MORALS AND MANNERS IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ENGLAND:

URBANUS MAGNUS AND COURTESY LITERATURE



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SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the twelfth-century Latin poem entitled *Urbanus magnus* or 'The Book of the Civilised Man', attributed to Daniel of Beccles. This is a poem dedicated to the cultivation of a civilised life, aimed primarily at clerics although its use extends to nobility, and specifically the noble householder. This thesis focuses on the text as a primary source for an understanding of social life in medieval England, and uses the content of the text to explore issues such as the medieval household, social hierarchy, the body, and food and diet.

Urbanus magnus is commonly referred to as a 'courtesy text'. This thesis seeks to understand *Urbanus magnus* outside of that attribution, and to situate the text in the context of twelfth and thirteenth-century England. Thus far, scholarship of courtesy literature has focused on later texts such as thirteenth-century vernacular 'courtesy texts' or humanist works as exemplified by Erasmus's *De civilitate morum puerilium*. This scholarship looks back to the twelfth century and sees texts such as *Urbanus magnus* as 'early Latin courtesy texts'. This teleological view relegates such earlier texts to positions at the genesis of the genre and blindly assumes that they belong to the corpus of 'courtesy literature'. This neglects both their individual importance and their respective origins. This thesis examines *Urbanus magnus* as a didactic text which contains elements of 'courtesy literature', but also displays moral and ethical concerns. At the heart of the thesis is the question: should *Urbanus magnus* be considered as part of the genre of courtesy literature? This question does not have a simple answer, but this thesis shows that some elements and sections of *Urbanus magnus* do conform to the characteristics of courtesy literature. However, there are further sections that reflect other literary traditions. In addition to morals and ethics, *Urbanus magus* reflects other genres such as satire, and also reveals social issues in twelfth-century England such as the rise of *anti-curiale* sentiment and resentment of upward social mobility.

This thesis provides an examination of *Urbanus magnus* through the most prevalent themes in the text. Firstly, it explores the dynamics of the medieval household, along with issues such as social mobility and hierarchy. Secondly, it focuses on the depiction of the body and bodily restraint, covering topics such as speech, bodily emissions, and sexual activity. Thirdly, it discusses food and diet, including table manners, food consumption, and dietary effects of foodstuffs. The penultimate chapter looks at the manuscript dissemination of the text to investigate the different uses which *Urbanus magnus* found in subsequent centuries.

The delineation of *Urbanus magnus* as part of the genre of courtesy literature ignores the social, cultural, and literary impact on the creation of the text. In response, this thesis has two aims. The first is to minimise the notion of genre, and treat *Urbanus magnus* as a text in its own right, and as a product of the twelfth century. The second shows that *Urbanus magnus* reflects both continuity and change in society in England following the Norman Conquest.

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ABSTRACT

Urbanus magnus is a text which seeks to codify medieval behaviour, describing the mores of the ideal medieval man, the rusticity of uncouth behaviour, and consequently illuminates our understanding of daily life in medieval England. This thesis examines a relatively unknown text entitled *Urbanus magnus*, a twelfth-century Latin poem of 2840 lines known from twelve extant manuscripts. The main goal of this thesis is to restore the importance of this text and place it in the context of twelfth-century literature. Three key aspects have hindered *Urbanus magnus* receiving the attention it deserves. Firstly, it cannot be definitively attributed to an author. Presently, the text is ascribed to Daniel of Beccles, and thought to have been composed c.1180s, yet this attribution is tentative at best, and there is little to no historical evidence for Daniel's existence. Secondly, its composition is complex, and there is little certainty that the text in the only modern edition is representative of what the text would have looked like as originally conceived. Finally, and most importantly, *Urbanus magnus* is categorised as a 'courtesy text' and is frequently cited as a precursor to the later development of the genre of 'courtesy literature'. Scholars of later 'courtesy texts' have often taken a retrospective approach to *Urbanus magnus*, seeking to place it at the beginning of a chain of later works. Consequently, it has been neglected as a text in its own right, which is what this thesis seeks to redress. At the core of the thesis is the question: can we rightly call *Urbanus magnus* a 'courtesy text' or should we take a new approach? In addition, to interpret the depiction of manners and etiquette in

Urbanus magnus and their relationship to the medieval period this thesis employs an interdisciplinary approach, drawing upon archaeology, anthropology, and sociology.

The length of the poem and the scope of its subject matter lends itself to multiple approaches. A thesis could have been devoted solely to the sources for *Urbanus magnus* and 'courtesy literature', and a separate thesis could have focused on the Latinity of *Urbanus magnus*. Neither of these is the approach here. Because the text is still relatively unused and unknown, this thesis sets out the issues of content, authorship, composition, and sources in the first two chapters, but the remainder is concerned with utilising *Urbanus magnus* as a window into behaviour and manners in medieval England.

The opening chapter of this thesis introduces the content of the poem, with a descriptive narrative of the entirety of the text. With this foundation laid, the chapter continues to examine the extant manuscript dissemination and the complex issues of composition. Compositionally, the text is problematic: there are concerns that the final part of the text did not belong in the original text, and I will present evidence to show that the latter part of the text may well have been a later addition. This is revealed through textual comparison with the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, where the final lines of *Urbanus magnus* are almost identical with passages from the *Regimen*. This does not diminish or invalidate any study of that section of the text; rather, it allows us to study the various uses of *Urbanus magnus* as it was disseminated through manuscripts. Finally, the chapter examines the attribution of the text to Daniel of Beccles. I examine the problems of authorship, debate the validity of his supposed attendance at the court of Henry II, and offer research which sheds new light on Daniel of Beccles.

The next chapter seeks to answer the question: can we rightly call *Urbanus magnus* a 'courtesy text'? Scholarship is replete with examples of *Urbanus magnus* referred to as a 'courtesy text' or as 'courtesy literature', yet no one has questioned the validity of such an attribution. Predominantly, scholarship of 'courtesy literature' focuses on later texts such as thirteenth-century vernacular 'courtesy texts' or humanist works as exemplified by Erasmus's *De civilitate morum puerilium*. This scholarship looks backwards to the twelfth century and sees texts such as *Urbanus magnus* as 'early Latin courtesy texts'. This teleological view relegates such texts to positions at the genesis of the genre and assumes that their primary meaning is as part of the corpus of 'courtesy literature'. This neglects both their individual importance and their respective origins. This part of the thesis will sketch a general review of 'courtesy literature', addressing the scholarship on *Urbanus magnus* in particular and 'courtesy literature' in general. I will then assess whether *Urbanus magnus* can truly be termed a 'courtesy text'. My argument is that *Urbanus magnus* is an anomalous text for its time, place of origin (namely late twelfth-century England) and content. It includes practical precepts which could be deemed to be 'courtesy literature,' but also contains strong ethical and moral elements. I argue that such a work would be better seen as 'didactic literature' with a strong focus on conduct, and which subsequently aided the later development of 'courtesy literature' in England. I investigate the arguments for secular or monastic origins of 'courtesy literature', concluding by stressing the importance of clerics in the production of such works This chapter ends with an examination of the influences on the text by looking at the types of sources used, including scriptural, classical, monastic, and contemporary twelfth-century literature.

The remainder of the thesis seeks to place *Urbanus magnus* in context with contemporary texts and ideas by exploring three main themes which recur in the text. The first of these chapters examines social hierarchy and social mobility. Social hierarchy is investigated narrowly through the hierarchical structure of rank and status in the medieval household and the interactions between different ranks, for example servant (*famulus*) to steward (*dapifer*), and steward to lord. It then broadens to discuss the conduct surrounding hierarchy in twelfth-century English society. Another line of research questions the rigidity of this social scale and examines how a text like *Urbanus magnus* could be used to aid in the upward movement along this scale.

The next chapter considers the importance of the body and bodily restraint, looking specifically at concepts of self-censorship in *Urbanus magnus* and contemporary texts. For example, this text contains many precepts relating to the self-control of gestures, laughter, speech, and bodily functions. This is then compared to the work of Hugh of St Victor which similarly has a strong emphasis on self-control or self-restraint.

The final thematic chapter deals with table manners and diet. It explores the variety of precepts relating to eating, drinking, and serving, etc. I then expand this chapter to look at the influence these precepts may have had on the development of 'courtesy literature' dedicated solely to table manners, known as the 'contenances de table'. Looking at *Urbanus magnus* thematically allows us to break the bounds of the genre of 'courtesy literature,' and see the text as reflecting the literature, culture, and social concerns of its day.

Following these thematic chapters, the next chapter explores the later uses which *Urbanus magnus* found, as demonstrated by the dissemination of its extant

manuscripts. This includes a discussion of the satirical, religious, educational, and medical uses which *Urbanus magnus* fulfilled. Having laid the foundation for a thorough understanding of the content of *Urbanus magnus* and its predominant themes, the final chapter returns to explore the question of the origin and impetus for its creation. I will illustrate the influence of the Norman Conquest and the Angevin court for the introduction and maintenance of new behaviour into England. The thesis concludes with three appendices:

Appendix I contains the full edition of *Urbanus magnus* from J. G. Smyly, *Urbanus Magnus Danielis Becclesiensis* (Dublin, 1939). This primarily serves as an aid for the reader since the 1939 edition is not easy to get hold of. However, the original edition of the text was compiled using only four manuscripts, so although the text in Appendix I does not deviate from Smyly's, it does contain a new apparatus with variations from an additional eight manuscripts. It also provides section headings to make the text more accessible and useable.

Appendix II gives summary manuscript descriptions for the twelve extant manuscripts, seeking to interpret the use of *Urbanus magnus* in each manuscript.

Appendix III identifies and describes up to six more lost copies of *Urbanus magnus* from the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.

In conclusion, I will argue that *Urbanus magnus* needs to be interpreted as a text in its own right, not as simply a proto-courtesy text. I argue that *Urbanus magnus* is an amalgamation of different genres and a product of its twelfth century context. It is an important text for the understanding of medieval daily life, aimed at an elite and noble environment. It provides important insights into social mobility, the regulation of the body, and the codification of proper modes of behaviour.

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List of Abbreviations

CBMLC	Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
EEA	English Episcopal Acta
EETS	Early English Text Series
GRA	Gesta Regum Anglorum
MTB	Materials for the History of Thomas Becket
PL	Patrologia Latina
RSB	The Rule of St Benedict
RSS	Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem
SPAM	Stans puer ad mensam
UM	Urbanus magnus

All translations in this thesis are my own unless otherwise indicated.

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

[Manuscripts containing full copies of Urbanus magnus]

C_1 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 61/155

D Dublin, Trinity College, MS 97

W Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.147

[Manuscripts containing partial copies of Urbanus magnus]

C_2 Cambridge, St John's College, MS 79

L_1 London, British Library, MS Arundel 52

L_2 London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XX

L_3 London, British Library, MS Royal 10 A. X

O_1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 310

O_2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.552

O_3 Oxford, Trinity College, MS 18

P_1 Paris, BnF, MS latin 3718

P_2 Paris, BnF, MS latin 15170

The 1939 published edition of the text used the following sigla: C for Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 61/155; D for Dublin, Trinity College, MS 97; W for Worcester Cathedral, MS F.147; and T for London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XX. As this thesis discusses eight additional manuscripts I have slightly amended Smyly's sigla and created new ones.

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INTRODUCTION

Manners and behaviour in medieval times have fallen prey to many misconceptions. The notion of the 'Dark Ages' is replete with ill-mannered and rustic men, filthy in hygiene and uncouth at the dining table. This has been propagated throughout the centuries. Indeed, modern society frequently employs the term 'medieval' to refer to anything which counters the ideals of our times. Just as modern society refers to violent acts as 'barbaric' and 'medieval', it also denigrates behaviour such as spitting or eating with one's hands as 'medieval'. Yet, this projection of our preoccupations with modern behaviour into the medieval period does it a great disservice. It distorts the truth of medieval life, reducing it to a parody of a dirty, unhygienic, foul lifestyle. The text at the heart of this thesis helps to objectively interpret medieval daily life through a contemporary description of social life and etiquette. This does not mean that this thesis redresses commonly held assumptions of the medieval period, but rather, it seeks to provide a more balanced picture. When exploring the issue of medieval manners from a modern perspective, the point to be made is that medieval people did not notice or care about etiquette or hygiene in the way we do today. Importantly, I want to show that despite the differences between medieval and modern notions of behaviour, especially with respect to cleanliness and sanitation, medieval people certainly did uphold standards of behaviour in daily life, even though they might seem far removed from our own.

This thesis brings to light a text which has remained in relative obscurity to scholarship. This is *Urbanus magnus* or 'The Book of the Civilised Man'.[1] It is a Latin

[1] J. G. Smyly, *Urbanus magnus Danielis Becclesiensis* (Dublin, 1939). For an edition of the text, see appendix I of this thesis.

poem thought to be written in approximately 1180, attributed to Daniel of Beccles. It is a 2,840 line poem which surveys medieval life through the promotion of good manners. This encompasses moral behaviour, along with more worldly aspects of behaviour such as the maintenance of the household, hospitality, bodily functions, and table manners. Written in England, this text is an early example of the codification of medieval morals and manners in written form. There are many factors at play which may account for its relative obscurity to scholarship. The lack of concrete evidence for the author and problems of the composition of the text have contributed to its neglected state. In addition, it has been "boxed in" by its definition as part of the genre of 'courtesy literature', which has seen it as the purview of literary scholars but less so by historians. This thesis seeks to consider the text outside the 'courtesy literature' tag, to situate the text in the context of twelfth-century literature, and to reveal what it can add to our knowledge of medieval English quotidian life. The importance of this text is that it tells us about the behaviour of a 'middle class'; it is not overly concerned with the behaviour of royalty and the upper echelons of elite nobility, nor does it describe the life of the peasantry. Its primary concern is the education in morals and mores of upwardly mobile men, especially clerics, who could utilise its precepts for self-advancement, promotion, and entrance into the noble classes.

At the outset, it is crucial to stress that *Urbanus magnus* is a problematic text, especially where dating and the composition of the text are concerned. These issues are explored fully in the opening chapter, but it is important to briefly note the key problem of composition which may be a factor in the text remaining largely unused by historians and literary scholars alike. The final 300 lines of the poem may represent an addition to the poem, and potentially was once an autonomous poem. This addition

likely took place in the mid-thirteenth century, something which has implications for the examination of the text as a resource for the cultural history of twelfth-century England. While I utilise *Urbanus magnus* predominantly as a twelfth-century text, and consequently situate the text in this context, some of the discussion will need to reach into the thirteenth century. In general, I discuss the text as an entirety, spanning the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; however, when appropriate, I will clearly differentiate between the text and its addition. By addressing these issues of composition, *Urbanus magnus* can be better utilised as a primary source for life in twelfth-century England.

Importantly, the substantial length of the poem and the relative lack of scholarship until recently means that there is immense scope for research into *Urbanus magnus*. As a poetic text composed in hexameter verse, an entire thesis could be dedicated to the Latinity and poetic style of the work in comparison with other twelfth and thirteenth-century texts. A second thesis could focus on the sources and influences on *Urbanus magnus* and on the genre of courtesy literature. While these would be worthy topics in their own right, and hopefully future scholars on *Urbanus magnus* will explore these avenues, this thesis aims to take a more historical approach to the text. It examines the text thematically, exploring issues such as hierarchy, social mobility, the medieval body, food and diet, and education. This allows for an understanding of the scope of the poem and the varying purposes it fulfilled in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.

Our knowledge of medieval everyday living of all strata of society has been broached in a variety of ways. Descriptions of royal courts and royalty, such as that by Walter Map, provide insight into the daily life of nobility.[2] In addition, scholars have

[2] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1993).

utilised household accounts as a means to understand the day-to-day workings of a medieval household.[3] Others have sought to describe the life of the peasantry and lower classes.[4] There are twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts which have helped to illuminate aspects of daily living, such as Alexander Neckam's *De utensibilius* and Bartholomew the Englishman's *De rebus Anglicus*. However, *Urbanus magnus* stands apart as a text which comprehensively surveys medieval life in England. Its nearly 3,000 lines of hexameter span a vast range of topics, including: harmony within the family unit, social order, peace between neighbours, running a household, hospitality, feasting, diet and health, and general comportment in a wide range of social situations. It is this breadth of topics which renders it an invaluable text for an examination of medieval life. It is also this scope which has caused the text to be described as 'exceptional' in the genre of courtesy literature.[5] Nevertheless, it still fits into a longer tradition of literature about manners and etiquette stretching to the modern era. Kreuger summarises this tradition:

> Cultural historians have shown how conduct books allow us to trace shifting patterns of sociability; the rise and fall of courtesy and courtliness in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; the emergence of a bourgeois ethos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the creation of a new concept of civility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the proliferation of etiquette manuals in the Victorian period; the construction of the self-made man in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the valorisation of women's roles in the twentieth century; and the profusion of manuals of self-help in all aspects of personal life throughout the modern and contemporary period.[6]

[3] For example, C. Woolgar, *Household Accounts from Medieval England* (Oxford, 1992).
[4] See C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), and Dyer, *The Self-Contained Village?: The Social History of Rural Communities, 1250-1900* (Hatfield, 2007).
[5] J. W. Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge, 1985), p.176.
[6] R. Kreuger, 'Introduction: Teach Your Children Well: Medieval Conduct Guides for Youths', to *Medieval Conduct Literature: An Anthology of Vernacular Guides to Behaviour for Youths, with English Translations*, eds. K. Ashley and M. Johnston (Toronto, 2009), pp.ix-xxxiii.

Urbanus magnus represents that early stage of the rise of courtesy and courtliness. Krueger continues to state that:

> In each age, literature on the conduct of life seeks to promote particular modes of social interaction, to define means by which individuals can seek distinction and earn 'cultural capital'.[7]

This thesis examines *Urbanus magnus* to illuminate those 'modes of social interaction' particular to twelfth-century England, and to examine how such interactions could be used for self-promotion and increased societal distinction. To achieve this, this thesis uses the text as a primary source in the depiction of daily and social life. In addition, it will employ an interdisciplinary approach in places, utilising archaeology, anthropology, and sociology to further interpret the text.

Urbanus magnus represents an early text on conduct and etiquette which, as Krueger shows, spans the Middle Ages to the present day. More precisely, *Urbanus magnus* has been seen as an early example of the genre of 'courtesy literature', epitomised by texts such as Erasmus's *De civilitate morum puerilium*. This association is questioned in chapter 2, but the majority of this thesis treats *Urbanus magnus* away from the terminology of 'courtesy literature' in order to examine the text free from preconceptions. Freeing the text from more literary connotations allows us to interpret it as a primary historical source. It adds to the scholarship on a range of issues in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, it is an additional wealth of information on household management, social hierarchy and social mobility, bodily comportment, sexual activity, and food consumption.

[7] Krueger, 'Introduction: Teach Your Children Well: Medieval Conduct Guides for Youths', pp.xxviii-xxix.

The thesis begins with an introduction to the content of *Urbanus magnus* in order to provide the reader with a solid understanding of the main themes within the text. It then explores the chronology of the extant manuscripts, and from this it examines the complex issues of authorship and composition that accompany the text. Chapter 2 discusses the extant scholarship on *Urbanus magnus* and the genre of 'courtesy literature'. It comprises the bulk of my literature review and other historiographical issues because, until now, scholarship has classified *Urbanus magnus* as a proto-courtesy text. This chapter does not cast doubt on the emerging genre of 'courtesy literature' in the twelfth century, but rather seeks to question the validity of calling *Urbanus magnus* a courtesy text. It argues that rather than functioning as a proto-courtesy text, *Urbanus magnus* is actually a mixture of different types of literature, concerned not just with manners, but morals and ethics too. The ensuing three chapters follow a thematic analysis of the text from key issues raised in it. Chapter 3 examines the medieval household and its varying ranks: the head of the household, servants, wives, and children. This is followed by a discussion of hierarchy both in the household and society in general, exploring issues of social mobility and personal advancement through the use of courtesy and etiquette. Chapter 4 inspects the depiction of the body in *Urbanus magnus*, and specifically the theme of bodily restraint and moderation. This ranges from moderation in speech, gesture, appetite, bodily function, and sexual activity. Chapter 5, the final thematic chapter, looks at food, diet, and table manners in *Urbanus magnus*, employing archaeology to investigate the veracity of the depictions of food in the text. While these thematic chapters are based on the content of the text, the next chapter explores the development of *Urbanus magnus* through its manuscript dissemination. It looks at the use of the text in the

extant manuscripts, such as the educational or satirical use of the *Urbanus magnus*, through an examination of the frequent fellow-travellers that accompany the text in the later manuscripts. The final chapter focuses on the key issues of the origin or impetus for the creation of the text and also the use for *Urbanus magnus*. In addition, it examines the subsequent influence of the poem. It was a deliberate decision to leave these key issues until the final chapter, as it is only with a thorough knowledge of the text as a whole that those questions can be addressed. It is through this structure that I aim to show *Urbanus magnus* as a valuable and worthwhile text in its own right that helps to illuminate the day-to-day realities of behaviour and social interactions, and provide a deeper insight into medieval life.

Three separate appendices accompany this thesis. Appendix I contains an edited version of *Urbanus magnus*. When Smyly composed his edition of the text in 1939 he knew of only four manuscript copies. The edition contained in the appendix is still based on Smyly's version, but expanded to include eight additional manuscripts which he did not use in his edition. Appendix II contains summary descriptions for each of the extant manuscripts of *Urbanus magnus*. Appendix III contains references to *Urbanus magnus* found in medieval library catalogues whose manuscripts are now either lost or destroyed. This appendix is based on the publications of the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.

CHAPTER 1:

URBANUS MAGNUS: CONTENT, COMPOSITION, AND AUTHORSHIP

This thesis examines *Urbanus magnus* as a fully formed text, based on the 1939 edited version. Scholarship has called into question the authorship of the text, and – more worryingly – its composition. The overarching issue posed by scholars is whether the text as it exists today was the same text as that conceived in the twelfth century. In addition, there is a question mark hanging over whether our author composed the whole text, or merely portions of it. Indeed, the text may be a conglomeration of numerous separate texts. This chapter examines these questions and, using documentary and manuscript evidence, attempts to shed light on them.

The first section of the chapter broadly introduces the content and structure of the text. A summary is provided of the contents of the poem, with relevant examples. The aim is to provide the reader with a general understanding of the main subjects and themes which run throughout the text. It is only with a familiarity of the contents of the poem that we can move forward to consider questions of composition and authorship. The subsequent sections focus on the issue of composition and introduces the manuscripts which form the basis of our knowledge of the poem as it appears today. While chapter 6 explores the later uses of *Urbanus magnus*, here an analysis of the chronology of manuscripts is provided to assist in a more detailed understanding of the composition of the poem. With this foundation laid, the final section of this chapter examines the attribution of Daniel of Beccles as author of the text and also investigates the documentary evidence to provide further information about his background. This

will help us to understand the role of Daniel of Beccles in the creation of *Urbanus magnus*, and whether we can consider him as author or compiler of the text.

1.1. CONTENT

The scope of material covered in *Urbanus magnus* is far-ranging, and there is no internal order to the text which aids the reader in discerning the various contents of the poem. Consequently, here I will provide a detailed narrative of its content, expanding further on the work of A. G. Rigg who created a summary of *Urbanus magnus* in twelve sections[1]:

Lines:	Subject matter:
1-205	Moral advice and religious duties.
206-419	Avarice, death, heaven and hell.
420-874	Social advice: choice of protector and friends; beware flattery; patience in adversity; do not reveal poverty or troubles to an enemy.
875-1220	Table manners.
1221-65	Bad masters.
1266-483	Duties of servants and messengers.
1484-641	Duties of a judge.
1642-885	Duties of various peoples, such as officials, soldiers, teachers, students, citizens, merchants, etc.
1886-2143	Adultery, satire on women.
2144-523	General care of the household; building of house and garden; behaviour of the wife; servants, entertaining, sleeping arrangements, children, guests, how servants should bear gifts; burdens of a householder.
2524-839	Daily life and food: church, purging, table service, fish, seasonings, various diets, effects of various foods; exercise and general health, seasons, humours.
2816-33	Summary diet; epilogue.

Fig.1: Thematic division of *Urbanus magnus* according to Rigg.

[1] A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p.126.

However, a closer examination of the poem reveals that the subject matter in *Urbanus magnus* can be divided further than that provided by Rigg. Fig. 2 illustrates a greater breadth of subjects covered in the poem:

UM	Contents
1-19	Opening prologue
20-131	Moral advice; the teachings of God; the ideal and perverse man; vice in speech
132-205	Religious advice; behaviour in church; singing the Psalms
206-224	Avarice and greed
225-363	Heaven and hell
364-381	God as the ultimate authority
382-874:	*Social advice*
382-421	Avoidance of gossip and envy; advice to be charitable and respectful to parents
422-520	Maintaining peace and social order
521-578	Miscellaneous: respecting parents; sexual conduct; physicians
579-625	Friends and advisors
626-874	Speech; friendships; not to repeat mistakes
875-96	Speech in the context of hospitality
897-911	Gift-giving
912-918	Greetings
919-1082	Table manners
1083-1103	Bodily emissions
1104-1163	On servants; on clerics and stewards
1164-1220	Appearance; grooming; attire, bodily gestures
1221-1265	Bad masters
1266-1325	On servants
1326-1339	On messengers
1340-1353	Greetings and farewells
1354-1365	Behaviour in the street
1366-1483	Behaviour as a guest
1484-1859	Advice to different persons: judges; bailiffs; knights; students; teachers; citizens; merchants; fowlers; sailors; musicians; thieves; physicians; religious men
1860-1885	Defensive provisions for the town
1886-2143	Marriage and the behaviour of women; sexual conduct
2144-2523	Management and care of the estate, household, and finances; hospitality; children in the household
2524-2815	Food consumption; diet
2816-2840	Epilogue

Fig.2. Increased division of subject matter in *Urbanus magnus*

The poem begins with an opening prologue [ll.1-19] which exhorts the reader to heed the words of the author and introduces the audience as 'boy-clerks':

> To be adorned with morals and manners, if you desire, reader, to be venerated, to be noble among lords and lead a civilised life, to be a provident overseer in administering your own property, read and re-read often and keep forever in your mind these verses which I have decided to write, clad in the lightness of common language, for boy-clerks.[2]

In addition, it offers the trope of the father's exhortation to a son to follow the teachings in the text; this is a trope which is employed throughout the text at various points:

> With attentive ears, hear the worthy words of your father as he teaches you and writes for you, my son; let your father's teaching be grafted on your mind.[3]

The poem utilises both *nate* and *fili* as exhortations to a son, for example 'O son, beware lawyers if you are not one of them'.[4]

Following this short prologue, the next section identified by Rigg, [ll.20-205] is concerned with moral advice and religious duties. It begins with the importance of loving God above all things, followed by the love of relatives whom one should protect faithfully:

> God is first above all who should be cherished in the heart. Then, there is the courteous and proper love of close relatives, whom it is proper to watch over resolutely and faithfully.[5]

[2] *UM*, ll.1-6. See appendix I for the full Latin text.
[3] *UM*, ll.9-11.
[4] *UM*, l.1525. For the invocation of the son through the words *nate* or *genite* see *UM*, lines 1125, 1553, 1857, 1911-12, 1947, 2117. For *fili*, see *UM* lines 793, 1525, 1815, 1902, 2452.
[5] *UM*, ll.20-22.

The text advises the reader to follow the teachings of God [l.28] and enumerates the virtues and vices of the ideal and the perverse man [ll.33-48].[6] For example, the perverse man is lecherous, fickle, stupid, slanderous and treacherous, while the ideal man is loyal, prudent, respectful, honest and restrained. Indeed, the theme of restraint is one which permeates the whole text, and is made explicit early in the text: 'If you want to oppose vice, first you should rule the mind'.[7] The text then continues to enumerate the various areas where restraint is called for. Examples include to avoid acting like a fool [ll.76-7], to eschew finding fault in others and praising or boasting excessively [ll.89-93], and the avoidance of frivolous speech [ll.94-103].[8] This is followed by a brief discussion of noble blood, and how one should not disgrace noble blood through ignoble behaviour:

> It is a dreadful disgrace to discredit noble birth, because of the distinction which comes with it. It is your prime concern never to fall from the highest standards of behaviour. Never do anything dishonourable.[9]

The text advances to advise that one should always keep busy and avoid idleness [ll.127-131] before a lengthy discussion of religious practices. This includes behaviour in church, ranging from the appropriate way to sing the Psalms and prostrate oneself before Christ [ll.132-139], to the correct manner of dressing in church [ll.151-6]. The advice concerning the Psalms is repeated [ll.157-174], stressing the correct way to sing the Psalms, and the avoidance of mocking those who sing poorly. This is succeeded by passages relating to the respect due to religious men [ll.175-8] and on the correct

[6] See pp.70-73 of chapter 2 for a more in-depth analysis of the virtues and vices in *UM*.
[7] *UM*, l.59. See chapter 4 for an in-depth discussion of restraint in relation to speech, laughter, gesture, bodily function, and sexual practices.
[8] See chapter 4, pp.165-75 on restraint and moderation in speech.
[9] *UM*, ll.110-14. Translation from D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), p.127.

hierarchy of people during the church service [ll.179-83].[10] This section concludes with passages emphasising God as the ultimate avenger and punisher of those who sin [ll.184-205].

The next portion of the poem concerns avarice, death, heaven, and hell [ll.206-419]. It begins with the exhortation to avoid avarice and greed, since wealth and renown are forgotten after death [ll.206-224]:

> Soon enough the names of grandfathers and forebears are blown away in the wind; do what deeds you may, worms will be your next heir.[11]

The text continues to discuss the everlasting nature of heaven and the joys that are to be found there [ll.225-53]. For example, in heaven

> …there is no fear, pain, uncertainty or labours,…the meadows are green and blooming plants flourish; the pastures never wither; life is everlasting there'.[12]

However, the tone shifts to emphasise the transient nature of life, stating that 'there is nothing more worthless on earth than the human body'.[13] It then moves into the portrayal of hell [ll.284-373], describing the torments and torture found in hell [ll.287-93]. In contrast to the everlasting and verdant nature of heaven, hell is seen as a place devoid of earthly pleasures [ll.353-63]:

> There are no fruits born from trees there, nor the sound of singing songbirds, flowers are not fragrant, and the spring does not smell like lilies. No twinkling stars, nor the sun or the moon, shine in that place.[14]

[10] See chapter 3, pp.96-103 on superior/inferior relationships in the household, and pp.103-10 on hierarchy in hospitality.
[11] *UM*, ll.222-4. Translation from Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p.154.
[12] *UM*, ll.234; 238-9.
[13] *UM*, l.278.
[14] *UM*, ll.359-61.

Similar to the previous section [ll.20-205], this part is concluded by the repetition that God is the ultimate authority in all matters [ll.374-81].

At l.382 the text begins by advising against boastful and egotistical behaviour, along with eschewing malicious gossip [ll.382-393]. Following this, one should avoid envy [ll.394-99], spread charity to those less fortunate [ll.400-410], and respect one's parents [ll.411-21]:

> It is an immense crime to hate your own parents. It is an ignoble and perverse child steeped in wickedness who defiles them.[15]

The following sections relate to the maintenance of peace within society. This includes: the importance of finding a protector [ll.425-433]; maintaining positive relationships with neighbours and friends [ll.434-448]; and maintaining peace amongst fellow-citizens [ll.449-473]:

> You should avoid violating civil peace with crime. Hold dear to your neighbours, it is worth being kind to them; there is no greater praise than being pleasing to your neighbours.[16]

In addition, you should not oppose the might of superior or stronger men, 'lest the wild beast rises up at you and no one knows how to restrain it'.[17] Finally, where maintaining social peace is concerned, *Urbanus magnus* advises one to avoid quarrels or lawsuits [ll.509-520]. The remaining passages are by and large concerned with friendship, advisors, speech and secrets. However, before this discussion of friends and counsellors, it is preceded by a mixture of different subject matter. For example, respect for one's parents is returned to [ll.529-31], and is then followed by an

[15] *UM*, ll.411-13.
[16] *UM*, ll.471-3.
[17] *UM*, ll.499-504.

enumeration of illicit sexual practices which are to be shunned, such as homosexuality and sexual relations with nuns and female relations [ll.533-43].[18] It continues to a discussion of how one should learn from mistakes [ll.544-62], and how one should consult a physician when ill [ll.568-78].[19] The text then returns to the more cohesive theme of maintaining peace and social standing through friendship, counsellors, and appropriate speech. For example, one should be careful in the choice of counsellor and be judicious in choosing to whom secrets are told. Therefore, the 'crooked sycophant' should not be your counsellor, and he should 'not know your secrets', nor should your enemies: 'the enemy should not know your most secret counsels'.[20] [l.625]. In addition, one should be capable of keeping a secret:

> If the lord or a trusted confidant should entrust a secret to you, conceal that secret with a silent heart. A worthy man never reveals that information.[21]

A discussion on correct speech permeates the remainder of this section. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter 4 of this thesis, but, to summarise, the text stresses the avoidance of loquacity which can often lead to quarrels and violence [ll.632-41], the avoidance of vulgar speech which harms the speaker more than the listener [ll.665-8], and the avoidance of angry or bitter speech which damages the reputation and respect of the speaker [ll.691-705].[22] Interspersed throughout these passages, are others which relate to friendship. One should tolerate foolish friends [ll.672-3], indeed faithful friends are rare and should be cherished [ll.806-13], and there is a scarcity of

[18] See chapter 4, pp.178-86 for a discussion of sexual practices mentioned in *UM*.
[19] See chapter 3, pp.133-5 for a discussion of the physician's role as described in *UM*.
[20] *UM*, ll.594-5; 625.
[21] *UM*, ll.611-13.
[22] See chapter 4, pp.165-75 for a discussion of restraint in speech advocated in *UM*.

honesty among friends [ll.706-12]. There is a correlation between friendship and counsel:

> You should have several friends...and from the many you should have one counsellor whose advice, honest loyalty and truth should be agreeable and helpful to you...O son, you should not dress yourself with foolish counsel.[23]

The section concludes with calls to ignore slander directed at you, especially if from a friend [ll.820-2]. It repeats that one should avoid quarrels and disputes with friends [ll.845-8], one should mask emotions when sad [ll.857-64], and finally it concludes with the counsel to learn from mistakes in order to avoid repeating them: 'it is stupid to be deceived twice, once is enough'.[24]

The following section [ll.875-1220] is described by Rigg as concerning table manners; however, further examination reveals that this section contains more than this.[25] It begins with an emphasis on speech, continuing that seen in previous passages: 'if the royal court nurtures you under your wings, be thought sweet in speech'.[26] It continues the theme of restraint in speech, stating that one should avoid excessive laughter [ll.881-4], gossiping, using nicknames, singing scandalous songs and blasphemy [ll.886-9]. The section continues to dissuade people from joking and playing with people who are not inclined to [ll.895-6]. It discusses the giving of gifts in order to ensure the favour of great men [ll.897-911]:

> if you give a box as a gift to anyone, there should be a jewel inside, or a ring of gold, or a brooch, or at the least spices, which very often wins people over.[27]

[23] *UM*, ll.788-92. For more on friendship in *UM*, see chapter 3, pp.98-101.
[24] *UM*, ll.869-71.
[25] As evidenced in Fig.2, pg.10.
[26] *UM*, ll.875-6.
[27] *UM*, ll.909-11.

The following section concerns appropriate behaviour when greeting guests [ll.912-8].[28] Then the passages relating to table manners begins. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5, but in summary these passages discuss the essential elements of table manners: speaking at the table, the practical etiquette of eating and drinking, the dangers or overindulgence in food and drink, greed and gluttony, and cleanliness at the table [ll.919-1081].[29] The text then diverts from this lengthy discussion of table manners to etiquette surrounding bodily emissions, especially urination, defecation, and flatulence [ll.1083-1103].[30] The text continues to examine the role of servants in the household, especially the clerk and the predapifer [ll.1139-63].[31] It then discusses appropriate attire and personal grooming for those present in the great hall for dining. [ll.1164-99]. This section concludes with some final pieces of advice on behaviour in the hall, for example, stating that personal grooming should not take place there:

> You should avoid cracking your fingers and thumb; avoid removing your shoes or washing your feet, washing or cutting long hair, or trimming your nails, or shaving your beard in the presence of lords and ladies in the hall.[32]

Rigg then includes a short section [ll.1221-65] on bad masters, where the bad householder is compared to the classical figure of Eutrapelus.[33] The emphasis here is on the protection which the noble household can bestow, even if he is not the most ideal or perfect master:

[28] See chapter 3, pp.103-10 on hospitality afforded to guests.
[29] See chapter 5, pp.227-46 on table manners.
[30] See chapter 4, pp.187-95 on bodily emissions and restraint.
[31] See chapter 3, pp.120-8 on the role of those serving the master in the household.
[32] *UM*, ll.1210-14.
[33] See chapter 3, pp.93-6 on the role of the householder.

> You should not have a worthless lord, granted though he may be reckless, treacherous, uncivilised in speech, a non-entity actually, as long as you are able to lie low under his protection.[34]

The subsequent passages relate to the various duties of the servants and messengers [ll.1266-483]. This begins with the duties of the servant who serves the lord at night, carrying the light ahead of his master to the bedchamber, and attending to the master in the privy. [ll.1266-81] In addition, the servant attends the lord at the bedside and he is to ensure that the master has all the requisite provisions: clothing for the morning, cushions, and clean linens [ll.1282-8]. This section provides details of the uselessness of servants in old age [1293-1304], accepting the lord's kiss [ll.1308-11], and how the servant should be a mirror of his lord and fight for his honour [ll.1315-1325].[35] It concludes with a description of the duties of the messenger, from his attire to his obligation to relay messages faithfully and without embellishment [ll.1326-47].[36] The section on messengers concludes at l.1347, and Rigg fails to account for the content between this and the next section beginning with the duties of the judge [ll.1484-1641].

Next, we are provided with advice for behaviour outside of the household and in the streets [ll.1354-65]. For example: 'If you see unlocked doors when out walking, you should not look inside those houses..., while walking through the streets, avoid throwing pebbles'.[37] It continues the theme of table manners by stating that:

> When the lord is coming to speak, pay your appropriate greeting to the lord. If you are commanded to dine with him you should sit at the meal, dine sumptuously, gladly consume the food in a courteous manner …after the meal is finished, say farewell to the lord.[38]

[34] *UM*, ll.1255-7.
[35] The notion of the servant as a mirror of the lord is discussed in chapter 3, p.121.
[36] See chapter 3, p.110 for the duties of the messenger.
[37] *UM*, ll.1354-6.
[38] *UM*, ll.1366-70.

Following this is a discussion on the acceptance or refusal of invitations to dine [ll.1371-75], along with an exhortation to suppress anger towards enemies while dining [ll.1377-81]. There is further advice given to the guest dining at another's household [ll.1384-1416], such as arriving promptly and avoiding the tavern. In addition, blasphemy should be shunned [ll.1421-1444]. This is followed by more advice on courteous behaviour when the guest of another, with an emphasis on moderation and restraint in speech and gluttony [ll.1445-63], and concludes with a passage about farewells and gift-giving.

The next substantial section of *Urbanus magnus* focuses on a wide range of persons present in medieval society. This includes a lengthy passage on the duties of a judge which is discussed in greater detail in chapter 3 [ll.1484-1559], along with others such as bailiffs [ll.1642-67], redheads [ll.1677-80], knights [ll.1699-1711], students [ll.1712-9; 1728-47], teachers [ll.1720-7]; citizens [ll.1748-56], merchants [ll.1757-61], fowlers [ll.1763-7], sailors [ll.1768-73], musicians [ll.1774-89], thieves [ll.1780-94], physicians [ll.1795-8], and religious men [ll.1818-1835].[39] In addition, there is a passage about the defensive provisions needed in a town which enumerates the manpower required, the weapons needed, and some of the food supplies necessary.

The following section [ll.1886-2143] is focused on the behaviour of women, especially the lustful and adulterous wife, the ideal wife, the realities of marriage, sexual relations, and prostitutes. In summary, the mistress of the house is portrayed as lustful and incapable of controlling her sexual urges. To commit adultery with your lord's wife will result in ruin [ll.1888-1933] and women are manipulative and routinely

[39] The inclusion of this variety of sections of society is discussed later in chapter 2 on sources, pp.88-90, in chapter 3 on the ranks of society outside the household, pp.128-35, and in chapter 6 in relation to *contemptus mundi* literature, pp.262-9.

entrap men in marriage, only revealing their true self once the union has been secured [ll.1947-82]. However, the overall message conveyed by this portrayal of women is the preservation of the sanctity of marriage above all, and the concealment of the shame of being cuckolded by one's wife [ll.1997-2026]. This depiction of women and the possible satirical undertones are discussed at length at various points of this thesis.[40]

After this section on women, Rigg describes ll.2144-523 as concerned with the general care of the household. There is advice to remain busy and active in life [ll.2144-60], followed by passages relating to the management of the estate. This includes the maintenance of the buildings, farms, livestock, orchards, etc., [ll.2161-2195] the giving of gifts [ll.2197-2202], and the maintenance and provisions for the house such as tableware and food [ll.2203-5].[41] This is followed by a discussion of wives including their proclivity for opulence [ll.2240-9], and the correct behaviour of the wife [ll.2250-60]. In addition, one should search for good servants who reflect the honour and glory of the master [ll.2261-75]. There is further discussion of the duties the master has to his servants, such as paying them promptly for their service [ll.2326-31], and more passages relating to the hospitality due to guests to the household, such as clerics and knights [ll.2343-94]:

> If a cleric or a knight comes to you as a guest, run toward him and hasten to greet him sweetly. If he is dear to you, embrace and kiss him.[42]

[40] See especially, chapter 3, pp.113-120 on the role of the wife and the perils of marriage, and also chapter 4, pp.183-6 on sexual behaviour.
[41] See section on use in chapter 7, pp.321-2, for a discussion on how the listing of provisions for example could be used in vocabulary acquisition.
[42] *UM*, ll.2343-5. A. Putter, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and French Arthurian Romance* (Oxford, 1995), p.69.

In addition, there are passages relating to the provision of lighting within the household [ll.2395-2414], for example 'lights should be located near doorways at night' and 'do not extinguish candles near people, lest the harmful smoke offend their eyes and nose'.[43] Following this is a brief discussion of the behaviour of children in the household [ll.2415-28].[44] It concludes with a final passage about hospitality and arrival at a household as a guest [ll.2471-3], along with the burdens which the householder faces [ll.2508-23].

The final part of the text is described as 'daily life and food' by Rigg [ll.2524-839].[45] The opening lines are:

> Listen, learn the manner of dining if you wish to be prosperous, distinguished, and thriving with wealth.[46]

The section begins with an exhortation to attend church, before commencing with the practical elements of consumption and diet. It stresses the necessity of rest after eating, beginning the dietary tone which the remaining sections focus on. Before a description of the dietary effects of various foodstuffs, the text discusses the preparations and manners before the meal, such as handwashing and the laying out of the table [ll.2537-54]. There is then a discussion of the order in which the food is served at the table [ll.2562-73], followed by precepts relating to the appropriate manner in which servants should serve those at the table [ll.2578-92]. The remaining sections focus on the preparation, consumption and dietary effects of various food and drink, such as the correct way to eat cheese [ll.2607-9], and eggs [ll.2610-12], as well as a description of

[43] *UM*, ll.2395; 2413-14.
[44] See chapter 3, pp.110-13 for a discussion of children in the household.
[45] This section is discussed throughout chapter 5, on table manners and food consumption.
[46] *UM*, ll.2342-5.

the sauces which accompany different foodstuffs [ll.2629-69]. The remaining lines up to l.2816 are dietary in nature, and relate to the perceived health benefits and disadvantages of different foodstuffs, such as cheese, beer, wine, meat, etc. This relates strongly to humoural theories of food consumption contained in *Regimen* health texts, and is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

The text concludes with an epilogue [ll.2816-2840], reminding the reader to heed the advice contained in the text, and to 'strive to live scrupulously and avoid vice'.[47] It expands the initial intended audience of 'boy-clerks' to include priests, soldiers, married women, girls and gentlemen alike [ll.2834-6]. Finally, it ends with the explicit:

> Old King Henry first gave these teachings for those who lack refinement, which are written below in this little book. Here ends the Book of the Civilised Man by Daniel of Beccles. Let down the arc of the sail. May he who granted the joys of heaven to Elijah give them for his desserts to Daniel.[48]

At first sight, this may appear to be a reference to Henry I; however, it more likely refers to Henry II, since his son Young Henry was crowned during Henry II's own lifetime. Consequently, Henry II was known as 'Old King Henry'.[49] The inclusion of the monarch's name may have been an attempt to legitimate or popularise the text, but it does not imply that the monarch actually imparted these precepts to Daniel of Beccles. However, Bartlett does find it likely that it points to the poem being a product

[47] *UM*, l.2823.
[48] *UM*, ll.2835-40. For an alternative translation see Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, p.127: 'Old Henry first taught people lacking in style these courtly lessons set forth in this book. Here ends the "Book of the Urbane Man" by Daniel of Beccles. Now strike the sail! And may that God that blessed Elisha, give to Daniel heavenly rest'.
[49] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.151. See also, T. Zotz, 'Urbanitas. Zur Bedeutung und Funkion einer antiken Wertvorsellung innerhalb der höfischen Kultur des hohen Mittelalters', in *Curialitas. Studien zu Grundfragen des höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur*, ed. J. Fleckenstein (Göttingen, 1990), pp.392-451, at pp.414-5.

of the Angevin court.[50] This epilogue concludes the broad description of *Urbanus magnus*. It is a substantial poem which covers a wide range of topics. The text itself contains no internal divisions or rubrics to aid the reader in following the structure of the poem, making a cohesive description of the structure of the poem difficult. Furthermore, there is repetition throughout the poem, especially around themes relating to speech, hospitality, and table manners. However, there is some sense to the structure. The poem commences with moral advice, establishing the importance of good moral behaviour and the maintenance of peace in relationships between friends and neighbours, and more broadly social harmony between citizens. With that foundation laid, the text moves into more practical advice such as the management of the household, table manners, and hospitality, along with some advice for outside the household. Following this is an enumeration of various persons in society, the sexual predilections of women, and the role of wives and children in the household. The text then returns to the dining table, concluding with more specific dietary and health advice.

With no evident internal structure to provide clues as to the composition of the poem, we must utilise other tools in an attempt to reconstruct how and when this poem was composed.

1.2. Manuscripts and Chronology

The extant manuscripts aid in an understanding of the broad chronology of the text, and also provide vital clues to the complex issues of authorship and composition discussed in the final part of this chapter. Fig.3 provides a list of the manuscripts under

[50] R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 1075-1225 (Oxford, 2000), p.583.

consideration.[51] In addition, we can also include the non-extant manuscripts which contained a copy of *Urbanus magnus*, found in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.[52] Importantly, this section does not yet seek to situate *Urbanus magnus* amongst the fellow-travellers in the manuscripts, as chapter 6 of this thesis more closely examines the uses of *Urbanus magnus* as discerned from the manuscript contents.

Manuscript[53]	**Date**	**Lines**	**Section[54]**
Full copies:			
C_1	13th	full copy	- - -
D	13th-14th	full copy	- - -
W	13th	full copy	- - -
Partial copies:			
C_2	13th-14th	2676-2823	IV
L_1	13th-14th	2524-2814	IV
L_2	14th	2524-2832	IV
L_3	13th-14th	48-249	I
O_1	14th	various lines	all sections
O_2	12th-13th	1-1240	I and II
O_3	14th	875-1545	II
P_1	13th	1589-1613 and 2676-2838	II and IV
P_2	12th-13th	1-691 [different order to edited text]	I

Fig.3. The manuscripts of *Urbanus magnus*

In addition, Fig.4 shows the entries for *Urbanus magnus* in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues:

[51] See appendix II for a description of each extant manuscript.
[52] See appendix III for a description of the manuscripts described in the CBMLC.
[53] The key to the sigla can be found in the introductory material to this thesis and on p.425 at the beginning of the appendices.
[54] Section I: lines 1-874; section II: lines 875-1353; section III: 1354-2523; section IV: 2524-2833.

Library Catalogue	Catalogue Entry for *Urbanus magnus*:
Dover Priory	BM_I. 409a BM_I. 440m
Leicester Abbey	A20. 979h
St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury	BA_I. 873y
Titchfield Abbey	P6. 156f
York Austin Friars	FA8. 502c

Fig.4. Manuscripts of *Urbanus magnus* in the CMBLC

The column headed as 'section' in Figs.3 and 5 refers to the division into four sections suggested by Lachaud.[55] She divides the text as follows:

Section	Line Numbers	Content
Prologue	1-20	Prologue to the text
I	21-874	Primarily relates to morals and the influence of the *Disticha Catonis*
II	875-1353	Service in a great house or court
III	1354-2523	Advice to various ranks of society
IV	2524-2833	Table manners

Fig.5. Division of *Urbanus Magnus* based on the manuscript contents

At the outset, it may appear difficult to make such divisions from within the text, but the sections do make sense when seen through an examination of the extant manuscripts. Of the nine manuscripts which contain partial copies of *Urbanus magnus*, four contain extracts from the fourth section, two of which begin on l.2524 which Lachaud designates as the beginning of section IV.[56] Her line range for section II corresponds with the extract contained in MS O_3. The remaining manuscripts contain

[55] F. Lachaud, 'Littérature de civilité et "processus de civilisation" à la fin du XIIe siècle: le cas anglais d'après l'Urbanus magnus', in *Les Échanges culturels au Moyen Âge. XXXIIe Congrès de la SHMES (Université du Littoral Côte d'Opale, juin 2001)* (Paris, 2002), pp.227-39, at p.230.

[56] Note that this discussion of the nine manuscripts which contain partial copies of *Urbanus magnus* excludes MS O_1 due to the problems of line order and the fact that it reproduced lines from throughout the text.

portions of sections I and II, but there is no consistent order across the manuscripts. Therefore, it appears that Lachaud's division of the text is based primarily on manuscript evidence, focusing on manuscripts which contain sections II and IV, and using the internal evidence of the text to support this distinction.

Before a close examination of the development of *Urbanus magnus* through the manuscript evidence it is important to note that the chronology of the manuscripts is not exact, but they can be loosely grouped together into late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century manuscripts, thirteenth-century manuscripts, and fourteenth-century manuscripts. MSS O_2 and P_2 are the earliest known copies.[57] However, this early date is confused by the presence of only the first two sections of the text. In addition, MSS O_2 and P_2 reveal substantial reordering of the text compared with the printed edition and also many textual omissions. For example, MS O_2 contains approximately 400 lines taken from ll.1-1240 of *Urbanus magnus*, omitting large passages of the edited text.[58] MS P_2 contains far fewer textual omissions, but is ordered differently to the edition. Instead of beginning with the first line, *moribus ornari si uis lecto uenerari*, it begins at l.255, *fons, mare, terra, seges, apis et piscis, pecus, ale*', which relates to a section describing how God created everything in the world and man is servile to it. The text proceeds sequentially to l.691 whereupon it reverts to the first line of the poem and continues to l.254. Neither manuscript has an attribution of authorship and only MS O_2 has a title for the text provided, which is simply 'Urbani'. However, MS O_2 does contain subject headings which may represent an attempt to divide the poem: *Proverbia urbani*, *Curialitates ecclesiasticorum*, and *Curialitates mense*.[59]

[57] See appendix II, pp.456-8 for O_2 and pp.465-6 for P_2.
[58] See appendix II, p.457.
[59] *Proverbia urbani*, ff.19r-20r; *Curialitates ecclesiasticorum*, ff.20r-22r; and *Curialitates mense*, ff.22v-23r. See appendix II, p.458 for images of these subject headings.

The date of authorship for *Urbanus magnus* has been presumed to be c.1180s, yet these early manuscripts raise interesting questions regarding authorship and composition.[60] There is no identification of an author, and there are significant structural differences to the edited text, which was based on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts.[61] Furthermore, there are significant structural differences between MSS O_2 and P_2 themselves. If Daniel of Beccles authored the text in c.1180, it seems unlikely that there was sufficient time for the text not only to be disseminated widely but also to be extracted and manipulated in the manner seen in MSS O_2 and P_2. These questions will be returned to in this chapter. However, at this junction it is important to note that these extant manuscripts only provide a glimpse at the early composition of *Urbanus magnus*, and we cannot be certain about what else may have been circulating in the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-centuries. Yet, the fact that both of the earliest manuscripts do not contain all of the text is suggestive.

Following these manuscripts are those which can be approximately dated to the thirteenth century: MSS C_1, C_2, P_1, and W. Two of these contain full copies of *Urbanus magnus* as appears in Smyly's edition, although these do not include the final lines of the poem, and there is no identification of authorship.[62] The crucial lines referencing *Danielis Becclesiensis* do not appear. Interestingly, MS C_1 contains extensive glosses which function as an aid to identifying the different subject matter in *Urbanus magnus*, and may also have acted as a means to create order within the text.[63] The next manuscript from this grouping is P_1, which contains two separate extracts of *Urbanus*

[60] This dating is based on the early manuscripts which date from the end of the twelfth century or early thirteenth century, along with stylistic analysis and John Bale's biographical entry for Daniel Churche. See p.39.
[61] Smyly used MSS C_1, D, L_2, and W in his edition.
[62] MS C_1 omits the final 17 lines of the poem; MS W omits the final 7 lines.
[63] See appendix II, pp.428-33 for the glosses in C_1.

magnus [ll.2676-2838, followed by ll.1589-1613].[64] The first extract of the poem omits the final two lines of the text, which identifies Daniel of Beccles as the author, and replaces it with the following:

> That in the beginning and the end, there is the glory of Christ.
> Here ends the book which is called Urbanus.[65]

Similar to MS C_1, there is an attempt to use glosses to identify sections, although they are not as extensive as those seen in MS C_1.[66] The second section reproduced in this manuscript is a short section with discusses the duties of the judge and is introduced by the following line: *De eodem libro uersus* (Verses from the same book). MS C_2 similarly includes an extract of the edited text, which is almost identical to that extracted in P_1: ll.2676-2823. There is no evidence for authorship in this manuscript, although the extract is titled 'Phisica urbani'. What these manuscripts suggest is that it is not until the thirteenth century that the full-length version of the text – minus authorship – appears, and also that it is in the thirteenth century when section IV begins to be reproduced frequently in its own right. For example, MS L_1 dates from the thirteenth to fourteenth century, and contains ll.2524-2814 which corresponds to section IV. There is no indication of authorship or title, although there are some marginal notes similar to MS P_1.[67]

MSS D, L_2, L_3, O_1 and O_3 are the fourteenth-century copies. Importantly, it is only in the fourteenth century that the name *Danielis Becclesiensis* is recorded. This is in MS D, which is dated to the thirteenth century, but the section with the full copy of

[64] See appendix II, pp.462-4.
[65] 'Qui dedit alpha et omega, sit laus et gloria Christo. Explicit iste liber qui uocatur Urbanus'.
[66] At l.2722: Ceruisia; l.2729: De genere cranium; l.2741: De genere piscium; l.2764: Quomodo homo mane surgens se debet habere.
[67] At l.2652-3: Quiddam salsa mentum; l.2664: De ciueta; l.2676: De dieta fleubotomati; l.2696: De panet.

Urbanus magnus was an addition in the fourteenth century. The remaining manuscripts contain different extracts of the text. MS L_2 is similar to MSS C_2, L_1 and P_1 in reproducing section IV of *Urbanus magnus* [ll.2524-2832]. It is titled as *De curialitate in diaeta*, and contains some marginal notes.[68] MS L_3 contains a short extract of approximately 200 lines [ll.48-249], while MS O_3 reproduces section II of *Urbanus magnus* [ll.875-1598]. This manuscript attributes the extract, which is called *Liber curialis*, to Robert Grosseteste.[69] Finally, MS O_1 contains approximately 100 lines drawn from all four sections of the poem, and although the lines are heavily reordered, when read together the text forms a relatively cohesive text on table manners.[70]

These later manuscripts reveal the continued popularity of section IV, which appears on its own in four manuscripts. In addition, knowledge of the larger text was available, evidenced by the manipulation witnessed in MS O_1 which extracts lines from throughout *Urbanus magnus*. Finally, the fourteenth century witnessed the attribution of authorship in MS D.

The Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues provides further clues that the authorship of *Urbanus magnus* was not ascribed until the fourteenth century, or potentially the late thirteenth century.[71] The catalogue from Dover Priory records a manuscript containing the *Liber urbani* of Daniel of Beccles.[72] This catalogue was compiled in 1389, and the manuscript must date from the later thirteenth century onwards due to the presence of Robert Grosseteste's *Prognostica*.[73] In addition, two manuscripts recorded in the catalogues of Leicester Abbey and the York Austin Friars

[68] See appendix II, pp.444-8.
[69] See pp.33-4 on composition and the manuscript association with Grosseteste.
[70] See the extract translation contained in appendix II, pp.452-4.
[71] See appendix III.
[72] See appendix III, pp.467-8 for both Dover Priory catalogue entries.
[73] Robert Grosseteste (c.1175-1253).

similarly record authorship.[74] The Leicester Abbey catalogue records Daniel of Beccles as the author of the *Liber urbani*, while the manuscript from the York Austin Friars records the *Liber urbanis Danielis*, with no mention of Beccles/*Becclesiensis*. The presence of works by John of Garland (c.1190-1270), in conjunction with *Urbanus magnus*, makes it likely that these manuscripts date from the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.

As a result, there is no attribution of authorship of *Urbanus magnus* in any manuscript which was created close to the considered textual composition date of c.1180s. Furthermore, the name of Daniel of Beccles is only attached nearly two centuries after the earliest manuscripts. In addition, the chronology suggests that initially sections I and II were reproduced in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, while the remaining sections III and IV did not appear until the mid to late thirteenth century. Consequently, there are key issues to address: firstly, there is the question as to whether Daniel of Beccles was the author of the text at its appears in its early genesis in the late twelfth century, and witnessed in MSS O_2 and P_2; secondly, there is the possibility that his name was attached in the thirteenth century as the text expanded; thirdly, because Daniel's name is attached to the end of section IV, there is the possibility that he only authored that section and his name subsequently became synonymous with the entire poem; finally, there is the question of whether this text represents a compilation of different texts, for which Daniel of Beccles was not author but compiler. The remaining sections of this chapter sheds light on these thorny issues.

[74] See appendix III, pp.468-9.

1.3. COMPOSITION

The issue of composition is a challenging one, and rests predominantly around the question of whether the text is the work of one author or is actually an amalgamation of different works by a compiler. Attendant to this question is whether Daniel of Beccles was responsible for the early composition of the poem, the latter section IV of the poem, or whether he was a compiler of separate treatises. I will examine these issues by exploring the question of identification of the text, manuscript dissemination, and the problematic fourth section of the poem.

Currently, we identify the full text as *Urbanus magnus*, or the 'Book of the Civilised Man' as Bartlett has translated the title.[75] However, Gillingham prefers the title *Liber urbani*, likely because it appears under that title in some of the manuscripts.[76] In addition, it has variously been identified as *Liber curialis* and *Physica urbani*.[77] The importance of a discussion of the fragmentary nature of the manuscript dissemination stems from the assertion by scholars that *Urbanus magnus* may not have been conceived of in the form which exists today in the 1939 edition. Bartlett suggests that the lack of cohesion within the text stems from the fact that 'the treatise as it now stands was created by combining several earlier separate texts'.[78] Gieben also believes that *Urbanus magnus* was composed from separate independent texts, noting that it is not 'a very homogenous work'.[79] In reference to the three subheadings in MS O_2, Gieben argues that they were reproduced from a single copy,

[75] Barlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.582.
[76] J. Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp.267-89, p.272. He prefers the title *Liber urbani* and refers to *Urbanus magnus* as such throughout his article. See appendix III, Dover Priory, BM_I. 409a, p.467; Leicester Abbey, A20. 979, p.469; and York Austin Friars, FA8. 502c, p.469.
[77] MS O_3 and MS C_2 respectively.
[78] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.583.
[79] S. Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books', *Vivarium*, 5 (1967), pp.47-74, at p.70.

i.e., *Urbanus magnus* (or the *Liber urbanus* as he refers to it).[80] He suggests that this could be 'a hint that the *Urbanus magnus* as it was edited by Smyly is only a collection of amalgamated works'.[81] Nicholls notes that the section headings for section IV may 'recall an originally independent poem'.[82] Roussel, too, remarks that some sections, especially section IV, might once have been autonomous and then added to the poem at a later date.[83] Close scrutiny of the composition of the text reveals a validity to the argument that the poem is composed of separate works.

While this thesis is not a stylistic analysis of the Latinity of *Urbanus magnus*, an understanding of some elements of the style of the poem can provide clues to its composition. The exhortation to the son, through the words *nate* and *fili*, is limited solely to sections I, II, and III of the poem and does not appear in section IV at all.[84] Rigg notes a stylistic difference between lines 1-2523, and the final section from line 2524 onwards. Specifically, he identifies a 'fondness for newly coined denominative verbs', up to l.2523; these include *roso*, *spino*, *boreo*, *brumo*, and *peripsimo*.[85] In addition, there is a consistent use of alliteration throughout the first three sections of the poem, which is absent from section IV. Not only is there the common alliteration of lines such as l.295, with derivations on *dampna* echoed in section III [l.1912], there is the consistent alliteration of variations of the same word [Fig. 6]. For example, this includes *socius sociis*, *amicus amicis*, *fauilla fauillet*, and *studiis studeas*. The fact that

[80] See fn.59 above.
[81] Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books', p.70.
[82] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, pp.162-3.
[83] C. Roussel, 'Le legs de la Rose: modèles et precepts de la sociabilité médiévale', in *Pour une histoire des traités de savoir-vivre en Europe*, ed. A. Montandon (Clermont-Ferrand, 1994), pp.1-90, at p.13.
[84] See p.11 of this chapter.
[85] Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, p.126.

this is present throughout the first three sections and is relatively absent from section IV, again supports the argument that section IV is a later addition to the poem.

Line Number:	Section:	Latin Text:
74-5	I	Dilige doctrinam, doctores dilige doctos; Dedoctus docti doctoris dogmata dampnet.
105-6	I	Ingenuus mellita parit, mellita ministrat: Prauus iners fellita pluit, fellita propinat.
162	I	Psalmos psallendo, nec sillaba surripiatur.
295	I	Dampnant dampnati dampnatos.
439	I	Sis socius sociis, habearis amicus amicis.
1009	II	Pocula non poscas nisi que pincerna propinet.
1022	II	Coctana, mala, pira, licet illa fauilla fauillet.
1054	II	Sit tibi tornatile tale paratum….
1239	II	Est stolidi stolida stolide sua gesta tueri.
1321	II	Sis placitus placitis domino, sis hostibus hostis…
1401	III	Si socius socio dicat uel amicus amico :
1674	III	In malefactores malefacta redire solebant ;
1742	III	In studiis studeas studio superare labores…
1885	III	Cum medicaminibus medicus sit eis comitatus.
1912	III	Inter dampna duo dampnum minus elige, nate.

Fig.6. Systematic use of alliteration in *Urbanus magnus*

The manuscript dissemination, as discussed above in relation to the chronology of the manuscripts, is one of the key reasons for viewing the text as a compilation of stand-alone poems. One manuscript which has been used in the argument for the fragmentary nature of the text is MS O_3, where the extract of section II of *Urbanus magnus* goes under the title of *Liber curialis* and is attributed to Robert Grosseteste. Immediately following the extracts from *Urbanus magnus* is the poem by Grosseteste

known as *Stans puer ad mensam*.[86] This poem concerns manners and etiquette specifically at the table, and is very similar in content to the *Urbanus magnus* extracts. It is this similarity which has created confusion and led some to view both the *Urbanus magnus* extracts and *Stans puer ad mensam* as works by Robert Grosseteste. Gieben has elaborated on this association and the problem of the *Liber curialis*.[87] He adds to the debate on the fragmentary nature of the text by pointing to an insertion at ll.874-5 in MS C_1, suggesting that this may indicate the beginning of a new work.[88] Interestingly, he ends with the argument that the *Liber curialis* could still be considered among the corpus of Robert Grosseteste. However, none of the remaining extant manuscripts contain any reference to Grosseteste in association with *Urbanus magnus*. Consequently, where section II of the text is concerned, we should dismiss the association with Grosseteste since this may be no more than a case of mistaken identification of *Urbanus magnus* as the *Liber curialis* in MS O_3. This is most likely due to the similarity of content between the extracted section of *Urbanus magnus* and *Stans puer ad mensam*, coupled with the fame of Robert Grosseteste and the success which his short poem found subsequently.[89] In addition, the evidence from the

[86] S. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste. Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940), pp.148-50 for an account of the *Liber curialis* and *SPAM*. Lachaud, 'Littérature de civilité', p.231, notes that l.2, l.6, and l.34 of *SPAM* correspond to l.103, l.99, and l.1033 of *UM*.

[87] Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books'.

[88] 'Sunt quedam que, nisi materie cursus expeteret, pudor rescidenda persuaderet; verumptamen, quia rei series nec veritati parcere novit nec verecundie, nec ego dehonesto quod preteriri non permittitur incognitum, circumscisis labiis res inhonesta in necessaries exacta poterit venusta verborum utilitate depromi'. Ibid., p.70.

[89] F. J. Furnivall, *The Babees Book: Aristotle's ABC, Urbanitatis, Stans puer ad mensam, The Lytille Childrenes Lytil Boke, the Bokes of Nurture of Hugh Rhodes and John Russell, Wynkyn de Worde's Boke of Keruynge, The Booke of Demeanor, The Boke of Curtasye, Seager's Schoole of vertue, &c. &c. With Some French & Latin Poems on Like Subjects, and Some Forewords on Education in Early England*, *EETS*, 32 (London, 1864), part II. Here Furnivall reproduces an English translation of *SPAM* attributed to John Lydgate from the fifteenth century. Furthermore, Grosseteste's connection with literature concerning etiquette and household management can be withnessed with his rules which he reproduced for the Countess of Lincoln, c.1240. See *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting*, ed. D. Oschinsky (Oxford, 1971).

manuscripts contradicts the notion that section II could have been autonomous, since MS O_2 contains extracted lines from through sections I and II, and these extracts run in the same chronological order to that of the edited text.

Section IV is most frequently discussed in the scholarship as an originally independent poem. Four manuscripts reproduce section IV of *Urbanus magnus*, and MSS L_2 and P_1 are crucial for this discussion. That this section came to be regarded as an entity in its own right is partly due to the fact that Furnivall published a translation into English based on MS L_2, which he gave the title of *Modus cenandi* or 'The Way of Dining'.[90] The extracts from MS P_1 received similar attention in a lengthy article by Faral in which he transcribed the two extracts of *Urbanus magnus* contained in that manuscript.[91] In addition, Nicholls, Gieben, and Roussel have all claimed that section IV may once have been autonomous and subsequently added to the text. Nicholls argues that the opening lines to this section, 'listen, learn the manner of dining if you wish to be prosperous, distinguished, and thriving with wealth', read like the opening exhortation to a new poem.[92] He further argues that the section headings which appear at l.2524 in MS C_1 (*De modo comendendi*) and D (*De modo cenandi*) represent a scribal attempt to identify a new poem or a new section.[93] What is clear in section IV of *Urbanus magnus* is the inclusion of passages which are almost identical to the

[90] Furnivall, *The Babees Book* MS L_2 includes five lines which are not contained in Smyly's edition. These are inserted between ll.2536-7:
'Si uis incolumen, si uis te reddere sanum, / Tolle graues curas, irasci crede prophanum, / Surgere post epulas, sompnum fuge meridian[nu]m / Si desint medici tibi, sic medici tibi fiant; / Sit tibi mens leta, labor, moderata dieta'.
[91] E. Faral, 'Notice sur le manuscrit latin de la bibliothèque nationale N° 3718', *Romania*, 46 (1920), pp.231-70.
[92] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.163.
[93] Ibid.

Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem, a medical treatise popular in the thirteenth century [see Fig.7].[94]

The *Regimen sanitiatis Salernitatem* is thought to date to the eleventh century due to the reference to Robert, Duke of Normandy, referred to in the text as King of England (*Anglorum regi scripsit tota schola Salerni*). Croke asserts that it was known in the eleventh century as it was referred to and imitated by Giles de Corbeil.[95] Unfortunately, the composition of this early text is unknown, and the copy frequently used by scholars is the commentary by Arnuldus de Villa Nova (1240-1311) in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[96] However, it has been suggested that the core text which Arnuldus de Villa Nova commented on may not be as old as originally assumed, possibly dating from the thirteenth century.[97] Croke states that the 'industry of commentators has traced every doctrine to its Greek, Latin, or Arabic origins', especially the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, and Pliny.[98] The popularity of Salernitan literature led to wide transmission of texts such as the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, especially in the thirteenth century with the development of commentaries on these medical writings. One could argue that due to the association with Duke Robert, and the connection with the Norman Empire, that it was possible for Salernitan literature to be circulating in England in the twelfth century. However, where the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* is concerned, the evidence suggests that it was unlikely to be present in England prior to the thirteenth century.

[94] See chapter 5, pp.252-6 for the use of *UM* and *RSS* in diet and health.
[95] *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem, in Lat. verse, with an ancient tr. [by sir J. Harington] and an intr. and notes by sir A. Croke* (Oxford, 1830), p.24.
[96] See *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, for the Latin text based on a printed copy of Villa Nova and an English translation by John Harrington (1561-1612).
[97] P.O. Kristeller, 'The School of Salerno: Its Development and its Contribution to the History of Learning', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 17 (1945), pp.138-94, at p.170.
[98] *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, p.28.

Urbanus Magnus	***Regimen Sanitatis Salernitatem***
Lumina clarificat, sincerat, fleubotomia Mentes et cerebrum, calidas facit esse medullas, Vesicam purgat, stomachum uentremque cohercet. (UM, ll.2684-91)	Lumina clarificat, sincerat phlebotomia mentes et cerebrum, calidas facit esse medullas, viscera purgabit, stomachum ventremque coercet (RSS, Chapter XCI)
Sunt nutritina plus dulcia, candida uina (UM, l.2711)	Sunt nutritina plus dulcia, candida uina, (RSS, Chapter XI)
Lumina mane, manus surgens gelida lauet unda; Hac illac modice pergat, modice sua membra. Extendat, crines pectat, dentes fricet ; ista Confortant cerebrum, confirmant cetera membra. (UM, ll.2764-67)	Lumina mane manus surgens gelida lavet aqua. Hac illac modicum pergat, modicum sua membra extendat, crines pectat, dentes fricet: ista confortant cerebrum, confortant caetera membra. (RSS, Chapter II)
Temporis estiui ieiunia corpora siccant. Quolibet in mense confert uomitus, quia purgat Humores nocuuos, stomachi lauat os uitiosum. Ver, autumpnus, hyems, estas dominantur in anno. Tempore uernali calidus fit et humidus aer; Nullum tempus eo melius fit fleubotomie; Tunc usus ueneris confert homini moderatus, Corporeus motus, uentrisque solutio, sudor, Balnea; purgentur tunc corpora cum medicinis. Estas more calet, siccat, noscatur in illo Tempore precipue rubeam coleram dominari. Humida, frigida fercula dentur; sit uenus extra. "Balnea non prosunt, sint rare fleubotomie Utilis est requies, sint cum moderamine potus. (UM, ll. 2790-2803)	Temporis aestivi ieiunia corpora siccant. Quolibet in mense confert vomitus, quoque purga humores nocuos, stomachi lavat ambitus omnes. Ver, autumnus, hyems, aestas dominantur in anno Tempore ventrali calidus sit aer humidusque, et nullum tempus melius sit phlebotomiae. Usus tunc homini veneris confert moderatus, corporis et motus, ventrisque solutio, sudor, balnea: purgentur tunc corpora medicinis. Aestas more calet, siccat; noscatur in illa tunc quoque praecipue choleram rubeam dominari. Humida, frigida fercula dentur, sit venus extra, balnea non prosunt, sint rarae phlebotomiae, utilis est requies, sit cum moderamine potus. (RSS, Chapter CIII)

Fig.7. The textual correlation between *Urbanus magnus* and the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*

All the manuscripts which reproduce section IV of the poem contain the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* passages, and all date to the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century.[99] It may well be that the full version of *Urbanus magnus* incorporated that early version of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* before Villanova's commentary, and expanded on it.[100] Regardless of which version was used, it is clear that it forms part of a thirteenth-century addition to the poem. Coupled

[99] See appendix II for MSS C_2, L_1, L_2, and P_1.
[100] See chapter 5, pp.252-9 for a discussion of *UM* and the *RSS* in relation to food and diet.

with the evidence that section IV only appears in manuscripts from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, and the popularity of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* was greatest in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the conclusion is that section IV was most likely an independent poem which was subsumed into the greater version of the text sometime in the thirteenth century. This will have implications for the question of authorship, discussed in the final section of this chapter.

There is one remaining compositional issue, raised by the final lines of the poem. *Urbanus magnus* states that 'Old King Henry first gave these teachings...which are written *below* in this little book'.[101] The verb *subscribo* can mean to 'write below' or 'to write down'. However, in light of the first definition, since these are the last lines and there is no "below", this suggests that these lines were originally located elsewhere in the text, or were a subsequent addition to the poem. Indeed, they may even possibly represent the beginning of something else entirely, which is now lost. Whatever the truth, and despite the subtle meaning of *subscribo*, this is the concluding piece of evidence which hints that *Urbanus magnus* is a mixture of texts, and likely was reordered or expanded in the thirteenth century.

1.4. AUTHORSHIP

The question of authorship is compounded by the issue of composition, and consequently we need to question authorship of the earlier sections of the poem, and authorship of the later, thirteenth-century sections of the poem. Simply put, are we looking for a twelfth-century Daniel of Beccles or a thirteenth-century Daniel of

[101] *UM*, ll.2836-7. Author's emphasis.

Beccles? Here, I will present evidence for both, examining the strengths and weaknesses of both arguments.

Aside from the manuscript evidence for Daniel of Beccles already discussed, the first reference to Daniel of Beccles as the author of *Urbanus magnus* from outside the manuscripts or the poem itself comes from the catalogue of British authors produced by the compiler John Bale in the sixteenth century.[102] Bale claimed to have seen a chronicle which referred to one Daniel Churche (*Daniel Churche, seu Ecclesiensis*) as the author of *Urbanus magnus* and a member of the court of Henry II:

> Daniel Churche, or Ecclesiensis, now altogether passed away in the memory of men, except in an ancient chronicle, discovered in London, the name of such a man has been claimed by death. From the chronicle I surely discovered what during that age was an elegant poet, both in the class of writing and skilful prose and poetry, who was of noble family and [part] of the court of Henry II, King of England. He was seen to be a knight of the highest rank, according to the same chronicle, and an illustrious man from ancient nobility…'.[103]

Bale also stated that this Daniel Churche composed 'Vrbanum, de morum comitate, Carmina rhythmica', among other works. He dated Daniel's period of literary production to c.1180 and further claimed that Daniel spent more than thirty years in the court of Henry II. Smyly, in his introduction to his edition of *Urbanus magnus*, believed that Bale misread *Ecclesiensis*, since MS D clearly reads *Becclesiensis*, and the form of *Ecclesiensis* would actually refer to the town of Eccles in Lancashire and

[102] J. Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Baleus, cum aliis: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (Oxford, 1902), p.59.

[103] 'Daniel Churche, seu Ecclesiensis, iam totus ab hominium memoria periisset, nisi uetustum quoddam Chronicon, Londini repertum, tanti uiri nomen ab interitu uindicasset. Ex eo certe comperi, quod per illam aetatem elegens esset peota, in utroque scribendi genere, et prosa et carmine peritus, de domo ac familia nobilissimi Anglorum Regis Henrici secundi. Summi etiam ordinis eques fuisse uidetur, ex eorem scripto, et antique uir nobilitate clarus'. Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, p.59.

not have the meaning of 'Churche'.[104] Furthermore, taking into account that the chronicle Bale refers to is now lost or untraceable and because the name *Ecclesiensis* does not appear in any manuscript, the consensus of modern scholarship is with Smyly and accepts the identification of Daniel of Beccles as the author of the text.

The lack of documentary evidence (heretofore) for Daniel of Beccles has led to broad speculation surrounding his background and profession. Potential professions include a monk, cleric, schoolmaster, or knight. While not explicitly referring to *Urbanus magnus*, Orme states that clerics were the earliest writers in the genre of courtesy literature.[105] Lachaud suggests that Daniel may have been a schoolmaster on the grounds that, since the text was composed in Latin, this reveals the composition of *Urbanus magnus* in the context of grammatical education as opposed to the vernacular which may have indicated a lay audience.[106] The fact that there was a school present in Beccles from c.1235 may support this suggestion.[107] Furthermore, the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds had long-standing jurisdiction over Beccles and there was a grammar school at the abbey from the late twelfth century onwards.[108] However, there is no concrete evidence for the presence of Daniel of Beccles as a schoolmaster, either at Beccles or Bury St Edmunds. Next, the suggestion that Daniel was a knight is quite unsubstantiated. Gillingham rejects the possibility that Daniel of Beccles was a knight,

[104] Smyly, *Urbanus magnus*, p.vi.
[105] N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry* (London, 1984), p.136.
[106] F. Lachaud, 'L'enseignement des bonnes manières en milieu de cour en Angleterre d'après l'Urbanus magnus attribué à Daniel de Beccles', in *Erziehung und Bildung am Hofe. 7. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission, Celle, 23. bis 26. September 2000*, eds. W. Paravicini and J. Wettlaufer (Stuttgart, 2002), pp.43-53, at p.53.
[107] N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), p.295. The school later became a dedicated grammar school.
[108] *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1932), pp.78-9, p.96. Writs exists for Henry I confirming the rights of the abbey in the church of Beccles, and also for Henry II granting the abbey his possessions in the manor of Beccles. C.f. Orme, *English Schools*, p.298, for reference to the grammar school at Bury St Edmunds.

noting that *Urbanus magnus* hardly concerns itself with war, and less than one percent of the entire poem mentions knights.[109] Without any documentary evidence, scholars have been forced to resort to internal textual sources and the manuscript dissemination to aid in the identification of authorship. However, new evidence has emerged which allows us to come closer to an identification of profession. Documentary sources record two Daniels of Beccles, one active in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, and another active in the mid to late thirteenth century.

The cartulary of Blythburgh Priory in Suffolk, dating from the late twelfth to the early thirteenth century, records Daniel, clerk of Beccles, granting the rent that he received from Alan the merchant to the priory in order that Blythburgh would be Daniel's burial place. This was done with the consent of Daniel's son and heir Geoffrey.[110] Daniel's name further appears in a land dispute in Beccles in a source dated c.1189-99.[111] Furthermore, the King's Bench Rolls for c.1205 contains an entry for Daniel de Beccles in relation to the abbot of Bury St Edmunds and the church of Endgate in Suffolk.[112] Copinger states that this reveals that Daniel de Beccles

[109] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.275.

[110] 'Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Daniel clericus de Becclis salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse, assensu Galfridi filii et heredis mei, deo et sancte Marie de Blybur et euisdem loci canonicis, ubi assensu eiusdem conventus elegi mihi sepulturam, pro salute anime mee etc., redditum sex denariorum in perpetuum percipiendorum a predicto Galfrido et heredibus suis quos Alanus mercator et heredes sui pro mansu suo in Becclis eidem Galfrido et heredibus suis annuatim persolvent, et dicti canonici a memorato Galfrido et heredibus suis dictum redditum festo assumptionis beate Marie singulis annis percipient, et si idem Galfridus et heredes sui instinctu alicuius malignationis solvere noluerint, predicti canonici omni contradictione remota a feoda dicti Alani nominatum redditum petant et libere percipiant. Quia hec donatio et concessio et presentis carte confirmatio robur opteneat presens sciptum sigilli mei appositione roboravi. Hiis testibus decano de Wayneford magistro Petro de West'. *The Cartulary of Blythburgh Priory*, vol. I, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1980-1, #163, p.98. I am indebted to Professor Hugh Thomas at the University of Miami for directing me to this source.

[111] 'Galfridus filius Hamonis et Robertus et Walkelinus et Radulfus et Sigarus ponunt se in magnam assisam de iiij. acris terre infra divisas de Bercles quas Daniel clericus de Bercles clamat versus eos per breve recti in curia domini regis et ponunt se super recognitores quis illorum majus jus habeat'. *Curia Regis Rolls on the Reigns of Richard I and John*, ed. C. T. Flower (London, 1922), vol.1, p.11.

[112] 'Daniel de Beccles uenit et quiet' et clam' abbati Sancti Edmundi inperpetuum totum jus quod habuit in advocacione ecclesie de Endesgat'. *Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio*, ed. W. Illingworth (London, 1811), p.47.

renounced his right to the advowson of the church of Endgate, located on the south side of the town of Beccles.[113] This advowson was the right to present a clerk for a vacancy who would then be instituted into the church as its rector. According to Jocelin of Brakelond, the advowson was acquired by Abbot Samson for Bury St Edmunds sometime after 1194.[114] While Jocelin does not provide the exact date when the advowson was acquired, we can assume that it was 1205 from the plea record.[115] There is further reference to Daniel's son and heir Geoffrey (*Galfrido de Beccles clerico*) as witness to a charter from Eye Priory in Suffolk in the 1230s.[116] Consequently, we can infer that this late twelfth-century Daniel of Beccles was a *clericus*, and one of enough importance to have an advowson. In addition, the presence of Geoffrey suggests that this was a clerical or clerkly family, with the son and heir following in his father's footsteps. The style of Latin in *Urbanus magnus* reveals an erudite and scholarly author, well versed in Latin and with an awareness of poetic styles such as dactylic hexameter. This earlier clerical Daniel of Beccles could be a candidate for authorship based on the clerical audience and the fact that the text was written in Latin, which was the language of the clerical or administrative class, and less so for the nobility.

However, the name of Daniel de Beccles occurs in other later thirteenth-century documents. For example, a Daniel de Beccles is mentioned three times in the will of

[113] *County of Suffolk: Its History as Disclosed by Existing Records and Other Documents, Being Materials for the History of Suffolk*, ed. W. A. Copinger, 5 vols. (London, 1904), vol.3, p.251.
[114] 'The right of the abbot to present to certain churches was disputed, and he gained the point. He also retained the right to present incertain other cases where that right had been disputed, in the cases of the churches of Westly, Meringthorpe, Bretenhamy Wencling, Pakenham, Newton, and Bradfield in Norfolk, half the church of Boxford, the church of Scaldwell and the church of Endgate'. Jocelin of Brakelond, *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond Monk of St. Edmundsbury: A Picture of Monastic and Social Life on the XIIth Century*, trans. and ed. by L.C. Jane (London, 1907), pp.95-6.
[115] *Feet of Fines for the County of Norfolk for the Reign of King John, 1201-1215; For the County of Suffolk for the Reign of King John, 1199-1214*, ed. B. Dodwell (London, 1958), pp.244-5, no.511. Abbot Samson was buying off claims to Endgate, since in 1209 there is a record of him having bought the claim of Endgate by a William of Gimingham. I am grateful to Professor Paul Brand for directing me to this record.
[116] *Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters*, vol.1, ed. V. Brown, (Woodbridge, 1992-4), #357, p.255.

Walter Suffield, Bishop of Norwich (1244-57), where Daniel is designated at the distributor of bequests in two items, and the recipient of a standing cup and twenty marks in another item.[117] This cannot be the same earlier Daniel of Beccles since by c.1200 he was already making provisions for his death and therefore is unlikely to be mentioned in the mid-thirteenth century will of Walter Suffield. The later Daniel de Beccles appears again as witness to charters in Eye Priory and the medieval hospitals of Bury St Edmunds.[118] His name also occurs when in 1256 he held the lordship of Thorpe Parva in Norfolk from one Allen Pictaviensis (later Allen of Goldingham), by the service of one knight's fee.[119] In light of the content and aims of *Urbanus magnus*, this Daniel de Beccles fits the context of a lord of a manor who would look both ways along the social scale: upwards to his superior lord, Allen of Goldingham, and downwards to officials and servants in his household at Thorpe Parva. There are references to a Daniel de Beccles active in the 1290s, although it is unclear whether these later references refer to the same Daniel de Beccles who held Thorpe Parva.[120]

Unfortunately, there is no further evidence that any of these references in the documentary sources corresponds to our author of *Urbanus magnus*. The prevailing modern opinion is that clerics were the first authors of courtesy texts in the twelfth century. Orme states that clerics created 'courtesy literature' in order 'to spread good

[117] 'Item, ad relevandos oppressos in officialitate mee diocesis lego viginti marcas distribuendos per manus Daniel de Beccles', and 'Danieli de Becles unum ciphum cum pede, et viginti marcas pro bonis que habui de magistro W. de Horham, computatis michi omnibus expensis quas feci circa ecclesiam de Grundesburg'. *EEA. 32, Norwich, 1266-1288*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Oxford, 2012), pp.150-154.
[118] See *Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters*, #317, pp.230-1, and *Charters of the Medieval Hospitals of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1994), #22-5, #27, and #37-8.
[119] See *The Manors of Suffolk: Notes on their History and Devolution*, ed. W. A. Copinger, 7 vols. (London, 1905-11), vol.6, p.5.
[120] There are references to a Daniel de Beccles, appearing in the 1290s as a justice to try a case for John de Northwold, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds. See A. Gransden, 'John de Northwold, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds (1279-1301) and his Defence of its Liberties', in *Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1989*, eds. P. Coss and S. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1991), pp.91-112, at p.107. Another Daniel de Beccles is recorded as seneschal for the Bigods, Earls of Norfolk, c.1293-4. See M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), p.207.

manners and personal habits among their fellow clergy'.[121] To emphasise this point he references *De institutione nouitiorum* of Hugh of St Victor and the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsi. Interestingly, Alphonsi was present at the court of Henry I, possibly as court physician, and the *Disciplina clericalis* was aimed at educating the clergy in 'wisdom and self-discipline'.[122] Knox also subscribes to this opinion, stating that 'medieval religious and clerics wrote detailed codes of conduct' which then inspired secular adaptations from the thirteenth century onwards.[123] Furthermore, MS O_3 contains an extract of *Urbanus magnus* which was attributed to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. He was also credited with the production of the poem *Stans puer ad mensam*, a poem solely concerned with table manners, and is direct evidence of the clergy in England being concerned with issues of courtesy and etiquette.

Combining the primacy which clerics held in the creation of this genre in the twelfth century with Daniel's preoccupation with clerics within the text, and taking into account the new documentary records, the probability is that Daniel was a member of the secular clergy. The internal evidence from *Urbanus magnus* reveals a clear interest in the behaviour of clerics, and indeed the beginning of the text states that it was written for for *clericulis pueris*.[124] As we shall see later when examining the context of the creation of *Urbanus magnus* against the background of twelfth-century literary production in England, the clerical world had a substantial role to play in the output of texts.[125] I contend that Daniel fits into this clerical literary production of the

[121] Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, p.136.
[122] Ibid., p.87.
[123] D. Knox, 'Disciplina: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility', in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice Jr*., eds. J. Monfasani, and R. Musto (New York, 1991), pp.107-36, at p.109.
[124] *UM*, l.6.
[125] See chapter 7.

twelfth century. In addition, the text reveals that Daniel had both scriptural knowledge and exposure to the work of the classics alongside more contemporary works.

However, there are no certainties where authorship is concerned. Despite the evidence pointing to the earlier Daniel of Beccles, this would mean that he could not have been the author of the later fourth section of the poem. Consequently, the possibility remains that the later Daniel de Beccles could have been the author of the fourth section of the poem, or even a compiler of texts relating to morals and manners resulting in the version of *Urbanus magnus* known today.

1.5. CONCLUSIONS

Urbanus magnus prompts us to be cautious when it comes to words such as 'authorship', 'authority', and 'composition'. Some scholars describe *Urbanus magnus* as something new, part of the genesis of new genre. This leaves us with the impression that the author conceived of the text as a whole, and that the author was doing something novel.[126] I believe this is a misleading view of the text. It imbues it with authority which *Urbanus magnus* may never have had at the point of creation. We, as modern readers in the age of print, are used to the notion of texts linked to clearly defined authorship, and of texts being original creations of their authors. However, when it comes to *Urbanus magnus* we need to accept that we have two scenarios: firstly, that "Daniel of Beccles" was author of earlier portions of the text which were later expanded by another scribe; secondly, that "Daniel of Beccles" could be that later scribe, compiling separate, but thematically similar, texts into one large poem. The evidence favours the former, with the clerical Daniel of Beccles responsible for earlier

[126] *UM* as representative of a new form of literature in the twelfth century is discussed fully in chapter 2.

parts of the text, especially sections I and II. At some point in the thirteenth century the text was added to and re-arranged, resulting in the name *Danielis Becclesiensis* appearing in the explicit, rather than at the start of the poem.

Malcolm Parkes notes that 'most works copied in and before the twelfth century were better organized in copies produced in the thirteenth century, and even better organized in those produced in the fourteenth'.[127] For example, there was an increased interest in the division of texts with chapter subdivisions, tabula or alphabetical index, etc. It is interesting that the manuscripts from the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries show little sign of an attempt to create order in the text, nor are there any glosses.[128] It is only in the later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts that there is an increased attempt to distinguish sections of the text. For example, there are extensive glosses in MS C_1 and there is evidence in MS D and MS L_2 of further concern for the division of the text.[129] Parkes describes the thirteenth-century trend towards *compilatio*, when 'the compiler adds no matter of his own by way of exposition (unlike the commentator) but compared with scribes he is free to rearrange'.[130] However, not only was there rearrangement of *Urbanus magnus*, but there was also compilation with the addition of other material; this would account for the inclusion of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* passages.

The next chapter explores the genre of courtesy literature and the sources of the genre, and *Urbanus magnus* more specifically. However, already it is clear that

[127] M. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio in the Development of the Book', in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), pp.35-69, at p.35.
[128] MS O_2 and the three subject headings are the exception: *Proverbia urbani*, *Curialitates ecclesiasticorum*, and *Curialitates mense*.
[129] See above, pp.28-9.
[130] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio', p.59.

Urbanus magnus is indebted to other works, as clearly witnessed in the case of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem.* Ziolkowski states that we are coming to a realisation that 'many medieval writings...are fabrics that incorporate fibers from earlier writings and preceding traditions'.[131] That phrase could be the perfect description of a text such as *Urbanus magnus*. The fact that we cannot definitively ascribe authorship to the text or know for certain its original shape is, of course, frustrating, but it does not make it any less valuable to scholarship. If anything, it raises interesting questions about how authors pick and choose the sources and influences on their text. The following chapter will explore those 'fibers' and traditions which influenced *Urbanus magnus* and the burgeoning literature on morals and manners from the twelfth century onwards.

[131] Ziolkowski, 'The Highest Form of Compliment', p.293.

CHAPTER 2:

URBANUS MAGNUS AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH COURTESY LITERATURE

Urbanus magnus has repeatedly been placed at the beginning of courtesy literature through a retrospective approach to the genre. The result of such an approach is that scholarship of later courtesy texts has looked backwards in an attempt to find its beginnings. Consequently, *Urbanus magnus* as an entity in its own right has been sorely neglected in scholarship until the last two decades. I will explore the scholarship on *Urbanus magnus* and the varying approaches which scholars have taken with the text, all the while questioning whether *Urbanus magnus* can rightly be called a 'courtesy text'. It is important to investigate what 'courtesy literature' actually means: its validity as a genre; the range of texts included under that term; and the teleological interpretation of courtesy as a civilising process from the medieval to the early modern period. In addition, this chapter briefly examines the sources and influences on *Urbanus magnus* to further examine the legitimacy of its attribution as a 'courtesy text'. This thesis does not aim to cast aspersions on the validity of the genre of 'courtesy literature' per se; rather, it argues that while *Urbanus magnus* reflects the early burgeoning genre of courtesy literature, it, importantly, also mixes it with ethical and moral literature to form a composite type of didactic literature.

2.1. SCHOLARSHIP ON *URBANUS MAGNUS*

The poem was known prior to the 1939 edition, albeit in its fragmentary state rather than the full text which Smyly edited. Early scholars such as the English intellectual and writer John Pits (1560-1616) were indebted to the entry by John Bale, and

provided little additional evidence about the text itself, seemingly being more concerned about authorship.[1] Thomas Wright (1810-1877), in his *Biographia Britannica*, listed the manuscripts containing full copies, although he too was indebted to Bale:

> A Latin poet named Daniel Church is only known by the account of him which Bale found in a chronicle he discovered at London;…Bale attributes to him a Latin poem entitled *Urbanus*, a treatise on politeness of behaviour. A poem under this title…is preserved anonymously in several manuscripts.[2]

The identification of manuscripts containing copies of *Urbanus magnus* may have been the impetus for increased scholarship on the text rather than mere bibliographical citations of authorship.

In 1868 Frederick Furnivall published a collection of poems relating to medieval manners, including an extract from *Urbanus magnus*.[3] This was one of the first attempts to treat *Urbanus magnus* as a textual source for the description of medieval behaviour. Furnivall reproduced the final section of the text based on MS L_2 under the

[1] 'Daniel Ecclesiensi vel ab Ecclesia, clarissimis in Angli parentibus natus, et Regi Henrico secundo, in cuius Aula plus quam annis triginta vixit, sanguine propinquus. Vir in humaniore litteratura cultissimus, qui oratione, tum structa tum solute elegantissime multa scripsit. Vrbanitatem etiam morum accurate se scire, et alios docere posse profitebatur. Itaque propter splendorem generis, politos mores, fidem, pietatem, doctrinam, et omnes ingenuas animi dotes, in supremum equitum apud Anglos ordinem cooptatus est, et ad altissimorum munerum functiones sublimatus. Tamen viri tanti memoria forsitan omnino perijsset, nisi vetus Londini codex repertus nomen eius a periculo interitus eripuisset. Pauca eius quae inueniuntur scripta satis ostendunt eum non pauca scripsisse, verum quae illa fuerint, ne de nominibus quidem et titulis mihi constat... Floruit anno post partum virgineum 1180, dum ad Anglicani Regni gubernaculum sedebat Henricus secundus'. John Pits, *Ioannis Pitsei Angli, S. Theologiae Doctoris: Relationum historicarum de rebus anglicis, tomus primus quatuor partes complectens, quorum elenchum pagina sequens indicat* (Paris, 1619), pp.243-4. See p.39 in chapter 1 for Bale's entry on Daniel Churche.

[2] T. Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria: or, Biography of Literary Characters of Great Britain and Ireland, Arranged in Chronological Order*, 2 vols. (London, 1846), vol.2, p.313. The manuscripts identified were MS D and MS W.

[3] Furnivall, *The Babees Book*, pp.34-56 for the *Modus Cenandi*. See F. J. Furnivall and E. Rickert, *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (London, 1908) where some of the texts from this book were put into modern English by Rickert. The 1908 version does not include the *Modus Cenandi* from the previous edition.

title *Modus cenandi*, along with an accompanying English translation.[4] However, the accuracy of the translation was doubted even at publication, with Furnivall admitting that 'the translation is in no way guaranteed as correct throughout, many of the readings and renderings being guesses'.[5] With the publication of a short section of the text, there was renewed interest in the work of Daniel of Beccles, although he was still referred to as *Danielis Ecclesiensis* or Daniel Churche. Mixed with other poems of a later date such as *Stans puer ad mensam*, and different languages including English and French, the collection was envisioned as providing a 'vivid picture of home life in medieval England'.[6]

The early twentieth century saw an increase in publications which made mention of *Urbanus magnus*, albeit in relation to other types of literature. In addition, many of these scholars were unaware of the existence of manuscripts containing the full copy of the text, and were therefore restricted in their analysis of it. For example, in his study of the genre of short poems on table manners called 'contenances de table', Glixelli, in 1921, used the *Modus cenandi*, based on Furnivall's edition, providing a brief description of the table etiquette which appears in section IV of the text.[7] While there was more of an attempt to place the extract from *Urbanus magnus* in context with other texts, and to analyse the emerging genre of poems about table manners, Glixelli was also keen to provide edited versions of the texts, in French, Italian, English, Latin, etc. In a similar manner to Furnivall, his inclusion of *Urbanus magnus* reflects a compilation of varying texts united to constitute a sub-genre of courtesy

[4] It should be noted that Furnivall, using MS L_2, was unaware of the full text of *Urbanus magnus* and therefore provided no identification of Daniel of Beccles nor any mention of the main text.
[5] Furnivall, *The Babees Book*, p.33.
[6] Furnivall and Rickert, *The Babees' Books, Medieval Manners*, p.xi.
[7] S. Glixelli, 'Les contenances de table', *Romania*, 47 (1921), pp.1-40.

literature, namely table etiquette poems. Parsons, in 1929, was another early example of an attempt to analyse 'courtesy literature' in the context of Anglo-Norman courtesy books.[8] Mention of *Urbanus magnus* comes in a brief discussion of the precursors to the Anglo-Norman poems, and Parsons was only aware of the two fragments of *Urbanus magnus* in MS P_1.[9] Moreover, *Urbanus magnus* is only considered in this article because of the similarity between its title and an Anglo-Norman poem entitled *Urbain*. Brentano, in 1935, also tried to compare *Urbanus magnus* with the genre of *Facetus* literature.[10] Like Parsons, Brentano was not aware of the full text, using only the extract in MS P_1. While situating the text with *Facetus* literature, Brentano focused on the fragmentary nature of the text and the compositional problems enumerated in the previous chapter. It was only with the publication of the edited text that scholars could see how the disparate extracts fitted into the text as a whole, and subsequently could appreciate the text in its entirety. Yet, the publication of the edition did not prompt an immediate interest in *Urbanus magnus*, nor did it change the focus away from those ever-present problems of authorship and composition. In the previous chapter we saw how Gieben was still burdened in 1967 by the difficulty with composition, and especially concerned with the question of authorship in the context of the writings of Robert Grosseteste.[11] It was not until the 1980s that a more rigorous approach to *Urbanus magnus* emerged, especially with regard to content more than composition.

[8] H. R. Parsons, 'Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture', *Proceedings of the Medieval Language Association*, 44 (1929), pp.383-455.
[9] Parsons, 'Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture', p.385.
[10] M., Brentano, *Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature to the Medieval English Courtesy Poems* (Lawrence, KA., 1935), pp.39-40.
[11] Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books'. See p.34 in chapter 1.

