Utrecht University

Instruction and Induction: Students' Identity Construction through the 15th-century *Manuale Scholarium*

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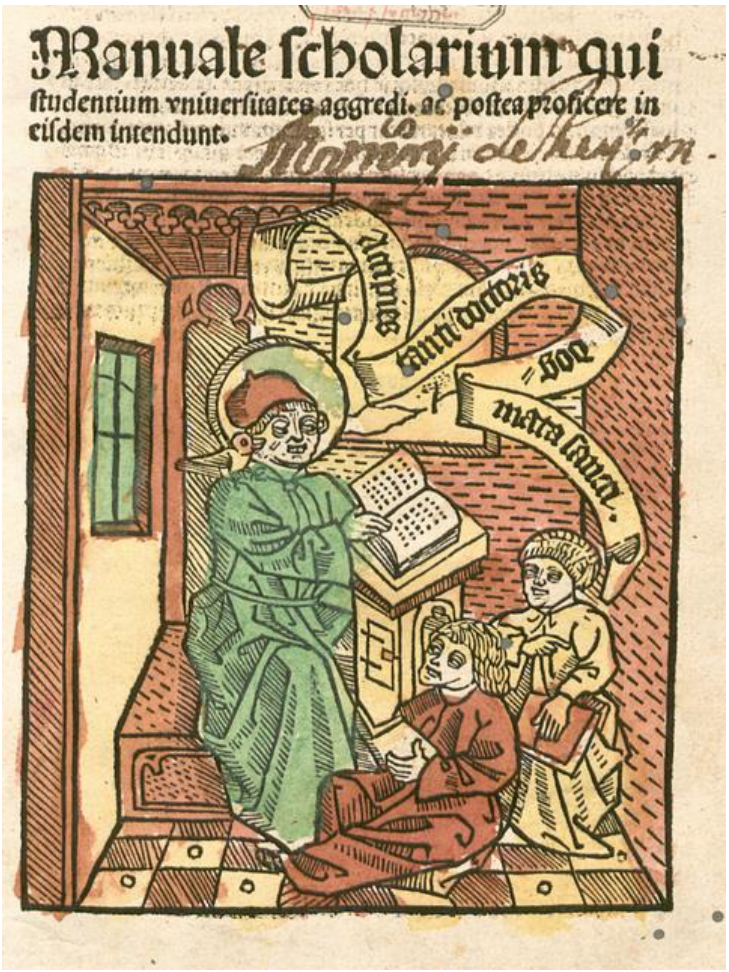

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ABSTRACT

The late 15th-century *Manuale Scholarium* has long been regarded as merely a Latin phrasebook for new scholars at the University of Heidelberg, as it guides students on how to converse in various academic and personal interactions. This thesis seeks to challenge that view, arguing instead that the *Manuale* functions as an active agent in constructing the identity of its readers – future scholars. How does the *Manuale Scholarium* go beyond being a simple Latin conversational guide to actively shape the personal and collective identities of its audience? To answer this, I examine eight aspects of the text: What can its dissemination reveal about its audience and the "imagined community" of medieval scholars? How did its structure as a manual and a dialogue influence the reader's perception? How did its use of Latin, vocabulary, and diction contribute to identity formation? Finally, are there dramatic and ritualistic elements that might have influenced the reader's experience, and if so, how? With these questions in mind, I delve into the fascinating and surprisingly relatable world of Camillus and Bartoldus, the two student interlocutors, to understand how the text's qualities shaped the reader's experience and identity. This research highlights how the *Manuale* transitions from language instruction to the induction of the new scholar into a new identity and community, offering not just education but transformation.

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Frontispiece: woodcut from Heinrich Quentell's edition of the *Manuale Scholarium* in Cologne, ca. 1491. Now at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

As if they had awoken yesterday from a slumber of four centuries.

– Gerhard Ritter

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Research Question

"I may say that all the lodgings are full"

"I fell asleep in class"

"Shall we take a walk and rest our minds?"

"I'll tell my parents to send me more money"

"To Arnold's house, where we'll have some good cheer.
Beautiful women and handsome girls will be there"

"There's no need of your being so afraid.
There'll be much more ignorant ones in the examination"[1]

These phrases might sound – too – familiar. Little did Bartoldus and Camillus know that, after five hundred years, their worries would still resonate with their modern counterparts. Their lives are strikingly similar to those of contemporary students; just as today's students at Utrecht University enjoy cycling along the city's canals, medieval students in Heidelberg spent their free time wandering by the River Neckar; they, too struggled to stay awake during the long lectures after a fun night and dealt with the stress of finding accommodation when moving to a new town to study. They experienced the same emotions, both the highs and the lows, that we now consider our unique concerns. Most importantly, they went through a personal and educational journey leading to

[1] I have chosen to include the English translations from Seybolt's *The Manuale Scholarium* in my thesis to enhance comprehension and flow. For easy juxtaposition with the Latin text, I reference Zarncke's edition by page and line number, formatted as: Zarncke, page, line(s) / next page, line(s) etc. In case the passage is extensive or the content spans across a chapter, I cite the page or page range in the format: Zarncke, page(s) / next page(s) etc.
For the introductory quotes: Zarncke, 21, 13 / 25, 13 / 17, 20 / 27, 21 / 37, 34 / 26, 30.

growth and transformation. And like us, they embraced the privileges and faced the responsibilities that come with the role of the student, which they performed daily.

The phrases above, manifestations of student identity, are derived from a late 15th-century Latin conversational handbook for freshmen, the *Manuale Scholarium*, or "Manual for Scholars".[2] My thesis is centred on this handbook and endeavours to challenge the prevailing scholarly view of it as a mere Latin phrasebook for new students. How does the *Manuale* exceed mere language instruction and actively shape its readers' personal and collective identities? In this thesis, I will try to answer this question by examining the text's dissemination, form, language, and content.

0.2 Theoretical Framework, Methodology, and Chapter Overview

The main approach I employed in my thesis is the standard tool of a literary historian, close reading, an analysis of the text's structure, language, and topics running through the separate chapters. While browsing the text for the first time, I was captivated by its vividness. Therefore, I delved into the field of Performance Studies and the broadly applicable theory of performativity, as conceptualised by the performance theorist Richard Schechner.[3] Performativity penetrates my entire thesis, complementing the other approaches I have used.[4] By implementing this framework, I aim to offer fresh insights into this medieval text and contribute to the ongoing "performative turn" within the Humanities.[5]

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[2] Zarncke, *Die Deutschen Universitaten Im Mittelalter*, 1-48.
[3] Schechner, *Performance Theory*.
[4] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 231.
[5] Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 1559.

Schechner extends the notion of performance from traditional drama to an infinite range of human activities, including professions, rituals and daily life roles.[6] He argues that every social activity can be seen as a "showing of a doing" and, therefore, social realities, including identity, are constructed and all behaviour is codified or "restored".[7] The idea that individuals perform their roles in everyday life social establishments is further explored by the sociologist Erving Goffman in his work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Goffman defines social establishments as "any place surrounded by fixed perceptual boundaries in which a particular kind of activity regularly takes place … by a team of performers who cooperate to present a given definition of the situation", a notion which I believe corresponds to the university as an institution and ideal.[8] Therefore, students can be seen as performers of their student identity within the scholarly community. For the concept of identity construction through performance, I further drew upon Judith Butler's argument that identity is not something one *is* but something one *does*, and it is created through "sustained social performances".[9] I must mention, however, that her work pertains to gender, and it was my personal choice to apply it to another part of a person's identity.

In the first chapter, I delved into the *Manuale*'s creation and transmission. To ascertain its dissemination and popularity, I consulted the existing literature and online databases such as the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* and studied various digitized editions.[10] After researching the text's publishers, I mapped out its early publication journey and determined the audience this path implies, questioning how its printed form and its publishers' connections could have influenced this audience's personal and collective identity formation. For this reason, I utilized basic

[6] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 1-9.
[7] ibid, 273.
[8] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 152-156.
[9] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 191-192.
[10] See ISTC: https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search?query=manuale+scholarium&from=0, accessed 27/08/2024.

principles of the concept of Imagined Communities, introduced by the political scientist Benedict Anderson. This framework analyses nations as political communities, whose fellow members are characterized by "simultaneous but separate existence" since they will probably never meet each other; however, they are linked through the construction of shared imageries, narratives and symbols.[11] Therefore, I viewed scholars attending universities in the German-speaking region during the late 15th century as an imagined intellectual community.

In my second chapter, I examined the *Manuale*'s structure as both a manual and a dialogue, investigated its literary context, and assessed how its format may have influenced readers' perception and identity construction. My focus, however, was on the text as a final product and not how the author intended it to be perceived, guided by literary theorist Roland Barthes' concept of the "death of the author", which negates "explaining" a text through the author's life and intentions. By adopting his statement that a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination – the reader – I could also overcome the incongruity of the first and last chapters of the *Manuale*, which I will explore further in the relevant section.[12]

I used the same principle in the next section of my thesis, which focuses on *Manuale*'s – imperfect – Latin language, its vocabulary and diction, especially the use of grammatical persons and sentence types. Barthes asserts that in writing it is the language which speaks, not the author; language "performs", containing the act within its structure.[13] This aligns with language philosopher J.L. Austin's notion of "performative utterances", whose content is the act of the enunciation per se.[14] The dialogue form of the *Manuale* allows us to step into the trending field of

[11] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 25-33.
[12] Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 142-148.
[13] Ibid, 143-146.
[14] Austin, *How to do things with words*, 5-8.

pragmatics and "discourse analysis" – discourse defined as "language in use".[15] Therefore, I combined Austin's language performativity with his student and philosopher John Searle's theory of "speech acts" and linguist Roman Jakobson's functions of language to examine the sentence types of the text.[16] To support collective identity formation, I further integrated sociologist Peter Berger's statement that language constructs shared social reality and identity.[17]

Beyond Austin's performative utterances, "performative" is also used as an adjective denoting performance-like qualities.[18] Schechner suggests that "everything can be studied "as" performance" simply by asking dramaturgical questions.[19] To apply this questioning to *Manuale*, in chapter 6, I examined whether it possesses Aristotle's 6 elements of drama as outlined in his *Poetics*: *mythos*, *opsis*, *melos*, *lexis*, *ethos* and *dianoia*.[20] For the *opsis* and *melos,* I implemented theatrologist Tadeusz Kowzan's model of visual and auditive theatrical signs.[21] This analysis helped me understand the text's active and formative influence on readers through its performative aspects.

Finally, in chapter 7 I explore the text through the lens of rituals, closely intertwined with Performance Studies, described as events that have the power to change people.[22] The *Manuale* includes several such ceremonies, particularly the freshman's initiation. My view was guided by the ethnologist Arnold van Gennep's "rites of passage" and their stages of transformation.[23] The

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[15] Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 1488.
[16] Searle, *Speech acts*, 22-24.
Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, 357.
[17] Berger, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 50-61.
[18] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 231.
[19] Ibid, 12.
[20] Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies*, 70.
[21] Ibid, 82.
[22] Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 56.
[23] Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*.

middle one, liminality, has been explored and defined by the anthropologist Victor Turner as the transitional phase between two states of being.[24] A gap identified in Medieval Studies, which this thesis aims to address, is the lack of application of rituals and liminality to education, despite their use in many other contexts.[25] In the epilogue, I propose a new perspective on the *Manuale* and its impact on the readers' identity formation.

0.3 The *Manuale Scholarium* and its Context

0.3.1 Medieval Universities

The modern university is a long-standing medieval invention and one of the most important European legacies of the Middle Ages.[26] The intellectual context in which the university was born was the 12th-century revitalization of learning, marked by the rediscovery of ancient knowledge found in the works of Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy and Greek physicians, transmitted through their Arab translations from Spain, alongside Roman law texts that had also been obscured during the Dark Ages.[27] Education until the 11th century was associated with the environment of monasteries in the West, which were the primary centres of intellectual activity in the Early Middle Ages. The activities of these monasteries, which aligned with the endeavours of the 9th-century Carolingian scholarly revival, included preserving and copying manuscripts, maintaining libraries of religious and secular texts, and focusing on the unbroken transmission of knowledge and pursuit of wisdom through disciplined study.[28]

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[24] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 94-97.
[25] Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 1505-1507, 1561.
[26] Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*, 339.
[27] Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, 4-5.
[28] Bowen, *A History of Western Education Vol. 2*, 12-16.

Around the 11th century, cathedral schools began to appear in addition to the existing monastic schools; they offered a wider education and were associated with flourishing urban centres and burgeoning intellectual and economic activity. The masters' reputation orchestrated the popularity and success of the school as well as the content of instruction, which, as the 12th century advanced, became more practically and professionally oriented, in order to educate lawyers, masters, and clerics for the demands of the increasingly complex church and state bureaucracies.[29]

Universities held – and still hold – the authority to grant diplomas as proof of one's qualifications in a certain domain of education.[30] Although universities were also identified with buildings, the association with the physical institution only emerged in the 15th century. The term *universitas* was originally used in the 13th century to describe the "corporate body of teachers and/or students".[31] This definition implies how universities initially began as associations of scholars, an equivalent to craft guilds in the commercial world of growing cities.[32] The "and/or" in the definition hints at the main difference between the two university archetypes, Bologna and Paris. Universities originated in Italy, with Bologna being the first to provide the fundamental organizational structure.[33] Italian universities were student-governed, whereas in Paris authority belonged to the associations of masters.[34]

Universitas was interchangeable with the term *studium generale*; *studium* originally meant the zeal associated with intellectual activity, while *generale* referred either to the institution's open-access character for students from all regions, its acknowledgement by a generally accepted authority –

[29] ibid, 105-108.
[30] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages Vol.1*, 11.
[31] Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, 141-147.
[32] Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, 8.
[33] Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, 11.
[34] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 6.

the pope or the emperor – or the international nature of its curriculum.[35] The momentum incited by Bologna and Paris led to the foundation of multiple schools, creating rivalries between them and necessitating a firmer definition of a university's essence, requirements, and privileges, such as the power to grant the *jus ubique docendi*, the "license to teach everywhere", to its graduates.[36]

Papal privileges and benefices were an integral part of the institution's operation; therefore, the Great Schism of 1378 and the subsequent support of rival popes affected the foundation of universities. The superregional student attraction of the older Italian and French Universities waned in favour of the establishment of smaller-scale institutions tailored to particular regional interests.[37] For this, the Schism marks the transition point from the "universal" to the "national" era in university history.[38] In 1383, masters and students of the English-German nation left Paris to establish what would later become renowned German universities.[39]

Universities in the German-speaking part of Europe emerged relatively late, after their Italian, French, English, and Iberian counterparts, and appeared in two waves. The University of Heidelberg, which is the *Manuale*'s setting, belonged to the first wave, the third to have been founded in the Empire, making it the oldest university in modern Germany.[40] The town belonged to the imperial state of the Electoral Palatinate of the Holy Roman Empire, which was a patchwork of constituent states. By 1500, the University of Heidelberg stood among a network of a considerable number of German Universities, namely those of Prague, Vienna, Erfurt, Cologne, Würzburg, Leipzig, Rostock, Louvain, Trier, Greifswald, Freiburg, Basle, Ingolstadt, Mainz, and

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[35] Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, 147.
[36] Rait, *Life in the Medieval University*, 7.
[37] Schuh, "Universities in the Holy Roman Empire", 884-885.
[38] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 253.
[39] Ibid, 288-289.
[40] Schuh, "Universities in the Holy Roman Empire", 885.

Tübingen, in chronological order.[41] With the help of Marsilius of Inghen, one of the pioneers who had fled from Paris a couple of years before, Elector Palatine Ruprecht I founded the *studium generale* of Heidelberg in 1386, recognized by the papal bull of Pope Urban VI. Similar to all German Universities, the institution was a confessed imitation of Paris and adopted its statutes.[42] German universities were very systematic in record-keeping, providing us with thorough documentation, vital to contextualize the *Manuale*.[43]

0.3.2 Contents and Student Life

The *Manuale Scholarium* consists of 18 chapters, 17 in dialogue form.[44] In the 1st chapter, an anonymous new student from Ulm, eager for his upcoming matriculation, receives advice and protection from a master of Heidelberg University. To become a student, one had to attach to a particular master.[45] Prominent figures played a vital role in institutions' attraction.[46] For young men studying at the university was a great opportunity for social and professional advancement. The growing appeal of university education in the late Middle Ages was especially evident among various towns' merchant and craftsman professions, such as the shoemaker families of Heidelberg.[47] The boys' university adventure began with a series of formalities, starting with matriculation, usually at the age of 14, which was the minimum age for taking the oath of

[41] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 62-68.
[42] Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*, 345-350.
[43] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages Vol. 2*, 333.
[44] To facilitate navigation, I have provided a table of contents for the *Manuale*, including all its chapter titles in Latin and English, in Appendix A.
[45] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 23.
[46] Bowen, *A History of Western Education Vol. 2*, 105.
[47] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 203-209.

admission; the oath-taking process, similar to the university system, was characterized by inequality based on the individual's social status.[48]

After swearing, paying the fees, and registering, the newcomers had to endure the rough custom of initiation. In chapter 2 of the *Manuale*, Camillus and Bartoldus, two students at Heidelberg and the book's main characters, perform the initiation of a freshman. This account is considered the oldest known description of medieval hazing and constitutes the primary factor of the text's popularity among modern writers.[49] In central Europe, this ceremony was called *depositio cornuum*, "taking off the horns", since the freshman, called the *beanus*, the 'yellow bill', dressed as a beast with horns, was bullied and purged to be accepted into the civilized scholarly community. Particularly in Germany, the custom later developed into a more violent version, known as pennalism.[50]

After this initiation, the new students began their educational journey. The duration of their studies, the level they reached, and the attainment of degrees – bachelor's, master's, and doctorate – varied according to each student's ambitions, social background, financial means, and networking. Starting from the faculty of arts, as a general rule, they could then move on to the higher faculties of law, theology, or medicine. To graduate, they had to complete a series of mandatory courses.[51] In chapter 3, Bartoldus instructs Camillus on the lectures, exercises, and disputations they must attend to obtain the bachelor's degree. The lessons, based on the importance of their subject, were divided into "ordinary", given by the professor in the morning, and "extraordinary", usually

[48] Ibid, 183-185.
[49] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 9.
[50] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages Vol. 3*, 381.
[51] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 196-200.

presented by a bachelor in the afternoon. Their aim was the transmission of inherited knowledge and the commentary of authoritative books by revered authors.[52]

The content of the university curriculum was the outcome of the gradual broadening of the subjects taught in monastic and later in cathedral schools.[53] The cornerstone of the Arts curriculum was the Seven Liberal Arts – consisting of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, logic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy) – with the 13th-century addition of the three philosophies – natural, moral, and metaphysical – chiefly based on Aristotle's respective works.[54] To memorize and reflect on the material, students participated in evening exercises and repetition work, often within their master's circle, a form of collective training still used today.[55] Finally, disputations were the more interactive part of instruction and consisted of debates on questions with a definitive resolution. These debates allowed students to employ rational thought and apply the scholastic philosophy.[56]

Although the general way of teaching was standard, opposing intellectual trends, such as the 14th-century debate of nominalism, or *via moderna*, and realism, or *via antiqua*, often called for students to choose sides.[57] This controversy about the nature of universals as mere names or real entities and the respective different ways of teaching even led to the separation of faculties at the University of Heidelberg.[58] However, in 1452 both methods were given equal status.[59] In chapter 4 of the *Manuale*, Bart and Cam discuss arguments and representatives of each doctrine, while in chapter 5 they contemplate the benefit of studying poetry and the prerequisites for attending the

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[52] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 232.
[53] Curtius, *European Literature*, 54.
[54] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 308-315.
[55] Ibid, 233.
[56] Bowen, *A History of Western Education Vol. 2*, 143.
[57] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 231-232.
[58] Ibid, 332.
[59] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 40, note 1.

law faculty. The high fees and expense of books imposed a great financial burden on the already strained budget required by students and their families for university studies.[60] The omnipresent problem of lack of finances is repeatedly expressed in students' letters home requesting money.[61] Existing facilities and protection for poor students did not seem to alleviate the problem.[62] To support themselves, students often worked as scribes, secretaries, servants, cooks, or even beggars.[63]

In chapter 6, the students forget their problems and enjoy a walk on the fields of Heidelberg. Students, in their spare time, as well as on Sundays and holidays, indulged in a variety of social events, such as dances, plays, gambling, and drinking.[64] Extracurricular activities that went beyond acceptable limits occasionally led to confrontations both with town residents, a rivalry known as "town and gown", and with each other, which sometimes escalated into armed "student wars" like in Heidelberg in 1422. The cohabitation of so many adolescent students necessitated regulations ranging from clothing to table manners, enforced by a system of severe fines.[65] In the Holy Roman Empire, student life was more strictly and centrally regulated than anywhere else, as evidenced by the surviving statutes showing a gradual tightening of rules from the 14th to the 16th century.[66] To prevent students from indulging in distractions, German universities tended to provide afternoon lectures, even on festival days.[67]

In chapter 7, the students discuss their backgrounds and the stressful issue of student accommodation, one of the most troublesome issues in university towns. Students either rented

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[60] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 235-236.
[61] Haskins, "The Life of Medieval Students", 208.
[62] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 209.
[63] Ibid, 241.
[64] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages Vol. 3*, 419-422.
[65] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 225-227.
[66] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 3*, 372.
[67] Ibid, 423.

private rooms or lived communally in a university-supervised student house typically run by an arts master.[68] Colleges, originally founded as hospices addressing housing needs, gradually evolved into independent centres of academic life and even absorbed some university activities. Colleges eventually outweighed nations, which were self-governed student associations based on geographic origin, namely those of France, Picardy, Normandy, and England in the arts faculty of Paris.[69] Political conflicts, the Hundred Year's War, and especially the Great Schism of 1378 caused clashes between them.[70]

The *Manuale* features student quarrels, beginning in chapter 8, about table manners during mealtimes, and continuing in chapter 9, about book borrowing and reporting each other to university officials. In contrast, chapter 10 demonstrates the supportive side of student friendships, showing Bart comforting and advising Cam on his upcoming examinations. To obtain a degree, students had to pass the corresponding examination, which usually involved extra costs such as providing a banquet and offering incentives to the examiners.[71]

Relationships with university officials were often tense, as seen in chapter 11, where Cam vents over fines and Bart insists on obeying the statutes. One of the most challenging and frustrating regulations addressed in this chapter required students to use Latin exclusively in all academic and social interactions, with strict penalties for those slipping into their native tongues, enforced by a university official known as *lupus* or the "wolf".[72] Speaking, understanding, reading, and writing basic Latin was a prerequisite for enrollment in universities. To aid students, private tutoring and *paedagogia* were offered by the faculty of arts, along with instruction in Latin schools established

[68] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 218.
[69] Ibid, 114-116.
[70] Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities*, 19-20.
[71] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 239.
[72] Ibid, 227.

in various towns.[73] Additionally, freshmen were assisted by introductory booklets providing essential vocabulary and guidance for their new beginning.[74] The *Manuale* is believed to have been composed in response to this persistent linguistic nightmare, however, my thesis argues that its impact exceeded mere linguistic instruction.

