernium Polonorum w Padwie*, in *Rzeczy minionych pamięć. Studia dedykowane prof. T. Ulewiczowi*, Kraków 2007, p. 498-505. During 16th century about 1400 Polish students went to Padua, cf. Joanna Olkiewicz, *Opowieści o Włochach i Polakach*, Warszawa 1979, p. 73, 79.

lar people”, as written by Tomasz Treter after the cardinal’s death.³⁶ Ioannes Dantiscus regrets that he has lost his youth because of wine. As a diplomat in many courts he had to “hideously immerse [himself] in wine, and equally ugly to get drunk with it”.³⁷ For that reason he advised young students: „Despise wine, and avoid festivals of Bacchus of Nysa / Push away from yourself full measures of bowls and cups!”.³⁸ He lists the same threats of drunkenness as Kochanowski.

It was common in the student circle to organize private meetings with poetry. Kochanowski, who visited Padua three times (between the years 1552-59), while there wrote part of his epigrams, entitled *Foricoenia*. The term is derived from Latin *cena* (dinner) and *foris* (outdoor). The collection is dedicated to Bishop Piotr Myszkowski who hosted poets and humanists at poetry banquets organized at his house:

You, who forbid Muses and the poet himself
 To sup at home, oh, never praised enough Myszkowski.
 Accept my foricoenia, indebted at your table,
 Taken not from the Aganippean spring, but from the jug.
 While violet flowers and sparkling chalices surround,
 A horny god whispers these poems to my ear in secret.
 Don’t waste your work time reading them,
 Drunk writings want to be read with wine! (transl. DB)³⁹

Another aspect of the humanist feast can be noted in this kind of poem: patronage. Celtis had already complained that poets create short pieces, because „no ruler admires songs”, but they are only worried about „saturating the luxury with greasiness of their feasts”.⁴⁰ Kochanowski presents himself as a poor artist who need to go out to find

36 Tomasz Treter, Na podróże Hozjusza do Piotra Myszkowskiego biskupa krakowskiego, in *Teatr cnót boskiego Stanisława Hozjusza*, http://staropolska.pl/rene-sans/minorum_gentium/treter.html.

37 Jan Dantyszek, Desidium fugias, moneo, studiosa iuventus, in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 217.

38 Jan Dantyszek, *ibid.*

39 Ad Petrum Myscovium (1), in *Foricoenia Sive Epigrammatum Libellus*, <http://neolatina.bj.uj.edu.pl/neolatina/tscript/show/id/224.html#8837>. Cf. Mirosława Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, Radość, śmiech i “dobra myśl” w literaturze staropolskiej, *Ethos* 24, Lublin 2011, p. 141-154.

40 Conrad Celtis, *Quid me dividos causaris scribere versus*, in *Antologia poezji polsko-łacińskiej...*, p. 99-100.

wine and food. His epigrams, inspired directly by wine, are a form of gratitude to the patron, providing entertainment at the table and praising the host. In some epigrams the poet appears to be a parasite:

I will dine in your house, eloquent Petrycy,
 But I don't want Catullus' dinner
 Who made a condition to Fabullus
 To bring with him that which he willingly eats.
 Be aware of that I'll come without any contribution
 And I will bring to your kitchen
 Only an insatiable hunger (trans. DB).⁴¹

Many epigrams included in the volume are Latin translations based on Greek poetry (with Anacreon's drinking songs) which became very popular after the discovery and publication of *Planudean Anthology*. Even though it is difficult to indicate all particular ancient inspirations in Kochanowski's *Foricoenia*, a convivial spirit emerges there strongly. We do not have any more restrictions here, the banquet is not an intellectual Socratic symposium, but rather a moment of fun among friends:

Let's drink the wine joyfully, singing for Bacchus,
 Bacchus, the father of dance and lover of singing,
 A friend of Amor who is dear to Cytherea's heart
 We owe him jokes and gags, and inebriation,
 Which eases every pain and bitter worry (transl. DB).⁴²