Initially, scholars utilised the text in relation to romance literature. In the case of Nicholls and Putter, this was explicitly Gawain and the Green Knight. Nicholls, in 1985, was concerned with composition and authorship, and importantly he was the first to provide a comprehensive list of the extant manuscripts.[12] In addition, he attempted not only to examine the source material for the text, but also the influence the text had subsequently.[13] However, *Urbanus magnus* is predominantly utilised to test the veracity of depictions of courtesy and manners in romance literature. Putter, in 1995, utilised texts such as *Urbanus magnus* and *Facetus* literature to reveal the relationship between 'courtesy books' and romances. He used *Urbanus magnus* to most effect in a discussion of hospitality, but only used those elements in the text which corresponded to depictions of comparable behaviour in the romances.[14]

While the work of the previous two scholars helped to raise awareness of the text, the past two decades have witnessed the greatest and most dedicated interest in *Urbanus magnus*. Rigg includes a section on Daniel of Beccles in his 1992 discussion of Anglo-Latin literature, providing a summary of the text with extracts from throughout the poem, revealing its breadth of subject matter.[15] However, there are three authors who have done more than all the others to bring *Urbanus magnus* into greater prominence. Bartlett dedicated numerous pages of his 2002 *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225* to a discussion of Daniel of Beccles, using *Urbanus magnus* as illustrative of the Anglo-Norman period.[16] He viewed the text as

[12] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.185.
[13] The legacy of *UM*, especially the influence it had on subsequent texts, is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.
[14] Putter, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.*
[15] Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422.* See also C. Baswell, 'Latinitas', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. D. Wallace (Cambridge, 2002), pp.122-51, at pp.140-1, which includes a brief mention of the subject matter of *Urbanus magnus* in relation to courtesy literature.
[16] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, pp.582-88.

marking ‘a new self-consciousness about etiquette and decorum’ in twelfth-century England.[17] By examining the text for issues of hierarchy, manners, and attitudes towards women and marriage, for example, Bartlett succeeded not only in bringing the text to life through a vivid description of its precepts, but also laid the groundwork for subsequent scholars to appreciate and utilise *Urbanus magnus* as a text of interest in its own right. Scholars such as Lachaud and Gillingham have continued in the promotion of the poem. Lachaud has written a detailed description of the text, enumerating many of the precepts to demonstrate the range of its subject matter.[18] Gillingham has utilised *Urbanus magnus* on multiple occasions, most notably in his examination of the court of Henry II.[19] As he states: ‘academics have given too much attention to Henry’s learning and not enough to his courtliness’, and for him *Urbanus magnus* provides evidence for a link between Henry’s court and the emerging literature on courtliness.[20] The work of these three authors has helped to disseminate *Urbanus magnus*, such that reference to the poem in wide-ranging scholarly works is increasingly frequent. For example, Crouch and Westerhof have used *Urbanus magnus* as evidence of attitudes about nobility in twelfth-century England.[21] Kerr has examined the depiction of hospitality in *Urbanus magnus* in comparison with Benedictine hospitality.[22] Newman has applied the text to an analysis of court satire in

[17] Ibid.
[18] Lachaud, ‘L’enseignement des bonnes manières’.
[19] Gillingham, ‘From Civilitas to Civility’. See also Gillingham, ‘The Cultivation of History, Legend, and Courtesy at the Court of Henry II’, in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, eds. R. Kennedy and S. Meecham-Jones (New York, 2006), pp.25-52.
[20] Gillingham, ‘The Cultivation of History’, p.40.
[21] Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, and D. Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2008).
[22] J. Kerr, ‘“Welcome the Coming and Speed the Parting Guest”: Hospitality in Twelfth-Century England’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007), pp.130-46. See also, Kerr, ‘The Open Door: Hospitality and Honour in Twelfth/Early Thirteenth-Century England’, *History*, 87 (2002), pp.322-35 and Kerr, ‘Food, Drink and Lodging: Hospitality in Twelfth-Century England’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 18 (2007), pp.72-92.

twelfth-century England.[23] Recent works on the body and scatology have used the precepts relating to excretory habits as evidence of medieval attitudes to modern taboo subjects.[24]

However, these later applications of *Urbanus magnus* are indebted to the belief expounded by previous scholars about the association of *Urbanus magnus* with 'courtesy literature'. Nicholls places it, along with other twelfth-century texts, at the beginning of the genre. Indeed, he describes *Urbanus magnus* as 'the most comprehensive courtesy poem in any language, covering every aspect of life'.[25] Rigg has described the text as the 'first major English contribution to the genre'.[26] Bartlett too has suggested that it could be 'the first English courtesy book'.[27] This assumption has become ingrained as fact, and authors frequently accept the designation of *Urbanus magnus* without question. Therefore it is important to examine this genre of 'courtesy literature' and see how reflective *Urbanus magnus* is of this genre, and whether other elements such as morals and ethics have been overlooked.

2.2. The Genre of Courtesy Literature

This genre has been looked at from a variety of angles, from literary and historical standpoints to sociological and anthropological ones. Where *Urbanus magnus* and other similar texts are concerned, it is primarily a literary approach, and one which attempts to propagate the notion of progress within the courtesy genre. Efforts have

[23] J. Newman, 'Satire of Counsel, Counsel of Satire: Representing Advisory Relations in Later Medieval Literature' (University of Toronto, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2008).
[24] M. Bayless, *Sin and Filth in Medieval Culture: The Devil in the Latrine* (New York, 2012).
[25] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.185. Zotz, 'Urbanitas', p.415, is seemingly indebted to Nicholls, similarly describes the poem as 'the most comprehensive Latin didactic poem'.
[26] Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, p.125.
[27] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.583.

been made to create a linear progression of courtesy literature, one which began with Latin twelfth-century texts, developed into vernacular treatises, predominantly in Anglo-Norman and Middle English, and culminated with Renaissance and Humanist texts, with Erasmus's *De civilitate morum puerilium* seen to be the pinnacle of this genre. By using later vernacular treatises or Renaissance texts as the starting point, scholars have then attempted to look back to find texts which could be regarded as precursors. In their designation as predecessors to something else, such works have not received much scholarly attention in their own right.

This retrospective approach is one which is clearly exhibited in the work of Elias, especially in his *The Civilizing Process*, first published in German in 1939 as *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*.[28] It is clear that this was already a popular approach before Elias. For example Brentano, in her study of the relationship between *Facetus* literature and medieval English courtesy poems, argued that:

> ...this tradition begins with the Latin poem *Facetus*, develops in the English vernacular courtesy treatises, and extends into the manuals of civility in the Renaissance.[29]

Furthermore, she attempted to trace the 'unbroken tradition of *facetus* literature'.[30] Although she did limit herself to what she termed *Facetus* literature, as opposed to courtesy literature in a more general sense, her view is a clear example of the prevailing opinion of twentieth-century scholarship regarding courtesy literature.

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[28] N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. E. Jephcott (New York, 1978). The earlier German version of the *The Civilizing Process* was virtually ignored due to World War II, and it only gained real popularity following the first publication in English in 1969.
[29] Brentano, *Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature*, preface.
[30] Ibid., p.2.

Elias's theory of the civilising process has had a strong influence on the study of courtesy literature. For Elias, the thirteenth century represented the beginning of a written expression of correct behaviour which culminates with Erasmus. His approach is summarised by Linklater and Mennell:

> By analyzing books about manners that had been published between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, Elias observed changing conceptions of shame and embarrassment with respect to, among other things, bodily propriety and violence. To explain those developments, Elias examined the interplay among the rise of state monopolies of power, increasing levels of economic interconnectedness among people, and pressures to become attuned to others over greater distances that led to advances in identifying with others in the same society irrespective of social origins.[31]

For Elias, shame and embarrassment were central factors in the development of civilisation from the medieval period to the Renaissance, and the civilising process represented a 'gradual tilting of the balance...between external and internal constraints'.[32] Elias focused predominately on German and French sources, and the relative lack of English or twelfth-century sources makes it difficult to assess Elias's argument with respect to *Urbanus magnus*. Indeed, some of the criticism of *The Civilizing Process* has rested on this absence of twelfth-century sources. Linklater and Mennell attempt to justify this absence by arguing that Elias claimed that there was no 'zero-point' to the civilising process.[33] Despite this justification, it is clear that scholars are in consensus that the twelfth century did witness a focus on manners and behaviour unlike the preceding centuries.

[31] A. Linklater and S. Mennell, 'Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations – An Overview and Assessment', *History and Theory*, 49 (2010), pp.384-411, at p.384.
[32] Linklater and Mennell, 'Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process', p.395.
[33] Ibid., p.405.

Another criticism levelled at Elias is that he was overly dismissive of the contribution of the medieval period to manners and behaviour in contrast to Renaissance and Humanist texts. For example, Kreuger argues that 'Elias...vaunted the merits of Erasmus's treatise over medieval conduct books, which he portrayed as rather simplistic texts on crude manners'.[34] The overall legacy of Elias's work has been the notion of progress from the Middle Ages onwards, seeing 'courtliness as a crucial factor in long-term changes in...interpersonal behaviour', and attempting to 'trace the spread of an increased degree of self-control and restraint and thus, eventually, individual self-awareness'.[35] That individual self-awareness is seen as epitomised by Erasmus and the shift from courtliness to civility.

While this approach is not necessarily incorrect, it does show its limitation, in that it relegates 'early Latin courtesy texts' to the role of genesis for other texts which have often been thought of as more important or valid for scholarship. Consequently, we find detailed studies of Anglo-Norman treatises, courtesy texts directed solely to women, or later Renaissance texts, where the importance of some early twelfth-century Latin texts such as *Urbanus magnus* or *Facetus* has little or no prominence.[36] A concurrent problem is that this theory of progress is applied by scholars whose expertise is limited to one point along the line – for example Anglo-Norman or Renaissance texts.

Gillingham addressed the problem of the teleological view of conduct texts in the medieval period, particularly though an examination of *Urbanus magnus*. He

[34] Kreuger. 'Introduction: Teach Your Children Well', pp.xxvii-xxviii.
[35] M. Innes, '"A Place of Discipline": Aristocratic Youth and Carolingian Courts', in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. C. Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), pp.59-76, at p.75.
[36] For example, Parsons, 'Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture', or A. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998), which focuses on courtesy texts in English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

persuasively argues that the elements of civility, exhorted by Elias and early modern historians as the appearance of something new, were present in twelfth and thirteenth century literature. He argues that 'the concepts existed and were expressed in Latin…long before the equivalent English words were coined'.[37] These English words include 'civility' and 'gentleman', for example. I will shortly examine the terminology used in *Urbanus magnus* to express proper behaviour, but it is important to stress here that Gillingham has succinctly explained the fallacy of Elias's argument. Although Humanist treatises, such as *De civilitate morum puerilium*, did not explicitly use medieval texts as their source material, the same themes and concerns run through each. We have already seen in chapter 1 the comprehensive range of subject matter covered in *Urbanus magnus*, and as Gillingham states about the text:

> we do not have to wait until the sixteenth century to find a courtesy manual with 'ambitious claims to define good behaviour at all times and in all companies'.[38]

However, despite restoring *Urbanus magnus* to a place of prominence in the trajectory of 'courtesy manuals' from the medieval to the early modern period, Gillingham and others have failed to question the validity of attributing *Urbanus magnus* solely to the genre of 'courtesy texts'.

The widely agreed consensus is that 'courtesy literature' emerged in the twelfth century in Latin, and in the thirteenth century in its vernacular form. For example, Orme states that 'the twelfth century...was something of a new era in the history of manners'.[39] The definition of the genre has aroused debate over what represents

[37] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.269.
[38] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.276. Gillingham is referencing Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p.68 and her description of sixteenth century courtesy manuals.
[39] Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, p.134.

'courtesy literature' and, consequently, what texts should or should not be accepted into the corpus of the genre. For example, Bornstein broadly described it as a didactic tool for the laity,[40] while Gillingham further elaborated by stating that this new type of literature was designed to aid with the 'rituals of lordship and service within a noble household'.[41] For Gieben, it became an even more specialised genre, emphasising the characteristics of verse and a focus on table manners as two aspects which differentiate 'courtesy literature' from monastic and more general didactic material.[42]

In spite of their attempts to define the genre, there is little agreement among scholars as to a concrete definition. Kreuger has argued that the very lack of cohesion in the genre is a typical feature:

> it would be impossible to categorize these works as belonging to a common literary family based on stylistic features alone. But it is precisely their variegated appearance – the variety of length, mode, and register; the mix of poetry and prose, of allegorical and mundane materials – that makes these conduct texts so 'typical' of medieval didactic material.[43]

This interpretation is so broad as to cover any number of texts. What is foremost at stake is the attribution of *Urbanus magnus* as courtesy literature, and whether that is appropriate. Orme states that:

> the genre of courtesy literature is...a crowded one, and the relationship of the texts to one another is complicated, given the practice of translating and borrowing on the one hand, and changing and adapting on the other.[44]

[40] D. Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, 1983), p.11.
[41] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.268.
[42] Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books', p.49.
[43] Kreuger, 'Introduction: Teach Your Children Well', p.xxii.
[44] Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, p.138.

Urbanus magnus certainly exemplifies Orme's genre, and has much in common with the varied definitions of courtesy literature and the texts commonly associated with that genre, such as a focus on table manners, a concern for restraint and moderation, and the verse format. Yet, the strongly moralistic focus, along with the notable length of the poem, among other factors, indicates a difference. As evidenced by the breadth of subject matter in the poem, *Urbanus magnus* is more than just manners. An examination of the terminology of courtesy used in the poem, coupled with an examination of its moral and ethical elements, will reveal a poem that weaves together strands of morals and manners.

2.2.1. TERMINOLOGY

Focusing on the twelfth century, the Latin vocabulary that prevails in Western Europe regarding courtesy is *facetus*, *urbanus*, and *curialis*.[45] For example, in *Urbanus magnus* variations of the word *facetus* appear ten times, *urbanus* appears nine times, and the antonym *rusticus* is present nine times also.[46] Fig.8 provides examples of how each word is utilised in *Urbanus magnus*. *Facetus* is used predominantly in relation to polite speech, but also appears in descriptions of courteous or elegant table manners. *Urbanus* has a more general meaning and is deployed in a variety of contexts, with the diverse meanings of civilised, polite, urbane, and courteous.[47]

[45] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.282.
[46] Variations on *facetus* appears at ll.664, 922, 931, 1013, 1040, 1341, 1414, 1464, and 2387; variations of *urbanus* are present on ll.2, 88, 115, 160, 925, 1187, 1369, 2419, and 2447; and variations of *rusticus* appear at ll.888, 1038, 1047, 1105, 1107, 2088, 2307, and 2555.
[47] Zotz, 'Urbanitas', p.415. In his discussion of *urbanitas*, Zotz argues that *Urbanus magnus* is different in its use of *urbanus* in comparison with the *Disticha Catonis*, *Facetus* literature, and Petrus Alphonsi's *Disciplina clericalis*. *Urbanus magnus* represents an expansion of the term from merely referring to speech and table manners, to now encompassing all elements of social life.

UM	***Facetus*:**	
664	Uerba iocosa tua sint queque, **faceta,** polita.	Let your words be funny, witty, and **polite.**
923	Dilige temperiem, si diligis esse **facetus.**	Esteem restraint, if you wish to be **polite.**
1040	Indice, pollice queque cibaria sume **facete,**	Pick up food **courteously** with the index finger and thumb.
1414-5	...querenti des uerba **faceta** ad quesita	…to those asking, give **polite** words to the questions.
1464	Hospes quo fueris, habeas te more **faceto.**	When you are a host, you should have **courteous** manners.
	***Urbanus*:**	
2	Nobilis inter heros **urbanam** ducere uitam…	To be noble among lords and lead a **civilised** life…
88	Nulla cani ueteri poterunt **urbana** doceri.	No **polite** manners can be taught to an old dog.
115	Mores urbanos adiuncta superbia ledit.	Arrogance offends **courteous** manners
924-5	Paruus in ore bolus ponatur, dente teratur **urbano**;	A small piece of food should be put in the mouth, chewing should be **courteous**
1187	Passibus **urbanis** incedas uertice recto.	With **courteous** steps, walk upright.
2419	**Urbanis** pueros documentis instrue paruos.	Instruct young children with **courteous** lessons.
	***Rusticus*:**	
888	**Rusticus** in socios non sis agnominis autor…	To make use of nicknames is to be **rustic** among companions.
1037-8	…illum non digites, ne **rusticus** addigiteris.	…for fear that fingers will be pointed at you as **uncouth**.
1047-8	Naribus emunctor, nec **rusticus** ore screator sis cenans…	You are **rustic** if you blow your nose or clear your throat through your mouth while dining.
1107-8	**Rusticitas** fugiat, natura nec altera fiat usu,…	Avoid **rusticity,** nor let if become second nature.
2555	**Rustica** mensa tibi non sit, dum dies haberis.	You should not have a **rustic** table, so long as you are considered a wealthy man.
	***Nobilis/Ignobilis*:**	
2	**Nobilis** inter heros urbanam ducere uitam,	To be **noble** among lords and lead a civilised life
	…sis **nobilis** heres.	…you should be the **noble** heir.
113	Exercere caue que sunt **ignobilis** actus.	Never do anything **dishonourable.**
382	Non inflatus eas licet ortu **nobilieris.**	Although you may be **ennobled** through birth, do not walk around puffed up.
1415	...uelut decet ordine **nobilitatis.**	…just as is fitting with the rank of **nobility.**

Fig.8. Terminology of courtesy in *Urbanus magnus*

Rusticus seems relatively restricted to unrefined and boorish table manners, although occasionally it is used with respect to speech. These are all adjectives used to describe people and behaviour, yet nouns such as *curialitas* and *urbanitas* do not appear. The exception to this is the singular appearance of *rusticitas*.[48] Gillingham states that *rusticus* and *rusticitas* 'are key words in courtesy literature, indicative of its claims to teach socially superior behaviour'.[49] One additional adjective is used repeatedly, and is emblematic of the environment at which *Urbanus magnus* is pitched: *nobilis* and its antonym *ignobilis*. The repeated mention of noble and nobility underlines that *Urbanus magnus* was aimed to be used in an elite context. This is explicit when the noun *nobilitas* is used to describe the 'rank of nobility'.[50] Gillingham further elaborates on the use of *facetus*, *urbanus*, and *rusticus* in *Urbanus magnus*, noting that these key words are Ciceronian.[51] One would expect words such as *curialis* and *curialitas* to appear in *Urbanus magnus*, yet *curialis* as a term more explicitly reflecting courtesy or courtliness does not appear at all, but references to the court (*curia*) do appear briefly.[52] In addition, *Urbanus magnus* occasionally employs the word 'civil' but not in sense the sense of 'refined' behaviour as other twelfth-century authors used it. Gillingham provides the example of John of Salisbury who:

> used 'civil' in senses embracing the aesthetic criterion of good taste, the moral standards of self-restraint and the political values of good lordship.[53]

[48] *UM*, l.1107.
[49] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.271.
[50] *UM*, l.1415.
[51] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.282. See pp.76-8 for a discussion of Cicero's *De officiis.*
[52] *Curia* appears at ll.875, 2267, and 2284. Gillingham notes that *curialis* and *curialitas* appear in narrative and other literary sources but are rarely found in the didactic genre of courtesy literature.
[53] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.280.

This interpretation of the word 'civil' does not appear in *Urbanus magnus*; rather, its use reflects urban living and the realities of maintaining peace among citizens. For example: 'you will avoid violating civil peace with crimes', and 'wicked is the citizen who showcases wicked things to fellow citizens'.[54] Also, 'when you are a citizen, become the master of civil manners'.[55] These quotations are taken from sections of *Urbanus magnus* referencing either civil peace or urban living.

The conclusions we can draw from the terminology used in *Urbanus magnus* suggest that the term 'courtesy' or 'courteous' as seen in translation, reflects polite and courteous manners in a noble or elite setting. Difficulty arises when substituting the word courtliness for courtesy, as seen in the work of Elias, Jaeger, and Scaglione.[56] The difficulty over the word courtliness has been well-discussed and highlighted by Crouch, especially in relation to another problematic word: chivalry.[57] He states that:

> 'Courtliness' is for him [Scaglione] the social and cultural environment of the princely courts, but he distinguished it from 'courtesy' which he defines as the modified behaviour which was the result of Elias's 'civilizing process'.[58]

Where chivalry is concerned, Green argues that:

> like chivalry, courtesy was a demonstration of inner virtue through formal, ritualised behaviour and outward gestures, but unlike chivalry it urged restraint and control...[59]

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[54] *UM*, l.466 and l.471.
[55] *UM*, l.1748.
[56] Elias, *The Civilizing Process*; C. S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985); A. D. Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry, and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1991).
[57] D. Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness: Colliding Constructs', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, eds. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.32-48, at p.41.
[58] Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness', p.40.
[59] D. Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 2007), p.102.

Crouch's solution to this problem was to concentrate on the idea of conduct, rather than using the aforementioned terminology as labels. Consequently, I will focus primarily on the term courtesy, and its Latin equivalents *urbanus* and *facetus*, to refer to refined, elegant and restrained manners. The notion of courtliness with its attendant focus on court behaviour is only employed in those few instances where *Urbanus magnus* refers to court behaviour.

2.2.2. COURTESY TEXTS

A comparison with other courtesy texts may enable us to determine whether or not *Urbanus magnus* is a courtesy text or perhaps something different. Here I want to enumerate sub-divisions or sub-strands of the genre which are prevalent. The first would be the 'contenances de table' or treatises which are dedicated solely to table manners. We have already encountered one text which belongs to this strand, *Stans puer ad mensam*, attributed to Robert Grosseteste.[60] Characteristically, these are quite short and intended to be learned by heart.[61] Along with *Stans puer ad mensam*, texts such as *Phagifacetus, Quisquis es in mensa, Dum manducatis, Omnis mensa*, etc., are included here.[62] Within these 'contenances de table' Roussel further identified four additional threads: Latin texts and their vernacular translations; the 'enseignements' in the Langue d'Oc; Anglo-Norman treatises; and finally continental French texts.[63]

Another strand is vernacular texts, where one can more clearly identify the secular audiences for 'courtesy literature', as the audience for these texts became more

[60] As discussed in Chapter 1.
[61] Roussel, 'Le legs de la Rose', p.13.
[62] See chapter 5, pp.237-46 of this thesis for a full analysis of the 'contenances de table' texts and their relationship with *Urbanus magnus.*
[63] Roussel, 'Le legs de la Rose', p.9.

articulated and specific. The majority of these texts come from the thirteenth century onwards and were Anglo-Norman; for example, the poems such as *Urbain*, *Un petit traitise de nurture*, and *L'Apprise de nurture*.[64] This was the language of the nobility and noble household, as opposed to Latin which was the language of the schools.[65] Certain sections of nobility are singled out in this literature, such as women as evidenced with Robert of Blois' *Chastoiement de dames*, or Robert Grosseteste's *Rules for the Countess of Lincoln*. This articulation of audience can be seen also in the *Ensenhamen* form of conduct literature in French or Catalan. An early example of this specificity is Arnaut-Guilhem de Marsan whose poem *Ensenhamen del cavaier* (c. 1170) was designed for the aristocracy, and in particular knights.[66] Furthermore, Stephen of Fougères' *Livre des Manières* similarly addressed a chivalrous rank of society. While the subject matter of these texts often overlaps with *Urbanus magnus*, such as on table manners or hospitality, they differ substantially in both length in the case of the 'contenances de table', and audience where vernacular texts are concerned. Importantly, these texts largely omit the moralistic and ethical elements which underpin the whole of *Urbanus magnus*.

2.3. Courtesy Literature: Origins and Uses of the Genre

Having looked at the problem of definition, I now want to address the question of origin. We have seen that the prevailing opinion is that courtesy literature – as has been defined by others – began in the twelfth century. While most scholars have focused on

[64] Parsons, 'Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture'.
[65] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.275.
[66] Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness: Colliding Constructs', p.45.

later texts, using these early texts merely as a point of reference or genesis, few have questioned where these texts emerged from.

The work of Jaeger has been central to the discussion about the beginnings of courtesy literature in medieval Europe, specifically his book *The Origins of Courtliness*.[67] For Jaeger, the figure of the courtier-bishop was central in the promotion of courtliness and courtly ideals. Jaeger argues that 'the courtly romance was the single most powerful factor in transmitting ideals of courtesy from the courtier class in which they originated to the lay nobility'.[68] Focusing on the tenth-century Ottonian Empire, Jaeger views this period as the beginnings of a civilising process, strengthened by a renewed interest in classical antiquity and specifically works by Cicero, such as *De officis*.[69] Jaeger shows an evident debt to the work of Elias, and while his study of the origins of courtliness with the Ottonian courtier-bishop broke new ground, in many respects he followed the conventional narrative view of progress:

> A Christian-humanist ethic of worldly service arose from the model of the courtier-bishop. The spread of this ethic is an essential factor in the civilizing of the European nobility from the tenth century on. It is visible wherever we encounter descriptions of clerics in court service. It appears in its most elegant medieval transmutation in the knight and lover of courtly romance, and is still detectable, if dramatically enriched, in the courtier of the Renaissance.[70]

In this interpretation there was no consideration for the role of more practical and worldly didactic texts, focusing instead on the influence and power of the courtly romance in the promotion of courtly ideals to the lay nobility.

[67] Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness.*
[68] Ibid., p.14.
[69] Ibid., p.115, where Jaeger states that 'Cicero plays a key role in the transmission of a vocabulary of urbanity to the Middle Ages'.
[70] Ibid., p.100.

When origin and usage are considered, a debate emerges over whether this was secular or monastic. Gillingham states that courtesy literature was related to the 'self-perception of the English elite', and therefore gives emphasis to the nobility for the creation and popularity of this genre in the twelfth century.[71] Certainly he is correct in the assertion that the nobility played a significant role in the popularisation of the genre, especially in the vernacular, but we have seen that there is a strong clerical association with the creation of the genre. Having looked previously at the issue of authorship of *Urbanus magnus*, we have seen that many of the earliest 'courtesy texts' or treatises have tentative attributions to clerics, who may be writing for both themselves and a secular audience. For example, Roussel claimed that the author of *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* was a cleric, and Crouch suggests a clerical authorship for the *Ordene de Chevalerie*.[72] While a burgeoning 'middle class' and elite nobility certainly played a strong role in the necessity and growing popularity of this genre, that is not to say that this 'self-perception of the English elite' was the impetus for the establishment of a new type of literature. Others have asserted the importance which monasteries and monastic texts had on the formation of early Latin courtesy texts. Knox states that it was the detailed codes of conducts which medieval religious houses and clerics produced that inspired these twelfth-century works.[73] Nicholls argues that:

> ...there seems little doubt that the monasteries pre-date secular institutions in formulating the rules of courteous living, despite monastic customaries also being affected by some of the changes in attitude symptomatic of the twelfth-century renaissance, which also spawned ... the secular articulation of courteous codes of conduct.[74]

[71] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.269.
[72] Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, p.136; Roussel, 'Le legs de la Rose', p.11; and Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness: Colliding Constructs', p.33.
[73] Knox, 'Disciplina: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility', p.109.
[74] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.25.

What this statement does not explain is how these monastic texts influenced their secular offspring, or who may have been the articulators of this secular genre. I believe that the origins and development of this genre can be interpreted threefold: firstly, the influence of monastic texts; secondly, clerical adaptation in the twelfth-century for use in a secular context but not for an exclusively secular audience; and finally, secular primacy through the vernacular texts. It is my contention that secular clerics were vital for this second role. They acted as middle-men effectively, using the framework of monastic texts such as customaries or rules, and overlaying it with secular concerns. The clerics were key because they could look both ways. They were familiar with these monastic texts, and also scriptural, classical, and clerical texts. Yet, they were apart from a monastic setting, perhaps working as a cleric at court or for a noble lord. Therefore, they would also have been aware of what was expected of courtesy and proper etiquette within a noble secular context. Thus, clerics created an adaptation or amalgamation, merging monastic ideals of living with the secular concerns of the age. It was a fusion of monastic and courtly ideals. To say that one is incompatible with the other is incorrect. Through the medium of clerics, secular society made use of the groundwork which monasteries had established, and concurrently, the monastic community embraced this literature with great enthusiasm.

Where audience is concerned, there is little doubt that these texts were directed towards use at court or within a noble setting – or for the gentry as Bartlett argued – of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[75] However, I contend that the primacy that the laity is afforded in the role of audience is overstated. Gillingham is correct in the statement that 'courtesy literature' was used within the court and noble households.

[75] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.584.

However, it was not simply the nobility who made use of such material. So we might say that the intended setting or context for courtesy literature was predominantly secular, but it would be too narrow a view to claim that the audience was also wholly secular.

Having explored the genre of courtesy literature it is clear that there are definite elements which unite the genre and *Urbanus magnus*. The noble context, the possible clerical authorship, the terminology of courtesy used, and the emphasis on practical precepts and on etiquette, especially table manners. However, this does not take account of section I of the poem and a large proportion of section III. Therefore, is the frequent designation of *Urbanus magnus* as an early courtesy text justified? There are a number of reasons which have caused me to question the assumption that *Urbanus magnus* is a courtesy text. First, contemporary twelfth-century texts are substantially shorter.[76] Secondly, the range of subject matter far exceeds that of contemporaneous texts. Even Nicholls admitted that *Urbanus magnus* is 'an exceptional case'.[77] On the one hand, *Urbanus magnus* appears pigeon-holed into belonging to the genre of courtesy literature and nothing else, and yet within that assigned genre it seems to be an anomaly or an exception. I will show that *Urbanus magnus* incorporates both elements of ethical and courtly literature, and it is too narrow to designate it solely as a 'courtesy text'.

[76] For example, *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* is composed of approximately 136 rhymed hexameters. *Facetus: moribus et uita* is 510 lines long. Other texts such as *Dum manducatis* and *Quis quis es in mensa* are substantially shorter. For example, *Dum manducatis* is no longer than 21 lines, *Omnis mensa* consists of 24 lines, *Phagifacetus* is 440 lines, *Quisquis es in mensa* is around 20 lines, and the slightly later *Stans puer ad mensam* is approximately 52 lines.
[77] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.176.

2.4. MORAL AND ETHICAL LITERATURE

Johnston notes the difference between 'ethical' and 'courtesy' literature. He states that the former tries to 'systematise ethics on morality as a science or body of knowledge'.[78] This would include tracts on the virtues and vices, and compilations of classical sources on morals such as Cicero's *De officiis*. The latter, he states, are 'works…that attempt to formulate courtly culture',[79] including courtesy books, chivalric manuals and 'contenances de table'. Recalling the structure of the poem, the initial emphasis is on moral and ethical behaviour such as being a good Christian, an upstanding citizen, and a worthy master. It is only when this moral foundation is established that the more practical and courteous manners of dining, for example, can be added. In addition, the descriptions of judges, merchants, and physicians are concerned with the ethical behaviour of each profession. *Urbanus magnus* is not the only didactic text which mixes moral and manners. In his description of Robert of Blois' *Enseignement des princes*, Georges Duby stated that:

> precepts of correct behaviour were set out for the instruction of nobles. They were to be courteous and to practise the Christian virtues, and it was this ethical rule which set them apart from others and also united them to each other.[80]

This statement is equally applicable to *Urbanus magnus*. Johnston's categorisation of ethical literature to include the virtues and vices, and compilations of classical sources on morals is key here. The medieval virtues and vices underpin the whole of *Urbanus magnus*, especially section I. *Urbanus magnus* is often accompanied by texts relating

[78] M. Johnston, 'The Treatment of Speech in Medieval Ethical and Courtesy Literature', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 4 (1986), pp.21-46, at p.22.
[79] Ibid.
[80] G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (Berkeley, 1980), p.181.

to the virtues and vices in its manuscripts.[81] Here, I want to briefly provide examples which reveal how the virtues and vices act as a foundation for the ethical and moral behaviour of the medieval Christian as interpreted by *Urbanus magnus*. As the text states: 'strive to live scrupulously, flee from vice'.[82]

Section I of *Urbanus magnus* is heavily concerned with morals in relation to behaviour. *Urbanus magnus* describes the vices which should be avoided:

> …beware being the haughty lecherous man, the disparager, the miser, the wasteful man, the fickle man, the gloomy, stupid, slanderous man, by tricks is brought in, rejoicing in another's injury, born of envy, the deceitful, talkative miserly man,…the mocker, the brigand, the treacherous man.[83]

Here, we have the cardinal sin of envy depicted, with the attendant vice of slander.[84] There is greed with the notion of fraud and deceit.[85] Immediately following this passage from *Urbanus magnus* we are presented with the virtues which should be practised in the face of such vices:

> You ought to be a tolerant and obliging man, with respectful conversation, a steadfast man, loyal, prudent, plain, quiet, a man who speaks the truth, a gentle, honest, just, distinguished, restrained, and amiable man.[86]

This emphasis on the virtues and vices is not restricted to the first section of *Urbanus magnus*, and its importance can be felt throughout the text [Figs.9 and 10].

[81] See appendices II and III. For example item 6 in MS O_3, p.459 and item 12 in MS P_1, p.462.
[82] *UM*, l.2823.
[83] *UM*, ll.33-9.
[84] Variations on *inuidia* appear in *UM* at lines 36, 394-6, 398, 1138, 1597, 1824, 2316, and 2828.
[85] Variations on *auaritia* appear in *UM* at lines 33, 36, 347, 799, 800, 810, 1611, 1612, 1614, 1619, 1622, 1829, 1856, 2198, 2201, 2330, 2457, and 2459.
[86] *UM*, ll.40-3.

Table of Virtues and Vices		
Virtue:	**Subordinate Trait:**	
Faith God is first above all who should be cherished in the heart. [l.20]	**Simplicity**	You should be a simple man. [l.41]
	Continence	As a boy, do not become another foul Ganymede. [l.542]
Charity You should give clothing to the naked…[l.407]	**Concord**	Between distinguished citizens there should be peace in the city. [l.462]
	Peace	Genuine peace should be offered to any man…[l.621]
	Piety	Foster religious piety. [l.2829]
Hope Hope in the face of the adversity is the first road to health. [l.558]	**Discipline**	If you want to oppose vice, first you should rule the mind. [l.59]
	Joy	… let the face be happy, let it learn to feign joys. [l.858]
	Patience	With patience you will defeat the wicked. [l.399]
	Confession	If you disclose sins to a priest, fastings are to be ordered. [l.192]
Temperance The loving man will be good and temperate to his neighbours. [l.434]	**Religious Observance**	In the morning, get back to the churches of God.[l.132]
	Fasting	If you disclose sins to a priest, fastings are to be ordered. [l.192]
	Discretion	...with a silent heart, conceal that secret. A worthy person never reveals that information. [ll.611-3]
	Contempt of the World	There is nothing more worthless on earth than the human body. [l.278]
	Sobriety	The sober man should avoid the enemy…[l.1378]
Fortitude You ought to be a tolerant…steadfast man...[l.41]	**Tolerance**	True tolerance strengthens character. [l.642-3]
	Patience	Gentle patience always rejoices in the face of an adversary. [l.664]
	Silence	You should have a silent tongue. [l.1456]
	Fidelity	The truthful, loyal, steadfast, ward of courage is priceless. [l.599]
Prudence The prudent man bears bitter calamities with patience from the heart. [l.554]	**Memory**	When you are rich, remember your past poverty. [l.1306]
	Reason	[you should be] rational in everything that must be done. [l.1504]
	Fear of God	God reflects on wicked deeds, because he is the avenger of sin. [l.186]
	Discretion	You should be discreet...[l.703]
Justice ...you ought to be a just man [l.43]	**Observance of the law**	The law should not be made for you, but you should follow the command of the law. [ll.24-5]
	Correction	If you are a wicked man, convert your ways, remembering to be a good man. [l.27]
	Law	The law and reason teaches that perverse men pay no heed to manners. [l.32]
	Truth	...truth discredits lies [l.393]

Fig.9. The virtues in *Urbanus magnus*

Table of Virtues and Vices		
Vices:	**Subordinate Trait:**	
Drunkenness The signs of Lyaeus should not be seen in you. [l.951]	**Inappropriate jollity**	Bestow no joke unless it is restrained. [l.922]
	Scurrility	No filthy speech should proceed from your mouth. [l.665]
	Gluttony	You should not be a gluttonous man given over to constant drinking. [l.959]
	Talkativeness	You should not be verbose...[l.632]
	Inebriation	You should not suffer the exile of the mind through drinking. [l.952]
Lust If sexual desire is incited by the spur of Venus…[l.1991]	**Blindness of the mind**	Noble men, poor men, boys...the bitter lust burns, stings and blinds them. They are blind because lust yields them to the oblivion of death. [ll.1600-4]
Sloth Idleness should be spurned; rest confuses the mind. [l.130]	**Sadness**	If your mind is barbed with different kinds of grief, let the face be happy, let it learn to feign joys. [ll.857-8]
Vainglory You should not be vainglorious. [l.2429]	**Hypocrisy**	You should not be a man with the face of a lamb and the mind of a wolf. [l.1500]
	Bragging	Do not esteem your own achievements by finding fault in the deeds of your companions. [ll.89-90]
Envy If there is a blessed wise man, he will arouse jealousy…If envy happens to beget for you harmful allies, listen, dissemble. [ll.394-8]	**Slander**	Malicious gossip is to be reproached as distinct from praise. [l.390]
	Muttering against someone	He who sows rumours by the wind, declares himself a fool. [l.80]
	Homicide	Quarrels incite anger and fury, disorder, hatred, fatal words, and murder. [ll.635-6]
	Pleasure in another's suffering	Avoid mocking those plundered by chance. [ll.206-7]
Avarice Greed should be absent. [l.810]	**Rapine**	Scorn thievery;…if you are a plunderer you will live badly.[ll.145-50]
	Theft	As a thief, you want to live according to thievery. [l.1780]
Anger Avoid spite, lingering hate should not be known to you. [l.2828]	**Blasphemy**	No scandalous songs, scandals, or blasphemy should come from you. [ll.889-90]
	Assault	You should be unwilling to assault the weak with blows or words. [l.521]
	Hatred	The hateful man does not know who is friend or ally. [l.1138]
	Rage	Do not send out sparks which foster anger, adding to rage. [l.435]
	Bombast	Although you may be ennobled through birth, do not walk around puffed up. [l.382]

Fig.10. The vices in *Urbanus magnus*

Attendant to the virtues and vices functioning as a framework for the ethical and moral instruction in *Urbanus magnus*, compilations of classical sources on morals are further sources for the text. However, two key texts functioned as pedagogical tools in ethical and moral education: the anonymous *Disticha Catonis* and Cicero's *De officiis*.

The *Disticha Catonis* was a moralistic classical text ascribed to Pseudo-Cato, which became Christianised in the medieval period and was a popular educational text. The *Disticha Catonis* has been described as:

> homely morality that is preached – respect for the lessons of books and of life, diligence in work, loyalty to friends, avoidance of quarrels, bravery in misfortune, temperance in prosperity,…[87]

Its importance rests on the direct evidence of its use in a short twelfth-century poem which is frequently referred to as an early 'courtesy text': *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*.[88] The opening lines to the text are:

> Since I believe that nothing is more beneficial to human welfare than to know the proper measure of things and how to use proper manners, I shall furnish what the teaching of wise Cato did not address, according to my own ability through the counsel of reason.[89]

It is this explicit reference to the *Disticha Catonis* which reveals its prominence as a key ethical and moral text. It was well known and widely used as part of the educational curriculum.[90] Poems such as *Urbanus magnus* and *Facetus: cum nihil*

[87] *Minor Latin Poets*, eds. J. W. Duff, and A. Duff (Cambridge, MA., 1934), p.588.
[88] There are two editions of *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*. C. Schroeder, *Der deutsche Facetus* (Berlin, 1911), J. Morawski, *Le facet en françoys: edition critique des cinq traductions des deux Facetus latins avec introduction, notes et glossaire* (Poznań, 1923). All references to the Latin edition of this poem are from Schroeder, *Der deutsche Facetus*. For an English translation of this text see R. E. Pepin, *An English Translation of Auctores octo, A Medieval Reader* (Lewiston, NY, 1999).
[89] 'Cum nihil utilius humanae credo saluti / quam morum novisse modos et moribus uti. / Quod minus exsequitur morosum dogma Catonis / supplebo pro posse meo monitu rationis'. *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, p.16. C.f. Pepin, *An English Translation of Auctores octo*, p.43.
[90] For a discussion of the *Disticha Catonis* as part an educational text, see chapter 6, pp.271-3.

utilius then layered practical precepts on manners onto it, creating a composite of morals and manners. *Urbanus magnus* reveals a definite awareness of the *Disticha Catonis* when discussing restraint in speech and the value of silence: 'respond in the manner of Cato'.[91]

The *Disticha* is divided into four books, which are preceded by a list of monostichs, very short sayings often consisting of only two words in Latin. These monostichs often have parallels in *Urbanus magnus* [Fig.11]. Many of the themes expressed in *Urbanus magnus*, and discussed in the subsequent chapters, can be found in the *Disticha Catonis*:

Disticha Catonis	***Urbanus magnus***
Love your parents *Parentes ama*	It is a great crime to hate one's own parents. *Est scelus immensum proprios odisse parentes*. l.411
Yield to your senior *Maiori concede*	Yield to the greater man entering or even leaving the church or house. *Maiori cedes intranti templa uel ede.* l.182
Be moderate with wine *Vino tempora*	Beware of drinking wine greedily like Bacchus. *Bachi more caue calices haurire gulose*. l.949
Mock no one *Neminem riseris*	You should not mock fellows who sing the Psalms badly. *Non sis derisor consortis si male psallant*. l.159
Say little at a banquet *Pauca in convivo loquere*	As a guest sitting at high table with the master, dine at once charmingly and silently, unless you are approached. *Cum domino conuiua sedens disco simul uno* *Concenes lepide tacitus, nisi conueniaris*. l.1064-5

Fig.11. Comparison between the *Disticha Catonis* and *Urbanus Magnus.*[92]

[91] *UM*, l.103.
[92] The extracts from the *Disticha Catonis* are taken from *Minor Latin Poets*, pp.592-7.

As an example of the parallels between the two texts, the *Disticha* is replete with warnings against loquaciousness, something which is encountered repeatedly in *Urbanus magnus* in relation to moderation and restraint of behaviour. To give one instance of such a connection:

> To rule the tongue I reckon virtue's height: he's nearest God who can be dumb aright.[93]
>
> While being spoken to you should be silent, the mouth should guard with a lasting bolt, your expression should be in accordance with the mouth while speaking.[94]

There are numerous other examples, such as the attitude towards women, maintaining peace, and avoiding excess. All these themes are present in *Urbanus magnus*, although they are elaborated upon, and put into contemporary context, suitable for the times. One theme which unites the texts is that of restraint and moderation.

In light of Gillingham's statement that the terminology used for 'courtesy' in *Urbanus magnus* is Ciceronian, we need to briefly note that Cicero's *De officiis* was considered a preeminent moral authority in the Middle Ages and may have been a factor in the moral and ethical underpinning of *Urbanus magnus*.[95] Scholars such as Jaeger have noted the importance of *De officiis* in the formation of didactic literature on morals and manners in the Middle Ages.[96] It is not the intention here to provide an overview of the influence *De officiis* had on courtesy literature; rather, I want to highlight the equivalents between it and *Urbanus magnus*. Certainly, there are parallels

[93] 'Virtutem primam esse puto compescere linguam / Proximus ille deo est, qui scit ratione tacere'. *Minor Latin Poets*, pp.596-7.
[94] *UM*, l.100-1.
[95] On the importance of *De officiis* on moral Christian life, see N. E. Nelson, 'Cicero's De Officiis in Christian Thought 300-1300', *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature* (Ann Arbor, MI., 1933), pp.59-160.
[96] Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, pp.103-16.

in the use of the terms *urbanus*, *facetus*, and *rusticus*. *Facetus* and *urbanus* are employed in relation to speech in a similar manner to *Urbanus magnus*:

> There are, generally speaking, two sorts of jest: the one, coarse, rude, vicious, indecent; the other, refined, polite, clever, witty.[97]

Rusticus is similarly used to describe boorish behaviour:

> …we must avoid especially the two extremes — our conduct and speech should not be effeminate and over-nice, on the one hand, nor coarse and boorish, on the other.[98]

De officiis follows the form of a father addressing his son, in this instance it is Cicero writing for his son, advising him on how to behave and how to observe moral obligations and duties. This is similar to *Urbanus magnus* with the exhortation to the son.[99] *De officiis* is concerned with the duties and obligations which ensure moral propriety and a peaceful society. It is this moral message which is at the heart of *Urbanus magnus*. The use of the virtues and the vices and other moral sources lays the groundwork for being a kind and considerate member of society, while the more practical elements of conduct ensure that one behaves in a manner which is acceptable and agreeable to others. *De officiis* was known in twelfth-century England, although limited to the ranks of educated men. For example, Walter Map's *De nugis curialium* shows a debt to *De officiis*.[100] In its concern with the enumeration of moral duties and

[97] 'Duplex omnino est iocandi genus, unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscenum, alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum'. Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. W. Miller (Cambridge, MA., 1913), Book 1, 104, p.107.
[98] 'Quibus in rebus duo maxime sunt fugienda, ne quid effeminatum aut molle et ne quid durum aut rusticum sit'. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 129, p.131.
[99] *UM*, 9-11. See chapter 1, p.11.
[100] O. Bychkov, 'The Use of the De Officiis in Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium', Notes and Queries (1995), pp.157-9. He notes that Map's knowledge of *De officiis* could have come from the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, a twelfth-century compilation of moral sayings.

obligations, many parallels in subject matter can be discerned between *De officiis* and *Urbanus magnus*. Cicero states that there are four sources for what is morally right: adherence to the truth; conservation of organised society; greatness and strength of the noble spirit; and orderliness and moderation in everything.[101] In *Urbanus magnus*, the conservation of society and moderation are two keys themes, and they are mutually intertwined. By extolling moderation and self-restraint in the individual, collectively citizens are more likely to maintain civil peace. For example, *De officiis* states:

> ...if we bring a certain amount of propriety and order into the transactions of daily life, we shall be conserving moral rectitude and moral dignity.[102]

Consequently, 'the relations of man to man in human society may be conserved'.[103] Many of the parallels between *Urbanus magnus* and *De officiis* will become clear in the thematic chapters, but here it suffices to briefly note some of the main points of comparison. Both texts are concerned with temperance and self-control, both discuss the importance of favours and gift-giving in the context of patronage, both advise on the value of counsel and advisors, and both are concerned with the appropriate manner of speaking in conversation with others. While there is no direct evidence to suggest *Urbanus magnus* was consciously inspired by *De officiis*, its popularity amongst educated men in twelfth-century England hints that the author of *Urbanus magnus* was aware of it, or potentially of the twelfth-century compendium of moral sayings, including Cicero, the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*.[104] The emphasis on self-

[101] Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 15, p.17.
[102] 'Is enim rebus, quae tractantur in vita, modum quendam et ordinem adhibentes, honestatem et decus conservabimus'. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 17, p.19.
[103] '…ut et societas hominum coniunctioque servetur'. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 17, p.19.
[104] For an edition of this text, see William of Conches, *Das moralium dogma hhilosophorum des Guillaume de Conches, lateinisch, altfranzösich und mittelniederfränkisch, herausgegeben*, ed. J. Holmberg (Uppsala, 1929).

restraint and propriety in all aspects of social life and moral duties may have provided a model for the moral and ethical aspects of *Urbanus magnus*.

Following on from the moral and ethical side of *Urbanus magnus*, the final section of this chapter addresses *Facetus* literature and the influence it may have had on *Urbanus magnus.* The section then includes a brief survey of other sources and influences on *Urbanus magnus* which are discussed in greater detail throughout the thesis.

2.5. Other Sources

It is not the intention of this section to provide a comprehensive list of the sources and influences on *Urbanus magnus*. As previously stated, a thorough examination of the sources and influences on *Urbanus magnus*, along with the genre of 'courtesy literature', is beyond the remit of this thesis, although this would make exciting and worthwhile further research. Many of these sources will become evident throughout the thematic chapters of this thesis. Here, I will highlight some key sources or influences such as *Facetus* literature, classical texts, and contemporary twelfth-century writing. Two *Facetus* texts date from the twelfth century and became immensely popular, with one of the texts becoming part of the *auctores octo* texts in the medieval education curriculum: the first is *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, seen as an accompaniment to the *Disticha Catonis*, while the second is known as *Facetus: moribus et uita*.[105] Both are roughly dated to the twelfth century.

[105] The *sex auctores* and *auctores octo* are discussed in greater detail in chapter 6, pp.271-3. Morawski, *Le facet en francoys*, also has an edition of *Facetus: moribus et uita*, but for a more modern edition with English translation see A. G. Elliott, 'Facetus: or, The Art of Courtly Living', *Allegorica*, 2 (1977), pp.27-57. At present both texts are anonymous. Morawski notes that the name 'Magister Johannes' appears at the end of *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, and that subsequent scholars have interpreted this as John of Garland. However this view is not commonly held.

One interesting aspect of the *Disticha*, the two *Facetus* texts, and *Urbanus magnus* is the similarities between the opening lines or prologues of each text. To begin with the *Disticha*:

> As I noticed the very great number of those who go seriously astray in the path of conduct, I decided that I should come to the aid of their belief and take thought for their reputation, so that they might live with the utmost glory and attain honour. Now I will teach you, dearest son, how to fashion a system for your mind. Therefore, so read my precepts as to understand; for to read and not to understand is to give them the go-by.[106]

We have already seen the opening lines to *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, but it continues to state that from its precepts '…the unlearned can pluck the proper manners'.[107] Similarly, *Facetus: moribus et uita* begins with: 'whoever wishes to be courtly in manners and in life, let him read me and learn what my muse has to say'.[108] If we compare this with *Urbanus magnus*, we can discern clear similarities:

> To be adorned with morals and manners, if you desire, reader, to be venerated, to be noble among lords and lead a civilised life, to be a provident overseer in administering your own property, read and re-read often and keep forever in your mind these verses which I have decided to write, clad in the lightness of common language, for boy-clerks.[109]

Elliott has noted that these exhortations, especially that of *Facetus: moribus et uita*, strike a note of 'Ovidian didacticism', giving the example of the opening lines to the *Ars amatoria*: 'If anyone in this populace does not know the art of loving, let him read

[106] 'Cum animadverterem quam plurimos graviter in via morum errare, succurrendum opinioni eorum et consulendum famae existimavi, maxime ut gloriose viverent et honorem contingerent. Nunc te, fili carissime, docebo, quo pacto morem animi tui componas. Igitur praecepta mea ita legito, ut intellegas; legere enim et non intelligere neglegere est'. *Minor Latin Poets*, pp.592-3.
[107] 'Hic quoque cum fructu parit hortulus undique flores / ex quali indocti possunt excerpere mores'. *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, p.14. Pepin, *An English Translation*, p.43. See p.74 of this chapter.
[108] 'Moribus et vita quisque vult esse facetus / Me legat et discat, quod mea musa notat'. *Facetus: moribus et vita*. C.f. Elliott, 'Facetus: or, The Art of Courtly Living', p.33.
[109] *UM*, ll.1-6.

this, and having read the poem he will love in an educated fashion'.[110] The fact that this type of exhortation is used in both the *Disticha Catonis* and *Facetus*: *moribus et uita* shows that this type of opening statement was appropriated into the didactic material emerging or becoming popular in the twelfth century. On another point of comparison, there is the appeal to a 'son', similar to that witnessed in the *Disticha*: 'hear the worthy words of your father as he teaches you and writes for you, my son; let your father's teaching be grafted to your mind'.[111] It is not simply the opening lines of the texts which show similarity. In relation to content there is much that links *Urbanus magnus* with the *Facetus* literature. Commencing with *Facetus: moribus et uita*, Elliott has described this text as a 'witness to the medieval passion for didactic poetry'.[112] The text states that the work is for the instruction of clerics, laymen, old men, boys and youths, along with knights and footsoldiers.[113] However, the text later expands for a discussion of specific professions such as judges and physicians, both of which appear in section III of *Urbanus magnus* which offers precepts to a wide range of professions. An analysis of the professions discussed in *Urbanus magnus* appears in chapter 3, but what this *Facetus* text reveals is that there was already an attempt in twelfth-century didactic literature to enumerate and describe the behaviour of different ranks in society. *Urbanus magnus* seems to take this even further, adding to the list of professions witnessed in *Facetus: moribus et uita* by including sailors and bailiffs for example.

[110] Elliott, 'Facetus: or, The Art of Courtly Living', p.56, note 1.
[111] *UM*, ll.9-11.
[112] Elliott, 'Facetus: or, The Art of Courtly Living', p.27.
[113] 'Clericus et laicus, senior, puer atque Juventus / Istic instruitur, miles et ipse pedes'. *Facetus: moribus et vita*. C.f. Elliott, 'Facetus: or, The Art of Courtly Living', p.33.

Facetus: cum nihil utilius has an interesting parallel with *Urbanus magnus* where structure is concerned. Pepin states that the author of *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* 'freely mingles practical precepts of behaviour with moral maxims'.[114] Nevertheless, there is a loose structure:

> the initial counsels (lines 9-28) have a specifically Christian emphasis; they admonish the reader to seek the glory of God in all things, but they also set practical rules for conduct in Church and for assistance at Mass.[115]

Similar to *Urbanus magnus*, this poem begins with an emphasis on the moral and ethical duties of a good Christian. We have already noted the example of attendance at church from *Urbanus magnus*, and there are further examples of appropriate – or inappropriate – behaviour in church depicted. It is in the representation of table manners, however, where the links between the two texts become even clearer. A full discussion of table manners appears in chapter 5, but it suffices here to give a few examples which help to illuminate the similarity of the two texts.[116]

Urbanus magnus	***Facetus: cum nihil utilius***
While sitting at the table as a guest, you shouldn't put your elbows on the table.[117]	When you are eating, never let the table prop up your elbow, but sit correctly…[118]
Drink by command of the lord; with the cup given to you, accept it, drink it, take care to give the cup to others.[119]	If anyone deigns to offer you a cup, accept it cheerfully, drink moderately and return it courteously.[120]

Fig.12. Comparison between *Urbanus magnus* and *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*

[114] Pepin, *An English Translation*, p.41.
[115] Ibid.
[116] See chapter 5, pp.227-46.
[117] *UM*, l.990.
[118] 'Mensa tibi cubitum nunquam sustentet edenti, / Sed recte sedeas…'. *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, p.16 Pepin, *An English Translation*, p.49.
[119] *UM*, ll.1066-7.
[120] 'Si quis dignetur offerre cifum tibi, laete / accipias modiceque bibas reddasque facete'. *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, p.16. Pepin, *An English Translation*, p.49.

There are many more examples like this, but what they show is that *Urbanus magnus* was clearly aware of literature such as the *Facetus* texts. Nicholls has provided a detailed appendix of Latin 'courtesy texts' including other twelfth-century works such as *Dum manducatis* and *Quisquis es in mensa*.[121] Clearly, there was a vogue in the twelfth century for the production of such texts, and any of these texts, or similar works, could have influenced *Urbanus magnus*. I believe that *Urbanus magnus* merges this practical literature with morals and manners. It incorporates their structure, themes, and content, all the while expanding on each topic, resulting in a poem of almost 3,000 lines, far longer than the other texts. This is evident in the titles of both *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* and *Urbanus magnus*. *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* was also known in the twelfth century as *Urbanus parvus*. The title *Urbanus magnus* suggests that this was a conscious expansion of the precepts in the *Facetus* poem, and further hints that *Urbanus magnus* was produced after *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*.

The fact that there is such a strong link with the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Facetus* literature should not render our view of *Urbanus magnus* as unoriginal. It helps us to realise the influence which the emerging *Facetus* genre had on literary production in twelfth-century England. In describing *Facetus: moribus et uita*, Elliott states:

> The Facetus, although popular, is not original...But this very lack of originality constitutes the poem's major claim to our interest, since great poetry it is not. It states explicitly a number of commonly held ideas on a wide range of topics, ideas which are to be found, although stated less plainly, in many works of medieval literature. The work is a handy collection of maxims, a sampler of attitudes.[122]

[121] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, appendix. See chapter 5, pp.242-4 for translations of these poems.
[122] Elliott, 'Facetus: or, The Art of Courtly Living', p.29.

We can apply the same principle to a discussion of *Urbanus magnus*. It reveals a vast amount of information about life and attitudes in twelfth-century England, and the very fact that it is so substantially longer than any of the other texts mentioned, renders it an incredibly valuable text, not only as a literary work, but as a 'sampler of attitudes' in the past.

In addition to the *Disticha Catonis* and *Facetus* texts, *Urbanus magnus* contains many other potential sources or influences. The influence of classical literature is evident from the numerous references to figures from classical literature and mythology. As Nicholls notes:

> ...the poet alludes to the quirky Eutrapelus of Horace's *Epistulae*...the sorceress Medea is mentioned, Argus, the many-eyed guardian is referred to...and the verb *thaydare*...is coined from analogy with the famous courtesan Thais...Bacchus and Venus are regularly employed as metaphors for wine and sexual love...[123]

There is also reference to Janus.[124] Furthermore, there is reference to Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.[125] MS D is heavily annotated with quotations and glosses from classical sources which relate to lines in *Urbanus magnus*.[126] Therefore, not only are there allusions to classical literature in the text, but there is also the subsequent linking of classical sources with extracts from *Urbanus magnus* from MS D [Fig.13]. While the annotations from MS D do not prove that *Urbanus magnus* explicitly used authors such as Ovid, Horace, and Martial for example, it does reveal that the content of

[123] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.173. See ll.1230-2 for Eutrapelus, l.1964 for Medea, l.2185 for Argus, and l.2121 for reference to Thais.
[124] *UM*, l.2187 and l.2195.
[125] The allusion to Ovid is the reference to the line 'it is a poor man who'll ever count his sheep', mentioned in relation to the administration of the household. See chapter 3, p.94.
[126] Smyly uses the siglum A to refer to these glosses in MS D.

Urbanus magnus corresponded well in content with classical writings, and that the author was well-read in classical literature.

Urbanus magnus		**Classical Sources**	
Line	**Text**	**Source**	**Text**
15	Nothing in earthly matters is more graceful than appropriate morals. *Gratius in tera nil constat moribus aptis.*	Martial, *Epigrams* XI.5.3	It is an arduous task to preserve morality from the corruption of riches. *Ardua res haec est, opibus non tradere mores.*
18	Often precious things lie hidden in vile places. *Sepe loco uili latitant pretiosa*.	Ovid, *De Ponto* II.2.34	And with his naked hands will grasp sharp thorns. *Porrigit ad spinas duraque saxa manus*.
127	So, desire to live as if you are about to die. *Uiuere sic studeas quasi tu sis eras moriturus*.	Horace, *Epistles* I.IV.13	Treat every day that dawns for you as the last. *Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.*
129	Be busy, learn to bear the yoke of various tasks. *Res age, disce iuga uariorum ferre laborum.*	Ovid, *De Remedio* 144	Love gives way to business: be busy, you will be safe. *Cedit amor rebus: res age, tutus eris.*

Fig.13. Examples of glosses from MS D

There are also scriptural and religious sources and influences on the text which are discussed in greater detail in chapters 3 and 4. Aside from biblical references, monastic rules such as the Rule of St Benedict and the Rule of St Augustine have parallels in *Urbanus magnus,* seen most clearly in the discussion of comportment and hospitality. Additionally, religious instructional texts such as Hugh of St Victor's *De institutione nouitiorum* may also have influenced the writing of *Urbanus magnus*. Aside from *Facetus* literature, *Urbanus magnus* shows the use of more recent texts as source material, such as Petrus Alphonsi's *Disciplina clericalis* and the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. Having already discussed the *Regimen sanitatis Salerniatem,* I will conclude this section on sources and influences by briefly exploring Hugh of St Victor's *De institutione nouitiorum* and Petrus Alphonsi's *Disciplina clericalis*, finishing with an introduction to the genre of *contemptus mundi* literature.

Many scholars have highlighted *De institutione nouitiorum* and *Disciplina clericalis* as key in the development of the genre. Brentano recognised the influence of *De institutione nouitiorum* on the development of *Facetus* literature.[127] In addition, Gieben argued that both works by Hugh of St Victor and Petrus Alphonsi were concerned with courtesy.[128] Jaeger stresses the influence which Hugh of St Victor's work had on later texts. He states that '*De institutione* is appropriated in the thirteenth century by courtesy books and "mirrors of princes."'[129] What is important to stress here is the emphasis placed on etiquette and manners not only in this text, but the entire Victorine educational ethos in the twelfth century. Comportment, gait, bodily restraint, the manner of speaking, the correct way to eat and drink, were vital to the education of the canons at St Victor, with the underlying principle that virtuous outer comportment reflected a virtuous inner soul. Therefore, good manners were not solely a means for social betterment, but would also reveal your character to those around you, as evinced in *De institutione novitiorum*:

> Just as inconstancy of mind brings forth irregular motions of the body, so also the mind is strengthened and made constant when the body is restrained through the process of discipline. And little by little, the mind is composed inwardly to calm, when through the custody of discipline its irregular motions are not allowed free play outwardly. The perfection of virtue is when the members of the body are governed and ordered through the inner custody of the mind.[130]

[127] Brentano, 'Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature', p.11.
[128] Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books', p.50.
[129] C. S. Jaeger, 'Humanism and Ethics at the School of St. Victor in the Early Twelfth Century', *Mediaeval Studies*, 55 (1993), pp.51-79, at p.60.
[130] 'Sicut enim de inconstantia mentis nascitur inordinate motio corporis, ita quoque, dum corpus per disciplinam stringitur, animus ad constantiam solidatur. Et paulatim intrinsecus mens ad quietem componitur, cum per discipline custodiam mali motus eius foras fluere non sinuntur. Integritas ergo uirtutis est, quando per internam mentis custodiam ordinate reguntur membra corporis'. For the edited text see Hugh of St Victor, *De institutione novitiorum*, p.48. The English translation is from Jaeger, 'Humanism and Ethics', p.62.

Therefore, courtesy and manners were a concern for religious communities, especially at St Victor, and their precepts were often appropriated for a more secular context. It is for this reason that I consider texts such as *De institutione novitiorum*, along with the Victorine customary *Liber ordinis*, as vital for the creation of texts such as *Urbanus magnus* which focuses so strongly on the regulation of bodily comportment and self-restraint.

Roussel has described Petrus Alphonsi's *Disciplina clericalis* as a pillar of the genre of 'courtesy literature.[131] The title indicates that the intended audience is clerics. However, the text found a wider secular audience, possibly due to Alphonsi's connection with the royal court of Henry I where he served as court physician. The *Disciplina clericalis* assumes the form of a father addressing a son, is highly moralistic, relying on fables as a didactic tool, but contains precious little practical advice on manners and etiquette. Indeed, Alphonsi's only real practical advice on etiquette comes in 'On Table Manners'. Here, the son asks the father about the correct way of dining in front of the king. The father responds:

> After washing your hands to eat, do not touch anything except the food until you eat; do not eat the bread before some other food comes to the table, so you will not be called impatient; do not put such a large piece in your mouth that crumbs fall here and there, so you will not be called a glutton; do not swallow the mouthful until it is well chewed in your mouth so as not to choke; do not take a drink until your mouth is empty, so you will not be called a drunkard; do not speak while you have something in your mouth, lest something go from your throat to your windpipe and cause you to choke to death; and if you see a tidbit that you like on the plate in front of your companion, do not take it, so you will not be thought ill-bred. Wash your hands after the meal, because it is hygienic and well-

[131] Roussel, 'Le legs de la Rose', p.9. For the Latin text see Petrus Alphonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*, ed. A. Gonzàlez (Madrid, 1948), p.71. For an English translation see *The Scholar's Guide: A Translation of the Twelfth-Century Disciplina Clericalis of Pedro Alfonso*, trans. J. R. Jones and J. E. Keller (Toronto, 1969).

> mannered; many people's eyes become infected because they wipe them without having washed their hands after eating.[132]

Although there is little practical advice in the *Disciplina clericalis*, what there is corresponds well with what appears in *Urbanus magnus*:

> While food remains in the mouth, the mouth should taste no drink. While food is in the mouth, your tongue should supply no words. There should not be an overly large piece of food in your mouth while eating so that your mouth is not too full if you need to speak.[133]

The remainder of the text does not show much more concern with practical etiquette, save for a few words on accepting an invitation.[134] It has been mentioned that the text relies on fables and is moralistic, but it has been suggested that the tales in this text are more entertainment than actual education in morals. This may be something which again distinguishes it from courtesy texts, which are more focused on sensible and usual information to educate in manners.

As seen with *Facetus* literature, there was an attempt in the twelfth century to enumerate and describe the behaviour of different ranks in society. Section III of *Urbanus magnus* contains directives to numerous professions, for example merchants, physicians, sailors, fowlers, and minstrels. I believe that it strongly reflects the influence of twelfth-century *contemptus mundi* literature. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter 6 in relation to the manuscript dissemination, but it is important to be

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[132] 'Cum ablueris manus ut comedas nihil tangas nisi prandium, donec comedas; nec comedas panem priusquam veniat aliud ferculum super mensam, ne dicaris impatiens; nec tantum ponas bolum in oe tuo, ut micae defluant hinc et inde, ne dicaris gluto; nec glutias bolum prius quam bene fuerit commasticatum in ore tuo, ne stranuleris; nec pocula sumas done cos sit vanuum, ne dicaris vinosus; nec aliquid intret de gutture in intimam arteriam et sic sit tibi causa mortis; et si videris bolum quod tibi placeat in parapside coram sodali, ne sumas, ne dicatur tibi prava rusticitas. Post prandium manus ablue, quia phisicum est et curiale; ob hoc enim multorum ociuli deteriorantur, quoniam post prandia minibus non ablutis terguntur'. Petrus Alphonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*, p.71. Jones and Keller, *The Scholars Guide*, p.98.
[133] *UM*, ll.945-8.
[134] See chapter 3, pp.107-8.

aware of the influence which this genre may have had on *Urbanus magnus*.[135] The *satira communis* subset of *contemptus mundi* comprised of satirical descriptions of diverse ranks of society. Bernard of Cluny's *De contemptu mundi* exhibits not only a similar feature, but many of the same ranks of society. Engelhardt, in reference to this section in *De contemptu mundi* states that:

> This charge of universal evil is supported by what may be termed an ethologue – a catalogue...that registers in their hierarchic sequence the various grades of the social order ascribing to each its characteristic function and malfunction.[136]

Under the *satira communis* there is reference to many ranks of society: bishops, kings, priests, clerics, soldiers/knights, noblemen, judges, merchants, and peasants. The recurring emphasis is on the evils that each stratum of society commits. However, it is important to note that while there are similarities between the *satira communis* and *Urbanus magnus* in relation to the actual ranks referred to, the treatment is somewhat different. For example, the *satira communis* focuses only on the negative behaviour of each rank. *Urbanus magnus* goes further by providing examples of their respective "evils", but it also provides directives for correct behaviour. It is this desire for the correction of behaviour which separates *Urbanus magnus* from solely satirical works. Parallels can be found further in the satire of the *mala femina*. This sub-genre of satire in the twelfth-century *contemptus mundi* literature focuses on the destructive power of women to manipulate and lead men towards vice, along with attendant warnings on the perils of marriage. This neatly matches the discussion of women in section III of

[135] See chapter 6, pp.262-9. See also chapter 3, pp.128-35 on the different professions.
[136] G. Engelhardt, 'The "De contemptu mundi" of Bernard Morvalensis, Book Two: A Study in Commonplace', *Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (1964), pp.110-42, at p.117.

Urbanus magnus as adulterous, manipulative, and overly concerned with expensive luxuries.

Fig.14 at the end of this chapter provides an overview of the various potential sources and influences on *Urbanus magnus*. This includes sources which are referenced within the text, such as classical sources, or those which are likely influences due to the similarity of their content, such as the *Disciplina clericalis*. Also included in the diagram are other potential influences on *Urbanus magnus* which are discussed at various points throughout the thematic chapters of this thesis.

2.6. CONCLUSIONS

I have aimed to show that *Urbanus magnus* should not be solely described as a courtesy text. While there is clear evidence to suggest that the early seeds of 'courtesy literature' were planted in the twelfth century, specifically through 'contenances de table' poems dedicated to table manners, *Urbanus magnus* does not fit the mould of a text concerned only with practical manners. It is better described as a normative text, an instructional text, or more broadly as simply a didactic text in morals and manners. To this end, the following chapters eschew the use of the term 'courtesy literature', and they examine *Urbanus magnus* through different themes, seeking to understand the text in the context of twelfth-century England. Of course, the issues of composition complicate the question of *Urbanus magnus* and 'courtesy literature'; if the text is composed of different parts then we may have a situation where parts of the text may be designated courtesy literature, and others may be different. Yet, taken as a whole, the poem is a combination of moral, ethical, and courtesy literature.

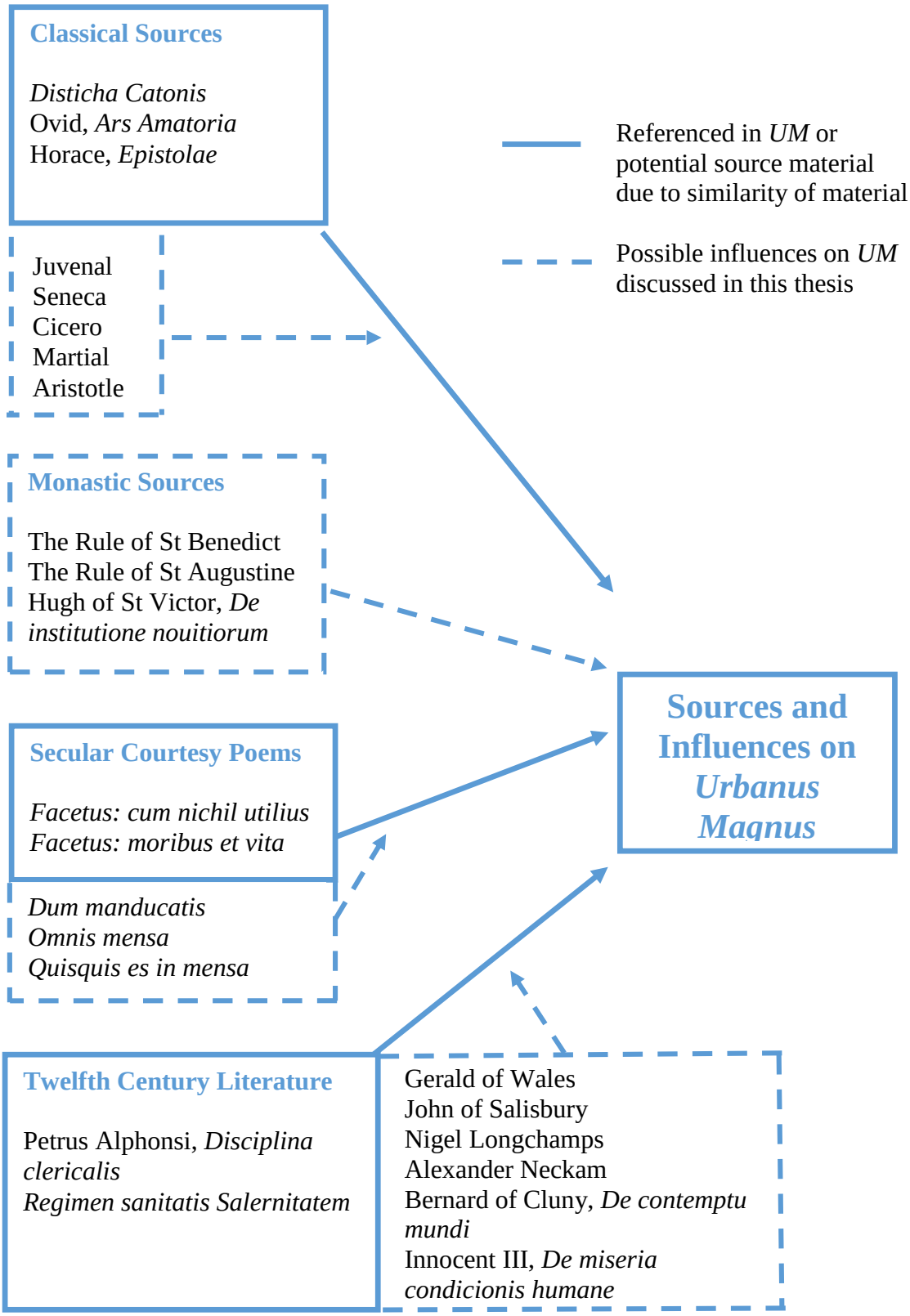


Fig.14. The sources of and potential influences on *Urbanus magnus*

CHAPTER 3:

URBANUS MAGNUS: SOCIAL STATUS, HIERARCHY, AND MOBILITY

This chapter is the first of three which attempts a thematic analysis of *Urbanus magnus*; it addresses the question of status, hierarchy, and mobility within the content of the text and the context of the twelfth century. The first section of this chapter will examine the internal structure of the medieval household as depicted in *Urbanus magnus*, looking at the roles and responsibilities of the noble householder, the family unit, the duties of hospitality for guests, and the management of servants. Coupled with this is a focus on the issues of status, hierarchy, deference, and respect between the various people present in the medieval household. Following this is a discussion of rank and status outside the household, with a specific focus on the rise of the urban patriciate and the status of professionals in twelfth-century England. To conclude, the chapter will examine the role of courtesy in general – and, more specifically, normative or didactic literature such as *Urbanus magnus* – in upward social mobility.

Status and hierarchy are themes which recur in *Urbanus magnus*. Bartlett emphasised the treatment of hierarchy when he noted that:

> one of the primary concerns of the treatise is to give instruction in how to behave to superiors and inferiors. The basic explanation is that those addressed in the poem will have both lord and servants, will have to look both up and down the social scale.[1]

Therefore, it is important to examine each rank within the noble medieval household, and look at the social interactions between them in order to appreciate aspects of

[1] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings,* p.583.

hierarchy depicted in the text. What this chapter will make clear is that there were multiple hierarchies, both within the household and outside of it; simply put, the hierarchies described in *Urbanus magnus* reveal that nearly everybody in medieval society was subordinate to some and superior to others. This applies to lords and servants equally. However, it is not merely enough to identify the various roles and interactions: they also need to be interpreted. Throughout, the behaviour discussed in *Urbanus magnus* will be compared with some modern sociological and anthropological theories of social relationships and interactions. While scholars have previously focused on religious duty to God or the pleasure of entertaining as a basis for understanding didactic literature relating to social relations, the household, and hospitality, I suggest that sociology and anthropology can give us an additional means of understanding the hierarchical structure of medieval social life. Social interactions within the household and outside – especially hospitality – were used to cement relations in a hierarchical society and this is behaviour we can witness in other times and places, theorised by these other disciplines.

3.1. THE MEDIEVAL HOUSEHOLD

3.1.1. THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

A variety of different persons present in the noble household are depicted within *Urbanus magnus*. This ranges from the lord or noble householder to the attendant servants, as well as visiting guests and messengers. Beginning with the most superior member of the household, the master of the house had numerous and difficult responsibilities: ‘The title “master” brings uncounted cares...he must be slave to wife

and children too, of servile rank, consumed by heavy cares'.[2] *Urbanus magnus* focuses on the daily duties that the noble householder would deal with, such as finances, the maintenance and running of the property, the administration of the servants, and the provisions for hospitality. The effective implementation of these duties reveals the place of the householder in the social structure, and can also be an aid in social advancement. As Westerhof states:

> ...for the majority of aristocrats in the period between 1100 and 1300 their day-to-day occupation was more about the drudge of managing estates, administering local government, and maintaining familial and social networks essential for the advancement and consolidation of one's position within the social hierarchy.[3]

While *Urbanus magnus* has little to say about the administration of local government, it does cover the remaining day-to-day occupations. To begin with, we will look at the management of property. Property included the people within the household, and there is a discussion of the family unit and also the role of servants. Firstly, the noble householder needed to have a full understanding of the working of one's property, especially in relation to finances. *Urbanus magnus* states that:

> It is not cheap to count your sheep, although the author [Ovid] says: "it is a poor man who counts sheep". There is no shame for you to be concerned about your own affairs.[4]

In section III of the text it becomes clear that a provident householder should be aware of his financial circumstances, and live according to his means:

> Around your property you should be like a lynx, up to the standard of Janus…Make sure that the property is enriched with abundant sheep and

[2] *UM*, ll.2508-13. Translation from Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, p.126.
[3] Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England*, p.5.
[4] *UM*, ll.2182-4.

> that the ground produces abundant crops and grapes. With anxious care you should add up the days, months, and years. Your expenses should not exceed your purse, you should not estimate to be able to supply more [than you have]. You should not desire turbot when you have a meagre purse.[5]

While the householder ought to be aware of his finances and not exceed his means, it was his clerk who took care of the day-to-day administrative duties, such as recording expenses:

> A provident, prudent and discreet clerk should record the following: letters, charters, receipts, expenditure, legal matters, land, reliefs, debts, gersums, fines, scutages, and costs; he should be honest in counting the money.[6]

The master should also care for the physical property. In *Urbanus magnus* this includes the castle and surrounding lands. For example, a castle should be surrounded by high walls and ditches, there should be orchards and a medicine garden, a mill-house, and all buildings should be maintained and roofed:

> The castle should be surrounded by very high walls and ditches…Each fruit tree should be planted in a row and healing plants should be planted together;…if you have fresh running water there should be plenty of fish there. You should always have a sound roof for buildings.[7]

The householder is equated with the classical figure of Argus Panoptes, the correlation being that the master should be aware of everything that happens under his control.[8]

The physical home of the master represented not only his status in society, but can also be seen to be a mirror of the master himself. If the outward behaviour of a person can reveal their inner virtue, then in a similar manner, the home of the master can also

[5] *UM*, ll.2185-94.
[6] *UM*, ll.142-6.
[7] *UM*, ll.2164-73.
[8] *UM*, l.2185.

act as a reflection. Consequently, there was a need for order within the household. Most clearly this is seen in the desire for correct behaviour of those within the home – wives, children, and servants – but can also be witnessed in the desire for a clean and neat house. Animals would be a clear case for dirt and disorder indoors:

> Let not a pig, nor a cat be seen in it, let not a brute beast be stabled in the hall, the animals which can be seen in it are the charger and palfrey, hounds entered to hare, and mastiff pups; hawks, sparrow-hawks, falcons and merlins, magpies, jackdaws and cranes, storks, and nightingales, none of these birds of the house should be in the hall.[9]

The hall should also be clear of items such as children's cradles, and pieces of wool and flax.[10] This is one of the few references in the text to women's business. *Urbanus magnus* is directed to a male audience; this mention to the domain of the woman suggests that the householder should ensure the maintenance of the household in theory, but in practicality it is the responsibility of the wife and servants. Broadly, care and maintenance of the property is the purview of the master, and low standards would reflect poorly on the status and reputation of the lord.

3.1.2. THE SUPERIOR/INFERIOR RELATIONSHIP

As head of the household, the lord or master of the house had privileges not afforded to others. For example, 'guests, messengers, servants cannot urinate in the hall. The ruling master of the house is permitted to urinate [in the hall]'.[11] This is an example of what sociologists call an asymmetrical rule, whereby one person is treated in a different manner to others, whereas a symmetrical rule is based on the concept of 'do

[9] *UM*, ll.2206-12.
[10] *UM*, ll.2214-15.
[11] *UM*, ll.1086-7.

onto others what you would want done to you'.[12] The hierarchical structure of the household inevitably puts the lord at the top, and many of the prescriptions given in *Urbanus magnus* relate not to the actual behaviour of the lord but behaviour towards the lord. This gives credence to the argument presented by Bartlett that readers of this text would have to 'look both up and down the social scale'. *Urbanus magnus* appears to focus on a specific hierarchical range within a broader stratified societal structure. Thus, the person looking 'up and down the social scale' could be a participant in one of two hierarchical relationships: the lord subordinate to the king; and the vassal/knight subordinate to a lord or patron. There is evidence to suggest that *Urbanus magnus* addresses both relationships. While the primary focus is the latter, there are some instances of advice for those in a royal court.[13] Susan Reynolds has raised some issues relating to the use of the term 'vassal', and the importance it has been accorded in the study of feudalism. While this thesis does not examine the problem of vassalage and its terminology, there are two aspects to consider in relation to *Urbanus magnus*. Reynolds explains that for historians the word *fidelis* 'became a synonym, or almost a synonym, for vassal'.[14] An examination of *Urbanus magnus* reveals a frequent use of *fidelis*, excluding any derivations, in relation to obligation and trust.[15] While this in

[12] An asymmetrical rule allows people to be treated in different ways. It is a rule that 'leads others to treat and be treated by an individual differently from the way that he treats and is treated by them'. It is a rule where one person has the same 'obligations and expectations regarding others that those others have in regard to him'. Goffman has equated symmetrical rules with 'common courtesies and rules of public order', and provides Biblical admonitions such as 'thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife' as an example. E. Goffman, 'The Nature of Deference and Demeanor', *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956), pp.473-502, at p.476. These rules are based on R. H. Thouless, *General and Social Psychology: A Textbook for Students of Psychology and of the Social Sciences* (London, 1951).

[13] *UM*, ll.875-6

[14] S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 2001) p.20. The letter is taken from Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. F. Behrends (Oxford, 1976), no.51, pp.91-3.

[15] See *UM*, ll.453, 533, 560, 712, 854, 1484, 1713, 1750, 1955, 2268, and 2270.

itself cannot prove that the implied relationship in the text was lord/vassal, the text does include many precepts relating to the notion of fidelity to a lord. First,

> …search for the protection of a great man, the favour of that man warms you, provides for you, and watches over you with goodwill.[16]

Once that protector or patron has been identified, then the subordinate can foster that relationship through gifts:

> Small presents often delight that protector, wealthy men often rejoice in being delighted by gifts.[17]

The relationship is further bolstered through loyalty and discretion. For example, you should not betray secrets which a superior confides to you.[18] In addition, 'you should fulfil a promise to a loyal man without delay'.[19]

Concurrent with loyalty, friendship is also a means to cement social relations, and references to friends and friendship are replete in *Urbanus magnus*.[20] Friendship in the Middle Ages has been the focus of recent scholarship, examining spiritual, political, and emotional friendship.[21] The references to friendship in *Urbanus magnus* are primarily focused on the maintenance of a beneficial relationship. There exists a conception that friendship is a horizontal bond stressing equality, which Meddings argues is wrong. Rather, friendship can fit into a hierarchical structure of a superior and follower.[22] This fits neatly into the discussion of friendship in *Urbanus magnus*

[16] *UM*, ll.426-7.
[17] *UM*, ll.428-9.
[18] *UM*, ll.611-13.
[19] *UM*, l.897.
[20] There are approximately 72 references to *amicus* in *Urbanus magnus.*
[21] For example, J. Meddings, 'Friendship among the Aristocracy in Anglo-Norman England', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1999*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 2000), pp.187-204.
[22] Meddings, 'Friendship among the Aristocracy', p.189.

which ties in with the inferior/superior relationship between the protector and the protectee. *Urbanus magnus* makes it clear that friends are useful commodities; therefore one should have friends to protect against enemies and as a support system when in adversity. For example:

> you should be a companion to your companions, a friend to your friends, lest enemies prevail to surround you.[23]

In addition, friends can be called upon as witnesses: 'for the smallest matters, the common people call a friend to witness'.[24] In this sense, a friend can act as a character reference. Further examples of this include:

> if you are bad, according to the lord, a conscientious person strict in morals, a congenial ally or a friend should speak on your behalf.[25]

The role of a friend as defender or protector is cemented by the allusion to the classical figures of Orestes and Pylades:

> there is no loyalty today; faithful companions are dead. Now Pylades is dead, and loyal Orestes is dead.[26]

This mention of the strong friendship between Orestes and Pylades highlights two key features of friendship in *Urbanus magnus*: firstly, friends should be loyal and faithful; secondly, they should be willing to defend and protect. Meddings shows that such political friendships can be defined as 'someone who gives aid' or 'someone who

[23] *UM*, ll.439-40.
[24] *UM*, l.728.
[25] *UM*, ll. 1258-9.
[26] *UM*, ll.711-12. The story of the friendship between Orestes and Pylades appears in the writings of Aeschylus and Euripedes.

stands with you'.[27] However, *Urbanus magnus* states that to cement these bonds and reap these benefits of friendship requires generosity: 'He who gives a little to you, binds you together as friends'.[28] Furthermore,

> you should give bountifully to your friends...so that you can be rescued if adversity suddenly strikes by chance.[29]

Therefore, discussion of friendship in *Urbanus magnus* predominantly rests on the acquisition and maintenance of political friendships, in a manner akin to networking. However, there is the question of emotional friendship. This can be described as a 'personal relationship based on mutual affection developed over a period of time'.[30] There is little indication of such an emotional friendship in *Urbanus magnus*. The predominant term utilised is *amicus,* although occasionally this is qualified by an adjective: 'true' friends or 'special' friends. For example:

> if there is an envoy of a lord, lady or special friend (*specialis amici*), they should be admitted to the hall charmingly for a drink and restored with food.[31]

There is no further indication of the special nature of this friendship, but the qualification of 'special' may suggest a closer relationship than mere political motives. In addition, there is reference to 'true' friends when *Urbanus magnus* states that 'a redhead...does not know true friends (*amicos veros*)'.[32] However, overall the depiction of friendship conforms to the notion of political friendship, with the attendant benefits

[27] Meddings, 'Friendship among the Aristocracy', p.190.
[28] *UM*, l.1481.
[29] *UM*, ll.1634-6. See p.108 for the notion of obligation in the anthropological theory of gift exchange.
[30] Meddings, 'Friendship among the Aristocracy', p.188.
[31] *UM*, ll.1336-7.
[32] *UM*, l.1679.

of patronage, protection, or defense. This friendship may not be one of equals; rather, it can be situated in the hierarchical structure of friendship between a superior and inferior.

The representation of the relationship between a subject and his superior corresponds with other accounts of the expectations which such a bond entailed. Reynolds quotes a letter written by Fulbert of Chartres c.1020 which enumerated some of the duties stemming from fidelity to one's lord: 'not to injure the lord, betray his secrets or fortresses, impede his justice or any business pertaining to the lord's honour, or cause him to lose his possessions'.[33] Marc Bloch described the gestural and visual manner in which one honours the lord: the subordinate – who may be kneeling – places his hands between the hands of the superior. The superior then verbally states that he is the 'man' of the other. Then 'chief and subordinate kiss each other on the mouth, symbolizing accord and friendship'.[34] This kiss goes back to the idea of the biblical kiss of peace. There are numerous biblical incidences of the kiss used as a form of greeting, for example: 'Greet one another with a holy kiss' (Romans 16:16) and 'Greet one another with a kiss of love, peace to all of you who are in Christ' (1 Peter 5:14).[35] Augustine, in a discussion on Easter and the Eucharist stated that:

> After this, the 'Peace be with you' is said, and the Christians embrace one another with the holy kiss. This is a sign of peace; as the lips indicate, let peace be made in your conscience, that is, when your lips draw near to those of your brother, do not let your heart withdraw from his.[36]

[33] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, p.20.
[34] M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, (London, 1962), p.146.
[35] See also, 1 Corinthians 16:20, 2 Corinthians 13:12, 1 Thessalonians 5:26, and 1 Peter 5:14.
[36] 'Post ipdam dicitur, Pax vobiscum: et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto. Pacis signum est: sicut ostendunt labia, fiat in conscientia. Id est, quomodo labia tua ad labia fratris tui accedunt, sic cor tuum a corde ejus non recedat'. St Augustine of Hippo, Sermon 227, *PL*, 38:1101. C.f. *Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons*, trans. M. S. Muldowney (Washington, 1959), pp.197-8.

A more explicit example of the kiss of peace used in the context of hospitality comes from the Rule of St Benedict. In the directives for the reception of guests to the monastery, the Rule states that when a guest is announced 'first of all let them [the brethren and guest] pray together, and so join in a kiss of peace'.[37] Therefore, the kiss in the secular context of the household is rooted in the notion of equality from scripture and in monastic texts, while incorporating elements of deference and respect. Looking at *Urbanus magnus*, there is a similar ritual of deference:

> When a rich man tenders the kiss to you, or speaks to you, if by chance your head is covered with a hat, remove it quickly; if he is seated, you should receive the kiss on bended knee. Having received the kiss you should pay appropriate thanks.[38]

Yet, advice is also given for the person giving the kiss, further emphasising equality during the act: 'if a cleric or a knight comes to you as a guest, run towards him and hasten to greet him sweetly. If he is dear to you, embrace and kiss him'.[39] Not only is the kiss a symbolic reflection of the biblical kiss of peace, the act of kneeling ensures physical as well as social inferiority. While Reynolds has raised questions around whether such a ritual was restricted to the vassal/lord relationship, nevertheless, it is clear that such rituals were the visual expression of a hierarchical relationship.

Much of the advice proffered surrounds the act of dining. Chapter 5 contains a more detailed analysis of the discussion of table manners, but it suffices here to provide some examples to highlight the master's role in dining. For instance: 'when the lord is drinking at the master's table one ought not to drink or eat; those seated should put

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[37] 'Et primitus orent pariter, et sic sibi socientur in pace'. St Benedict, *The Rule of Benedict: A Guide to Christian Living: The Full Text of the Rule in Latin and English*, trans. Monks of Glenstal Abbey (Blackrock, 1994), chap.53, pp.246-8. Hereafter referred to as the *RSB* based on this edition.
[38] *UM*, ll.1308-11.
[39] *UM*, ll.2343-5. Translation from Putter, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, p.69.

their hands on the tablecloth'.[40] Respect for the lord while dining requires silence unless spoken to: 'As a guest sitting at the high table with the master, dine at once charmingly and silently, unless you are approached [to talk]'.[41] Interactions between the different roles held in the household were linked to rank. Deference was expected from all servants and guests to the lord or master. The only member of the household whose role and social interactions were subject to change was the lord or master. While sovereign in his own home with expectations of respect and deference at all times, this altered if the master found himself as a guest of another. Then, deference was afforded to the host. Hence, as master 'you may put elbows on the table, but not if you are visiting another'.[42] This aspect of deference was not necessarily linked to the notion of rank, status, and hierarchy, but may actually reflect the expectations of a well-mannered guest, regardless of rank.

3.1.3. THE HOUSEHOLDER/GUEST RELATIONSHIP

Hospitality towards guests is a key issue in *Urbanus magnus*, as it is an essential aid in not only the consolidation of status, but also advancement. By revealing an efficient household and providing convivial hospitality, the householder's reputation can be promoted and act as a tool for social mobility. The treatment of guests was both hierarchical and respectful. Household guests to the household discussed in *Urbanus magnus* include superiors, inferiors, clerics, knights, and messengers. In essence, hospitality reflects the hierarchical ranking of guests; lesser guests are subject to the

[40] *UM*, ll.1076-8.
[41] *UM*, ll.1064-5.
[42] *UM*, l.991.

lord and his rules whereas equals are afforded more freedom. This hierarchical respect is clear in relation to attending church:

> To this noble man, clerics must always give honour. Yield to the greater man entering or even leaving the church or house; always and whenever, the lesser ought to give way to the greater.[43]

Urbanus magnus makes it clear that the lord or master has the most power at the dining table, and directs the behaviour of the other guests:

> Drink by command of the lord; with the cup given to you, accept it, drink it, and take care to give the cup to others. Do not return the vessel to the lord unless he says 'prebibe'.[44]

In addition, the lord dictates the seating arrangements along with the beginning and conclusion of the meal:

> When it pleases the lord to sit, sit without command if you are a cleric or knight; servants stand. Do not sit next to the lord, unless you are commanded to do so. If seated, do not rise from there unless ordered. When it pleases the lord to rise, be prepared to rise.[45]

However, this seniority can be reversed in the context of hospitality. The correlation between Christian charity and hospitality was long established, especially in monastic communities, and can be seen clearly in the Rule of St Benedict which states that:

> In the greeting let all humility be shown to the guests, whether coming or going; with the head bowed down or the whole body prostrate on the ground, let Christ be adored in them as He is also received.[46]

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[43] *UM*, ll.180-2.
[44] *UM*, ll.1066-8
[45] *UM*, ll.1201-5.
[46] 'In ipsa autem salutatione omnis exhibeatur humilitas omnibus venientibus sive discedentibus hospitibus: inclinato capite vel prostrato omni corpore in terra, Christus in eis adoretur qui et suscipitur'. *RSB*, ch.53, pp.246-8.

In the monastic context, all guests were equated with Christ and as a result, monks saw themselves as inferior to their guests, almost acting as servants. This is reflected, albeit tempered, in *Urbanus magnus* with the advice that the host should lower his head to all, while greeting them with kind addresses.[47]

Kardong has argued that there was a difference in attitude between secular and monastic hospitality.[48] As members of the *domus Dei*, the monks reflected 'the hospitality that the Lord once showed them,' while in a secular context hospitality towards strangers enhanced the magnanimity of the householder. However, as we shall see, this is too simplistic an interpretation for an innately religious medieval society, and hospitality in the medieval household reflected both Christian values and personal prestige.

The precepts in *Urbanus magnus* range from the arrival of the guest, to hospitality during the visit, and finally departure. For example, Julie Kerr notes the directive to assist the visitor to remove their shoes upon arrival at the household, and cites an illustration from a thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée* [Fig.15] as an indicator that such rules were followed.[49] However, since the image refers to the parable of the Prodigal Son which has the father direct the servants to put shoes *on* his son, it may not directly reflect the practice of removing shoes upon arrival.

[47] *UM*, ll.912-13.
[48] *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary*, ed. T. Kardong (Collegeville, 1996), p.435.
[49] *UM*, l.915. Kerr, 'Welcome the Coming and Speed the Parting Guest', p.134.



Fig.15. From the Parable of the Prodigal Son[50]
London, British Library, MS Harley 1527, f.35r

Kerr has analysed *Urbanus magnus* quite thoroughly in conjunction with other twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts in relation to hospitality. She concludes that there was a mutually beneficially relationship between host and visitor. The visitor was renewed through food, drink, and lodging, coupled with a reinforced relationship with the household. More importantly, the host could improve his standing and reputation. As Kerr states: 'those who welcomed their guests warmly and exhibited a generosity of spirit would surely secure favourable reports and enhance their renown'.[51] This renown was enhanced both in the eyes of the individual guest but also in the community at large where reports of his magnanimity may have circulated. However, at the heart of the rituals relating to hospitality were the Christian values of charity and humility.

[50] Luke 15.22: But the father said to his servants, 'Bring quickly the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet'.
[51] Kerr, 'Welcome the Coming and Speed the Parting Guest', p.132.

We have seen how aspects of respect and deference change depending on the context: whether master of the household, or the guest of a superior. The treatment of accepting or declining invitations is equally hierarchical:

> If two companions summon you to dine with them, if they are of equal rank, the earlier invitation should be accepted. If an equal or inferior wants you to be nourished at the table, it is permitted to attend and it is also permitted to decline.[52]

This advice is not unique to *Urbanus magnus*, and can be witnessed in the earlier *Disciplina clericalis* by Petrus Alphonsi:

> The son: "If someone invited me to dinner, how shall I answer him? Should I accept at once or not?" The father: "Follow the Jewish custom which says, 'If someone offers you an invitation, consider the person who invites you. If he is an important person, accept immediately. If not, accept the second or third time, according to who he may be'".[53]

Urbanus magnus goes further with the notion of reciprocity. The guest should always reciprocate the invitation to dine, for 'it is shameful to always accept and not desire to give back'.[54] This relates to the notion of equality matching in social relations, which claims that 'equality is directed toward enforcing balance and in-kind reciprocity in social relations,' thus creating a debt or obligation.[55] Having accepted a dinner invitation, the morally correct behaviour is to reciprocate the offer. This notion of obligation in the gift-exchange system was promoted in the works of anthropologists

[52] *UM*, ll.1371-4.
[53] 'Filius: Si quis invitaverit me ad prandium, quomodo respondebo: concedam statim annon? Pater: Fac sicut auctoritas Iudaeorum praecipit! Dicit enim: Si quis invitaverit te, videas personam invitantis. Si enim magna persona fuerit, statim concede; sin autem, secundum quod erit vel secunda vel tertia vice'. Petrus Alphonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*, p.71. C.f. Jones and Keller, *The Scholar's Guide*, p.98, for the translation.
[54] *UM*, l.1403.
[55] See N. Haslam and A. P. Fiske, 'Implicit Relationship Prototypes: Investigating Five Theories of the Cognitive Organization of Social Relationships', *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 28 (1992), pp.441-74, at p.447.

such as Marcel Mauss and Bronislaw Malinowsky.[56] Indeed, Mauss formulated the theory that a 'free' gift cannot exist, and until a gift is reciprocated, the recipient remains in a state of debt. This is evident in *Urbanus magnus* in the discussion of invitations between master and guest. It is even more explicit in relation to gift-giving where the inferior party is advised to give gifts to the superior party – a lord and protector – in order to cement their relationship but also create a debt or obligation; in the context of *Urbanus magnus* the reciprocation by the superior party is not material but much more intangible – the promise of protection or patronage. Gifts 'very often win worthy men over'.[57]

Upon arrival at the noble household, deference to the lord begins at the doorway: 'do not enter the door with your head covered, do not have a sword girded by your side, do not go in on your horse, unless you are asked to'.[58] Provisions are also given for the visit of an unexpected person. The door of the house should be open to all, and the guest should be provided with food. However, the guest should politely announce his arrival:

> Let nobody who arrives at a rich man's house beat on the doors if they are shut, but call until the doorkeeper arrives. It is permitted to strike the doors of monasteries.[59]

In addition, 'when the guest is eating, he should not be tormented by questions...if you want to, let the questioning happen after dinner'.[60]

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[56] B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (New York, 1960). M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 1990).
[57] *UM*, l.911. See chapter 1, p.16 for the full quotation.
[58] *UM*, ll.1448-50. Translation from Putter, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, p.88.
[59] *UM*, ll.2471-3. Translation from Kerr, 'Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest', p.134.
[60] *UM*, ll.2389-91.

