National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

Canada

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-56410-5

Canada

ENGLISH COURTESY LITERATURE:

1425 - 1475

Jennifer Hanley

© Jennifer Hanley, Ottawa, Canada, 1989

UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ABBREVIATIONS

Abc	"The Abce of Aristotill" (Furnivall, A Booke of Precedence, 65-67)
ABC	"The ABC of Aristotle" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 11-12)
AS	[Ashmole] "The Secrete of Secretes" (Manzalaoui, Secretum Secretorum, 18-113)
BB	"The Babees Book" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 1-8)
BKT	The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry (Wright)
BLB	Edward IV's Black Book (Myers, 76-197)
BN	John Russell's Boke of Nurture (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 115-239)
CT	"The Consail and Teiching þat the Vys Man Gaif His Sone" (Lumby, Ratis Raving, 90-103)
D	"A Diatorie" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 54-58)
DA	"Decretum Aristotelis" (Manzalaoui, Secretum Secretorum, 203-223)
DMF	"Documenta Matris Ad Filiam" (Girvan, Ratis Raving, 81-99 odd)
GG	"The Booke of Goode Governance and Guyding of the Body" (Manzalaoui, Secretum Secretorum, 3-9)
GHS	"Bp. Grosseteste's Household Statutes" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 328-331)
GR	"A Generall Rule to Teche Every Man to Serve a Lorde or Mayster" (Chambers, A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book, 11-17)
Gu	"The Booke of Gouernaunce of Kinges and Princes" (Manzalaoui, Secretum Secretorum, 226-384 even)
Gv	John Shirley's "The Governance of Kynges and of Prynces" (Manzalaoui, Secretum Secretorum, 227-313 odd)
GWP	"The Good Wyfe wold a pylgremage" (Furnivall, A Booke of Precedence, 39-43)
GWT	"How þe Goode Wyfe tauȝt hyr Douȝter, quod Kate" (Furnivall, A Booke of Precedence, 44-51)
HGW	"How the Good Wijf tauȝte Hir Douȝtir" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 36-47)
HWM	"How the Wise Man tauȝt His Son" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 48-52)
LL	"Lerne or be Lewde" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 9-10)
MCP	"A Courtesy Poem from Magdalene College Pepys MS. 1236" (Nicholls, Notes & Queries 227 [1982], 3-10)
OC	[Oriel] Book of Curtesye (Furnivall, Caxton's Book of Curtesye, 2-52 even)
PI	Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son (d'Evelyn)
RR	"Ratis Raving" (Lumby, Ratis Raving, 26-76)
SC	[Sloane] Book of Curtasye (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 297-327)
SP	"Stans Puer Ad Mensam" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 26-32)
SPK	"Stans Puer Ad Mensam, quod Kate" (Furnivall, A Booke of Precedence, 56-64)

TC	"The III Consideracions Right Necesserye to the Good Governaunce of a Prince" (Genet, Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages, 180-209)
TGW	"The Thewis off Gud Women" (Lumby, Ratis Raving, 26-76)
TL	"A Tretise for Lauandres" (Lydgate, Minor Poems, 723)
U	"Urbanitatis" (Furnivall, The Babees Book, 13-15)
WMT	"How a Wyse Man taught hys sone, quod Kate" (Furnivall, A Booke of Precedence, 52-55)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE STUDY OF MID-FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COURTESY LITERATURE

Literature of instruction for young people, called courtesy literature, was popular throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages. However, the term "courtesy literature" is perhaps a misnomer. Courtesy literature should more properly be called instructional or didactic literature as it applies to a broad range of behaviours. However, for the purposes of the present study, the old term courtesy literature will be used. Consisting largely of advice on manners and morals, this literature was designed to help young courtiers (primarily the sons of noblemen) raise themselves socially, take care of their health, and make good marriages. There were also smaller bodies of literature devoted to teaching servants of noble households how to execute their duties and literature devoted to the instruction of the aristocrats themselves. Most of these examples were continental (written in Latin, Italian, German, French, and Spanish) and soon found their way over to England where they became popular and were translated into English. These works also inspired English writers to compose courtesy literature in their native tongue.

English courtesy literature written in the fifteenth century has only been made readily accessible to readers during the last one hundred years. The texts can be found as editions in scholarly journals, anthologies, and as volumes printed by text societies. As the works exist in so many different editions, not much comparison among the works has been done.

Since a broad study of mid-fifteenth-century courtesy literature has not yet been undertaken, this study is an attempt to classify and describe the literature. In this work the texts will be delineated as comprehensively as possible; an attempt will be made to define the nature of the genre; and a system for classifying the literature into its respective types will be proposed.

This study will deal exclusively with courtesy literature written in the period 1425 - 1475. This provides a reasonable amount of material to work with within the boundaries of a limited survey. Most of the important fifteenth-century courtesy literature falls within this time frame; literature written in the first quarter of the century is scarce, and that written in the last quarter is different in nature because of the advent of Caxton and the printing press. While a study of fifteenth-century courtesy literature should be undertaken at some point, this limited examination of mid-century literature provides an ample foundation for study and classification.

The main problem in the study of courtesy literature is not a lack of definition or clarity as to what comprises the literature itself,[1] but rather the fact that little attention has been devoted to the genre. There have been few studies dealing in part (and none in whole) with courtesy literature proper, and even the studies which purport to deal systematicallly with it do little more than skirt the issues presented. Of all the articles and chapters devoted to the genre none has put forth a satisfactory description of what it entails.[2]

> theory, of such conduct. If it be not hair-splitting to distinguish between manners and courtesy, we may say that courtesy is manners raised to the dignity of a system, organized and directed towards the exemplification of a social ideal.[3]

Here Millet equates manners with courtesy and sees them as the outward expression of morals. This definition is a good starting point, but in it Millet fails to acknowledge fully the moral aspects inherent in much courtesy literature.

A Matter of Courtesy is the most recent study done which deals in part with courtesy literature.[4] Jonathan Nicholls' study is primarily concerned with courtesy as it relates to the works of the Gawain poet, but it does contain some useful information. As Nicholls' primary material is conventionally accepted literature, he does not view the secondary material (ie. didactic courtesy texts) as literature. However, he does attempt a definition of the term "courtesy books,"[5] but it is somewhat restricted as it includes only two categories. Nicholls says that most of the books "contain some rules on table etiquette,"[6] and if the books are not predominantly concerned with table etiquette, they are instead "a medley of precepts regulating outward behaviour."[7] Unfortunately, Nicholls' view of courtesy literature is too limited. For the most part he disregards the moral aspects inherent in courtesy literature, and relegates those poems dealing with morals to a different genre. Nicholls' chief concern is with the texts as they were used in educational and ecclesiastical contexts. However, to his

the works of the Gawain poet, but it does contain some useful information. As Nicholls' primary material is conventionally accepted literature, he does not view the secondary material (ie. didactic courtesy texts) as literature. However, he does attempt a definition of the term "courtesy books,"[5] but it is somewhat restricted as it includes only two categories. Nicholls says that most of the books "contain some rules on table etiquette,"[6] and if the books are not predominantly concerned with table etiquette, they are instead "a medley of precepts regulating outward behaviour."[7] Unfortunately, Nicholls' view of courtesy literature is too limited. For the most part he disregards the moral aspects inherent in courtesy literature, and relegates those poems dealing with morals to a different genre. Nicholls' chief concern is with the texts as they were used in educational and ecclesiastical contexts. However, to his credit, Nicholls' is a very scholarly study and provides a definitive list of medieval courtsy texts.

One of the few studies of courtesy literature is contained in Diane Bornstein's Mirrors of Courtesy.[8] Bornstein distinguishes between only two types of courtesy literature: treatises on household management, and books for pages. However, her research is very thorough and is perhaps more complete than that of other scholars and critics. While examining only a few of the texts in detail, Bornstein makes reference to nine different examples of courtesy literature. The emphasis in Mirrors of Courtesy is less on summary than on an attempt to classify the literature and examine some of the technical literary aspects

of the works such as style, structure, and theme. As Mirrors of Courtesy is a synthetic examination of courtesy and chivalry, Bornstein is unconcerned with texts which do not contain elements of ritual devotion or servitude. But the background information provided about the fifteenth century sets the textual material in its proper context. Although Bornstein does not develop the idea of the relationship between the two types of courtesy literature she has identified, her book is a good preliminary study of courtesy texts.

John E. Mason's Gentlefolk in the Making is an examination of courtesy literature written after 1531.[9] While English courtesy literature is the primary focus in the book, Mason does examine the continental sources and analogues which influenced the courtesy literature. Mason includes a brief chapter which deals with courtesy literature written before 1532, and there is some useful information to be found in it. Mason provides a good definition of courtesy[10] and extends it to apply to the literature:

> Rules of courtesy, in the sense in which the term is here used, are the formulated standards by which the average individual of any given class acts. They are the dictates of a social, or group conscience, ambition, or canon of taste.[11]

However, Mason's classification of courtesy literature into four different types (books of parental advice, polite conduct, civility, and policy) does not adequately take into account the different audiences for whom the works were intended or the overlap between categories. As Mason is not concerned with an extensive examination of the literature written before

1531, he makes only brief mention of the many works of courtesy literature, much of it in the form of notes.

The History of Manners by Norbert Elias is a useful source for information about paternal courtesy literature, especially that dealing with table manners. The book is a study of the concepts of "culture" and "civilization" as evidenced by courtesy literature. The History of Manners surveys continental and English courtesy literature dealing with manners from medieval to modern times. Elias concentrates on Furnivall's Babees Book, Caxton's Book of Curtesye, and the Booke of Precedence. Essentially, Elias' work is useful in defining parental courtesy literature and for a comparison of the various literary tracts.

There are chapters about courtesy literature in books dealing with historical surveys of "civility" and "good behaviour" which tend toward superficial examination. Harold Nicolson's Good Behaviour, for example, devotes part of a chapter to a cursory examination of courtesy literature.[13] Nicolson makes no attempt to classify the literature into its respective types, and draws facile and often erroneous inferences and conclusions about both the literature and the society in which it existed.[14] The extent of Nicolson's treatment of medieval courtesy literature consists of cursory descriptions of the contents of Russell's Boke of Nurture, "The Babees Book," and "Urbanitatis."[15] Nicolson's chapter on courtesy literature of the Middle Ages is of little value.

Esther B. Aresty, like Harold Nicolson, devotes one chapter in her book The Best Behavior to British courtesy literature

of the Middle Ages. Aresty examines only four examples of courtesy literature, "The Babees Book," "The Booke of Urbanitie," "Stans Puer Ad Mensam," and the Boke of Nurture, and emphasizes rank and duty. Aresty makes no reference to the moral aspect of courtesy literature, and devotes less than a page to the treatment of manners *per se*, dismissing them as "elementary."[16]

As has been noted, Nicholls says that courtesy literature deals with table etiquette and/or the regulation of outward behaviour. While he emphasizes manners, he believes that morals play a role in courtesy literature:

> Moral instruction is not necessarily absent, but usually takes a subordinate role. This ... point distinguishes courtesy books from the many poems and treatises that offer the traditional saws of moral advice, and those poems that deal solely with the improvement of spiritual character.[17]

A working definition of courtesy literature can be distilled from the ideas presented by both Nicholls and Millet. Basically, courtesy literature is didactic or instructional literature which deals with behaviour. The range of behaviour which courtesy literature treats is very broad: it can be situation-specific behaviour such as that expected of a page or server, or it can be more general behaviour applicable to different situations. Courtesy literature comprises both manners and morals, but these two categories are not as distinct as would first appear.

If one examines the definitions of morals and manners it is possible to get a more clear idea of how the two are related, and how they are to be viewed with regard to courtesy literature. According to the OED, morals consist of a concern with the "goodness or badness of character or disposition,"

or with "the distinction between right and wrong." Manners are "the way a thing is done or happens;" they are also "the modes of life" or "the conditions of society." The OED goes even further than this in describing manners as "behaviour in social intercourse; polite social behaviour;" and "habits indicating good breeding." It would seem from this, then, that morals and manners are closely, even intimately, related.

These definitions are important in understanding courtesy literature. Morals are the foundation upon which the literature rests. Manners are the way that the morals or moral precepts are expressed. Much of the courtesy literature deals with the manners or outward behaviour, but there are examples, as Nicholls says, which include moral instruction *per se*, and whose moral instruction is not merely a function of inherent qualities of goodness.

The moral instruction found in courtesy books is much broader than the mannerly instruction. Moral precepts are found in all types of courtesy literature, as opposed to manners which tend to be situation and audience-specific. Virtue, which is one way of perceiving morals, is not restricted to gender or class; it is inherent in all strata of society. Piety, as opposed to strict doctrinal instruction, is an aspect of morality found in the courtesy literature. But treatises such as The Book of Vices and Virtues, concerned only with doctrine and comprehension of ecclesiastical texts, are not true courtesy literature because they do not have any bearing outside the sphere of the mind. There is no emphasis on action.

In the same way, educational tracts are not examples of courtesy literature because they concern themselves only with mental instruction, and not with the fulfillment in an outward direction. Thus, texts dealing with religious instruction or formal education will not be dealt with as they do not conform to the definition of courtesy literature presented here.

In a study of courtesy literature the next problem which must be addressed is that of classification. None of the critics thus far has proposed an adequate classification system for the literature. Bornstein's classification of the literature into two types of treatise is too limited. Nicholls' description of table etiquette and other "outward behaviour" as the two types of courtesy literature is too vague. Mason's classification of the genre into four types can be better organized to reflect the wealth of available literature. Millet's audience-directed classification is the one which comes closest to a useful division, but it too is imperfect. A modification of Millet's system seems to be the most appropriate way of classifying the various types of courtesy literature. Each of the critics fails to recognize that there is overlap between categories because the distinction between manners and morals can never fully be resolved.

The literature in this study will be classified as follows, with each category consisting primarily of the audience to whom the literature is directed. The first category is that of parental literature. It contains the works addressed by parents or adults to girls, boys, and pages. Some of the literature

addressed to boys and pages is concerned with duty, and so approaches and overlaps the second category, the literature of household management. This contains treatises on general household management, as well as those directed to specific types of servants such as carvers, servers, marshalls, and ushers. This category overlaps with the third category, literature for adults, which consists of treatises directed to men in positions of power or authority, such as kings or other leaders. This last category contains elements of practical ritual, drawing on elements found in all the other categories. It includes instructions for health and the regulations and rituals involved in day-to-day life. The moral aspects of courtesy are essentially inseparable from the mannerly or outwardly expressed aspects of courtesy, and will be dealt with accordingly throughout the study.

As the definition and classification of courtesy literature employed here are somewhat broader than any previously offered, it is necessary to delineate the works which will be examined. The texts take various forms: some are prose treatises, some are short pieces in verse, some are longer, more elaborate poems. The majority of the examples are English, but two are Middle Scots works. As the examples were written before the invention of the printing press, they exist in manuscript form and their dating is sometimes inexact. Where possible in the study, the pieces will be dated with precision, and where this is not possible, this will be indicated. With a few exceptions such as John Russell, Peter Idley, and John Lydgate, the authors are unknown.

The works to be examined date from the period 1425 - 1475 and include the Scots "Ratis Raving" and a poem called "Documenta Matris Ad Filiam;" the Oriel version of the Book of Curtesye; the early version of The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry; Peter Idlev's Instructions to His Son; versions of the Secreta Secretorum; John Russell's Boke of Nurture; John Lydgate's "Stans Puer Ad Mensam;" and many early poems and treatises indluded in Furnivall's The Babees Book and A Booke of Precedence.

PARENTAL COURTESY LITERATURE

This category contains the most numerous examples of courtesy literature. With the incipient rise of the middle class, people needed to know how to behave in courtly or upper-class circles. Naturally, such instruction was inculcated from an early age. Nicolson has proposed that works of parental courtesy literature, "although ostensibly intended for the improvement of little boys and girls, were also aimed at the atrocious manners of their fathers and mothers."[1] This is possible, but does not seem likely. The history of British courtesy literature extends as far back as Anglo-Saxon times with the anonymous "Fæder Larcwidas," and there are certainly many examples of courtesy literature in fourteenth-century writing. The Gawain poet's writings (such as Pearl) contain instances of courtesy instruction. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales contain various references to courtesy and instruction; indeed the "Tale of Melibee" can be viewed as a courtesy piece. There was a proliferation of this type of didactic literature in the fifteenth century,[2] with examples from almost every decade. It is more than likely that the parents of children to whom the works were directed would have been subjected to the same instruction during their childhood, especially if they were members of the nobility or rising middle class. Nicolson's hypothesis also seems unsupported due to the weight of internal textual evidence. Many poems are addressed to "My dere son," or

"My yonge childe," and there are ample vocative references to children throughout the poems.

In an age of class-consciousness such as the fifteenth century, practical educatien provided one with the tools necessary to adapt to life among the nobility. Children were sent away to other homes to be reared and educated. Courtesy literature provided guidelines for both moral bearing and manners, the outward expression of the inner moral state. Socially, courtesy literature contributed much to the development of the middle class.

Much of the paternal courtesy literature is formulaic in type, and there are aspects of the literature common to many poems. The majority of the works are anonymous, but even where individual works can be ascribed to specific authors, there is little individuality of composition. The courtesy poems are what Norbert Elias describes as compilations of common rules and injunctions.[3] Hence there is a lot of similarity among the works. However, this should not be taken as absolute; variation and modification do exist among the works. Some instances of paternal courtesy literature introduce novel elements of style; others advance new elements of instruction.

In order to avoid redundancy, I shall examine the literature according to its salient features, noting any discrepancies or oddities among the works. For obvious reasons, broad similarities will be given more cursory treatment than the novel aspects of the courtesy literature.

