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### Relationship of the Latin *Facetus* Literature to the Medieval English Courtesy Poems

By

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LAWRENCE, JUNE 1935

# The University of Kansas

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## PREFACE

One of the little ironies of literary history is that the courtesy rules which laid the foundation for English culture should have been almost neglected by scholars. Society takes its gentlemen as it takes its luxuries, unmindful that it is the little perfections which make the great difference. Even in our own boundlessly curious times, the poems on manners which disciplined the medieval Englishman have lain more or less unobserved between the covers of the publications of the Early English Text Society. Two short treatises have been written in the field of English courtesy poetry: Millett's *English Courtesy Literature Before 1557*, and Burhenne's *Das mittelenglische Gedicht Stans Puer ad Mensam und sein Verhältnis zu ähnlichen Erzeugnissen des 15 Jhrh.* Neither of these monographs, however, exceeds twenty-two pages, nor do the authors touch upon an important phase of the English literature of manners: its source in Latin poems on etiquette.

The purpose of this dissertation is to study the Middle English courtesy poems by comparing them with a Latin source entitled *Facetus*, and by tracing the unbroken tradition of *facetus* literature. This tradition begins with the Latin poem *Facetus*, develops in the English vernacular courtesy treatises, and extends into the manuals of civility in the Renaissance. In addition to *facetus* poems, the courtesy literature of the Middle Ages includes a large number of books for princes, councillors, knights, householders, women, and members of religious orders, as well as much miscellaneous material which might be classified as "parental advice". This study does not attempt to survey this large field. It refers to other classes of courtesy literature only to illustrate the manner in which these types anticipate the *facetus* tradition, or to show the distribution of *facetus* material in other treatises dealing with courtesy. Neither do the many references to courteous conduct found in the literature of the Middle Ages fall within the range of this study.

While tracing the development of the medieval literature of manners, the writer has had frequent illustration of the courteous

generosity which characterizes the assistance given by modern scholars. She expresses her gratitude to Doctor William Savage Johnson, of the University of Kansas, who suggested as a subject for study this topic which he previously had intended for his own research, and who directed this work. She is deeply indebted, also, to Professor R. D. O'Leary for the kind interest he has shown in the work, for his constructive criticism and for his care in editing the manuscript. To Doctor Josephine Burnham and to Doctor Clyde Hyder, of the same institution, she is grateful for many helpful suggestions.

The writer is greatly indebted to Doctor John E. Mason, an authoritative scholar in the field of courtesy literature. From his bibliography of courtesy literature which is in progress, Doctor Mason made available for the writer's use numberless valuable references for the present study. He also gave the writer generous advice regarding the plan and composition of the work. His book, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (1935), is the first work to indicate the rich source of Latin *facetus* material for the English vernacular. This book was published after the type had been set for the present study, hence the writer has been able to refer to Doctor Mason's work only in several notes. The writer wishes to thank Mr. John A. Neu of the Library of Congress for his willing and valuable assistance. She is grateful, also, to Reverend Edward Schmitz, O.S.B., for aid in deciphering difficult passages in manuscripts, and to Reverend Coleman J. Farrell, O.S.B., for the use of books from St. Benedict's College Library.

To Sister Gertrude Winter, O.S.B., the writer expresses her appreciation for her generous assistance in translating Latin poems, and particularly for her help in the preparation for print of the translation of Humbert's *De Ingeniis*. To Sister Mary Paul Goetz, O.S.B., she is indebted for a careful reading of the manuscript and for many suggestions. She wishes, also, to thank Doctor Roy J. Deferrari, Doctor Harold A. Deferrari, Doctor Martin R. P. McGuire, Doctor David Rubio, and Doctor Arthur Deering, all of the Catholic University of America, for their courteous assistance in her research during her stay in Washington, D. C.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Archiv* Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.
- DVLW.* Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte.
- E.E.T.S. Publications of the Early English Text Society.
- LG.* Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. G. Ehrismann.
- PL.* Patrologia Latina.
- PMLA.* Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
- Q.* Quaestio.
- ZfdA.* Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
- ch. chapter.
- col. column.
- l. or ll. line or lines.\*
- sec. section.

\* With the exception of quotations from *Facetus* which are discussed in connection with the Quentell glossary, passages from *Facetus* will not be designated by line number but by the couplet number of Schroeder's edition.

# Relationship of the Latin *Facetus* Literature to the Medieval English Courtesy Poems

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL SURVEY OF *FACETUS* MATERIAL.

The philosophic principle behind courteous conduct is that a being functions according to its nature. A man *acts* as he is. Man's social actions, however, like the expression of every other human ability, demand training before they reach their fullest perfection. In our civilization, today, this instruction is largely given by oral communication in the home. This instruction determines the cultural status or tradition of each family, and the nature of that social asset of children commonly known as "home training." In an early stage of a country's cultural development, the body of courtesy rules is commonly the matter of school-books and is generally popular among all classes. The precepts which train a nation in the art of living may be designated as *facetus* literature.

In medieval Latin the word *facetus* was the adjective commonly used to mean "polite." Nicolo Perottus, a professor of philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry in Bologna c. 1480, wrote a definition of the word, when Latin *facetus* literature was at its height. In his comprehensive commentary upon the Latin speech, entitled *Cornucopiae* he says: Item a Fando facetus: hoc est elegans in dicendo: & delitias quasdam sermonis habens: quae Facetiae dicunt: a quo facete aduerbium hoc est exculpte eleganter; vrbane." <sup>1</sup> Du Cange, again, thus defines the term *facetus*: "Urbanus, bonis artibus et studiis expolitus;" and he cites as a use of the term a sentence from the ecclesiastical chronicles: "Herbertus quosdam canonicorum, qui sibi minus

<sup>1</sup> *Cornucopiae*, p. 17.

urbani, minusque Faceti videbantur, ab ecclesia Constantiensi radicitus, tanquam illiteratos et inutiles, extrudit." <sup>2</sup>

The appearance in the twelfth century of the first medieval Latin poem on manners, designated *Doctrina Magistri Joannis Faceti*, was a noteworthy event in the history of European courtesy literature. The new poem was to be the model for numerous others regulating behavior, both in the Latin and in the vernacular European languages. The term *facetus* was to become the title not only for Master John's own poem but for redactions, imitations, and vernacular translations. This body of closely related didactic works may be designated *facetus* literature, since the poems are similar in content, since frequently they derive from the same source, and since the word *factus* is often found in the title.

*Facetus* literature has certain qualities which distinguish it from other treatises relating to courtesy. It deals with specific precepts of external conduct; hence, it presents practical admonitions concerning behavior, not abstract discussions of culture. Its maxims inculcate virtues which good breeding demands of everyone, irrespective of profession or rank. Its rules are expressed with little attempt at classification, and they are frequently interspersed with moral advice. Its form is usually that of verse, in which a command is expressed within a single couplet that can easily be memorized.

The discriminating mind of even the child is able to distinguish two kinds of laws in the instructions which parent and teacher give him. There is the "thou shalt not" binding in conscience; there is the "you shouldn't" implying social disfavor if you "do." Unknowingly, in apprehending this difference, the child is distinguishing between the truth and beauty of conduct, between ethics and aesthetics, between morality and culture. As he grows older, he observes also the favorable results of cultured actions, for he now notes that whether a person desires to win esteem for himself or merit the affections of others, he must conform to those modes of conduct which are generally approved by people of fine sensibilities.

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<sup>2</sup> *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, III, p. 179, also Ehrismann, *I.G.* II, part 2, p. 327, n. 4, and "phascet", *ZfdA*, LXIV (1927), p. 303.

The practical results which attend the aesthetic phase of conduct are so great that people are apt to overlook the abstract theory of the relationship between culture and ethics. Every social grace, if motivated by sincere generosity and not by mere selfish artifice, is an extension of a corresponding moral virtue. Consideration for others is charity educated to anticipate the wish before it is expressed; deference is humility trained to recognize the status of others in relation to ourselves; careful table manners are cultivated by the refined just man, who realizes that a companion has as much right to the enjoyment of a meal as to the money which purchased it. On the whole, courtesy is an extension of general benevolence, for while a man of some virtue will not *injure* his neighbor, a man of greater virtue, refinement, and self-control will not *offend* him.

The value of pleasing social contacts is realized even by persons who lack the generosity and self-control from which true refinement springs. The attempts of such people to present a polished exterior are usually marked by the artifice of imitation. Formalism, obsequiousness, fawning, insincerity, artifice, and worldliness are disagreeable terms sometimes associated with courtesy as a result of attempts at exterior deference without a corresponding mental attitude.

The first writers on courtesy in every nation draw no fine distinctions between aesthetics and ethics. Rather, they show the necessity of both by indiscriminately casting into their works definite admonitions concerning both morals and manners. These motley treatises, half moral aphorisms, half specific precepts, make up the gnomic literature which is a factor in the cultural development of every nation. The Egyptian *Papyrus Prisse*, commonly believed to be the oldest book in the world, so far as is yet known, at least, sets a worthy precedent for later writers on conduct. Like the famous proverbial collections which were to follow it, these precepts of Ptah-hotep, a vizier in the fifth dynasty, were widely read. Written about 3000 B. C., the collection served as an Egyptian text-book fifteen hundred years later, when school-boys copied its maxims on limestone slates.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 288.

At the time of his writing, the Egyptian language provided Ptah-hotep with but one word, *nefer*, to cover both terms, morals and aesthetics.<sup>4</sup> But the old Egyptian lord prescribed a high standard of etiquette in conversation—a standard in sharp contrast with that by which the sensibilities of the modern speaker seem to be guided. A person is not to engage in a discussion with another until the latter has had time to saturate his mind with the subject of the conversation. If in the midst of argument, the other shows the embarrassment of ignorance, his interlocutor is not to press him or answer him in a crushing manner. If in hastiness one of the persons speaks any extravagance of language, the other is not to notice the indiscretion. If the words are repeated, the hearer is to look to the ground, making no comment.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the general commands regulating polite conduct, the hieroglyphics also present a group of specific rules dealing with table manners.<sup>6</sup>

A social code is also contained in the *Vedas*, the earliest records of Aryan thought. This code is minutely explained in two later Hindoo works which interpret the teaching of the *Vedas*, the *Āpastamba*<sup>7</sup> and the *Code of Manu*<sup>8</sup> (c. 500 B. C.). The admonitions chiefly regulate the conduct of the young aspirant to the Brahmin or priestly caste, who spent from nine to thirty-seven years under the guidance of his priestly teacher. What the ordinary courtesy books prohibit as being forbidden before others, these books condemn as actions unsuitable in the presence of the teacher. The precepts seek to cultivate a genuine affection between master and student. They encourage the pupil to perform thoughtful acts to increase the master's happiness. If the student does not live in the same village with his teacher, he is to go frequently to his teacher's residence to see him and bring him some present with his own hand, if only a stick for cleaning the teeth.<sup>9</sup>

For influence, abundance of specific detail, and in general, completeness in exposition of the theory of courtesy, no book has sur-

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> *Universal Anthology*, I, pp. 107-109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, II.

<sup>8</sup> *Idem*, XXV.

<sup>9</sup> *Idem*, II, p. 31.

passed the *Lî-Kî*, the Chinese manual of etiquette. When a person considers that for the last three centuries this treatise has determined the most minute details of daily life in China, the *Lî-Kî* appears not so much a book, as a mould which has fashioned the Chinese mind along the lines of imperturbable decorum. With filial devotion as the religious philosophy of China, obedience to the rules of propriety and politeness is half a ceremonious ritual, half a social virtue. The *Lî-Kî* presents the formal observances of ancestor worship revitalized by the Confucian principle, "Always and in everything let there be reverence."<sup>10</sup> The most ordinary activities of family life are regulated by the *Lî-Kî*, even the way in which a boy is to withdraw from a room when carrying a dustpan.<sup>11</sup> Perfect courtesy, however, is more than attention to minute detail. It is detail practised until it is imperceptible, part of the man. This is the ideal—"Ceremonial usages that have no embodiment . . . no positive existence."<sup>12</sup>

Greek gnomic poetry contains the germ of Hellenic *facetus* literature. A number of conventional precepts on manners are found in Hesiod's advice to Perses in *Works and Days*.<sup>13</sup> Although no works of Thales (640-546 B. C.), chief of the Seven Sages, are extant, the tradition of his wisdom survives. An English treatise of the thirteenth century, John of Garland's *Morale Scholarium*, presents in its twentieth and twenty-first chapters the seven proprieties and seven rusticities according to Thales. The fourteen maxims thus attributed to Thales recommend good manners and appropriate conversation at table, politeness to strangers, and affability to one's friends.<sup>14</sup> Adaptability in social contacts is the recurring theme in the maxims which Theognis (570-490 B. C.) addresses to Cynus, his squire and page. A unique passage in *facetus* literature is Theognis's instruction concerning the hospitality a tipsy host should offer his tipsy guest. The host should not coerce the guest either to go or

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, XXVII, p. 61.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> *Idem*, XXVIII, p. 279.

<sup>13</sup> Lines 715-723.

<sup>14</sup> *Morale Scholarium*, ed. by Paetow, pp. 170-171.

stay, sleep or watch, since anything done on compulsion is vexatious.<sup>15</sup>

Isocrates (436-338 B. C.), a polite and practical Sophist, developed the *facetus* tradition inaugurated by the gnomic poets. Disgusted with the boorish conduct and lack of self-discipline apparent in contemporary teachers, Isocrates opened a school which imparted practical guidance in conduct in place of highly specialized dialectic training.<sup>16</sup> He considered the first requisite of education to be adaptability to circumstances; the second, decent and honorable contacts with one's associates.<sup>17</sup> In a little work, "To Demonicus," which he addresses to the son of his deceased friend, Isocrates writes from the vantage point of ninety-seven years of human observation. At this age he is convinced that boorishness is the most foolish of all folly, for while other vices yield some amusement or gratification to those who practise them, crudeness only penalizes its possessor.<sup>18</sup> "To Demonicus" has some points in common with the medieval Latin poem, *Facetus*. Both begin with admonitions recommending honor of the Deity, payment of vows, the necessity of religious worship, and reverence to one's parents. Both freely mingle moral with aesthetic precepts.

The interest of Plato in manners is that of a philosophic legislator who knows that exact observance of social customs strengthens a nation's discipline.<sup>19</sup> The methods to be followed in training for culture are characteristic of Platonic idealism. From the very beginning of the child's life, the mother should cultivate cheerfulness and tranquillity. By the practice of these virtues she will provide for the infant an atmosphere of the greatest harmony.<sup>20</sup> At a later stage, the parents will send the child to teachers and enjoin them to pay more attention to his manners than to his reading and music.<sup>21</sup> The teacher's main duty is to train the children in habits of order. Thus instructed, they will invent for themselves lesser rules governing

<sup>15</sup> *Elegy and Iambus* I, ll. 467-496.

<sup>16</sup> Isocrates, I, Intro. pp. xx-xxvi.

<sup>17</sup> *Panathenaicus*, III, secs. 28-32.

<sup>18</sup> *To Demonicus*, I, sec. 33.

<sup>19</sup> *Laws*, Bk. VII, sec. 793.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 792.

<sup>21</sup> *Protagoras*, sec. 325.

deportment and manners which their predecessors may have neglected.<sup>22</sup> The best method for training children is for the master to train himself; the way elders should teach respect to the young is to inspire it.<sup>23</sup>

In his survey of the moral virtues and vices, Aristotle delineates the man who is the perfect mean in his social relationships, neither over-complaisant nor contentious. This mean state between these two vices has no name appropriated to it, but it is most like friendship. It differs from friendship in that it is independent of any strong feeling of affection. The man possessing this virtue acts in the same manner to those whom he knows and to those whom he does not know, and to all as propriety demands. His desire is to avoid giving pain, and to give pleasure. Even in this aim he is guided by what is noble and expedient. In the portraits of the Exaggerator, the Braggart, the Buffoon, and the Stern Man, Aristotle presents the prevalent vices of the impolite man in conversation.<sup>24</sup> Theophrastus elaborates this discussion of refinement in speech by presenting characters depicting flattery, garrulity, loquacity, and querulousness. In his description of nastiness, Theophrastus issues the warning that rules on table manners are emphatically not table talk.<sup>25</sup> A general picture of the unrefined person is given in the character sketches of the boor and the ill-bred man.<sup>26</sup>

The *Moralia*, attributed to Plutarch, shows the high degree of conversational etiquette which marked the Grecian feast. In the "Dinner of the Seven Wise Men", the author makes Thales remark that the people of Sybaris invited women to dinner a year in advance, so as to afford them time for providing clothing and jewelry. In the eyes of Thales, the real preparation for table requires even longer, since it demands the ability to be humorous or serious, and to be silent or to comment upon this or that topic as the occasion demands.<sup>27</sup> Since a guest at table who is churlish and uncivil ruins the viands, the wines, and the music, Thales considered that Chilon

<sup>22</sup> *Republic*, Bk. IV, sec. 425.

<sup>23</sup> *Laws*, Bk. V, sec. 729.

<sup>24</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics*, Bk. IV, secs. 6-9.

<sup>25</sup> Theophrastus, *Character* XIX.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, *Characters* IV, XX.

<sup>27</sup> *Moralia*, sec. 147F.

showed excellent judgment in deferring the acceptance of an invitation until he had learned the name of every one else who was to be present.<sup>28</sup>

Roman gnomic literature repeats the story of proverbial wisdom surviving in tradition, although lost in actual transcription. There are extant only a few maxims of the *Carmen de Moribus* which Cato the Censor (234-149 B. C.) addressed to his son. This work, together with other writings which Cato composed for his son and his students, was intended to offset the inroads of Hellenism and bring Roman youth back to the old way of thinking.<sup>29</sup> With the rugged personality of a Doctor Johnson and the pungent terseness of a Swift, Cato hammered out warnings against Grecian culture under the guidance of his own intense nationalism.

The *De Officiis*, a manual of practical conduct which Cicero wrote for his son, lucidly explains the relationship of courtesy to life. Man has a feeling for order, propriety, and moderation. To act in a manly way is inherent in his nature and his reason.<sup>30</sup> Propriety is inseparable from the moral virtues, for a thing is proper when there is a pre-existing moral rectitude. While propriety belongs to all the moral virtues, it relates more especially to temperance, which requires moderation in all things, and to self-control, which gives a kind of polish to life.<sup>31</sup> Propriety in bodily actions regulates deed, word, movement, and attitude. Visible propriety has three elements: beauty, tact, and taste. Propriety in outward appearance demands neatness, beauty of appearance in women, and dignity in men. Through self-control a man regulates his gait, posture, and emotions.<sup>32</sup>

Seneca, Quintilian, and Ovid are other Latin writers who exerted a great influence on medieval *facetous* literature. The *Moral Essays* of Seneca were a rich storehouse of material for later books on manners. Seneca's philosophy of conduct was particularly suited

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 148A.

<sup>29</sup> Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft VIII, part I, pp. 178-193.

<sup>30</sup> *De Off.*, Bk. I, ch. 4, sec 14.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. I, ch. 27, secs. 93-94.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. I, chs. 35-37.

to the medieval writer, who preferred pungent adage and practical advice to abstract discussions of culture.<sup>33</sup> Quintilian, foremost among the Latin writers on education, emphasized the cultural training of the whole man in the making of an orator. In his *Institutio Oratoria*, he provides for this wide culture by insisting that nurses, teachers, and parents be models of correct speech and action for the child.<sup>34</sup> The pupil is to be trained early in letters and in manners,<sup>35</sup> and the teacher is to excel as much in manners as in eloquence.<sup>36</sup> The discussion on laughter<sup>37</sup> and on training in gesture<sup>38</sup> embodies many rules of deportment. The *Ars Amandi* of Ovid naturally involves a discussion of social graces and the means of winning affection. Naturally, too, sophisticated bearing and fashionable attire are described in this work.<sup>39</sup>

The Old Testament gives many instances of reverential conduct and refined restraint. The books of *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Ecclesiasticus* are frequently quoted in the Christian literature of manners. The *Talmud*, under the term, "derek erez" (the way of the world), gives a detailed exposition of the Jewish etiquette involved in modes of address and the refinement relating to meals, banquets, and personal habits.<sup>40</sup> That cleanliness of person and speech had become a fetish among the Jews is evident from the Gospels.<sup>41</sup>

The personality of Christ brought to culture the Exemplar of perfect grace, adaptability, and considerateness. The Man who could associate with sinners and publicans and lose none of His dignity, who permitted His disciples to eat with unwashed hands in an emergency, and who looked kindly from the cross on His enemies, laid down precepts in harmony with such conduct. These were to be the chief refining as well as moral power of European civilization. Christ freed exterior observances from the Jewish formalism. In addition,

<sup>33</sup> Stelzenberger says that Seneca's works "fehlen in keinem Katalog einer Klosterbibliothek." *Die Beziehungen der frühchristlichen Sittenlehre zur Ethik der Stoa*, p. 48.

<sup>34</sup> Bk. I, ch. 1, secs. 2-9.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. I, ch. 1, secs. 15-24.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. II, ch. 3, secs. 10-12.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. VI, ch. 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. I, ch. 11, secs. 15-19.

<sup>39</sup> Rand, *Ovid and His Influence*, pp. 37-45.

<sup>40</sup> Rodkinson, *The Babylonian Talmud*, V, Jurisprudence I, Tract Rabba 7-15, and also Tract Zuta 19-30.

<sup>41</sup> Mark, VII, 17-22.

He gave a supernatural motive for courteous conduct and extended the precept of charity to embrace all mankind.

The spiritualizing force which Christ brought to culture was keenly understood by a man who had drunk deeply of the culture of the Greeks. Titus Flavius Clement (died about 215), an erudite philosopher, became a Christian. In his treatise on Christian culture, entitled *Paedagogus*, Clement contrasts the education given the philosopher, orator, and athlete with the instruction offered the neophyte.<sup>42</sup> He finds that the training of Christ produces a generous disposition in full accord with the growth in moral loveliness which it fosters. Concerning his fellow converts, he observes that they acquire a superior dignity when trained according to this influence. This he noticed in their gait in walking, their sitting at table, their food, their sleep, their going to bed, their regimen, and the rest of their mode of life.<sup>43</sup> It was in order to explain in writing the marvel of grace that can effect this change, that Clement undertook an exposition of Christian culture. He keeps the traditional convention of presenting in a treatise on courtesy a master who in his person embodies the principles of his teaching, but in this work the instructor or *paedagogus* is Christ. The first book of the *Paedagogus* is devoted to an explanation of Christ in the rôle of teacher; books two and three regulate in detail the proper conduct of a man in eating, drinking, feasting, speaking, laughing, sleeping, dressing, walking, traveling, and living with others.

St. Ambrose (335-397) carried on the tradition of Christian culture so well summarized by Clement. He is less concerned with the specific precept, however, and more occupied with the philosophic principles underlying human acts. In Cicero's *De Officiis*, he found these principles already explained. To keep this wisdom, and at the same time to beautify it by the addition of Christian philosophy, Ambrose fashioned a treatise after the model of Cicero, calling it by the same name, *De Officiis*. The two are parallel works. When he wishes, Ambrose draws freely upon his classic model, but

<sup>42</sup> Bk. I, ch. 12.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*—A recently discovered fragment, *To The Newly Baptized*, attributed to Clement and edited by Butterworth, contains a rich vein of *facetus* material.

just as freely he instils Christian teachings, pointing out the superiority of these precepts over pagan doctrines.<sup>44</sup>

It would be impossible to evaluate the influence of the fathers and doctors of the Church upon medieval courtesy literature. In an age in which no close distinction was made between aesthetics and ethics, practically every writer dealing with charity, humility, and justice, adds also some precepts which enjoin refined behavior. The great importance of the ecclesiastical writers, however, lies not in these scattered admonitions, but in the sound philosophic system which inculcated regard for one's fellow men. Medieval courtesy writers taught in an era when the universal acceptance of Christianity paved the way for refined conduct. The thought of the age was predominantly theocentric.<sup>45</sup> The outstanding virtues were humility and charity—directed first toward God, and then toward men. These are the virtues upon which rest the fundamental cultural ideas of reverence, mortification of self, and kindness toward others.

Parallel with the growth of secular courtesy poems was the development of the monastic literature of manners. Monasteries had noticeably promoted the practice of courtesy in the Middle Ages by serving as guest houses and hospitals for travelers. The early monastic rules provided for the observance of courtesy by insisting on courteous conduct both among the monks themselves and toward guests. Saint Augustine (354-430) in his *Regula ad Servos Dei*, lays down as a general guide for exterior conduct the basic rule that a monk do nothing to offend the eye of another.<sup>46</sup> Saint Benedict (480-543) outlines in careful detail the hospitable treatment that should be shown guests who come to the monastery.<sup>47</sup> In his commentary upon Saint Augustine's rule, *Expositio in Regulam Beati Augustini*, Hugh of St. Victor (1097-1141) adds considerably to the earlier author's precepts.<sup>48</sup> His own work, *De Institutione Novitiorum*,<sup>49</sup> gives a thorough exposition of the courtesy required in

<sup>44</sup> Ewald, *Der Einfluss der stoisch-eiceronianischen Moral auf die Darstellung der Ethik bei Ambrosius*; Schmidt, *Ambrosius, sein Werk De Officiis libri 3 and die Stoa*; Stelzenberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-242.

<sup>45</sup> Keyser, "Das Wesen des späten Mittelalters," *DVLW*. IX (1931), p. 385.

<sup>46</sup> Migne, *PL*. XXXII, col. 1380.

<sup>47</sup> *Sacra Regula*, ch. 54, "De Hospitibus Suscipiendis."

<sup>48</sup> Migne, *PL*. CLXXVI, cols. 881-924.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 925-952.

speaking, eating, and personal bearing. The little work, *Ad Quid Venisti*, written for novices by Saint Bernard (1091-1153),<sup>50</sup> restates the monastic tradition of courteous behavior. *De Institutione Novitiorum*, by Saint Bonaventure (1221-1274),<sup>51</sup> is a close redaction of Saint Bernard's work. Bonaventure's *Speculum Disciplinæ ad Novitios*<sup>52</sup> gives an original and exhaustive discussion of manners which shows thorough acquaintance with the precepts of both monastic and secular courtesy writers. There is a decided interrelationship between monastic and secular courtesy literature. Precepts from secular books make their way into the monastic courtesy tradition and greatly enlarge its boundaries. On the other hand, monastic courtesy literature, by its more logical presentation of subject matter, its inclusion of philosophic principles, and its emphasis upon supernatural motives, does much to refine the spirit of secular courtesy literature and to furnish it with a model for the unified presentation of ideas.

Systematic treatment and artistic unity mark the treatise on conversational etiquette, *Ars Loquendi et Tacendi*, written in 1245 by Albertano of Brescia, a judge who lived at Brescia in Lombardy in the first half of the thirteenth century. The author's scheme of classification is comprised in the single sentence which he gives to his son as a guide for conversation: *Quis, quid, cui dicas, cur quomodo, quando requiras*.<sup>53</sup> Since the formula applies equally well to actions, the boy is instructed to consider this treatise not only as advice for correct speech, but also as a manual giving the principles of correct conduct.<sup>54</sup> The book is a summary of the wisdom concerning speech gathered from the Old and New Testament, the early writers in the Church, and the classical authors. The work was a convenient reservoir for medieval writers on a topic of great social importance: contact with others through speech.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, CLXXXIV, cols. 1189-1198.

<sup>51</sup> Pelter, S. Bonaventuræ, *Opera Omnia*, XII, pp. 292-312. Compare part 1, ch. 8, "Qualiter in Mensa te Habeas," with ch. 8 of St. Bernard, "De Regula et Moderatione in Mensa Servanda", *op. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> Pelter, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-497.

<sup>53</sup> Ed. by Sundby, in *Della Vita e delle Opere di Brunetto Latini*, p. 479.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 505.

The essential truth and beauty of courtesy are logically explained in the *Summa Theologica* (1271) of St. Thomas of Aquino. Man's outward movements, the author notes, are directed by reason, hence they are associated with the moral virtues which result from the government of man's actions by reason.<sup>55</sup> Since outward actions affect both others and one's self, the moderation of exterior movements belongs to two virtues, affability concerning others and truthfulness concerning self.<sup>56</sup> As regards affability, justice demands that a man show courteous behavior to his neighbor. In the same way as justice requires that man shall enjoy truth, without which society cannot endure, it demands also that every man shall have a proportionate share of joy, without which he cannot live.<sup>57</sup> The relationship of courtesy to aesthetics follows logically from Thomas's analysis of beauty. Beauty or comeliness results from the combination of clarity and due proportion.<sup>58</sup> As beauty of body consists in the clarity of color and the excellent proportion of the members, so spiritual beauty consists in a man's actions being well-proportioned in respect to the spiritual clarity of reason. Courtesy is exterior conduct proportioned and motivated by reason, hence courtesy is the moderation of conduct according to the laws of beauty.

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<sup>55</sup> *Summa Theol.*, part 2, second part, Q. CLXVIII, art. 1.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, part 2, second part, Q. CXIV, art. 2.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, part 1, Q. V, art. 5.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, part 2, second part, Q. CLXXX, art. 3.

## CHAPTER II

### ORIGIN AND AUTHORSHIP OF *FACETUS*

The development of Latin *facetus* literature in the twelfth century was coincident with the advances made in learning and civilization. Owing to the need of feudal protection, the culture of the early Middle Ages was necessarily localized in the baronial castle, where the institution of chivalry endeavored to cultivate gentleness in an age of warfare. The banquet hall, the center of conviviality for both barons and retainers, would seem to have been the birth-place of the literature dealing largely with table manners. But while medieval Latin *facetus* literature ultimately reached the manorial hall, and was sometimes more or less influenced by feudal customs, its origin was in the intellectual centers of the Middle Ages—the monastery, the school, and the university.