Typically, guests at the table included nobles, clerics, and knights. Respect should be accorded by all the servants to each guest at the table. For example, servants should not fling dishes in front of clerics and knights,[61] and servants should wait to remove any dishes of guests, clerics, or knights until commanded to do so by the lord.[62] The hierarchical structure is further emphasised when the text states that, if you are a cleric or knight, you may sit when it pleases the lord to sit, without command, but servants remain standing.[63] However, one should not presume to sit next to the lord without explicit instructions to do so.[64] Indeed, *Urbanus magnus* stresses a symmetrical rule concerning the seating plan of attendees at the table: young boys sit with young boys; young men sit with young men; and lords sit with lords.[65] Guests express deference to the lord or master through avoidance and presentational rituals.[66] Avoidance rituals might also be called proscriptions, in which an individual is advised what not to do; presentational rituals focus on aspects of greeting, proffering invitations, giving compliments, etc. As an example, avoidance rituals include the advice not to sit with the lord unless asked to, or not to rise from your seat unless commanded to.[67] Presentational rituals by guests are represented by precepts on how to give compliments or how to accept a drink. For example, 'food or drink which the lord sends or gives you should be accepted with both hands with full grace of voice'.[68] Kjær and Watson argue that the act of communal eating creates relative equality, while the

[61] *UM*, l.1160.
[62] *UM*, ll.1164-5.
[63] *UM*, ll.1201-2.
[64] *UM*, l.1203.
[65] *UM*, ll.892-4.
[66] Goffman, 'Deference and Demeanor', pp.485-7. These two forms of ritual stem from Durkheim's work on positive and negative rites. C.f. E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. J. W. Swain (New York, 2008).
[67] *UM*, ll.1204.
[68] *UM*, ll.1059-60.

hierarchical system of seating at the table emphasises difference.[69] This is clearly evident in *Urbanus magnus*. Guests at the table would share the drinking cup and eat from communal dishes in pairs, putting them in a symmetrical, equality-sharing relationship when it comes to the physical act of eating and drinking. However, as we have seen before, there is a clear distinction of rank and status where seating arrangements are concerned.

The final visitor to the household mentioned in *Urbanus magnus* is the messenger. The messenger can be used to announce the imminent arrival of a guest; *Urbanus magnus* states, that if you are visiting the household of another, a messenger should travel in advance in order to announce your visit to the hosts.[70] The messenger may also have the duty of delivering news or important information to the master of the household. In such a case, the messenger should 'hasten to reveal that which has been entrusted', while ensuring that he has not added any 'untruths to that which has been related'.[71] As recompense, the messenger should be admitted to the house and given food and drink', although the text does not specify whether he would be accorded the honour of dining in the great hall or fed below stairs.[72]

3.1.4. THE HOUSEHOLDER/FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

The original and simplest form of hierarchical structure is the family unit, for which *Urbanus magnus* has some wide-ranging advice. Chapter 1 introduced the filial exhortations which are a current throughout the first three sections of the text.

[69] L. Kjær and A. J. Watson, 'Feasts and Gifts: Sharing Food in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), pp.1-5, at p.3. Although it should be noted that communal eating likely refers to two guests sharing from the same dish, rather that the entire table sharing the same dish.
[70] *UM*, ll.1445-6.
[71] *UM*, ll.1334-5.
[72] *UM*, ll.1135-7.

Generally, where children are concerned, their presence in the hall, especially when guests were in attendance, was at issue because of their possible ill-mannered and disruptive behaviour:

> If you have children acting in a childish way, none should be present while a guest is in the hall, for children are likely to put their fingers in the dishes at the table, to drop knives, and to pour drink from the cups.[73]

In addition, they were seemingly incapable of maintaining cleanliness:

> Clothes should not be given to small children unless they are cheap; they cover their clothes with ash, they dirty them, they dribble on them; they wipe their noses flowing with filth on their sleeves.[74]

The 'son' referred to in the text is advised that at all times parents are to be honoured, and the child is seen as a reflection of the parent: 'If you have a distinguished, wealthy, lavish, honest father, avoid being unworthy, for you are his noble heir'.[75] Furthermore, it is seen as a great crime to despise one's own parents,[76] and the imagined punishment for disrespecting blood relations is severe:

> Such respect protects such a blood relationship. Blood relations who dishonour, ought to be dishonoured themselves; their testicles, eyes, and feet ought to be widowed.[77]

Although the imagined punishment for disrespecting parents may seem extreme to modern sensibilities, there is a scriptural background which explains and reinforces

[73] *UM*, ll.2415-18.
[74] *UM*, ll.2426-8.
[75] *UM*, ll.108-9.
[76] *UM*, l.411.
[77] *UM*, ll.417-19.

the emphasis on parental respect. This starts with the commandment to honour your father and mother:

> Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. 'Honour your father and mother'– which is the first commandment with a promise – 'so that it may go well with you and that you may enjoy long life on the earth'…Slaves, obey your earthly masters with respect and fear, and with sincerity of heart, just as you would obey Christ. Obey them not only to win their favour when their eye is on you, but as slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from your heart.[78]

Looking at the punishments for breaking this commandment, the Old Testament is harsher than anything seen *in Urbanus magnus*: 'Anyone who attacks their father or mother is to be put to death' (Exodus 21:15).[79] The stress placed on parental deference in *Urbanus magnus* can therefore be placed in the context of the religiosity of the time.

There is another element which may further explain the emphasis on familial respect, especially in the socio-political context of twelfth-century England. Herlihy, in his study of the medieval household, notes that 'conflicts between the male generations seem particularly acute in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', giving the example of Henry II and the revolts by his sons.[80] While undoubtedly biblical at root, this insistence on familial respect – and specifically patriarchal respect – which is evidenced in *Urbanus magnus* may well be the product of its time. We have already seen in the previous chapters some potential links between *Urbanus magnus* and the

[78] Ephesians 6:1-6.
[79] Equally, Exodus 21:17: 'Anyone who curses their father or mother is to be put to death'. See also Leviticus 20:9: 'Anyone who curses their father or mother is to be put to death. Because they have cursed their father or mother, their blood will be on their own head'; Deuteronomy 27:16: 'Cursed is anyone who dishonours their father or mother'; and Proverbs 20:20: 'If someone curses their father or mother, their lamp will be snuffed out in pitch darkness'.
[80] Herlihy, *Medieval Households,* p.121.

court of Henry II, and one could argue that following the turmoil of the revolts of his sons – and wife – there was a renewed emphasis on peace within the family unit.

However, despite the filial exhortations, and the brief discussion of children, it is the wife who features most prominently in the text. The depiction of women in *Urbanus magnus* is decidedly negative. For example, an explicit piece of advice is given, warning of presumably strong-willed or strong-minded women: 'I prescribe a rule for you, my dearest son: let offence not be given to a matron supplied with testicles'.[81] While this may refer to an independently strong-minded woman, it may also mean a woman with an attached husband. However, the implication is the same regardless. A women may make short work of an offensive man just as well as her husband could. Indeed, it is not only strong women who are to be feared; their sexual nature was damaging to men. Bartlett states that *Urbanus magnus* reflects the 'common medieval view that women were naturally sexually voracious'.[82] He gives the following explicit example from the text, which states that any woman is ready to engage in sexual intercourse with:

> a cook or a half-wit, a peasant or a ploughman, or a chaplain with his fancy words…what she longs for is a thick, leaping, robust piece of equipment, long, smooth and stiff…such are the things which charm and delight women.[83]

Furthermore, 'when tempted by sweet words, even a chaste, good, dutiful, devout and kindly woman will resist scarcely anyone'.[84] While these may well be exaggerations of women's perceived lascivious nature, perhaps satirical in nature, they are underlined

[81] *UM*, ll.1947-8. I am indebted to Dr David Howlett for his translation and interpretation of these sentences.
[82] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.586.
[83] *UM*, ll.2084-2100. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.586.
[84] *UM*, ll.2064-5. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.586.

by a concern to maintain one's respect and reputation when interacting with women. *Urbanus magnus* recounts the dilemma posed when the amorous lady of the house turns her attention to a male subject of her lord:

> If the wife of the lord frequently casts her eyes on you…making it known that she wants to fornicate with you…what, my son, do you propose to do? The problem is well known everywhere; to sleep with the lady, the crime of the man is steeped in wickedness…If you rebuff the offer, her mind will turn to anger…the unjust woman may direct all types of crimes at you, rendering hatred from the lord.[85]

It warns of the dangers of succumbing or rebuffing such advances. If one succumbs, then adultery is committed and the lord of the house is dishonoured, but also should such a revelation be revealed, all positive relations formed with that lord would now be severed. However, to rebuff causes equally dire problems. The offended lady may, in her anger, spread lies and rumours, damaging one's reputation in the eyes of the lord. The solution is seemingly straightforward:

> Consult me, my son; what I counsel is planted in the heart; between two damages you should pick the lesser one my child. The sensible advice for you is to feign illness, disturbed sickness, and sensibly and wisely to depart.[86]

This tale of dilemma stems from the Old Testament story of Joseph and Potiphar. Joseph prospered in the house of Potiphar, serving him until he became overseer of the house. Subsequently, the attentions of Potiphar's wife turned to Joseph, threatening his new stature in the household. Indeed, the passage draws attention to the importance of honouring and respecting one's master at all times. Joseph's response to her is the following:

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[85] *UM,* ll.1896-1909.
[86] *UM,* ll.1911-14.

> "With me in charge", he told her, "my master does not concern himself with anything in the house; everything he owns he has entrusted to my care. No one is greater in this house than I am. My master has withheld nothing from me except you, because you are his wife. How then could I do such a wicked thing and sin against God?"[87]

However, Joseph's rebuttal led to the wrath of the wife, with the inevitable lies and accusations *Urbanus magnus* fears. Indeed, Joseph was imprisoned following allegations that it was he who made advances towards the master's wife. We can see that *Urbanus magnus* uses this biblical story as a tool to illustrate that it is best to create an excuse which does not offend one party nor dishonour the other:

> How then could the pleasure of the lord sully you through fury? Let the deed of Potiphar's wife be an example to you, whose wickedness sought to lead Joseph to calamity.[88]

This depiction of the woman as temptress is by no means surprising. Equated with Eve, she was seen as a destructive influence in the lives of men. Sharon Farmer has looked at clerical images of medieval wives and noted that this correlation between women and Eve saw the female sex as 'an active, negative force, a source of disorder in society: she enticed men into the material realm of sin just as Eve had enticed Adam'.[89] Indeed, this connection to the temptress Eve can be seen in *Urbanus magnus* when the lascivious, temptress wife is described as a viper (*uipereus*), perhaps linking it to the Genesis story.[90] Farmer notes that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the ecclesiastical reforms – and specifically the focus on clerical celibacy – led to an increase in the rhetoric about women and their association with Eve. Previously, we

[87] Genesis 39: 8-9.
[88] *UM*, ll.1915-17.
[89] S. Farmer, 'Clerical Images of Medieval Wives', *Speculum*, 61 (1986), pp.517-43, at p.519.
[90] *UM*, l.1997.

saw how *Urbanus magnus* had a clerical audience, and potentially a primary clerical authorship, so the inclusion of such ideas about women is not unusual in the context of twelfth-century literature.

While adultery was the worst offence a wife could commit, there remained other attendant problems with marriage and wives. In *Urbanus magnus*, the ideal wife is one who is at all times deferent and obedient to her husband. In addition:

> Every man utters: "A good woman and spouse is happy for me, clever, kind, virtuous, exceedingly beautiful, devoted, she disapproves that which I disapprove, she loves that which I love; there is a faithful love for me; to me every mistress favours what I wish, what I desire, a wife who does not know how to deceive".[91]

However, in *Urbanus magnus* the reality does not meet the ideal. Marriage was thought to render the man subordinate to the woman: 'the husband succumbs to every law of his wife; Adam, having been tricked, yielded to the laws of Eve'.[92] Similarly, in reference to Eve, Walter Map wrote that:

> The first wife of the first Adam, after the first making of man, by the first of sins broke the first fast against the command of God. Disobedience was the parent of this; and on this side doomsday, she will never cease to stimulate women to be unwearied in following out what they have derived from their mother. Friend, a disobedient wife is a reproach to her husband: be on your guard.[93]

Urbanus magnus states that the woman would ensnare a man in marriage through tricks and flattery, and once married her true character is revealed: she refuses to please

[91] *UM*, ll.1954-8.
[92] *UM*, ll.1951-2.
[93] 'Prima primi uxor Ade port primam hominis creacionem primo peccato prima soluit ieiunia contra preceptum Domini. Parentauit inobediencia, que citra mundi terminum non absistet expugnare feminas, ut sint semper indefesse trahere in consequenciam quod a matre sua traxerunt. Amice, contumelia uiri uxor / inobediens; caue tibi'. Walter Map, *De nugis curialum*, pp.292-3.

her husband or be obedient to him, she falls into adultery, and she lets her appearance go.[94] As the text states: 'If you know her manner, you will not know who she will be tomorrow'.[95] The treatment of women in *Urbanus magnus* follows the tradition of the *mala femina* genre, most evident in *contemptus mundi* literature.[96] However, there are also clear resonances from the writings of St Jerome, specifically in his anti-matrimonial diatribe *Against Jovinian*. Murray notes how 'Jerome's virulent misogyny exercised tremendous influence throughout the Middle Ages'.[97] For example:

> If she has a bad temper, or is a fool, if she has a blemish, or is proud, or has bad breath, whatever her fault may be – all this we learn after marriage. Horses, asses, cattle, even slaves of the smallest worth, clothes, kettles, wooden seats, cups, and earthenware pitchers are first tried and then bought: a wife is the only thing that is not shown before she is married, for fear she may not give satisfaction.[98]

There is similarity in the writings of Walter Map. Like Jerome and *Urbanus magnus*, Map argues that women's true characters are hidden, yet he equates man's lust with the inability to see the truth of the woman's character:

> You are all on fire with your passion, and, led astray by the beauty of a comely head, you fail to see, poor man, that what you are wooing is a chimaera: yes, you refuse to learn that the three-formed monster is adorned with the face of a noble lion, polluted with the body of a stinking goat, armed with the tail of a rank viper.[99]

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[94] *UM*, ll.2074-87.
[95] *UM*, l.2074.
[96] The relationship of the *UM* manuscripts to *contemptus mundi* literature will be discussed further in chapter 6, pp.262-9.
[97] J. Murray, *Love, Marriage, and Family in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Peterborough, Ont., 2001), p.288.
[98] 'Si iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si fetida, quodcumque vitii est, post nuptias discimus. Equus, asinus, bos, canis, et vilissima mancipia, vestes quoque, et lebetes, sedile ligneum, calix, et urceolus fictilis probantur prius, et sic emuntur: sola uxor non ostenditur, ne ante displiceat, quam ducatur'. Jerome, *Against Jovinianus*, *PL*, 23:227. The English translation is from St Jerome, *Against Jovinian*, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.6, trans. H. Wace and P. Schaff (Oxford, 1893), pp.383-4, quoted in Murray, *Love, Marriage, and Family*, p.289.
[99] 'Desiderio tuo totus inflammaris, et speciosi nobilitate capitis seductus, chimeram miser nescis esse quod petis; sed scire deuoues quod triforme monstrum illus insignis uenustetur facie leonis, olentis maculetur uentre capri, uirulente armetur cauda uipere'. Walter Map, *De nugis curialum*, pp.290-1.

There are further parallels between the work of Jerome and *Urbanus magnus*. Jerome argues that one should not marry a woman who is poor, but nor should one marry a woman who is too rich: 'to support a poor wife, is hard; to put up with a rich one, is torture'.[100] *Urbanus magnus* states that:

> If you are from a humble background, you should not contract a haughty wife, because in such a way a man ceases to be. If you are a poor man, do not consider a destitute poor woman. If, as a miserable man, you marry a poor woman, you will always remain poor.[101]

One of the most practical problems of a wife was her expenditure on expensive and luxurious items such as clothing and jewellery. Indeed, *Urbanus magnus* exhorts the reader to ensure that his wife does not become too proud or too haughty, especially in the display of wealth.[102] Jerome states that: 'matrons want many things, costly dresses, gold, jewels, great outlay, maid-servants, all kinds of furniture, litters, and gilded coaches'.[103] The expensive nature of wives is reiterated in other twelfth-century literature. For example, Innocent III stated that:

> The wife strives to have precious apparel and a diverse wardrobe, so that the wife's clothing may often be of greater value than her husband's pay: otherwise she sighs and wails, jabbers and mutters day and night.[104]

Recalling the earlier prescriptions about the lord's duty to remain prudent in expenditure, this tempering of the wife's spending may correlate to that idea. Despite

[100] 'Pauperam alere, difficile est; divitem ferre, tormentum'. Jerome, *Against Jovinianus, PL*, 23:227. C.f. Murray, *Love, Marriage, and Family*, p.289.
[101] *UM*, ll.2127-30.
[102] *UM*, ll.2240-9.
[103] 'Multa esse quae matronem usibus necessaria sint, pretiosae vestes, aurum, gemmae, sumptus, ancillae, suppelex varia, lecticae et esseda deaurata'. Jerome, *Against Jovinianus, PL*, 23:276. C.f. Murray, *Love, Marriage, and Family*, p.288.
[104] 'Uxor contendit habere preciosum ornatum et varium superlectilem, ut pluris sit sepe cultus uxoris quam census maritus; alioquin per dies et noctes suspirat et plangit, garrit et murmurat'. Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, ed. R. Lewis (Athens, GA., 1978), pp.120-1.

the perceived immoral behaviour of wives and the dishonour that they may bring to their husbands, there seems little that a husband can do in retaliation, whether that be divorce or physical punishment. Indeed, it is more prudent to ignore any marital indiscretions on the part of the wife: 'it is better to conceal your shame as a husband than disclose the evil that brings a blush to your face and grief to your heart',[105] and 'whatever your wife does, avoid harming your marriage'.[106] This includes the prescription not to beat your wife, even when reasoning with words fails.[107]

> If your viperous wife cannot be controlled with honey-sweet speech, you should avoid beating her with a stick. Blows are in vain when no words succeed. If you yield to strike her, a cruel woman will give fatal dishes and poisonous drinks to you.[108]

Furthermore, no matter how ill or ugly the wife becomes, the man must bear the yoke of marriage:

> If she is a foolish woman, ugly, proud, gluttonous, a drinker, deaf, disfigured, with uncivilised speech...whatever manner of sordid illness that the wretched woman is burdened with, the man should keep watching over her.[109]

In addition, the husband is equated with the ox who 'bears the yoke unwillingly, but he bears it nevertheless'.[110] Innocent III wrote that: 'if ugly, if foul, if sick, if foolish, if proud, if wrathful, a wife can be divorced by a man only on account of fornication'.[111] Yet, in *Urbanus magnus* there is no option to leave one's wife. Public knowledge of

[105] *UM*, ll.2010-12. Translation from Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.587.
[106] *UM*, l.2013.
[107] *UM*, ll.1997-9.
[108] *UM*, ll.1997-2001.
[109] These extracts taken from the longer passage, *UM*, ll.2014-26.
[110] *UM*, l.2026. Translation from Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.587.
[111] 'Si feda, si fetida, si egra, si fatua, si superba, si iracunda, si quamlibet viciosa, propter solam fornicacionem potest uxor a viro dimitti'. Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, pp.120-1.

her adulterous behaviour harms not only the wife, but also the character and reputation of the husband. Consequently, the text advocates the maintenance of the marriage above all.

The woman's voice is never heard in *Urbanus magnus*, and the discussion of women focuses on their subordinate relationship to men. The lady never appears as an authority figure in the household, but merely in attendance at the table or in a marital context. Undoubtedly, the depiction of women is exaggerated and extreme, described by Bartlett as an 'inflamed and semi-pathological image of female promiscuity'.[112] It comes from a male clerical perspective and is reflective of the *mala femina* tradition of literature and the broader medieval attitudes towards women. Yet, underpinning the exaggerated view of women and marriage is the emphasis on maintaining one's status and reputation at all costs.

3.1.5. THE HOUSEHOLDER/SERVANT RELATIONSHIP

Where service within the confines of the medieval house was concerned, it is clear that there was a separate hierarchical distinction amongst the servant class. Fleming stated that there was:

> a crucial distinction...drawn between what we would today call 'above stairs' and 'below stairs' servants: the latter carried out the menial tasks such as food preparation, cleaning and laundering, were recruited from the lower orders…the former appeared in the lord's presence, waited on his person, were often drawn from the ranks of the gentry...[113]

However, despite the directives aimed at servants in the household, it is important to be clear that the inclusion of such directives did not mean that servants were an

[112] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.586.
[113] P. Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (Basingstoke, 2001), p.74.

audience for *Urbanus magnus*; rather, they were likely included so that the householder or administrator was aware of how servants ought to behave. With respect to *Urbanus magnus*, I will refer to 'invisible' and 'visible' servants. The former represents those whose presence is not as manifestly visible in the household, such as cooks; the latter refers to those whose duties require them to be visible to the household and guests, such as the steward. Those serving in the presence of the lord or householder reflected the status of their master; they represented almost a mirror of their lord.[114] In essence, the servant must be a credit to his master. The first manner in which a servant can act as a reflection of his master is in appearance. *Urbanus magnus* states that:

> Hands ought to be clean, and sleeves should be fastened with laces. Do not have deformed nails, or dirty teeth; do not have a number of long hairs coming from the nostrils. Your feet should not offend nor drive away through deformation; with courteous steps, walk upright. Tresses of hair should not be tinged with soot, nor should they be covered with an old flat hat.[115]

The word used throughout *Urbanus magnus* to designate a servant in the household is *famulus*.[116] This word itself has different meanings in the Middle Ages, and it is important to distinguish its usage in *Urbanus magnus*. Postan stated that the *famuli* 'were manorial servants, permanent agricultural labourers', while Farmer specified that they were 'primarily responsible for ploughing'.[117] Consequently, *famuli* were considered to be foremost agricultural labourers, and categorised as ploughmen,

[114] *UM*, ll.1161-3.
[115] *UM*, ll.1183-9.
[116] Occasionally, the term *minister* is used, but the predominant term used is *famulus*.
[117] M. Postan, *The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (London, 1954), p.37. D. Farmer, 'The Famuli in the Later Middle Ages', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, eds. R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), pp.207-38, at p.207.

shepherds, milkmaids, and also reeves. This definition helps little to understand the role of the *famuli* in *Urbanus magnus* which makes no reference to agricultural labour in the text. Therefore, *famulus* must have another meaning aside from that defined by Postan and Farmer, both of whom do not refer to the internal household servant. Latham gives *famulus* the meaning of serf with no reference to domestic or household servants. Indeed, entries under the term *fam/ilia* referring to the household retinue predominantly come from sources from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.[118] Only Smyly designates *famulare* as 'to be a household servant'.[119]

What then were the roles that the *famuli* fulfilled in *Urbanus magnus*? The most important role that the *famulus* undertook was service at the table. This was the most visible household service role for the visitors to see: the *famulus* reflected the lord before his guests. As opposed to personal service – such as attending to the lord privately – the emphasis on the visible servant in *Urbanus magnus* shows that in part it is aimed at how outsiders see and perceive the lord or master's hospitability. Table service ranged from serving the food, pouring the drinks, washing the guests' hands before the meal, and laying and clearing the table. While the term *famulus* designates a servant, those serving at the table were not necessarily chosen from the lowlier ranks of society. Remembering that the servant was a mirror of the lord, those in the visible position of serving food and drink would require manners and mores reflective of those of the master. If we recall the statement made by Fleming, albeit in reference to the later medieval period, such servants often came from the gentry. This is explained by

[118] R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, (London, 2008), p.185. For example, *familitas*, position in a household, 13c; *famelicus*, member of household, confident, 1263; *famularius*, belonging to a household, 1570. The Oxford Medieval Latin Dictionary does not reference *UM* for *famulus*, but does include it for *famulatus*.

[119] SMYLY, *URBANUS MAGNUS*, P.96.

the fact that household service was often deemed to be a form of 'apprenticeship', allowing young people to be exposed to the courtesy and manners of the elite.[120] This concept is applicable to many time periods, from the early medieval period to the Tudor period and beyond. A text such as *Urbanus magnus* was useful in this context for two reasons: firstly, for the young boy whom the text is aimed at – the *clericulis pueris* – it forms the basis for proper behaviour at the table, and more specifically service at the table, in order to ingratiate himself with superiors; secondly, it provides details on the duties and expectations of servants for the household, so that the master's household could match the standards of his rank and the status of his guests. It was not just young men who acted as household servants at the table, but also girls. *Urbanus magnus* provides instructions on what to do if a girl should happen to serve your drink:

> Do not say "cheers" when the cup is handed over to you. If he [the lord] says "wesheil", your response is "drincheil". Yet, if by chance the cup is given to you by a girl, you can say "have one yourself".[121]

One of the most prestigious roles of the *famulus* is that of personal attendant to the lord. This would include leading the lord with a light to the bedchamber,[122] and being present when the lord wakes in the morning.[123]

> If you are acting as servant, stand by the bedside; cover your lord's naked body…At the head of the bed there should be placed an inside vest and pelisse. There should be a pillow for the head, and a piece of clean linen on top should cover those pillows. When the lord rises in the morning, the servant should be ready at hand.[124]

[120] Fleming, *Family and Household*, p.74.
[121] *UM*, ll.1072-5.
[122] *UM*, ll.1266-7.
[123] *UM*, l.1289.
[124] *UM*, ll.1282-9.

One other role required a certain amount of intimacy between servant and lord:

> When you are requested to serve the lord at night, you should fulfil that duty and carry the lamp by going ahead of the master. When the lord enters the bedchamber, speedily inspect that the privy is without filth. On behalf of that man sitting on the privy, you should grasp straw or hay in your hands; seize the coarse bunch of hay with your hands, pressed firmly, which should be given to the master when he desires.[125]

Far from being degrading, as it is to our modern sensibilities, this service would have been one of the most important and valued in the medieval household, with close proximity to the lord. Indeed, the role could be viewed as a medieval precursor to the role of 'Groom of the Stool' in Tudor England. It may have actually symbolised the most trusted *famulus* of the lord, and therefore one of the most respected servants in the household. As we will see in the following chapter on the body and bodily restraint, the medieval period had an attitude towards bodily functions which was closer to nature and more relaxed than we have today. In reference to royal service Starkey writes that:

> The Groom of the Stool had (to our eyes) the most menial tasks; his standing, though, was the highest...Clearly then, the royal body service must have been seen as entirely honorable, without a trace of the demeaning or the humiliating.[126]

This statement can also apply to the intimate role of the *famulus* as seen in *Urbanus magnus*.

Urbanus magnus shows us that amongst the ranks of household servants, there is a division between 'visible' and 'invisible'. Little reference is made to those 'invisible'

[125] *UM*, ll.1266-73.
[126] D. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy: A Study of the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early-Modern England', in *Symbols and Sentiments*, ed. I. M. Lewis (New York, 1977), pp.187-224, at p.212.

servants, such as cooks. While section IV of the text contains descriptions of food preparation, no mention is given to the person who would be preparing such meals. The only mention of a 'downstairs' servant comes in relation to the tablecloth:

> A tablecloth should be placed on the table; a white one, although it may be well worn, that is strong enough to serve the table. A dirty one should be cleaned by the designated laundress.[127]

Returning to the visible servants, the hierarchical structure of service continues with the *dapifer* or steward of the household. Harcourt, in an early study of the development of the role of *dapifer* in the Middle Ages stated that in the eleventh century:

> His duties to begin with are not of an extensive or very important character. He is primarily...the chef-du-service or the caterer for the royal banqueting table and nothing more. He is not an officer of state properly so-called, and prior to the year 1070 he is certainly not the first even of the household officers.[128]

However, this role developed beyond mere table service, with the steward becoming the person in charge of the administrative running of the household or estate. The word *dapifer* appears only once in *Urbanus magnus*,[129] but a similar word *predapifer* appears slightly more frequently.[130] Smyly described the *predapifer* as 'butler, head-waiter'.[131] Latham defined *dapifer* as more broadly a steward or seneschal, while *predapifer* was specifically the steward who lays the table.[132] The text states that:

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[127] *UM*, ll.2556-8.
[128] V. Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward, and Trial of Peers: A Novel Inquiry into a Special Branch of Constitutional Government Founded Entirely upon Original Sources of Information, and Extensively upon Hitherto Unprinted Materials* (London, 1907), p.5.
[129] *UM*, l.1010.
[130] *UM*, l.1155, l.1161, and ll.1646-7.
[131] Smyly, *Urbanus magnus*, p.100.
[132] Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, pp.130 and 365. The source used for Latham's inclusion of *predapifer* is actually *UM* itself, hence the dating of c.1180 for the word.

> There should be other skilled attendants to serve the other [guests]. The provident *predapifer*, creator of the banquet, should stand by.[133]

In addition, 'he should be observed to be so great a mirror of his lord to his guests'.[134] While in the past the term *dapifer* would have merely been the chef-du-service, as the household developed that role became more administrative, leaving a lacuna where table service was concerned. Hence, there was the creation of a sub-steward or *predapifer* whose function was solely as chef-du-service. Importantly, the result is not that there is an asymmetrical relationship between *dapifer* and *predapifer*, where one is subordinate to the other in terms of rank or importance in the household. It reflects the role diverging into two distinct positions: one administrative and one catering. Interestingly, the use of the prefix *pre/prae* can be used as an intensifier, and may signify that the visible role of the *predapifer* in the organisation and running of banquets was more important than the more bureaucratic role of the steward.

Having looked at the division of service through the *predapifer* and *famulus*, examining now more broadly the structure of hospitality in the medieval household one can discern correlations between the service roles relating to hospitality in the household and that in the monastic community. Fortin has enumerated four officials involved in the attendance of guests to the monastery based on the Rule of St Benedict.[135] For many of these, there are parallels in *Urbanus magnus*. To begin with, there is the abbot whose role it was to welcome the guests, dine with the guests, and to wash the hands and feet of the guests, the latter linked to 'the servant role assumed

[133] *UM*, ll.1154-5.
[134] *UM*, l.1162.
[135] J. R. Fortin, 'The Reaffirmation of Monastic Hospitality', *Downside Review*, 423 (2003), pp.105-18, at pp.106-7.

by Jesus at the Last Supper'.[136] In a secular context, this is paralleled with the head of the household who, as we have seen, aided the guest in removing his shoes prior to washing, and may have also participated in the ritualised washing of the feet. Secondly, there is the guestmaster, but there is little detail provided regarding his specific role in the monastery. While there is no specific mention of a guestmaster in *Urbanus magnus*, it is likely that the head steward or *dapifer* fulfilled this role. Next, there is the porter who would guard the entrance and be first point of contact for the guest arriving at the monastery. This role is assumed by a servant in the household, who would not only welcome the guest, but also announce the guest's arrival to the lord and be present at the guest's departure. Finally, the Rule mentions the cellarer, whom Fortin equates with the chief steward, in charge of provisions and supplies, whose secular household equivalent was the *predapifer*. There are clear parallels between the monastic example of hospitality and the secular domestic setting of *Urbanus magnus*. Furthermore, despite the text being aimed at a non-monastic setting, the relation to the Rule and monastic hospitality may explain the popularity of *Urbanus magnus* in monastic manuscripts. However, this division of labour, whether in the secular household or the monastery, can be traced back further to the hierarchy of slaves in the Roman household. Slaves could be divided into high and low ranks, with the *ordinarii* as higher status and the *vulgares* as the lower.[137] The *ordinarii* were considered to be superintendents, including housekeepers and butlers, overseeing the running of the household and under-servants. The parallel in the medieval household

[136] Fortin, 'The Reaffirmation of Monastic Hospitality', pp.106-7. See 'let the Abbot give the guests water for their hands; and let both Abbot and community wash the feet of all guests'. 'Aquam in manibus abbas hospitibus det; pedes hospitibus omnibus tam abbas quam cuncta congregatio lavet'. *RSB*, ch. 53, pp.247-8.

[137] M. Bunson, *Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire* (New York, 2002), p.508.

is the steward or *predapifer*. The *vulgares* were the cooks, porters, and personal attendants for example, and comprised the *famuli* and the invisible servants in the medieval house. A final category was the *litterati* who were the copyists, prized for their education and skill. The equivalent in *Urbanus magnus* is the cleric who we have seen was involved in writing letters and maintaining the finances for the lord's household. Therefore, the hierarchical structure depicted in *Urbanus magnus* is not unique, and had developed over time. The point is that the specific roles in the households, whether Roman or medieval, secular or religious, do not matter as much as the common notion of hospitality.

3.2. Outside the Household

The text expands to include directives for proper behaviour outside the household. Examples of such prescriptions for behaviour external to the household include advice not to look into houses with open doors, or throw stones in the street:

> If unlocked doorways stand open to you while walking, one should not look inside to the house…Walking through the street, avoid throwing stones. Casual throwing often causes peril. You should avoid staring at strangers.[138]

However, up to now, there has been an emphasis on a core audience – those within a noble household, either as a householder or in the employ of the house, such as a cleric, and those who had occasion to be a visitor to the house. Section III of *Urbanus magnus* introduces new audiences which seems anomalous with the previous section.[139]

[138] *UM*, ll.1354-8.

[139] As seen on pp.32-3, section III conforms stylistically to sections I and II of the poem. However, it is not present in the earliest manuscripts. Therefore, it is difficult to state whether it was original to the poem or a later addition, similar to section IV.

Around l.1484 blocks of text are dedicated to certain individuals or professions beyond those found in the household. These are frequently introduced with the construction *si fueris* or *si sis*. Among the various persons enumerated are judges (*iudex*), knights (*miles*), citizens (*civis*), merchants (*mercator*), bailiffs (*balliua*), sailors (*nauita*), physicians (*medicus/practicus*), minstrels or harpers (*cithare*), and monks (*monachus*).[140] Up until this point in the text there has not been such an explicitly stated audience. What is troubling about this section is that, if the prime audience for *Urbanus magnus* is within the context of the noble household, why would the medieval reader then require information on behaviour befitting a sailor or a merchant?

The first possibility for this is the argument that the text is a conglomeration of others works, as discussed in chapter 2. However, even if we ignore the descriptions of judges, knights, bailiffs, etc., two distinct audiences remain: clerics and householders. Therefore, the audience is not fixed in the text. Chapter 2 saw *contempus mundi* literature as a possible influence on *Urbanus magnus*, especially in relation to the enumeration of the different ranks of society.[141] There it was seen that while *contemptus mundi* literature focuses on the vices of different peoples, *Urbanus magnus* has a more reforming tone. Yet, it should be acknowledged that those listed in *Urbanus magnus* – physicians, bailiffs, judges, merchants, minstrels, etc. – are the sorts of people who might visit a medieval household, and so their behaviour ought to correspond to that noble setting.

The growth of medieval towns necessitated the description of the appropriate behaviour of urban citizens. Directives outside the household are not confined to

[140] See l.1485 for *iudex*, l.1700 for *miles*, l.1748 for *civis*, l.1749 for *mercator*, l.1642 for *balliua*, l.1768 for *nauita*, l.1795 for *medicus*, l.1774 for *cithare*, and l.1820 for *monachus*.
[141] See chapter 2, pp.88-9.

section III of the text and the first section of *Urbanus magnus* contains precepts about the importance of keeping the peace amongst neighbours.[142] However, section III is more explicit about the city-dweller, who should be 'be master of manners and courtesy'.[143] He should ensure that his house is made of stone, so as to be free from the danger of fires.[144] The growth in medieval towns has been the subject of much scholarship in the past, and it suffices to mention here that the development of towns in twelfth-century England relied, as Platt states, on a burgeoning population, and relative political stability both domestically and internationally.[145] One self-evident aspect that sets the towns apart from country dwellings is the focus away from agriculture, towards other professions or livings. There is a 'multiplicity of activities' present in the town, reflected in the individuals such as merchants and physicians, and who would have conducted their business there.[146] However, that is not to say that the inclusion of such persons in this section of the text correlates to a desire to respond to the rise of professionals in a town context. Judges, bailiffs, minstrels, knights, and physicians would be present in the context of a medieval estate. Taking the example of the medieval bailiff, Plunkett noted the hierarchical structure of estate management with the steward at the top, the reeve at the bottom, and the bailiff in the middle.[147] *Urbanus magnus* contains precepts directing bailiffs to be good to those under their jurisdiction, and there is an account of a bailiff bemoaning the loss of his position:

> Revealing his lost baileyship, he will say 'woe is me! Woe to me alone now whom the only storm lashes! I suffer eclipse, formally a man, now no

[142] For the full passage see *UM*, ll.434-61.
[143] *UM*, l.1748.
[144] *UM*, ll.1755-6.
[145] C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976), p.21.
[146] R. Holt and G. Rosser, 'Introduction: The English Town in the Middle Ages', in *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200-1540*, eds. R. Holt and G. Rosser (London, 1990), pp.1-18, at p.4.
[147] T. Plunkett, *The Mediaeval Bailiff* (London, 1954), p.7.

> man at all. Then I had been a talkative blaze; now practically ashes. Lo, my power is vanquished! Whom I conquered, am I by them conquered![148]

Newman states that this 'overblown language of tragic reversal makes of this self-absorbed man a figure of ridicule', and doubts that the text was intended to be read by bailiffs.[149] He views this entire section devoted to the discussion of social offices as more satirical in intent, rather than didactic in morals and correct behaviour. However, if the text was not intended to be read by bailiffs, the question remains as to the purpose of its inclusion. While Newman may be correct in acknowledging the satirical tone – which we will see with other professions – the intended audience could still be the noble householder. Plunkett stated that the 'central function of the bailiff is to act as general manager of a manor or agricultural estate', and 'he must do a certain amount of trading on his lord's behalf and for the lord's profit'.[150] Furthermore, he noted that from 1166 onwards, bailiffs were legally able to take the place of their lord in a legal context.[151] Therefore, acting as a high ranking representative of the lord required the bailiff to act in a courteous manner. *Urbanus magnus* made explicit the fact that the *dapifer* was a mirror of the lord and must act accordingly, and one could easily imagine that the bailiff was expected to live up to that same standard.

The text continues to address other professions, offering advice on the correct manner of conducting their individual occupations. For example, a merchant 'should not be a deceitful nor lying vendor of goods'.[152] It also includes precepts which seem extremely obvious or common knowledge:

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[148] *UM*, ll.1656-60. This translation is taken from Newman, 'Satire of Counsel', p.103.
[149] Newman, 'Satire of Counsel', p.102-3.
[150] Plunkett, *The Mediaeval Bailiff*, p.2.
[151] Ibid., p.14.
[152] *UM*, l.1759.

> If you should be a sailor, you should learn to go across the high sea, get to know the ports of different harbours, the moon, the course of the stars, and the hours of the day, night, a profit-making rate, the languages of nations.[153]

Many of these passages relate to maintaining the integrity of certain professions. For example, while John of Salisbury states that 'for money, the greedy judge becomes an associate in crimes, and he acquits the guilty and kills the innocent',[154] *Urbanus magnus* prefers to stress the positive traits that a judge should possess: the judge should be dutiful and loyal, he should 'observe the law, not dishonour honesty, pervert the truth, nor be a transgressor of virtue.[155] In addition, he should not be duplicitous: 'you should not be a man with the face of a lamb and the mind of wolf'.[156] The judge:

> should be a fine orator, he should be provident and sensible in severe cases, and he should be rational in everything that must be done.[157]

Furthermore, the profession is sullied by the corruption of judges, and the judges should resist taking bribes. Regarding doctors, *Urbanus magnus* states that:

> If you are laid down with an illness consult a loyal physician; you should follow the medical orders from those consulted. Often, medicine furnishes health to the sick.[158]

In addition, the physician fulfils a role during warfare. When under the assault of a siege, there should be a doctor present to attend to those involved.[159] Section III

[153] *UM*, ll.1768-71.
[154] 'Criminibus iudex pretio sociatur avarus, / absolvitque reos, immeritosque necat'. John of Salisbury, *John of Salisbury's Entheticus maior and minor*, ed. J. van Laarhoven (Leiden, 1987), pp.190-1.
[155] *UM*, ll.1489-90.
[156] *UM*, l.1500.
[157] *UM*, ll.1503-4.
[158] *UM*, ll.1795-8.
[159] *UM*, ll.1184-5.

introduces a similar tone to that of the judge, emphasising the correct behaviour of the physician and the exhortation to avoid bad practice:

> If you are a physician, thus you should think about healing, there should be no death of people to whom you have healed. The blunt medical practitioner, who does not know his trade, thoughtlessly he becomes a cheap liar, practising everywhere.[160]

The term used to denote a medical practitioner is *medicus* or *physicus*. Kealy, in his study of Anglo-Norman medicine stated that the *medicus* was a general practitioner and not a specialist.[161] He also noted the increase in the number of physicians in the period 1100-1154 under Henry I, and the inclusion of the physician here may denote the rise in prominence that such professionals experienced in twelfth-century England. He further noted a trend towards laymen rather than monks acting as physicians as had traditionally been the case. Between 1100 and 1154, he identified ninety medical practitioners, 38.8% of whom were layman, the remainder comprising monks, Austin Canons and other clergy.[162]

However, similar to the example of the bailiff, there may be satirical influences present. Other twelfth-century authors, such as John of Salisbury in the *Metalogicon*, wrote with an anti-physician sentiment. In reference to students leaving to study on the continent, he stated that:

> Others, becoming cognizant of their inadequate grounding in philosophy, have departed to Salerno or Montpellier, where they have become medical students. Then suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, they have blossomed forth as the same kind of physicians that they had previously been philosophers. Stocked with fallacious empirical rules [for handling various

[160] *UM*, ll.1795-8.
[161] E. Kealy, *Medieval Medicus, A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore, 1981), p.15.
[162] Kealy, *Medieval Medicus*, p.40.

> cases] they return after a brief interval to practice with sedulity what they have learned.[163]

Doctors were depicted as greedy, willing to make money at the expense of patient care. This is reflected in the quote above from *Urbanus magnus* where the physician should be skilled in his occupation, and not become 'deceitful' in pursuit of career advancement. This is paralleled further in the *Metalogicon* where John of Salisbury continues his depiction of the doctors of the period when he states that:

> ...verily they have judged it unfitting, and foreign to their profession, to attend to the needy and those who are either loath or unable to pay the full price, if it be only for their words.[164]

While *Urbanus magnus* reflects the strains of an anti-*medicus* sentiment present in popular twelfth-century literature, it is not quite fully anti-*medicus*; rather, it is aware of the criticisms that were levelled at physicians, and seeks to admonish their bad behaviour and exhorts an ideal version of the professions. This approach is seen in many of the descriptions of the various ranks, including the merchant. *Contemptus mundi* literature presents only the negative aspect of the merchant. Bernard of Cluny in *De contemptu mundi*, stated that 'the merchant conducts nearly all his business by deception…when he buys your goods, he cheats; in fact he prefers his weights to

[163] 'Alii autem suum in philosophia intuentes defectum, Salernum uel ad Montem Pessulanum profecti, facti sunt clientuli medicorum, et repente quales fuerant philosophi, tales in momento medici eruperunt. Fallacibus enim referti experimentis in breui redeunt, sedulo exercentes quod didicerunt'. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon, CC*, 98, pp.18-19. C.f. *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, trans. D. McGarry (Berkeley, 1955), pp.17-18.

[164] 'Et reuera hi inopportunum et officiosum opinatur dare operam indigentibus, et his qui nolunt aut nequeunt uel solis uerbis eorum plenae gratiam refere mercedis'. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon, CC*, 98, p.19. C.f. *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, pp.17-18.

yours'.[165] In contrast, *Urbanus magnus* offers advice to merchants rather than a critique of their livelihood:

> If you are a merchant, one who puts money in his purse, and a diverse seller of various things, a buyer, you should not be a deceitful nor lying vendor of goods; …you should be faithful to the buyer.[166]

So, in content, the two texts emphasise similar points. Both stress the negative aspects of these two professions, pointing to the fact that such behaviour is prevalent during the twelfth century. However, each text approaches this topic from different angles. The *contemptus mundi* text is at pains to describe the evils of each profession or rank in society. As Howard states, it 'criticizes not sins but people, not fallen humanity but decadent society'.[167] It records the vices with the implicit understanding that appropriate and virtuous behaviour is the opposite of these evils. *Urbanus magnus* is explicit in detailing that appropriate behaviour.

3.3. Courtesy and the Case for Social Mobility

The question of the allowance for social mobility in the medieval period is one which generations of scholars have considered and one where opinions have changed over time. Due to a rise in courtiers, the twelfth century witnessed a rise in anti-courtier sentiment, based on resentment towards men 'raised from the dust', and *Urbanus magnus* needs to be examined in the light of this trend. It is worth quoting the opening lines to the text again:

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[165] 'Institor omnia pene negotia fraude volutat…fraudat emens tua quippe tuis sua pondera praefert'. Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi*, c.f. *Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny's De contemptu mundi: The Latin Text with English Translation and an Introduction*, ed. R. E. Pepin (East Lansing, 1991), pp.96-7.
[166] *UM*, ll.1757-9.
[167] Howard, 'The Contempt of the World', p.140.

> To be adorned with morals and manners, if you desire, reader, to be venerated, to be noble among lords and lead a civilised life, to be a provident overseer in administering your own property, read and re-read often and keep forever in your mind these verses which I have decided to write, clad in the lightness of common language, for boy-clerks.[168]

In addition:

> Listen, learn the manner of dining if you wish to be prosperous, distinguished, and thriving with wealth.[169]

Admittedly, the use of courtesy and manners for self-promotion in *Urbanus magnus* is implicit, and not overtly stated. However, it is appropriate to discuss the question of promotion and mobility because of the rhetoric of an anti-*curiale* sentiment in the twelfth century and the inferences of terminology such as *facetus*, *urbanus*, and *rusticus* in this rhetoric. Despite the negative connotations around courtliness promoted by some twelfth-century writers, I will argue that courtliness or urbanity was acceptable when used to reflect the inner virtuous soul, and not selfishly for social advancement or personal gain. Herlihy argues that earlier scholars such as Weber saw medieval society as static or rigid in relation to social mobility, obviating an upward trajectory.[170] However, Herlihy adds that:

> Although medieval moral counselors were suspicious of personal ambition, which they equated with avarice or pride, they never advocated a social system based on hereditary, impenetrable castes.[171]

[168] *UM*, ll.1-6.
[169] *UM*, ll.2524-5.
[170] D. Herlihy, 'Three Patterns of Social Mobility in Medieval History', in *Social Mobility and Modernization: A Journal of Interdisciplinary History Reader*, ed. R. I. Rotberg (Cambridge, MA., 2000), pp.19-43, at p.20.
[171] Herlihy, 'Three Patterns of Social Mobility', p.20.

There was an antipathy to the rise of courtier-clerics in twelfth-century England, of men who came from humble origins and rose to positions of prominence in both the secular and the clerical spheres. In many of these cases, the courteous manners of these men are emphasised. Gillingham argues that Lanfranc of Bec, William of St Thierry, and Bernard of Clairvaux all used the terms *urbanus* and *facetus* in a pejorative sense:[172]

> Lanfranc showed where his priorities lay when he wrote that he would rather be *rusticus et idiota* as a good Catholic than *curialis atque facetus* as a heretic. William of St Thierry criticised *urbanitas* which he associated with 'the wisdom of the flesh'; St Bernard wanted priests to avoid talking in a way that others thought of as *facetum* and *urbanum*.[173]

He also quotes Alexander Neckam who asked: 'what shall we say about the many knights who foul their lives by imitating the damnable courtliness *curialitatem* – or rather *scurrilitatem* of courtiers'.[174] Indeed, the fact that monks disapproved of such terminology and the use of courtesy does not mean that the secular clergy shunned from translating monastic texts for secular purposes. Earlier in chapter 2 we saw how monastic texts likely formed the foundation for secular codes of conduct.[175] It may well be the case that the very adaptation of monastic texts for secular use was the underlying basis for such disapproval from the monastic community.

Herlihy posits that there are three phases of social mobility relating to the medieval period. The first relates to economic stagnation, until c.1000, leading into a period of expansion up to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The final phase

[172] Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p.283.
[173] Ibid., p.282.
[174] 'Quid quod multi operibus inhonestis vitam commaculant, ut curialium damnabiliem curialitatem, immo foedam scurrilitatem, imitentur?' Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1863), p.312. Quoted in Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', pp.282-3.
[175] See pp.67-8.

relates to the rise of medieval towns and their socio-economic conditions until 1500.[176] It is the first two patterns which are important for *Urbanus magnus* and our understanding of the significance of courtesy as a factor in social mobility. Within these phases, three groups of persons emerge who would have benefitted from courtesy or etiquette in the context of increased social mobility. The first is the service industry, the second is the nobility, and third is the student or professional such as a doctor. All three could have profited from the contents of a text such as *Urbanus magnus*. Speaking of what he terms the Age of Stagnation (c.500-c.1000), Herlihy states that:

> It is apparent that a principal avenue to vertical social mobility was service – to the manorial lord or to other great men in the neighborhood. With large manor houses to administer, there was a need for supervisors and stewards, and the personal contact with powerful persons could provide numerous advantages.[177]

However, such a statement is not restricted to Herlihy's timeframe, and indeed the importance of service for social mobility can be seen up the present day. Where *Urbanus magnus* is concerned, the significance of service is evident in the strong emphasis on the correct behaviour of visible servants in the medieval household. In addition, recalling the earlier discussion of the role of servants in the household, it was seen that young sons and daughters were often placed in noble households as attendants in order to observe and learn correct behaviour. However, servants may not only refer to those engaged in menial tasks such as service at the table, but also refer to service to one's lord or superior master to gain protection or patronage. This emphasis on service as a means to advancement continues into the twelfth century in texts such as *Urbanus magnus*.

[176] Herlihy, 'Three Patterns of Social Mobility', p.21.
[177] Ibid., p.31.

The final group of individuals who benefited from upward social mobility were students and professionals. John of Salisbury, speaking of students bound for Salerno and Montpellier, derided them for 'their inadequate grounding in philosophy,' and he believed that it was this inadequacy which forced them to pursue the perceived 'lowlier' vocation of physician.[178] However, the same account can be viewed as a case for efforts to attain improved social mobility. Nicholas uses law students as an account of education used for progression:

> These groups consisted of persons who wanted to rise socially, the one into the lesser nobility and the other into true social equality with the titled nobility. They saw royal service as the best avenue of advancement.[179]

This can be applied not only to the students in John of Salisbury's account, but also certain professions, such as medical practitioners. Admittedly, doctors were not considered in the same class as lawyers due to their exposure to the visceral body. However, not only education and competence give rise to social mobility, but manners and etiquette would naturally have to correlate with the environment in which, for example, the physician may find himself. As a result, if he advances to practise in a noble household, he would need to act in a manner befitting his patients in order to ensure favour. A clear example is Petrus Alphonsi, whose *Disciplina clericalis* contains details relating to manners and etiquette, and who came to England to act as physician to Henry I.

Texts such as *Urbanus magnus*, while containing some information about the good practice of a physician, may be more beneficial as a means of disseminating

[178] See above, p.134.
[179] D. Nicholas, 'Patterns of Social Mobility', in *One Thousand Years: Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, eds. R. DeMolen and D. Herlihy (Boston, 1974), pp.45-105, at p.80.

information about the correct behaviour expected of those with the occasion to enter into a noble household or royal court. Nicholas, looking at the evidence for social mobility, differentiated between the aristocracy and nobility. In essence, nobility is based on blood and consequently one is born into nobility. The aristocracy, however, is more flexible, and with patronage, skills, and a favourable marriage, an upwardly mobile man could become a member. As Nicholas argues, there was more opportunity for social advancement in an aristocratic context where 'power and influence are the essential membership criteria, than in a nobility, where the essential criterion is the blood tie'.[180] He argues that there was a greater opportunity for an individual to penetrate the aristocracy, than the nobility. As he states: the aristocracy 'were subject to penetration from below by other social groups if the latter obtained royal favour or could marry into a noble lineage'.[181] Courtesy or appropriate manners, alongside professional competence, would aid an individual to climb the social ladder and potentially achieve a higher rank or status. As *Urbanus magnus* states, if you want to be 'prosperous and distinguished' you should learn correct table etiquette.[182] Following Nicholas, Westerhof similarly argues that the twelfth century witnessed 'increased differentiation', leading to people penetrating the noble or aristocratic sphere whether through merit, success, or blood.[183] Again, blood is the marker of nobility in medieval writing, seen as a reaction against the social mobility of those who could penetrate the aristocracy but could not claim 'noble blood'. The attitudes to nobility and noble blood are complex in *Urbanus magnus*, and often contradictory. Regarding nobility, the text states that:

[180] Nicholas, 'Patterns of Social Mobility', p.46.
[181] Ibid., p.70.
[182] *UM*, ll.2524-5.
[183] Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, p.43.

> The idea that a child of corrupt blood could be born to a noble line seems absurd. A noble line brings forth only the best qualities and conducts itself generously. It is the corrupt and idle line that spews out wastrels and deals out bitterness. The finest fruit are produced from the finest tree. Noble heir, if your father is distinguished, wealthy, generous and upstanding, take care not to disgrace his blood! It is a dreadful disgrace to discredit noble birth, because of the distinction which comes with it. It is your prime concern never to fall from the highest standards of behaviour. Never do anything dishonourable. Since you are a nobleman, pursue noble behaviour; haughtiness has no place in courtly conduct.[184]

Crouch identifies the divergent opinions in *Urbanus magnus* with respect to the debate about 'meritocracy and innate nobility'.[185] On the one hand, the above quotation shows that *Urbanus magnus* was concerned with the 'noble heir' and 'corrupt blood', and duty to one's noble family. Yet, the text also discusses the transitory nature of nobility and noble ancestry: 'soon enough the names of grandfathers and forebears are blown away in the wind; do what deeds you may, worms will be your next heir'.[186] Consequently, the remainder of the text focuses on detailing the appropriate behaviour in various circumstances which would both ensure that the nobility preserves its noble character and also aid those seeking promotion into that elite sphere. These attitudes towards nobility in the text are reflected in the work of other authors of the twelfth century. Turner argues that the anti-*curiale* sentiment was strong in the court of Henry II and in satirical literature of the time, such as with Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, because Henry II was so welcoming to new men; he provides the example of Ralph Niger who stated that Henry brought 'bastard serfs and common soldiers of chamber and hall' to act as his officials.[187] In addition:

[184] *UM*, ll.104-15. Translation from Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p.127.
[185] Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p.154.
[186] *UM*, ll.222-4. Translation from Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p.154.
[187] R. Turner, 'Changing Perceptions of the New Administrative Class in Anglo-Norman and Angevin

> Walter Map charged that the reason for the greater oppressiveness of the clerics among Henry II's royal justices compared to laymen was that they were the sons of villeins...who had gone off to the schools, seeking to rise above their proper station.[188]

Other authors who lament the upward mobility of perceived 'low-born' men include John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, and Gerald of Wales. However, Alexander Neckam argued that nobility was not enough to reveal the good character of a man, he also had to behave in a noble manner. As Westerhof summarises, 'only noble deeds can declare one's noble ancestry, not the other way around'.[189] How can we interpret these two differing views in the case of *Urbanus magnus*? While it acknowledges that a man of noble blood should do nothing to bring dishonour to his family, there is far more focus on noble deeds and appropriate behaviour. In this respect, it conforms more to Neckam's notion of nobility, one which rests on action and not entitlement.

Moving away from the question of social mobility and 'men raised from the dust', the final part of the chapter examines the acceptable uses of courtesy and manners, along with the positive use of words such as *urbanus*. It introduces the importance of the outer comportment as a mirror for the inner soul. Courtesy and its use for advancement was only acceptable when there was a Christian underpinning to its use.

3.3.1. Appropriate Courtesy

We have already seen the trend which emerged in the twelfth century among writers to bemoan the promotion of men raised from the dust, men of humble origins who

England: The Curiales and Their Conservative Critics', *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), pp.93-117, at p.94.

[188] Turner, 'Changing Perceptions', p.94.

[189] Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, p.49. Based on Neckam's *De naturis rerum,* pp.244.

gained positions of power and responsibility, often perceived to be at the expense of the nobility. Turner has shown that while there were those of less noble origins who succeeded in rising up the ranks (such as Thomas Becket), the reality was that there were not that many of the so-called 'new men' as the literature supposes, and the majority of those who experienced upward social mobility were clerics or rose from the knightly class. Furthermore, he argues that writers such as Ralph Niger, Peter of Blois, and John of Salisbury were advocates of a static social hierarchy and, as such, viewed with resentment any attempts from lowlier individuals to rise up the ranks and saw it as greed. Other reasons posited by Turner for such opposition included: resentment or jealousy towards those rising through the ranks through royal service; apprehension of having one's position replaced by these 'new men'; and even a worry that the qualities of courtesy were rendering the knightly or warrior class weak.[190] However, there may be more to it than that. We have seen the pejorative use of the terms *facetus* and *urbanus* in the writings of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Thierry.[191] It was a common medieval notion that the outer comportment of the body reflected the inner virtue of the soul and this will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter on the medieval body in *Urbanus magnus*. The controlled and restrained outer body mirrored the restrained and virtuous soul, whereas unruly and immoderate behaviour revealed a corruption of the soul. Proper, restrained, and courteous behaviour had to be used in conjunction with Christian values. The anti-*curiales* or anti-courtier-cleric sentiment apparent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries may be a reaction against the use of courtesy for purely selfish motives, or for purely personal gain. Recalling that for Alexander Neckam

[190] Turner, 'Changing Perceptions', p.249.
[191] See above, p.137.

noble deeds were paramount, I believe that the use of courtesy or courtliness was viewed negatively by writers when used solely for personal gain and social advancement. It was only acceptable when projecting an image of refinement and moderation, which reflected the virtuous and Christian inner soul.

The case of Thomas Becket provides a clear example of a person whose manners and etiquette were widely known and praised, but countered or tempered with an emphasis on Christian charity and hospitality. Herbert of Bosham wrote that Becket possessed *gratia civilis et urbana*.[192] Herbert continued, 'he pleased the world as well as God. His table was more like Caesar's than a prelate's'.[193] Biographers of Becket stress his appearance and manners from a very young age. Roger of Pontigny stated that: 'even then at such an age the splendour and grace of his appearance and habits set him apart from those of a similar age'.[194] While this may well be a retrospective application of Becket's later qualities in adulthood, the emphasis placed on both appearance and habits is significant. Once he became chancellor, his house and manners are described in greater detail. One account from William Fitzstephen described not only the hospitality of the chancellor's household, but also the opulence on display:

> The chancellor's house and table were open to the needs of any visitors to the king's court of whatever rank, if they were known to be genuine, or appeared to be. Hardly a day did he dine without earls and barons as guests. He ordered his floors to be covered every day with new straw or hay in the winter, fresh bulrushes or leaves in the summer, so that the multitude of knights, who could not all fit on stalls, could find a clean and pleasant space, and leave their precious clothes and beautiful shirts

[192] Gillingham, 'From civilitas to civility', p.283.
[193] Ibid., p.283. 'Mensa haec videtur potius mensa Caesaris quam ponitificis'. Herbert of Bosham, *MTB*, vol.3, p.230.
[194] 'Iam enim etiam in tali aetate prae caeteris coaevis suis quiddam splendoris et gratiae in ejus vultu et moribus eminebat'. Roger of Pontingy, *MTB*, vol.4, p.5. For the English translation see Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, p.43.

> unsoiled. His house glistened with gold and silver vases, and abounded in precious food and drink, so that if a certain food was known for its rarity, no price would deter his ministers from buying it.[195]

This depiction shows the outward display of wealth and opulence of the chancellor's household. Such opulence could easily have been satirised by anti-*curiale* writers. However, recalling that hospitality was linked to Christian charity, Fitzstephen counters the extravagance of such a household, writing that: 'nevertheless he retained the utmost sobriety in these things, so that rich alms were collected from this rich table'.[196] This fits with the content of *Urbanus magnus* which directs the householder to ensure that, where hospitality it concerned, feasts are provided for guests, ensuring that there is enough good food and drink, and yet, there should also be moderation and restraint in behaviour, and especially in consumption.

Perhaps it was even more amazing of Becket that, given his propensity for opulence, he is depicted as having a virtuous interior life. William of Canterbury tried to reconcile the magnificence of the chancellor's house, table, and appearance by arguing that beneath all the luxury and vanity there was a pious Christian:

> He was deeply humble at heart, yet arrogant in appearance… Perhaps he may have been proud and given to vanities, as far as worldly cares go and in outward appearance, yet he was chaste in body and healthy in soul.[197]

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[195] 'Cancellarii domus et mensa communise rat omnibus cujuscunque ordinis indigentibus ad curiam regis venientibus, qui probi vel essent, vel esse viderentur. Nulla fere die comedebat absque comitibus et baronibus, quos ipsemet invitabat. Jusserat quaque die, novo stramine vel foeno in hieme, novis scirpis vel frondibus virentibus in aestate, sterni hospitium suum, ut militum multitudinem, quam scamna capere non pterant, area munda et laeta reciperet; ne vestes eorum pretiosae, vel pulchrae eorum camisiae, ex areae sorde maculam contraherent. Vasis aureis et argenteis domus ejus renidebant, ferculis et potibus pretiosis abundabat; ut siqua esculenta vel poculenta commendaret rearitas, emptores ejus nulla eorum comparandorum repellere deberet caritas'. William Fitzstephen, *MTB*, vol.3, pp.20-1. For the translation see Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, p.50.

[196] 'Summe tamen sobrius erat in his, ut de divite mensa dives colligeretur eleemosyna'. William Fitzstephen, *MTB*, vol.3, p.21. C.f. Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, p.50

[197] Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, p.54. Stauntan takes this a French translation of William of Canterbury's Life of Thomas Becket, describing the Latin text as a 'less detailed version'. For the Latin version, see *MTB*, vol.1, pp.5-6.

The descriptions of Becket, and especially the opulence of his household which was equated with Caesar, seem to contradict the connection of inner and outer virtue so evident in *Urbanus magnus*. While it is difficult to know whether there was a pious underpinning to Becket's courtliness, what is interesting to remember here is that – in William of Canterbury's mind at least – so long as one remains an ideal Christian inside, then the aesthetics of courtliness and luxury can be abided by. This is something that can be witnessed in *Urbanus magnus*, where the first section focuses on morals and being a pious religious individual, before progressing to the more worldly aspects of courtesy. Indeed, that textual structure reflects this notion: the progression from inner to outer, from morals to manners.

The case of Robert Grosseteste is a more explicit example of the Christian underpinning of good manners and behaviour. Little is known of the early education of Grosseteste, but he was born of humble origins, rising to become the Bishop of Lincoln which was the largest diocese in England. Although stretching into the thirteenth century, Grosseteste is an important link between social advancement and courtesy, primarily due to his treatise written for the Countess of Lincoln.[198] The treatise was created to allow the widowed Countess of Lincoln to run her household, and contains many similar themes to *Urbanus magnus* relating to the correct behaviour of servants in the household. For example:

> Order those who are in charge of your house, in the presence of your entire household, that they keep a careful watch that all your household, within and without, be faithful, diligent, chaste, clean, honest and useful.[199]

[198] See *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management.*
[199] Rule 15: 'Comaundez a ceus ki gouvernment vostre hostel, devaunt tote vostre meysnee, ke ententive garde prengent ke tote vostre maysnee dedenz e dehors seyt leale, e penible, chaste, e nette, honeste, e profitable'. *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises*, pp.400-1.

Indeed, the *Rules* begin with the advice to the Countess of Lincoln to fully understand her estate and the text describes the daily administration of the estate, which parallels the advice to the householder in *Urbanus magnus* to be a provident overseer of his estate. Parallels continue with the rule on how to greet guests:

> Order emphatically that all your guests, secular and religious, are received by porters, ushers, marshals promptly, courteously, frankly, and with good cheer. And that they are to be courteously addressed by seneschals and all, and are in the same way lodged and served.[200]

In addition, the *Rules* contain precepts relating to the provisions of meals and the duties of the host:

> And order that your dish be refilled and heaped up, especially with the light courses, that you may courteously give from your dish to right and left to all at high table and to whom else it pleases you that they have of the same as you had in front of you.[201]

The *Rules* are wholly practical, and lack the detailed moral underpinning witnessed in *Urbanus magnus*. While this text reveals Grosseteste's interest in household administration, and his poem *Stans puer ad mensam* indicates a concern with manners and etiquette, these texts do not reflect the Christian values which lie beneath exterior behaviour. Yet, sources for the life of Grosseteste highlight the Christian and moral foundation to courtesy. Matthew Paris described Grosseteste thus: 'at the table of

[200] Rule 20: 'Comaundez fermement ke trestuz les hostes seculers e religious seyent, des porters, des ussers,[de marchales], prestement, e curteysement, e fraunchement, e a belle chere recue, e de seneschaus e de tuz curteysement apelle e en meme la manere herberge e serviz'. *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises*, pp.400-3.

[201] Rule 24: 'Pus entendez a vostre manger e comaundez ke vostre esquele seyt issi replenie e tassee, e numeement des entremes, ke curteysement puissez partir de vostre esquele a destre e a senestre par tute vostre haute table, e la vus plarra, tut eyent eus de mesmes co ke avez devaunt vus'. *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises*, pp.404-5.

bodily refreshment he was hospitable, eloquent, courteous, pleasant, and affable'.[202] The Lanercost Chronicle draws further attention to the courtesy of Grossesteste. Stevenson summarises the account:

> Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, whilst on a visit to the Bishop of Lincoln, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, expressed surprise at the unfailing courtesy and courtliness of his dispensation of hospitality, in view of the humility of his origin and the slender opportunities he had enjoyed in early life of obtaining the requisite knowledge of the world. Grosseteste replied that it was quite true that his father and mother were in lowly life, but that from his earliest years he had studied the characters of the best men in the Scriptures, and had endeavoured to conform his actions to theirs. [203]

Again, there is the correlation between religion and courtesy. While Grosseteste's courtesy and manners are emphasised, their link to scripture and religion is the overriding point of the story.

3.4. CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, *Urbanus magnus* provides a detailed insight in the workings of the medieval household. This is vital information for the material and daily life of twelfth-century England. Yet, the text is not merely a list of duties or a series of descriptions of quotidian life. It reveals the interpersonal relationships within the medieval household, including the family unit, master and servants, or host and guests. By utilising anthropological and sociological notions of deference, respect, and social mobility, we can have an understanding of the text that goes beyond the religious sensibilities of a particular historical period. The work of Goffman has provided

[202] 'In mensa refectionis copalis dapsilis, copiosus et civilis, hilaris et affabilis'. Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (London, 1872-83), vol.5, p.407.
[203] F. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln: A Contribution to the Religious, Political and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1899), p.7.

models for rules which are symmetrical or asymmetrical, either following the concept of ‘do onto others what you would want done to you’, or rules that differentiate people. Consequently, we can see in *Urbanus magnus* the sense that to foster respect you must give respect, giving an appearance of equality between ranks such as in the advice for the lord of the household to remove the shoes of guests. Yet, these symmetrical rules are overwhelmed by the more prevalent asymmetrical rules which seek to differentiate people through a hierarchical system, for example through seating arrangements, privileged positions, and exemptions within the great hall.

The use of twelfth-century sources has allowed us to see how *Urbanus magnus* may have implicitly functioned as a tool for social mobility, with courtesy or good manners acting as an agent or catalyst for upward mobility. However, the following chapter will reinforce that underlying this use of courtesy for success is the deeply Christian belief that the exterior body revealed the virtue of the inner soul.

CHAPTER 4:

THE MEDIEVAL BODY IN *URBANUS MAGNUS*

One of the most prominent recurring themes in *Urbanus magnus* is the physical body. It is important to acknowledge the work that has been achieved in body studies, such as the work of social theorists. Turner, in his examination of the body in western society, summarised the four varying interpretations of the body in modern social theory.[1] Firstly, Foucault identified the body as 'an effect of deeper structural arrangements of power and knowledge', and argued that the body was central 'to modern systems of discipline and control' as 'an effect of the growing sophistication of social regulation'.[2] Secondly, we can view the body as a symbol 'which produces a set of metaphors by which power is conceptualized'.[3] Thirdly, the body can reflect long-term changes of society. Finally, the body can be treated as a means of analysing the lived experience of daily life.[4] However, while indebted to these social theories, this chapter does not seek to examine post-structuralist arguments about the body, but rather focuses on the work of medievalists who have incorporated such modern social theories into a reinterpretation of the body in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the body has been an increasingly popular subject among medievalists, examining it from a variety of different perspectives, ranging from the body as a physical and visceral entity, to one which has a more symbolic role. Scholars such as Caroline Bynum, Peter Brown, and Miri Rubin have led the way in the use of the body as a new means of examining

[1] B. S. Turner, 'The Body in Western Society: Social Theory and its Perspectives', in *Religion and the Body*, ed. S. Coakley (Cambridge, 1997), pp.15-41, at pp.15-16.
[2] Turner, 'The Body in Western Society', p.15.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. Turner uses the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty for the understanding of the body as 'lived experiences'.

the medieval period.[5] Indeed, scholars have shown how 'the body was *the* pre-eminent symbol of community'.[6] Writing about the medieval body, Roy Porter argued that 'of cardinal importance is a grasp of the subordinate place ascribed to the body within the religious, moral and social value systems of traditional European cultures'.[7] It needs to be subordinated precisely because the body is so uncontrollable.

The body as a theme within *Urbanus magnus* can be divided into two sub-strands, each of which is discussed in relation to restraint and moderation: the first sub-strand examines gestures, movement, and speech; the second concerns bodily emissions and sexual activity. This chapter will discuss each of these sub-themes in turn. Looking first at restraint and moderation, *Urbanus magnus* needs to be put in context, comparing it with earlier or contemporary sources which may have served as inspiration. These include scripture, especially Wisdom literature, monastic texts such as Rules and manuals for novices, and classical texts such as Cicero's *De officiis*. Under the aegis of restraint, I examine two specifically regulated forms of behaviour: speech and laughter. Next is a discussion of the body and sex, followed by bodily emissions, with an emphasis on the idea of voluntary and involuntary bodily functions, and also a focus on the question of obscenity and taboo in the Middle Ages. It is the latter topic of taboo where anthropology – and especially notions about disgust – is

[5] C. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York, 1995). See also Bynum, 'Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective', *Critical Inquiry*, 22 (1995), pp.1-33. P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981). S. Kay and M. Rubin (eds.), *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, 1994). Kay and Rubin summarise well the different scholarly approaches to the medieval body. This includes female mysticism, as evidenced by Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), and also the history of material life, including sexual behaviour, and medicine, for example in the examination of surgical practice. See Kay and Rubin, 'Introduction' to *Framing Medieval Bodies*, pp.1-9, at pp.1-2.

[6] S. Concklin Akbari and J. Ross, 'Introduction. Limits and Teleology: The Many Ends of the Body', in *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*, eds. S. Conklin Akbari and J. Ross (Toronto, 2013), pp.3-21, at p.3.

[7] R. Porter, 'History of the Body', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. P. Burke (Cambridge, 1991), pp.206-32, at p.212.

united with the textual evidence for bodily behaviour. Indeed, the importance of the combination of history and anthropology has been stressed by many scholars. For example:

> Cultural anthropology, in both theory and practice, has afforded historians languages for discussing the symbolic meanings of the body, in particular as contextualized within systems of social exchange; and in a rather similar way, sociology, and medical sociology above all, have encouraged historians to treat the body as the crossroads between self and society.[8]

While the body as a concept can include the mind or the soul, the discussion of the body in respect to *Urbanus magnus* focuses on the body as a corporeal entity. This is because the text concentrates on the outward comportment of the body to reflect the inner virtue of the soul and mind. In addition, viewing the body as a 'crossroads between self and society' allows us to develop the focus from the body as a physical, corporeal entity to one which is a symbol of something greater. The body as a symbol of community or society is something which will have deep resonance for an understanding of *Urbanus magnus*. At the core of this chapter is the underlying notion that if the body can be regulated, then a person can function and succeed in society – elite or noble in this instance – and that, by establishing these norms of bodily comportment, this elite society can regulate the behaviour of its members. Yet, there is a divergent definition of body and flesh. The body represents a noble ideal since it was created by God and is regulated by the soul. Flesh, on the other hand, is associated with sin and has connotations of corruptness.[9] Examining *Urbanus magnus*, we will see how the text seeks to shift comportment from sinful 'fleshly' behaviour, to an ideal

[8] Porter, 'History of the Body', p.207.
[9] N. Nyffenegger and K. Rupp, 'Introduction: (Re-)Writing the Medieval Body', in *Fleshly Things and Spiritual Matters: Studies on the Medieval Body in Honour of Margaret Bridges*, eds. N. Nyffenegger and K. Rupp (Newcastle, 2011), pp.1-10, at p.6. Here, they are referencing S. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2002).

body where the soul and the body are in harmony. Such harmony is attained through restraint and moderation of behaviour. Danielle Westerhof puts it succinctly when she states that:

> At the root of the multifaceted and discursive 'body' lies a physicality which cannot be ignored...and sociological conditioning of the body can be interpreted as a consequence of physiological processes resistant to order and unity.[10]

We cannot ignore the corporeality of the body, and *Urbanus magnus* does not shy away from a discourse of the physical body, especially with respect to the less savoury aspects of bodily functions discussed later in this chapter. However, as a modern audience we need to understand that such a discourse – as humorous or disgusting as it appears to modern sensibilities – was at its roots an attempt to create order and unity within the body. As Turner argues:

> The body has been regarded as the vehicle or vessel of unruly, ungovernable, and irrational passions, desires, and emotions. The necessity to control the body (its locations, its excretions, and its reproduction) is an enduring theme within Western philosophy, religion, and art.[11]

In addition, with the body acting as a greater symbol of community or society, this notion of harmony and order can then be applied to the body politic of twelfth-century society.

[10] Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England*, p.36.
[11] Turner, 'The Body in Western Society', p.20.

4.1. Bodily Moderation and Restraint

Urbanus magnus is replete with precepts calling for moderation of behaviour. For example, 'if you want to be courteous, esteem restraint'.[12] These precepts can be broadly divided into four categories: gestures, speech, consumption, and bodily emissions. Many of these are mentioned in relation to behaviour at the dining table. Precepts on gesture include 'spurn stretching your arms towards the lords and ladies'.[13] Restraint in speech is ubiquitous in *Urbanus magnus* and discussed in great detail in the following section of this chapter. For example: 'do not be said to be talkative or loquacious among diners'.[14] Linked to restraint in speech are the issues of appropriate laughter and jest. Restraint in consumption covers gluttony and inebriation. For example:

> You should not be a gluttonous man given over to constant drinking. Neither your voice nor your hand should be prone to the drinking vessel.[15]

Finally, there is the question of bodily emissions. The overarching emphasis is on public versus private behaviour. *Urbanus magnus* acknowledges the natural functions of the body such as nasal emissions, urination, and defecation, but generally advocates for such acts to be restrained unless unavoidable:

> Do not rise from that place [at the table] until after the meal to urinate, or defecate, except if nature forces you to.[16]

Before engaging in an analysis of these guidelines of moderation, it is important to examine where the inspiration was derived from. I stated at the end of the previous

[12] *UM*, l.923.
[13] *UM*, l.1056.
[14] *UM*, l.920.
[15] *UM*, ll.959-60.
[16] *UM*, ll.1083-4.

chapter that there was a correlation between the inner soul and outer bodily comportment. There is an allusion to the correlation between the governed order of the body and the soundness of the mind in *Urbanus magnus*:

> Talkative speech, restrained limbs, the key to the lock of the heart fastens and unfastens the evil and good in the mind. You should be discreet, agreeable in deed, in mind, and in speech.[17]

This relationship between discipline of the body and inner virtue can be traced back to scripture:

> You can tell a person by his appearance, you can tell a thinker by the look on his face. The way a person dresses, the way he laughs, the way he walks, tell you what he is.[18]

One explicit example from *Urbanus magnus* of the body acting as a mirror for the soul or mind is the following:

> If your mind is caught up with different types of grief, the face should be cheerful, it should learn to feign delights. The face is frequently a second eye of the mind; if the appearance falters, then the mind is seen to falter.[19]

So, the outer appearance can reveal the inner soul. However, there is an attendant belief that disciplining the body can benefit the soul, such that the soul is moulded by training the body. As Schmitt states, the body is the prison of the soul.[20] This association between the inner and the outer has been subject to much scholarship, and some scholars have examined this relationship in the context of courtesy literature or normative literature, in both a secular and non-secular setting. Jaeger has extensively

[17] *UM*, ll.700-2.
[18] Ecclesiasticus 19:26-28.
[19] *UM*, ll.857-60.
[20] J. C. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990), p.18.

explored this idea, with a specific emphasis on the tenth-century Ottonian empire.[21] For Jaeger, Cicero's *De officiis* is a key text in the promotion of the outer/inner concept:

> …the body must be trained and so disciplined that it can obey the dictates of judgement and reason in attending to business and in enduring toil. But that moral goodness…wholly depends upon the thought and attention given to it by the mind.[22]

Furthermore, Jaeger examined Hugh of St Victor's treatise for the instruction of novices, *De institutione nouitiorum*, under the spotlight of restraint and moderation. Similarly, Knox, in his teleological search for the origins of European civility culminating with Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium*, attempted to trace the beginnings and development of the outer comportment reflecting the inner.[23] In addition, Schmitt dedicated a large section of his work on gestures in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to the importance and influence of *De institutione nouitiorum* on the discourse on the discipline of gestures.[24] None of these scholars – and others who have focused on this area – have utilised *Urbanus magnus* as a text to add to this theme. The closest was Knox who acknowledged the poem *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* as the 'seminal treatise' in the move from religious dominance over the field of *disciplina* to secular adaptation.[25]

As we have seen in chapter 2, the scholarly discourse surrounding 'courtesy literature', and specifically the genesis of the genre, often stands in two opposing

[21] Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness.* See also, Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994).
[22] 'Exercendum tamen corpus et ita afficiendum est, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit in exsequendis negotiis et in labore tolerando. Honestum autem id, quod exquirimus, totum est positum in animi cura et cogitatione '. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 79, p.81.
[23] Knox, 'Disciplina: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility'.
[24] Schmitt, *La raison des gestes,* pp.174-200.
[25] Ibid., p.115.

courts: one stressing its secular and courtly origins; the other advocating monastic influence. Here, I will examine the question of the body from both sides, acknowledging the importance that religious literature had on the promotion of the idea of inner virtue and outer comportment, while also revealing the layering of more worldly and secular uses.

This has been attempted before, in the context of Carolingian court culture, and can be applied to *Urbanus magnus* and twelfth-century England. Innes used the discourse on discipline, primarily by Hincmar, to show that monastic discipline was the foundation of secular discipline, but was adapted and interpreted for the needs of the Carolingians:

> The Carolingians chose to construct their court society around an image of a courtier that drew on monastic ideas, but was distinct from them: here was a Christian morality for a secular but profoundly Christianized ruling class, a distinctively Carolingian aristocratic ethos.[26]

I would argue that, similar to the Carolingian context, *Urbanus magnus* reflects a deeply religious audience, but was used for advancement within a secular and noble environment. Before developing this argument, I would first like to examine the sources and inspiration for the precepts surrounding bodily restraint, and then look at two specific areas of moderation: speech and laughter.

The notion that the body was the window to the soul was immensely popular in the twelfth century. For example, Richard de Templo, writing in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, wrote that:

[26] Innes, '"A Place of Discipline", p.75.

> As it is commonly said: 'The man that I see I expect you to be'. What is more, appearance is governed by character. Whatever sort of character the ruler has, it is naturally reflected in outer appearance.[27]

Arising from scriptural sources and the writings of the church fathers, this idea saw its culmination in rules and manuals for monastic instruction, especially for novices. The Rule of St. Augustine states that 'in your walk, posture, all external comportment, do nothing to offend anyone who sees you. Act in a manner worthy of your holy profession'.[28] This concept forms the basis of the Victorine tradition which followed the Augustinian rule. The superlative example of this concept being put into practice is Hugh of St Victor's *De institutione nouitiorum*. It is important to stress the significance of *De institutione nouitiorum* for the development of the concept of the inner/outer. This particular text has resonance for *Urbanus magnus* as its extant manuscripts show the importance of Victorine literature.[29] *De institutione nouitiorum* is the superlative example of the concept of the outer reflecting and disciplining the soul.

The first important aspect to notice is the immense popularity of *De institutione nouitiorum*. In total, there are over 170 extant manuscripts.[30] To look at England specifically, the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues records the presence of approximately fifty copies of the work which were documented in medieval library

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[27] 'Vulgo namque dicitur, "Qualem te video, talem spero". Porro modus habitudinis formam trahit ex animo praesidentis; talis nimirum erit forma praedicti, qualem permiserit natura subjecti'. From the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*. Latin from *Chronicles and Memorials of the the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1864), vol.1, pp.155-6. Quoted in Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, p.50.

[28] 'In incessu, in statu, in omnibus motibus vestris nihil fiat quod cuiusquam offendat aspectum, sed quod vestram decet sanctitatem'. Aug., *Reg*. See G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1991), pp.88-9.

[29] See chapter 6 for an analysis of the manuscripts of *Urbanus magnus* and its fellow-travellers, especially MSS D and P_2.

[30] R. Goy, *De Überlieferung*, pp.340-67, reference in *L'Ouevre de Hughes de Saint Victor*, p.9. Goy gives a list of 172 manuscripts and 13 fragments, while the editors of the 1997 edition note 9 additional manuscripts inventoried by the Hugo-von-Sankt-Viktor-Institut.

catalogues. There are three important things to note: firstly, while many of these catalogues were compiled two or three centuries after the production of *De institutione nouitiorum* and *Urbanus magnus*, they are testament to the continued popularity of the work in England; secondly, three of these catalogues date from c.1175-1202, indicative of the fact that *De institutione nouitorum* was available and disseminated from an early time;[31] finally, the dissemination of the text reached many different orders, not just those under the Rule of St Augustine.[32] In addition to this, instances occur where *De institutione nouitiorum* and *Urbanus magnus* appear in the same library catalogue, although not the same manuscript.[33] The only occurrence of the two texts appearing in the same manuscript is our MS D. Nonetheless, it is clear that *De institutione nouitiorum* was widely popular in England, both before and after the production of *Urbanus magnus*.

To look at the content of this novitiate manual, there is an undeniable stress on bodily restriction with the goal of disciplining the body. Jaeger states that there were two types of texts produced by Augustinian communities aimed at education in *mores*. The first was *consuetudines* which detailed the running of the religious house, and which we class as customaries; the second type was manuals directed towards the education of novices, for which *De institutione nouitiorum* represents one of the earliest, dating from the 1120s.[34] Of the twenty-one chapters in the text, there is a range

[31] These catalogues are the Benedictine establishment at Burton, with the catalogue dating from c.1175; the Benedictine Rochester Abbey's catalogue dates from 1202; and the Cistercian Abbey at Rievaulx, dating from 1190-1200.
[32] Aside from the catalogue lists from the collections of Henry VIII, Henry de Kirkestede, and the *Registrum Anglie*, there are copies from Augustinian houses, Benedictine houses, Premonstratensians, Brigittines, and Cistercians.
[33] This includes Dover St Martin's, Leicester Abbey, St Augustine's Canterbury, York Austin Friars, and Titchfield Abbey.
[34] Jaeger, 'Humanism and Ethics at the School of St. Victor in the Early Twelfth Century', *Mediaeval Studies*, 55 (1993), pp.51-79, at p.53.

of topics covered relating to restraint. This includes the movements of the body, speech, and table manners. For the moment, I would like to focus on the movements of the body, and specifically gestures.

Schmitt has comprehensively surveyed *De institutione nouitiorum* with respect to gesture. He states that:

> the fundamental element is that gestures are supposed to express hidden realities, the interior of the person (the soul, its virtues and vices), while, in return, the exterior gestures of the body can help to reform the inner man.[35]

These manuals for the education of novices have been described as 'systematised Christian thought on the body's appearance and behaviour'.[36] Hugh of St Victor states that:

> Discipline is good and proper behaviour; to attain it one must not only avoid evil but also strive to appear above reproach in all things that one does well. Discipline is also the governed movement of all members of the body and a seemly disposition in every state and action.[37]

Furthermore, we have already encountered Hugh's belief in the correlation of gesture and virtue: 'just as inconstancy of mind brings forth irregular motions of the body, so also the mind is strengthened and made constant when the body is restrained through the process of discipline'.[38] As Schmitt summarises:

> not only does the bodily exterior express the action of the soul (*mentis motus*), but inversely the discipline of the body and its members 'muffle

[35] Schmitt, *La raison des gestes,* p.26.
[36] W. Simons, 'Reading a Saint's Body: Rapture and Bodily Movement in the *vitae* of Thirteenth-Century *beguines*', in *Framing Medieval Bodies,* eds. S. Kay and M. Rubin (Manchester, 1994), pp.10-23, at p.14.
[37] 'Disciplina est conuersatio bona et honesta, cui parum est malum non facere, sed studet etiam in his que bene agit per cuncta irrephensibilis apparere. Item disciplina est membrorum omnium motus ordinates et disposition decens in omni habitu et actione'. Hugh of St Victor, *De institutione novitiorum,* p.48. The English translation is taken from Jaeger, 'Humanism and Ethics', p.58.
[38] See p.86 of this thesis for the full quotation.

> the disordered movements of the soul and of illicit appetites' and 'strengthens the stability of the soul'.[39]

Furthermore, Schmitt suggests that, in the context of *De institutione nouitiorum*, there was a visual and aesthetic element which suggested that poor manners would degrade man who was created in the image of God, subverting the plan of the divine creator.[40] Consequently, since man is always watched by God, by being disciplined one can train the soul and elevate it towards God.[41] Thus, where *De institutione nouitiorum* is concerned, the visual aesthetic of good manners is first and foremost for the elevation of man in the eyes of God. The use of manners in order to foster social relations between fellow men is subordinate to the Christian focus. Yet, despite the novice audience for the text, Hugh of St Victor's text had implications beyond the training of novices:

> it defines an ideal of behaviour valuable for man in general, located both under the eyes of God…and under the eyes of other men who surround and observe him.[42]

Recalling the verse of Ecclesiasticus which states that 'you can tell a person by his appearance', clothing, laughter, and bodily movement are all elements which factor in the determination of one's character by God and by fellow men.[43] In fact, almost all of these aspects are addressed in different chapters of *De institutione nouitiorum*. Chapter 11 focuses on discipline in dress (*De disciplina seruanda in habitu*), chapter 12 deals with gestures (*De disciplina seruanda in gestu*), and chapter 13 – while not related directly to laughter – is on discipline in speech (*De disciplina in locutione seruanda)*.

[39] Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p.176.
[40] Ibid., pp.185-6.
[41] Ibid., pp.18-19.
[42] Ibid., p.197.
[43] Ecclesiasticus 19:26-28.

This latter topic spans five chapters, covering the sub-topics of what to say (*quid loquendum*), who to talk to (*cui loquendum*), where to speak (*ubi loquendum*), when is the time for speech and when to be silent (*quando tacendum et quando loquendum*), and lastly how to speak (*quomodo loquendum sit*). The final three chapters concern table manners.

Parallels for each of these passages can be found in *Urbanus magnus*. To start with clothing, Hugh of St Victor states that 'in clothing, one keeps discipline in five ways: in the type and quality, in the colour and style, in the harmony of the clothing'.[44] By this he means that clothing should not be ostentatious, and should fit well. Most importantly it should be fit for the requirements of the discipline and purpose of religious life. *Urbanus magnus* is similarly concerned with clothing that is appropriate for purpose.

> Clothes should not be fraying or dusty. Your clothing should not be unclean or well-worn; a white shirt and stained breeches put on together is not becoming of a nobleman. Thin and well-worn clothing with patches impresses no one.[45]

Consequently, 'it is a wretched servant who is unable to observe these instructions'.[46] However, the over-arching concern in *Urbanus magnus* related to the restriction and self-control of bodily movements.

The discussion of the importance of bodily restraint in *De institutione nouitiorum* reflects the teaching of scripture; Hugh of St Victor stated that:

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[44] 'In habitu quinque modis disciplina custoditur: in genere et qualitate, in colore et formatione, et coaptatione uerstimentorum', Hugh of St Victor, *De institutione novitiorum,* p.51.
[45] *UM,* ll.1191-5.
[46] *UM,* l.1999.

> Because all disorganised gestures are based on the interior corruption of the soul, one finds them strongly denounced and criticised in numerous passages in Scripture.[47]

Indeed, he enumerates six types of unacceptable bodily gestures: weak, lazy, slow, hasty, reckless, and restless. Each of these has attendant connotations: weak represents licentiousness, lazy signifies negligence, slow corresponds to idleness, hasty equals inconstancy, reckless denotes pride, and restless is associated with a tendency towards anger. The point made by Hugh of St Victor is that the outer gesture reveals the internal moral state. Behaving in any of these ways could have two consequences. Firstly, the body gives the first impression of a person, and as it was a mirror to the inner discipline and virtue of the soul, the result may be the assumption that the person is not virtuous or holy. Secondly, unrestrained behaviour could be viewed as buffoonery. Hugh of St Victor, in a satirical or comical passage, states that:

> Some men are incapable of listening without jaws agape, and as if meaning entered the mind via the mouth they open it wide to take in the words of the speaker. And others (far worse!), when they do something or listen to someone, stick out their tongue like a thirsty dog and revolve it around their mouth like a millstone, twisting their lips from the effort. Others stick out their finger while speaking, raise their eyebrows, and roll their eyes; or they stand rooted to the spot in profound meditation and an outward pretence of some inner magnificence.[48]

[47] 'Propterea omnes isti inordinate gestus, quia de interioribus anime prodeunt corruptionibus, in multis Scripturarum locis grauiter argui et reprehendi inueniuntur…'. Hugh of St Victor, *De institutione novitiorum*, p.58.

[48] 'Sunt enim quidam qui nisi buccis patentibus auscultare nesciunt et, quasi per os sensus ad cor influere debeat, palatum ad uerba loquentis aperiunt. Alii, quod adhuc peius est, in agendo uel audiendo, quasi canes sitientes, linguam protendunt, et ad singulas actions uelut molam labia contorquendo circumducunt. Alii loquentes digitum extendunt, supercilia erigunt, et oculos in orbem rotantes aut profunda quadam consideratione defigentes, cuiusdam intrinsecus magnificentie conatus ostendunt'. For the edited text see Hugh of St Victor, *De institutione novitiorum*, p.68. The translation is from Jaeger, 'Humanism at the School of St. Victor', p.55.

It is likely to be this second aspect of gesture that is present in *Urbanus magnus*. However, we should note that the concern for behaviour in the religious enclosure such as St Victor reflects the circumstances of a community living in close quarters and without much recourse to privacy. Where in modern life we can choose to avoid bad behaviour, in a religious community the monks are trapped with people's bad behaviour all the time. Even a medieval household lacks the modern notion of privacy and private space, further demonstrating the need for codes of behaviour in a communal life, whether in a religious or a secular context.

The majority of the precepts in *Urbanus magnus* surrounding the issue of self-control appear in relation to dining. While this will be discussed in the following chapter, it suffices to mention here some examples which illuminate the notion that restraint avoids social embarrassment or being labelled a fool or rustic. To take the clearest example of this: 'if a fat morsel lies in the dish in front of your companion, do not touch it with your finger, for fear that fingers will be pointed at you as a boor'.[49] The word *rusticus* is often used in the pejorative sense as something to be avoided at all cost. For example, in a more general sense, 'avoid rusticity, let it not become second nature,' and 'disgraces are made through rusticity'.[50] Much of this idea of the dangers of acting the fool can be traced back to Wisdom literature. For example, 'whoever winks maliciously causes grief, and a chattering fool comes to ruin'.[51] Furthermore, 'all who are prudent act with knowledge, but fools expose their folly'.[52] While much of Wisdom literature is more closely related to speech, and specifically the differences

[49] *UM*, ll.1037-8.
[50] *UM*, ll.1107-9. Variants on *rusticus* appear at lines 888, 1047, 1105, 1107, 2088, 2307, 2555. See Fig.8, p.61 for the use of terminology relating to courtesy in *UM*.
[51] Proverbs 10:10.
[52] Proverbs 13:16.

between wise and foolish men, the initial idea of bodily restraint is present. The following part of this section focuses on restraint in speech and laughter.

4.1.1. Speech and Laughter

In relation to speech and laughter, *Urbanus magnus* consistently advocates for restraint and moderation, if not total silence in certain cases. For example, 'when dining at the table of a wealthy man, speak little', and 'bestow no joke unless it is restrained'. Much of this rests with the desire to avoid buffoonery and to ensure that one does not cause offence to another party, and reflects the influence of scriptural, monastic, and classical texts.

Firstly, where speech is concerned, the twelfth century witnessed an increasing concern with the sins of the tongue. Mark Johnson discusses the category of the 'sins of the tongue' or *vitia linguae* as a sub-category of the classification of virtues and vices in moral theology.[53] He gives the example of the monk Defensor who enumerated six such sins; these are loquacity, vainglory, swearing, lying, detraction, and idle talk. Furthermore, he links these back to the Epistle of James and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.[54] Casagrande and Vecchio have comprehensively surveyed the literature on the sins of the tongue in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and enumerated fourteen common sins of the tongue, of which there are many examples to be found in *Urbanus magnus* [Fig.16]:[55]

[53] Johnson, 'The Treatment of Speech', p.26. Indeed, many of the *vitiae linguae* are paralleled in the sub-categories of the virtues and vices seen in Figs. 9 and 10, chapter 2, p.72-3.
[54] Ibid.
[55] C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio, *Les péchés de la langue: discipline et éthique de la parole dans la culture médiévale* (Paris, 1991). Originally published in Italian as *I peccati della lingua: disciplina ed etica della parola nella cultura medievale* (Rome, 1987). *Contumelia*, *convicium* and *taciturnitas* are not included here as there are not suitable parallels present in *Urbanus magnus.*

Sins of the Tongue		
Latin	**English**	**Example from *Urbanus magnus*:**
Blasphemia	Blasphemy	No scandalous songs or blasphemy…should come from you. [ll.888-90]
Murmur	Rumours / Whispering	Avoid reporting shames about companions to the master, except if they strike the masters honour. [ll.886-7] He who sows rumours by the wind declares himself a fool. [l.80]
Mendacium / Periurium / Falsa Testimonium	Lying / Perjury / False Testimony	When you are a messenger, hasten to recall that which has been entrusted…not adding any untruths to that which has been relayed. [ll.1334-5] You should not mix lies into speech which contains words of truth. [ll.1452]
Contentio[56]	Contention / Causing controversy	Any stupid man utters stormy speech with a fickle tongue…[l.674] It is shameful to form quarrels or menaces by threats. [l.686]
Maledictum	Insults	Do not disparage with speech or action. [l.468] You should be unwilling to injure the weak with words or blows. [l.521]
Detractio	Slander	In person, he revels in flattery, in absence he injures with filthy slander…[ll.740-1]
Adulatio	Flattery	Let not the crooked sycophant be your counsellor. [l.594]
Iactatia / Ironia	Boasting	Do not esteem your own achievements by finding fault in the deeds of your companions. [ll.89-90] Do not boast about your honesty or uprightness. [l.93]
Derisio	Mockery	You should not mock fellows who sing or read the Psalms badly. [ll.159-60]
Turpiloquium / Scurrilitas / Stultiloquium	Immodest speech / Offensive speech	Let no filthy speech proceed from your mouth…more often obscene speech destroys the speaker, not the listener; truly avoid filthy speech. [ll.667-8]
Multiloquium	Talkativeness	You should not be verbose…[l.632] Do not be said to be talkative or loquacious amongst diners. [l.920]
Verbum Otiosum / Vainiloquium	Idle words	When you speak, do not use long stories which take a long time. [l.124]

Fig.16. The sins of the tongue in *Urbanus magnus*

Casagrande and Vecchio discuss the burgeoning literature on the sins of the tongue in the works of writers such as Alain of Lille, Peter the Cantor, Raoul Ardent, and Guillaume Peyraut to name but a few. It suffices to state here that *Urbanus magnus* may reflect this concern with the sins of the tongue, but it does not treat it in as cohesive

[56] Described by Lindorfer as 'a war waged with words'. B. Lindorfer, 'Peccatum Linguae and the Punishment of Speech Violations in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times', *Speaking in the Medieval World*, ed. J. E. Godsall-Myers (Leiden, 2003), pp.23-42, at p.28.

a manner as those just mentioned, who systematically name and discuss the separate sins of the tongue in a rigorous manner. Rather, references to the sins of the tongue are scattered throughout the poem, and often do not explicitly refer to the *vitiae linguae*. Yet, the undercurrent of this theme in medieval writing in the twelfth and thirteenth century is present in *Urbanus magnus*.