PARENTAL COURTESY LITERATURE FOR GIRLS

Although most of the fifteenth-century paternal courtesy literature is written for boys and is of the *Tischzuchten* type,[4] there are several notable exceptions. These exceptions consist of a small body of writings which are intended for girls, a category of courtesy literature which has been largely overlooked by the critics.[5] These examples of courtesy literature are Geoffrey de la Tour Landry's Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry (c.1450);[6] the anonymous poem "How the Good Wijf Tauȝte Hir Douȝter: (c.1430);[7] a variation on this poem, called "How þe Goode Wyfe tauȝt hyr Douȝter, quod Kate,"[8] a later poem called "The good wyfe wold a pylgremage" (1460-70);[9] the Scots poem "The Thewis off Gud Women" (c.1450);[10] and an alternate version of this last poem called "Documenta Matris Ad Filiam" (c.1450).[11] These works are more concerned with a girl's morals and moral behaviour than with her manners. Landry's work and "The Thewis off Gud Women" are obviously written for girls of the middle or upper-classes, but the others may possibly have been written for girls of lower degree.

These shorter courtesy poems for girls mirror the attitudes in fifteenth-century Britain toward the majority of women. Of these short poems, all are in the form of a woman's advice to her daughter. They deal with how a girl ought to behave in order to attract a decent husband, and consequently how to behave as the mistress of a household. The advice in most of them is very similar; indeed the "Documenta Matris"

is essentially identical to "The Thewis off Gud Women" in content, but contains a few extra passages. "How the Good Wijf" and "How þe Goode Wyfe" are also nearly identical, but the latter, like the "Documenta Matris," contains a small amount of additional information about a girl's behaviour. Only "The good wyfe wold a pylgremage" stands alone as a work which has no parallel. Its advice is somewhat less genteel than that of the other works, but its purpose is the same. These works were written to instruct girls how to behave properly, regardless of their social status.

The Book of the Knight is something of an anomaly in courtesy literature. It is by far the longest individual work of fifteenth-century courtesy literature; it is written in prose and consists of 144 chapters -- even by modern standards it is a fairly long work. As with the other courtesy poems for girls, Landry's book is primarily moral in tone. The Book of the Knight is a father's advice to his daughters extolling the virtues of proper womanly behaviour. It consists of exempla (often biblical) telling of certain women, their morals and behaviour, and the consequences of said behaviour. Each chapter ends with Landry's injunction to his daughters to conduct themselves in an acceptable way.

Interestingly, in the courtesy literature for girls there is more emphasis on religion than in most of the paternal courtesy literature for boys. In "How the Good Wijf" the mother's first advice to her daughter consists of an admonition telling her that if she wants to be a good wife, she

must: "Loke loueli and in good lijf / ... loue god & holi chirche" (HGW 9-10). This is followed by the advice to attend church always -- no matter what the weather -- and to pay her tithes regularly. A girl is also told how to behave properly when in church:

> Whanne þou sittist in þe chirche, þi beedis þou schalt bidde;
> Make þou no iangelynge To freende nor to sibbe;
> lauȝe þou to scorne nouþer oolde bodi ne ȝonge,
> But be of fair beerynge & of good tunge;
> (HGW 25-28)

In both this poem and in "How þe Goode Wyfe," a girl is to thank God for what he has given her, rather than covet her neighbour's goods. "The Thewis off Gud Women" offers similar advice to a girl, but tells her how she must behave on holy days (holidays). She must "be occupeid euer in sum thinge" such as praying, playing at "honest play," reading, or learning wifely duties (TGW 167-70). "The good wyfe wold a pylgremage," however, contains virtually no religious instruction. The poem's advice is chiefly concerned with how a girl is to avoid appearing a strumpet, but does contain information about how to act on holy days:

> Doȝttur, in all company
> vppon þe hally day,
> Whebher þou wylt daunce or synge,
> or witt thy fellowys pley,
> Honge thy gordoll nott to lowe,
> but take þe knot a-way.
> Where no beydis a-bout þe,
> but hit fall for thyn a-raye.
> (GWp 37-44)

In these poems most of the advice about religious devotion is directed toward the moral aspect of a girl's behaviour. She must conduct herself properly and act devoutly so that she will be highly regarded.

Throughout The Book of the Knight, religion is of prime importance. The emphasis is on matters of spirituality and touches on the manifestation of physical actions only insofar as they are related to the girls' moral or spiritual state. Morals here are inseparable from religious spirituality. Most chapters contain direct or indirect reference to religion, and many take biblical stories as the vehicle for moral instruction. Landry advocates the virtues of prayer, serving God, attending mass, confession, and penance. For example, the story of the prophet Elisha whose prayers to God relieved the barrenness of a good woman, ends with this injunction:

> Wherfor putte youre diligence with humble and devoute hert to serue God, and holde the companie of good folke, of good leuing and of charitable werkes, and truste hem that counsaile you to vertu and worship; for all goodnesse comithe therby, as it befell vnto this good woman, as ye haue herde before.
> (BKT 95)

This particular piece of advice encapsulates Landry's whole philosophy about the moral instruction of girls. In The Book of the Knight all moral edification is seen in the light of religious teaching.

Emphasis on a girl's honour and reputation is found throughout this literature. "The Thewis off Gud Women" says that a woman's honour is "tendyr & slydder" and soon fades like a rose (TGW 8-11), and thus: "A woman suld ay have radour[a] / Of thinge that gref mycht her honoure" (TGW 12-13). A girl is told that keeping "defamyt company" damages her reputation (TGW 69-70). "How the Good Wijf" tells a girl to behave discreetly and properly when she is with a suitor:

---

[a] radour = fear

"For a sclaundre reisid ille / Is yuel for to stille" (HGW 36-37). Concern for a maid's reputation is also found in "How þe Goode Wyfe:" a girl is told to accept no gifts from a man because then she is beholden unto him and may lose her honour. This concern for reputation is important throughout a girl's life. She must keep her name untainted even when married: "Keep þe from synne, fro vilonye, & fro blame, / And loke þat þou beere þee so þat men seie þee no schame" (HGW 48-49). An "yuel name" brings nothing but "a foule fame" (Hgw 64-65), and this reflects poorly on a girl's upbringing and moral education.

There is also emphasis on reputation in The Book of the Knight, but it is less pervasive than in the various poems for girls. The threat of loss of reputation in Landry's work is secondary to the ubiquitous threat of a state of religious or spiritual imperfection. As there is great stress on wifely duty in Landry's book, it is important that a woman not acquire a bad reputation, though in the eyes of Landry, disworship does not at all reflect on the husband -- shame is the territory of the wife alone. If a woman disobeys her husband, deceives him, or even contradicts him, this "engendrithe suche thinge as after causithe disworshippe and shame" (BKT 96). The Book of the Knight is filled with tales of false or faithless wives who lose their reputation through grievous faults of their own. Often the women in these tales are further cursed by a punishing disfigurement which underlines their woeful state for all the world to see. And a

woman's loss of reputation is all the more shameful because it is coupled with a fall from religious grace.

The amount of advice about a girl's manners varies with each poem. There is very little material in "How the Good Wijf" devoted to a girl's manners. Presumably, if a girl's morals are pure, good actions will follow suit without having to be instructed. There are, however, several exceptions to this general tendency. For example, the girl is advised to walk and speak properly:

> And whan þou goist in þe way, go þou not to faste,
> Braundische not with þin heed, þi schuldris þou ne caste;
> Haue þou not to manye wordis; to swere be þou not leefe,
> For alle such maners comen to an yuel preef
> (HGW 60-63)

Apart from this admonition, the only other specific actions to be undertaken by the girl are to pay her servants on wages day (HGW 139), to drink moderately in public (HGW 74-76), to beat her children if they are saucy (HGW 190-191), to keep her keys in her possession at all times (HGW 133), and to start collecting items for her daughters' dowries from the time of their births.

The way a girl appears in public and behaves herself reflects her breeding. "Documenta Matris" is adamant in telling a girl she must dress herself appropriately. A woman must not bankrupt her husband because of her desire to appear well-dressed; this only arouses suspicion:

> Men will presoyme na gud treuly
> Bot þat scho dois it for paramour,
> And þus-gat faid sall hir honour.
> þarfor þe best thing is, I wat,

Is to be cled efter þair estat.
(DMF 64-68)

This advice is much the same as that found in "The Thewis off Gud Women." 'The good wyfe wold a pylgremage" is more direct in its advice to a young girl. She is told not to run "fro hous to house / lyke a nantyny gryce"[b] (GWP 15-16). In the street, a girl must cover herself modestly for fear of appearing shameless:

> Doȝttur, seyde þe good wyfe,
> hyde thy legys whyte,
> And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
> to make men have de-lytt;
> Thow hit plese hem for a tym,
> hit schall be thy de-spytt,
> And men wyll sey
> "of þi body þou carst but lytt."
> (GWP 49-56)

A girl is also told not to swear, and to temper her speech "& vse not monny tallis" (GWP 86).

Landry's courtesy book contains even less direct reference to manners than do poems such as "How the Good Wijf." Wherever manners are mentioned, they are seen in the light of their spiritual ramifications. Fasting, for example, is elsewhere (ie. in other texts) prescribed as proper conduct for reasons of health; Landry advocates it for religious reasons. He tells his daughters that fasting is necessary for prayer, "for a full stomake may not be holy & perfitly humble and deuoute" (BKT 5).

Concerning the matter of eating and drinking in general, Landry does not care how such tasks are performed, but rather why and when they are. Landry uses the biblical story of Samson as a vehicle for his own type of *Tischzuchten*. God has given Samson great strength because he has been raised to

[b] nantyny gryce = St. Anthony's pig

live moderately. Indeed, "excesse and gormandise in etyng and drinkinge werithe ayenst the body and the soule" (BKT 99) and will eventually lead to the seven deadly sins. In "The Thewis off Gud Women," the author echoes Landry's sentiments about eating:

> Dant nocht women our wantonly,
> Na feid þaim nocht our delygatly;
> Fore metis and drinkis delycyus
> Causs lichory: men sais thus.
> (TGW 71-74)

This advice is also found in "The good wyfe wold a pylgremage." A girl is to rule herself well in matters of eating and drinking because "lechery, sclanderinge, & gret dyssese" result from indulging to excess (GWP 145-148). Similarly, "How the Good Wijf" says that "if þou be ofte drunke, it falle þee to schame" (HGW 77). Landry, however, condemns drunkenness in women altogether; a drunk woman is "disposed to all manere vnclennesse and vices" (BKT 99).

Most of the courtesy poems for girls are vague when it comes to giving advice about how a girl is to entertain herself in public. But "How þe Goode Wyfe" and "Documenta Matris" provide some concrete advice for a girl. Not only is she to avoid going to the market and the tavern, she is told to stay at home and avoid base forms of entertainment:

> Ne go þou not to no wrastlynge,
> Ne ȝit to no coke schetynge,
> As it wer a strumpet oþer A gyglote,
> Or as A woman þat lyst to dote.
> Byde þou at home, my douȝter dere;
> (GWT 73-77)

"Documenta Matris" advises that a girl behave herself properly when out in public and not "till danss in-to þe ryng, / Na

oppinly in the rew to syng" (DMF 113-114).

Landry also takes a negative view of entertainment for women. They are advised to avoid going to jousts and feasts (BKT 25) because of any possible defamation they might incur. In relating the biblical tale of Queen Esther, Landry says that she eschews "diuerse plesaunceȝ, disportes, and other Ioyeuseie" because of her love for her husband, fear of sin, and the shame or reproach. Esther is obviously a model for women to emulate.

Unlike the other courtesy literature for girls, The Book of the Knight advocates education for women. This is particularly curious as Landry is not so much addressing girls in the stages of *infantia* or *puericia* as those in *adolescentia*.[12] By this stage, a girl's formal education (however scanty) would normally be complete. Of course, the education Landry advocates is ecclesiastical:

> And bi this good ensaumple that yong women, maydenes, shulde be putte vnto scole to lerne vertuous thinges of the scripture, wherethrough thei may the better see and knowe thaire sauuement, and to duall and for to eschewe al that is euel in manere ...
> (BKT 90)

Landry considers "loue fables" and other "wordely vanitees" useless and even dangerous, but an education based on the scriptures and saints' lives can do a girl nothing but good.

"The Thewis off Gud Women" is quite similar to some of the parental courtesy literature for boys and contains more general advice about a girl's behaviour than do the other courtesy poems. A girl must be "Ful of piete, and humylitee" (TGW 13) and "suld be chaist and cheritable" (TGW 225). A girl must always attend to her duties and be thrifty in running her household.

Above all, she must exhibit virtue, showing that she is worthy of respect and renown:

> Nocht nyss, proud, na our deligat,
> Na contyrfyt nocht our hie esstait;
> Fauoure na dedis of dishonoure,
> Kep worschip tyll al creatoure;
> Be nocht lefull tratlyngis to here,
> Nore to reherss quhai wald thaim speir.
> Tyll hir frendis obedyent bee,
> In gudly thingis that may supple;
> (TGW 21-28)

Most of the advice in "How the Good Wijf" consists of generalizations. These generalizations are predominantlyl concerned with the moral aspects of a girl's character. She is to love her husband and her neighbours; to be mild, meek and true; to stay at home and not talk to strangers; to be a good wife; and to be free of jealousy, covetousness, and excessive pride. Specifically, the girl is not to behave as a "gigge," a "strumpet," or a "gigggelot" [sic]. This advice is also repeated in "How þe Goode Wyfe," but the latter poem contains a stanza on envy not found in "How the Good Wijf:"

> Be þou not to enuyos,
> For drede thi ney3bors wyll þee curse:
> Enuyos hert hym-selue fretys,
> And of gode wekys hym-selue lettys.
> (GWT 107-110)

The Book of the Knight pays little attention to specific actions or manners. Even when Landry advocates specific patterns of behaviour, he does so in general terms. Apart from the two major themes of religious and wifely duty that run through the book, Landry deals with vices and virtues in general. He promotes the virtues of meekness, temperance, humility, proper bearing, courtesy, discretion, silence, truth, respect, patience, chastity, charity, and justice. Proper appearance and

dress are enjoined only insofar as they show a woman's respect for and devotion to God. All these virtues are emphasized both for their religious significance and for their requisite nature in terms of wifely duty. In most chapters, Landry discusses one or sometimes two of these individual virtues. But chapter 38 (subtitled by the editor, "Of Good Examples") is devoted to good examples of most of these virtues. In a sense, it is a synopsis of the entire work:

> And there be other wyse, that haue her herte and hope of God. And for the loue and fere that thei haue in hym, they kepe hem clene and fytithe ayenst temptaciones, and the braydes of the fyre of lecherye; and other that haue grace to thenk that they haue suffisaunce, and that is ayenst couetise. And there be other that haue free hert, true and iuste, and be not riotous; for who that sekithe ryot gladly, he metithe therwith, for many men for anger betithe hym selff with his owne staffe, and sekithe hym sorw from day to day. And God blessithe in the gospel the meke and the humblehert. And all these men that kepithe hem selff clene, and in the loue of God, and of his neighboures, sheuithe well who is her fader, and that is God the fader, of the whiche they kepe his comaundementis as holy chirche techithe them. And they haue free hert to witholde good ensaumples of lyff, and ioye perdurable, and of saluacion.
> (BKT 38)

There are as many instances of evil figures and actions in Landry's tales as there are virtuous ones. Not only does Landry want his daughters to know what is right and proper, but he also wants them to see what is evil and why it is wrong. Thus Landry's chapter on good examples is preceded by one on bad examples. Among the vices Landry condemns are quarrelling, rudeness, lying, carnal sin, lechery, luxury, sensuality, avarice, covetousness, flattery, vanity, (unnatural) beauty, a love of delicious or delightful things, and pride. A properly

educated girl must shun these things. If she does not, she is in danger of becoming morally corrupt. It is this emphasis on the moral state which runs through Landry's book. He pays little attention to practical matters because to him, a girl's morals are far more important than her manners. Manners are only an external reflection of the moral state, and can in any event be corrected. It is not so easy, however, to correct a girl's moral state once she has fallen from grace.

Although there are some passages to the contrary, the courtesy poems for girls and The Book of the Knight are more concerned with generalities than with specifics. Perhaps because of medieval woman's comparatively inferior status, society did not care so much about what she did as how her behaviour reflected her moral state. A woman didn't need to be trained in the proper execution of specific behaviour as did her male counterpart who was destined for a particular place in society. Instead, she needed only to know how to be an asset to her husband or family.

MISCELLANEOUS PARENTAL COURTESY LITERATURE FOR BOYS

The main distinction between miscellaneous parental courtesy literature and parental courtesy literature proper is that the miscellaneous literature contains advice which is not situation-specific. That is, the advice given in these poems is applicable to one's behaviour anywhere and at any time. The advice found in the parental courtesy literature proper is divided into certain specific categories which include table manners, education, behaviour in public, and basic religious devotion. This

distinction between situation-specific and non-situation-specific advice is the reason that parental courtesy literature proper is longer than the miscellaneous parental courtesy literature. General precepts can be presented in condensed form.

The category of miscellaneous parental courtesy literature contains variations on the little poem "The ABC of Aristotle." There are at least five extant examples of this type of poem, three of which have been edited.[13] These are short poems which use the alphabet as a mnemonic for learning general rules of proper behaviour. These are examples of courtesy literature distilled from a popular or oral tradition: written down in manuscript years apart, the basic structure and content are very similar.