In chapter 12, the students reflect on disputations and address casual subjects, such as student clothing. The academic gown, originating from the secular clergy's hooded cape, gradually acquired distinctive shapes and colours for each university faculty.[75] Moving on to chapter 13, the students discuss concerns like money lending, emotional support during difficult times, and the plague, recurrently devastated Europe between 1348 and 1450.[76]

In the next 3 chapters, the focus shifts to profane temptations; chapters 14 and 15 explore the topic of women and love, while chapter 16 addresses the commonplace of student idleness and the attendance of social events like tournaments in town. Decent behaviour was epitomized by avoiding contact with women, as reflected in the few married scholars – especially in northern Europe even around 1500 – and statutes prohibiting women from entering academic premises, except in roles like washerwomen, provided their character was blameless.[77] Wives or maids of professors, serving-maids, errand-girls, or cooks in colleges could legally be university associates, lust like male scribes, apothecaries, or book-printers.[78] The students' rebellious spirit, however, is evident in the literary tradition, particularly in 11th to 13th-century goliardic poetry and the *Carmina Burana*.[79]

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[73] Ibid, 177.
[74] Ibid, 180.
[75] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 139-140.
[76] Ibid, 188.
[77] Ibid, 225-228.
[78] Ibid, 202.
[79] Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediaeval History*, 352.

Finally, chapter 17, the last dialogue chapter, serves as a revision containing questions and answers addressing typical questions about the university's customs, while chapter 18 consists of letter models primarily for inviting professors to meals.

Judging from the scope of its contents, it is evident that the *Manuale* provides a complete survey of student life, ranging from formal to ordinary topics, making the text a valuable account of German university life in the Late Middle Ages.[80]

0.3.3 Literature Overview

The *Manuale Scholarium* was very popular at the time and could even be regarded as a "best-seller", as evidenced by the number of surviving printed copies, which I discuss in my chapter on dissemination.[81] I first encountered the *Manuale* in Hastings Rashdall's monumental work on Medieval Universities, where he used it to shed light on the rough custom of freshman initiation.[82] The text is also briefly mentioned in Charles Haskins' *The Rise of Universities* and in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens' *A History of the University in Europe* in their chapters on student life.[83] However, modern scholarship that refers to the text, let alone work that deals exclusively with it, is limited. Most researchers talk about it mostly in terms of "discovery".[84]

The text became widely known to the academic world through its first critical edition, which was published in 1857 by the German philologist Friedrich Zarncke in his book about Medieval

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[80] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 3*, 376.
[81] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 530.
[82] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 3*, 376-378.
[83] Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, 91.
Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 227.
[84] As in "found in his files", see Riché, *Manuale Scholarium*, 5.

German Universities.[85] In 1910, the British historian George Gordon Coulton rediscovered the text and incorporated an extract from the chapter of initiation – translated into English with the title "The freshman's ordeal" – in his anthology of medieval documents.[86] In 1921, Robert Francis Seybolt, an American professor of History of Education, composed an English translation of the entire *Manuale* based on Zarncke's edition.[87] In his notes, he added a great number of German university statutes to support and illustrate the content of the text. However, he did not provide a translation of the text's prologue but began directly with chapter 1.[88] In 1923, the German historian Gerhard Ritter investigated the *Manuale*'s dissemination and shed light on the hitherto unresolved issue of its *editio princeps* publisher.[89] The book's authorship was also briefly addressed by the American philologist Lillian Gay Berry in 1928.[90] In 2014, historian Pierre Riché produced a French translation of the *Manuale* and provided a detailed introduction about Heidelberg University.[91] Finally, in 2020, Umberto Volpini composed an Italian translation of the text.[92] For this thesis, I have based my analysis on Seybolt's English translation in parallel with Zarncke's Latin edition, and personally translated the latter's Latin prologue into English.[93]

The common characteristic in the existing literature is that, although all scholars acknowledge the special and intriguing character of the *Manuale*, offering a fascinating glance at medieval students' lives, they ultimately interpret it as a Latin conversational guide. However, when I first read the vivid text, I immediately saw it from a more dynamic perspective; apparently, the scholars

[85] Zarncke, *Die Deutschen Universitaten Im Mittelalter*, 1-48.
[86] Coulton, *A Medieval Garner*, 670-673.
[87] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 12.
[88] Ibid, 17.
[89] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 5-12.
[90] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 530.
[91] Riché, *Manuale Scholarium.*
[92] Volpini, *Manuale Scholarium*.
[93] See chapter 3 of my thesis.

mentioned also sensed this and could not help but sprinkle their works with hints suggesting a different reading. Zarncke describes that the *Manuale* was "mainly" intended to provide freshmen with a Latin vocabulary for all circumstances – the use of "mainly" indicates he attributed to it additional qualities.[94] Berry recognises the broader role of the *Manuale* as facilitating a "smooth entrance" into the University.[95] Moreover, while Haskins categorises the text as a conversational manual, he admits that it conveys excessive information, describing it as "an exceptional opportunity to combine instruction in Latin and discipline".[96]

These implications of a broader educational effect are blended with hints of dramaturgical terminology throughout the existing literature: Seybolt refers to the student interlocutors as *dramatis personae*.[97] Ritter subsumes the *Manuale* under the dramatic literature of the time and considers it "the most natural and moralizing" of all contemporary dialogues.[98] Finally, Riché indicates it could have been a play for the amusement of scholars.[99]

In my thesis, I have sought to address the limitations of the existing literature regarding the *Manuale*'s interpretation as a Latin phrasebook. While acknowledging its linguistic function, I have detected and analysed elements of the text that indicate it provided the reader with more than mere language instruction. In the following chapters, I demonstrate how the *Manuale Scholarium* managed to shape the readers' personal and collective identity as students.

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[94] See "hauptsächlich" in Zarncke, *Die Deutschen Universitaten Im Mittelalter*, ix.
[95] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 521.
[96] Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, 68-69.
[97] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 13.
[98] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 5-8.
[99] Riché, *Manuale Scholarium*, 28.

1. DISSEMINATION

1.1 Creation: author, publisher, date, and place

The authorship of the *Manuale Scholarium* remains unknown. The prevailing scholarly opinion supports its creation by a young contemporary bachelor or master aiming to provide a remedy for the university students' poor Latin.[100] Ritter describes the author as "a schoolboy with business spirit" with some connection to a printing office, and notices that his "naivety, mischief, and love for life" are evident in the text's language and tone.[101] Berry also supports this opinion, noting the text's student perspective and flawed language, which I analyse in the following chapter.[102]

In his critical edition, Zarncke examined several copies of the *Manuale* from the Munich Library, identifying two transmission families: A with 2 variations and B with 3. He based his edition on a group A exemplar, which he considered the oldest.[103] Both groups include the title; however, only group B copies feature the woodcut of *magister cum discipulis* on the title-page – which "imagines" a didactic situation – while group Aa lacks both woodcuts and the prologue that emphasised practice in Latin.[104] Since A is the oldest, for a while the text circulated with no hint directing readers' perception apart from the title itself, allowing it to be perceived as a broader educational manual for freshmen rather than a Latin conversational guide.

Zarncke eventually proposed 1480 as the year of the text's creation.[105] His key arguments include the reference to "our Prince Philippus" in chapter 11, which refers to Philip the Upright, Elector Palatine from 1476 to 1508, and a mention of a 1481 print from Strasbourg, narrowing the possible

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[100] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 530.
[101] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 5.
[102] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 528-529.
[103] Zarncke, *Die Deutschen Universitaten Im Mittelalter*, 221-223.
[104] Ibid, 226.
[105] Ibid, 224.

creation period to 1476-1481. Zarncke also suggests Conrad Dinckmut in Ulm as the *Manuale*'s first printer, based on the fact that the 1st chapter's student comes from Ulm. While he notices several references to Heidelberg locations, such as the river Neckar, the church of the Holy Ghost, and the gate of Saint James in chapters 3 and 6, he interprets them as the story's setting rather than evidence of the text's origin. To understand how Zarncke arrived at this conclusion, I researched Dinckmut and found that he was a printer and bookbinder in Ulm in 1476.[106] In her study of 15th-century printer-binder networks, Claire Bolton uses Dinckmut to demonstrate such connections; apparently, he did not publish such a text but collaborated with all the known German publishers of the *Manuale*.[107]

In 1923, Ritter further investigated the *Manuale*'s provenance.[108] By comparing all its known editions and its relationship to the suspiciously similar *Latina Ydeomata* by Paul Niavis, he argued that the supposed 1481 Strasburg print was a bibliographical forgery and that, in reality, the text's *editio princeps* emanated from the German printer Heinrich Knoblochtzer's press in Heidelberg in 1489-90 since all the anonymous editions can be traced back to this.[109] This edition indeed belongs to Zarncke's group A and includes the printer's mark that Zarncke encountered during his work. Thus, while Zarncke was incorrect in his hypothesis about the text's authorship, he correctly identified and used the text's oldest available version.

Heinrich Knoblochtzer printed a range of university books, including medieval authorities like Albertus Magnus, Donatus, and Thomas Aquinas, and classical ones like Cato and Isocrates, as

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[106] Voulliéme, *Die Deutschen Drucker Des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 167.
[107] Bolton, "Links between a Fifteenth-Century Printer and a Binder", 177.
[108] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 4-32.
[109] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 12.
For Heinrich Knoblochtzer's digitized prints, see: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00039878?page=5 and https://www.e-rara.ch/zuz/content/zoom/12755344, accessed 28/08/2024.

well as various texts on grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, law, vocabularies, and an interesting handbook for Latin teachers titled *Es tu scholaris?*[110] This, along with the fact that he studied at Heidelberg, not only paints a profile that could qualify him as the creator of the text but also suggests that he had valuable connections providing customers in university circles.[111]

Knoblochtzer's first printing office was in Strassburg, but financial problems forced him to relocate to Heidelberg in 1484. This is why his editions often feature a space- and cost-saving layout.[112] In his *Manuale* editions, however, this is only evident in the absence of woodcuts and the omission or unfinished state of decorated initials; financial growth probably allowed him to provide plenty of space in the margins, despite the handy size of the book of approximately 50 pages, reflecting its educational nature. For this thesis I will not delve into the physical characteristics of the editions, however, further research could benefit from a deeper investigation into the text's materiality and comparison with other editions.

1.2 Transmission and Audience

The advent of printing in late 15th-century Germany was transformative for the academic world, functioning as an "agent of change" by revolutionizing the circulation of ideas and fostering new relationships between "town and gown" in urban environments.[113] Professions related to books such as printers, booksellers, and bookbinders, collaborated closely or were supervised by the university.[114] Printing's role as the mass media of the time suggests the *Manuale* could reach and

[110] For Heinrich Knoblochtzer's printing activity see Berlin Staatsbibliothek's digital catalogue: https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/doPrint.asp?search=1&pop=&prfont=Mirage+WD&pr=Knoblochtzer&dop=&search.x=0&search.y=0&resultsize=10, accessed on 27/8/2024.
[111] Voulliéme, *Die Deutschen Drucker Des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 73-74.
[112] Hanke, *Heroes and Heroines*, 116.
[113] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 56.
[114] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 128.

influence a broad audience contemporarily, corresponding to what Benedict Anderson calls "imagining" or "simultaneous consumption" through individual reading.[115]

The ISTC records feature various *Manuale*'s incunabula from around 1490, enabling us to detect the text's first printers and fast dissemination.[116] The *Manuale*'s popularity is evident from its thirteen editions within a decade and the number of surviving copies, ranking it as a best-seller of its time.[117] Ritter attributes its rapid spread to the humanists' fight for pure Latinity, their criticism of traditional teaching, and their aim to tailor Latin to practical everyday use.[118] Following Heinrich Knoblochtzer in Heidelberg, the closest print is by Konrad Hist in Speyer, a town very close to Heidelberg.[119] Apart from these towns, the nearby university towns of Erfurt and Leipzig – locations mentioned in the text – likely provided a large market for the book.[120]

Next is Heinrich Quentell in Cologne, who also printed university books.[121] All group B copies are his, however, they are of little value for determining the original text since he reprinted it with "unbelievable carelessness" and confused the chapters.[122] Finally, the path leads to Deventer, to

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[115] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35-38.
[116] See ISTC: https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search?query=manuale+scholarium&from=0, accessed 27/08/2024.
[117] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 6.
[118] Ibid, 4.
[119] Ibid, 12.
For Speyer's digitized edition see: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00039879?page=4,5, accessed 27/08/2024.
[120] See Appendix B, map of medieval university towns.
For Erfurt and Leipzig see Zarncke, 13, 1-3 / 20, 2-5 / 45, 14.
[121] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 14.
For Heinrich Quentell's printing activity see:
https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/doPrint.asp?search=1&pop=&prfont=Mirage+WD&pr=Quentell&dop=&search.x=0&search.y=0&resultsize=10, accessed 28/08/2024.
For the digitized versions of Quentell's editions see the digital libraries of Berlin and Munich:
https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN838428339&view=overview-toc&PHYSID=PHYS_0006&DMDID=,
https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00039877?page=4,5,
https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00029989?page=4,5,
https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00029985?page=4,5, accessed 28/08/2024.
[122] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 13.

the printing offices of Richard Pafraet and Jacob van Breda.[123] The first moved there from Cologne and had connections with Alexander Hegius, rector of the Latin school of Deventer. Both printers specialized in schoolbooks, targeting the profitable local student audience.[124] The *Manuale*'s publication in the Dutch-speaking and cultural context of Deventer shows its broad applicability and its function as more than a linguistic guide.

Despite Riché's mention of a "manuscrit", no evidence of a manuscript exemplar has been found.[125] The only manuscript version I encountered, which most likely is a manuscript copy of the printed text, was Edinburgh MS210, a little-studied composite manuscript compiled by the monk Georg Herman in 1490 containing 18 texts on Latin grammar and vocabulary.[126] In this, the *Manuale* is bound alongside *Dialogus parvulis scholaribus ad latinum idioma perutilissimus*, the student dialogue that Paulus Niavis, the most fruitful specialist in this genre at the time, wrote in Leipzig before his anthology of *Latina Ydeomata*.[127] This brings us back to Ritter, who examined the texts' similarities and concluded that Knoblochtzer probably created the *Manuale* by copying Niavis' text, altering Leipzig to Heidelberg localities.[128] In any case, this adaptability supports *Manuale*'s relevance within the German regions where it circulated.

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[123] For Pafraet's editions see the ISTC records:
https://data.cerl.org/mei/02141752 and https://data.cerl.org/mei/02146023, accessed 28/08/2024.
For the rest of the editions see Liverpool University, Herzog August and British Library's digital catalogues:
https://liverpool.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991005132759707351&context=L&vid=44LIV_INST:44LIV_INST&lang=en&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Everything&query=any,contains,Manuale%20Scholarium&offset=0,
https://opac.lbs-braunschweig.gbv.de/DB=2/LNG=EN/CLK?IKT=12&TRM=557941776 ,
https://bll01.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma990023722360100000&context=L&vid=44BL_INST:BLL01&lang=en&search_scope=Not_BL_Suppress&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,Manuale%20scholarium&offset=0, accessed 28/08/2024.
[124] Dlabačová, *Vernacular Books and Their Readers*, 111-114.
[125] Riché, *Manuale Scholarium*, 26.
[126] For MS210 see University of Edinburgh Library Heritage Collections:
https://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/179945, accessed 10/09/2024.
The library was kind enough to send me scans of the manuscript, some of which I have included in Appendix C.
[127] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 15.
[128] Ibid, 23-24.

Conclusions

The evidence of its wide and rapid dissemination leads to the conclusion that the *Manuale* was conceived as a printed work and popularised within scholarly circles. This proves that the text circulated and was simultaneously consumed in German-speaking university towns and beyond, enabling its impact on the personal and collective identity formation of its intended audience – new scholars, as stated in its title.[129] Given that the university world was exclusively male, I thereon employ the pronoun "he" throughout the thesis to refer to the readers of the book, who could identify with the book's characters and perform the student identity it prescribes.[130]

[129] See Appendices A and B.
[130] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 202.

2. FORM

2.1 Manual

The *Manuale Scholarium*, as its name suggests, is composed in the form of a manual. Today, a manual is defined as "a book that gives you practical instructions on how to do something or how to use something".[131] In medieval Latin, the neuter form of the adjective *manualis, -is, -e* was also used to denote a "handbook, manual".[132] The manual was a prolific literary form from the 12th century onwards, reflecting the rise of scholasticism and the classification of knowledge.[133] Manuals' subjects ranged from rhetoric, law, liturgy, music, art – often containing images – to alchemy and medicine – describing ingredients and containing price tables – to humanists' letter-writing and travel guides allowing readers to "imitate" pilgrimages.[134] Penitential and confessional handbooks perfectly reflect the genre's brief and applicable nature, containing confessors' questions, sins' classification and corresponding penances and tariffs.[135]

An educational and moralizing yet practical and pragmatic manual genre that could be compared to the *Manuale* is that of courtesy books, which flourished in 13th-century Germany, guiding readers' table manners and conduct and focusing on the "formation of behavioural codes" through "concrete prescriptions". However, the *Manuale*'s distinct dialogue format exceeds mere prescription, as discussed in the following chapter.

Perhaps the most intriguing parallel I can draw is with medieval "mirrors" or *specula*, educational manuals for "future kings and princes", as the *Manuale* for future scholars. Alcuin, Charlemagne's

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[131] See https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/manual, accessed 23/07/2024.
[132] Niermeyer, *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, 646.
[133] Kwakkel, *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, 92.
[134] Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 778-2128.
[135] Ibid, 1968-1974.

teacher and the key figure of the Carolingian "renaissance", introduces the mirror metaphor: "The mirror allows us to see what the human being is and what it needs to do in life", suggesting his book to be used "quasi manualem", as a manual, "to learn what he should do or avoid doing", thus defining the genre.[136] Such "mirrors" developed into more practical government manuals on "how to acquire, perpetuate, and use power".[137]

The *Manuale* is part of the genre of student manuals, composed to set the stage for new scholars and regarded as valuable sources for reconstructing medieval student life, alongside student letters and poetry. There were 3 types of such handbooks: treatises of general advice, student dictionaries, and conversational manuals. Honourable mentions are *De disciplina scholarium* of the Pseudo-Boethius and the *Morale scolarium* of John of Garland. The *Manuale* belongs to the third category and is recognised as "the most interesting" of all. It is acknowledged that such manuals often approached manners manuals, due to the didactism of medieval texts; Haskins notes that, although the *Manuale* is supposed to follow a student from matriculation to graduation, it offers guidance on many subjects "quite unnecessary for either".[138]

Looking at its title, the *Manuale Scholarium* is a guide on how to be a scholar. As a guide, the book is innately designed to reach a large portion of its targeted audience: scholars "who propose to attend universities of students and to profit therein".[139] Moreover, the plural forms of *scholarium* and *universitates* suggest that the *Manuale* was directed to all scholars of undefined universities, underscoring its function in shaping the collective identity of the imagined community of medieval scholars where the book circulated, as explained in the previous chapter.

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[136] Ibid, 1931.
[137] Ibid, 1940.
[138] Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, 66-87.
[139] See Appendix A.

So, we discern early on that this type of book inherently aims to guide the reader's behaviour. Consequently, the reader picks up this handbook expecting to let his guard down and be guided on how to act and, ultimately, how to be, creating space for what Schechner calls "deconstruction" and "reconstruction" of his self-identity.[140] Therefore, the manual format supports readers' identity formation through the distinctive features embedded in this genre and the *Manuale*'s particular construction.

The division of the material into 18 chapters provides a clear, organised, and manageable framework for its presentation. This arrangement helps readers to absorb the content in a structured way and be guided through a logical progression of subjects: starting from the institutional – enrollment– and social –initiation– integration (chapters 1-2), moving on to the basics of navigating lectures, methods of teaching, and faculties (3-5), passing on to addressing informal social interactions in both pleasant and challenging situations (6-13), to dealing with distracting temptations and social events (14-16), and concluding with cultural integration (17) and providing some handy formal invitation prompts at the end of the book (18).[141]

Each chapter instructs the reader on "how to" respond to specific situations he will encounter during his university journey. This is evident in the chapter titles, most of which begin with "how": "How new students should address their masters, that they may be entered upon the register of the university, and initiated", "How the students talk about the exercises and lectures", "How they talk at table", "How they talk with one another when they intend to present themselves for examinations", "How they talk about the wolf and the statutes in the lodgings and colleges", "How the students talk about women when they are in the flame of love", "How one ought to reply when

[140] Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 321.
[141] See Appendix A.

questioned concerning the customs of the university", and "The manner of inviting distinguished persons to breakfast or collations".[142] All these "how-tos" reveal the text's applicable, thus performative, nature and underscore its role in instilling behaviours and shaping practices of academic life.

This approach denotes a hands-on mindset – as suggested by the adjective "manual", meaning "done with hands" – focusing on the content's application. The *Manuale* has real-world relevance since it addresses practical issues of academic life through short realistic scenarios, which I could compare to the *exempla* found in preachers' manuals.[143] As Berry notes, its author drew from contemporary themes, as evidenced in the statutes preserved from various universities of this period, such as the Leipzig regulations collection of 1490, which contains records aligning with nearly all subjects covered in the *Manuale*.[144] Seybolt's footnotes also include several such statutes. Therefore, presenting relevant information through realistic scenarios encourages role modelling and encourages the reader to actively engage and internalize information, passing from theory to practice, supporting his identity development.

Furthermore, the chapter-based structure allows incremental learning since each section is quite independent but adds to previous knowledge. For instance, when Cam admits he has not completed the required work to succeed in his examination, the text assumes that the reader is already familiar with the requirements for graduation as outlined by Bart in chapter 3.[145] Similarly, nominalism and realism are mentioned in chapters 7, 12 and 17 without any further explanation, as the debate on these two methods was thoroughly covered in chapter 4.[146]

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[142] See Appendix A.
[143] Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 1767.
[144] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 525.
[145] Zarncke, 10, 25-32 / 11, 1-2 / 26, 20-26.
[146] Ibid, 12-15 / 20, 20-21 / 32, 10 / 45, 2.

Moreover, the manual structure supports the gradual building of knowledge and skills, contributing to the reader's sense of increasing self-efficacy and identity reinforcement. Barthes describes performance as the "mastery of the narrative code", which we could identify as the reader's gradual mastery of the text's content.[147] This tangible experience of progress and achievement gives the reader a sort of mental checklist to tick off, which, in turn, increases motivation and offers a sense of completion and confidence as a competent emerging scholar. The frequent breaks in the text due to chapter changes also stimulate readers to assess and reflect on the information acquired and identify areas for improvement. Finally, I could argue that the manual's structured form mirrors the importance of discipline and focus on one's studies, as Bartoldus states: "The university demands one's unhampered strength".[148] This commitment to a structured study routine is about to become an integral part of the successful student's identity performance.

The principal concept of a manual is that there is a right way to do something; hence, the manual format implies that someone possessing the knowledge of "how to be a scholar" transmits it to the readers through this handbook, the alignment with which will signify their legitimacy in the academic community, fostering a sense of inclusion of individuals who understand how to behave, and exclusion of "outsiders", who don't. Cultural transmission involves perpetuating traditions and practices, such as academic rituals that mark milestones and reinforce students' sense of belonging. Beyond matriculation and examinations, the detailed directions that the *Manuale* provides for the freshman's initiation, combined with the text's wide distribution, suggest that it shaped how the ceremony was performed in the areas where the text circulated. I will delve into

[147] Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 142.
[148] Zarncke, 45, 36.

these ceremonies in my chapter on rituals. Familiarising readers with the academic structure and culture facilitates their integration and understanding of the expectations that come with their role.