The Europe of the twelfth century was a land charged with a high voltage of new ideas. The remarkable rapidity with which learning spread despite the inconvenience of travel can be accounted for only by the insatiable thirst for knowledge. Even before the contact with Byzantine knowledge which resulted from the Crusades, the Renaissance of the twelfth century was well begun.<sup>1</sup> The rapid dissemination of science, as well as of mathematics and philosophy, which followed the Crusades, was possible because Latin furnished a universal medium for communication in an era of shifting dialects.<sup>2</sup> The twelfth century, which was to witness the expansion of the first European universities, and was to be marked by a new vigor in philosophy and literature, and a great development in architecture and sculpture, was to see also the growth of a special literature composed for the finer education of the gentleman.

Although the Roman grammar schools were closed as a result of barbarian invasions, the Roman educational system was carried on by the cathedral and monastic schools. These incorporated the seven

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<sup>1</sup> Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Haskins, "The Spread of Ideas in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* I (1926), pp. 19-30.

liberal arts into their curriculum and used for text-books a certain amount of Roman literature. In this body of transferred knowledge and tradition, there was a group of maxims called the *Disticha Catonis*, a title which showed the popular association of aphoristic wisdom with the personality of Cato the Censor. The weight of scholarly judgment has been against the belief that Cato is the author. The prevalent opinion is that an unknown writer living in the western part of the Roman Empire collected these aphorisms some time between 117 and 324 A. D., and that by the close of the fifth century the name of Cato had been attached to them.<sup>3</sup> The authorship is frequently attributed to Dionysius Cato, but the name Dionysius was not prefixed to that of Cato until the fifteenth century, and it was added then through the mistake of an editor.<sup>4</sup>

The *Disticha Catonis* undoubtedly originated in a pre-Christian era, despite the assertion of Zarncke that the aphorisms contain nothing which dates them back to pagan times.<sup>5</sup> The heterogeneous group of practical admonitions is held together by a philosophy that is cool, calculating, and egocentric in spirit. The Christian virtues of humility and charity are neither mentioned nor in evidence.

Despite these omissions, the *Disticha Catonis* was a popular medieval text-book. The Christian teacher could overlook the few commands which advised indifference to the gods, because the large majority of maxims inculcated shrewd, simple, and practical wisdom. The formal teaching of morals and manners was a prominent part of education in medieval schools. Instruction in Latin, also, was of tremendous importance. When imparting knowledge in both of these fields, the medieval pedagogue was conscious of the precept, *Repetitio est mater studiorum*. The absence of printed text-books necessitated, also, much memory work on the part of the students. By supplying apothegms in Latin, the *Disticha Catonis* fulfilled a two-fold purpose. The book was regularly used for the first Latin reader; teachers minutely analyzed verbal construction and senten-

<sup>3</sup> ". . . der Name des Cato konnte leicht deshalb aufgeprägt werden, weil der ältere Cato (priscus, superior) Unterweisungen für seinen Sohn geschrieben hat." Ehrismann, LG. II part 2, sec. 2, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> *The Distichs of Cato*, ed. by Chase, pp. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Der deutsche Cato*, p. 7.

tious meaning till the child understood both Latin form and moral precept.

The teacher who felt the Stoic distichs unsuitable to the immature mind of the child had at his command the commentaries of numerous authors who elucidated the proverbial wisdom of the *Disticha Catonis*. Even with these explanations, a desire grew in the eleventh century for a text-book more nearly in accord with Christian teaching. In Germany, two popular writers offered more suitable collections of wisdom. Othlo, a Benedictine monk of Ratisbon, who wrote about 1070, endorsed his *Liber Proverbiorum* as containing sentences more useful than those of Cato.<sup>6</sup> About 1023, Egbert, priest and teacher at the cathedral school at Lüttich, compiled a book of popular proverbs, the *Fecunda Ratis*. An idea of the educational method which constantly held a proverb before the child's mind is seen in Egbert's dedication of his work to Bishop Adalbold of Utrecht. In this dedication, the author urges that his verses be sung during recess and noon and so be made to serve as a fortification to the immature minds of the students.<sup>7</sup>

The popularity of the distichs was so great that they were destined to be modified and enlarged rather than supplanted. So far as can be deduced from uncertain evidence, a teacher called Joannes Facetus was the first to compile a supplement to the distichs, and in doing so he became the originator of the medieval Latin *facetus* literature. The date of his writing has been estimated as falling before 1192. This dating, determined by Haureau<sup>8</sup> and favored by Schroeder,<sup>9</sup> is based upon the supposition that Ugutio, Bishop of Ferrara, who completed his dictionary in 1192, referred in this work to Joannes Facetus or his poem. The reference of Ugutio, which Du Cange records in his glossary, reads: *Facetus, seu auctor Poematis sic inscripti, laudatur ab Ugutione*.<sup>10</sup> The identity of Joannes Facetus has been a matter of much conjecture. His name first appears in a

<sup>6</sup> Migne, *PL*. CXLVI, cols. 300-301.

<sup>7</sup> Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*, p. 77.

<sup>8</sup> *Notices et extraits*, XXVII, pp. 18-19. Haureau also here refutes the theory that John of Garland is the author of *Facetus*.

<sup>9</sup> Schroeder, *Der deutsche Facetus*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Index Auctorum, VII, p. 383.

thirteenth century copy of the supplement to Cato, (Paris, MS. 8207).<sup>11</sup> At the end of the poem are the words: *Explicit doctrina magistri Joannis Faceti*. A fourteenth century manuscript of this same poem tells more specifically that the author was a certain Cistercian monk named John.<sup>12</sup> A fifteenth century manuscript refers to the author as a certain monk by the name of John.<sup>13</sup> The traditional lore that is associated with the phrase "polite Master John," is summarized in the preface of an unknown commentator, whose preface and gloss appear in the undated edition of this poem published by Quentell at Cologne about 1494. The full title of the poem in this, as in the majority of the Latin editions, is: *Liber Faceti Docens Mores Hominum Precipue Iuvenum in Supplementum Illorum Qui a Cathone Erant Omissi Iuvenibus Utiles*. When referring to the poem, however, the commentator uses the single word, *Facetus*. In addition to proclaiming Joannes Facetus the author of the poem, he states that he was a schoolmaster at Paris in remote times.

In the preface, the commentator records with elaborate explanation how the poem happened to be written. In the opening sentence, he recalls that Seneca in his fourth book on "Virtues" prefers honest rather than eloquent conversation. This preference, he considers, is the justification for a poem neither powerful rhetorically nor much adorned, and containing only those things which must be said.

Aristotle's formal system of causality is also mirrored in the preface, as the commentator proceeds to enumerate the "causes" for the book. The material cause, he states, or the matter of the book, is the manners of men and especially of youth; not, indeed, all manners, but only those of which Cato made no mention. After an explanation of the formal cause, which comprises the method of division into proemium and commentary, and the metrical form, he proceeds to the efficient cause. This was a certain Parisian master called *Facetus* whose students, it seemed, were lacking in manners. He had found the doctrine of Cato foremost in correcting these defects. For

<sup>11</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

many points, however, upon which the students needed instruction, especially those which related to the Church, the teacher could find no authority in Cato. As a result of Cato's inadequacy, the Parisian schoolmaster saw the advisability of collecting material from all the extant documents which had been passed over by the same Cato. This task he accomplished at last. The final cause of the book is that people may come to good fortune, having known Cato, and in addition, these new teachings regarding one's duties toward God, one's neighbor, and one's self. The commentator next points out the specific difference between the *Disticha Catonis* and the poem he is editing by referring to the first as the moral ethics and to the second as the ethics of capricious politeness. He also definitely states that the poem he is editing begins with the words "Cum nihil utilius", and that it is called *Facetus*.

Despite this lengthy explanation, much discussion has arisen concerning whether or not *Facetus* is the proper title for this poem. Although the word *Facetus* is found in a thirteenth century manuscript of the poem, it is thought that scribes first gave this name to this proposed supplement to Cato.<sup>14</sup> Copyists, also, appear to have placed the title on another poem beginning "Moribus et vita". Of the manuscripts that have come under the observation of scholars, the oldest containing the title *Facetus* for the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius" antedates by a hundred years the first appearance of this name in any known manuscript of the *Moribus et Vita*,<sup>15</sup> as this poem will henceforth be called in this study. It is possible, then, that the name *Facetus* was transferred to *Moribus et Vita* because it was already the title of a very popular poem on etiquette.

Internal evidence indicates that the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius" existed prior to *Moribus et Vita*. The former is heterogeneous in content, chaotic in form, and is clearly in the line of descent from the *Disticha Catonis*, for which the author himself says in his second couplet it was written as a supplement. It aims only at collecting the most fundamental rules of courtesy, and it presents these in haphazard fashion in order that the inadequacies of Cato may

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

speedily be remedied. Despite the fact that *Moribus et Vita* opens with the invitation to hear a discourse on politeness, the author is only slightly concerned with the little niceties of behavior. His chief aim is to instruct the young man concerning the various careers that are open to him—judge, soldier, merchant, physician, and tradesman. The major portion of the poem is devoted to an exposition of the nature and requirements of these various careers, together with a description of juvenile love. Little space is left for the few precepts concerning dress, personal appearance, and practical conduct which constitute the only real *facetous* material in *Moribus et Vita*. Table etiquette, that most important topic in medieval courtesy literature, is nowhere mentioned. Two lines at the end of the poem further differentiate the work from the treatise of Master John Facetus who wrote at Paris,

Qui, velut est dictum, propriam vult ducere vitam  
Aurigena doctus vate, facetus erit.

Aurigena may be the poet's own name or the name of his country. Two other conclusions show a slight variation of the last line. One reads:

Aurigena dictus voce facetus erit.

The other gives a different form of the proper name:

Narrugena dictus vate facetus erit.<sup>16</sup>

*Moribus et Vita* holds a certain interest for scholars since it presents the sophisticated aspect of social life that is characteristic of Ovid. Because of this interest, scholars have tried to prove that *Facetus* is the proper title of the poem. This discussion was begun by Zarncke in 1854, further pressed by him in 1863, and later revived by Ehrismann in 1927.<sup>17</sup> To uphold their argument, these writers cite the reference to the two poems found in the *Registrum Auctorum Multorum* published in 1280 by a German writer, Hugo of Trimberg. In this early history of Latin literature, Hugo describes the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius" by what is obviously

<sup>16</sup> Haureau, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17. The *Moribus et Vita* is edited by Morel-Fatio in *Romania* XV (1886), pp. 192-235.

<sup>17</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6, 298; Zarncke, "Beiträge zur mittellateinischen Sprachpoesie," in *Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* XV (1863), 73-78; Ehrismann, "Phaset," *ZfdA.* LXIV (1927), p. 303, and *LG.*, II, part 2, sec. 2, p. 326.

an explanatory title, *Supplementum Catonis*. He affixes to the *Moribus et Vita* the title *Facetus*. Working on the theory that *Moribus et Vita* originally carried the title *Facetus*, Zarncke evolved an elaborate explanation showing that the title was later transferred to the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius."

According to Zarncke's hypothesis, the transfer of titles occurred in the late eighties of the fifteenth century through an error on the part of Sebastian Brant's printer. To the poem which begins "Cum nihil utilius," says Zarncke, the printer gave the title, *Facetus in Latin durch Sebastianum Brant Getütschet*. Over the *Moribus et Vita*, however, which immediately followed this poem, he placed the title *Liber Moreti Docens Juvenum in Supplementum Illorum, Qui a Cathone Erant Omissi*. The poem ended, *Explicit Moretus*. From this edition of Brant, Zarncke believes that all later printers of the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius" took the title and text.<sup>18</sup> Zarncke considers that Brant himself was confused by the change, since in 1496 his edition of this poem appeared under a caption which combined title words of both poems: *Liber Faceti, Docens Mores Hominum Percipue Juvenum in Supplementum Illorum Que a Cathone Erant Omissi*.<sup>19</sup>

Schroeder, whose study of medieval German courtesy poems brought him into contact with the manuscripts of the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius," disapproves Zarncke's theory. He considers that Brant's edition in the fifteenth century could not have been the first to give the title *Facetus* to this poem, since the thirteenth century manuscript of the poem calls it *Doctrina Magistri Joannis Faceti*.<sup>20</sup> While exonerating Brant and his printer from Zarncke's charge that they brought about a confusion of titles, Schroeder does not deny that *Moribus et Vita* has also been called *Facetus*. He considers that it was so named because it copied its title from the older poem.<sup>21</sup> He believes that it was in order to avoid this duplication of titles that Brant designedly wrote *Liber Moreti* over *Moribus et Vita* instead of the words *Liber Faceti*, which Brant

<sup>18</sup> Zarncke, *loc. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>20</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

had found in the manuscript.<sup>22</sup> That the poem, *Moribus et Vita*, should ever have appeared under the words . . . in *Supplementum Illorum Qui a Cathone Erant Omissi* was obviously by error, since *Moribus et Vita* makes no mention of the teachings of Cato, whereas the author of the other poem states in his second couplet that his purpose is to make up what is wanting to the doctrines of the moral Cato. The fact that the name "Facetus" was given not only to this poem itself, but that in the thirteenth century manuscript it was attached in sportive familiarity even to the author, is an added indication that the name is the authentic title for the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius."

References to the poem in early German courtesy treatises corroborate the testimony of the Latin manuscripts that "Facetus" is the correct title for this poem.<sup>23</sup> To these may be added the evidence found in a Middle English poem, the *Babees Book*. In the introduction of his poem, the English writer refers to the opening couplet of the supplement to Cato which asserts that nothing is more useful than to know virtue and manners. The idea itself and the sources from which he drew it are naïvely expressed thus:

And Facett seythe the Book of curtesye,  
Vertues to knowe, thaym forto haue and vse,  
Is thing moste heelfulle in this worlde trevly (ll. 8-10).

According to Zarncke, Brant's mistake occurred in the late eighties of the fifteenth century. The latest dating of the *Babees Book* is c. 1475.<sup>24</sup> This reference, then, was made before the date when Brant's printer is supposed to have misnamed the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius," *Facetus*, by doing so giving rise to all subsequent attributions of the title to this poem.

In addition to the evidence of the manuscripts and to the reference of medieval writers, the research of scholars in vernacular European *facetous* literature attests that, of the two works, the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius" was the one of popularity and influence. Glexille, who studied the French courtesy poems,<sup>25</sup> Surin-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Furnivall, in E.E.T.S., XXXII, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> "Les Contenances de Table," in *Romania* XLVII (1921), pp. 1-40.

gar, who edited the Dutch group,<sup>26</sup> and Schroeder,<sup>27</sup> who compared the German versions, show that this poem is the one which vernacular writers have adapted into their literature and from it produced their own ramifications and redactions.

In view of all this, it can be reasonably assumed that the poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius" is the true *Facetus*. It is, accordingly, to this poem that the title *Facetus* will henceforth be applied in this discussion.

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<sup>26</sup> *Die Bouc van Seden.*

<sup>27</sup> *Der deutsche Facetus.*

### CHAPTER III

## DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN *FACETUS* POEMS

No definite line of demarcation save that of language can be drawn between Latin and English *facetus* literature. While the Latin preceded the English in chronology, there is no determinable date in the Middle Ages at which the Latin poems ceased to be written and were replaced by the vernacular. Latin *facetus* poems first appeared in the twelfth century and culminated with the *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* of Erasmus in 1526. The vernacular *facetus* poems developed side by side with their Latin models. Since Latin was the universal language of scholarly Europe, the content of Latin *facetus* poems was more varied than that of the vernacular group in any one country. Out of the needs of the medieval school grew *Facetus*. Particularly addressed to university students are John of Garland's *Morale Scholarium* and the anonymous *Manuale Scholarium*. Obviously adapted to that convivial center, the manorial hall, are the *Phagifacetus* of Reinerus and the *Carmen Iuvenile de Moribus in Mensa Seruandis* of Sulpitius.

For a correct understanding of this early *facetus* literature, two points must be kept in mind. The poems were not written for the trained knight, but for the young squire, page, or schoolboy. Anyone reading them must recall the barbarity of the little boy next door in order to avoid a misconception of the culture of the Middle Ages. It is evident that any refined household would be grossly misrepresented were its cultural status to be judged by the negative commands given to the small son. Furthermore, with a few exceptions, the medieval poems on manners were not written by the noted literary men of the day. They were compiled by tutors of young aristocrats or by school-teachers, largely occupied with fixing the declension of Latin nouns in youthful brains. The undated *Liber Faceti* printed at Cologne by Quentell definitely states the purpose of the book in the initial gloss which explains the third introductory couplet:

Assint ergo rudes sitientes pocula morum  
Hinc fontem poterint haurire leporis odorum.<sup>1</sup>

The gloss continues: "Et non dico hec propter iam adultos & intelligentes. sed propter rudes qui nesciunt mores quos in pluribus locis debent habere."<sup>2</sup>

The most nearly complete printed copy of *Facetus* is that presented by Schroeder, who uses the cod. Ampl. 4°75 as his basic text, and to it appends the various additions he has found.<sup>3</sup> A study of the one hundred and ninety-two couplets which comprise this synthetic version shows that the precepts might be arranged under the heading of the cardinal and theological virtues, the seven capital sins and their opposite virtues, or in accordance with any other conceivable system for classifying human acts. Remembering the youthful audience, the teacher in the rôle of author, and the all-embracing character of medieval didactic literature, the reader will not be surprised at the inclusion of anything, from the commands of the Decalogue to the warning against a host with red hair (73) and against a guest with a crooked nose (158). There are precepts which might be filed under the chapter headings of Emily Post's *Etiquette in Society, in Business, in Politics, and at Home*; there are potent leads for heated discussions on women's rights. The Quentell edition and the *Facetus* appearing in the *Auctores Octo Morales* are identical, except that in the *Auctores Octo Morales* the glossary is omitted and one line of an incomplete couplet is added at the end of the poem.

The style of *Facetus* is neither attractive nor clear. In the first three couplets the author invites the reader to learn courtesy from his maxims. These lines contain his only attempt at ornamental language and practically the only group of related ideas within the poem. Specific precepts and allegorical adages are so intermingled that it is occasionally difficult to determine whether the precept is to be interpreted literally or figuratively. For instance, the command to thank the host in departing is followed by the advice:

<sup>1</sup> f. A II, ll. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> f. A II, ll. 16-18.

<sup>3</sup> Schroeder, *Der deutsche Facetus*, pp. 12-13.

Irritare canem noli dormire volentem  
 Nec moveas iram post tempora longa latentem.<sup>4</sup>

In view of the decorous leave-taking which the preceding precept has commanded, the reader might think that this couplet refers to the great hounds which were often stationed at the hall door of the manor. The gloss, however, shows that the couplet is an expression of the excellent advice to let sleeping dogs lie. These two lines are of interest, moreover, since they briefly illustrate the threefold method by which almost every distich is explained in the glossary. First, the command is reworded in a clearer form: "Sicut non debes irritare canem volentem dormire quem times vt te mordeat sic non movebis iram temporis praeteriti." Then the commentator adds some explanation from the store of his own knowledge: "Nam sicut dicit Cato: Officium mali hominis est suscitare iram temporis praeteriti." Finally he indicates a construction of the couplet that would help the student in understanding the syntax: "Construe (noli irritare canem volentem dormire ne moveas iram latentem post longa tempora."<sup>5</sup> The reference to Cato shows the prevalent tendency in the Middle Ages to attribute proverbial sayings to that noted authority.

It is difficult to determine exactly which treatises furnished polite Master John with the ideas he so frankly acknowledged to be culled from various writers. In his study of the sources of the Dutch poem, *Die Bouc Van Seden*, Suringar indicates some of the treatises from which the author of *Facetus* may have drawn.<sup>6</sup> More than a hundred precepts are identical or similar in *Facetus* and *Die Bouc Van Seden*, and the sequence of ideas in the two poems proves undeniably the indebtedness of the vernacular poem to the earlier Latin source. Suringar's survey of classical literature and of Christian didactic literature which antedates *Facetus* shows a large number of parallel passages which may be considered possible sources. Among these the Bible is the work which appears most frequently. Next to it, *Floretus*, attributed to St. Bernard, furnishes the largest number of

<sup>4</sup> f. B V, ll. 8-9.

<sup>5</sup> f. B V, ll. 10-13.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Bouc Van Seden*, pp. 52-130.

similar ideas. Plautus, Ovid, and Seneca among the classical writers, and Abelard, Bede, and Egbert among the medieval authors are indicated as possible sources. The *Disticha Catonis* also contains many precepts which are found in *Facetus*.

Without literary merit, and lacking even the roughest attempt at a classification of its widely divergent precepts, *Facetus* nevertheless filled a great need. It offered a book on manners and, moreover, one of edifying moral tone. Appreciation of its merits is shown by numerous complete manuscripts and fragments.<sup>7</sup> A large number of printed editions also testified to its popularity.<sup>8</sup> All these together probably did less to spread the fame of *Facetus* than did its inclusion in the *Auctores Octo Morales*, an anthology of moral writings. Through the wide distribution of this collection,<sup>9</sup> what was probably the first medieval book on manners passed to teachers and students marked as a prominent treatise in an age of didactic literature.<sup>10</sup>

Although *Facetus* inaugurated the courtesy poem in medieval European literature, it presented this new genre in the loosely constructed form of its gnomic model, the *Disticha Catonis*. A great development in the form of *facetus* literature was the separation of the precepts on table manners from general rules regulating conduct. This advance in artistic unity seems to have taken place already in the twelfth century, when a little poem beginning *Quisquis es in mensa, primo de paupere pensa*<sup>11</sup> gave a résumé of table etiquette in twenty-three leonine hexameters. Prototypes of the isolated discussion of table manners had existed in the chapters of monastic rules which dealt exclusively with proper conduct at meals. A more direct model for the new poem was furnished about 1106 by Peter

<sup>7</sup> A list of them is supplied by Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. iv and 1.

<sup>8</sup> They are recorded by Hain, *Repert. Bibl.* no. 6883-6889, but have to be supplemented by the catalogues of incunabula by Proctor, Copinger, Voulliéme and Brunet.

<sup>9</sup> Hain, no 1913-1919, supplemented by the information furnished by other catalogues of incunabula.

<sup>10</sup> Suringar describes a poem entitled *Facetus* which he had seen in an old manuscript belonging to the Library of the Gymnasium of Gotha, and which he calls *Facetus Gothanus* to distinguish it from other poems by the same title. He discovered that this poem is not an original work. Of the sixty-seven distichs, forty-seven are taken from the anonymous *Fables* of Aesop, six from the *Fables* of Avian, and the remainder from various sources. It is not identical with *Moribus et Vita*, although the opening lines of the two poems are the same. See *Die Bouc van Seden*, p. xxiv.

<sup>11</sup> Published by Glixelli in *Romania* XLVII (1921), pp. 28-30.

Alphonsus, a Jewish convert, known before his conversion as Rabbi Moses Shepardi. In the twenty-first chapter of his popular collection of fables and folk-tales, the *Disciplina Clericalis*,<sup>12</sup> he discusses table etiquette under the title, *De Modo Comedendi*. But the etiquette of behavior in a royal presence, he considers, should be in no way different from the manners of every day life.<sup>13</sup> In addition to this observation which shows the necessity of habitual courtesy, Peter Alphonsus gives an orderly and concise summary of the essential points of good behavior at table.

The poem *Quisquis Es in Mensa* contains the same type of brief admonition, and follows the general arrangement of Alphonsus's prose work, though it gives many more precepts. The author has a classic feeling for the economy of words and achieves unusual condensation of subject matter. He presents an orderly arrangement of precepts by following the natural sequence of the meal, prescribing the conduct which is proper when one begins to eat, while eating, and upon concluding one's repast.

An indication of the authorship of *Quisquis Es in Mensa* is found in a manuscript of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, (Sienna, Cod. K.V. 24). In this copy the name of the author had been recorded in two places, but in each case it has been erased. The initial letter of the name, however, was allowed to remain: "Ego V . . . hoc scripssi" (sic).<sup>14</sup>

A number of slightly different versions of the poem suggest that this little work enjoyed considerable popularity.<sup>15</sup> Of the three versions which Glixelli prints, only one is outstanding for any display of originality. This one, indicated as MS. G, highly endorses the use of good wine.<sup>16</sup> For direct influence on Latin and vernacular

<sup>12</sup> This work was highly esteemed by medieval English writers. Hulme has edited the Middle English translation contained in the Fifteenth Century Worcester Cathedral MS. F172.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. by Hilka and Söderhjelm (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte I), pp. 40-41, ll. 14-15.

<sup>14</sup> Novati, *Carmina Medii Aevi*, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> Meyer in *Romania XIV* (1885) pp. 519-520, gives an account of a Provençal *ensenhamen* containing table manners which resemble the precepts in *Quisquis Es in Mensa*. For a discussion of other Provençal *ensenhamens* see Crane, *Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 324-340.

<sup>16</sup> Glixelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, ll. 14-24.

poems, *Quisquis Es in Mensa* is perhaps the most influential next to *Facetus*. Glixelli considers it the more or less direct model of the French poems, the *Contenances de table*.<sup>17</sup> It is also related to the Italian poem, the *Zinquanta Cortexie da Tavola* of Fra Bonvexino da Riva.<sup>18</sup> The two opening precepts are identical, and the general context of the poems shows unmistakable similarity. Its relation to the Anglo-Latin poem, *Vi Te Geras* will be discussed in the next chapter.

A further development of the special treatise on table manners is the *Phagifacetus* of Reinerus. *Phagifacetus* is a term coined by uniting a Latin and a Greek word. A gloss in the Stettin codex explains the title *Fagifacetus* as from the Greek, *Phagein*, "to eat," and Latin *facetus*, "treating of the refinements of eating."<sup>19</sup> In the Gotha manuscript and in Brant's edition and translation, the poem is called *Thesmophagia*. An introductory quatrain explains that as the Greeks dedicated a feast, *Thesmophoria*, to Ceres, foundress of social laws, so these laws which treat of the rules of eating are called *Thesmophagia*.

Little is known of the life of Reinerus. He definitely claims the poem as his own by an acrostic in which the initial letters of the first fifteen lines form the words: REINERVS ME FECIT. The Lübeck manuscript of the poem adds that he is Reinerus Alemanicus of Saxony.<sup>20</sup> The Stettin codex further explains that he was a secretary of a Thuringian landgrave, though it does not say when he occupied the office. Since this landgraviate was not instituted until 1129, and since the editor of the Saxon Codex mentions the occurrence of Reinerus's name in the public documents before 1247, it can be roughly estimated that he lived within this period. Reinerus Alemanicus has been considered by Professor Eichstadt to be identical with *Reimerus Laurentianus*, a Benedictine monk of Leodium, born in 1155. This monk was noted for the composition of many works, both in prose and verse.<sup>21</sup> Hugo of Trimberg attests that *Phagifacetus* was writ-

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> Furnivall, *A Booke of Precedence* (E.E.T.S. extra ser. VIII), part II, pp. 16-31.

<sup>19</sup> *Reineri Phagifacetus sive de Facetia Comedendi Libellus Addita Versione Seb. Brantii*, ed. by Lemcke, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

ten after *Facetus* and before 1280, the date of his *Registrum Auctorum Multorum*, for in this work he speaks of *Phagifacetus* as *novus Facetus*.<sup>22</sup>

The importance of Reinerus in the development of courtesy literature is the fact that he brings to *facetus* poetry genuine creative ability, a philosophic attitude, and a knowledge of classical literature. In the precepts expressed in the 440 hexameters of *Phagifacetus*, the influence of *Facetus* and of *Quisquis Es in Mensa* is distinctly visible. Reinerus shows his creative genius, not so much in the formation of new rules of conduct, as in the novel and greatly elaborated expression of already well-known commands.

Unlike most *facetus* poets, Reinerus discusses from a philosophic point of view the reason man should be polite at table. He begins the poem with the observation that since man differs from the beast, he must partake of food in a manner which is befitting his higher nature (11. 1-25). The author appears to know a great deal about manners in ancient times, for he remarks that table etiquette has not developed within a few years. Rather, convivial hospitality was held in such esteem even in ancient times that men held especially sacred the oaths given at table. Furthermore, in ancient days the child was not permitted to eat at his father's table until he had learned good manners (11. 26-34).

Reinerus writes verses which are more correct structurally than the majority of Latin *facetus* poems. His pages are filled with classic phrases and allusions, particularly from Horace, Ovid and Juvenal.<sup>23</sup> From the title of his poem, as well as from his choice of vocabulary in several lines, one may judge that he had some knowledge of Greek.

With Reinerus, style is the man. He shows an inability to speak without coloring his precepts with his highly fantastic wit, or without explaining his rules in terms of his particularly whimsical imagination. His precepts, he acknowledges, are not new. He is a wag, sporting with the traditional *facetus* material, modifying it by his

<sup>22</sup> Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> For a study of the classical sources of *Phagifacetus*, see Lemcke, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-19.

fantastic exuberance. As a result of his display, *Phagifacetus* is the grinning gargoyle on the homely edifice of *facetus* literature.

In his passion for figurative language, Reinerus calls water, *The-tis* (l. 50); bread, *Ceres* (l. 76); wine, *Bacchus* (l. 227). The stomach is the congested furnace (l. 13), or, again, a prison for *Bacchus* (l. 231). The teeth are the mill (l. 145); warmth in the food is lingering *Vulcan* (l. 148); and to blow on one's serving is to stir up the *Aeolian bellows*, the marvel of the *Satyr* (ll. 149-150). Food, itself, is a wary morsel which evades the orifice of the mouth and falls into the diner's lap (l. 161). This predilection for whimsical speech is seen also in the indirect method of conversation Reinerus recommends for discourse at table. If a person wishes his table companion to pass the flask to him, he should not ask for it directly. Instead, he might remark that the scaly fish in deep waters must be a very happy creature. When asked why, he might answer that a fish can always satiate its burning thirst after it has been fed (ll. 319-331). Or, again, one could begin counting the days until the nearest banquet. He should then give as a reason for his interest that, if *Bacchus* is not dead, he will surely be there (ll. 332-336). As a result of this method of conversation, the diner will not only receive the wine from his companion in a very pleasant spirit, but he will also be considered a great wit (ll. 337-340). Carrying his figurative expression to the personality of the diners, Reinerus speaks of a man as *Cato*, if he is so seated that he must wisely give his attention to the host; *Pirithous*, if he is conversing with an equal; *Naso* speaking with *Corinna*, if he chances to be eating with a lady (ll. 61-75).