Structurally, the poems are quite simple. Some of them begin with an introductory exordium either in verse or in prose.. However, it is not uncommon to find a corrupt version of the poem, such as "Lerne or be Lewde," consisting only of the mnemonic. The mnemonic poems proper, although in verse form, have no discernible rhyme scheme apart from their alliterative rhythms. They consist of 21 or 22 lines of verse, with each line except the last representing one letter of the alphabet.[14] There is an implicit "Be not" at the head of each line of the poems "Lerne or be Lewde" and "The ABC of Aristotle " while it is expressly stated in each line of "The Abce of Aristotill." The advice in each line generally consists of three parts: two admonitions in the form of adjectives, and one in the form of a verb. For example, "Lerne or be Lewde" advises a child to be

not "To Iettyng, ne to Iangelyng, and Iape nat to ofte" (LL 9). These poems make no mention of specific manners, and are of a general type advocating moral behaviour which is applicable to any situation.

The three printed poems were written down over a period of approximately 45 years but retain certain similarities. But there are differences among the poems suggesting the modifications undergone by courtesy literature during the fifteenth century. "Lerne or be Lewde" (c.1475)[15] lacks the exordium, "The ABC of Aristotle" (c.1430)[16] is a complete version, and "The Abce of Aristotill" (c.1470)[17] contains both the standard mnemonic and a different version which precedes it, and which contains an exordium and a short terminal verse.

The exordium which caps "The ABC of Aristotle" is very similar to that which stands at the head of the first part of "The Abce of Aristotill:"

> Wo-so wil be wise, And worshipe desireth,
> Lett hym lerne on letter, and loke on A-noþer
> Of Abce of Aristotill: non Argument Ageyn þat:
> And it is cowncell to clerkis & knyghtis a thousand;
> Yutt it myte A man Amend ful ofte,
> The lernynge of on letter, And his lif safe.
> Blame not Beerne þat the Abce made,
> But the wikkid will And the weke After;
> For it shall greve A good man, þow gilty be mendyd,
> Now herkeneth And hereth how þat I begynne
> (Abce Part 1, 1-10)

The early poem follows this version closely for the first six lines. Then it contains an additional three lines before returning to the lines printed above. The insert reads:

> For to myche of ony þing was neuere holsum.
> Reede ofte on þis rolle, & rewle ther aftir;
> Who-so be greued in his goost, gouerne him bettir;
> (ABC 7-9)

Interestingly, line 7 of "The ABC" is the same one found at the end of the concluding verse in the first part of "The Abce."

The poem in part one of "The Abce" contains 21 lines, one for each letter of the alphabet and a concluding line. These lines are generally alliterative, strongly resembling Anglo-Saxon poetic form. The poem is comprised mainly of advice relating to piety and religious devotion rather than of haphazard and unrelated advice. It is loosely unified by the religious theme:

> Dred god, And do well; þan nede þe not Dowte;
> Ese þine euen cristen; euer thynke on þine ende;
> Fle falsnes And foli; And for thi feith fight;
> Gete god þi gouernour, And grace shall the grete;
> Halow þi holi day, And heuen I the hote,
> In Ioye with owre Iustice, Ihesu so gentill.
> (Abc Part 1, 14-19)

The poem continues in much the same way until the final five lines. These are anomalous, containing advice for the proper rule of one's subjects.

The first line of the mnemonic of "The ABC" reads: "to amerose, to aunterose, ne argue not to myche." "Lerne or be Lewde" is similar but replaces this last element with "ne Angre the nat to muche." Breaking the typical pattern in which two adjectives are followed by a verb, "The ABC" has as its line for the letter E: "to elenge, ne to excellent, ne to eernesful neiþer." The corrupt "Lerne or be Lewde," by contrast, reads: "To Elenge, to Excellent, ne to Carefulle neythur." This shift from using a word starting with E to one starting with C is unusual. But it illustrates the plasticity of language in existence in the later Middle Ages. (Or perhaps it illustrates

a scribe's misreading). The eleventh line of these two poems is also different. The early version begins: "to looth for to leene," and the later version starts: "To Lothe, ne to Lovyng." There are other differences as well. Whereas the earlier version of "The ABC" uses the verbal injunction "ne use no new iettis," the later "Lerne or be Lewde" substitutes the adjectival phrase "ne to Newfangylle."

The mid-century "Abce" is virtually identical to the later "Lerne or be Lewde." However, the fifth line in the poem corresponds more closely to "The ABC" than to "Lerne or be Lewde," reading: "Be not to elenge, to Excellent, ne to erneful noþer." The seventh line of this version is completely different from either of the other versions. It reads: "Be not to Glosynge, ne to gelous, gay, & gape not to wide."

The final seven lines of each poem, while differing in specific words, are essentially the same. Line 18 of "The Abce" is different from that found in the other two poems. "Lerne or be Lewde" has the line: "To Straunge, ne to Steryng, ne Stare not abroode." Except for the spelling of certain words, this is virtually identical to the line in "The ABC." The corresponding line in "The Abce" is completely different, reading: "Be not to sadde, to sorry, ne sight not to deep." The only other striking differences are those encountered in lines 20 and 21. Here the lines are distinctly different:

> to venemose, ne to veniable, & voide al vilonye.
> to wielde, ne to wraþful, neiþer waaste, ne waade to depe,
>
> (ABC 20-21)

To Vengable, to Envious, and wasten at to muche;
To Wylde, to Wrathefulle, and Wade nat to depe;
(LL 20-21)

* * * *

Be not to venomous, to vengeable, ne wast not to moche;
(Abc 20)

The earliest version, "The ABC," is less true to form than the later versions, using four elements in line 21 instead of the usual three. "The Abce" combines two lines using two principal words beginning with the letter V and one with the letter W. "Lerne or be Lewde" appears slightly corrupt, using the letters V, E, and W in line 20. But on the whole, by 1475 this particular lyric had settled into a flowing form that was easily memorized by young children. Accessibility played an important role in the spread of courtesy literature.

TISCHZUCHTEN

There are several different types of parental courtesy literature for boys, and of these types, *Tischzuchten* are among the most common.[18] *Tischzuchten* are examples of courtesy poems which deal with table manners and etiquette. They are situation-specific, dealing with a boy's behaviour at the table or in the dining hall, and cover a broad range of instruction, moving from general precepts to specific admonitions. As meals and feasts were important in medieval life, instruction of this sort was thorough. The *Tischzuchten* deal with three different stages of dining: activity in the hall before sitting down to eat, dining *per se*, and post-prandial behaviour, though

the distinctions among them are ambiguous in some of the poems. The emphasis on these individual stages varies with the different poems, but most are concerned with a boy's manners at the table while eating.

There are seven principal *Tischzuchten* for young boys. These are "The Babees Book" (c.1475),[19] "Urbanitatis" (c.1460),[20] the Sloane Boke of Curtasye (c.1460),[21] Lydgate's "Stans Puer Ad Mensam" (c.1460),[22] "Stans Puer Ad Mensam, quod Kate" (c.1463),[23] the Magdalene Courtesy Poem (c.1460),[24] and the Oriel Book of Curtesye (c.1474).[25] Each text is different, but there are certain correspondences among them.

"The Babees Book" is the most comprehensive of these seven *Tischzuchten*. It deals with a boy's behaviour in the hall before dining in greater depth than do the other texts. In fact, some of the instruction in this tract verges on literature of the type found in treatises on household management. The child is told how to enter the hall properly and greet the other guests. The advice to salute the guests is also found in the Sloane Curtasye:

> Within þe halle sett on ayther side,
> Sitten other gentylmen as falles þat tyde;
> Enclyne þe fayre to hom also,
> First to the ryȝht honde þou shalle go,
> Sitthen to þo left honde þy neghe þou cast
> (SC 21-25)

Some of the instruction deals with how to converse with the other guests in the hall: the boy should look people in the eye when spoken to; he should speak reasonably and briefly; he should not interrupt people. It is unclear whether this refers to conversation before or during the meal, but the

advice is applicable at any time. One of the few precepts held in common by all the *Tischzuchten* is the advice not to gossip, chatter rudely, or make faces. The adage that children should be seen and not heard must have its origin in this sort of advice.

The majority of the advice in the sections of the *Tischzuchten* dealing with behaviour before dining concerns the body and its activity. Before he enters the hall, a boy must be clean:

> Desyre to be clenly after your degree;
> With vnwashyd hondys vnto your refectyon
> In no wyse com not, but yf they wassheid be.
> (MCP 41-43)

The child is not to chatter or look around, and is to "Kepe feete and fingeris and handes still in pese" (SP 7). The child must not scratch himself:

> Clawe not youre face ne touche not youre hede
> Wyth youre bare hande, sittyng at the table,
> For in norture that is reprouable.
> (OC 194-196)

In "The Babees Book" and both versions of "Stans Puer" the boy is also advised not to touch anything or to lean against posts or walls. It is a great disservice for a child to turn his back on a man: "youre bak eke in no way / Turn on no wihte" (BB 90-91). Not only must a boy's manners while eating be impeccable, his manners before he sits down to eat must also be above reproach.

Most of the information contained in the *Tischzuchten* is concerned with dining. Perhaps here more than in other courtesy literature, etiquette is of the utmost importance. Manners make

the man, and these tracts urge boys to behave as civilized gentlemen at the dining table rather than as crude field workers:

> Kutte nouhte youre mete eke as it were Felde men,
> That to theyre mete haue suche an appetyte
> That they ne rekke in what wyse, where ne when,
> Nor how vngoodly they on theyre mete twyte[c]
> (BB 176-179)

The advice in these sections deals with three different aspects of dining: the use of utensils and the handling of food, the act of eating, and table manners and etiquette proper.

All the *Tischzuchten* make at least some passing reference to the necessity of keeping one's cutlery and utensils clean. The trencher, whether of bread or metal, was supposed to be clean for each meal. The knife (the principal piece of cutlery at the time) was also to be kept clean and sharp for each meal: "your knyf withe alle your wytte / Vnto youre sylf bothe clene and sharpe conserve" (BB 136-137). Lydgate admonishes: "Brynge no knyves vnskoured to the table" (SP 58), and the longer version of "Stans Puer" tells a boy to keep his "spone clene from All maner of fylthe" (SPK 93). The knife was to be wiped clean between courses. The rules pertaining to utensils are only concerned with cleanliness. The positioning of utensils on the table and the proper way of holding them were either not as important to the medieval diner or the information was so commonplace as not to merit instruction.

Although there were evidently no hard and fast rules for the use of utensils, there were strict rules to be observed in the handling of food at the table. One of the important rules was that a boy not dip his meat directly in the salt

[c]twyte = hack

cellar. Instead, he is told to use a knife to obtain the salt:

> Touche not wyth mete salt in the saler,
> Lest folk Appoynt you of vncunnyngnesse,
> Dresse hit apparte vppon a clean tranchere
> (OC 211-213)

This rule (with minor variations) is also mentioned in "The Babees Book," "Stans Puer," and in the Sloane Curtasye. The boy is also told to cut his bread with a knife rather than breaking it: "Kutte withe your knyf your brede, and breke yt nouhte" (BB 141). The Sloane Curtasye gives rather more elaborate instructions for the cutting of bread, telling the boy to cut the top crust into four sections and the bottom crust into three. But as for reducing the bread into edible pieces, it was to be broken and not bitten:

> Byt not on thy brede and lay hit doun, --
> That is no curteyse to vse in town; --
> But breke as myche as þou wylle ete
> (SC 49-51)

A boy's behaviour while eating was moderated by certain precepts, some of which are common to most of the *Tischzuchten*. Each of the poems says that the boy is not to stuff his mouth full of food, and the Magdalene Courtesy Poem gives this particular injunction twice. In "Urbanitatis" this is stated succinctly: "Loke yn þy mowth be no mete / When þou begynneste to drynke or speke" (U 59-60). The Sloane Curtasye illustrates this precept somewhat more vividly:

> Let neuer þy cheke be Made to grete
> With morselle of brede þat þou shalle ete;
> An apys mow men sayne he makes,
> þat brede and flesshe in hys cheke bakes.
> (SC 57-60)

When the boy takes a drink he is told to wipe his mouth in

order not to offend those dining with him. Several of the *Tischzuchten* such as the Oriel Curtesye, the Sloane Curtasye and "Stans Puer" remonstrate against a boy's blowing on or slurping of his food.

There are other pieces of advice about eating found less commonly in these texts. The boy must eat his broth with a spoon (BB 143-144). Meat is to be cut properly, not hacked at (BB 176-179). It is rude to make sops of bread (SP 36). The boy must not gnaw on bones but must remove the remaining meat with a knife (OC 232-234).

Much of the information in the *Tischzuchten* has to do with table manners. The way a boy behaved at the table was a sign of his breeding. It was reprehensible to soil the tablecloth or use it as a handkerchief:

> Also kepe þy hondys fayre & welle
> Fro fylynge of the towelle,
> Ther-on þou shalt not þy nose wype
> (U 51-53)

This particular piece of advice is stressed in all the courtesy texts dealing with table manners. Another common piece of advice is that the boy not pick or scratch his nose, teeth, nails, or head.

Generosity is emphasized in several of the works. The boy is told to leave the choice morsels of food for the other guests and to share his food with others:

> Yif ye be seruid wyth metis delicate,
> Departith wyth youre fellowys, in gentyl wyse,
> The clarke seith, 'nature is content and saciate
> Wyth meane diete, and lytill shall suffice.'
> Departyth therfore, as I to you devise;
> Engrosith not vnto youre selven all,

For gentilnesse will ay be lyberall.
(OC 218-224)

By the same token, it is rude to ask for a plate or dish once it has been removed:

A dysche taken vp when that ye be replet,
Ye shulde not ayen call to be set adown,
But holde you content with þat ye haue ete.
(MCP 113-115)

There is a multitude of other advice found in the *Tischzuchten*. Both "The Babees Book" and the Sloane Curtasye advise a boy against leaning on the table with his elbows. "The Babees Book" tells a boy not to put his knife in his mouth, and the Oriel Curtesye says a boy is not to play with his utensils. The Magdalene Courtesy Poem gives the following advice about playing with pets at the table:

Loke allso þat ye be in no wyse assocyat
With a cat at your borde for no new faunglys.
Lett hym not pley with you as felow checkemate,
Whych is agayn nurture pleynly expressys.
Catte, hounde or oþer þat ben of vnclennes,
Handell not with honde when ye ben at þe tabyll,
Lest men call it preparatyf of a babyll.
(MCP 149-155)

The Oriel Curtesye tells a boy not to undo his belt even if he is full. He is also to break wind as quietly as possible at the table. If possible, the sound should be disguised as a cough. The long version of "Stans Puer" tells a boy not to swear and not to sleep at the table. These admonitions are usually followed by the author's telling the boy that he must behave properly in order to be considered well-mannered and worthy of renown.

"The Babees Book" and the long "Stans Puer" are the only two treatises which tell a boy how to act once the meal is

over. "Stans Puer" says:

> Crombys A-boute þi trencher, luke þat þou leue none,
> Bot clens þem A-wey with þi knyfe þat be clene.
> Obeysens þou make or þou ferther gone,
> That alle þat sytes at þe tabull þi curtasy may sene.
> (SPK 175-178)

The advice in "The Babees Book" is more detailed than this. The boy must clean his utensils and put them away. He must then wash himself before rising to attend to his lord. Some of this advice borders on that associated with stewards and ewerers and shows that a young boy being raised in an aristocratic household was not considered a social equal. He had to earn his place. And only after assimilating the information found in these texts was a boy able to consider himself well-bred.

GENERAL PARENTAL COURTESY LITERATURE FOR BOYS

The remaining parental courtesy literature for boys contains information pertaining to both the practical and the moral aspects of a boy's life and conduct. These treatises include "Ratis Raving," a long Scots poem (c.1450),[26] the first book of Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son (1445-50),[27] the English poem "How the Wise Man tauȝt His Son" (1430),[28] a different version of the same poem called "How a Wyse Man Taught Hys Sone, quod Kate,"[29] the Scots poem "Consail and Teiching þat the vys man gaif his sone" (c.1450),[30] the Oriel Curtesye (c.1474), and Part Two of the Sloane Curtasye. Most of these treatises can be considered together, but "Ratis Raving" and Peter Idley's Instructions are slightly anomalous and warrant

some examination as individual texts.

These works of parental courtesy literature are by no means comprehensive, but they do contain diverse information pertinent to the maturing middle or upper-class citizen. While some of the advice in these poems is very general, some of it is quite specific. For example, as making a good marriage was one of the important duties of a man, there is a good deal of advice in the literature about how to find and treat a wife. "How the Wise Man" urges a boy to find a wife but to "Take hir not for coueitise" (HWM 74). Instead, a meek, wise and courteous woman should be sought because she will provide a man with "more good seruice / þan a riccher" wife (HWM 79-80). "Ratis Raving," however, advises that a boy look for a wife who comes of a good family:

> Quharfor awyf gyf þow wyll haf,
> Tak lyklynes, atour the laif
> Of contynans, and of persone,
> Of gud lynag, and gud renown.
> For comonly thai follow kynd,
> And gretly to the moderis strind,
> Sen thar is bot the lyklyest
> Hald ay gud moþer dochter best
> (RR 935-942)

A wife must be cherished and treated with respect if she serves her husband well. But the advice as to what to do if a man's wife is disobedient or crosses her husband differs with each text. "How a Wyse Man" urges a husband to chastise his wife with love and awe:

> With loue and Awe þi wyfe þou chastys,
> And late feyre wordes be þi ȝerd;
> For Awe, it is þe best gyse
> Forto make þi wyfe Aferd.
> (WMT 41-44)

"Ratis Raving" advises that a husband "haf than hir dedis in disspyt" (RR 960) because the woman will be shamed. "How the Wise Man" takes a different view. It advises that a husband not displease his wife or call her names because it brings shame to him.