We can compare this fragment to a letter from Horace to Torquatus, in which the poet expresses not only the need for talk and discussion, but also for unrestrained fun:

Give us a reason for sleeping late: we're free to spend
 A summer's night in pleasant talk with impunity.
 What is the use of my fortune if I can't enjoy it?
 (...) I'll start the drinking, scatter
 Flowers, and even allow you to think me indiscreet.
 What can't drunkenness do? It unlocks secrets, and makes

41 Jan Kochanowski, Ad Andream Patricium (122), in *Foricoenia Sive Epigrammatum Libellus*, <http://neolatina.bj.uj.edu.pl/neolatina/tscript/show/id/783.html>. Cf. Epigrams 64, 76, 112.

42 Jan Kochanowski, In Bacchum (15), in *Foricoenia Sive Epigrammatum Libellus*, <http://neolatina.bj.uj.edu.pl/neolatina/tscript/show/id/277.html#4967>.

Secure our hopes, urges the coward on to battle
 Lifts the weight from anxious hearts, teaches new skills.
 Whom has the flowing wine-bowl not made eloquent?⁴³

Seemingly, Horace's thought is similar here to Aristippus' philosophy. Epicureanism, however, sometimes allowed for satisfying natural but unnecessary desires.⁴⁴ Horace is aware that there is a time for drinking, and he enumerates the benefits of drinking wine. Nevertheless, the purpose of drinking and having fun at the table is not only a vain entertainment; it is a remedy for the sorrows and pains of life, as we can see both in ancient and Renaissance poetry. Paweł of Krosno wrote about the feast of Stanislav Thurzo. The Cracow professor was hosted during his stay in Hungary by the bishop of Olomouc. The circumstances are full of ancient motifs: Thurzo's feast „full of joy and exquisite dishes” exceeds Olympic banquets, Hungarian wine here represents the Roman *falernum*, and the tables are Salian (after the Roman priests of Mars, Salii). The poet encourages drinking, mentioning „Bacchus who pushes away worries”, and even poetry cannot be seen to be an obstacle here:

A feast, so picturesque and full
 of every kind of joy and exquisite dishes
 In which Bacchus, who pushes away worries,
 Himself participates.
 Together with such cheerful men
 Who can distract sad thoughts
 With a gentle word and admirable joke
 They revive the soul. (...)
 This place doesn't desire these vain epigrams
 It is not the hour of such absurdity
 Here we should draw big measures of
 Falernian wine from the barrel (transl. DB)⁴⁵

Also, Jan Kochanowski in his ode, which is a translation of a famous ode of Horace (I.9), asks to be served wine and advises not to worry

43 Horace, Epistles 1. 5, in Horace, *The Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*, transl. A.S. Kline, p. 110, <https://romanhistorybooks.typepad.com/files/horace-satires-epistles-ap.pdf>.

44 Artur Pacewicz, O przyjemności (voluptas) w twórczości Kwintusa Horacjusza Flakkusa, *Wratislaviensium Studia Classica* 35, Wrocław 2015, p. 225.

45 Paweł of Krosno, Vana iam nectar sileat vetustas, in *Poezja polsko-łacińska...*, p. 121-122.

about the future. Wine seems to be here a remedy for *vanitas*, a feeling of evanescence and, at the same time, the symbol of the Epicurean joy of life. The poem expresses human attitude toward God: full of trust but with awareness of being in “God’s playground”. For that reason, one should be focused on today’s earthly life:

Would we like to be pleased?
Then, let the servants
bring some good wine
And play the golden lyre or lute.
Who is so wise as to guess
What will happen to himself tomorrow?
Only God knows the future
Laughing from heaven
When a man worries more than he needs to (transl. DB).⁴⁶

The thought can be compared to the Biblical recommendation of Ecclesiastes (9:7): „Go, eat your bread with joy, and drink your wine with a merry heart, for God has already approved what you do”⁴⁷. The pleasure of eating and drinking has to be moderated also from a religious point of view: humans were gifted a sober mind by God, as can be seen in Kochanowski’s treaty. A similar perspective can be found in Mikołaj Rej’s *Żywot człowieka poczciwego* (Life of an Honest Man), in which the poet-landowner praises the advantages of rural life listing the gifts of the earth:

Isn’t it a pleasure, when everything you cared for in the spring, by digging [the ground], will mature and grow lovely? They bring apples, pears, cherries, plums from your first grafting (...) Then new butter and cheese will be made, fresh eggs. Geese are honking, lambs are bleating, piglets are running around, fish are jumping. Just say: „Enjoy, my dear soul, you have enough of everything!” however, with the fear of God and faithful gratitude to Him.⁴⁸

46 Jan Kochanowski, *Pieśni. Księgi pierwsze* (1.9), http://staropolska.pl/renesans/jan_kochanowski/piesni/piesni_10.html.

47 Bible, English Standard Version, <https://biblehub.com/multi/ecclesiastes/9-7.html>.

48 Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego*, ed. Julian Krzyżanowski, Wrocław 1956, http://www.staropolska.pl/renesans/mikolaj_rej/Zywot_2.html.

If a farmer wants to „enjoy the pleasure in all things” Mikołaj Rej advises him to be a calm master who does not shout at peasants all day because it is ineffective and diminishes the appetite („running after them with a club, he will be so upset that he would hardly like to eat in the evening”⁴⁹). It is better to assign tasks kindly, to talk with his wife and officials („and coming back home from this graceful tour, devoid of worries, will eat tastier”⁵⁰). Also, in the winter, the farmer can find much pleasure in hunting or spending time at home, for „the room is warm, the chimney is burning, so many beautiful dishes have been prepared, croutons in the beer are swimming like crucian carps! (...) they will bring you [from the market] fresh meat, white breads, and spices, and whatever you want, with wine as well, if you need it”⁵¹

It was common and frequent in old Polish poetry to imitate Horace’s epode *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*, in which the Roman poet presents a vision of a farmer’s wife preparing supper for her husband. In his *Pieśń Świętojańska o Sobótce* (St John’s Eve Song About Midsummer Night) Kochanowski very briefly mentions this, but an extended version can be found in Andrzej Zbylitowski’s *Żywot szlachcica we wsi* (The Life of the Noble in the Countryside, 1597):

I have my own fun, honest and decent,
and a mind free of worry, and a quiet life,
Sitting down with a friend in a fragrant garden (...)
Under a wide sycamore, whether to sing at the lute
Or to hit the cheerful strings, and order to pour
Cold wine into a cup, and, how many times I’ll drink
For his health, who will say?⁵²

The image reminds us of the one described by Lucretius, with his praise of peaceful life, nature and friendship, which was so emphasized by Epicurus. It is not only the power of wine which brings relief for worry and sorrow. The value of friendship is commented on by the

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*

51 *Ibid.*

52 Andrzej Zbylitowski, *Żywot szlachcica we wsi*, in *Niektóre poezje Andrzeja i Piotra Zbylitowskich*, ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski, Kraków 1860, p. 11. Zbylitowski criticizes Polish tendency to lavishness among nobles: “They order to serve a hundred dishes in front of them / During one dinner, even if they were to pledge the entire village”. *Ibid.* p. 7.

poets mentioned so far, also in the context of feasting. Kochanowski's Foricoenia were dedicated directly to their particular friends.⁵³ He also wrote a separate volume of epigrams in Polish named *Fraszki*. The meaning of the genre is discussed: Italian *frasca* is literally 'a twig', something without value, a 'trifle', but there are some of the opinion that it was a branch or wreath hung on the walls of Paduan taverns as a sign that good wine was sold in them.⁵⁴ From that perspective, the name of the genre is related *par excellence* to feasting with friends. To the aforementioned treaty about drunkenness the poet added three epigrams (pol. *fraszki*), among them one entitled *It is Bad to Drink to Get a Friend*, in which he claims that real friendship should be found only through virtue and good manners. The house of Stanislaus Reszka (Rescius), a Polish diplomat who spent the last years of his live in Naples, was a meeting centre for Poles travelling in Italy. In one of his letters written in Latin he describes a carnival banquet in which he, together with twenty-four compatriots, honours Pausilypus, a local god of wine. The letter is a testimony to the fact that Reszka understood the types of Italian wine well.⁵⁵ The banqueters spoke of ancient funerary customs, parodying the funeral of the god at the end. Ioannes Dantiscus in his *Carmina* wrote a couplet, which even today is a popular proverb: „After three days both fish and guests often stink / Unless the fish is in salt, and the guest is a true friend”⁵⁶. It is worth remembering that women were frequently