The humorous fancy of Reinerus causes him to give exaggerated pictures of refinement or disorder at table. The snowy whiteness of the tablecloth makes lilies seem black (l. 62). He warns the guest against smelling with lady nose (l. 205), and against coughing with full sails (ll. 93-95). A person should not consume an egg in the manner in which *Charybdis* swallows down ships, so that its passing resounds with an echo and the throat gives forth the sound of a strong sucking current (ll. 183-186). Perhaps with less exaggeration, Reinerus tells of a man of his acquaintance who always put on a clean, becoming, and fresh garment at his host's house, although

at other times his dress was very poor. His reason for this change of garment was not pride or ambition but fear lest a louse, a "hateful six-footed companion," might crawl on his tunic and make hidden steps in his most foul dress (ll. 133-139).

Reinerus takes the reader into his confidence by telling of the restraint it requires not to eat a choice morsel which has fallen. Often he himself had wondered if he should pick up a fallen piece of precious cutting. Palate urged one thing; refinement, another; finally, hunger was overcome by reason; the palate yielded to the mind; disgrace gave way to decorum (ll. 176-182). Reinerus urges the diner sportively to cover up the embarrassment which attends the loss of a chosen morsel. He may jokingly refer to the mishap by telling of the Bald Knight accustomed to bind his hair to his head (ll. 162-163). After this story he may remark that it is no wonder that food falls, when a horse falls to the ground, even though he has four feet to uphold him (ll. 164-168). This last witticism is a comic adaptation of the serious proverb found in Egbert's *Fecunda Ratis*:<sup>24</sup>

Quadrupes occumbit,—quid, si tu labere verbis?

Sebastian Brant translated the *Phagifacetus* into Middle High German. While modifying in his translation some of the highly metaphorical language of the original and clarifying some of Reinerus's vague expressions, he inserts a few coarse statements which show less delicacy of feeling than that displayed by Reinerus.

Two medieval manuals for students, not exclusively devoted to rules of conduct, nevertheless show the training in refinement which the universities gave. In his *Morale Scholarium*,<sup>25</sup> John of Garland continues at the University of Paris the training in courtesy which tradition holds was inaugurated there a hundred years before by the polite teacher John. Garland's manual for students is slightly satirical. His aim is to contrast morality with vice; urbanity with rusticity. He admits that he makes use of exaggerations, but he considers that this is legitimate in satire. In two chapters devoted to table manners, "De Curialitatibus in Mensa Conservandis" and "De Ministracione

<sup>24</sup> Quoted by Suringar, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>25</sup> Edited by Paetow. See also Biadene, "Cortesie da Tavola di Giovanni di Garlandia," in *Romanische Forschungen* XXIII (1907), pp. 1003-1017.

Decendis", Garland continues the tradition of separating table precepts from general rules of conduct. His arrangement of precepts is usually original, and he introduces a number of personal observations which give his work an individual tone.

A less direct but more interesting method of teaching students the elements of propriety is found in the anonymous *Manuale Scholarium*,<sup>26</sup> which first appeared in 1481.<sup>27</sup> The book contained the Latin vocabulary likely to be needed by German students who were forbidden to use the vernacular while at the university. Furthermore, it informed the youth how he was to conduct himself while at the institution of higher learning. Its value as a handbook of conversational repertoire was enhanced by the fact that the instruction takes the form of a dialogue between two Heidelberg students. In their conversation they present a picture of university life by enumerating the details of matriculation, describing the hazing of freshmen, and telling the reader much about the method and content of their studies.

In writing chapter eight, "Quo Pacto in Mensa Loquuntur", the author seems to have taken a poem on table etiquette and placed its substance in the mouths of these typical college students. Their remarks appear to be the natural conversation of students who had memorized a poem on table etiquette and were now recalling its precepts. In lively repartee, Camillus and Bartholdus recall to each other well known duties at table. As they hurry to the dining room, both agree they would well deserve mockery if they were late. Neither, in the eyes of his companion, is the polished gentleman at table, and as a result of these deficiencies, their observations on each other's conduct constitute a veiled summary of table etiquette. The order of their remarks follows the chronological arrangement of the *Quisquis Es in Mensa*, which groups commands according to the sequence of the meal.

The *Carmen Iuvenile de Moribus in Mensa Seruandis*,<sup>28</sup> by

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<sup>26</sup> *Manuale Scholarium qui Studentum Universitates Aggredi ac Postea in eis Proficere Instituere.*

<sup>27</sup> Seybold, *Manuale Scholarium*, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Text in *Boethius cum Triplici Commento*. This text is not paged.

Joannes Sulpitius, appeared about 1480.<sup>29</sup> In this poem of sixty-one elegiac couplets, the author presents a treatise addressed to noble youths serving at table. Joannes Sulpitius, likewise known as Sulpitius Verulanus and Sulpice de St. Albans, was a grammarian of some renown who taught in Rome toward the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

The purpose of his poem, explained in the two opening lines, is to teach virtue as well as literature. In the first division of the *Carmen*, the author deviates somewhat from his topic of table etiquette and gives various maxims regarding conduct and morals. In the second part, he speaks only of the duties of the page when serving before his lord.

The poem contains a number of admonitions which indicate that the persons to whom it was addressed possessed certain crude habits in eating. The *Zinquanta Cortexie da Tavola* which Fra Bonvexino da Riva outlined at the end of the thirteenth century, indicates a tone of greater refinement in contemporary manners than the rules of Sulpitius reveal concerning the behavior of the late fifteenth century. The contrast between the two works may be explained by the fact that Bonvexino wrote for knights, whereas Sulpitius addresses himself to boys at a time when the rising middle class makes necessary a restatement of the fundamental rules of behavior.<sup>31</sup> The *Carmen* is more closely related to *Phagifacetus* than to any other of the Latin *facetus* poems. Sulpitius follows Reinerus in his frank condemnation of disagreeable personal habits. He lacks, however, the grotesque wit which veiled what would otherwise have been repulsive in the German writer's poem.

<sup>29</sup> Franklin, *La civilité, l'étiquette, la mode, le bon ton, du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I, p. xix.

<sup>30</sup> Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis* (1858), V and VI, p. 510. From his title Verulanus, Sulpitius is usually considered to have been born in Veroli, Italy. The combination of names, Sulpitius Verulanus, and Sulpice of St. Albans suggest the possibility of his English birth. Verulam was an ancient Roman-British town in Hertfordshire. In 793, Offa, King of Mercia, founded an abbey near the town and named it in honor of St. Alban, reputed to have been the first British martyr. In time, the name of the famous abbey came to be used interchangeably with that of the town. That both names were prevalent in the seventeenth century is evident from the fact that Sir Francis Bacon received from James I the titles, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans. See Meiklejohn, *The Place Names of the English People at Home and Overseas*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>31</sup> Goetz, *The Concept of Nobility in German Didactic Literature of the Thirteenth Century*, p. 95.

Whereas Reinerus made a jocular use of classical mythology, Sulpitius uses the same allusions with the cool reserve of the classic writer. As teacher and grammarian, he was familiar with the terminology of polytheistic belief. An evident attempt to imitate classical phraseology gives the *Carmen* a tone of cool reserve. This affords us something different from the note of simple and sincere instruction which characterizes the majority of medieval courtesy poems. The child is instructed to honor the gods. Unlike many of the other courtesy poems, the *Carmen* makes no mention of grace before and after meals. Jacob Badius Ascensius (1462-1535) added a commentary to the poem and an appendix of twenty-six lines known as *Apex Ascensianus*. In this supplementary material, Ascensius endeavored to bring the *Carmen* more nearly into line with the traditional maxims of Christian courtesy literature. The first lines of his appendix give instruction regarding morning prayer, the honor due to parents and priests, the respect to be given to the teacher, and the need of studious application on the part of the child at school.

A *facetus* poem hitherto apparently unknown to writers on courtesy literature is the *De Ingeniis Adulescentum Moribus Libellum*, by Humbert of Montmoret. The writer found the poem in a collection of medieval Latin works under the title *Boethius cum Triplici Commento*, printed at Lyons in 1521 by Simon Vincent. The poem is the last treatise in the book and follows a copy of the *Carmen Iuvenile de Moribus in Mensa Seruandis*, by Sulpitius. Little is known of the life of Humbert, except that he was a Benedictine monk at Montmoret, France (?), who wrote in the first part of the sixteenth century. In addition to his little book on courtesy, Humbert composed a poem on the Hundred Years War, which is referred to in Brunet<sup>32</sup> as a work of *Fratri Humberti Montismoretani poetae oratorisque clarissimi*.

*De Ingeniis Adulescentum Moribus Libellum*<sup>33</sup> consists of one hundred and sixty-two verses in elegiac distichs preceded by a short preface which most affectionately dedicates the work to Dom Abbot

<sup>32</sup> *Manuel du libraire et de L'amateur de livres*, III, p. 370.

<sup>33</sup> In the appendix of this volume appears the text of Humbert's poem, together with a literal translation.

Gilbert, doctor and friend of doctors. At the end of the book, Humbert adds a codicil which enjoins his work to seek William, his teacher. When Humbert was a tender youth, this teacher was drinking wisdom from the Castilian waves. The poet expresses the wish that the verses of the student may show the worth of his teacher.

The *De Ingenuis Adulescentum Moribus Libellum* presents the most lucid exposition of rules on manners to be found in any of the known Latin *facetus* poems. The arrangement of the precepts is the simplest possible: it is a series of admonitions telling the child what to do from the time he rises in the morning until he goes to bed at night. This simplicity is made somewhat less notable by slight descriptive touches that betray the author as a poet. No mention of nature or children is made without an accompanying adjective which seeks to realize for the reader the brightness of dawn, the limpid flow of water, or the bright cheeks of children. Further manifestations of the author's poetic impulses are seen in the paraphrases of the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*.

Humbert was neither the originator of his courtesy rules nor a slavish copyist of another's manuscript. His precepts have an element of spontaneity—the same easy freedom which characterizes a good teacher who knows his lecture thoroughly but in each presentation adds some interesting variation. The part of the poem which shows the greatest indebtedness to other authorities is that section which is devoted to table manners. Here it is evident that one of the traditional treatises on courtesy was his model. The section dealing with respectful conduct toward parents and reverent attitude in church follows closely the precepts in *Facetus* on the same topics.

Humbert's style shows the influence of classical authors, particularly of Vergil and Horace. The influence manifests itself more noticeably in an unconscious reflection of their phraseology than in obvious imitation or definite references. Reinerus also shows a knowledge of classical authors, but in the presentation of this material his style is never free from a grotesque element which is one of the romantic characteristics of the medieval mind. When Humbert refers to Parnassus, Lethe, Bellerophon, and Pluto, his allusions are a part of the texture of his weaving. With Reinerus such

references appear like ornaments, superadded to the original fabric. Humbert's attitude toward his youthful hearers is kind and affectionate. Only once does he depart from his complaisant attitude on life—when he warns youth against the idle company of women. These talkative creatures cannot sew or wash or roast chestnuts without at the same time disseminating useless speech. Through their vain gossip the boy learns what he will later regret knowing. These lines recall the satirical Juvenal, who ridicules the extreme verbosity of women<sup>34</sup> and who hates the woman who pores over the treatise of Palaemon.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Satires*, Bk. VI, ll. 438-442.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 451-456.

CHAPTER IV  
ANGLO-LATIN AND ENGLISH VERNACULAR  
FACETUS POEMS

Courtesy was recognized as a social virtue among the Anglo-Saxons. Passages in *Beowulf* attest that the invaders of England brought with them a system of courtly customs. Wealhtheow, "cynna gemyndig," greets the warriors in the hall and presents to them the beaker of mead (l. 613).<sup>1</sup> *Beowulf*, who had accepted the offer of Unferth's sword, graciously praises it when returning it to its owner, although it had failed him in the hour of need (ll. 1807-1812). The same ancient Teutonic ideals of courtesy are reflected in the earliest gnomic poetry of the Northmen, composed many years before the Viking age, but probably recorded in its present form about 900 A. D.<sup>2</sup> A group of poems found in the manuscript with *Háva-mál*<sup>3</sup> deals with various aspects of behavior and conduct. The wise old man who speaks in *The Guest's Wisdom* considers that good manners, together with cheerfulness and ready speech, are required if a person is to be highly esteemed (ll. 233-238). He implies that cultural training is an asset the wise man desires to possess (l. 276). The *Lesson of Loddfájni*, among other teachings, inculcates respect for the old (ll. 85-89), kindness to the poor (ll. 97-103), and consideration for one's friends (ll. 24-28; ll. 32-39).

The moralizing tendency of the Anglo-Saxons is seen in such proverbial lore as the *Gnomic Verses*, *The Wise Father's Instruction*, *The Proverbs of Alfred*, and the *Proverbs of Hendyng*e. The references to courteous action appear to be somewhat less frequent in these poems than in similar treatises of other nations. These works do, however, stress restraint in conversation and recommend prudent consideration for one's friends.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Wyatt and Chambers.

<sup>2</sup> Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, p. lvii.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. by Vigfusson and Powell, *op. cit.*, Bk. I.

Because of the strongly philosophic trend of the Anglo-Saxon mind, the *Disticha Catonis* was a welcome contribution to the English store of proverbs. That the distichs were introduced into England before or during the ninth century is shown by a book list of Athelstan which mentions a *Glossa super Catonem*.<sup>4</sup> In this flowering age of Anglo-Latinity, no Anglo-Saxon translation of Cato seems to have been provided. It was probably Athelwold (925-942) who first began to translate the distichs for his pupils. Three Anglo-Saxon prose versions of the *Disticha Catonis* exist, dating from the first half to the end of the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup>

Middle-English metrical translations of the *Disticha Catonis* came both directly from the Latin and through the French.<sup>6</sup> The most noted of these is found in the Vernon manuscript edited by Furnivall<sup>7</sup> and also by Goldberg.<sup>8</sup> A later version is that of Benedict Burgh, for a time ascribed to Lydgate. This error evidently resulted from the fact that in the Harleian MS. 172 the last verse of the first couplet is omitted and in its place, in a later handwriting, is written "John Lydgate." In what manner this mistake regarding the authorship of the translation came about cannot be determined. At all events, the attribution is erroneous, for the contemporary evidence of Caxton, who printed the poems three times, clearly shows that Burgh is the translator.<sup>9</sup> This wrong attribution is the more noteworthy because an Anglo-Latin courtesy poem is erroneously attributed to Lydgate in exactly the same manner. In the Harleian MS. 2251, the last line of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* is omitted, and there is substituted for it a verse containing Lydgate's name.

The history of *Facetus* in England has been complicated because the poem in both earlier and later times has been there called *Urbanus*. The name of the author, Joannes Facetus, appears to have been changed sometimes to Johannes Urbanus on the continent, as

<sup>4</sup> Goldberg, *Die Catonischen Distichen während des Mittelalters in der englischen und französischen Literatur*, part I, "Der englische Cato", p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Förster, "Eine nordenglische Cato-Version," in *Englische Studien* XXXVI (1890), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS. Part II*, (E.E.T.S. CXVII).

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43; Förster, "Über Benedict Burghs Leben und Werke," *Archiv*, CI (1898), pp. 42-46.

a commentator in the Stettin codex of *Phagifacetus* shows. In a gloss in this codex the commentator calls attention to the fact that Reinerus has given a command similar to one in *Facetus*. In making this comparison he says: *Monuit laudato Johannis Urbani versiculo: Cum sis in mensa primum de paupere pensa.*<sup>10</sup> Manuscripts of *Facetus* in Great Britain in which the poem is called *Urbanus* are found at the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, and St. John's College, Cambridge.<sup>11</sup> The Trinity College manuscript contains an interpolation which reveals the attempt of a scribe to clarify the confusion of titles by showing that they both refer to the same poem:

Liber explicit hicque *Facetus*  
Scribitur *Urbanus*, sit scriptor a crimine sanus  
Explicit liber Urbani.<sup>12</sup>

The poem *Facetus* may have come to be known as *Urbanus* in England because of a borrowing of this title from the continent, or because there existed in England a courtesy treatise which contained a form of the word *Urbanus* in its title: the *Urbanum de Morum Comitatus*, attributed to Daniel Church. Whichever the cause, a definite mistake concerning *Facetus* and the Anglo-Latin poem was made in more recent times when Fabricius assigned the authorship of *Facetus* to Daniel Church.<sup>13</sup>

The only available information regarding Daniel Church is that furnished in 1557 by Bale's *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Britanniae*. Bale does not record definitely the date of his source. He merely says he found his information in "a certain old chronicle" which he lately discovered at London. Since Bale's time this document has been lost. According to the chronicle, Daniel Church, "seu Ecclesiensis," as Bale further explains his name, was a distinguished writer who excelled in both prose and verse at the court of the English king, Henry II. From his writing he seems to have been a per-

<sup>10</sup> *Reineri Phagifacetus sive de Facetia Comedendi Libellus Addita Versione Seb. Brantii*, ed. by Lemcke, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Meyer, "Urbain le courtois—La plainte d' amour," in *Romania* XXXII (1872), pp. 69-70.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis* (1858), I, p. 352. A Hamburg edition (1734-46), I, p. 1062, also attributes the *Urbanus* to Daniel Church.

son of the highest rank, and a famous man of the old nobility. He was renowned for his faith, loyalty, and noble qualities of mind, and above all, for his influence and position at the court of his lord. Among other things, he published a certain distinguished little book in Latin verse to which he gave the title, *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu. Liber I*, and a work entitled *Carmina Rhythmica. Liber I*. The chronicle also added that Church reached the height of his fame about 1180, after he had lived more than thirty years at the court of Henry II, his exceedingly good prince and teacher.<sup>14</sup>

The writings of Church have hitherto been thought to be extant only in the two fragments which were copied in a thirteenth century manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 3718. f. 80. An examination of these fragments reveals several facts that are significant in the history of English courtesy literature. In the first place, these fragments are so unlike in content as to suggest that they are parts of two distinct pieces of Church's work, although the manuscript says they are "from the same book." Secondly, neither of these two fragments is even similar to *Facetus*, so there is no reason for considering the two poems identical. On the other hand, the first fragment proves to be identical with the last one hundred and forty-five lines of an anonymous Latin poem of three hundred and eight hexameter verses, which in Furnivall's text is entitled *Modus Cenandi*.<sup>15</sup> Nine lines at the end of Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 3718, which do not appear in Furnivall's text, indicate both the name and author of the poem. The first three of these lines are a part of the text itself. Of these, the first line completes the meaning of the verse immediately preceding; the last two admonish the clerk, soldier, matron, and whoever is cultured, to observe these new writings. The last six lines are evidently the interpolation of a scribe. They supply the information that "old King Henry first gave these precepts for the unlearned," but that the verses themselves are deservedly attributed to Daniel. This fragment closes with the statement that the book is called *Urbanus*.

<sup>14</sup> Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum Majoris Britanniae*, p. 225.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. from the Cotton MS., Titus A XX, f. 175, in E.E.T.S., XXXII, part 2, pp. 34-57.

Rex vetus henricus primo dedit hec documenta  
 Illepidis libro novo que scribuntur in isto  
 Curvamen celi demittat gaudia celi  
 Cui geminavit heli merito tribuat danieli  
 Que dedit Alpha et Ω sit laus et gloria Christo  
 Explicit iste liber qui vocatur urbanus.

Although these references provide slender evidence, they do, however, coincide with the information furnished by Bale's chronicler. The scribe calls the poem *Urbanus*, the chronicler records that it is entitled *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu*. The scribe affirms that the verses are to be attributed to Daniel; the chronicler supplies the full name of Daniel Church. The first fragment in Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 3718 being attributed to Daniel—and consequently with fair likelihood to Daniel Church—the whole anonymous poem may with reasonable probability be attributed to Church and be called by the name of Church's work: *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu*. Although the name *Urbanus* was given in England to *Facetus*, this was not the historical title for the poem. The word *Urbanus* is more fitly associated with Church's poem, since it appears to be a shortened form of the name of this poem as recorded by the old London chronicler: *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu*. The title *Modus Cenandi*, it may be added, may have been assigned to Church's poem from the opening words of the treatise:

Audi, disce, modum cenandi, si tibi fausto.  
 Insigni, lepido, gazarum copia floret.<sup>10</sup>

On the last line of the scribe's interpolation, immediately following the word "urbanus" are six perpendicular pen strokes joined by a single cross bar through the center and irregularly united at the top. After this character, which is evidently a scribal notation of the number of the book or the number of lines, are the words: *de eodem libro usus*. The twenty-five lines which constitute the second fragment of Church's work follow. The material of the first four of these twenty-five lines is aphoristic in subject matter and manner

<sup>10</sup> Ehrismann points out the medieval practice of assigning to poems for which no title appears in the manuscript a significant word or phrase in the opening lines. *L. G.*, II, part 2, sec. 2, p. 326.

of expression. The poet in these lines speaks of the changeableness of fortune, and contrasts a man's desires with their fulfilment. The next fourteen lines treat of the misleading influence of sensual love. The poet laments that healthy love has perished. As a result, envy, deceit, blind passion, gluttony, fierce plunder rule all—the wealthy, the needy, youths, and old men. Forgetfulness of death has fallen on all of these blind people. The last seven lines are devoted to a description of the avaricious conduct of the writer's contemporaries. The words, *capere* and *dare*, rule the earth. Through taking and giving, good things languish; evil flourishes. A man who constantly desires continually needs more. Always putting his money out on interest, he is poor. The fragment ends with an expression of the poet's desire that violence, deceit, a thief, and fire may bring ruin on such a one.

The wide difference in subject matter between the first and second fragments recalls to us the fact that Bale's chronicler referred to Daniel Church as an editor or publisher. It is to be noted, too, that the scribe's interpolation in the thirteenth century manuscript explains that the precepts were given by King Henry, but that the verses are to be attributed to Daniel. Since *Facetus* was in England called *Urbanus*, it is possible that Church brought the poem before the English public and in so doing caused his name to be linked with it. It is significant that Bale's chronicler mentions *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu. Liber I*. It is regrettable that the scribe's indication of book or line number in the manuscript cannot now be deciphered with exactitude.

Despite the fact that both of its titles mark Church's poem as a treatise on table etiquette, only a small part of the work deals with the manner of eating. In the three hundred and eight lines of the *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu*, there are only fifty-three precepts which prescribe courteous behavior. The remainder of the poem is given to instruction concerning the sequence of courses, the proper seasoning and combination of foods, the value of foods for health, and the care of one's health during the various seasons of the year. A comparison of the material relating to hygiene with the contents

of the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*<sup>17</sup> shows that Church drew freely from earlier authors instead of composing an entirely original and unified treatise of his own. The *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, a famous medieval poem on health, dates back to the eleventh century. From this work Church drew sixty-eight lines. In addition to these verses, which he reproduced almost identically, he copied several passages which he presented in a garbled manner.

The passages in *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu* which deal with table etiquette are so unlike the material contained in *Facetus* as to indicate that the poem is outside the *facetus* tradition. The few precepts that are alike in both poems are those which could be expected to occur in any treatise on politeness. *Facetus* stresses cleanliness in partaking of food and contains the general rules for eating that are imparted early in one's cultural education. The table precepts in *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu* appear to be addressed to an older group of hearers. The host is admonished not to be parsimonious in his entertainment, and the guest is instructed in the manner of eating specific kinds of foods. Either Church did not know *Facetus*, and was consequently debarred from drawing on its contents, or he knew that his readers were in possession of the poem, and he did not attempt to reproduce its precepts.

Other Anglo-Latin courtesy poems are more closely related to the *facetus* tradition than is the *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu*. An anonymous Latin poem of thirty-nine leonine verses links the treatises on table manners written by English authors with their early Latin models, *Facetus* and *Quisquis Es in Mensa*. In printing this Latin poem from the Harleian MS. 3362, Furnivall reproduces the title *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*, but reports that this name had been added in the manuscript by a later hand.<sup>18</sup> Thirteen lines are alike in *Quisquis Es in Mensa* and *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*. After three introductory lines and one apparently original precept, the author of

<sup>17</sup> In comparing these two poems, the writer has used the text of *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* edited by Ordonaux. This copy includes additions to the poem found in various versions. Church evidently knew the poem from more than one manuscript, since not all the lines which he borrows appear in any one version of the poem. The writer is indebted to Doctor John E. Mason for mention of the similarity of lines in *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* and in *Modus Cenandi*.

<sup>18</sup> E.E.T.S., XXXII, part 2, p. 26.

*Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* draws from the *Quisquis Es in Mensa* its fourth, fifth, first, third, and sixth verses. He next inserts another original precept, to which he adds, in this order, the eighth, seventh, and eleventh verses of *Quisquis Es in Mensa*. Two lines from *Facetus* and six more lines from *Quisquis Es in Mensa*<sup>19</sup> are thereafter intermingled with seventeen lines which appear to be original in form, although in content they are the well known rules of table etiquette.

The instructions in the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* do not seem to be addressed to the page or "puer" but to anyone "qui vult vrbanus haberi." The indefinite social status of the reader is preserved by the use of the general term *vir*: "Mensa tibi pura. vir sit nec surgere cura" (l. 30). Only one command, "Quando bibit dominus. non bibe discipule" (l. 33), indicates that the writer had in mind the page at the table of the master. Of the thirty-five rules of table etiquette which the poem contains, fifteen are found in *Quisquis Es in Mensa*. In addition to those precepts which *Quisquis Es in Mensa* and *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* have in common with *Facetus*, *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* owes six more to that great source of European courtesy literature. The remaining fourteen may, perhaps, be indigenous in English courtesy literature.

The anonymous Anglo-Latin poem, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, undated, but evidently existing as early as the thirteenth century, is closely related to the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*.<sup>20</sup> This relationship is evident from the appearance of five verses in both poems and the general likeness of the two poems in tone and subject matter. Two clues, one at the end of the poem, about which little needs to be

<sup>19</sup> One of these verses is from the version of *Quisquis Es in Mensa* which Glixelli in printing designates as MS. B., see "Les contenance de table," *Romania* XLVII (1921), p. 29. In a number of verses common to the two poems, the reading in *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* agrees more exactly with MS. B. than with any other version of the poem. In several instances, the verses in *Quisquis Es in Mensa* and *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*, while similar, are not identical. For instance, one verse in *Quisquis Es in Mensa* MS. A. reads: "In disco tacta. non sit bucella redacta" (l. 8); in MS. B. this line reads: "In mensa tacta. non sit bucella redacta" (l. 11); in *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*: "Dentibus etacta. non sit bucella redacta" (l. 8).

<sup>20</sup> Printed by Furnivall in E.E.T.S., XXXII, pp. 30-33, from the Harleian MS. 3362. The evidence for dating the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* back to the thirteenth century is found in a manuscript seen by Larned which attributes the poem to Robert Grosseteste (1175?-1253). See *A Multitude of Counsellors*, p. 184.

said, and the other toward the beginning, suggest that *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* is probably the older of the two poems. The clue given at the conclusion of *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* is found in two lines advocating charitable conversation. These have been added in a later handwriting. The *Stans Puer ad Mensam* embodies the content of these two lines in the second line preceding its conclusion, and closes with the same didactic threat which terminates the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*:

Priuetur mensa. qui spreuerit hec documenta.

The second clue, which is found in the first ten lines of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, indicates that after the author had borrowed three lines from *Facetus* he then began to expand the material of the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*. The first nine lines of the poem give a series of short commands which prescribe quiet fingers, hands, and feet; straightforward look, upright posture, and erect head. These lines appear to be a restatement of the important tercet in *Facetus*:

Dum steteris coram dominis, haec quinque tenebis:  
iunge manus, compone pedes, caput erige, visu  
non dispargaris, sine iussu pauca loquaris (181).

In the tenth line of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, the reader unexpectedly meets this summary and promise in the midst of specific commands:

Hec documenta tene. si vis vrbanus haberi.

That the author should recapitulate at this point seems inexplicable until this line is compared with the opening verses of the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*:

Doctus dicetur. hec qui documenta sequetur.  
Hec documenta sibi. qui vult vrbanus haberi.  
Que scribuntur ibi. sciat obseruanda necesse.

From this point of initial influence, twenty rules follow in the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* that appear in the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*. The author of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* shows a little more delicacy of expression in laying down precepts dealing with disagree-

able personal habits than does the writer in *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*. An echo of monastic table discipline is heard in the thirty-eighth verse, which recommends that at meals reverence be shown during reading and at the benediction. Fourteen new precepts are introduced, largely toward the end of the poem.

In connection with the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* are to be considered two English poems which bear the name of this Latin poem from which their authors have drawn, partly by way of translation and partly by free adaptation. These two English poems are the *Book of Curteisie That is Clepid Stans Puer ad Mensam* found in the Lambeth MS. 853 and the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* found in the Ashmole MS. 61.<sup>21</sup> The earlier of these two English poems is the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth). Furnivall, who prints this poem<sup>22</sup> considers that the date of the manuscript is about 1430. When cast into the vernacular, in the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) the first part of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* is elaborated, not so much to add new material, as to round out the maxims in a way that will better dispose the hearer to observe them. In place of the terse Latin command, *bona dogmata discas*, the English writer, seeking immediately to establish the intimate relationship existing between teacher and student, begins: "Mi dere sone." With the Latin author, education in courtesy is a matter of learning good doctrines; to the Englishman, the teacher's work is not only to set up a code of manners, but to train in virtuous conduct. Accordingly, the first five lines of the English poem invite the student to dispose himself to virtuous discipline and to incline his heart to the study of refinement.