Conclusions

In summary, the manual format of the *Manuale Scholarium* plays an essential role in readers' identity construction as emerging scholars since it provides a structured, engaging, and application-oriented learning experience. The manual's intrinsic character as a guide has a relaxing effect on the readers' defences, fostering a receptive mindset for instilling ideas and behaviours, while the chapter-based structure enhances comprehension and promotes incremental and reflective learning. By demonstrating the expected behaviours and "how-tos" of the student role, and given its popularity, the *Manuale* had the power to direct many similar identity performances simultaneously, thereby shaping both the personal and collective identity of scholars.

2.2 Dialogue

The 17 out of 18 chapters of the *Manuale* are crafted in the literary form of dialogue. The implementation of dialogue in a manual was not revolutionary for the time; there was a long tradition, originating in the Graeco-Roman world, the most famous examples being Plato's dialogues between Socrates and his students. And, "The way from student dictionary to student dialogue is short", as Haskins states.[149] In the Middle Ages, dialogue student handbooks mainly aimed to teach Latin vocabulary and grammar, such as in the early-medieval Alcuin's *Pippini*

[149] Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, 82.

regalis et nobilissimi iuvenis disputatio cum Albino scholastico, a question-and-answer type of dialogue between Alcuin and his pupil Prince Pepin, and Aelfric's *Colloquium*, a conversation between a master and several students about different crafts.[150]

However, these dialogues feature a clear hierarchy among the interlocutors, and the influx of information is one-sided; in Alcuin's dialogue, Pepin asks definition-seeking questions and his teacher provides terse answers, while in Aelfric, the master asks specific questions, and the students provide information on their crafts. What is distinctive and rare about the *Manuale* is that the interaction occurs solely between students – except for the opening chapter, which features a student and master conversation – who equally contribute to the conversation. The question-and-answer format is employed here, too, but it has evolved into a continuous, cohesive narrative, where the discussants respond both to each other's questions and responses, not just transition between topics.[151]

Dialogue is embedded in human nature.[152] So, incorporating the human element into a manual enhances its interactivity and makes the content feel more alive and engaging. The dialogue in the *Manuale* mimics real-life scenarios and potential conversations the student will encounter during his university experience. Hence, the reader is exposed to nearly all topics of scholarly and everyday student-life discourse and acquires a template for his own interactions. Both practical issues, such as the lack of money and the fullness of lodgings, and personal ones, such as losing one's parents or falling in love, are addressed in a straightforward and solution-oriented manner,

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[150] Ibid, 72-91.
For Alcuin's dialogue see *Documenta Catholica Omnia*: http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_0735-0804__Alcuinus__Pippini_Regalis_Et_Nobilissimi_Juvenis_Disputatio_Cum_Albino_Scholastico__MLT.pdf.html
For Aelfric's dialogue see Gem, *An Anglo-Saxon Abbot*, 183-195.
[151] Riché, *Manuale Scholarium*, 7.
[152] Berger, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 149.

helping the reader to mentally prepare for similar situations.[153] Therefore, the freshman reader appreciates the practical value of the text's examples for his life, effortlessly envisioning himself as part of the discourse, and mentally participating in the unfolding conversation. Through dialogue and the presence of response and feedback, the reader can place himself in the role of the student and picture how it will feel to be part of the scholarly community. Hence, a communal identity starts to develop before he even physically attends university.[154]

Since the protagonists are students, the situations and contents become significantly more identifiable and relevant to the reader. Additionally, the fact that the advice and feedback come from a fellow diminishes any resistance to rules that are being conveyed and would have sounded threatening and less digestible if presented in a strictly instructional manner. For example, when Cam is too lazy to attend lectures and considers lying he was present as an alternative, Bart reminds him that "If you want to be promoted, you can't avoid it" and calls him a "liar" for his intentions.[155] Afterwards, when Cam claims that he finds the lessons purposeless, Bart responds with "I suppose you don't pay attention".[156]

During their walk on the fields, Bart wants to swim in the river, but Cam warns him this is dangerous and "many have drowned in it", and, to discourage him more, he adds, "I suppose you've heard the report about a corpse found in the water a few days ago. That fellow took a chance".[157] In chapter 8, Cam and Bart hurry for breakfast because, if they are late, the others will laugh at them and "They'd have a good reason for doing so, for we haven't any excuse for not

[153] Zarncke, 17, 11 / 21, 13-35 / 34, 34 / 36, 13.
[154] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.
[155] Zarncke, 11, 26-29.
[156] Ibid, 30, 12-13.
[157] Ibid, 19, 1-2.

being at breakfast".[158] Later, Cam gets annoyed by Bart reporting him for using "the vulgar tongue"; however, the issue is resolved when Cam realizes his progress in Latin because of this reproach.[159] The matter recurs when Cam imprecates the "wolf" for charging him a fine for using the vernacular in the kitchen, but Bart calmly asserts, "It isn't an injustice, but rather the rule", emphasizing that since the respective statute has been published and he has been notified, he has no excuse.[160] Likewise, when Bart is summoned by the rector for wearing a stomacher and an open collar, Cam argues that "It isn't for us to judge what he does, but rather to obey the rules".[161] Therefore, the characters serve as proxies for the reader, voicing their own potential frustrations regarding common challenges. In this way, imparting rules and directing the behaviour of future students becomes subtle, smooth, and feels like mentorship.

Manuals can generally be dry and technical; introducing the narrative element of dialogue helps to sustain the reader's attention and makes the reading experience less monotonous. The introductory question "Shall we take a walk, Bart, and rest our minds?" in chapter 6 and the subsequent preparation, the experience of nature, and the closing line "Night is coming now, and the chimneys smoke. … Let's get up and go quickly", link the content with a specific narrative of a situation that very likely to arise during student life, thus making the information easier to be recalled.[162] Similarly, possible solutions to financial struggle are presented through the occasion of Camillus having a poor relative who wants to attend university.[163] Presenting the content in an *exemplum*-like format increases its memorability and relatability; this is vital for the future

[158] Ibid, 22, 7-8.
[159] Ibid, 25, 35 / 26, 9-11.
[160] Ibid, 28, 10-32 / 29, 1.
[161] Ibid, 31, 7-8.
[162] Ibid, 17, 20-21 / 19, 31.
[163] Ibid, 44, 12.

realization of the described acts and behaviours since identity performance is rooted in repetition and "restored behaviour".[164]

Furthermore, the dialogue format gives room for the presence of distinct voices; for instance, chapter 1, despite its title, "How students should address masters", includes not only the student's side but also the master's.[165] This approach creates a more fluid and realistic text and allows readers to follow a natural conversation rather than merely learning phrases by heart to address their professors.

Likewise, in the rest of the dialogue, both Bart and Cam have a unique voice in the text, helping to distinguish between their viewpoints and personalities, which I will explore in my chapter on *ethos*. Because each interlocutor represents a different perspective, the topics are discussed in a multifaceted way, resulting in a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. For instance, chapter 9 demonstrates how two different ways of thinking can both be right and justified: Cam scolds Bart for reporting him to the master instead of waking him up when he fell asleep in class and he calls him a "traitor"; Bart responds with "That's ingratitude!" and claims that this act would encourage him to take the lessons more seriously.[166] In many instances, each situation is reversed and presented from both sides: first Bart owes money to Cam, then Cam asks Bart to lend him three silver pennies; Bart is in sorrow because his parents died, then Cam is in trouble because the plague stroke his hometown; Bart falls in love and Cam lectures him, and immediately after Cam admires a girl's beauty and Bart calls him "weak".[167] This technique accentuates the reader's

[164] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 273.
[165] Zarncke, 3-4.
[166] Ibid, 25, 14-16.
[167] Ibid, 33, 19-20 / 34, 19-20 / 34, 34 / 35, 20-22 / 36, 13-36 / 38, 25-30.

awareness that analogous incidents can happen to them, thereby increasing the text's relatability and impact.

Moreover, the debate-like manner in which some controversial topics are discussed helps to expose different sides of an argument, leading readers to reflect critically on the topic and synthesize information. In chapter 7, the characters' consecutive utterances present two different ways to view the same fact, the exclusion of realists from the university of Erfurt "on account of quarrels; for disputes are stirred up, from which enmity arises and hatred is born. But to avoid disputes of this sort they think best to have one method only", contrasted with, "That isn't the right way; for if there were more than one method, the students would become keener, and more versed, and more ready in argument".[168] In chapter 4, the two opposing methods of nominalism and realism and their representatives, Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus, are the subject of such a debate; Cam, being more dogmatic and hot-tempered, completely rejects nominalism, while Bart points out the benefits of this method and tries to find a middle ground.[169] A similar debate occurs regarding the comedies of Terence and poetry overall, with Cam taking on the role of the defender this time.[170] Also, direct questions like "What of it?" and "What's your opinion?" motivate the reader to come up with an answer on his own.[171]

This active mental participation can help readers formulate their personal opinions, which will become an essential part of their future identity. Since, according to Butler, "identity is an effect of discursive practices" and "a stylized repetition of acts", opinions that are formulated in the mind of the reader while reading the book are likely to be repeated and consolidated while he is

[168] Ibid, 20, 24-29.
[169] Ibid, 12-15.
[170] Ibid, 15-17.
[171] Ibid, 12, 26 / 16, 29-30.

performing his student identity in the future.[172] Overall, the form of dialogue encourages readers to actively engage with the written text by thinking of responses, adapting lessons and information to their needs and contexts, or possibly by practicing aloud some of the answers given, or reciting the text to fellow students and asking for their opinions, thus building a sense of community. An indication of this is revision-like chapter 17, where the student is instructed on "How one ought to reply when questioned concerning the customs of the university".[173]

The form of dialogue allows the interlocutors to not only express and receive feedback on their opinions but also on their emotions. In contrast to Haskins' disappointing realization that "The medieval student … is an elusive person. He is numerous, he is noisy … but he meets us almost entirely in the mass, generic, and impersonal. The individual student remains silent and inexpressive", in the *Manuale*, the protagonists, although likely fictional, are anything but impersonal and expressionless.[174] In the course of the dialogue, the characters gradually reveal their emotions and concerns; Cam is bored and lazy to attend lectures and later he struggles with lack of money and the decision of which faculty to join, as well as with stress for his upcoming examinations; Bart feels lonely and in need of help, grieves the death of his parents, falls in love and recovers.[175] This illustrates the emotional rollercoaster of the university journey, making the text dynamic, impactful, and most importantly, relatable**.** The dialogue form can therefore act as emotional support for the reader, since it often provides guidance, reassurance, and encouragement from the master or fellow student directly to the reader, helping to alleviate his anxieties and foster a supportive community atmosphere. Phrases like "Do not fear. I shall protect you", "Every

[172] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 18 and 192.
[173] Zarncke, 44-46.
[174] Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, 72.
[175] Zarncke, 11, 24-27 / 16, 28-29 / 26, 19 / 21, 24 / 34, 34 / 36, 13-16.

beginning of anything is difficult, especially of the great things", "You'll be able to do it all right", "Put your trust in God, for those who hope in him have never been abandoned" can be found across the text.[176]

Finally, the dialogue form leaves space for humour, as in Bart's playful comment during deposition, "I'll preserve those teeth, and some time I'll put them on exhibition as something worth looking at", or his joke on Cam's lying about attendance, "Then you'll be a liar. But you have a healthy complexion, and the lie won't show on your face".[177] Humour also offers subtle social critique, as in Cam's line "I'll treat them handsomely" regarding the examiners' bribery.[178] Beyond making the text more memorable, entertaining, and approachable, humour eases the reader's integration into the intimidating academic world by breaking down the formality of expectations, reflecting on norms, and enhancing his adaptability and sense of shared experience.

2.2.1 Question & Answer

The Question-and-Answer (Q&A) format occupies a considerable part of the dialogue. This format not only creates tension and keeps the readers interested, but also makes the text interactive and encourages readers to think actively as they follow the conversation and anticipate responses. The amount of information a new student is called to digest via this booklet is large; the Q&A format enhances the accessibility and clarity of the material since it breaks down ideas and practices into manageable parts.

[176] Ibid, 4, 27 / 26, 6 / 27, 34 / 35, 14-15.
[177] Ibid, 8, 17-19 / 11, 28-29.
[178] Ibid, 27, 27.

For example, the information regarding university admission is divided into segments: “Reverend master, I beg you to help me to be registered”, “I shall take you to the rector immediately … be especially careful that you take the oath properly”, “Where do you intend to have your deposition?”, “Reverend master, I leave that to you”, “Do you like my sanctum?”, “Shall I invite more masters to be present?”, “Above all I ask that the collation be not made too expensive”, and “I will see to it that no one oversteps the bounds”.[179]

The initiation is also broken into chunks of back-and-forth exchange, enhancing the reader’s anticipation and making it easier for him to follow through the different steps: “What’s the stink?”, “We’ll see where this smell comes from”, “What do I find here? What sort of monster is this?”, “It’s actually a *beanus*”, “What are we to do with him, anyway?”, “First, I’ll get rid of his horns”, “What sort of ointment is it?”, “And then he’ll be shaved”, “Didn’t you get some pills?”, “In case he should die on our hands, it would be well for him to make a confession”, “But where did I lay my surplice?”, “This shall be your penance: for these and other sins, and your horrible offensive smell, you must refresh your masters with a generous dinner”.[180]

Additionally, the information on lectures and exercises is given in bits through Bart’s responses to Cam’s questions: “Bart, do you know how many lectures and exercises it’s necessary to complete for the bachelor’s degree?”, “How are they completed, do you know?”, “Tell me, which teachers shall we hear?”, Now what do you know about the exercises?”, and “What reviews shall we hear?”[181]

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[179] Ibid, 3-4.
[180] Ibid, 4-10.
[181] Ibid, 10, 25-29 / 11, 30-31 / 12, 2-6.

Furthermore, the flow of questions mirrors the natural pace and intuitive learning process of the reader, addressing actual queries that he might have. For instance, the solutions to the unavailability of lodgings are presented gradually, aligning with the way the reader would actually consider them: "I advise you to speak to the beadle of the university", "I'll do so, but where's the beadle's house?", "Have you never been in Heidelberg before?", "What! It'll be difficult for you to get a good lodging, unless you have the favour and recommendation of someone who is well known", "Please show me where there's a good lodging", "Do you see that corner house, decorated with paintings?", "Yes, I see it", "You may lodge there".[182] When Cam is afraid he will not pass his examinations, Bart comforts him and progressively advises him to consult his master, assume more courage and eventually bribe the examiners, until Cam devises the final plan: "I know what I'll do…I'll tell my parents to send my money…Before I enter the examination I'll make a collation, and invite the masters, whom I've offended at any time by word or deed, and I'll treat them handsomely".[183] Guidance is therefore provided step-by-step since characters have the chance to ask for clarification and elaboration, creating natural opportunities to explain new or difficult concepts, as in the following cases: "What true science do you mean?", "Bart, explain to me what advantage there is then in the method of the nominalists", "Explain to me what's the bother", "What do I hear? I don't understand this. What's this about women?" and "I don't quite understand this talk of yours. What are you driving at?"[184]

Furthermore, the frequent presence of questions of the style "Don't you know?" or "Haven't you heard?" evokes the reader's curiosity and makes him anticipate answers.[185] Any information

[182] Ibid, 21, 13-35.
[183] Ibid, 26-28.
[184] Ibid, 13, 12 / 13, 24-25 / 30, 13 / 36, 24-25 / 40, 1-2.
[185] Ibid, 13, 2 / 36, 26.

provided thereafter is attached to this made-up curiosity in his mind resulting in deeper understanding and better retention. Also, questions like "Where do you come from?", "Where are you going?" and "What are you going to do there?", and especially "Is the university getting along well?", "What method is popular?", "What do you say concerning the method of the *doctor magnus*, or the *doctor subtilis*?", "What do you say about expenses?", "My relative should be a servant to some master and so add something to his funds. What do you think of that?" and "What if you couldn't do better?" stimulate readers to pause, explore and articulate their own opinions.[186] By the end of each chapter, they are likely to have gained a clearer understanding of their personal values, strengths, aspirations, and, ultimately, academic identities. As Schechner states, "with awareness comes the ability to adjust your own actions" and "the more aware we are of what we, or others, are doing, the more those actions are 'performances'".[187]

The Q&A format also illustrates real-life problem-solving processes and equips freshman readers with skills and strategies for facing common problems, seeking help from professors and peers, fostering relationships, and resolving conflicts. Such skills are imparted in chapter 1, where the freshman approaches his professor and asks for assistance and protection, and particularly in chapters 8 and 9, which brim with quarrels about good manners at table, book borrowing, and reporting fellow students to authorities.[188] Also, chapter 13 addresses the sensitive matter of money borrowing and lending, an issue that students are almost certain to face during their academic life.[189] This skillset corresponds with Goffman's concept of the "front", which is defined as "the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual

[186] Ibid, 20, 1-11 / 44, 11-27 / 45, 4-34 / 46, 5-6.
[187] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 4.
[188] Zarncke, 3-4 / 22-26.
[189] Ibid, 33, 19-31.

during his performance", where performance is considered as "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers".[190] These practical, learning-by-example opportunities that the *Manuale* offers make it easier for new students to adapt its lessons to their identity performance.

Considering these examples, dialogue alone emerges as a method of problem resolution. The characters, despite their opposing viewpoints, always find a way out of the conflict "for the sake of that mutual friendship".[191] The university experience can be challenging and lonely, especially for boys who have left their hometowns; therefore, fellowship and community among scholars are essential. The dialogue per se, being an inherently non-solitary activity, provides ample examples that illustrate how students should be able to rely on one another and their masters for support: "Do not fear. I shall protect you" is the master's reassurance in chapter 1; later, Cam asks Bart, "Will you be my chum in that faculty?" When Bart responds negatively due to poverty, Cam replies, "What if we were to share our books?" and assures him, "Then I'll see to it that our companionship is never broken".[192]

Moreover, this dialogue models how students should approach their education in general. The text itself is illustrative of the process of knowledge construction through questioning, debate and challenge, and promotes curious, proactive and collaborative learning. The fact that Bart and Cam's characters are complementary, both in personality and knowledge, and throughout their discussions, they demand answers and push each other to their limits, serves as excellent practice and simulation of disputations as a vital part of medieval university education.

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[190] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 13.
[191] Zarncke, 33, 29-30.
[192] Ibid, 4, 27 / 17, 9-19.

Disputations are mentioned many times in the *Manuale*.[193] Disputations took up much of students' time and aimed at applying the material conveyed in the lectures, ensuring that the students could readily access texts and arguments; they were also an integral part of both the private and public examinations required for graduation. The most common type of scholarly disputation was the weekly *disputatio ordinaria*, where the master posed a *quaestio*, other masters and bachelors debated, and beginners mostly listened; the master would eventually synthesize the final resolution of the *casus*.[194] The debate on nominalism and realism in chapter 4 resembles this type of disputation: it begins with a statement and question "You praised this teacher to the sky, and yet he's a nominalist", and "What of it?"; then the participants present their respective arguments, and finally, Bart reaches a moderate combined conclusion: "Let's not judge these things. Let's agree with those who are wiser", applying Aristotle's teaching.[195] Disputations created a shared environment and fostered a collective sense of effort, contributing to the development of the community of scholars. This also pertains to the smaller-scale afternoon training sessions, the repetitions or *exercitia*, which took place in a closed circle in colleges, student hostels, or at the master's house, with the primary aim of practicing the use of Latin.[196]

Finally, the dialogue form also supports *Manuale*'s role as a Latin vocabulary, in the sense that it serves as an apprenticeship in the linguistic code of scholarly Latin, the mastery of which will mean the successful transition of the individual to his student identity, of which speaking Latin is an integral part. When read or incited, the first singular person, the direct tone of the dialogue and

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[193] Ibid, 12, 3 / 31-33 / 38, 19 / 47, 26.
[194] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 146 and 232.
[195] Zarncke, 12-15.
Aristotle stated, "We must partly investigate for ourselves, partly learn from other investigators … we must esteem both parties indeed, but follow the more accurate". See Weijers, *In Search of the Truth*, 141.
[196] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 232-233.

the existence of situational contexts help to impart the vocabulary and skills necessary for any academic discourse. This topic will be thoroughly examined in my next chapter.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the realistic and performative nature of the dialogue, along with its narrative and emotional depth, the presence of distinct voices, and the straightforward and interactive Q&A format, facilitates relatability, identification with the characters, and memorability of the contents. Ultimately, dialogue proves to be a powerful literary tool, transforming the book's instructional content into an engaging experience for readers, capable of shaping their self-perception and identity, as well as their sense of belonging in the scholarly community.

3. LANGUAGE

3.1 Latin

As mentioned, scholars consider the *Manuale Scholarium* a conversational guide. Indicatively, Haskins classifies the book under the 3rd category of student handbooks, "manuals of conversation".[197] Zarncke states that "the *Manuale* was mainly composed to provide freshmen with a Latin vocabulary for all circumstances".[198] Rashdall describes it as constituting a "repertoire of Latinity that a scholar would need for conversational purposes".[199] Berry titles her article "A Fifteenth-Century Guide to Latin Conversation for University Students".[200] Ritter concisely states that such booklets' role is to provide students with Latin phrases for all situations.[201] However, there are a couple of scholars who, although they interpret it as such, introduce it differently: Seybolt considers it "a lively account of certain aspects of life in the German universities" and R.C. Schwinges – who contributed to Symoens' volume – calls it "a kind of introduction to student life".[202]

Manuale's function as a Latin guide is supported by its prologue, praising Latin as the only worthful and legitimate language. I hereby provide my English translation of the prologue, as no work in the literature included one:

Although the discovery of sciences was varied and complex, however, when each one began to philosophize, he was mainly concerned with either the secrets of nature, or the quality of morals,

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[197] Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, 68-69.
[198] Zarncke, ix.
[199] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 3*, 378, note 3.
[200] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 520.
[201] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 9.
[202] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 11.
Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 227.

or the state, or even certain precepts which could lead to the path of virtue. But as these disciplines were written in multiple languages, several given in the language of the Greeks, and also composed according to the customs of the Arabs, and as among the Hebrews also a big part of doctrine was found, our ancestors thought that it was necessary, as most agreed that they should celebrate the praise of virtues in the same way, there should also be only one language which all these disciplines should be translated into and then be disseminated throughout the space of the universe. And so it was done, and this language was called Latin (and, I believe, it received this name from Latium, where Rome is) and over time all the sciences were translated into this language. It is this that the pursuers of the liberal arts cultivate, the juries direct, the theologians study, and that the listeners of all disciplines treasure as a gift from God. I believe that it cannot be acquired by nature alone or learnt through the arts, but it can be obtained with diligence through continuous use. Therefore, everyone who desires to acquire the precepts of the art of speech should see to converse in Latin frequently.

I want to highlight the final sentence of the prologue and my choice of the terms "art of speech" and "converse" to translate *dicendi* and *loquatur* respectively. Their subtle difference – *loquor* leans towards "discuss" rather than "declare" – reveals the conversational essence of the *Manuale*.[203] Hence, regular practice in Latin through everyday conversations, the template for which is provided by this handbook, aids the higher aim of mastering the art of speech, elevating the student to the level of a learned scholar.

[203] For the definitions see Lewis & Short Latin dictionary: https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aalphabetic+letter%3DD%3Aentry+group%3D32%3Aentry%3Ddico2 and https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aalphabetic+letter%3DL%3Aentry+group%3D31%3Aentry%3Dloquor, accessed 07/08/2024.