Religion is another important aspect of life as evinced in the courtesy literature. A boy was strongly urged to attend church and to be devout in his worship. Both "How the Wise Man" and the Oriel Curtesye stress the necessity and benefit of morning devotions: "When ye shall vppe ryse, / To wyrship god haue in youre memorie" (OC 22-23). "How a Wyse Man" elaborates on this, saying that a man who is devout will be rewarded for it:

> Bot fyrst worscype god on þe day,
> And þou wyll haue to þi mede;
> Skylfully, what þou wyll praye,
> He wylle þe send with-outen drede,
> And send þe all þat thow has nede.
> (WMT 25-29)

Proper conduct while in church is outlined in the Oriel Curtesye and Sloane Curtesye. Not only must a boy follow the prescribed ritual of kneeling, praying, and sprinkling himself with holy water, he must display appropriate reverence to the priest. A young man must also learn the scriptures and be prepared to go on pilgrimages in the name of his faith (SC 201-204). Above all, he must remember that "the lord aboue is he / Whom to serue is grettest liberte" (OC 77-78). The importance of religion in the fifteenth-century man's life is summed up neatly in two lines from Peter Idley's Instructions: "The love of God woll stablysshe and abide / And in all thy werkis be loodisman

and guyde" (PI 1049-1050).

A young man was expected to work hard and serve his master, whether he be king, nobleman, or merchant. A lord always deserves fealty and respect:

> What man þou serue, loke þou hym drede;
> His goode as thyn þou kepe and spare.
> Lete neuer thy will thy witte ouerlede;
> Be lowly in seruice and love his welfare;
> (PI 64-67)

The "Consail and Teiching" elaborates on the duties expected of a boy in the service of a lord. A young man must never cross his lord's opinion about anything, agreeing with what his lord both praises and condemns. He must speak highly of his lord at all times, and must defend his name from defamation. A man must never disobey or argue with his lord. As it says in "Ratis Raving," a man who serves his lord well "sal nocht fail a gud revard" (RR 1017).

Indeed, the importance of work cannot be understated. A man must never allow himself to fall into idleness and hence into sloth:

> And sonne, what maner man þou be,
> ȝeeue þee not to ydilnesse,
> But take good hede of þi degree,
> And þeron do þi bisynesse.
> (HWM 33-36)

According to the "Consail and Teiching," idleness and sloth bring "disspar & hevynes" (CT 234). Idleness will not only spoil a man, it will prevent him from doing proper service to his friends and family (PI 173-175).

Vices such as lechery, gaming, and tavern-haunting were to be avoided by a young man at all costs. A man of good

breeding was not to indulge in such pastimes for fear of harming his reputation and the trouble that would ensue:

> Be waar of vsinge of þe tauerne,
> And also þe dijs y þee forbede,
> And flee al letcherie in wil and dede
> Lest þou come to yuel preef,
> For alle þi wittis it wole ouer lede,
> And bringe þee into greet myscheef.
> (HWM 59-64)

In addition to decrying drunkenness and gambling, the "Consail and Teiching" advises against sleeping late in the mornings (CT 187). Peter Idley's Instructions advise against keeping the company of women and frequenting taverns because of the possible financial bankruptcy which might occur. Rather than telling his son to avoid being a drunkard himself, Idley advises his son against keeping company of drunk men because they tend to be unreliable, unreasonable, and lewd (PI 379-389).[31]

Some of the courtesy poems urge a boy to keep the company of good fellows. A young man aspiring to a position of power and prominence should not be seen with men of ill-repute. Men are known by the company they keep, and incline to such company as reflects their own natures and interests. A man can learn much that is virtuous from good men, but will only learn evil from men of dubious reputation:

> Thow draw the to gud company
> For al suppos wnwyss þow bee,
> ȝit sal þow men in al degre,
> And with Ill folk men vynis ay blam,
> And euer the end is ded or scham.
> (CT 28-32)

As Peter Idley tells his son, the "grettest richesse a man may haue / Is to gete a true frende" (PI 211-212). Thus a man needs to keep good company in order to find true friends

from whom he can learn.

This idea of keeping good company is also evident in the Oriel Curtesye. The author devotes five stanzas to telling his son not to keep the company of ill-mannered men:

> But be ware of vnthrefte ruskyn galaunte,
> Counterfetoure vncunnyng of curtesie,
> His tecches ben infecte wyth vilonye,
> Vngerde, vnblesside, seruyng at the table,
> Me semeth hym seruant ful pendable.
> (OC 451-455)

Men such as the "ruskin gallant" can teach others nothing but harm. It is best to avoid them because they have poor manners and reflect poorly on boys of good breeding.

Not only must a well-mannered boy keep good company, he must behave properly in public. When walking in the streets a boy must not act foolishly; he must be demure. Upon meeting other people, he must greet them nicely "wyth wordis of plesaunce" (OC 60). Courteous behaviour in public will also enhance his reputation. In several treatises the boy is enjoined to be nice to everyone, but particularly to women. The Sloane Curtasye admonishes the young boy to speak well of women. The Oriel Curtesye says a boy must be polite to and respectful of all women:

> To womanhode good kepe you take alway,
> And them to serue loke that ye haue an eie,
> Ther comaundementis, my childe, loke ye obey,
> Plesaunt wordis to them I warne you saye,
> And in all wyse do youre dilligence,
> To do them plesure, honoure, and reuerence,
> (OC 506-511)

Peter Idley urges his son to accept the counsel of women and cites several examples of biblical precedent to support his injunction (PI 491-525).

An important aspect of a boy's behaviour was his speech. He had to be careful of what he said. For example, the Oriel Curtesye says that while it is fine for a boy to speak, his speech must be relevant to the conversation at hand. The "Consail and Teiching" urges a boy to speak nicely because he can do much damage by talking nastily:

> Oyss fare langage in alkyne thinge,
> Harsk wordis generys myslovinge,
> And reul thi Word quhill þow art ȝonge,
> For lyf and ded lyis in thi twnge
> (CT 287-291)

Apart from these two general pieces of advice about speaking, the remaining parental courtesy literature stresses the importance of tact and discretion when speaking. The Sloane Curtasye advises against telling secrets to a shrew because it is liable to turn to slander (SC 245-248). "How the Wise Man" stresses the importance of discretion; if a boy tells tales he is likely to rue the consequences later:

> Be not to tale-wijs bi no wey,
> þin owne tunge may be þi foo;
> þerfore be waar what þou doist say,
> Where, & to whom, be ony wey,
> Take good hede if þou do seie ouȝt,
> For þou myȝte seie a word to-day
> þat .vij. ȝeer after may be for-bouȝt.
> (HWM 26-32)

The importance of holding one's tongue cannot be understated; this is mentioned at least three times in Peter Idley's Instructions. Idley emphasizes the good name or reputation which results when a boy speaks properly to both rich and poor. Idley also denounces liars who invent tales about other people. A boy may soon rue his actions if he speaks too quickly or harshly. Idley sums this up, saying: "Therefore of thy tonge

be no blabbe; / Vse to sey trouthe and not to gabbe" (PI 328-329).

The Oriel Curtesye contains some interesting and unique practical information for a young boy. It is the only example of this type of courtesy literature which gives advice about such things as secular education. The boy is told to play at "honest games" (OC 296) as opposed to those of "violent reporte" (OC 297). Any ribald or bawdy activity is strictly forbidden. Instead, a boy is urged to participate in such activities as harping, singing, dancing, and playing the lute. This is reflective of good breeding and will bring him good reputation. The author also advocates reading:

> Exersice youre-selfe also in redyng
> Of bokys enournede wyth eloquence;
> Ther hsall ye fynde both plesaunce and lernyng
> (OC 309-311)

The author of the Oriel Curtesye discusses the merits inherent in the works of various English writers. Reading Gower will inspire a boy with "corage" (OC 328). Chaucer should be read for many reasons, not the least because of his "delectable" (OC 347) skill in handling of form and content. In Hoccleve, a boy will find all the "vertue perteynyng to the nobles / Of a prince" (OC 361-362). And Lydgate is a poet whose "excellence" (OC 390) should be admired by all. According to the Oriel Curtesye, a boy can only profit from such a broad education.

In addition to giving advice about certain practical matters relating to a boy's conduct, the paternal courtesy literature advocates certain desirable moral qualities. In

such treatises as "Ratis Raving" and Peter Idley's Instructions, much of the moral teaching is inextricably bound up in the practical advice, and a lot of the moral edification is religious in tone. But other treatises, particularly the "Consail and Teiching" and "How the Wise Man," contain instruction for and information about general moral behaviour. Meekness was a virtue to be cultivated at all costs. "How the Wise Man" says that meekness and lowliness are desirable traits, especially if a man is rich in worldly goods. In fact, the more earthly riches a man has, the meeker he should be. The "Consail and Teiching" also advocates meekness, which, as the author says, comes from grace.

Honesty is another important moral quality in a boy or man. The Sloane Curtasye says: "Loke lyȝer neuer þat þou be-come" (SC 213). This idea is echoed in the "Consail and Teiching." It proposes the notion that if a boy wants to attain honour, he must always be truthful (CT 48-51). To break a pledge is not only dishonourable, it can lead to loss of reputation:

> Be nocht our lefull of thi treuth;
> For brokin faith oft brekis luf,
> And after folowis gret repruf:
> Suppos for lytill thing It bee,
> ȝit wyll men say he is leif to lee,
> And lytyll forfalt ass blame,
> And bringis aman sone in Ill name
> A man is sone brocht in to sclandyr
> (CT 146-153)

In addition to truthfulness, a man must possess a generous and forgiving nature. He must not be quarrelsome or rise to provocation. A tendency to anger is not an attractive trait

in a man (CT 117-126). Largesse of spirit must include an all-encompassing generosity. A man must be generous with regard to both spiritual and earthly matters. This is manifested in the admonition not to be covetous, for "cowatice is rut of al evill, / And makis obediens to the deuill" (CT 261-262).

Peter Idley's Instructions is a rather odd example of parental courtesy literature. It is a very long poem of 6251 lines, and is broken into two books, of which only the first is truly courtesy literature. The second book deals with the seven deadly sins and with sacrilege, and is a religious rather than a practical didactic text. Book One of the Instructions is not at all conventional. Structurally, the book differs slightly from the other courtesy poems. As it is based on two Latin poems,[32] there are Latin sub-headings for many of the sections. This is unusual in that individual subjects are generally not demarcated in courtesy literature.[33] Other than this, the Instructions consists of regular seven-line stanzas in Rhyme Royal (A B A B B C C).

One of the features that makes the Instructions notable is Idley's exhortation to his son to pursue a career in law. This sort of advice is rare in courtesy literature. As most of the paternal courtesy literature is aimed at boys entering the service of noblemen, little thought is given to a boy's intended occupation once his apprenticeship is over. But Idley urges his son to consider a legal career:

> I conceyve thy witte bothe goode and able,
> To the lawe, therfore, now haue I ment
> To set the, if þou wilt be stable

And spende thy witt þat god hath sent
In vertu with goode entent
(PI 127-131)

Idley impresses upon his son the fact that there is "grete worship" in being a lawyer. Not surprisingly, the final emphasis is on virtue and morals. A career in law can help turn a man from the pursuit of vice to that of virtue. And as those who have no knowledge of goodness are miserable, a virtuous life will serve a man into his old age.

The perspective of the Instructions is also somewhat odd in places. Idley's instructions for proper behaviour are oblique because he couches them in terms of reference to other people. Once Idley starts to advise his son about taking counsel of others (keeping company with, talking to, and taking advice from), the shift in perspective is introduced. When Idley advises his son not to keep counsel of certain types of people, he not only condemns these people, but is also telling his son not to act in such a manner because of the resulting consequences. For example, Idley tells his son to avoid the company of a drunk man rather than telling him not to be a drunkard himself:

Also of a dronken man be ware that best,
ffor he can in no wyse counceill hele:
His wittes be froo hym so berefte,
And than he telleth out euery deell.
How shold he than with counceill deele
That hath neither witt ne reasoun;
He is full perleous in ony season.

Therfore be ware of hym in ony wyse,
ffor a man dronke is apte to all synne
And to all lewdenesse þat man can deuyse.
He þat hym vseth hath witte full thynne.
(PI 379-389)

Using this device, Idley makes his point very succinctly. This method of instructing his son to avoid the counsel of undesirable men extends to such reprobates as men who are full of ire, youth, covetousness, haste, duplicity, flattery, smooth speech, fear, obsequiousness, and foolishness.

Idley's work is remarkable in that it is broader in scope than any of the other courtesy poems. Idley himself is aware of the larger political, social, and economic situation around him, and imparts relevant advice about such matters to his son. In the Instructions, Idley discusses war, its inherent evils and its occasional necessity. He is aware of both the economic and political ramifications of war. Both titles and riches are lost in war. And if a man is of a low station or degree, he can never hope to advance after the war is over. For practical reasons, Idley sees it as foolish to risk one's life in war. Nevertheless, Idley knows that there are certain mitigating circumstances which necessitate participation in war. If pressed, a man must fight to defend his faith or religion:

> In certen causes it is leefull to fight:
> Oon is for the believe of oure cristen feith
> Whiche by enheritaunce is thy verri right,
> Manly to werre with all thy full myght,
> And rather to aventure thy body to dye
> Than froo thy feith ony tyme to wrie.
> (PI 786-791)

Idley reinforces this by stating that God rewards those who fight for their faith, and he provides several biblical exempla to support this. The second condition which justifies fighting is when a man is fighting for his "kyng and the Reawmes right"

(PI 855). Patriotism is an important factor in war. The third reason a man should fight is self-defense: if he is challenged by an enemy, it is better to fight than to retreat and appear a coward.

The remainder of Peter Idley's Instructions is akin to "Ratis Raving." It deals with virtues and moral issues, but supports its moralizing with concrete practical illustrations. There are more religious overtones in this material than in the previous 900 lines. Here Idley discusses clemency and piety, hope, charity, the love of God, the love of a man's neighbours, the nature of love, the dangers of love, earthly power, and the power of God. This last section is reminiscent of Landry's Book of the Knight.

"Ratis Raving" is another atypical example of the category of paternal advice. Although it does contain sections of strictly typical material, the poem predominantly consists of odd sections of advice. "Ratis Raving" is 1814 lines long and is comprised of rhymed couplets. It is well organized, having a separate 98-line prologue and sections which are concerned with particular subjects. The prologue is not unlike the classic epic invocation to the gods. "Ratis Raving" is a strongly religious poem and is saturated with references to God and the Bible throughout.

The poem proper begins with the advice that in order to attain a state of grace, a boy must not abuse his five senses. While dealing with sight, sound, and smell, "Ratis Raving" more closely resembles a dietary or health manual than typical parental courtesy literature:

The third wertew is smelinge
Of nes, that makis the knawleginge;
Quhilk is weil smeland suet odore,
And quhilk is stinkand aire vnpure:
It suld be tendyr and kepit weill,
A tyme a man may sic odore feill;
Sa weill smeland and swilk thinge,
It may make syk recomforting
Tyll hed and hart and al the laif
Quhar throw a sekman heil may have:
And he that is baith hail and ferre
May site corrupyt ayris feir
As at his hart and at his hed,
That na man may hyme sauf fra dede.
(RR 153-166)

In discussing the fourth and fifth senses, the author cleverly manages to incorporate practical advice into his sermon. He talks about the necessity of speaking properly so as not to abuse the tongue. This is repeated in the discussion of the sense of touch, which is supported by an historical exemplum.

Following this is a discussion of the seven cardinal virtues. When discussing each virtue, the author provides a contrast of extremes, talking about the vices into which a man can fall if he is not careful. These states are discussed in a relatively general manner, and are only occasionally supported by concrete examples. The virtues in question are fortitude, honesty, prudence, temperance, faith, hope, and charity. This section is followed by one discussing the various sins or "wrang determinacioune" (RR 774) which pervert a man's reason. These are excessive joy, great sorrow, great fear, ire, and ignorance. This section too is reminiscent of the Book of Vices and Virtues and isn't really exemplary of parental courtesy literature as defined in the opening chapter.

The last section of "Ratis Raving" (RR 1098 *ff.*) consists

of a discussion of the seven ages of man. There is little material relevant to a discussion of courtesy literature here. The section is a general discussion rather than a man's advice to his son, but there are occasional exceptions. The boy is advised to "set nocht [his] happynes / In na syk plays" (RR 1254-1255) as games of dice and chess. He is told that some women paint themselves, and that he must be certain of the essential goodness of a woman because beauty is transient: "Sen bewte may nocht duel alway, / Be sykire of bownte gif þ[o]u may" (RR 1300-1301). The boy is also told not to besmirch a woman's honour, friends, kindness, or honesty. Again there is an admonition against avarice (RR 1366-1379), and an exhortation to virtue (RR 1769-1773). But this section deals more with how a man ages and what stages he goes through than with how he is to behave in his various ages.

Although there is not a prolific amount of printer paternal courtesy literature, the surviving examples are representative of the basic etiquette and instruction for young people raised in the Middle Ages. The pieces are reflective of the behaviour expected of children in certain situations. The literature for girls tends to be more general than that intended for boys, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that much of the instruction was given to both sexes. Parental courtesy literature for girls tends to focus more heavily on moral aspects of behaviour than on manners *per se*, but it does contain some rudimentary information necessary for a broad range of social situations in which a girl might find herself. The literature for boys

focuses more on external behaviour patterns or manners because a boy's reputation rested on his ability to act properly in social situations. A boy's ability to raise his status socially was greatly enhanced by his appearing genteel and well-educated. As there are several very similar pieces of courtesy literature in each sub-category, the information about morals and manners must have been commonly passed down orally from generation to generation before being written down. There is more surviving courtesy literature for children than for other members of society, but didactic literature of this sort was by no means limited only to the children of middle-class society.