According to *Urbanus magnus* speech was permitted so long as what was said was worthwhile; deceit and lying in speech was prohibited. For example:

> If the royal court nurtures you under its wings, be thought sweet in speech. Let no fables sprout from your mouth whereby you are shown to be deceitful. Often, speech full of vice runs into offence, and to speak confers trivial lies, and very often it harms the use of genuine conversation.[57]

In addition, '…your words should each be funny, clever, refined'. Restrictions related to speech can be seen in classical, scriptural, and monastic texts. To return to the case of *De officiis*, Cicero states that man should:

> observe, first and foremost what the subject of conversation is. If it is grave, he should treat it with seriousness; if humorous with wit. And above all, he should be on the watch that his conversation shall not betray some defect in his character. This is most likely to occur, when people in jest or in earnest take delight in making malicious and slanderous statements about the absent, on purpose to injure their reputation.[58]

Firstly, we have the link made that one's speech can betray the inner character, and therefore speech should be guarded and made to fit the situation so as to avoid offence and to preserve one's reputation. However, what is most interesting about this quotation is the statement that people are most likely to be malicious to or slander

[57] *UM*, ll.875-80.
[58] 'Ac videat in primis, quibus de rebus loquatur, si seriis, severitatem adhibeat, si iocosis leporem. In primisque provideat, ne sermo vitium aliquod indicet inesse in moribus; quod maxime tum solet evenire, cum studiose de absentibus detrahendi causa aut per ridiculum aut severe, maledice contumelioseque dicitur'. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 134, p.137.

those absent. This is very similar to the quote from *Urbanus magnus* in relation to the sin of *detractio*: 'In person, he revels in flattery, in absence he injures with filthy slander'.[59] Indeed, *Urbanus magnus* exemplifies Cicero's text neatly where speech is concerned. As Cicero wrote:

> …the eloquent and judicious speaker is received with high admiration…And, if his speech have also dignity combined with moderation, he will be admired beyond all measure, especially if those qualities are found in a young man.[60]

Moving to religious texts, there are many parallels to be found between Wisdom literature and *Urbanus magnus*. Proverbs says that 'the one who has knowledge uses words with restraint, and whoever has understanding is even-tempered'.[61] Ecclesiasticus states that:

> Both honour and disgrace come from talking, the tongue is its owner's downfall. Do not get a name for scandal-mongering, do not set traps with your tongue; for as shame lies in store for the thief, so harsh condemnation awaits the deceitful. Avoid offences in great as in small matters, and do not exchange friendship for enmity.[62]

This notion is echoed in *Urbanus magnus* where there is much discussion of the dangers of perverse speech and malicious gossip, particularly in section I. For example, 'the wicked weak man who rains deception, pledges himself to deception', and 'he who sows rumours by the wind, declares himself to be a fool'.[63] Some more explicit source comparison can be found between *Urbanus magnus* and Wisdom

[59] *UM*, ll.740-1.
[60] 'magna est enim admiratio copiose sapienterque dicentis; quem qui audiunt, intellegere etiam et sapere plus quam ceteros arbitrantur. Si vero inest in oratione mixta modestia gravitas nihil admirabilius fieri potest, eoque magis, si ea sunt in adulescente'. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 2, 48, pp.217-19.
[61] Proverbs 17:27.
[62] Ecclesiasticus 5:13-15.
[63] *UM*, l.106 and ll.80-1.

literature. Ecclesiasticus advises 'listen before you answer, and do not interrupt a speech before it is finished'.[64] *Urbanus magnus* states that 'speech should be paused while anyone is speaking to you; the mouth ought to be guarded with a lasting lock'.[65] Furthermore, Ecclesiasticus states that:

> If you love listening, you will learn, if you pay attention, you will become wise. Attend the gatherings of elders; if there is a wise man there, attach yourself to him.[66]

Urbanus magnus states that 'when you stand at counsel, let your elders speak, even if you yourself have been perfumed by the arguments of the tongue'.[67] The corresponding trait to moderation in speech is the capability to listen. The link between a lack of restraint in speech and the fool is most evident in the Book of Proverbs. For example, 'the prudent keep their knowledge to themselves, but a fool's heart blurts out folly'.[68] There is a strong emphasis in *Urbanus magnus* on the importance of silence, and it is predominantly limited to section I of the text.[69] The religious nature of the importance of speech and silence in section I may be further revealed by the statement that in speech one should 'respond in the manner of Cato'.[70] In explicitly referencing the *Disticha Catonis*, a work related to Christian morals, and from the examples seen above, it is not be difficult to see the strong influence of Wisdom literature as a source for *Urbanus magnus*.[71] Of course, the value of silence and the stress on moderation in

[64] Ecclesiasticus 11.8.
[65] *UM*, ll.98-9.
[66] Ecclesiasticus 6:33-4.
[67] *UM*, ll.119-120. Translation from Newman, 'Satire of Counsel', p.100.
[68] Proverbs 12:23. Other examples include: 'A fool's mouth lashes out with pride, but the lips of the wise protect them' (14:13); 'The wise in heart accept commands, but a chattering fool comes to ruin' (10:8); and 'The wise store up knowledge, but the mouth of a fool invites ruin'. (10:14)
[69] References to *tacitus* appear in *UM* at lines: 100, 170, 423-4, 506, 609, 612, 670-1, 720-2, 834, There are only two occurrences in section II: 1036, 1065.
[70] *UM*, l.102.
[71] See chapter 2, pp.74-6 for the *Disticha Catonis* as a source for *UM*, and chapter 6, pp.271-3 for the *Disticha Catonis* as part of the educational curriculum.

speech can be witnessed in monastic texts where the discipline of complete silence was pervasive within the confines of the monastery. For example, the Rule of St Benedict states that 'to speak and to teach, indeed, befits the master; to be silent and to listen becomes the disciple'.[72] Without doubt, the Rule takes inspiration from Wisdom literature in its proscriptions against speaking, but the purpose of the silence is different from that seen in *Urbanus magnus*. Whereas within the monastery silence is a discipline, and one that is undertaken for the glory of God, silence in *Urbanus magnus* appears to be more about self-preservation. The emphasis placed on the word tongue (*linguam*) as the instrument leading towards a social faux-pas is replete in *Urbanus magnus*, and the avoidance of excessive speech is the best means to avoid social embarrassment.[73] One could argue that this sentiment is merely a variant on the maxim 'if you have nothing good to say, say nothing at all'.

Johnson views courtesy literature as different from the theological or monastic texts concerned with speech and the *vitia linguae*:

> …we find typically less concern for systematic classification and explication of the various aspects of courtly conduct defined in the gnomic material. Many courtesy texts seem to be simply expanded or glossed collections of precepts.[74]

This may well be the case with *Urbanus magnus*. It is neither a monastic customary nor a theological treatise on the importance and value of correct speech and silence. Equally, it is not a romance text promoting the chivalrous association between proper

[72] 'Nam loqui et docere magistrum condecet, tacere et audire discipulum convenit'. *RSB*, ch.6, pp.86-7.
[73] Occurrences of *lingua* in *UM*: variants on *lingua* appear at lines 69, 120, 391, 596, 647, 647, 649, 674, 700, 723, 744, 749, 760, 768, 946, 962, 976, 1422, 1430, 1456, 1501, 1504, 2016, and 2366; variants on *linguosus* and *linguari* at lines 36 and 391.
[74] Johnson, 'The Treatment of Speech', p.31

speech and honour. It lies somewhere in between these two poles. It is indebted to the religious discourse on speech for its basis yet interprets it for a more secular purpose.

Urbanus magnus is certainly not the first in the genre of normative or didactic literature to show concerns about speech in a more secular context. Johnson has used the text, *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, in his study of the treatment of speech in courtesy literature. In this text comprising 192 precepts, Johnson has identified approximately thirty which relate especially to speech. It is worth remembering that this *Facetus* text was conceived as a twelfth-century companion to the *Disticha Catonis*. Many of the precepts in *Facetus* have similarities to those that appear in *Urbanus magnus*. For example, there is the importance of honesty, the avoidance of speaking ill about an enemy, the correlation between excessive loquaciousness and foolishness, and silence when in the presence of the lord.[75] A more striking example is:

> If you excel anyone in reputation for goodness, do not boast, for praise from one's own mouth deafens.[76] If you are an honest man, don't boast about your honesty or uprightness.[77]

From this examination of speech and laughter, it is clear that the initial seeds of bodily restraint lie in scriptural texts, and especially Wisdom literature. This became the basis

[75] *Facetus* no.24: Let brief and true speech proceed from your mouth; a lying mouth unfortunately robs life's soul of honor. (Sermo brevis verusque tuo procedat ab ore; Os mendax animam vitae male privat honore). *Facetus*, no.83: Let your tongue say nothing threatening about your enemy; whoever threatens his enemy, strengthens him. (Nil super hoste tuo tua lingua minando loquatur; hostem namque suum munit quicumque minatur) *Facetus*, no. 172: Speak little; who chatters is esteemed a fool; who is quiet, pleases, and is esteemed wise. (Pauca loquaris; qui garret, ineptus habetur; qui tacet, is placet, et pro sapiente tenetur). Facetus, no.181: When you stand before lords, observe five things: fold your hands, keep your feet still, lift up your head, do not glance about, speak little unless asked. (Dum steteris coram dominis, haec quinque tenebis: iunge manus, compone pedes, caput erige, visu non dispargaris, sine iussu pauca loquaris). The English translations are all taken from Johnson, 'The Treatment of Speech'. The Latin text comes from Schroeder, *Der deutsche Facetus*.

[76] 'Si quemvis superexcelles, probitatis honore, non iactes, quia laus proprio sordescat in ore'. Schroeder, *Der deutsche Facetus*, p.19. English translation from Johnson, 'The Treatment of Speech', p.23, *Facetus* maxim no. 77.

[77] *UM*, l.93.

for monastic rules and customaries, with the most eminent example being *De institutione nouitiorum*. While texts such as *Urbanus magnus* and *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* share many of the same ideas, they were put to use for different purposes. What worked within the confines of a monastic community was too strict for use in a more secular context. Consequently, there is less of an emphasis on the strict discipline of the body reflecting the discipline of the soul – although that certainly was a factor – and more stress on avoiding social taboos, embarrassment, and acting in a manner befitting the setting or context, for example a noble household.

The discussion of laughter is not as widespread as that on speech in *Urbanus magnus*. We are told that one should 'bestow no joke unless it is restrained' and that 'lips should cover teeth when laughter surpasses delight'.[78] However, we are also directed to 'let your words each be funny, clever, and refined'.[79] Consequently, wit and humour was acceptable when refined and restrained, but there was a fine line between respectable wit and obscene buffoonery:

> When you are laughing, laughter should be delicate in the mouth; a sound man laughs modestly; it is a man with an empty brain who shakes with boisterous laughing. Lips should cover teeth when laughter surpasses delight.[80]

Similar to the case of speech, links to classical and religious texts can be discerned. Cicero wrote that 'the manner of jesting itself ought not to be extravagant or immoderate, but refined and witty'.[81] This notion of the refined versus the coarse can be traced back to Aristotle. In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, two extremes exist in the realm

[78] *UM*, l.922, l.884.
[79] *UM*, l.665.
[80] *UM*, ll.881-3.
[81] '…ipsumque genus iocandi non profusum nec immodestum, sed ingenuum et facetum esse debet. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 103, p.105.

of joking and laughter. In the first instance those who take joking too far are 'vulgar buffoons', while on the other hand those who can neither give nor take a joke are 'boorish and unpolished'.[82] The ideal man lies in the middle of these two opposing sides. He continues:

> …it is the mark of a tactful man to say and listen to such things as befit a good and well-bred man; for there are some things that it befits such a man to say and to hear by way of jest, and the well-bred man's jesting differs from that of a vulgar man, and the joking of an educated man from that of an uneducated.[83]

To put this in the context of *Urbanus magnus*, humour and laughter must be appropriate to rank. For the medieval reader who wishes to learn the correct behaviour of noble and courteous society, laughter must correspond to one's situation and circumstance. Thus, to be urbane in a refined and noble setting requires a person to occupy that median position which Aristotle referred to. Laughter could not be too energetic and excited, and speech needed to be witty, not uncouth or vulgar.

However, to examine the religious doctrine regarding laughter, Wisdom literature follows the classical thought that excessive laughter revealed a man to be a fool. Ecclesiasticus states that 'A foolish man lifts up his voice in laughter. But a wise man will not even laugh quietly to himself'.[84] The association between the fool and laughter is further evident in Wisdom literature: 'If a wise man has an argument with a fool, the fool only rages and laughs, and there is no quiet'.[85] As a result, it is a fool who cannot restrain his emotions and reactions, whereas the wise man is one who commands self-

[82] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 4.18-22 in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol.2, p.1780.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ecclesiasticus 21:23.
[85] Proverbs 29:9.

restraint in this regard. The preferred alternative to laughter is sorrow: 'Sorrow is better than laughter, for by the sadness of the face the heart is made glad'.[86]

Monastic rules are also fertile texts for the promotion of an anti-laughing agenda. In relation to monastic humility the Rule of St Benedict states that 'to be on the tenth rung of humility is to be not inconsiderately quick to laugh; because it is written: "The fool raises his voice in laughter"'.[87] In addition, a monk should speak 'without laughter' (*sine risu*).[88] The restraint advocated in both scripture and monastic communities can be seen clearly in *Urbanus magnus* where there is not only the emphasis on self-control but also the correlation between excesses in laughter and acting like a fool. While not promoting the complete denial of all laughter and humour, *Urbanus magnus* stresses the importance of moderation repeatedly: 'you should have a silent tongue, unaffected speech, and a respectful laugh; your refined speech should always be seasoned with wit'.[89] What we can see here is a relaxing of the religious dogma surrounding laughter, perhaps to appeal to a less rigidly monastic setting and worldlier real-life situation. Laughter could not be suppressed as easily outside the monastic confines, and consequently moderation in laughter was promoted against complete prohibition.

The precepts relating to speech and laughter appear largely in section I of the poem, corresponding to the more moralistic element of the text. Indeed, there may be a tension between the moral discipline in speech depicted in section I of the poem and the more practical precepts relating to speech and bodily vices at the table, seen in sections II and III. While correct and restrained speech can reveal a morally upright

[86] Ecclesiastes 7:3.
[87] 'Decimus humilitatis gradus est si non sit facilis ac promptus in risu, quia scriptum est: Stultus in risu exaltat vocem suam'. *RSB*, ch.7, p.97.
[88] Ibid.
[89] *UM*, ll.1456-7, see also ll.2504-5.

Christian man, equally speech can be used to cement social relations in a more worldly setting.

4.2. BODILY VICES

The restriction of bodily vices is present throughout *Urbanus magnus*. While we have seen that speech and laughter were two key areas of moderation expected in the Middle Ages, we can add two other areas where restriction was required: firstly, there is the regulation of sexual impulses and sexual activity; secondly, there is the restraint of bodily emissions. *Urbanus magnus* is replete with discussion on the etiquette surrounding bodily effluvia, and it is often discussed with a frankness that is jarring to modern sentiments. In an examination of medieval obscenity Jan Ziolkowski warns of the dangers of two extremes: the first would be to assume that medieval people and their behaviour was crude, uncivilised, and in many ways unrestricted where aspects such as toilet habits are concerned. On the other hand, it would be remiss to think that this was an overly censured and serious religious society where merriment and light-heartedness were actively discouraged.[90] The truth lies somewhere in the middle, as does *Urbanus magnus*.

There was a dichotomy between those who believed that discussing natural functions was vulgar and inappropriate for conversation and those who accepted the need for open and frank discussion. Cicero wrote that bodily functions which happen in private are nothing to be embarrassed by, but a discourse about them was vulgar:

[90] J. Ziolkowski, 'Introduction', to *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. J. Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1998), pp.3-18, at pp.10-11.

> …all right-minded people keep out of sight what Nature has hidden and take pains to respond to Nature's demands as privately as possible…To perform these functions – if only it be done in private – is nothing immoral; but to speak of them is indecent. And so neither public performance of those acts nor vulgar mention of them is free from indecency.[91]

However, on the contrary, St Augustine wrote in a passage on contention between chastity and lust from *De civitate Dei* that:

> ...modesty would have no need either to object to my wishing to discuss this subject in greater detail, or to compel me to ask pardon, with an apology to chaste ears. Discussion, unhampered by any fear of obscenity, would then range freely over all that might come to mind in relation to bodily organs of this kind; nor would there be any words which might be called obscene: rather, whatever was said on this subject would be as honourable as what we say when speaking of the other parts of the body.[92]

Ziolkowski has argued that the 'openness to frank language' advocated by St Augustine remained current until the twelfth century, when some resistance occurred.[93] He quotes William of Conches who, following the Augustinian tradition, stated that:

> Nothing that is natural is shameful, it is indeed a gift of creation. But today's clods and hypocrites, shrinking more from the name than the thing, flee from talking about such subjects.[94]

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[91] '…quarumque partium corporis usus sunt necessarii, eas neque partes neque earum usus suis nominibus appellant, quodque facere turpe non est, modo occulte, id dicere obscenum est. Itaque nec actio rerum illarum aperta petulantia vacat nec orationis obscenitas'. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, 127, p.129.

[92] 'Ita genitale aruum uas in hoc opus creatum seminaret, ut nunc terram manus, et quod modo de hac re nobis uolentibus diligentius disputare uerecundia resistit et compellit ueniam honore praefato a pudicis auribus poscere, cur id fieret nulla causa esset, sed in omnia, quae de huius modi membris sensum cogitandis adtingerent, sine ullo timore obscenitatis liber senno ferretur, nec ipsa uerba essent, quae uocarentur obscena, sed quidquid inde diceretur, tam honestum esset, quam de aliis cum loquimur corporis partibus'. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, *CC*, 41, vol.2, p.446. For the English translation see Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998), p.625.

[93] J. Ziolkowski, 'The Latin Grammatical and Rhetorical Tradition', in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation*, pp.41-59, p.48.

[94] 'Nichil, quod sit natural, est turpe; est enim donum creatoris. Quia tamen nostril ypocritae, plus nomen quam rem abhorrentes, loqui de talibus fugiunt'. William of Conches, *A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy: Dragmaticon philosophiae*, ed. and trans. I. Ronca and M. Curr (Notre Dame, 1997), p.211. Quoted in Ziolkowski, 'The Latin Grammatical and Rhetorical Tradition', p.48.

To put this in the context of *Urbanus magnus*, we have a text that does not shy away from a discourse on what we would now consider to be taboo subjects in polite society. Rather, the text focuses on what is natural for the body, and if we follow William of Conches's statement that 'nothing natural is shameful', then the inclusion of precepts relating to sexual behaviour, bodily emissions, and toilet habits, falls under the jurisdiction of 'natural' and consequently it was suitable to write about these matters. *Urbanus magnus* is not only testament to the fact that it was acceptable in some contexts to discuss the natural body, but it was used as a means of educating young boys who probably fell foul of inappropriate bodily behaviour. The implications of the body in *Urbanus magnus* are discussed at the end of this chapter, but it is important to emphasise the use of the body for conforming to societal norms and social advancement. As Marcel Mauss argued, adolescence is 'the moment that they learn definitively the techniques of the body that they will retain for the whole of their adult lives'.[95] Indeed, youth is the time to learn these manners:

> What the young foal learns he remembers in old age; no polite manners can be taught to an old dog.[96]

The following sections explore these precepts relating to bodily restraint through an examination of the body and sex, and by looking at the discourse on bodily emissions.

[95] M. Mauss, 'Body Techniques', in *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, trans. B. Brewster (London, 1979), pp.95-123. 'Body Techniques', according to Mauss, constitute those everyday activities such as walking, running, etc., which are cultural constructs and learned behaviour, as opposed to natural developments.
[96] *UM*, ll.87-8.

4.2.1. THE BODY AND SEX

The discussion of sexual relations in *Urbanus magnus* is quite broad and often explicit. The themes of moderation and restraint so prevalent in *Urbanus magnus* continue into the discussion of sexual behaviour. This restraint is similarly linked to the notion of the outer behaviour of the body reflecting the inner virtues or vices. Nigel Longchamp made this explicit in the twelfth century when he wrote that:

> …chastity is not only to abstain from sexual intercourse of the flesh, but to restrain all sense of the body from noxious excesses. And worthily in fact sobriety is joined to chastity because one is born from the other…If on the other hand your interior man is chaste, the exterior ought to conform to it. And the same should prove an example. For it is a discordant thing, if the spirit laments and the eye frolics so the interior mind restrains itself and the exterior members extend themselves.[97]

Where *Urbanus magnus* is concerned there are proscriptions against engaging in illicit sexual activity with religious women, blood relations, and homosexuals:

> You will not touch those who are veiled, nuns, anchorites, blood relations, or Jews. Refuse to violate godmothers and goddaughters. You should avoid touching related mothers and daughters.[98]

Following this it states that 'as a boy, don't become another foul Ganymede. The boy who's sipped filthily, grown old savours filth'.[99] The issue of the avoidance of

[97] 'Castitas enim est non solum a concubitu carnali abstinere, sed etiam omnes sensus corporis a noxis excessibus retinere. Et digne quidem dastitati sobrietas jungitur, quia altera de altera nascitur…Si autem castus est homo tuus interior, debet et exterior ei conformari, et ipsius ad exemplum disponi. Absonum enim est, si lugeat animus et lasciviat oculus, si se comprimat mens interius et dilatent se membra exterius'. Nigel Longchamp, *Tractatus Contra Curiales et Officiales Clericos* in *Nigellus de Longchamp dit Wireker*, ed. A. Boutemy (Paris, 1959), p.189. Quoted in D. Balfour, 'William Longchamp: Upward Mobility and Character Assassination' in Twelfth-Century England' (University of Connecticut, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1996), p.176.

[98] *UM*, ll.537-40.

[99] *UM*, ll.542-3. Translation from Baswell, 'Latinitas', p.140.

homosexual activity is returned to later in section III of the text, and this is followed by a brief call to avoid masturbation.[100]

> If your penis is stimulated by the spur of Venus, you should not attend to that problem with your hands.[101]

Where homosexuality is concerned, it is difficult to assess the strength of the anti-homosexual sentiment. There was virulent anti-homosexual literature present in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For example, Peter Damian in his Book of Gomorrah (c.1048-54):

> Absolutely no other vice can be reasonably compared with this one, which surpasses all others in uncleanness. For this vice is in fact the death of the body, the destruction of the soul; it pollutes the flesh, extinguishes the light of the mind, casts out the Holy Spirit from the temple of the human breast, and replaces it with the devil, the rouser of lust…[102]

However, in spite of such diatribes, Boswell has shown that homosexual behaviour was reasonably prevalent in the twelfth century.[103] In England it was perceived as something relatively common; Anselm wrote that

> this sin has hitherto been so public that hardly anyone is embarrassed by it, and many have therefore fallen into it because they were unaware of its seriousness.[104]

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[100] See *UM*, ll.1983-90 for the avoidance of homosexuality.
[101] *UM*, ll.1991-2.
[102] 'Hoc sane vitium nulli prorsus est vitio conferendum, quod omnium immanitatem superat vitiorum. Hoc siquidem vitium mors est corporum, interitus est animarum, carnem polluit, mentis lumen exstinguit, Spiritum Sanctum de temple humani pectoris ejicet, incentorum luxuriate diabolum introducit, mittit in errorem…'. Peter Damian, *The Book of Gomorrah*, *PL*, 145:175. Quoted in J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, 1980), p.211.
[103] Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality.*
[104] 'Considerandum etiam est quia havtenus ita fuit publicum hoc peccatum, ut vix aliquis pro eo erubesceret; et ideo multi magnitudinem ejus nescientes, in illud se praecipitabant'. Anselm, *PL*, 147:175. Quoted in Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, p.215

In addition, the Council of London in 1102 believed that the public needed to be aware that sodomy was considered to be a sin.[105] Consequently, there were strong reformers such as Peter Damian writing about the dangers of homosexuality. The question remains as to how anti-homosexuality *Urbanus magnus* is. The use of the term Ganymede does not provide any clarity, as Boswell shows that it could be used equally in derisive anti-homosexual literature and as a term 'used by gay people themselves without misgivings'.[106] *Urbanus magnus* briefly mentions homosexuality but it is not overly focused on it, possibly because it was taboo to talk about it. Rather, the relative paucity of writing about homosexual behaviour in *Urbanus magnus* suggests that it was included as part of the general call for restraint and moderation in all sexual activity. It reflects the clerical concern for reforming homosexual behaviour, and of sexual activity in general, but falls short of a vitriolic attack on the sin of homosexuality in the vein of Peter Damian.

The lengthiest discussion of sexual activity relates to heterosexual relations and can be viewed from two different angles: the first relates to the catalysts or accelerants of sexual desire, for example alcohol; the second reveals the perceived differences and attitudes towards desire and lust between men and women. To begin with, *Urbanus magnus* makes explicit the correlation between the effects of drinking and lust, using the terms Bacchus and Venus as symbols: 'The drinks of Bacchus provoke the matter of Venus'.[107] Furthermore:

[105] Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, p.215.
[106] Ibid., p.253
[107] *UM*, l.955.

> Drunkenness leads to Venus, as fire is to flame; Venus is fierier with wine, it burns more.[108]

A link was made between heat and lust, relating to the humoural theory. *Urbanus magnus* states that 'all wines in general are productive of heat'.[109] This comes from the final section of the text, which concludes with a passage relating the humoural values of the different seasons. Rouse states that:

> The associations of behaviour and bodily attributes that were associated with the humours and their corresponding seasons are revealing: summer is linked to fire, yellow bile, and the choleric temperament…[110]

While it is not explicitly stated in *Urbanus magnus*, it does states that 'wine…fuels the choleric humour'.[111] Having stated that wines produce heat, the text continues to describe the various dangers of over-drinking. Excessive drinking can lead to an increased ego and sense of self-importance:

> Bacchus causes war, and equips the unarmed to fight. The drunk exclaims: 'Who am I? Am I not a mighty man?[112]

However, 'drinking too many drinks incapacitates', and leads to 'immoderate lust' (*immoderate libido*).[113] In that same passage it is clear that it was not only wine that created such feelings; beer too could increase base passions: 'Beer fuels the great humours, it is responsible for violence, and increases base passions…'.[114] Therefore, the consumption of alcohol was perceived to increase sexual desire. Heloise, writing

[108] *UM*, ll.982-3.
[109] *UM*, l.2713.
[110] R. H. Rouse, 'The Medieval Eroticism of Heat', in *The Erotic in the Literature of Medieval Britain*, eds. A. Hopkins and C. Rushton (Cambridge, 2007), pp.71-81, at p.77.
[111] *UM*, ll.2706-7.
[112] *UM*, ll. 968-9.
[113] See *UM*, ll.2716-24.
[114] *UM*, ll.2722-3.

to Abelard, similarly makes the association between banqueting and fornication. She wrote that:

> It is all too easy for the souls of men and women to be destroyed…, especially at the table, where gluttony and drunkenness are rife, and wine 'which leads to lechery' is drunk with enjoyment. St Jerome warns us of this when he writes to remind a mother and daughter that 'it is hard to keep one's chastity at feasts'. And the poet [Ovid]…describes in detail what an opportunity for fornication is provided especially by banquets.[115]

She continues to quote the relevant passage from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*:

> When wine has sprinkled Cupid's thirsty wings,
> He stays and stands weighed down in his chosen place,
> Then laughter comes, then even the poor find plenty,
> The sorrow and care and wrinkle leave the brow,
> That is the time when girls bewitch men's hearts,
> And Venus in the wine adds fire to fire.[116]

So, there is undoubtedly a correlation between alcohol consumption and increased sexual desire, with heat acting as a metaphor for lust, but perhaps even more explicit was the belief that it was the effect of the increase in the internal bodily heat, and not simply drunkenness, that led to the feelings of lust.

How were these sexual desires to be regulated according to *Urbanus magnus*? There appears to be a difference between the sexes with respect to self-restraint. As

[115] 'O quam facilis ad ruinam animarum uirorum ac mulierum in unum cohabitatio! Maxime uero in mensa ubi crapula dominatur et ebrietas et uinum in dulcedine bibitur "in quo est luxuria". Quod est beatus Ieronimus ad matrem et filiam scribens meminit dicens: "Difficile inter epulas seruatur pudicitia". Ipse quoque poeta luxurie turpitudinisque doctor, libro amatory artis intitulato, quantam fornicationis occasionem conuiuia maxime prebeant studiose exeduitur dicens'. *The Letter Collection of Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and rev. trans. D. Luscombe (Oxford, 2013), pp.220-3.

[116] 'Vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas / permanent et capto state graius ille loco. / Tunc ueniunt risis, tunc pauper cornua sumit, / tunc dolor et cure rugaque frontis abit. / Illic sepe animos iuuenum rapuere puelle, / et Venus in uinis ignis in igne fuit'. *The Letter Collection of Abelard and Heloise*, pp.222-3.

we have seen, women are portrayed as sexually voracious and incapable of restraint. *Urbanus magnus* argues that men also are tempted to sexual activity:

> The bitter cupid burns, stings, and blinds noble men, poor men, boys, adolescents, old men,…and monks alike.[117]

Yet, unlike women, men are capable of restraining themselves through self-control. *Urbanus magnus* provides advice on such self-restraint in different situations. We have seen in the previous chapter the interpretation of the Potiphar story. *Urbanus magnus* advises readers not to succumb to the advances of the lady of household, not for the purposes of controlling sexual desire, but to ensure one's position and relationship with the lord. It also warns of the dangers of sexual activity with certain women, and the consequences of such action. The first warning is the advice not to engage in sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, as leprosy could be contracted from such an act.[118] This was not an unusual correlation in the Middle Ages, as it was commonly held that one of the main transmissions of leprosy was venereal.[119] Resnick provides examples of writers in the twelfth century who similarly held this view:

> ...Pope Innocent III reiterates that infants conceived by a menstruating woman will be born with leprosy. Rupert of Deutz...cautions that those who engage in sex with a menstruating woman are at a special risk for leprosy, while Peter of Poitiers...adds that both the woman's partner(s) and the progeny will contract leprosy.[120]

The underlying issue for this association between menstruation and leprosy is the notion of unclean or corrupt blood. This theme of corruption, and especially the

[117] *UM*, ll.1600-2.
[118] *UM*, ll.2101-2.
[119] R. Voaden, 'The Sexualizing of Transgression', in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, eds. P. Biller and A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 1997), pp.175-190, at p.182.
[120] I. Resnick, *Marks of Distinctions: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington, 2012), p.121.

corruption of potential offspring, is continued in a discussion about prostitution. In fact, sexual activity is not prohibited, and there is even an instance where the text proffers advice on visiting a prostitute:

> If you are overcome by erotic desire when you are young and your penis drives you to go to a prostitute, do not go to a common whore; empty your testicles quickly and depart (withdraw) quickly.[121]

However, you should not marry the daughter of a prostitute since the daughter will behave in the same manner as the mother.[122] The term used to denote a prostitute in *Urbanus magnus* is Thays/Thaïs, which could be in reference to two separate characters. The earlier is classical, and refers to a courtesan whose name appears in the work of Propertius, Juvenal, Ovid, and Menander.[123] It could equally refer to the fourth-century Saint Thaïs, a courtesan whose life was known in the Middle Ages.[124] Regardless, we can say that *Urbanus magnus* does not condemn the business of prostitution, the only advice given is to be certain that she is not 'common'. While the term 'common' may be ambiguous, we could read this as meaning a prostitute acceptable to a higher rank of society. The willingness to accept the use of prostitution may have a link to the maintenance of social order in medieval society. Ruth Karras argues that prostitution offered an acceptable outlet for sexual impulses, and that the active denial of gratifying sexual urges may have led to perceived worse sins, such as homosexuality.[125] Indeed, she describes this pent-up feeling of sexual desire as 'a

[121] *UM*, ll.2103-6. Translation from Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.586.
[122] *UM*, ll.2120-1.
[123] See A. Traill, 'Menander's *Thais* and the Roman Poets', *Phoenix*, 55 (2001), pp.284-303, at p.284. Traill notes the appearance of a character "Thais" in Propertius 2.6, Juvenal *Satires* 3 and 6, Ovid *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*, along with the Menander play entitled Thais.
[124] See *The Life of St. Thaïs in the Northern Homily Cycle*, eds. E. G. Whatley, A. B. Thompson and R. K. Upchurch (Kalamazoo, 2004). See also, Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (935-1002) whose play *Pafnutius* has the main character of Thaïs.
[125] R. Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1998), p.5.

hydraulic model of masculine sexuality', and if the pressure of sexual impulses was not released then men may resort to 'seduction, rape, adultery, and sodomy'.[126] The acceptance of prostitution as a necessary evil is reflected in the writing of St Augustine who wrote: 'remove prostitutes from human affairs, and you will unsettle everything because of lusts'.[127] In light of the clerical audience for *Urbanus magnus*, the acceptance of prostitution may seem unusual. However, Karras believes that access to prostitution may have been acceptable for men who had no other recourse to a release of sexual desire through marriage, such as the clergy.[128] Looking at the development of the discussion of sexual activity in *Urbanus magnus*, it begins with the denial of masturbation, homosexuality, and sexual relations with blood relatives; it is after such proscriptions that the advice on prostitutes is provided. This suggests that the text aligns with the medieval belief that sexual urges cannot be wholly restrained, and prostitution was seen as more acceptable than the perceived worse sin of homosexuality.

As seen in the previous chapter, the prevailing opinion in this text regarding sexual desire is that women are innately incapable of managing their lust.[129] Not only are they the temptress and downfall of many men, but in the presence of men they simply cannot help themselves. The term to denote such a woman is *meretrix*, and she is commonly equated with Venus, Eve, and even Medea.[130] *Urbanus magnus*, referring to the adulterous wife, states that:

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[126] Karras, *Common Women*, p.6.
[127] 'Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaueris omnia libidinibus'. St Augustine, *De ordine*, in *Sancti Aureli Augustini Contra academicos libri tres; De beata vita liber unus; De ordine libri duo, CSEL*, 63, ed. P. Knöll (Vienna, 1922), p.155. Quoted in J. von Heyking, *Augustine and Politics as Longing in the World* (Columbia, MO., 2001), p.98.
[128] Karras, *Common Women*, p.76.
[129] See chapter 3, pp.113-15.
[130] Instances of *meretrix* appears in *UM* at lines: 49, 687, 2015, 2120-2, 2338, 2444; Eve appears at 1952, 1971, and Medea at 1971.

> The lascivious woman clasps the neck of her lover with her arm, the secret touches of her fingers work to treat, those choice [touches] she thoroughly denies her husband. One illicit act with her lover is more pleasing to the lascivious adulteress than one hundred with her husband.[131]

What is interesting about the depiction of sexual desire in *Urbanus magnus* is that there is little to suggest a pedagogy of restraint. In the case of women, it is assumed that they are the ever-present temptress, there to test a man's restraint – clearly evident in the interpretation of Joseph and Potiphar's wife seen in the previous chapter. Furthermore, men are not discouraged from visiting prostitutes. The only call for restraint in relation to sexual desire is for a man to resist the lascivious advances of the lustful lady of the house, to avoid excessive drinking to mitigate the lustful feelings it arouses, and avoid sexual activities such as incest and sodomy. In this respect, the text reinforces the notion of the 'possible' and not the 'ideal'. Unlike theological texts which stress the abstention from all bodily vices as representative of the ideal man, *Urbanus magnus* reflects the reality of human life, and recognises and acknowledges the faults of mankind, seeking only to improve as far as possible.

4.2.2. The Products of the Body

The visceral products of the body are a constant theme in *Urbanus magnus*, often seen in conjunction with table manners. It is concerned with bodily effluvia, and issues of urination and defecation. The overriding principle is the difference between public and private behaviour. *Urbanus magnus* is not completely proscriptive in its attitude to bodily emissions; rather, it seeks a balance. Bodily emissions should be restrained as

[131] *UM*, ll.2045-9.

much as is feasible while in public, but if it cannot be avoided, then care must be taken to be as discreet as possible when in polite company. Take the following passage:

> You are a rustic if you blow your nose or clear your throat through your mouth whilst dining; cough if it is pressing for you, but try to suppress it. If you wish to belch, remember to look at the ceiling. If expulsion from the nose takes place in the palm of your hand, avoid looking at the filth deposited in your palm. Avoid spitting beyond the table; if it is not possible to avoid it use the back of a napkin, or let the front side be used for purification; if there is such a revolving chair provided to you, those sitting in it ought to be prevailed upon to spit behind them. Spurn stretching your arms towards the lords and ladies, there should be no nasal emissions towards them; regarding disgraceful emissions from the mouth, carefully hide them from those people.[132]

This is an exercise in bodily restraint in polite company. Yet what was the purpose of such restrictions? William Miller has described the concept of disgust as not simply a sentiment which corresponds to taste, but a 'moral and social sentiment'.[133] By this, he means that disgust is not a visceral or physical response, but rather is an emotion which is socially constructed. The anthropological theories of disgust and taboo are discussed in greater detail in the following section, but, in light of this quotation above from *Urbanus magnus*, it is important to differentiate attitudes to such behaviour. Modern audiences may read this passage as a testament to concerns about hygiene and cleanliness, but it would be wrong to project our modern day understanding of germs back into the Middle Ages. However, even in the absence of germ theory, there was disgust and revulsion associated with bodily emissions such as spittle.

We can look at this passage from two angles: the first relates to the physical appearance of the person and their interior character; the second may reflect a hierarchical structure. We have already spoken about the belief that speech and

[132] *UM*, ll.1047-58.
[133] W. Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, MA., 1997), p.2.

gestures were a mirror of the virtuous soul. The first line of this extract from *Urbanus magnus* reinforces that idea, describing a person with unrestricted or unregulated bodily emissions as rustic. Miller, in his study of disgust, provides an illuminating example for the understanding of what elicits disgust in a person. Taking the example of remains of soup in a beard, he argues that it is not the soup but the hair which creates disgust since this shows that the man is

> already contaminated by a character defect, a moral failure in keeping himself presentable in accordance with the righteously presented demand that he maintain his public purity and cleanliness of person and not endanger us by his incompetence.[134]

This is 'matter out of place': soup should not be visible in one's beard, nor should one's beard end up in the soup bowl. While the presence of the soup in the beard can still be interpreted as rustic based on Mary Douglas's argument of 'matter out of place', underlying the revulsion to uncouth behaviour is the notion that rude manners betray the character of the person, and as such appropriate manners must be maintained at all times.[135] Therefore, a clean and tidy appearance is paramount:

> Your hair should be neat, the haircut of the former should be even. If it is shaggy, the uncouth beard should be trimmed. If you have watery/inflamed eyes, take care and refer to medical treatment. Hands ought to be clean, and sleeves should be fastened with laces. Do not have deformed nails, nor dirty teeth; do not have a number of long hairs coming from the nostrils.[136]

Where the body is concerned in *Urbanus magnus*, it is not the effluvia itself - the actual spit, cough, belch, or sneeze - that is considered offensive, but the act and what it

[134] Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*, p.4.
[135] M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 2002), discussed in more detail later in this chapter.
[136] *UM*, ll.1180-5.

reveals about the manners and character of a person. In *Urbanus magnus*, many of the precepts about bodily emissions are placed in a social context, for example 'at the table' or 'in the presence of': 'in front of grandees do not openly excavate your nostrils by twisting your fingers', and 'do not hunt for fleas on your arms or chest in front of the patron or in front of the servants of the hall'.[137]

The second aspect is that of social hierarchy. One's manners and behaviour must be in accordance with the setting. Bodily waste to modern sensibilities has the connotation of filth, something unhygienic, but it can also denote 'inferiority'.[138] Undoubtedly, having uncouth or rustic manners would set a person apart from those with more refined or superior etiquette. Yet, in relation to bodily effluvia, there are dispensations given to those of superior standing. For example, we have already seen how there was a proscription against urination in the great hall during the meal, with an allowance given to the lord of the household.[139] There is ambiguity over the meaning of this dispensation to the lord: in the first instance, the dispensation may have allowed the lord to relieve himself indoors – perhaps in a corner of the hall or by use of a chamber pot – while the guests were forced to wait until after the meal; the second is that while the lord could attend to nature indoors during the meal, perhaps the remaining guests were forced outdoors. Regardless, the implicit argument remains: when it came to bodily functions the lord was granted more freedom and comfort than those inferior to him.

[137] *UM*, ll.1111-12 and ll.1312-13. Translations from A. Frith, A. Bauers, and S. Treggiari, *Daniel of Beccles: Urbanus Magnus: The Book of the Civilised Man* (Beccles, 2007), p.2 and p.33.
[138] Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*, p.6.
[139] See chapter 3, p.96, for the privilege of the lord with respect to urination in the great hall during the meal.

However, there remains the issue of more private bodily emissions – flatulence, urination, and defecation. *Urbanus magnus* states that:

> Flatulence should not occur. Repulsive is the man who is described as unclean and with a stench. If your intestines are, by accident, burdened by a whirlwind, search for a place where they can be unloaded.[140]

Like the previous examples, this piece of advice could be viewed in the context of dining, but it is applicable to any public space. Yet again, it is stressed that it is not the act itself which is repulsive, but the effect that it has on the perception of the man. A parallel can be found in the work of Hippocrates who stated that 'it is best to pass flatulence without noise and breaking, though is it better for it to pass even with noise than to be intercepted and accumulated internally'.[141] However, we should be cautious in assuming that the act of farting in public was viewed with complete disdain and was entirely discouraged. Valerie Allen provides the example of Roland the Farter at the court of Henry II:

> The serjeanty, which formerly was held by Roland the Farter in Hemingston in the county of Suffolk, for which he was obliged to perform every year on the birthday of our Lord before his master the king [Henry II], one jump, and a whistle, and one fart, was alienated in accordance with these specific requirements.[142]

Clearly there was a time and a place for entertainment surrounding the act of passing gas. Indeed, Allen describes how the notion of the musical bottom was current during the medieval period which is reflected in many manuscript images [Figs.17 and 18].

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[140] *UM*, ll.1100-3.

[141] Hippocrates, *Prognostic*, in *Hippocrates*, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones, 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1923-95), vol.2, pp.24-5. Quoted in Allen, *On Farting*, p.28

[142] 'Seriantia que quondam fuit Rollandi le Pettour in Hemingeston in comitatu Suff', pro qua debuit facere die natali Domini singulis annis coram domino rege unum saltum et siffletum et unum bumbulum, que alienata fuit per particulas subscriptas'. *Liber feodorum: The Book of Fees, Commonly called Testa de Nevill*, ed. H. C. Lyte, 3 vols. (London, 1920-31), vol.2, quoted in Allen, *On Farting*, p.14.



Fig.17. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, France 1297.
Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 131, f.202r



Fig.18. Rothschild Canticles, Flanders 14th century.
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 404, f.134r

Yet, in the case of Roland, the act itself is still uncouth and boorish, rendering Roland as a fool and a figure of mockery. Roland is the exception that proves the rule. In this sense, the taboo nature of such bodily emissions is exploited for comedic effect, at the expense of the entertainer. There were detractors of such behaviour. For example, John of Salisbury wrote that:

> The error [of these buffoons] has so taken hold that they are not barred from the residences of illustrious men, those indeed who heap up unsightliness with their bodies' shameful members in front of everyone, so that even a cynic blushes to see it. Still more unbelievable, the buffoons are not thrown out even when the uproar of their bottoms befouls the air with repeated noise, more shamefully emitting what is shamefully held in.[143]

However, *Urbanus magnus* eschews the humorous and the entertainment value of such activity, stressing instead the need for decorum. The fact that *Urbanus magnus* does not use a direct word for flatulence (such as *bombulum*, *bumbulum*, *crepitus*), but rather a convoluted way to depict it may reveal an attempt to discuss these matters in more seriousness. Allen argues that the use of vernacular terms was considered crude and that 'Latin sanitizes terms (usually sexual rather than scatological) by "hiding" them in a learned language'.[144]

One act that one would expect to take place in privacy is urination or defecation. We have already seen the allowance given to the lord to urinate during the meal in the great hall, but this passage contains more information about the process:

> You should not get up immediately after the meal to urinate, nor to purge your belly, unless nature compels it. The guest, the envoy, the servant, should not urinate in the hall. The presiding lord may urinate in the household; let the guest urinate after sleep at night, if he likes. You should not hold up the clothes of a urinating man. A urinating man should habitually project a chilly silence.[145]

[143] 'Quorum adeo error inualuit ut a praeclaris domibus non arceantur etiam illi qui obcenis partibus corporis oculis omnium eam ingerunt turpitudinem quam erubescat uidere uel cinicus. Quodque magis mirere, nec tunc eiciuntur quando tumultuantes inferius crebro sonitu aerem foedant et turpiter inclusum turpius produnt'. From John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, in *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici; sive, De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum, libri VIII*, ed. C. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909), vol.1, p.48 The English translation is taken from Allen, *On Farting*, p.165.
[144] Allen, *On Farting*, p.13.
[145] *UM*, ll.1083-9. Translation from Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.61.

Urbanus magnus contains further advice, and illustrates that toilet habits were not necessarily private affairs: 'If two fellows are seated in the privy, one should not rise until the other one has cleansed [i.e., finished].[146] While this 'double-privy' may appear unusual to modern sensibilities, historically, communal latrines were not uncommon. For example, the Romans utilised communal latrines made up of long benches which could accommodate multiple occupants. The depiction of the latrines in *Urbanus magnus* retains an element of that communal latrine, but there is slightly more privacy in the reduced number of occupants. In the previous chapter, we saw how the lord did not visit the latrine alone and that the personal attendant of the lord was considered to be an esteemed and respected position in the household. Allen has raised the point that defecation was an innately solitary act due to modesty, a sense of hygiene, and the fear of being attacked while in a vulnerable position;[147] we see this reflected in *Urbanus magnus*:

> If belly-purging should be performed in the woods or field, let the gusts of wind be in the face of the one purging his belly, and let him squat in the shadows while the belly purging takes place.[148]

Bayless has used this extract from *Urbanus magnus* to show that while the readers of this text were undoubtedly familiar with 'formal latrines', as evidenced by the appearance of the term *gumphus* in the text, they were nonetheless prepared for when nature called outdoors.[149] However, this is as far as Bayless goes with an examination of toilet habits in *Urbanus magnus*, and the quote above continues directly with the following advice:

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[146] *UM*, ll.1278-9.
[147] Allen, *On Farting*, p.46.
[148] *UM*, ll.1090-2. Translation from Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.52.
[149] Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, pp.51-2. Derivatives of *gumphus* appear at lines 1269, 1270, 1278, and 1280.

> With the emission of the stomach made, wiping may happen with the left hand. While the guest is defecating, he should not press for vengeance, nor rouse to frenzy; it is common to attack while squatting. While your guest is defecating or while sleeping, do not strike him; it is an affront to him to strike in such a manner.[150]

In the first instance, there is the element of modesty due to the fact that the act is taking place in private. Aligned with modesty is decency, as it is considered uncouth or indecent to attack someone in a position of vulnerability. There are some precepts in *Urbanus magnus* which may hint at a concern for hygiene. The text is specific about the use of the left hand, which could reference the use of the right hand when dining. In addition, there does appear to be a stress on hygiene regarding sanitation:

> The latrine should not be near the chosen bedroom of the patron, lord, associates or particular friends; stinking and injurious odour usually comes from that place.[151]

Furthermore, 'if the privy is free from occupants, so great an opening [of the privy] should be covered with straw or hay'.[152]

How should we interpret the depiction of bodily emissions in *Urbanus magnus*? The twelfth century witnessed texts which treated the subject from a theological standpoint, a dietary one, and a satirical or comedic viewpoint. Firstly, as seen in the case of Roland the Farter, clearly bodily emissions could be used for comedic purposes. Considering that one of the primary audiences for *Urbanus magnus* were boy-clerks, it may well be that the precepts relating to bodily emissions, especially with respect to flatulence, urination, and defecation, were exaggerated and have satirical undertones. Yet, the underlying concern is of self-restraint, and the

[150] *UM*, ll.1093-7.
[151] *UM*, ll.1290-2 .
[152] *UM*, ll.1280-1.

maintenance of public appearances through the suppression of anything considered vulgar or boorish. Secondly, there is the question of hygiene. We should be hesitant to ascribe our modern day preoccupation with sanitation and hygiene to the Middle Ages. While advocating for clean personal grooming, hand-washing, and the repression of bodily effluvia in the presence of others, this does not mean that there was a concern for contamination. While hygiene may have been a factor in some of the prescriptions given above, the more prominent aspects related to issues of disgust and social taboos for the moderation of correct behaviour. The following section examines sociological and anthropological theories of disgust, shame, and taboo to investigate further the underlying issues related to bodily vices and *Urbanus magnus*. It will further explore the question of how far *Urbanus magnus* is concerned for social conventions over hygiene, and also briefly examine how far these precepts diverge from those of our own age.

4.3. DISGUST

When approaching the use of anthropology in relation to the body, it is important to be aware of the developments made, and the differences between the old attitudes of the body and more modern ones. T. Asad argues that the old view of the body, expounded by Marcel Mauss for example, was one where 'the study of primitive representations would tell us something about the human mind'.[153] The more recent developments show that interest in the body reflects 'a noticeable ideological development in contemporary life: the urge to aestheticize modern life'.[154] I will argue

[153] T. Asad, 'Remarks on the Anthropology of the Body', in *Religion and the Body*, ed. S. Coakley (Cambridge, 1997), pp.42-52, at p.43.
[154] Asad, 'Remarks on the Anthropology of the Body', p.43.

that the 'urge to aestheticize' is essential to the understanding of disgust in the Middle Ages. By identifying taboo behaviours and cultivating civilised manners, the upper ranks of society were able to 'aestheticize' their daily life.

There are two interpretations of the word disgust: the first relates to a bodily or visceral reaction to objects or odours; the second is an emotion of revulsion elicited by something offensive, which could include a 'disagreeable person or action'.[155] Focusing on the first definition, this has biological reasons as a means of avoiding contamination by harmful substances, or 'the risk of catching parasites'.[156] Examining the second definition of disgust emphasises that there are not simply 'organic disgusts', but what Curtis describes as disgusts involving 'social parasitism'.[157] This brings us into the realms of morality. What elicits disgust is 'not of the air, soil, or water, but...people who have violated moral taboos of their society'.[158] The notion of disgust being the creation of society or a culture stems from Mary Douglas' pioneering book on pollution, *Purity and Danger*, first published in the 1960s.[159] Relevant to this discussion of the medieval body, and specifically the control of the body, is Douglas' argument that taboos are a way to preserve social order, and consequently, the breaking of taboos – or pollution – leads to disorder. In the preface to the 2002 edition, Douglas argues that taboos, or the preservation of this order, 'depend on a form of community-wide complicity'.[160] Douglas contends that what is regarded as pollution or dirt is 'matter out of place'. However, we need to be cautious about the word dirt, especially our modern sense of the term which is determined primarily by hygienic and medical

[155] J. Keekes, 'Disgust and Moral Taboos', *Philosophy*, 67 (1992), pp.431-46, at p.433.
[156] V. Curtis, *Don't Look, Don't Touch: The Science Behind Revulsion* (Oxford, 2013), p.76.
[157] Curtis, *Don't Look, Don't Touch*, p.91.
[158] Keekes, 'Disgust and Moral Taboos', p.431.
[159] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.
[160] Ibid., p.xii.

concerns. While 'organic disgust' and behaviour surrounding hygiene may have innate biological underpinnings which humans evolved to avoid harming themselves, there is a socially constructed attitude to dirt and cleanliness which varies according to culture and time. Douglas argues that 'there is no such thing as dirt; no single item is dirty apart from a particular system of classification in which it does not fit'.[161] This is important for an understanding of purity and pollution in the Middle Ages, and also *Urbanus magnus*. While looking at the different attitudes to dirt between modern Europeans and so-called primitive cultures, Douglas is keen to stress that the difference in attitude is based not on advances in knowledge, such as bacteria and pathogens, but rather a different classification of what is considered dirty or impure. The same principle can be applied to the medieval period. It is not that modern society is more concerned with cleanliness than the Middle Ages, but rather the classification of taboos and taboo behaviour were dissimilar to ours. Douglas argues that modern society views dirt as 'a matter of hygiene or aesthetics and is not related to our religion'.[162] From such an interpretation, the result of transgressing the taboos of dirt is social sanctions such as ostracism. This contrasts with primitive culture where 'a grave pollution is a religious offense'.[163] With respect to hygiene or aesthetics, *Urbanus magnus* lies more on the aesthetic side, although there may also be a concern for hygiene. Take the following example:

> If by chance bread, meat, or fish falls from the table and is put back on the table, it should not be eaten.[164]

[161] Ibid., p.xvii.
[162] Ibid., p.44.
[163] Ibid., p.92.
[164] *UM*, ll.2621-2.

Both medieval and modern audiences may interpret this as a concern for cleanliness, but also of acceptable behaviour in polite company. The only difference is the additional knowledge which modern readers have of germs, but in essence the response is the same. A more ambiguous case from *Urbanus magnus* states that one should:

> Think little of licking the fingers covered with grease; do not wipe your fingers or bread around the plates. Do not shake out fingers from the consumed soup over the dish.[165]

A modern audience could interpret this precept in two ways: the first related to poor manners, similar to the medieval attitude, which betrays a rusticity in a person resulting in social ostracism. However, with modern advances in germ theory, modern society would layer a hygienic concern to the taboo relating to the spreading of diseases. Importantly, at its essence, both medieval and modern respond to dirt in the same way; the difference lies in the knowledge the respective ages have towards germs and pathogens. As a result, the modern audience's response to some of the precepts in *Urbanus magnus* is layered with additional medical knowledge than tht of the twelfth century.

This idea of religion and pollution leads to the question of morality, and much work has been done on the association between morals and purity or pollution. If purity is seen as: 'protecting the sanctity of the body', then purity is equated with being virtuous, described as the 'rejection of contaminating forces or hedonistic pleasure, to cleanse the soul, and to act in accordance with the "natural order"'.[166] The opposite of

[165] *UM*, ll.1042-4.
[166] E. J. Horberg, C. Oveis, D. Keltner, A. B. Cohen, 'Disgust and the Moralization of Purity', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97 (2009), pp.963-76, at p.964.

this is immorality, described as 'behaving in a way that is self-polluting, filthy, carnal, hedonistic, unnatural, animal-like, or ungodly'.[167] This reference to animalistic behaviour is quite pertinent, as there is distinction between 'core disgust' and 'animal nature disgust': the former follows the first definition of disgust, relating to the response to noxious substances and smells, and shows little concern for morality; the latter is disgust provoked by behaviour which reminds 'people of their animal origins, such as certain sexual or eating habits'.[168] *Urbanus magnus* reflects 'animal nature disgust', for example:

> A guest should not regard your appetite as the manner of a dog. With the love for his own stomach, the wretched man arouses disgrace.[169]

Uncouth and vulgar behaviour reveals a person as rustic or boorish, which in turn incites disgust from those witnessing such behaviour. The difference between medieval and modern audiences relates not only to advances in scientific knowledge, but also to private and public behaviour, and a shift towards more and more privacy in the modern era. To take an example, a modern audience would be horrified by the warning 'do not hunt for fleas on your arms or chest in front of the patron or in front of the servants in the hall', due to the presence of a filthy pest and the fear of contamination, resulting in 'core disgust'.[170] Yet, in the medieval period fleas were a common scourge of daily life, and so the prescription here must relate to the division between public and private behaviour. One may pick at fleas in private, but in public such behaviour reveals rusticity. The precepts relating to urination and defection would

[167] Horberg, Oveis, Keltner, Cohen, 'Disgust and the Moralization of Purity', p.964.
[168] Ibid.
[169] *UM*, ll.1398-9.
[170] *UM*, ll.1111-12.

also raise an eyebrow from modern audiences. The allowance to the lord to urinate in the great hall during the meal and the case of a two men sitting side-by-side on the latrine seems anathema to the modern sensibility towards privacy. For both the medieval and modern audience, what is appropriate and acceptable behaviour in private foments disgust when performed in public. This is what Curtis describes as 'a "metaphysical disgust", an aversion to violations of the things we hold sacred, our social rule and our laws'.[171] It is these social rules and laws that medieval conduct books, and particularly *Urbanus magnus*, are keen to document. The key difference between now and then is the development of increasing privacy and an increased awareness of hygienic matters.

Having established the link between disgust and morality, it is important to look at this subject in relation to types of medieval literature, and whether the medieval conception of purity, pollution, and disgust follows that espoused by anthropologists and psychologists for example. Only after this can we understand how *Urbanus magnus* functions within the medieval conception of and attitude to the body. Bodily effluvia was linked to the corruption of the body, and Bayless has shown clearly how these 'emblems of material corruption...are everywhere in medieval culture: sermons, saint's lives, histories and chronicles, biblical commentaries, fables and moral tales'.[172] This notion of material corruption and moral impurity is emphasised through essential dichotomies in medieval thought. The clearest example of this is heaven and hell, with heaven naturally perceived as good and hell as bad. The corollary for the body was a division of upper and lower. Morrison argues that in 'in terms of bodily

[171] Curtis, *Don't Look, Don't Touch*, p.viii.
[172] Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.xvii.

space, up was good (head) and down was bad (genitalia/defecation)'.[173] Bayless takes this further by stating that 'God is associated with cleanliness, rising and the face; sin with excrement, the backside and the latrine'.[174] Although later than our period for *Urbanus magnus,* an early fourteenth-century medical treatise describes this attitude by comparing the body to a household, made up of:

> a hierarchy of spaces: a noble portion, a service portion, and in between them a wall – the diaphragm...Below this wall lie the body's nether parts...the cruder part, the place where all that is superfluous or noxious is eliminated...[175]

In addition to this hierarchical division of the body was the linking of the fall of man with material corruptibility and the uncontrollable nature of the body. More than speech, laughter, and sexual relations, bodily functions represent an uncontrollable and unruly aspect of the body, 'thus the excrement that drove men to the latrine is both the emblem and the actual embodiment of the sin that made flesh impure and corrupt'.[176] So, how does this manifest in medieval literature?

The first important point to stress is the register of the texts which deal with the issue of bodily emissions. Undoubtedly, there are texts which utilise scatological content for comedic effect, such as the Fabliaux. That is not to say that such texts are crude or undignified. As Charles Muscatine argues:

> the authors of fabliaux are no more ignorant of good manners than are the courtly romances. If they violate proprieties openly, it is always with some ulterior motive...perhaps the desire to make audiences laugh.[177]

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[173] Morrison, *Excrement in the Middle Ages*, p. 28.
[174] Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.7.
[175] From Henry de Mondeville's surgical treatise, *Chirugia* (1312). See *A History of Private Life*, ed. G, Duby, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1988), vol.2, p.522. Quoted in S. J. Nayar, 'Corpus [sic] Christi: The Scatological Tales of the Fabliaux', in *Comic Provocations: Exposing the Corpus of old French Fabliaux* (New York, 2006), pp.63-81, at p.67.
[176] Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.7.
[177] C. Muscatine, *The Old French Fabliaux* (New Haven, 1986), p.4.

I want to survey the literature on bodily emissions from a less comedic standpoint, and initially it may appear that the following examples share little in common with the depiction of the body in *Urbanus magnus*. However, it is vital to understand the range of discussions about these issues before any attempt to situate *Urbanus magnus* within that discussion. The first important point to stress is the register of the texts which deal with this topic. Bayless makes the compelling argument for a more theological and moral approach to bodily effluvia. To show this theological approach, she examines the popularity of the story of the devil's frequent appearance in latrines. This can be traced to the question: was the latrine a suitable place for prayer and worship, and if not, did this give the devil easy access? This story can be found in the works of Gregory the Great, Peter the Venerable, and Guibert of Nogent, amongst many others.[178] To take two examples of a theological approach to bodily emissions and the latrine, Augustine too wondered about the aptness of the latrine as a place of prayer, concluding that:

> For what things do you think we pray that we may be converted to God and see his face, if not from a certain filth of the body and its ordures, and also from the darkness in which error has enveloped us? And what else is conversion but to raise oneself up from the excesses of vice by means of virtue and restraint? And what else is the face of God but the truth for which we yearn, and that beautiful thing which we repay with our own selves made clean and beautiful?[179]

[178] See also the thirteenth-century Italian Salimbene de Adam, the thirteenth-century author Thietmar of Merseburg, and the Irish Prose Rule of the Céli Dé, possibly earlier that the thirteenth century. See Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, pp.1-3 for a detailed description of the 'devil in the latrine' narrative.

[179] 'Nam illi cantico et locum ipsum, quo illa offense, et noctem congruere uideo. A quibus enim rebus putas nos orare ut conuertamur ad deum eiusque faciem uideamus, nisi a quodam ceno corporis atque sordibus et item tenebris, quibus non error inuoluit? Aut quid est aliud conuerti nisi ab immoderatione uitiorum uirtute ac temperantia in sese attolli? Quidue aliud est dei facies, quam ipsa, cui suspiramus et cui nos amatae mundos pulchrosque reddimus, ueritas?' Augustine, *De ordine*, p.136. English translation from Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.6.

The emphasis on virtue and restraint as a means of overcoming the baseness of bodily vices fits neatly with the overarching concern of this chapter about restraint, and the correlation of the body and soul which should be in harmony inside and out. Yet, with regards to the 'certain filth of the body and its ordures', Augustine does not acknowledge the uncontrollable nature of such actions. How can one restrain what are essentially irrepressible bodily functions? It is this which renders excretion and latrines as symbols of impurity or dirt. Abelard expounds on this notion, believing that:

> although we believe and instruct that God is everywhere, nevertheless no one should presume to say that he is in an unclean place, either designating that place a latrine or defining it by any other term of filth.[180]

In the hierarchical division of bodily space into upper and lower, there was a long tradition of interpreting the bowels as the site of corruption; the lower body seen as base, unruly, and corrupt. Jacques le Goff emphasised this division of the body, arguing that, if the head is the site of unity, then the belly or intestines are considered shameful or 'the seat of lewdness'.[181] Indeed, sources such as Caesarius of Heisterbach – who includes a 'devil in the latrine' story – viewed the bowels as the 'dwelling place of demons'.[182] This is further demonstrated by the example from the twelfth-century *Glossa ordinaria*:

> The bowels, therefore, which are the seat of deceit, burst open by such a great crime, could not hold together. Fittingly, moreover, the bowels

[180] 'Unde cum deum ubique esse et credamus et predicemus, nemo tamen dicere presumat eum in inmundo loco esse, ita ut locum ipsum aut latrinam nominet aut alioquo nomine alio determinate spurcitie ipsum assignet'. From Abelard, *Theologica summi boni*, in *Petri Abaelardi opera theologica*, ed. E. M. Buytaert, 6 vols. (Turnhout, 1969), vol.3, p.191. Quoted in Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.7.

[181] J. Le Goff, 'Head or Heart', in *Fragments for a History of the Body*, eds. M. Feher, R. Naddaff, and N. Tazi, 3 vols. (New York, 1989), vol.3, pp.13-26, at p.16.

[182] 'Viscera igitur que sunt sedes fraudis: tanto scelere dirupta: se cohibere non ualuerunt. Merito autem per sedem doli uiscera funduntur non per locum osculi i. os quo uirus occulte malicie inerat'. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis citerciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange (Ridgewood, NJ., 1966), pp.311-12. Quoted in Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.122.

> poured out through the seat of treachery, not through the site of the kiss, that is, the mouth where Jesus was kissed, albeit with deceitful insincerity; but through another place by which the poison of hidden evil had entered.[183]

So, we have seen that there were strong moral and theological issues raised by the question of pollution and dirt. In this respect it correlates to Douglas's theory of pollution. Having acknowledged that pollution and dirt can cause aesthetic or religious offence, it is clear that the cases seen above fall into the category of religious offence. It is not simply that the act of excretion or other bodily emissions is uncouth or rustic, but in theological and moral terms, it represents the corruption of the body. This attitude is epitomised in *contemptus mundi* literature which 'sought to bring home the vileness of the corrupt body and world as a way of redirecting the sinner's affections to the spiritual'.[184] Morrison, although more focused on a study of scatology within Chaucer's work, raises the question of boundaries, specifically the 'boundaries between public (eating) and private (defecating)'.[185] Biblical passages give an indication that excretion should take place in private:

> You shall have a place outside the camp, and you shall go out to it. And you shall have a trowel with your tools, and when you sit down outside, you shall dig a hole with it and turn back and cover up your excrement.[186]

This corresponds neatly to the example witnessed in *Urbanus magnus* regarding defecation outdoors, giving credence to the notion that excretion should take place in private. However, the precepts related to urination in the great hall or of two men

[183] *Biblia latina cum Glossa ordinaria: Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*, eds. A. Rusch, K.. Froehlich and M. T. Gibson (Turnhout, 1992), f.454. Quoted in Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.127, and likely in reference to Acts 1.18.
[184] Bayless, *Sin and Filth*, p.12. The correlation between *Urbanus magnus* and *contemptus mundi* literature is discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.
[185] Morrison, *Excrement in the Middle Ages*, p.26.
[186] Deuteronomy 23:12-13.

attending the toilet at the same time contradict this notion. How then should we interpret the depiction of bodily emissions in *Urbanus magnus*? Does it lie on the more moral or theological spectrum of scatological medieval literature or is it more akin to the comedic aspect of works such as the Fabliaux?

4.4. IMPLICATIONS FOR *URBANUS MAGNUS*

In her comprehensive survey of medieval attitudes to sin and filth, Bayless included a brief discussion of *Urbanus magnus* in the context of toilet habits. However, she did not situate the text in the context of the other types of literature used in the survey. This raises the question: what is the purpose of the inclusion of precepts relating to bodily and excretory habits in *Urbanus magnus*? One could argue that there was an awareness of the theological and moral arguments about the body and corruption, especially assuming authorship by a literate and well-educated cleric. The text follows the rationale of the correlation between the body and the soul, and inner and outer virtue. Furthermore, the arguments for the lower body being the seat of corruption, vice, and sin sit well with the need for restraint and moderation of bodily functions. Yet, despite an underlying base of literature about the body and corruption, *Urbanus magnus* does not treat the subject matter in a serious and rigorous manner akin to more theological works. On the other hand, the inclusion of such precepts does not seem to fulfil a wholly comedic purpose. Rather, it has more worldly and practical concerns about maintaining proper standards of behaviour, giving us further insight about the purpose of *Urbanus magnus*.

In order to interpret the use of the body in *Urbanus magnus*, it is important to recognise the ideal of the body, one free from vice and corruption, and the opposing realities of the physical body. There was ‘a discrepancy between the ideal and its

practical implementation'.[187] If humans could not return to a pre-Fall state of virtue, then it was one's duty to strive to behave in a manner as close to that virtue as possible. In this sense, *Urbanus magnus* acts as a pedagogical tool for both the maintenance of elite or noble standards and the elevation of behaviour to a more virtuous state. As Keekes, discussing moral taboos, states:

> we have to eat, eliminate, and protect ourselves, but civilizations enlarges our choices about how, when, where, with whom, and in what manner we do them. The rules civilize natural human activities. These civilizing rules occupy a gap between what we must and what we can do.[188]

Natural bodily functions are something unavoidable. Whilst they cannot be prevented, they can be controlled, and *Urbanus magnus* provides the framework for that control under the aegis of moderation and restraint. By conforming to these rules of behaviour set out by *Urbanus magnus*, a person can show themselves as part of a social group or class; by flouting the rules, or being ignorant of them, a person reveals their rusticity, risks eliciting disgust, and may experience social ostracism. As Curtis argues: 'disgust and shame operate to prevent and to punish lapses in…manners'.[189] Greenblatt takes this further when discussing civility in the early modern period:

> The behaviour manuals of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries return again and again to codes elaborated for the management of the body's products: urine, feces [sic], mucus, saliva, and wind. Proper control of these products…mark an entrance into civility, an entrance that distinguishes not only the child from the adult, but the members of a privileged group from the vulgar, the upper classes from the lower, the courtly from the rustic, the civilized from the savage.[190]

[187] Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, p.4.
[188] Keekes, 'Disgust and Moral Taboo', p.439.
[189] Curtis, *Don't Look, Don't Touch*, p.76.
[190] S. Greenblatt, 'Filthy Rites', *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), pp.1-16, at p.2.

As we have seen, such codification of behaviour started much earlier, and *Urbanus magnus* represents a clear and early example of using the regulation of the body's products as a marker of social standing or status.

So, we have seen how the body acted as a symbol of unity, order, and a reflection of inner virtue, and was often seen as 'a touchstone of normative behaviour'.[191] However, the body could act as a broader symbol, that of community or society. Le Goff, examining the metaphorical application of parts of the body, uses the example of John of Salisbury to illustrate the body as a metaphor for the state:

> [The state is a body]…within that state, the prince occupies the place of the head; he is subject to the unique God and to those who are his lieutenants on earth, for in the human body the head is also governed by the soul.[192]

To put this notion of the body as a metaphor into the context of *Urbanus magnus*, the regulated body can be interpreted as a metaphor for an ordered society or community. With a society – for example an elite or noble class – that has a standard of normative behaviour, not only does the codification of behaviour ensure that such norms are upheld, but they also serve to highlight or exclude those who may unbalance that order through incorrect or uncouth manners. Therefore, texts such as *Urbanus magnus* act not only as a didactic material for the education in manners, but also the preservation of the standards of behaviour appropriate for that rank of society.

[191] Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, p.54.
[192] 'Princeps uero capitis in re publica optinet locum uni subiectus Deo et his qui uices illius agunt in terries, quoniam et in corpore humano ab anima uegetatur caput et regitur'. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, pp.282-3. Quoted in Le Goff, 'Head or Heart', p.17.

4.5. CONCLUSIONS

Porter, over twenty years ago, set the agenda for new historical approaches to the body. One important area which he highlighted was the relationship of the body to the civilising process:

> we come naked into the world, but we are soon adorned…with the metaphorical clothing of moral codes, taboos, prohibitions, and value systems linking discipline to desires, politeness to policing. The stories of …cleanliness, of eating…have too long been left to specialists relatively uninterested in the larger questions of the functions served by such…activities in transforming individuals and societies into culture.[193]

I have tried as much as possible to conform to this agenda by incorporating anthropology and sociology to understand medieval attitudes towards the body. It is vital to appreciate the underlying human responses to the body and emotions such as disgust. Through this we can come to a better understanding, not only of the differences, but also the similarities between medieval and modern approaches to the body.

[193] Porter, 'History of the Body', pp.225-6. The prohibitions and taboos surrounding the act of eating are discussed in the following chapter, while the broader 'civilising' implications for *Urbanus magnus* are discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 5:

MEDIEVAL CUISINE: FOOD, DIET, AND HEALTH IN *URBANUS MAGNUS*

With the link between *Urbanus magnus* and courtesy literature, coupled with the association of courtesy literature with the focus on table manners, it is important to examine closely the depiction of food and food consumption in the text. This chapter broadly surveys the descriptions of food and dining in the twelfth century, and into the thirteenth century where appropriate. It begins with an examination of the variety of food mentioned in *Urbanus magnus*, and uses archaeological data to question whether *Urbanus magnus* reflected the real dining habits of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Following this, it will examine the service of food in the context of medieval dining, beginning with the preparations of the food and table, through consumption, and finally the end of the meal. This will also include an examination of table manners within *Urbanus magnus* in comparison with other twelfth-century 'contenances de table' poems to discern similarities or differences between these texts. I have already raised the issue of the retrospective approach which has dissuaded scholars from looking earlier than the twelfth century for precedents to such texts. In light of this, I will also analyse food and consumption in pre-twelfth century England in an attempt to discern continuity or change in depictions of food and drink. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of diet and health within *Urbanus magnus* and its relationship to medical literature and knowledge current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

At the outset, a problem needs to be addressed. This chapter predominantly utilises sections II and IV of *Urbanus magnus* which are concerned with food and table manners. Section II focuses on behaviour in the hall and, more specifically, on the

practical aspects and prescriptions of table manners. Section IV has a gastronomic focus, stressing the variety of foodstuffs for consumption and their respective dietary effects. It is worth reiterating here the problems regarding the fourth section of *Urbanus magnus*, and the inclusion of passages from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. Regardless of whether or not this section is a partial – or even total – addition to the main body of the text, it is still valid in this discussion of food, diet, and health, as it allows us to witness the uses or adaptations of *Urbanus magnus* into the thirteenth century. The mention of actual foodstuff, such as varieties of meat and cooking processes, is largely confined to section IV. Consequently, as a later addition, it may appear to have little relevance to twelfth-century food practices; however, I will show that they have clear resonances with twelfth-century texts such as Alexander Neckam's *De utensilibus*, and can be viewed as a continuation of twelfth-century practices into the thirteenth century.

It is important to note that the depictions of food and consumption in this text do not necessarily reflect grand medieval feasts or banquets, but more likely smaller, more common, and informal gatherings involving a host and guests. Interestingly, the earlier Anglo-Saxon period divided its feasting into two discernable types: *gebeorscipe* denoted an informal social gathering whereas *symbel* was a formal, ritualised event more akin to a large banquet.[1] While reference is briefly made to service at court, the dining scenes in *Urbanus magnus* more likely reflect a smaller *gebeorscipe*-type meal in a noble or elite household rather than a courtly *symbel*-type affair.

Having stated that this chapter focuses on aspects of consumption in *Urbanus magnus*, one final point needs to be addressed: when we discuss depictions of food

[1] S. Pollington, *The Mead Hall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ely, 2010), p.10.

and drink in *Urbanus magnus*, are we examining cooking, or cuisine: in other words, is this 'high' or 'low' food culture? Jack Goody has argued that the distinction between cooking and cuisine is manifest in five criteria: different consumption habits among different social classes; tension or conflict; a variety in the foodstuffs consumed and the emergence of recipes; written transmission; and a division of labour between the classes and the sexes.[2] As we will see *Urbanus magnus* exhibits four out of the five criteria. I argue that *Urbanus magnus* pertains to an elite cuisine rather than a depiction of the day-to-day food consumption for the majority of people in the twelfth century.

5.1. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

To begin with, I will investigate the veracity of the descriptions of foodstuffs in *Urbanus magnus*. For this, archaeology provides a useful insight into the diet of the Middle Ages, and helps us to understand whether the discussion of food is reflective of reality or contains exaggeration. Much of the content of this section is indebted to the work of the Oxford Medieval Diet Group, which over the past decade has sought to examine medieval diet in an interdisciplinary manner.[3] *Urbanus magnus* contains numerous references to various foodstuffs, predominantly located in section IV of the text [Fig.19]. While these cannot truly be termed recipes, they do provide useful insight into the diet of the period.[4] These will be discussed later to see any continuity from

[2] J. Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class* (Cambridge, 1982), p.191. See also, A. Gautier, 'Cooking and Cuisine in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 41 (2012), pp.373-406, at p.375.
[3] The content of this section specifically derives from a collaborative paper presented at the inaugural Society of Medieval Archaeology conference at the University of Nottingham, 2013. I am particularly indebted to the input of Dr Naomi Sykes, Dr Ben Jervis, and Dr Alex Livarda.
[4] There are very few recipes from the twelfth century, with scholarship focusing on the more abundant records of Anglo-Norman or Medieval English recipes from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For example, see C. Hieatt, *A Gathering of Medieval English Recipes* (Turnhout, 2008); C. Hieatt and R. Jones, 'Two Anglo-Norman Culinary Collections Edited from the British Library Manuscripts Additional 32085 and Royal 12.C.xii', *Speculum*, 61 (1986), pp.859-82.

Urbanus magnus into the thirteenth century. However, from the outset we need to know what *Urbanus magnus* has to say about food, and test its veracity through archaeological data. For this, I have divided the discussion into numerous sub-sections: meat, birds, fish, and miscellenous items such as spices and herbs. Fig.19 shows the occurrences of each type of food in *Urbanus magnus*.

Meat	***Birds***	***Fish***
Pork	Chicken	Herring
Beef / Veal	Cockerel	Red mullet
Mutton	Goose	Salmon
Wether meat[5]	Peacock	Eel
Lamb	Swan	Roach
Veal	Crane	Pike
Rabbit / hare		Perch
Boar		Turbot
Venison		Dace
Bear		Whale
		Seal

Fig.19. List of meat, birds, and fish present in *Urbanus magnus*

5.1.1. MEAT

The majority of the meat mentioned in *Urbanus magnus* is representative of the main domesticates: cattle, caprine, and pig. Much work has been done to understand the impact of the Norman Conquest on dietary practices in England. In the final chapter of this thesis I will examine the impact of the Conquest in relation to the importation of Norman manners into England. Here, in the context of food consumption, the impact of the Conquest can be evidenced where the archaeological record hints at an adaptation of Norman culinary practices and preferences, leading to an Anglo-Norman

[5] Wether meat is the meat from a castrated sheep.

cuisine by the time of *Urbanus magnus*. Sykes has shown how pigs were frequently the most well-represented animal in medieval French assemblages,[6] and also that the occurrence of pig in assemblages in England increases from the Anglo-Saxon into the Norman period [Fig.20].[7]

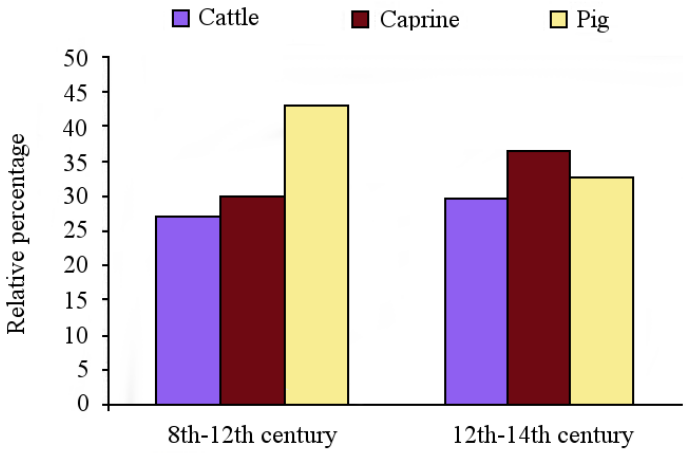


Fig.20. Relative frequency of the main domesticates in French assemblages. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.14.

Furthermore, after the Norman Conquest, the hunting culture flourished in England and the occurrence of wild mammals in elite sites increases exponentially post-Conquest and into the twelfth century [Fig.21]. Therefore, foods such as venison and rabbit were frequently identified as elite food. Knowing that *Urbanus magnus* was designed to function within an elite or lordly site, the presence of venison should come as no surprise, even in a small gathering as opposed to a large feast. What is unusual is the mention of boar, since the archaeological record for boar is quite scarce, suggesting that 'wild boar must have been exceptionally uncommon by the thirteenth

[6] An assemblage is 'a collection of artefacts or ecofacts recovered from a specific archaeological context'. See R. A. Joyce and J. Pollard, 'Archaeological Assemblages and Practices of Deposition', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, eds. D. Hicks and M. Beaudry (Oxford, 2010), pp.291-309, at p.291.
[7] N. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zoological Perspective* (Oxford, 2007), p.14.

century'.[8] In addition, Sykes believes that references to wild boar post-Conquest emulated continental hunting manuals, especially since there is evidence that elites still hunted wild boar in France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[9] Similarly, the reference to bear is unusual as wild bears were extinct in the British Isles by the eleventh century. So, with respect to wild boar and bear, *Urbanus magnus* may not be entirely reflective of the reality of food consumption of twelfth-century England, and instead took inspiration from continental culinary tastes.

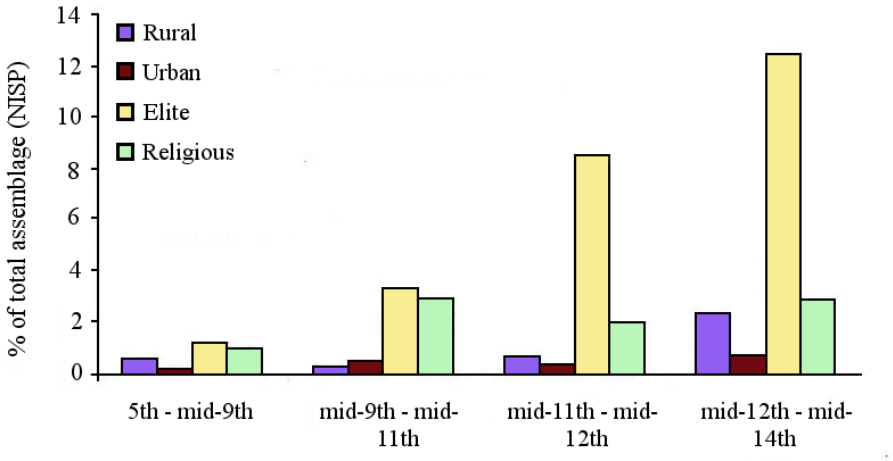


Fig.21. Inter-period and inter-site variation in representation of the main wild mammals, expressed as a percentage of the total assemblage. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.65.

5.1.2. BIRDS

Alongside domestic fowl such as chicken, it may appear unusual to modern tastes to find birds such as peacock, swan, and crane included in the medieval diet; however, these birds had elite associations. For example, the crane was a target of hunting falcons, and therefore was associated with elite hunting culture.[10] The peacock was

[8] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.66.
[9] Ibid.
[10] U. T. Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century: Based on the Observations of Alexander Neckam in London and Paris* (Madison, 1952), p.89.

thought to reflect nobility as well, so the presence of these birds in *Urbanus magnus* reinforces the notion that the text was intended for the elite. Yet, we cannot rely solely on the textual evidence for the consumption of birds in medieval England. The archaeological data supports the description of birds in *Urbanus magnus*. Serjeantson has shown that peafowl, swan, and crane were some of the most abundant birds in England.[11] Sykes has also shown how prior to the Conquest there was a reduction in the consumption of swan, but the post-Conquest period witnessed a steady increase in the consumption of swan, reaching high levels on elite sites in the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteenth centuries:

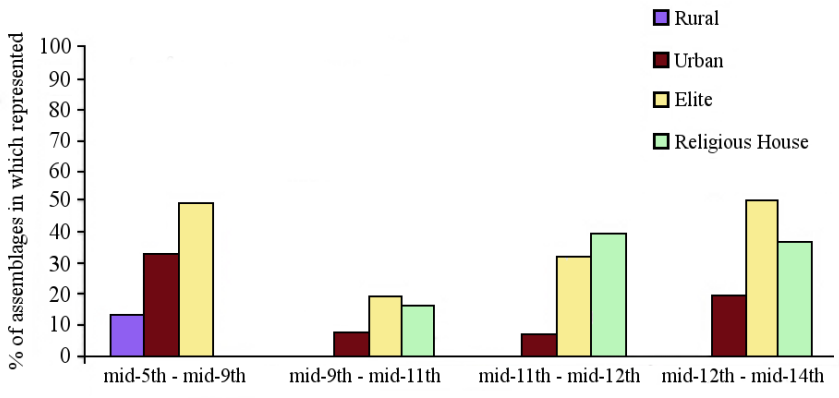


Fig.22. Inter-period and inter-site variation in the representation of swan. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.65.

While it may not seem like a great difference between the early period and the twelfth century onwards, what is interesting is that there is little evidence of rural consumption of swan, and also there is an increase in religious houses which show evidence for eating swan. So, as opposed to the mention of boar and bear, which may have actually been artistic licence or a reflection of continental sources, here the inclusion of

[11] D. Serjeantson, 'Birds: Food and a Mark of Status', in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, eds. C. M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson, and T. Waldron (Oxford, 2006), pp.131-47, at p.132. See Table 9.1, p.132 – note excludes domestic fowl.

seemingly exotic and unusual animals such as wildfowl nicely corresponds to the archaeological data. One type of bird is noticeably absent from the list in *Urbanus magnus*: duck. Interestingly, it also appears to be absent from the archaeological data. Pre-Conquest, Sykes has shown how duck was not consumed by the elite in France, and that this avoidance continues into the post-Conquest period.[12] This may help to explain the absence of duck within *Urbanus magnus*.

5.1.3. FISH

The importance of fish in the medieval period relates to religious fasting, so it is unsurprising to find that there are more references in *Urbanus magnus* to fish than the other categories. For example:

> When celebrating during fasting, [there should be] small portions of herring, red mullet, salmon, and eel; after these lighter dishes, roach, perch, and pike should be placed on the table.[13]

The majority of the fish mentioned in *Urbanus magnus* are freshwater, with the exception of herring, red mullet, and turbot. It should be noted that freshwater and migratory fish are the most represented, with only a small number of saltwater fish mentioned. It was not until the 'mid-twelfth and mid-fourteenth century that high-status sites (both lay and ecclesiastical) demonstrate a return to freshwater fish, with cyprinids, salmon and pike being well represented'.[14] Although this date range is quite broad, it does demonstrate that *Urbanus magnus* is situated at a time when more freshwater fish was beginning to be consumed. The presence of whale and seal is

[12] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, pp.27-8.
[13] *UM*, ll.2600-2.
[14] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.60. Cyprinids are stomachless fish with toothless jaws, such as carp.

interesting, and further supports the notion that *Urbanus magnus* represents an Anglo-Norman diet, reflective of the changes brought in by the Norman Conquest over a century before. The remains of whales were scarce in pre-Conquest England, and there is historical evidence to suggest that the English eschewed the practice of whaling:

> …it is a dangerous business to catch a whale. Safer it is for me to go to the river with hook (and line) more than to go with many ships in search of a whale……better is it for me to catch a fish that I can kill than one which, not only me but my mates, could sink or destroy.[15]

In addition, the remains of porpoise and dolphin bones have been found pre-1066, but whale remains do not become common in England until the mid-eleventh century onwards.[16] However, whaling was prevalent in Norman France, and consequently the presence of whale in *Urbanus magnus* suggests that the practice became more prevalent in England post-Conquest, and was incorporated into the elite Anglo-Norman diet.

5.1.4. MISCELLANEOUS

There are a number of plant foods present in *Urbanus magnus*, for example fruit, vegetables, and flavourings such as mustard, garlic, herbs, and spices. The majority of these are well-represented in the archaeobotanical record.[17] *Urbanus magnus* does not include full recipes, but does provide examples of appropriate sauces for different

[15] 'Quia periculosa res est capere cetum. Tutius est mihi ire ad amnem cum hamo meo quam ire cum multis navibus in venationem ballene…Quia carius est mihi capere piscem quem possum occidere quam illum qui non solum me sed etiam meos socios uni ictus potest merger aut mortificare'. Ælfric, *Colloquy*, in *Ælfric's Colloquy*, ed. G. N. Garmonsey (London, 1939), pp.30. For the English translation see *Ælfric's Colloquy*, ed. B.Griffiths (Market Drayton, 1980), p.13.

[16] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.60.

[17] See L. Moffet 'The Archaeology of Medieval Plant Foods' in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, pp.41-55; A. Livarda and M. van der Veen, 'Social Access and Dispersal of Condiments in North-West Europe from the Roman to the Medieval Period', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 17 (2008), pp.201-9.

foods. Fig.23 provides a list of the variety of food mentioned in the poem, and the accompanying sauces. The majority of such sauces are simply described as pepper sauce, or garlic sauce, providing no detail about quantities or strength.

Line	Food / Dish	Sauce
2629	Pork	Garlic
2629	Beef	Garlic
2630	Lamb	Pepper
2631	Goose	Garlic, salt, and mustard
2632	Sausage	Salt
2634-5	Wether meat	Should not be served with a sauce; it may be cooked with salt or a mixture of salt and an unidentified sauce
2636	Rabbit	Rabbit sauce[18]
2637-40	*Game meat:* Boar Bear Venison Crane Swan Peacock	Pepper
2641-1	Woodland birds (inferior game birds)	Salt
2642-3	Domestic fowl	Cumin
2645	Red mullet	Salt
2645 / 2648	Eel	Salt or pepper
2649	Salmon	Pepper, no mustard
2650	Roach Dace Other small fish	Unspecified sauce
2651	Perch	Pepper

Fig.23. Food and accompaniments as described in *Urbanus magnus.*

Urbanus magnus is not the only twelfth-century text which discussed food in relation to sauces. Alexander Neckam's *De utensilibus* contains similar, albeit not identical, culinary recommendations. For example, pork should be basted and served with 'pure salt or a simple garlic sauce'.[19] Furthermore:

[18] Rabbit sauce is described at *UM* ll.2657-68. See p.225 below for more on rabbit sauce.

[19] The full passage is as follows: 'Assa carnis suille, diligenti tractu assata, vel versata crebo super craticulam, prunis carbonum ardentibus suppositis, fumo et flamma cessantibus, condimentum dedignatur aliud quam purum salem vel simplicem aliatam'. Alexander Neckam, *De utensilibus*, ed. Wright, p.102. For the English translation see Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century*, p.88.

> It does not hurt to sprinkle a cut-up capon with pepper. A domestic fowl…needs a strong garlic sauce…Flavour a hen which has been cleaned and cut up into pieces, with cumin, if it is well boiled; but if it has been roasted , let it be treated with frequent drippings of fat, nor does it refuse garlic sauce...[20]

Fish should be served with a sauce made from 'sage, parsley, dittany, thyme, costus, garlic, and pepper; do not omit salt'.[21] The most interesting case is cumin, which does not appear in the archaeobotanical record. Jervis notes the increase in the number of stone and ceramic mortars after the Conquest, which may suggest that spices such as cumin were ground, thereby masking them from the archaeobotanical record.[22] The same can be said for pepper. Livarda has argued that pepper is relatively scarce in the archaeological record, and when it does appear it is restricted to elite sites.[23] The inclusion of important spices such as cumin and pepper also reinforces the elite context of *Urbanus magnus* since such spices were expensive to import. We know from other sources that these spices were used, and that there was anxiety over their use. Both Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of St Victor were concerned about the ostentatious use of such spices and how their consumption might have interfered with the religious demands of a modest and restrained life. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux stated that:

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[20] 'Altilis in consciso parata piperis non renuit aspersionem. Auca domestica…aliate fortem desiderat…Gallina ex quo sit scaturizata, membratim divisa, cimino condiatur, si elixa fuerit. Si assata sit, crebis gutticulis lardi refficiatur; nec condimentum renuit aliate…'. Alexander Neckam, *De utensilibus,* in *A volume of vocabularies (A Second Volume), Illustrating the Condition and Manners of our Forefathers, as well as the History of the Forms of Elementary Education and of the Languages Spoken in this Island, from the Tenth Century to the Fifteenth*, ed. T. Wright (Liverpool, 1857), p.102. The English translation from Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century*, p.88.

[21] The full passage is the following: 'Pisces autem exenterate cum salsa coquantur composita ex vino et aqua; postmodum sumantur cum viridi sapore, cujus material sit salgea, petrosillium, costus, ditanum, serpillum, et alia, cum pipere; non omittatur salis benedicium'. Alexander Neckam, *De utensilibus,* p.102. C.f. Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century*, p.88.

[22] B. Jervis, 'Conquest, Ceramics, Continuity and Change. Beyond Representational Approaches to Continuity and Change in Early Medieval England: A Case Study from Anglo-Norman Southampton', *Early Medieval Europe*, 21 (2013), pp.455-87.

[23] Livarda and van der Veen, 'Social Access and Dispersal of Condiments in North-West Europe', p.204.

> pepper, ginger, cumin, sage, and the other many spices please the palate but inflame lust. Will you put your trust in such things? Can you safely spend your youth among them? For a man whose life is sober and prudent, salt with hunger is savor [sic] enough. If we eat before we are hungry, we have to concoct I know not what flavours to arouse our taste and stimulate our appetites.[24]

Hugh of St Victor expressed concern over superfluous and excessive treatment of food, especially those seasoned with pepper, garlic, cumin, or salt:

> Others show an unnecessary and excessive concern in the preparation of their food, coming up with a thousand types of mixtures, of fried foods and seasonings, revealing like pregnant women the craving in turns of soft, hard, cold, hot, baked, and roasted dishes, seasoned with pepper, garlic, cumin, or salt'.[25]

While Bernard and Hugh argued against the appropriateness of such lavish dining in a monastic context (their arguments aimed specifically at the Cluniacs), it is clear that such spices were considered as luxury items, and used in an elite context. Once ground, the spices are difficult to trace in the archaeobotanical record; however, their absence in the record does not correlate to a lack of use, but indicates the use of ground spices. Fig.24 shows the preparation of food to be delivered to the table:

[24] 'Piper, gingiber, salvia et mille huiusmodi species salsamentorum palatum quidem delectant, sed libidinem accendunt. Et tu tibi in his securitatem pones? Tu in huiusmodi tutam duces adolescentiam? Prudenter sobrieque conversant sait est ad omne condimentum sal cum fame, qua sola non exspectata necesse est alias de nescio quibus sucis extraneis confici permixtiones, quae velut palatum recreant, gulam provocent, excitant appetitum'. The Latin is from Konrad, Abbot of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense, sive, Narratio de initio Cisterciensis Ordinis*, ed. B. Griesser (Rome, 1961), bk.3, ch.11, ll.21-7, p.173. The English is from Konrad, Abbot of Eberbach, *The Great Beginning of Citeaux: A Narrative of the Beginning of the Cistercian Order: The Exordium Magnum of Conrad of Eberbach*, trans. B. Ward and P. Savage, ed. E. Elder (Trappist, KY., 2012), p.248.

[25] 'Alii superstitiosum nimis in preparandis cibis studium adhibent, infinita decoctionum et frixurarium et condimnetorum genera excognitantes, moda mollia, moda dura, modo frigida, modo calida, modo cocta, modo assa, modo pipere, modo allio, modo cimino, modo sale condita secundum consuetudinem pregnatium mulierum desiderantes'. Hugh of St Victor, *De institutione nouitiorum*, pp.96-7.



Fig.24. Carving the [unidentified] meat, preparing the sauces, and servants carrying the food in the Luttrell Psalter
London, British Library, MS Additional 42130, f.207v
England, 14th century

What we see on the left-hand side is the preparation and carving of the meat, which is then placed in dishes. The middle depicts the transfer of sauces from the 'sauce bottle' into smaller dishes. The right-hand scene shows the servers bringing these dishes to the table. On close inspection, it appears that the sauce dishes are placed on top of the food dishes. This may indicate that the food was not cooked in the sauce, but rather is served with a separate sauce, perhaps for dipping. *Urbanus magnus* does not make explicit whether the food described in Fig.23 was cooked in the sauce or not, but there may be an indication that they were not, since wether meat is not supposed to be served with a sauce, but rather cooked in salt or some unidentified sauce:

> There should be fresh sage or thyme for cooking wether meat; while eating it there should be no sauce, simply with salt alone, or with the food having been mixed with salt and sauce.[26]

[26] *UM*, ll.2633-5.

Archaeology can also provide clues as to the cooking method and presentation of the food at the table, specifically with what is termed 'sumptuary cuisine'. Firstly, *Urbanus magnus* contains reference to numerous cooking techniques: roasting, boiling, and baking for example. Each food type had its own cooking method, based on the humoural theory cooking process which will be discussed later in this chapter. Jervis has shown how, in the French Quarter of post-Conquest Southampton, there is evidence for suspension of vessels over the fire, as opposed to in it [Fig.25]:[27]



Fig.25. Depiction of Norman cooking practices in the Bayeux Tapestry.
May provide evidence for vessel suspension in the cooking process.

The frequent mention of roasting in *Urbanus magnus* suggests that it was the preferred method of cooking, and roasting may have been a predominantly elite cooking technique, since it was relatively wasteful and therefore only affordable to the wealthy.

[27] This is based on sooty deposits on vessels: thick grey/black sooty deposits indicate that the vessel is in or on the fire, leading to a quick boil; a thinner, glossier sooty deposit suggests higher suspension which leads to slower cooking. See Jervis, 'Conquest, Ceramics, Continuity and Change'.

Elite sites exhibit evidence of sumptuary cuisine which has been described as 'the conspicuous consumption of rare, restricted, and complexly prepared foods by elite groups'.[28] There is archaeological evidence of unusual cut marks on the feet of peacocks and cranes, suggestive of very careful removal of the toes of the birds.[29] This was a complex and inefficient method of carving, perhaps reflective of a ritualised dressing and carving method for presentation at the table. *Urbanus magnus* states that:

> With the whole neck, head, each wing and foot of the birds having been butchered; cleave each foot of the game bird, likewise the neck and head with wings and with the beak. The body in little pieces should be placed on the table for the lord to eat.[30]

While this is not specific evidence of the careful butchery of the feet of peacocks and cranes, it does hint at a concern for the careful presentation of the bird in an elite setting.

To conclude this examination of the archaeological evidence we can confidently state that the representation of food in *Urbanus magnus* is generally accurately reflective of the eating practices of the twelfth century, albeit of the more elite classes. It shows a concern not only for the cooking (and consequently the texture) of food, but also the flavour as evidenced by the numerous references to spices and herbs. In addition, the textual sources from the twelfth century such as *De utensibilus*, *De institutione nouitiorum*, and Bernard of Clairvaux further corroborate the archaeological evidence with regard to spices. They also allow us to see the divergence in discourse about the use of spices in a secular or religious context. Monastic writings

[28] Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, referenced in Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.90.
[29] See Serjeantson, 'Birds as Food and Markers of Status'. Quoted from Sykes, *The Norman Conquest*, p.90.
[30] *UM*, l.2670.

emphasise the luxury and lavishness of spices, thereby rendering them inappropriate for consumption in that setting. Yet, the sources intended for use in a secular context such as a noble household reveal spices as a status symbol, used not only to elevate the food but to show off the wealth of the householder to his guests. Judging by the frequency with which mentions of spices and herbs appear in *Urbanus magnus*, it is clear that these are directed for use in an elite context.

5.2. The Meal in *Urbanus Magnus*: Preparation and Consumption

Urbanus magnus makes explicit the importance of dining as a means of conferring social status and wealth: 'listen, learn the manner of dining if you wish to be prosperous, distinguished, and thriving with wealth'.[31] We have seen this previously in chapter 3 in relation to the proper behaviour of the servant. Yet, dining is not simply about the act of serving and eating, and *Urbanus magnus* provides a wealth of information on the actual food served at the table. The previous section showed that the food and accompaniments recorded in this text corresponds by and large with the archaeological record. To begin with in this section, I will look more closely at the description of the preparation of the food, before moving on to look at the precepts directly relating to the act of eating.

5.2.1. Food Preparation

Goody, in his work on cuisine and class, enumerates a tripartite division in the phase of preparation: preliminary work such as butchery; the act of cooking; and plating up. Other points of consideration in relation to preparation include details of who is doing

[31] *UM*, ll.2524-5.

the cooking and for whom, and the technology used in the cooking processes.[32] Applying this to *Urbanus magnus*, we find that much of the detail surrounding the depiction of the preparation of food is rather vague. As we have seen earlier, it tells us what sauce is an appropriate accompaniment for food, but little on the practical details of its preparation. The description of the butchery of birds seen earlier is one of the rare examples of the physical preparation of an animal for consumption, and even here the emphasis is more on the presentation of the animal for consumption at the lord's table.

The representation of the cooking process is similarly vague. The exception to this is rabbit sauce, which is the closest that *Urbanus magnus* comes to what could be deemed a recipe.

> Dittany, oil of pyrethrum, pepper, garlic, sage, rue, and fennel are placed with parsley and breadcrumbs…and salt, after they are finished off with vinegar or ice-cold water if vinegar is lacking. There should be equal quantity of celery, rue, and fennel; of the major herbs there should be different portions given to them. There should be fresh leek leaves cut up into little pieces, there should be small crumbs of white bread, pepper and salt, there should be beer, and egg yolk with butter, milk, boiled at the hearth at the same time; having been prepared, the hare should be basted inside and roasted; so you have actual rabbit sauce.[33]

Urbanus magnus provides directives for an adapted pepper sauce:

> Boiled sour bread, salt, pepper, fish or bird liver, with those having been mixed with beer, should be ground and boiled with boiled fish and the fat juice of fresh meat; so the pepper sauce adapted and tasted is prepared for dining.[34]

[32] Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class*, p.47.
[33] *UM*, ll.2657-68.
[34] *UM*, ll.2652-5.