<sup>21</sup> To avoid confusion in designating these poems, the *Book of Curteisie That is Clepid Stans Puer ad Mensam* will hereafter be referred to as *Stans Puer* (Lambeth); whereas the English poem called *Stans Puer ad Mensam* in the Ashmole MS. 61 will hereafter be called *Stans Puer* (Ashmole).

<sup>22</sup> E.E.T.S., XXXII, pp. 27-33. On alternate pages he reproduces the text of the same poem found in MS. Harleian 2251, (c.1460) which he collates with readings from a fifteenth century copy of the poem in MS. Q. T. 8, Library of Jesus College, Cambridge. MacCracken, who attributes the poem to Lydgate, gives a definitive edition of the work in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Part II, (E.E.T.S. CXCI), pp. 739-744. The supposition that the poem is a translation of the *Carmen Iuvenile de Moribus in Mensa Seruandis* of Sulpitius was originated by Lowndes (see Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. cxxxiii), carried on by Blades, *Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, pp. 199-203, and reprinted by Aurner, *Caxton: Mirrour of Fifteenth Century Letters*, p. 93. A comparison of the two poems shows that this conjecture is erroneous.

For the first four stanzas, the English author follows closely his Latin source. The boy is not to be "richelees" before his lord and move his hands and fingers about while speaking; his look must be simple, and his eyes must not curiously look about or make a mirror of the wall (ll. 6-11). In the next command, the English loses in figurative power by the alteration of the command, "*baculus nec sit tibe postis*" into the weak injunction: "agen þe post lete not þi bak abide" (l. 10). Following the Latin more closely, the poet tells the boy not to pick his nose (l. 12), nor scratch himself before his lord (l. 14), nor "lumpischli" hang his head when addressed (l. 16), or utter wanton laughter before his superiors (l. 20). Furthermore, he must not eat without first washing his hands (l. 21), sit higher at table than he is assigned (l. 24), or eat until the dishes are placed on the table, lest men consider him greedy (ll. 26-28).

Although following the Latin maxim by maxim, the English writer in the first stanzas definitely establishes the picture of the boy receiving his training in the household of the knight or lord. This he does by repeating three times the phrase "to thy souereyn" in contrast to the single appearance in the Latin. The repetition has the effect of suggesting that the presence of the lord acts as a continual reminder of good manners and should help the boy to determine other points in his conduct which the writer does not specifically mention.

The verse beginning, *Hec documenta tene*, already commented upon as clearly borrowed in the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* from the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*, is evidently considered by the English writer to be an unnecessary summary at this point, since he omits it. Having followed with comparative closeness in the first four stanzas the initial fifteen lines of the Latin version, the English author suddenly begins to modify and then to disregard his original. Stanzas five and six show a gradual withdrawing from the Latin model. Henceforth, the English writer takes or rejects at will, creating rather than strictly or even loosely translating. That he is composing independently of a model is shown in stanza twelve, when he

draws from his memory an aphorism which is well known to himself and which he suggests may be familiar also to his readers:<sup>23</sup>

And as it is remembrid bi writyng  
 Wrappe of children is overcome soone  
 With þe partis of an appil ben made at oon (ll. 82-85).

Of the sixty rules for conduct given in *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) thirty-three appear in *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. The English author adds no precepts from *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* or *Quisquis Es in Mensam* which the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* does not present. He does, however, incorporate nine precepts from *Facetus* which the Anglo-Latin poems hitherto analyzed have not included. *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) contains eighteen precepts which apparently are found for the first time in English *facetus* literature.

The writer concludes with an envoy of eight lines. In it, he addresses his work as a "litol balade, voide of eloquence" and "copious of sentence". He preserves his anonymity in the last three lines of the poem, and at the same time refers to the indefinite dating of the work:

In þis writyng, þou3 þer be no date,  
 Yf ou3t be mys in word, sillable, or dede  
 I submitte me to correccioun withoute ony debate.

The authorship of the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) is generally ascribed to John Lydgate. Undoubtedly, the reason why this belief is current is the fact that his name appears in the last two lines of the texts of the Harleian MS. 2251, and the MS. Q.T. 8, Library of Jesus College (Cambridge):

If ought be mysse,—worde, sillable, or dede,—  
 Put al the defaute vpon Iohne Lydegate

Before these lines can be accepted as an authentic signature of Lydgate, one must consider the ending of the poem in the Lambeth manuscript, which shows the author's desire to remain anonymous. In this connection, one recalls the attribution of the *Disticha Catonis*

<sup>23</sup> A similar comment upon the harmless nature of children's parables is found in the *De Officiis* of St. Ambrose, Bk. I, ch. 21, PL. XVI, col. 56.

to Lydgate, also found in a Harleian manuscript and now known to be erroneous. Several facts indicate that Lydgate was not the author either of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* or the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth). The second English adaptation of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), is considered to have been written somewhere between 1461 and 1483, since it repeats the prohibition which Edward IV put upon lace sleeves (l. 92). This poem makes no mention of Lydgate as the author, but it repeatedly refers to the teachings of an unknown "doctor paler" and of Robert Grosseteste. A courtesy treatise by this celebrated Bishop of Lincoln must, then, have been in existence when the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) was composed, for the author of the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) refers to a written document:

pus seys grossum caput, in doctrine of letter (l. 104).

Robert Grosseteste has a claim to the authorship of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, since a Harleian manuscript of this poem attributes its teachings to the celebrated Bishop of Lincoln:

Haec qui me docuit, Grossum-caput est sibi nomen.  
Praesul et ille fuit, cui det felix Deus omen.<sup>24</sup>

These lines, evidently by one of Grosseteste's pupils, explain the Latinized version of the name in *Stans Puer* (Ashmole).

A definitely established work by Robert Grosseteste links his name in the courtesy tradition: *Regulae Quas Bonae Memoriae Rob. Grosseteste Fecit Comitissae Lyncolniae ad Custodiendum et Regendum Terras, Hospitium Domum et Familiam*. This set of household rules was apparently written for Countess Margaret Laci about 1240, to aid the widow in the direction of her estates.<sup>25</sup> In giving advice upon practically every subject concerning the management of a household, Grosseteste includes a discussion of reception of guests, seating at table, good manners in servants, appropriate clothing of household for meals, fare for strangers, and behavior of

<sup>24</sup> Quoted by Larned in *A Multitude of Counsellors*, p. 184.

<sup>25</sup> *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, ed. by Lamond, p. xliii.

servants to guests. Zarncke<sup>26</sup> quotes Leyser as attributing to Grosseteste the *Cato Rhythmicus*, a version of the *Disticha Catonis* in the strophes of minstrelsy. He himself thinks it possible that Grosseteste may have written the work, especially if it can be proved that the holy bishop was the author of the *Vision of Fulbert*, the only other work in the same meter.

The attribution of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* to Grosseteste, and of *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) to Lydgate is closely linked with the use which monastic teachers made of this poem in the medieval educational system. The small aristocrats of England, boys and girls, were commonly educated either at the court of a king or nobleman, or in the monastic and conventual schools. The feudal lords appear to have adapted the educational system of Charlemagne to suit the needs of the old law of wardship and marriage. According to this law, if a knight owing military service to a higher lord died, leaving a son or daughter under age as heir, the lord held the wardship of the land until the heir was of age, was entitled to the rents of the land, and was privileged to give the child in marriage, but had to provide for the youth's maintenance and education.<sup>27</sup> As a result of this guardianship, the castles became educational and social centers. The special tutor of the young men, known as the Master of Henchmen, was instructed by Edward IV to teach jousting, various languages, singing, dancing, and harping. He became, also, the great authority on table etiquette. "This Master sitteth in the Hall, next unto these Henxmen, at the same board; to have his respects unto their demeanings, how mannerly they eat and drink, and to their communication, and other forms curial, after the book of urbanity."<sup>28</sup>

To his hall, then, the nobleman brought a tutor worthy to instruct his wards in the science of warfare and the gentler arts of chivalry. At times, instead of providing this education within his own walls, he placed his wards in the monastic school, where a cultural training was given them. Grosseteste and Lydgate each con-

<sup>26</sup> "Beiträge zur mittellateinischen Spruchpoesie," *Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, XV (1863), p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> Monroe, *A Cyclopaedia of Education*, I, p. 639.

<sup>28</sup> *Curalia Miscellanea*, ed. by Pegge, pp. 89-90.

ducted such a school, and both undoubtedly used the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* as a book of elementary education in manners. Burhenne believes that it was because Lydgate used the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* in his teachings that he became associated with the authorship of the poem.<sup>29</sup> Certainly, it was a pupil of Grosseteste who set down his master's name at the end of the Latin version.

The *Stans Puer* (Ashmole)<sup>30</sup> bears the stamp of the author's idiosyncrasies and represents widely different sources. It concludes with the phrase, "Amen, quod Kate", a termination which marks much of the didactic material in the Ashmole codex. Possibly the scribe was confused regarding the authorship of the courtesy rules because of the propinquity of the *Facetus* text to the *Disticha Catonis* in many manuscripts. More likely, he craftily added the name of Cato to give additional weight to the precepts, since the old philosopher's name was the medieval trade mark of wisdom.

In *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), six stanzas of introductory material precede a greatly modified form of the Latin poem. The author solemnly invokes Christ who died upon a tree that He may "be to chylder A bodely leche" and aid them to flee from vice (ll. 7-8). Entirely out of keeping with the devotional tone of the beginning are the decidedly utilitarian ideas that follow. Desire for success and popularity are held up as the motives inducing the child to be well-mannered. The courteous child, rich or poor, will be a "leche" to himself in difficulties, whereas the vicious child will never thrive (ll. 17-23). The supreme punishment for the incautious person is that he is never able to win respect (l. 28). In these implied threats the author is evidently original, for the distinctive characteristic of the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) is a precept followed by a warning or promise of reward.

In the first two stanzas the author of the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) closely follows the text of the adapter who is responsible for the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth). Since *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) contains readings both from the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) and the copy of this poem

<sup>29</sup> *Das mitttelenglische Gedicht Stans Puer ad Mensam und sein Verhältnis zu ähnlichen Erneugnissen des 15 Jahrh.*, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Ed. by Furnivall in *A Booke of Precedence* (E.E.T.S. extra ser. VIII), pp. 56-64.

which is also found in MS. Q.T. 8, at the Library of Jesus College (Cambridge), one may judge that the author had access to the two manuscripts.<sup>31</sup> In the subsequent stanzas the author shows that, while he is a poor writer and an inaccurate copyist, he is a good collector of the courtesy rules appearing in earlier and contemporary writings. He includes eleven precepts from *Facetus* which have not appeared in *Quisquis Es in Mensa, Vi Te Geras ad Mensam, Stans Puer ad Mensam*, and *Stans Puer* (Lambeth); four which appeared in *Vi Te Geras ad Mensam* and were not included in the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*; and six from the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* which do not appear in the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth). Of the commands which occur in the *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) includes thirty-two. The *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) contains forty precepts which do not appear in any of the others mentioned. These commands show wide diversity and give to the poem the pleasing quality of variety.

The main contributions of *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) to *facetus* literature are two groups of precepts at the end of the poem, one dealing with street etiquette (ll. 195-214), the other with the polite consideration the page should give to his master when he sleeps with him or waits upon him at night (ll. 215-250). These lines show greater continuity of thought than the precepts in the first part of the poem. They indicate also greater refinement of feeling than is shown in *Facetus, Stans Puer ad Mensam*, and *Stans Puer* (Lambeth). In this latter respect they stand in decided contrast to other commands in the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), which show considerably less refinement on the part of the audience to whom the admonitions are addressed than do earlier *facetus* precepts (ll. 120; 155-157; 193).

The author of the *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) is almost alone among medieval courtesy writers in his habit of referring by name to earlier courtesy authorities. Early in his poem he asks the aid of "gode seynt clement" (l. 11). Once he refers to Bishop Grosseteste (ll. 101-104), and five times he gives commands which he attributes to

<sup>31</sup> Both the first and second stanzas of the Ashmole copy have slightly corrupt wording of passages in the Lambeth and Cambridge manuscripts.

"doctor paler." These commands are: not to dip meat in the salt cellar (ll. 147-150), not to talk much except when saying the *Pater, Ave*, and *Credo* (ll. 209-210), not to go to bed before one's master commands (l. 219), to keep one's knife on the table when putting meat into the mouth (ll. 232-234), and not to speak when one's lord is drinking (ll. 235-238). These precepts are all of such a general nature that they give no clue concerning the identity of Doctor Paler or the individual characteristics of his work.

An English courtesy poem which in style presents some originality, but which upon analysis proves to be a clever combination of Latin sources, is the anonymous *Boke of Curtasye* (c. 1460) found in Sloane MS. 1986.<sup>32</sup> The treatise is divided into three books, the last of which is devoted to the duties of servants and contains no *facetous* material. With the exception of two units at the beginning of the poem, one dealing with the correct way of entering the hall (ll. 5-31), and the other with the manner of cutting one's bread at table (ll. 35-42), practically all of the precepts have been taken in sequence from three Latin poems. The nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first precepts of Book one (ll. 43-50) are identical with the sixth, seventh, and eighth precepts of *Quisquis Es in Mensa* (ll. 6-8). Beginning with his twenty-second precept and continuing to the end of Book one (ll. 51-140), the author follows the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* from its nineteenth precept until the end of that poem (ll. 17-42).

Book two proves to be a combination of translations from *Facetus* and from the first part of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* which the author did not take when writing Book one. The following groups of precepts found both in *Facetus* and the *Boke of Curtasye* indicate the sequence in which the English author followed his Latin source. The precept numbers are not to be confused with line numbers, for they are numbers given to each specific command as these commands follow each other in sequence throughout the poems. For instance, the second command in *Facetus* is the same as the second command in the *Boke of Curtasye*; the sixth command in *Facetus* is the same as the fifth command in the *Boke of Curtasye*.

<sup>32</sup> Ed. by Furnivall in E.E.T.S. XXXII, pp. 297-327.

Precepts in:

<i>Facetus</i>	2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16. <sup>33</sup>
<i>Boke of Curtasye</i>	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. <sup>34</sup>
<i>Facetus</i>	20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31. <sup>35</sup>
<i>Boke of Curtasye</i>	12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. <sup>36</sup>
<i>Facetus</i>	49, 51, 52, 54, 55. <sup>37</sup>
<i>Boke of Curtasye</i>	39, 40, 41, 42, 43. <sup>38</sup>
<i>Facetus</i>	81, 83, 84. <sup>39</sup>
<i>Boke of Curtasye</i>	30, 33, 32. <sup>40</sup>
<i>Facetus</i>	124, 125, 126. <sup>41</sup>
<i>Boke of Curtasye</i>	36, 37, 38. <sup>42</sup>
<i>Facetus</i>	87, 88, 89. <sup>43</sup>
<i>Boke of Curtasye</i>	47, 48, 49. <sup>44</sup>

In lines 57-110 of the *Boke of Curtasye*, which constitute the last part of Book two, the author closely follows lines 20-34 of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, a section of the poem which he did not include in his earlier borrowing from that poem.

Despite his close adherence to his Latin sources, the author of the *Boke of Curtasye* manages to give his poem an original aspect. This he does by expanding occasionally the single line or couplet of his models into a precept of five or six lines. To the command in the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* not to drink with the mouth full (l. 31), the English writer adds:

And also fysike for-bedes hit,  
 And sais þou may be choket at þat byt  
 Yf hit go þy wrang throte into  
 And stoppe þy wynde, þou art fordo (ll. 97-100).

Close parallels of Book one of the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) are the courtesy poems, *Vrbanitatis* (c. 1460)<sup>45</sup> and *The Babees Book* (c. 1475).<sup>46</sup> Like the first division of the *Boke of Cur-*

<sup>33</sup> *Facetus*, 5-16 with 7 and 8 excepted.

<sup>34</sup> *Boke of Curtasye*, II, ll. 155-182.

<sup>35</sup> *Facetus*, 19-28 with 26 and 27 excepted.

<sup>36</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* II, ll. 185-195; 205-224

<sup>37</sup> *Facetus*, 43-46.

<sup>38</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* II, ll. 275-291.

<sup>39</sup> *Facetus*, 65-68.

<sup>40</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* II, ll. 245-252.

<sup>41</sup> *Facetus*, 105-107.

<sup>42</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* II, ll. 259-274.

<sup>43</sup> *Facetus*, 71-73.

<sup>44</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* II, ll. 303-310.

<sup>45</sup> Ed. by Furnivall in E.E.T.S. XXXII,  
pp. 13-15.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-9.

*tasye*, they begin with a group of commands which inform the reader how he shall enter the banquet hall. Like the *Boke of Curtasye*, also, they contain commands which link them undeniably with the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and *Facetus*.

*Vrbanitatis* is one of the most condensed of the Middle English *facetus* poems. In short octosyllabic couplets, the author enumerates precepts with the swiftness and ease of one who has himself memorized the rules of behavior. The poem shows a general similarity to the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, but a certain originality of expression, and the author's casual way of referring to his source, "aftur the nurtur of the book" (l. 15), indicate that he is drawing from his memory rather than from a copy. In tone the work shows a slightly more democratic feeling than do earlier *facetus* poems. Neither "hy3 blood" nor "konnyng" are reasons for seeking a high place at table; nor need a child's countenance show confusion because of the position of his parents, since nurture will redeem one's state. Wherever one goes, it is nurture and manners which make man (ll. 24-34). The author devotes considerable space to a discussion of polite conversation. Words, he believes, make or mar one's success in human relationships (ll. 81-87).

The title of the poem and its repetition at the end, "Explicit tractus vrbanitatis," associate this short treatise with the *Urbanum de Morum Comitatu* of Church. *Vrbanitatis* was incorporated into the *Constitutions of Masonry*, a modern title for a medieval poem on the history and ordinances of the Freemasons. Halliwell prints this rare work from the Regius MS. 17 A.<sup>47</sup> The author of the *Constitutions of Masonry* included *Vrbanitatis* in order to disseminate teachings which would result in better manners. He evidently considered the little work an authority on table etiquette, and his use of it undoubtedly increased the popularity of his own poem.

The author of the *Babees Book* acknowledges his source more definitely than does the writer of *Vrbanitatis*. He is writing, he says:

Out of latyn in-to my comvne language (l. 2).

<sup>47</sup> *The Early History of Freemasonry in England*, pp. 38-40.

It is difficult to determine whether his source was the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* or a version of this poem which combined material from *Facetus*, such as might have been used by the author of the *Boke of Curtasye*. The author of the *Babees Book* says he might add other precepts but that he does not have time to write more. He prefaces his instructions on manners with eight seven-line stanzas of introductory material. In these he announces that he is writing for

yonge Babees, whome bloode Royalle  
 Withe grace, Feture, and hyhe habylite  
 Hathe enourmyd (ll. 15-17).

It would be a great pity, he considers, did these young people in whom is set sovereign beauty lack nurture. He is careful to point out that he does not write for older people who are expert in governance, nurture, and honesty. He concludes his introduction with a petition to Mary to give him lovely, sweet, blessed, and benign words. After this invocation, he adds an address to "Facecia" speaking to her as "O lady myn, Facecia! My penne thow guyde." He invokes her because she is the mother of all virtues, as A is the beginning of the alphabet (ll. 48-53).

After the first unit of precepts which treat of the manner of entering the hall (ll. 57-77), the author presents three stanzas which closely follow the order of commands in the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. While he draws from this poem throughout his work, he contributes a number of original precepts which he presents in a more logical order than the material in earlier *facetus* treatises. He furnishes some information concerning the sequence in which the medieval meal was carried out. His most outstanding contribution is a group of commands which give instructions upon the manner in which the page shall assist at the washing of the lord's hands (ll. 127-135, ll. 194-200).

One more poem closely related to the poems already mentioned remains for discussion. Under the quaint title, the *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* or *Edyllys be* (c.1480),<sup>48</sup> an English translation and adaptation of the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* has hitherto con-

<sup>48</sup> Edited by Furnivall in E.E.T.S., XXXII, pp. 16-24.

cealed its identity, despite the close analyses made by Bruel<sup>49</sup> and Burhenne.<sup>50</sup> Of the one hundred and eight lines, only the first eight and the last eight are the definite creation of the author. In this short space, however, he exhibits an attractive method of reasoning and expression decidedly his own. It is lamentable that he did not draw more upon his own inventive genius instead of copying time-worn material from earlier writers.

This translator or perhaps, more correctly, adapter of the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*, is nearer to his juvenile audience than were his predecessors. His appeal is to "lytylle childrene", and he knows the psychological value of clothing familiar knowledge with something of imaginative beauty. He does not pretend to be a very learned man himself, but he tells his readers to attend to his writings:

For clerkis that the vij arte3 cunne,  
 Seyn þat curtesy from hevyn come  
 Whan Gabryelle oure lady grette,  
 And Elizabeth with mary mette (ll. 3-6).

What medieval child, loving Mary, would not stand wide-eyed at this explanation? Frescoes had vividly portrayed to every childish eye Gabriel reverently saluting the humble virgin, and in Mary's charitable visit to Elizabeth the youthful mind could trace a model for his own conduct. The author closes his argument with this summary of the value of courtesy:

Alle vertues arne closide yn curtesye,  
 And alle vices yn vylonye (ll. 7-8).

After this introduction, the adaptation of the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam* begins at the fourth line of the Latin poem. The writer follows his model maxim by maxim with occasional modifications, to the twenty-third line of his source. Since he generally uses a couplet to express a single line of the original, his style has a leisurely quality that is decidedly in contrast to the terseness of the Latin. A number of the maxims omitted by the Latin author of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* when he drew material from the *Vt Te*

<sup>49</sup> "Boke of Curtesy," *Englische Studien*, IX (1886), pp. 51-63.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, 12 ff.

*Geras ad Mensam* seem to offer difficulty to the English translator and are consequently greatly modified. The command,

Immo panem scinde. quem mandat qui velit inde (l. 10),

is changed in the *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* to

Kerue not they brede to thynne,  
Ne breke hit not on twynne (l. 23-24).

Likewise, line 21,

In mensa care. *quam* sint res ne memorare,

is changed to a warning regarding the type of food,

And thy mete be of grete pryce,  
Be ware of hyt, or þou arte not wyse (ll. 49-50).

From line 52, the direct translation of the Latin ceases. After this point, although not following the sequence of the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*, the author nevertheless remains close to his Latin source in the tone and general content of his commands. He introduces a number of new precepts, a few of which appeared in *Facetus*. The greater number, however, are proper to the English vernacular poems.

The ending of the *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* is less imaginative but no less sincere than the opening. The author earnestly begs the prayers of his youthful hearers against the last hour when the fiends will contend for his departing soul.

The explanation affixed to the poem in the Egerton MS. 1995 contributes no reliable clue as to the author:

Explicit. lerne or be lewde  
*quod* Whytyng.

Possibly the scribe confused the *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* with a group of medieval maxims entitled *Lerne or be Lewde*. These maxims are not a complete work, but a fragment of a large group of sententious sayings in the Lambeth MS. 853, entitled the *A B C of Aristotle*.<sup>51</sup> More significant than the addition of this title are the words, "quod Whytyng". As in the case of Lydgate and Grosseteste,

<sup>51</sup> Both these poems are edited by Furnivall in E.E.T.S., XXXII, pp. 9-11.

Abbot Whiting, the celebrated abbot of Glastonbury (died 1539), received sons of the nobility under his charge, and as a result of his teachings his name came to be associated with a treatise on manners.

In the Anglo-Latin and Middle English treatises thus far analyzed in this chapter, the authors begin their poems by prescribing the proper course of action at the beginning of the meal or at the entrance of the guest into the hall. Four later *facetus* poems, which address the school child in preference to the page, follow the chronological arrangement presented by Humbert and begin with precepts which tell the child what he is to do upon rising in the morning. The poems are: Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*,<sup>52</sup> *Young Children's Book*,<sup>53</sup> Symon's *Lesson of Wyshedome for all Maner Chyldryn*,<sup>54</sup> and Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture*.<sup>55</sup>

Caxton's *Book of Curtesye* (c. 1477) is not in reality by Caxton at all, but by a pupil of Lydgate. Furnivall, wishing to associate the poem with the name of the great printer in order to distinguish it from the *Boke of Curtasye* of the Sloane MS. 1986, edited it under the title which it now bears. The book is a miscellany of table rules and general commands concerning the boy's deportment. The author's contributions to the courtesy genre are his instruction concerning the care with which a person shall make his morning toilet (ll. 36-56), his additions to the discussion of street etiquette (ll. 57-70), and his treatment of the manner of serving a priest at Mass (ll. 85-98). He places great emphasis upon proper conversation, insisting that it is a principal point of good manners not to speak uncharitably. In condemning detraction of the absent, he refers to St. Augustine, whom he calls a "curtoys clerk" (ll. 155-168). He stresses also the need for restraint in eating (ll. 176-182; 218-224). For those who do not have much to eat at table, he prescribes enrichment of their poor board with a cheerful will and a good word (ll. 225-231). In his condemnation of ribaldry he shows considerable feeling, threatening to punish light conversation with the birch (ll. 295-301).

<sup>52</sup> Caxton's *Book of Curtesye* (E.E.T.S. extra ser. III), p. vi.

<sup>53</sup> The text is in E.E.T.S., XXXII, pp. 17-25.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 399-402.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63-114.

Both in style and organization of subject matter, the author of the *Book of Curtesy* shows a considerable advance over earlier *facetis* writers. He presents the only attempt at caricature in English *facetis* poems when he summarizes the characteristics of the foppish boor under the term "Ruskyn galante" (ll. 449-455), and combines the traits of the presumptuous man under the name of "Iack malapert" (ll. 491-497). He is almost alone among English courtesy writers in recommending correct speech (ll. 316-322), and the cultural subjects of luting, dancing, singing, and reading (ll. 304-305). In reviewing the work of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, he shows an appreciation of the influence of these writers on speech, and a realization of what these masters have done to mold the language (ll. 323-434). In his enthusiasm about his old master he breaks into a eulogistic vein in what is, perhaps, the only passage marked by artistic imagery in English *facetis* poems (ll. 369-385).

*Young Children's Book* (c. 1500) is definitely addressed to those who do not remain long at school. The introductory lines of *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, which treat courtesy as a summary of all the virtues, are considered by this author as a worthy beginning, and he copies these lines with little alteration. In selecting the precepts for the remainder of his poem, the author shows a desire to relate them to the virtues of everyday life. Conversation, especially, receives particular emphasis. His precepts show a wide variety of subject matter and an ability to express commonplace advice in a manner which has some of the characteristics of aphoristic wisdom.

Symon's *Lesson of Wyshedome for all Maner Chyldryn* presents an amusing combination of courtesy rules and shrewd inducements to follow the pathway of wisdom. Furnivall gives no date for the poem, but it was probably written after the composition of the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), the *Babees Book*, *Vrbanitatis*, and the *Book of Curtesy* (Caxton), since the author appears to have used these poems as sources. Although he includes precepts relating to the various phases of refined conduct, he neither treats any of these topics at length nor arranges his admonitions according to any discernible order. The chief interest of the work lies in the contrast it presents to the earlier *facetis* poems which were addressed to the

well-trained page. In this poem the writer is obviously speaking to the mischievous boy of the middle class, who must be told to get to school on time (l. 77), and not lose his book (l. 59). He warns him against throwing sticks at dogs, horses, and hogs, against climbing over houses and walls in search of fruit, balls, and birds (ll. 41-42), and against throwing stones which might break the neighbor's window panes (ll. 43-44). Fully conscious of the child's adventurous spirit, the author urges him to come home from play before dark (ll. 49-50), to beware of fire and water (l. 52), and to be particularly careful not to fall over any brink or into wells or brooks (ll. 53-54).

Hugh Rhodes, Gentleman of the King's Chapel, and in this office associated with the children of the royal household, composed the *Boke of Nurture*, which appeared about 1530: The treatise contains six divisions or chapters, each with a separate title: "The Duties of Parents and Masters;" "The Manner of Seruing a Knight, Squyre, or Gentleman;" "How to order your Maysters Chamber at night to bedwarde;" "The Booke of Nurture and Schoole of good Manners for Man and for Chylde;" "For the Wayting Seruaunt;" and "The Rule of Honest Liuing." The fourth chapter, "The Booke of Nurture and Schoole of Good Manners for Man and for Chylde" was the great attraction of the work, as is evident from the subtitle of the 1577 edition:

The boke of Nurture or Schoole of good maners: For men, Seruants and children, with Stans puer ad mensam. Newly corrected, very necessary for all youth and children.

The purpose of Rhodes was not a critical revision of the popular English poem on manners, but rather a repetition and loose expansion of the rules found not only in the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* but in courtesy books written in English as well. After opening his instruction with a group of precepts which, in directing the boy's activities, follow the chronological order of the day, Rhodes begins his elaboration of the rules in *Stans Puer ad Mensam* at the one hundred and twenty-fifth line of his poem. Since he incorporates

precepts from both the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and its two English adaptations, it is difficult to determine what poem, if any, he follows as a basic text.

The use of the words *Stan Puer ad Mensam* as a title for this amalgamation of English *facetus* material is significant. English courtesy literature had its origin in *Facetus* and its derivative poems on table manners, but British writers on courtesy very soon contributed their own distinctive maxims. The title *Facetus* for the poem beginning *Cum nihil utilius* had in England in some manuscripts been replaced by that of *Urbanus*. A passage in the *Household Ordinances* of Edward IV links the word *facetus* with the teaching of etiquette and possibly with instruction in the Latin language as well. The duties of the Master of Henchmen were "to drawe these chyl dren, as well in the schoole of facet as in songe, organes, or suche other vertuou s thinges." Furnivall explains the term by reprinting the definition from Cotgrave:

"*Facet*, A Primmer, or Grammar for a young scholler."<sup>56</sup>

His explanation shows that the word *Facetus* was ceasing to be associated with the idea of polite conduct and was, in some instances, used as a synonym for "text book" because of the popularity of the poem in the school room. The use of the title *Stans Puer ad Mensam* for Rhodes's compilation of precepts was a clever bit of medieval advertising, since it presented Rhodes's treatise under the name of a poem important because of its original contributions and its several adaptations.