LITERATURE OF HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

The second important category of courtesy literature is that of household management. It differs from the parental courtesy literature in that it is much more technical, with instruction and advice having little to do with morals. These works were intended for particular members of society whose function was executing certain duties, and contributing to the hierarchical social order. The literature primarily consists of various treatises for serving men,[1] but also includes household ordinances. Although it describes the offices and functions of servants who are not themselves members of the middle or upper classes, this literature can be classified as courtesy literature because it deals indirectly with the nobility. The literature was aimed at contributing to the upkeep of the upper or middle class. A man's status in society was reflected by the quantity and quality of the servants he kept to run his household.[3]

There is much variation among the treatises because of the large number of different servants required to staff and service a lord's manor. As is outlined in "A Book of Precedence,"[4] different noblemen were allowed to keep different types and numbers of servants. The treatises generally describe the duties of each servant in exacting detail. Obviously, some of these works were intended for those to whom life in the domestic service of a lord or nobleman was unfamiliar. The treatises contain an awareness of precedence among the servants of the household as well as an awareness of the respect accorded

the lord or ruler.

The literature of household management dating from the fifteenth century includes "A Generall Rule to Teche Euery Man to Serue a Lorde or Mayster,"[5] "Bp. Grosseteste's Household Statutes" (1450-60),[6] Book Three of the Sloane Curtasye,[7] John Russell's Boke of Nurture (1450-70),[8] and Edward IV's Liber Niger or Black Book (1471-72).[9]

Because of the multitude of servants in a noble household, the way each treatise approaches its subject is different. The prose "Generall Rule" details the duties expected of various servants at meal times. "Grosseteste's Statutes," another work in prose, lists its advice (some of which is general, some of which is specific) in point form. The Sloane Curtasye delineates the offices and duties of some twenty-five servants. Both Russell's Boke of Nurture and Edward IV's Black Book are lengthy works which detail the offices of various servants as well as providing information about other duties. As there is such disparity among the works, they must be examined individually and not collectively. These texts are, on the whole, longer than those of parental courtesy literature, and cannot be examined here in great detail because of space constraints.

MINOR WORKS CONCERNING HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

As Edward IV's Black Book and Russell's Boke of Nurture are exhaustive works of household management, they can be regarded as the major works of this type of courtesy literature. The other tracts, dealing only with limited aspects of house-

hold management are, in comparison, minor works. This classification does not imply distinctions of relevance, but distinctions of length.

"Bp. Grosseteste's Household Statutes" is a short prose work of five MS. pages, written in the form of advice to the lord of a household, and contains fifteen different precepts concerning household management. At the head of the tract is the following injunction:

> let alle men be warned þat seruen ȝou, and warning be ȝeue to alle men that be of howseholde, to serue god and ȝou trewly & diligently and to performyng, or the wyllyng of god to be performed and fulfyllydde. (GHS 328)

This sets the tone for the points of advice which follow. The first seven precepts deal with the general state of the servants of a household. They should be devout, respectful, honest, virtuous, clean, and "of goode maners" (GHS 328). Unkempt, dishonest, and disrespectful servants are a disgrace. The remaining eight pieces of advice are related to a greater or lesser degree to the proceedings at meal times. The alms are to be collected and kept for the indigent and the sick and are not to be consumed by the servants. There are to be no meals eaten in private, "For of suche comethe grete destruccion, and no worshippe therby growythe to the lord" (GHs 332); everyone must eat in the great hall. (Women, of course, are to dine elsewhere.) The panter, butler, yeoman, and steward are all to appear at the table and serve the lord and whatever guests he may be entertaining. The lord should be generous with his food and should share it with others. The servants are to be

treated fairly, but with a firm hand.

The importance of meals during this period can be attested to by the number of tracts (both those of parental advice and those concerning household management) devoted to them. The "Generall Rule" is one more such tract. It is a short work, covering seven folios, recto and verso, and is written in prose. Rather than listing the offices of the servants and their duties in the form of a catalogue, the "Generall Rule" describes a particular situation and the various duties associated with it. The majority of the piece is devoted to the duties to be performed at meal times by the different servants (principally the marshall, but also by the usher, yeoman, groom, ewerer, sewer, and carver). The treatise begins with the general instructions for the preparation of the hall, including such details as tending to the furniture and the laying of a fire. A great deal of the treatise is devoted to the functions performed during the meal itself. These include the marshall and the sewer's duties in helping the lord prepare for his meal by washing up, the serving of the first course by the marshall, sewer and squires, preparation of the alms, serving of the second course, and post-prandial ministrations. This is followed by instructions about tending to the napery, ewery, and furniture.

Although the "Generall Rule" describes the duties undertaken by several different servants, it concentrates more heavily on those of the marshall, an important member of the lord's retinue. In addition to being the head servant in attendance at meal times, he has duties outside the realm of the kitchen

and dining room. His duties as overseer of the lodgers are manifold:

> ... and also he shall assigne þem bred, ale, wyne, wex, talowe, and fewell to þer logynge after þe season of þe yere, and þer degrees, and rekyn for it dayle and wokely as þe lordes bookes be made. (GR 15)

The marshall is also entrusted with the office of staff disciplinarian who "hathe poure to correcte all suche as dothe grete offences wythin þe howse or wythoute" (GR 15). (The usher, it is noted, has this power when the marshall is absent.)

The body of the text proper concludes with a detailed description of how drink is to be dispensed by the servants. Following this are two short passages: one is dedicated to the order in which fish are to be served, and the other consists of instructions for a carver.

Book Three of the Sloane Curtasye consists of 500 lines in verse and is in the form of a catalogue. Although substantially shorter than the Black Book or Boke of Nurture, the Sloane Curtasye is too long to cite from or to describe in great detail. Other than the Black Book, the Sloane Curtasye delineates the greatest number of domestic servants and their offices among all the literature of household management. But unlike the Black Book, the Sloane Curtasye draws no distinction between the servants of the upper and lower households. The Sloane book describes the offices of servants connected with diverse aspects of the household. These are the porter, marshall, butler, grooms of the chamber (who include the usher, yeomen, and wardrober), steward, controller, surveyor, kitchen clerk, chancellor,

treasurer, rent receiver, avener (along with the farrier, grooms and pages), baker, huntsman (and feuterer), ewerer, panter, almoner, sewer, cook, carver, and chandler.

The duties of each servant are set out in great detail. The porter hires horses at "Foure pens a pece" (SC 376). The marshall, who is in charge of the household ordering and reckoning, counts "Iche messe at vj^{d}" [sic] (SC 413). The grooms who prepare the chambers make mattresses "ix fote on lengthe" and "vij fote ... brode" (SC 436-437). The wardrober "layes hom þen opon a fourme, / And foteshete þer-on" (SC 485-486) upon which the lord sits while changing into his clothes. The rent receiver in looking after the lord's dwellings charges "sex pons ... to feys" (SC 598). The avener feeds the horses "two cast of hay, / A pek of prouande on a day" (SC 607-608). The baker will bake twenty loaves of bread "of a lunden buschelle" (SC 625). The sewer is told:

> Yf þo syluer dysshe wylle algate brenne,
> A soteltė I wylle þe kenne,
> Take þe bredde coruyn and lay by-twene,
> And kepe þe welle hit be not sene;
> (SC 757-760)

The chandler snuffs his wax candles (the only type allowed in chambers) with "close sesours" (SC 830). Each of the duties is described with this sort of precision and attention to detail and leaves no doubt as to exactly how it is to be executed.

An interesting if anomalous minor treatise on household management is Lydgate's "A Tretise for Lauandres."[10] It is a short informal piece reminiscent of the mnemonic "ABC of Aristotle." The poem (c.1450) is 21 lines long and serves

an instruction for washing clothes, distinguishing three stains and their solutions. There are three Rhyme Royal stanzas with a Latin couplet interposed between lines 14 and 15. The first two stanzas are general, telling launderesses that it is their duty to keep their ladies' apparel clean. The third stanza is the important one, providing the advice about how to clean particular stains:

> Of wyn away the moles may ye wesshe,
> In mylk whyt; the fletyng oyly spott
> Wyth lye of beenes make hit clene & fresshe.
> Wasshe with wyn the feruent inkes blot,
> All oder thynges clensed well, ye wot,
> Wyth water cler, is purged & made clene,
> But thes thre clense, wyn, mylkes, and beene.
> (TL 15-21)

Although isolated and unusual, the "Tretise for Lauandres" is probably indicative of a fair amount of courtesy literature for household management carried down orally or written down and subsequently lost.

MAJOR WORKS CONCERNING HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

Of the major works of courtesy literature concerning household management, John Russell's Boke of Nurture is the most interesting. The work is comprised of 1250 lines and is in rhymed couplets. The Boke of Nurture is notable because it takes the form of a conversation between an experienced marshall and a young man who aspires to enter the world of domestic service. This particular device is innovative and is unique among the many examples of courtesy literature. Although Russell's treatment of his subject is original, it apears that the Boke of Nurture is a reworking of an earlier text

(possibly oral) with which Russell first became acquainted as a young man.

While the Sloane Curtasye gives a list of servants and their offices, the Boke of Nurture combines instruction and description. Russell discusses the duties associated with the offices of panter or butler, carver, and marshall or usher. When the young man first meets Russell, he (the young man) asks Russell to teach him "the office of buttiler ... trewly pantere or chamburlayne, / The connynge of a kervere, specially" (BN 41-42). This the narrator does, supplementing his instruction with assorted information concerning the running of a household. By choosing to be selective about the office he describes, Russell is able to provide a wealth of detail not found in most other courtesy literature.

The first broad section of the Boke of Nurture deals with the offices of the panter or butler. This section outlines the duties expected of a panter and provides detailed information about aspects of household management related to the servant. The young man is informed as to the equipment required of a panter (three knives, salt in the proper cellar, appropriate napery) and is told how to use it. He is told how to perform such duties as laying the table, pouring wine, tending to his lord's table, and wrapping bread.

In addition to the conventional material found here, there is a wealth of extraneous information provided for the aspiring panter. He is told what fruit to serve before and after the meal, and is lectured on the properties and uses of cream,

not youre handes in youre hosen youre codware for to clawe, / nor pikynge, nor trifelynge ne shrukkynge as þauȝ ye wold save: (BN 286-287). The servant must not clean dusty bowls by licking them (BN 295). He must not breathe on his lord if his breath is foul (BN 302). He is also advised to "alle wey be ware of [his] hyndur part from gunnes blastynge" (BN 304). The servant must eschew these and other ill "condicions" if he wants to attain "worshippe."

The second broad section deals with the office of a carver. This is the longest part of the Boke of Nurture and is mainly concerned with meals and the various foods to be served. The section begins with Russell's advice for carving:

> Sett neuer on fysche nor flesche beest nor fowle, trewly,
> Moore þan ij. fyngurs and a thombe, for þat is curtesie.
> Touche neuer with youre right hande no maner mete surely,
> but wyth your lyft hande as y seid afore, for þat is goodlye.
>
> (BN 325-328)

Russell also tells the servant how to slice various loaves of bread for particular purposes. The boy is instructed how to carve specific types of "metes þat byn gross" (BN 461), including brawn (pork), venison, beef, poultry, game and other assorted birds, and rabbit, as well as the various baked meats. He also teaches his disciple how to carve "fish" -- a broad term covering all manner of fish, eels, mollusks, crustaceans, and delicacies such as beaver, whale, and porpoise. These instructions include interesting information about how to prepare, cook, and serve the food. There is also a brief section devoted to the duties of a sewer, but there is nothing novel about

the information provided.

As well as providing instruction about how to carve various meats, Russell describes certain categories of food and includes sample menus for meals in which he lists the order of food to be served in each of the three or four courses. Each course is accompanied by a "sotelte."[11] However, not all food is edible or desirable, and the carver must be able to recognize "fumositees" or indigestible meats. Russell provides a mnemonic (BN 356-360) to help the carver remember which foods are inadvisable to eat, and later warns the boy of the dangerous tendency of experimental cooks to use inferior products in inventing new dishes. The carver must also know which soups or potages and which sauces are to be served with particular meats. A carver must be familiar with every aspect of meal preparation.

The last major section of Russell's Boke of Nurture contains information related to the offices of chamberlain, marshall, and usher. These are the servants who attend to the lord's personal needs and cares. The chamberlain prepares and lays out his lord's clothes, dresses his lord and combs his hair, prepares his pew in church, makes the bed, lays the fire and tends to his lord's privy. The office of a wardrober is essentially identical to that of the chamberlain. The chamberlain must also know how to bathe his lord and put him to bed. This brief section contains instructions for the preparation of a medicinal bath for the cure of diseases and skin afflictions.

The office of the marshall or usher is dealt with in a very perfunctory manner. The relevant sections opens with the following passage:

> The office of a connynge vschere or marshalle withowt fable
> must know alle estates of the church goodly & greable,
> and excellent estate of a kynge with his blode honorable:
> hit is a notable nurture connynge, curyouse, and commendable.
>
> (BN 1002-1005)

This is followed by a list of precedence containing 53 different officers of rank. The marshall must also know the proper order when seating such guests at dinner. He must always bear in mind that rank or position is more important than wealth, and he must act accordingly.

The other major work in the category of household management is the Black Book of Edward IV. Although the work was compiled in 1471-72, it wasn't actually written down until about 1478.[12] Despite its unfinished state, the Black Book is the longest surviving example of this type of literature. As it was influenced by the Ordinance of Edward III, and was written as an historical record, it is very different in tone from Russell's Boke of Nurture. Essentially the Black Book is an exhaustive catalogue of the various offices, duties, and allowances of the members of the royal household. It contains no extraneous information about the servant's offices of the type found in Russell's work.

After a relatively lengthy introduction praising historical examples of royal magnificence and munificence, the Black Book describes the offices of those associated with the household. As financial matters are of importance in the Black Book, the author lists the expenses and allowances associated with nine different types of aristocratic household. The first half

of the book deals with the inhabitants of the "Domus Regie magnificencie."[13]

Following this, the duties, services, expenses and allowances of the various offices are described. Unlike the Boke of Nurture or the Sloane Curtasye, the Black Book contains no information about how the various duties are to be performed by the servants. It merely lists the duties of each office without going into any detail. The Black Book is not intended for those wanting to join the king's service; it is intended for other rulers as a yardstick for comparison.[14] There is a strong emphasis on financial considerations because cost-effectiveness was an important part of running a large household. That the Black Book is much wider in scope than any of the other treatises on household management is evident from the offices it lists. Discussion is not limited to the dining hall, the bedroom, and their respective attendants. The Black Book lists the servants and duties associated with such diverse offices as the jewel shop, the barber shop, and the royal surgery.[15]

The second half of the Black Book deals with the "Domus Providencie" or household below stairs. It contains discussion of certain servants such as the steward, treasurer, controller, cofferer, and sundry clerks. But the majority of this half of the book is concerned with the different offices of the household such as the counting house, bakehouse, cellar, buttery, pitcher and cup house, spicery, confectionary, chandlery, ewery and napery, and laundry. Much of the material here is more technical than that found in the first half of the book dealing

with the upper household. For example, here there is such informations as the oaths taken by the treasurer and controller, as well as the regulations of the counting house. Here again there is no instruction associated with any of the duties; information is methodically listed for posterity.

The literature of household management is almost exclusively cincerned with manners as opposed to morals. Servants (apart from pages serving apprenticeships in noble households) were only judged on their behaviour as it related to executing their various duties. The literature of household management consists of instructional material whose aim is only to ensure that servants are an asset to the household. Servants were not expected to raise themselves socially, and good breeding and morals were of no consequence in their instruction. Stylistically, the literature of household management shows more invention than does the parental courtesy literature. "Grosseteste's Household Statutes" is epistolary in style and Russell's Boke of Nurture is in the form of a dialogue. This inventiveness is welcome because of the otherwise dull nature of the works.

In a sense, the literature of household management is fringe courtesy literature: it does not deal with both the moral and mannerly aspects of behaviour, and it is not intended for actual members of the nobility. However, its connection with the members of noble households renders it a category of courtesy literature which cannot be overlooked.

COURTESY LITERATURE FOR ADULTS

The last important category of courtesy literature is that of literature written for adults (or, more precisely, for gentlemen). Less courtesy literature for adults was written in English between 1425 and 1475 than for children and servants. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, the majority of the instruction for men consisted of treatises about chivalry such as The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye, The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, Knyghthode and Bataile, and The Boke of Noblesse. Many of these were reprinted once the printing press was developed in England. But there was no real resurgence of the litereature of courtesy for men until the sixteenth century with Thomas Elyot's The Book of the Governor, and the works of such continental writers as Castiglione, della Casa, and Erasmus. What little courtesy literature for adults found its way into English was most often translated from foreign works.

The most important surviving works of this type are the several versions of the Secretum Secretorum, a mirror for princes which outlines how a prince ought to take care of himself, how to behave, and how to be an effective ruler. Less important examples of courtesy literature for adults consist of dietaries or health manuals which give advice about eating, bathing, dressing, medicine, and other sundry matters. Other pieces of courtesy literature for adults are concerned with leisure activities and related matters, but will not be discussed here for reasons given below.

SECRETUM SECRETORUM

The Secretum Secretorum was originally an Arabic work containing Aristotle's advice to Alexander. It was first written down in the tenth century and was subsequently translated into Greek, Latin, and French. The Secretum Secretorum is a mirror for princes[1] containing all the information necessary for a ruler (including advice about health, diet, physiognomy, and politics). In a broad sense, the Secretum Secretorum is epistolary in form. In the introductory material of the more complete versions, there are letters between the emperor Alexander and his adviser Aristotle. Alexander asks Aristotle for advice concerning his leadership; unable to come in person with his reply, Aristotle sends his advice to Alexander in the form of a book, the Secretum Secretorum (of Secret of Secrets):

> And this boke made that Aristotle in his age and feblesse of his body, bicause that nature souffised not in hym to take the peyn of laboure, ne to ride ne for to perfourme such thynges as Alexandre had charged and gyven to hym in commaundement. (Gv 255)[2]

Much of the advice in the various versions of the Secretum Secretorum is given in the first person and is addressed to Alexander in the form of "you" (thou, þou, yow, etc.).