Although the medieval world was multilingual, Latin was undoubtedly the *lingua franca* and survived for centuries as the language of church, government, education, law, and diplomacy.[204] Knowledge of Latin was associated with inclusion into the socially elevated group of *literati*, with social connotations that most of those attending university wished to acquire.[205] In combination with other factors, such as family background and wealth, graduates of the university, especially those of middle social rank, seized the opportunity to climb up the social ladder and become members of the professional elite occupied with the "cure of souls, legal practice, governmental administration, medical care, and education".[206]

The *Manuale* demonstrates this situation in two instances within chapter 2: in the *beanus*' raging letter to his parents, enclosed in Bart's utterance, he whines that "they're so proud in the university that no one knows how to get along with them, and they speak such wonderful Latin that I don't know what they are talking about"; in the same utterance, he reproaches the freshman by saying "You don't answer, you only mumble; you don't speak Latin, but just stammer", emphasising that he, like a wild beast, cannot speak the only respectable language. This is a vital reason why he cannot still be rendered "a member of our fellowship". The freshman's inability to speak Latin could partially justify why his words and reactions during the deposition are conveyed only indirectly through Bart's and Cam's utterances.[207] Additionally, a clear distinction between those who speak Latin and those who don't is visible in Bart's statement, "Since we do so, I shouldn't see any difference, not to say between the *beani* and ourselves, but even between the laity and

[204] Curtius, *European Literature*, 26.
[205] Vaughn, *Teaching and Learning*, 14.
[206] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 22.
[207] Zarncke, 4-10.

ourselves, unless some pressure were brought to bear. Our speech would be as barren, as absurd, as nothing on earth".[208]

This statement underscores the centrality of proficiency in Latin as a constituent part of the student's identity and as a distinctive characteristic of the community of medieval scholars. Knowledge of Latin is regarded as a defining marker of scholarly identity that sets the boundary between educated men, on one side, and the laity, on the other. This contradiction fosters a sense of exclusivity among the members of the academic community, with Latin serving as their unifying code and distinguishing them from outsiders. As a result, the reader is presented with a portrayal of social hierarchy, having to choose which side he identifies or wishes to identify with. Therefore, the need to master Latin becomes more than an academic requirement; it is the key that will lead him to participation in the esteemed academic community, to an elevated social status, and enhancement of his own self-perception by no longer identifying with the unlearned.

Therefore, to effectively attend university, the new student should be in the position to read, write, speak, and understand basic Latin. For this purpose, grammar schools existed in towns where young boys received elementary instruction. In the German-speaking lands, these schools were usually supervised by the universities.[209] Additionally, the faculty of arts organised *paedagogia* which provided freshmen with the fundamental knowledge to successfully attend the courses. Finally, arts masters also offered private tuition to compensate for the varying levels of knowledge their students possessed, considering their diverse national backgrounds.[210]

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[208] Ibid, 28, 21-24.
[209] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 3*, 341-345.
[210] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 177.

However, the use of Latin in medieval universities was not confined to the lecture room; it was enforced by statute to all aspects of academic and social interactions. Students were not allowed to speak in their mother tongues, even if they attended the university of their hometown. This prosecution of vernaculars was overseen by some university officials-spies called *lupi*, the wolves, who summoned students and imposed fines.[211] This ubiquitous compulsory use of Latin posed a major inconvenience to students, whose fury was directed not only at the wolf but also at their fellow students, who frequently reported the *vulgarisantes*.[212]

Chapter 9 depicts this controversy, where reporting one another is listed among the common reasons for student quarrels. Here, Cam complains to Bart, "As soon as ever I let out something in the vulgar tongue, without stopping to think, you instantly report me" and Bart calmly responds, "It's the common rule that one report another for anything said in the vulgar tongue. Our friendship ought not to be crushed on that account". Cam agrees but cannot help expressing his exasperation, "But it's very troublesome, I should almost say, and annoying, not to talk in the vulgar tongue". Bart reassures him, "Every beginning of anything is difficult, especially of the great things; but custom and frequent repetition lessen the irksomeness", echoing the prologue's exhortation for regular practice. Cam, embodying the ideal reaction, eventually concedes, "I can hardly restrain myself at first when you report me; but when I consider my progress, then I have no grudge against you".[213]

The issue recurs when students discuss the wolf and statutes; Bart once again calms down the furious Cam by reminding him that "It isn't an injustice, but rather the rule. Don't be surprised

[211] Ibid, 227.
[212] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 66, note 4.
[213] Zarncke, 25-26.

that you've been reported so often; he could have reported you a hundred times. To tell the truth, I haven't heard a single word from you in Latin for a whole week." Cam protests, "Really it's too much to report so often. And what annoys me more, I've been caught four times in the kitchen, and they demand a fine from me", but Bart, based on the published statute, concludes, "Then you're to blame. You have no excuse."[214]

These interactions illustrate the tension between the students' resistance and adherence to rules, mirroring the struggle new scholars are about to face, and educating them on the proper behaviours. The compulsory use of Latin is a common challenge for students and causes shared frustration. The readers, therefore, sympathise with Cam, the complaining student, and feel represented, relieved, and included through his outbursts, reinforcing their sense of belonging. However, this also happens with Bart's remarks, which repeatedly stress that the rules are valid for all. The fact that the opposing view does not come from an authority but is equally voiced by a fellow student helps to lower the readers' defences, making their adaptation to university rules and the performance of their student identities more effortless.

In conclusion, viewing the *Manuale* as a handbook for mere language instruction is limited. Instead, I consider Latin to be just one of the many aspects of student identity this book conveys. Latin, however, is far more than a linguistic skill: attending university is intrinsically tied to its use, and mastering it is the cornerstone of a scholar's role performance and the defining factor of inclusion in the academic community. Latin is also a symbol of intellectual advancement and elevated social status; the stress and effort of learning it enhances the process of creating insiders, while ignorance of it acts as the gatekeeper of the prestigious world of learned men, controlling

[214] Ibid, 28-29.

the circulation of information and excluding outsiders. The *Manuale*, therefore, equips readers with the scholarly and conversational Latin they will need during their university journey, and transmits the values and mindset accompanying its use, preparing them for their identity performance. Ultimately, this identity, upholds the perpetuation of university tradition, corresponding to Goffman's argument that "the objective of any team is to sustain the definition of the situation".[215]

3.2 The Poor Latin of the *Manuale*

It is generally acknowledged that the Latin in which the *Manuale* is composed is disappointing. Seybolt notes that in his translation he had to "cope with the problem presented by the bad Latin".[216] As a reviewer of his work commented with humour, *Manuale* is "a model of how *not* to write in Latin".[217] Considering this, Ritter suggested that the author could have been a student with a business spirit, who knew how to take advantage of the new art of printing.[218] Berry supported the idea that the author must have been someone associated with a college, a master or dean, for instance, where he would have been in frequent contact with the students and their limitations in Latin; or, she adds, the book might have been the work of a "student philanthropist" who composed it for the benefit of his fellow students, basing her assumption on the long-felt need for a remedy for the poor Latin of scholars, which this student recognised and aimed to alleviate, however, he, too, must have been part of the problem.[219] Likewise, Zarncke cleverly remarks that the author

[215] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self,* 87.
[216] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 13.
[217] McCartney, "Book Review", 62.
[218] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 5-6.
[219] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 528-530.

may have been more absorbed in the leisure activities he so sympathetically describes than in his academic duties.[220]

Particularly, Zarncke and Berry devoted part of their works to detecting specific errors in the language use of the *Manuale*.[221] To illustrate briefly, the subjunctive and indicative are used indiscriminately, with no distinction between the feeling and connotations of the two moods, the perfect subjunctive is often used instead of the perfect indicative, indirect questions, hesitational and causal clauses are composed with the wrong verbal mood, statements in direct discourse are expressed in an indirect construction with *ut*, *quia*, and *quod* clauses, result clauses are incorrectly introduced by *quod*, tenses violate the logical sequence, and overall inconsistency is observed.

I do not deem the poor language of the *Manuale* a deliberate choice, and I will not further delve into this issue since the authorial intentions are not my thesis' focus. However, I will explore how this imperfect Latin, instead of undermining the work, might have positively influenced the perception and self-identity of readers. The *Manuale*, written by someone who, like the readers, was still in the process of mastering Latin and wrote from a student's perspective, reflects the prologue's assertion that mastery of Latin needs regular practice; the alignment between the author's – and subsequently the characters' – and the readers' journey fosters greater acceptance of the book's content.

Keeping in mind that it addressed an audience of new scholars, originating from varying national and educational backgrounds, the imperfect Latin is representative of the diversity and transition occurring in freshmen's minds, where eloquent and flawed Latin coexisted; formulaic and formal

[220] Zarncke, 226.
[221] Berry, "A Fifteenth-Century Guide", 528-529.

expressions, likely learnt by heart and implemented into the student's identity performance, are detected in the 1st and last chapter of the book, where the student addresses his masters and invites them to collations. Simultaneously, the flawed student language provides the necessary realism and informal tone to balance the text and make it more authentic, relatable and accessible. Notably, in his translation, Seybolt depicts this informal tone by using – too – many abbreviated forms.[222]

Therefore, depending on their level of expertise, the readers could recognise their linguistic limitations or possibly build confidence by engaging with a text within their grasp or noticing its errors. Poor language serves to normalize imperfection as part of the learning process, making the students feel relieved, reassured, and motivated to keep trying and learn from their mistakes. Moreover, the errors in the author's writing and by extension in the character's utterances, allow readers to identify with the characters and the author and connect to the scholarly community; the student community is portrayed as an imperfect, living entity rather than a stiff, unattainable ideal, bound together and identified not by perfection, but by the common challenges and the collective journey towards growth. In this case, Goffman's concept of "infallibility", the impression that an individual's performance perfectly aligns with the ideal standards and his effort to conceal any action inconsistent with these, takes on a slightly different meaning, suggesting that being a student is not about being flawless but about genuinely and persistently trying.[223]

[222] For example, "others'll", p.58.
[223] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 26-27.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the poor Latin of the *Manuale*, though likely unintentional, broadens its appeal to a wide spectrum of student-readers and contributes to their identity formation by facilitating identification, while also strengthening the communal identity by serving as a factor of inclusivity.

4. VOCABULARY

Another way of addressing the dictionary function of the *Manuale* is by viewing the vocabulary it provides as a means of inducting a newcomer into the academic community through his introduction to the shared language unique to this group and its practices. According to Berger, language constructs shared reality by typifying experience and providing categories that have meaning "not only to myself but also to my fellowmen".[224] Regarding individuals who perform the same kind of performance, Goffman notes that "whatever their tongues, they come to speak the same social language".[225] A modern parallel can be drawn with student associations, sororities and fraternities, which use regulated, secret, repetitive, ritualistic language confined to their community.[226]

Firstly, the sense of induction is immediately conveyed by the title itself, where the term *scholarium* signals that the reader is addressed – and therefore regarded– as a scholar or a scholar-to-be. The term applies both to teachers and students, however, the subtitle clarifies that it refers to students who intend to attend university and benefit from it.[227] The prologue brims with words associated with learning, such as "sciences", "philosophise", "disciplines", "doctrine", "language", "translated", "liberal arts", "diligence and continuous use", "art of speech", emphasising that the only way to access this depository of knowledge is through the study and use of Latin.[228] Hereafter, every chapter adds more terms to the thesaurus building in the new student's

[224] Berger, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 50-61.
[225] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 102.
[226] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 161.
[227] Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, 131.
[228] Zarncke, 2.

mind. Historical information on many terms and their use within the university can be found in Zarncke's and Seybolt's notes.[229]

Formulaic expressions for addressing masters, such as "reverend master", "most excellent master", "most worthy preceptor", "men of great dignity and wisdom", "most illustrious master", "honoured lord", "noble lord doctor", "most gentle and worthy man", "Your Grace", and variations of these are concentrated in the 1st and last chapters.[230] Moreover, the text provides vocabulary related to the members of the academic community, university officials, their interactions and regulations, such as "rector", "doctors", "masters", "bachelors", "associates", "learned men", "famous men", "crowd of students", "the beadle", "favour and recommendation", "badges of honour", "report to the master", "summoned", "common rule", "troublesome", "examiners", "tokens of honour", "gifts", "the wolf", "injustice", "caught", "fine", "statutes", "excuse", "submit", "culprit", "decreed", "published by the bell", "penalties", "stomacher", "open-work collar", "pleated linen shirt".[231]

The text also contains terminology on academic rituals and ceremonies like "registration", "initiation", "petitions", "oath", "enrollment", "admission", and "graduation".[232] However, the most important section is chapter 2, offering comprehensive terminology for conducting the ritual of deposition, including all the necessary steps – detecting the "stink", discovering the "beast", describing its horrifying appearance by naming body parts like "horns", "teeth", "ears", "nose", "eyes", "beard", "mouth", conducting the "purging", "surgery", and "confession", and ordering the freshman to provide a "dinner" and "refreshment and drink" to receive the master's

[229] Ibid, 221-232.
[230] Ibid, 3-5 / 46-48.
[231] Ibid, 3-4 / 13 / 21 / 23 / 25-27 / 28-29 / 31.
[232] Ibid, 3-4 / 45.

"forgiveness" – tools and ingredients like "glass", "sweet wine", "muddy water", "knives", "razor", "pills", "salve", "medicine", "ointment", "saw", "forceps", "basin", "fragrant herbs", "rope", "surplice", as well as standard expressions to address the novice, like "o *beanus*, o ass, o foul goat, o evil-smelling she-goat, toad, cipher, O shape of nothing, O thou absolute nonentity" and finally "Good luck to you!"[233]

Furthermore, the *Manuale* offers abundant vocabulary on studies, learning, and scientific terms essential for understanding the lessons' content. The freshman gets acquainted with terms like "lectures and exercises", "degree", "terms", "promoted", "attend", "hear books", "requirement", "oath of presence", "school room", "reviews", "elements of a subject", "methods", "courses", "nominalists and realists", "fallacies", "sophistical opinions", "syllogisms", "true science", "universal truths", "bases of argumentation", "value of premises", "expression of thoughts", "*insolubilia* and *obligatoria*", "hypothetical cases", "dialecticians", "*suppositiones* and *ampliationes*", "paralogisms", "poetry and law", "interpret", "comedies", "meaning", "art of speech", "prosaic", "multitude of books", "a lot of reading", "disputes", "frequent repetition", "progress", "examinations", "completed work", "enrolled", "certificate", "perjured", "lack of preparation", "ordinary disputations", "respondents", "strong in their facts", "resist", "hollow arguments", "discourse", "prohibited book".[234]

Part of this terminology is also the text's intertextuality. The two protagonists, attending the faculty of arts, reference works associated primarily with the third branch of the *trivium*, dialectic.[235] Medieval education is based on authoritative books, aiming to "prove the keenness of their

[233] Ibid, 4-10.
[234] Ibid, 10-17 / 26-28 / 30-33 / 44.
[235] Riché, *Manuale Scholarium*, 21.

authors".[236] In chapter 3, masters teach the *libri elenchorum*, *physicorum*, and *de anima*, meaning Aristotle's *On Sophistical Refutations*, *Physics*, and *On the Soul*, while chapter 18 mentions the *ars vetus*, referring to the "old logic" studied in the Latin West before the 12th-century translations expanded the Aristotelian corpus.[237] Chapter 4 introduces the opposing parties of the realists, *antiqui*, and the nominalists, *moderni*, the latter prevailing in Heidelberg until 1452.[238] Camillus criticises nominalists for adhering to *parva logicalia*, introductory treatises on logic, rather than the "true science", found in Aristotle's *Categories* and Porphyry's predicables.[239] Bartoldus defends them by highlighting useful concepts included in *parva logicalia*, such as *insolubilia* and *suppositiones*.[240] The debate extends to the authoritative doctors, "the great" Albertus Magnus, "the saint" Thomas Aquinas, and "the subtle" John Scotus, notably omitting William of Occam, a pioneer of nominalism.[241] Chapters 5 and 12 evaluate poetry, specifically Terence's comedies, and Aristotle's *On the Soul*, mentioning his "Physics" is no longer prohibited.[242] These references reflect the 15th-century curriculum of Heidelberg and overall European universities.[243]

In chapter 10, Ovid's verse "men and gods with gifts are pleased" justifies the bribery of examiners, and Cicero is referenced in chapters 16 and 18.[244] Additionally, Christian terms like "devil", "apostle", "paradise", and "hell" are interestingly mixed with classical ones, such as "bacchants", "Pollux", "Cerberus", and "the mountain of Venus".[245] Finally, quotations like "The arts have no

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[236] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 307.
Zarncke, 31, 25-26.
[237] Zarncke, 11, 32-36 / 48, 9-10.
[238] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 40, note 1.
[239] Zarncke, 13, 7-14.
[240] Ibid, 13, 32.
[241] Ibid, 14-15.
Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 1100-1101.
[242] Zarncke, 15, 12 / 30, 18 / 32, 31-32.
[243] Riché, *Manuale Scholarium*, 21-22.
Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 231.
[244] Zarncke, 27, 17-18 / 42, 24 / 47, 7-8 (Tullii).
[245] Ibid, 5, 20 / 8, 30 / 18, 5-6 / 28, 7 / 7, 4 / 25, 3 / 29, 14 / 38, 5.

rivals but the ignorant", "Let sleeping dogs lie", "Don't do to others as you would not that they should do to you", "All poor speakers use many words", and "Among friends all things ought to be in common" convey lessons from the treasury of worldly wisdom.[246]

Regarding names of people mentioned in the text, such as masters Jodocus, Peter, James, John, Conrad Schwitzer, John Rechenmacher, Martin, and the student Arnold, Zarncke defers to Heidelberg history experts to determine the authenticity of these figures.[247] Ritter notes that some might correspond to real names found in the university's records, such as the disliked master Jodocus, who could be identified as Jodocus Aichmann, leader of realists in 1452, and that actual statutes are referenced; however, he argues that the author probably tried to avoid targeting contemporary personalities if studying at Heidelberg. He concludes that it is impossible to distinguish between real and fictional elements and deems such dialogues unreliable sources.[248] Nonetheless, including specific names, real or not, bridges the text's fictionalized perception and real-life application, making it feel more authentic, immersive, familiar, and relatable. It captures the dynamic of the academic environment, where each master is associated with a particular teaching method, gathering followers and critics, and depicts the critical thinking expected from the students, the alliances and rivalries they will likely form, and the debates they will engage in during their studies.

Throughout the book we also encounter vocabulary related to everyday routines, pastime activities, and social events, such as "take a walk", "rest", "swim", "go bathing", "night is coming", "wake up", "the breakfast bell had rung" – followed by a very elaborate vocabulary on food, including

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[246] Ibid, 16, 3-4 / 24, 23-24 / 25, 20-21 / 32, 25-26 / 36, 4-5.
Curtius, *European Literature*, 58.
[247] Zarncke, 11, 32-36 / 12, 4 / 15, 11 / 32, 1-7 / 37, 34.
Ibid, 225.
[248] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 10.

"the table is set", "busy with the grub", "victuals", "wash your mangy hands", "fall upon our food like pigs", "veal", "meat", "seasoned", "soft", "calf", "game", "beans", "lentils", "relishes", "mead", "taste", "sour drink", "dessert", "a better share", "take a helping", "bread", "fine white flour", "wheat", "beer", "milder" – "marketplace", "merchants", "messenger", "letters", "errand", "church for worship", "evening dance", "shows", "crowd of townies", "princes", "trumpeters", "juggler's exhibition", "wrestle", "sermon", "jousts", "tournaments".[249] Another daily concern is the financial issue, which is also linguistically covered in the *Manuale*, including phrases like "extorted ten florins", "get our money", "lend", "return", "I'm hard up", "I haven't any money", "I'm poor", "put off paying", "stinginess", "silver pennies", "farthing", "fills his purse", "expenses", "cost", "wealthy", "funds".[250]

Additionally, the *Manuale* takes the reader on a virtual tour, mentioning landmarks of Heidelberg, university buildings, town locations, and the surrounding nature; I have already explored these elements in the chapter on spatial setting. However, the detailed vocabulary on the regional flora and fauna in chapter 6 is noteworthy and functions as a situated dictionary: "fields", "meadow", "lilies", "flowerets", "bloom", "herb", "dense grove", "shade", "streams", "murmuring", "hogs", "animals", "oak trees", "hue of the flowers", "brook", "willow tree", "apple tree", "grass", "fish darting", "flock of birds", "stork", "nightingale", "crested lark".[251]

The text also provides expressions to talk about emotions, namely "I can hardly help being afraid", "I like you more than it's seemly to say", "It makes me sore", "I'm worried and scared", "You encourage me", "I'm hot with anger", "I'm in great sorrow", "I'm truly sorry", "I'm frightened

[249] Zarncke, 17-19 / 22-24 / 27 / 34-35 / 40-43 / 45, 12-18.
[250] Ibid, 29, 19-22 / 33-34 / 43 / 45.
[251] Ibid, 17-19.

out of my wits", "gave me pleasure".[252] These types of sentences are classified as "expressive utterances" in Jakobson's linguistic theory.[253] Moreover, the text includes vocabulary to address the sensitive topic of women and love, such as "my heart melted and my whole body was set on fire", "violently in love", "love has struck into my very bones", "girl", "daughter", "women", "virgins", "beauty", "poison", "chaste", "marry", "dishonoured", "deflowered", "life companion", "moved by feeling", "loveliness".[254] In the expressive category, we can also subsume the exclamatory terms that the text contains, such as "ach", "ha, ha" or "good god".[255]

Finally, the *Manuale* abounds in student colloquialism. Expressions for addressing friends and socializing can be found throughout the book, such as "fellow countryman", "peers", "chum", "our companionship", "Where do you come from?", "What news do you bring?", "Where are you going?", "As good luck would have it, I've met you", "What are the customs of your school?", "worthy patron", "roommate", "friend", "old man", "old scout", "old sport", "young fellow", "Let's have a friendly drink".[256] The *Manuale* also contains language for both polite and unpolite encounters; we can, for instance, juxtapose "I've the same opinion about the matter" and "I neither approve nor commend your manners" with "ass", "shut up", and "We'll fight it out, I'll show you the number of my nails".[257] And, interestingly, for an educational manual, "I have no idea" is an acceptable response.[258]

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[252] Ibid, 3, 23 / 25 / 26, 19 / 28, 3 / 30, 30-31 / 34, 30 / 35 / 43, 5.
[253] Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, 354.
[254] Zarncke, 36, 14-36 / 39, 6-11 / 40, 5-21 / 41, 2.
[255] Ibid, 23, 3-10 / 42, 32.
[256] Ibid, 6, 5 / 10, 1 / 17, 10-18 / 20, 1-19 / 21, 10-17 / 22, 13 / 26, 9 / 44, 7 / 45, 23-24 / 46, 16-17.
[257] Ibid, 12, 13 / 23, 13 / 25, 5-6 / 37, 20 / 42, 12-13.
[258] Ibid, 15, 1.