The last chapter of Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture*, entitled "The Rule of Honest Liuing", is interesting because it reveals another instance of medieval borrowing through the medium of translation. This final section of Rhodes's work does not, however, augment his reputation for originality, since it is a close English version of chapter III, "De Continentia," from the popular medieval treatise, *Formula Honestae Vitae*<sup>57</sup> by St. Martin, bishop of Bracara, Spain (520?-580). A number of St. Martin's works are close adaptations

<sup>56</sup> E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. lxxvi.

<sup>57</sup> Migne PL. LXXII, cols. 25-27.

of Seneca's writings.<sup>58</sup> In chapter III "De Continentia" of *Formula Honestae Vitae*, the author appears to have drawn material from *De Vita Beata*, an essay of Seneca which pictures the joyous mode of life which is possible to the person who is free from inordinate desires.

In connection with the Middle English courtesy poems may be mentioned a number of social or moral treatises which contain *facetous* material. Outstanding among these are poems of parental instruction. The *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, compiled in 1372 for the instruction of writer's daughters;<sup>59</sup> the fifteenth-century poems, *How the Good Wijf Tauzte Hir Dauzter*,<sup>60</sup> *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage*,<sup>61</sup> and *How the Wyse Man Tauzt Hys Sone*;<sup>62</sup> the fifteenth-century Scottish poems, *Ratis Raving*,<sup>63</sup> *The Foly of Fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen*,<sup>64</sup> *Consail and Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif His Sone*,<sup>65</sup> and *The Thewis off Gudwomen*<sup>66</sup>—all introduce a number of courtesy rules at unmethodic intervals. This material is in many instances the same as that contained in Middle English courtesy poems. There does not exist, however, any striking similarity of verbal arrangement or sequence of ideas that would indicate any further relationship between the two groups other than the general uniformity of customs which would be expected from didactic writers of the same country, writing at about the same stage of a nation's cultural development.<sup>67</sup> Furnivall prints an unimportant group of undated Middle English extracts and fragments which seem to draw material both from medieval courtesy poems and the poems of parental instruction. The most significant selections among this group are: *Of the Manners to Bring One to*

<sup>58</sup> Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, tr. by Shahan, pp. 658-660. The writer acknowledges her indebtedness to John E. Mason, who pointed out to her the relationship between the works of Seneca, Martin, and Rhodes.

<sup>59</sup> Ed. by Wright, E.E.T.S. XXXIII.

<sup>60</sup> For an account of the MSS. and printed copies of the *Good Wijf* see Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. lxx.

<sup>61</sup> Ed. by Furnivall in a *Booke of Precedence*, (E.E.T.S. extra ser. VIII), pp. 39-51.

<sup>62</sup> Ed. by Fisher.

<sup>63</sup> Ed. by Lumby in *Ratis Raving and Other Moral and Religious Pieces*, (E.E.T.S. XLIII), pp. 26-76.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-90.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90-103.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-112.

<sup>67</sup> For an account of the relationship between Middle English and Anglo-Norman courtesy poems see appendix I, pp. 107-109.

*Honour and Welfare*,<sup>68</sup> *Whate-ever Thow Sey, Awyse Thee Welle*,<sup>69</sup> *Proverbs of Good Counsel*,<sup>70</sup> *How to Rule One's Self and One's House*,<sup>71</sup> and an extract from *Sir Peter Idle's Directions to His Son*.<sup>72</sup>

The popularity of the medieval courtesy book caused treatises for the instruction of servants to parade under a title that suggested refinement and good breeding. The most conspicuous of these is John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, written about the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>73</sup> The work is by no means a treatise on nurture. A group of rules for the conduct of servants, called "Symple Conditions," is the only excuse for its title. A few of these commands, such as not to scorn others, not to laugh or talk in a noisy manner, and not to tell lies, have parallels in English courtesy poems. For the most part, the rules are designed to correct the coarse behavior of rude servants. They are, moreover, so crudely expressed that they bear no relation to other medieval poems on manners. Another book for servants which, despite its title, contains no material relating to manners, is the *Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book*.<sup>74</sup> These two books, however, are of interest in the study of medieval manners, since they throw light upon the social usages of the times. Other works written for servants which reveal medieval English customs are the *Boke of Keruyng*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1508,<sup>75</sup> *Ffor to Serve a Lord*, of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century,<sup>76</sup> and a short, undated selection entitled, "The Ordre of Goyng or Sittyng."<sup>77</sup>

This survey of medieval courtesy literature cannot close without mention of a common misconception, that the large number of courtesy manuals in the Renaissance resulted wholly from humanistic

<sup>68</sup> E.E.T.S. XXXII, pp. 34-35.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.

<sup>70</sup> *A Booke of Precedence*, (E.E.T.S. extra ser. VIII), pp. 68-70.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>73</sup> Ed. by Furnivall in E.E.T.S. XXXII, pp. 115-199.

<sup>74</sup> *Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book and Two Franciscan Rules*, ed. by Chambers and Seton (E.E.T.S. CXLVIII).

<sup>75</sup> Ed. by Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, pp. 265-286.

<sup>76</sup> Ed. by Furnivall, *ibid.*, pp. 366-377.

<sup>77</sup> Ed. by Furnivall, *ibid.*, p. 381.

influence. Erasmus, one of the most noted of the early Renaissance courtesy authorities, has been credited with having compiled the code of etiquette presented in his *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* from material drawn from gnostic poets.<sup>78</sup> The erroneousness of this belief is plainly evident when *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* is compared with *Facetus* and its derivative medieval Latin and vernacular poems. Erasmus did not originate a code of etiquette. He takes up the medieval *Facetus* tradition, classifies the precepts, elaborates and interprets them. He continues the tradition and completes the cycle of *facetus* literature by expressing again in Latin the commands first placed in that tongue by Master John *Facetus*.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Bonneau, ed., *La civilité puérile par Erasme de Rotterdam*, p. xiv.

<sup>79</sup> For further discussion of Erasmus, see Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making*, ch. 9. Merker also treats Renaissance Latin courtesy poems in his article, "Die Tischzuchtenliteratur des 12-16 Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung vaterländischer Sprache und Altertümer in Leipzig* (1911), pp. 1-52.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY OF *FACETUS* PRECEPTS

The important element in any literary study is the analysis of the literature itself. *Facetus* poems are short, similar, repetitious. On first reading they appear as much alike as small orphans in uniform attire. Closer study shows that the author always reveals something of his own personality in passing on the well-respected tradition of courtesy. While this elusive element cannot be observed without reading the poems, the material within the courtesy books can be summarized with an approach to exactness possible in few literary types. This chapter presents a brief survey of the Anglo-Latin and Middle English code of etiquette, the history of which has previously been traced. Reference is made to Latin poems written on the continent and Anglo-Norman works only when these treatises throw light upon the admonitions given by English writers, or when they offer material which presents an interesting contrast to English customs.

In practically all of the *facetus* poems, a short invitation to learn courtesy precedes the enumeration of the specific rules of deportment.<sup>1</sup> This invitatory, brief, yet full of promise, appears to be as dear to the courtesy writer as the address to the Muse is to the epic poet. In several poems the authors warn the youth that, if he does not attend to his manners when he is young, he will lose the respect of his companions when he has grown older.<sup>2</sup> Observations pointing out the value of cultural training are sometimes placed in the introduction,<sup>3</sup> sometimes given at random throughout the poems.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Facetus*, 3-4; *Vl. Te Geras*, ll. 1-3; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 1, l. 10; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 1-4; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 29-32; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1886), l, ll. 1-4; *Babees Book* ll. 15-28; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 1-2; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 1-2; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 1-2; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 15-21; *Symon's Lesson of Wysedome*, ll. 1-6; *Rhodes, Boke of Nurture*, ll. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Facetus*, 162; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 33-40; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1896), l, ll. 3-4; *Rhodes, Boke of Nurture*, ll. 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> *Facetus*, 171; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 25-26; *Babees Book*, ll. 187-189; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 21-22; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 96-100; *Young Children's Book*, l. 68; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 151-154, ll. 436-441, ll. 498-501; *Symon's Lesson of Wysedome*, ll. 4-12; *Rhodes, Boke of Nurture*, l. 100.

The majority of these are platitudinous reminders to be courteous because such conduct is conducive to one's advancement and marks one as a gentleman. The author of the *Babees Book* judges that the best gift a child can ask of God is to be well-mannered.<sup>5</sup> In both *Vrbanitatis*<sup>6</sup> and *Book of Curtesye*, (Caxton)<sup>7</sup> the authors quote the famous medieval dictum: Manners maketh man. On those who despise their teachings, five authors pronounce the sentence of banishment from the common table.<sup>8</sup>

The courtesy rules of medieval *facetus* literature, when separated from the moral element, fall under four distinct classifications: precepts relating (1) to table manners, (2) to polite conversation, (3) to social contacts, and (4) to a pleasing personal exterior. In these four groups, the greatest emphasis is upon table manners. The author of *Facetus* devotes 44 precepts to the discussion of table etiquette. *Quisquis Es in Mensa, Vi Te Geras ad Mensam, Stans Puer ad Mensam*, and *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) deal exclusively with this topic. *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, *Babees Book*, and *Vrbanitatis* give exact instruction upon the manner of dining and make the convivial banquet scene the background for the discussion of miscellaneous ideas concerning good behavior. *Young Children's Book*, *Symon's Lesson of Wyседome*, and the *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), while summarizing the polite conduct of a youth and giving regulations for his actions throughout the day, devote a great amount of space to table etiquette. Rhodes was sure of pleasing his medieval audience, not because he offered a more orderly arrangement of courtesy rules or achieved more skill in expression than did other writers of *facetus* literature, but merely because he presented the time-honored precepts at greater length and with more frequent repetition.

A picture of the medieval banquet has been furnished by Bartholomew Anglicus and quaintly translated by Trevisa.<sup>9</sup> The chron-

<sup>5</sup> Lines 116-119.

<sup>6</sup> Line 34.

<sup>7</sup> Line 238.

<sup>8</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 23; *Vi Te Geras*, l. 37; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Book*, ll. 97-99; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 42; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 137-138.

<sup>9</sup> Cited by Mead, *The English Medieval Feast*, pp. 137-139.

icler records in detail the activity which attended the great feast: the preparation of the food, the setting of the tables, the placing of the guests, the bustle of servants—diligent but talking merrily together—the gladdening of guests with lutes and harps, the succession of meats, wines, fruits, and spices. He enumerates also the factors which contributed to the conviviality of the gathering: promptness in serving, spaciousness of the hall, glad cheer of the host, diversity of messes, variety of wines, courtesy of servants, friendship of company, song and instruments of music, bright lights of candles and torches, deliciousness of all that is set on the board, long duration of the meal, certainty that the banquet is gratuitous, and quiet repose during the night which follows the banquet. To accommodate the several tables, the numerous guests, the minstrels, and the poor, crowding in for their share of the festivities, the great hall of the manor needed all its expansiveness. Behind the glamor of song and the glare of shining gold vessels, which might at any time have to be melted to provide a ransom for the lord of the manor, was the tradition of courtly manners and fitting behavior at table.

Medieval courtesy books reflect the festival scene from a slightly different angle and contribute realistic detail to the romantic picture. The commands which relate to the sequence of meals are the skeletal frame upon which a wide variety of precepts is grouped. First of all was the washing of hands. In an age which knew no forks, it was considered a requisite both of hygiene and of refinement to have a public washing of the hands precede a meal. The hygienic element was for one's protection; the public act of washing was to assure those present of the personal cleanliness of all who might reach their hands into the common dish. The washing was also an occasion of much ceremony, during which great honor was shown to the host and his favorite friends.

The stress which English medieval society put upon clean hands at table is shown by the emphasis which all courtesy books, both Middle English and Latin, throw upon this point. "No food with unwashed hands" is the precept which reappears in slightly variant

phraseology through numerous books.<sup>10</sup> Early in the development of *facetus* literature, Reinerus had warned that this washing should not be an elaborate affair—that the real removal of dirt should precede one's approach to the banquet table.<sup>11</sup> By commanding that the fingers and nails be clean, practically all of the English writers prescribe previous care about one's toilet.<sup>12</sup>

To obtain a full picture of the ceremony which attended the washing of the hands at table, it is necessary to supplement the precepts in courtesy books with the instruction for correct attendance at table written for serving men. Before the opening of the meal, the ewerer or water-bringer brought the ewer, basin, and towel into the hall. He, together with the carver, was responsible for laying the surnape, a cloth of several thicknesses, lengthwise along the outer edge of the table, to protect the table cloth during the washing. After the ewerer had poured water into the basin, two knights held the towel before the lord's sleeves while the carver poured water into the basin.<sup>13</sup> After the washing, the servants lifted the surnape and carried it back to the ewery.<sup>14</sup>

The fact that pages frequently acted in the place of the servants or knights in waiting upon the lord is shown by medieval courtesy books. The *Babees Book* provides a group of precepts which instruct the noble pages as to the manner in which they are to wait upon their lord. At noon, when the lord is ready, they are to bring him some water; some are to pour the water; others are to hold the towel for him.<sup>15</sup> They are to stand in attention until he is seated and grace has been said, after which they are to sit at the table assigned to the children.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, after dinner, they are told to wash their own hands, rise without laughing, and go to the lord's table. After grace

<sup>10</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 4; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 9; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 11; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 22-23; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 73-74; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, l. 343; *Babees Book*, ll. 134-135; *Vrbanitatis*, l. 41.

<sup>11</sup> *Phagifacetus*, ll. 57-60.

<sup>12</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 7; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 12; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 10; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 16; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 22, l. 49; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 98; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 47-48; *Young Children's Book*, l. 107; *Book of Curtesy* (Caxton), l. 44; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 171-172.

<sup>13</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), III, ll. 656-728.

<sup>14</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 253-256.

<sup>15</sup> *Babees Book*, ll. 128-132.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 132-135.

has been said, some are to go for water, some for the cloth, and some are to pour the water.<sup>17</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) also advises the page to be ready with water, vessel, and towel when the sovereign washes.<sup>18</sup> Occasionally it appears that the host himself would wait upon an honored guest and serve him the water. In this case, *Facetus* instructs the guest that he shall be careful in receiving this water in order that he may not splash drops upon the sleeve of his superior.<sup>19</sup> The order of precedence in washing, as outlined by Church, provides that if a priest was present the water should be offered to him first.<sup>20</sup> Afterward it was to be offered to the other guests as rank demanded. The *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* also prescribes that one shall allow his better to wash before him.<sup>21</sup>

Although the cultured guest was supposed to have clean hands when coming to the feast, the protective measure of placing the surpate indicates that this washing at table was more than a mere formality. Church speaks of the water as being "well-touched".<sup>22</sup> The correct method of performing the ablution at table was for the diner to wash his fingers himself and then wait for the servant or page to pour water over his hands. The water was to be given sparingly, lest it run down upon the sleeves.<sup>23</sup> The hands were to be washed so clean that the diner left no dirt on the towel.<sup>24</sup>

In outlining the ceremony of washing, Church orders that the napkin be snow-white,<sup>25</sup> that it be in readiness,<sup>26</sup> and that it be carried on the left shoulder of the servant,<sup>27</sup> who, while pouring the water, was to look in another direction,<sup>28</sup> He requires also that the basin must be clean within and without, that this water be fresh from a stream,<sup>29</sup> and warm in the winter time.<sup>30</sup> In availing one's self of the conveniences for cleanliness which the host provided, certain inelegant propensities of the guest as to the manner of the cleansing process were regulated and restrained. *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) ad-

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 192-200.

<sup>18</sup> Lines 239-240.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, 90.

<sup>20</sup> *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 69.

<sup>21</sup> Lines 85-86.

<sup>22</sup> *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 43.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 65-71.

<sup>24</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 262-263.

<sup>25</sup> *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 23.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 66.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 67.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 68.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 24.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 22-23.

monishes the child not to spit on his hands when he washes with a better,<sup>31</sup> and the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) urges him not to dash water about.<sup>32</sup>

After the hands had been carefully washed, they were not to be put in one's mouth,<sup>33</sup> but were to be occupied with food or to be so controlled that they did not scratch the head or limbs after one had started to eat.<sup>34</sup> Picking the nails at table was also forbidden.<sup>35</sup> Five books tell the diner not to stroke the dog or cat at table.<sup>36</sup>

A washing similar to that which preceded the meal is prescribed for the end by a number of the courtesy books.<sup>37</sup> The table cloth was sometimes removed before this final lavation.<sup>38</sup> *Bon enfant* instructs the child to wash his mouth as well as his hands before rising.<sup>39</sup> The practice of washing the mouth led, perhaps, to the injunction that after the hands were wiped the guest was forbidden to use the tablecloth for his teeth.<sup>40</sup> With the washing of the mouth at table came the temptation to spit the water into the basin. Two writers warn the child against such carelessness.<sup>41</sup> The injunction not to spit the water back into the basin arose, of course, from the consideration that another guest would use the same vessel. Since it was not permissible to dispose of the water in this manner, one may infer that it was correct to spit the water on the floor. Similarly, the injunction not to spit on or across the table<sup>42</sup> also leads one to

<sup>31</sup> Lines 155-156.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, l. 134.

<sup>33</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 245-246, ll. 333-334.

<sup>34</sup> *Facetus*, 53; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 15; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 5, l. 28; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 14; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 63-64; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, l. 329; *Babees Book*, l. 81; *Vrbanitatis*, l. 18; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 139-140; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 194; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 241-242, ll. 253-254.

<sup>35</sup> *Babees Book*, l. 150; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 247; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 139.

<sup>36</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 24; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 33; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 143; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 87-88, ll. 105-106; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 143-144.

<sup>37</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, ll. 64-72; *Quisquis*, l. 22; *Lytlyle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 84; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 23; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 356.

<sup>38</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 64.

<sup>39</sup> Line 70.

<sup>40</sup> *Facetus*, 31; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 115.

<sup>41</sup> *Lytlyle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 87; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 133-135.

<sup>42</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 18; *Lytlyle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 43-44; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 27; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 127-129; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 85-86; *Vrbanitatis*, l. 19; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 115-118; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), ll. 216-217; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 243-244.

believe that the floor was still at the guest's disposal. Two books definitely instruct the guest to spit beyond the vessel when he washes.<sup>43</sup>

A guest's place at the banquet table was determined by the social standing of the guest; and it was assigned by the marshal. It was the marshal's duty to know the exact rank at table of the guests from the various estates.<sup>44</sup> Wealth helped to raise the standing of a nobleman, but royal birth held precedence over wealth without family rank for, as Russell remarked . . . "blode royalle somtyme tizt to be kyngæ."<sup>45</sup> Before the banquet, the marshal considered what people were to be present and determined the order in which the guests would be seated. If in doubt, he asked the sovereign or chief officer.<sup>46</sup> Medieval courtesy did not hesitate to allow persons of less distinction to be conscious of their inferior rank. The honored guests sat with the lord at the high table or dias, and the diners of high estate were to be so placed at table that they did not see guests of another rank in the hall.<sup>47</sup>

Because of the well-established order of precedence at table<sup>48</sup> and the honor bestowed on the guest by assigning him a high place, the courtesy books insist almost unanimously that a guest shall not take his place until told.<sup>49</sup> A further precept, of biblical origin, admonishes him not to take the highest place unless ordered.<sup>50</sup> Two books instruct the diner to place his better above him.<sup>51</sup> Once seated, he is not to desire to change his place,<sup>52</sup> or desire to be at another table.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 25; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 37.

<sup>44</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 1002-1005.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 1095.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1161-1168.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1073-1076.

<sup>48</sup> For the order in seating see *ibid.*, ll. 1006-1072; and *The Order of Goyng or Sittyng*, also in Furnivall E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 381; and *Boke of Keruyngæ* (Wynkyn de Worde), *ibid.*, pp. 284-286.

<sup>49</sup> *Facetus*, 89; *Quisquis*, l. 5; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 6; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytyl Boke*, ll. 13-14; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 12; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 24; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 75; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 345-346; *Babees Book*, ll. 96-97, ll. 134-135; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 89-90; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), ll. 493-494; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 135.

<sup>50</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 13; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 25; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 159; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 347-348; *Babees Book*, l. 98; *Urbanitatis*, ll. 23-25; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 493.

<sup>51</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 77; *Babees Book*, ll. 88-90.

<sup>52</sup> *Young Children's Book*, ll. 91-92.

<sup>53</sup> *Facetus*, 109.

The books both of serving and of etiquette describe the ceremony of grace at table. According to Russell, the master of the house said grace after washing,<sup>54</sup> The *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) relegated this duty to the almoner.<sup>55</sup> The courtesy writers tell the child to say grace and to refrain from food until after the blessing,<sup>56</sup> to unveil his head during the prayer<sup>57</sup> and not to go away until grace has been said.<sup>58</sup> In addition to prescribing the usual prayer before meals, *Young Children's Book* urges the child to say at breakfast a *Pater Noster* and *Ave* for the souls in pain.<sup>59</sup>

The serving of bread at the medieval banquet was a matter of great formality. Reinerus tells us that the bread was brought to the feast in open baskets.<sup>60</sup> English manuals for serving indicate that it was placed on the table, covered until the surnape was removed, and then passed to the guests.<sup>61</sup> While carrying or serving the bread, the butler or panther wore around his neck a white towel which extended to cover his left arm, on which the food was placed.<sup>62</sup> Thick slices cut from coarse loaves served as plates or trenchers at the medieval meal; and the higher one's social prestige, the more generous was his supply of trenchers at the feast. The panther lifted slices of trencher bread with his knife and arranged at his master's place four trenchers to form a square surface. Over these he sometimes laid as many as four additional trenchers. He then pared for his lord a fine white loaf for eating.<sup>63</sup> When the master's trencher became soft with liquid, the panther removed it and supplied him with another.<sup>64</sup> Persons of less importance were given five, four, three, or

<sup>54</sup> *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 662-663.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, ll. 729-730.

<sup>56</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 4; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 5; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 11; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 79-80; *Babees Book*, ll. 132-133; *Young Children's Book*, l. 25.

<sup>57</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 80.

<sup>58</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, ll. 30-31; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 82-83; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 41; *Babees Book*, ll. 197-198.

<sup>59</sup> Lines 23-30.

<sup>60</sup> *Phagifacetus*, ll. 76-79.

<sup>61</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), III, ll. 667-674; *Boke of Keruyng* (Wynkyn de Worde), Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, pp. 269-270.

<sup>62</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 193-199.

<sup>63</sup> *Boke of Keruyng* (Wynkyn de Worde), Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 271.

<sup>64</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, Ch. "Manner of Serving a Knight, Squyre, or Gentleman," Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 67.

two trenchers, as their rank demanded.<sup>65</sup> The white bread was to be fresh for the master's table, one day old for the other guests, and three days old for the servants. Bread four days old was convenient to be used for trenchers.<sup>66</sup>

During the serving of bread and the various other dishes, the hungry guest who desired to be considered polite was restrained from taking food by two wide-spread courtesy rules: not to eat anything until the poor had received their share of the feast;<sup>67</sup> and not to begin eating until the dishes had been placed.<sup>68</sup> The author of *Facetus* considered that, after the giving of alms, the diner should, indeed, enjoy the meal, since Christ seemed to be present in the person of the poor.<sup>69</sup> After grace, the almoner set down the alms-dish, and into it the carver placed the first loaf.<sup>70</sup> The carver next cut his lord's meat, placed it on his trencher, and again put into the alms-dish a serving from all the foods placed on the table, with the exception of some especially fine dish which was to be sent to a stranger.<sup>71</sup> In addition to the portion set apart for the poor, and the silver which he was commissioned to bestow, the almoner gathered the remnants of food and drink which remained on the table at the end of the meal.<sup>72</sup> Church has a special order that the remains of the banquet be given to the poor, whose right it is.<sup>73</sup>

The precepts regulating the correct handling of food and the manner of eating constitute a large part of medieval table etiquette. The lack of our modern table service was a drawback to the refined partaking of food. Although a large fork seems to have been occasionally employed in carving since the fourteenth century,<sup>74</sup> it was not generally used for carrying food to the mouth until the

<sup>65</sup> *Boke of Keruyng* (Wynkyn de Worde), Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 274, also *Ffor to Serve a Lord*, *ibid.*, p. 369.

<sup>66</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 53-56.

<sup>67</sup> *Facetus*, 135; *Quisquis*, l. 1; *Vt Te Gerat*, ll. 7-8; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 15-16; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 39; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 52.

<sup>68</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 6; *Vt Te Gerat*, l. 9; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 21-22; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, ll. 14-15; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 27; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 43-45; *Book of Curtesy* (Caxton), ll. 178-179.

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, 135-136.

<sup>70</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), III, ll. 729-732.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 795-804.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 739-748.

<sup>73</sup> *De Morum Comitatu*, ll. 60-62.

<sup>74</sup> Wright, *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England During the Middle Ages*, p. 368.

seventeenth.<sup>75</sup> In the absence of the fork, the knife and spoon were articles of great importance. The knife was a comparatively expensive article and in some instances not every guest was equipped with one during the meal. According to the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), three knives were to be set at the master's place; the handles of two were to be laid outward, and the handle of the third was to be laid inward.<sup>76</sup> Church prescribes that clean knives be placed on the tables for the eatables,<sup>77</sup> and that the handles to be placed opposite the diners.<sup>78</sup> *Facetus* instructs the guest that, if anyone eats with him, he is to serve his inferiors, to serve equally his equals, and to allow his superior the use of the knife.<sup>79</sup> When knives were not placed for each guest, those rich enough to own them brought them to the table in a case which was suspended from their girdle.<sup>80</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth) instructs the guest that he shall bring no foul knives to table.<sup>81</sup>

The various tasks of the knife were to make a bone bare of its meat,<sup>82</sup> to cut bread,<sup>83</sup> to press cheese and butter on the bread<sup>84</sup> so that the thumb would not be called into service,<sup>85</sup> and to clean the crumbs away from the tablecloth and trencher.<sup>86</sup> An Anglo-Norman author<sup>87</sup> considers that morsels make a more pleasing appearance if cut lengthwise. Reinerus judges that if something has fallen into the cup it may be removed with a blade or a piece of bread.<sup>88</sup> Salt is to be removed from the salt cellar with the knife.<sup>89</sup> When one is eating fresh fish, however, Church prescribes that salt should be taken with the fingers.<sup>90</sup> Special prohibitions put upon the guest in

<sup>75</sup> Haracourt, *Medieval Manners Illustrated at the Cluny Museum*, p. 92.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, ll. 675-676.

<sup>77</sup> *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 25.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 80.

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.*, 87.

<sup>80</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

<sup>81</sup> Line 58.

<sup>82</sup> *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 234.

<sup>83</sup> *Babees Book*, l. 141.

<sup>84</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 92.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 91.

<sup>86</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 176; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 345-346.

<sup>87</sup> *Petit traite de nurture*, ll. 60-61.

<sup>88</sup> *Phagifacetus*, l. 157.

<sup>89</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 65; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 151; *Young Children's Book*, l. 97; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 203-204.

<sup>90</sup> *De Morum Comitatu*, ll. 58-59.

connection with the use of the knife are that he shall not play with it,<sup>91</sup> nor pick his teeth with it or with the end of his finger.<sup>92</sup> The *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton) advises that the knife should not be put to the face because such an action is dangerous.<sup>93</sup> Even before the fork facilitated pleasing habits of eating, it was considered impolite to put one's knife in the mouth<sup>94</sup> or to use it to carry food to the mouth.<sup>95</sup> The guest was told to avoid scratching the table with his knife,<sup>96</sup> putting his knife on the trencher,<sup>97</sup> soiling the tablecloth with it,<sup>98</sup> and casting it under his feet.<sup>99</sup>

The cleansing of his knife at various points of the banquet seems to have been a special concern of the guest. The young child learning the niceties of table etiquette is instructed to wipe his knife so carefully that it may not be covered with meat.<sup>100</sup> He is also bidden to keep his knife sharp and clean,<sup>101</sup> and to keep it to himself.<sup>102</sup> He should not lick his knife, or wipe it on the edge of the platter,<sup>103</sup> or on the cloth.<sup>104</sup> It may, however, be wiped on bread before it is put back into the sheath.<sup>105</sup> *Vt Te Geras* prescribes that the knife and spoon be kept clean with the napkin.<sup>106</sup>

The toothpick does not appear in medieval table service. An indication of its future usefulness is found in the precepts not to clean one's teeth with the knife<sup>107</sup> and not to wipe the teeth upon

<sup>91</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 54; *Young Children's Book*, l. 145; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 253-254.

<sup>92</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 10; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 16; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 39; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 30; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 93-94; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 248; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 245-246.

<sup>93</sup> Lines 192-193.

<sup>94</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 233.

<sup>95</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 113; *Babees Book*, l. 162.

<sup>96</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 317-320.

<sup>97</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 34.

<sup>98</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 34; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 109-110.

<sup>99</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 193.

<sup>100</sup> *Petit traitise de nurture*, ll. 62-63.

<sup>101</sup> *Vrbانيتis*, l. 42; *Young Children's Book*, l. 119.

<sup>102</sup> *Babees Book*, ll. 136-137.

<sup>103</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 97.

<sup>104</sup> *Young Children's Book*, ll. 121-122.

<sup>105</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 98; *Babees Book*, ll. 190-191; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 121-122.

<sup>106</sup> Line 32.