There are five extant English versions of the Secretum Secretorum dating from the period 1425 to 1475, four of which are translations from Latin, and one of which is a translation from French. As the works all have an original common source, they are very similar. The original work was of considerable length, and some of the English translations are very nearly

complete while others consist of relatively short excerpts. The five mid-fifteenth century English versions of the Secretum Secretorum are "The Booke of Goode Governance and Guyding of the Body,"[3] the Ashmole version of "The Secrete of Secretes,"[4] the "Decretum Aristotelis,"[5] Shirley's "The Governance of Kynges and of Prynces"[6] and "The Booke of Gouernaunce of Kinges and Princes."[7] These versions are all in prose, but there is at least one later version in verse.

The Ashmole "Secrete" is the most complete of the five translations and is comprised of ten different books. The books deal respectively with the qualities of a leader, health, the conservation of health, the four seasons, health and the body, plants and stones, justice, the concerns of a leader, other members of court, and physiognomy. These books can all be conveniently grouped into two broad categories: those associated with the personal and the public realms. The material associated with the personal realm consists of information about health, the body, and related matters. The material dealing with a leader's duties, qualities, and concerns for his court and subjects is classified as that of the public realm. Each of the other versions contains material corresponding to that found in the Ashmole "Secrete."

The personal material in the Secretum Secretorum is of historical as well as literary interest. It reflects medieval beliefs about and practices of medicine and health. As physical and mental health were seen to be intimately connected, the importance of a sound body could not be stressed enough.

Activities to promote health and combat sickness were executed with such seriousness that they became rituals, and added another dimension to the office of a leader. This dimension can be viewed as the behaviour of personal ritual. As with other types of behaviour inculcated by courtesy literature, the behaviour of personal ritual contains elements of both morals and manners and has its basis in practicality.

The sections of the Secretum Secretorum which deal with the person of the king or leader are ultimately directed toward the preservation of health. The "Governance and Guyding," which excerpts fifteen doctrines of precepts from the larger Secretum Secretorum dealing with health, begins: "This booke [was] made for the rule and gouernaunce of mannis body to kepe him in helth and good disposicion of body" (GG 3). The importance of this is explained in the "Decretum Aristotelis" which says that that "power of mans persone cane not be hade but by might of heele" (DA 221). A leader, whether he be a king or a nobleman, was only able to execute the duties of his office effectively if he was in good health (AS 48).

Good health consisted of the balance of opposite elements and of the four humours or complexions of the body. In order to maintain a state of inner harmony, a man had to nourish his humours with the appropriate food and drink and to purge himself of internal "yll humors and corrupcions" (Gu 334). The preservation of health was also to be attained through personal temperance and moderation:

> ... he þat eschuweþe and kepeþe him frome superfluytate

> and excesse, and of indigence, keping moderatly equalité and temporance, he shal haue heele hollye, and long dayes.
>
> (DA 223)

In many ways, this temperance was best exemplified by abstinence.

The definition of good health and information about its preservation are found in the two longer versions of the Secretum Secretorum (the Ashmole "Secrete" and the "Gouernaunce") and in the "Decretum Aristotelis." The information serves as the introduction to the material concerned with personal behaviour in the former treatises. In the "Decretum Aristotelis" it acts as a conclusion which follows the preceding sections about the king in his role as a public figure. The "Governance" manuscript breaks off while talking about the king's public role, information which precedes the sections on personal behaviour in most versions of the Secretum Secretorum.

Following the introductory material about the constitution of good health and its preservation is material dealing with daily rituals. This information is practical in nature, and illustrates in some detail how a man is to behave if he wants to conserve his health. Only three of the treatises contain this information: the Ashmole "Secrete," the 'Gouernaunce," and the "Governance and Guyding." These daily rituals consist of set patterns of behaviour to be undertaken by a man upon rising, when dining, and between meals.

Upon rising, a man is advised to stretch himself and comb his hair in order to release the "fumositeis" (GG) or "vapours" (AS) which have accumulated during sleep. He must then wash himself in cold water and go for a walk in order

to stimulate his appetite. A man must use fumigations (burn incense) to open the brain and strengthen the body. He is also advised to take an electuary and to anoint himself with balm or ointment. Interestingly, the "Gouernaunce" contains information in this section not found in the Ashmole "Secrete" or in the "Governance and Guyding." A man is advised to rub his head and body to cause "the sparring of the brayne to open," elongate his neck, amend his blood, and to ensure that "the man is nat so sone balled" (Gu 338).

The sections on rituals of behaviour also contain advice for eating. The Ashmole "Secrete" and the "Gouernaunce" advise that a man "trauayle" or exercise before eating to provoke the stomach's natural heat. Exercise after a meal is inadvisable because it causes the undigested food to descend to the lower part of the stomach where it creates gas and "many-fold of other badnesse and vnprofites" (AS 54). Oddly, the "Governance & Guyding" advocates walking on soft grass after a meal. When dining, a man is urged to eat what he pleases, but only according to his appetite. When a man is hungry, he must eat right away so as not to let the ill humours build up to "trouble the brayne, and enwyke the stomac" (Gu 344), but he must eat slowly and not voraciously. There is also a certain precedence to be followed when dining. According to the "gouernaunce," hard-to-digest foods must be eaten before more easily digested foods. The "Governance and Guyding," however, advises that "liquid metis" or "rinning" potages be eaten first, followed by "substanciall mete," and then by "stonding potage" (GG 5). All

three treatises advise against drinking water after a meal because it cools the stomach, but if it cannot be avoided, a man must only drink a little, and that cold.

The virtues of sleeping are also discussed in this section of the Secretum Secretorum, and are most succinctly expressed in the "Governance and Guyding:"

> And if þu wilt slepe aftir þi dyner, lett þi slepe be litil and short, and begyn þi slepe vpon þi riȝt side a litil season, and þen turne on þi left side and so make an ende of þi slepe. And be ware þu slepe not bifore mete, for such slepe shall make þi body ouir leene, and dry þi moisture naturall. But moderate slepe aftir mete shall refressh þe, and kepe þe in goode disposicion of body.
> (GG6)

The Ashmole "Secrete" and the "Gouernaunce" also contain additional material not found here. If a man has a stomach ache, he should either place a heavy hot shirt on his stomach or "gripe or hull in [his] armes a fair hote maiden" (AS 54).

The remaining material in the Secretum Secretorum concerning personal health consists of information rather than instruction. Information containing advice about the prevention of ill health is offered so that a man can make informed choices when the opportunity arises.

The three principal texts dealing with the preservation of health contain information about the seasons of the year. A man needs to know the qualities of each season because they dictate which foods may be consumed and which activities are to be advocated or avoided.[8] Some of this information is echoed in the sections found in the Ashmole "Secrete" and the "Gouernaunce" discussing the things which makes a body fat

or lean. If a man is to preserve his health by balancing his four humours, he needs to know which activities are conducive to increasing his heat and moisture (thus fattening his body) or increasing his coldness and dryness (rendering his body lean). In essence, temperance, moderation, and happiness tend to fatten a man (the desirable ideal) and excess and melancholy leave a man withered and sere.

According to the Secretum Secretorum, a man must be aware of his own constitution and must be able to judge when he is ill or corrupt. The body is divided into four parts: the head, chest, abdomen, and genitals. As each of these parts is prey to disease, a man must be able to recognize the symptoms of illness and remedy them with the appropriate medicines. Both the Ashmole "Secrete" and the "Gouernaunce" contain the information necessary for a man to know.

For a man to preserve his health through proper nourishment, he needs to know the qualities of various foods. The Ashmole "Secrete" discusses different types of meat (subtle, gross, and mean) and their qualities, and both the Ashmole "Secrete" and the "Gouernaunce" discuss the nature of fish (freshwater versus saltwater). The "Gouernaunce" contains three unique sections discussing the nature of liquids such as water and wine. The discussion "of wyne, and of the good and yll that folowyth" (Gu 360) is particularly interesting because it stresses the need for temperance when drinking rather than eschewing the consumption of wine altogether. The passage ends with an odd comparison of wine to rhubarb, concluding:

> ... the rubarbe is mrtall venyme in him self for him that takith it out of mesure, and so it is of the wyne what it is taken outrageouslye out of reson, for therof ensweth grete mischeeuys and inconvenientes.
>
> (Gu 362)

Unfortunately, a man can become victim of sickness and disease despite his best efforts at prevention. The remaining information found in sections of the Secretum Secretorum dealing with the body and the preservation of health are devoted to recognizing and treating illness.

Despite the abundance of material pertaining to the preservation of health, the fact remains that the Secretum Secretorum is principally an example of the class of literature known as *Furstenspiegel*[9] or mirrors for princes. That is to say, the Secretum Secretorum is a political work outlining the office of a prince or a king. Much of the information offered in the sections dealing with the king as a public figure is concerned with how a king ought to rule, how he ought to choose his counsellors, and the responsibilities he has to his subjects. Because of its political nature, much of this material cannot be truly classified as courtesy literature. However, there is some advice in the political chapters of the Secretum Secretorum which is more general in nature, relating to the king as a member of the upper class. This is the type of information which was readily applicable to the members of the nobility who had access to the Secretum Secretorum. The general advice is similar to that found in "Ratis Raving" or in Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son.

If it is important that a young courtier strive to win

worship or reputation, it is even more so for a king or leader to be worthy of renown. A leader who earns respect from his peers and subjects increases his reputation "wherethurgh all kyngdomes and lordshippes ben gat and kept" (AS 34). Shirley's "Governance" elaborates on this idea, saying: "the gouernance of a kynge shold be principally to seche and to have gode renommé, more for the gouernance honourable of his region then of himselfe" (Gv 297). A leader who is above reproach will win reputation, reflecting his moral superiority.

A king or leader earns reputation through his moral bearing. A leader without virtue risks alienation of those around him and the destruction of his court:

> Lating the wite, that enuye engendreth lesinges, whiche is root and causer of alle vices. Envye engendrith yuell tunges. Yuell tunges engendreth hate. Hate engendrith shame. Shame engendrith wrath. Wrath engendrith diuision. Diuision engendrith faute of justice. Faute of justice engendrith bataile. Bataile breketh any lawe and destrueth reames, and is contrarie to nature, and destrueth the man.
> (Gu 298)

In the larger context of court, a man cannot afford to act rashly or evilly. As a public figure, the king must always strive to rule wisely and behave with propriety. In the same way that he must avoid the evils of envy, a leader must always be governed by truth which is "rote and mater of all laudable werkes and goodnesse" (AS 35).

Not all the advice for a king is pertinent to his office as a public figure. A king must act with propriety and decorum to save himself from shame and destruction. Exemplary behaviour consists of not falling prey to base desires and vices. If

a king is to provide a good example as a leader, he must first show that he is capable of governing himself:

> ... thou moost leeue all flesshly desires and bestialles, for thei ben full of corrupcion. The flesshly desires enclineth the hert to delectations and perdicion of the soule, hauyng no discrecion, reioysing the body corruptible, and destruing the vndirstandinge of man. Lating the wite that such desire engendreth carnall loue, which loue engendrith couetyse. Couetyse engendrith desires to richesse. Desire to richesse makith a man shameles. He that is shamelesse most be proude. Pride makith man withoute feith. Man withoute feith is a theef. A theef is openly shamed, growing to an vtter mischeef and finall destruccion of his body.
> (Gu 302)

This advice is also found in the Ashmole "Secrete," the "Decretum Aristotelis," and Shirley's "Governance." That the matter of moral rectitude is treated in such detail attests to its importance. Instead of lowering himself to such baseness, a leader should "dresse [his] thoughtes all-wayes in goodnesse" (AS 38) so that he may attain everlasting life and glory in heaven.

The Secretum Secretorum is replete with practical advice for a king, some of which is very insightful. A king is advised to remember the good deeds of his forebears and to learn from their experience. He may then follow their examples (AS 42-43). A king should not break his faith, because it is upon such acts of faith that his kingdom is grounded. Without faith, men are reduced to the level of beasts. A king should not swear falsely, for "it is not convenient to the dignité and magisté of a kynge for to swere, and whan he doth it he doth derogacion to his honour" (AS 43). Lying may be tolerated in those of lesser rank, but it is beneath a king. If a king

works hard, he cannot be faulted and is thus worthy of the renown he receives:

> And whan he vndirstandeth any thinge that may be to him good and profitable, he aught to labour it diligently and discreetlye, to thentent men shall nat sey that the kinge dooth his thinges slauly and necligentlye.
> (Gu 310)

Although this advice is written for a king or prince, it does not come amiss to any member of society who aspires to the reputation of one who is well-mannered, well-educated, and worthy of respect.

OTHER WORKS OF COURTESY LITERATURE FOR ADULTS

The advice found in the Secretum Secretorum had widespread influence on fifteenth-century courtesy literature for adults. This influence can be seen in the anonymous "Diatorie" (c.1430)[10] and in "The III Consideracions Right Necesserye to the Good Governaunce of A Prince" (c.1450).[11] The former is a poem which echoes the information in the Secretum Secretorum about the preservation of health. The latter is a political tract explaining the virtues required of a leader. The "Diatorie" corresponds to the personal elements in the Secretum Secretorum (albeit in a hightly condensed form) and the "III Consideracions" corresponds to the elements discussing the leader as a public figure.

The "Diatorie" consists of nine regular eight-line stanzas with an A B A B B C B C rhyme scheme. The couplet at the beginning of the poem asserts that the "Diatorie" teaches "good diete & good gouernaunce." What follows is a rather haphazard mixture

of advice concerning eating habits and general behaviour. The "Diatorie" advises that a man finish eating while still hungry, not eat or drink between meals, not sleep long after eating, be chaste, and live temperately.[12] There is also other advice about eating habits in the "Diatorie." For example, a man is told not to "soupe late" (D 16), and to avoid "ouer salt mete" (D 21) and "raw mete" (D 10) because of their ill effects on the stomach.

The rest of the advice in the "Diatorie" is similar to that found in various works of parental courtesy literature such as "Ratis Raving," Peter Idley's Instructions and the Oriel Curtesye. There is an emphasis on moral qualities as well as on manners. A man is to be "meeke" (D 5) and "myrie" (D 7) and not "maliciose" (D 4), "pensif" or "þouȝtful" (D 6). He must "bere no wraþþe to freende ne to foo" (D 15). Hastiness and vengeance are qualities which a man should not cultivate. The man is urged to eschew the company of rogues, drunkards and gamblers; he must be devout and "do god reuerence" (D 44), and must dress himself moderately according to his degree. But the "Diatorie" also contains some interesting practical advice not found in other courtesy literature. A man is advised to keep his feet, stomach and head warm. He must not stay up late at night "nodding heedis & of candil liȝt" (D 27). In order to avoid the threat of disease, he is told: "Use fier bi þe morewe, & to bedward at eue / Aȝens blake mystis and eir of pestilence" (D 41-42). Despite the somewhat haphazard nature of the "Diatorie," it contains a great deal of useful information for any man or

woman who desires to appear civilized and well-mannered in upper-class society.

Although the "III Considerations" is ostensibly a political tract, it can be considered an example of courtesy literature for adults because it contains a great deal of information applicable to any member of the nobility. While it is in some respects similar to the Secretum Secretorum, it is broader in scope. The work consists of information and advice culled from various classical sources (the Bible, Aristotle's The Politics and Nicomachean Ethics, Vegetius' De Re Militari, Colonna De Regimine Principum and Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy). Throughout the "III Considerations" there are exempla drawn from these works which illustrate the advice given by the author, and this gives the work a cosmopolitan air not found in the Secretum Secretorum. The "III Consideracions" is a fairly lengthy mid-fifteenth century prose work[13] which provides a prince or lord with advice about how to rule properly.

The first section of the work discusses a prince's need to know "the state of him self and his owne persoone sagely to dispose, ordeyne, and governe" (TC 181). A prince must know his nature and accept the frailty of the human condition. It is of the utmost importance for a prince to be humble, because humility engenders salvation, the love of God, and charity, "souvereyne of all vertues" (TC 181). The author says this of princes and their need for humility:

> ... they ne shuld be prowde nor orguleux ne ovyr hawteyn ne sett to moche be their owne estate in any wise, but rathir applie theym and dispoose unto the vertues of debonairtee and humylitee,

> which is the grounde, the beaute and begynner of alle good and of alle grace, and is the wardeyne and sauf garde of alle othir virtues...
> (TC 181)

This humility, coupled with religious devotion, constitutes the nature or a true prince. He must not set himself upon "fallible vanitees transitorye" and "wordly love" (TC 183) because these things cause a man poverty and misery both in this life and in the afterlife.

The second precept a lord or prince needs to follow for proper governance is one of proper management. He needs to see that "his householde, his demaynes, his meynee and servauntz and alle his othir menage ben well rewlid and governyd" (TC 183). This essentially means that a prince's rents and revenues must be kept in order. A prince needs rents and revenues for his expenses (including household expenses), for safeguard as a contingency fund in the treasury, and for charity and reward. In dispensing rewards to those who serve him or please him in any way, a prince must remember "that every man shall doo to othir as he will desire othir shall doo to him" (TC 185). Thus a ruler must exercise generosity and liberality when dealing with others.