This is as detailed as *Urbanus magnus* gets in relation to the actual cooking process. I will be dealing later with the humoural theory of diet in *Urbanus magnus*, but it is worth mentioning now that the text conforms to the humoural theory of cooking. This meant that perceived 'dry' foods needed to be boiled in order to inject moisture into the meat, whereas 'wet' food had enough moisture already to be able to withstand the intense drying heat of roasting. Therefore, eels could be roasted since they were an innately 'wet' food.[35] However, game meats were often seen to be 'dry' requiring plenty of moisture during the cooking process: 'having been roasted, and well basted, there should be meats of boar, bear, along with venison, cranes, peacocks, and swans…'.[36] The only fruits referred to are figs, pears, and apples, and there is the suggestion that these should not be served raw, but rather cooked before service.[37] Freedman has stated that medieval cuisine 'emphasized sophistication over simplicity' leading to food that 'tended to be highly processed'.[38] This included fruit which was more often cooked in some way, rather than served raw.

As to the final component in the preparation phase, plating up, we are informed as to the appropriate sauce for respective foodstuffs, but no further. In addition, while the audience for such food is clearly an elite class, *Urbanus magnus* provides no information with regard to the actual cook. The rather limited information in *Urbanus magnus* about the preparation of food can be explained by the fact that medieval texts about food and cooking were not intended for the education of cooks, but instead reflect elite culture and were compiled for the 'master or mistress of that [noble]

[35] *UM*, l.2647.
[36] *UM*, ll.2637-40.
[37] *UM*, ll.1027-8.
[38] P. Freedman, 'Some Basic Aspects of Medieval Cuisine', *Annals of the University of Alba Iulia*, 11 (2007), pp.44-60, at p.51.

household'.[39] While recipe manuscripts do not appear until the end of the thirteenth century, this section of *Urbanus magnus* conforms in this respect, and further confirms that *Urbanus magnus* was directed towards an elite context.

5.2.2. Manners During the Meal

In addition to the material on the actual preparation of different foods, *Urbanus magnus* has a keen focus on the manner in which one consumes food and behaves while dining. Goody divides the act of consumption into four sections: assembling the participants for the meal; the serving or distribution of food at the table; eating the food; and finally, clearing up.[40]

Before looking at the gathering for the meal, *Urbanus magnus* contains examples of preparations which must be completed before any guests take a seat at the table. Of paramount importance is the laying of the table. Before a meal can begin, the most important preparation is the tablecloth which must be 'a white one, although it may be well-worn, that is strong enough to serve the table'.[41] In addition, *Urbanus magnus* states that one could conceivably have a meal without a table, but it would be wholly impossible to have one without a tablecloth. The need for a tablecloth while dining has been noted by historians and art historians alike. Henisch believes that the table itself was of little importance as it was a 'simple, practical scaffolding', put together for the meal and dismantled after.[42] It was the linen itself that accorded social status to the host. Pictorial depictions of dining scenes in manuscripts further emphasise the necessity of the tablecloth, as it is difficult to point to a dining scene without white

[39] T. Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1995), p.8.
[40] Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, p.37.
[41] *UM*, l.2557.
[42] B. Henisch, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (London, PA, 1976), p.147.

linen. Biblical scenes such as the Last Supper, the Supper at Emmaus, and the Wedding Feast at Cana provide numerous examples of this [Figs.26 and 27]. There are fewer contemporary manuscript images of dining in a secular context, but later manuscripts confirm that the tablecloth remained an item of paramount importance for dining in the Middle Ages [Fig.28]. After the tablecloth, all the accoutrements of the meal should be laid out: clean bowls and cups, dishes, salt, and knives.

> Shiny knives for dining should be placed on the table. The tablecloth should be white, adorned with salt-cellers and pure salt…Dishes, bowls and cups should be free from dirt. On the table there should not be too large or too many dishes; the bowls and cups of the great lord ought to be seen as pleasing, small, and moderate.[43]

With the practical preparations for the meal completed, it was then time for the guests to make their own preparations for dining. This included the washing of hands, according to rank, before the meal. The priest had precedence in the hierarchical ritual of hand washing, washing his hands before the lord:

> Remember to serve water to the priest first if there is one present; when he has washed his fingers pour out the water used for washing his hands; then supply water to the other guests, just as rank demands.[44]

Henisch argues that:

> the ceremony of hand-washing came immediately before or immediately after the saying of grace, and acquired a certain spiritual overtone through the association. Each act was a preparation for the meal and a cleansing at its conclusion; the two together framed it with decent decorum.[45]

[43] *UM*, ll.2543-51.
[44] *UM*, ll.2587-90.
[45] Henisch, *Fast and Feast*, p.165.





Figs.26 and 27. The Feast at Cana and The Last Supper
London, British Library, MS Arundel 157, ff.6v and 8v
England, Central (Oxford); 1st quarter of the 13th century



Fig.28. Dining scene in the Luttrell Psalter
London, British Library, MS Additional 42130, f.208r
England; 14th century

In the previous chapter we witnessed Abelard expounding on the notion of dirt in relation to the latrine. In the letters of Abelard and Heloise, they show concern about the act of handwashing, and specifically the rebuke to the disciples, referring to the following passage from Mark:

> So the Pharisees and teachers of the law asked Jesus, "Why don't your disciples live according to the tradition of the elders instead of eating their food with defiled hands?" He replied, "Isaiah was right when he prophesied about you hypocrites; as it is written: 'These people honour me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.[46]

In their correspondence, this passage was interpreted to show that 'it is the intention, not the act itself that constitutes a sin'.[47] As Heloise states, in reference to Jesus' rebuke:

> "To eat without first washing his hands does not defile a man". He then added the general ruling that the soul is not defiled by any outward thing but only by what proceeds from the heart, "wicked thoughts, adultery, murder" and so on. For unless the spirit be first corrupted by evil intention, whatever is done outwardly in the body cannot be a sin.[48]

In this interpretation, washing one's hands – or the lack of handwashing – does not equate with defilement or filth. In a theological sense, handwashing was not essential for the maintenance of a pure and clean soul. Yet, that is not to say that the act was solely a hygienic exercise. Allowing the priest to wash first, according to *Urbanus magnus*, may have functioned as a means of purifying the bowl before the other

[46] Mark 7:5-6.
[47] Morrison, *Excrement in the Middle Ages*, p.39
[48] '"…manibus manducare, non coinquinat hominem". Ubi et statim generaliter adiecit ex nullis exterioribus animam inquinari, sed ex his tantum que de corde prodeunt, que sunt, inquit, cogitations, adulteria, homicida, etc. Nisi enim prius praua uoluntate animus corrumpatur, peccatum esse non poterit, quiqcuid exterius agatur in corpore. *The Letter Collection of Abelard and Heloise*, pp.248-9. Quoted in Morrison, *Excrement in the Middle Ages*, p.39.

guests.[49] This would have further added to the 'spiritual overtone' suggested above. There is further description of hand-washing in *Urbanus magnus*:

> ...while standing, a napkin and water are presented for the hands; if it is winter, it is better that the water is warmed for you; the napkin should be white; the water should be from a decent source. There should be shallow bowls for cleansing indoors and outdoors.[50]

There are other pre-meal prescriptions in *Urbanus magnus*, but these relate to health in the context of dining, and will be discussed in the following section.

Second in importance to the tablecloth at the meal, was salt. *Urbanus magnus* has much to say about salt:

> At supper, the salt should not be seized with fingers or a knife when it is needed to salt fresh meat or fish.[51]
>
> In the presence of guests, servants should more or less refuse to put salt which was handled back into the salt-cellar.[52]

Like the tablecloth, salt was an indication of the status and wealth of the host. Henisch gives examples from the fourteenth century which indicate that there were various qualities of salt. For example, 'cheap salt for use in the kitchen, for the servants, for the unregarded guest; fine salt for the important diner'.[53] Applying this to *Urbanus magnus*, the salt directed to be used in the cooking process would be the cheaper type; the salt which appeared at the table during dinner was of a higher quality, and consequently more expensive and precious.

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[49] I owe this suggestion to Professor Christopher Woolgar of the Oxford Medieval Diet Group.
[50] *UM*, ll.2539-42.
[51] *UM*, ll.2576-7.
[52] *UM*, ll.2580-1.
[53] Henisch, *Fast and Feast*, p.163.

Following this is the serving or distribution of food. It has already been noted in chapter 3 that the servant was thought to be a reflection of the lord. Not only was he supposed to be well-groomed, but it was vital that he could serve in an appropriate manner. To this end, *Urbanus magnus* contains many precepts related to this correct behaviour in service. For example:

> At the table the cupbearer gives the drink to the lord, and in front of the lord lids should cover the wine cups; a third of the cup should be empty when you give the drink.[54]

Servants should serve the food on bended knee, with arms outstretched and a napkin or cloth on the left shoulder.

> Those serving at the table should attend the lord on bended knee, while the lord is drinking, arms should be shown outstretched…[55]
>
> There should be a table napkin and water present for hands. While it is carried, the napkin should be placed on the left shoulder.[56]

There are numerous examples of such behaviour of servants in manuscripts. One which precedes the date of *Urbanus magnus* is the Norman dining scene in the Bayeux Tapestry [Fig.29]. Here, the servant is depicted in manner identical to that described in *Urbanus magnus*. Scholars of the Bayeux Tapestry have argued that this scene should not be taken as a literal representation of Norman dining habits, as it is indebted to earlier pictorial models, such as the Gospel Book of St Augustine [Fig.30]:[57]

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[54] *UM*, ll.1149-51.
[55] *UM*, ll.1078-9.
[56] *UM*, ll.2584-5.
[57] R. Gameson, 'The Origin, Art, and Message of the Bayeux Tapesty', in *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. R. Gameson (Woodbridge, 1997), pp.157-211, at p.170. This Gospel book is a sixth-century Italian manuscript, which was housed in Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury in the eleventh century, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286.



Fig.29. Norman dining scene from the Bayeux Tapestry



Fig.30. The Last Supper from the Gospel Book of St Augustine
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286, f.125r

However, despite the similarities such as the circular table and the central figure blessing the food, there is one obvious omission – the servant. I would argue that the inclusion of the kneeling figure with the napkin over the left arm or shoulder was reflective of the actual practice of dining of the Norman elite at the time. In some depictions of the Last Supper Judas appears as a kneeling figure in front of the table [see Fig.27], and one could argue that images of servants in more secular settings take the place of Judas. What is known is that the directive in texts for servants to carry the napkin on the arm, and specifically the left arm – continues from the twelfth century into the thirteenth. In the Abbey of St Augustine, Canterbury, within the abbot's household, the servant was 'always to have on his forearm a decent *manutergium* [small hand linen]…'.[58] In addition, 'the first course and sauce he is to carry in his right hand, and with the left hand to cover it with the *manutergium*'.[59]

Goody also notes that the division of time is an important feature of consumption.[60] This can be a temporal division of the day, for example what is consumed between morning and night. Yet, this temporal division can include larger and more substantial divisions of time, which covers full days, most evident during periods of fasting when there were dietary restrictions. Small portions of specific fish were deemed acceptable during fasting.[61] The distribution of food segues neatly into the act of eating, since it was important that the servants not only delivered the food to

[58] 'Servitor cultelli abbatis honestum in humeris suis semper habeat manutergium.... '. From *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, ed. E. M. Thompson, 2 vols. (London, 1902-4), vol.1, p.56. Translation courtesy of Professor Christopher Woolgar at a meeting of the Oxford Medieval Diet Group. *Manutergium* refers a smaller hand linen or napkin.
[59] 'Primum ferculum et salsam in manu dextra portet, et sinistra manutergio illud cooperiat'. From *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, p.56.
[60] Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class*, p.48
[61] *UM*, ll.2600-3. The fish enumerated here include herring, red mullet, salmon, eel, roach, perch and pike.

the guests according to a hierarchical structure, but that the guests themselves eat according to that structure also. Consequently, the lord is served first and may send certain choice foods to guests at the table. *Urbanus magnus* states that as this food is being passed to the appropriate person at the table, the other guests should refrain from taking some food from that same dish. It is clear that there was a hierarchical ranking of food at the table: food for the lord and his personal distribution; and food for everyone else.[62]

Table manners are the most ubiquitous aspect of consumption described in *Urbanus magnus*. Fig.31 [*table of concordances*] gives a list of the main points surrounding the etiquette of dining, but it is important to note that table manners conform to the overall emphasis in *Urbanus magnus* on restraint and moderation in behaviour. The following section discusses the development of literature on table manners in more detail, but it suffices to mention here that, in addition to the act of eating, Goody adds the consideration of the 'technology of eating'.[63] This can be interpreted as the utensils used in the act of eating, such as spoons, knives, trenchers, cups, and bowls. *Urbanus magnus* does raise the point that if the host is providing the utensils – specifically spoons – for the meal then, as a guest, one must refrain from stealing them.[64] There are hints that it was likely that guests would bring their own knives to a meal, but not spoons.[65] Henisch suggests that knives were a status symbol, provided in the table setting for the lord alone, or perhaps additionally for an honoured

[62] *UM*, ll.1062-3.
[63] Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, p.47.
[64] *UM*, l.1003.
[65] Henisch, *Fast and Feast*, pp.176-7.

guest. The theft of utensils, reprimanded in *Urbanus magnus*, is alluded to elsewhere, such as in the Roman de la Rose where the knight steals a spoon from the table.[66]

The structure surrounding the act of eating the meal would have been divided into 'courses'. These would not be what modern diners know as courses in the strictest sense of the term (starter, main, dessert), but *Urbanus magnus* does provide evidence that food arrived in waves at the table. Broadly, savoury pies or pastries were served first, followed by 'soft dishes' (possibly boiled or stewed dishes), and then roasted foods.[67] Game meat such as hare and venison was served before domesticates such as pork and beef.[68] Finally, consumption is concluded by the act of clearing up. Firstly, the leftovers should be given as alms to the poor:

> at the end of the given meal, the servants should undertake to break the bread at the table into little bits, which should be given to those in need.[69]

Following this, the table is cleared and the tablecloth removed:

> In the presence of guests, the servants should generally refuse to put back salt which has already been handled back into the salt-cellar. When removing the tablecloth by hand, it is better to do so with a billow.[70]

Having looked at the progression of dining habits from the start of the meal to its conclusion, the following section introduces similar poems which discuss table manners. It shows how parts of *Urbanus magnus* correspond with a general trend in the twelfth-century to enumerate practical table etiquette, and that these norms of dining habits were being transmitted in written, verse form in a manner not seen before.

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[66] Ibid., p.181.
[67] *UM*, ll.2569-71.
[68] *UM*, ll.2563-7.
[69] *UM*, ll.2578-9.
[70] *UM*, ll.2580-2.

5.2.3. 'CONTENANCES DE TABLE'

Urbanus magnus is not alone in its concern with table manners. Glixelli attempted to classify medieval poems concerned with table manners in Latin and the romance languages under the collective title of 'contenances de table'.[71] He compared the short twelfth-century Latin poem *Quisquis es in mensa*, with three French derivations and one Italian. To aid this comparison, he divided five versions of *Quisquis es in mensa* into fifty common precepts in order to discern parallels and divergences between the earlier version of the Latin poem and its vernacular derivations. Nicholls identifies a flaw with Glixelli's table of concordances, noting Glixelli's error in interpreting the Latin poems 'as redactions of the same work'.[72] I have adapted this table of concordances by removing vernacular derivations and adding other twelfth-century Latin poems, to discern any similarities and differences with *Urbanus magnus*. The aim is not to attempt to find sources for *Urbanus magnus*, nor to distinguish some common exemplar for twelfth-century texts on table manners. Rather, the range of precepts which appear in these texts reveals how the authors of these poems could adapt these common precepts to their own needs. As Nicholls states, Glixelli 'confuses the subject of interdependence', and this renders him 'unaware that the ubiquity of certain ideas has its source in the common fund of precepts shared by all writers'.[73] I have chosen poems that can be approximately dated to the twelfth century, and which have variously been discussed by Glixelli, Gieben, and Nicholls. Fig 31 shows the precepts chosen by Glixelli as the key precepts to represent the genre of 'contenance de table'.

[71] See pp.242-4 for translations of *Quisquis es in mensa*, *Dum manducatis*, and *Omnis mensa.*
[72] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.161. In reference to the poems *Quisquis es in mensa*, *Ut te geras*, *SPAM*, and *Omnis mensa*.
[73] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.161.

	Precepts	Quisquis es in mensa	Facetus cum nihil	Omnis mensa	Dum manducatis	Urbanus magnus	Notes
1	Observe the rules						
2	Think of the poor	1-3	135			2578-9	*UM: Leftover bread as alms to the poor*
3	Say a prayer	4			13		
4	Take the indicated place	5	41			1203-4	*UM: Do not sit next to lord unless bid*
5	Don't rush to eat	6				925-6	
6	Don't put a piece of food eaten back in the dish	8	156			997-8	
7	Have clean hands	7		13		2539/2586-90	*UM: Handwashing before the meal*
8	Do not dunk food in the salt cellar	11					
9	Do not touch ears or nose	9					
10	Do not clean teeth with a knife	10					
11	Do not spit over the table		54		10	1052	
12	Do not leave the spoon in the dish						
13	Do not ask for more					1008	
14	Do not belch	12				1047	*UM - if unavoidable, look at the ceiling*
15	Do not put elbows on the table	13	49			990	
16	Do not drink with a full mouth	15	29			945	
17	Clean your lips before drinking	16					
18	Do not criticize the dishes		120			1015	
19	Do not say disagreable things	18-19				886-90	*UM: such as rumours, scandalous songs, etc.*
20	Be cheerful	20	41		2	1064-5	
21	Do not speak of the price of food						
22	Avoid loquaciousness	21	24			920	
23	Do not spit in the bowl where hands are washed					1052	*UM: advises not to spit across the table*
24	Avoid anything that is disagreable to others				4		
25	Wash hands and drink after the meal	22				2539/2586-90	

Fig.31. Table of Concordances

	Precepts	Quisquis es in mensa	Facetus cum nihil	Omnis mensa	Dum manducatis	Urbanus magnus	Notes
26	Say grace	41			13		
27	Think of the departed	/////					
28	Do not take too much at meals	/////				927	
29	Drink soberly		46		13	959	*DM: from the additional lines in Morawski edition*
30	Do not talk too much drink in hand						
31	After dunking bread in wine, drink it or discard						
32	Keep quiet				5	920-1	
33	Do not speak with mouth full					946-8	
34	Do not play with the napkin	/////					
35	Do not invite the host to drink or eat	/////					
36	Do not eat to excess					2774-5	
37	Do not eat with the knife						
38	Do not clean teeth with the napkin		31	7		1018/2591	*UM: this is acceptable, picking at teeth is not*
39	Do not offer food already eaten to others						
40	Eat correctly					2524-5	
41	Do not sneeze with noise	/////					
42	Do not scratch yourself				9		*DM: from the additional lines in Morawski edition*
43	Do not read letters you receive	/////					
44	Do not doze or whisper				8		
45	Take a little cheese and nuts						
46	Was fruit before eating	/////				1023	
47	Thank the host	/////				2592	
48	Let the host drink first	/////					
49	Take leave	/////		13			
50	Necessary to follow these rules						

Fig.31. Table of Concordances (cont.)

What this table reveals is that there are numerous parallels between *Urbanus magnus* and *Quisquis es in mensa*.[74] In addition, *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* is also well represented in this comparison. Indeed, in nearly all instances where *Urbanus magnus* shows a correlation with *Quisquis es in mensa*, there is an equivalent from *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*. The dating of these short poems is not precise, which consequently makes it difficult to ascertain which came first. However, what is clear is that *Urbanus magnus* does appear to be aware of the 'contenances de table' texts or genre, but treats them in a different manner.

Overall, the description of table manners seen in *Urbanus magnus* corresponds well with the 'contenances de table' and there are common themes which run through these texts. Firstly, there is the Christian underpinning such as thinking of the poor and saying a prayer before the meal. For example, 'while you eat, you should give thanks to the Lord'.[75] Next, there is the emphasis on restraint and patience while eating: 'no one should grasp food while the blessing takes place'.[76] There is a stress on cleanliness: 'your fingers should be clean and nails should be smooth'.[77] The theme of restraint in bodily emissions can be found in all the poems, with advice to spurn spitting and belching.[78] Inevitably, there are the practical precepts relating to dining, such as using the utensils and communal sharing: 'while you eat, you should take up salt with a little knife'.[79] Similar to *Urbanus magnus*, silence and restraint in speech are valued highly: 'if you speak little, you will be pleasing to companions'.[80] Finally, there is the

[74] See Glixelli, 'Les contenances de table', pp.28-9, for an edition of *Quisquis es in mensa*.
[75] *Dum manducatis*, l.13. For the text of the poem see Morawski, *Le facet en francoys*, p.125.
[76] *Quisquis es in mensa*, l.4.
[77] *Quisquis es in mensa*, l.7.
[78] For examples, see *Quisquis es in mensa*, l.12 and *Dum manducatis*, l.12.
[79] *Dum manducatis*, l.1.
[80] *Quisquis es in mensa*, l.21.

emphasis on soberness: 'while you eat, you should drink restrainedly and not repeatedly'.[81] Despite the similarities in content, there are differences between the 'contenances de table' poems and *Urbanus magnus*.

The 'contenances de table' are characterised by short lines, with each precept restricted to no more than two lines. *Urbanus magnus* often elaborates on these precepts, the best example of which is hand-washing. *Quisquis es in mensa* states that 'your fingers should be clean…', but gives no further directives as to how one should wash their hands. As we have already seen, *Urbanus magnus* goes into detail about the social hierarchy of handwashing, the manner in which one washes their hands, and the provisions for handwashing such as the bowl, the napkin, and even states the best source of water.

What Glixelli attempted to do was to find the common precepts on table manners which run through *Quisquis es in mensa*, along with other Latin and vernacular texts. However, what he does not elaborate on are the differences between the texts, which has particular relevance for *Urbanus magnus*. *Quisquis es in mensa* is quite close in theme with *Urbanus magnus*. It begins with the exhortation to Christian charity and goodwill, followed by patience before eating and neatness at the table. Table manners are then enumerated, from practical manners, the avoidance of uncouth bodily habits such as picking at teeth, to restraint in speech. *Dum manducatis* has approximately eight parallels with *Quisquis es in mensa* [Fig.32]. Interestingly, the first of these additional lines is the same as the opening to the poem *Omnis mensa* [Fig.35].[82] The following pages provide translations of these poems.

[81] *Dum manducatis*, l.13.
[82] The text of *Omnis mensa* can be found in Glixelli, 'Les contenances de table', pp.29-30.

	Quisquis es in mensa	
1	Quisquis es in mensa, primo de paupere pensa;	Whoever eats at the table, at first, think of the poor man;
2	Nam cum pascis eum, pascis, amice, Deum.	For when you feed him, you feed, with goodwill, God.
3	Nescit homo plenus, quam vitam ducat egenus.	No man should know fullness, any such life should be led in want of.
4	Nemo cibum capiat, donec benedictio fiat.	No one should grasp food, while the blessing takes place.
5	Nec capiat sedem, nisi quam vult qui regit edem.	Nor take a seat, unless he who rules the house is willing.
6	Donec sint possita tibi fercula mandere vita,	While plates are set for you, avoid eating,
7	Et mundi digiti tibi sunt unguesque polita.	And your fingers should be clean and nails smooth.
8	In disco tacta non sit bucella redacta.	A morsel of food which has been touched should not be put back in the dish.
9	Non tangas aures nudis digitis neque nares.	You should not touch your ears or nose with your fingers.
10	Non mundes dentes ferro acuto ad comedentes.	You should not clean your teeth with a sharp weapon when finished eating.
11	Sal non tangatur esca quo vase locatur.	Nor should salt which has touched meat be placed in that vessel.
12	Si potes hec repeto in mensa ructare caueto.	If you can, I repeat this, avoid belching at the table.
13	Esse scias vetitum in mensa ponere cubitum.	You should know, to be respected at the table, to go to bed.
14	Lege mandatur ne parapsis ad osque ponatur.	With the principle commanded, the dish should not be put up to the mouth.
15	Qui vult potare debet prius os vacuare	Anyone who wishes to drink, the mouth should first be empty
16	Et sint illius labia tersa prius;	And lips should be wiped of [food] first;
17	Nec tacere ossum, ne dentibus laceret ossum.	Neither touch the bone, nor chew it with teeth.
18	Non dicas verbum cuiquam quod ei si acerbum.	You should not say a harsh word to anyone
19	Ne possit quis irasci vel discordia nasci.	No one should get angry or discord is born.
20	Vultu sis hilaris, nullam tamen irridearis.	You should have a cheerful face, however you should not be ridiculed.
21	Si pauce loqueris, gratior sodalibus eris.	If you speak little, you will be pleasing to companions.
22	Mensa submota, manus ablue, postea pota.	With the table cleared, and drinks consumed, you should wash your hands.
23	Privetur mensa, qui spreverit hec documenta.	With the table freed, how could one spurn these instructions.

Fig.32. *Quisquis es in mensa*

	Dum manducatis ***The lines in italics represent those with no parallels with Quisquis es in mensa***	
1	*Dum manducatis, mensa recte sedeatis.*	*While you eat, sit correctly at the table.*
2	Dum manducatis, hylarem vultum faciatis.	While you eat, you should have a cheerful face.
3	*Dum manducatis, mappam munde teneatis.*	*While you eat, you should keep a clean napkin.*
4	Dum manducatis, dapibus non probra feratis	While you eat, you should not bring disgrace to the meal.
5	Dum manducatis, in convivo taceatis.	While you eat, you should be silent at the feast.
6	*Dum manducatis, inopi dare studeatis.*	*While you eat, you should desire to give to the poor.*
7	*Dum manducatis, scutellam non teneatis.*	*While you eat, you should not hold the dish.*
8	Dum manducatis, rixas, murmur fugiatis.	While you eat, you should avoid whispers or quarrels.
9	*Dum manducatis, sal cultro suscipiatis.*	*While you eat, you should take up salt with a knife.*
10	Dum manducatis, sputum non abstineatis.	While you eat, you should refrain from spitting.
11	*Dum manducatis, aliis pacem tribuatis.*	*While you eat, you should bestow peace to others.*
12	Dum manducatis, modo defectum sapiatis.	While you eat, you should think on your faults.
13	Dum manducatis, Christo grates tribuatis.	While you eat, you should give thanks to Christ.

Fig.33. *Dum manducatis*: Version 1

	The lines in italics represent those with no parallels with the previous version of Dum manducatis	
1	Dum manducatis, sal cutello capiatis.	While you eat, you should take salt with a little knife.
2	*Dum manducatis, quid edendum sit ne petatis.*	*While you eat, you should not reach towards anyone eating.*
3	*Dum manducatis, non depositum capiatis.*	*While you eat, you should not seize that laid down.*
4	Dum manducatis, rixas, murmur, fugiatis.	While you eat, you should avoid whispers or quarrels.
5	*Dum manducatis, nunquam vel raro canatis.*	*While you eat, you should rarely or never sing.*
6	Dum manducatis, hylares voltus faciatis.	While you eat, you should have a cheerful face.
7	Dum manducatis, mensa recte sedeatis.	While you eat, sit correctly at the table.
8	Dum manducatis, mapam mundam teneatis.	While you eat, you should keep a clean napkin.
9	*Dum manducatis, ne scalpatis caveatis.*	*While you eat, you should avoid scratching.*
10	Dum manducatis, aliis partem tribuatis.	While you eat, you should bestow peace to others.
11	*Dum manducatis, morsus a lance geratis.*	*While you eat, you should carry a bite from the dish.*
12	Dum manducatis, sputum non ejiciatis.	While you eat, you should refrain from spitting.
13	*Dum manducatis, modicum nec crebo bibatis.*	*While you eat, you should drink restrained and not repeatedly.*
14	Dum manducatis, grates Domino referatis.	While you eat, you should give thanks to the Lord.

Fig.34. *Dum manducatis*, Version II[83]

[83] This version concludes with two additional lines: 'Every table is badly laid out without salt. Salt ought to be put out first and put back first' (Omnis mensa male, ponitur sine sale. Sal primo poni debet primoque reponi). See Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books', p.52.

	Omnis mensa	
1	Omnis mensa molle ponitur absque sale.	Every table is badly laid out without salt.
2	O tu qui ferculla prebes sal ponere debes.	O you who provides the dishes must place the salt.
3	Et cutellos lotos deinde ponere votos.	You should next place little consecrated knives.
4	Qui tenet in mensa cubitum vel brachia tensa.	Anyone at the table should master stretching arms and elbows.
5	Non est urbanus si sit corpora sanus.	There is no politeness unless the body is sensible.
6	Stes ad mensam rectus et sepe respice pectus.	You should stand straight at the table and often consider for the soul.
7	Ne cures dentes nec unquam de ferculo temptes.	You should not attend to teeth nor should you ever try from the dish.
8	Nec naxum tergas nisi primo pannos adiungas.	You may not rub your nose unless you first use rags.
9	Da tripodes disscum cultrum post gausape siphum.	Give tripods, dishes, knives, cup [covered] with a cloth afterward
10	Inter detur panis ne ventus surgat inanis.	Thence bread should be given lest foolish wind rise.
11	Ad mensam uite terminum dum dico venite.	At the table, avoid the end until I tell you guys to come.
12	Est mea vox grata fercula dum dico parata.	My voice is pleasing while I offer prepared dishes.
13	Ablue terge manus sede comede bibe surgeque recede.	Wash and clean hands, sit eat drink and retire.
14	Libamen libens libo libando ibo.	Freely I drink the libation and I will go on drinking.
15	Asumptoque cibo tibique quarterque libo.	I take up and eat, and drink to you and the four corners
16	Que pira cruda cibat funebria cibaria bibat.	He who eats raw pears, let him drink the deadly dregs
17	Ni bibat et rebibat et rebibendo bibat.	Unless he drinks and re-drinks and drinks by re-drinking
18	Si duo sunt uina mihi de melliori propina.	If there are two wines, pledge to me the better one.
19	Nil prossunt uina nisi sit potatio trina.	No wines are made better unless the tipple/swallow is thrice
20	Funde merum funde tanquam sint fluminis unde.	Pour unmixed wine just as if they are whence of a river.
21	Vinum linphatum conturbat uisscera fratrum.	Wine upsets the bowels of brothers.
22	Visscera non turbat sed fratrum crimina purgat.	The bowels are not only disturbed but also cleanse sins of the brothers.
23	Vinum sutille cauet in sene cor iuuenille.	The old man for his heart should avoid delicate young wine.
24	Et vinum uille redit iuuenille senille.	Common new and aged wine restores.

Fig.35. *Omnis Mensa*

Omnis mensa appears to share little with *Quisquis es in mensa*, with parallels only to be found in the precepts relating to handwashing, cleaning teeth, and restraint while drinking. Although both these poems are considerably shorter than *Urbanus magnus*,

they are important because they show similarities. For example, both poems expand on the importance of salt at the table, which we have already seen in *Urbanus magnus*. Furthermore, *Omnis mensa* has a strong focus on the dangers of over-drinking, not simply the taboo of drunkenness, but seemingly the health implications of over-indulgence of wine. Nicholls has described this poem as potentially 'intended to be light-hearted'.[84] However, what unites all of these texts is an overarching concern for restraint and moderation. The fifty common precepts which Glixelli enumerated could be described as representative of the foundation for the 'contenences de table', both in Latin and in vernacular poems. From these, authors could pick and choose precepts that suited their needs and interests, leading to what Nicholls calls 'coincidences in the topic of precepts'.[85] Yet he does acknowledge that some of the parallels between texts are so similar that it may 'point to the deliberate use of older material'.[86]

What the Table of Concordances shows is that *Urbanus magnus* contains, in some form or another, virtually all the precepts described by Glixelli, which he in turn has taken from *Quisquis es in mensa*. The difficulty lies in attempting to trace the influence of these texts on *Urbanus magnus*, if indeed there was one. On the one hand, *Urbanus magnus* neatly follows the precepts from the 'contenences de table', and yet it treats them in a more detailed and expansive manner. Could the author have had knowledge of these specific texts, or was he simply aware of this emerging genre and adapting it for his purposes? As Nicholls notes:

> Courtesy poems, when not borrowing from each other, show most influence, as might be expected, from the type of texts which were most

[84] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.182. It is true that the anonymous author of the poem seems to enjoy playing with language with lines such as *Libamen libens libo libando ibo* and *Ni bibat et rebibat et rebibendo bibat*.
[85] Ibid., p.161
[86] Ibid.

> readily available to authors. Proverbial material, Classical models, and the predominant style of the moment were all plundered to provide a richer substance for the fuller fare of precepts.[87]

5.3. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

As we have seen, the majority of scholars agree that the twelfth century witnessed the emergence of this new genre of literature concerning table manners or 'contenances de table'. However, with the trend towards a retrospective examination of later courtesy poems, especially in the vernacular, scholars have seemed satisfied with identifying these twelfth-century Latin poems as the genesis of the genre. Few have looked further into the past to find not simply precursors to these texts, but whether these precepts are representative of a new etiquette in the twelfth century, or a continuation of manners from earlier. As Nicholls has stated, these texts share commonly known precepts, and are often not directly influencing each other.

Archaeology has shown that in many respects there was continuity and change in the types of food consumed in England from the Anglo-Saxon into the Anglo-Norman period. There was a shift towards more game meat as a consequence of the importation of Norman ideals, which functioned at an elite level. Duck represents the clearest evidence of change, with the Norman dislike of this meat becoming prevalent in England post-Conquest and even later with the absence of the mention of duck in *Urbanus magnus*. Yet, the spices and flavours used seem to remain reasonably constant, although the cooking methods may have differed slightly. If we recall Fig.23, there was a wide range of spices and herbs used to season foods and accompany different foodstuffs. The Anglo-Saxon period similarly reveals a wide use of spices for

[87] Ibid., p.176.

both flavouring and medicinal purposes. Ann Hagen has examined a range of sources from the Anglo-Saxon period to reveal the immense number of spices and herbs recorded. This has resulted in a list that far exceeds that which appears in the depiction of food and eating in *Urbanus magnus*, but still reveals continuity in the herbs and spices were being used.

So, if the food that was consumed was reasonably similar across the two periods, was there continuity or change in the manner of eating and drinking? Hagen shows that there was some interest in table manners towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, giving the example of the poem Solomon and Saturn II:

> when a chunk of food slips from the hand of one of these clever men he spots it in the light, bends down to pick it up, blesses it, covers it with seasoning and actually consumes it.[88]

Yet this is an unusual depiction of unacceptable table manners in Anglo-Saxon literature. Indeed, Magennis has shown how Anglo-Saxon poetry has very little concern for the matter of food and food consumption. As he succinctly and humorously puts it: 'they have no appetite for it'.[89]

Before examining change in the depictions of food - and perhaps more aptly the desire to write about food consumption - it is worth looking at the continuity in the feasting traditions as there is much that unites Anglo-Saxon representations of feasts and that which we have encountered in *Urbanus magnus*. Setting aside for the moment the practical concerns of food and table manners, a meal is essentially a ritual. In reference to Anglo-Saxon feasting, Hagen states that:

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[88] 'ðonne snoltrum men snœd oddglideð / ða ne be leohte gesihð lueð æfter, / gesegnað and gesyfleð and him sylg friteð'. *Solomon and Saturn*, quoted in A. Hagen, *Anglo-Saxon Food* (Ely, 2010), p.415.
[89] H. Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites: Food and Drink and their Consumption in Old English and Related Literature* (Dublin, 1999), p.11.

> Although the feast was not primarily a gastronomic event, but a ritual – with religious, aesthetic, legal and societal ramifications – the provision and consumption of food and drink was central.[90]

Consequently, there are descriptions of feasts with food and drink, yet there is little concern for recording exactly what was eaten. It was the provision and consumption that was essential, not whether it was meat or fish that was consumed for example. The parallels or continuity of feasting then rests on the more ritualised aspects of invitations, hospitality, the communal drinking cup, gift-giving, and community within the hall. All of these have parallels within *Urbanus magnus*. That it not to say that Daniel of Beccles was aware of Old English poetry, but rather that these were common traits in a ritualised dining context which were designed to foster bonds of commitment and loyalty between host and guest. Magennis states that:

> Old English poets are not interested in the act of drinking itself, or in the details of the consumption of drink, or in the taste of the drink. They are not usually particularly concerned about drunkenness. What they are interested in is the system of social values that drinking definitively represents.[91]

This can be seen in *Urbanus magnus* in the description of the sharing of the communal cup during the meal. This comes from section II of the text which is concerned with behaviour as a guest, especially at the table. Unlike section IV which is far more concerned with what is eaten and drunk, section II emphasises the social nature of dining. Consequently we have the description of giving and accepting the communal cup, but are not informed as to what is contained within the vessel.

[90] Hagen, *Anglo-Saxon Food*, p.409.
[91] Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites*, p.11.

In addition, Anglo-Saxon homiletic writings show a concern for the dangers of drunkenness. This has been discussed in greater detail in chapter 4, but it is worth reiterating the parallels that are behind this anxiety about over-indulgence, specifically of drinking. *Urbanus magnus* states that excessive drinking leads to the loss of faculties and control of one's body and mind, and this is witnessed in Anglo-Saxon didactic poetry.[92] For example, *An Exhortation to Christian Living* states that 'you must flee drunkenness and give up gluttony altogether', while *Instructions for Christians* states that 'then the fourth thing is that he must bring it about that he moderate his food and drink'.[93] Therefore, what unites and shows continuity with regard to dining from the Anglo-Saxon period to the Anglo-Norman and *Urbanus magnus* is the ritual, social aspect of forming bonds and maintaining friendships, illustrating status and rank, along with the didactic warning of over-imbibing and the call for restraint and moderation.

The differences, however, do reveal significant change in the attitude in literature towards food and eating. With the exception of the example from the poem Solomon and Saturn II, literature from the Anglo-Saxon period shows little concern for the practicalities of eating and dining. Precepts surrounding table manners, or even depictions of bad behaviour, are nearly absent from the literature along with indications of what food was consumed. With the twelfth century witnessing the emergence of 'contenances de table' poems and other texts about table manners, this change needs to be explained, and I will address this in the final chapter. What is important to note now is that there was a common thread that linked Anglo-Saxon

[92] Ibid, p.104

[93] 'þonne is þæt feorðe þæt he fremman sceal / þæt he gemettige metas and drinces'. Instructions for Christians. 'þu scealt drincen fleon / and þa oferfulle ealle for lætan'. *An Exhortation to Christian Living.* Both poems quoted in Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites*, pp.100-1.

depictions of feasting with that encountered in *Urbanus magnus*. The societal need for dining – more so than the practical and bodily necessity of eating – is where the clearest parallels are evidenced and reveal that *Urbanus magnus* follows in a tradition where dining and feasts are a cause for social gatherings and showing off. *Urbanus magnus* adds to this the gastronomy and table manners to give a fuller picture of how medieval people behave, or ought to behave, at the table.

5.4. *URBANUS MAGNUS* AND CUISINE

Recalling the five criteria which denoted cuisine, as expounded by Goody, we can now attempt to answer the question: does the depiction of food and consumption in *Urbanus magnus* represent cuisine or simply cooking?[94] The first criterion is that there should be different food habits for those of different status or class. In this respect, *Urbanus magnus* conforms since we have established that the foodstuffs recommended for consumption corresponds to elite cuisine in the twelfth century. The second criterion of tension arises from this differentiation of food, and leads to the contradiction of equality and hierarchy, and the notion of fasting as good and feasting as pleasurable.[95] This is evidenced in contemporary twelfth-century literature such as Bernard of Clairvaux or Hugh of St Victor where feasting and consumption of luxurious foods are viewed as excessive behaviour. Thirdly, there needs to be a variety of food and drink, along with the beginnings of recipes. The variety within *Urbanus magnus* is clearly evident, and we have also seen the attempts to describe the processes involved in the creation of certain sauces, such as rabbit sauce. Fourthly, written transmission of such processes is required, which *Urbanus magnus* as a text represents.

[94] See p.211 of this chapter.
[95] Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, p.191.

Finally, Goody argues for a division of labour, with the position of cooking elite foods becoming the preserve of men rather than women. In this respect, *Urbanus magnus* gives no information about the cook, let alone any indication about gender in that role. Goody also provides two further considerations: the first is the association between food and sex; the second is the link between food and health. The latter point is the subject of the final section of this chapter, but with respect to the former in *Urbanus magnus*, feasting and sex are linked to one another. For example, although more specifically about the act of drinking during the meal, *Urbanus magnus* frequently associates Bacchus with Venus, and therefore indulgence with lust.

Broadly, *Urbanus magnus* almost fulfils the criteria of cuisine set forth by Goody. However, there is no indication as to the division of labour in the cooking process, and with the exception of two brief 'recipes' there is little practical information about this process. It falls short of the detail of recipe manuscripts which emerge in the thirteenth century, yet it also represents a step forward from depictions of consumption in the Anglo-Saxon period. Gautier argues that the Anglo-Saxon period shows 'no sign of gastronomic legalese discourse that would state…that pepper and honey are good with suckling pig but not with herring'.[96] Yet, this is precisely what is discussed in *Urbanus magnus*. He concludes by stating that the Anglo-Saxon's did not have gastronomy, which he defines as:

> a normative and pseudo-scientific discourse on food, which bears an all-powerful influence on the way food is actually prepared in some elite contexts. Such a discourse is not only based on medical and dietary preoccupations, but also on a kind of hedonism and, most importantly, on a claim from a few professional cooks, amateurs and *gastronomes*, that is (generally self-proclaimed) enlightened food-lovers, people supposedly 'in the know' about food, to lay down the law about food, to say what is

[96] Gautier, 'Cooking and Cuisine in Late Anglo-Saxon England', p.405.

> evil and what is good (and by good, they would mean at the same time healthy, tasteful, prestigious and desirable) – people who literally legislate on food morals.[97]

In light of the fact that *Urbanus magnus* falls short of our understanding of cuisine, it may be more appropriate to view it as gastronomy, acting as an intermediary between the non-cuisine of the Anglo-Saxon period and the emergence of cuisine with written transmission of recipe manuscripts in the late thirteenth century onwards.

5.5. *URBANUS MAGNUS*: DIET AND HEALTH

If we look at the final consideration about cuisine enumerated by Goody, it emphasises the link between eating and health, and how it can be manipulated for 'bad' purposes such as poison, or for 'good', such as medicine. This correlation between eating and health is explicit in the final section of *Urbanus magnus*, especially in relation to the extracts of passages from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. The issue of the composition of *Urbanus magnus* has already been addressed in an earlier chapter, but it is important to remember that any discussion of the content of section IV may not relate to the twelfth century, but more likely the thirteenth since it was in the later century that the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* found wide dissemination and popularity. However, there needs to be caution about Goody's use of the word 'medicine' which in the modern sense has the connotations of curative care, but in relation to *Urbanus magnus* and *Regimen* texts, demonstrates the 'preservation of health' rather than the practical curing of diseases.[98]

[97] Ibid., pp.404-5.
[98] *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, p.30.

Firstly, however, I want to examine the humoural theory about cooking and how that manifests in *Urbanus magnus*. Aside from the correlations with *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, references to the humours appear independently in *Urbanus magnus*:

> It is better to rest after the stomach has been restored by food, controlled effort relieves a bloated stomach, it dissipates phlegm and harmful humours…[99]

In addition, 'phlegm dries up and hurts the stomach and bladder', 'wine…drains an old body dry and burns, fuelling the choleric humour', 'beer fuels the great humours', and 'fish from the sea fuel bitter humours'.[100] The three principal methods of cooking food were roasting, boiling, or baking, each of which could affect the humoural balance of the food being cooked. Scully, using *Regimen* texts, states that roasting would significantly dry the food, boiling has a less intensive heat than roasting, and also injects a food with added moisture, while baking stands between the two since it both moderately heats and moderately dries a food.[101] Foodstuffs, like humans, were categorised according to their humoural qualities. This did not mean that a foodstuff could be described as choleric, for example, but instead it would be categorised as hot and dry. Consequently, the preservation of health could be maintained by ensuring that the food consumed and its preparation was in balance with one's humoural physiology. From the *Regimen* texts Scully has concluded that, in general, beef was deemed reasonably dry and so should be boiled, pork is 'as moist as beef is dry' and therefore could be roasted, and fish, since they were cold and wet, could be fried.[102] Examples from *Urbanus magnus* reveal some continuity with these theories: sausage should be

[99] *UM*, ll.2531-4.
[100] *UM*, l.2705, ll.2706-7, l.2712, and l.2745.
[101] Scully, *The Art of Cookery*, p.44.
[102] Ibid.

roasted,[103] following the notion that pork is a wet food; eels can also be roasted (*anguille sint assate*), corresponding to the fact that they are naturally wet.[104] Yet, in some respects *Urbanus magnus* deviates from the norm. Scully states that game meat, due to the fact that they exercise more than domestic animals and are exposed to the sun, are warm and dry.[105] Based on humoural theory, one would expect that roasting would be an inappropriate method of cooking, yet *Urbanus magnus* states that boar and venison, along with birds such as crane, peacock, and swan, should be roasted. However, there is evidence that humoural theories may still be at play, since *Urbanus magnus* further directs that they should also be well-basted, presumably to inject more moisture into a naturally dry animal.[106] It is difficult to ascertain how much section IV is indebted to humoural cooking theories, as references to the cooking process are limited. However, the relationship of food to health is not restricted to the cooking process, and *Urbanus magnus* expands to discuss the perceived health benefits or detriments of varying foodstuffs. This may be strongly influenced by *Regimen* texts, and in particular, the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. So, before analysing these different foods, it is worth examining the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitam* and how it functions in the fourth section of *Urbanus magnus*.

The importance of humoural theory to the school of Salerno is key to an understanding of the precepts in the Salernitan literature. Kristeller notes Alphanus of Salerno who probably acquired his medical knowledge at Salerno in the eleventh

[103] *UM*, l.2632.
[104] *UM*, l.2647.
[105] Scully, *The Art of Cookery*, p.47
[106] *UM*, ll.2637-9.

century and was noted for his treatise *De quattuor humoribus*.[107] Kristeller notes the importance of this, since:

> among all the medical notions transmitted to early Salerno from late Antiquity, this theory of the four humours had definite philosophical implications and was…increasingly developed by Salernitan authors.[108]

Before making any concrete claims, it is worth looking at how the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* is actually incorporated and used in *Urbanus magnus*.

5.5.1. USE OF THE REGIMEN SANITATIS SALERNITATEM IN URBANUS MAGNUS

The insertion of extracts of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* is more complex than a simple appendix to the end of *Urbanus magnus*. Recalling that section IV comprises lines 2524-2837 – excluding the explicit – the first instance of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* appears at l.2684:[109]

> Bloodletting clears your eyes, cleans the mind and body, makes your marrow warm, cleanses the bladder, and restrains the stomach and womb.

Prior to this insertion is a discussion of the merits of meat, fruit and vegetables. There is a previous reference to bloodletting at line 2676 in relation to pork meat. After this extract, the text continues to describe further benefits of bloodletting: hearing, memory, speech, fatigue are all improved, while anger and anxiety are relieved. This is very similar to what appears in the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, and although the Latin is different the content is the same: '[it] clears the senses, brings sleep, lifts away

[107] Kristeller, 'The School of Salerno', p.149. Alphanus of Salerno was a monk at Montecassino and then Archbishop of Salerno (1058-85).
[108] Ibid., p.150.
[109] See Fig.7 for the textual correlations between *UM* and *RSS*, in chapter 1, p.37.

weariness, and increases hearing, strength and voice'.[110] A second insertion is one line which states that 'most nutritious are the heavy white wines'. This fits into a broad description about the physical effects of wine on the body. While this extract is identical in the Latin, there are other mentions of wine in *Urbanus magnus* which correspond to the writings about the dangers of wine in the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. In reference to the effects of wine – considered to dry and heat the body, while fuelling a choleric humour – it is suggested that adding water could moderately aid the body.[111] In a similar manner, the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* stresses moderation in the consumption of undiluted wines (*parce mero*). New wines were thought to produce greater heat,[112] and the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* also shows concerns about the consumption of new wine or must which was thought to act as a laxative, and affects the liver, spleen, and kidneys.[113] Similar concerns are expressed about red wines. *Urbanus magnus* states that 'drunkeness is brought about by drinking dark wine quickly'.[114] Comparing this with the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*: 'too much red wine, when drunk, causes constipation and boisterousness of the voice'.[115] Furthermore:

> The best wine gives the best humours. If there is dark wine it renders your body slow. Wine should be clear, aged, subtle, mature, well-diluted, stimulating, and consumed in moderation.[116]

[110] 'puros dat sensus, dat somnia, taedia tollit, / auditus, vocem, vires producit et auget'. *RSS*, pp.115. The equivalent passage in *UM* is ll.2687-91.
[111] *UM*, ll.2706-8.
[112] *UM*, ll.2710.
[113] 'Impedit urinam mustum, solvit cito ventrem. / Hepatis emphraxin, splenis generat, lapidemque'. *RSS*, pp.106.
[114] *UM*, l.2714.
[115] 'Si vinum rubeum nimium quandoque bibatur, / venter stipatur, vox limpida turbificatur. *RSS*, p.104
[116] 'Gignit et humores melius vinum meliores: / si fuerit nigrum, corpus reddit tibi pigrum. / Vinum sit clarum, vetus, subtile, maturum, / Ac bene lymphatum, saliens, moderamine sumtum'. *RSS*, p.105.

While *Urbanus magnus* contains one identical line about wine, the remainder of the discussion conforms to the content of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, albeit in different Latin. Next, four lines from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitam* appear at line 2764:

> In the morning, after waking, wash your hands and face with ice-cold water; move about and stretch your limbs; comb your hair and brush your teeth. These things strengthen your brain and other parts of the body.[117]

Before this passage in *Urbanus magnus*, there is a discussion of the benefits or disadvantages of foodstuffs such as butter, milk, eggs, fish, and meat. This seems incongruous with the section from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. In this text, the section on morning preparations appears at the very start of the text, whereas in *Urbanus magnus* it appears towards the end of section IV. After this, *Urbanus magnus* does conform more to the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* with a discussion on afternoon naps and moderation in food consumption. For example, *Urbanus magnus* states that 'a short nap after lunch restores the body'.[118] The *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* similarly states that one should take a short afternoon nap, but advises brevity in order to avoid 'fever, headache and a cold'.[119] Finally, there is a large extract of fifteen lines at line 2790:

> Fasting in summertime drains the body. Vomiting is acceptable in every month, for it purges dangerous humours, and it washes the edges of the stomach. Spring, summer, autumn, and winter are the seasons of the year. In springtime the air is warm and humid, and no time is better for phlebotomy. In spring sexual activity is beneficial to man in moderation, as are exercises, laxatives, sweating, and baths. In that season the body should be purged with medicines. Summer is usually hot, and is a dry season. The summer encourages the presence of red choler. In summer

[117] See Fig.7, p.37.
[118] *UM*, l.2771.
[119] 'Sit brevis, aut nullus, tibi somnus meridianus. / Febris, pigrites, capitis dolor atque catarrhus: / Haec tibi proveniunt ex somno meridiano'. *RSS*, p.103.

> food of cold and humid qualities should be served, and sexual activity should be avoided; baths are not good then, and phlebotomy should be avoided. Rest is useful, and drink is good in moderation.[120]

Having given the description of spring and summer, the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* ends without any points on autumn and winter. What is interesting is that *Urbanus magnus* continues with similar passages related to these latter seasons. For example:

> In harvest time, cold is joined with dry. That which nourishes black choler should be avoided by everyone. Let bodily motion and lovemaking be more than it is in summer; medicated baths are useful.[121]

The description of winter is similar, but consumption should be increased, food should be delicious, and bloodletting avoided.[122] There are other similarities between the two texts, in relation to certain foodstuffs such as veal, milk, cheese, butter, and cabbage for example. The point here is that there appears to be three ways in which the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* is being used: firstly, there is direct quotation [Fig.7]; secondly, there is expansion on topics, such as the addition of autumn and winter in the largest extract; and finally there is a correlation in content, where the Latin is different but the sentiment is the same, such as with the passages about wine. Having established the link between these two texts, the question remains as to its inclusion in *Urbanus magnus*. It is difficult to ascertain the dissemination of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* prior to the commentated version by Arnuldus de Villa Nova. With the popularity of the text ascribed to the thirteenth century, it is most probable that these

[120] See Fig.7, p.37.
[121] *UM*, ll.2804-7.
[122] *UM*, ll.2808-11.

extracts represent a later scribal addition and expansion to the text of *Urbanus magnus*, possibly to complement the references to the humours earlier in section IV.

5.6. Conclusions

Urbanus magnus is an invaluable text for the understanding of medieval food consumption in England. As we have seen, literature in the pre-Conquest period was not interested in the depiction of food and consumption, focusing on the more social and ritualised aspects of dining such as drinking. Furthermore, food historians see the emergence of medieval recipes and recipe books in the later thirteenth century onwards, the superlative example of which is *The Forme of Cury*.[123] *Urbanus magnus* has been neglected as a source for the depiction of food and food consumption. The archaeological survey has shown that, for the most part, *Urbanus magnus* conforms to the data for food consumed in both elite and monastic sites. In addition, by examining the text through the lens of anthropology, and specifically the work of Goody, we can view *Urbanus magnus* as representing medieval gastronomy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a precursor to medieval cuisine which developed in the subsequent centuries. We should not lose focus of the over-arching themes of *Urbanus magnus*: order and restraint. In her examination of the origins of courtesy literature Krueger writes that:

> Anthropologists and cultural theorists have shown that rituals governing the preparation, service, and consumption of food are fundamental to social cohesion. It should not be surprising that rules about table manners and food consumption are at the earliest core of European conduct texts…'.[124]

[123] *The Forme of Cury* is an extensive fourteenth-century recipe book comprising of approximately 205 recipes, associated with the court of Richard II.
[124] Kruegar, 'Introduction: Teach your Children Well', p.xv.

Recalling the previous two chapters, I have argued that exhortations for moderation and restraint lie at the heart of a desire to create order. In the medieval household, proper etiquette was the distinguishing factor in elite society, leading to behaviour which was appropriate to rank. This resulted in a codification of medieval manners to create order. Chapter 4 revealed a more internal sense of order: the need for cohesion between the soul and the body. The implication for social cohesion being the sense that a man's actions reflected his soul, and consequently his good character should be visible to others at all times. The depictions of food and food consumption are an extension of the discussion of the medieval household, and fit into the desire for order and cohesion in manners, and specifically table manners in this case.

CHAPTER 6:

THE MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE

This chapter will look at *Urbanus magnus* from the perspective of the manuscripts. Up to this point, we have examined *Urbanus magnus* as a text, attempting to discern its various uses and audiences through a thematic analysis. While this helps to illuminate the original intentions for the text, it is the manuscripts which reveal its adaptability post-creation. I shall not discuss each individual manuscript, but rather I have chosen some key manuscripts to look at in detail which allow us to explore the adaptations and applications of *Urbanus magnus*, while also examining broader general relationships which can be made between the manuscripts themselves. The manuscripts chosen range in date from the late twelfth century to the fourteenth. I will examine these manuscripts under the themes of satirical literature, education, religious use, and medical knowledge, although it should be stated that these are my choices based on the fellow-travellers in the manuscripts; these are not the only possibilities for the later uses of *Urbanus magnus*.

Chapter 1 introduced the chronology of the extant manuscripts.[1] Here, I will examine the role of *Urbanus magnus* among the fellow-travellers because these will illuminate medieval ideas about the type of thing *Urbanus magnus* represented. I have chosen manuscripts where the interplay between *Urbanus magnus* and fellow-travellers can be best interpreted, while manuscripts which may be genuine miscellanies have been excluded. Therefore, manuscripts with a monastic focus such as MS D provide evidence for the religious use of *Urbanus magnus* in the context of

[1] See chapter 1, pp.23-30.

rules for religious life. Manuscripts which contain the same fellow-traveller such as Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane* and other *contemptus mundi* literature reveal the interplay between *Urbanus magnus* and the satirical genre. Some of the manuscripts reveal *Urbanus magnus* functioning within an educational framework, such as MS W which contains many key educational texts. In addition, MS C_2 allows us to explore the medical uses for the dietary precepts in *Urbanus magnus*. The choice of manuscripts under consideration reflects the themes in *Urbanus magnus* and reveals its adaptability to different contexts: satire, poetry, education, religious underpinning, and diet.

6.1. *Urbanus Magnus*: The Relationship with *Contemptus Mundi* Literature and Twelfth-Century Satire

The most frequent fellow-traveller with *Urbanus magnus* was Innocent III's *De miseria condicionis humane*.[2] It appears with *Urbanus magnus* in at least three instances and was an immensely popular text in its own right.[3] Written in approximately 1196, it surveys the misery of the human condition in three books: the conditions of conception and birth and the misfortunes of life; moral failings in society; and finally, death and judgement.[4] It draws on the satirical tradition of texts such as those of the *contemptus mundi* genre. Therefore, in light of this connection, we must examine both the development of *contemptus mundi* literature and the importance of

[2] There are three indisputable appearances of Innocent III's *De miseria condicionis humane*. These appear in MS C_1, MS D, and MS O_3. Others contain texts titled *De contemptu mundi* or *De miseria mundi*, without identifications. See MS W, MS L_2, and BA_I. 873 from the CBMLC. See the appendices for full descriptions.

[3] There are approximately 700 manuscripts of *De miseria condicionis humane*. See L. C. Moore, 'De Miseria Humanae Conditionis: A Speculum Curiae', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 67 (1981), pp.553-64, at p.553.

[4] Moore, 'De Miseria Humanae Conditionis', p.554.

De miseria condicionis humane in order to interpret the presence of *Urbanus magnus* with these fellow-travellers.

The relationship between *Urbanus magnus* and *contemptus mundi* literature rests largely on two different sub-types of satire prevalent in within the *contemptus mundi* genre: the satire of *mala femina* and *satira communis*.[5] Pepin has stated that many of the writers within this *contemptus mundi* genre were 'prompted surely by reforming zeal, and inspired by such scriptural authorities as the pessimistic book of Ecclesiastes', and consequently took to producing this type of work.[6] In the majority of instances, *contemptus mundi* literature discusses the misery of the human condition (*mala poenae*), followed by the evils committed by humans (*mala culpae*), and finally humanity's doom.[7] Both the misery of the human condition and man's doom are alluded to in section I of *Urbanus magnus*. For example,

> Having ruled in life, you shall die. Look how wretched that human body is, which worms devour. You have no body but your own, wretched in exile.[8]

However, it is predominantly this second section, containing lengthy descriptions of human vices, which will be most fruitful for a comparison with *Urbanus magnus*.

We have noted already that section III of *Urbanus magnus* is anomalous, shifting the focus towards multiple ranks of society, and containing precepts directed to merchants, judges, sailors, etc.[9] The recurring emphasis is on the evils that each

[5] See chapter 2, pp.88-90.
[6] R. E. Pepin, 'Juvenal, X: A Paradigm for Medieval "contemptus mundi" Poems', *Latomus* 49 (1990), pp.473-78, at p.473.
[7] Engelhardt, 'The "De contemptu mundi" of Bernard Morvalensis, Part One', p.111.
[8] *UM*, ll.366-8.
[9] See chapter 2, pp.88-90, and chapter 3, pp.128-35.

stratum of society commits. For example: 'money darkens the hearts of bishops'.[10] Interestingly, there is a parallel between the depiction of judges and merchants in *De contemptu mundi* and *Urbanus magnus*:

> [The judge] cries out for riches, for these he sells his tongue, he degrades himself and so, finally, the law becomes subject to him, not man to the law.[11]

There are some clear similarities in content between the two texts:

> You should observe the law, not dishonour honesty, you should live in truth, not be a transgressor of virtue. The judge should not be pleasing to the wealthy. There is nothing nobler than the rank of judging.[12]

This continues with the recommendation to avoid accepting bribes. We have already examined the trope of *mala femina* satire in relation to the role of the woman in the medieval household.[13] Pepin argues that 'misogyny was so common among the *auctores* of satire as to make it an established convention in the twelfth century'.[14] Bernard of Cluny's text is particularly disparaging in its depiction of the vice-ridden behaviour of women. The presence of such a prevalent sub-genre of satire may provide more context for the discussion of women in *Urbanus magnus*. For example, there are points of similarity in the description of women. In *Urbanus magnus* women were viewed as the temptress, filled with lust, and equated with Eve, Venus, and Potiphar's wife. They led men astray from the moral life, and were incapable of restraint. Bernard

[10] 'Pontificalia corda pecunia contenebravit', Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi*, c.f. *Scorn for the World*, pp.90-1.
[11] 'Ad lucra clamitat, his sua venditat ora, permit se, / Denique lex ita fit sibi subdita, non homo legi'. Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi*, c.f. *Scorn for the World*, pp.94-5.
[12] *UM*, ll.1489-92.
[13] See chapter 3, pp.117-20.
[14] R. E. Pepin, *Literature of Satire in the Twelfth Century: A Neglected Mediaeval Genre* (Lewiston, NY, 1988), p.12.

of Cluny's *De contemptu mundi* expresses the same sentiments, perhaps even more forcefully than those expressed in *Urbanus magnus*:

> Woman is filthy, woman is faithless, woman is feeble; she pollutes the clean, she contemplates the impious, she wears away one's abundance.[15]

Women are described as 'the worst serpent' (*vipera pessima*),[16] compelled by lust to commit adultery:

> When she seems very faithful and more united to you, she will then prefer a servant to you if he gives her more. In a woman there is a fickle heart, fickle speech, and brief trust.[17]

However, the large section of *De contemptu mundi* devoted to women can be seen as an exposition solely on the vices and sins of women, with little regard towards the practicalities of marriage. This is present in *Urbanus magnus* with the prescriptions to avoid domestic abuse on the part of the husband and advice that 'whatever your wife does, avoid harming your marriage'.[18] Similar to the comparisons made in relation to the *satira communis,* the content of the two texts is closely aligned, yet *Urbanus magnus* takes a prescriptive tone as opposed to a directly expositional text on the vices of women.

One final point of comparison can be made on the respective stances taken on moderation and drunkenness. Whereas *Urbanus magnus* gives direct instructions for restraint, especially in relation to gluttony and drunkenness, Bernard of Cluny is more

[15] 'Foemina sordida, foemina perfida, foemina fracta, / munda coinquinat, impia ruminat, atterit aucta'. Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi,* c.f. *Scorn for the World,* pp.100-1.
[16] *Scorn for the World,* pp.102-3.
[17] 'Quando fidelior et tibi junctior aspecietur, / Tunc famulum tibi praeficiet, sibi si mage detur. / Cor leve, vox levis atque fides brevis in muliere'. Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi,* c.f. *Scorn for the World,* pp.104-5.
[18] *UM,* l.2013.

subtle in his approach. He speaks of a golden age before the presence of the corruptions which Bernard sees as pervasive in the twelfth century. During this so-called 'Golden Age':

> they did not nourish the limbs with drinks, the bodies with feasts, the heart with lusts. Gambling was a crime to them, and they had no desire for the baths or to go about with flowing hair covering their necks.[19]

For Bernard, the corruption of the twelfth century led people to spurn the appropriate practice of moderation and restraint. He summarised the attitude of contemporary society to say: 'Ah, to act modestly is irksome and shameful'.[20] Again, there is a contrast between the implicit and explicit. Bernard did not call for a change in society, favouring a lamentation on the state of mankind in his lifetime. While referencing a golden age of morals and comportment, he avoided the prescriptive or didactic tone which is so prevalent throughout *Urbanus magnus*.

The most frequent fellow-traveller in the manuscripts is Innocent III's *De miseria condicionis humane*. Accepting the date of 1180s for portions of *Urbanus magnus*, and c.1196 for *De miseria condicionis humane*, we must proceed in the full knowledge that our goal is not to discern any cross-influences between the texts; rather, it is to find thematic similarities which rendered these two texts compatible and appropriate for inclusion in the same manuscript compilation, i.e., in what way were they seen as similar, comparable texts?

[19] 'Membra virilia, corpora stantia, stans cor habebant, / Non ea potibus, haec dape, luxibus illud alebant. / Criminis alea velleque balnea non erat illis, / Colla tegentibus aut refluentibus ire capillis'. Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi*, c.f. *Scorn for the World*, pp.78-9.
[20] 'Ah! Piget et pudet ire pudenter'. Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi*, c.f. *Scorn for the World*, pp.112-13.

Many of the chapters in *De miseria condicionis humane* cover the same themes as those already seen in *Urbanus magnus*: lust, sexual activity, drunkenness, gluttony, avarice, and the misery of the married life. In chapter 4 we saw how temperance in alcohol consumption was extolled in the face of drunkenness which was thought to lead to violence, excessive talk, and bad manners.[21] Innocent III similarly stated that:

> What is more unsightly than a drunkard, in whose mouth is a stench, in whose body a trembling; who utters foolish things, betrays secrets; whose reason is taken away, whose face is transformed?[22]

In addition, there are parallels between the two texts in relation to homosexual behaviour, although it is much stronger in sentiment than *Urbanus magnus*'s brief passages on the avoidance of homosexuality. In a chapter entitled 'intercourse against nature', Innocent III wrote that:

> What is filthier than this filth? What more criminal than this crime? In the law the copulation of a male with a male and the intercourse of a man with a beast are joined as equals.[23]

An interesting point of comparison between the two texts stems from the chapter in *De miseria condicionis humane* entitled 'Of the misery of servants and masters'. It focuses on both perspectives, firstly from the servant and then the master. For example, 'the servant is terrified by threats, worn out with duties, afflicted by beatings, robbed

[21] See chapter 4, pp.181-3.
[22] 'Quid turpius ebrioso, cui fetor est in ore, tremor in corpore; qui promit stulta, prodit occulta; cui in mens alienator, facies transformatur?' Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, pp.166-9.
[23] 'Quid hac turpitudine turpius? Quid hoc crimine criminosius? In lege quasi paria coniunguntur concubitus maris cum masculo et coitus hominis cum iumento'. Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, pp.174-5.

of money'.[24] *Urbanus magnus*, too, examines the master-servant relationship from both perspectives:

> You should not have a worthless lord, granted though he may be reckless, treacherous, uncivilised in speech, a non-entity actually, as long as you are able to lie low under his protection.[25]

In other words, even if your master is bad, it is best to maintain the relationship in order to ensure that you continue to receive protection from him. However, 'any young slave about to be a household servant should fear his lord'.[26] Yet, from *De miseria condicionis humane* it is clear that the head of the household had a balancing act to maintain. It is worth quoting the most relevant passage:

> …if the master is cruel, it is necessary for him to fear because of the profligacy of his subjects; if he is gentle, it happens that he is despised because of the insolence of his subordinates. Fear therefore afflicts the one who is severe, and scorn belittles the one who is mild; for cruelty produces hate, and familiarity produces contempt, family care tires him out, and domestic responsibility annoys him.[27]

There are clear thematic similarities between *Urbanus magnus* and *contemptus mundi* literature. These links are clearest in the discussion of women, self-restraint in gluttony and lust, and the *satira communis.* That is not to say, however, that *Urbanus magnus* is part of the *contemptus mundi* genre. As seen above, the tone and intent of the two are distinct and divergent. *Contemptus mundi* literature is concerned with the depiction of the corruptions prevalent in contemporary society, yet takes a passive or

[24] 'Servus minis terretur, angariis fatigatur, plagis affligitur, opibus spoliator'. Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, pp.116-17.
[25] *UM*, ll.1255-7.
[26] *UM*, l.1234.
[27] 'Dominus autem si crudelis est, oportet illum vereri propter nequiciam subiectorum; si mitis est, contingit illum contempni propter insolenciam subditorum. Severum ergo metus affligit, et mansuetum vilitas parvipendit; nam crudelitas parit odium, et familiaritas parit contemptum. Familiaris enim eum cura fatigat, et domestica sollicitudo molestat'. Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, pp.116-17.

inactive approach to the rectification of such vices. *Urbanus magnus* has a more direct approach, acknowledging the same corruptions in society while providing more explicit and practical advice on the correct way to behave. The similarities between the two hint that *Urbanus magnus* may have been written by someone with knowledge of *contemptus mundi* literature. This notion is further strengthened by the fact that *contemptus mundi* literature was commonly written in a clerical context and that there is evidence to suggest that *Urbanus magnus* was aimed at a primarily clerical audience, if not also written by a cleric. We have already seen in chapter 3 how the third section of *Urbanus magnus*, addressing various ranks of society, seems anomalous, with a shift in the audience for the text. The existence of the *satira communis* within *contemptus mundi* literature may well help to explain its appearance in *Urbanus magnus*. It may be that *Urbanus magnus* knew the well-known *contemptus mundi* literature of the twelfth century, but functioned more as an extension to it, or as addressing the same problems from a more practical perspective.

6.1.1. MISCELLANEOUS SATIRE IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

Contemptus mundi literature satirises the lot of mankind and the misery of the human condition resulting from inherent vice. *Urbanus magnus* incorporates a reforming element, and while the extent to which it is satirical is debatable, it interesting that other twelfth-century satirical literature is found in the *Urbanus magnus* manuscripts. MS L_2 contains a number of satirical works: Nigel Longchamp's *Speculum stultorum*, and two separate satires against monks attributed to Nicholas of Caen and Walter

Map.[28] We saw in chapter 3 the potential for social mobility in the twelfth century and the subsequent anti-*curiale* sentiment evoked in the satirical literature.[29] To take the example of *Speculum stultorum*, this text follows the exploits of Burnel the Ass, and can be viewed as a satire and critique of the time, directed broadly to monastic orders, the field of medicine, and university students, for example. Nigel states that:

> Safer a humble state with happy mind than a high position with distress combined. Foolish ambition fosters many dreams which give not help but hindrance to its schemes.[30]

The number of satirical texts in MS L_2 may suggest that *Urbanus magnus* was treated as a satirical text itself. Indeed, as we have seen in the previous chapters, many of the proscriptions within *Urbanus magnus* often relate to uncouth and rustic behaviour, especially where bodily emissions are concerned. This could be interpreted as a satirical view of contemporary elite society. The evidence for this use might be further strengthened by the appearance of a thirteenth-century text entitled *Descriptio Northfolchie* in MS L_2 and BA_I.873.[31] This satirical poem focuses on the perceived uncouth and uncivilised inhabitants of the county of Norfolk. To take an illustrative example of its content: 'when entertaining, several nobles buy a single loaf; they leave it until it goes bad and then eat it…'.[32] This depiction of the inhabitants must have had

[28] Nigel Longchamp is also known as Nigel of Canterbury and Nigel Wireker. Nigel Longchamp, *A Mirror of Fools: Or, The Book of Burnel the Ass*, trans. J. H. Mozley (Oxford, 1961). The other satirical texts are Nicholas of Caen, *De sacrilegis monachis*, and Walter Map, *Invectio in monachos*.
[29] See chapter 3, pp.136-44.
[30] 'Tutius est certe modico gaudere salubri, / Quam magnis tristi conditione frui. / Volvere multa solet animi meditatio stulta, / Quae magis impediunt quam sua vota juvant'. Nigel Longchamp, *Speculum stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960), p.34. For the English translation see *A Mirror of Fools*, p.11.
[31] An edited text is available in A. G. Rigg, '"Descriptio Northfolchie": A Critical Edition', in *Nova de veterinus: Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, eds. A. Bihrer and E. Stein (Munich, 2004), pp.577-94.
[32] Rigg, 'Descriptio Northfolchie', ll.39-51, p.583.

contemporary resonance which is entirely lost to us today. Nevertheless, whether true or not, the text uses exaggerated extremes of manners to satirise a group of people. There are further examples of the extremes of human behaviour thought to abound in Norfolk, the result of which leaves the reader to:

> receive a negative picture of infertile land, full of bad grains and rude people; malnutrition and excessive drunkenness of bad beverages, as well as unfree peasantry.[33]

The extremes of behaviour described in the *Descriptio Northfolchie* and the parallel proscriptions against extreme behaviour in *Urbanus magnus* may explain their presence together in a manuscript with a distinctly satirical flavour. While many of the manuscripts may have seen *Urbanus magnus* in more practical terms, it is worth remembering the literary, and satirical, value which it may have also held.

6.2. *URBANUS MAGNUS*: AN EDUCATIONAL TOOL?

The manuscripts present evidence that *Urbanus magnus* functioned as an educational text. This is in addition to its primary role as a didactic, instructional text in morals and behaviour. The manuscripts hint at *Urbanus magnus* being used as part of what can loosely be called a medieval educational curriculum or syllabus.

6.2.1. MS W (WORCESTER CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS F.147)

There is strong evidence to suggest that this manuscript may have functioned as a textbook, possibly for a university student. Scholars such as Nicholas Orme and Tony

[33] P. Slavin, 'Feeding the Brethren: Grain Provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory, c.1280-1370' (University of Toronto, Ph.D. thesis, 2008), p.19.

Hunt have identified a collection of texts which became known as the *sex auctores*, and were likely used as school texts.[34] These were:

Sex auctores		***Auctores octo***	
Author	**Text**	**Author**	**Text**
Pseudo-Cato	*Disticha*	Pseudo-Cato	*Disticha*
Theodulus	*Ecloga*	Theodulus	*Ecloga*
Avianus	*Fabulae*	Alain de Lille	*Liber parabolarum*
Maximian	*Elegiae*	Matthew of Vendôme	*Tobias*
Claudian	*De raptu Proserpine*	Aesop	*Fabulae*
Statius	*Achilleid*	Anonymous	*De contemptu mundi*
		Anonymous	*Facetus*[35]
		Anonymous	*Floretus*[36]

Fig.36. The medieval educational curriculum

Orme states that this was also the most common order of the texts in extant manuscripts.[37] A shift occurs circa 1300 when many of these classical texts were replaced by more Christian texts, considered to be more appropriate than the pagan texts. This then became the *auctores octo*. Importantly for this discussion of the manuscripts of *Urbanus magnus* in an English context; Orme notes a difference between England and the continent in relation to this curriculum. He states that:

> They [the English] adopted some of these works, including Cato, Theodulus, *Facetus*, *Cartula* [*De contemptu mundi*], and *Liber parabolarum*, but they added other titles popular in England, and the list of works they used was not as fixed in its titles or its order as the *Auctores Octo*.[38]

[34] See N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, 2006) and T. Hunt, *Le livre de Catun* (London, 1994).
[35] Most likely *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*.
[36] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p.100-1. Orme describes the *Floretus* as 'a poem about faith, virtue, sin, and the sacraments. Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, does not mention *Floretus*, but includes the *Liber penitencialis*.
[37] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p.98.
[38] Ibid., p.101.

This has implications for our understanding of MS W.[39] Of the *sex auctores* identified above, MS W contains four (Pseudo-Cato, Theodulus, Claudian, and Statius). However, regarding the *auctores octo*, the links are not quite so clear. MS W does contain a copy of *De contemptu mundi* but instead of Alain de Lille's *Liber parabolarum*, it reproduces his *Anticlaudianus* instead. Furthermore, *Facetus* is absent, but it could be argued that *Urbanus magnus* acts as an appropriate substitute for this text. Recalling Orme's statement about the difference between England and the continent, MS W is a good representative of this. Thomson has dated the manuscript to the thirteenth century, most likely toward the end of the century.[40] Consequently, this manuscript was created at that period when the texts commonly included in medieval schoolbooks were experiencing a shift from classical to more Christian texts. Furthermore, the manuscript adheres more closely to the texts of the *sex auctores*, while showing a more relaxed attitude to the *auctores octo*. While this could simply represent an old-fashioned educational focus, equally it may be due to the fact that the educational shift was currently in progress, or it may reflect Orme's argument that there was more freedom in England over what could be included in the curriculum. The dissemination of *Urbanus magnus* as evidenced in Appendices II and III reveals that it was a popular text, both in its full version and in partial extracts. The compiler of MS W may have believed this to be an appropriately popular text to fill the gap in the absence of *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*.

[39] See appendix II, pp.433-4 for a full description of the manuscript.
[40] The more specific dating to the end of the thirteenth century is based on the name of Thomas de Hyndel inscribed in the MS, whom Thomson believes to be a Worcester monk by 1280, and still alive in 1295. See R. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 2001), f.i., pp.101-2.

So, what was the purpose of this manuscript? The appearance of classical authors such as Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, alongside works from *the sex auctores*, strongly suggests an educational focus. Thomson states that 'Benedictine houses had a house for their students at Oxford or Cambridge, or at least a share in one'.[41] Worcester Cathedral sent students to Gloucester Hall in Oxford where they learned the art of writing, the assumption being that their textbooks were brought back to the cathedral upon completion of the student's degrees. While there is no internal evidence to suggest that MS W was definitely used as a volume containing various university texts, the least that could be argued is that it fits into the educational textual tradition of the period.

6.2.2. *URBANUS MAGNUS* AND THE EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM

There is more manuscript evidence to suggest that *Urbanus magnus* was used within the educational system. Three manuscripts, identified in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, contain copies of *Urbanus magnus* under classifications relating directly to education. The first two, BMI.409 and BMI.440, from Dover Priory, list *Urbanus magnus* under the Dover Library heading 'I' which corresponded to schoolbooks including classics, grammar, and dictionaries.[42] BMI.440 contains some of the curriculum staples identified in MS W such as Statius, Claudian, Maximianus, while also including work by Donatus. While the catalogue itself was compiled in 1389, it reveals that *Urbanus magnus* may have been considered a textbook by the monks at Dover. Furthermore, the manuscript containing *Urbanus magnus* identified in the catalogue of Leicester Abbey, A20.979, is listed under the

[41] Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p.xiii.
[42] *Dover Priory*, ed. W. P. Stoneman (London, 1999).

heading of *grammatica*.[43] These manuscript catalogues reveal a possible later use of *Urbanus magnus* as part of the curriculum for learning, with a specific emphasis on grammar as shown in the Leicester Abbey catalogue. The only other manuscript to classify *Urbanus magnus* comes from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury where BAI.873 is under the subject heading of *moralia et naturalia*.[44]

If we can assume then that *Urbanus magnus* was later used as an educational tool in learning and grammar, in addition to its didactic focus on morals and manners, then can we discern who may have used such a text? Leaving aside for the moment the fact that many of these manuscripts are from religious houses, and leaving aside the question of specific monastic uses for *Urbanus magnus* which will be addressed later, a description of the educational trajectory of medieval students by Alexander Neckam may provide some useful clues. Suzanne Reynolds has shown how Neckam's list of school texts, *Sacerdos ad altare*, reveals 'a direct correlation between stage of life, reading ability and the kind of text that it is permissible to read'.[45] Neckam stated that after the young boy has grasped the alphabet and other rudimentary matters:

> let him learn Donatus and that useful compendium of moralities which common opinion attributes to Cato, and let him move on from the *Ecloga* of Theodulus to the eclogues of the Bucolics, but having read beforehand certain little books containing necessary instruction for youthful ignorance.[46]

Furthermore:

[43] *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, eds. T. Webber and A. G. Watson (London, 1998).
[44] *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. B. C. Barker-Benfield, 2 vols (London, 2008), vol.1. The catalogue entry is simply 'Urbanus' with no additional information regarding authorship. Therefore, this entry may also refer to *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*.
[45] S. Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge, 1996), p.8.
[46] R. Copeland and I. Sluiter, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300-1475* (Oxford, 2009), p.536. For a recent edition of this text see Alexander Neckam, *Sacerdos ad altare*, ed. C. J. McDonough (Turnhout, 2010).

> Then let him read the satirists and historians, so that while he is young he may learn what kinds of actions are to be avoided and what noble actions of heroes he should seek to imitate.[47]

Among these satirists would be the work of authors such as Statius, Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal and Horace.[48] Neckam continued to discuss the appropriate reading for the study of grammar, arithmetic, and the liberal arts, as well as professions such as medicine and ecclesiastical and civil law. What some of the manuscripts reveal is that *Urbanus magnus* often stands at that bridge between basic early learning with Donatus and Cato and the progression to the satirists and historians. The fellow-travellers of *Urbanus magnus* are frequently to be found in the earlier portion of a student's education as listed by Neckam. More advanced material included works by Aristotle and Cicero, of which we find very little in the manuscripts. We have already seen how MS W conforms to the curriculum identified not only by modern scholars of medieval education, but also that of Neckam. The first two items in the manuscript are the *Disticha* and *Ecloga*. In addition, there are extracts from the satirists such as Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. The *Disticha* and *Ecloga* appear together in the Leicester Abbey manuscript A20.979, along with the *Ars minor* of Donatus. However, the manuscript that provides the most interesting insight into the early use of *Urbanus magnus* is MS O_2, the earliest of the extant manuscripts. Dating to the end of the twelfth century or the early thirteenth century, this manuscript contains extracts from section I of *Urbanus magnus* on morals. Preceding *Urbanus magnus* in the manuscript are works of the classics, including Horace, Virgil, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, and Persius, along with other contemporary works. Many of these works correspond to the list expounded by

[47] Copeland and Sluiter, *Medieval Grammar*, p.536.
[48] Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, p.11.

Alexander Neckam. For example, Neckam states that the student should read the *Epistles* of Horace, along with the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil, all of which appear in MS O_2.

Yet, how did *Urbanus magnus* function alongside these classical, or rather pagan texts? Neckam believed that the work of the satirists was to be read as proscriptions, advising the young student on what not to do. In this light, and with the knowledge that *Urbanus magnus* often invokes that same proscriptive tone, the juxtaposition of *Urbanus magnus* and the classical satirists is not all that surprising. In relation to Horace's *Satires*, Reynolds states that:

> the scurrilous incidents recorded in the Satires are hastily explained to the *discipulus* as Horace's careful recording of vices, rather than evidence of the corrupted nature of the *auctor* himself. The text becomes a series of examples of what not to do, and continues to be recommended in these terms throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[49]

So, some of the manuscripts suggest that *Urbanus magnus* could be fitted into an educational curriculum aimed at young students who already have the basic rudiments of reading. It may go slightly too far to state that *Urbanus magnus* could be considered to be part of the 'certain little books containing necessary instruction for youthful ignorance' which Neckam states precedes the satirists. Yet, it does appear from the above manuscripts that *Urbanus magnus* mixed well with the proscriptive interpretation of the classical satirists.

[49] Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, p.14.

6.3. *URBANUS MAGNUS* AND RELIGIOUS USE

Many of the extant manuscripts come from a religious environment. We know from the internal evidence of *Urbanus magnus* that the text was not primarily aimed at a monastic community, yet the majority of the manuscripts have provenance from religious institutions, of varying orders. However, this survival of the extant manuscripts may well reflect the greater survival of manuscripts from monastic libraries over secular copies. Furthermore, the additional non-extant copies of *Urbanus magnus* gives increased credence to a predominantly religious use, but may actually distort the original dissemination of the text in both secular and religious contexts. Yet, these manuscripts are still evidence to the fact that religious communities did frequently own full or partial extracts of *Urbanus magnus*. This begs the question, what use did the religious communities have for a text aimed for a predominantly secular environment?

6.3.1. *URBANUS MAGNUS* AND THE BENEDICTINES

We have already seen in chapters 3 and 4 the influence that the Rule of St Benedict had on *Urbanus magnus*, especially in relation to both hospitality and bodily restraint. Therefore, is it unsurprising to find copies of *Urbanus magnus* in manuscripts from Benedictine houses.[50] There are a number of ways to interpret this. At the outset, we must acknowledge the broad nature of Benedictine libraries which collected absolutely anything. However, we can attempt to discern some narrower Benedictine uses for a text such as *Urbanus magnus*. The first relates to the concept that the exterior conduct of the body reflects the inner virtue of the soul. The Rule of St Benedict conforms to

[50] MSS W, BM_I.409 and BM_I.440 (Dover Priory), and BA_I.873 (St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury).

this ideal but it is not as explicit in the specifics of bodily restraint as *Urbanus magnus* is. Therefore, a text which was aimed for use within a secular society would still remain a valid tool for education in restraint and moderation. Indeed, it is easy to imagine *Urbanus magnus* used in a similar vein to Hugh of St Victor's *De institutione nouitiorum*, as a pedagogic tool in correct physical behaviour, potentially for young novices. In addition, *Urbanus magnus* could have been used for the education of young children sent to Benedictine houses but who ultimately would not become monks. The reputation of Benedictines as being of a higher social status meant that they could impart a good education in manners. Secondly, *Urbanus magnus* can be interpreted as concerned with regulated behaviour in a community and ensuring social order by stressing social norms. In this respect, the text is equally applicable for secular and sacred settings, because a monastery functioned as a more enclosed community. Thirdly, and importantly, Benedictine monasteries were not isolated from the community, and were open for the reception of guests and pilgrims, forcing them to deal with hospitality. While the Rule of St Benedict gives basic instruction on the manner in which hospitality should be given, *Urbanus magnus* represents a text with more explicit and practical rules for the reception of guests and the provision of meals. Furthermore, with the precepts representative of secular practices, the use of *Urbanus magnus* may have allowed for the provision of hospitality which secular guests to the monastery were accustomed to. Finally, monasteries function as large households, facing the same problems and concerns as secular households: administration, estate management, maintaining finances, overseeing of servants, and food consumption. Knowles draws attention to the presence of servants in Benedictine monasteries, and at Glastonbury Abbey he states that it is:

> remarkable how many of the minor officers and head servants enjoy hereditary tenure by charter; there are eight or more such, including the porter, the chief baker, two cooks, the butler…the gatekeeper, the scullion and the swineherd.[51]

When we consider the emphasis in *Urbanus magnus* on the correct behaviour of servants, it is easy to imagine how this text may have functioned as a tool for the monastery to ensure that their lay servants were acting correctly. In addition, it would teach the young charges – those who did not continue on to become monks – how to do this for their own servants in their own household. Therefore, *Urbanus magnus* could have fulfilled multiple different functions within Benedictine monasteries.

6.3.2. CASE STUDY: DOVER PRIORY

The catalogue of the library at Dover Priory records two copies of *Urbanus magnus*. The library catalogue reveals similarities to MS W and the curriculum expounded by Alexander Neckam, discussed in the previous section. Dover Priory library had numerous copies of Donatus, along with the classics (satirists and historians) such as Juvenal, Horace, Virgil, Persius, Lucan, etc.[52] Therefore, *Urbanus magnus* could have functioned as a text within an educational framework in the priory. Yet, could *Urbanus magnus* have fulfilled more than just a pedagogic role?

Dover Priory was strategically located, with Dover itself acting as both as the main port for the country and the route to Canterbury and London.[53] Consequently, it received a number of high profile visitors, including King Stephen, Henry III, and

[51] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216* (Cambridge, 1949), p.441.
[52] C. R. Haines, *Dover Priory: A History of the Priory of St Mary the Virgin, and St Martin of the New Work* (Cambridge, 1930), pp.389-90.
[53] Haines, *Dover Priory*, p.59.

Edward II. Furthermore, Haines argues that 'the influx of pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Thomas Becket must at times have been enormous'.[54] Dover Priory may then have experienced an increase in the provision of hospitality, where a text such as *Urbanus magnus* may have aided in the appropriate dispensation of hospitality not just for lay pilgrims, but also high status secular visitors. The Rule of St Benedict does contain information on the reception of guests, but with an emphasis on the impact guests have on the monastic community. There is little on the specific practical concerns of hosting guests, except where greeting is concerned. It is true that Benedictines generally came from the higher echelons of society, so they would likely have been brought up with these manners. Therefore, *Urbanus magnus* may have served as a tool to expand on the knowledge of the practical elements of hospitality. It may also have fulfilled a more specific function related to food. The Rule states:

> Let there be a separate kitchen for the Abbot and guests, that the brethren may not be disturbed when guests, who are never lacking in a monastery, arrive at irregular hours. Let two brethren capable of filling the office well be appointed for a year to have charge of this kitchen. Let them be given such help as they need, that they may serve without murmuring. And on the other hand, when they have less to occupy them, let them go out to whatever work is assigned them.[55]

There is no mention of the types of foodstuffs provided to secular guests, nor of their preparation. Haines notes the luxury in food enjoyed by the monks at Dover Priory, when in 1299 they were enjoined 'not to eat and drink with seculars in the town, which they were evidently wont to do, and to have fish on their table instead of eating meat

[54] Ibid., p.345.

[55] 'Coquina abbatis et hospitum super se sit, ut, incertis horis supervenientes hospites, qui numquam desunt monasterio, non inquietentur fratres. In qua coquina ad annum ingrediantur duo fratres qui ipsud officium bene impleant. Quibus, ut indigent, solacia administrentur, ut absque murmuratione serviant, et iterum, quando occupationem minorem habent, exeant ubi eis imperatur in opera'. *RSB*, ch. 53, pp.247-8.

almost regularly...'.[56] Furthermore, Gerald of Wales provides an account of a meal at Christ Church, Canterbury which has parallels with the description of food preparation in *Urbanus magnus*:[57]

> sixteen very costly dishes or even more were placed upon the table in order, not to say contrary to all order...you might see so many kinds of fish, roast and boiled, stuffed and fried, so many dishes contrived with eggs and pepper by dexterous cooks, so many flavourings and condiments, compounded with like dexterity to tickle gluttony and awaken appetite.[58]

We have already seen in chapter 5 how the twelfth-century preparation of food, and its accompaniments, corresponded well to what is contained in *Urbanus magnus*. If we add the knowledge that at Dover Priory there was a high consumption of meat, then a text such as *Urbanus magnus* would have provided ample material towards the capability to provide meals such as that described at Christ Church, Canterbury. There is no way to know for certain what role *Urbanus magnus* played for the monks at Dover Priory. The classification of the two manuscripts under the heading of 'classics, grammar and dictionaries', coupled with the texts accompanying *Urbanus magnus*, do favour a more standard educational tool. Nevertheless, Dover Priory does provide clues towards other factors which would have rendered *Urbanus magnus* a useful text for a religious community, not least where hospitality was concerned.

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[56] Haines, *Dover Priory*, p.343.

[57] Christ Church, Canterbury was the mother house of Dover Priory, and Haines notes several cellerers at Dover Priory, had previously held that position at Christ Church, Canterbury.

[58] 'De ferculis et eorum numerositate quid dicam; nisi quod ipsum multotiens dicentem audivi, quia sedicim at plura per ordinem, ne praetor ordinem dicatur, sumt apposite valde sumptuosa…Tot enim videas piscium genera, assa quidem et elixa, farta et frixa, tot ovis pipere cibaria cocorum arte confecta, tot sapores et salsamenta ad gulam irritandam et appetitum excitandum eorundem arte composita'. Gerald of Wales, *De rebus a se gestis*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.1, pp.51-2. The English translation is from Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (London, 2005), p.71.

6.3.3. *URBANUS MAGNUS* AND THE AUGUSTINIANS

The Augustinian Order is well represented in the provenance of the manuscripts.[59] There may be a very simple explanation for the increased number of copies of *Urbanus magnus* in manuscripts associated with Augustinian houses. Dickinson states that there was a rapid increase in the foundation of Augustinian houses in the twelfth century after its introduction into England, and that 'it attained a success that made it incomparably the most numerous religious order in the country'.[60] However, in a similar manner to the case of the Benedictines seen above, *Urbanus magnus* may have been useful as a text which complemented and expanded in detail on the Rule of St Augustine. For example, 'in your walk, posture, all external comportment, do nothing to offend anyone who sees you. Act in a manner worthy of your holy profession'.[61] No more detail is provided as to how those in the religious house were to attain such an ideal, yet there is evidence to show that there was concern within the Augustinian order to elaborate on deportment and gestures. This is clearly in evident in the work of Hugh of St Victor (*De institutione nouitiorum*), discussed in more detail in chapter 4. MS D does contain *De institutione nouitiorum*, while MS P_2 contains extracts of Hugh of St Victor's work. However, as we have already seen, both of these manuscripts have links either directly or indirectly to the Victorine rule. Therefore, we could see *Urbanus magnus* complementing not the Rule of St Augustine, but rather the Victorine tradition and the writings of Hugh of St Victor. In the remaining manuscripts under

[59] The manuscripts which have links with the Augustinian order are A20.979 (Leicester Abbey), FA8.502c (York Austin Friars), MS D (St Thomas's Abbey, Dublin), MS P_2 (Abbey of St Victor). MS O_3 is linked to Ashridge Priory (the College of Bonhommes) in England which was under the order of the Boni Homines. P6.156 come from Titchfield Abbey, which was Premonstratensian, following the Rule of St Augustine.

[60] J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950) p.59.

[61] 'In incessu, in statu, in omnibus motibus vestris nihil fiat quod cuiusquam offendat aspectum, sed quod vestram decet sanctitatem'. *Rule of St Augustine*, pp.88-9.

consideration here, *Urbanus magnus* may have functioned in a similar role to *De institutione nouitiorum*, providing more detail on the practical rules surrounding moderation in comportment.

However, it is worth stressing that there may have been little difference between the orders in how *Urbanus magnus* was used. Indeed, both Benedictine and Augustine Rules emphasise the care of the sick and the provision of baths and appropriate food for those who are old or infirm. The Rule of St Benedict states that:

> The use of baths shall be offered to the sick as often as is expedient; to the healthy however and especially to youths it shall be offered more reluctantly. But in addition, the eating of flesh-meat shall be allowed to the very infirm for their recovery; but when they are better again, all shall abstain from flesh-meat in the usual way.[62]

Similarly,

> Nor shall the body be denied proper hygienic care as standards for good health require. Do this without grumbling, following the advice of a physician. In the event a brother is unwilling to comply and the superior gives strict orders, he shall do what has to be done for his health. If a brother desires something which is harmful, he ought not to satisfy his desire. Desires are sometimes thought to be salubrious when they are really injurious...[63]

In the discussion on hygiene and health in the previous chapter, we saw that *Urbanus magnus* contains passages from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* relating to the

[62] 'Balnearum usus infirmis quotiens expedit offeratur – sanis autem et maxime iuvenibus tardius concedatur. Sed et carnium esus infirmis omnino debilibus pro reparatione concedatur; at, ubi meliorati fuerunt, a carnibus more solito omnes abstineant'. *RSB*, ch.36, pp.193-4.

[63] 'Lavacrum etiam corporum, cuius infirmitatis necessitas cogit, minime denegetur, sed fiat sine murmure de consilio medicinae, ita ut, etiam si nolit, iubente praeposito, faciat quod faciendum est pro salute. Si autem velit, et forte non expedit, suae cupiditati non oboediat. Aliquando enim, etiam si noceat, prodesse creditur quod delectat'. *Rule of St Augustine*, p.96-7.

practice of bathing. Furthermore, it contains advice on the foodstuff suitable for the infirm:

> In rocky places where fish are swimming [in the river] they stand out as superior for sick people to feed on. Fish from the sea fuel bitter humours.[64]

Furthermore, 'a bath of seawater greatly dries up bodies, fresh water cleanses, a bath cools the limbs'.[65] Consequently, the medical aspects of *Urbanus magnus* may have appealed to both the Benedictines and Augustinians in relation to the care of the sick expounded in both Rules.

These manuscripts reveal that religious communities were receptive to *Urbanus magnus*, and the range of topics which it contained. While the manuscripts themselves suggest a strong didactic focus, it could be argued that there were other aspects of the text which would have appealed to the different orders, especially where hospitality and interactions with the laity was concerned.

6.3.4. Case Study: Ashridge Priory

MS O_3 was originally from the College of the Boni Homines at Ashridge in Hertfordshire, which was founded in 1283 by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, under the Augustinian Order.[66] MS O_3 contains numerous texts relating to the instruction of priests.[67] These include William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis*, and John of Spain's *Flos decretorum* and *Liber pastoralis*. Carlson, in his study of the monastic library at Ashridge, argues that the college had 'primarily an academic rather than exclusively

[64] *UM*, ll.2743-5.
[65] *UM*, ll.2786-7.
[66] H. C. Schulz, 'The Monastic Library and Scriptorium at Ashridge', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 1 (1938), pp.305-11, at p.305.
[67] *Catalogus codicum mss. Collegii S. Trinitatis*, ed. H. O. Coke (Oxford, 1848).

religious focus'.[68] This manuscript can be interpreted as an instructive handbook. As Carlson states:

> The works included in the manuscript are instructive: they all reflect concerns regarding the practical work of parish priests; many of the texts are in fact popular thirteenth and fourteenth century priests' handbooks, designed to assist a clergyman in the administration of his duties.[69]

The *Oculus sacerdotis* was a manual for parish priests, and this is shortly followed in MS O_3 by a revised version of William of Pagula's work called the *Pupilla oculi* by John de Burgh. The *Flos Decretorum* is an abbreviated summary of the *Decretum* by Gratian.[70] The *Liber pastoralis* is concerned with the 'various reasons for disqualification from the episcopate, such as irregularity and criminal behaviour'.[71] In addition to these texts, there is Innocent III's *De miseria condicionis humane* and verses on the virtues and vices. This links this manuscript to the satirical material and *contempus mundi* genre discussed earlier in this chapter. Works such as *De miseria condicionis humane* highlighted the 'bad' behaviour of certain professions, while instructional texts such as the *Oculus sacerdotis* provided concrete information with regard to the correct administration of roles, in this case the parish priest.

The extracts from *Urbanus magnus* in the manuscript are titled the *Liber curialis* and misattributed to Robert Grosseteste. The extracts here are from section II of the text [ll.875-1545], and are directly followed by seven lines of the poem *Stans puer ad*

[68] P. Carlson, '"Quid me dicis bonum": An Analysis of the Library and Theology of the Good Men of Ashridge' (Claremont Graduate University, CA., unpublished PhD thesis, 2009), p.6.
[69] Carlson, '"Quid me dicis bonum": An Analysis of the Library and Theology of the Good Men of Ashridge', p.160.
[70] Ibid., p.133.
[71] Ibid., p.166.

mensam. Carlson struggles to place the text in a book of practical theology and more broadly in a parochial setting:

> …the number of church notables who wrote courtesy books demonstrates that manners were clearly held to be of some importance and, though perhaps not a key element of salvation, at least to be encouraged by the Church. In this light, we might make a tentative assumption that the clergy who used the Ashridge manuscript had opportunities to prepare some of their parishioners (or perhaps lay servants at the college) for service in a noble household.[72]

However, many of the precepts in section II of the *Urbanus magnus* are related to the behaviour of a guest in the household, such as table manners. Therefore, it could not simply act as a text to prepare parishioners for service in a household. Similar to the Benedictine case, a monastery is a community and *Urbanus magnus* acts simply as a tool for the maintenance of social order in a community through articulated and regulated behaviour. Yet, the nature of this manuscript which has a strong focus on the instruction of the parish priest, leads me to think that *Urbanus magnus* may have been utilised as a tool for education in manners outside the monastic confines. This could be for the erudition of the parish priest himself, or for the priest to instruct his parishioners.

6.4. *URBANUS MAGNUS*: A MEDICAL TEXT?