<sup>107</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 10; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 16; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 39; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 30; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 42; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 248; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 245-246.

the tablecloth.<sup>108</sup> The author of *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) considers it permissible to pick the teeth, but the guest should not begin this process until he has finished eating.<sup>109</sup> The *Petit traiteise de nurture* rules that the diner shall not pick his teeth with a straw while eating,<sup>110</sup> but if he has some clematis he should give it to his companion for this purpose.<sup>111</sup> Rhodes suggests that a child take a stick or some clean thing,<sup>112</sup> whereas the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) provides that the guest should not use either his knife, a straw, a stick, or a wand.<sup>113</sup>

The prohibition put upon the knife for carrying food to the mouth, and the lack of the fork necessitated the frequent use of the spoon in medieval times. In order to bring this instrument into greater use, much of the food was served in a semi-liquid state called pottage. The spoon seems to have been placed for the individual guest more frequently than the knife. Servants were instructed to place spoons on the table,<sup>114</sup> cover each spoon with a napkin,<sup>115</sup> and gather them up after the meal had ended.<sup>116</sup> Again they were told to serve the pottage when the spoons were brought.<sup>117</sup> At times the guest seems to have brought his own spoon. Even as late as the *Boke of Nurture*, Rhodes warns the child not to leave his spoon in the dish, lest it be stolen.<sup>118</sup> The *Petit traiteise de nurture* argues for the equipment of each guest with a spoon, since it says that one spoon cannot be conveniently used by two people.<sup>119</sup>

By far the most frequently repeated precept in connection with the use of the spoon is the command that it shall not be left in the dish.<sup>120</sup> The use of the common or large spoon for taking a serving was not introduced until the seventeenth century.<sup>121</sup> Before this

<sup>108</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 115.

<sup>109</sup> Lines 131-132.

<sup>110</sup> Lines 68-69.

<sup>114</sup> *Ffor to Serve a Lord*, Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 368.

<sup>115</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 205-206.

<sup>116</sup> *Ffor to Serve a Lord*, Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 371.

<sup>117</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 43.

<sup>118</sup> Lines 211-212.

<sup>119</sup> Lines 17-18.

<sup>120</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 17; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 41-42; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 24; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 35; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 94; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 71; *Babees Book*, l. 145; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 125-126; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 267; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 208.

<sup>121</sup> Haracourt, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>111</sup> Lines 72-74.

<sup>112</sup> *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 247-248.

<sup>113</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, ll. 93-94.

time, it appears that each guest helped himself with his own spoon from the common dish. It was very impolite, therefore, for the guest to leave his spoon in the dish into which others would be reaching. To allow the spoon to stand on the table was also prohibited.<sup>122</sup> The spoon was very necessary for the refined taking of pottage. Some of the guests appear not to have realized its value and to have sipped the liquid directly from the dish. The sucking noise which resulted from this action is heartily condemned.<sup>123</sup> While the diners are encouraged to use their spoon, they are not to play with it,<sup>124</sup> or to fill it too full, lest some of the liquid spill.<sup>125</sup> As in the case of the knife, it devolved upon each guest to keep his own spoon clean during the progress of the meal.<sup>126</sup>

Since the knife was not to be placed in the mouth, and since the spoon could be used conveniently only for liquids, the greatest portion of the food had to be brought to the mouth with the fingers. Custom demanded that the three fingers of the right hand be used for this purpose.<sup>127</sup> The necessity of keeping these fingers clean was so great that the napkin was one of the most important accessories of the medieval diner. Practically all of the manuals for servants prescribe that a napkin be placed for each guest.<sup>128</sup> Napkins appear also to have been used for covering the wafers, spices, fruits, and light cakes which were served to the guests at the close of the banquet.<sup>129</sup> The napkin was used for wiping the hands,<sup>130</sup> wiping the lips before drinking,<sup>131</sup> keeping them clean from flesh and fish,<sup>132</sup> wiping the knife and spoon at the end of the meal,<sup>133</sup> brushing away crumbs,<sup>134</sup>

<sup>122</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), I, 268.

<sup>123</sup> *Babees Book*, II, 143-144.

<sup>124</sup> *Young Children's Book*, I, 145.

<sup>125</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), II, 59-60; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), II, 95-96; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 187-188.

<sup>126</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), I, 35; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), I, 93; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), I, II, 73-74; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 205-207.

<sup>127</sup> *Vi Te Geras*, I, 28; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, II, 55-56.

<sup>128</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 205-206; *Boke of Keruynge* (Wynkyn de Worde), Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 269; *Ffor to Serve a Lord*, *ibid.*, p. 369.

<sup>129</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, I, 55.

<sup>130</sup> *L'Apprise de nurture*, I, 152.

<sup>131</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 257-260; *Young Children's Book*, II, 105-106; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), I, II, 81-82; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), I, 121; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, I, 25.

<sup>132</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), I, 34; *Young Children's Book*, I, 107.

<sup>133</sup> *Vi Te Geras*, I, 32.

<sup>134</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 345-346.

and even, in great necessity, for wiping the teeth.<sup>135</sup> Although the guest was allowed to use the napkin for these various purposes, it was nevertheless considered a point of refinement for the diner to keep his napkin clean.<sup>136</sup> Particularly, he was not to blow his nose on the napkin which he used to wipe his hands.<sup>137</sup>

The savoriness of the medieval feast resulted largely from the delicacy and variety of the meats and sea foods which were served. In his *Boke of Nurture*, Russell lists among the servings of a three-course dinner the brawn of boar or wild swine, beef, mutton, stewed pheasant, swan, capon, pig, baked and roasted venison, kid, cony, bustard, stork, crane, peacock, heronsew or betoure, partridge, woodcock, plover, egret, sucking rabbits, larks, bream, curlews, snipes, quails, sparrows, martinettes, and perch, as well as servings of several dishes in which meat was combined with other ingredients.<sup>138</sup> Although the variety of the menu is in keeping with the fact that Russell was usher and marshal at the luxurious household of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, it indicates that the correct carving and handling of meat were no simple accomplishments of the knight. Since sheep and oxen were often boiled or roasted whole,<sup>139</sup> and fowls were brought from the kitchen on the same spits on which they had been roasted,<sup>140</sup> the carving of meat demanded considerable strength. The carver, moreover, was expected to display great skill in cutting. Not more than two fingers and the thumb were to be placed on the carving knife.<sup>141</sup> In placing the trenchers for the lord, he had set aside three trenchers upon which to cut his master's helping.<sup>142</sup> His great problem was to prepare the serving in such a manner that his lord could dip the meat with little difficulty in the particular sauce with which it was accompanied. In preparing the wings of birds, the carver was to loosen the meat and bring it toward the end of the bone.<sup>143</sup> Large slices of meat were to be cut in four

<sup>135</sup> *Petit traité de nurture*, ll. 70-71.

<sup>136</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 183-184.

<sup>137</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 261-262.

<sup>138</sup> Lines 686-718.

<sup>139</sup> Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>140</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>141</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 319-324.

<sup>142</sup> *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), III, ll. 725-726.

<sup>143</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 473-476.

pieces, or gobets, each of which could be dipped into the sauce and conveyed to the mouth with the fingers.<sup>144</sup> In serving baked meats, the carver sometimes minced the meat, poured gravy upon it, and set it before the sovereign to be taken with a spoon.<sup>145</sup>

The carver was to exercise great cleanliness of person and instrument when serving. The medieval diner, however, was evidently not repelled by the cloth which the carver wore around his neck for the purpose of wiping his knife.<sup>146</sup> He was not to touch the morsels he had carved with his fingers, but was obliged to convey them with the knife to the diner's trencher.<sup>147</sup> Despite all this care, the lord or lady was in danger of becoming displeased. The *Boke of Keruynge* printed by Wynkyn de Worde observes that ladies especially soon become angry, for their thoughts are easily changed.<sup>148</sup>

Carving was one of the accomplishments which the master of Hexman taught the noble youths under his instruction.<sup>149</sup> Since, however, it was a mark of honor to wait upon the lord, the boy is commanded not to be too eager to carve.<sup>150</sup> With the exception of this rule, English courtesy books have little to say concerning the part which the page or guest shall have in carving meat for the diners. They give, however, specific commands concerning the manner in which the guest shall partake of his own meat. He is expected to lay it neatly on the trencher before him;<sup>151</sup> to cut his meat in small morsels;<sup>152</sup> not to bite his meat but to carve it clean;<sup>153</sup> not to tear bones with the teeth;<sup>154</sup> not to dip into the salt cellar the food which is in his trencher;<sup>155</sup> to cut bread and meat when he is ready to eat;<sup>156</sup> and not to cut his meat like a field man, who cares not how he eats.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 466-468, see also *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), III, I. 776.

<sup>145</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, II. 481-488.

<sup>146</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II. 727-728.

<sup>147</sup> Russell, *Boke of Nurture*, II. 385-386.

<sup>148</sup> *Boke of Keruynge* (Wynkyn de Worde), Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 279.

<sup>149</sup> Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. iv.

<sup>150</sup> *Young Children's Book*, I. 120.

<sup>151</sup> *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, I. 31.

<sup>152</sup> *Petit traitise de nurture*, II. 55-56.

<sup>153</sup> *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, I. 63; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), I. 234.

<sup>154</sup> *Quisquis*, I. 17; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), II. 232-233.

<sup>155</sup> *Quisquis*, I. 11; *Vt Te Geras*, I. 13; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, I. 29; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, I. 36; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), I. 65; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), II. 147-148; *Babees Book*, II. 159-160; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, II. 129-131; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), I. 211; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II. 203-204.

<sup>156</sup> *Vrbانيتatis*, II. 43-44.

<sup>157</sup> *Babees Book*, II. 176-179.

In connection with the commands outlining the correct manner of partaking of one's meat, bread, and wine, may be mentioned a small number of precepts which encourage considerate regard for the needs of one's table companion. The relationship of two guests placed together at the medieval meal was a particularly intimate one, since they commonly shared the same loaf and cup, and sometimes even the same dish. While the manuals written for servants indicate that trenchers of coarse bread were supplied to each guest, the *Boke of Nurture* admonishes its reader not to crumble bread in the pottage if another is eating out of the same dish with him.<sup>158</sup> The cost of gold and silver goblets prohibited the individual drinking cup in some households. Concerning this divergency of usage, Rhodes writes: "And some do vse to set before euerye man a lofe of bread, and his cup, and some vse the contrary. Thus muste you haue respecte to the order of the house."<sup>159</sup>

Reinerus clearly distinguishes between the types of attention to be shown the three kinds of companions at table: sovereign, friend, and lady. If a person is sitting with the lord, he will become a server to him and will carve the meat, not only for the master himself, but for all those to whom the sovereign wishes to pass food.<sup>160</sup> To the lord, reverence must be given as to an elder; to a companion, love as to an equal; to a lady, jest and elegance as to one measuring the person and actions of her companion with careful insight. In the presence of the master the guest will be grave and steadfast; with an equal he will be moderate; before women he will be sweet in speech and will display elegant manners.<sup>161</sup>

Friendship, or at least congenial relationship, was a requisite for the two guests sharing the same cup. Amiability was also necessary among the guests who partook of the "mess" or dish of food placed on the table to serve three or four diners. According to Russell, a bishop, a marquis, a viscount, and an earl might sit two at a mess, "yf þey be lovyngely;"<sup>162</sup> the mayor of London, a baron, an

<sup>158</sup> Rhodes, ll. 189-192.

<sup>159</sup> "The Manner of Seruing a Knight, Snyre, or Gentleman," in *Boke of Nurture*, Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 67.

<sup>160</sup> *Phagifacetus*, l. 64, ll. 86-91.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 65-73.

<sup>162</sup> *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 1049-1050.

abbot, the three chief justices, and the speaker of parliament might sit two or three at a mess, "þeff þey be greable."<sup>163</sup> Persons with social standing equal to the rank of knight might sit three or four to a mess, and guests whose position was equal to that of squire ate four at a mess.<sup>164</sup> It is necessary, Russell notes, that the groups containing guests of the rank of squire also be composed of people "þat ar greable."<sup>165</sup>

Outstanding among the precepts relating to consideration for others at table is the command to serve one's table companion.<sup>166</sup> Other guests are to be waited upon also, each according to his degree, for a person never loses anything by kindness.<sup>167</sup> Strangers were to be treated with special generosity; they were to be served with choice meat<sup>168</sup> and now and then were to be rewarded with dainties.<sup>169</sup> The close proximity of diners at the medieval tables is seen in the command which warns the guest not to knock against the knee of a better when eating with him.<sup>170</sup> It was necessary also to tell the guest not to eat the mess of another<sup>171</sup> and not to take the best morsel.<sup>172</sup> More general commands prescribing courteous regard for one's companion are the precepts to reverence one's fellows,<sup>173</sup> to be liberal and kind, and ready to aid others.<sup>174</sup>

The same carefulness of detail with which medieval courtesy writers describe the serving of meat, is evident in their instruction regarding the cutting of bread. Although the panther carved the bread for the lord with elaborate ceremony,<sup>175</sup> courtesy books instruct the ordinary diner to cut his own bread. The *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) explains in detail the manner in which the loaf shall

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1052-1055.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1056-1072.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 1069.

<sup>166</sup> *Facetus*, 49; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 47; *Babees Book*, ll. 171-175; *Young Children's Book*, l. 95.

<sup>167</sup> *Facetus*, 21; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 193-195.

<sup>168</sup> *Babees Book*, ll. 169-171.

<sup>169</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 221-223.

<sup>170</sup> *Facetus*, 38; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 117-119.

<sup>171</sup> *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 249.

<sup>172</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 45-46; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 49-50; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), ll. 218-219; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 213-214.

<sup>173</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 67.

<sup>174</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 216.

<sup>175</sup> *Ffor to Serue a Lord*, Furnivall, E.E.T.S. XXXII, p. 369.

be cut. The guest shall first pare the bread by cutting away the crusted exterior. He shall next cut it in two, dividing the upper half of the loaf from the lower half. The upper part of the loaf is to be cut into four pieces, and the sections are to be placed together as though the loaf were whole. The lower half is next to be divided into three pieces, which are to be turned down.<sup>176</sup> The guest is to take what he desires from the portion, and to give what remains to the poor.<sup>177</sup> In addition to this detailed instruction, the child is told not to carve his bread too thin or break it in two.<sup>178</sup> He should cut his bread with his knife and not break it.<sup>179</sup> *Vrbanitatis* prescribes a slightly different usage when it informs the guest that he is to cut his bread and meat just as he eats it.<sup>180</sup> *Vt Te Geras* tells the guests to cut bread for a companion at table when he requests some.<sup>181</sup>

As regards the manner of eating bread, the guest is not to bite bread and thrust it back into the dish,<sup>182</sup> not to bite bread from which someone has eaten before.<sup>183</sup> It is ill-mannered to make sops of bread with the teeth<sup>184</sup> or to fill the jaws with bread.<sup>185</sup> When one was not sharing the bowl of pottage with another, there seems to have been no prohibition against putting bread into the liquid. Rhodes, in fact, instructs the guest to slice out fair morsels of bread and put them in the pottage. In doing this, however, the guest was first to taste the gruel, presumably to discover if it was according to his liking. He was to take care, also, not to fill the pottage too full of bread, lest he be unable to eat it and thus be responsible for waste.<sup>186</sup> An Anglo-Norman writer indicates that the practice of dipping bread into liquids was considered somewhat uncouth. He urges the child not to dip his bread into his milk if he is dining with

<sup>176</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, ll. 35-40.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 51-52.

<sup>178</sup> *Lytlylle Childrenes Lysil Boke*, ll. 23-24.

<sup>179</sup> *Babees Book*, l. 141.

<sup>180</sup> *Lines* 43-44.

<sup>181</sup> *Line* 10.

<sup>182</sup> *Facetus*, 30, 156; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 49-50, and II, 77-79; *Quisquis*, l. 8; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 11; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 249-252.

<sup>183</sup> *Facetus*, 48.

<sup>184</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 36.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 31.

<sup>186</sup> *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 185-200.

his lord or lady.<sup>187</sup> When the knife needed to be cleaned during the meal, it was preferable to wipe it on bread rather than the tablecloth or napkin.<sup>188</sup> It was permissible, also, to use bread to clean one's knife before putting it back into its sheath.<sup>189</sup> A crust of bread might be used in spreading cheese, butter, or some other soft food upon a morsel of bread.<sup>190</sup>

The many commands relating to the conventions of drinking are in keeping with the great importance of wine in the medieval feast. Shining vessels on the side board close by held carefully brewed liquids, and servants stood in attendance to refill the guests' cups. Church considers a succession of eatables and drinks necessary for the feasters.<sup>191</sup> Precepts regulating drinking customs center about the manner in which the diners shall pay honor to the lord and the way in which they shall receive the cup from him. *P'acetus* begins these commands by ordering that when the master is drinking, the page shall not place his hand upon his food, but bend his knee, and hold the goblet and a towel for him.<sup>192</sup> To speak when the host is drinking,<sup>193</sup> or to drink when he has his cup raised to his mouth is discourteous.<sup>194</sup> When he has finished his draught, the page is to be alert to set the goblet down for him, unless a servant is at hand to remove it.<sup>195</sup> The boy should take the cup with both hands if a better offers him a drink,<sup>196</sup> and he should not pass the wine to any one else.<sup>197</sup> Should the sovereign offer the cup once, twice, or thrice, Rhodes prescribes that the guest should take it gently in his hand, since such is the custom of the court.<sup>198</sup> An Anglo-Norman writer instructs the guest that he should not ask the host to drink first when the latter offers him the wine. If the host, however, does not tell the guest to drink to him, the guest should offer his toast to an-

<sup>187</sup> *Petit traiteise de nurture*, ll. 36-37.

<sup>188</sup> *Young Children's Book*, ll. 121-122.

<sup>189</sup> Church, *De Morum Comitatu*, l. 98.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 92-93.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 36.

<sup>192</sup> *Op. cit.*, 94, 144, 164.

<sup>193</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 235-237.

<sup>194</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 33; *Lyttille Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 69-70.

<sup>195</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 305-308.

<sup>196</sup> *Babees Boke*, ll. 120-121; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 133-136.

<sup>197</sup> *Babees Boke*, l. 123; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 133-134.

<sup>198</sup> *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 301-304.

other.<sup>199</sup> To drink first and then to speak or chatter over the goblet was very wrong.<sup>200</sup>

Of the precepts dealing with neatness in drinking, by far the most popular is that which prohibits the taking of wine when there is food in the mouth.<sup>201</sup> The guest is not to carry his cup almost to his nose,<sup>202</sup> to sup loudly,<sup>203</sup> or to belch at table.<sup>204</sup> He should wipe his lips before drinking, lest grease be seen floating in the wine or ale.<sup>205</sup> He should also wipe his fingers, so that he will not soil the cup.<sup>206</sup>

Commands regulating the quantity of drink occur with comparative infrequency in English *facetus* poems when compared with the number of these precepts in Anglo-Norman and continental Latin courtesy treatises. The English books of etiquette enjoin the boy to drink moderately,<sup>207</sup> and to return the cup courteously when he has finished.<sup>208</sup> The child is not to drink behind another's back,<sup>209</sup> and not to blow in his drink.<sup>210</sup> If offered a drink, he is not to take it all,<sup>211</sup> nor should he drink breathlessly in haste or negligence.<sup>212</sup> To fail to offer one's companion a drink was discourteous.<sup>213</sup> Anglo-Norman writers admonish the child not to be quick to take the goblet, nor to hold it too long;<sup>214</sup> to drink once and not more,<sup>215</sup> and

<sup>199</sup> *Petit traité de nurture*, ll. 119-122.

<sup>200</sup> *L'Apprise de nurture*, ll. 119-120.

<sup>201</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 31; *Quisquis*, l. 15; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 14; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 95-96; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 59-60; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 109-110; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 35-36; *Babees Book*, l. 149.

<sup>202</sup> *Facetus*, 151.

<sup>203</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 37; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 119-120; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 69; *Young Children's Book*, l. 127.

<sup>204</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 12; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 20; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 47; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 229-231.

<sup>205</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 38; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 186.

<sup>206</sup> *Babees Book*, ll. 156-158; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 185.

<sup>207</sup> *Facetus*, 46; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 73; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 289-290; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 273-276.

<sup>208</sup> *Facetus*, 46; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, l. 291; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 133-134.

<sup>209</sup> *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 75.

<sup>210</sup> *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 190.

<sup>211</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 289-290.

<sup>212</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 33.

<sup>213</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 123-124.

<sup>214</sup> *Petit traité de nurture*, l. 113-114.

<sup>215</sup> *Bon enfant*, l. 25.

always to drink with temperance, since such restraint shows good breeding.<sup>216</sup>

The precepts dealing with neatness in eating occupy more space than any other single division of rules in the English vernacular *facetus* poems. It is this group which lends a somewhat repulsive character to the little boys' school books. It must be remembered that during this medieval era, society still lacked that convenient article known as the handkerchief. Gravy seeped to the tablecloth through the piece of coarse bread cut to serve as a plate. To eat daintily was an accomplishment possible only through sleight of hand performances or long and careful practice.

The inexplicable problem of living through a cold without a handkerchief was the particular difficulty of the medieval courtesy authority. Although the writers cannot inform their readers exactly what they are to do without this useful commodity, they can, however, tell them what they are not to do. Eleven courtesy authors stipulate that the bare finger is not to be used.<sup>217</sup> *Facetus*<sup>218</sup> and *Vrbamitatis*<sup>219</sup> further announce that the napkin and towel are also debarred from use for this purpose. As more positive guidance, *Facetus* prescribes that, in cleansing the nose, a person shall turn his back and place the mucus at a distance, lest he disgust others.<sup>220</sup> In discussing this matter, the author of the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) shows an interesting variation from the precepts of his Latin model:

Yf þy nose þou clense, as may be-falle,  
 Loke þy honde þou clense, as wythe-alle,  
 Priuely with skyrt do hit away,  
 Oþer ellis thurghe thi tepet þat is so gay.<sup>221</sup>

*Stans Puer* (Ashmole) contains the admonition: "Kepe clene þi nose with napkyn and clote",<sup>222</sup> but it offers no further explanation con-

<sup>216</sup> *Petit traité de nurture*, ll. 90-91.

<sup>217</sup> *Facetus*, 187; *Quisquis*, l. 9; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 33-34; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 29; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 12; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 61; *Babees Book*, l. 151; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 327-328; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 141-142; *Book of Curtesy* (Caxton), l. 41; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 335-336.

<sup>218</sup> *Op. cit.*, 30.

<sup>219</sup> Line 53.

<sup>220</sup> *Op. cit.*, 137-138.

<sup>221</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, ll. 89-92.

<sup>222</sup> Line 139.

cerning the nature of the "clote." Rhodes is the first and only English *facetus* writer of this period to mention the handkerchief by name. In the same poem in which he recommends its use, however, he endorses an old manner of settling the difficulty:

If thou must spit, or blow thy nose,  
 keepe thou it out of sight,  
 Let it not lye vpon the ground,  
 but treade thou it out right.<sup>223</sup>

He differentiates clearly between the napkin and the handkerchief:

Blow not your nose on the napkin  
 where you should wype your hande;  
 But clense it in your handkercher,  
 then passe you not your band.<sup>224</sup>

Some of the precepts relating to cleanliness of the mouth or proper appearance of the mouth in eating are crudely primitive; others are still found among the essential rules of refined conduct at table today. The commands which reveal an earlier stage of cultural development are the rules which admonish the guest not to sip too loud with his pottage<sup>225</sup> and to beware of "blurting out" his food or drink.<sup>226</sup> Somewhat modified forms of this precept are the commands not to blow on food or drink<sup>227</sup> nor to blow in a cup<sup>228</sup> or dish.<sup>229</sup> Indicative also of crude manners are the instructions not to stain with spittle both food and drink<sup>230</sup> or the place where one is seated.<sup>231</sup> *Facetus* describes a rustic as one who slobbers with his mouth or drips his wine when drinking.<sup>232</sup> The command not to fill one's mouth too full is expressed in earlier books in the rules not to stretch the jaws with a great bolus<sup>233</sup> and not to "enbrace" the jaws with bread.<sup>234</sup> Later writers modify the precept and warn the guest

<sup>223</sup> *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 289-292.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 261-264.

<sup>225</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 201.

<sup>226</sup> *Facetus*, 54; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 35; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 283-284.

<sup>227</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 35; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 68; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 111; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 190; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 309-312.

<sup>228</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 66.

<sup>229</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 135.

<sup>230</sup> *Facetus*, 54.

<sup>231</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 285-288.

<sup>232</sup> *Op. cit.*, 156.

<sup>233</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 20.

<sup>234</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 31.

against cramming the cheeks<sup>235</sup> or taking too large a mouthful.<sup>236</sup> Interesting variations, also, are found of the command, not to chew visibly on either side of the mouth<sup>237</sup>. Important precepts in modern as well as medieval courtesy books are the commands to take small morsels,<sup>238</sup> and not to laugh or speak when the mouth is full.<sup>239</sup>

Other regulations regarding cleanliness at table relate to the care of one's trencher, of the dishes, the tablecloth, and of one's garments. Upon receiving a clean trencher, the polite guest placed it neatly before him<sup>240</sup> and in front of it he set his spoon<sup>241</sup>. At no time was he permitted to fill his trencher with large morsels.<sup>242</sup> He was to be particularly careful to allow no filth on his trencher or cup<sup>243</sup> or any crumbs about his place at table.<sup>244</sup> To set a dish on one's trencher was a great *faux pas* from which *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) would save its readers.<sup>245</sup> The guest was not to dip his fingers into the dish,<sup>246</sup> or to make a noise with the dish by stuffing.<sup>247</sup> Salt and pottage were the foods most likely to be spilt on the tablecloth, according to the author of *Stans Puer* (Ashmole).<sup>248</sup> This writer likewise offers the information that too much salt is not good.<sup>249</sup> The guest was to be careful, also, not to spill his meat and drink.<sup>250</sup> *Facetus*<sup>251</sup> and the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986)<sup>252</sup> contain the specific rule not to wipe the weeping eyes on the tablecloth. On the

<sup>235</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, 1. 57-58.

<sup>236</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), 1. 189; *Babees Book*, II. 152-154; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), 1. 214; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II. 281-282.

<sup>237</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, 1. 21; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), II. 105-106; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, II. 65-66; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, II. 65-66; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), 1. 240; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II. 297-300.

<sup>238</sup> *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, II. 37-38; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II. 233-234.

<sup>239</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, 1. 22; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), 1. 32; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), 1. 109; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1896), I, II. 67-68; *Vrbanitatis*, II. 59-60; *Young Children's Book*, II. 109-110.

<sup>240</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, 1. 41; *Babees Book*, 1. 142.

<sup>241</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, 1. 209.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 269-270.

<sup>243</sup> *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, 1. 73; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), II. 183-184.

<sup>244</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), 1. 175.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. 118.

<sup>246</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, 1. 127; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, II. 27-28.

<sup>247</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, 1. 23.

<sup>248</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), 1. 134.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. 152.

<sup>250</sup> *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, II. 59-60.

<sup>251</sup> *Op. cit.*, 31.

<sup>252</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 1. 116.

whole, courtesy writers content themselves with some variation of the more general precept, "not to soil the tablecloth."<sup>253</sup> In providing for the cleanliness of one's apparel at table, *Facetus* states that the guest shall not wipe his dripping hand on the garment with which he is covered. At the time when the poem was written, it was evidently customary to remove the sword belt before going to table.<sup>254</sup> A later writer suggests that, if one's belt is too tight, it should be amended secretly.<sup>255</sup> Sleeves are to be kept from touching the meat<sup>256</sup> and long sleeves which show an accumulation of dirt are prohibited.<sup>257</sup> The guest is admonished to be watchful lest he drop stew on his breast.<sup>258</sup> Obviously for the small boy is the command not to put in his pocket a morsel of which he has already eaten a part.<sup>259</sup>

In the discussion of correct personal bearing at table, the English poems show a great similarity of precepts when compared with one another, and distinct individuality as a group when viewed in connection with continental *facetis* poems. The distinguishing characteristic of the English poems is the appearance of a group of precepts which has its source in *Facetus*.

Inconstans animus, oculus vagus, instabilis pes,  
haec sunt signa viri, de quo mihi nulla boni  
spes.<sup>260</sup>

The same poem contains another condemnation of restless behavior, this time with more specific application to the child's conduct before his master:

Dum steteris coram dominis, haec quinque tenebis;  
iunge manus, compone pedes, caput erige, visu  
non dispargaris, sine iussu pauca loquaris.<sup>261</sup>

<sup>253</sup> *Vz Te Geras*, l. 30; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 34; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 40; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 75; *Babees Book*, l. 147; *Lyrille Childrenes Lytill Boke*, l. 61, l. 64, l. 81; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 123-124; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 139.

<sup>254</sup> *Op. cit.*, 31.

<sup>255</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 199-201.

<sup>256</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 191.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 192.

<sup>258</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 57.

<sup>259</sup> *Lyrille Childrenes Lytill Boke*, ll. 25-26.

<sup>260</sup> *Op. cit.*, 188.

<sup>261</sup> *Op. cit.*, 181.

As has been noted previously,<sup>262</sup> the author of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* evidently prefixed these lines to his modified version of the *Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*. In making this addition, he enumerated a set of commands that were to be the identifying feature of English *facetus* literature. Whenever the reader finds the recommendation of a cheerful countenance, quiet hands, peaceful eyes, and feet without restlessness, he can know that he has met the particular group of precepts which stamp English *facetus* literature as an independent and closely related family.

Precepts from the tercet of *Facetus* quoted a moment ago are notably absent in *Quisquis Es in Mensa, Vt Te Geras ad Mensam*, and *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*. After their initial appearance in poems of English authorship in *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, the commands to keep the fingers quiet,<sup>263</sup> to place the feet together,<sup>264</sup> to life up the head,<sup>265</sup> to be simple in countenance,<sup>266</sup> and to speak little without being ordered,<sup>267</sup> reappear with remarkable frequency in the English vernacular poems. The child is also told to sit quietly<sup>268</sup> and to hold his head still.<sup>269</sup> As regards his posture at table, he is not to put his elbows on the table while eating<sup>270</sup> but is to sit upright,<sup>271</sup> and not to stretch, or lean forward.<sup>272</sup> He is not to sit down

<sup>262</sup> See ch. IV, p. 45.