The third consideration for good governance set forth in the tract is one of leadership. A ruler must "have good will to doo good deedys and ... be sage as apperteyneth to his estate" (TC 188). In order to rule as best he can, a prince should take heed of the four virtues necessary for good governance. The first two virtues are "science" and "providence" and they must exist in conjunction. Knowledge and the wisdom to apply

it to best advantage are necessary features in any prince or ruler of a household. A prince must be able to choose "good, true, wyse counseylours" (TC 192) who can advise him about the running of his estate. Delegation of responsibility is necessary for the proper running of a household or kingdom. A man who chooses his servants well is a man worthy of respect. This section of the "III Consideracions" is unique among courtesy literature in that it advocates rest and relaxation as well as hard work:

> Therfore, it is necessarye that a kyng of Prince, aftir that he hath had greet thought and entendaunce of the charges and bisinesse of his governaunce, have also pley, disporte and recreacioun, accompanyed with goodly, faire and honeste peeple with all softnesse and easinesse, and that he have with him in such dispoortes, yonge peeple, covenable and honest, and well condiciond, that can be wyse, pley and dispoort honestly as it apperteyneth to doo in the presence of a Prince, for all nature farith the bettre and is bettre dispoosid whan it hath due recreacion aftir labour necessarye.
>
> (TC 193)

Whereas the Secretum Secretorum advocates discretion and even dishonest cunning in the pursuit of leisure,[14] the "III Consideracions" provides a much more realistic and gentle view of a leader's disports.

The third virtue necessary for good governance is justice. There are three elements inherent in the dispensation of justice by a ruler. These are the need to live honestly and measurably, the need to do no harm or injury to men, and the need to give every man his right and due (TC 196). Justice, however, can only work when it is tempered by mercy, the fourth virtue needed in a ruler. Mercy without justice is "no verrey mercy," and

justice without mercy is "cruelte and felonye" (TC 200). In addition to these virtues necessary for good governance, a prince needs the personal virtues of truth and constancy. A prince must depise falsehood, deceit, and duplicity. He must be firm and unwavering in his actions, for "variaunce and light voluntie is to grete ablame and defaute in every Prince" (TC 202). When confronted by reports of ill or wrongdoing in his province, the prince must weigh the evidence carefully and take no account of "the suggestion of envious and malicious flaterers or whos wrecchid condicions groweth many tymes irreparable harmes and greete myschevis in many reaumes" (TC 202). This advice is not restricted to princes and rulers; it is echoed elsewhere in courtesy literature.[15]

The remaining advice in the "III Consideracions" is for the most part unremarkable. It consists of information about how a prince should choose his officers and servants, and how he should follow the good example set by other rulers. However, this section makes mention of a prince's wife and children. He should ensure that his family is "well and honeurably maynteyned" (TC 204). This is unusual in that there is generally no mention of a man's family in this sort of literature. But the advice for a prince's wife is both unique and interesting, providing some insight into the behaviour of the aristocracy:

> And the good lady shulde evyr have good and due regarde to suche thinge as toucheth the profyte and the honeure of hir lorde and of hir self. And she shulde take in hande noo greet maters with oute licence or congie of hir lord, anenst wham at all tymes she oweth to bere reverence and oneure, and at alle dayes to be in greet feere and dowtaunce that

> she ne doo in any wise any thinge that may cause his displeasire, for that requireth the honeure of greete estate and the verrey love and feith that shuld ben in mariage.
> (TC 204)

The advice about children is much the same, and reflects the ideals expressed in parental courtesy literature.[16] On the whole, the advice found in the "III Consideracions" is both interesting and informative for anyone who is a member of the nobility or wishes to become so.

The only other readily accessible piece of fifteenth-century courtesy literature for adults is the Boke of Saint Albans. The Boke contains information about hawking. hunting, and heraldry. The tract not only describes how these upper-class pursuits are to be performed, they also provide the "gentill termys in communyng" of the various birds and beasts and discussion of how "gentilmen shall be knowyn from vngentill men."[17] However, as the book was printed in 1486 and falls outside the period 1425 to 1475, it shall not be discussed here.[18]

The courtesy literature for adults is scanty during the fifteenth century and contains little material directlyl concerned with manners and morals. There appears to be no literature explicitly written for women, and the literature for men is intended for those in positions of power and authority. However, this is not to say that various works such as the Secretum Secretorum were uncommon; instead they were read and used by a more selective audience of fifteenth-century readers.

CONCLUSION

An introductory work of this sort is bound to raise more problems and questions than it solves. There are so many different aspects of courtesy literature that a complete study of the genre is impossible in a relatively short space, and there are still too many problems to be overcome. Accessibility of the texts is one of the main drawbacks in studying fifteenth-century courtesy literature written before 1475. Once Caxton was able to mass produce the printed texts, the literature found a wider market for its distribution. Before that time, much of the advice about manners and morals was either orally transmitted or written in manuscript. Unfortunately, information passed down orally is now lost. And much written material remains uncollected and unprinted in manuscript collections scattered around the world. Some is still not catalogued.

Of the works of courtesy literature which have been printed, many are now out of print. In the nineteenth century, when editing was less stringent than it is now, manuscripts were passed from editor to editor and some were lost in the process.[1] Many of these early editions of courtesy literature presuppose familiarity with other works on the part of the reader, and thus are not particularly detailed in matters of documentation, sources, and analogues. The works appear in various sources (journals, anthologies, volumes printed by text societies) and some are hard to find.

A solution to this problem would be to render courtesy literature as accessible as possible. The manuscripts should

be catalogued, edited, and published. Perhaps a collection or series of the various courtesy texts could be established. If the works of courtesy literature were as accessible as works of conventional literature, more attention would be paid to them.

Correlative to the problem of accessibility is the problem of dating. Most manuscripts are not dated, and the responsibility for determining dates and authorship rests with scholars skilled in manuscript evaluation. Early editors were not always precise in their handling of the material. Often, dates are not provided by these scholars in their editions of the literature, and occasionally the dates given are incorrect.[2]

Another problem in the study of courtesy literature is one of approach. Courtesy literature is among that considered fringe literature: references to it can be found in historical, sociological, and literary studies because it contains all three elements. Mirrors for princes and treatises on household management are often considered historical material and are dealt with as such. Parental courtesy literature is often seen as educational, and is also dealt with as historical material.

When one examines the literature, the problem of classification arises. Perhaps the three broad categories offered here are insufficient. It is also difficult to know where to draw the line. The distinction between didactic literature and didactic literature which has practical applications is not always clear. For example, what distinguishes primarily moral or moralistic courtesy literature from ecclesiastical literature is often only a matter of opinion. Perhaps the categories should be broadened

to include religious works, works of chivalry, or educational tracts. As classification is subjective and depends on one's perspective, there is no set system of classifying the works. And many of the works themselves overlap between categories. Some parental literature is also literature of household management.

As much of the material is both unfamiliar and uncommon, this study is an attempt to briefly delineate and classify courtesy literature and to discuss it in general terms. There is much that could be done in the way of future research into courtesy literature. A study of British courtesy literature from Anglo-Saxon times to the end of the fifteenth century could be undertaken. It would be interesting to trace the history of earlier courtesy literature and to see how much is native and how much is the result of translation from other sources.

A study of fifteenth-century literature proper should be done. There was a lot of courtesy literature written after 1475 which should be included in a study of the genre. The material devoted to leisure activities and noble pursuits, such as is found in the Boke of Saint Albans, should be studied. Texts such as Caxton's The Book of Good Manners (c.1500) would be valuable additions to such a study. This material could also be supplemented by visual aids. Examples of manuscript illumination, painting, and books of hours would provide interesting visual support to a study of printed texts. As graphic arts were equally effective in instructing people, this

aspect of the early manuscripts and literature should not be overlooked.

A more literary study of courtesy literature could also be undertaken. Unfortunately, a limited introductory survey can do little more than provide a general idea of what comprises the content of the literature. The texts should be examined for their stylistic features rather than just for their content. There are works of courtesy literature such as Lydgate's "Ordre of Fooles" which are satiric. It might prove illuminating to examine courtesy literature in the light of humour and satire. A study of the relationship between courtesy literature and conventional literature could also be done. While Nicholls has done this in part in his study of courtesy and the Gawain poet, this could be expanded. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales can certainly be seen as influenced by courtesy literature. A study of fifteenth-century writers such as Lydgate would also prove illuminating as Lydgate wrote both courtesy and conventional literature. Courtesy literature is an interesting but neglected genre, and should be studied in greater detail.

NOTES

Wherever practical, references to the primary sources are shortened in the text; citations are given in abbreviated form within parentheses in the text itself. For a list of abbreviations used, see the page preceding the Table of Contents. First references are given in full, and subsequent references are abbreviated.

CHAPTER ONE

[1]This is the view propounded in Jonathan Nicholls' A Matter of Courtesy (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1985), 7. Nicholls says that there has been inadequate study of the nature of courtesy

[2]In addition to the works discussed in the Introduction, there have been other works which make mention of courtesy literature. Among these are Furnivall's Introduction to The Babees Book (London: EETS OS 32, 1868) which contains much informative historical material relating to medieval education. His Introductions contains substantially less useful critical material; Furnivall offers no system of classification or definition and prefers to let the literature speak for itself. Nicholas Orme's "The Education of the Courtier" in English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, ed. V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (London: Duckworth, 1983) is an informative essay about the education of the nobility. While it mentions courtesy literature, Orme's essay is more useful for the references it provides. Richard Green's Poets and Princepleasers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) is an interesting study of court figures and the literature read by those at court. It contains some useful information, but not enough to consider it a critical work about courtesy literature. W.O. Evans' article "'Cortaysye' in Middle English Literature" (Medieval Studies, 29, 1967, 143-157) offers information about the uses of "courtesy" in literature, but deals mainly with fourteenth-century sources. Myers' Introduction to The Household of Edward IV (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1959) provides useful information about the literature of household management. Other works listed in the bibliography make occasional reference to fifteenth-century courtesy literature or are concerned with history, and so are not mentioned here or in the Introduction.

[3]Fred B. Millet, "English Courtesy Books Before 1557," Queen's Quarterly 26 (1918-19), 288.

[4]Jonathan Nicholls, A Matter of Courtesy, (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1985).

[5]Nicholls in his introductory chapter summarizes scholarly debate over the definition of the terms "courtesy book," "etiquette book," and "book of civility." For our purposes, the terms are virtually synonymous, and no distinction need be made.

[6]Nicholls, 14.

[7]Nicholls, 14.

[8]Diane Bornstein, Mirrors of Courtesy, (Hamden Court: Archon Books, 1975).

[9]John E. Mason, Gentlefolk in the Making, (Philadalphia: University of Pannsylvania, 1935).

[10]He defines courtesy as "a code of ethics, esthetics, or peculiar information for any class-conscious group." Mason, 4.

[11]Mason, 4.

[12]Elias' The History of Manners (trans. Edmund Jephcott, vol. 1 of The Civilizing Process, New York: Pantheon, 1978) is predominantly a work of history or sociology and does not deal with the literature in a critical fashion. The comparisons in the book are strictly concerned with content rather than context, especially as they consist of works of different countries and langueges.

[13]Harold Nicolson, "The Babees Book," in Good Behaviour (London: Constable, 1955), 120-141. A discussion of the place of courtesy literature as it relates to English social history is too broad a topic to be treated in a scant few pages. By and large, Nicolson's work is unsuccessful.

[14]Nicolson summarizes and dismisses courtesy books of the Middle Ages in the following paragraph:

> These guides to proper deportment, although ostensibly intended for the improvement of little boys and girls, were also aimed at the atrocious manners of their fathers and mothers. In the French, as well as in the English manuals of the period great prominence is accorded to such bad habits as scratching, spitting and breaking wind. It was always known that our ancestors suffered more than we do from skin diseases and the attacks of vermin. It seems that they were also afflicted with flatulence and abnormal activity of the salivary glands. The manuals were aimed at checking the most offensive of contemporary indelicacies rather than at creating a high standard of civility of distinction. They were thus negative rather than positive.
>
> (Nicolson, 129)

Nicolson also fails to take into account the fact that the courtesy books were written for members of the nobility or those who aspired to become such.

[15]Nicolson devotes the majority of his book to a discussion of Erasmus' De Civilitate, "the first -- perhaps the last -- treatise on civility to be addressed to the intelligent individual" (130). However, the elements in the De Civilitate about which Nicolson rhapsodizes are evident in most fifteenth-century English courtesy books. The seven sections which comprise the De Civilitate are 1) a chapter dealing with the functions and discipline of the body; 2) wearing apparel; 3) conduct in church; 4) table manners; 5) social relations; 6) gamesmanship; 7) bed manners.

[16]Esther B. Aresty, "Manners Makyth Men," in The Best Behavior, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970, 47-60), 55.

[17]Nicholls, 14.

[18]For a complete list of texts used in the study, see the list of abbreviations preceding the Introduction.

CHAPTER TWO

[1]Nicolson, 129.

[2]This may just be due to the fact that more fifteenth-century examples than earlier ones have survived. Certainly there are many unpublished tracts of this sort in manuscript. There are instances of what appear to be courtesy literature in The Index of Middle English Prose and The Index of Middle English Verse.

[3]Elias, 61.

[4]*Tischzuchten* means literally "table discipline" (from German *tisch* = table, *zuchten* = discipline). Originally, these were German works in the form of poetic mnemonics designed to inculcate table manners (Elias, 61). However, this term easily lends itself to a discussion of parental courtesy literature.

[5]Only Millet and Mason (and, to a lesser degree, Green) make reference to courtesy literature for girls. Millet and Mason mention Geoffrey de la Tour Landry's Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry and "How the Good Wijf Taujte Hir Doujtir." Green mentions only Landry's work.

[6]There are two extant printed versions of this work. One is The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, ed. Thomas Wright, (London: EETS ES 33, 1906). This version is based

on an anonymous mid-fifteenth century English translation (supplemented where necessary by Caxton's verison). The second edition is Caxton's The Book of the Knight of the Tower, ed. M.Y. Offord, (London: EETS SS 2, 1971). Caxton translated and printed his version in 1484. Quotations from the Book of the Knight are taken from the earlier anonymous edition, rather than from Caxton's edition. In his prologue to the edition, Wright says: "This translation is in many respects superior to that of Caxton. ... [It] displays much more freedom and is more correct" (xvi). All references to the text are to the chapter numbers.

[7]The Babees Book, 36-47.

[8]A Booke of Precedence, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London: EETS ES 8, 1869), 44-51. Furnivall offers no date for this poem except to indicate that it appears to be a fifteenth-century work written earlier than 1460 (the date offered for "The good wyfe wold a pylgremage").

[9]A Booke of Precedence, 39-43.

[10]This is printed in two different editions: Ratis Raving and Other Early Scots Poems on Morals, ed. R. Girvan (Edinburgh: STS 11, 1959), 1-51; and Ratis Raving and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, ed. J. Rawson Lumby (London: EETS OS 43, 1870), 26-76. All quotations and references are from Lumby's edition. The dating of the MS. containing the poem is inexact; Lumby offers the earliest date as 1450 and the latest possible date as 1487. Girvan echoes this assumption.

[11]Girvan, Ratis Raving, 81-99 odd.

[12]See Orme's "The Education of the Courtier," 69.

[13]The three different printed versions are "Lerne or be Lewde," and "The ABC of Aristotle," in The Babees Book, 9 and 11 respectively, and "The Abce of Aristotill" in A Booke of Precedence, 65. Two other vewsions corresponding to the "ABC of Aristotle" remain in manuscript.

[14]These letters are: A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V (W). At this stage in the development of the English language, I and J were interchangeable, as were U and V. X was uncommon, and Z had not really been introduced (S taking its place wherever necessary).

[15]Babees Book, 9-10.

[16]Babees Book, 11-12.

[17]A Booke of Precedence, 65-67.

[18]While the advice contained in the *tischzuchten* was

probably equally applicable to both girls and boys, the vocative references tend to indicate that the literature was written specifically for boys. The Lambeth "Stans Puer Ad Mensam" is addressed to "Mi dere sone," while Lydgate's version and the longer Grosetete-Palere version are addressed to "My dere childe." The Oriel Curtesye is addressed to "Lytle childe" but Caxton's text and Hill's text (the two alternate texts) are addressed "Lytell Iohn" and "Lytyl Iohan." "The Babees Book" and "Urbanitatis" are both ambiguous as far as their audiences are concerned. "The Babees Book" is written for "alle of tendre age" and contains a direct address to "yonge Babees." "Urbanitatis" is addressed to "Who-so wylle of nurtur lere" as is the Sloane Curtasye ('Qwo so wylle of curtasy lere"). The fact that some of these texts contain instructions for serving the lord (an activity sometimes carried out by pages) reinforces the assumption that they are intended primarily for an audience of boys.

[19]Babees Book, 1-8.

[20]Babees Book, 13-15.

[21]Babees Book, 297-327.

[22]This version occupies the even-numbered pages 26-32 of the Babees Book. There is an alternate version (c.1430) on the odd-numbered pages 27-33. As the two are virtually identical, Lydgate's version will be used in the study.

[23]This is an expanded version of the "Stans Puer Ad Mensam" and is found in A Booke of Precedence, 56-64.

[24]Ed. Jonathan Nicholls, Notes and Queries, 227 (1982), 3-10.

[25]Caxton's Book of Curtesye, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London: EETS ES 3, 1868), 2-52 even. The dating of this text is only an estimate. It is an earlier text than Caxton's edition of 1477-78 (also in Furnivall along with the Hill edition) but how much earlier can only be surmised. It seems reasonable to assume that the MS. dates from before 1475.

[26]This is again printed in two different editions. See note 10. The poem in Lumby's editions is on pp. 26-76.

[27]Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son, ed. Charlotte d'Evelyn, (London: MLA Monograph Series 6, 1935).

[28]Babees Book, 48-52.