The relationship between *Urbanus magnus* and the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* has already been discussed in chapters 1 and 5. We have seen how section IV of *Urbanus magnus* is focused more on practical elements of eating and diet, including some very basic recipes (or more accurately 'cooking guidelines'). It has also been demonstrated

[72] Ibid., p.171.

that there are passages in both texts that are almost identical. The manuscripts show how section IV was the most frequently extracted part of the text. Yet, despite the dietary content and the textual association with the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*, and consequently Salernitan literature, hardly any of the manuscripts treat *Urbanus magnus* from a medical perspective. The exception to this is MS C_2.

6.4.1. MS C_2 (CAMBRIDGE, ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, MS 79)

C_2 is a composite made up of three separate manuscripts; *Urbanus magnus* is found in the first of these volumes. However, volume II is also important as there is internal evidence to suggest that the two volumes have been bound together for a long time. In this first volume, *Urbanus magnus* is described as *Physica urbani* and contains lines 2676-2823, representing the majority of section IV.[73] It is present with two other texts, an antidotary (*antidotatius glosatus*) and a work by a Peter of Salerno. This antidotary is extant in a number of manuscripts, but is not ascribed to any particular author.[74] The second text accompanying *Urbanus magnus* begins with the incipit stating that the text is a translation of the work of Master Peter of Salerno from Latin. A candidate for authorship could be the twelfth-century Petrus Musandinus who was a student of Bartholomaeus of Salerno, and acted as a teacher there c.1170.[75] There is no indication given as to the Latin original, with the text beginning: 'Humaine cors est ke ist de quatre humors…'. However, the text may be a translation from his *Glossae in*

[73] The title *Physica urbani* suggests that, perhaps, the scribe of the manuscript believed that the text was originally written by a man called Urban.
[74] Thorndike and Kibre identify ten instances of the antidotary beginning 'Pomum ambre est duplicicatum'. See L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, rev. ed. (London, 1963), col.1057.
[75] C. O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine: Medical Teaching at the University of Paris, 1250-1400* (Leiden, 1998), p.96.

Hippocratis Prognostica, which has the Latin incipit: 'Quoniam humana corpora assidue interius exteriusque…'.[76]

In his study of the *Ars medicine*, O'Boyle states that in the thirteenth century there were supplementary texts to the standard corpus *ars medicine,* which included antidotaries, works and glossed works by Bartholomaeus of Salerno and Peter Musandinus, and a work which appears in volume II of MS C_2, *De simplicibus medicinis* by Matthaeus Platearius.[77] O'Boyle argues that there was not a cohesive or standardised supplement to the *ars medicine* as an educational tool, but the fact that the aforementioned texts were composed in Salerno in the twelfth century was the characterising feature along with: 'the new Arabic medical learning that was introduced there [Salerno] through the medium of Constantine's [the African] translations and compilations'.[78] *De simplicibus medicinis* is described as a 'pharmacological work' which:

> lists botanical specimens in alphabetical order and provides a reference to each specimen's degree of intensity with respect to its heat or cold and its wetness or dryness.[79]

This description will have implications when we examine the function of *Urbanus magnus* in this manuscript. Volume III of the manuscript contains two gynaecological texts, the first of which is probably Muscio's *Gynaecia*, while the second is *De gynecologia* by Theodorus Priscianus.

Described in this manuscript as the *Physica urbani*, this is the only explicit instance of *Urbanus magnus* being used as a medical treatise. Bylebyl has stated that

[76] Thorndike and Kibre (eds.), *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings*, 1277.
[77] O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine*, p.105.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., p.106.

'during the twelfth century *physica* came to refer to both the learning and the practices associated with rational medicine'.[80] It is impossible to know for certain what use was intended for this extract of *Urbanus magnus*, but the manuscript link with *De simplicibus medicinis* may provide a clue. Firstly, one reason for the inclusion of *Urbanus magnus* may be the association with the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. We have already considered the compositional problems of *Urbanus magnus*, and the possibility that the final section of the text may be a later addition. However, the choice here to extract the dietary section of the text is very telling, as is the inclusion of the section which is almost identical with the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. What this reveals is not only the textual relationship between the two texts, but also the humoural aspect to this section of *Urbanus magnus*.[81] We have seen in chapter 5 that there was a correlation between various types of food and the method of cooking, relating to its relative wet or dry qualities, which appears primarily in section IV. If we recall the description of *De simplicibus medicinis*, the pharmacological text which examines botanical specimens for their hot/cold or wet/dry qualities, there is the potential for *Urbanus magnus* functioning here as a humoural text. In conclusion, MS C_2 is the clearest example of *Urbanus magnus* being used as a practical text in a medical context. The association with the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* may explain its inclusion in a manuscript dominated by Salernitan texts, but the humoural content in relation to diet may also have been a factor in its inclusion here.

[80] J. J. Bylebyl, 'The Medical Meaning of Physica', *Osiris*, 6 (1990), pp.16-41, at p.16.
[81] See Fig.7, p.37 for the textual correlations between *UM* and *RSS*. See pp.250-6 for the humoural aspect to *UM*.

6.5. CONCLUSIONS

The manuscripts of *Urbanus magnus* not only provide clues about the composition of the poem, but importantly they allow us to witness the varied uses it could be put to. Whatever the original intention was, the manuscripts clearly demonstrate that the poem had later lives in different contexts. It could sit neatly alongside satirical works such as *De contemptu mundi* or *De miseria condicionis humane*. It could be utilised as an educational text within a curriculum, in conjunction with other key textbooks and classical works. Although focused on the running of a secular household, *Urbanus magnus* was a popular text in a sacred context. Here it could be utilised for the running of a religious monastery which is just a larger household, the provision of hospitality to lay guests, and also for the education of more parochial priests outside the monastery walls. Finally, *Urbanus magnus* was also considered as a medical treatise. These represent only some of the potential later uses that *Urbanus magnus* had, and the manuscript descriptions included in Appendices II and III are testament to the varied fellow-travellers that accompanied the dissemination of this text.

CHAPTER 7:

TOWARDS A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF *URBANUS MAGNUS*

The previous chapters placed *Urbanus magnus* within the context of twelfth-century England, both in terms of daily living and also contemporary literary production. In addition, we have seen how the text was manipulated or put to other uses in subsequent centuries. This deeper understanding of the text as a whole allows us to return to the key problems raised in chapter 2. This chapter will examine the question of the origin of *Urbanus magnus*, or more specifically the impetus behind its creation. It is of vital importance to view *Urbanus magnus* as part of contemporary literature, and not to simply view it as the beginning of a broadly European-wide development of courtesy literature. By removing it from the straitjacket of genre, and assessing it as simply a work from the twelfth century, we will be better able to ascertain the reasons for its individual production.

7.1. THE IMPETUS FOR AND PRECURSORS TO *URBANUS MAGNUS*

The drive to create a didactic text in morals and manners has been hinted at in previous chapters. Here, I seek to elaborate on those impulses in the context of twelfth-century England. As we have seen in chapter 2, many scholars have argued that the twelfth century witnessed the emergence of a new genre of courtesy literature. In addition, many have used *Urbanus magnus*, and other twelfth-century 'courtesy texts', as the beginnings of a genre which extends well into the sixteenth century with *De civilitate morum puerilium* by Erasmus. The problem with this retrospective approach is that it does not look back further than the twelfth century. While I do not dispute that a great

number of didactic or instructional works on behaviour and etiquette emerged in the twelfth century, it is important to look at what preceded them in order to fully understand the impetus for their increased production. This does not necessarily imply that earlier texts were influences or sources for *Urbanus magnus*, but rather reveals that such a text did not appear spontaneously.

Some precursors to *Urbanus magnus* have already been identified in the course of the thematic survey of the text. These include the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsi and Hugh of St Victor's *De institutione nouitiorum*. In addition, the debt to the classical tradition and also to monastic rules and the writings of the church fathers has also been discussed.

The Carolingian period witnessed a similar trend towards the production of texts relating to morals and ethics, although less concerned with practical aspects of behaviour and manners. That is not to say that there is any filiation between Carolingian texts and twelfth-century ones; rather, it is evidence that a concern for education in behaviour, both moral and practical, was not unique to the twelfth century. The best example of this literary production is the genre known as the 'mirror of princes' or *speculum principum*. Claussen states that the *specula* were the most interesting exponents of the concern for morals, and that the 'production of *specula* for the laity...sought to bring ideals of ethical behaviour to the sometimes unruly Frankish nobility'.[1] Authors who wrote in this genre include Alcuin of York, Hincmar of Rheims, Sedulius Scottus, Jonas, bishop of Orleans, Paulinus of Aquileia, and

[1] M. A. Claussen, 'Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authority: Dhuoda and the *Liber manualis*', *French Historical Studies*, 19 (1996), pp.785-809, at p.786.

Smaragdus of St. Mihiel.[2] Similar to *Urbanus magnus*, such works are reliant on the writings of scripture and the church fathers to codify proper moral behaviour:

> these 'mirrors' share a number of common characteristics: there is a ready appeal to the authority of church fathers such as Augustine and Isidore, a regular examination of biblical precedents and precepts for proper action...and generally a return to the more classicizing grammar typical of the high culture of the period.[3]

One of the most famous works in this vein is the handbook of Dhuoda, the *Liber manualis*. Written in the ninth century for her son William, this Carolingian text was written to ensure that her son found success in both the eyes of God and his fellow men:

> You will find in it [the handbook] a mirror in which without a doubt you can fix your gaze upon the health of your soul. In doing so you can please in every way not only the world but him who formed you from clay.[4]

Like *Urbanus magnus*, this work is indebted to biblical sources and the Rule of St Benedict. In addition, it similarly stresses reverence for fathers and loyalty to superiors. The continental example of Dhuoda's book devoted to conduct in life, and especially the link between the temporal and eternal life, reveals that prior to the twelfth century there was a concern to produce works about moral improvement. Neal states that 'Dhuoda's work belongs to the long-lived genre of the enchiridion', a small manual or handbook.[5] While at the outset, the example of Carolingian literature may

[2] K. Cherewatuk, '*Speculum Matris*: Duoda's Manual', *Florilegium*, 10 (1988-91), pp.49-64, at p.51. See also, Claussen 'Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authority', p.786.
[3] Claussen 'Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authority', p.786.
[4] 'Invenies etiam et speculum in quo salute animae tuae indubitanter possis conspicere, ut non solum saeculo, sed ei per Omnia possie placer qui te formavit ex limo'. Dhuoda, *Handbook for her Warrior Son: Liber manualis*, ed. and trans. M. Thiébaux (Cambridge, 1998), pp.48-9.
[5] Dhuoda, *Handbook for William: A Carolingian Woman's Counsel for her Son*, p.xvii.

appear unusual in the context of *Urbanus magnus*, historians have compared the Plantagenet court to that of its French counterpart, and traced the manners back to the Carolingian empire:

> The tendency among historians has been to regard the manners of the Plantagenet court as merely a pale reflection of those of their Capetian neighbours, which in turn derived from a much more ancient tradition stretching back to Charlemagne and beyond.[6]

Moving from the Continent, there are also precedents in pre-Conquest writing in England. We have already seen in chapter 5 some continuity and change between Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest England in relation to feasting and consumption. Elaine Hansen, in her study of Wisdom literature, draws attention to a subdivision of Old English Wisdom literature, namely an instructional genre.[7] She sees parallels between certain Old English poems and Old Irish and Old Norse poetry. However, for the purposes of examining a precursor to *Urbanus magnus* I will focus on the poem which she identifies as epitomising this instructional genre, entitled *Precepts*. Hansen identifies two key characteristics of this poem, both of which are present throughout *Urbanus magnus*: the father/son relationship and the use of the imperative.[8] Examining the first feature, the father figure in *Precepts* advices the son on the importance of speech, the merits of self-control and moderation, the dangers of women, and negative behaviour such as 'drunkenness, revelry, anger, envy, and lust, that are pernicious enough to be specified because they dull the rational faculty'.[9]

[6] N. Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.278-334, at p.323.
[7] E. Hansen, *The Solomon Complex: Reading Wisdom in Old English Poetry* (Toronto, 1988).
[8] Hansen, *The Solomon Complex*, p.43.
[9] Ibid., pp.51-2.

While the instructional genre of Old English does not contain the more practical advice present in *Urbanus magnus*, it does correspond well to the first section of *Urbanus magnus* which focuses on moral instruction. *Precepts* states:

> 'Always do what would be written, and what you have done will bring you profit'. God will always be a friend and helper to you in all that is good, and a foe to others in worse deeds. Accustom yourself to do the better thing.[10]

Not only is there a concern for pedagogy in Christian morals, but there is the exhortation to the figure of the son, frequently encountered in *Urbanus magnus* also. For example, we have already encountered the following lines of the opening prologue:

> With attentive ears, hear the worthy words of your father as he teaches you and writes for you, my son; let your father's teaching be grafted on your mind.[11]

This can be compared with the final lines of *Precepts*: 'thus you, my son, remember a wise father's teachings, and hold yourself always against sin'.[12]

The second defining feature of Old English instruction poetry is its use of the imperative. Hansen views the verbs 'demand', 'advise', and 'desire', as corresponding respectively to 'father, son, and [the] act of instructing'.[13] The young son is advised to:

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[10] 'Do a þaette duge, deag þin gewyrthu; / god þe biþ symle goda gehwylces / frea ond fultum, feond þam oþrum / wyrsan gewyrthta. Wene þec þy betran'. *Precepts*, ll.4-7, from Hansen, *The Solomon Complex*, p.49.
[11] *UM*, ll.9-11. For the invocation of the son through the words *nate* or *genite* see *UM*, lines 1125, 1553, 1857, 1911-12, 1947, 2117.
[12] '...Swa þu, min bearn, gemyne / frode fæder lare ond þec a wið firenum geheald'. *Precepts*, ll.93-4, from Hansen, *The Solomon Complex*, p.54.
[13] Hansen, *The Solomon Complex*, p.47.

> Perceive carefully what is good or evil, and constantly keep the distinction in your mind with a keen understanding, and always choose for yourself what is better.[14]

While *Urbanus magnus* does not use the imperative exclusively, it is often utilised in the meaning of 'to advise' or 'to desire'. The writer demands correct behaviour, while the reader should be advised to modify incorrect behaviour. For example, it demands that the reader 'listen, learn the manner of dining…' (*audi, disce modum cenandi…*), while the reader is commonly advised using the future imperative *esto*: 'be not a gluttonous man given over to constant drinking'.[15] As Hansen states:

> The imperative serves as a paradigm of the relationship not only between father and son, but also between human expectation and performance.[16]

The point of this comparison with Old English is not to suggest that *Urbanus magnus* consciously imitated these two features of instructional poetry. Rather, it reveals that *Urbanus magnus* does not represent the emergence of an entirely new and self-aware genre of courtesy literature. The parallels between the stress on moderation of behaviour and courteous speech reveal that such concerns were almost universal; they occur in Carolingian literature, Norse literature, Old Irish literature, Old English literature, well before the twelfth century. The difference is that *Urbanus magnus* goes much further. It incorporates the traditional didactic concerns about moral Christian behaviour and expands them to include a more worldly pedagogical function, namely, etiquette. The following section examines the twelfth-century context of *Urbanus magnus*'s production to try to explain the anomalous nature of the text: on the one

[14] 'Ongiet gerone hwæt sy god oþþe yfel, / ond toscead simle scearpe mode / in sefan þinum ond þe a þæt selle geceos..'.. *Precepts*, ll.45-7, from Hansen, *The Solomon Complex*, p.51.
[15] *UM*, l.959.
[16] Hansen, *The Solomon Complex*, p.47.

hand it reflects the older moral tradition; on the other hand it incorporates emerging *Facetus* and 'contenance de table' literature.

7.2. ORIGINS

Bartlett states that *Urbanus magnus* 'marks a new self-consciousness about etiquette and decorum' in England in the twelfth century.[17] This statement arises from the fact that there are no direct precedents in England for such a work. Yet, the problem remains as to why a text such as *Urbanus magnus* appeared in the first place. Here, I will argue that the social context of twelfth-century England provides clues as to the impetus for the text's creation.

7.2.1. SOCIAL *HABITUS*

We can first try to apply the notion of society and social habitus as the impetus for its creation. Crouch, trying to discern the differences between the emergence of courtliness and chivalry respectively, used the work of Pierre Bourdieu in an attempt to explain the emergence of codes of behaviour. Crouch summarizes Bourdieu's approach as follows:

> [Bourdieu] set out to account for the way that an invisible force like 'society' can act on the individuals who make it up. He found it in suggesting that individuals exist within a social environment where there are unconscious norms of behaviour, which are only noticed when they are breached...These norms are propagated through education, experience and observation.[18]

[17] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.583.
[18] Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness', p.41.

In this understanding, there is little need to codify rules of behaviour so long as they are upheld. They become visible only when violated. If we accept for the moment the premise that such rules of conduct and behaviour were written down because their rules were constantly being flouted, we are still faced with the question of why they were now being broken. I would like to suggest that one of the reasons for this emphasis on courtesy and manners which manifests itself so strongly in the twelfth century may have had a Norman influence. If we look at William of Malmesbury's depictions of the Anglo-Saxons he stated that:

> Drinking in company was a universal practice, and in this passion they made no distinction between night and day. In small, mean houses they wasted their entire substance, unlike the Normans and French, who in proud great buildings live a life of moderate expense.[19]

Therefore, we have a contrast – albeit highly subjective – between the supposedly more civilised Normans and the less civilised drunken Anglo-Saxons. We can see this contrast in the Bayeux Tapestry in the illustration of an Anglo-Saxon dining scene [Fig.37] and a Norman counterpart [Fig.38]. The emphasis in the Anglo-Saxon example is on the act of drinking, whereas in the Norman scene it is far more about food, serving, and eating in a manner which we have seen in *Urbanus magnus*. For example, the figure of the server in the Norman dining scene is depicted in a way that is identical to precepts which appear later in *Urbanus magnus* with regard to the manner of serving food.

[19] 'Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus. Paruis et abiectis domibus totos absumebant sumptus, Grancis et Normannis absimiles, qui amplis et superbis edifitiis modicas expensas agunt'. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, eds. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998), vol.1, pp.458-9.



Fig.37. Anglo-Saxon dining scene from the Bayeux Tapestry



Fig.38. Norman dining scene from the Bayeux Tapestry

Concerning the server, the poem states that 'while it is carried, the napkin should be placed on the left shoulder'.[20] Furthermore, 'those standing at the table [servants] should attend on bended knee while the lord is drinking, with palms shown outstretched'.[21] The precepts contained in *Urbanus magnus* seem to reflect Norman traditions and customs surrounding dining which date back at least to the eleventh century. However, William of Malmesbury went on to characterise the English as:

> …eating till they were sick and drinking until they spewed. These last two habits they have passed on to their conquerors, whose ways in other things they have adopted.[22]

This is a very indicative statement. The Anglo-Saxons were to take on the manners, customs and etiquette of the Normans, and one could easily see the rules of courtesy and manners being written down in order to further aid the education and cultivation of 'Norman' manners amongst the conquered Anglo-Saxons. In addition, *Urbanus magnus*'s almost dogmatic advice regarding the dangers of over-eating and over-drinking seems to confirm that those manners which were thought to be acquired from the Anglo-Saxons post-Conquest still held sway. For example:

> Beware of drinking wine greedily like Bacchus…The signs of Lyaeus should not be seen in you. You should not suffer the exile of the mind through drinking.[23]

This is followed by a lengthy discussion about the dangers of over-indulgence in alcohol which he believed led to lasciviousness and violence. If we recall, 'Bacchus

[20] *UM*, l.2585.
[21] *UM*, ll.1078-9.
[22] '...in cibus urgentes crapulum, in potibus irritantes uomicam. Et haec quidem extrema iam uictoribus suis participarunt, de ceteris in eorum mores transeuntes'. William of Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp.458-9.
[23] *UM*, l.949, l.952, and l.959.

causes war, and equips the unarmed to fight'.[24] William of Malmesbury further described the Normans as 'well-dressed to a fault, and particular about their food, but this side of any excess'.[25] This is again reflected in *Urbanus magnus* as there are references to proper clothing and also a strong focus on what and how to eat food. Therefore, the mixing of Anglo-Saxons and Normans may have led to a melange of customs, and perhaps some of the valued Norman customs were foregone in the wake of the Conquest leading to a need to reinstate them through the production of texts on conduct and behaviour.

The problem of date remains. If the Norman Conquest was an impetus for the production of courtesy literature in England, there is a substantial lag into the production of a work such as *Urbanus magnus* in the 1180s. There is no one simple answer to this question, but I would like to proffer two potential explanations for this. The first is the that the Norman Conquest witnessed the importation of French manners which was not codified in written form until after the instability of the civil war period. It has been stated by Spencer that 'gastronomy cannot flourish without a secure context'.[26] Furthermore, he states:

> Although the English cuisine was born at the beginning of the twelfth century, civil war would have interrupted its infancy. Its adolescence was to arrive…once Henry II ascended the throne in 1154.[27]

The same principle could apply to courtesy and manners. We have seen Petrus Alphonsi at the court of Henry I showing concerns with etiquette and courtesy, and

[24] *UM*, l.968, see p.181. Lyaeus is another same for Bacchus.
[25] 'Porro Normanni, ut de eis quoque dicamus, errant tunc, et sunt adhuc, uestibus ad inuidiam culti, cibis citra ullam nimietatem delicati'. William of Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp.460-1.
[26] C. Spencer, *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Year of History* (London, 2004) p.46.
[27] Spencer, *British Food*, p.47.

then a break until the advent of *Urbanus magnus*. It may well be that, in the context of civil war and strife, the need to eat high quality dishes and to dine in a courteous manner may not have been a high priority. With the relative stability which Henry II's reign brought came the renewed flourishing of courtesy literature.

The second explanation is that the expansion of the Angevin empire in the twelfth century, coupled with exposure to bordering neighbours, may have furthered the desire to codify Anglo-Norman manners in the face of 'barbarous' behaviour. Similar to William of Malmesbury's attempt to differentiate between Norman and Anglo-Saxon manners in the wake of the Conquest, twelfth-century texts also sought to distinguish Anglo-Norman customs from those of their neighbours, specifically the Irish and the Welsh. Davies notes the socio-cultural divide which was the result of 'an aggressive and expansionist…Anglo-Norman society'.[28] Consequently, Anglo-Normans were exposed to the 'barbarous' behaviour of their neighbours. Gerald of Wales, in reference to Ireland, wrote that he wanted:

> to give a short account of the condition of this nation, both bodily and mentally; I mean their state of cultivation, both interior and exterior… Although they are richly endowed with the gifts of nature, their want of civilization, shown both in their dress and mental culture, makes them a barbarous people…Their clothes are also made after a barbarous fashion.[29]

[28] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2002), pp.115-16.

[29] 'De gentis igitur hujus tam corporum quam mentium compositione, de utroque videlicet tam interiore quam exteriore cultu, pauca prononere non superfluum duxi...Ceterum licet ad plenum naturae dotibus excolantur, barbarus tamen tam barbarum quam vestium, necnon et mentium cultus, eos nimirum reddit incultos...et barbaro ritu compositis'. Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, ed. J. F. Dimock (London, 1867), pp.149-50. C.f. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis Containing the Topography of Ireland, and the History of the Conquest of Ireland, tr. by T. Forester. The Itinerary through Wales, and the Description of Wales, tr. by Sir R.C. Hoare*, rev. and ed. T. Wright (London, 1863), p.121.

This exposure to their neighbours resulted in authors such as William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon defining 'the essence and trajectory of what one may call political and social Englishness'.[30] For example, Geoffrey of Monmouth enumerated 'English' virtues which are reflected in *Urbanus magnus*: the promotion of peace and unity, the development of cities and towns, the appointment of lords and officials, and upholding the law. On the Irish, Gerald of Wales wrote:

> The Irish are a rude people, subsisting on the produce of their cattle only, and living themselves like beasts…In the common course of things, mankind progresses from the forest to the field, from the field to the town and to the social conditions of citizens; but this nation, holding agricultural labour in contempt, and little coveting the wealth of towns, as well as being exceedingly averse to civil institutions - lead the same life their fathers did in the woods and open pastures, neither willing to abandon their old habits or learn anything new.[31]

The trajectory or progress towards a civilised society, which England had implicitly achieved in contrast to its neighbours, is made clear. Furthermore, agriculture, the growth of towns, and civil institutions are all markers of a cultivated society, along with the willingness to learn and adapt new modes of behaviour.

However, the moral or ethical element to these virtues may be the product of the Church, under Pope Alexander III, establishing the norms of Christian behaviour. Davies states that:

> 'Sweet civility'…became not merely a matter of refined manners and economic entrepreneurship; it also acquired a strong moral and moral-

[30] Davies, *The First English Empire*, p.116.

[31] 'Est autem gens haec gens silvestris, gens inhospita; gens ex bestiis solum et bestialiter vivens;...Cum enim a silvis ad agros, ab agris ad villas, civiumque convictus, humani generis ordo processerit, hends haec, agriculturae labores aspernans, et civiles gazas parum affectans, civiumque jura multum detrectans, in silvis et pascuis vitam quam hactenus assueverat nec desuescere novit nec descire'. Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.151. C.f. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.124.

> reforming dimension, and with it the censoriousness and self-serving sanctimoniousness which often come in the wake of such an attitude.[32]

By cultivating this notion of civilised behaviour, Anglo-Norman society was able to distance itself from its barbarous neighbours, and promote itself as the bastion of good behaviour, both in morals and in manners. Interestingly, it is the French model of good behaviour which is promoted, which itself is not surprising due to the French land holdings of the Norman and Angevin kings. Yet, what is important is that the early twelfth-century texts which we have been discussing in conjunction with *Urbanus magnus*, such as the *Facetus* poems, may have originated in France. Rees Davies's example of how the twelfth-century Scottish kings emulated the French model and regarded 'themselves as Frenchman by race, manners, habit and speech' has particular interest for *Urbanus magnus*. It may well be that *Urbanus magnus* represents an early and expanded attempt to codify French manners in the vein of earlier twelfth century texts emanating from France.

7.2.2. THE COURT OF HENRY II

> Old King Henry first gave these teachings for those who lack refinement, which are written below in this little book.[33]

Chapter 1 of this thesis used the above quotation as evidence for a link with the court of Henry II.[34] This association is most likely not as direct as the quotation suggests, but rather functions to situate *Urbanus magnus* among the literary production of his court. Gillingham argues that historians too often focus on the erudition of Henry II

[32] Davies, *The First English Empire*, pp.117-18.
[33] *UM*, ll.2836-7.
[34] See chapter 1, p.22.

and not his courtliness.[35] An example of the promotion of the learning of Henry II comes from the writing of Peter of Blois who wrote that Henry liked:

> to spend his time in private reading, or trying to unravel some knotty problem with a group of his clerks...It was school every day for the king of England, with constant meetings with the most learned thinkers and discussions on intellectual issues.[36]

However, there are also numerous references to Henry's behaviour, especially his courtliness. For example, Gerald of Wales stated that he was 'he was courteous, affable, gentle, and amiable (*lenis et affabilis, mitis et amabilis*)'.[37] In a different text, Gerald reiterated this image, stressing Henry's politeness in speech:

> When his mind was undisturbed, and he was not in an angry mood, he spoke with great eloquence…He was also affable, flexible, and [polite], and, however he smothered his inward feelings, second to no one in courtesy.[38]

Furthermore, Henry was described as being moderate or temperate in behaviour, especially where diet was concerned. Gerald wrote that 'he was modest in eating and drinking'.[39] This emphasis on moderation is also evident in the writing of Peter of Blois who wrote that:

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[35] Gillingham, 'The Cultivation of History, Legend, and Courtesy', p.40.

[36] 'Secreta se occupat lectione, aut in cuneo clericorum aliquem nodum quastionis laborat evolvere...verumtamen apud dominum regem Anglorum quotidiana eius schola est litteratissimorum conversation jugis et discussio quaestionium'. Peter of Blois, *PL*, 107:198. Quoted in Ian Short, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Henry II' in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, eds. C. Harper-Bill & N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp.335-61, at p.342.

[37] Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.194. C.f. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.158.

[38] 'Citra animi turbationes, et iracundiae motus, princeps eloquentissimus...Vir affabilis, vir flexibilis et facetus: nulli prorsus hominum, quicquid intus palliaverit, urbanitate secundus'. Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.303. C.f. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.251. Note that I have translated *facetus* as polite, rather than facetious in the original translation.

[39] 'Erat enim cibo potuque modestus ac sobrius, et parcimoniae, quoad principi licuit, per omnia datus'. Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.302. C.f. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.250.

> No one is more honest in speech than our king, more polite in eating, more moderate in drinking; no one is more magnificent in gift-giving, no one more munificent in alms-giving.[40]

This description of Henry II marries well with the stress in *Urbanus magnus* on moderation and restraint of behaviour. While as king he was duty-bound to be munificent in public life, there was an importance placed on moderation more privately. As Gerald of Wales wrote, he was 'profuse abroad, but sparing at home (*largus in publico: parcus in privato*)'.[41] To compare this with *Urbanus magnus*, we have seen the expectation to provide hospitality to guests, using the best ingredients, and ensuring the plentiful provision of food and drink. Yet, despite this bountiful depiction of hospitality, the overarching concern is the moderation and restraint of individual, personal behaviour.

However, while Peter of Blois and Gerald of Wales praised the modesty of this king's court and comportment, it was not to everyone's taste. The troubadour Bertran de Born described Henry's court as having 'no laughs or smiles, no banter either'.[42] This alludes to the self-control of expression which has already been discussed in chapter 4. For Bertran, the consequence of such temperance was a court that was 'vulgarly weary and mortally dreary'.[43] Bertran found the excitement he was looking for in the court of Henry's son, the Young King Henry, where there was a:

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[40] 'Nullus rege nostro est honestior in loquendo, in comedendo urbanior, moderatior in beibendo; nullus magnificentior in donis, nullus munificentior in eleemosynis'. Peter of Blois, *PL*, 207:198.
[41] Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.303. C.f. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.251.
[42] 'On hom non gab i non ria: / Cortz des dos / ... / Et agram mort ses faillia / L'enois e la vilania'. Bertran de Born, *L'amour et la guerre: l'oeuvre de Bertran de Born*, ed. G. Gourain, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence, 1985), vol.1, p.60. 'Casutz sui de mal en pena', ll.50-4. All quoted in Short, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Henry II', p.342.
[43] Ibid.

> warm welcome and fair, fine lodgings and clean, good talk everywhere, free gifts and cuisine; no urge to move on: feast in song for a while, to the strains of the viol.[44]

Urbanus magnus sits somewhere between these descriptions of the two courts. Where hospitality is concerned it is more akin to the description of the court of Young King Henry. *Urbanus magnus* tells the reader to take care to welcome any guest with courtesy, to have all the necessary provisions for dining and sleeping, to provide feasts, and to give gifts. However, conversation was to be restrained, and at the command of the master of the house, corresponding more to Henry II's court described as having 'no laughs or smiles'.

The courtesy depicted at Henry II's court can be compared to that of his grandfather, Henry I. Judith Green argues that the court of Henry I was characterized by 'formality and wealth, conducted in luxurious settings, a honeypot for those seeking advancement...'.[45] She argues that there was a renewed emphasis on discipline and formality at Henry I's court, in the wake of the more undisciplined court of William Rufus. She further gives the example of Robert, Duke of Normandy, whose court was seemingly so disorganised that 'the duke reputedly found he could not even get up in the mornings because his servants had stolen his clothes'.[46] Writers described the regimented routine of daily life, but also the display of wealth at court.[47] For example, Walter Map wrote that:

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[44] 'Gent acuillir e donar ses cor vaire / E bel respos e "ben-siais-vengut" / E gran hostal pagat e gen tengut, / Dons e garnirs et estar ses tort faire, / Manjar ab mazan / De viol' e de chan'. Bertran de Born, *L'amour et la guerre*, vol. 1, p.242. 'Mon chan fenis ab dol et ab maltraire', ll.29-34. Quoted in Short, 'Literary Culture at the Court of Henry II', p.342.

[45] J. Green, 'Henry I and the Origins of the Court Culture of the Plantagenets', in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: confrontations et héritages*, eds. M. Aurell et Noël-Yves Tonnerre (Turnhout, 2006), pp.485-95, at p.495.

[46] Green, 'Henry I and the Origins of Court Culture', p.491.

[47] For example, Walter Map described the daily routine which consisted of work in the mornings and pleasure in the afternoon. William of Malmesbury noted the acquisitve nature of Henry I, and the

> Those who were ripe in age or wisdom were always in the court with the king before dinners...; after noon and the siesta, those were admitted who devoted themselves to sports; and this king's court was in the forenoon a school of virtues and of wisdom, and in the afternoon one of hilarity and decent mirth.[48]

Green argues that Henry II would have known the stories about his grandfather's court.

Henry II's restrained court may also reflect a renewed stress on the need for order in social and political life. As Green argues for the change from the undisciplined court of William Rufus to the more regimented one of Henry I, so too can we argue that the emphasis on courtesy at the court of Henry II – especially on restraint and discipline in courtesy – was a reaction to the instability of the civil war period:

> Courtly culture was already to be found in different centres before 1135, and the less settled conditions afterwards may have disrupted but did not destroy this legacy.[49]

Importantly, the court provided the model for the running of smaller noble households. As Green states about Henry II:

> His court was at once the setting for his private and public life, and the nerve-centre of his rule. It was a centre of consumption and display, a melting pot of hopes and ambitions, and a way of life that could be emulated by other great households, of magnates and bishops.[50]

collection of precious objects or exotic animals. For more, see Green, 'Henry I and the Origins of Court Culture', p.492.

[48] 'Maturi uel etate uel sapiencia semper ante prandium in curia cum rege, uoceque preconia citabantur ad eos qui pro negocio suo desiderabant audiri; post meridiem et sompnum admittebantur quicumque ludicra sectabantur; eratque scola uirtutum et sapiencie curia regis illius ante meridiem, post, comitatis et reuerende leticie'. Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, pp.438-9.

[49] Green, 'Henry I and the Origins of Court Culture', p.495.

[50] Ibid., p.485.

Urbanus magnus, with its allusion to the royal court, may have acted as a vehicle for the dissemination of courtly and royal standards of behaviour and the practical elements of running a household.

The court of Henry II was renowned as a centre for literary production. One of the prominent genres of literature emerging from this milieu was court satire. The two best exponents of court satire were Walter Map's *De nugis curialium* and Nigel de Longchamps's *Speculum stultorum*. Thomson views satirical works such as the *Speculum stultorum* or the poems of Walter of Châtillon as having no reforming purpose, seeking only to ridicule contemporary society.[51] Chapter 3 discussed the anti-curiale sentiment current at Henry II's court, and the anti-clerical satire that was created to express that sentiment.[52] Furthermore, we have seen elements of satire running through both *Urbanus magnus* and its manuscript tradition. For example, *Urbanus magnus* follows the satirical trope of the *mala femina*, witnessed in *contempus mundi* literature, and also in the anti-marital tract by Walter Map. Yet, Thomson may be wrong and satire may well have an implicit reforming purpose because it makes the reader think back on themselves and their own behaviour. The difference with *Urbanus magnus* is that those reforming purposes are more explicitly stated. This separates it from more satirical works such as the *Speculum stultorum* and *De nugis curialium*. This raises the question of how *Urbanus magnus* fits with the literary production at that time, and how it may function as a reaction to this satirical literature from the court of Henry II.

[51] R. M. Thomson, 'The Origins of Satire in Twelfth Century Europe', in *England and the Twelfth Century Renaissance*, ed. R. Thomson (Aldershot, 1998), pp.73-83, at p.81. Originally published in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 13 (1978), pp.73-83.
[52] See chapter 3, p.135-44.

I believe that *Urbanus magnus* lies between satire and complaint. John Peter identifies five points which he believes reveals the key points of divergence between satire and complaint:[53]

Satire	**Complaint**
Concrete	Conceptual
Personal	Impersonal
Wide range	Small range
Scornful	Corrective
Specific	Vague

Firstly, satire is situated in the 'concrete particularity of real life', as opposed to complaint which can often be viewed as conceptual or 'allegorical'.[54] *Urbanus magnus* therefore lies closer to satire in its depictions of uncivilised behaviour, and is explicit in the prescriptions for correct behaviour. Secondly, satire may be personal in two respects: a satirical attack on a specific individual and the intrusion of the personality of the satirist. In this respect, *Urbanus magnus* rests somewhere in between. Certainly, it does not attack a specific person, but more broadly it is concerned with the appropriate behaviour of various ranks of society. However, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, the voice of the author occasionally appears in *Urbanus magnus*, usually in conjunction with an exhortation to a son. Nonetheless, aside from these brief personal interjections, *Urbanus magnus* remains largely impersonal in tone. Thirdly, Peter states that satire is more wide-ranging than complaint, and that 'satire can range over a scale as wide as human personality itself'.[55] This is based on the importance placed on the personal in satire, which allows writers to critique a variety of topics based on their personal interests. He also states that complaint is 'tied to a system

[53] J. Peter, *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature* (Oxford, 1956), pp.9-10.
[54] Peter, *Complaint and Satire*, p.9.
[55] Ibid., p.9.

rather than a personality', and 'like the Christianity it espouses, strives always to be sober and reasonable'.[56] For *Urbanus magnus*, it is at this point that a shift away from satire to complaint begins to take place. Leading on from the argument that, where the author is concerned, *Urbanus magnus* is largely impersonal, it can definitely be described as sober and reasonable, at all times espousing moderation and restraint. Peter's fourth point of divergence emphasises that satire is scornful, choosing rather to highlight negative aspects of society for satirical, and even comedic, effect.[57] In contrast, *Urbanus magnus* is overtly concerned with the correction of behaviour. Finally, satire is usually specific in its attack. In the twelfth-century this could take the form of anti-clerical satire, or 'satire of monk against clerk, Benedictine against Cistercian, clerk against monk...satire against women', to take just a few examples.[58] *Urbanus magnus* does not explicitly attack any individual or section of society. It is more concerned with the actual transgressions of social etiquette rather than the transgressor himself. It is this point which may provide the clearest clue for how *Urbanus magnus* is situated among the wealth of satirical works emerging from the court. With such literature bemoaning upward social mobility and specifically the misuse of courtliness for personal gain, *Urbanus magnus* may function as a reaction to such anti-clerical literature. With the perceived vices and corruption of clerical figures being circulated in satirical works, *Urbanus magnus*'s didactic and corrective purpose, coupled with its emphasis on moderation and restraint, may be an attempt to redeem clerical behaviour through the codification of correct behaviour. Peter's point that complaint is 'tied to a system' has a resonance for literary production at Henry

[56] Ibid., p.10.
[57] Thomson, 'The Origins of Satire in Twelfth Century Europe', p.81. Thomson gives the example of Walter of Châtillon whose poems were meant for public performance at the annual Feast of Fools.
[58] Ibid., p.75.

II's court, which also witnessed the development of the creation of handbooks. Ziolkowski states that:

> In the twelfth century prose was versified in hitherto unprecedented quantities. Entire handbooks of medicine, law, and other disciplines were put into poetry, as were charters, chronicles, sermons, and the Bible.[59]

Both Bartlett and Clanchy have noted the creation of handbooks in the court of Henry II.[60] The two pre-eminent examples of such works are Richard FitzNeal's *Dialogue Concerning the Exchequer* (*Dialogus de Scaccario*) and the *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom of England* (*Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Angliae*). However, these were not merely handbooks, or enchiridion, of a singularly practical use. Clanchy, quoting R. W. Southern in part, says:

> As Southern has emphasized 'these books were not simply manuals or textbooks for office use...: they aspired in some to invest the routine of government with an intellectual generality'...Thus Fitz Neal composed his work in the form of a classical dialogue, and Glanvill presented English custom in terms of Roman law. They aspired like the other *curiales* to Latin scholarship and an audience larger than English officialdom.[61]

While these two works are not in verse form, they do reveal a desire within the milieu of Henry II's court to codify and record the workings of government, whether that is the legal system or the Exchequer. However, there remained a concern about the quality and form that these works took, with an emphasis on classical traditions. For example, the *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom of England* is

[59] J. M. Ziolkowski, 'From Didactic Poetry to Bestselling Textbooks in the Long Twelfth Century', in *Calliope's Classroom: Studies in Didactic Poetry from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, eds. A. Harder, A. MacDonald, J. Reinink (Leuven, 2007), pp. 221-43, at pp.229-30.
[60] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.583, and M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066-1272* (Oxford, 1998), p.80.
[61] Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, pp.118-19.

described as an 'amalgam of a classical form...and practical modern information'.[62] *Urbanus magnus* can be seen in this light, since it attempts to catalogue behaviour at court and within a noble setting which could be categorised as 'practical modern information'. Furthermore, its referencing of classical poets such as Horace, Juvenal, and Ovid, corresponds to the 'classical form' seen in Glanvill's and FitzNeal's work.

The importance of the cleric in *Urbanus magnus*, and the strong literary output from Henry II's court on issues regarding clerics and clerical practice, strongly suggests that the author was aware of the anti-clerical sentiment. As we have seen in *Urbanus magnus*, the cleric is depicted as working within a noble household, fulfilling the administrative duties required by his lord, whether that lord is a king or a nobleman. Therefore, this text is situated in the literary production of the time, but also in the debate over the role of the secular cleric in society. Yet, there are key differences between *Urbanus magnus* and works such as John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* or Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*. The first is that *Urbanus magnus* is written in verse form, but recalling Ziolkowski, the twelfth century witnessed the versification of many of these handbooks or manuals. Furthermore, following the popular and highly influential prose texts of Hugh of St Victor's *De institutione novitiorum* and Petrus Alphonsi's *Disciplina clericalis*, *Urbanus magnus* was the versification of precepts already well-received. However, most important is the difference in intention, from satirical to corrective. Walter Map, Nigel de Longchamps, and John of Salisbury sought to ridicule contemporary behaviour; *Urbanus magnus* sought to reform it, or at least to lay down the foundations of correct behaviour. Thus, having acquired this foundation in decent behaviour, both moral and practical, an upwardly mobile person

[62] Ibid., p.80.

could utilise their cultivated manners to fit their intended environment. Writing about the concept of 'sweet civility', Davies notes that:

> Civility implies an image of acceptable behaviour and norms; it also implies an antonym – incivility at best, barbarousness at worst. Without civility, membership of civil or civic society, of the English polity, was out of the question.[63]

Consequently, by following the precepts contained in *Urbanus magnus*, the reader would not only have a solid grounding in morals and ethics, but would also have the knowledge of the 'acceptable behaviour and norms' to succeed within that civil society. In addition, that moral and ethical underpinning may aid in avoiding the ridicule of satirists such as those seen above.

7.2.4. 'A Monument to Anxiety'

Bartlett states that *Urbanus magnus* is a work which is a 'monument to anxiety'.[64] He continues:

> Women are inconstant, enemies are all around, there is endless need for carefulness over deference, the master is the slave. The 'civilized man' is a careful, controlled, and worried individual.[65]

Where did this anxiety come from? In the context of twelfth-century England, I have identified three potential causes for this anxiety. The first has already been discussed: the use of courtliness for self-promotion.[66]

[63] Davies, *The First English Empire*, p.128.
[64] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.588.
[65] Ibid.
[66] See chapter 3, pp.135-44.

The second area has also been broached in chapter 3. Linked to the use of courtesy for self-promotion, literature in twelfth-century England reveals apprehension about social mobility and the perceived permeability of the upper echelons of society. In the previous section on social *habitus,* I argued that one reason for the written codification of proper behaviour was to counter the habitual breaking of such codes. However, we can see this working in an opposing manner. Westerhof argues that:

> since a sense of group identity depends on mostly unwritten precepts which are interpreted and enacted subconsciously, it is at times in which the ideal underlying social interactions comes under pressure from external, uncontrollable, factors that it becomes most visible.[67]

We have already encountered the external forces in the guise of the increased Anglo-Norman expansion and the attendant tension between neighbours such as Ireland and Wales. In addition, the permeability of the social classes was another cause for anxiety for the nobility in England. Chapter 3 discussed the depictions of nobility in *Urbanus magnus*, and especially the use of the image of 'noble blood'. The desire to codify noble or elite behaviour may be a reaction to that external pressure of increased social mobility or permeability. I take Westerhof's argument one step further, to argue that both forms of external pressure may have caused these unwritten precepts to become written. The most likely explanation for this would be that due to increased social mobility, there were people elevated to higher-ranking society who were unaware of the correct etiquette. Therefore, an elevated figure would require knowledge of elite behaviour in order to avoid embarrassment or ostracism. Yet, conversely, the codification of manners ensured the maintenance of the high standards of behaviour

[67] Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, p.4.

expected in an elite context. It was therefore mutually beneficial for those who were already noble, and those just accessing this elite stratum of society. The nobility could then further differentiate themselves from upwardly mobile men by stressing their noble blood and lineage.

Further related to the issue of noble blood is the contemporary discussion about the instability of the royal family.[68] In literature there was an anxiety about the lineage of the royal family, linking the perceived corruption of Henry's children to the claims of adultery by their mother. Walter Map wrote that:

> ...Henry, son of Matilda, succeeded, and upon him Eleanor, queen of the French, the wife of the most pious Louis, cast her unchaste eyes, and contrived an unrighteous annulment, and married him, though she was secretly reputed to have shared the couch of Louis with his father Geoffrey. That is why, it is presumed, their offspring, tainted at the source, came to nought.[69]

Gerald of Wales similarly questioned how the children of such a union could amount to much:

> Also Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, when seneschal of France, had carnally known queen Eleanor... As it were to crown all these enormities, which were already too enormous, king Henry, as common report declared, dared by an adulterous intercourse to defile this so-called queen of France, and so took her away from her own husband, and actually married her himself. How then, I ask, from such a union could a fortunate race be born?[70]

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[68] See chapter 3, pp.112-13 where I argued that passages in *UM* concerning children's deference to parents may have reflected the rebellious nature of Henry II's sons.

[69] 'Cui successit Henricus Matildis filius, in quem iniecit oculos incestos Alienor Francorum regina, Lodouici piissimi coniux, et iniustum machinata diuorcium nupsit ei, cum tamen haberet[ur] in fama priuata quod Gaufrido patri suo lectum Lodouici participasset. Presumitur autem inde quod eorum soboles in excelsis suis intercepta deuenit ad nichilum'. Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, pp.474-7.

[70] 'Item comes Andegaviae Gaufredus regina Alienora, quando senescallus Franciae fuit, abusus fuerat;...Ad cumulum igitur excessuum nimis enormium sic dictam Franciae reginam rex Henricus adulterino concubitu, sicut fama dispersit, polluere praesumpsit, dominoque suo sic ipsam subtraxit sibique maritaliter eandem de facto copulavit. Qualiter, quaeson, ex copula tali felix potuit prosapia nasci?' Gerald of Wales, *De Instructione Principis* in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. G. F. Warner, (London, 1891), vol.8, pp.300-1. For the English translation see *Concerning the Instruction of Princes*, ed. J. Stevenson (Felinfach, 1991), p.98.

This notion of corruption in lineage is reflected in *Urbanus magnus*, and it is worth quoting again the relevant passage:

> The idea that a child of corrupt blood could be born to a noble line seems absurd. A noble line brings forth only the best qualities and conducts itself generously. It is the corrupt and idle line that spews out wastrels and deals out bitterness. The finest fruit are produced from the finest tree.[71]

This idea is paralleled by Gerald of Wales who wrote of Henry's sons: 'whatever good qualities you find in either of them, you know were transfused from the root into the branches'.[72] Although the passages relating to adultery in *Urbanus magnus* more likely reflect the *mala femina* tradition of satire rather than contemporary rumours of infidelity, the circulation of literature linking adultery to the corruption of descendants may have had an influence of the text. Indeed, there is much in the text about deference of sons to parents, and especially to the noble father. Social order is maintained by deference and respect for the father figure, and family ties. As Gerald of Wales wrote about the relationship of Henry's sons, Young Henry and Richard:

> ...if these illustrious brothers had been united by the ties of fraternal love, and had regarded their father with filial affection…how great, how inestimable, how splendid and incomparable in the present age, would have been the glory of the father, and the triumphs of the sons?[73]

If that was the ideal, such as *Urbanus magnus* promotes, the reality of when familial deference and respect crumbles is almost irreparable:

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[71] *UM*, ll.104-7.

[72] 'Quiqquid enim in utroque fere virtutis invenias, noveris in ramos a radice transfusum'. Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.198. Wright, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.161.

[73] 'Si tanti fratres fraterno se invicem foedere, filialique affectu patrem filii respexissent, duplicique simul, tam benevolentiae scilicet quam naturae vinculo astricti fuissent, quanta et quam inaestimabilis, quam inclita et incomparabilis in aevum et patris fuisset gloria, et prolis victoria'. Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.201. Wright, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.164.

> To what a magnitude, and height, and strength the tree would have grown, if the branches had been naturally knit together, and had drawn their sap from the roots, is manifest from the premature decay and heavy fall of what was so precious. For as branches lopped from the stem of a tree cannot reunite, so the tree stripped of its boughs, a treasonable outrage, is shorn both of its dignity and gracefulness.[74]

The breakdown of the family unit – through the disobedience of wife and children, and the lack of familial respect – led to social disorder in twelfth-century England. Thus, this social disorder may reflect another aspect of anxiety prevalent in *Urbanus magnus*, not only in the maintenance of a functioning and effective family unit, but more generally for the greater society. One of the over-arching concerns of the text is hierarchy, and especially appropriate deference to superiors. By maintaining a deferent family unit, and also deference in the social hierarchy, social order is easier to uphold.

Urbanus magnus was not produced in a vacuum. Moreover, it was not the catalyst for a genre; rather, it was a response not only to the satirical literature emerging from Henry II's court, but also the broader issues of social order, social mobility, and the self-identification of the both the elite themselves and the Anglo-Normans in general who were comparing themselves to their barbarous neighbours. This was likely the cause for anxiety at the time.

7.3. USE

The next issue to address is the use of *Urbanus magnus*. It has already been noted that courtesy literature was directed at nobility or within a noble context, while the

[74] 'In quantum igitur et quam arduum robur, ramis naturaliter sibi cohaerentibus, succumque a stirpe trahentibus, arbor excrevisset, ipsa praecisorum tanta et tam prematura ruina declarat. Sicut enim rami a stipite praecisi per se non coalescunt, sic et mutilata frondibus arbor, cum laesae majestatis dispendio, tam dignitate minuitur quam decore'. Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol.5, p.201. Wright, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p.164.

importance of clerics has also been stressed.[75] However, it is important to examine whether this holds true for *Urbanus magnus*. Bartlett, in his examination of the text, states that:

> …the assumption is that the person addressed will be an 'honourable householder' (*herus* or *erus*), someone probably with a hall of his own but also superiors upon whom he is in some sense dependent. We might call people of this type 'gentry' or more debatably 'middle-class'…[76]

Chapter 3 has shown that the text directs many precepts towards the running of a household. Bartlett also rightly stresses the importance of hierarchy within the text, as the 'honourable householder' would not only need to run a well-mannered household but also to know how to behave correctly when in the house of a superior.

Importantly, clerics feature frequently. For example, there are directives for clerics working within a noble household, such as returning to the chapel as soon as the meal has been eaten:

> If you are the cleric of the lord, having been sated at the table, desire to return to the chapel after the meal. [77]

The opening lines of the text refers to 'boy-clerks' or *clericulis pueris*, however, there may be ambiguity surrounding the term *clericus* used in *Urbanus magnus*.[78] The *clericus* referred to in l.1126 refers to a cleric/clerk – a person employed to keep records, act as scribe, or perform other tasks for the running of the household.[79] The ambiguity arises over the term 'boy-clerks' or *clericulis pueris*. Clanchy, in his

[75] See chapter 1, pp.43-4.
[76] Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p.584.
[77] *UM*, ll.1126-7.
[78] *UM*, l.6.
[79] *UM*, ll.1142-5. See chapter 3, p.95.

discussion of the opposing words clerical/lay and literate/illiterate, notes that *clericus* does not necessarily have a religious connotation: 'a *clericus* in common parlance was…a person of some scholarly attainments, regardless of *whether* he was a churchman'.[80] He goes on to state that 'a *clericus* was not necessarily either a 'cleric' or a 'clerk' although he was a person with a reputation for erudition'.[81] This has implications for our understanding of the primary audience for *Urbanus magnus*. Therefore, 'boy-clerks' may not necessarily refer only to the clerical position within a household, but could also mean an erudite, educated young boy possibly with ambitions of social advancement or mobility. Even more, it could refer to boys who had ambitions to be educated and erudite, but who were still being schooled. What is important is to note the significance of the language of the text in late twelfth-century England. While French was considered as more of a literary language to compose works in, Latin was not only a scholarly language – the language of learning – but also one which appealed to the wider clerical community. As Clanchy notes, Latinists such as John of Salisbury and Geoffrey de Vinsauf 'sought an international and predominantly clerical audience', and as a consequence, they had little desire to 'restrict themselves to an English or French vernacular'.[82] The same could be said of *Urbanus magnus*.

However, a work such as *Urbanus magnus* could also have functioned as a didactic tool in the acquisition of Latin. As has been demonstrated, secular clerics would have overseen the production of letters, charters, receipts, etc, in the household, and consequently required a strong understanding of Latin. Since *Urbanus magnus* is

[80] M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (London, 1979), p.179. [Clanchy's emphasis]
[81] Ibid, p.181.
[82] Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066-1272*, p.37.

initially directed towards *boy*-clerks it would not be unreasonable to assume that the text may have played a role in language learning. The relative shortness of the sentences would make it an accessible text for educational purposes, and there are passages in *Urbanus magnus* which may relate to vocabulary acquisition. For example, the section on the defensive provisions for the town is essentially a vocabulary list:

> there should be…shields, catapults, arrows, spears for throwing…, bows…swords, arrows, heavy rocks,…a wooden battering ram, axes…[83]

This emphasis on vocabulary extends to the listing of various types of animals which were not allowed in the hall, to the provisions necessary in the household:

> there should be wheat loaves, salt, napkins, cloths, small knives, herring, sauce, butter, milk, fruit…candelabra, wax, cheese, salted red mullet, pepper, cumin, garlic…, dishes, spoons, shallow bowls, and trestles in the table for dinner.[84]

In some of the extant manuscripts there are works relating to grammar and vocabulary. For example, MS L_1 contains John of Garland's *Liber de homonysis*, and multiple treatises and extracts on grammatical rules, including one on the formation of oblique case endings. Therefore, *Urbanus magnus* may have had a dual role when used by clerics. Firstly, for those already versed in Latin, the young cleric could use the content of the text to learn how to fulfil his duties in a courteous and correct manner. Secondly, the short sentences, relative accessibility of the language, and the variety of vocabulary would have made it a beneficial text for learning Latin grammar and vocabulary.

[83] *UM*, ll.1862-7.
[84] *UM*, ll.2215-24.

7.4. THE IMPACT OF *URBANUS MAGNUS*

The surviving manuscripts are testament to the popularity of the sections relating specifically to table manners along with food consumption and diet. It was this aspect of *Urbanus magnus* that was popularised and adapted in later centuries. Nicholls has identified two poems which were influenced by *Urbanus magnus*.[85] The first is the fifteenth-century poem called *Liber convivi* found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832. This poem is a mixture of *Stans puer ad mensam* and *Facetus: cum nihil utilius,* although Nicholls has identified borrowings from *Urbanus magnus* and John of Garland's *Morale scholarium*. He argues that because these borrowings are 'not extracted in any logical way' that this suggests 'memorial recollection rather than systematic use of a text'.[86] He also argues that the *Liber convivi* reveals 'the popularity of the longer more encyclopaedic work' of *Urbanus magnus*. However, the *Liber convivi* is not the only example of an extracted section of *Urbanus magnus* revealing knowledge of the bigger text. We have already seen MS O_1 which showed significant reordering of the text from the last three sections. With respect to influences on later Latin works, I believe that *Urbanus magnus* was used in different ways. The first is directly extracting a section which can function as a stand-alone text, clearly seen in the popularity of section IV. This then influenced the production of more poems dedicated to table manners, similar to *Urbanus magnus* but not slavishly copying it. Secondly, like the *Liber convivi*, extracts from *Urbanus magnus* can be united with other texts to create a new text. For example, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6865 contains a poem which joins *Stans puer ad mensam*, *Urbanus magnus*, and

[85] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, pp.164-5.
[86] Ibid., p.164.

Quisquis es in mensa.[87] Here, lines from section II of *Urbanus magnus* are inserted between the text of *Stans puer ad mensam*.[88] Again, this reveals the popularity of the precepts on table manners, and shows how *Urbanus magnus* was situated amongst other 'contenances de table' poems. Finally, there is evidence of translation into the vernacular. While it is beyond the remit of this thesis to attempt to trace every subsequent translation or borrowing of *Urbanus magnus*, it is worth providing the example of the Anglo-Norman poem entitled *Petit Traitise de Nurture*, which as Nicholls states 'either uses *Urbanus magnus* itself or an intermediary to produce several rules of table etiquette'.[89] As an example of the similarity between the two texts:

Urbanus magnus	***Petit Traitise***
Frangatur calidus panis; carne leporinas, Agni, cuniculi, porcelli frange recentes. ll.937-8	Chaud pain devez depescer; Char de lievre ne devez trenchier, Ne de aignel ne do conin, Ne char fresche de purcelin. ll.64-67

Fig.39. *Urbanus Magnus* and *Petit Traitise de Nurture*

Nicholls sees this as evidence for a more direct translation since 'the animals are listed in the same order...and such detail cannot be found in any other extant courtesy poem'.[90] Further parallels between the two texts can be seen in Fig.40:

[87] Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books', pp.59-62.
[88] *UM*, approximately ll.994-1039.
[89] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.165. See Parsons, 'Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture', for an edition of the poem.
[90] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p.165.

Urbanus magnus	*Petit Traitise*
Uersus prandentem tecum tua lumina sepe Luscentur; dominus dorsum non cernat edentis. (ll.995-6)	Tes oilz sovent tornez Vers celui ou qui vous mangez, E ton dos torner est deshonour (ll.5-7)
Non uno comedant duo conuiue cocleari. (ll.1002)	Ne ta quilere puet servir A deu compaignons a pleysir. (ll.17-8)
Non comedens facias alienis potibus offas. (l.1007)	Gardez que supes ne facez En autri beyvre sanz congez (ll.21-2)
Versus eos naris purgatio nulla sit (l.1057)	Vilanie est, ou nes muscher (l.40)
Quod satis est panis uel carnis scindere cures. (l.927)	Pain et char assez trenchez, Mes trop grant morseus ne facez (ll.53-4)
Cum cultro tractu prolixo scinde facete. (l.931)	Si tu veuz fere beaus morseus A long trenchez de cotels (ll.60-1)
Birro, si sit opus, illos conterge fricando (l.1018)	Mes si grant mestier en avez, De la nape les essuez (ll.70-1)
Altitonare caue Wesheil nisi precipiatur. (l.944)	Ne trop sovent dire wassail Saunz comandement, de mon consail (ll.78-9)
Forte sedens banco caueas pede tundere bancum. Cum puer es, puero tibi sessio sit puerilis, Cum iuuenis, iuueni tibi sessio sit iuuenilis, (ll.891-3)	Si vous par kas sur bank seez, Le bank de talon ne batez. Leez les enfanz vous devez ser, Tant corn vous estez leur per. Quant jeuenes estez et poy savez, Ou les juvencel seez. (ll.167-72)

Fig.40. Expanded comparison between *Urbanus magnus* and *Petit Traitise de Nurture*

However, this seems to be an exceptional case. The strongest evidence of the legacy of *Urbanus magnus* rests with the popularity of the genre of table etiquette, and not necessarily specific reproductions of certain extracts. As Gieben wrote in relation to *Stans puer ad mensam*:

> at the end of the twelfth century this special genre, by preference written in verse and particularly concerned with table manners, begins to stand out against the general didactic and moralizing literature that served for the education of youth.[91]

[91] Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books', p.49.

The manuscripts of *Urbanus magnus* hint that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when this genre flourished, the moralizing side of *Urbanus magnus* was deemed less important or valuable than the more popular precepts on table manners. Interestingly, the two earliest extant manuscripts, MS O_2 and MS P_2, both contain extracts from the moralistic section I of *Urbanus magnus*. This suggests to me that this 'special genre' of courtesy poems was still in its infancy, rendering *Urbanus magnus* a useful text for moral pedagogy, as seen in MS O_2 and MS P_2. It is with the expansion of the genre of 'contenances de table' and courtesy literature in the subsequent centuries, and especially in vernacular languages, that *Urbanus magnus* is later used as a mine of information about practical manners and etiquette.

7.5. CONCLUSIONS

Urbanus magnus is a complex and often difficult text to understand. It is a disservice to assign it solely to the ranks of 'courtesy literature' as this approach fails to interpret the complexity of the text as a whole. Some sections indeed could be described as 'courtesy literature': section II on household management and table manners, and section IV on food consumption. However, some sections do not fit into the genre, such as the *contemptus mundi* allusions, the *mala femina* theme, and the Christian morals at the beginning. However, looking especially at the first three sections of the text, it is clear that they were created in a milieu of anti-clerical literature, anxiety about social mobility, and the maintenance of order within both society at large and the family unit. Understanding the social context of its creation allows us to view the multiple influences on the text, both historical and literary. The examination of the legacy of the text shows that it was later utilised chiefly for education in courtesy and manners. This is clearly evident in the predominance of thirteenth-century manuscripts

which reproduce sections I and II of the text. However, this later use of the text, and specifically extracts of the text, does not render the text as a whole as 'courtesy literature'. Rather, it reflects varying trends: satire, *contemptus mundi* literature, the *mala famina* genre, 'contenances de table', and *Facetus* literature to name but a few. It is this amalgamation of various strands which renders the text an 'exceptional case' described by Nicholls.

CONCLUSION

Urbanus magnus is undoubtedly a complex text, but one which is important for an understanding of the development of conduct literature, in the codification of manners, and the description of everyday life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. With the increasing awareness of the text, the notion of *Urbanus magnus* as not only a proponent of courtesy literature, but standing at the genesis of the genre, had been progressively adopted in modern scholarship without question. It is for this reason that I have sought to examine the text from a thematic perspective, before coming to the conclusion that *Urbanus magnus* both is and is not courtesy literature. This may appear to be an unsatisfactory statement, but it takes account of the complex and often confused compositional nature of the text. Parts of it can rightly fit into the early development of courtesy texts; however, it is important to stress that the text as a whole does not. The thematic analysis of the text, along with the examination of the extant manuscripts, function firstly to provide a greater depth of knowledge of *Urbanus magnus* to the reader. Secondly, it reveals the varied and diverse sources and influences at play on the text, which render it almost like a jigsaw, pieced together from texts such as *contemptus mundi* literature, *Facetus* poems, 'contenances de table', and medical texts such as the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*. Importantly, this text is a clear example of how many medieval texts are not a single thing with a single life. Before the printing age, texts evolved. The composition of the text and the manuscript dissemination shows that medieval people were quite prepared to take something and change or adapt it to their needs. Indeed, the development of the text reveals its continued usefulness, albeit in different settings.

Accepting the problems of authorship and composition, we are left with a text which provides a fascinating insight into behaviour and manners in medieval England. Importantly, this may not reflect actual behaviour but rather an idealised form of comportment, designed to both educate young people and maintain standards. The question remains as to whether the precepts contained in *Urbanus magnus* denote something new in the twelfth century, representing the appearance of new codes of behaviour which break from the past. Unfortunately, the relative lack of pre-twelfth-century literature on practical manners does not aid in this question of continuity or change. However, there is some indication that such concerns were not revolutionary in the twelfth century. The much earlier sixth-century monastic Rule of the Master contained regulations about bodily emissions such as coughing, spitting, and sneezing; for example, 'incessant sneezing should not abound'.[1] Yet, in the intervening centuries, literature on behaviour focused more on moral behaviour and less on these practical aspects. The twelfth-century witnessed a renewed, more comprehensive, and sustained attempt to codify these practical manners in written form.

At the beginning of this thesis, I noted the long tradition of writing about manners and etiquette from the medieval period up to the present day. The retrospective study of manners, such as Elias's *The Civilizing Process,* propagates the notion of progress in manners and behaviour from the uncouth medieval man to the urbane Renaissance man. Consequently, today we often look back to the medieval period as one of dirt, filth, poor-manners, and rusticity. Certainly, manners change throughout time based on shifting fashions and new technologies, but what is constant from the medieval period to the present is the need to codify such manners. And in many instances, the manners

[1] See the *Rule of the Master = Regula Magistri*, trans. L. Eberle (Kalamazoo, 1977), chapter 48. Referenced in R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, (Harmondsworth, 1990), p.222.

themselves have changed little. Regarding conversation in the modern era, Debretts' *Guide to Etiquette and Modern Manners* states that:

> How we speak to one another is one of the most obvious manifestations of manners – both good and bad. The well-mannered talker puts those around him at ease, is as good a listener as he is a talker and has the ability to come up with easy and amusing chat. The ill-mannered speaker possesses none of these qualities.[2]

Recalling the directives about speech in *Urbanus magnus*, the same basic concern for etiquette in conversation is universal.

It is a stretch to suggest that modern etiquette guides reflect their early medieval predecessors. Rather, what their existence reveals is a constant urge in each society to codify behaviour and create social order through distinct manners appropriate to certain classes. It rests on the notion of inclusion and exclusion. Both *Urbanus magnus* and Debretts are concerned with the promotion and maintenance of standards of elite behaviour. They establish a differentiated code of behaviour which defines a class of society, and consequently highlights and even excludes those who behave differently. In addition, the dissemination of etiquette guides allows for the acquisition of elite manners for the purposes of social mobility and the penetration of elite society without fear of shame and embarrassment.

[2] J. Morgan, *Debrett's New Guide to Etiquette and Modern Manners: The Indispensable Handbook* (London, 1996), p.177.

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APPENDIX I

Urbanus Magnus

Based on *Urbanus magnus Danielis Becclesiensis*, ed. J. G. Smyly (Dublin, 1939)

Manuscripts used in the 1939 edition:[3]

C_1 - Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 61/155

D - Dublin, Trinity College, MS 97

W - Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.147

L_2 - London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XX

New manuscripts included in the apparatus:

C_2 - Cambridge, St John's College, MS 79

L_1 - London, British Library, MS Arundel 52

L_2 - London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XX

L_3 - London, British Library, MS Royal 10 A. X

O_1 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 310

O_2 - Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.552

O_3 - Oxford, Trinity College, MS 18

P_1 - Paris, BnF, MS latin 3718

P_2 - Paris, BnF, MS latin 15170

[3] In Smyly's edition Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 61/155 was C, and is now C_1; London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XX was T and is now L_2.

Methodology:

This edition is the text in Smyly's 1939 version, to which I have added variants from the additional eight manuscripts. I have consciously chosen not to change the 1939 edition, but to include the new manuscripts in the critical apparatus to see how they relate to Smyly's edition. The critical apparatus provides details of spelling changes, change in word order, additional line insertions or omissions, and line order. Glosses and marginal notes are not included as these can be found in Smyly's edition. However, significant glosses and marginal notes are noted in the individual manuscript descriptions in Appendix II. In the critical apparatus, where there is a minor spelling change – such as verb and noun endings – only the word is included; where there is a major spelling change or change in word order, I indicate this by the use of *for*; where there are multiple changes I reproduce the entire line. Variants of non/ne/nec are not included, nor are changes of spelling resulting from interchangeable letters such as c/t. Word omission in the text is shown by a strikethrough. Marginal subheadings are provided to indicate the subject of the text at that point.

Prologue

Moribus ornari, si uis lecto uenerari,
Nobilis inter heros urbanam ducere uitam,
Prouidus inspector propriis disponere rebus,
Sepius hos relegas uersus animoque perhennes,
Quos ego uulgaris uerbi levitate togatos
Clericulis pueris indoctis scribere creui.
Talibus obscura non sunt nodosa canenda
Carmina, prouectis discretis illa canantur.
Auribus intentis exaudi digna docentis

Should follow father's teaching

Verba tui patris, que te docet et tibi scribit,
Nate; paterna tue doctrina sit insita menti.
Que fructum parere solet, est doctrina probanda.
Dicitur a doctis pars illi summa bonorum
Est concessa uiro quem ditat gratia morum.
Gratius in terris nil constat moribus aptis.
Cum propria patria ueneratus nemo propheta
Sit, non inde meis documentis deroget ullus
Consors; sepe loco uili latitant pretiosa,
Continet urceolus uetus escas deliciosas.

Moral behaviour

Sit Deus in primis super omnia corde colendus;
Inde comes uera dilectio proximitatis,
Quam seruare decet constanter quemque fidelem.
Cetera mandata legis solidantur in istis.
Non tibimet lex sis, sed legis iussa sequaris.
Peccantes sine lege uiri sine lege peribunt.
Non sis auditor tantum legis sed amator.
Si malus es, conuersus eas, bonus esse memor sis.

Observe the ten teachings of God

Quid doceant precepta Dei bis quinque uideto.
Ne naulum perdas, illorum premia serues.
Non tua diffidat mens de bonitate superna;
Qui dator est uite, dator est uestis, dator esce.
Lex docet et ratio prauos contempnere mores;
Ergo superbus homo, cupidus, detractor, auarus,
Prodigus, inconstans, tristis, stolidus, maledicens,
Fraudibus indutus, dampnis gaudens alienis,
Inuidie genitus, mendax, linguosus, auarus,
Dux uigilans sceleris, dux fermentum uitiorum,
Scintillans inter homines alimenta malorum,

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4. uersus relegas *for* relegas uersus [W]
5. uulgalis [C_1]; rogatos *for* togatos [P_2]
6. insultis *for* indoctis; curo *for* creui [C_1]
8. canentur [C_1, W]
10. patris fili *for* tui patris [C_1]
12. uult *for* solet [C_1]
14. *om.* [P_2]
16. uenerantur [W]
17. sic *for* sit [W]
18. foco *for* loco [C_1]
22. *om.* [O_2]; quisque *for* quemque [P_2]
26. legis tantum *for* tantum legis [C_1]
26-29 *om.* [O_2]
29. Christum *for* naulum [C_1]
30. paterna *for* superna [C_1]; non tibi *for* non tua [O_2]
33-48. *om.* [O_2]
34. ac instans *for* inconstans [W]
35. imbutus *for* inductus [C_1]
37. scelerum [W]

Derisor, latro, fallax, ferus esse caueto.
Uir patiens, sermone pius, uir morigeratus.
Uir stabilis, fidus, prudens, simplex, taciturnus,
Actibus, alloquiis uir uerax, mitis, honestus,
Iustus, discretus, moderatus, amabilis esto.
Improbus, infidus te consors non comitetur,
Sortilegus, fatuus, exlex; non pectore uulpis,
Potor continuus, iugulator, predo, gulosus;
Non peregrinator audax, nec stultus amator,
Talorum lusor, pacis turbo, ioculator.
Rixas belligeras, meretrices sperne, tabernas,
Et bellatrices luctas, uanasque choreas.
Non tibi sint socii nebulones; sperne lupanar;
Desine sectari que sunt mendosa pudicis.
Turpe rudimentum nullum sit mente locatum.
Qui uicinatur uitiis ab eis uitiatur.
Acrius ignescit hyemans contactus ab igne.
Sordidus egregios incestat crimine mores,
Cum caro sit famula mentis; sit mens tua sana,
Que compellit eam mundi contempnere uana.
Si uitiis obstare uelis, primo rege mentem.
Si captus mente sis, te capient uitiosa.
Sit tibi cura labor uitiis imponere frenum.
Ne sis obscenus, carnis contagia uites.
Mens tua ferrea sit cum te uitiosa sagittent.
Si mens uincitur, caro conuincetur ab illa.
Intima sex opera pietatis corde reserua:
Esuriens, nudus, sitiens, eger, peregrinus,
Carcere conuinctus releuentur, ut expedit illis.
Bis tria sunt mundo que cuncta creans nimis odit:
Sublimes oculi, lingue non uera loquentes,
Atroces digiti uiolati sanguine iusti,
Cor scelus omne pluens, properantes ad mala gressus,
Testes fallaces fallacia queque serentes.
Istis letiferis uitiis ne sis uiolatus.

40. moriginatus *for* morigeratus [C_1]
41. semper *for* simplex [D]
44. tibi *for* te [W]
45. uulpes [C_1]
49. lacunas *for* meretrices [W]
49. spernam [L_3]
52. *om.* [O_2]
53. *om.* [P_2]
54. qui uicinantur, uitiantur uitiis ab eis uitiatur [W]
55-6. *om.* [P_2]
56. infastas *for* incestat [L_3]
58. compellat/compellere [C_1]; compellas et *for* compellit [O_2]
59-64. *om.* [O_2]
60. ~~te~~ [L_3 and P_2]
63-4. *order reversed* [P_2]
64. conuincitur [C_1]; mens *for* caro; caro *for* mens [L_3]
65. optima *for* intima [P2]
67. illos [P_2]
68. duo *for* tria [L_3]; *om.* [W]
68-73. *om.* [O_2]
69. sublimes oculos, linguam non uera loquentem [W]; oculos [L_3]
70. digitos uiolatos [L_3]; *om.* [W]
72. pestes *for* testes [W]

Dilige doctrinam, doctores dilige doctos;
Dedoctus docti doctoris dogmata dampnat.
Quicquid agit fatuus, quicquid fatue meditatur,
Esse putat uerum; fatuus sic infatuatur.
Semper uota tua uigilare uelint in honestis;
Sepius inquires quid de te fama loquatur.
Verba serit uento qui predicat infatuato,
In mare fundit aquas qui corripit insipientes.
Est pietatis opus indoctos docta docere;
Ut uigilent docte, doctis mentes adhibere.
Quisque sagax sanos monitus in corde sigillet.
Exue dum puer est puerilia, docta sequaris
Ut iuuenis doctus inter doctos habearis.
Quod iuuenis pullus discit memorat ueteratus.
Nulla cani ueteri poterunt urbana doceri.

On speech

Non tua facta probes culpando gesta sodalis.
Ad tua facta redi, dum uis culpator haberi.
Laudator parce, culpator parcius esto.
Culpam uitare studeas laudemue sitire.
Si probus es, non sis iactator de probitate.
Sis stabilis uerbis, non sint tua uerba bilinguis.
Cum cane cum lepore currens simul esse caueto.
Non gerat una focum manus, altera dum gerit undam.
Non sis nugosus; pariunt certamina nuge.
Sermo moram faciat dum quis loquitur tibi; seruet
Os sera continua; facies sit in ore loquentis.
[Dum tibi quis loquitur tacitus sis, os sera seruet
Continuata, tua facies sit in ore loquentis.]
Fine dato uerbis responde more Catonis.
Dum loqueris caput et digiti cum pace pedes sint.
Dissonat ingenuo genitus de sanguine prauo:
Ingenuus mellita parit, mellita ministrat:
Prauus iners fellita pluit, fellita propinat.
Arbore de qua sint se poma comesta figurant.

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75. damnat [O_2] 76-77. *appears after* 81 [O_2] 76-79 *om.* [C_1]
77. rectum *for* rerum [L_3] ; fatuus uerum *for* uerum fatuus [P_2]
78-9. *appears between* 83-4 [P_2] 78. *om.* [O_2]
78-79. *om.* [L_3, W] 79. *order of lines following*: 74, 75, 80-1, 76-7, 82, 79 [O_2]
83. et uigiles monitus doctis [W]; et uigiles docte [L_3] 83-84. *om.* [O_2]
84. sigillat [D]; monitus sanos *for* sanos monitus [L_3] 85. facta *for* docta [L_3]
87. ueteranus [D] 88. tamen *for* cani [C_1] 91. laudemque *for* laudator [L_3]
93. audactor *for* iactator [C_1]; *om.* [O_2, P_2] 94. uerbo *for* uerbis [D]
96. manus focum *for* focum manus [L_3] 97. non sis nugosus; pariunt certamina lingue [C_1]
98. tibi loquitur *for* loquitur tibi [W] 98-99. *om.* [C_1, P_2]
100-101. *om.* [D, L_3, W] 104. ingenio [C_1, W]
105. ~~ministrat~~ [C1]; propinat *for* minstrat [O_2]
106. ~~prauus iners fellita pluit, fellita~~ [C_1]; minstrat *for* propinat [O_2]; perit *for* propinat [W]
107. ~~qua~~ [W]

Si pater egregius, opulentus, largus, honestus
Sit tibi, degenerare caue, sis nobilis heres.
Dedecus est cuiquam generoso degenerare,
Imperialis enim res est tibi non, ob honores,
Qui te contingunt, preclaros ledere mores.
Exercere caue que sunt ignobilis actus.
Cum sis ingenuus elatos effuge mores;
Mores urbanos adiuncta superbia ledit.
Si tua natura fallax, infida, dolosa,
Actibus uncosis utatur, falce recurua
Conando studeas actus discindere prauos.
Cum stes consilio permitte loqui seniores,
Ipse licet fueris lingue ratione rosatus.
Consilium cum quisque suum reserauerit, astans
Pectore consulta libres, librata reueles;
Illa reuelata preceps caueas recitare.
Dum loqueris non sis longis ambagibus utens.
Si tua mens inimica probet, studeas bene fari;
Sic poteris mentem uerbis operire proteruam.
Uiuere sic studeas quasi tu sis cras moriturus,
Et quasi uicturus semper sic discere cures.
Res age, disce iuga uariorum ferre laborum,
Otia spernantur; confundunt otia mentes.
Torpentem torpens te non ignauia reddat.

On religious practice

Templa Dei mane repetas; deuotus adores
Christum poplitibus flexis; sit psalmus in ore;
Pectore psalmista sit uerus; cuncta regentem
Ores, quod tibi sit pius auctor crimina mundans.
Cum precibus psalmis formido sit altitonantis
Sint in amore tuo decus et decor ecclesialis.
Cum prostratus humi iaceas Christum rogitando
Siluestris more galli prostratio non sit.
Non loca sancta iuuant quequam si mens bona desit.
Si saluare loca potuissent, non cecidisset
Lucifer a celo. Sit ob hec tua mens pia pura.
Consonet orando mens ori psalmocinando.

---

110. generose [P_2] 111. tibi res est *for* res est tibi [L_3, W]
113. qui [C_1] 111-114. *om.* [O_2]
116. natura sit fallax [O_2] 117. uertatur *for* utatur [O_2]
118. *om.* [O_2]; curuos *for* prauos [C_1, P_2] 123. *om.* [O_2]; caueas preceps *for* preceps caueas [L_3]
124. longis non sis *for* non sis longis [W, P_2]
125. probes [C_1] 126. paternam *for* proteruam [D]
128. dicere *for* discere [W] 131. *om.* [O_2] 133. numen *for* Christum [C_1]
135. actor [O_2]; clericus *for* pius auctor [P_2] 136. *om.* [C_1, D]
138. flagitando *for* rogitando [C_1, D, L_3, P_2]; cum tu prostratus ~~humi~~ iaceas Christum flagitando [O_2]
139. protraxio [D]; ~~non sit~~ [W] 140. quemquam [L_3]
141. seruare *for* saluare[L_3] 142. hec tua pura pia mens [D]; e *for* a [W]; hoc [C_1]
144. precibus rapines *for* quisquam rapiens [L_3, W]

Non exauditur quisquam rapiens aliena.
Non Deus ex rapto placatur; sperne rapinam.
Dum diuina colis ex rapto uiuere nolis
Non exheredes aliquos, ut sit tuus heres
Ex rapto diues; si raptor sis, male uiues;
Quando sepultus eris a demonibus rapieris.
Raptoris natus raro solet esse beatus.
  Non caput inuolucres mantello templa subintrans;
Coram diuitibus non fibula fibulet illud.
Cum clamidatus eas, utrosque clamis tegat armos.
Non sit peplalis ulli uestis clamidalis.
Ecclesia dormire caue, non pilleolatum,
Non cirothecatum te sentiat ara ministrum.
Laus Christi sit in ore tuo, lege, psalle, libenter.
Dum resides templo fixum sit lumen in ara.
Non sis derisor consortis si male psallat,
Siue legat; si scis, urbane corrige doctus,
Concine deuote, lege distincte, manifeste
Psalmos psallendo, nec sillaba surripiatur.
Non murmur sonet in templis, nec fabula uana,
Nec quisquam uelit illicite crispare cachinnum,
Dum cleri Christo regi dant cantica laudis.
  Quam lecturus eris tibi lectio prouideatur.
Si precentor eas, ita prouidus esto canendo,
Ut tua uox aliis uocum modulatio fiat.
Cum canis in cetu, socio prepsallere noli;
Concine dum psallit, taceatur dum tacitus sit.
Sic chorus altisonet quod musica consonet illi.
Esto lectrinum coram lectore legente,
Cum sit opus, simul et coram cantore canente,
Inque choro non sis segnis seruire libenter.
  Presbiteros cleros Christi uenerare ministros;
Que contingit eos, decimam persolue salubrem.
Insere sermones sapientum pectore sanos.
Ecclesia sentire genu caueat sibi poplex.
  Pax benedicta fluens primo panis benedictus
Detur in ecclesia persone nobiliori;

149. quum *for* quando [D]; dum *for* quando [C_1] 151. inuolues [L_3, W]; inuolutes [C_1]
153. artus *for* armos [C_1, P_2] 154. *om.* [D, L_3], uestis uilli *for* uilli uestis [W]
155. ~~caue~~ [W] 158. residens [W]
159. psallit [D]; consortis derisor *for* derisor consortis[W]
160. si sis urbanus corrige docte [C_1]; urbanus [L_3] 163. sonat [W]
163-5. *appears after* 175 [W] 164. illicitum quisquam *for* illicite crispare[C1]
164-177. *illegible* [L_3] 165. dent [W] 166. tua *for* tibi [W]
167. tam *for* ita [C_1] 168. modulencio [D] 169. nolis [W]
170. tacitus sis dum tacitus sit *for* taceatur dum tacitus sit [W and O_2] 173. simulque [D]
176. ~~eos~~ [W] 177. *appears after* 178 [W, O_2]
178. poplos [L_3, P_2]; poples [O_2]

His primo cleri semper debent uenerari.
Maiori cedes intranti templa uel edes;
Semper ubique minor maiori cedere debet,
  Si Deus exercet iras in te, recolens sis,
Quod Deus affligit quos uult deitate beari.
Impia facta Deus recolit, quia criminis ultor.
Criminis auctori renouat pro crimine penam.
Sepe solent clades ob crimina seua tonare.
  Si tibi contingat committere sorde notata,
Gloria peccati te nunquam uexet inanis.
Est pudor immensus aliis recitare pudorem.
Crimina presbitero retegas, ieiunia iussa,
Cetera mandata studio complectere dulci.
Si dare uina Deo renuit tua blanda iuuentus,
Ultimo canities feces saltem det aceti.
  Nemo desperet de se si sit scelerosus,
Si sit blasphemus, si sordibus illaqueatus.
Nam si conuersus sit ei, qui conditor orbis
Et pater est uenie, dominator, fons pietatis,
Culpa remittetur, sed culpe pena sequetur.
Si quotiens delicta pluant, foret his Deus ultor,
Telis letiferis subito gens tota periret.
Nobis nil medium; mors est aut uita parata;
Ad libitum Deus arbitrium nobis dedit. Ecce,
Ignis et unda patet! Ad quod uis porrige dextram.
  Si te fortunet fallax fortuna beatum,
Deridere caue fortunis expoliatum.
Nudatos opibus plures fortuna reliquit.
Non tibimet tribuas si gazis sis cumulatus;
Immo Deo gazas danti, gazas reseranti.
Cum peccare datur, breue sit quod turpiter audes;
Precipitat plures dulcis fortuna reatus,
Et facit orcinos eius mitis dominatus.
Commissum sordens ex consuetudine crimen
Pro nichilo reputat; non limen criminis esto.
  Ut lucrum faciat, homo nocte dieque laborat
Inscius an sapiens an stultus erit suus heres.
Quicquid agat, moriens aliis quesita relinquet,

182. cedas [W]
183-4. *order reversed* [P_2]
184. penas *for* iras [L_3]
187. actori [C_1]
188. *om.* [P_2]
189. corde *for* sorde [L_3]
192. carmina *for* crimina [P_2]
193. mandata legis studio [P_2]
196. nisi *for* si [C_1]
199. bonitatis *for* pietatis [L_3, W]; anime *for* uenie [O_2]
202. lucturis? [D]
204. nobis Deus arbitrium [C_1]
205. manus *for* dextram [D1]
206. fortuna [C_1]
209. gratis *for* gazis [W]
210. danti gazas gazasque secenti [W]; danti gazas, gazasque seranti [O2]
210. Immo Deo qui gazas prestat et aufert [L_3, P_2]
210-1. *om.* [O_2]
210-1. *om.* [O_2]
213. uiciis *for* mitis [W]
217. inscius an sapiens an sapiens erit suus stultus [L_3]; fatuus *for* sapiens [W]

Qui nimium recolent animas memorare parentum.
Pondere magna licet nummorum germinet archa,
Tecta licet, fundus, pecudes, uineta supersint,
Fit defunctorum mox arida mentio patrum.
Nomen aui, proaui cito deuehit aura sinistra;
Quicquid agat, uermis erit eius proximus heres.
  Eternis dapibus animam, dum uiuis, inesces,
Ut mundo moriens cum Christo leta quiescat.
Patria, que cibus est anime potusque salutis,
Que bona cuncta fouet, semper sit mente locata.
Patria celestis locus est et causa salutis,
Patria plena bonis habitantibus, apta colonis.
Patria uernalis; non est per secula talis.
Illa quidem rutilis est circumcincta saphiris;
Illam continue seruant sol, sidera, luna.
Nullus ibi timor est, dolor, error, nemo laborans,
Non hyemant in ea pluuie, nix, fulgura, grando,
Absque labore bonis in ea bona cuncta fluentant.
Non sitis est ibi siue fames, fetor, calor, algor.
Prata uirent, florentque uirentia florida; nunquam
Pascua marcescunt; ibi semper uita perhennis.
Iste locus iustis datur, iniustisque negatur.
O miser, infelix, mundana relinquere spernis,
Que reus inuitus deperdis qualibet hora.
Pro propria, miser infelix homo, curre salute,
Libera dum misero tibi sit permissa facultas;
Incipiat ne uelle tuum, cum uelle nequibis.
Non sis securus in securis oculatis;
Actus securos ledit quandoque securis.
Quod spirat, quod regnat homo, Deus exhibet illi,
Diuitias dat diuitibus, plenos dat honores,
Pauperiem dat pauperibus durosque dolores.
Ut probet ipse Deus opulentos, sic peregenos;
Primates, inopes, maiores atque minores,
Posset, si uellet, eque fecisse beatos.
  Usibus humanis uariis sunt cuncta creata,
Fons, mare, terra, seges, apis et piscis, pecus, ales,
Arbor fructifera, nemus et genus omne ferarum,
Herba, lapis, luna, sol, lux, nox, tempora queque.
Ista creata Deus homini iussit famulari;

219. laborem *for* parentum [P_2]
223. obliuius [P_2]; *illegible* [L_3]
223. creditor obliuioni *for* deuehit aura sinistra [C_1]
226. lota [D]
228. sit semper *for* semper sit [W]
230. aula *for* apta [P_2]
235. sancto hyemant pluue, nix, grando, fulguro [L_3]
241. dum *for* o [C_1]
244. misero dum libera *for* libera dum misero [L_3]
246-7. *om.* [C_1, D, P_2]
246-7. *illegible* [L_3]
248. setat *for* spirat [D]
250. pauperibus dat pauperies [W]; pauperies dat pauperibus [C_1]
251. ille *for* ipse [W]; peregrinos [C_1]
255. apisque [D]; aspis [C_1]

Ille tamen Dominum renuit contemptor, abutens
Illius edictis ingratus, sic retributor
Ingratus fit homo, cui cuncta creata ministrant.
  Tempus preteritum, presens tempusque futurum
Discretus recolit, fatuus nullum nisi presens,
Sint tibi preterita, presentia sintque futura
Gaudia mundana quasi ros, quasi nix, quasi flamen.
  Si sapientia, si species, si gloria regni,
Si probitas, si diuitie, si sint tibi queque
Prospera, que ualeant hominem seruare beatum,
Hec te non moueant, licet hec hominem magis inflent,
Elatosque rosent in mundo; nam uelut umbra
Transit honor rerum, transit terrena potestas.
In propriam carnem memor esto linceus esse,
Ut uideas quod queque caro feni quasi flos fit.
Pulcra caro nichil est hominis pellis nisi pulchra
Quedam feda tegens, que uermi fercula fient.
Fetida sunt quecumque latent in corpore picto.
Illius est hominis purgatio sordida uilis;
Vilius in terris humano corpore nil est.
  Pulcra rosis spina spoliatur, fructibus arbor.
Inspice non quid habes, immo potius quid haberis.
Uilis nonne cinis? Pretium non ullius eris.
Sis licet ad presens circumfluus ubere rerum,
Non tibi diuitie facient augmenta dierum.
  Ignes tertareos, penas perpende futuras.
Tartarus horribilis locus est caligine tectus;
Horridus est in eo clamor, timor et tremor instans;
Hinc sitis, inde fames, grauis hinc fetor, calor, algor,
Ydre continuos penales ore serentes,
Ignes sulphureos incessanter cruciantes.
Sunt ibi tortores tormenta timenda tonantes,
Uulneribus miseras diris animas laniantes,
Uncis igniferis penas uarias renouantes.
Semper lictores sunt ad tormenta recentes,
Impia, seua cohors, in suppliciis sibi descors;
Dampnant dampnati dampnatos. Heu cruciatus
Continui renouantur ibi peneque perhennes.

259. ille creatorem *for* ille tamen Dominum [P_2] 261. create [C_1, D]; creatura [W]
262. tempus presensque [W]; presens preteritum [P_2]
265. res *for* ros [D]; quasi nix, quasi ros [W] 269. homines [W]; 269. hominis; inflant [P_2]
274. ~~pellis~~ [W]; ~~est~~ [P_2] 275. uermis [W]
276. fercula *for* fetida [P_2] 277-278. *om.* [C_1, D] 279. spina rosis *for* rosis spina [P_2]
280. habebis *for* haberis [W] 281. penim *for* pretium [P_2] 284. tartaneos [P_2]
288. Ydre continuas penas ex ore serentes [C_1]; sed dare continuos penales ore serentes [P_2]
289. cruciales *for* cruciantes[W] 291. lacerantes [W];
291. diras miseras *for* miseras diris [C_1]; uerberibus *for* uulneribus [P_2]
296. continue [D]

Omne genus mortis ibi militat, omne periclum;
Est quoque dampnatis locus horridus iste paratus.
Talia sperne loca, tales contempne cohortes.
Hec loca formides, ne sis complexus ab illis,
Cum pater omnipotens nisi te nil postulat a te
Te studeas meritis operum se tradere totum.
Posterior pirgus uite tibi sit specularis.
Mors latet armata, tristissima tela minatur,
Et tandem subito prosternit uulnere cunctos.
Mors fera, quando ferit, stimulo stimulat latitanti,
Segregat et miseram subito de corpore uitam.
Aure minas stillat, aurem uellens sonat illa:
"O morieris, homo, proprie necis inscius hore;
Falleris; occulte uelox delabitur etas;
Omnia uerguntur breuiter; tempus nimis instans
Corpora consumit; paulatim robora frangit.
Tempora retrograda non sunt que preterierunt.
Ossa, caro sanguis cinerantur sub pede mortis.
Impia mors pietete carens communis habetur
Omnibus; adnichilat omnes, mors parcere nescit,
Cum uenit hora necis; nescit differre paratis.
Non illam differre potest auri graue pondus,
Non genus aut species aut fortia membra potentum.
Ligneus set sonipes Christi stabulatus in ede;
Non opus est illum prebenda pascere feno,
Non phaleris gaudet, freno sallaue nitenti,
Non ornamenta decorat decor aureus illi,
Non ferraturus, straturas exigit ullas,
Non strigilatores captat renuens adaquantes,
Ignorant latera redas terrasque colendas,
Illius haud duros labor arduus ulcerat armos,
Non stimulum metuit, calcaria, dura flagella,
Non lacerare petit morsu, nec calce ferire,
Non ob iter lassus incedit nec macilentus,
Cornipedes celeres non curat uincere cursu,
Indomitos dormitat dominos tamen hic equus insons,
Omnibus equus equis, omnes equans equitantes.
Cum decedit homo, palefrido ponitur illo.
Utens cilicio ueteri pro ueste cadauer

298. triste *for* iste [D]; ille *for* iste [C_1]; potus *for* paratus [P_2]
300. perplexus *for* complexus [W]
301. a *for* nisi [C_1]
302. *om.* [C_1, D, P_2]
305. tamen *for* tandem [D]
308. stillat minas *for* minas stillat [D]
319. regna *for* membra [W, P_2]
322. gaudet phaleris *for* phaleris gaudet [P_2]
325. retinens *for* renuens [D]; renuit *for* renuens[W]
326. calendas [P_2]
327. aut *for* haud [P_2]
328. stimulus [D]
329. morsis [D]
332. est *for* hic [W]
334. discedit *for* decedit [D]

Defertur templo. Cum cleris presbiter illum
Psallens precedit; sequitur pro funere plangens
Gens querulo planctu, lacrimalia tempora ducens.
Sic equitans arcam tenebrosam fertur ad edem
Omnibus exosam, que non suffulta columpnis
Admittit corpus nudum, pectusque lacunar
Opprimit, et latera paries constringit utrimque.
Intranti tumulum non est huic ullus amicus,
Qui uelit esse comes in eo, quo portio nulla
Est dapis aut potus aut uestis deliciose.
Non ibi Rufinus, non Albinus regit orbem.
Feruor auaritie, fraus, rethor, subdolus actor,
Seua superbia, liuor edax ibi non diademant
Principis imperium, nec fortia membra uirorum.
Non regnant in eo pomposa cohors dominantum.
Deficit huic tumulo dos forme, gratia laudis.
Non ibi Roma manus rodens, nec Papa timetur.
Illa domus nescit quid musica consona pulset,
Quid lira, quid cythara, quid fistula, quid tuba, sistrum.
Nil operatur ibi ueneris furiosa libido;
Nil muliebris amor, amplexus, oscula blanda.
Serica fulcra nec alta cubilia sunt ibi strata.
Non in ea turres, urbes nec menia celsa,
Non ibi fert fructus arbor, nec auis philomenat,
Non flores redolent, nec olentia lilia uernant.
Non ibi fulgent astra micantia, sol neque luna.
Queque caro parili trutina trutinatur in illa
Ede tenebrosa, qua nil regnat nisi uermis.
Uermis ibi princeps, rex, dux, comes est titulatus
Solus in ede sua nullos sitiens famulatus.
Tu qui uiuis homo regnando, qui morieris,
Respice quid misera caro sit, quid uermis in ede.
Nil nisi corpus habes proprium, miser exul; in illa
Cum prece uel pretio uel furto uel nece uel ui
Omnia que propria numeras fient aliena.
Aufert hora breuis que tempora longa dedere.
Non sunt supplicia luctus, dolor, exilium, mors,
Immo tributa fera uiuendi sunt data uobis.
Non animo motus sis, si quis regnet iniquus;

336. illud [P_2] 337. loquitur *for* sequitur [W]; precedit psallens *for* psallens precedit [C_1]
338. lacrimosaque [W] 339. in *for* ad [C_1] 345. est *for* aut; deliciosa [C_1]
348. diademat [C_1] 350. in ea regnant [W]; dominanti [P_2]
352. subdens *for* rodens [W] 353. consona *musciafor* muscia consona [W]
354. cistrum [P_2] 357. pulcra *for* fulcra [D]
357. sunt loca pulcra nec alea tabula sunt ibi strata [W]; cubicula [P_2]
358. dome *for* ea [P_2] 367. inspice *for* respice [W] 368. et *for* in [W]
369. futuro *for* furto [D]
370. numeras propria *for* propria numeras [W, P_2] 374. regnat [D]

Eius diuitias contempnas ferre moleste.
Ultio diuina licet eueniat nece sera,
Illa tamen regnum subito subuertit iniqui.
Uiuere permittit inhonestos inter honestos
Altitonans, omnes communi sole maritat.
Plures, ut Iudas, in nequitiis tolerantur;
Plures, ut Petrus, a Christo corripiuntur.
Non inflatus eas licet ortu nobiliteris.
Quo plus posse tibi sit, plus tibi prouidus esto.
Posse nocere sat est, cum sit tibi posse nocendi.
Nulli dampna pluas, dum uertice sidera pulsas.

On malicious gossip

Si bonus es morum, prudens, discretus, honestus,
Ex tumidis uerbis prauorum ne mouearis.
Praua solent praui fari, que non meruisti;
Hec non iudicio sed iniqua mente pruinant.
Laus est discretis a prauis uituperari.
Lingua tumens felle simper linguatur inique.
Cum maculosa sonat mendax infamia de te,
Perfer ad extremum; dampnat mendacia uerum.
Si sit homo felix sapiens, erit inuidiosus;
Inuidus est, si sit infelix panniculosus.
Sepius inuidia parit et pluit intima dampna
Pluribus iniuste, que non meruere subire.
Si parit inuidia socios tibi forte nociuos,
Audi, dissimula; uinces patienter iniquos.
Si fortuna tibi plenos philomenet honores
Ditando uariis gazis, pius esto benignus,
Gratus sanguineis; ingratos corripe uerbis.
Si tua proficiat illis correptio sana,
Letifices super hiis, fatuos quod defatuasti.
Si fatui fuerint subuersi turbine sensus,
Non homines fatuos habeas homines quasi nullos.
Uestes des nudis, dape si fuerint satiati;
Nil erit ex ueste, grates redimas tibi dignas.
Si quis eis dampnosa serit, sis uiribus ultor;
Offensam licet urticent, tibi sis tamen Hector.

On respect for parents

Est scelus immensum proprios odisse parentes.
Est genus ignauum, prauum, nequam, scelerosum,
Quod deturpat eos; genus est de semine Iude.