<sup>263</sup> *Facetus*, 181; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 2; *Stans Puer*, (Lambeth), l. 7; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 56; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 316-320; *Babees Book*, l. 80-83; *Vrbanitatis*, l. 17; *Young Children's Book*, l. 66; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 255-256.

<sup>264</sup> *Facetus*, 181, 188; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 2; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 56; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 316-318; *Babees Book*, l. 80; *Vrbanitatis*, l. 17; *Young Children's Book*, l. 66; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), ll. 108-111.

<sup>265</sup> *Facetus*, 181; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 6; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 15-16; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 65-66; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, l. 330; *Babees Book*, l. 62; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 13-14. Symon's *Lessons of Wysdome*, l. 16.

<sup>266</sup> *Facetus*, 188; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 3; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 8; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 57; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 32-33; II, l. 321; *Babees Book*, ll. 68-69; *Young Children's Book*, l. 67; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), ll. 101-102; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 173-176, ll. 329-330.

<sup>267</sup> *Facetus*, 181; *Quisquis*, l. 21; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 18; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 30; *Babees Book*, ll. 73-74.

<sup>268</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 27; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 55.

<sup>269</sup> *Babees Book*, l. 80.

<sup>270</sup> *Facetus*, 49; *Quisquis*, l. 13; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 19; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 187-188; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 125-126; *Babees Book*, l. 146; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 45.

<sup>271</sup> *Facetus*, 49; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 42; *Babees Book*, l. 148; *Young Children's Book*, l. 93; *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), l. 215.

<sup>272</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 315-316.

sorrowfully or undo his swordbelt ungracefully,<sup>273</sup> or to go to sleep at table, for people will mock him.<sup>274</sup> While standing before and after meals, he is not to let a post be his staff<sup>275</sup> or use the wall as his mirror;<sup>276</sup> or lean aside when he speaks; instead, he should stand upright.<sup>277</sup> It was of great importance that the page show a cheerful countenance and look people in the eye.<sup>278</sup> If he blushed through levity, he ran the risk of being considered guilty of some misdeed.<sup>279</sup> He was not to stare<sup>280</sup> or to be haughty in looks, for pride has a fall.<sup>281</sup> It was well to be moderate in showing one's joy and sorrow,<sup>282</sup> and to remember that a man's countenance discloses his thought and character.<sup>283</sup>

While the majority of precepts regarding conversation in medieval courtesy poems refer to the correct manner of speaking under any circumstance, a few specific rules apply to conversation at table. The guest who is considerate of his host will not criticize the food which is placed before him.<sup>284</sup> Neither will the host mention how dear food is.<sup>285</sup> A guest is obliged to make courteous cheer for those beside him,<sup>286</sup> but he should be careful not to grow too loud when he speaks.<sup>287</sup> He should not speak ill of those absent,<sup>288</sup> or mock any one at the board.<sup>289</sup> Singing at table was prohibited.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>273</sup> *Facetus*, 131.

<sup>274</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 137-138.

<sup>275</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 4; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 10; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 59; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 325-326; *Babees Book*, ll. 82-83.

<sup>276</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 4; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 11; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 60; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, l. 323.

<sup>277</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 145-148, and ll. 151-152.

<sup>278</sup> *Facetus*, 181; *Quisquis*, l. 20; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 23; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 8; l. 39; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 17; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 65-66; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 331-332; *Babees Book*, ll. 64-65; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 15-16; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 53; *Book of Curtesy* (Caxton), ll. 99-100.

<sup>279</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 8; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 69-70; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 339-440.

<sup>280</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 103.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 55-56.

<sup>282</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 75-77; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 100.

<sup>283</sup> Rhodes, *Book of Nurture*, ll. 177-180.

<sup>284</sup> *Facetus*, 120; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 89-90.

<sup>285</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 21.

<sup>286</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 99.

<sup>287</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 337-340.

<sup>288</sup> *Vt Te Geras*, l. 38; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 40.

<sup>289</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 115-116.

<sup>290</sup> *Facetus*, 139.

The retinue of servants, pages, and attendants at the medieval manor was imposing. Servants could be procured for little remuneration,<sup>291</sup> and the noble youths and maidens under the guardianship of the lord increased the number of the household. In commenting upon the small amount of work shared by the several servants who waited upon the table, Russell remarks that all the labor might be accomplished by a single person, but that the dignity of the prince required a different man for each office.<sup>292</sup> Medieval courtesy books also show the pleasure which the lord experienced in viewing his numerous attendants. The boy is told that he should not be absent from table without cause, since the presence of his pages is agreeable to the lord.<sup>293</sup> If the page haunts corners instead of coming forward into the general company he will be scorned.<sup>294</sup> He should be obedient<sup>295</sup> and reverent toward his lord,<sup>296</sup> and, when addressed by him, should listen politely and not shrink back.<sup>297</sup> By looking at his master's countenance, the page might determine if his lord was pleased with his service.<sup>298</sup> When sent on a message, the boy was to tell it in a becoming manner, speaking straight-forwardly, briefly, intelligently and pleasantly.<sup>299</sup> When approaching elders, he was not to stand so close that he would intrude upon their private conversation.<sup>300</sup> When eating with his master, the page should allow his lord to begin first;<sup>301</sup> furthermore, he should not presume to give the master's food away without his permission.<sup>302</sup> While many of these precepts show the manner in which medieval youth was trained to respect nobility, they indicate also that a desire for self advancement was present in the page's mind. The *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), tells the child to serve especially when he can

<sup>291</sup> Mead, *op. cit.*, pp., 144-145.

<sup>292</sup> *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 1183-1186.

<sup>293</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 121-123.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 124.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 120.

<sup>296</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 53.

<sup>297</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 167-168.

<sup>298</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 127-130.

<sup>299</sup> *Facetus*, 115, 122.

<sup>300</sup> *Facetus*, 141; *Babees Book*, ll. 106-108.

<sup>301</sup> *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 45-48; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 129-131.

<sup>302</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 101-102.

advance himself.<sup>303</sup> He should be ready, meek, and serviceable in waiting upon his sovereign,<sup>304</sup> for by such readiness he will get a good name.<sup>305</sup> If he sees the need for food, he should hasten to get it and should serve the table standing.<sup>306</sup>

Among the rules prescribing proper conduct at meals are a number of admonitions which remind the guest to observe moderation in eating and to show no unseemly eagerness for food. The most widely distributed of these precepts is the command not to recall a dish that has been taken from the table.<sup>307</sup> Not to waste food is another rule which receives special emphasis.<sup>308</sup> The child should not eat hastily,<sup>309</sup> remembering that he eats for necessity, not delight.<sup>310</sup> Neither should he be guided by his "owne fantasye" in the choice of foods. He should eat what is put before him<sup>311</sup> and avoid luxury and gluttony.<sup>312</sup> *Facetus* makes what seems to be the only reference in medieval courtesy poems to the conduct of paupers by giving the command that an indigent man should eat all the food and return the empty plate.<sup>313</sup> A later writer remarks that a poor board can be enhanced by good cheer.<sup>314</sup> The guest is to praise the fare, whether good or bad,<sup>315</sup> and is to be grateful for anything that is given him.<sup>316</sup> The *Babees Book* urges that the countenance register appreciative approval of the food: "Luke curteysly of ylke mete yee assay."<sup>317</sup> Several books advise the guest to be well mannered when eating.<sup>318</sup>

The course of action at the close of the medieval meal is clearly outlined in *facetis* poems. The guest seems to have been expected

<sup>303</sup> Lines 118-119.

<sup>304</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 61-63; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 161.

<sup>305</sup> *Babees Book*, ll. 111-112.

<sup>306</sup> *Facetus*, 91.

<sup>307</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 26; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 85; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 83-84; *Babees Book*, ll. 166-168; *Symon's Lesson of Wysdome*, ll. 31-32.

<sup>308</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 17; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 48.

<sup>309</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 81-83; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 176-177.

<sup>310</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 180.

<sup>311</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 235-236 and ll. 325-328.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 271-272; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 40.

<sup>313</sup> *Op. cit.*, 47.

<sup>314</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 253-259.

<sup>315</sup> *Young Children's Book*, ll. 112-113.

<sup>316</sup> *Facetus*, 46, 117.

<sup>317</sup> Lines 164-165.

<sup>318</sup> *Babees Book*, l. 185; *Vrbanitalis*, ll. 39-40; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 235-236.

to reserve one of his trenchers in order that he might have a clean surface for carving his cheese, an important part of the dessert.<sup>319</sup> At this point the accumulation of bones on his trencher—which the polite guest had been careful to keep from falling to the floor—was to be deposited in a large receptacle called the voider.<sup>320</sup> Into it he put also the trencher on which he had carved his meat.<sup>321</sup> In eating dessert, the guest was not to be too greedy in taking cheese or too hasty in cutting it.<sup>322</sup> Two courtesy poems refer to the medieval arrangement of a board laid upon trestles to serve as a table. The tablecloth was removed and the board was lifted by servants before the guest arose.<sup>323</sup> Before leaving, the guests were to say grace,<sup>324</sup> and observe during the prayer a reverent attitude.<sup>325</sup> They were then to arise softly.<sup>326</sup> To depart before the group left the hall was an act of discourtesy.<sup>327</sup> Reinerus pictures in detail the custom of bidding farewell by passing the cup from the host to all the guests as they stood in rank.<sup>328</sup> English writers instruct the diners to take leave of their fellow-guests<sup>329</sup> and to express their appreciation to the host.<sup>330</sup>

Next to the discussion of table manners, the subject of correct conversation occupies the greatest amount of space in poems on social virtues. The value of silence and of prudent speech is expressed in a manner which is characteristic of medieval shrewdness. Words should be few, courtesy writers agree,<sup>331</sup> for not to talk too much is a sign of wisdom.<sup>332</sup> A person should rebuke chatterers by silence,<sup>333</sup>

<sup>319</sup> *Babees Book*, ll. 183-184.

<sup>320</sup> *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 79-80; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 313-314.

<sup>321</sup> *Young Children's Book*, ll. 131-132; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 341-344.

<sup>322</sup> *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 77-78.

<sup>323</sup> *Quisquis*, l. 22; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 31.

<sup>324</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 353-357.

<sup>325</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 38.

<sup>326</sup> *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 89.

<sup>327</sup> *Facetus*, 139.

<sup>328</sup> *Phagifacetus*, ll. 428-430.

<sup>329</sup> *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 93.

<sup>330</sup> *Facetus*, 78; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 177; *Lytlylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 91-92; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 365-366.

<sup>331</sup> *Facetus*, 24; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 211-212; *The Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), ll. 171-172.

<sup>332</sup> *Facetus*, 139, 154, 172; *Quisquis*, l. 21; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 209-210; *Babees Book*, l. 139; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 73-74.

<sup>333</sup> *Symon's Lesson of Wysedom*, ll. 48-49.

and not talk about the things which he does not know<sup>334</sup> The formula for prudent conversation upon which Albertano of Brescia built his instruction concerning speech is found in *Young Children's Book*, and the *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton).<sup>335</sup> Other advice concerning prudent conversation is contained in the commands not to be too private<sup>336</sup> or too affable;<sup>337</sup> to be swift to hear<sup>338</sup> but slow to speak;<sup>339</sup> not to believe too readily;<sup>340</sup> not to threaten an enemy, or to tell your losses to him;<sup>341</sup> to be careful how you speak to another;<sup>342</sup> and not to tell what you hear.<sup>343</sup> A number of miscellaneous precepts relating to the subject matter of conversation are to the effect that one's words should not be of a sort to be reproved, and that one's language should be without blame.<sup>344</sup>

As regards the manner of conversation, a person should not speak in a high voice, but distinctly and authoritatively.<sup>345</sup> He should not nod or whisper<sup>346</sup> or point with his fingers.<sup>347</sup> He should greet his neighbor when he meets him,<sup>348</sup> and answer gladly if accosted, without saying more.<sup>349</sup> To whoever he meets, he should speak gentle words.<sup>350</sup> One of the most frequently repeated precepts in English *facetous* material is the command that a person shall not interrupt another when he speaks.<sup>351</sup> Laughter, according to a number of authors, is to be moderate and rare; grinning is to be es-

<sup>334</sup> *Facetus*, 189; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), II, ll. 281-282.

<sup>335</sup> ll. 83-84; ll. 142-147.

<sup>336</sup> *Facetus*, 15; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 255-256.

<sup>337</sup> *Facetus*, 15.

<sup>338</sup> *Facetus*, 18, 88; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), II, 279-280.

<sup>339</sup> *Facetus*, 18; *Young Children's Book*, l. 70.

<sup>340</sup> *Facetus*, 23; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 205-206.

<sup>341</sup> *Facetus*, 83 and 113.

<sup>342</sup> *Facetus*, 142; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 65-67.

<sup>343</sup> *Facetus*, 18; *Vrbanitatis*, l. 78; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), I, 134, II, 288-290.

<sup>344</sup> *Facetus*, 51; *Babees Book*, ll. 71-72; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 81-82; *Young Children's Book*, II, 101-102; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), I, 136 and I, 173.

<sup>345</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 154, and ll. 157-162.

<sup>346</sup> *Facetus*, 68; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 23; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 54; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 249-250; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 373.

<sup>347</sup> *Facetus*, 51; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 71; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 249-250; *Young Children's Book*, l. 69; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 155.

<sup>348</sup> *Facetus*, 149; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 251-252; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 19-20; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), II, 59-60.

<sup>349</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 253-254.

<sup>350</sup> *Facetus*, 149; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 34; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), I, 208; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 99.

<sup>351</sup> *Facetus*, 92; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 69-70; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 162; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 87-88, l. 91; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), I, 205, II, 274-275; II, 283-284.

chewed.<sup>352</sup> *Facetus* warns the boy against being the only person to laugh.<sup>353</sup> If anyone falls, the bystanders shall not laugh but offer aid.<sup>354</sup> Loud or noisy laughter is frequently forbidden.<sup>355</sup>

The prevalent faults in conversation are freely treated in the English courtesy poems. Practically all the writers enjoin their readers to be peaceable in their contacts with others<sup>356</sup> and not indulge in quarrels.<sup>357</sup> Angry and sharp words are not to be considered the subject matter of courteous discourse.<sup>358</sup> The renewing of old quarrels is condemned with special emphasis.<sup>359</sup> A large number of the books urge the guest not to mock anyone.<sup>360</sup> A number of precepts in *Facetus* relating to anger do not appear in the English poems with any frequency. They are: not to find fault with a better who can retaliate by doing an injury;<sup>361</sup> not to speak to the master when he is angry;<sup>362</sup> not to take sides in a quarrel, but to correct both parties.<sup>363</sup>

The entertainment of the minstrel or jongleur sometimes brought an element of coarse mirth to the medieval feast. The youth is warned repeatedly to take no part in ribaldry,<sup>364</sup> and to be

<sup>352</sup> *Facetus*, 25; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 27; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, ll. 57-58; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 9; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 29; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, l. 341; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 246.

<sup>353</sup> *Op. cit.*, 26.

<sup>354</sup> *Facetus*, 64; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 235-238.

<sup>355</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 19; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 20-21, l. 30; *Babees Book*, l. 182; *Yrbanitatis*, l. 75.

<sup>356</sup> *Facetus*, 19, 116; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 18; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 213-214; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 34; *Young Children's Book*, l. 82; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 139-140; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 104; and l. 153.

<sup>357</sup> *Facetus*, 19; *Quisquis*, l. 18; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 22; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 40; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 41, l. 67; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 162; *Babees Book*, ll. 101-102; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 53-54, II, l. 345; *Young Children's Book*, l. 81; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 351-353; Symon's *Lesson of Wysedome*, l. 27.

<sup>358</sup> *Facetus*, 76; *Quisquis*, l. 18; *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*, l. 51, and l. 90; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 157; *Babees Book*, l. 186; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 311-312; *Young Children's Book*, l. 98; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 169-170.

<sup>359</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 52.

<sup>360</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 71-72; *Babees Book*, l. 100; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, l. 55; *Yrbanitatis*, ll. 65-66; *Young Children's Book*, l. 59; Symon's *Lesson of Wysedome*, ll. 25-26.

<sup>361</sup> *Facetus*, 123.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>364</sup> *Facetus*, 143; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), ll. 43-44; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 244; *Babees Book*, l. 99, l. 140; *Yrbanitatis*, l. 76; *Young Children's Book*, l. 87; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 295; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 107-108, and ll. 374-380.

careful with whom he jests.<sup>365</sup> Swearing,<sup>366</sup> lying,<sup>367</sup> boasting,<sup>368</sup> and flattery<sup>369</sup> are condemned. Under the heading of uncharitable conversation come the commands not to spread an evil report about one's neighbor<sup>370</sup> and not to speak ill of the absent.<sup>371</sup> The child is admonished to take correction well<sup>372</sup> but to be careful of giving ill-timed rebukes.<sup>373</sup> He should be careful to promise to do only that which is good, and should keep his promises with all his might.<sup>374</sup> Three books prescribe that a man shall not come to counsel unless he is called.<sup>375</sup>

From the diversified precepts of medieval *facetus* literature can be gathered a large number of commands which fall under the head of social relationships. Foremost among these are the admonitions which prescribe a reverent attitude toward God. *Facetus* and book two of the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) place early in their instructions the commands to honor God, to seek his kingdom,<sup>376</sup> to worship him by song or prayer,<sup>377</sup> to kneel upon two knees to God, on one to man,<sup>378</sup> and to fulfill one's promises to the saints.<sup>379</sup> The *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), repeats several of these precepts.<sup>380</sup> Rhodes in his *Boke of Nurture* adds the commands to hear God's word diligently,<sup>381</sup> to crave pardon for one's faults,<sup>382</sup> and to fear God and flee from earthly things.<sup>383</sup> Specific commands regulating

<sup>365</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 164.

<sup>366</sup> *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 44; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 141; *Young Children's Book*, l. 75; Symon's *Lesson of Wysedome*, l. 28.

<sup>367</sup> *Facetus*, 24, 159; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 213-214; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 39-40; Symon's *Lesson of Wysedome*, ll. 13-14, ll. 63-64.

<sup>368</sup> *Facetus*, 36, 77, 111; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 79-80.

<sup>369</sup> *Young Children's Book*, l. 59.

<sup>370</sup> *Facetus*, 121; *Vt Te Geras*, l. 38-39; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 40; *Book of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 101-102; *Young Children's Book*, l. 99; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 135.

<sup>371</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 157-158.

<sup>372</sup> *Facetus*, 155.

<sup>373</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 183-185, ll. 213-214; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 67-68.

<sup>374</sup> *Young Children's Book*, ll. 47-48.

<sup>375</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 167; *Young Children's Book*, l. 55; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 369-372.

<sup>376</sup> *Facetus*, 5 and 7; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), ll. 155-158.

<sup>377</sup> *Facetus*, 9; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), ll. 161-162.

<sup>378</sup> *Facetus*, 10; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), ll. 163-164.

<sup>379</sup> *Facetus*, 61; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 201-203.

<sup>380</sup> Lines 23-24 and ll. 74-75.

<sup>381</sup> Line 119.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 120.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 53-54.

reverent behavior in church have wider distribution. The child is told to learn his prayers,<sup>384</sup> to take holy water at the church door,<sup>385</sup> to be pious in church,<sup>386</sup> not to play,<sup>387</sup> chatter,<sup>388</sup> or sleep,<sup>389</sup> and to assist the priest at the altar with both hands.<sup>390</sup> Another group of commands deals with reverence for the clergy. The precepts admonish the reader to please the clergy, to extol the church and its priests,<sup>391</sup> and if he does not like the way a priest reads, he is not to criticize him<sup>392</sup> These rules also prescribe the removing of the cap when speaking to a priest,<sup>393</sup> and standing while the priest stands.<sup>394</sup>

The commands inculcating respect to superiors, elders, equals, and inferiors are evenly distributed throughout the Anglo-Latin and Middle English courtesy poems. A boy is to stand with a happy countenance before a noble,<sup>395</sup> and not to sit down until he is commanded.<sup>396</sup> When walking with a superior, he should keep a little behind him until told to come to his side.<sup>397</sup> When speaking to a noble, he should remove his cap and not replace it until he is told to do so.<sup>398</sup> When greeting his betters, he should remove his cap,<sup>399</sup> bow,<sup>400</sup> and address them with humility.<sup>401</sup> Should the boy's superior praise him, the boy will thank him.<sup>402</sup> A prudent page will not wager or play dice with his lord.<sup>403</sup>

<sup>384</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 144-154.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 159-160; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 71-72.

<sup>386</sup> *Facetus*, 183, 191.

<sup>387</sup> Symon's *Lesson of Wysdome*, ll. 45-46; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 111-118.

<sup>388</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 79-80.

<sup>389</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 109-111.

<sup>390</sup> *Facetus*, 11; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 167-169; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 85-87.

<sup>391</sup> *Facetus*, 8.

<sup>392</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 241-244.

<sup>393</sup> *Facetus*, 52.

<sup>394</sup> *Facetus*, 140.

<sup>395</sup> *Facetus*, 41; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 35-36.

<sup>396</sup> *Facetus*, 41; *Babees Book*, l. 78.

<sup>397</sup> *Facetus*, 44; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 83-85; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 279-284.

<sup>398</sup> *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 11-12.

<sup>399</sup> *Facetus*, 52; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 154; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), I, ll. 15-16; *Vrbanitatis*, ll. 1-6.

<sup>400</sup> *Young Children's Book*, ll. 137-138; Symon's *Lesson of Wysdome*, ll. 17-18.

<sup>401</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 62-63.

<sup>402</sup> *Babees Book*, ll. 103-105; *Young Children's Book*, ll. 71-72.

<sup>403</sup> *Boke of Curta-ye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 227-228.

The commands not to mock an old man,<sup>404</sup> and to be gentle toward one's elders<sup>405</sup> inculcate respect for old age apart from social position. As regards conduct toward equals, the child is instructed to greet his companions with fair cheer,<sup>406</sup> not to play except with equals,<sup>407</sup> and to treat all whom he does not know with the same respect.<sup>408</sup> A person may walk unrestrained with an equal,<sup>409</sup> but if the other desires to go ahead, he should gladly be allowed to precede.<sup>410</sup> The *Young Children's Book* declares that servants are not to be oppressed.<sup>411</sup> *Facetus*, with more worldly prudence, recommends that servants be kept under one's feet, so that they be not a cause of loss through laziness.<sup>412</sup> Not to do unto others what one would not have done to oneself is given as a general precept regulating conduct.<sup>413</sup>

Family relationships are little represented in medieval courtesy literature. The infrequency of references to this subject is probably due to the fact that the young girl and boy were, as a rule, brought up in the home of some noble lord. Four books, nevertheless, recommend obedience to parents.<sup>414</sup> Parents, too, are instructed to correct a child when he sins, lest they later grieve because they spared the rod.<sup>415</sup>

Medieval *facetis* literature reflects four distinct attitudes toward women: distrust, duty, reverence, and cognizance of her attractive qualities. *Facetus* warns young men to keep apart from an evil woman as from a snake and a leaky house.<sup>416</sup> Boasting, the author judges, shows the unfair mind of a woman.<sup>417</sup> Many dangers in life result from telling one's secrets to one's wife.<sup>418</sup> Of a different note

<sup>404</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 169.

<sup>405</sup> Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, l. 27.

<sup>406</sup> *Book of Curtasye* (Caxton), ll. 62-63.

<sup>407</sup> *Vrbانيتatis*, l. 77.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 37-38.

<sup>409</sup> *Facetus*, 43.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, 43; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 275-277.

<sup>411</sup> Line 60.

<sup>412</sup> *Op. cit.*, 103.

<sup>413</sup> *Facetus*, 13; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 175-178.

<sup>414</sup> *Facetus*, 12; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 23-24; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 172-174; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 85-88 and ll. 91-92.

<sup>415</sup> *Facetus*, 102; Symon's *Lesson of Wysedome*, l. 90.

<sup>416</sup> *Facetus*, 35.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>418</sup> *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 245-247.

is the couplet which pronounces that man a rustic who says base things about a woman, since all men are born of women.<sup>419</sup> A gloss in a thirteenth century manuscript of *Facetus* (Bibliothèque Nationale, 8207) states that while some copies of the poem contain these two lines, they were not composed by the author.<sup>420</sup> More in line with the general tenor of the poem is the couplet which advises that men respect women in so far as they are able.<sup>421</sup>

Although the author of *Facetus* is not particularly chivalrous, his commands require that the master of the household be solicitous concerning the welfare of the feminine members. When one's daughter becomes of marriageable age, the father should make plans for her to enter a convent or obtain a husband.<sup>422</sup> If one has a stepmother, one is to be kind to her. The love and praise of a mother will be obtained by this course of action.<sup>423</sup> A mother-in-law also demands generous consideration, since it is by such conduct that her heart will be won.<sup>424</sup> A wife, according to the originator of the European courtesy genre, should always be prepared to obey her husband.<sup>425</sup> If a person is so fortunate as to possess a helpmate of this kind, he should cherish her in order to obtain her gratitude.<sup>426</sup> If, on the other hand, she behaves with a rebellious tongue and hand, the husband is to correct her according to his right, in order that both be not damned.<sup>427</sup>

In great contrast to the conservative attitude of *Facetus* is the exuberant praise of women in *Phagifacetus*. Women, according to Reinerus, are the light and honor added to the table. Should one have a lady for a companion at table, he should make conversation with her. The gentlemen must be sweet in speech and elegant in manners.<sup>428</sup> Even though she be seated worthily, he may complain that she is not resting comfortably. Then he may lift her shoulders slightly and place a footstool at her feet.<sup>429</sup> Reinerus remarks that he considers it unnecessary to outline further the attention which the

<sup>419</sup> *Facetus*, 186.

<sup>420</sup> Haureau, *Notices et extraits*, p. 19.

<sup>421</sup> *Facetus*, 99.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>428</sup> Lines 70-73.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 382-386.

gentleman will bestow upon a lady, for who that has known love has not also known the gifts to be presented to a sweet maiden? <sup>430</sup>

As contrasted with the courtly attitude of Reinerus and of some of the Anglo-Norman writers, English *facetus* authors are decidedly practical in their advice. The *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) recommends that the child honor his mother in order that he may thrive. <sup>431</sup> The same author refers indirectly to women in the command that the child shall mock no one—neither man nor wife. <sup>432</sup> *Vrbanitatis* warns the child to keep his tongue and spend his sight in the presence of a lady. <sup>433</sup> The *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton) shows the most respectful attitude toward women by recommending that the child serve women always, speak pleasant words to them, and do his best to give them pleasure and reverence. <sup>434</sup>

Under the heading of pleasing personal exterior can be summarized precepts relating to cleanliness of person, neatness of garments, and becoming gait and posture. Most important among the rules advocating personal cleanliness is the command to wash the hands, teeth, mouth, and eyes early in the morning. <sup>435</sup> To comb the hair and keep it clean was also recommended. <sup>436</sup> Only one author imposed upon the medieval boy the task of washing his ears. <sup>437</sup> More frequent are the commands to keep his clothes clean <sup>438</sup> and to lose none of his gear. <sup>439</sup> To wear one's hood, gown, and hose well, <sup>440</sup> to have garments befitting one's station, <sup>441</sup> and to avoid aping foppish dress <sup>442</sup> are points which indicate that a person is

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 374-375.

<sup>431</sup> Lines 181-182.

<sup>432</sup> Lines 71-72.

<sup>433</sup> Lines 73-74.

<sup>434</sup> Lines 505-511.

<sup>435</sup> *Facetus*, 119; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 23; *Young Children's Book*, l. 13; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 38; *Symon's Lesson of Wysedome*, l. 19; *Rhodes Boke of Nurture*, ll. 79-80.

<sup>436</sup> *Young Children's Book*, l. 14; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 36; *Rhodes, Boke of Nurture*, l. 77.

<sup>437</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 37.

<sup>438</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 50; *Symon's Lesson of Wysedome*, ll. 39-40; *Rhodes, Boke of Nurture*, ll. 97-98, ll. 73-74.

<sup>439</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), l. 50; *Symon's Lesson of Wysedome*, ll. 59-60; *Rhodes, Boke of Nurture*, l. 76.

<sup>440</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 46-48.

<sup>441</sup> *Booke of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 52-54; *Rhodes, Boke of Nurture*, l. 81.

<sup>442</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), ll. 485-490.

well-bred. *Facetus* recommends that a boy should not permit his knee to extend from beneath his garment.<sup>443</sup> Among the commands which regulate the child's bearing, the most prominent is that which enjoins him to be lowly.<sup>444</sup> Three authors modify this precept by urging him not to appear too lowly, since excessive humility indicates an empty head.<sup>445</sup> A well-trained child will not turn his back to anyone when he is sitting or standing.<sup>446</sup> He will also ask leave before passing in front of another person.<sup>447</sup> Whether he is in chamber or hall, he is to observe a quiet demeanor.<sup>448</sup>

The page who shared his bed with another noble youth or a stranger was expected to show thoughtful consideration of his companion. In addition to outlining the etiquette of the bed chamber, medieval courtesy writers were desirous of starting the child correctly on his day. He is told to rise early,<sup>449</sup> make the sign of the cross,<sup>450</sup> ask God's blessing on his work,<sup>451</sup> go to church, hear Mass,<sup>452</sup> and then take breakfast.<sup>453</sup> During the day he should go to his work, avoid idleness,<sup>454</sup> and do nothing amiss in the house.<sup>455</sup> If by chance the page happened to sleep with a better, he should ask him on what side of the bed he wished to lie.<sup>456</sup> It was proper to draw off for anyone a boot that was tight for him, but unless the bed-fellow was the page's superior, no further help needed to be given him.<sup>457</sup> The page was to allow his superior to retire first and was to bid him goodnight when the two had finished talking.<sup>458</sup> He was to

<sup>443</sup> *Op. cit.*, 85.