53 Among his „convivial friends” we can find such members of patronage courts as: bishop Andreas Patricius and Piotr Kostka (both met in Padua), Andreas Dudith, a Hungarian bishop with Croatian roots, Spanish lawyer Pedro Ruiz, Stanisław Fogelweder or Łukasz Górnicki, cf. Stanisław Łempicki, „Foricoenia” Jana Kochanowskiego, in *Pamiętnik Literacki* 27, Lwów 1930, p. 236-237.

54 Roman Krzywy, Epigramatyczne księgi mistrza z Czarnolasu, in *Dobrym towarzyszom gwoli. Studia o „Foriceniach” i „Fraszkach” Jana Kochanowskiego*, ed. R. Krzywy, R. Rusnak, Warszawa 2014, p. 11-12.

55 Stanislaus Rescius, *Epistolarum pars posterior*, Neapoli 1598, p. 174-212, cf. Henryk Barycz, *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską*, Wrocław 1965, p. 101. Stanislaus Rescius, *Epistolarum pars posterior*, Neapoli 1598, p. 174-212, cf. Henryk Barycz, *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską*, Wrocław 1965, p. 101. In another letter he invites to Italy a famous poet Szymon Szymonowic: “You will see a table with no excess of wine and modest, prepared as for casual guest and not for announced one (...) there will not be served a pheasant brought on the Argive boat (...) nor a sturgeon bought for all father's inheritance (...) but roast beef and marinated pork, prepared according to old custom. Turnip, vegetables and polenta will finish the feast, and I will add an egg if you come really hungry. Don't expect any sofas made of ivory – just a pillow on the ground and you on the pillow”, Stanisław Reszka, *List do Szymona Szymonowica*, oprac. i przekł. A. Masłowska-Nowak, K. Tomaszuk, Warszawa 2014. Cf. Mart. Ep. XIII.72; Hor. Sat. II.2.

56 Ioannes Dantiscus, Post tres saepe dies piscis vilescit et hospes, in *Antologia poezji polsko-tacińskiej...*

present at humanist banquets (e.g. as in Gregory of Sanok's court), both as interlocutors (which indicates the egalitarian character of the hosts) or lovers, being present if not in the flesh, at least in poets' thoughts and songs (which testifies to the centuries-old relation between Bacchus and Venus, wine and love).⁵⁷

Humanistic banquets could also take place in a courtly environment. Some of the courtiers of Sigismund I the Old were associated with the Society of Boozers and Gluttons (*bibones et comedones*), involved mostly in writing satires and playing pranks on one another.⁵⁸ One of the members, Jan Zambocki, says to Jan Dantyszek (Dantiscus) in a letter: „We spent the whole winter and the last month of May, drinking together with our King, remembering you. We, your sodality, namely drunkards and gluttons, are alive thanks to you. Nevertheless, Skotnicki and „Pymo” Jan died”.⁵⁹ *Bibones et comedones* was for a long time considered to be a formal association, but more recent research shows that it could only be a literary convention, based on ancient satirical poetry.⁶⁰ Many Polish courtiers and nobles, however, superficially adopted humanistic movements while maintaining medieval habits such as prolonged, drunken feasts full of unrefined jokes (as we could see in the poetry of Conrad Celtis).⁶¹

In 1556, Łukasz Górnicki published *Dworzanin polski* (Polish Courtier), an adaptation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*. Górnicki uses the genre of the literary symposium in his work, already known in

57 AP 12. 134; 12. 118. Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał, Fannia, Grynea, Lidia... Portret kobiecy w polsko-tacińskiej elegii epoki renesansu, *Meander* 59, Warszawa 2004, p. 435-459.