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376. eueniet [D]
377. regnum *for* subuertit [W]
380. celerantur *for* tolerantur [D]
384. ~~sat~~ [D]
386. sapiens *for* prudens [W]
391. ~~semper~~ [P_2]
392. dum *for* cum [W]
393. rerum *for* uerum [C_1]
394. si sapiens sit homo felix [W]; felix nec homo sapiens [P_2]
395. ~~si~~ [P_2]
396. pluit et parit *for* parit et pluit [C_1]
398. uicinos *for* nociuos [W]
400. tibi fortuna *for* fortuna tibi [W]
401. plus *for* pius [C_1]
402. ingratus *for* gratus [C_1]
404. quos *for* quod [C_1]
406. non habeas fatuos habeas homines quia nullos [O_2]
407-10. *om.* [O_2]
408. redimes [D]

Uerus amor constansque fides cum stare sinistrent
Inter sanguineos, quod ira, superbia, liuor,
Fraus, scelus assidue stimulant, stet pax simulata.
Talis honor tali seruertur sanguinitati.
Sanguineos qui dedecorant, sint dedecorati;
Testiculis, oculis, pedibus fiant uiduati.
Tempore pacifico, peruerso tempore caros
Dilige sanguineos, caros pariterque sodales.
On the protection of a great man
Creba tuis qui dampna pluit, tibi sit uelut hostis.
Si ferus innocuo, tacito tibi dampna propinet,
Illa pius, tacitus patienter ferre memor sis.
Impatiens si ferre nequis, tibi quere iuuamen,
Quere patrocinium magnatis, gratia cuius
Te foueat, te respiciat; te seruet amice.
Quem defensorem munuscula sepe titillant,
Sepe titillari gaudent donis opulenti.
Dans etenim uincit, cum uincunt munera dantis.
Ille preces fundit steriles, qui munera differt.
Est res tuta nimis tutore potente potiri;
Sepe nocere solet nocuus tutore carenti.
On neighbours
Clemens esto bonus uicinis et moderatus,
Non scintilla fouens iras, accensa furore;
Illorum pueris famulis nil turpe sagittes;
Tu pecudes pariterque canes a uerbere serues,
Lesio nam talis inimicam nuntiat iram.
Sis socius sociis, habearis amicus amicis,
Ne de te uere ualeant inimica rotare.
Inuidia tacti mendacia si qua caminant
De te, sustineas dum decidat illa procella.
Si quis uicinus uicinis seua propinet,
Et malus incipiat male uicinis dominari,
Cum pede, cum cornu feriens mala germinet illis,
Mox cum uicinis uigiles subuertere prauas
Seuitias; pes neruetur, cornu resecetur.
Non nisi suppliciis genus emendatur iniquum.
On citizens
Contra conciues solus contendere nolis.
Ius licet illatum tibi sit, tamen esto modestus.
Hostibus armatis non obuiat hostis inhermis,

414-9. *om.* [O2]
416. sit *for* stet [C1]
417-8. *order reversed* [W]
417. *om.* [P2]
418. decorant [W]
419. pedibus oculis *for* oculis pedibus [C1]
422. sit tibi *for* tibi sit[C1]; *om.* [O2]
426. gloria *for* gratis [D]
427. amicum [D]; amica [W]; amicat [P2]
431. *inserted*: cui preces assunt iteriles cuius munera desunt [P2]
432-47. *om.* [O2]
433. nocet *for* solet [D]
434. bonis [D]
438. *om.* [D]
441. caminant si qua [P2]
443. uicinis uicinus *for* uicinus uicinis [P2]
448. amarum *for* iniquum [W]
449. noli [W]; contempnere [C1]
448. amarum *for* iniquum [W]
450. allatum *for* illatum [D]; ablatum [W, O2]; obuiet [C1]
451-69. *om.* [O2]

Nemo uelit dente dentes corrodere lime.
Si probus et pius es, humilis liberque fidelis,
Esse tuum nihil est conciues inter iniquos.
Si tibi mansio sit, tibi si sint edificata,
Illa prius uendas pila quam sis inter atroces.
Non apud orcinos pietatis opus reperitur;
Orci seua cohors nihil exercet nisi seua;
Est res seua nimis cum seuis uiuere seue.
Qui se furfureis commiscet, furfureus sit;
Esce quisque suis se miscens esca suis fit.
Inter conciues preclaros pax sit in urbe.
Illos connodet constantis fedus amoris.
Egrotat titubatque foris, quod dissidet intus.
Nempe bonis placita constant que pace reguntur.
Impius est ciuis qui ciuibus impia format.
Conciues tibi uicinos unius amore
Non culpes, nec dedecores sermone uel actu.
Arbitror indignum ciuem digno sociari
Qui nescit cui fidei seruare rigorem.
Pacem ciuilem uitiis uiolare caueto.
Dilige uicinos, uicinis esto benignus;
Uicinis placuisse suis non ultima laus est.

How a man without strength should escape the notice of his enemies

Si desint uires, promissis, fraudibus hostem
Fallere muneribus caute lex est sapientis.
Prouidus, astutus pugnam parat hostibus; absens,
Decertans secum sine pugna pugnat operte;
Sic sapiens pugnans uindictas format opertas,
Dum latitans hostis uictor pateat manifestus.
Hosti dat uires qui cedit uiribus hostis.
Est res nempe grauis homini, res exitialis,

On the manner of the arrogant when defeated

Que sibi funestis proponere blandia cogit.
In malefacto quando superbus se fore uictum
Ore tonat, lesi per eum uindicta quiescat
Corporis; ad penam satis est cuiusque superbi,
Actibus in propriis quod se clamat superatum.

On enemies

Dum furor hostilis scintillat pectore triste,
Peruigil hostilem studeas sedare furorem.
Cui pax languescit non pacifice requiescit.
Nemo uadat ouis quem letifer hostis ouilit.
Nullus inermis eat, cum uulnera seua minantur.
Premunita minus collidere tela solebant.

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453. liber atque [C_1]
456. uendat [W]; pila tu sis [C_1]; ~~pila~~ [P_2]
459. ~~res~~ [W]
468. culpas [W]
470. cuiquam [W]
471-4. *om.* [O_2]
472-3. *om.* [D]
476. hostes *for* absens [C_1]; *om* [O_2]
477. deceptans [D]; distulerat *for* decertans [C_1]
479-88. *om.* [O_2]
481. res est *for* est res[W]
487-95. *illegible* [P_2]
487. cum furor hostilis scintillet [W]
487-8. *order reversed* [C_1]
489. pax cui *for* cui pax [D]; cum pax [W, O_2]
490. ocians [W]; *om.* [O_2]

Seuior insidiis fit sepius obuius hostis.
Acrius hostiles cum fulgurat ira furores
In te, protector tibimet solertior esto.
  Si tibi sit uerna, tecum sit uerna uiator
Arma gerens; non solus eas; tibi prouidus esto
Hostibus occurrens, et tutior ire ualebis.

That you should not oppose the strength of superiours

  Non preceps stolide maiorum uiribus obstes;
Immo caput ducas quo te perducat arundo.
Ipse licet lesus sis a dominante, quiescas.
Illum ne moueas, ne te dampnosa sequantur.
Non lupus a sompno turbetur dum requiescit,
Ne ferus insurgat in te qui parcere nescit.
Casu turbo ruens sopitos suscitat ignes.
Cum tua sit manus ore lupi detenta, tacens sis,
Absque minis patiens, humilis; lites tumulentur;
Pollicitis, precibus, donis manus eripiatur.

On disputes

  Plena scientia, plena potentia, plena uoluntas,
Quo simul hec tria conueniunt, male ledere possunt.
Cum maiore suo furor est contendere uerbis;
Maior sepe potest ulcisci, cum uolet, iras.
Ponitur in biuio qui lites cum pare format,
Estque pudor rixas aliquas conferre minori.
Qui lites agitare sitit sibi litigiosum
Querat consimilem, cum quo lis possit arari.
Omnimodam litem sapiens uitat uelut hostem.
Incipiens rixas tumidas non efficit illas,
Sed responsa tonans; respondens esse caueto.
Solus rixari, solus pugnare nequibis.

That you should not ridicule the poor

  Uerberibus, uerbis inopes collidere nolis;
Sepe solent inopi crescendo crescere uires;
Sepe solet miseros subito fortuna beare.
Ex longo recolunt male facta rependere tales.
Ex insperato dominatus uberat omen.
Non tibi sit uilis pullus uillis oneratus.

On honouring ones parents

  Quicquid honoris habes famuletur utrique parenti;
Hoc iubet astra regens Dominus; iussum teneatur.
Si genitor, genetrix annis sint inueterati
Inualidique sui uili senioque grauati,

493. sit *for* fit [W] 493-5. *om.* [O_2] 499-500. *om.* [O_2] 501. silescas [O_2]
504. uite *for* in te [P_2] 506. sit *for* sis [O_2] 507-10. *om.* [O_2]
507. *after inserted*: uincuntur molli pectora dura prece [W] 509. tumulantur [C_1]; uoluptas [W]
512. enim *for* sepe [W] 514-5. *om* [D]
514. ~~conferre~~ [P_2] 515. uelit *for* sitit [P_2]; tibi [C_1]
516. cum colis possit [P_2]; queras [C_1] 519. sed rixa tonans ridens esse caueto [P_2]
519-21. *om.* [O_2] 520. rixare [P_2] 523. uiuere *for* fortuna [O_2]; solent [P_2]
524. *om.* [O_2] 525. uerberat [C_1] 527. quod quid honoris habens [P_2]
528. Domini [D]; iubens [P_2] 529. sint annis *for* annis sint[W, O_2, P_2]
530. senior uilique *for* senioque uili [W, O_2]

Non necis optator illorum sis nec amator,
Ne cladis natus fias propter dominatus.
On the manner of keeping your vow
Uota Deo licita conserues more fidelis;
Illicitum uotum non obseruare teneris.
Putridus hedire ueterano crimine nolis.
Crimina sepe solent ueterana nouare pudores.
Tangere uelatas, moniales, anachoritas,
In consanguineas proprias non esto Iudeus.
Commatres uel filiolas uiolare refutes.
Tangere sanguineas caueas natas, genitrices.
Immundos, paticos, percussores fuge molles.
Non puer immundus alter fias Ganimedes.
Sorde puer potus, sordem sapit inueteratus.
On patience if you have lost much
Diuitiis si forte tuis fueris uiduatus,
Rebus in amissis patientis Iob memor esto.
Naufragio si perdideris, non inde dolebis,
Sed gaudere uelis, quod idem uitare ualebis
Nil prodest passum tibi commemorare periclum.
Nil lacrime prosunt cum sit submersa carina.
Fortis in aduersis Christum laudare memor sis.
Sit modus in mente, si fert fortuna dolores.
Sollicite trepidos aliorum respice casus,
Mitius et poteris exemplis ferre labores.
Pectore fert casus sapiens patienter amaros.
Qui dolet amissis rebus dampnum sibi binat.
Spes tua non titubet, dampnum licet illa propinet.
Prospera contritis post aspera sepius undant.
Rebus in aduersis spes est uia prima salutis.
Aspera sic metuas ne spem formido subundet.
In bonitate Dei spem ponat quisque fidelis;
Cum sit in aduersis subito Deus eriget illum,
Et ueniet uotis succursis gratior hora.
Languor continuus, proprios si dequoquit artus,
Languoris stimulum mitis perferre memento.
Morborum stimulos Paulus uirtutis amore
Sustinuit patiens; sit in hoc speculum tibi Paulus.
Sepius emendat animam languore coactus.

531. nec sis *for* sis nec [D]
535. hediri [D]; *om.* [O_2]
536. pudorem [D]; pudoris [P_2]
537-43. *om.* [O_2]
539. commatrem [D]; sinistres *for* refutes [W]; refuta [C_1]
542. fias alter *for* alter fias [C_1, P_2]
544. spoliatus *for* uiduatus [D]
545. patiens [C_1]
548. confert *for* prodest [W]
548-54. *om.* [O_2]
549. *om.* [W]
551. sint for fert [P_2]
552. tepidos [D, W]
552. tepidos [D, W]; debicos *for* trepidos [P_2]
553. dolores *for* labores [P_2]; exemplos ferre dolores [C_1]
557. undictua [P_2]
559. aspera si metuas ne te formido subundet [W]
561-2. *om.* [O_2]
561. *added to the margin* [P_2]
562. successis [W]; succissis [C_1]

Morbi mole iacens medicos tibi consule fidos;
Illis consultis medicalia iussa sequaris.
Sepius egrotis prestat medicina salutem.
Iupiter altitonans si sis dominator in orbe,
Nil tibi languenti poterit conferre potestas
Preter consulere Christum medicosque fideles.
Dum nouus est morbus morbo medicina ministret,
Est res dura graues morbi tolerare dolores.
Cum morbo res est; uinces uel uictus obibis.
Tempore peruerso mortem captare caueto.
Uelle tuum semper diuinum uelle sequatur.
Expers languoris nunquam languore grauatum
Deludas, noceas, nam sunt latitantia Christi
Intima iudicia, librantia quelibet acta.
Inscius es tibi qui poterunt emergere morbi;
Lege pari uariis morbis exponitur omnis.
Esse uiri scire sitiens, non eius ab hoste
Explores quis sit, quia semper detrahit hosti
Hostis uipereus; non hostis ab hoste probatur.
Qui fuerint mores hominis uicinia nouit.
Non cruce torquendi redimas suspendia furis.
Qui furem redimet sese cum fure cathenat.

That you should not boast about yourself

Non tibi iacturas faciant laudes populares;
Sepius inquiras que de te fama loquatur;
Si peruersa canet, cancelles que canet illa.
Si tibi laus detur, oculatus sis tibi iudex.
Prauus adulator tibi non sit consiliator;
Nesciat archana tua; que sunt consule sana.
Prauus adulator, mendax lingua uariator
Regnat, laudatur, laudando magnificatur,
Inter magnates magnus fertur fore uates.

On the manner of a faithful man

Ueridicus, fidus, stabilis, uirtutis alumpnus
Nullius est pretii; quicquid commendat acessit.
Nos equidem scimus quod ob hoc fit uilis et imus.
Est uir fidus egens, est diues federa ledens.
Uera fides teritur omni famulo uiduata;
Subdola fraus colitur omni populo uenerata.

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571. sit [P_2] 572. salute *for* potestas [C_1]
575. est res dura mali morbi tolerare labores [D]; dura nimis morbi [W, O_2]
576. *om.* [O_2] 578-87. *om.* [O_2] 579. capatum *for* grauatum [W, P_2]
582. esse *for* es [P_2] 584. scireciens *for* scire sitiens [W]; derogat *for* detrahit [C_1]
585. implorat *for* explores [W]; que *for* quia [P_2] 587. nescit *for* nouis [W]
588. stipendia *for* suspendia [C_1] 590. faciunt [C1] 590-2. *om.* [O_2]
591-2. *om.* [D, C_1, P_2] 593. dum *for* si [D]; cum *for* si [P_2]; con *for* si; sit [C_1]
594. non sit tibi *for* tibi non sint [O_2, P_2] 595-8. *om.* [O_2]
601-2. *om.* [O_2] 601. ~~hoc~~; sit *for* fit [P_2] 602. dignus *for* fidus [C_1]
605. res sit uilis *for* uilis res sit [C_1] 605-16. *om.* [O_2]

Si qua tibi uilis res sit qua sis oneratus,
Illam collaudes cunctis, illam uenereris.
Sic citius uilem poteris detrudere mercem.
Utilitas lateat, quam libras posse iuuamen
Ferre tibi; tacito fiat, ne sit tibi quisquam
Uicinus nocuus, super hoc qui possit obesse.
Si dominus tibi uel fidus secreta sodalis
Committat, corde tacito commissa reconde.
Digna tegi nunquam retegas consulta patenter.
Ira licet lites uobis alterna fauillet,
Horum dum seruas animo secreta serata,
Conciliatus eis dilectior efficieris.

That you should not secretly disparage anyone absent

Absentem socium nunquam rodas uel amicum.
Uersus eos fidi non fedus inescet amoris.
Oscula facta tibi non fiant oscula Iude.
Cui dederis pacem conserues federa pacis.
Cui pax uera datur, pax in solidum teneatur.
Pax ignita face nihil est nisi pax sine pace.
Iras pace data non est meminisse bonorum.
Nulla Deo placita redolent sine pace perhenni.

That the enemy does not know your heart

Intima consilia tua nesciat intimus hostis
Cui mala sulcasti, licet oscula dentur amici.
Si sit trux animo recolet malefacta remissa,
Mente serabit ea, dum reddit qualia sensit.
Iras preteritas animo serat omnis iniquus.
Corpus habere potes, sed corde carebis iniqui;
Sepius ore rosans odii fert semina mente.

On speech

Non sis uerbosus nec uerborum repetitor,
Non percunctator, non improbus esto locutor.
Sepius ex tumidis emergunt iurgia uerbis.
Iurgia scintillant iras, ireque furores
Tartareos, odium, letalia uulnera, cedem.
Est uia peccati sermonis immoderati.
Dicere plurima tu minime potes absque reatu,
Crimina nascuntur cui multi multa locuntur.
Hoc tibi, care, caue cui, quid, cur, quando loquaris,
De quocumque uiro, cui dicas, sepe uideto.

That you should suffer misfortune patiently

Est uirtus tolerare malos inimica tonantes.
Cunctas uirtutes solidat patientia uera.

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613. reteges [D]
618. te *for* non [W]; *om* [O_2]
620. cum for cui [O_2]
622. pace for face [O_2]; pax ignita pace data non est meminisse [P_2]
623. *om.* [P_2]
624. *om.* [O_2]
625. ~~hostis~~ [P_2]
626-31. *om.* [O_2]
627. ~~si~~ [D]; redolet [C_1]
628. sanabit [D]; reddat [C_1]
630. potest; carebit iniquus [W]
631. ~~fert~~ [D]; rosas [C_1]; sepe [P_2]
636. *appears after* 641 [D]; munera *for* uulnera [C_1]
637-41. *om.* [W, C_1]
634-42. *om.* [O_2]
636-41. *om.* [P_2]
640. *repeated at* 663 [D]
642. tollerare [P_2]
643. uirtutes cunctas *for* cunctas uirtutes [O_2]

Semper in aduersis guadet patientia mitis.
Mites, corde pios, patientia tollit ad astra.
Fert patiens casus omnes patienter amaros.
Lingua puerpera fit odii fideique loquendo;
Pace perhennatur amor, ira pax uiolatur.
Osse carens lingua quandoque teri facit ossa.
That you should not speak evil, or through a nod or sign
Que mala sunt nutu uel signis desine fari;
Hec mala sepe nocent plus uerbis ore relatis.
Sepius enodat animos opulentia prauos,
Sepius immanes paupertas conserat iras.
Sunt humiles inopi casu non pectore plures.
Dum fuerit fellitus, egens, algore grauatus,
Greculus esuriens, mendicus, uermiculosus
Seruiet ad placitum cunctis quasi uernula liber.
Pauperies si forte suas subuertere possit,
Officium pictum, libertas picta peribit.
Non omnis, cui concha patet, scit quid latet intus.
Lis, leuitas mentis, amor, ebrietas, furor, ira,
How secret discussions are revealed by quarrels, passion, and drink
Liuor edax, odium secreta latentia pandunt.
Hinc tibi, care, caue cui, quid, cur, quando loquaris.
Uerba iocosa tua sint queque, faceta, polita.
Ore tuo nulla procedat feda, loquela;
Feda loquela uiri discreti dissonat ori.
Sepius obscenus subuertit sermo loquentem,
Non auditorem; caueas ne feda loquaris.
On the manner of being silent
Si qualiscumque fuerit specialis amicus,
Qui tumidas iras in te seruet, tacitus sis.
Uincere si cupias inflatos, uince tacendo.
Ob leue colloquium non spernat amicus amicum.
Non est spernendus, immo tolerandus amicus,
Qui boreat stolidus lingue leuitate loquelas,
Turpia qui fatur, amens qui magna minatur.
Talis amicetur, tibi qualis amicus habetur.
Illud amare decet quod cogere cogit amare.
Si fuerit uerus sermo quem spinat amicus
In te, perpendas merito te ferre pudorem,
That you should not threaten anyone
Siste tonare minas cuiquam qui paruulat illas.
Lance pari librare caue fera uerba uirorum.
Queque mine cuiusque uiri pariter metuende
Non sunt: sepe minus faciunt qui magna minantur.
Sepe minas metuit dum fulminat igne minarum.

645. pio [C_1] 646. omnis [O_2] 647. lingua peruersa fit odii ficulique loquendo [D]
653. pacientia *for* paupertas [W] 654. inopi [P_2]
655. cogatus *for* grauatus [P_2]; fueris [C_1] 663. caue quid cui [C_1]; caue care [P_2]
665. procedit [D] 678. sermo uerus *for* uerus sermo [C_1] 681. labrare [P_2]
683. loquuntur *for* minantur [C_1] 684. qui *for* dum [C_1]

Sepius in rixis timor est, sine uulnere uulnus.
Lites siue minas pudor est formare minanti.
Est meretricalis certantibus ultio talis.
  Res homo proponit, rerum Deus ordinat esse.
Esse quod ipse putat, nihil esse Deus facit esse.
Sic Deus ipse uices rerum uariat dominando.
  Ira, furor, mentisque calor si pectore regnent,
Quod casu caris peruersa loqui tenearis,
Sic irascaris, quod non mala tanta loquaris,
Quin de iure queas culpatos deinde probare.
Si rude uis fari cuiquam, circumspice quis sis,
Quis sit cui loqueris, uel cuius conditionis.
Alloquio fellis caueas quemquam stimulare,
Nam poteris tali semel aspera uerba tonare,
Tempore perpetuo qui te desistet amare.
  Lingua loquax, modicum membrum, clauis sera cordis
Conserat et reserat que sunt bona uel mala mentis.
Discretus, lepidus sis actu, mente, loquela.
Sit locus et tempus tibi nauis anchora, remus.
Sepe nociua tibi cumulanti pauca loquaris.
Casu bile tumens ad rixas ne mouearis.
  Secretum socio poteris conferre fideli.
Dic quibus in terris poterit fidus reperiri.

On the scarcity of honesty

Fidus enim coruo consors est rarior albo,
In questu proprio quia proximus est sibi quisque.
Nemo quidem redolet perfecti fedus amoris;
Nulla fides hodie; socii periere fideles.
Iam periit Pylades, periitque fidelis Horestes.
Heu fidei nati miseri sunt sub pede strati,
Suntque doli geniti domini super alta locati.
Tutius et melius et sanius est tibi soli
Quod tua secreta logices, quam fictus amicus;
Cum secreta tua fuerint cuiquam reserata,
Illius imparitas paritas tibi fiet operta.
Propositum celare suum lex est logicorum.
Actibus esto tuis tacitus, consultor opertus.
Discreti, taciti gestus sermoque timentur,
Plus metuunt gentes tacitos quam magniloquentes.
Pectore non lingua tua sit persepe loquela.

685. ruptis *for* rixis [D]; ~~est~~ [P_2]
686. rixas *for* lites [W]; tonanti *for* minanti [C_1]
687. ultia [P_2]
689. est quod ipse putat, non esse Deus facit esse [P_2]
693. tanta mala *for* mala tanta [C_1]
694. inde *for* deinde [C_1]
695. quid sit [D]
698. simul *for* semel [W]
699. desistit [W]
700. membrum modicum *for* modicum membrum [W, C_1]
703. ~~et~~ [W]
704-5. *appears after* 707 [W]
705. cause [W]
714. nati *for* geniti [C_1]
717. fuerant [W]; *om.* [C_1]
718. operata [W]
720. *om.* [D]
722. homines *for* gentes [C_1]; *after is inserted*: sepe tacens odii semina uultus habet [W]

Sepius obliquus fit rectus amicus; ob illud
Preceptum tibi do, quod sis super hoc repetitor.
Quamuis ceca dea cunctos obliquet amicos,
Tu tamen in minimis non sis obliquus amicis.
In minimis rebus plebs contestatur amicum;
Per medium terebri dinosci posse foramen.

That you should not trust a deceitful or unfair man

Contra fellitum fronti crucis imprime signum.
Fel gerit in corde fellitus fictus, in ore
Mel; dat amicitias uerbis; mentitur et illas.
Se seruare fidem iurat cunctos et honores,
Se dignos conferre tibi spondet famulatus.
Firmat uerba fide, firmat fallacia queque;
Ut grauius fallat fellitus talia spondet.
Talia dum iurat iurando uerba superbit
Falsa fides, falsa iuratio, falsa loquela;
Uulpis cauda, lupi pilus illi frausque coherent.
Blanditiis fruitur presens, absensque uenenat
Fellitus, felle linitus uipereali.
Gaudet habere uias alternis fraudibus usas,
Applaudens sociis steriles promittit amores;
Dat corpus, dat opes, dat mentem lingua rosata
Que rosat hoc uacuum: “Mea sint tanquam tua posco.”
Auribus instillat secreta suis uelut instans
Intestinus amans suus esset in omnibus ille.
Sic linit, donec uideat quod ledere possit,
Lingua uiri picti; mens perfida sic mala pingit;
Retibus irretit alios sic peste togatus;
Pestifer hostis eis sese sic intimat hostem,
More canis cauda congaudet, dente caninat
Subdolus, ac illi credenti subdola trinat.
Est equidem facile sub amici fallere forma.
Uerbis mellitis felliti credere nolis.
Pestes letifere sunt ex hiis sepe secute
Lenibus et blesis sermonibus atque politis.
Ridenti facie simulata loquuntur iniqui.
Non circumueniant te collo brachia nexa,
Oscula nec blanda, nec pessima lingua dolosa.
Semina uirosus uir spargit amara doloris,
Libertatis opus exterminat omnibus horis;
Nescit enim rabies inimica quiete potiri.
Seuit in acceptos ut sic mala posse probetur,

724. oblitus sit *for* obliquus fit [W]
725. reperitor [C_1]
727. ~~non sis obliquus amicis~~ [W]
728. ~~in minimis~~ [W]
733. ~~cunctos et honores~~ [W]
734. ~~se dignos conferre tibi~~ [W]
735. *om*. [D]
743. socio [W]; honores for amores [C_1]
751. non queat *for* intimat [W]
753. hanc *for* ac [W]
754. facilis [D]; quidem [W]
761. ubi *for* uir [W]
762. onus *for* opus [C_1]

Dormit in omne nefas, uigilat, sedet, ut scelerosus,
Et tormentorum gaudet nouitate nouorum,
Cunctis penalis est, cunctis exitialis.
Mens et lingua tument illius felle ueneni.
Non nimis est facile sceleroso degenerare;
Quod natura negat Deus illud denegat esse;
Nunquam promoueas nequam, licet ille tibi sit
Sanguineus, socius, uicinus, dictus amicus;
Huic collata bona steriles numerantur in usus.
Si tibi seruiuit nequam, mox solue laborem
Officii, ne detur ei tibi causa nocendi.
Ob benefacta tibi nunquam malefacta rependas,
Sed benefactorum liber memor esto tuorum,
Ob collata bona plures mala sepe pruinant.
Non sis festinus benefactorum retributor,
Te dator offendat magis inuitus capientem,
Cum retributore ne sint tua dona recisa.
Non collata tua referas cuiquam benefacta;
Illa bonus recolit animo, bonus illa rependit;
Illa malus nunquam relegit, malus illa subundat;
Ergo non opus est danti benefacta referre.
Impius, infidus, ad cuncta sinistra creatus
Si bene cumque facit casu, fel creditur esse.

That you should have a single loyal advisor

Pacifici multi tibi sint plures et amici;
Et tibi de multis sit consiliarius unus,
Cuius consilium cuiusque fides bona, uera,
Grata, salutifera tibi sit, uenerabilis, equa.
Fili, consiliis non sis indutus ineptis.
Consiliis prauis plures periere periti.
Consilio tibi cum sit opus perconsule canos
Mente uiros, qui consilii sint pectore sani;
Illis consultis animo consulta cathenes.
Utile consilium trutines pretiosius auro
Consilium nocuum sequitur manifesta ruina.
Sepe suo nocuit domino consultas auarus,
Eius auarities nummosis nexa cathenis
Premia furtiua coluit dominoque nociua.
Quisque numisma sitit consultus in ede potentis.

That a devoted friend is an incomparable treasure

Copia thesauri constans censetur amicus;
Est ualidis, est inualidis uite medicamen,
Quo semel inuento nihil est pretiosius illo

768. quoque *for* et [W]
776. rependes [W]
778. malefacta *for* mala [D]
780. ostendet *for* offendat [W]
780-2. *om.* [C_1]
784. recolit *for* relegit [C_1]
790. *after is inserted*: utile consilium uenit ab ore senum [D]
792. inductus [C_1]
794. caros *for* canos [W]
800. auaritia [D]
800. nummis sis *for* nummosis [W]
802. sectet *for* sitit [W]; fore *for* numisma [C_1]
803. thesaurius [C_1]

Si tibi sit carus, fidus, specialis amicus,
Unio sit fidei, uelut expedit inter amicos;
Assit amor constans, absit timor omnis herilis,
Absit fictus amor, absit simulata loquela,
Absit auaritia que federa rumpit amoris,
Absit naufragium fraudis, scelus omne quiescat.
Iras pestiferas ignoret fidus amicus.
Non in amicitia solida patet ulla litura.
Si quis inops fuerit qui te duce forte resurgat,
Teque iuuante miser subitos adquirat honores,
Omnia que subito facient de paupere ditem,
Si sit iniquus, eris primus cui dampna parabit.
Paupere fellito nihil acrius esse notato;
Dum sit ditatus tibi fel pro melle rependet.
Si tibi suspectus sit iners biuialis amicus,
Qui te colloquiis absentem turpet amaris,
Dissimules uerba que de te fatur amara.
Tutius est meliusque tibi quod pictus amicus
Et dubius pateat, quam notus pestifer hostis.

That you should delay vengence

Si fueris tutus quod te sint dampna secuta
Per socium pictum uel amicum larueolatum
Os, mens subsileat faciesque rosetur amici,
Dum locus et tempus subeant quibus illa rependas.
Uindicteque mora septennis fabricet arma;
Anglica septenne gens uotum soluere nouit.
Partibus equoreis si seuiat aura procelle.
Expectant auram placidam transire uolentes.
Ultio festina fit multis sepe nociua.
Si fueris seuus inimica resolue tacendo;
Si pius es, pietate uelis quod obest nihilare.
Est tibi pura salus inimica remittere pure.
Omnibus ingrata pietas iacet heu iugulata,
Impietas grata regnat cunctis comitata.
Si quis de socio famulo tibi plantet in aure
Uerba malignosa perhibens: “Sunt uera, probata
Que refero, sed ei nollem reserata quod essent
Me tibi dicente,” careant hec pondere ficta.
Non debet fictis discretus credere dictis;
Uerba susurronis tibi non plantentur in aure.

808. stimulate [C_1] 810. fedus *for* federa [D] 813. ruina *for* litura [W]
817. cui primus *for* primus cui [W] 818. putato *for* notato [C_1]
823. pictus quod *for* quod pictus [C_1] 825. si fueris certus quod de te dampna secuta [W]
826. fictum *for* pictum [W]; lauicolatum [D] 828. subeas [D] 829. fabricat [D, C_1]
830. septennem; potum *for* uotum [C_1]; septennem; totum *for* uotum [D]; potum for uotum [W]
834. lenis *for* seuus [D]; seruus [W]
835. nichilare [D, C_1]; meditari *for* nihilare [W]
843. discretus fictis caueas mentem dare dictis [W]; uerbis *for* dictis [C_1]

Qui sitit ulcisci sibi queque nociua, vel omne
Ius proprium petere, paucis gaudebit amicis.
Cum cumulante tibi mala plurima pauca loquaris;
Casu bile tumens ad rixas ne mouearis.
Cum tibi dampna tonant inimica peste tyranni,
Undique uenales donis tibi quere potentes,
Qui quocumque modo dampnoso dampna rependant.
Munera si desint, precibus solides tibi pacem.

That you should reach for advice against men trying to harm you

Pro quo vel quare lites uel bella parare
Ac cumulare uelis, tibi iudex esto fidelis.
Decertare uolens trutinet primo studiose
Quem fructum poterit hinc carpere uel quid honoris.
Si uario fuerit tua mens hamata dolore,
Sit facies leta, mentiri gaudia discat.
Est facies oculus mentis persepe secundus;
Si titubat facies, animus titubare uidetur.
Est quoque difficile tristi simulare iocosa.
Est laus scire suum risu clamidare dolorem.
Gaudet in aduersis alienis omnis iniquus;
Precedat proprios gestus mens, palpebra, gressus.
Naufragium si forte tuum fortuna redemit,
Portum conserues, mare rursus adire caueto.
Progressus, reditus, maris inspice mille pericla;
Naufragus infestas nimium metuit maris undas.
Si semel es lesus hominis fallacis ab hamo,
Ne fallax iterum circumspice lesio fiat.
Est stolidi bis deludi, semel est sapientis.
Pauperiem, penas internas nesciat hostis;
Tali pauperiem poteris reserare latentem.
Qui uellet miserum te mendicare patentem.

On speech

Curia regalis si te subnutriat alis,
Famine nectareus habearis. Fabula nulla
Exeat ore tuo qua pro mendace proberis.
Sepius incurrit culpam uitiosa loquela,
Sepius et leuia confert mendacia fari,
Et persepe nocet ueris sermonibus uti.
Cum risum reddis, tenuis sit risus in ore;
Est hominis sani capitis ridere modeste;
Est hominis uacui cerebri crispare cachinnos.
Dentes labra tegant cum risus gaudia prestant.

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845. cupit *for* sitit [W]
847-8. *om.* [W]
849. tonent [W]
851. dampnosa [C_1]
852. dum *for* si [D]
853. ~~parare~~ [W]
855. detractare [D]; trutines [W]
856. poteris [C_1]; poterit perquirere hinc quid honoris [W]
857. laniata *for* hamate [W]
860. iubetur *for* uidetur [W]
865. sepe *for* forte [W]
866. portum conserues, inimicas sperne procellas [W]
867. dira for mille [W]
869. qui *for* si [C_1]
875. subnutreat [O_3]
883. cerebri uacui *for* uacui cerebri [D]
884. dum *for* cum [O_3]

Auditu placito cunctis affabilis esto.
Temperiem serues; domino renouare caueto
Turpia de socio, domini nisi ledat honorem.
Rusticus in socios non sis agnominis autor;
Carmina famosa, blashemia, scandala nulla
Emergant a te; non consors turbinis esto.

Seating arraignments

Forte sedens banco caueas pede tundere bancum.
Cum puer es, puero tibi sessio sit puerilis,
Cum iuuenis, iuueni tibi sessio sit iuuenilis,
Cum sis dignus herus, te sessio seruet herilis.

On playing

Colludens sociis socios collidere nolis;
Ludere nolenti tecum desiste iocari.

On gifts

Absque mora redimas promissum more fideli.
Qui cito dat bis dat; det ob hoc cito, qui dare spondet,
Quisque dator; tollit grates omnes mora dandi.
De facili spondens non fias Protheus alter,
Omnibus omnia dans uerbis, tibi queque reseruans.
Non tua promissa certissima deuehat aura,
Que, mala si pariant cuiquam uel amara, quiescant.
Munere promissum uestitum dulce saporat,
Si fuerit nudum pretii priuatur honore.
Perdere plura uelis, unum semel ut bene ponas.

That you should keep promises

Si sis pollicitus in agendis ferre iuuamen
Cuiquam, pollicitum constans seruare labores.
Si das almerium cuiquam, ioculare sit intus,
Aureus anulus aut firmacula uel speciata
Saltem uel semen quo gens persepe potitur.

Greetings and arrival

Tu caput inclines cunctis, illosque salutes
Mitibus alloquiis, simul hiis assurgere discas.
Omnibus applaudens cunctos uenerare meantes.
Crura manu teneas dum se discalceat hospes;
Poplite curuato pedibus stramenta ministres;
Sorde pedes tactos dominantis dum lauat ullus,
Stent famuli genibus, lotos mox mappula tergat.

Table manners

Diuitis in mensa cenando pauca loquaris,
Ne dicere loquax uel garrulus inter edentes.

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886. inter eos *for* in socios [W, O_3]
891. terram *for* bancum [W]; tangere *for* tungere [O_3]
893. iuuenem *for* iuueni [O_3]
894. heros [O_1]
895. colloquiis *for* colludens [C_1]; noli [O_1]
897. fidelis [O_3]
898. quid *for* qui [O_3]
899. omnes grates *for* grates omnes [D, W]
899. que dator est; tollit omnes grates mora dandi [O3]
901. tibi *for* dans [W]
903. pareant [D, W, O_3]; pateant [C1]
904. uestitum promissum *for* promissum uestitum [W]
906. semel unum *for* unum semel; non *for* ut [O_3]
909. des [W, O_3]
909. des [W, O3]; ioculari [O_3]; si das almiolum cuiquam, ioculare sit intro [C_1]
910. uel formula *for* aut firmacula [D, C_1]
914. cuncto [W]
915. crure; discalciat [O_3]
916. confliro *for* curuato [O_3]; conflexo *for* curuato [W]
917. lauet [W]
920. rudis *for* loquax [W, O_3]; garulus [O_3]

Esto uerecundus, reuerentia sit comitatrix.
Nulla facetia confert, nisi sit moderata.
Dilige temperiem, si diligis esse facetus.
Paruus in ore bolus ponatur, dente teratur
Urbano; conuiua tuus dum fercula scindat,
Non comedas, nec ea scindens comedat nisi iussus.
Quod satis est panis uel carnis scindere cures.
Non nimium paruos carnis nimium neque grossos
Scinde bolos socio mense tecum residenti.
Non admittat eos discus, sed crustula panis;
Cum cultro tractu prolixo scinde facete.
Scindendo carnes conuiua peripsimet illas;
Postea pane tuo cultrum tu terge popatum.

The serving of food

Pani pretoree uires obsistere nolint.
Artocopus primo scindatur, dente teratur;
Scindere post prandere licet cum furfure panem;
Frangatur calidus panis; carne leporinas,
Agni, cuniculi, porcelli frange recentes.
Queuis scindatur que pastillata caro sit.
Balene carnes, phoce, cetique secentur;
Nec minus assatam scindes, quecumque sit illa;
Congrus cum rumbo, salsum scindatur et allec.

Drunkenness and gluttony

Dum calices haurit socius, prandere quiescas;
Altitonare caue Wesheil nisi precipiatur.
Dum cibus ore patet, os pocula nulla, saporet,
Dum cibus ore latet, uerbis non lingua ministret.
Non tantus sit in ore bolus positus comedentis
Quin ualeat plene fari si conueniatur.
Bachi more caue calices haurire gulose.
Sit sapor exhausti potus sine peste pudoris.
Non manifestata sint in te signa Lyei.
Exilium mentis per pocula ne patiaris.
Potibus expositus et Bachi legibus herens,
Dum putat haurire calices, hauritur ab illis.
Materiam Veneris incendunt pocula Bachi.

925. urbane; conuiua tus dum fercula scindit [O_3] 926. comedat scindens *for* scindens comedat [D]
928. minimos *for* paruos [W] 929. tecum mense *for* mense tecum [D, W, O_1]
929. scindo [W] 930. fit *for* sed [D]; crustia [O_1]
931. tracto prolixo *for* tractu prolixo [D]; tractuque polito [C_1]; *order of lines*; 933, 932. 931 [O_3]
932. patimpinat [C_1] 933. conterge *for* terge [W, O_1]; tuum *for* tuo [O_1]
934. subsistere *for* obsistere [D]; pectoree [W]; pectoreo [O_3]
936. deinde cibare *for* post prandere [W] 937. panis calidus *for* calidus panis [C_1]
939. postelata, *altered to* pastillata [D]; quomuis [W]
940. grues *for* carnes; cecentur [O_3] 942. congrus cum cultro, crodum scindatur [W]
944. antonare [W]; precipiaris [O_1] 945. *om* [O_3] 946. ora [O_3]
947-8. *om.* [O_3] 948. ualeas; conueniaris [W, O_1]
949. *appears before* 947 [W] 949. Baci [O_3] 951. tui *for* sint [W]
952. patiens sis *for* patiaris [O_3] 954. hauretur [W]

Est genitor Veneris Bachus Veneris genitique
Et genite Bachi sumus omnes; ergo colentes
Bachum cum genitis genite decet esse clientes.
Potibus assiduis non deditus esto gulosus;
Ad calices prona non sit tua uox neque palma;
Ignores potor quid sit transgressio potus,
Lingua tua sana non sit uiduata loquela,
Nec sit deficiens tibi pes sub pondere uentris.
Destruit ebrietas animas cum corpore gazas,
Ebrietas nil est nisi demonis ignis adurens.
Detegit archana Bachi furiosa procella.
Bachus fundit opes, opulentum pocula reddunt;
Bachus bella parit, ad pugnas armat inermes.
Ebrius exclamat: "Quis sum? Uir nonne potens sum?
Copia creuit opum mihi, iam nil debeo regi".
Equora pollicitus, montes, dat cuncta petenti;
Sed cum mane uenit, data noctu sunt uelut aura.

The effects of alcohal

Fecundo calice si crescant cornua Bachi,
Ore, manu nullum ledas, nec calce sigilles,
Nec stes, nec sedeas tua mentis operta recludens.
Lingua, manus, gestus, pes signant ebrietatem.
Sensatus proprii memor efficiaris honoris,
Inguinis et capitis animo discrimina serues.
Indulgere dee noli que thait amantes.
Prouidus effugias mores, uestigia uulpis
Que satiata cibis lasciuos esurit usus.
Dum fouet ebrietas uenerem, manet ignis in igne;
Quo magis est ignita mero Venus est magis ardens.
Omnibus omissis sompnus tua membra cathenet,
Sic melius poteris potus tumulare pudorem.
Si dormire nequis, simulatum sterte soporem.
Sompnus demit opes quas pocula plena dedere.

Etiquette at the table

Non dape uel potu stomacum cumulare labores,
Tempore paschali tua ne ieiunia plores.
Ad mensam conuiva sedens non accubiteris,
Accubitate tue poteris, sed non aliene.

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956. genitor [W]; Venerisque geniti [C_1] 956-8. *om.* [D]
959. gulosis [O_3] 960-3. om. [W] 960. calicem [O_3]
961. cui *for* quid [C_1] 963. tripes *for* tibi pes [O_3]965. nichil *for* nil [O_3]
967. Bachus fundit opes, bachus diffundit honores [D] 967-8. *order reversed* [O_3]
968. parat [W] 969. ~~uir~~ [O_3] 971. potenti [W]
971-2. *om* [O_3] 976. *om.* [O_3] 978. unguinis [O_3]
979. tradit for thait [W]; trahit for thait [O_3]; thayt [D]
981. *om.* [W]; satiat [O_3] 982-3. *om.* [O_3]
984. catenet [O_3]; amissis *for* omissis [W]
985. leuius *for* melius [W]; poteris melius *for* melius poteris [D]
986. finge *for* sterte [D] 987. *appears after* 989 [W] 988-9. *om.* [O_3]
992. plurima *for* puluinaria [W]

Incolumis uescens non puluinaria ponas
Sub cubitis, sedeas ad mensam uertice recto.
Ante cibum licite fiat laxatio zone.
Uersus prandentem tecum tua lumina sepe
Luscentur; dominus dorsum non cernat edentis.
Dente semel tacta panis non frusta reponas
Pulmento; non adiaceant coclearia disco;
Non onerata cibo sint cum ponantur in ore,
Haustu ne nimio cadat esce pars ab eisdem.
Non obstet dapibus pollex sumptis cocleari.
Non uno comedant duo conuiue cocleari.
Que comedi ualeant coclearia non tibi fiant.
Cenando cultro, cocleari ludere noli;
Pocula cum dapibus in mensa sint tibi ludus.
Post escas sumptas mappa coclearia tergas.
Non comedens facias alienis potibus offas.
Fercula nulla petas; que sunt presentia sumas.
Pocula non poscas nisi que pincerna propinet.
Si dapifer sis quod placeat tibi posce, iubeto.
Potus siue dapes cuiquam si mittere cures,
Tecum uescentis assensu mitte sodalis.
Escarum, potus sociis dator esto facetus;
Semper honore frui sitias; gula cedat honori.
Non culpare uelis escas mensis alienis;
Escas non comedas postquam culpaueris illas.
Non fodeas dentes festucis nec genuinos;
Birro, si sit opus, illos conterge fricando,
Ne quid turpe latens inter dentes uideatur.
Si sorbere licet, noli sorbere gulose.
Non consuffletur assatus panis ad ignem,
Coctana, mala, pira, licet illa fauilla fauillet.
Ad libitum domini tergantur siue lauentur.
Pedi confixi sint pani coctana supra,
Cortice nudato mense frigdata gerantur;

996. lucentur [D, W]; dorsum dominus *for* dominus dorsum [W]; domini [O_3]
997. tactum panem non postea ponas [O_1] 998. adiaceant *for* athaceant [O_2]
999. ponuntur [O_3] 1001. pollex dapibus *for* dapibus pollex [W, O_3, O_1, O_2]
1002. *added below column* [O_3] 1003. *om.* [D, O_2]
1003-5. *om.* [O_3] 1005. adhibenda *for* tibi ludus[W]
1006 sumptas escas *for* escas sumptas [C_1] 1007. facias comedans *for* comedens facias [O_1]
1008. ministrat *for* propinet [C_1] 1009. propinat [W]; minister for propinet [O_1]
1013. dare *for* dator [D] 1014. scitias [O_3]
1015. mensis escas *for* escas mensis [W, C_1, O_3] 1016. quas nunquam *for* escas non [O_1]
1017. sed *for* nec [O_3]; fodias [O_1, O_2]; gemininos [O_2]
1018. panno *for* birro [C_1] 1019. *om.* [O_3]
1021. consufflantur [D] 1024. pedes [D] 1024-5. *om.* [O_2]
1025. gerentur [O_3]; geruntur [D]; nudata; frigidata [W]; rigidata [C_1]

Diuerso uase pira sint et mala reposta.
Incoctos fructus si patronus tibi mittat,
Gratis uescaris, non corticibus spolientur
Cum fuerint fructus cenati pocilla dentur.
On the manner of eating food
Pulmentum calidum flatum non sentiat oris;
Panis frustretur in eo, simul exagitetur,
Si placeat, panis crustella uel cocleari.
Salsa, pulmento mappam maculare caueto;
Pectoreas uestes non cenes more bubulci;
Non caput inclines disco; ceruice leuata
Consedeas tacitus, non circum lumina ducens.
Si iacet in disco pinguis bolus ante sodalern,
Illum non digites, ne rusticus addigiteris.
Non intrent simul in disco digiti sociorum.
Indice, pollice queque cibaria sume facete,
Ne popet exterius carnis piscis popa labra.
Lingere contempnas digitos pinguedine tactos;
Non circumtergas digitis uel pane scutellas
Pulmentum comedens digitos non excute disco.
Non tibi sorbenti pulmentum palma reseruet
Discum, nec lesca panis circumrotet illud.
Naribus emunctor, nec rusticus ore screator
Sis cenans; tussis si te premit, opprime tussim.
Si ructare uelis, memores spectare lacunar.
In palma naris cum sit purgatio facta,
Sordes in palma missas oculare caueto.
Non ultra mensam sit facta screatio; birro
Si dorso nequeat, fronti purgatio fiat.
Sit tibi sedile tornatile tale paratum,
Quod ualeant in eo residentes retro screare.
Versus heros uel heras extendere brachia spernas,
Versus eos naris purgatio nulla sit; oris
Turpe quod eiectum sit, ab illis mox sit opertum.
On the manner of accepting dishes
Fercula uel potus quos mittit herus tibi uel dat,

1028. recepta *for* reposta [D] 1026. mala *for* pira; pira *for* mala [O_3]
1028. sed *for* non [O_3] 1029. pocula *for* pocilla [O_2]
1030-1. *om.* [O_2] 1031. et moueatur *for* exagitetur [W]
1032. panis placeat *for* placeat panis [D]; placet [W]
1033. pulmentum sorde [O_2] 1034. uestes teneas non more [O2]; fedes *for* cenes [C_1]
1036. consideres [O_3] 1041. *om.* [O2]; ut *for* ne [O_3]
1043. catinos [D]; nec circum tergas *for* non circumtergas[O_1]
1046. nec discum *for* discum nec [O_1]; circumtonet [W]; circumrodet [C_1]; circumpotet [O_3]
1047. naridi *for* naribus [O_3] 1050. si *for* cum [C_1]
1051. occultare [W]; nullas *for* missas [O_3]
1053. si sordis poterit fieri purgatio fiat [O_2] 1054. sedile *for* tornile [O_2]
1056. nolis *for* spernas [C_1]; *om.* [O_3]
1057. naris fiat purgatio nulla [W]; uersus eos non sit purgatio naris et oris [O_1]; heros *for* eos [O_3]
1059. quod *for* quos [O_3] 1059. tibi herus *for* herus tibi [W] 1061. pregustet [O_3]

Sumat utraque manus cum pleno uocis honore;
Pregustes, conuiua tuus post inde saporet.
Nullus in ascensum det pocula sic sibi missa,
Siue dapes in descensum gustent comedentes.

Accepting the drinking cup

Cum domino conuiua sedens disco simul uno
Concenes lepide tacitus, nisi conueniaris.
Ad iussum domini potes; cum det tibi potum,
Accipias, potes, aliis potum dare cures.
Non calicem reddas domino nisi "prebibe" dicat,
Cum tibi prestiterit potum, non dic "mihi potes".
Ex dapibus positis disco domini dare nolis.
Docta tenere diu cupam non sit tua dextra.
"Prebibe" non dicas, tibi cum pincerna propinet.
Si dicat "Wesheil" responsio sit tua "Drincheil".
Si tamen ex casu tibi sit pincerna puella,
Dicatur licito "mihi prebibe dimidiando".
Non domini mensa domino potante bibatur,
Nec tunc cenetur; teneant mappam residentes;
Astantes mense famulentur poplite curuo,
Dum dominus potat, docti pretendere palmas.
Cena potest fieri sine mensa, non sine mappa.
Dum resides uel dum surgis sit in ore minori
Dorsum, sit facies maioris in ore sedentis.

Bodily functions

Illico non surgas post prandia mingere, uentrem
Nec purgare tuum, nisi sit natura coacta.
Hospes, legatus, famulans non mingat in aula.
Urinare licet domino domui dominanti;
Urinet noctu post sompnum, si uelit, hospes.
A te mingentis uestes non sustineantur;
Promere sepe solet inimica silentia mingens.

On purging the stomach

Si luco uel agro uentris purgatio fiat,
Flamina sint uenti uentrem purgantis in ore,
Et crupet in latebris dum fit purgatio uentris.
Purgato uentre leua contersio fiat.
Viscera dum purgat tuus hostis, non premat illum
Vltio, nec stimulet; est uile ferire crupantem.

1063. inde cessum *for* ascensum [O_3] 1066. potus tibi cum det *for* cum det tibi potum [O_3]
1066. ~~cum det tibi potum~~ [D] 1067. ~~accipias, potes~~ [D]; placide *for* potes [O_1]; *om* [O_2]
1067. cupes dare potum [O_3] 1068. domino reddas *for* reddas domino [C_1]
1070. disco positis *for* positis disco [D]; *om* [O_2]
1072. prebibe ne discat; ministret *for* propinat[C_1] 1074. fiat *for* sit [O_2]
1075. *line inserted*: poplitibus binis memorent genuare puelle 1077. cum *for* tunc [O_2]
1078. flexo *for* curuo [D]; simulentur *for* famulentur [O_3]
1081-2. *om.* [O_2] 1081. minoris [O_3] 1082. in *for* dia [O_3]
1083. uingere *for* mingere [O_3] 1084. uentris curfio cogat *for* sit natura coacta [O_3]
1087. post somnum poteraueit noctu purgare uelicam [O_3]; nocte [O_2]
1092. crepet [O_2] 1094. ~~tuus hostis, non premat illum~~ [W] 1094-5. *om.* [O_2]
1095. *om.* [W] 1096-7. *om.* [C_1, O_3] 1096. ~~uiscera dum purgat~~ [W]

Viscera dum purgat, uel dum sopit tuus hostis,
Illum non ledas; pudor est tibi ledere talem.

On the manner of restraining flatulence

Non rudis emittas subito sonitus ioculando;
Sepe strepens monte strepitus nolens dat in ede.
Non tacitos flatus sub femore proferat anus;
Turpe quid est homini fetoris sorde notari.
Intestina tua si casu sint onerata
Turbine, quere locum quo possint exonerari.

Avoiding rusticity

Non sopor inserpat oculis uigilantibus aula
Patroni famulis, ne rusticus ille procellet.
Sepe solet sopor hiis frontes operire rubore.
Rusticitas fugiat, natura nec altera fiat
Vsu, nam fertur nil consuetudine maius;
Turpia que per eam sunt facta, placent facienti.
Planta pedis non nuda tui cuiquam speculum sit,
Braccis siue sinu pulices neque sint tibi preda
Coram patrono, coram famulantibus aula.

Service at the table

Non uenias, uel eas, uel sis stans inter edentes
Atque focum, famulus nisi sis seruire notatus.
Non sit continuus oculus uescentis in ore.
Alterius disco cum te nodat famulatus
Non mittas digitos, nisi iussus siue rogatus.
Non escas capias coram comedente ministrans;
Quod tibi dat diues comedens licite capiatur.
Si sedeas cene famulus domino comedente,
Fercula postrema cum sint data, concito surgas.
Astans sis mense famulans coram dominante.
Duplicis officii duplex non esto minister;
Officium tibi signatum seruare labores.
Rodere, nate, caue festucas, stramina, cirpos.
Clericus es domini, satiato sessio parua
Sit tibi, post cenam studeas seruare capellam;
Expectent famuli domino seruire notati.

That you should not speak badly of companions

Disce pati socios et eis bona queque secundes.

1096. ~~uiscera dum purgat~~ [W]; seu *for* uel [O_2]
1098. solito *for* subito [D, W] 1099. *om.* [O_2] 1101. ~~est~~ [C_1]; quidem for quid est [O_3]
1102-3. *om.* [O_3] 1104. immergat *for* inserpat [D]
1104. uigilantibus oculis *for* oculis uigilantibus [O_3]; uigilantibus aula [O_2]
1105. patronis [D, O_3] 1106. pudore *for* rubore [D]
1106. sepe solet frontes operire rubore soporis [W] 1106-9. *om.* [O_2]
1111. braccis uel tunicis pulices [O_3] 1113. nec *for* uel [C_1]
1114. uocatus [O_2] 1116. non dat *for* nodat [C_1] 1116-7. *om.* [O_3]
1118. *om.* [D, W, C_1, O_2] 1119. que *for* quod [O_2]
1119. sed si quid diues comedens tibi dat capiatur [O_3] 1120. resides *for* sedeas [W, O_2]
1120. residet *for* sedeas [O_3]; resides *for* sedeas [W, O_2]; comedentes [O_2]
1122. coram famulans *for* famulans coram [W] 1126-46. *om.* [O_2] 1126. praua [D]
1128. *appears after* 1129 [W]; uocati *for* notati [O_3] 1129. prima *for* parua [C_1]

Non tonet ira nocens in eos, nec seua lupinet.
Ipse licet plenis sis deliciis galeatus,
Non tamen infestes illos feritate leonis,
Nec mala multiplices quibus extirpentur ab aula,
Nec fias scelerum domini stillator in aure,
Nec tua sint uerba mendaci compta colore.
Omine turritus non inuidus esto sodalis,
Non in eos mittas latitantia spicula fellis.
Inuidus ignorat quid sit socius, quid amicus.

That you should come quickly when ordered

Cum sis mandatus, sis promptus, adesse paratus
Coram patrono, supplens ex ordine iussa.
Dandis responsis sic non dominum comitentur.

The duties of a cleric

Prouidus et prudens in cunctis esto notator
Discretus breuia, cartas formare, receptas,
Expensas, rerumque dicas, terras, releuatas,
Debita, gersumas, fines, scutagia, misas
Imbreuiare; bonam simul et numerare monetam,
Expensas non diminuas que sunt ad honores
Edis signate; patronum semper honores.

Servants in the hall

In mensa domino potus pincerna propinet,
Et coram domino mitrent coopercula cupas;
Tertia sit uacua pars cupe quando propinas.
Tacta liquore manus non sit qua cupa geratur.
Mappula portando cunctus domini tegat escas.
Sint aliis alii docti seruire ministri.

How the dapifer should serve

Predapifer, positor epularum, prouidus astet;
Ordine dorsili ne fercula ponat in aula,
Illum ne populi pressura repellat edentis.
Panis dimidius, panis tantumue rotundus
Diuitis in mensa nunquam ponatur ad esum.
Non coram clero uel milite fercula iactes.
Sit tibi predapifer pleno crinitus honore;
Est talis speculum domini populo speculatum,
Qualis monstratur, talis dominus titulatur.

The appearance of servants

Ad iussum domini cum quis cenauerit hospes,
Clerus, eques, non stet exclusus uerna uocati.
Escarum positor mensis pincernaue discos
Nolit colligere positis dapibus uacuatos.

1130. neque dampna *for* nec seua [C_1]
1131. deuidiis *for* deliciis [C_1]
1131. deuidiis *for* deliciis [C_1]; homo *for* sit [C_1]; *om.* [O_3]
1141. cum *for* sic [O_3]
1144. rerum disca *for* rerumque dicas [C1]; *appears after* 1148 [D]
1145. tersumas *for* gersumas; musus *for* misas [W]; connumeres *for* gersumas [C_1]; missas [D]
1147. dimidius [C_1]; *inserted line 2147*: Multis carus eris, domino si carus haberis [O_2]
1148. patronis [D]; super *for* semper [O_3]
1148-57. *om.* [O_2]
1149. ministret *for* propinet [C_1]
1150-1. *om.* [O_3]
1151-2. *appears after* 1154 [D, C_1]
1156. doxali *for* dorsili [C_1]
1158. ~~tantumue~~ [W]
1158-9. *om.* [O_3]
1159. in *for* ad [C_1]
1161-2. *om.* [O_2]
1164-5. *appears after* 1167 [D, O_2]
1164-7. *om.* [C_1]

Tu cyrothecatus, mitratus siue capatus,
Indutus clamide mense non estos clientans;
Non cyrothecatus escas uel pocula prestes;
Non humeros oneret famulantis in ede galerus;
Non sint ad tergum tibi sub zona cyrothece
Absque toga, pedibus nudis uel pectore nudo
Non coram domino discinctus eas famulando,
Nec coram domina, nec coram diuite quoquam.
Vestibus indutus tu nunquam sis alienis,
Alterius mitra crines mitrare caueto.
Non euagines gladios, cultros alienos,
Ni possessorum tibi sit permissa uoluntas.

That your hair should be neat and beard shaved

Sit tibi compta coma, tonsura sit illius equa.
Si sit uillosa, resecetur barba pilosa.
Si fueris lippus, medicales consule curas.
Sintque manus lote, manice sint collaqueate.
Non tibi sint ungues deformes, dens neque turpis;
Non tibi longorum numerus stet nare pilorum.
Non offendatur deformi pes tibi pelle;
Passibus urbanis incedas uertice recto.
Trica comis tena non sit fuligine tincta,
Pilleolus planus nec eas galeet ueteranus.
Ignoret lendes cum plumis barba, capillus;
Non sint plumose uestes nec puluerulente.
Non tibi sit trita uel sordida linea uestis;
Candida camisia, femoralia commaculata,
Insimul induta non conueniunt generosis.
Vestes exiles tritasque subuncula nulla
Confirmet, nec ea crepite caligeue notentur.
Non ueterata noue clamidi sit penna locata.
Dipplois atque capa poterunt illam comitari.
Hec documenta miser nequit obseruare minister.

Seating arrangments

Cum domino stabis domino dum stare licebit;
Quando sedere placet domino, sedeas sine iussu
Si fueris miles uel clerus; stent famulantes.
Non iuxta dominum sedeas, nisi sit tibi iussum.

1169. mensis [W]; capite mensis *for* clamide mense [O_3]; ~~clientens~~ [O_2]
1172. *om.* [O_2] 1175. *om.* [O_3] 1175-7. *om.* [O_2] 1176. inductus [C_1]
1180. comes [W] 1180-2. *om.* [O_2] 1181. non *for* si [O_3] 1182. fuerit [D]
1184. *om.* [O_2] 1185. stet numerous *for* numerus stet [W]
1186. pes deformi *for* deformi pes [C_1]; deformes [O_3]; *om.* [O_2]
1188. tuta comes *for* trifica comis; tecta *for* tincta [O_3]; trita *for* trifica [D]; trica *for* trifica [W, C_2]
1188-9. *om.* [O_2] 1191. *om.* [W]
1193. famularia non maculate *for* femoralia commaculata [C_1]
1194. bene *for* non [C_1] 1194-9. *om.* [O_2]
1195. tritasue subucula *for* tritasque subuncula [W]; exiles uestes tritas et *for* uestes exiles tritasque [O_3]
1196. eis *for* ea [C_1]; conformet [D]
1097. ueterana nouo *for* ueterata noue [W] 1197-8. *om.* [O_3] 1198. iupe *for* capa [W]

Si sedeas, non assurgas cuiquam nisi iussus.
Surgere cum domino placeat, sis surgere presto.
Mobilis esto, lepus leuis, haud bos segnis in actus.

On the manner of sitting

Coram patronis pedibus sedeas coopertis,
Poplitibus flexis, podium non sit tibi quicquam;
Versus eos cruris extensio nulla patescat.
Pollice cum digito crepitas formare caueto;
Denudare pedes caueas tibi, siue lauare,
Vel caput abluere uel longos tundere crines,
Vel resecare tuos ungues uel radere barbam,
Coram magnificis, coram dominabus in aula.
Coniunctis digitis genibus digitos reprimendo
Non sedeas fatue, ne pro fatuo digiteris.
Iuxta carbones residens cinerosus arator
Non sis in cinere, prunas palpare caueto.
Crure supraposito cruri non nobilitando
Elatus sedeas, nisi prefueris dominando.

On bad masters

Perfidus, elatus, mendax, raptor, sibi discors
Illi consimiles uenatur habere clientes.
Nil confert fido tali seruire nefando.
Impensas uento cribrat qui seruit iniquo.
Cautus, diues, atrox sibi fellitum famulantem,
Intestina mala cui uult, illum dominantem
Preficit, ut ledat cunctos inimica malignans.
Hoc fit ut ille ferox sit eis exosus et hostis
Intimus et tandem grauiter ledatur ab illis.
Eutrapeli nati sunt plures munera dantes;
Ut grauius ledant, sua munera leta propinant:

That a bad lord wants to have a bad servant

Quid scelus Eutrapeli brumet, nescit nisi lesus.
Eius laruatos mores fugias scelerosos.
Vernula quisque suum formidet herum famulando;
Ni metuatur herus, sterilis fiet famulatus.
Scire modum, mores domini confert famulanti;
Stultitias dominus si corripiat famulantis,
Erroris patuli causam sibi querere nolit.
Est stolidi stolida stolide sua gesta tueri.

1201. sibi *for* sine [O_2]
1205. placeat domino *for* domino placeat [W, O_1]; surgere [O_2, O_3]
1206. leuis lepus *for* lepus leuis [D]; *om.* [O_2]
1208. rudium for podium [D]; quisquam [W]
1208-10. *om.* [O_2]
1209. eros *for* eos [D]; ~~cruris~~ [C_1]
1210. quiescat *for* caueto [O_3]; poplite *for* police [C_1]
1212. tondere [D, W]
1218. est fatuatus *for* palpare caueto [O_3]
1219-20. *om.* [O_2]
1219-20. *om.* [O_2]
1220. fueris *for* prefueris [O_3]
1224. tribuat *for* cribat [W]; iniquus [O_3]
1225-34. *om.* [O_2]
1226. *appears afer* 1233 [O_3]; cui nil patrie *for* cui uult [O_3]
1228. honestus *for* et hostis [O_3]
1233. sceleratos [W]; laruosos [C_1]
1236. confert *for* corripiat [O_3]
1237-8. *om.* [O_2]; *order reversed* [O_3]
1238. sibi causam *for* causam sibi [W]
1243. cum *for* est [O_3]

Non est conuicti famulantis causa tuenda.
Carum seruet herum cui carus herus titulatur,
Fidum seruet herus famulum, dum fidus habetur.
Est tibi dignus herus, ab eo non esto remotus,
Officium ne forte tuum logicet quis iniquus.
Est amor exclusus excluso nomine uerne;
Exclusos diues raro recolit famulatus.
Multis carus eris, domino dum carus haberis.
Quanto grata serit tibi tanto gratior esto.
Si tumidus fuerit in te fellita sagittans,
Perfer; mixta bonis mala sunt leuius toleranda.
Ardua lucra labor pariens non est honerosus;
Nil fructus redolens labor est grauis atque perosus.
Dulcia sepe graui de pondere munera crescunt.
Incoctum comedi mel non ualet absque ueneno
Non tibi sit uilis dominus licet ille sit exlex,
Perfidie genitus, sermone ferus, nihil actu,
Dum cum pace suis poteris latitare sub alis.
Si male de domino fueris, de te bene dicet
Vix pius, australis, socius iocundus, amicus;
Obuius occurrens tibi soluere nulla salutis
Verba paratus erit; ignotus erit tibi notus ;
Te parui pendet simul et uicinia tota.
In dominum, gesta cuius constant inhonesta,
Cunctis infesta, cunctis pariter manifesta,
Omnia funesta semper sua pectora uectant.

Visiting the privy

Quando thori noctu domino seruire iuberis,
Officium prestes, precedens lumina portes.
Cum dominus thalamos intrauerit interiores,
Ocius inspicias quod gumphus sit sine sorde.
Illo pro more solito, gumpho residente
Accipias manibus fenum uel stramina; binas
Carpe tuis busias digitis grossas, bene pressas,
Quas prestare pares patrono, cum petit illas.
Dentur ei stando busie, non poplite curuo.
Non sapiens thalamos illos presumat inire
Noctu soliuagus, quia sepe ferire solebat
Passio membralis sic solum, mors subitalis.
Si duo consortes in gumphis sint residentes,
Non unus surgat donec purgabitur alter.
Si gumphus fuerit uacuus residentibus illis,

1248. tanto tibi gratior erit *for* tibi tanto gratior esto [O_3]
1252. fructum [O_3]
1255. ipse *for* ille [W]
1256. ad te *for* actu [D]; actus [O_3]
1257. ~~pace~~ [W]
1265. sua semper *for* semper sua [W, O_3]
1266. iubentur [W, C_1, O_3]
1267. portans [W]
1272. grossos digitis *for* digitis grossas [C_1]
1273. patrone dum *for* patron dum [O_3]
1274. flexo *for* curuo [C_1]
1276. nocte [O_3]
1278. sint in gumphis *for* in gumphis sint [C_1, O_3]
1279. purgauerit [W]

Stramine uel feno sit opertum tale foramen.

Service at night

Esto thoro famulans; domini nudum tege corpus;
Iure pedes lecti crepite seruare tenentur;
Illos demissa simul et famularia seruent.
Ad caput interula ponatur pelliciesque;
Sit stratura satis lecto, fultrum positum sit
Desuper, et capiti puluinar, lintheolique
Mundi, ceruical, coopercula palliet ista.
Surgenti mane domino sis uernula presto.

On the location of the privy

Non latrinalis thalami sit ad hostia lectus
Patroni, domine, socii, specialis amici;
Fetidus et nocuus aer solet inde uenire.

On the servant and lord

Dum tibi sint uires domino seruire potentes,
Carus eris; cum te grauitas annosa fatiget,
Inglaciet, segnem reddat, seruire remissum,
Continuusue dolor membrorum, ullis abibis.
Lumen et auditum senium furatur, et aufert
Corporeas uires senium, gressus leuitatem.
Armiger antiquus, leporarius, istrio, rethor,
Thais, uenator uiles numerantur ubique.
Hospitium tutum tibi queras dum iuuenescis,
Quo tutus sopire queas, si forte senescis.
Tutior arta domus est quam diues famulatus.
Nempe faces proprie meliores sunt alienis.
Si pauper puer es, si diues quando senescis,
Diues preterite memor esto pauperiei;
Et te preterita forsan meminisse iuuabit.

Accepting the lord's kiss

Oscula cum diues tibi prestet, siue loquatur,
Mitra caput si forte tegat, mox detege tectum;
Oscula, si sedeat, admittas poplite curuo.
Oscula post sumpta grates persoluito dignas.
Coram magnificis manifeste scalpere nolis
Torquendo digitos nares nec cetera membra.
Cum fueris solus habeant ungues dominatus.
Si perhibet domini rnendacia fabula, ficta,
Que perhibet dominus mendax, perhibere teneris.
Quod collaudat herus, famulus laudare iubetur,
Quod culpat, culpare decet dominantis honore.
Sis mestus mesto patrono; letus adesto,

1282. nudum domini *for* domini nudum [W] 1284. illo [W]
1285. *inserted*: sis statura satis lecto fulcrum ponitum sit [O_3]
1289. sit *for* sit [C_1] 1290. quod *for* non [O_3] 1292. *appears before* 1290 [C_1]
1293-8. *appears after* 1300 [O_3] 1298. gressum [W] 1301. iuuenis sis *for* iuuenescis [W]
1307. preteria memorasse forte *for* preterita forsanmeminisse [O_3]; memorata *for* meminisse [W]
1307. preterite [C_1] 1308. prestet tibi diues *for* diues tibi prestet [W, O_3]
1311. persolue benignas *for* persoluito dignas [W, O_3]
1313. uel *for* nec [W]; digito [O_3] 1316. mendax dominus *for* dominus mendax [W, O_3]
1318. honorem [O_3] 1321. placidus placidis *for* placitus placitis [O_3]

Sint hilares famuli domino relegente iocosa.
Sis placitus placitis domino, sis hostibus hostis
Eius; pro domino pugnes non more sinistro.
Si sit opus, bellum patiaris siue duellum;
Multiplicet uires animosi copia cordis;
Eius amore cadas biuiali morte peremptus.

On messengers

Non cyrothecatus, gladiatus, pilleolatus,
Ullam legatus intret tenatus in aulam;
Tenato capite caluis intrare licebit.
Si dominus comedat tradantur dona cibanti;
Si breue portetur domino, post prandia detur.
Dum sit eques, sibi precaueat semper minor omnis
Maiori pediti quod non legata reuelet.
Si sit eques diues, errans, eques illa reuelet.
Cum sis legatus properes legata referre,
Que tibi sunt iuncta, non addens falsa relatis.
Sit legatus heri, domine, specialis amici
Admissus lepide potu, dapibusque refectus.
Si ferat illicitum mandatum, non stimuletur
Verbis spinosis a te, nec uituperetur.

On greetings and farewells

Ede tui domini gentes decores alienas
Officio pleno, facie, sermone faceto;
Cum ueniunt gratus illorum discute status
Cum ueniunt inquire status habitus et eorum.
Si referunt uobis: “Bene stat, bene uiuimus ut nunc”.
Dic super hiis: “Plene congaudeo”. Quando recedunt,
Valua tue meta comitiue sit tua; uerbis
Exponas lepidis; illis dicatur “Aueto.”
Hospes ad hospitium domini non sit uocitatus
Per te cum fueris famulus domini nisi iussu.
Dissonat a mente domini mens sepe clientis.
Ascendens si uir fuerit dignus famulatu,
Ascendentis equum uel descendentis ab illo,
Stringilis instantis manibus teneatur utrisque.

Behaviour in the street

Ostia pergenti tibi si pateant reserata,
Que fuerint domibus oculorum non nota spectet.
Per uicos spatians caueas iactare lapillos;
Fortuitus iactus infert persepe periclum.
Lumen in ignoto tu continuare caueto;

1322. pugnas [O_3]
1324. multiplices [O3]
1335. ~~sunt~~ [C_1]
1338. illicite [D]; ingratum *for* illicitum [W]
1339. uituperentur [D, W]
1342. inquire *for* discute [D]; conveniunt [O_3]
1343. *om.* [W, C_1, O_3]
1345. quia plene gaudeo *for* plene congaudeo [C_1]
1347. dicatus illis *for* illis dicatur [W]
1348-51. *om.* [O_3]
1349. sis *for* fueris [W]
1351. dignus fuerit *for* fuerit dignus [D]
1352. *om.* [O_2]
1353. anstantis *for* instantis [D]; instanter [C_1]
1354. sit e *for* tibi si [W]
1356. lapillus [O_3]
1358. ab *for* in [W]
1360. errans ede *for* edes errans [W]

Continuare licet oculos, dum uis, tibi noto.
Ingrediens uacuas edes errans alienas
On entering anothers house
Ocius exclames inquirens quis sit in ede.
Edis custodem mora si facit esse morosum,
Expectes; non sis rudis intrusor thalamorum.
Non intret lepidus subito thalamus alienos;
Tutus eos poterit tuto ductore subire.
Cum domino fari ueniens persolue salutes
Dignas ut domino; tibi si prandere iubetur,
Cene consedeas, epuleris, carpe libenter
Escas urbane; non priuent pocula mentem.
Fine cibis facto domino dicatur "aueto."
On invitations
Si duo conuiue secum prandere uocent te,
Si sint forte pares, prior inuitans adeatur.
Si par siue minor mense dapibus satiari
Te uelit, ire licet, etiam remanere licebit.
Si uadas, comedas satis et bibe, letificare;
Si nimium letus fueris, gaudebit amicus;
On behaviour as a guest
Si tuus hostis ibi fuerit, dolor opprimet illum.
Sobrius hostilem fugias conuiua sodalem.
Non inimicantis gentis sit turma uocata
Insimul ad cenam, ne potu forte togata
Litibus alternis uel pugnis sit stimulata.
Quando refectus abis tibi nulla licentia detur;
Quando licentia poscitur optat pocula poscens.
Si fueris potus, te potu nesciat hospes;
Si fueris potus non ultimus esto recessor.
Hospitium repetas, alias non pocula queras.
Mentis inops caueas uarias uestire tabernas.
Raro uenire pares ad cenam sepe uocatus;
Omne quod est rarum perhibent homines fore carum.
Quando uenire placet ad eam non serus adesto,
Ne mora displiceat patrono siue uocatis.
Fercula si presto non sint, iocunda loquaris,
Donec dicatur famulis: "manibus date limpham".
Non sedeat iuxta dominantem uerna cibando;
Quilibet ad mensam sedeat uelut ordo ministret
Non introducas aliquos nisi iusserit hospes.
Vernula si tibi sit, non solus adesto cibari.
Non gula te ducat conuiuam more canino.
Ventris amore sui miser est quem dedecus armat.

1360. ingredians alias errans edes alianas [O_3]
1363. incursor *for* intrusor [O_3]
1375. comede [W]
1377. hostem *for* illum [W, O_3]; exprimet *for* opprimet [O_3]
1380. potu ne *for* ne potu [D]
1380-1. *om.* [O_3]
1384. potum [O_3]
1385. *om.* [W, C_1, O_3]
1388. uelis *for* pares [W]
1390. cenam *for* eam [W]
1393. presto *for* manibus [O_3]
1394. sedeas [W]
1394-5. *om.* [O_3]
1395. in mensa *for* ad mensam [W]
1397. cibanti [W]
1400-3. *om.* [O_3]

Qui te conuiuam satiant a te satientur;
Si sis par uel maior eis gazis uel honore,
Illis redde uicem, uel desine uelle cibari;
Sumere semper dedecus est, nil uelle referre.
Si socius socio dicat uel amicus amico:
"Tempore statuto ueniam celebrare iocosa,
Tecum noctare"; si forte uenire negetur,
Certificare uelit illum non posse uenire.
Si uir inops disco tecum cenare tenetur,
Cenes; nempe pares homines natura creauit.
Consilium tractare caue, nummos digitare,
Dum resides cenans; indulge potibus, escis.
Gentibus occurrens placitas persolue salutes.
Si quis sit querens: "Quis sis? qua parte uiator?
Quis sit herus tibi?" querenti des uerba faceta
Ad quesita, uelut decet ordine nobilitatis.
Oscula sumpturus os, nares tergere cures;
Sepius ex illis emanat reuma, saliua.
Causis mala foro uico prandere caueto.
Alea uel scacci si ludo dampna ministrant,
Pectore non seuos affibulet ira furores.
Non detestator sis impius; est Deus ultor
Faminis enormis, lingue recolens maledicta.
Aduentus Christi, natalis, passio, corpus,
Illius aut cerebrum, uel uiscera, barba, sepulcrum,
Aures, siue pedes, seu brachia, cruraue, dorsum,
Lancea qua percussus erat, uel membra, corona,
Passus, uita, manus, mors, crux, clauus, caro, sanguis,
Aut pater, aut genitus, ascensio, spiritus almus,
Vis, uirtus, uultus, maiestas, cor, gula, dentes.
Siue Dei templum, uox, uenter, lingua, potestas,
Rex summus, deitas eius, uirgoque Maria,
Regnum, dulcedo, dilectio, dona, triumphus,
Nomina, lumina, mens, os, splendor, uera figura,
Tronus, factura, pietas, lex, anxietates,
Pax, sindo, festum, miracula, tempora, uerbum,
Christi baptismus, tellus, uel gloria celi,
Luna, dies, splendor solis, iuratio non sit.
Tecum ludenti cum sint data pocula dones.
Cum genito domini prefecti ludere noli;
Nam tibi subiecto ludendo uult dominari.

1401. *om.* [D]
1404. bibat *for* dicate [W] 1405. ueniat [W] 1407. uelit non ad illum *for* uelit illum non [O_3]
1411. residens cenas *for* resides cenans [D] 1412. placidas [O_3] 1413. sit [O_3]
1414. mox illi uerba faceto *for* querenti des uerba faceta [W]; tibi mox des uerba faceta [O_3]
1417. manat for emanate [W]; emanate [O_3] 1418. cenans mala *for* causis mala [O_3]
1427. clauis *for* clauus [D, C_1]
1432. regum [W] 1438. potes *for* dones [W] 1441-2. *order reversed* [D]

Si per te lesus fuerit, te pena sequetur.
Si per eum lesus fueris, remanebis inultus,
Si sis natus heri prefecti, ledere noli
Subiectos; cuiquam ludendo non domineris.
Visere cum cupias caros, fidosque sodales,
Nuntius aduentum precedens nuntiet illis.
Ad te dum repedat gressus, properare quiescas.
Precedas, famuli succedant. Hostia tectum
Non caput intranti tibi sit, nec sit latus ense
Accinctum, nec eques intres, nisi sis rogitatus.
Patroni precibus si pernoctare teneris,
Non sis commiscens fando mendacia ueris
Verbis utaris modicis, nisi conueniaris;
Non referas uel agas quicquam quod triste pruinet
Patrono, famulis; sint famina, gesta modesta.
Sit tibi lingua silens, os simplex, risus honestus;
Semper conditus tibi sit sale sermo politus;
Non sis iactator, non sis conuiua gulosus;
A mensis nimio non surgas uentre repleto;
Non uarius dictor rumorum sis necque fictor.
Omnis notitie leuitatis deme tenorem.
Non dator escarum mensis sedeas alienis;
Cuique suus panis nisi tantum detur edenti.
Hospes quo fueris, habeas te more faceto.
Quando recessurus fueris, sit ad hostia mannus;
Non aula scandas illum, nisi iusserit hospes.
Esto memor domino plenas persoluere grates,
Si fuerit presens; si non, des uerba salutis
Confamulis; per eos ea post domino renouentur.
Illas huic grates recites cum uideris illum.
Si uenit hospes eques te uisere, uentre refecto
Pocula poscantur, et ei pincerna propinet.
Deforis armigeri sint potu participantes.
Potus ter detur, domini traha ne capiatur.
Dum quis trans pontes equitat, laxentur habene;
Non ignota uada sapiens presumat inire.

1444. ludendo ludere noli subiectos; non est ludus cuius dominatus [O_3]
1445. uindere non cupias *for* uisere cum cupias [O_3]
1447. repetit [D]; repedas [C_1]
1448. precedent [O_3]
1453. guttaris *for* utaris [O_3]; modice [O_3]
1454. iuste *for* triste [O_3]
1455. semina *for* famina [W]
1456. *om.* [O_3]
1458. si sis conuiua *for* non sis conulua [O_3]
1459. nimium [W]
1460. doctor for dictor [W]; ~~sis~~ [O_3]
1463. nisi panis *for* panis nisi [O_3]
1464. qui *for* quo [C_1]
1468. fueris [O_3]
1469. ~~per eos~~ [W]; cum famulis *for* confamulis [C_1]
1470. post recites grates illas quo uideris illum [O_3]
1471. si uenerit hospes ~~eques~~ te uisere, uentre replete [W]
1472. ministret *for* propinet [C_1]
1473. potum [O_3]
1475. equitet [O_3]1481. certat *for* tibi [O_3]

Munera que tibi dant opulenti suscipe gratis;
Gratis quando datur porcellus, mox capiatur;
Os sacci clausum non sit; prestat mora dampum
Sepius; in multis caueas differre paratis.
Qui tibi dat modicum tibi se conneruat amicum.
Pro uice solue uicem, tibi cum benefecerit ullus.
Cum sis largitor, doni non esto probator.
Duties of a judge
Iudex cum fueris, iustus, pius esto, fidelis.
Munere palpatus non discas carpere iura.
Sis fidus; fidei non fedes labe tenorem.
Iudicis est primo loca, tempora querere rerum;
Illis quesitis securior efficietur.
Iuris seruator sis, non fidei uiolator,
Veri peruersor, nec recti preuaricator.
Iudex ad placitum placitus non sis opulenti.
Ordine iudicii nil est melius ratione.
Causis in biuio positis non precipitetur
Iudicium; temere nunquam sententia detur.
Egregios equites, cleros uerbis uenereris
Iudiciis residens; non sis ambagibus utens;
Docti sermonum studeas seruare tenorem.
Clamores inopum uigiles librare benigne;
In causis illis sis lenis portus et aura;
Agninus facie non sis uir, mente lupinus.
Si cupis in causis uenalem uendere linguam
Anulus in digito te leges purpura uendant.
Si sis subtilis rethor causis in acutis,
Prouidus et prudens, sapiens cunctis in agendis,
Diues, magnipotens, non sis hyemalis amicis
Causidici more mutans quadrata rotundis.
Principio dolus arte iuuat, dat opes dolus amplas
Causidicis, mellit successus, ditat, amenat.
Quos colit ipse dolus fallacia munera prestans,
Principium floret, arescit finis amarus.
Principio fit amor, in fine fit impius hostis,
Mortificat, dampnat, lucri quos unguit odore.
Sic miseris cecis uariat dolus ultima primis.
Rethor quisque uetus uite male terminat usus.
Respice causidicos, illorum consule metas
Extremas, finesque malos, penasque sequentes.

1481. conseruat [D]
1483. donis [O_3]
1484. censor *for* iudex [C_1, O_3]
1487. rectum *for* rerum [C_1]
1490. *appears after* 1491 [O_3]
1491. non sis uidenti *for* placitus non sis opulenti [O_3]
1492. nichil *for* nisi [O_3]
1497. pudorem *for* tenorem [D]
1499. in placitis for in causis [O_3]; sit *for* sis [C_1]
1500. non sis facie *for* facie non sis [D]
1501-2. *om.* [O_3]
1506. miscens *for* mutans [C1, D]
1508. mollit [W]; mellis [O_3]
1511. ipsius *for* impius [D]
1512. ~~quos~~ [O_3]
1513. ceris *for* cecis [D]
1514. male uite finiat usus *for* uite male terminat usus [W]

Promouet in causis actorem fictus egenum
Rethor; sepe reum gazatum ledit amore
Nummorum; ledit donec sibi munera plenet
Gazis ramosus; quibus acceptis miser actor
Rethoris illusus causis immunis abibit.
Hiis aliis guadet rethor fallacibus uti.
Ira, superbia, liuor, inertia, frausque, cupido
Lites causidicis semper comitantur acutis.
Fili, causidicis caueas ne consimilis sis.
Que male collegit causantis dextra dolosa,
Non fructum parient, nec erunt illi numerosa.
Actibus alterius emendatur uir honestus;
Vir sapiens fine titulatur gloria laudis.
Proficit exemplo penas uitare futuras.
Non timor, ira terat animum, licet improba rethor
Turbine uerba tonet, cum quo contendere debes
Coram iudicibus; ratio sit in ore polita.
Litis in ingressu uersuti rethoris est mos
Secum certantem uerbis turbare sinistris.
Si te causidicus causis exasperet artis,
Munera iudicibus causarum porrige plena,
Si fueris locuples, nummus non spinet honorem;
Si sis exilis, exiles consule metas,
Posse tuum uiresque tuas in pectore signes.
Legibus humanis peruertunt munera leges.
Munera dant surdis auditus, lumina cecis,
Explicitos claudis incessus, famina mutis.
In mundo recole nil munere dulcius esse.
Res de non esse munus producit ad esse.
Ordo tue litis si rethore marsupiali
Causa seruetur, inuito rethore tali
Absque mora pacem formes; mora dampna ministrat
Sepius, et sepe uariato tempore confert.
Rethoris est animus talis differre paratam
Pacem, cum sitiat immarsupiare monetam.
Cause fine dato norunt data sumere finem.

1516. extremos [O_3] 1517. actorem in causis *for* in causis actorem [W, O_3]
1518. gazarum [O_3]
1527. que *for* non [O_3] 1528. alterius uir emendator *for* alterius emendatur uir [O_3]
1530. efficit [O_3]
1532. *inserted after*: ira breuis furor est animum rege qui nisi paret / Imperat hunc frenis hunc tu compesce cathenis [W]
1532. condere, *changed to* quo tu condere [C_1] 1534. immensus *for* ingressu [O_3]
1535. certare [O_3] 1536. uerbis *for* causis [C_1]; causas [W] 1538. locuplux [O_3]
1546. tali *for* marsupial [O_3] 1547. *om.* [O_3] 1548. *appears after* 1549 [O_3]
1552. data nouit *for* norunt data [W]; nocuit data [C_1]; data norunt [O_3]
1553. bellum *for* bleso [D]; bello *for* bleso [W]; litem [C_1]

Ponere, nate, caue lites sub iudice bleso,
Dum loculus iudex poterit resecare duellum.
Casus enim litis persepe pericla mimistrat.
Nil prodesse queunt leges, quibus imperialis
Est dominus nummus, quibus est dea forma monete.
Mentes letificat nummus, frontesque serenat.
Inter uenales nummus facit omne quod optat.
Magnificis est rara fides, nullus quia nouit
Quid sit amicitia, quid amor, quid uerus amicus.
Inscius est istis quia se non nouit amari.
Rebus in angustis pauper reperitur amicus,
Semper erit presto duros tolerare labores.
Aspera sors rerum bene nouit quid sit amicus.
Libratur posse, libratur nodus amoris;
Dapsile posse tibi dat dapsile nomen amici.
Dum quid habes quod des, id dat tibi nomen amici;
Dum nihil est quod des, nihil affert nomen amici.
Magnificos premit et modicos; nulli miseretur.
Quilibet est hodie pretio libratus amicus.
Vestis purpurea si carnem fibulet ossa,
Anulus in digito gemmatus si tibi fulget,
Si faleratus equus, si sit tibi copia mense,
Introductus eris summus primalis amicus,
Ipse licet fueris de uili plebe creatus.
Non tibi, sed gazis, plebs istum prebet honorem.
Nauigat in portu roseo gazatus habunde.
Si sis ingenuus, mendicus, panniculosus,
Veste pruinosa si te fortuna pruinet,
Exul pauper eris, exclusus, inops, alienus.
Dedecus ingenuo tibi non infertur egeno,
Precipue misero, tenui sed pauperiei.
Extra fortune mendici munera languent.
Nil confert homini generoso stemate nasci,
Nil labor assiduus, nil preflorens famulatus,
Ni fortuna suis illum subnutriat alis.
Diuitibus tuta non est fortuna beata;
Semper fit miseris fortuna miserrima tuta.
Non uehitur tuto fortune gratia curru.

1557. est nummus quibus est data forma monete [O_3]
1562. *om.* [D]; amare [W]
1564. pauper *for* semper [O_3]
1568. ~~des~~ [W]
1569. aufert *for* affert [C_1, W]; habes *for* des [D]
1569-70. *om.* [O_3]
1570. *om.* [W]
1072. cum pretio quisquis [?] librantur amicis [O_3]
1576. uili de *for* de uili [C_1]
1578. habende [D, W]; om [C_1]
1578. *inserted after*: anulus in digito non sit ni locuplex sis / Clericus aut strenuus uel eques monitorue peritus [W]
1579. cum *for* si [O_3]
1582. ingenio [W]
1582. egenti [C_1]
1585. homini stremio desceniate nasci *for* homini generoso stemate nasci [O_3]

Munera fortune discordant ultima primis.
Nunc tonat in summis homo, nunc tumulatur in imis.
Sanus amor periit, amor eger regnat in orbe;
Plebi uilis eris, hominum mendicus amore,
Ni tibi ramosum radicet posse nocendi.
Si bene res spectes, nil est mundus nisi munus;
Munus et inuidia, timor et fraus, ceca cupido,
Fictus amor, gula, predo ferox, scelus, ipsa libido
Temporibus nostris regnant cunctis dominando.
Magnificos, inopes, pueros, iuuenes, seniores,
Albos cum uariis, nigros, monachos, moniales,
Urit et urticat, excecat amara cupido.
Sunt ceci quia cedit eis obliuio mortis;
Si speculata forent penalia claustra gehenne
Illis continue, mendica cupido lateret,
In terris misere sine neruis sola maneret;
Verba duo, capere dare, sunt dominantia terris,
Hec quantas uires habeant, scit sola cupido.
Per dare, per capere bona marcescunt, bona florent;
Omne quod hec duo uerba iubent fieri, fit in orbe.
Semper auarus inops repetit quanti sua constent.
Semper auarus eget, semper formidat egenus,
Ne rex, uis, fraus, fur, ignis sibi dampna sagittent.
Est loculi seruus, non Christi, tristis auarus.
Nummos connumerans, nummos loculis coaceruans,
Tristis, sollicitus capitur dulcedine dira,
Impia qua sola ditissima tartara fient.
Quid sit honor rerum, quid ueri fedus amoris,
Quid pietatis opus, quid honestas, nescit auarus.
Dulcis odor lucri nomen non nouit amici;
Insatiatus amor nummorum nescit amicos.
Non prece, sed pretiis, est irretitus auarus.
Sordida uilis iners commendat, abhorret honores,
Cui sordescit honor, commendat sordida sordens.
Quod cinis et uermis sit homo re uilior omni
Immemorem cupidum misere facit esse cupido.
Defraudatur honor nummosum propter amorem;
Hinc nummosus amor tibi non defraudet honorem.
Thesaurizantes, nummos cistis cumulantes
Dampnamus temere, quia si largitio plena
Pectore festiuo cunctis foret equa datiua,

1586. prefortis dominantus *for* prefiorens famulatus [C_1] 1592. sonat *for* tonat [W] 1593. perit [P_1]
1592. sonat *for* tonat [W] 1593. perit [P_1] 1594. amoris [W]; honoris *for* amore [O_3]
1596. respectes [P_1] 598. fictus amor, gula, preda ferox, scelus, atque libido [P_1]; ~~ferox~~ [O_3]
1600. paruos [P_1] 1603. tedit *for* cedit[W] 1604. Jehenne [P_1]
1606. nummis *for* neruis [D] 1607. terre [W] 1608. nec *for* hec [D, C_1]
1609. mala *for* bona [C_1, P_1] 1610. ~~fieri~~ [C_1]; omneque hec *for* omne quod hec [P_1]
1611-2. *om.* [W] 1622. uir commotus *for* irretitus [C_1]

Plurima que florent plene, sine flore paterent.
Si tibi diuitie, si prospera queque perundent,
Vir bonus esto tuis, liber, largitor amicis,
Subiectis, ratis ut tibi sint, si forte sinistra
Emergant subito; data sic mellire solebant.
Semper conducto fit gratior emptus amicus.
Hostes cum tumida diocordia reddit amicos,
Discordes reuoces, concordi pace reformes;
Hoc opus est hominis pacis, non rethoris hostis.
Viuere pace tuos doceas uirtutis amore.

Duties of the bailiff

Si tibi balliua sit tradita prepositiua,
Ocius infestam contempnas prepositiuam,
Que, cum prestat opes ex rapto, tollit amicos,
Tollit amicitias ueras, ueros et honores.
Predapifer dominantis heri si sis dominando
Non obliuisci presumas nomen amici;
Dat prefectura non heredalia iura;
Mens mutetur heri, mutabitur illa potestas.
Diues amor festus fit amarus sepe molestus.
Est homo mentis inops qui dedignatur amicos,
Qui pro balliua lunari se probat hostem,
Desipit, errat homo, quia, cum balliua peribit,
Solus erit, nudus, cunctis orbatus amicis;
Qui si forte ruat, rectore carebit amico,
Amissam recolens balliuam "Ve mihi" dicet
"Ve mihi iam soli, quem sola procella procellat.
Eclipsim patior, horno dudum, nunc homo nullus.
Garrula tunc flamma fueram, nunc pene fauilla;
Vincitur en mea uis; quos uici, uincor ab illis.
Ob fera facta mea pereo, pereunt mea iussa".
Cum balliua potens floret, pomposa sequela
Plebis eam sequitur; cum balliue dominatus
Interit, interiet subito memorata sequela.
Sepe repente ruit balliue magna potestas;
Quelibet accipiet terrena potentia finem.
Qui plus confidit in ea, plus decipietur.
Non te promoueas, ut sint tua gesta nociua
Vicinis; persepe solet promotio talis
Ledere promotum uicibus rerum uariatis.
Si te balliui nimis opprimat ipsius actus,
Quoque modo uigiles, ut ei sit dempta potestas;
Sic citius poteris eius caluare proterua.

1623. adorat for honores [W]
1633. *om.* [C_1]
1635. ~~ut~~ [D, W]
1648. hereditaria [W]
1649. mutatur [W]
1656-7. sibi *for* mihi [D]
1660. heu *for* en [W]
1661. mala *for* fera [C_1]
1662. *om.* [W]
1664. loquela [W]
1668. si sis peruersas si sint tua gesta nociua [C_1]; non *for* ut [W]
1673. cito tu *for* citius [C1]; calcare [W]
1676-80. *om.* [D, W]

In malefactores malefacta redire solebant;
Est sibimet nocuus in primis quisque nociuus.
  Si fueris rufus, qui sunt rufi fuge mores.
Rufa fides rufi, humanaque federa nescit;
Nescit amicitias solidatas, nescit amicos
Veros, vipereos colit astus, semper amaris
Utitur alloquiis rufus, mala queque procellans.
  Si nouus effectus sis, ueste noua ueneratus,
Glorificare caue uestitus pro nouitate.
Si tibi sit rosea facies non inde procelles;
Fastus inest pulcris, formas fastus comitatur.
Sepe suos uernas spinosa superbia ledit;
Alba ligustra cadunt, amittunt lilia flores.
Non seruat primum facies humana decorem,
Torpebunt uires, uultus marcebit herilis,
Cum facie frontem sulcabit ruga senilis.
  Non sis natalis patrie dulcedine tanta
Captus, quin ualeas aliena uiuere quadra,
Si sit opus; tibimet non esto domesticus hostis.
Viuere de pretio pretiosius est alieno,
Quam miser, infelix, mendicus, pauper obire
In patria, qua mors satis est tolerare pudores.
Omne solum patrie tibi forti fiet amicum;
Omne solum forti patria est ut piscibus equor;
Omne solum fortis communis patria constat.

On soldiers

  Si fueris mitis, miles cessantibus armis
Alloquio, gestu liber, sociabilis esto;
Tiro ferus uacuusque metu, feritate leonis
Esto fruens, ualidus, cum sis ad bella uocatus.
Segnis, iners lepus ad martem fit uilior alga.
Quilibet in pretio probus est; armis probus esto.
Ars, usus probitas, uires, audacia tuta
Conueniunt bellis, addictis atque duellis.
Non sine mente geras, si sint in corpore, uires
In feritate tua bellantes; marte regente
Ecclesiis deferre uelis Christique ministris,
Militis armiger es; Domino sic armiger esto,
Quod tuus acceptus dignus sit ei famulatus.

On teachers

  Si te doctorem zonet doctrina legentem,
Esto uacans studiis, discentibus esto fidelis;
Sis recolens uitam semper doctoris honestam.

1679. agros *for* astus [C_1]
1680. *inserted after*: ruffi rara fides, a te uittetur in euum / multiplicem neuum cuius in ore uides [C_1]
1690. cum mihi *for* non sis [W]; si sis [C_1]
1693. proprio *for* pretio [W]
1695. in patria, propria reperitur nemo propheta [W]
1696. amatum *for* amicum [C_1]
1697-8. *om.* [D, W]
1698. *om.* [C_1]
1699. miles mitis *for* mitis miles [D]
1700. affabilis *for* sociabilis [W]
1706. conductis *for* addictis [W]
1716. corrumpunt [D, W]
1718. studiis [D]

Commoda discentes studiorum sint sitientes;
Certati studium non corrumpant baratrones
Thaidis incudem, Bachum, luctas adamantes.
Non bene conueniunt studium, Venus atque Lyeus
Continuique ioci, lucte, uaneque choree.

On students

Cum fuerit discens transgressus in erudiendo,
Non caput, immo latus doctoris sentiat ictus.
Est permissa leuis correptio cuique docenti.
Lene rudimentum sit eis, non pena dolenda.
Sepius impediunt discentes uerbera seua.
Commoneant, doceant discentes quique docentes
Lenibus assiduis uerbis, crebris documentis;
Sic poterunt grates admittere commoda laudes.
Omnis iners monitor discentes reddit inertes.
Disce, scolas adames; cum sis studiis titulatus
Continues studium cum sedulitate laboris.
Artes addiscas uarias; tibi sint monitores,
Artibus instructi uariis, sensu potiores,
Quos persepe tuo philomenes munere pleno.
Inceptis studiis studeas pede stare tenaci.
Non lira que reticet sis, nec frenum sit in ore
Cum studio sociis docte dare uerba teneris;
Doctrina tutus sis, non sedeas quasi mutus;
Nunquam dedecores Marcum marcas sitiendo,
Nec uigiles libras cupidus preponere libris.
Quod sapientia dat studiis manet intemeratum.
Informat mores studium, studium dat honore.
In studiis studeas studio superare labors.
Esto uacans studiis primo, sis postea doctor.
Clericus ignarus studiis, alter Capaneus,
Non renuat stolidus a paruis discere doctis.
Ad bona discenda non ulla remissa sit etas;
Ludis festiuis licet indulgere diebus.