<sup>444</sup> *Babees Book*, II, 101-102; *Young Children's Book*, I, 61; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), II, 491-492; Symon's *Lesson of Wysedome*, I, 15.

<sup>445</sup> *Facetus*, 14; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), II, 78-79; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), II, II, 179-180.

<sup>446</sup> *Facetus*, 137; *Babees Book*, II, 90-91.

<sup>447</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), II, 211-212.

<sup>448</sup> *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), I, 204.

<sup>449</sup> *Young Children's Book*, I, 11; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 57-60.

<sup>450</sup> *Young Children's Book*, I, 12; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), I, 25.

<sup>451</sup> *Young Children's Book*, II, 14-15; *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton), II, 26-27; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 63-68.

<sup>452</sup> *Young Children's Book*, I, 17.

<sup>453</sup> *Young Children's Book*, II, 21-22; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 121-122.

<sup>454</sup> *Young Children's Book*, I, 31; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, II, 123-124.

<sup>455</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), II, 229-230.

<sup>456</sup> *Facetus*, 39; *Boke of Curtesye* (Sloane, 1986), II, II, 293-296; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), II, 216-217.

<sup>457</sup> *Facetus*, 58; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), I, 221.

<sup>458</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), I, 219, and I, 225.

lie straight in bed,<sup>459</sup> and upon arising in the morning, was to bid his master good morning, even if the latter was asleep.<sup>460</sup> If one's lord desired a drink during the night, the page was to hold the candle for him,<sup>461</sup> and to stay with him until he had finished.<sup>462</sup>

Of the numerous rules in *Facetus* and the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) which outline the etiquette of travelling, only the command "walk demurely through the streets" is widely distributed in the other Middle English poems.<sup>463</sup> The discussion of travelling in *Facetus* and its vernacular redaction is made up of courtesy admonitions and prudent advice. The rules of etiquette in travelling require that a person should salute without suspicion persons who greet him kindly,<sup>464</sup> regard the wishes of an equal or a better if they are not sinful,<sup>465</sup> handle an object gently in buying, and offer the owner neither more nor less money than he demands.<sup>466</sup> If anyone dismounts heavily, the page should hold the stirrup with his hand.<sup>467</sup> Spurs were to be removed before one entered a house, for they were likely to make tracks upon the floor.<sup>468</sup> A shout from the approaching guest was the accepted substitute for the warning given today by the doorbell.<sup>469</sup> Dishonest beggars and wandering rogues made it unsafe for a person to draw out the contents of his wallet on the roadside.<sup>470</sup> In going some distance it was a means of protection to travel with another, but it was necessary to discover first who the stranger was, where he was going, and whence he came.<sup>471</sup> Once chosen, such a companion was not to be cast aside without reason.<sup>472</sup> It was unwise to endeavor to attach oneself to two travellers who

<sup>459</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 223-234; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, l. 297.

<sup>460</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 228.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 247-249.

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 250.

<sup>463</sup> *Facetus*, 191; *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, l. 7; *Stans Puer* (Lambeth), l. 18; *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), ll. 67-68; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 335-336; *Book of Curtesy* (Caxton), ll. 57-58; Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, ll. 101-102.

<sup>464</sup> *Facetus*, 67.

<sup>465</sup> *Facetus*, 71; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 303-304.

<sup>466</sup> *Facetus*, 74.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*, 40; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 299-302.

<sup>472</sup> *Facetus*, 70.

had previously made a compact to journey together.<sup>473</sup> To ask for hospitality in the daytime was unseemly, although it was not only permissible but necessary to seek it at night.<sup>474</sup> The guest was to rise early on such occasions and express his gratitude to the master of the house.<sup>475</sup>

The rules of travel etiquette laid down by *Stans Puer* (Ashmole) are more modern in tone. The page should not stare at strangers,<sup>476</sup> or come near a person reading a letter.<sup>477</sup> In walking with a man of superior rank, he was to place him on his right.<sup>478</sup> In passing another, he was to allow the other person the inside of the street.<sup>479</sup> Several commands in Symon's *Lesson of Wyshedome*<sup>480</sup> and in the *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton) humorously suggest the punishment which the child received for lack of restraint when on the street.

The author of the *Book of Curtesye* (Caxton) writes:

Cast not wyth stone or styke at foule ne beste,  
 And where ye walke be ware that ye ne rage,  
 For and ye do, ye shall be byrcheley feest.  
 Terre wyth no hounde in fylde nor in village,  
 Go the forth in peace, demenyng youre vysage  
 In sobre wyse, that men may of you say,  
 'A goodly childe ther passith be the way.' (ll. 64-70)

Precepts in medieval courtesy literature relating to morals are most numerous in *Facetus* and its vernacular adaptation, the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane 1986). They indorse prudent, just, frugal, honest, and benevolent conduct, and particularly recommend the reader to gain wisdom through study and experience. As the courtesy genre develops, references to the various virtues become fewer. The authors continue, however, to encourage the child to love learning, and they never hesitate to repeat practical rules of conduct which have a moral as well as a social aspect.

<sup>473</sup> *Facetus*, 45; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 285-287.

<sup>474</sup> *Facetus*, 72; *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986), II, ll. 305-306.

<sup>475</sup> *Facetus*, 78.

<sup>476</sup> *Stans Puer* (Ashmole), l. 207.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 197-198.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 195-196.

<sup>479</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 202.

<sup>480</sup> Lines 49-62.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

There is no break in human thought. From the earliest oriental civilization to the latest modern culture, certain fundamental modes of behavior have been deemed pleasing to society. In the interval between the downfall of Roman culture and the flourishing point of Western civilization in the twelfth century, the threads of aesthetic conduct were ravelling out at loose ends. Monastic hands caught the receding strands during these centuries and made it possible for a Master John Facetus to weave them again into a motley whole.

From this point, continual progress marks the development of *facetus* literature. The heterogeneous book of conduct gave rise to the specialized treatise on table manners. Direct translations and loose redactions swept the poem on table etiquette into the English vernacular. The Middle English courtesy poem grew, showing such wide ramifications in its indigenous material as to win its own place. Erasmus, early among the humanists but a monk versed in medieval tradition, cast the medieval courtesy precepts into the Latin tongue again, giving us, not the first book of manners, but the old *facetus* material expanded, and wearing the warm flush of humanism.

Medieval *facetus* material is the strong, durable stuff that has lasted through the centuries. Great culture, like great art, possesses universality. The strongest argument in proof that *facetus* literature taught growing Europe the essentials of politeness is the fundamental place held by its precepts in the culture of today. Medieval *facetus* literature holds few rules based upon convention. The reason for the precepts in nearly every case is as evident as the tone of instruction is sincere.

From the present survey of *facetus* literature the following conclusions are evident:

1. A great unity of essential subject matter marks the Latin and the vernacular texts. This unity is particularly observable in the most fundamental precepts of table etiquette and elemental rules of social conduct.

2. In certain cases, the similarity extends to points of verbal dependence and sequence of ideas. This is observable in the translation of the *Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke* from the *Vt Te Geras*, and the compilation of the *Boke of Curtasye* (Sloane, 1986) from translated portions of *Facetus* and *Stans Puer ad Mensam*.

3. In spite of the essential unity noted in (1), English courtesy poems show a large amount of original material. This material is frequently a specific application of some more general precept found in *Facetus*. Certain English precepts result from native English customs and conventions.

4. The types of instruction covered by the texts divide themselves into certain well-marked units: instructions regarding table etiquette, conversation, social contacts in public and private life, and personal appearance.

5. There is no *corpus* of Latin *facetus* poems such as the English collection which Furnivall edits in the *Babees Book* and other volumes of the Early English Texts. The printing of Latin *facetus* poems from manuscripts and incunabula is a prerequisite for a healthy fostering of scholarship in this field.

6. The source of courtesy tradition is to be found equally in ecclesiastical and secular usages. With some exceptions, the ethical tone is high and the aesthetic standards exacting.

7. Latin *facetus* material passed into the Middle English vernacular with little advance in logical order. Erasmus gave coherence and orderly arrangement to the medieval body of precepts in *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*. While a few ununified *facetus* poems were written after the work of Erasmus, the tendency was toward organization. As a result, the substance of the medieval *facetus* poem was embodied in the later manuals of civility.

## APPENDIX I

The five Anglo-Norman courtesy poems edited by Parsons<sup>1</sup> form an interesting unit of instruction on manners. Of the two versions of *Urbain le courtois*, the earlier is found in a manuscript which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup> *Edwards* and *Bon enfant* are known from fourteenth century manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> and *L'Apprise de nurture* and *Un Petit traiteise de nurture* from a single fifteenth century manuscript.<sup>4</sup> As a group, the five poems are sufficiently different from Middle English courtesy treatises to indicate that they are the product of French rather than English culture. Certain points of similarity, however, are to be noted among them. In addition to pointing out the relationship of the Anglo-Norman poems to the *Disticha Catonis*, Parsons observes passages in them which suggest a direct connection between Anglo-Norman and Middle English treatises on manners. To illustrate this connection, she prints parallel passages from Middle English courtesy poems to *Urbain le courtois*.<sup>5</sup> It is significant that, with one exception, all of these passages are modifications in Middle English poems of the precepts in *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. Of particular prominence in these passages are the initial lines of the *Stans Puer ad Mensam* in which is expanded the tercet from *Facetus* prescribing pleasing exterior bearing of one's person. These lines from the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, which dates at least from the time of Grosseteste, (to whom the poem was early attributed) were in all probability memorized by Anglo-Norman writers, who later incorporated them into their poems. Because of the predominance of the discussion on table manners in *L'Apprise de nurture* and *Un petit traiteise de nurture*, these two poems bear the greatest likeness to *Facetus* and the Middle English Courtesy books on manners.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture," in *PMLA*. XLIV (1929), pp. 383-455.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 430.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 451-453.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385, p. 451.

It is interesting to note, also, that the description of polite conduct at table which Chaucer presents in his characterization of Madame Eglentyne derives from French rather than from English sources. Chaucer's description of the ability of the prioress to eat daintily (ll. 127-135)<sup>7</sup> is closely related to the passage in *Le Roman de la rose* wherein de Meung describes the graceful conduct of the refined woman at table (ll. 13983-14054).<sup>8</sup> Several distinctive rules of table etiquette in these two sections are also found in a similar passage of Ovid's *Ars Amandi* (ll. 747-760)<sup>9</sup> and in *Clef d'amor* (ll. 3213-3264),<sup>10</sup> an anonymous Anglo-Norman poem of the thirteenth century. The similarity of these passages suggests that the four authors successively treated this same material.<sup>11</sup>

Foremost among the passages which give indication of some inter-relationship are those in which is discussed the propriety of dipping one's fingers into the sauce. Ovid instructs the guest to eat with his fingers but not smear his whole face with his soiled hands (ll. 755-756). The author of *Clef d'amor* enjoins his readers not to steep his fingers to the joints, but to dip them gingerly so as not to soil them (ll. 3229-3230). De Meung, also, pictures a hostess who does not soil her fingers to the joints with sauce (ll. 14006-14007). The prioress of Chaucer is careful not to "wette hir fingres in h sauce depe" (l. 129).

Another indication of relationship in this group is the similarity of the instruction regarding the practice of wiping the lips before drinking. In the *Clef d'amor* the reader is admonished to wipe his lips before drinking, so that no round "coins" float on the glass (ll. 3233-3236). De Meung sees such floating globules in the wine as "farthings" (ll. 14028-14030). Chaucer attests the neat appearance of the goblet of the prioress by saying that in it was "no ferthir sene" (l. 134).

The passage in the *Ars Amandi* contains less specific *facetous* material than that in the three later works. Certain material appears

<sup>7</sup> "Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. by Skeat.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. by Marteau.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. by Mozley.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. by Doutrepoint in *Bibliotheca normannica*, V.

<sup>11</sup> The relationship of these passages was pointed out to the writer by John E. Mas. See *Gentlefolk in the Making*, pp. 311-312.

in it and the *Clef d'amor* undeniably links the work of Ovid with this anonymous Anglo-Norman poem. At the beginning of both passages the authors advise the guest to come late, for a tardy entry will emphasize his importance and darkness will enhance his charm. Likewise, both passages close with the statement that Paris regretted the lack of polite table manners in Helen, a person who, in other respects, exhibited so much exterior grace.

## APPENDIX II

The text of *De Ingenuis Adulescentum Moribus Libellum* by Humbert of Montmoret is reprinted here from the copy which appeared in a collection of didactic works, *Boethius cum Triplici Commento*, printed by Symon Vincent at Lyons, 1521. In the translation of the poem which follows, the writer has made no attempt to present more than a literal rendering of the poet's meaning.

Humberti montismoretani de ingenuis adulescentum moribus ad  
domnum Gilbertum et abbatum perquam doctissimum doctor-  
umque amantissimum libellum.

Qui cupis: et mores: et linguam nosse: latinam,  
Collige candidulas nostra per arua rosas.

Collige candidulos flores: fructusque salubres:  
Exemploque tibi sint bone lector apes.

Cumque datur: studio et nondum mens dura repugnat:  
Moribus et sanctis literulisque vaca.

Tempus erit quo tu celles studuisse: gemmasque  
Effluxisse tuos: et sine fruge: dies

Sed tunc que nunc est nec erit concessa facultas  
Nec: si sit: poteris: tu mihi crede: pati.

Confectus senio nunquam bene taurus aratrum  
Qui non et primo tempore gessit habet.

Arbor et excrenit [excrevit] curuum que fortis in arcum  
Ardua non unquam rectior astra petit.

Limpidus et solito fluxit cum riuulus alueo:  
Vir [vix] alia quisquam fecerit ire via.

Sic animus longo est hominis *cum* durus ab euo  
 Ipse sua constans in statione manet  
 In statione manet: *et* qui queat artibus vllis  
 Uiuendi leges frangere: nullus erit.  
 Nunc igitur dum *tempus* habes te voluere libros  
 Te iubeo mores lector amene sequi.  
 Cumprimum aureolus terris sua lumina reddet  
 Lucifer: e tepido corripe membra thoro.  
 Corripe membra thoro: menti ne torpor opacas  
 Inducat nebulas: in vitiumque trahat.  
 Torpor *enim* est Lethes missum de gurgite *monstrum*  
 Quod cetas [caecas] veneris nos trahit in furias.  
 Quoque panompheum solitas vetat ante tonantem  
 Implicitos furiis fundere mane preces.  
 Hinc fugias turpe est iuuenis *nam* languidus eque  
 Quam pauper tumidus: *quamque* senilis amor.  
 Adde quod in molli veneranda scientia lecto  
 Non sedet: at multo parta labore venit.  
 Unde poetifico Parnasi in culmine montis  
 Esse canunt sacras Bellorophontis [Bellerophontis] aquas.  
 Nam multus labor est altum *conscendere* montem  
 Nec vatum in suauis cortice mella latent.  
 Mella latent certe que non gustabit asellus  
 Mella teraphneis vberiora fauis.  
 Idcirco vt studeas: studioque inimica repellas  
 Pigritie scelerum *monstra* profana caput.  
 Cumprimum aureolus terris sua lumina reddet  
 Lucifer: e tepida corripe membra thoro.  
 Et tua ne robur ferus in precordia demon  
 Accipiat: munite cruce: tutus eris.  
 Regem hominum: *regemque* deum: qui lucis: *et* atre  
 Qui tibi dat noctis tempore [tempora] tuta: cole.  
 Mox oculi: nimio mox *et* languentia somno  
 Cum manibus liquidis ora lauentur aquis.  
 Pecte flagellantes: *candentia* colla capillos:  
 Uestis hesterno sit tua munda luto.

Ut puer inde humilis patrem matremque saluta  
 Et quicumque tuo dignus honore venit.  
 Precipue famulos Christi venereris oportet:  
 Si blande cupias indolis esse puer.  
 Mox sacras quibus alti tonans venerat in edes  
 Maturum attrito pectore flecte gradum.  
 Ingressus templum sacra te prolue limpha.  
 Illa quidem vitium non capitale fugat.  
 Hic nec vana loqui: nec vano incedere passu  
 Ut faciunt quos fert gloria vana velis:  
 Sed genibus flexis sanctam alti tonantis ad aram  
 Funde rogabundas supplice mente preces.  
 O pater eterno qui cuncta tenore gubernas:  
 Unus in astriferi trinus et arce poli.  
 Numina sint totum tua sanctificata per orbem:  
 Adueniant famulis celica regna tuis.  
 Et tua per terram fiat: celumque voluntas  
 Quotidie famulis des alimenta tuis  
 Et debentibus vt laxamus debita nostris  
 Laxes sic nobis debita nostra pater.  
 Et face ne noceat nobis temptatio: sed nos  
 A cunctis tandem solue benigne malis.  
 Hinc abiens sacri Christi genetricis ad aras  
 Pectore dic humili regia mater aue.  
 Mater aue in partu: et post parum [partum] virgo: nec ante  
 Ullius humano semine tacta viri.  
 Mater que dominum sincero in ventre tulisti:  
 Fouistique tuo non violata sinu.  
 Sit dominus tecum: tellus cui seruit: et ether:  
 Inter virgineos o benedicta choros.  
 Fructus et ille tuo quem casto in ventre tulisti:  
 Sit celo: terris: sit benedictus aquis.  
 Quem to pro nobis qui fons pietatis: et idem  
 Justicie lumen: virgo pudica roga  
 Post sacra vt missam cantarit in ede sacerdos  
 Ad studium leta mente recurre tuum.

Des operam studio: lege plurima: lecta memento  
 Rectorem debes quem timuisse: time:  
 Nec prohibent nostri ientacula sumere versus  
 Illa tamen sumas si moderata puer.  
 Sume igitur moderata puer ientacula: pauca  
 Diluta *et* fontis vina liquore: bibas.  
 Raro intrat saturum veneranda scientia ventrem  
 Nec studii capiunt ebria membra fauos.  
 Ingenium: robur: rapte quoque mentis acumen:  
 Obtundit: minuit: suffocat: ebrietas.  
 Ebrietas gressus tentat: sensum obruit *et* que  
 Candida nunc fuerant nigra repente facit.  
 Ebrietas venerem: rixas: certamina: secum  
 Fert quocunque [sic] pedes perniciose trahit:  
 Hanc puer vt tortum fugias studiose colubrum:  
 Toxicum qui turpi sub cute semper habet  
 Hanc vbi vitaris studio seruente reuoluas:  
 Que discenda tibi iusserat ante regens  
 Post vbi clara dies bisquinas egerit horas  
 Prandia chare puer: sed moderata: cape.  
 Ante tamen *quam* mensam adeas benedicite dices:  
 Signabisque pia fercula cuncta manu.  
 Plutonis duras pellit crux aurea fraudes:  
 Crux hominum certe vita salusque fuit.  
 Crux tulit eterni pendentia corpora regis:  
 Impius hanc metuit religiosus amat.  
 Si quisque affuerit digna grauitate verendus  
 Limpida de puro flumina fonte dabis.  
 Post manibus lautis cum quisque resederit: escas  
 Et lauto appones dulcia vina vitro.  
 Nec mensam nisi iussus adi: mea iussa memento  
 Hic quoque cum fueris semper honesta sequi  
 Sis hilaris vultu: linguam frenare memento:  
 Sal capias cultro: sepe parumque bibas.  
 Nec macules crasso mantilia munda liquore.  
 Nec caput aut digitos confricuisse velis.

Nec disco attigeris *quod* dentibus antereponas:  
     Nec turpem natibus: nec dabis ore sonum.  
 Nunquam vel cubitis vel pigro pectore mense  
     Nixus eris: nobis si placuisse voles.  
 Impartire dapes sociis: cum fercula sumes:  
     Sat fuerit digitis continuisse tribus.  
 Cum dapibus superata fames: *et* victus edendi  
     Extiterit celsi numere regis amor.  
 Uertice nudato non immemor ipse bonorum  
     Que tibi dat Christus talia verba refer.  
 Immensas grates agimus tibi maxime rector:  
     Humano generi qui bona tanta facis,  
 Qui viuis claro seculorum secula celo  
     Hic vbi nos vita diffugiente vehes.  
 Gloria: laus: *et* honor: virtus: eterna potestas:  
     Perpetuo tecum: sint: vigeantque die.  
 Mox redeas operam studio: librisque daturus:  
     Ultima dum cene venerit hora tue.  
 Tu quoque tunc humili dices benedicite vultu.  
     Postque cibum grates reddere promptus eris.  
 Si quisque affuerit digna grauitate verendus  
     Quid vetet ipse tibi: qui iubeatque: vide,  
 Illiusque tua fer verba recondita mente  
     Sed fuge femineos quam potes ipse choros  
 Femineos odi: pestis quia maior in orbe.  
     Nulla potest hominem comminuisse: choros.  
 Dum linum purgant: dum nent: acrique fauilla.  
     Castaneas torrent. segnia verba ferunt.  
 Segnia verba ferunt: iuuenis tunc cereus illic.  
     Addiscit que mox dedidicisse volet.  
 Ut mihi sis charus potius secreta requiras:  
     Hic vbi doctorum suauia dicta legas.  
 Nam cibus vt suauis nutrit tua corpora: nutrit  
     Sic animam lepidi nobile dogma viri.  
 Inde salutato diuumque: hominumque parente:  
     Compones tepido languida membra thoro.

Hic tacitus somnum accipias: sua tempora libri:  
Et sua nocturnus tempora somnus habet.

Ad libellum vt *domnum* Guillermm  
drouinum *praeceptorem* meum petat.  
Guillermm pete codicille: eumque  
Nostro nomine milies saluta  
Qui nostre tenere iuente *alumnus*  
Qua mons castalias acutus vndas  
Profuse sitientibus ministrat  
Tam doctum dedit: *et* bonum magistrum  
Bono in discipulo probent: *amentque*  
Quiqui zizania carent proterua.

The little book of Humbert of Montmoret concerning the  
polite manners of youths, dedicated to Dom Abbot Gilbert,  
most learned and most fond of the learned.

You who wish to learn manners and the Latin tongue  
Pluck the little white roses through our fields.  
Pluck the little white flowers and wholesome fruits:  
And, good reader, let the bees be an example to you.  
When your mind is given to study and does not yet repulse hard  
things,  
Leave room for manners and holy literature.  
There will be a time when you will wish to have studied; and you  
will groan  
Because your days have slipped by without fruit.  
But then the power which is yours will not be granted to you;  
Nor, if it were, believe me, would you be able to indulge it.  
An ox worn out with age never draws the plow well  
If he has not done so in a former time.  
A strong tree which has grown in a curved arch  
Never grows straight again and seeks the lofty stars.  
When the limpid stream has flowed in its accustomed bed,  
Scarcely will anyone be able to make it go in another way.

Thus the mind of man, when it has been uncultivated for a long  
time,

Remains constantly in this condition.

In this condition remains; and there will be no one

Who by any means can break the laws of living.

Now therefore while you have time, I bid you to open books

And to follow manners, dear reader.

As soon as the golden day brings back the light

Upon the earth, rise up quickly from your warm bed.

Rise up quickly from bed that laziness may not

Introduce dark clouds to the mind and lead you into vice.

For laziness is a monster sent from the stream of Lethe,

Which draws us into the blind furies of love

And forbids us, conquered with madness,

To pour forth our accustomed prayer in the morning before  
the all-oracular thunderer.

Thence flee, for more shameful is a sluggish youth

Than a puffed up pauper or an old man in love.

Add that holy wisdom does not linger in a soft bed

But comes forth begotten by much labor.

Whence they sing that the sacred waters

Of Bellerophon are on the poet-bearing top of Mount Parnassus.

For it is great labor to ascend a high mountain,

Nor does the honey of the seers lie concealed in sweet bark.

Surely lies concealed the honey, which the ass shall not taste,

Honey richer than teraphnean honey.

Wherefore, that you may study and repel with zeal the hostile

Profane monsters, the source of idleness and crimes,

As soon as the golden day brings back the light

Upon the earth, rise up quickly from your warm bed.

And lest fierce violence admit the demon in your heart,

Fortify [yourself] with the cross; you will be safe.

Adore the King of men and of gods, Who gives you

Safe times of day and of black night.

Quickly, very quickly, let your eyes and your face, languid with  
sleep,

Be washed with the hands in fresh water.  
Comb the hair, falling on your shining neck.  
Let your garment be clean from yesterday's dust.  
Then like a lowly boy greet father and mother  
And whoever comes worthy of thy honor.  
It behooves you to honor especially the servants of Christ,  
If pleasingly you desire to be a model boy.  
Soon with lowly heart turn your rapid step  
To the sacred edifice where the High Thunderer had come.  
Having entered the church, sprinkle yourself with holy water.  
It indeed puts to flight a fault not capital.  
Here do not speak vain things, nor walk with ostentatious step,  
As they do whom vain glory carries with sails.  
But on bended knees before the holy altar of the High Thunderer,  
Pour forth your prayers of petition with humble mind:  
O Father, Thou who rulest all things with eternal continuance,  
Triune One, in the height of the starry sky,  
May thy divinity be hallowed throughout the entire world.  
Thy Heavenly kingdom come to thy servants.  
And thy will be done throughout heaven and earth.  
Give to thy servants their daily nourishment,  
And as we forgive our debtors, so may you  
Forgive us our debts, O Father.  
And bring it about that temptation hurt us not, but at last  
Deliver us benignantly from all evils.  
Going from here to the altars of the mother of holy Christ  
With lowly heart say: Hail, Queenly Mother,  
Hail Mother in birth, and after birth a virgin,  
Never defiled by any virile contact,  
Mother, thou who hast borne the Lord in thy pure womb,  
And unviolated hast cherished Him in thy breast,  
With thee be the Lord Whom earth and heaven serve,  
O blessed one among virgin choirs.  
And blessed be He, too, whom thou didst bear in thy chaste womb,  
In heaven and earth and on the sea.

To Whom do thou pray for us, thou who art the fount of piety  
And likewise, light of justice, chaste virgin.  
After the priest has sung mass in the sacred edifice,  
Hasten back to your study with a joyful mind.  
Pay attention to study, read much, remember your readings.  
Honor your teacher whom you ought to fear.  
Let not our verses restrain you from taking breakfast,  
But take it, my boy, if it be moderate.  
Therefore, my boy, take a moderate breakfast; you may drink  
A little wine diluted with water from the spring.  
Rarely does venerable knowledge enter a full belly,  
Nor do inebriated members seize the honey of study.  
Character, strength, and also the alertness of the mind,  
Drunkenness dulls, lessens, and hastily stifles.  
Drunkenness assails the gait, destroys the sense, and makes  
What just now had been white suddenly black.  
Drunkenness brings with it love, quarrels, and pernicious strife,  
Wherever it goes.  
Avoid this, my boy, as carefully as a coiled serpent  
Who always has poison under its odious skin.  
When you shall have avoided this, meditate with obedient zeal  
What the teacher before had ordered to be studied.  
Afterwards, when the day shall have completed twice five hours,  
Take luncheon, dear boy, but moderately.  
Yet before you approach the table you will say "benedicite,"  
And you will bless all the dishes with a pious hand.  
The excellent cross drives away the harsh deceits of Pluto.  
The cross was surely the life and salvation of men.  
The cross sustained the hanging body of the Eternal King.  
This the impious man dreaded and the devout man loves.  
If any venerable person of worthy gravity has been present,  
You will give him limpid water from the pure well.  
After the hands have been washed, when each one has been seated,  
You will serve the food and sweet wine in a clean glass.  
Do not go to table unless bidden; remember my commands.

When you will be here, also, always strive after the honorable thing.

Be cheerful in countenance, remember to restrain your tongue.

Take salt with a knife, drink often and little.

Do not soil the clean table cloth with thick fluid,

Nor rub your head or fingers with the linens.

Do not replace in the dish what you have touched to your teeth.

Neither shall you give a disgraceful sound from the buttocks or from the mouth.

You shall never lean on the table either with elbows or indolent chest

If you wish to please us.

Share the food with companions; when you take viands,

It will be enough to hold them with three fingers.

When hunger has been satiated with food, and love

Of the Great King has arisen because of His gift of good to eat,

With uncovered head, not thyself unmindful of the goods

Which Christ gives you, repeat such words:

We give immense thanks to Thee, Greatest Ruler,

Thou who providest such good things for the human race,

Who livest for ages of ages in the clear sky,

Whither mayest Thou bring us when life is slipping away.

Glory, praise and honor, strength, eternal power

Be with Thee always, may they flourish from day to day.

Soon return with the purpose of attending to your study and your books,

Until the last hour of your dinner comes.

Then likewise you will say "benedicite" with lowly mien.

And after the food you will be prompt to return thanks.

If any venerable person of worthy gravity has been present,

You yourself see to what he forbids you and what he commands.

Receive his words in the depths of your mind

But avoid crowds of women as much as you can.

Hate groups of women because no greater pest in the world

Is able to overcome a man.

While they wash linen, while they spin, and in hot ashes

Roast chestnuts, they say useless words.  
They say useless words; here, then, the pliant youth  
Learns what soon he wishes to have unlearned.  
That you may be dear to me, choose rather a secret place  
Where you may read the sweet sayings of the learned.  
For as sweet food nourishes your body,  
So the noble doctrine of a refined man nourishes the spirit.  
Then having paid reverence to the Father of gods and of men,  
Place your weary body in a warm bed.  
Here silently await sleep. Books have their own time  
And nocturnal sleep has its own time.

To this little book that it may seek master William  
My drovinum (?) teacher.  
Codicil, seek William; and salute  
Him a thousand times in my name  
Who was a pupil in my tender youth  
Where the sharp mountain profusely serves  
Castalian waves to the thirsty  
And makes him so learned; and let them prove  
The good teacher in the good pupil; and let them love  
Whoever lacks the wild cockle.

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