58 There is an anecdote about Andrzej Pukarzewski, a member of the society, who invited his friend Skotnicki to dinner, drank him, and in such shackled and locked him in a room, and told the guards to tell him that he had been sentenced to death for rape. As a revenge, on another day, Skotnicki ordered to bandage drunk Pukarzewski's head, and when he sobered up, lied to him that he was seriously severely wounded by another man. (Łukasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, Księga Wtóra Dworzanina, https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Dworzanin/Księga_Wtóra_Dworzanina).

59 *List Jana Zambockiego do J. Dantyszka*, Cracow, 13th June 1527. Citation from: Anna Skolimowska, Fikcyjne towarzystwo oźralców i opilców (*bibones et comedones*). Koniec mitu, in *Meander* 72, Warszawa 2017, p. 27.

60 *Ibid*; cf. M. Rożek, *Bibones et comedones*, *Kraków* 26, Kraków 1990, p. 32-36.

61 Roman Pollak, Wstęp, in Łukasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, vol. 1, ed. R. Pollak, Wrocław 2004, p. XLIII, LXVI.

European and Polish literature, but absent in the Italian original.⁶² The dialogue between the protagonists takes place at the villa of Bishop Samuel Maciejowski (called „the second Socrates” by Górnicki) in Biały Prądnik near Cracow, where he used to invite scholars and poets for banquets. The conversations last for days, and they are divided by eating time: they begin after dinner, and end before supper. As in the original version, participants discuss the manners of the ideal courtier:

I don't even mention such little things as the fact that the courtier should not be considered a great glutton or great drunkard or a master of wickedness; in his customs, his life, his eating, let him not be anything like a peasant (transl. DB).⁶³

Górnicki, however, changed some circumstances and issues. Among the banqueters there are no women, much like in the humanist court of Urbino (the author ascribes this to the poorer education of Polish women), and the conversation does not touch upon themes of art and music, because it was „a thing not very needed, which would be unsavoury for our Poles, who have recently acquired a *delicatum palatum*”.⁶⁴ Polish nobles did not devote themselves to art or craft, and in the intellectual field, literature and oratory were most highly valued.⁶⁵ It seems that culinary skills were not considered art. For this reason, it was impossible to create such artistic culinary associations as the Compagnia del Paiolo or Compagnia della Cazzuola in Florence, described by Giorgio Vasari, in Poland.⁶⁶

In *The Polish Courtier*, some philosophical musings on the pleasure of eating may be found. One of them indicates that pleasure cannot be found without a real need to be satisfied:

62 Jarosław Bedyniak, Dworzanin polski Łukasza Górnickiego wobec sympozjonu literackiego. Charakterystyka gatunkowa, in *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich*, LVII z.1, p. 213-233. This type of genre, based on Platonic *symposium*, was used before by Boccaccio (*Filiccolo, Decamerone*), Erasm of Rotterdam (*Colloquia familiaria*) and Mistrz Wincenty (*Kronika polska*).

63 Łukasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, Księga Wtóra Dworzanina, https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Dworzanin/Księga_Wtóra_Dworzanina.

64 *Idem*, *Dworzanin polski*, Pirwsza Księga Dworzanina, https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Dworzanin/Pirwsza_Księga_Dworzanina.

65 In Italy women (princesses, court ladies, courtesans) participated in discussion, cf. R. Pollak, *op. cit.*, p. XII.

66 Paolo Torriti, Argenti, vetri, maioliche: la cerimonia del convito nella Toscana del Rinascimento, tra etichetta e ritualità, in *Annali Aretini* 13, Arezzo 2005, p. 176.