However, in various instances the characters exchange phrases that lack substantial content; these utterances serve a primarily social purpose and are called "phatic".[259] Unlike, for example, Alcuin's dialogue with his student Pepin, which is densely packed with information and leaves no room for empty exchanges, the *Manuale* incorporates phatic language as part of the social vocabulary, exceeding mere language instruction. This type of communication adds vivacity and makes the text realistic and believable, showing how students actually interact, socialise and engage in small talk, as in "I'm glad to see you, Bart, old scout, glad you arrived safely", "Thanks, old man. The same to you".[260] Also, phatic sections help to establish a natural pace and make the content more digestible by breaking the continuous flow of information or preparing the influx of it, like in the exchange "What happened?", "Don't ask, I won't tell anyone", "Won't you even tell me?", "Keep still, it's no use to ask". [261]

Moreover, phatic language serves to establish the setting, atmosphere, mood and tone in which the conversation is about to unfold, whether friendly, quarrelsome or respectful, thus preparing the reader emotionally. For example, a quarrelsome tone is conveyed by the exchange "Do you like to make fun of me?", "What if I say that I do?", "What if I pull your hair?", "So soon?", "Sooner than you would like".[262] Additionally, phatic language allows characters to expose their personalities and the relationships and hierarchies between them, as its principal function is the reinforcement of social norms and the maintenance of hierarchy, like familiarity or respect in the context of the academic "social establishment".[263] According to Schechner, repetition and naming

[259] Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, 355.
For the general definition see: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/phatic, accessed 27/07/2024.
[260] Zarncke, 44, 7-10.
[261] Ibid, 35-36.
[262] Ibid, 42, 6-10.
[263] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 153.

have the power to give a sense of identity.[264] This is evident in the formulas used to address masters and fellow students included in the text. For example, in chapter 1, the student's repeated use of titles when addressing his master, contrasted with the absence of such titles when the master addresses the student, highlights their hierarchy and preserves the distance between them. The same applies to the empty expressions in the letter props of chapter 18, as in "Honoured master, I beseech Your Reverence … He will seek to deserve your kindness by the utmost care and effort".[265]

Conclusions

In conclusion, the Latin terminology, purposefully embedded in the appropriate scenarios, gives substance to the abstract university world, making the book's content tangible, specific, relatable, and memorable. This Latin repertoire brings the new student up-to-date with the intellectual context and arms him with all-encompassing expressive equipment – corresponding to Goffman's notion of "personal front" – to address masters, react to regulations, participate in academic ceremonies, attend lectures, manage daily routines, express personal concerns, and engage in social interactions, all essential for executing his student identity performance.[266] As Goffman notes, every social role involves one or more parts, each presented on a series of occasions; hence, by including situated vocabulary covering both formal and informal contexts, the *Manuale* trains the reader to perform on these different occasions.[267] At the same time, the shared language

[264] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 273.
[265] Zarncke, 46-47.
[266] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 14.
[267] Ibid, 9.

reinforces a sense of belonging since the knowledge of these terms serves as a marker of scholarly identity and partaking in the shared reality of the academic community.[268]

[268] Ibid, 88.

5. DICTION

5.1 Grammatical Persons

The text's use of grammatical persons, especially through the dialogue's direct speech, and the interplay of those, creates structures that function beneficially for shaping the personal and collective identities of the readers. In this chapter, I will explain how grammatical persons affect the readers' perception, mostly focusing on the 1st-singular and plural forms.

The dialogue format of the *Manuale* creates a certain dynamic in which both characters speak in the 1st person, allowing the reader to engage and identify with both perspectives simultaneously. This learning-by-example approach is particularly effective since the 1st person does not describe behaviours and actions; it performs them. Ultimately, the 1st person, especially the singular, *enacts* the content of the utterance, as it creates the utmost connection between the book's content and the reader's self.

It is unnecessary to note every instance of "I" in the dialogue, however, I will mention the most interesting, in my opinion: in the debates or quarrels featured in this book, the text does not stop at just presenting the opposing viewpoints but reaches the point where the preferred behaviour is eventually articulated through the 1st-singular person, as in "I approve that act, and I won't be angry any longer. I'll gladly pay the money; after this, I'll be more careful" or "I'll stay here and pursue the liberal arts with you".[269] So, the outcome or lesson is not just described to the reader, it is enacted by him. The "I" form, combined with the predominance of active voice, adds a layer of accountability and ownership to the actions and statements, reinforcing the content's internalization.

[269] Zarncke, 30, 6-8 / 37, 28-29.

As Goffman states, "a social role is the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status".[270] Given that Camillus and Bartoldus are students, all their utterances enact their student identity. Their utterances, and therefore, their language, become a performance in front of the reader, corresponding to Schechner's "showing of a doing".[271] The performative language is, thus, the agent that actively constructs social reality for the reader.[272] The "I" enables the reader's immersion into this reality, acting as a simulation or rehearsal for his own performance. "I'll do as well as I can", "I'm equally guilty under that statute", and "I'm afraid I shan't be promoted" are representative examples.[273] Since, according to Schechner's paradox, "humans are able to absorb and learn behaviour so thoroughly, that the new performed behaviour knits seamlessly into ongoing spontaneous action", the behaviour that has been so effortlessly enacted through the 1st person, which blurs the line between absorbing and being, is likely to have already been internalized by the reader and subconsciously intertwined with his spontaneous actions.[274]

Moving on to the 1st-plural person, the use of "we" structures enables the reader's participation in the ongoing performance occurring in the *Manuale*. It is frequently used to open and close acts, ensuring the reader follows, as in "Get ready then, and we'll go" and "Now we've said enough about this matter. We've spun it out beyond the limit".[275] Also, "let's" – represented by the 1st-plural person subjunctive in the Latin text – is used multiple times, as in "let's start", "let's agree", "let's listen", and "let's go to see them".[276] According to Goffman, when the members of a team "stage similar individual performances", such as students do, "or stage dissimilar performances

[270] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 8.
[271] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 273.
[272] Ibid, 231.
[273] Zarncke, 3, 22-23 / 26, 19 / 29, 13-14.
[274] Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 327.
[275] Zarncke, 18, 1 / 26, 13-14.
[276] Ibid, 15, 9 / 18, 12 / 31, 32 / 42, 19.

which fit together into a whole", such as students, professors, and university officials do, "an emergent team impression arises".[277] In a team, inclusivity, familiarity, and solidarity are cultivated, as evidenced in the instances where the 1st-plural person is used to talk about "our books", "our companionship", "our friendship", "our fellowship", or "our privileges".[278]

Identity is realised through comparison.[279] Thus, the interplay between 1st-plural and other grammatical persons, especially the 3rd, helps to foster exclusivity among the members of the academic community. For instance, in the deposition chapter, the "he" of the novice is juxtaposed with the "we" of the depositors, as in "What are we to do with him?" and "He'll be made a member of our fellowship".[280] Similarly, using "our university", particularly when juxtaposed with "your university", creates a sense of belonging, tradition and responsibility to act as your university's representative.[281]

However, the most important contrasts arise when "we" is set against "they", implying the exclusion of another group. Goffman notes that a team's objective is to "prevent outsiders from coming into a performance that is not addressed to them".[282] This becomes evident when *laici*, the laity, are juxtaposed with *scholarii*, the educated men, through structures combining 1st and 3rd-plural forms, such as "between the laity and ourselves", "a bad reputation for us will grow up among the people", and "a crowd of townies … wait for us … to attack us".[283]

The contrasts between the 1st and 3rd-plural persons also illustrate the dynamics within the academic community. For example, the dissimilar performances and groups of students and

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[277] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 49.
[278] Zarncke, 7, 11-12 / 17, 13-18 / 26, 3 / 33, 13.
[279] Bamberg, The Cambridge Handbook of Identity, 7.
[280] Zarncke, 6, 34 / 7, 11-12.
[281] Ibid, 20, 19-31 / 44, 11-18.
[282] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 152.
[283] Zarncke, 28, 20-24 / 30, 4-5 / 41, 12-15.

university officials are highlighted in phrases like “By what right do they do this?”, “We shall not revile the preceptors”, and “They get our money away from us”.[284] However, “we” structures are preferred when talking about professors, giving the impression of an alliance of students with them, as in “Our masters could have done nothing better for our advantage”.[285]

Even among students, there are notable differences: “those older and more honourable than you or I” enjoy privileges at meals.[286] Additionally, rivalry exists between faculties, with arts students complaining “You can’t believe how hostile the theologians are to us”.[287] On a more microscopic level, the two friends, Bartoldus and Camillus, are depicted as a team, contrasting their “we” against all other students, as seen when they want to keep that meadow for themselves, saying, “If others were to investigate the place, there would always be plenty of fellows here”, or when rushing for breakfast because “if we’re late, the others’ll laugh at us”.[288] All these grammatical juxtapositions illuminate multiple aspects of the student’s identity and cultivate a sense of belonging to different interconnected groups simultaneously.

As for the 2nd person, the singular form serves to direct advice to the reader, as in “Examine yourself whether you can put up with these things”, regarding applying to the law faculty.[289] This directness acquires a special significance in the chapter on deposition, from which the novice’s responses are absent; hence, all the “you” constructions make the reader the unmediated recipient, being a freshman himself. Phrases like “Look at your horns, violent beast”, “You’ve been so shameless”, and “your masters … whom henceforth you are bound to cherish and honour” create

[284] Ibid, 28, 28 / 29, 18-22.
[285] Ibid, 30, 1-2.
[286] Ibid, 23, 21-22.
[287] Ibid, 29, 9.
[288] Ibid, 19, 15-16 / 22, 3-4.
[289] Ibid, 17, 1-2.

the impression that the reader is initiated, with the responsibilities of his new role conveyed directly to him.[290]

Furthermore, contrasting the 2nd-singular and plural persons with the 1st person establishes a sense of hierarchy between the interlocutors, as seen in chapter 1 where "I" and "you" of different statuses alternate: "I beg you" versus "Where do you come from, boy?"[291] Additionally, combining or contrasting the 1st and 2nd-singular forms in the Q&A or debate format – which I have already examined in my chapter on dialogue – implicitly addresses the reader and asks him to pick a side. This can be particularly influential in shaping the reader's identity, as it prompts internal questioning, reflection, and self-awareness.

Regarding the 3rd person, it is important to note its use in the *Manuale*'s titles: the whole book is specially framed as a guide for scholars-to-be, and most chapters' titles include the 3rd person, such as "How the students talk about exercises and lectures" or "How they talk at table".[292] This establishes a "they" versus "they" contrast between those who act in a certain way because they belong to the group of scholars, and those who do not, implying that if someone wants to join their group, he should act as prescribed in this book.

Beyond these, the 3rd person is predominantly used to denote social distance, reflect social structures and expected behaviours, and convey ideals or general truths. For instance, intellectual or moral lessons are usually conveyed in this person, such as "Whoever is always idle makes his mind dull" or "It's a mark of a wise man to know how to get rid of anger", where the 3rd-singular represents the collective.[293]

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[290] Ibid, 8, 8-9 / 9, 36 / 10, 5-7.
[291] Ibid, 3-4.
[292] See Appendix A.
[293] Zarncke, 17, 31-32 / 26, 12.

Notably, many "they" versus "they" contrasts are camouflaged as a 1st versus 2nd person conflicts, where the characters embody the two sides. In the nominalists-realists debate, the two friends exchange views conveyed in 1st-person structures, such as "I won't hear anything from him then", "I know they are", "This we think has some value", and "You're wrong, for they are famous in argumentation".[294] Similarly, to represent the contrast between wise and weak men, Bart accuses Cam "You're more like the beasts rather than like a wise man, for you are moved by feeling, not by reason", while himself taking on the role of the strong man.[295] Finally, to stress the difference between wealthy and poor students, the text employs an interplay between 1st and 2nd persons, as in "I have a relative … but his parents are poor" and "That's all right for you, who are wealthy".[296] In this way, the text exploits the qualities that the 1st and 2nd person possess to create a greater impact and connection to the reader, who is encouraged to personally engage, pick sides and mentally participate in decision-making, ultimately resulting in his enacted inclusion into the right group.

Conclusions

Overall, the interplay of grammatical persons employed in the *Manuale* achieves the reader's participation in the ongoing performance of the characters' student identity. By directing his focus, addressing him, and not merely describing but enacting behaviours, attitudes, and knowledge, the text creates the utmost direct and immersive effect and becomes a living utterance and performance in front of the reader, who may even be reciting, rehearsing or performing these roles. Finally, the contrasts illustrated by these grammatical persons, create images of different groups around and

[294] Ibid, 12-15.
[295] Ibid, 39, 9-10.
[296] Ibid, 45, 23-25 / 46, 5.

within the academic community, defining its boundaries and the characteristics that constitute its members.

5.2 Sentence Types

Generally, simple and complex sentence structures are interchangeable in the text. Personal discussions favour shorter and simpler forms, regardless of the register; for instance, brevity can indicate both familiarity and social distance, as seen in the friends' exchanges on the topic of love, or in the brevity of the master's utterances in the 1st chapter, contrasted with the novice's lengthy and title-loaded responses.[297] Conversely, more complex sentences are typically used to convey an intellectual lesson, as in Bart's presentation of the benefits of nominalism or Cam's defence of poetry.[298] Moral lessons, on the other hand, are often delivered through quotes rather than lengthy statements. These observations suggest that the reader's perception is guided subtly, balancing his focus between uncomplicated, relaxed and longer, information-loaded sections, both necessary for internalizing conversational vocabulary and digesting knowledge essential for performing his student identity.

When examining the text's sentences on a deeper level, relying only on the traditional grammatical moods – indicative, subjunctive, imperative – would be misleading, due to their erred use in the text. Given *Manuale*'s dialogue format, it makes sense to approach the sentences as utterances, employing Austin, Searle, and Jakobson's linguistic theories of speech acts and exploring their communicative functions.[299] Here, I try to determine whether prescriptive utterances, which

[297] Ibid, 3-4 / 35-38.
[298] Ibid, 12-17.
[299] For constative, performative, phatic, expressive, and commissive utterances see Austin, *How to do things with words*, 3, 5, 92, 121, 150.

contain language intending to influence or direct behaviour, outnumber descriptive ones, which merely state facts and align more closely with the traditional view of the *Manuale* as a conversational dictionary.

Constative utterances, which only describe facts or convey information, are relatively rare in the text, with statements like "I was at a lecture" or "The plague rages so fiercely at home" being examples of these.[300] Also, Bart's data presentation regarding the law faculty is unbiased and does not intend to influence Cam's decision.[301] However, most constative utterances in the text actually aim to guide future actions. For example, Bart's explanation of lectures and exercises stresses their importance, subtly pushing Cam to attend.[302] In chapter 6, the phrases "The sun's very hot" and "The river is dangerous" present facts but also mean to influence the decision to take a bath.[303] Additionally, statements like "All the lodgings are full", "The breakfast bell has rung", "I know there's a rule", and "Every month women are unwell" are not merely informative, but relate to the reader's future reality and encourage him to act accordingly when the time comes.[304] The prescriptive element aligns with the book's spirit, as expressed in its chapter titles, which focus on the – inherently prescriptive – "how to" do things.

Interrogative utterances, which typically seek information, often serve in this text to influence or point to future actions. Genuine information-requesting utterances are found in instances such as "What sort of ointment is it?", "How do you know?", "Where do you come from?", "Where were you, Cam?", and "Who was the girl?"[305] However, questions like "How can you sit in the midst of

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For interrogative and directive utterances, see Searle, *Speech acts*, 22-23.
For metalinguistic utterances, see Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, 356-357.
[300] Zarncke, 30, 10 / 35, 20-22.
[301] Ibid, 16-17.
[302] Ibid, 10-12.
[303] Ibid, 18, 35-36.
[304] Ibid, 21, 13 / 22, 1 / 31, 4 / 36, 28-29.
[305] Ibid, 7, 33 / 11, 3 / 20, 1 / 33, 8 / 36, 17.

this smell?", "What are we to do with him, anyway?" in the deposition chapter are designed to drive the plot and guide the action during the ritual's performance, while questions like "Which teachers shall we hear?", and rhetorical ones like "Who can work on his studies all the time?" and "What plague is more virulent than woman?" intend to influence the protagonist's, and, by extension, the reader's attitude and behaviour.[306]

Expressive utterances, which convey emotions and attitudes, are often used to influence or steer someone's behaviour in the desired direction. The phrase "I can hardly help being afraid", for instance, asks for the master's help; "I'm worried, and scared out of my wits" seeks the friend's support and advice. However, Cam's expression of sympathy, "I'm truly sorry for you", regarding Bart's parents' death is an example of a non-intentional expressive utterance.[307]

Metalinguistic utterances, which comment on the use of language and the text itself, are generally not considered prescriptive. Examples include the students' remarks on the master's eloquence, "He's very eloquent and persuasive; when he explains something, it's just as clear as if it were being done", the preacher's lack thereof, "He isn't eloquent. He talks as if he were telling stories", or views on poor speakers, "That bachelor was stuttering so that I could hardly understand a third of what he said" and "All poor speakers use many words".[308] Similarly, Bart's explanation of nominalism or Cam's complaints about Latin and the wolf, "What are you talking about? For pouring out slops they fine one two silver pennies!" also fall into this category.[309] However, considering these sentences are context-bound, uttered in an academic environment and especially within the arts faculty, they become prescriptive since they directly relate to the characters and the

[306] Ibid, 5, 1-2 / 6, 34 / 11, 30-31 / 17, 24 / 37, 22-23.
[307] Ibid, 3, 23 / 26, 17 / 35, 5.
[308] Ibid, 12, 10-12 / 32, 22-16 / 43, 23-24.
[309] Ibid, 13-14 / 29, 13.

reader, influencing their attitudes on eloquence and speech conduct, and aligning with the chapters' prescriptive titles, "How students talk".

Regarding phatic language, I have already covered it in my vocabulary chapter, so I will not provide examples for this category here. Since phatic utterances serve social functions rather than convey information, they belong to the prescriptive language of the text.

However, the three most significant prescriptive categories in the text are the directive, commissive and performative utterances. The abundant directive utterances are usually expressed in the subjunctive or imperative mood. The phrase "tell me" appears frequently, encouraging dialogue and actively involving the reader.[310] Also, commands like "look", "come", "stop", "shake hands", "be quiet", and "apply" guide the performers' movements during the initiation's execution.[311] Moreover, the master's reassurance to the novice, "Do not be too frightened … be especially careful that you take the oath properly", Bart's warning "Hold your tongue" when talking about professors, Cam's guidance on lodgings and aggressive love advice "Get this out of your mind", and Bart's subtle encouragement "If we listen attentively, we'll get a great deal out of their teaching", all direct the characters' actions within the text and exercise prescriptive influence on the reader's behaviour.[312]

Commissive utterances, typically voiced in the future tense and the 1st-singular person, commit characters and indirectly the reader to future responsibilities, reinforcing the latter's emerging identity and serving as a rehearsal for it. When coming from another perspective, commissive utterances encourage and reassure the new student. Phrases like the student's "I'll gladly submit

[310] Ibid, 3, 10 / 11, 30 / 13, 24 / 20, 19 / 25, 7 / 34, 7 / 39, 23 etc.
[311] Ibid, 5-8.
[312] Ibid, 3, 18-21 / 13, 21-23 / 16, 18 / 21, 13-35 / 40, 16.

to Your Lordship" and the master's "I will see to it that no one oversteps the bounds" exemplify this dynamic.[313] Moreover, utterances like "I'll be there", "I'll apply (to the exercise)", "I surely wouldn't neglect it", and "I'll stay here and pursue the liberal arts" represent the students' commitment to study.[314]

Expressions like "I consider myself always in your debt" and "I'll see to it that our companionship is never broken" depict another component of the student's identity, the role of the friend.[315] Remarkably, commissive statements such as "I'll remember these things" complement directive ones like "Give me your attention, and remember what I say" and place that commitment on the reader.[316] Finally, in the deposition chapter, commissive utterances take on a performative role, since the utterance itself becomes the action; Bart saying, "I will look", suffices to take for granted that he looked at the beast – immediately confirming "It's actually a *beanus*".[317] Likewise, when Cam instructs Bart to go to the apothecary, Bart's reply, "I will", becomes the action of going, immediately followed by his return.[318]

This leads us to the final category, the performatives. These are dispersed throughout the text, in expressions like "I advise you", "I approve this", "I come to ask you", "I hear them", "Here it is", "You persuade me", adding to the reader's awareness and participation in the unfolding performance.[319] Moreover, chapter 18 not only contains prompts for letter-sending, which is a performative act included in the student identity performance, but also enacts it, presenting the letters as already written and ready to use, as in "Reverend master, does it please Your Grace to

[313] Ibid, 3, 25 / 4, 21-22.
[314] Ibid, 12, 4-11 / 37, 28-29.
[315] Ibid, 17, 15-18.
[316] Ibid, 12, 1 / 13, 28-29.
[317] Ibid, 23-26.
[318] Ibid, 9, 4.
[319] Ibid, 21, 15 / 25, 22 / 34, 19 / 42, 18-28 / 43, 15.

enter the bath? For I am going to pay the fee for you. I pray, moreover, that you accept it with goodwill. Indeed, if I could show you greater reverence or honour, I would do so most eagerly".[320]

The deposition chapter, however, provides the most representative example of a performative utterance: Bart grants penance to the freshman by uttering "This shall be your penance" and "I have been given the authority to enjoin penance. I have done so"; the authority to say these words is crucial for their validity so that penance is performed.[321] This aligns with Austin's principle that language, written one too, can change reality. [322] This reality is extended to the reader, mediated by the dynamic of grammatical persons; hence, this chapter acts as a ritual that changes the reader's status from the frightened, ignorant novice of the 1st chapter to the purged freshman, ready for the transformative journey provided by the rest of this book. This concept of transformation will be explored in the next chapter.

Conclusions

Ultimately, I demonstrated that prescriptive utterances dominate the text, highlighting its directive impact. The text not only provides direct and indirect instructions for the various constituent performances included within the role of the student – it also performs them. Through prescriptive utterances, assisted by context relevance and the agency of grammatical persons, the information reaches the reader in the form of direct instruction and enactment, strongly influencing his identity formation and behaviour.

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[320] Ibid, 46-48.
[321] Ibid, 10, 3-14.
[322] Austin, *How to do things with words*, 14-15.

6. DRAMATIC ELEMENTS

Performance Studies are rooted in the principle that anything can be studied "as" a performance by "asking performance questions".[323] In the existing literature, scholars have subtly incorporated drama-related observations on the *Manuale*: Seybolt refers to the student interlocutors as *dramatis personae*, Ritter classifies the *Manuale* as part of the dramatic literature of the time, while Riché hypothesizes that the text could have been a play for the amusement of scholars.[324] To support my argument that the *Manuale* qualifies as a performative text, I propose an analysis through the lens of Aristotle's *Poetics*. More specifically, I will examine the text for the presence or absence of the six qualitative means of dramatic representation: *mythos*, *ethos*, *lexis*, *opsis*, *dianoia* and *melos*.[325] I will exclude the quantitative ones since I focus on the general means of representation used in theatre rather than the particular structure of Greek tragedy.

6.1 *Mythos*

Aristotle's *mythos*, defined as the "plot", is the sequence of events and actions that make up a story and constitutes the central part of a dramatic performance.[326] We can recognize a loose plot structure that permeates the entire *Manuale*, tracing a student's journey from his matriculation and first encounter with his master, to his daily interactions and challenges, culminating in his examinations and final integration into the scholarly world. In chapter 1, the anonymous freshman introduces himself to the master, and thereby to the readers, informing them that he comes from

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[323] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 12.
[324] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*, 13.
Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 8.
Riché, *Manuale Scholarium*, 28.
[325] Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies*, 66-72.
[326] Ibid, 70.