[29]A Booke of Precedence, 52-55. Furnivall provides no dating of the MS. However, the poem is contained in a MS. leaf which predates 1460. See note 8.

[30]Lumby, Ratis Raving, 90-103.

[31]This can be attributed to the odd perspective of Idley's book. His Instructions are as much advice telling his son how to deal with other people as it is advice telling him how to behave himself.

[32]Albertanus of Brescia's Liber Consolationis et Consilii and Liber de Amore et Dilectione Dei et Proximi.

[33]The Latin couplets which stand at the head of each verse in the Magdalene Courtesy Poem and some versions of "Stans Puer Ad Mensam" are the exceptions to this.

CHAPTER THREE

[1]With minor exceptions, such as Lydgate's "Tretise for Lauandres."

[2]Although Bornstein in her chapter "Rituals of Courtesy" makes the case that these servants were often the children of noblemen.

[3]It was not uncommon for members of the nobility to bankrupt themselves through their extravagant living. See Myers' Introduction to The Household of Edward IV.

[4]A Booke of Precedence, 25.

[5]A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book, ed. R.W. Chambers (London: EETS OS 148, 1914), 11-17. This work cannot be dated precisely. Chambers assigns it to the fifteenth century but is no more specific than this.

[6]Babees Book, 328-331. This is the fifteenth-century English translation, not the thirteenth-century Latin version.

[7]This is also known as the Percy Society's Boke of Curtasye, ed. J.O. Halliwell.

[8]Babees Book, 115-239.

[9]The Household of Edward IV, ed. A.R. Myers, (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1959), 76-197.

[10]John Lydgate, Minor Poems, ed. H.N. MacCracken (London: EETS OS 192, 1911), 723.

[11]These subtleties are symbolic ornamental figures and present particular stories, scenes or situations. For more information about these, see Constance Hieatt and Sharon Butler's

Pleyn Delit (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) which contains a discussion of their history, composition and significance in the appendix, 156-160.

[12]See Myers' Introduction, 29-34, 51-56 for a fuller discussion of the date, authorship and MS. history of the book.

[13]This is the household above the stairs, or the royal household proper.

[14]Attesting to this is the fact that much of the material in the Black Book is written in Latin and would be inaccessible or incomprehensible to common servants.

[15]The servants listed in the "domus regie magnificencie" include the chamberlain, bannerets, knights, secretary, chaplains, squires, dewer, surveyor, wardrobers, gentlemen ushers, yeomen, grooms, pages, physician, surgeon, apothecary, barber, henchmen, sergeants, minstrels, messengers, deans, masters, and clerks.

CHAPTER FOUR

[1]Although the Secretum Secretorum was ostensibly intended for princes and kings, it was a popular piece of literature among many members of the aristocracy.

[2]All references to the versions of the Secretum Secretorum are given in terms of page number because all the versions are contained within one volume and not all have convenient chapter divisions.

[3]Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions, ed. M.A. Manzalaoui (London: EETS OS 276, 1977), 3-9.

[4]Secretum Secretorum, 18-113.

[5]Secretum Secretorum, 203-223.

[6]Secretum Secretorum, 227-313 odd.

[7]Secretum Secretorum, 226-384 even. "The Governance of Kynges and Princes" is a translation of the French by John Shirley, c. 1450. The "Decretum Aristotelis" is in the hand of Shirley and can thus be dated to c.1448. "The Secrete of Secretes" is written in the same hand as Bodleian MS. Douce 372 which dates from 1438-60. No particular dates beyond a general estimate of the mid-fifteenth century can be ascribed to the other two versions (cf. Manzalaoui, xxiv-xl).

[8]Spring or ver (veer), for example, is hot and moist (sanguine). Chickens, capons, curlews, kid, eggs, lettuce, wild

beets and goats' milk are the foods of choice during spring. Spring is the most favourable season for bloodletting, purgation, bathing, and sexual activity.

Summer or estas is hot and dry (choleric) and cold, moist foods are to be consumed. These include veal, milk, vinegar, pullets, soup, bitter fruits such as sour apples and pomegranates, some wine, and sorrel sauce. Bloodletting, bathing, and sexual activity are advised against, and exercise is to be done in moderation and only early in the morning or late at night.

Autumn or harvest is cold and dry (melancholy) so that hot, moist foods are indicated. Chicken, lamb, old dry wine, and grapes are to be consumed, while foods conducive to melancholy are to be avoided. Purgation is a necessary activity at this time of year.

Winter or hyemps is cold and moist (phlegmatic) and hot, spicy foods such as roasted meat and fowl, fruit and nuts are preferred. Bathing and keeping the company of women are acceptable activities, but only if done in moderation.

For further information about the qualities of the seasons, see GG 7-8, AS 55-59, and Gu 344-350.

[9]For a more complete discussion of the types of political literature, see Genet's Irtroduction to Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages (London: Camden Fourth Series 18, 1977), ix-xix, and Green's Poets and Princepleasers.

[10]Babees Book, 54-58.

[11]Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages, 180-209.

[12]This is all advice found in the Secretum Secretorum, and in the interests of brevity, will not be elaborated on here.

[13]The "III Consideracions" is contained in the University College Oxford MS. 85 which also contains "The Booke of the Gouernaunce of Kinges and of Princes." See note 7 for information about dates.

[14]In the chapter entitled "Of kynges disport and Solas" in the Ashmole "Secrete" the advice to a king regarding leisurely disport is this:

> If thy nature therfore wole delite in such thynges, at the most vse it a 3 or 4 dayes for recreacion, as ye thynke that it is to do. But most honest and best it is to do it secretly and seld. And whan thou art in that plesaunce absteyne the fro drynke, and suffre others to spare it not, and lette hem drynke atavnt, and outdrynke other. And fayne the hurt of the wyne, and than shalt thow here and see many secretes. But vse this not oft: but twyes or thryes in a yere. Thow shalt have all-so about the of thy meynyall

seruantes and speciall that sholl brynge to the
trew report of what is said and done in thy reame.
(AS 39)

[15]See, for example, "A Dietarie:" "To yuel talis ȝeeue no credence" (33); "How the Wise Man Tauȝt his Sone:"

If þi wijf come wiþ a playnt
On man or child at ony tide,
Be not to hasti to fiȝte & chide,
And be not a-wreke til þou know þe soþe,
For in wraþþe þou myȝte make abraide,
þat aftirwarde schulde rewe ȝou boþe.
(HWM 107-112);

"The good wyfe wold a pylgremage:" "Tallis flatterynge nor sclanderynge, / loke thowe lue hem nowȝt" (123-124); "Proverbs of Good Counsel:"

Be not to bold for to blame,
leste þou be found in the same;
And yff on party wold fayne be Awreke,
yet man of Ryghte here þe toþer party speke.
(17-20)

[16]The advice for a prince re: raising his family summarizes the aims of parental courtesy literature:

The Prince and the lady shulde fulle diligentlye advertise and well take heede that theire children ben well noryshed and well induced in good thewes, in faire langage, in good wyse and faire maners, and in good countenaunces; for as the wyse man seith in the book of Parables, the kunnyng and the wytte that the fadre seeth in his childe is greet glorie, coumfort and consolacion in the ffadyr, for he seeth that he hath one good heire and sage, and that his goodys and is possessions shall not remyne after his discees and deth unto a foole successoure. And therfore a kinge or a Prince, whan he hath children and issue male, as soone as thei atteigneth to any resonable age, he shulde ordeyne theyme good maisters, clerkes and othir sage persoones of good honest lyf and conversacioun, that shulde theyme enduce to vertues, thewes and in to science of clergye or letterur, and to teche theyme well to reede and write frenshe, latyn and othir langage, and in especiall that they undirstande and convenabely speke latyn. ffor it is greet honeure and greet good whan Princes have knowlege and undirstandinge of clergie and science, for than shall they more wysely and sagely governe bothe theyme self and theire lordshippes, and there ne is any man that by reason herof may sey the contrarie.
(TC 205)

[17]See Dame Juliana Berners' <u>The Boke of Saint Albans</u>

(The English Experience 151, Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1969).

[18]For a complete discussion of the sources and analogues in manuscript, see Rachel Hands' Introduction to English Hawking and Hunting in the Boke of St. Albans, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1975), xiii-lx.

CHAPTER FIVE

[1]See, for example, Furnivall's Introduction to the Booke of Precedence where he discusses having lost a manuscript after lending it to another editor for viewing.

[2]The dating given for the Sloane Curtasye differs in both the Table of Contents and in the written text itself. Furnivall admits his error in the Introduction to The Babees Book.

PRIMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, Joseph. Typographical Antiquities. Ed. Thomas Dibdin. Rev. Ed. London, 1812. Vol. 2.

Berners, Dame Juliana. The Boke of Saint Albans. The English Experience 151. Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1969.

Chambers, R.W., ed. A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book. London: EETS Os 158, 1914.

Cook, Albert S., ed. A Literary Middle English Reader. Boston, 1915.

Cook, Henry Caldwell, ed. Littleman's Book of Courtesy. London, 1920.

d'Evelyn, Charlotte, ed. Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son. MLA Monograph Series 6. London, 1935.

Francis, W. Nelson, ed. The Book of Vices and Virtues. London: EETS OS 217, 1942.

Furnivall, Frederick J., ed. A Booke of Precedence. London: EETS ES 8, 1869.

----------. The Babees Book. London: EETS OS 32, 1868.

----------. Caxton's Book of Curtesye. London: EETS ES 3, 1868.

Gairdner, James, ed. The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century. London: Camden Society 122, 1876.

Genet, Jean-Philippe, ed. Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages. London: Camden Society 4th Ser. 18, 1977.

Girvan, R., ed. Ratis Raving and Other Early Scots Poems on Morals. Edinburgh: STS 11, 1937.

Haliwell, James O., ed. The Boke of Curtasye. London: Percy Society 13, 1841.

Hands, Rachel, ed. English Hawking and Hunting in the Boke of St. Albans. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1975.

Hazlitt, William C., ed. Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England. 3 vols. London, 1866. Vol 3.

Larned, Josephus N., ed. A Multitude of Counsellors. London, 1901.

Lumby, J. Rawson, ed. Ratis Raving and Other Moral and Religious Pieces. London: EETS OS 43, 1870.

Lydgate, John, trans. The Gouernaunce of Kynges and Prynces. Ed. DeWitt T. Starnes. Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1973.

----------. Minor Poems. Ed. Henry N. MacCracken. 2 vols. London: EETS OS 192, 1911. Vol. 2.

Manzalaoui, M.A., ed. Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions. 2 vols. London: EETS OS 276, 1977. Vol. 1.

Myers, Alec R., ed. The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1959.

Nelson, William, ed. A Fifteenth-Century School Book. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956.

Nicholls, Jonathan W., ed. "An Unpublished Courtesy Poem from Magdalene College Pepys MS. 1286." Notes & Queries, 227 (1982): 3-10.

Offord, M.Y., ed. The Book of the Knight of the Tower. London: EETS SS 2, 1971.

Rickert, Edith, ed. The Babees Book: Medieval Manners for the Young. New York: Cooper Square, 1966.

Russell, O.J.A., ed. and trans. Table Manners for Boys. London: London Food and Wine Society, 1958.

Sneyd, Charlotte A., ed. A Relation, or Rather a True Account of the Island of England. London: Camden Society 37, 1847.

Steele, Robert, ed. Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum. 2 vols. London: EETS ES 74, 1898.

Wells, Henry W., ed. "The Boy Standing at the TAble." Sewanee Review, 48 (1940), 217-220.

Wright, Thomas, ed. The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry. Rev. J. Munro. London: EETS OS 33, 1868.

----------, and J.O. Haliwell, eds. Reliquiæ Antiquæ. 2 vols. London: William Pickering, 1843.

SECONDARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abram, A. English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages. London: Routledge, 1913.

Aresty, Esther B. The Best Behavior. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970.

Aries, Philippe. Centuries of Childhood. Trans. Robert Baldick. London, 1962.

Aston, Margaret. The Fifteenth Century: The Prospect of Europe. London: Thames & Hudson, 1968.

Barber, M.J. "The Books and Patronage of Learning of a Fifteenth-Century Prince." Book Collector, 12 (1957): 69-77.

Barber, Richard. The Knight and Chivalry. London, 1970.

Bennett, H.S. Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1965.

Bloch, Marc L. Feudal Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Bornstein, Diane. Mirrors of Courtesy. Hamden Court: Archon Books, 1975.

Brentano, Mary T. "The Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature to the Medieval English Courtesy Poems." Lawrence: Bulletin of the University of Kansas: Humanistic Studies 5, 2, 1935.

Breul, Karl. "'The Boke of curtesy.'" English Studies, 9 (1886): 51-63.

Cary, George. The Medieval Alexander. Ed. D.J.A. Ross. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956.

Cosman, Madeleine P. Fabulous Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony. New York, 1976.

Coulton, George. Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1919.

Crosland, Jessie. "Italian Courtesy Books." Modern Language Review, 5 (1910): 502-504.

Cubberley, Ellwood Patterson. The History of Education. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922.

della Casa, Giovanni. Galateo. Ed. Lewis Einstein. Boston: Merrymount, 1914.

Eby, Frederick, and C.F. Arrowood. The History and the Philosophy of Education, Ancient and Modern. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1940.

Elias, Norbert. The History of Manners. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. 2 vols. The Civilizing Process. New York: Pantheon, 1978. Vol. 1.

Elliott, Alison. "The Facetus, or the Art of Courtly Living." Allegorica, 2 (1977): 27-57.

Evans, Joan, ed. The Flowering of the Middle Ages. London, 1966.

Evans, W.O. "'Cortaysye' in Middle English Literature." Medieval Studies, 29 (1967): 143-157.

Ferguson, Arthur B. The Indian Summer of English Chivalry. Durham: Duke UP, 1960.

Gaylord, Alan T. "Seed of Felicity: A Study of the Concepts of Nobility and Gentilesse in the Middle Ages and in the Works of Chaucer." Princeton University Dissertation, 1958.

Gieben, Servus. "Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy Books." Vivarium, 5 (1967): 47-78.

Girouard, M. Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History. New Haven, 1978.

Glixelli, Stefan. "Les Contenances de la Table." Romania, 47 (1918): 1-40.

Green, Richard Firth. Poets and Princepleasers. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Henisch, Bridget A. Fast and Feast. University Park, 1976.

Jacob, Ernest F. The Fifteenth Century. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1961.

Kelso, Ruth. The Institution of the Gentleman in English Literature. Urbana, Ill., n.d.

Kingsford, Charles L. English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

Lawlor, John. Patterns of Love and Courtesy. London, 1966.

Leach, Arthur F. The Schools of Medieval England. 2nd ed. London, 1916.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. The Origin of Table Manners. Trans.

John and Doreen Weightman. Vol 3 of Introduction to a Science of Mythology. London, 1978.

MacFarlane, K.B. The Nobility of Later Medieval England. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1973.

Mason, John E. Gentlefolk in the Making. Philadalphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

McMahon, Clara P. Education in Fifteenth-Century England. Baltimore, 1947.

Millet, Frederick. "English Courtesy Literature Before 1557." Queen's Quarterly, 26 (1918-19): 288-304.

Mohl, Ruth. The Three Estates in Medieval and Rennaissance Literature. New York: Columbia UP, 1933.

Monroe, Paul, ed. A Cyclopedia of Education. New York, 1924.

Nicholls, Jonathan. A Matter of Courtesy. Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1985.

Nicolson, Harold. Good Behaviour. London: Constable, 1955.

Orme, Nicholas. Education in the West of England: 1066-1548. Exeter, 1976.

----------. English Schools in the Middle Ages. London, 1973.

Palmer, Abraham Smythe. The Ideal of a Gentleman. London, 1908.

Parry, Albert. Education in England in the Middle Ages. London, 1920.

Parsons, Rosamund. "Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture." PMLA, 44 (1929): 383-455.

Prestage, Edgar, ed. Chivalry. The History of Civilization. London, 1928.

Quennell, M., and C.H.S. A History of Everyday Things in England. 6 vols. London, 1963. Vol 1.

Renoir, Alain. The Poetry of John Lydgate. London: Routledge, 1967.

Salmon, Lucy Maynard. Domestic Service. New York: MacMillan 1901.

Scattergood, V.J., and J.W. Sherborne, eds. English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages. London: Duckworth, 1983.

Schirmer, Walter F. John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of

the Fifteenth Century. Trans. Ann Keep. London: Methuen, 1961.

Schliesinger, Arthur M. Learning How to Behave. New York, 1946.

Selden, John. Titles of Honor. London, 1614.

Southern, Richard. The Making of the Middle Ages. London, 1953.

Squibb, David. Precedence in England and Wales. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1981.

Thrupp, Sylvia. The Merchant Class of Medieval London. Chicago, 1948.

Tout, T.F. Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England. 6 vols. Manchester, 1920-33.

Veblen, Thorstein. The Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Modern Library, 1934.

Watson, Foster. The Encyclopedia of Education. London, 1921-22.

----------. English Grammar Schools to 1660. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1908.

Whiting, Bartlett, J. Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968.

Whitmore, Mary E. Medieval English Domestic Life and Amusements in the Works of Chaucer. Washington, 1937.

Wildeblood, Joan, and Peter Brinson. The Polite World: A Guide to English Manners and Deportment from the Thirteenth to the Nineteenth Century. London, 1965.

Wimsatt, James A. Allegory and Mirror. New York, 1970.

Wingfield-Stratford, Esmé. The Making of a Gentleman. London: Williams & Norgate, 1938.

Wood-Legh, K.L., ed. A Small Household of the XVth Century. Manchester, 1956.

Workman, Samuel K. Fifteenth-Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1940.

Wright, Thomas. A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England During the Middle Ages. London, 1862.