Everybody sees that that no pleasure is delightful, if it is not preceded by unpleasantness. Who can enjoy rest without having before worked? Who can taste food, drink, sleep, without having first felt hunger, thirst or somnolence?⁶⁷

The thought is inspired by Plato's *Phaedo*; however, it could be compared with Epicurus' *Letter to Menoeceus*, in which he says: „And often we consider pains superior to pleasures when submission to the pains for a long time brings us as a consequence a greater pleasure”⁶⁸. A similar thought is expressed by Democritus (B233): „If you step over the due measure (μέτρον), the most agreeable things will become most disagreeable”⁶⁹. One of the banqueters says at another point that the human soul consists of lust and reason. In childhood, lust (bodily needs) should be satisfied first, but not due to lust itself, but rather for the soul and reason which appear later, during the educational process.⁷⁰ The discussion from *The Polish Courtiers* also touches this problem:

“...tell us, Your grace, what care is to be around the body, because you order us to think about it, rather than of the soul”. Mr. [Stanisław] Wapo-wski answered laughing: “Ask those, your Grace, who, after being educated in pleasure, gained weight well. Because my body, as you see me, is not too greasy. In fact, it could be said about [...] exercises and hiding sons from childhood to adulthood, so that the growth should be shapely, and health and strength” (transl. DB).⁷¹

Górnicki's awareness of ancient symposia illucidates his mention of Ficino's translation of Plato. The thought can be easily compared with previously quoted poetry, which sees the possibility of consolation in the banquet:

67 Ł. Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, Wtóra Księga Dworzanina, https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Dworzanin/Księga_Wtóra_Dworzanina.

68 Cf. Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus*, transl. Robert Drew Hicks, <http://classics.mit.edu/Epicurus/menoec.html> Socrates says there, that Aesop would have composed a fable about how when Pleasure and Pain reconcile by god, who joined them together and from that time when somebody meets with either pleasure or pain, the other one soon follows (Plat. *Phaedo* 60b).

69 Democritus: „The good and the true are the same for all men; the pleasant differs for different people” (B. 69), cf. Monte Ransome Johnson, Democritus, *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism* 136, Detroit 2012, p. 262.

70 Cf. Democritus: „It is a child who desire without measure, but not a man” (B70).

71 Łukasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, Księga Czwarta Dworzanina, https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Dworzanin/Księga_Czwarta_Dworzanina.

Man is such by nature, that he desires joy and respite; for this reason people invented dance, banquets, races, and other fun to enjoy with their eyes (...) what the Philosophers who lived so severely were watching (...) and were looking for banquets to enjoy themselves. How many people are in the world, (...) everyone is seeking this way, this cure to comfort the distressed heart.⁷²

In conclusion, we can say that the humanist banquet was a new way of spending time at the table. The emergence of the Renaissance symposium could have been inspired by ancient texts which have been discovered and published between the 15th and 16th century. Some of them (Lucretius, Diogenes Laertius, Apicius, etc.) have revived the Epicurean category of *voluptas*, emphasizing the needs of the human body, and acknowledged the possibility of deriving pleasure from eating. Nevertheless, as proven in the analysis of the cited texts, all of these authors were advocates of moderation. They criticized drunkenness and gluttony (stereotypically present among both the nobility and the peasants). Sometimes Epicurean customs may have been misunderstood and confused with pure hedonism (which happened to Platina and Callimachus). Humanists' meetings, both in Italy and Poland, were partially modelled on ancient symposia, with their Socratic talks, as a cultural consequence of Marsilio Ficino's translation of Plato's *Symposium*. Humanistic societies, such as Sodalitas litteraria Vistulana, were developing their literary and research activity, mainly through wine meetings held in a carefully selected groups of friends (with openness to internationality and gender egalitarianism). Conversation and good company were more important here than food itself (Celtis). Nevertheless, humanistic banquets had also an Anacreontic, convivial character (Kochanowski's *Foricoenia*; the activity of Bibones et comedones). Wine, poetry and contact with trusted friends fulfilled the role of intellectual entertainment and were a remedy for sorrows.

72 *Idem, Dworzanin polski, Księga Wtóra Dworzanina*, https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Dworzanin/Księga_Wtóra_Dworzanina.