Ulm and revealing his anxieties about his upcoming matriculation and initiation.[327] However, this character does not reappear, although it is possible to identify him as the *beanus* initiated in the 2nd chapter.

The main characters, Camillus and Bartoldus, are introduced in the 2nd chapter's title; but further information on their background is not revealed until chapter 7, where they talk about their journeys.[328] The text progresses from lighter, introductory topics like lectures, teaching methods, and leisurely walks, to more intense subjects, culminating between chapters 8 and 11 with student quarrels over table manners, money lending, book borrowing, and reporting each other to university officials. Towards the book's end, the characters address personal and challenging issues such as falling in love, losing one's parents, and dealing with poverty.

In the penultimate chapter, it is evident that the interlocutors have matured; they call each other "old friend", while they recycle familiar topics of the university with the wisdom of experience, appearing as the university's representatives, ready to pass their knowledge to the next generation. They briefly revisit topics of degrees, exams, lodgings, faculties, and methods and spend more time discussing the omnipresent issue of financial difficulties.[329] On this occasion, Bart offers a small lecture on one's need for dedication to study, reminding the reader that even those with limited means can make it through commitment. Eventually, they part ways heartily, with Cam inviting Bart for "a friendly drink" and Bart kindly declining due to lack of time yet promising to accept when he is free. Cam responds, "I should be glad to have you", in a tone reminiscent of conversations of long-time friends who are now mature and lead their own lives.[330] This final

[327] Zarncke, 4-10.
[328] Ibid, 20.
[329] Ibid, 44-46.
[330] Ibid, 46, 7-24.

encounter serves as a kind reminder to the reader that the university journey will give him the opportunity to create long-lasting friendships. Therefore, chapter 17 could qualify as *Manuale's* resolution; I believe chapter 18 has only been placed at the end for convenient access, as it contains invitation templates.

Overall, the text's plot is not rigid nor completely correspondent to Aristotle's concept of unity, for the chapters are not so tightly connected that the removal of one would mean the destruction of the narrative.[331] Although the *Manuale* is primarily educational and does not focus on storytelling, I believe the narrative framework built through the text's progression makes the content more meaningful and memorable. Instead of a unified and cohesive plot, we can more consistently observe independent plot structures within each separate chapter. Most of the chapters possess distinct dramatic elements, including the establishment of a setting and the resolution of conflict.

6.1.1 Conflict

Conflict is defined as the struggle between opposing forces, which may include people, opinions, values, facts or needs.[332] Contrast is a fundamental part of dramatic performance; this is evident not only in the tragic plots of ancient Greek dramas but in medieval drama, too. Despite originating from 12th-century church plays rather than antiquity, medieval drama was rich in contrasts, from the battle between God and Devil in liturgical plays to the comic conflicts between citizens in farces and carnival plays and the spiritual crisis of characters in 15th-century morality plays.[333] While the *Manuale* is not overarched or driven by a dramatic conflict in the traditional sense, it

[331] Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies*, 71.
[332] For the definition see https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/conflict, accessed 30/07/2024.
[333] Schoell, "Late Medieval Theatre", 8-16.

features various minor and major clashes, including external conflicts between the characters or between the characters and their environment, as well as internal conflicts within a character. These conflicts usually arise from contrasting desires, viewpoints, states, or morals.

For example, the debate between the two opposing ways of teaching, nominalism, supported by Bart, and realism, favoured by Cam, begins with the latter's exposition of the issue, "You praised this teacher to the sky, and yet he's a nominalist" evoking Bart's wonder "What of it?" and generating a conflict, culminating with harsh comments on each other such as "You're more foolish than he, if you scorn instruction", "You commit an offence against the truth", and "It's unbecoming of you to say such things". The road towards resolution opens with Cam's calm request "Explain what advantage there is then in the method of the nominalists", concluding with the moderate point to "agree with those who are wiser".[334]

Moreover, chapter 11 depicts a clash between the student and his environment, the university officials and statutes. Cam initiates the conversation with his angry outburst "May the minions of hell destroy him" prompting Bart's interest. Cam explains that he was caught speaking in the vulgar tongue in the kitchen and questions "By what right do they do this?" Unfortunately, Bart reminds him that the published statutes cannot be invalidated, causing Cam's rage to peak as he wishes them death cursing "that the three-headed Cerberus might snap at them". However, his anger quickly winds down as Bart presents more arguments, leading him to state "I won't be angry any longer. I'll gladly pay the money; after this, I'll be more careful".[335]

Love is another subject that triggers both internal and external conflict; Bart introduces the problematic situation by confessing he is in love, but Cam warns him about the dangerous and

[334] Zarncke, 12-15.
[335] Ibid, 28-30.

poisonous nature of women, causing Bart to feel confused and declare, “Now I shrink from women” and “Never again will I look at a woman”. The discussion continues with the characters exchanging more opinions and highlighting the contrast between women’s beauty and danger, as expressed by Bart: “The roses seemed to blossom on the cheek and there is always beauty on the surface, but inside there is an ulcer, full of madness, and foulness, and poison”, leading both characters to reflect on choosing to align with the wise and strong men or with the weak, who are “moved by feeling and not by reason”. The conflict subsides when both agree to stay home and go to bed to avoid temptation.[336]

Overall, the presence of conflict in the text creates suspense and tension and enhances the reader’s engagement. Moreover, the resolution of conflict and the arrival at a satisfying end or conclusion provide closure for the audience and can be associated with Aristotle’s notion of *catharsis*. *Catharsis* refers to the emotional release and purging that the audience experiences through engagement with dramatic performances. Over time, the term has gradually been redefined to also encompass the idea of moral purification and edification.[337] By incorporating emotional and relatable situations, such as anxieties about exams or challenging social interactions, the *Manuale* elicits sympathy and emotional responses from the readers and educates them on how they should react. Subsequently, by identifying and empathizing with the characters’ emotions and mentally participating in their conflicts, readers can get rid of potentially harmful emotions, through the closure of scenes and the resolution of these conflicts. This cathartic process helps readers process their own feelings about these experiences and reinforces their identity as students who share common struggles and triumphs; it also allows them to navigate university life more effectively,

[336] Ibid, 35-41.
[337] Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies*, 72-73.

as they have already encountered and emotionally resolved these situations through this book, preparing them to act – therefore perform – appropriately when similar situations arise.

6.1.2 Setting

Another vital component of performance is the establishment of a time and place where the action unfolds.[338] "A performance is whatever takes place between a marked beginning and a marked end" and there are "clear markers signalling the start and finish" that vary across genres and cultures, but could generally be likened to the set space of the stage and the opening and closing of the curtains.[339] Ritter draws a parallel with Easter and carnival scenes of medieval plays, in which characters appear and depart in similar ways.[340]

The *Manuale* provides the reader with hints of a setting for the entire book, as well as the actions of individual scenes and chapters. The details about the time and place of the overall narrative are not provided straightforwardly, but they are revealed through the dialogue, offering clues, locality and time-specific terms that enable contemporary readers to navigate and current scholars to infer the provenance and timeline of the book. In this chapter, I will concentrate on the settings of the individual chapters, as the book's provenance has already been discussed in the chapter on dissemination.[341] To recap, the narrative is set in Heidelberg around the year 1490.[342]

The temporal settings of the individual chapters are conveyed as hints through the characters' statements and mostly refer to the time of day in which the action occurs or reference past or future

[338] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 156.
[339] Ibid, 51.
[340] Ritter, *Über den Quellenwert und Verfasser des sogen*, 6.
[341] See my chapter on dissemination.
[342] Zarncke, 224.

events. These references function to open and close the scenes, provide internal structure within each chapter and educate the readers about the university schedule. The newcomer's anxious introductory line, "I've just arrived, and am unknown here" establishes the temporal context, and the teacher's response, "I shall take you to the rector immediately", highlights the expected timeline and urgency upon a freshman's arrival and initial interactions at the university.[343]

During deposition, Bart and Cam, urge each other to act "quickly" because the *beanus* is "fainting", and, after the confession, Bart says that the freshman must provide a dinner for the depositors and masters "this evening", suggesting that the entire initiation took place during the day.[344] In chapter 3 concerning lectures, Bart announces, "I saw it announced today that Master Jodocus will read the *libri elenchorum* … at eleven o'clock; and in the morning, I believe, but at twelve o'clock, at the same place, we shall hear the *libri physicorum* from Master Peter; and after noon a lecture will be given by Master James in the school room on the *libri de anima*". Hence, the conversation occurs early in the morning of that day. The chapter wraps up with "I must go now".[345]

In chapter 6 and 7, the curtains fall with "Night is coming now, and the chimneys smoke" and "It's getting dark, now, as you see. Tomorrow morning as soon as I wake up, I'll take care of you".[346] Chapter 8 begins with chapters "the breakfast bell" ringing, while chapter 11 ends with "But it's time for dinner".[347] Chapter 12 starts early in the morning when Cam informs Bart that he's heading to the disputation that he "yesterday" decided to attend, advises him to hurry, and concludes with "It's time for breakfast", demonstrating the students' schedule.[348] Another kind of

[343] Ibid, 3.
[344] Ibid, 9, 2 / 10, 11.
[345] Ibid, 11-12.
[346] Ibid, 19, 31 / 21, 27-29.
[347] Ibid, 22, 1 / 30, 7-8.
[348] Ibid, 31, 16 / 32, 16.

timeframe is also established; while they are discussing a prohibited book, we encounter the reference “Why wasn’t this the rule in our time?” revealing that Bart and Cam have now progressed in the faculty of arts.[349]

Another aspect of a student’s agenda becomes known when Cam mentions the evening dances, but Bart eventually convinces him to stay home and “go to bed, and tomorrow, as they say, I’ll get up whole and with a whole skin”.[350] In chapter 17, Bart expresses his astonishment at the number of students, commenting, “I don’t recall a time at which there was such a mob as there is now”.[351] Finally, the friends’ farewell suggests they are still attending university together because Bart declines Cam’s invitation with “I haven’t time now”, adding, “There’s time yet. I’m going to stay longer, and we’ll get together more often”.[352]

The spatial settings of each chapter are also communicated through clues in the characters’ utterances. Specifically, the German context is established through the characters’ origins and mentions of neighbouring German towns, while the place of action is conveyed in the form of vocabulary pertaining to university buildings, surroundings, and nearby locations. The first chapter’s freshman “from Ulm” arrives at “this kind university”, is accompanied by his master to the “rector’s office” to be registered and agrees to have his initiation in the master’s “sanctum”.[353]

The initiation scene begins with Cam sensing the odour and instructing “Look into all the corners of the house”, likely referring to the master’s sanctum; later, Cam urges Bart to “run quickly to our stable” since “the apothecary is too far away”. The chapter also mentions “the garden where the

[349] Ibid, 33, 5.
[350] Ibid, 41, 20-21.
[351] Ibid, 44, 19-21.
[352] Ibid, 46, 18-24.
[353] Ibid, 3-4.

sewer has its outlet", a "bench" beside the protagonist, and references their "lodging house".[354] A Heidelberg landmark is introduced when Bart announces that a master will be lecturing "near the door of the Church of the Holy Ghost", another will be speaking "in the school room", while a third will present a book "at his home".[355]

Later, Cam suggests a walk "to the fields and to the meadow" where they are guided through "the gate of St. James" or "the lower gate", and Bart considers taking a swim in Neckar. The reader is then immersed in the surrounding flora and fauna until the two friends finally decide to "get back to town".[356] When Bart mentions he travelled from Erfurt to Heidelberg, Cam recommends he lodge in "that corner house, decorated with paintings".[357] Chapter 11 references the "kitchen", the "college bath house", and the stinky "lodgings", while chapter 13 adds "the lecture room of the ordinary disputation" and brings up Cam's and Bart's hometowns.[358] The following chapter mentions "the church for worship", "the dance hall", and "Arnold's house", while chapter 16 transports the reader to the external town life by referencing the princes' procession, the "juggler's exhibition", a church sermon, the order of "the Friars Minor of Heidelberg", and the "jousts in the marketplace".[359] The "market" is mentioned again in chapter 17, along with "all the dorms and lodgings" that are full due to the "mob" of students, the "bakers" of town, the "Swabians", "Cologne" and "Leipzig".[360]

In conclusion, the references to time and place-specific terms in the *Manuale* function to mark the temporal and spatial boundaries of the text, shaping the readers' perception and constructing the

[354] Ibid, 4-9.
[355] Ibid, 11-12.
[356] Ibid, 17-19.
[357] Ibid, 20-21.
[358] Ibid, 28-30 / 33-35.
[359] Ibid, 35-37 / 41-44.
[360] Ibid, 44-45.

temporal and spatial imaginaries associated with scholarly life and community. The timeframe that is implied makes the text relevant and current, helping the readers comprehend the university's typical schedule and their duties. References to Heidelberg landmarks, German regions, and academic context focus the readers' attention and function as "barriers to perception".[361] These mentions contribute to the creation of Goffman's concept of "social establishment" of identity performance, which he defines as "any place surrounded by fixed barriers to perception in which a particular kind of activity regularly takes place".[362]

In the *Manuale*, this social establishment is the Heidelberg academic environment where higher learning and student life – thus the performance of scholarly identities – occur. However, the temporal and spatial hints in the text are not so restrictive, so, as Haskins observes, the content of the book is applicable to any German university.[363] This broader applicability allows inclusion and contributes to the identity formation of the imagined community of medieval students in the German-speaking area and maybe beyond. The landscape conveyed through the dialogue is shaped by a selection and omission of places and references, a literary process that forms an imagined "map". This mapping fosters the inclusion of scholars, with the reader as a future member, and the exclusion of outsiders; this dichotomy facilitates the formation of the collective identity of the 15th-century German scholars.[364]

[361] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 66.
[362] Ibid, 152.
[363] Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, 85.
[364] Tally, *Spatiality*, 50.

6.2 *Opsis* and *Melos*

Opsis, the spectacle, and *melos*, the music, constitute the visual and auditory aspects of dramatic representation. According to Kowzan's model of visual and auditive theatrical signs, originating both from the actor's body and from the stage itself, spectacle comprises facial, gestural, proxemic signs, makeup, hair, costumes, props, stage design and lighting, while auditive elements include language, sound effects, and music.[365] The *Manuale* does not feature any musical accompaniment, as is evident by the text and its printed form, which lack musical annotation. Additionally, it does not contain explicit stage directions, which is also the case in most medieval plays; this is why the reconstruction of medieval stages is mainly sourced from contemporary iconography.[366] Considering these points, I will handle this aspect of performance in the *Manuale* somewhat flexibly, dedicating my analysis to the visual and auditory images, cues and instructions that are conveyed by the text's language, guided by Kowzan's theatrical signs.

6.2.1 Visual Imagery

The *Manuale*'s most popular chapter, the freshman's initiation, contains the most signs, so I consider it reasonable to devote a large part of this section.[367] The scene opens with a sense awakening way, with Camillus, the first *depositor* in charge of this ceremony, noticing an intrusive smell and inquiring "What's the stink that's smelling up this place?", already demonstrating the spatial boundaries of the set. He immediately turns to the present "masters and fellows" – an indication existing audience – and asks them, "How can you sit in the midst of this smell?",

[365] Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies*, 82.
[366] Schoell, *Late medieval theatre in France and Germany*, 20.
[367] Zarncke, 4-10.

probably shifting his gaze towards them. He then declares, “I can hardly close my nose to keep it out. I must go” and “I’m off! Come on, Bart”, suggesting physical movement.

Then, Bart initiates the investigation by urging Cam to “stay a little while”. Cam agrees and orders him to “look into all the corners of the house”, exclaiming with surprise, “What do I find here?” warning Bart to be careful when looking “this way” because “you can’t look at it without hurting your eyes”. A detailed description of the monster he has just encountered follows, creating a vivid image in the readers’ mind: “For this beast is horned, has ears like an ox, and his teeth, sticking out in both directions from his jaw, threaten to bite like a wild boar. He has a nose curved like an owl’s beak, and red and bleary eyes threatening rage”, summarizing, “To be brief, you surely remember having seen at some time the horrible figure of the devil? This animal is much more misshapen than he”, providing the necessary clues for picturing the beast’s appearance and, subsequently, the potential actor’s costume. To Cam’s urge to “get away from here quickly”, Bart insists, “I will look”, and both characters conclude that the beast is a *beanus* with a triple repetition. Here Bart takes the lead, commanding Cam to “be quiet” and declaring, “I’ll speak to him”.

After noticing the *beanus* is his compatriot, John, Bart provides numerous stage directions by describing his facial expressions and movement in space, as well as addressing the audience: “Shake hands”, “What are you sitting for, ass?”, “Don’t you see the masters’ present”, “He stands as stiff as a rod and he is not embarrassed although all eyes are fixed upon him”, “Look, all of you, see how easily he is exhausted”, “A moment ago he stood up, now he bends again”, “See how he draws in his neck!” Cam interrupts him and pretends to defend John, asking him to “cheer up” and offering him a glass, adding the necessary visual directions to picture – and perform – the interaction: “O you stupid boor, aren’t you afraid to touch the glass?”, “Would you dip your venomous beak … into the cup from which your learned masters are now drinking?”, “Taste the

wine – such sweet wine", "Drink water, muddy water, at the brook with the cattle", "Stick in your crooked snout there", "Draw in the water with your swollen lips". Bart commands, "Stop, that's enough", observing, "Come, look at his face. Isn't he weeping? Certainly his eyes are wet", revealing acting directions and providing background information, "When he heard his mother's name being mentioned, he was moved, and said to his comrade, whom he brought with him from home". Bart's lines also enclose an imagined message to John's parents, delivering a view into his emotions. Finally, the set of formulaic expressions for addressing the freshman, "O *beanus*, O ass, O foul goat, O evil smelling she-goat, O toad, O cipher, O shape of nothing, O thou absolute nonentity", contributes to the auditory imagery, along with "You don't answer, you only mumble; you don't speak Latin, but just stammer".

Hereafter, Bart gives a summary of all the steps to be followed, directing how "the horns are removed", "the teeth are pulled out", "ears are shortened with knives", how they "cure their weak eyes", remove "the hairs sticking from his nose", cut the "long and bristling beard" with "a very sharp razor made of an oak splinter", and the *beanus* eventually "confesses his crimes", indicating not only the acts to be performed but also the necessary equipment and props. More props are mentioned throughout the chapter, such as "pills made from melampus flowers and Greek White", "salve" made of "a little fat pressed from goat droppings, and water distilled from a virgin's turd", the "saw", "forceps", "basin", "razor", a "bench", and the "surplice".

The rest of the chapter brims with instructions revealing the depositors' moves and presence on stage. For example, the lines "Wait a little, I go to get my instruments … Bart, see that you comfort him meanwhile, for I'm off now, and will return shortly", and "Look, here is our Camillus. I marvel, Cam, at the speed you make; how quickly you have returned. Didn't you go to the

apothecary?" suggest the presence of a single stage where all action takes place, and the audience cannot see what is happening at other *loca*, such as the apothecary.[368]

Moreover, Cam and Bart frequently exchange direct instructions, either with each other or directed to the *beanus*, such as "Hand me the saw", "Check his attack, and restrain him", "Now look at your horns, violent beast", "Bart, here's one tooth, and now you have another", "Bring a basin, pour some water into it, and put in some fragrant herbs", "Hold your chin still, and don't move", "Now apply the ointment", "Run quickly to our stable and get some", "See, here he comes", "Take a handful", "Just look at his expression, see it now", "Look behind you", "Now begin, friend John, to confess all your sins", "Now go to the master, John". These utterances evoke visual and auditory imagery while simultaneously prescribing step-by-step directions for performing the ceremony.

Additionally, the detailed descriptions concerning the *beanus*' appearance and reactions, such as "How hard and deeply rooted are these horns! Look, the saw is broken, and almost all of its rotten teeth shattered", "He grows faint", "His expression has changed, and he doesn't keep a natural color", "Half alive, with bending knees, he sways about strangely", "So that this noise may not deafen us", and "You see how ugly he appears now" contribute to the visual and auditory imagery and serve to instruct the individual in the role of *beanus*, whose own words are never directly heard; instead, his responses and reactions are communicated through the depositors' utterances, such as "What do I hear? Did you steal geese and chickens every day from the peasants?" At the end of the chapter, we encounter the only direct instruction not internally addressed to any hero in the dialogue but to an external recipient, probably the actors or performers of the ceremony: "After the deposition, all will approach and say: Good luck to you, John!"[369]

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[368] Schoell, *Late medieval theatre in France and Germany*, 21.
[369] Zarncke, 10, 23-24.

Taking the intense visual and auditory imagery and stage direction of the *depositio* into account, I could reasonably argue the language of the 2nd chapter is not just performative, but perform*able*, suggesting it could easily be acted out to amuse or educate the scholarly community, or, more likely, that it served as a template for the actualization of the initiation ceremony. In this way, the passage not only describes the rite but shapes its execution within the scholarly community of 15th-century Germany. Moreover, the text's performativity immerses the reader into the ceremonial experience, functioning as a rehearsal for his own initiation.

Apart from chapter 2, there are subtler visual and auditory cues dispersed throughout the text. Phrases pointing to vision and creating visual imagery are encountered during their walk: "I'll lead you to green places, where lilies grow and flowerets bloom. A mottled kind of herb grows there", "Not only trees, but also a dense grove, where we may rest in the shade, and this meadow into which I'll lead you, is encircled by streams from whose murmuring we'll get a great deal of pleasure", "Look over there across the Neckar", "I see it", "Do you see? The manifold hue of the flowers stands out", "I see it nearby", "Look, it's not so far", "It delights the eye to see the fish darting hither and yon", "And what a flock of birds! See the stork near us", "On the right I see the brook swarming with fish; to the left there are almost all kinds of growing things", and "Night is coming now, and the chimneys smoke".[370]

More can be detected in other sections, such as "It's getting dark, now, as you see", "Do you see that corner house", and "Yes I see it", "Look, the table is set", "But look here", "I see a merchant to whom I must speak", "You might have seen everywhere in the court under the windows the filth of the night" and "Look at the walls and the houses", "You'd see something pleasant", "I see, it's

[370] Zarncke, 17-19.

a ring", "loveliness for the eyes, a crowd of women and girls", "don't you see the crowd of townies", "I see some", "Let's go to see them", "See, here it is", "Shall we go to see them?", "You'll see a gathering of men that many want to see", and "I'm glad to see you".[371]

References to physical actions and utterances suggesting movement within the setting are also frequent: "I shall take you to the rector immediately", "Hurry to my sanctum", "I must go now", "I'll write to my parents", "Just now I have some business with a visitor", "Shall we take a walk?", "Put on your hat, and let's start on our way", "I'll take you to a safe brook", "Let's get back to town", "Let's get up and go quickly", "Where are you going?", "To Heidelberg", "Let's go quickly, or we'll be late", "Now, let's get busy with the grub", "I'll take my food", "Try your drink", "I'll pull your hair", "I'll go with you. Wait for me a little, I've something to say to my master. I'll come shortly", "See, I did hurry", "I see my fellow-countryman Peter, I'll go to meet him", "I'm on my way", "Go, then", "I come to ask you", "Where are you coming from, Bart?", "Keep still", "I see my master; I'll go to him", "Won't you go with me?", "As for me, I'll stay here", "Bart, come here, please. I'll show you something", "Look at this. Do you see a girl going by now?", "Oh, go 'way", "Now I'll leave", and "I'll go to bed", "Stay here, and I'll show you a certain letter of Cicero", "glad you arrived safely", and "I'm going to my relative".[372] Some of these visual cues also serve to mark the beginning or end of scenes, aiding the progression of narrative and the change of subjects. On a deeper level, the visual guides allow the immersion of the reader into the text, as they give life to the description of daily routines, behaviours, and interactions within the academic environment.