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SUMMARY

Humanist at the Table. On the Pleasure of Feasting in Polish Renaissance

Italian humanists' discoveries of ancient texts and printed editions of such ancient works as Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, Plato's *Symposium* or Apicius' *De re coquinaria* strongly influenced the renewal of the Epicurean category of pleasure (*voluptas*) and created a new approach to eating. Many Italian humanists began emphasizing bodily needs and stressed their importance. We can find these ideas in the works of Lorenzo Valla (*De voluptate*, 1431), Marsilio Ficino (*De voluptate*, 1457) or Bartolomeo Platina (the author of the first printed cookbook *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, ca. 1465-68) who recognized that food could be also consumed for pleasure. The phenomenon of the philosophical and literary banquet became common practice among Italian, and later also Polish, humanists. Such associations as the Roman Academy, Florentine Academy, or Polish Sodalitas litteraria Vistulana were the place of humanistic discussion, which was valued more than luxurious food. It is reflected in 16th-century Polish poetry (Filippo Buonaccorsi „Callimachus”, Conrad Celtis; Paweł z Krosna; Jan Dantyszczek „Dantiscus” and others) and philosophical treatises such as Mikołaj Rej's *Wizerunek własny*, 1558, inspired by Palingenius' *Zodiacus vitae*, or Łukasz Górnicki's *Dworzanin polski*, 1566, inspired by Baldassare Castiglione's *Il corteggiano*. The quoted authors recommend moderation in drinking and criticize Polish and German drunkenness. Dining with friends could also serve as remedy for *vanitas* or all kinds of sorrow, according to the tradition of Anacreontic and Horatian poetry. We can see it clearly in *Foricoenia* of Jan Kochanowski (1584), where the joy of drinking wine and singing at the table interweaves with reflection on the human condition and vanishing.

SAŽETAK

Humanist za stolom. O užitku jedenja u poljskoj renesansi

Na obnovu Epikurova koncepta *voluptas* i pristupa jedenju/uživanju u jelu snažno je utjecalo to što su talijanski humanisti otkrili i tiskali antičke tekstove, poput Lukrecijeva *De rerum natura*, Platonova *Symposium* ili Apicijeve *De re coquinaria*. Mnogi su talijanski humanisti počeli isticati potrebe tijela i naglašavati njihovu važnost. Te se ideje mogu pronaći u djelima autora Lorenza Valle (*De voluptate*, 1431), Marsilija Ficina (*De voluptate*, 1457) ili Bartolomea Platina (pisca prve tiskane kuharice *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, oko 1465. – 1468.), koji su zastupali stajalište da se hrana može konzumirati i iz razloga užitka. Fenomen filozofskog i književnoga banketa/gozbe postao je uobičajena praksa među talijanskim, a kasnije i među poljskim humanistima. Institucije poput Rimske akademije, Firentinske akademije ili poljske Sodalitas litteraria Vistulana postale su mjesto okupljanja humanista i akademskih rasprava koje su bile na većoj cijeni nego luksuzna hrana. Takvo se stajalište odražava u poljskoj poeziji 16. stoljeća (Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimachus, Conrad Celtis; Paweł z Krosna; Jan Dantyszek Dantiscus i drugi) i filozofskim rapravama poput *Wizerunek własny* Mikołaja Reja iz 1558., djela nadahnutoga Palingenijevim *Zodiacus vitae*, ili djela *Dworzanin polski* iz 1566. Łukasza Górnickog, čija je inspiracija bio *Il corteggiano* Baldassara Castiglionea. Citirani autori preporučaju umjereno uživanje u piću i kritiziraju poljsku i germansku navadu pijančevanja. Uživanje u jelu s prijateljima može poslužiti i kao lijek za *vanitas*, ali i protiv svih oblika tuge, sukladno tradiciji Anakreon-tova i Horacijeva pjesništva. To se jasno vidi u *Foricoenia* Jana Kochanowskog (1584), gdje se uživanje u vinu i pjesmi za gozbenim stolom izmjenjuje s refleksijama o ljudskoj prolaznosti.

Ključne riječi: humanistički banket, *convivium*, *symposium*, epikureizam, užitak, jedenje