[371] Ibid, 21-22 / 27-30 / 37, 7 / 39, 9 / 41-44.
[372] Ibid, 3-4 / 12, 21 / 17-18 / 22-23 / 31, 13-16 / 33-39 / 41-42 / 44, 7 / 46, 18-19.

6.2.2 Auditory Imagery

Abundant remarks address the auditory sense of the reader: “But listen”, “If you’ll listen to me”, “Go ahead and speak”, “Hold your tongue for a little while”, “Listen to just one word”, “Listen a minute”, “But let’s listen”, and “What do I hear?”[373] Although these comments are addressed to the characters, they indirectly draw the reader’s attention and emphasize sections of the text, often those conveying moral lessons.

A vivid auditory imagery is also evoked by utterances like “Take care lest your haste in reading make you stumble”, “Hear these books”, “Which teachers shall we hear?”, “We shall hear the *libri physicorum* from Master Peter”, “What reviews shall we hear?”, “He will interpret the comedies of Terence. Shall we go to hear him?”, “They’re silent when it’s most necessary to speak”, “I suppose you heard the report”, “Listen, Cam, what a beautiful harmony of the birds fills our ears”, “Behind us is a grove resounding with the symphony of birds; the nightingale sings, the crested lark is here with its song, and all the birds sweeten their voices”, “The breakfast bell has rung”, “We’d have been the talk of these fellows sitting here”, “You chatter too much”, “I haven’t heard a single word from you in Latin for a whole week”, “You’ll hear wonders”, “The statutes were read”, “I’ve heard them so many times that it bores me to listen to them anymore. I should usually prefer to hear our privileges”, “I’ve heard horrible news”, “It’s the town talk”, “Don’t you hear the trumpeters?”, and “We’ll go to church and hear the sermon”.[374]

Additionally, the repetition of formal and informal addressing formulas, such as “reverend master” and “friend”, creates a pattern that contributes to the auditory element of the text.[375] Adding to all the above, the dialogue form allows for direct utterances and emphasis on spoken Latin,

[373] Ibid, 11, 7 / 15, 23-28 / 22, 20 / 24, 28-29 / 29, 24 / 31, 32 / 36, 24.
[374] Ibid, 3, 20-21 / 11-12 / 15-16 / 19, 1-25 / 22, 1-29 / 28, 21 / 31, 20 / 33, 11-13 / 35, 17 / 40, 10 / 42-43.
[375] For example, ibid, 3,1 / 22, 13.

subsequently conveying the sound of Latin to the readers. Therefore, the Latin text itself generates aural stimuli for the readers and completes the auditory imagery of the university context.[376]

Conclusions

Overall, the *Manuale* does not feature the Aristotelian *opsis* and *melos* in the traditional sense; Aristotle himself established a dichotomy between the textual and theatrical aspects of drama, viewing opsis more as an "attraction" to the craft of dramatic text.[377] Similarly, I will regard the ample visual and auditory elements that the *Manuale* contains as enhancements that add to the narrative and make the educational experience more vivid and memorable. The all-encompassing and sensory-rich environment created through numerous optical and auditory cues in the text contributes to the dialogues' realism, captures the readers' imagination and attention, and allows them to visualize and mentally take part in the conversations and practices. The shared imagery formed through the text's performativity fosters a deep connection between the readers and the academic traditions, reinforcing the collective identity of the scholarly community, as the readers affirm their membership through mentally participating in the customs and everyday routines of university life. As a result, the academic values and practices are embedded in the readers' minds, contributing to their enactment and perpetuation.

[376] Adamska, "Media and Technology", 58.
[377] Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies*, 66.

6.3 *Lexis*, *Dianoia*, and *Ethos*

6.3.1 Bound by *Lexis*

The notion of *dianoia* refers to the thoughts and ideas contained in a text, while *ethos* reflects the heroes' specific traits and character revealed through their actions, words, and others' opinions of them. The text's language, examined in this entire chapter of my thesis, corresponds to Aristotle's notion of *lexis*.[378] A text's *lexis* reveals characters, advances the plot, and expresses themes. I combined these parts in the same chapter because we are dealing with a dialogue, where everything is words. Therefore, the *dianoia* of the *Manuale* is expressed through the characters' *lexis*, which in turn reveals their *ethos*. I will not delve into why these ideas align with 15th-century reality, as Zarncke and Seybolt address this in their notes.

6.3.2 *Dianoia*

The text's *dianoia* covers various areas, focusing on education, academic expectations, morals and values of the scholarly community. In the intellectual context, Latin is portrayed as the only acceptable language, as highlighted in the prologue and chapters 2 and 11, marking a clear distinguishing line between scholars and the laity. Therefore, reporting friends who use the vulgar tongue is seen as positive as it aids their progress.[379] Speech in general is a recurrent theme, given the two heroes are arts students mostly occupied with the trivium, especially logic. According to Cam, the study of liberal arts and poetry enhances one's eloquence, which is highly valued.[380] Eloquence is defined by clarity and brevity and is a vital quality of a good master.[381] The students

[378] Ibid, 69-70.
[379] Zarncke, 25-26.
[380] Ibid, 16.
[381] Gabriel, "The Ideal Master", 21-22.

praise their professor, “I haven’t seen any teacher who can explain so beautifully and clearly a thing hidden and particularly obscure, and give the elements of a subject so easily to beginners”.[382] Conversely, a preacher is criticized for his story-like sermons, though his wisdom is acknowledged.[383] Nominalists are also praised for their argumentative skills, and disputations are valued when they include individual ideas and confrontations of strong opponents.[384]

A scholar’s worth is tied to their deep knowledge and long-standing position, as noted in “some masters of twenty years’ standing … They have examined many books and writings, proved the keenness of their authors, and practised it in argument”.[385] Furthermore, fame must be based on scientific excellence; Bart states, “It would be disgraceful for famous men not to know those things” and Cam prefers Albertus Magnus over Saint Thomas Aquinas because “fame based on philosophy is more illustrious”, making the distinction between science and sanctity.[386] Masters whose ability does not match their fame are disapproved, as seen in Bart’s comment about the Leipzig doctor, “His fame is greater than his ability”.[387]

Ignorance is rebuked and used to undermine one’s rivals, as seen in the phrases “Rivals don’t understand the teaching of the most subtle Scotus”, “They aren’t able to perceive many distinctions that he has made”, and “The sacred mystery of poetic tales … the intellect of the dull can’t understand or comprehend at all”.[388] Also, students are advised to evaluate their readiness before pursuing courses beyond their reach; Bart wonders why Cam entered the course on *de anima* since “this book is of very little use to the unintelligent or those who lack preparation”.[389] Better

[382] Zarncke, 12, 10-18.
[383] Ibid, 43, 23-26.
[384] Ibid, 13-14 / 31-32.
[385] Ibid, 31, 24-26.
[386] Ibid, 13-14.
[387] Ibid, 45, 21-22.
[388] Ibid, 15-16.
[389] Ibid, 30, 18-20.

consideration is needed when applying to demanding fields like law, “lest at the end he give up his undertaking in disgrace”.[390] Failure is deemed disgraceful and the student who fails his examinations is terribly disgraced to his parents and laughed at.[391]

However, effort is encouraged, as Cam states, “Without labour and peril no one is able to attain anything great”.[392] Bart later warns that “the timid can’t do anything” and adds “Every beginning of anything is difficult, especially of the great things; but custom and frequent repetition lessen the irksomeness”.[393] Wisdom is treasured; “Wisdom is acquired by the study of letters”, Bart notes, and “that alone is the life of man”.[394] Medieval education was epitomized by the pursuit of understanding world order through comprehending God’s word, accessible to human reason.[395] Students are encouraged to devote themselves to study since “the university demands one’s unhampered strength”; however, when serious problems occur, such as poverty, their priorities must be adjusted; Bart tells the success story of “certain poor fellows” who, despite working as servants to wealthy students, were dedicated to “studying when the others slept” because they valued “learning, virtue, and knowledge of the liberal arts”.[396]

Therefore, students must eliminate all distractions; comedies of Terence, for example, are disapproved by Bart since they “deal with nuptials and lewd things, that inspire wantonness and passion in youths”.[397] Social events like dances also pose obstacles to learning and are condemned mostly because they involve women; Bart asserts, “Now in the dance hall, if you weigh it well,

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[390] Ibid, 17, 3-4.
[391] Ibid, 27, 4-5.
[392] Ibid, 17, 6-7.
[393] Ibid, 26.
[394] Ibid, 37, 12 / 39, 1.
[395] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 32-34.
[396] Zarncke, 45-46.
[397] Ibid, 15, 18-20.

there the thing is devilish; not prudence, but passion, not learning, not justice, not truth, but sham".[398]

The dual nature of women – characterized by external beauty and internal corruption – and the eternal battle between the physical and spiritual nature of men echo the ascetic ideal and the Church's teachings that women estrange men from God.[399] Women should, of course, be virgins, and being "deflowered" means that "someone else got the nut; if you wish, you may have the shell".[400] Students preoccupied with women are "bound to be so inflamed that in a fortnight you'll have no kind of appetite for study" and are considered weak and "easily moved" – exactly like a woman "who wants to look at everything".[401] This phraseology of flame and weakness is reminiscent of Goliardic poetry, especially the song "The confession of Golias".[402] Also, it is considered "insanity" to abandon one's studies to marry; only in one instance Bart tries to defend chaste women and Camillus views them as life companions.[403]

Other social events, too, are considered hindrances to learning. Besides the risk of running into "townies" who "seek occasion by fair means or foul to attack us", those events offer no real profit.[404] Bart comments on the juggler's exhibition he watched, "Nothing that's worth telling, or that gave me any pleasure" – reflecting the Horatian concept of pleasure and profit – and rejects attending the jousts because "no good will come from it".[405]

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[398] Ibid, 37, 14-16.
[399] Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, 226-227.
[400] Zarncke, 40, 3-4.
[401] Ibid, 38, 11-13 / 42, 23.
[402] Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*, 65-73.
[403] Zarncke, 39-40.
[404] Ibid, 41, 12-15.
[405] Ibid, 43.

The concept of profit permeates the *Manuale*. *Utilitas*, usefulness, and *proficere*, to profit, are mentioned more than 15 times throughout the text; even the title addresses students who want to "profit" from the university.[406] For example, Bart considers strolling unprofitable, but Cam argues that constant studying results in breakdown.[407] The value of lectures is also debated, with Cam asserting, "We learn nothing in the lectures, especially in the higher books, namely physics and the like" and "Students get more from the reviews than from either lectures or exercises". Bart informs that masters are enjoined in delivering "useful" lectures but also stresses that attentive students can benefit from every teaching.[408]

Moreover, the value of the university itself is not taken for granted. While parents make sacrifices to send their children to university, students approach the university critically, with Bart saying, "I wanted to try out the usage of the university".[409] Medieval education was "too practical", purely intellectual and application-oriented, excluding creativity, imagination, or art; "it taught men to think and to work" for the increasing administrative needs of urban society. This, according to Rashdall, is medieval education's service to mankind: "It placed the government of the world in the hands of educated men"; even if rulers were uneducated themselves, they had to rule through an educated class.[410]

The text also depicts morals and ethical conduct within the university, particularly respect for rules. When Cam rages about the wolf, Bart reminds him that the published statute leaves room for no excuse he must respect the preceptors.[411] Cam seems to have learnt his lesson, as he later states,

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[406] See Appendix A.
[407] Zarncke, 17, 22-28.
[408] Ibid, 11, 12-23 / 13, 21-23.
[409] Ibid, 3, 15-17 / 20, 13-14.
[410] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol.* 3, 456.
[411] Zarncke, 28-29.

"It isn't for us to judge … but rather obey the rules".[412] Table manners such as being on time, washing one's hands, taking only their allotted share letting older students get the best, eating quietly and not "falling upon the food like pigs", for they are "Christians", are another aspect of respect of rules.[413] Moreover, honour, grace and reputation are recurring themes; the offensive stench in student lodgings disparages the scholars' reputation, which masters strive to protect by enforcing rules.[414] Respect for masters and older students is cultivated, as seen in the freshman's instruction, table manners and the letter-prompts.[415]

Trust and betrayal are also discussed, with students calling each other "traitors" for reporting to officials for falling asleep or for speaking in the vulgar tongue. Betrayers are considered "parasites" who get jobs through favours and flattery.[416] However, Cam is advised to bribe the examiners with 3 or 4 florins to pass and give a bottle of wine to the messenger to do his errand.[417] Perjury is another topic both condemned and encouraged; the *beanus* is a sinner for perjuring – along with violating a virgin and stealing geese and chickens from the peasants – yet Cam considers taking a fake oath of being present in lectures and Bart just teases him with "Then you'll be a liar. But you have healthy complexion, and the lie won't show on your face".[418] Later, Bart exposes the institution's corruption: "Every promoted bachelor is perjured, and everyone knows that few of the masters are free from this disease".[419]

Truth is cherished both intellectually and morally. The nominalists' fallacies are juxtaposed with "true science", Cam declares "I love the truth", and the two protagonists exchange remarks like

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[412] Ibid, 31, 7-8.
[413] Ibid, 22-24.
[414] Ibid, 29-30.
[415] Ibid, 10, 3-9 / 23, 19-24 / 46-48.
[416] Ibid, 24-25.
[417] Ibid, 27, 6-10 / 34, 8.
[418] Ibid, 9, 35 / 11, 28-29.
[419] Ibid, 28, 3-5.

"You can't listen to the truth".[420] Truth is also valued in friendship, as seen when Bart heartily thanks Cam for not hesitating to speak frankly about women.[421] Ideas on friendship are also presented: friendship is agreed upon and based on mutual esteem and liking, and one's complaints about the other should be discussed privately and not in public; reciprocity is also highlighted by Cam's quote, "Don't do to others as you would not that they should do to you", and borrowing something obligates one to return the favour.[422] Sharing possessions, advice and secrets, and keeping promises are essential aspects of friendship, too; yet, the ultimate protector is always God, and "those who hope in him have never been abandoned".[423]

The wealth and variety of the text's *dianoia*, in my opinion, demonstrates that the *Manuale* surpasses mere linguistic instruction and offers intellectual and ethical guidance. These ideas are transmitted to the reader through the enactive *lexis*, using dialogue and grammatical persons, aligning his identity performance with the collective performance of the academic society. It is acknowledged that performers offer an idealized performance, concealing actions inconsistent with the expected standards and creating the "impression of infallibility".[424] Consequently, the reader has now learnt what is expected of him and is prepared to take responsibility for his performance. Hence, his performance will serve the objective of the academic community, which, like every team's, is the reaffirmation of common values and "to sustain the definition of the situation" – in this case, the university as an institution and ideal.[425]

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[420] Ibid, 12-13 / 23, 9 / 39, 5.
[421] Ibid, 46, 14-15.
[422] Ibid, 17, 15 / 25, 1-27.
[423] Ibid, 34-35.
[424] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 22-26.
[425] Ibid, 87.

6.3.3 *Ethos*

Moving on to *ethos*, the book features 4 or 5 heroes: the master and anonymous student in chapter 1, the *beanus* John in chapter 2, and the students Bartoldus and Camillus who dominate the rest of the book. I suggest that there might be 4 or 5 heroes because it is unclear whether the anonymous freshman can be identified with John. It makes sense to identify them since the freshman has his deposition after matriculation. Also, the anonymity of the 1st freshman can be explained in this way; otherwise, it is odd for a conversational manual to omit the very basic question "What's your name?" in the opening chapter. However, the anonymous freshman comes from Ulm, while John is called *conterraneus*, "fellow countryman", by both Bartoldus and Camillus, which is incompatible, as Bartoldus is from Erfurt and Camillus from Heidelberg.[426] I interpret this fake solidarity as part of their hazing and identify the anonymous novice as John.

The *ethos* of the frightened yet respectful anonymous novice and the kind, supportive master establishes a tone of humility but also encouragement that the freshman reader needs for the rest of the book. *Beanus* John is beastly, scared, nervous and furious about the situation, as seen in the indirect letter to his parents in Bart's words, corresponding to Goffman's concept that a new performer is often not ready, conveying incapacity, lack of control, anxiety, guilt, or disrespect.[427]

The protagonists, Bartoldus and Camillus, present some inconsistencies, particularly regarding their background information. Both study in the arts faculty in Heidelberg; Cam is skilled in medicine but considers pursuing law.[428] Bart, likely in holy orders and a theologian-to-be, maintains his identity consistently except when he justifies his clumsy eating with "I'm neither a

[426] Zarncke, 5-6 / 20.
[427] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 34.
[428] Zarncke, 7, 2-3 / 16, 28-29.

theologian nor a priest".[429] This inconsistency might be partially explained by the scenario's needs, as the deposition requires one physician to remove the horns and one theologian to execute the confession. Also, Bart states he is from Erfurt, and explains the nominalist method of the university, but also refers to his town as if it were foreign: "Haven't you heard that in certain countries they have whole universities, as at Vienna, Erfurt, and as once it was here?"; and, although he praises nominalists, he later accuses them of hollow arguments and sophisms.[430] Similarly, Cam initially rejects nominalism but later supports both methods when discussing his university customs.[431] Lastly, Bart complains about his financial status, however, Cam calls him wealthy.[432]

When we view the *Manuale* as a whole, the text presents two student archetypes; Cam appears hot-tempered, spontaneous, and somewhat neglectful of his studies, while Bartoldus is diligent, reserved, and mature. This dynamic is apparent since Cam typically asks the questions and Bart offers the answers, as seen in outlining the process of the deposition, providing information on courses, explaining nominalism, and presenting the requirements for law.[433] Also, Cam always suggests outside activities like going for a walk, joining Arnold's party, attending dances, or watching the princes' procession and the tournaments, with Bart consistently discouraging and grounding him.[434] Additionally, Bart reports Cam to officials for not obeying the rules, while Cam admits he has not completed his courses and considers perjuring his attendance and bribing the examiners.[435] Their exchanges are illustrative of this dynamic: Cam finds the lecture "purposeless"

[429] Ibid, 22, 15.
[430] Ibid, 13-14 / 20, 2 / 32, 9-10.
[431] Ibid, 12, 27 / 20-21.
[432] Ibid, 17, 11-12 / 46, 5.
[433] Ibid, 6-7 / 10-11 / 13-14 / 16-17.
[434] Ibid, 17, 20 / 37, 4-34 / 42-43.
[435] Ibid, 25-27.

and the subject “too deep and serious”, Bart responds, “I suppose you don’t pay attention”, and Cam leaves with “Ha, ha, nevertheless I’ll do as I please”.[436] They also seem aware of their contrast, with Cam calling Bart an “old-fashioned theologian”, and Bart deeming Cam lazy and quarrelsome.[437]

However, in some instances, the roles are reversed. Chapter 5 begins with Bart’s dogmatic critique of comedies and Cam defends the value of poetry and arts.[438] Later, Cam guides Bart to finding lodging and reassures him, “I’ll take care of you in the morning”.[439] Moreover, Cam is the one to remind Bart of proper table manners and clothing rules.[440] Finally, when Bart falls in love, Cam has the role of the admonisher.[441] Thus, both characters exhibit aspects of the other’s side, offering each other valuable lessons, and they take turns presenting important parts of the text’s *dianoia*, both embodying the potential ideal student.

In summary, there is a smart balance between consistency and inconsistency in Bart and Cam’s *ethos*, as conveyed through the text’s *lexis*. This, along with the autonomous nature of each chapter’s plot, suggests that the characters might have been used by the author primarily as instruments for the transmission of the text’s *dianoia*. In other words, Bart and Cam’s individual personalities are significant only to the extent that they support the juxtaposition and transmission of ideas, making the *Manuale* an impactful performance guide. If their personalities were entirely inconsistent, it would undermine the narrative’s depth and coherence, reducing the book to a mere conversational dictionary, which would only require two random interlocutors to achieve its aim.

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[436] Ibid, 30, 10-28.
[437] Ibid, 41-42.
[438] Ibid, 15-17.
[439] Ibid, 21.
[440] Ibid, 23, 19-26 / 31, 4-8.
[441] Ibid, 36-37.

At the same time, the heroes embody both the archetypal "good versus bad student" and the ideal student, fostering simultaneously identification and direction. The subtle confusion depicts the freshman's realistic psychosynthesis and allows readers to identify with both as attainable role models. By not knowing in advance who is right and wrong and not being inclined to always adhere to the good student's side, the reader is unbiased to explore both perspectives equally, perceiving the book more as a discussion rather than a lecture. Also, I believe this is why John the freshman disappears and does not take on the role of one of the main interlocutors; if so, the text could not delve into detailed subjects and difficult terms, as everything would have to be explained to him in a one-sided manner. So, enactment of the student's future identity, and not lecturing, is the focus of *Manuale*. This enactment relates to the Aristotelian *mimesis* that overarches the whole concept of performance.[442] Considering mankind has an innate mimetic drive and that "language is the main sphere of *mimesis*", I relate the chapter on dramatic elements to my language chapter; the enactive *lexis* of the text paves the way for the reader to emulate the characters' ideas, attitudes, behaviour and growth**,** not just their language.

Conclusions

The *Manuale* is not a traditional drama – the only exception being chapter 2, which I regard as a prompt for the execution of the deposition ritual – but rather a series of autonomous yet interconnected acts that collectively illustrate the life and growth of a student. These acts feature many dramatic elements such as dialogue, plot, conflict, setting, characters and ideas, which convey the educational content in a manner that is not only engaging but performative for the

[442] Balme, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Studies*, 67-75.

readers. These elements correspond to Aristotle's constituent parts of drama and can significantly influence the reader's identity construction through imitation (*mimesis*) and emotional purging (*catharsis*). When combined with realistic scenarios, immersive vocabulary, and performative diction – including prescriptive utterances and grammatical persons that include the reader and exclude outsiders – the text becomes not just performative but enactive. Therefore, it becomes the rehearsal for what Goffman describes as "identity performance in everyday life". Since this performance involves the enactment of shared norms, ideas, values, and, of course, the Latin language, also shapes the collective identity of the imagined community of scholars.

7. RITUAL

7.1 Rites of Passage and Liminality

The *Manuale*'s dramatic qualities can be better understood when examined through the lens of ritual, another type of performance that connects drama and anthropology and is defined as a series of established, stylized, repetitive actions often infused with symbolic meaning.[443] Arnold van Gennep in 1909 introduced the concept of the "rites of passage", ceremonies that enable transition from one defined state of being to another equally defined, such as birth, marriage, funeral, social or professional status advancement.[444] These ceremonies are divided into 3 types: rites of separation from the previous state (preliminal), rites of transition (liminal), and rites of incorporation into the new state (postliminal).[445] This classification mirrors the process of transition itself, facilitated through 3 phases: separation, liminality, and aggregation, which constitute the skeleton of all such rites.[446] In my final chapter, I examine whether these "universal" elements of ritual apply to the *Manuale*.

The medieval university experience involved numerous rites that marked milestones in a student's journey, most of which are referenced in the *Manuale*. The initial phase, separation, can be seen already in a boy's physical departure from his hometown to study, signifying the detachment from his non-academic life.[447] Arrival at the university is followed by his matriculation; in chapter 1, the master helps the student register at Heidelberg University and advises him to take the oath without fear.[448] Matriculation involved paying a fee and swearing obedience to the university; by

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[443] Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 1559.
The relevant literature is vast; for the field's current state see Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*.
[444] Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 3.
[445] Ibid, 11.
[446] Ibid, vii.
[447] Zarncke, 20.
[448] Ibid, 3-4.

the 15th century, during the "national era" of European universities, matriculation had shifted from being the master's responsibility to that of the rector, who kept written records, *matricula*, many of which have survived from the Holy Roman Empire, known for its thorough documentation.[449] Matriculation marks the boy's separation from layperson status and the beginning of his academic journey.

Then comes the novice's initiation.[450] In the 15th-century Holy Roman Empire, the rite was called *depositio cornuum* since it involved the removal of the freshman's "horns", symbolizing the breaking of ties with his past crude self and his entry into the academic community.[451] In chapter 1, the terrified novice and the master arrange the practical details for the execution of this severe custom of admission, such as the location, guests and cost. There is evidence of many statutes attempting to regulate it, however, in 17th-century Germany, it evolved into an even harsher obligatory ritual called pennalism.[452] The custom survives today in fraternities and sororities' hazing of freshmen.[453]

The *Manuale*'s 2nd chapter provides the oldest and most detailed description – or prescription – of this ritual. Later accounts of it appear in 16th and 17th-century treatises, such as Hoffmann's *Laus Depositionis Beanorum* and Gellius' *Dissertationem Historicam De Depositione Academica*, while illustrative woodcuts are found in Dinckel's *De origine, causis, typo, et ceremoniis illius ritus, qui vulgo in scholis Depositio appellatur*.[454] Two senior students, called depositors, lead the

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[449] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 177-180.
[450] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 1*, 288, note 1.
[451] Ibid, *Vol. 3*, 376-381.
[452] Ibid, 381.
[453] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 165.
[454] For the digitised editions see:
http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-8863-13s/start.htm
https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10888548?page=3
https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10206617?page=44, accessed 25/08/2024.

procedure; in this case, Bart appears to have what Goffman calls the "directive dominance" of the performance.[455] When they first discover the *beanus*, he outlines the necessary steps, followed by numerous directive utterances.[456] Cam acts as the physician who removes the freshman's horns with tools, while Bart is the priest responsible for his confession. As Austin notes, a performative utterance often serves as "a or the leading incident" of a performance.[457] In the incorporation phase of deposition, Bart's performative utterance, "This shall be your penance", performs the purging, sealing the freshman's acceptance into the academic fraternity.[458]

The *beanus* is, therefore, a liminal persona. The concept of liminality, developed by Victor Turner in the 1960s, refers to the transitional stage between two states of being, where the individual is "betwixt and between", neither fully in one state nor the other, characterized by ambiguity, challenge, and suspension. The liminal phase is crucial because this is where the transformation happens. Turner describes "liminal entities" or "threshold people" as often "possessing nothing", like the 1st chapter's novice telling the master he is all alone, as being "disguised as monsters", as "passive or humble", which could partly explain the *beanus*' silence in the dialogue, and as individuals who "must obey their instructors implicitly and accept arbitrary punishment without complaint".[459]

By further interpreting "instructors" and "punishment" as university officials and regulations and noting that liminal beings are "reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew and endowed with additional powers to enable them to cope with their new station in life", it is valid to argue that the student persona as a whole is a liminal entity. Students are neither fully

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[455] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 62.
[456] Zarncke, 4-10.
[457] Austin, *How to do things with words*, 6-8.
[458] Zarncke, 10, 3.
[459] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 94-95.

scholars nor completely detached from their previous identities; transformation and acquisition of new skills occur through everyday intellectual and social challenges and are affirmed by smaller rituals like lectures, disputations, and, eventually, examinations.

In chapter 10, Cam is stressed about examinations. There are different kinds of examinations, and Rashdall's quoted terminology is noteworthy since he uses dramatic and ritualistic terms in his historical description: before the arts bachelor's degree, the student had to "play as a master" in a "preliminary" disputation called determination. Success in his "performance" led to the *baccalaureus artium* degree, mentioned in chapter 17.[460] This degree for most students marked the end of their university days due to financial constraints; only a few advanced to the degree of *licentiatus artium*, allowing them to teach.[461]

Examination thus signified the ultimate performance and affirmation of the student's identity and determined whether he could proceed to the incorporation phase, his graduation and the *inceptio magistri*, the new master's inaugural lecture, including a sequence of ceremonial acts and *insignia*, such as wearing the *cappa* and the *biretta*, receiving the book from the presiding Regent, the kiss of fellowship, taking his seat upon the magisterial Cathedra, and offering a celebratory meal, symbolizing the attainment of his new status and his position into the community of teachers. In the higher faculties of law, theology, and medicine, degrees were obtained through similar rituals.[462]

Apart from being autonomous rituals, these rites can be respectively seen as the separation (matriculation and initiation), transition (examinations) and incorporation (graduation) phases

[460] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 3*, 443-448.
[461] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 234-235.
[462] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe Vol. 3*, 451-453.

within the total university-ritual. This perspective interprets education and academic social life as a liminal experience, during which students undergo significant identity transformation. Rituals influence not only the personal identity but also the collective. According to Schechner's scheme, two functions of performance are marking or changing identity and creating community and collective memory.[463] Turner uses the term *communitas* to describe how the liminal period particularly fosters equality and communion, emphasized by the shared experience of transition and submission to ritual elders.[464] Notably, the *Manuale* uses the term "equals" to describe the freshman's peers during the deposition.[465]

7.2 Epilogue:

The *Manuale* as a "Ritual" and the Liminality of the Reader

My final take on the *Manuale* is to view it as a ritual metaphor. Following the 3 stages of rites, it guides the reader from his perceptual separation from his past self towards a transformative experience leading to his incorporation into the scholarly world. Employing Schechner's theory of deconstruction and reconstruction of self, the reader starts as a pre-existing subject; while experiencing student life as performed in this book, his identity becomes deconstructed into its "bits", the fundamental units of performance.[466] This deconstruction reflects the suspension inherent in the liminal phase of any rite, which allows the identity to be reconstructed and infused with the book's content.

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[463] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 165.
[464] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95-96.
[465] Zarncke, 10, 1, *(a)equis*.
[466] Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 321.

However, this new self "can be known only as it is enacted". [467] The *Manuale*, as I have analysed in all previous chapters, facilitates enactment through its form, language and performative elements. The *Manuale* is thereby a liminal experience and text, balancing between performance and educational guidance; its dramatic nature is not exclusively rooted in the presence of some traditional theatrical elements, but in a special type of conflict, the conflict between the reader's past and future identity. For this reason, the reader is a liminal entity undergoing transformation while reading it, and the *Manuale* serves as an induction "ritual"; however, it is a "ritual" executed entirely through language. Those "bits" can, therefore, be identified as all the enactive utterances in the book, performing the shared Latin language, behaviours, ideas, values, and emotions, all of which gradually complete the puzzle of the student's personal and collective identity. And, since rituals possess the power to mark borders, the reader is not the same after experiencing the *Manuale*; from now on, he is an "insider".[468]

[467] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 120.
[468] Classen, *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, 1507.

FURTHER RESEARCH

The *Manuale* provides fertile ground for further research. Building on my discussion of its wide dissemination, future studies could be conducted on the materiality of its early printed editions and the only manuscript version, Edinburgh MS 210. By analyzing their physical characteristics, such as size, paper quality, layout, and signs of use, and comparing them to contemporary educational or other kinds of texts, researchers could reveal how printing practices affected its reception and use. Additionally, investigating the networks between printers and universities could offer new perspectives on how print culture influenced the formation of scholarly communities and identities.

Moreover, by expanding the analysis on performative utterances, researchers could apply comparative discourse analysis on this and other medieval student manuals, to examine how their dialogic structures and interaction patterns constructed scholarly identities and reinforced academic traditions, offering insights into the different linguistic strategies used across different regions, cultural contexts and periods. Such a study could highlight regional variations and also demonstrate the evolution of student manuals across Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

In my thesis, I explored how the late 15th-century *Manuale Scholarium*, transcends its primary function as a Latin conversational guide to actively construct the personal and collective identities of new university students.

In chapter 1, by mapping out its early publishing journey and the networks of printers involved, I demonstrated how the text reached a broad academic audience across German-speaking regions and beyond, creating an intellectual "imagined community" of scholars who simultaneously consumed its content.

In chapter 2, I examined how its manual form and chapter-based structure, mirroring the progression of a student's academic journey, made the text applicable, accessible, relatable, and engaging. Particularly, its dialogue format elevates the text's function from mere instruction to a vivid and formative experience, in which the readers gradually internalize and embody the roles and responsibilities of scholars, ultimately allowing them to mentally rehearse their new identities.

In chapter 3, focusing on the *Manuale*'s language, I demonstrated that, while the text was intended to improve students' Latin as a part of their student identity performance, its flawed grammar and conversational tone presented Latin – and learning in general – as a constant process of mastery, making it more approachable and relatable, and creating a shared space where identity is continually developed and challenged. The shared imagery and knowledge, as well as the creation of insiders and outsiders of the academic community is also fostered by the text's vocabulary and interplay of grammatical persons. The latter, in combination with the various types of prescriptive and performative utterances, facilitate enactment of all the parts of student identity described in this book.

In the final chapters, I explored how the dramatic and ritualistic elements of the *Manuale* aid the reader's transformation. The presence of many of Aristotle's dramatic elements, such as mini-plots, conflict resolution, setting, visual and auditory imagery, contemporary ideas and values, mediated by the protagonists' characters, contribute to the reader's immersion and imitation. The text also includes many rites of passage, which serve as metaphors for the readers' shared journey, guiding them through their liminal phase between novice and scholar. All these interactive and performative elements, synthesized in its view as a mirror of a "ritual", highlight the *Manuale*'s function as a vehicle for identity formation, through its ability to deconstruct the reader's prior identity and reconstruct it, embedding him into the academic community as a partaker of the shared student identity. The reader's experience of the *Manuale Scholarium* and its transformative qualities constitute the "before" that will always be in the service of the "after".[469]

TELOS.

[469] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 101.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Manuale scholarium qui studentium universitates aggredi ac postea in eis proficere instituunt.[470]
Manual for scholars who propose to attend universities of students and to profit therein.[471]

Prologus.
Prologue.

Capitulum I. *Qualiter novelli studentes alloqui debent magistros suos, ut in matriculam intitulentur ac etiam a beanio deponentur*.
Chapter 1. How new students should address their masters, that they may be entered upon the register of the university, and initiated.

Capitulum II. *De duobus iuvenibus infestantibus beanum et vocitantur Camillus et Bartoldus, simulantes nescire hic esse beanum sed foetorem sentire*.
Chapter 2. Concerning two youths, called Camillus and Bartoldus, plaguing a *beanus*; pretending that they do not know he is a *beanus*, but that he is an offensive smell.

Capitulum III. *Quomodo discipuli de exercitiis lectionibusque loquantur*.
Chapter 3. How the students talk about the exercises and lectures.

Capitulum IIII. *De altricatione viarum et disciplinarum*.
Chapter 4. A discussion of methods and courses of study.

Capitulum V. *De altricatione poeticae ac iuridicae facultatis*.
Chapter 5. Debate on the faculties of poetry and law.

Capitulum VI. *De communibus locutionibus cum spaciantur*.
Chapter 6. Their usual discourse when they go walking.

Capitulum VII. *In quo alter alterum de itinere interrogat*.
Chapter 7. In which one questions the other concerning his journey.

Capitulum VIII. *Quo pacto in mensa loquuntur*.
Chapter 8. How they talk at table.

Capitulum VIIII. *De quibusdam altercationibus inter scolares*.
Chapter 9. Concerning quarrels among the students.

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[470] Zarncke, 1-48.
[471] Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, 84.

Capitulum X. *Qualiter inter se loquantur, cum ad examen se submittere intendunt*.
Chapter 10. How they talk with one another when they intend to present themselves for examinations.

Capitulum XI. *Quomodo de lupo loquuntur statutisque in bursis aut collegiis*.
Chapter 11. How they talk about the wolf and the statutes in the lodgings and colleges.

Capitulum XII. *Est de quibusdam communibus locutionibus inter scolares*.
Chapter 12. Various conversations among students.

Capitulum XIII. *De quibusdam communibus*.
Chapter 13. Commonplaces.

Capitulum XIIII. *Qualiter studentes de mulieribus loquantur, cum amore earum inflammati sunt*.
Chapter 14. How the students talk about women when they are in the flame of love.

Capitulum XV. *Ut praecedens narrat de mulieribus*.
Chapter 15. Tells of women as before.

Capitulum XVI. *De communibus locutionibus inter studentes*.
Chapter 16. Commonplaces among students.

Capitulum XVII. *Quomodo respondere quis debeat, cum in primo de universitatis ritu interrogetur*.
Chapter 17. How one ought to reply when questioned concerning the customs of the university.

Capitulum XVIII. *De modo petendi personas honestas aut ad prandium aut ad collationes*.
Chapter 18. The manner of inviting distinguished persons to breakfast or collations.

TELOS.[472]

[472] Seybolt, *The Manuale Scholarium*.

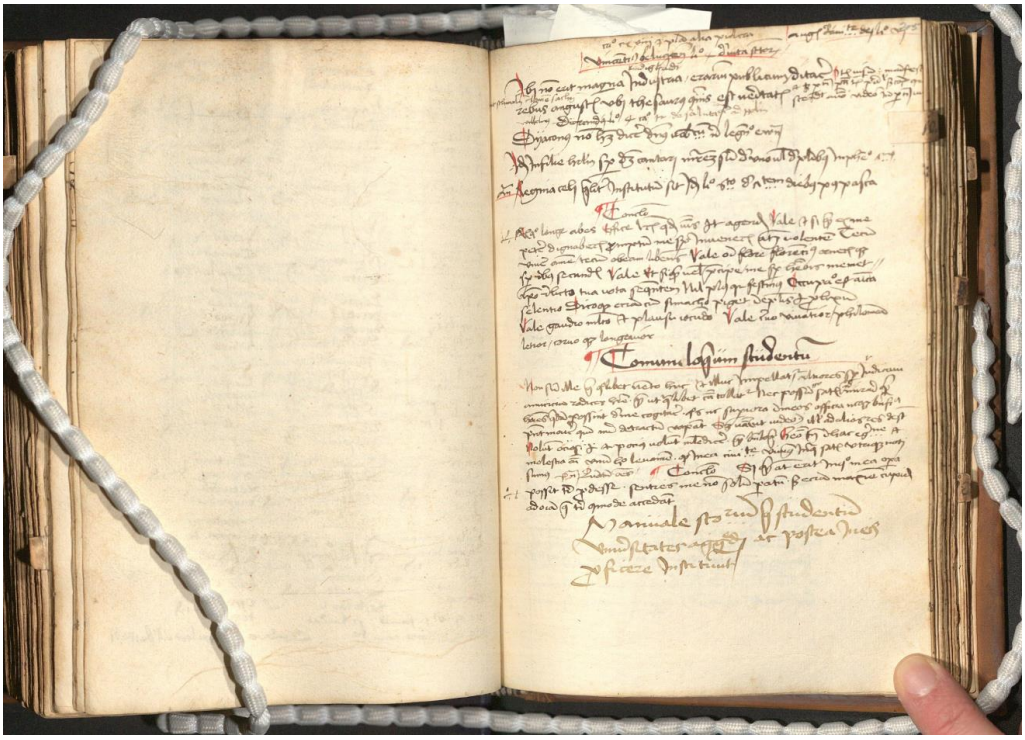
Appendix B

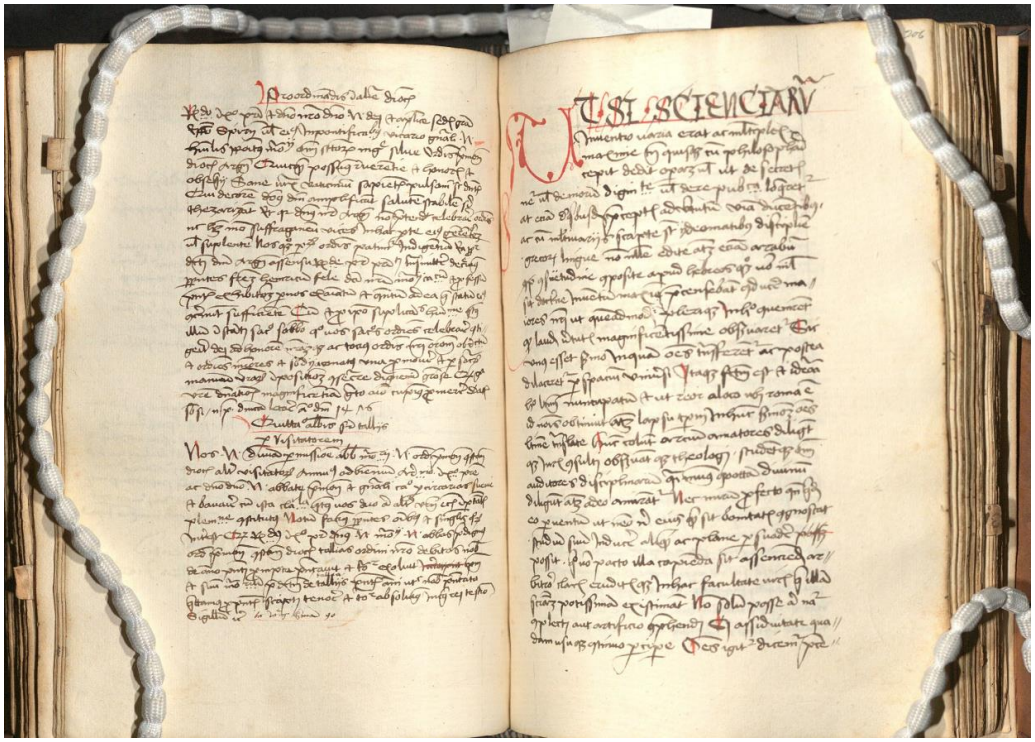
Medieval university towns. The political divisions are those of c. 1490.
Dates in brackets are uncertain.[473]

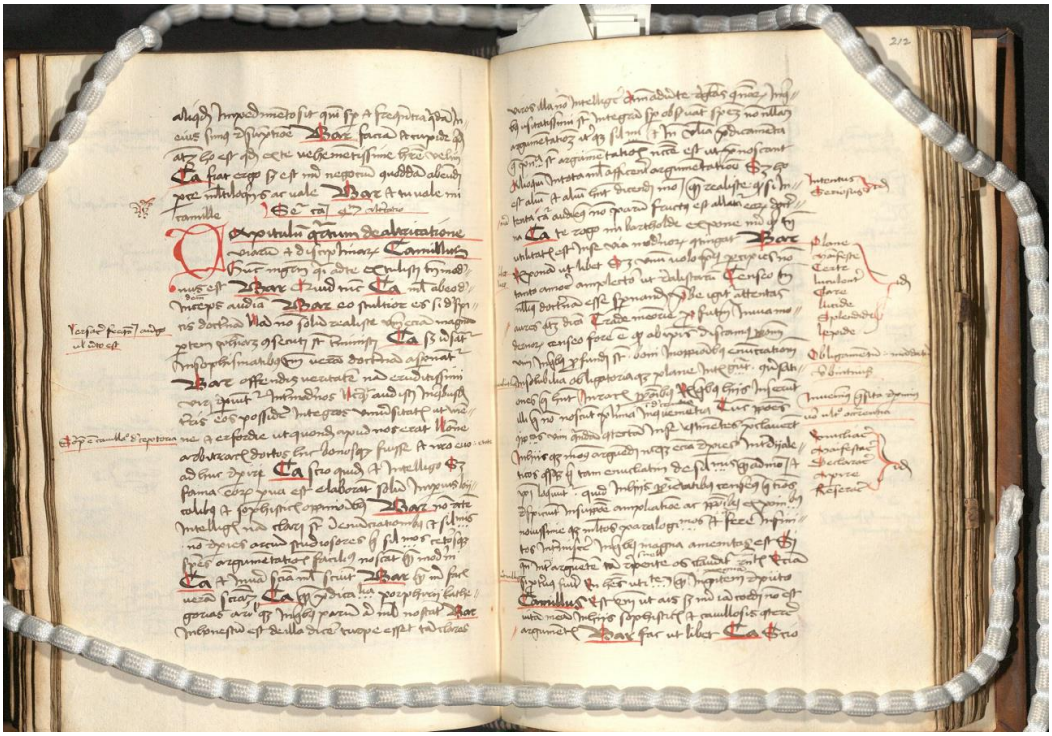
[473] Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 68.

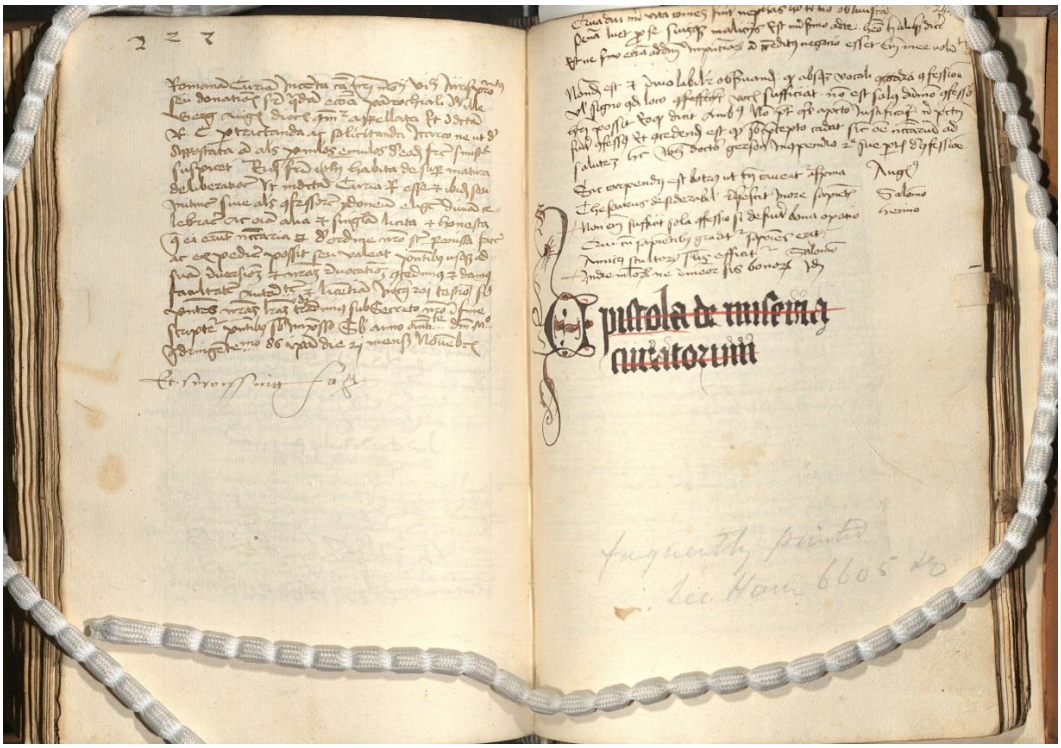
Appendix C

MS 210, Heritage Collections, University of Edinburgh.
(images acquired on 19/03/2024)








Epistola de miseria curatorum

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