On citizens

Cum fueris ciuis ciuili more potire.
Defrustrare foro radium uel participare
Cum sociis caueas, uel carnis portitor esse,
Piscis uel panis in birro caseoliue
Vel butiri; puerum queras qui deferat illa.
Hospitio gentes cum ieiunare tenentur
Scamnis carnificum pisces non participentur.
Edes petrine tibi sint buruo residenti,

1722. correctio [C_1]
1729. tu *for* disce [D]
1729. *om.* [D]
1733. plene [W]
1734. *order of lines*: 1734, 38, 37, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41 [W]
1736. doctor [D]
1742. studeas in studio superare *for* studeas studio superare labores [D]
1742. *appears after* 1724 [W]
1745. animus didiscere *for* a paruis discere [D]
1746. discendi [W]
1752. *appears after* 1752 [W]
1759. mentis *for* mercis [D]; ~~extrusor~~ [W]
1760. impostor [W]

Sepius in burgis opulentos pauperat ignis.
On merchants Si sis mercator, nummorum marsupiator,
Et uarius rerum uariarum uenditor, emptor,
Perfidus extrusor non sis mercis neque mendax;
Non sis impositor; emptoribus esto fidelis.
Perfidie natis accredere si tenearis,
Sit plegius, pignus ne fidus decipiaris.
On bird-catchers Auceps si fueris, sis fraudibus usus opertis;
Viscum uiscet aues, latitantia retia flectant.
Venandi studium si sit tibi deliciosum,
Querere sis doctus apri uestigia, cerui,
Noscere uulpinas fraudes, cursus leporinos.
On sailors Nauita si fueris, altum transcendere pontum
Discas, terrarum uariarum noscere portus,
Lunam, sidereos cursus, horasque diei,
Noctis, lucrigeras merces, linguas populorum.
Non te dulcis odor usare carpat amore
Nummorum; fenus oculos nec pectus inescet.
On minstrels Si tibi dulcisona sit uox, modulatio cantus,
Cantes, non taceas, cum sis cantare rogatus.
Letus cum letis, tristis cum tristibus esto.
Tu modulis cithare uariis si forte ministres,
Concordes moueas digitis ex ordine cordas;
Est citharista rudis quem dissona corda fatigat.
On thieves Si cupis ex furto fallaci uiuere raptor,
Disce referre pedes, hostilia furta subundes.
Pro lucro tibimet non fias causa pericli.
Ramos fructiferos alienos frangere nolis.
Ob fructus fructus rapti non sint tibi luctus.
Lignipedes, mancos furtum facit, exoculatos,
In cruce suspensos, capitali lege peremptos,
Testes abscisos, profugos, in carcere uinctos,
Furis enim geniti titulantur dedecus orbis.
Nil propriare sibi poterunt de iure paterno,
Patrum pena necis erit illis pena perhennis.
Sorte fera furis nil uilius esse putatur,
Cum crucis addictus est atroci latro pene;
Si totalis ei decor orbis deditus esset,
Perdere uellet eum propter uitare periclum.
On physicians Si medicus fueris, medicari sic mediteris,
Ne sit ad interitum gentis cui tu medicaris.
Practicus obtusus medicalis, nescius artis,

1761. accedere [D, W]
1762. fidus ne pignus *for* pignus ne fidus [C_1]
1771. linguam [W]
1772. amor *for* odor [D]
1776. *om.* [D, W]
1783-4. *om.* [W]
1785. languipedes; parit for facit [W]; ignipedes *for* lignipedes [C_1]
1790. fama *for* pena [C_1]
1791. putetur [D]
1792. adductus [C_1]
1795. medicantia [D]
1799. ~~si~~ [W]
1802. expensis *for* impensis [C_1]

Practizans temere fit mendax uilis ubique.
Redditus annalis tibi si sit, uiuere plene
Quo ualeas, caueas aliena uiuere quadra
Dum satis est quod habes, satis id te constat habere.
Sunt quidam cupidi, qui quadam nobilitate
Eximie mensis cenare uolunt alienis,
Pomposi linguis macerant parce comedentes,
Quos cum de proprio cogit prandere necesse
Parce uescuntur, in mensa pauca loquuntur,
Impensis propriis roduntur perpete cura;
Deposita facie, panis cum cuspide cultri,
Quem retinet dextra, persepe rescarificatur
Labra premunt dente, tabescunt pectora curis,
Connumerant calices, epulantes, fercula, panes,
In famulos rictus stimulant persepe caninos.
Rebus de propriis sic uiuere uiuere non est,
Immo mori; moritur cor cuius cura fatigat.
Fili, de propriis ita uiuere desine gazis.
Ede tua studeas letanter carpere gazas.
Que tibi sunt propria, modo iam fient aliena.

On religious men

Si sis exutus terrenis religiosus,
Factum commemores pius absque superstitione;
Regula continue, uotum, seruetur et ordo.
Sic seruare uelis que sunt bona religionis,
Ne tu uir segnis dedignans esse uoceris.
Si fueris prole strenuus, non inde tumescas.
Si sis claustralis non inuidus esto sodalis.
Si tibi commissa fuerit balliua, benignus
Esto commonachis; te non pituita capistret.
Non studeas commune domus propriare crumenis
Furtiuis tibimet, ut emas apices monachales.
Quid sit auaritia, quid inertia, nesciat ulla
Religiosa domus, sit plene queque datiua
Notis, ignotis, diuini patris honore.

On priests

Presbiter es, seruare uelis que postulat ordo;
Sis speculum sacrum; quod predicat os, probet actus;
Quid capitis memores tonsura corona figuret.
Desine sectari Veneris uestigia, Bachi.
Si balliua rapax tibi sit commissa decano
Predam, nate, sequens sociis canis esse caueto.

On princes

Si sis primalis antistitis officialis,

1809. per se res carificatur *for* persepe rescarificatur [D]; recarificatur [C_1] 1810. cruces [W]
1811. *om.* [W] 1812. stimulus [W] 1814. molestat *for* fatigat [W]
1815. desine uiuere *for* uiuere desine [D] 1822. noteris [C_1] 1822. seuus *for* segnis [D]
1822. ne uir seua rotans dedignans esse notaris [W] 1823. *om.* [D, W]
1826. cum monachis *for* commonachis [D, C_1] 1828. apices *et* emas [W]
1831. amore *for* honore [C_1] 1834. memorat [C_1] 1837. predamnare [W]

Esto uernalis subiectis, non hyemalis.
Non tua uenalis sit mens nec marsupialis.
Presulis argutus non sis uenator et auceps
Incautis laqueos uiscum pretendere noli.
Preses si fueris scripturas consule sacras,
Ut prosis, non ut presis, memor efficiaris. .
Non cole plus anima corpus, non plus oue uellus;
Commissas humeris animas portare memor sis.
Dissona persona non sis fallacia formans.
Cum sis dux populi, populum seducere noli.
Fraudibas armatus cleros multare caueto.
Non sis clerorum uellens munctor loculorum,
Dente lupus, uel auis rostro non sis uiolentus
Pastor oues lanians, nec eas per deuia ducas
Deuius antistes; non sint decreta numisma
In loculis; leges nec sint lac, uellera, pelles.
Agni sub specie non natus Symonis esto;
Muneris unguento non sis linitus auaro.
Princeps regna regens si sis dominator in orbe,
Sic rege subiectam tibi plebem, ne grauis error
Ex leuitate tue mentis premat et terat illam.
On the defense of the city
Oppida turrita tibi si fuerint titulata,
Machina muralis sit in illis menia seruans,
Sint in eis clipei, baliste, spicula, tela
Cum iaculis, funde, boie, gaiola, cathene,
Arcus, lorice, gatee gladiique, sagitte,
Archibaliste, saxorum pondera dura,
Cum sale cera, fabri, carbones, fabrica, ferrum,
Testudo preceps, aries lignumque, securis;
Sintque gradus stabiles in eis scaleque roteque
Allec siccatum, bacones caseolique,
Furnus, furnile, cum farre farina, legumen,
Unda, mole manibus et equis, ceruisia, uinum,
Ignis, pistrinum, pix uncti cum lapidistis,
Unge, torqueole, clauorum copia, cratum,
Torte, quartine, uenabula, gesa, sudesque,
Allia cum pipere, sagimen, gallique, capones,
Restes, sollipedes, stramen, prebendaque, fenum,
Excubie noctu, uigilesque tubis resonantes,
Turribus et pinnis lituantes, ore canentes.
Sint uigiles cauti, non sint sompnis onerati,
Sint opportuni; procul infortuna fugentur;

1840. res *for* mens [C_1]
1848. *om.* [D]
1850. *om.* [W]
1855. ignis *for* agni [W]
1864. *om.* [W]
1865-1923. *om.* [C_1]
1871. fenum *for* uinum [W]
1873. clauarum [W]
1876. stratura *for* stramen [W]
1877. limantes *for* lituantes [D]
1881. tutela *for* cautela [W]

Sepius incautis cautela solet mala ferre.
Arquites, equites ad propugnacula fortes
Audaces, ualidi bellis coniungere bella,
Aggressus subitus cum uenerit obsidionis.
Cum medicaminibus medicus sit eis comitatus.

Adultery

Alter in ede sui domini regnans dominator,
Igne male domine domino mediante Priapo,
Pace frui uigilet sociorum turpis adulter,
Ne furtiua creet furtiuas mentula penas.
Quicquid agant alii, famulus sis fidus, honestus.
Matrone caueas lasciuis tactibus uti,
Non eius genitas tangas thalamiue puellas,
Non scelus est grauius quam sponte suum dominantem
Mechari, si quis domine fit mechus amator,
Eius iudicium patietur mentula mechi.

On sexual advances by the lady of the house

Si domini coniux in te sua lumina uertat
Sepius, et turpes in te lasciuiat ignes
Te faciens scire tecum se uelle coire;
Si referat: “Tibi tota domus, dominusque maritus
Seruiet eternum, tu solus eris mihi uita,
Cuncta reges, que sunt domini tibi cuncta patescent”.
Quid super hiis, fili, referes? Patet undique pestis;
Cum domina dormire uiri scelus est scelerosum,
Estque repugnare uotis bellosa tonare.
Si resecas uota, mens eius seuiet ira,
Naufragium feret illa tibi, cum nare putabis,
Criminis omne genus in te conuertet iniqua,
Imponetque tibi mendacia, ficta polita,
Exosum domino te reddens; nectet amaros
Nodos; uipereo latitanter ouiliet actu.
Consule me, genite; que consulo, corde seruntur;
Inter dampna duo dampnum minus elige, nate.
Sanius est tibi consilium simulare dolores,
Morbos sollicitos, sane sapienter abire,
Quam te commaculet domine furiosa uoluptas.
Exemplar Putifar tibi fiat coniugis actus.
Que scelerosa Ioseph uoluit subducere fatis.

On gossip about adultery

Si constet proprie domine mechata libido,
Mutescas; domino super hoc non esto locutor.
Rumor adulterii non est placabilis ulli
Magnifico domino; digito compesce labellum.

1887. malo [D]
1894. adulter *for* amator [D]; sit *for* fit [W]
1895. patiantur [D]
1896. flectat *for* uertat [W]
1902. serui *for* fili [D]
1905. reserat *for* resecas [W]
1910. nodos; uipereos latitante obuiet actus [W]
1911. serentur [W]
1912. care *for* nate [W]
1915. famosa [W]
1924. sponsum; preamat *for* adamat [C_1]
1925. irascitur *for* nanotur [D]; nanitur [W, C_1]

Sepe iuuat scire sapienti scire silere.
Reddit mecha uirum nanum, facit esse gigantem
Zelotipum sponsus; adamat se zelotipantem
Plus se; sic sponsus nanitur coniugis arte.
Dedecus infelix proprium ueneratur asellus.
Si quis matrone maneat suspectus in ede,
Quem sua gesta suo metuat reserare marito,
Mox fera spinabit in eum scelerosa, tonabit
Iras letiferas; odii non dormiet ignis
Pestifer illius, donec cogatur abire.
Ex domini dextra uernas quos uouit adesse
Unos post alios ducet serpens ad abesse.
Nil ulli famulo confert seruire marito,
Ni uelit ipse sibi matronam predominari.
Ut placeas domine, facias quod ei placitum sit.
Rebus sopitis, que sunt inhonesta maritis,
Te species eius sensus laudare decebit,
Maura licet fuerit cerebello, uerme grauata;
Sic tuus immitis patronus erit tibi mitis.
Seruitium gratum nullum facit esse beatum,
Ni fortunatum fortuna regat famulatum.
Semper panniculus dabitur quo iusserit uxor;
Vult deus omnia, uultque maritus, que tonat uxor,
Vult mare, uult tellus, uult aer que tonat illa.
Ergo suis uotis nichil expedit esse rebellem.

On man's subordination in marriage

Do tibi decretum: per te, karissime nate,
Non offendantur matrone testiculate.
Vir semel effectus sponsus uir desinit esse,
Sponsa uiri uires non uires efficit esse.
Legibus uxoris succumbit quisque maritus.
Circumuentus Adam cedebat legibus Eue;
Unde sequi prima uestigia quisque tenetur.

The ideal wife versus the reality

Diues quisque sonat: "Bona, felix est mihi coniux,
Docta, benigna, pudica, nimis speciosa, fidelis,
Quod renuo renuit, quod diligo diligit illa;
Est mihi fidus amor; mihi queque secundat amatrix,
Que uolo, que cupio, coniux que fallere nescit".
Vera putat fari, dum publicat ista maritus,
Non recolens animo quod femina quelibet Eua
Regnat regnatrix hominum, scelerumque paratrix.
Nemo putet seuas uxoris uincere fraudes;
Vincere si sponsum non adsit posse seuerum
Ad placitum, magicas Medee curret ad artes,
Cum quibus illa uiri feritatem ducit ad imum

1929. tonando *for* tonabit [W]
1933. quosdam *for* unos [C_1]
1934. dum *for* nil [W]
1938. docebit [W]
1962. potest *for* putet [D]
1964. currit [C_1]
1966. ~~fit~~ [D]
1967. ~~cecus~~ [W]

Formosum nichilum leo uir bos fit macilentus,
Retrogradus, surdus, mutus, cecus, miser, expers
Viribus et sensu; sic uincitur ille misellus,
Sic domat indomitum dominum domini dominatrix,
Sic miser exilium patitur totius honoris.
Sic ars Medee dat uires artibus Eue.
Non domine fictos Veneris fingas famulatus,
Ne tibi multimodas lusori germinet iras.

Women lead men astray

Res miranda nimis mulier, miracula florat
Pre cunctis, cleros dum decipit arte pudicos,
Dum tenet et zonat clamidatque cibatque misellos
Hamosa Veneris esca, dans pocula lethes
Ordinis immemores lethes facit esse bouinos
Pro misera preda, sensu, ratione carentes.
Saxea femineis franguntur pectora telis.
Mentes feminee sapiunt contagia queque.
Femina quem sibi uult crispata fraude supinat.

Avoidance of homosexual activity

Immoderata dea Venus et deus immoderatus
Quando simul stimulant, urticant corda uirorum
Igniferis facibus; dea non ualet aut deus ullus
Exignire faces illas, nisi femina sola.
Ex hiis, scribo uiris quibus est ignita uoluntas,
Cum Venus incendit, Veneris celebrare furorem,
Non ex hedinis, quibus est hedina uoluntas,
Cum furor ille uenit, pueros hedire Gomorre.

Avoidance of masturbation

Si Veneris stimulis tua mentula sit stimulata,
Leuem tractatum digitorum nesciat illa,
Nesciat ignita preputia ducere palma,
Femineos tactus ignoret uirga uirilis,
Ignoret tenera puerorum tangere crura,
Sic citius poterit stimulata libido domari.

Not to beat wife or expose adultery

Si tua uiperea nequeat coniux superari
Famine mellito, fustari uerbere uites;
Verbera sunt uana, quo famina nulla triumphant.
Fercula letifera, si cedas, seua ueneno
Pocula mixta dabit, tua uel sponsalia ledet.
Si sis zelotipus nimium non inde susurres;
Sunt dii, sunt homines mediocres, suntque minores
Artibus uxoris sortiti zelotipiam.
Cum sis zelotipus discas spectare lacunar;
Que tibi uera patent, mendacia mente sigilles;

1969. mediatrix *for* dominatrix [W]
1971. uiribus *for* artibus [C_1]
1974. floret [W]
1976. cogat for tenet [W]; tonet [C_1]
1980. funguntur [W]
1990. *inserted before* 1988 [D]
1991. mens fuerit *for* mentula sit [W]
1996. *inserted after*: viuere cum Venere simul est mors ponere metam [W]
1997. coniux nequeat *for* nequeat coniux [W]
1998. uita [W]

Ista patentia sint uelut inscia corde seranda.
Compellunt proprium leges decreta maritum
Conseruare ream mecham, nolit uelit ille.
Sanius est ergo sponsum tumulare pudorem,
Quam reserare malum, quod fert in fronte ruborem,
Et parit assidue renouatum corde dolorem.

Not to leave one's wife

Quicquid agat coniux, sponsalia ledere uites,
Si tua candescens fuerit maga pessima coniux,
Si meretrix fatua, si feda, superba, gulosa,
Si potrix, surda, deformis, barbara lingua,
Si sit anus sterilis, edentula, lite togata,
Pectore cum gestu uulpecula, seua leena,
Si sit pleuretica, paralitica, glabrio, ceca,
Ydropisim patiens, lepram, morbumue caducum,
Si sit ei scabies, olidus uel anelitus oris,
Ptisis et artetica, supigo, fistula, cancer,
Si sit gibbosa, noctu uentosa cubili,
Vel quocumque modo morbi sordisue grauata
Illa sit infelix, uir eam seruare tenetur.
Inuitus collo iuga fert bos, fert tamen illa.

The adulterous wife

Dum sitit in lecto coitum celebrare maritus,
Fulgurat hec: "Non sum Veneris stimulata furore.
Me ligat alter amor, me detinet altera cura,
Vestra pace frui Veneris sine labe manendo
Vellem teste deo castum seruare cubile".
Sponsus ad hec: "Quid ais?" inquid "mea mors, mea uita,
Deuia mira tonas!" Iam mentula febrit in illam,
Palpatur, trahitur, amplexus basia dantur,
Calcitrat illa pede, fera pessima, uirus amarum;
Sepe repellit eum fletus, gemitus simulatrix.
Sic simulata thoro rogat unica que magis optat.
Sic uelut inuita uult uinci uiribus illa,
Sic agitat miserum misera dulcedine captum.
Illa quidem in lecto fiunt stimulata marito;
Sed cum flamma furens poterit mecho cumulari,
Illius optatis labris serit oscula crebra.
Eius mater humus placitus thorus est fodiente
Zelotipo, quod ei sit turpe placet futuenti.
Collum zelotipi zonat lasciua lacertis,
Furtiuos tactus digiti tractare laborant,
Quos penitus lecto fieri negat illa marito.
Meche furtiuum lasciue plus placet unum

2009. uelit nolit ipse *for* nolit uelit ille [W]
2012. parat [W] 2012. petit *for* parit [C_1] 2015. gulosa superba *for* saperba gulosa [W, C_1]
2022. tysis et aretica *for* ptisis et artetica [D]; tussis aut aretica [W]
2032. ut quid *for* inquid [D, W] 2034. oscula *for* basia [W, C_1] 2036. simulator [W]
2040. simulate [W] 2049. stuprum quam decies viginti stupra mariti [W]

Stuprum zelotipi, quam centum stupra mariti.
Uritur in uetitum nitendo mens muliebris,
Quam semper Veneris male torquet feruida febris.
De mechi bachia mechum deludere noli,
Ne de te similis fieri delusio possit,
Non sis zelotipus, licet inclita sit tibi coniux.
Vir male uincitur quem zelotipia fatigat.
Quelibet est odii mulier scintilla mariti
Inter sanguineos propriores atque maritum.
Ut quit, tale serit odium, quia predominari
Coniux queque sitit, et sola placere marito,
Consilio uult sola suo satiare maritum,
Imperio uult sola suo stabulare maritum,
Vult iter ac actus reserare, serare mariti
Sola; uiri pedica mulier facit omne quod optat.

On flattery

Femina casta, bona, pia, religiosa, benigna
Blandis uix ulli uerbis temptata repugnat;
Arte capi Veneris, si forte repugnat, amabit,
Et si forte negat, non pernegat illa roganti.
In mundo nichil est leuius quam mens muliebris.

On the fickleness of women

Quod nescire uelis homines, tua nesciat uxor.
Irascens, satiata malis, stimulata furore
Queque tonare uolet de te que sint inhonesta.
Sit tibi rara fides de feminea bonitate.
Si scis que modo sit, nescis que cras uolet esse.
Coniux incolumis morbos simulare gemendo
Nouit, ut illa suum queat irretire maritum.
Non circumueniant te coniugis oscula ficta,
Amplexus, oculus lasciuus, uerba polita,
Lenis contactus, simplex uultus, famulatus,
Ad libitum, peregrinatus, non religiosus
Actus, conquestus, gemitus, suspiria, fletus,
Vestis inornata, pes turpi pelle tumescens,
Incompti crines, filum crinale capillis,
Nuda fides, uana iuratio, uana dolosa,
Nam cocus aut fatuus uillanus bubulcus
Siue capellanus sanctissima gesta figurans,
Nil sitiens audire, loqui nisi uerba salutis,
Turpiter hanc tractat quotiens locus, hora sit illi.
Rusticat hec Venerem cum rusticitate latenti,
Ne rosa credatur urticis uelle rosari.
Crimen obumbratum mulier sic scit clamidare.
Cum Venus impugnat, non officina Ciclopum

2052. de matachia mechum deludere noli [D]; de machachia quamquam deludere noli [W]
2060. suum *for* suo [W] 2061. *om.* [W] 2062. tactus *for* actus [W]
2065. uillis [C_1] 2069. que *for* quod [C_1] 2070. candescens *for* irascens [W]
2093-4. sed *for* non [W] 2095. coacta *for* tacta [W]

Ullos consulere socios memorat uel amicos,
Non ad personas hominum, non ad probitates,
Non ad opes, non ad fastus, non ad generosos
Respicit illa sibi data tacta libidinis igne;
Sepius ignauos ualidis preponit amantes,
Deformes colit illa, rudes, spernitque uenustos.
Quod sitit est grossa, saliens, quadrata supellex,
Longa, leuis, rigida, Veneris dum bella triumphant.
Hec sunt feminea iocularia deliciosa.

Dangers of sexual activity with certain women

Menstrua dum patitur, mulier coitus celebratrix
Non sit; lepra solet talem coitum comitari.
Si Venus immoderata tibi iuueni dominetur,
Thayda te iuuenem si mentula cogat adire,
Queratur Thays non omnino generalis,
Euacues subito testes, subitoque recedas;
Absit inescari fallaci Thaydis hamo,
Nec tua mens Veneris curis stimuletur amaris.
Thaydis hamus edax stolidis insulphurat escas,
Qui semel est tactus, ab eo non liber abibit.
Stuprum Thays amat, et plenum munus amantis,
Quelibet est tanti, quanti sunt munera dantis.
Penelope roseos incestat munere mores.
Acrior Arpiis Thays, uiolentior ursa
Preuenit artibus, ingeniis inimica Megeram.
Femina, uenalis est circumcisa moneta
Demonis; O nate, spernatur femina talis.
Perdit opes, animum, lumen qui munerat illam.
Eneruat uires Veneris uitiosa uoluptas.

Choice of women for marriage

Non tibi sit nupta meretricis filia feda;
Thaydat ex more meretricis filia queque.
Potibus addicta tibi nunquam femina nubat.
Si fueris pauper non ducas panniculosam;
Ducere si cupis uxorem, ducatur honesta
Virgo, pater cuius uir fidus sit, genitrixque
Femina sobria, femina prudens, femina casta.
Stemate si fueris humili, non prole tumentem,
Adducas aliquam, quia sic uir desinis esse.
Si pauper fueris non ducas pauper egenam.
Si miseram miser adducas, miser usque manebis.
Non a te uidua ducatur; garrula queque
Comprobat acta uiri defuncti quando tumescit;

2104. abire *for* adire [W]
2106. testes subito *for* subito testes [W]
2107. fallacis [W]
2108. curis Veneris *for* Veneris curis [W]
2112. quilibet [W]
2113. Penelopes [W]
2113. crimine *for* munera [D]
2114. urcis [D]
2115. Medeam [D]; Megere [W]; Megera [C_1]
2120. queque *for* feda [C_1]
2123. *om.* [W]
2125. fidus sit uir *for* uir fidus sit [D]
2128. si *for* sic [W]
2129-30. *om.* [D]
2130. adducat; manebit [W]

Quando maritus eam tumido sermone fatigat,
Fercula semper erunt defuncti crura mariti.
Femineos actus laxo nimis ore retracto;
Sunt etenim multe quibus est sincera uoluntas,
Optimus affectus, patientia, uita quieta,
Vita benigna, pia, sanctissima, casta, modesta.
Consilium muliebre solet conferre iuuamen
Lapsis, dispersis, aduersis, forte togatis
Sepius in multis profecit amor muliebris,
Hostes indomitos domitos effecit amicos.
Utilis ardua res amor est muliebris in orbe.

Not to squander wealth

Est tibi cura domus, est coniux, sunt tibi nati;
Prouidus, astutus formice disce labores
Annalem uictum querentis tempore messis.
Prouidus inspector rerum sis, Martha secunda,
Si mihi dormites, tibimet uigilare memor sis.
Rebus in iniustis tu formicare caueto.
Quam fortuna beat, felix est illa senectus.
Non opulentus opes fundas, ut inops habearis;
Illis consumptis ne sis derisio plebis.
Que semel effuse sunt gaze sero redibunt.
Vilis pauper eris dum pondus deficit eris,
Prestat non esse quam non feliciter esse.
Perditus usus opum manifestat quid sit egestas.
Nescit habens quid habet, donec desistat habere.
Res bene seruatur, sapiens quam tutor ouilit.
Quilibet illicitos licite sibi querat honores
Si moriens certus fuerit finire dolores.

Household management

Si cupis agricola fieri nouus edificator,
Edificare uelis uicinos inter honestos;
Est res grata satis cum gratis ducere uitam.
Non maiora tuis sint sumptibus edificata.
Sint fossis, uallis circumdata castra peraltis.
Aduersus stratam caueas fundare cloacam.
Omnia fructifera plantentur in ordine ligna,
Queque salutifere plantentur et insimul herbe.
Circa castrata sit porrus, caulis in orto
Sintque molendina, uiuaria; si tibi cursus
Viuus aque fuerit, sit in illis copia piscis.
Integra tecta tua semper sint edificata;
Ex domibus fractis, detectis pauperiei

2136. serena *for* sincera [D]
2137. acta *for* uita [D]
2139. aferre *for* conferre [W]
2140. rogatis *for* togatis [W]
2148. tibi *for* mihi [D]
2154. erum *for* opum [D]
2155. quem *non* feliciete [W]
2157. homo *for* habens; dediscat *for* desistat [W]
2157. dediscat [C_1]
2158. *om.* [D]
2159. fiat *for* querat [D]
2163. minus *for* satis [C_1]
2164. tua *for* tuis [W, C_1]
2166. latrinam *for* cloacam [D, W]

Luxuriantis heri, domine seu, collige signum.
Si tibi sint pecudes, illis operam dare cures;
Si tibi sit fundus, si sit tibi terra colenda,
Vomere fecundo cultor prudens bonus esto;
Tempore queque suo commendes semina terre;
Copia sit stabuli, bobus presepe ministres
Ruricolis, bobus lactantibus atque iuuencis.
Cetera sint pecora fidis signata ministris.
Non tibi sit uile numerare pecus, licet auctor
Dicat: "Pauperis est numerare pecus". Tibi non est
Dedecus implicitam propriis rebus dare curam.
Inter custodes oculis sis plenus ut Argus,
Cum ceci sint non oculis, sed mente clientes.
Circa res proprias sis linx, ad commoda Ianus.
Fac ut apes tibi mellificent, sed gratia detur.
Fac quod fecundis ouibus ditetur ouile,
Quod tellus segetes, fecundas educet uuas.
Sollicite menses annique dies numerabis.
Non impensa tua precedat posse crumene,
Non plus posse putes tibimet quam posse ministrat.
Non rumbum cupias cum sit tibi macra crumena.
Sis bifrons loculo Ianus comitatus honusto;
Doctus metitur pondus quod ferre tenetur.

On being a generous master

Cum dator esse uelis, uideas cui munera dones.
Prodigus esse caue, uel auarus; uiuere largus
Pro modulo cures, quo te fortuna beauit .
Dat largus danda, retinet que sunt retinenda;
Prodigus effundit que sunt sua; tristis auarus
Esuriens, sitiens, quid sit dare nescit egenus.

Maintaining a clean home

Sit tibi pulcra domus, immunis sordibus intus,
Sitque tibi thalamus ornatus, sitque decorus
Assellatorum thalamus; sint cetera pulcra.
Bestia brutalis non impresepiat aula,
Nec porcus, nec murilegus uideatur in illa,
Esse queunt in ea dextrarius et palefridus,
Addictique canes lepori, catulique molossi;
Aucipitres, nisi falcones et mereelle,
Pica, monedula, grusque, ciconia cum philomena,
Nulla cubata domo uolucris pergens sit in aula.
Non disci non urceoli peluesue patelle,
Nec pectrix, nec nens, cunabula nec puerorum

2175. *om.* [W]
2176. sint aratra *for* sit fundus [W]
2178. commendens [C_1]
2180. lactentibus [D]; lactrantibus [W]
2186. non sint *for* sint non [C_1]
2188. quod *for* ut [W, C_1]
2194. dum *for* cum [W]
2195. sit [D, W]
2199. locauit *for* beauit [D]
2202. dare sit *for* sit dare [W]
2207. porcellus [C_1]
2210. morelle [D]; cum mereeliis for et mereelle [W]

Sint ibi, nec carpens lanam, nec lina flagellans.
Provisions in the house
Dolia plena tua fecundent pocula leta;
Hec homines reddunt letos hylari data uultu;
Panes triticei, sal, mappula, mappa penu sint,
Sint cum cultellis allec, saisum, butirum, lac,
Arborei fructus, sagimen sportisque farina,
Linchus candele, sepum, candelabra, cera,
Caseus et salsus mullus, piper atque cuminum,
Allia cum cuppis, disci, coclearia, pelues,
Ad cenam mense, tripodes habeantur in ede,
Carnes uaccine, pinguis baco trabe pendens,
Sit tibi sufficiens in curte focale per annum
Farris, strature, prebende, copia feni,
Cacabus, urceolus plumbumque, trapeta, patelle,
Et faba trita, mola, furnus, furnile, culina,
Cum pilo pila, porci, gallique capones,
Auce, galline ponentes oua, cubantes.
Expensis uariis nummi seruentur in archa,
Sintque tibi sponse pueris, uestes equiture.
Fertilitas laribus si preualet hec comitari,
Hospitio poterunt uenientes letificari.
Qui sua dispendit large, possessa iuuabunt
Que prius ex longo fuerint quesita labore.
Si desit census, si sit tibi gaza recisa,
Non tibi deficiat largi uenerata uoluntas.
Wife should avoid pride in material goods
Femina uestitu uario uernata superbit;
Eius habere caput crinalia, serica pepla
Esurit, ac gemmis ornari dextera gaudet,
Ornamenta pedes noua, picta, sedeatia poscunt,
Auris inaures, colla monalia, brachia torques.
Syrmate prolixo mentes gaudent muliebres,
Purpurea ueste letantur sepe nouari.
Mentes feminee penitus titulantur in istis,
Que celebrant fastus, que materiant dominates:
Non gaudere queat tua coniunx fastibus istis.
Obedience of the wife
Hospitibus tua sit coniunx assurgere docta
Assurgatque tibi; cuiquam nil turpe loquatur;
Cuiquam turpe loqui matrone dissidet ori.
Si sit peplata, non sint peplata labella
Famine dum fruitur, nisi fetor ab ore procellet.
Non sit causatrix, non sit picosa locutrix,

2218. cuppa for mappa [W]
2226. eunte for curte [D] ; curta [W]
2233. ~~sponse~~ [D]; ~~pueris~~ [W]
2236-7. *om.* [D, C_1]
2240. uenerata [W]
2245. scemate *for* syrmate [D]
2229. coquina for culina [W]
2234. ista locari *for* hec comitari [W, C_1]
2239. uoluptas [D]
2243. decentia *for* sedentia [W]
2252. mulieris *for* matrone [D]

Sit simplex, lepida; uiles eliminet actus.
In lecto munda lateant eius pudibunda;
Ne tibi displiceat, cultus sit ei famulatus;
Eius pars minima uideatur, sit sine fastu;
Sic poterit populo proprioque placere marito.

The ideal servant

Quere tibi uernas prudentes, mente fideles,
Purpureas facies, et dulcia uerba rosantes.
Corpore proceri, ualidoque uigore togati,
Pectore maturi sint, nutus iussa uerentes,
Cum sit opus uarios robusti ferre labores,
Non inneruati studiis Veneris neque Bachi.
Curia spernit eos quibus est incuria discors.
Officium famuli reperitur raro fidelis:
Quisque quidem proprii lucri preponit amorem.
Dum seruire uelis, domino tamen esto fidelis.

Bad servants

Si scelerosus hero proprio scelerosa pruinet,
Serius aut citius scelerum luet impius actus.
Non est thesaurus dominanti dignior ullus,
Quam sibi copia digna proborum sit famulantum:
Gloria, laus et honor dominantibus hec solet esse.

On service

Si sint fructiferi sermones mancipiorum,
Doctus herus sanis sermonibus astet eorum.
Ullus seruorum non admittatur in usus,
Cui non sit notam quid sit seruire potenti.
Nullius est uerna, pretii si commoda desint
Officii; cupiunt illo crudeliter uti
Magnifici; pietas fructus, si sit pius, aufert.
Gazas impietas pietate carentibus affert.
Curia, cura grauis, nichil est nisi publica preda.
Famina sacrorum contempnunt sacra uirorum
Diri castrorum rectores utilitatis,
Nil auidi curant animarum, nil deitatis,
Non curant fructus operum, quocumque modo res
Illis succrescant, ut eis possint dominari.
Ut uerum fatear, nil est quod amant, nisi corpus;
Corporis, haut anime, sitiuntur commoda queque.
Amplectuntur opes, celestia munera spernunt,
Numina spernentes miseri spernentur ab ipsis.
Hoc ob contemptum fidei mercedis habebunt.
Huius honor mundi nil est nisi uiuere rapto.
Omnis herus diues dominum sibi preficit unum,

2255. *appears before* 2253; loquatrix [W]
2261. atque *for* mente [W] 2262. sonantes *for* rosantes [W]
2267. concors *for* discors [W, C_1] 2269. quiquis enim *for* quisque quidem [D]
2280. pretii uerna *for* uerna pretii [W]; pretii est uerna [C_1]
2282. affert *for* aufert [D, W] 2287. animabus [W]; animabus uel [C_1]
2288. fructum [W] 2290. ament [C_1] 2296. diues herus *for* herus diues [W]

Qui dominatur ei uelut eius fibula uite.
Huic tua des, ut te gremiet, lac dulce propinet,
Et uice materna mellire uelit tibi fructus.
Eius iuratum cum munere te decet esse,
Si cupis a domino mellitos carpere fructus.
  Diues consiliis alienis totus adherens
Non suus est; ergo stat magni nominis umbra.
  Causa triplex plenos in terris dat dominatus,
Gratia fortune, munus, placitus famulatus.
Sic famulis dominare tuis, ut corde ministrent;
Vernas uerborum non rusticitate tuorum
Fedes, cum ferues ira, nec uerbere ledas.
Etsi culpa grauis fuerit, patiens tamen esto.
Unius famuli commissum non luat alter.
Os sera conseruet, ira dum mens tua feruet.
Mentem pacis habe, mentis tumide cadat ira.
Sit tibi cor lene, lis sopiat, ira quiescat,
Frenum ponatur ire, modus urgeat iram.
Immensas parit ira minas, parit ira furores.
Nequitias parit, inuidias, dirosque dolores.
Seuus in ede leo, qui seuit in interiora,
Seuiret tumide, si posset, in exteriora.
Demonis est caros primo fedare ministros.
  Sanius est, pane cum pace fluente potiri
Quam domini tumidi uinciri perpete cura.
Est graue mellitam lambenti lambere spinam.
  Non famulentur hero uerne sub paupere cultu,
Non famulans mense sit pastor siue bubulcus.
Non tibi sint plures quam rerum suppetat usus.

Servants should be paid fully

  Te presente tuos facias prandere clientes.
Premia pacta tuis famulis persolue laboris
Plenius, ut plenos tibi persoluant famulatus.
Illos pollicitis desistas fallere uanis,
Quod promissor herus famulanti spondet auarus
Colloquiis roseis, promissum fit quasi nudum.

On wasting money

  Diues largipotens si sis, non tanta propines
Munera reddituum cuiquam tibi confamulantum,
Quod ualeat, si forte uelit, tibi dampna referre.
Sic quandoque data domino peperere pericla.
Stulto, claustrali, puero, uidue, moniali
Qui seruit plane, tibi dico, seruit inane.
Dilapidatori, meretrici uel nebuloni
Fraudibus imbuto que dantur, sunt data uento.

2304. terras [W]
2306. dominare tuis famulis *for* famulis dominare tuis [C_1]
2308. ledes [W]
2310. *om.* [W]; *appears before* 2306 [C_1]
2315. parat *repeated three times* [W]
2316. durosque [C_1]
2317. seuit *for* seuus [W]
2337-8. *om.* [D, C_1]
2339. fraudibus inducto que sunt data, sunt data uento [C_1]

Deuehit aura leuis trita loculata crumena;
Nil ualet in stomacho mel mellificare canino;
Attitulat uento quod prestat inops opulento.
Greeting of guests
Clericus aut miles ad te si uenerit hospes,
Occurrens properes illi mellire salutes.
Si tibi sit carus, amplexus, oscula prestes,
Et tibi que bona sunt mensentur frontis honore
Turma domus tota ueneranter ei famuletur
Eius equis feni, prebende suppetat usus.
Ignes fumificos, nocuos non sentiat hospes;
Non sit in ede focus, si ferueat estus in illa.
Reddat festiuos festiue copia mense;
Nobilitet potus, escas preclara uoluntas;
Conuiuas satient escarum munera potus;
Auditu digna renouentur uerba iocosa;
Exeat a doliis uarii modulatio cantus;
Cenans conuiuis sis potus dimidiator.
Ista sit indicta lex illis lite remota:
Denigrat factam proponens tristia uultus.
Larga manus dantis escas dat dapsile nomen.
Armigeri, pedites bachantes cornua sumant
Potibus alternis, ne de te praua loquantur.
Improbat et probat hospitium generatio praua;
Que notat illicita, que percipit aure, reuelat.
Eloquii praui nil prauo pectore celat.
Aut uix aut nunquam benefacta probabit iniquus.
Cui mala lingua datur, nequam semper male fatur.
The guest should not be greedy
Bis tantum uel ter hospes tibi si sit amicus,
Gratuito uerbo, uultu prandere rogetur.
Cogi prandere uult sepe pudoris amicus;
Cogatur talis ab amico, cum uenit hospes.
Ut bibat exores precibus crebro repetitis;
Potores cogi cupiunt; cogantur et ipsi
Euacuare ciphos; uir non cogatur honestus.
Qui modice potare uelit, potet moderanter.
Hospitis imperiis hospes non esto rebellis,
Omnia seruentar que cum ratione iubentur.
Host should not quarrel
Non escas proprie mense nec pocula laudes.
Hospite presente lis non moueatur in ede
Cum famulo, subitas licet ille tibi pluat iras;
Secreto stolidus stolidos post puniat actus;
Est pudor immensus in mensis litibus uti.

2344-5. ignorans thalami latebras occurre, salutes / mellitas carnes amplexus oscula prestes [W]

2345. prestas [D]; dones *for* prestes [C_1]
2356. sit *for* sis [W]; sit potus conuiue *for* conuiuis sis potus [C_1]
2357. hec data statuta sit eis lex lite remota [W]
2359. escas dantis *for* dantis escas [C_1]
2364. eloquiis prauis *for* eloquii praui [C_1]
2372. sitiunt *for* cupiunt [C_1]

Letus cum letis, tristis cum tristibus esto.
Avoid the tavern Ede tua si deficiant tibi pocula, quere
Pocula quesita, bibe lete, sperne tabernam.
Sepe taberna suos equites facit esse pedestres.
Errans dignerium, quisquis sit, si petat a te,
Hospitality for strangers Sit plus situe minus quod habes, des fronte faceto;
Ex insperato data sic tibi commoda fient.
Aduena dum comedit, uerbis non sit stimulatus;
Quelibet interea rumorum questio cesset.
Querere si placeat, post cenam questio fiat.
Sleeping arrangments Hospite presente non strata parentur in ede.
Hospitibus lectis commissis quisque tumultus
Hospitio cesset, ut sompni copia detur.
Lighting Postibus affixa noctu sint lumina bina.
Pluraque si fueris opulenti nominis auctor.
Lumina sic fixa non sint a poste remota,
Hospite, patrono, domina residentibus ede.
A lichnis cera non dentibus exspolietur,
Immo manu; lumen non debet lumine tangi;
Luminis ultima pars sibi nullum lumen adoptet.
Appositum lumen manse candelabra seruent;
Cuppas portantes comitata luce propinent;
Una manus lumen teneat, manus altera cuppam.
Non nimium prope stes cum lumine, dum bibit hospes.
Post cenam famuli te precipiente propinent;
Continui potus tibi non fiant famulatus.
Principio potum domino pincerna ministret;
Pocula portantes cuppas teneant famulantes;
A domino potu sumpto, potus aliis dent.
A uerna poterit lumen portante teneri.
Non pudor est famulo sibimet seruire bibendo.
Aduersus gentes extinguere lumina noli,
Ne fumus nocuus offendat lumina, nares.
Children in the hall Si tibi sint pueri puerilia gesta colentes,
Hospite presente nullus presens sit in ede,
Nam pueri mensis discos digitare laborant,
Spargere cultellos, cuppis effundere potus.
Urbanis pueros documentis instrue paruos.
Corripe uerberibus indoctos, corripe uerbis.

2382. *om.* [D, C_1]
2385. tabernia [O_1]
2387. serena *for* faceto [C_1]
2389. famulatus *for* stimulates [O_1]
2390. in terra *for* interea [O_1]
2391. cibum *for* cenam [O_1]
2395. sint noctu *for* noctu sint [W]
2400. cum *for* non [D, W]
2401. nullum sibi *for* sibi nullum [C_1]
2402. apponi [W]
2405. cum lumine stes *for* stes cum lumine [W]
2406. pocula post cenam dentur dominante iubente [W]
2407. continui potus non sit domino famulatus [W]
2413. lumen extinguere *for* extinguere lumina [W]
2417. non *for* nam [W]

Hausta iuuentute didicit redolere senectus.
Nulla tuis pueris des fortia pocula paruis,
Fortis enim potus puerorum lumina ledit,
Gressus debilitat, sensus hebetat, cerebellum
Turbat; quam plures sunt potibus excerebrati.
Non dentur uestes pueris paruis nisi uiles;
Illas concinerant, confedant, ore saliuant;
Cum manicis nares contergunt sorde fluentes.

Children's education in manners

Gloria non tibi sit, si praui sint tibi nati,
Immo pudor; crebro prauos tua uerberet ira;
Moribus instructi dum sint, desistere noli.
Insita doctrina pueris elumbit iniqua.
Gratior est unus metuens utrumque parentem
Natus celicola, quam mille truces stigiales.
Prouideas genitis uestitus, commoda, uictus,
Ne patre defuncto fiant inopes peregrini.
Si tibi sint genite, mox nubant: mens muliebris
Labitur in minimo; iuuenum cito feruet amore.
Multiplicatur amor, cum corripiuntur amantes.
Ignitas Venere mentes correptio spinat.
Est secretus amor furor intestinus amantum,
Intestinus amor scintillat et urit amantes.
Quo magis est tectus, magis estuat ignis amantum.
Non sint potrices; faciunt potus meretrices.
Non oculus, manus, os gremium petulantia signent.
Sordida propellat illarum mentis honestas.
Moribus urbanis, documentis instrue sanis
Illas: ignorent quid candida uirga figuret;
Iocundos caueas illis pretendere uultus.
Cum famulis modico contentus uinere parce
Sis memor, ut possis prestare cibos alienis.
Nature meta, fili, si sit tibi leta,
Nunquam mendicum uilem te reddet egestas.
Seruus erit stomachi qui paruo nesciat uti.
Hospes adire cubile suum non commoueatur,
Ni fuerit minimus, mendicus, pauper, egenus.
Debita soluendo non esto sodalis auari,
Pollicitis uacuis qui diluit illa petenti.

2422. pocula fortia *for* fortia pocula [D]
2424. ebetat sensus [D]; ebetat sensum [W, O_1]
2426. non pueris uestes paruis dentur nisi uiles [D]; non dentur pueris uestes paruis nisi uiles [W]
2426. non dentur pueris paruis uestes nisi uiles [O_1]
2427. concuiderunt [O_1]
2429. praui si *for* si praui [C_1]
2430. sermo prudens *for* immo pudor [D]; ~~crebo~~ [W]
2430. insistere *for* desistere [W]
2434. cruces *for* truces [W, C_1]
2440. corruptio [W]
2443. urit *for* estuat [W]
2444. *appears before* 2442 [C_1]
2445. gremium manus os *for* manus os gremium [C_1]
2446. procellet *for* propellant [D]; precellat *for* propellat [W]
2449. illas [W]
2450. modice contemptus *for* modico contentus [C_1]
2452. lecta *for* leta [W]
2454. nesciet [C_1]
2455. suum cubile *for* cubile suum; moueatur *for* commoueatur [W]

Debita soluere quando tenetur auarus, ocellos
Vix aperit; loculi digitos uix ore recondit;
Sepe serat, reserat loculos loculis loculatus;
Tandem commiserans nummos, quos cor lacrimatur,
Scalpendo nares, rodendo dentibus ungues
Litibus hic famulos urticat litigiosus.
Omnia que sua sunt commendat demonis aris.
  Vestitus si suppositus mappe sit edendo
Inter conuiuas ad mensam non residentes,
Quod patet exterius uestis mappe famuletur;
Intus bestiole persepe solent latitare.
Pes residentis humo mappa non sit coopertus.
  Non feriat ueniens ualuas clausas opulenti;
Clamet, dum ueniat custos ualuaris ad illas.
Pulsari poterunt ualue licite monachales.
Pre foribus sedeat custos magnate cibante,
Clamantis ne uerba foris repetantur inane.
Cerberus in foribus non presideat dominator,
Immo cliens, lepidus, liber, discretus, honorus.
Ianua depereat, cui limen amare iubetur,
Ianua semper amans linten sit in igne cremata:
Talis amor lepidos nimium denigrat honores.
  Si tibi sint serui seruilis conditionis,
 Dum manet in cursa tua laus, tua blanda potestas
Illis esto pius, cum proximus est sibi quisque.
Carnifices hominum deus ultor spernit et odit.
Dux erebi non sis subiectis uiuus in orbe;
Esse suis mitem dominantem regia res est.
  Noctu porta domus sint ostia clausa, fenestre;
Sint in ea latitans ignis, candela latexque,
Arma, probi iuuenes, et erit securior edes.
  Sint decorata, noua, tua uestimenta decora.
Non sedeas cinere nec puluere; puluerulenta
Sordida si fuerint, pluuiosa uel incinerata,
Coram diuitibus tales non excute uestes.
  Non offendatur pedibus leporarius unquam,
Ipse gregarius est ictus quocumque modo uis.
More loci uiuas docte quocumque loco sis.
  Ex domini parte portans exennia, non sis
Furtiuus raptor illorum, siue tributor.
Cum data sint, tali latori pocula dentur;
Prandia donentur, si sit de parte remota;

2471 ualuas ueniens *for* ueniens ualuas [W]
2472. ualuaris custos *for* custos ualuaris [W, C_1]
2473. licite ualue *for* ualue licite [D]
2477. honestus [D]
2483. esto pius illis *for* illis esto pius [D]
2484. auctor *for* ultor [D]
2492. limosa *for* pluuiosa [D]
2495. *om.* [D, W]
2496. *om.* [C_1]
2504. caueas proprios *for* proprio caueas [D]

Si sit uicinus, potet, non prandia carpat.
Mittantar grates mittenti, quando recedet;
Illas hinc uiso mittente nouare memento.
  Narratu proprio caueas crispare cachinnos,
Ille licet risus pariat residentibus aula.
Si de personis hominum narratio fiat,
Semper maioris nomen prepone potentis.
  Perpetuas curas domino dat nomen herile.
Si saluare suos uelit, ut bonus hospes, honores,
Non dominus ualet esse sui socius uel amicus;
Perpes pena domus comitatur eum dominantem
Sponse, natorum seruum decet esse suorum
Illum seruilem, quem cura grauis terit intus,
Et premit exterius; uiuit formica laborans.
Non sopire queunt mala, que tolerare tenetur:
Coniugis interitus, puerorum siue suorum,
Aduersans omen, sitis, algor, inedia, langor
Continuus, senium, sane confectio mentis,
Ira tenax, animo dominus scelerosa ministrans,
Leges ledentes sunt illi causa doloris.
Seruus erit; sic, sic uiuens, seruus morietur.
Sit modus in lacrimis cum te lacrimosa catenant;
Est stolidam flere mortalia siue timere.

On daily life and food

  Audi, disce modum cenandi, si tibi fausto,
Insigni, lepido gazarum copia floret.
Ecclesiam mane repetas; missa celebrata,
Sanior ut uiuas, placitos tibi quere labores,
Humores quibus ipse queas purgare nociuos;
Querens inuenies species tibi mille laborum,
Ante cibum sano labor est laudabilis omni;

Rest after eating

Utilis est et ei requies dape uentre refecto,
Alleuiat uentres labor inflatos moderatus,
Dissipat humores nocuos et flegma, calorem
Accendit, stomachi compages stringere fertur.
Otia cum requie sunt sanis ualde nociua,
Illis precipue quos nutrit grossa dieta.

Preparations for the meal

  Tempus et affectus epulandi cum tibi detur,
Intestinorum primo purgatio fiat.
Hinc manibus stando donetur mappula, limpha;
Si sit hyemps, limpha tibi prestita sit calefacta;
Mappula sit niuea; riuo sit limpha decoro.

2509. salutare; ~~honores~~ [W]
2513. trahit *for* terit [D]
2515. tedia non sopire queunt que ferre tenetur [D]
2518. defectio *for* confectio [W]
2518. *om.* [C_1]
2521. si sit *for* sic sic [D]
2530. sanum [W]
2531. dare *for* dape [L_1]
2536. magna *for* grossa [W]
2536. uianda *for* dieta [C_1]
2537. dentur [L_1]
2540. limpha sic tibi prestita sit [D, W, L_2]; limpha sit prestita tunc [C_1]

Intus et exterius sint pelues mundificate;
Cultelli nitidi mense ponantur edaces.
Sit niueum, sit sal mundum, pariterque salare.
Dempta superficies panis domino titulati.
Per medium cesus, sed non omnino, sit ille;
Absit dimidium panem mensare cibanti.
Disci, crateres, cuppe sint sorde carentes.
In mensa disci nimis ampli siue profundi
Non apponantur; cuppe, calices habeantur
Ad placitum domini magni, parui, mediocres.
Nulla manus discis presumat fundere limpham;
Si desint pelues, calices limphare laborent.
Escarum, potus epulantibus ordo ministret.
Rustica mensa tibi non sit, dum diues haberis.
Apposita mensa ponatur candida mappa;
Candida, trita licet, mense seruire ualebit.
Sordida, contrita lotrici sit titulata.
Cum sale cultellos, panem potumque clientes
Ponant; pulmenta coclearia quando geruntur
Ad mensas dapibus bene tacta fluente ministrent.

On the order of food

Primo maiori persone fercula dentur.
Carnes porcine cum uaccinis et ouinis
Carnes aucine, pulli pinguesque capones,
Carnes agnine, porcelline, uituline
Dentur galline, leporine post et aprine,
Carnes hinnulee, dammine, capreoline;
Perpingues uolucres dentur, quas educat ear.
Istis appositis sint inter fercula pice,
Pastilli cum farcturis; post mollia dentur
Fercula; sint frixa postrema cibaria cene.
Oblatas, fructus, species, galfras nebulasque
Mappula contineat, patronis quando geruntur.

Table manners

In mensa licite patronus deliciosas
Discis ablatis uacuis det edentibus escas.

2542. mundificati [L_1] 2543. niridi [L_1]
2544. sic niueum, sic sal niridumque salare [L_1]
2547. *om.* [W] 2553. ~~calices~~ [L_1]
2557. tabescat *for* ualebit [L_1]; licebit *for* ualebit [W] 2558. titulati [L_1]
2560. ponunt [L_1] 2561. fluenta [L1]; intacta *for* bene [W]
2562. persone maiori *for* maiori persone [C_1, L_1, L_2]
2564. *transposes* pulli pinguesque capones *and* porcelline uituline [W]
2564. aucine carnes *for* carnes aucine [L_1] 2565. porceline [L_1]
2566. post leporine *for* leporine post [W] 2570. farturis [L_1]
2571. cibaria mense et cene *for* cibaria cene [C_1]
2572. species fructus *for* fructus species [C_1, L_1] 2572. gaufras [L_1]
2573. matronis, *changed to* patronis [D]; matronis [W]
2575. allatas discis *for* discis ablatis [D]; discis allatis [W, L_2]

In cena digitis non cultro sal capiatur
Cum sit opus carnes, pisces sallire recentes.
Fine dato cene frustratim frangere curent
In mensa famuli panem, qui detur egenis.
Coram conuiuis famuli sparsim positum sal
Contactum dapibus in uasa reponere nolint.
Mappis subtractis manibus prestabitur unda;
Parce prestetur, manicis ne defluat illa;
Effusa limpha manibus sit mappula presens,
Dum geritur, scapulo ponatur mappula leuo.
Lumina non errent alias, dum funditur unda.
Presbitero memores primo prestare fluentem,
Si sit conuiua; digitos cum lauerit ipse,
Effundas manuum loturam; deinde ministres
Undam conuiuis aliis, uelut expetit ordo.
Extersis manibus dentes non mappula tergat.
Interea grates soluantur cuncta regenti.
  Sunt quidam lepidi quibus est modo grata uoluntas,
Quod post pulmenta data fercula dant meliora,
Illis cenatis apponunt fercula grossa.
Qui uelit hac licite poterit nouitate potiri.
  Pectus auis, piscisque caput, rostrumque suinum
Cultrorum manici ponantur uersus edentes;
Cultri mensati nolint onerare salare.
  Dentur pulmenta, ieiunia cum celebrantur,
Allec, mullus, salmo, congrus; post leuiora
Fercula mensentur, roche percheque lupique.
Non admensetur frustum piscis sine pelle.
Ultima fercula mollia frixaque farcta sequantur.
Si desint pisces, butirum, lac, caseus, oua
Dentur conuiuis prandere uolentibus illa.
  Excisus tenue sit caseus inueteratus,
Scindaturque recens spisse cenantibus illum;
Caseolum, butirum cum pollice non preme pani.
Oua comesturo, si mollia sint, moueantur
Cultro, uel panis crusta; mappa teneantur
Vel crusta dempta ponantur pane cauato.
Cenet cum pane comedens, non sorbeat illa,
Ni sedeat cene propria dominator in ede.

2576. diuitis in cena *for* in cena digitis [W]
2576-7. *om.* [D]
2577. salire [L_1]
2580. sparsim famuli *for* famuli sparsim [C_1]
2587. prestante [W]
2587. primo memores *for* memores primo [L_1]
2588. diuiua *for* conuiua [L_1]
2596. uolet *for* uelit [C_1]
2597-8. pectus auis, piscis ponantur uersus edentes / cultrorum manici que capud rostrumque suinum [L_1]
2599. *om.* [D]
2603. *om.* [D]
2603. sui *for* sine [L_1]
2604. farta *for* farcta [L_1]
2610. comestura [W, L_2]
2616. contersu [L_1]; pone *for* pane [C_1]

Non cultrum lingat, non cultrum tergat in ouis
Permotis; cultrum contersum pane reponat
In mensa; non conmaculet pectus neque palmas
Seu mappam; conchas seruare salare tenetur.
Si uas defuerit, sit uas presens humus illis;
Ocius abiectas discarius efferat illas.
Si casu cadat a mensa panis, caro, piscis
Mensa ponatur iterato, non comedatur.
Durum uel frixum documentis non eget ouum.
Ouum non fodias digito nec pollice, cirpo,
Stramine, festuca; cultro tantum moueatur.
Conuiuis unum non dimidiabitur ouum.
Albumen durum, pressum palmis, spoliatum
A conchis primo non cenes deinde uitellum.

On the sauces for food

Allia deposcunt porci uacceque recentes;
Deposcitque recens agnina caro piperatam;
Allia deposcit anser salsumque sinapim;
Tucetumque recens assetur, cum sale detur;
Cum sarreto uel serpillo cocta recens sit
Veruecina caro; comedenti sit sine iure,
Cum sale simpliciter, uel iure cibus sale mixto.
Carni cuniculi, leporis ciueta paretur;
Assate, bene lardate, carnes et aprine,
Ursine cum ceruinis carnesque gruine
Et pauonine, dammine sint et olores,
Auce siluestres cenate cum piperatis.
Cum sale donentur cenantibus inferiores
Siluestres uolucres; habeant cum iure cuminum
Galline pingues, pulli gallique, capones
Elixi; si sint assati, cum sale dentur.
Allia conueniunt mullo congroque recenti;
Alleci sit et elixe ius cum piperata.
Anguille sint assate; piper, allia, quod uis
Elige; murenam prandebis cum piperata.
Salmo recens habeat piperatam siue sinapim.
Cum salsa roche, darsi, piscesque minores
Cenentur; perchis bona sit piperata lupisque.
Panis acetosus assatus, sal, piper, epar

2620. ocius obiectas discarius afferat illas [L_1]
2622. iterate [L_1]
2624. si fuerit molle *for* ouum non fodias [W]; uel *for* nec [C_1]
2624. fodeat digitis uel *for* fodias digito nec [L_1]
2627. albinum [W]
2629. allea [L_1]
2630. peperata [L_1]
2631. allea; sinapium [L_1]
2633. sauigeo [L_2]
2635. *om*. [C_1]; cibo [L_1]
2636. *om* [D]
2638. gruinie [L_1]
2644. elixos [D, W, C_1]; est gos *for* elixir [L_2]
2645. allea [L_1]
2647. cum sint *for* sint [L_1]
2649. senapium [L_1]
2650. darci [L_1]
2651. que bona ~~sit~~ [L_1]
2651. inserted after: pisciculis dulcis limphe sit salsa phalerni / piscibus et potus cereris sit salsa marinis [W]

Piscis seu uolucris, istis ceruisia mixta,
Elixi piscis, carnis ius pingue recentis
Sint contrita simul bullitaque; sic piperata
Apta saporata fiat cenantibus illam.

Rabbit sauce

Diptannus, piretrum, piper, allia, saluia, ruta,
His apium, maratrum ponatur petroselinum
Cum micis albi panis; simul ista terantur
Et sale permodico, post conficiantur aceto
Vel gelido latice, si copia desit aceti.
Pars apii minor et rute, maratrique sit equa;
Herbarum maior sit eis data pars aliaram.
Sint uiridis folia porri concisa minutim,
Sint albi panis mice modicumque piper, sal,
Sit ceruisia, sitque uitellum cum butiro, lac
Trita simul, bullita foco; fractus lepus intus
Lardatus sit et assatus; sic ipsa ciueta.
Sit confecta, data cenare uolentibus illam.
Cum collo, capite, pinnis omnis uolucris pes
Integer abscisus sit; siluestris uolucris pes
Omnis perfissus, collum simul et caput eius
Cum pinnis et cum rostro longo peracuto
Corpore frustrato domino mensentur edenti. .
Si sit opus uolucres tales assentur in aula.
Sit porcina recens caro prestita fleubotomato,
Carnes pullorum gallinarumque fabeque;
Mollia sint oua data, uinum dulce, leuisque
Eius sit potus, ceruisia uel ueterana.
Sint pira, poma data paucissima coctana cocta.
Non lac, non butirum detur nec caseus illi.
Non comedat caules stomacho uomitum generantes.
Prima dies ueneri non sit data, siue sopori.

Dietary effects of food

Lumina clarificat, sincerat, fleubotomia
Mentes et cerebrum, calidas facit esse medullas,
Vesicam purgat, stomachum uentremque cohercet,
Auditus aperit, memorem reddit, leuiorem
Vocem producit, acuit sensum, minuitque
Sompnos, emollit iratos, anxia tollit,
Tedia subuertit, oculorum curat aquosos
Cursus, inuitat digestum, sana ministrat.

2656. fiet [W]; apte [L_1] 2657. ditanus; saluea [L_1]
2658. petrocillinum [L_1]
2664. conscissa [W] 2665. mice panis *for* panis mice [W, L_1, L_2]
2670. pennis [L_1] 2671. *line added to bottom of column* [L_1]
2672. ~~collum simul et caput eius~~ [C_1] 2673. ~~cum pinnis~~ [C_1] 2678. *om.* [L_1]
2682. ~~uomitum~~ [L_1] 2683. sapori [L_1] 2684. letificat *for* clarificat [C_1]; scincerat [L_1]
2686. uentrem stomachumque *for* stomachum uentremque [W]
2689. ~~iratos~~ nervos ac anxia tollit [P_1] 2691. dampna *for* sana [D]
2692. litis *for* iras [P_1] 2697. *om.* [D]; que *for* quod [C_2, L_1, L_2]

Iras, colloquia fugiat, comedat moderanter,
Potet, et obscuris teneantur lumina prima
Luce, secunda; tertia lux grauior solet esse.
Quarta dies Cereri detur, Bacho Venerique;
Obseruare tamen studeat moderamen in istis.
Quod lux quarta docet ignorent religiosi.
Tritica confirmant corpus uentremque cohercent,
Stringunt, infrigdant et uires ordea prestant.
Guttam committit et corda siligo perurit.
Non fermentatus panis bene corpora nutrit,
Ventrem procurat; prestantur caule calores;
Pulmentum molle mollit, uentralia soluit;
Corpus alit faba, constringit cum cortice uentrem;
Desiccat flegma, stomachum luramque relidit,
Vinum, crede, uetus corpus desiccat et urit,
Et coleram nutrit, uentrem constringere fertur.
Si iungatur aqua moderanter corpora curat.
Prouocat urinam mustum, cito soluit et inflat;
Dant noua maiorem potori uina calorem.
Sunt nutritiua plus dulcia, candida uina,
Urinam curant, capiti nocumenta ministrant.
Sunt calefactiua generaliter omnia uina,
Ebrius efficitur citius potans mera nigra;
Ventres constringunt, urunt et uiscera ledunt,
Debilitant et desiccant potus nimis haustus,
Permodicusque cibus, et salsa cibaria frixa,
Ante cibum sompnus, studium, uinum ueteratum,
Et labor assiduus, et solis feruidus estus,
Fleubotomia frequens, metus, immoderata libido,
Cura grauis, sudor, ieiunia longa, dolores.
Grossos humores nutrit ceruisia, uires
Prestat, et augmentat carnem, generatque cruorem,
Prouocat urinam, noua uentrem mollit et inflat.
Potus aque nimium sumptus nocuus fit edenti,
Infrigdat nimium stomachum, confundit et escam.
Si sitiunt homines calidi potare fluentem
Temporis ardore, modice tunc frigida dentur.

2698. pritica *for* tritica [C_2]
2700. commitruit [L_1]; connutrit [P_1]
2701. corpori [L_1]; corpora bene *for* bene corpora [W]; *om.* [C_2]
2704. stringit *for* constringit [L_1]
2705. lumenque *for* luramque [W, C_1, L_2]; fleuma *for* flegma [P_1]
2706. sinum *for* uinum [C_2]
2708. nutrit *for* curat [L_1]
2710. potanti *for* potori [C_1]
2710-11. *order reversed* [C_2]
2712. parant *for* currant [C_2]
2714. potans citius *for* citius potans [W]
2714. nigra mera *for* mera nigra [L_1]
2715. uentrem [W]
2717. ~~cibus~~ [C_2]
2719. estas [P_1]
2721. stadium for sudor; ~~dolores~~ [C_2]
2722. seruisia [C_2]
2724. aluum *for* inflat [P_1]
2727. et *for* si [L_1]
2730. agnine et ueruecine [C_2]; agnine, ueruecine carnes et suine [L_1]

Nutrit porcina caro, constringit leporina,
Agnine, ueruecine carnes et ouine
Ventrem procurant; inflat caro queque bouina.
Est nimium nocuus lactans porcellus et agnus.
Est iuuenis salsus laudabilis et ueteratus.
Sunt nutritiue nimium carnes uituline.
Desiccant salse carnes nimium ueterate.
Corpora desiccat et plus caro nutrit aprina.
Cum pedibus fissis est sanior omnibus omnis
Siluestris uolucris; plus sicca magis ualet egris.
Omne genus uolucrum perhibetur mollius esse,
Ac laudabilius, caro cuius candida restat.
Piscis habens rubeas carnes nimium nocet egris.
Anseris, anguille caro nunquam conuenit illis.
Per loca petrosa pisces nantes fluuiales
Extant egrotis ad uescendum potiores.
Equoreus piscis humores nutrit amaros;
Et piscis pinguis febres alit et caro pinguis.
Caseus incendit stomachum salsus ueteratus
Sero digeritur, uentrem constringere fertar
Ac infrigdare; salsus plus nutrit ouinus
Caseus, et modice perhibetur stringere uentrem.
Caseus insulsus bene digerit et bene nutrit.
Humectat stomachum butirum, nutritque calorem
Et mollit uentres, humores soluere fertur
Lac uacce nutrit, confortat membra, calorem
Epatis et stomachi contemperat immoderatum,
Prouocat urinam, confert pinguedine dempta,
Dissipat humorum morsum nocuum calidorum,
Carnes augmentat, matricis uulnera curat.
Humectat corpus hominis lac acre refrigdans.
Queque cibaria dulcia turgida uiscera reddunt.
Anseris ouum non bene nutrit nec bene soluit.
Galline coctum non ex toto bene nutrit
Et leuiter soluit, non est laudabile frixum.

2731. procuran *for* procurant; inflant carnesque bouine [W] 2731. quoque [P_1]
2734. tunc *for* sunt [C_2]
2735. nimium carnes *for* carnes nimium [D, P_1]; uituline *for* ueterate [L1]; *om.* [C_2]
2739. uolucris [L_1] 2741. *om.* [W]; multum *for* nimium [L_1]
2742. *om.* [L_1] 2742. caro caro [C_2] 2743. putrosa [L_2]
2744. certant egrotos *for* extant ergotis [C_2] 2746. pinguis piscis *for* piscis pinguis [C_2]
2746. *om.* [C_1] 2748. facit *for* fertar [P_1]; fertur [L_1]
2749. defrigdare [C_2] 2750. modicum [W, C_1, L_2, P_1, C_2]
2750-1. *om.* [L_1] 2751. soluit *for* nutrit [L_2, P_1, C_2] 2752. *om.* [C_2]
2753. mollit enim uentres *for* et mollit uentres [W]; emollit [P_1] 2753-4. *appears after* 2755 [C_2]
2756. ~~pinguedine dempta~~ [W] 2757. ~~dissipat humorum morsum~~ [W]
2758. sanat *for* curat [C_2] 2759. refrigidaris [C_2] 2761. reddit *for* nutrit; soluit *for* nutrit [L_1]
2764. ~~gelida~~ [W] 2765. modicum *for* modice [L_1, C_2] 2766. petet [C_2]

The morning routine

Lumina mane, manus surgens gelida lauet unda;
Hac illac modice pergat, modice sua membra.
Extendat, crines pectat, dentes fricet; ista
Confortant cerebrum, confirmant cetera membra.
Potibus et dapibus cum uenter erit satiatus,
Esto pedes modice pergens; dextrum requiescat
Paulisper latus, hinc alio dormitio fiat.
Dormitus breuitas reficit post prandia corpus.
Non onerare sua uelit escis uiscera uescens;
Egrotos reddit homines cibus immoderatus.
Esca nimis sumpta uentrem pectusque coartat,
Confundit stomacham, confundit cetera membra.
Non cibus utilis est donec stomachus uacuetur
A primis dapibus, dum dulces appetit escas
Esuriens stomachus; detur cibus esurienti.
Si mora tollit eum, nocuis humoribus ille
Circumplexus erit, quos mox a corpore toto
Attrahet, et nimium turbabitar hinc cerebellum.
Est pluuialis aqua super omnes sana, leuesque
Reddit potantes, bene digerit et bene soluit.
Est bona fontis aqua, que tendit solis ad ortum
Ac ad meridiem; tendens alio nocet omnis.
Equoreum lauacrum desiccat corpora multum,
Dulcis aque stringit, infrigdat membra lauacrum.
Balnea sint calida, sit in illis sessio parua,
Corporis humiditas ne comminuatur in illis.
Temporis estiui ieiunia corpora siccant.
Quolibet in mense confert uomitus, quia purgat
Humores nocuuos, stomachi lauat os uitiosum.

On the seasons

Ver, autumpnus, hyems, estas dominantur in anno.
Tempore uernali calidus fit et humidus aer;
Nullum tempus eo melius fit fleubotomie;
Tunc usus ueneris confert homini moderatus,
Corporeus motus, uentrisque solutio, sudor,
Balnea; purgentur tunc corpora cum medicinis.
Estas more calet, siccat, noscatur in illo
Tempore precipue rubeam coleram dominari.

2767. *om.* [C_2] 2770. *om.* [C_2]
2771. post post prandial [L_1] 2772. ledens *for* uescens [C_1]
2774. mentem *for* uentrem [D, L_1, L_2, P_1] 2774. contristat *for* coartat [P_1]
2774. ~~sumpta~~ [C_2] 2776. ~~utilis est~~ [C_2]
2781. inde cerebrum *for* hinc cerebellum [W] 2784. solis que tendit *for* solis ad ortum [W]
2785. illo *for* omnis [W]; alia [C_2] 2787. aqua [P_1] 2788. balnera [L_1]
2789. hereditas *for* humiditas [C_2] 2789. contimiatur [L_1]
2791. et *for* quia [P_1]; 2791. quilibus [L_1] 2793. *om.* [W]; sec *for* ver [C_1]
2796. usus tunc *for* tunc usus [W] 2797. corporis et motus *for* corporeus motus [P_1]
2799. nascatur ab *for* noscatur in [L_1] 2801. fercula frigida *for* frigida fercula [C_2]
2802. raro [C_2] 2804. socrantur [P_1] 2806. fit *for* sit [L_1] 2808. hyemps [L_1]

Humida, frigida fercula dentur; sit uenus extra.
Balnea non prosunt, sint rare fleubotomie.
Utilis est requies, sint cum moderamine potus.
Tempore messili sociantur frigida siccis,
Quod coleram nigram nutrit, caueatur ab omni.
Corporei motus, ueneris sit maior et usus
Quam sit in estate; medicamina, balnea prosunt.
Humescit, frigescit hyems; tendamus ad escas.
Tempore brumali sit uictus deliciosus.
Non uentris cursus in eo, nec fleubotomia
Proficit; ipsa uenus moderata thoro sit amica.
Reddit non paucos mutatio temporis egros.
Nature proprium confert seruare calorem.
Viribus humanis non humida ledere possunt,
Dum natura suo poterit gaudere calore.

Value of these verses

Carmina letificent animum persepe iocosa;
Famina iocanda cole, desere litigiosa.
Sepe tibi uestis nouitas sit perspeciosa,
Interdumque thoro sit amica tibi generosa;
Orbita furfurea spernatur, feda, pilosa.
Fercula que sapiant et pocula sume merosa.
Indulgere gule caueas, contempne gulosa.

Avoid vice

Viuere morose studeas, fugias uitiosa.
Prouidus euites tibi que sint perniciosa.
Quere tibi medicos, caro si tua sit scabiosa.
Auribus interdum sit musica deliciosa.
Prospera quere tibi, sis fidus, sperne dolosa;
Inuidiam fugias, te nesciat ira morosa.
Cum te sancta loca teneant, cole religiosa.
Famina sordida, turpia sint tibi, gesta perosa.
Lucida sint tua facta per omnia, non tenebrosa.
Tempora sic leta longeuus emes speciosa,
Labilis etatis libi tempora sint numerosa,

Epilogue

Clerus precipue, miles, matrona, puella,
Quilibet ingenuus hec seruet scripta nouella
Rex uetus Henricus primo dedit hec documenta,
Illepidis, libro que subscribuntur in isto.
Explicit liber Vrbani Danielis Becclesiensis.

2809. nam cali *for* brumali [C_2]; uictus sit *for* sit uictus [L_1]
2811. sit thoro *for* thoro sit [L_1]
2813. ~~confert~~ [L_1]
2816. *end of text* [L_1]
2818. sibi *for* tibi [C_2]
2819-20. *om.* [L_2]
2820. *om*. [W, C_2]
2823. *end of text* [C_1]
2831. gesta *for* facta [P_1]
2832. spatiosa [P_1]
2833. ~~numerosa~~ [W]
2833-40. *om.* [L_2]
2834-40. *om.* [W]
2835. seruent [P_1]
2837. libro nouo que *for* libro que [P_1]
2838. *added to end of text*: Qui dedit alpha et omega, sit laus et gloria Christo / cxplicit iste liber qui uocatur Urbanus [P_1]

Curuamen ueli dimittite. Gaudia celi
Qui geminauit Heli, merito tribuat Danieli.

2839. celi demittat *for* ueli dimittite [P_1]

APPENDIX II

Manuscripts Containing (I) Full or (II) Partial Copies of *Urbanus magnus*

Summary Descriptions

This appendix contains summary descriptions of each of the extant manuscripts containing either a full or partial copy of *Urbanus magnus*. I have tried to narrow down the dating of the manuscripts, but in some cases the surviving evidence does not indicate a date any more specifically than late thirteenth century or simply fourteenth century. Where possible I have grouped texts together based on common themes through colour-coding. This is designed to enable the reader to quickly discern the function or functions of each manuscript. For example, satirical works are grouped together under the same colour in individual manuscripts, while educational texts have a different colour. Note that the colour-coding system varies for each manuscript. This is due to the fact the manuscripts as a whole are quite disparate and reflect a wide range of different themes. In addition to the grouping of texts, certain texts have additional explanations to aid the reader in understanding each manuscript. Where permission has been obtained, images from some of the manuscripts have also been included.

MS C_1 [SMYLY MS C]

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 61/155
S. XIII England

Contents:

Pastoralia
1. Innocent III, *De miseria humane conditionis*, pp.9-64[4] → Also appears in MSS D and O_3
2. *Tracts on the punishment of Hell*, pp.65-93
3. *Sermon on the delight of Paradise*, pp.94-125
4. Johannes de Rupella, *Sermon, De Pascha*, pp.126-142
5. *Verses on punishment and the vices*, pp.143-149
   (i) William de Montibus, *Speculum penitentis*
   (ii) *Verses on punishments*
6. William de Montibus, *Tractatus de vii sacramentis*, pp.150-176
7. Honorius of Autun, *Liber Elucidarius*, pp. 177-253 → Survey of Christian beliefs, potentially functions as a handbook for clergy
8. *Documents about discovery of Holy Blood at Fécamp*, pp.254-266

Social treatises
9. Albertanus Brixiensis, *De doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, pp.267-354 → Teaching about speech and silence; discusses the place of the notary in public life
10. Albertanus Brixiensis, *Liber de amore et dileccione dei*, pp.355-481 → On love and the delight in God, neighbours, and other matters. Concerns the rule of life.

Pastoralia
11. Albertanus Brixiensis, *Sermo*, pp.482-518
12. *Commentary on Isidore*, pp.519-524
13. *Concordantie sanctorum*, pp.525-581 → On virtues and vices

Pastoralia
14. Gregory the Great, *Homily on Ezechiel*, pp.582-600.

[4] I have kept to the pagination as it appears in James' catalogue.

Social treatise

15. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus Magnus*, pp.601-643
Contains lines 1-2823, omitting the final 17 lines of the poem. *Urbanus magnus* is in a different hand, with a change of hand approximately halfway through.

***Urbanus Magnus* and MS C_1:**
This manuscript is predominantly concerned with pastoralia, with some patristic and moralistic writing. *Urbanus magnus* here fits well with the social treatises of Albertanus Brixiensis, which are concerned with speech, silence, love of God, love of neighbours, and generally concern for the rules governing life. His *Liber de amore et dilecccione dei* deals with the role of the notary in public life, while *Urbanus magnus* can be interpreted here as concerning the role of the cleric in public life.

Provenance and Date:
James states that this manuscript dates from the late thirteenth century.

On p.600: 'Discit qui nescit p. gaillart hic requiescit / De morfanuilla (?) rector fuit ortus in illa', added in a later hand.

On p.646: 'Thomas Gallard'. James suggests a link with Steyning in Sussex, a cell of Fécamp Abbey.

Reference:
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, ed. M. R. James (Cambridge, 1907-08).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library, ed. R. Thomson (Cambridge, 2001).

Fig.41. Glosses in MS C_1		
UM	**Latin**	**English**
10	Quod debeas doctrine patris tui penitus adherere	That you should adhere to your father's teaching thoroughly
28	Quod decem precepta dei debeas obseruare	That you should observe the ten teachings of God
462	De modo ciuium qualiter se debent adinuicem preamare	On the manner of how fellow citizens should curb themselves mutually
474	Qualiter homo sine uiribus et auxilio debet hostes suos decipere	How man without strength and support should escape the notice of his enemies
483	De modo superbi quando uincitur	On the manner of the arrogant when defeated
488	Quod debeas pacifice sedare furorem hostis tui	That you should settle peacefully the rage of your enemy
499	Quod non debeas obstare maiorem uiribus	That you should not oppose the strength of superiors
521	Quod non debeas inopes irridere	That you should not ridicule the poor
527	De modo honorandi patrem er matrem	On the manner of honouring father and mother
533	De modo conseruandi uotum suum	On the manner of keeping your vow
544	De modo patientie si multa amiseris	On the manner of patience if you have lost much
584	Quod non debeas inquirere de uita hominis ab hoste ipsius	That you should not scrutinise a man from the enemies themselves
588	Quod non debeas latronem redimere	That you should not redeem a robber
590	Quod non debeas te iactare	That you should not boast about yourself
592	Quod non debeas reuelare negotia tua nec secreta consilia tua alicui adulatori	That you should not reveal your business nor your secret discussions to any sycophants
599	De modo fidelis hominis	On the manner of a faithful man
605	Quod non debeas res tuas collaudare	That you should not highly extol your business
611	Quod non debeas consilia tibi commissa uel tradita alicui reuelare nec etiam detegere	That you should not reveal your secret advice or surrender it or even disclose it to anyone
617	Quod non debeas alicui absenti clam detrahere	That you should not secretly disparage anyone absent
625	Quod tuus hostis intima cordis tui nesciat	That the enemy does not know the depths of your heart
632	Quod non debeas uerba tua repetere	That your should not repeat your words
642	Quod omne infortunium patienter patiaris	That you should suffer each misfortune patiently
650	Quod mala loqui non debeas neque nutu neque signis	That you should not speak evil neither with a nod not a sign
652	Quod aliqui prauos animos propter opulentias enodant et quod aliqui iras maximas in cordibus suis conseruant propter paupertatem	That explains some crooked minds on account of riches and that they keep the greatest anger in their hearts because of poverty
661	Qualiter secrets consilia manifestantur per litem, amorem, et ebrietatem	How secret discussions are revealed by a quarrel, passion, and drunkeness.
669	De modo tacendi	On the manner of being silent
680	Quod non debeas aliquem minari	That you should not threaten anyone
700	Qualiter mentes hominum cognoscuntur per linguam et per cetera que sunt in textu	That the intentions of men are recognised through speech and through all the rest that are in the text
707	De paucitate fidei	On the scarcity of honestly
730	Quod homini fallaci credere non debeas nec iniquo	That you should not trust a deceitful or unfair man
776	Quod pro beneficio non debeas impendere	That you should not spend for the sake of it
788	Quod tu habeas unum fidelem consiliarium, cui pectus et cor tuum fideliter ualeas aperiri	That you should have a single loyal advisor, your heart and soul faithfully disclosed to him

803	Quod amicus fidelissimus sit thesaurus incomparabilis	That the most devoted friend is an incomparable treasure
814	Quod nichil sit acrius paupere dittato et iniquo, quia, si ei bonum feceris, malum tibi pro bono reddet	That there is nothing more bitter than the sinful man enriched because if you give him something good, he will give you something bad in return
820	Quod dissimules uerba amici biuialis	That you should ignore the words of false friends
825	Quod uindictam differe debeas, si dampnificatis fueris per amicum infidelem	That you should delay vengeance, if you have been injured by a treacherous friend
833	Quod inimica tibi illata pure debeas remittere uel tacendo resoluere	That you should reject hostile attacks on you or resolve to be quiet
845	Quod semper omne ius tuum non debeas petere nec ulcisci queque nocentia ex arrupto	That you should not always desire justice from all men nor suddenly punish guilty men
849	Quod debeas cogitate in principio tue litis quem fructum inde referre poteris	That you should carefully consider your quarrel at the beginning, thence you will be able to restore any profits.
853	Quod consilium debeas petere et auxilium contra potentes te dampnificare proponentes	That you should reach for advice and help against powerful men proposing to harm you
857	Quod pulchrum uultum debeas ostendere licet sis nimium conturbatus	That you should exhibit a noble expression although/even though you are very much disquieted
895	Quod non debeas desistere ludere cum illo qui tecum non uult ludere	That you are not obliged to stop playing when someone does not want to play with you.
907	Quod semper pollicitum tuum custodias fideliter	That you always faithfully keep your promise
912	Quomodo tu debes homines salutare	How you should great men yourself
915	Quomodo seruias hospiti tuo dum discalciat se	How you should serve your guest while taking his shoes off
919	Quomodo quisque se debet habere in mensa diuitis	How every man should comport himself at the table of a rich man
934	Quomodo quisque cenans ad mensam diuitis debet panem scindere	How anyone eating at the table of a rich man should split the bread
943	De modo bibendi	On the manner of drinking
1020	Quod nullus homo se debet accubitare ad mensam alienam	That no man should recline/fall asleep at another's table
1030	De modo comedendi pulmentum et quelibet mollia cibaria	On the manner of eating food and whatever soft food
1059	De modo recipiendi fercula que dominus et domina tibi mittunt	On the manner of accepting dishes that the lord and lady send to you
1090	De modo purgandi uentrem	On the manner of purging the stomach
1098	De modo retinendi sonitum ani	On the manner of restraining flatulence
1104	De modo uigilandi in aula diuitis	On the manner of being vigilant in the hall of a rich man
1110	Quod operias plantus tuos	That you should cover the soles of your feet
1115	Quod non respicias circumquaque in disco alterius	That you should not gaze all around at the dishes of others
1129	Quod non loquaris mala de sociis tuis neque de aliis	That you should not speak badly of your allies nor of others
1139	Quod cito uenias cum sis mandatus	That you come quickly when you are ordered
1149	Qualiter pincerna debet ministrare coram domino suo	How the cupbearer should serve his master
1155	Qualiter dapifer debet seruire	How the dapifer should serve
1168	Quod non ministres in mensa domini tui cum cyrothecis, neque cum capa neque cum clamides, etc.	That you should not serve at the table of your lord with gloves, not with a cloak or cape, etc.

1180	Quod capilli tui sint compti et quod barba sit rasa	That you hair should be neat and that your beard should be shaved
1200	Quod tu debeas stare quando dominus tuus stat	That you should stand when the lord stands
1207	De modo sedendi	On the manner of sitting
1232	Quod malus dominus uult habere malos famulos	That a bad lord wants to have bad servants
1258	Quod penitus euitatur socius et uix salutatur a sociis quando a domino suo per odium seu etiam per rancorem	That a comrade should be shunned and is hardly saved by friends when he is shunned and saved by his lord because of hatred or even because of rancor
1266	Qualiter domino tuo dum pergit cubitum debeas seruire	How should you serve the master, when he goes to bed
1282	Quando domino in lecto suo debeas seruire	When you should serve the lord in his bed
1293	Qualiter honoratus fueris dum tibi uires fuerint in tua iuuentute	How your strength is honoured while you are young
1301	Quomodo tibi debeas prouidere in tua iuuentute	How you should make provisions for yourself in your youth
1308	Qualiter caputium tuum debeas remouere cum quis diues tibi loquatur seu tibi sit oscula largiturus	How you should remove your hood when any rich man speaks to you or bestows a kiss
1315	Que singula uerba tui domini tam uera quam falsa debeas affirmare	You should affirm your lords words whether they are false or true
1326	Quod aulam alicuius diuitis non debeas intrare cum pilleolo nec cum cyrothecis nec cum cufa, etc.	That you should not enter the hall of any rich man with any cap, glove, or headdress, etc
1340	Qualiter gentes alienas debeas uenerari	How to know pay homage to strangers
1348	Quod neminem ad hospitium tui domini debeas inuitare	That you should invite nobody into the hospitality of the lord
1351	Quod strigilem in tuis manibus debeas habere quando necesse fuerit	That you should hold the stirrup in your hand when it is necessary
1356	Quod per uicos et plateas lapillos non eicias	That you should not throw little pebbles in the street
1358	Quod continue hominem ignotum non debeas respicere	That you should not continuously stare at strangers
1360	Quod tacitus domos intrare non debeas alienas	That you should not be silent when entering another's house
1366	Qualiter debeas dominum tuum salutare cum as illum perueneris	How you should greet your lord when he arrives
1371	Qualiter debeas ire ad conuiuium qui te primitus inuitant	How you should attend the feast that you were first invited to
1379	Quod gentes iracunde ad cenam non debeant pariter prouocari	That people should not be angrily provoked at the table
1390	Quod cito uenias cenam quando uocatus es	That you should come quickly to the meal when called
1400	Qualiter pro cena uicem pro uice reddere debeas	How you should give a gift in return for the meal
1404	Quod excusare te debeas nisi uernire potueris	That you should excuse yourself if you are not able to attend
1408	Quod cum homine inope cenare debeas	That you should dine with poor men
1410	Quod tractare consilium non debeas dum manducas	That you should not discuss business while eating
1416	Qualiter oscula recipere debeas	How you should receive the kiss
1419	Quod irasci non debeas pro ludo scaccorum nec etiam alearum	That you should not get angry about games, chess, or even dice

1423	Quod iurare non debeas et maxime per nomina que in littera continentur	That you should not swear, especially names in epistles should be restrained
1438	Quod primitus socio tecum ludenti pocula porrigere debeas	That at first you should extend drinks to your guests who are playing
1443	Quod subiectos non ledas et nemini ludendo domineris	That you should not strike those nearby nor dominate those playing
1445	Quod nuntium tuum mittas primitus antequam ad amicum tuum accedas	That you should send your messenger first before you visit your friend
1462	Quod non sis dator escarum in mensis alienis	That you should not give food of another's table
1471	Quod hospes debeat bibere tantummodo dum uenter suus refectus a cibis fuerit	That the host should drink provided that his stomach is restored by food
1477	Quod cito et absque mora munus diuitis debeas recipere et etiam indilate	That quickly and without delay you should undertake the service of a rich man
1484	Quomodo iudex se debet habere	How the judge should comport himself
1487	Qualiter ista tria iudex debeat scrutari	How the judge ought to examine carefully three times
1493	Qualiter iudicium non debeat cito quod est in biuio preciptari	How judging should not be rapid because it is cast down in both ways
1503	Qualiter aduocati se debent habere	How the lawyer should comport himself
1699	Quomodo continebis te inter milites uerborum huiusmodi	How you should restrain yourself among soldiers of these kinds of words
1795	Quod medici sint fideles	That doctors should be trustworthy
1797	Quod practici sint sapientes et experti	That practitioners should be wise and experienced
1799	Qualiter uiuere debeas de tuis redditibus	How you should live from your income
1818	Qualiter religiosi se debent habere	How religious men should comport themselves
1824	Quod religiosi claustralis non sit inuidus	That cloistered men should not be jealous
1829	Quod religiosi debent uittare auaritiam	That religious men should spurn avarice
1832	Qualiter presbiter debet suum ordinem custodire	How the priest should protect his order
1836	Qualiter Decanus se debet habere	How the deacon should comport himself
1838	Qualiter quilibet officialis se debet habere	How any official should comport himself
1843	Qualiter episcopi se debeant habere	How bishops should comport themselves
1857	Qualiter princeps debet populum suum regere	How the prince should rule his people
1923	Qualiter meretrix homini dominatur	How the woman rules over man
1927	Quod quilibet seruiens domine sue debeat obedire	That whoever serving his wife ought to obey
1934	Quod nullum seruitium homini prodest nisi domine sue uelit penitus obedire	That no servitude is useful to man unless his wife is thoroughly obedient
1941	Quod parum ualeat seruitium nisi fortuna rexerit	That servitude is not so good unless fortune guides
1947	Matrone testiculate uocantur que habent dominium et que uolunt dominari	Women with testicles have dominion and they desire to be in control
1954	Quod quilibet diues putat habere certam sponsam	That no matter, the rich man has to keep the chosen bride
1974	Qualiter femina prudentiores decipit	How the experienced woman deceives
1997	Quod uxorem tuam non debeas uerberare	That you should not beat your wife
2002	Quod non sis zelopitus	That you should not be an adulterer
2014	Quod uxorem tuam modis omnibus, licet sit peruersa, custodire tenearis	That, although she may be perverse, you must keep and protect your wife from all things
2027	De malitia mulieris desponsate	On the malice of a betrothed woman
2048	Quod plus placet mulieri libido adulteri sui quam mariti proprii	That the desire of adultery is more pleasing to the wife than her own husband
2054	Quod non sis zelotipus	That you should not be an adulterer

2064	Quod uix repugnat mulier precibus hominis ipsam deprecantis, licet ipsa bona, pia et iusta	That the woman scarcely resists the requests of an entreating man, even if she herself is good, pious, and proper
2161	Qualiter debeas et quibus locis edificare	How and where you should build
2176	Qualiter agricola se debeat habere	How you should have a farmer
2296	Qualiter quilibet diues unum dominum eligit qui ipsum sustineat	How each rich man picks a master who supports him
2302	Quod quilibet diues non debet consiliis alienis penitus adherere	That no rich man should thoroughly cling to hostile advice
2315	Qualiter multa mala propter iram accidunt homini iracundo	How many bad things caused by anger happens to an angry man
2320	Melius est panem siccum comedere et aquam tantummodo bibere quam esse cum malo domino	It is better to eat dry bread and drink only water than be attached to a bad master
2323	Quod tibi famulantes in mensa non sint bubulci seu pastores, et quod sint in bono habitu	That your servant at the table should not be a ploughman or shepherd, and that they should be dressed well
2326	Quod tui famuli in presentia tua comedant	That your servants should be in your presence when eating
2332	Quod non dare debeas tantum alicui tuorum famulorum quod tu sis pauper postea	That you should not give too much to anyone of your servants that you should be poor afterwards
2338	Quod meretricibus uel ribaldis non debeas bona tua dispergere	That you should not waste your possessions on prostitutes or rascals
2343	Quod assurgere debeas in adventu clerici uel militis	That you should stand up at the arrival of clerics or knights
2411	Quomodo seruus debet seruire audacter coram domino suo quando bibit	How the servant ought to serve confidently in the presence of his lord when he drinks
2419	Quomodo quisque debet instruere pueros suos	How any man should teach his sons
2524	De modo comedendi	On the manner of eating
2636	Quod ciueta paretur cuniculis et leopibus	That rabbit sauce goes with rabbit and hare
2638	Qualiter carnes ursine et pauonine et cetere que secuntur habeant piperatum	How the meat of bear and peacock and others are accompanied with pepper sauce
2645	Qualiter mullus et congrus allia appetunt	How red mullet and conger eel go with garlic
2652	Quomodo debeat fieri piperata	How pepper sauce should be made
2664	Qualiter debeat fieri ciueta	How rabbit sauce should be made
2676	De dieta fluebotomie	On the bloodletting regimen
2692	Hec sunt que debent in fleugbotomia penitus euitari	These are things which should be thoroughly avoided while bloodletting takes place
2698	De pane ordescio	On barley bread
2699	De pane tritico	On wheat bread
2700	De pane siliginis	On wheat bread
2701	De pane non fermentato	On non-leavened bread
2704	De effectu fabarum	On the effects of beans
2706	De uino ueteri	On old wine
2716	Hec sunt que debilitant hominem que secuntur	These are things which weaken man and dry the body
2722	De ceruesia	On beer
2729	De uariis modis carnium	On the various types of meat
2741	De genere piscium	On the variety of fish
2747	De caseo salso	On salted cheese
2752	De butyro et lacte	On butter and milk
2761	De ouis anseris et galline	On goose and chicken egges
2768	Qualiter post prandium homo se debeat habere	How after the meal man should take care of himself

2782	De aqua pluuie et fontis	On rainwater and water from springs
2790	De ieiunio estiuali	On summer fasting
2793	De tempore estiuo	On summertime
2793	De tempore uernali	On springtime
2799	De tempore estiuo	On summertime
2804	De tempore autumonali	On autumn
2808	De tempore hyemali	On winter
2816	Hec facias que secuntur in littera si uis iocundus uiuere et uitam longissimam habere	Do these things which follow in the book if you want to live as a pleasing man and to have a long life

MS D [SMYLY MS D]

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 97
S.XIII and S.XIV — Ireland

Contents:

1. *Calendar*, ff.1r-4v

2. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrina Tabularum*, ff.5r-6v — Versified grammar

3. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Massa Compoti*, ff.7r-32 — Calendar; on the science of reckoning time

Monastic rules:

4. *Brief regulations for brothers*, ff.33r-33v

5. *Prefaces to the Martyrology*, ff.33v-36r

6. *Martyrology*, ff.36v-72v

Victorine literature:

7. Hugh of St Victor, *Expositio in Regulam S. Augustini*, ff.73r-95r

8. Richard of St Victor, *De Quaestionibus Regulae S. Augustini Solutis*, ff.95r-102r

9. *Liber Ordinis S. Victoris*, ff.102r-147r

10. *Brief monastic regulations*, ff.147v-152v
Includes chapter 51 of the *Liber ordinis S. Victoris*, and the *Statuta Antiqua S. Victoris.*

Monastic rules

Monastic rules; On ordered religious life:

11. *List of epistle and gospel readings throughout the year*, ff.153r-165r

12. *The Rule of St Benedict*, ff.166r-178r

13. Francis of Assisi, *Regula secunda*, ff.178r-179v

14. Gregorius IX, *Constitution*, ff.179v-180v

15. Nicholas III, *Constitution*, ff.181r-186v

Relating to the Franciscan Rule

16. *Ordo anachoritalis vite*, ff.187r-189r — Rules for anchorites, of both sexes – linked to the *Ancren Riwle*

17. Robertus, *Letter to Hugo*, ff.189r-191r

18. *Patristic passages for reading in chapter*, ff.192r-197v

Monastic rules

19. *Rules or admonitions for canons*, ff.198r-203v

20. Isidore, *Synonyms (extracts)*, ff.203v-205v

On the behaviour of monks

21. Arnulfis de Boeriis, *Speculum Monachorum*, ff.206r-206v → A mirror for monks. Contemplation of the inner soul and leading the monastic life

22. *On the good behaviour of monks*, ff.206v

23. Prosper Aquitanus, *Sententiae ex operibus S. Augustini*, ff.207r-218v

Victorine literature

24. Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De institutione nouitiorum*, ff.219r-227r → On the instruction of novice monks

25. Gregory, *Contra religionis simultatores*, ff.227v-238v → On false monks

<u>Inserted in the fourteenth century:</u>

26. Benedict XII, *Constitutio super apostatis reuocandis*, ff.239r-240r

27. Innocent III, *De miseria humane conditionis*, ff.241r-252r → C.f. MSS C_1 and D

28. *Facetus: cum nihil utilius*, ff.253r-254r → Part of the *auctores octo*

29. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.254r-272v
Contains lines 1-2840, the most complete copy of the text.

30. Serlo of Wilton, *Proverbs*, ff.272v-275r

On the behaviour of monks

31. *Verses on proper behaviour in church*, ff.275v

***Urbanus Magnus* and MS D:**
This manuscript is concerned with the ordered monastic life. *Urbanus magnus* may function as an instructional text in proper behaviour. However, *Urbanus magnus* appears in a later addition to the text, with texts such as *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* and proverbs from Serlo of Wilton. This may suggest that *Urbanus magnus* functioned as a poetical or educational text in learning Latin or grammar.

Provenance and Date:
Colker states that the section with *Urbanus magnus* dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. From St Thomas' Abbey, Dublin. *Per me Henricum Duff* appears on f.276r. Henry Duff was the last abbot of the abbey, which he surrendered in 1538. The manuscript owned by James Ussher, and then Trinity College Dublin.

Reference:
Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts, ed. M. L. Colker (Dublin, 1991).

MS W [SMYLY MS W]

Worcester Cathedral, MS F.147
S. XIII England

Contents:

1. Pseudo-Cato, *Disticha*, ff.1r-3r
2. Theodulus, *Ecloga*, ff.3r-4v
3. Claudian, *De raptu proserpinae*, ff.5r-11v
4. Statius, *Acheilleis*, ff.11v-18v

(Part of the educational set texts: *sex auctores* and *auctores octo*)

5. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, ff.18v-35v
6. Everard de Bethune, *Graecismus*, ff.35v-63v

(Versified Latin grammar books)

7. Alain of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, ff.64r-69r → Poetic treatise on morals
8. Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, ff.69r-87v → Epic poem about the life of Alexander the Great

(Classical literary canon / poetry)

9. Horace, *Carmen and Epodes (extracts)*, ff.88r-99v
10. Horace, *Saturae*, ff.100r-103r
11. Juvenal, *Saturae*, ff.103r-127r
12. Persius, *Saturae*, ff.127r-131r

13. Anon., *De contemptu mundi*, ff.131r-133v → Part of the *octo auctores*

14. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.133v-151r
Contains lines 1-2833, omitting the last 7 lines of the text.

15. Lucan, *De bello civili*, ff.152r-202v → Classical literary canon

***Urbanus Magnus* and MS W:**
Urbanus magnus may fulfil two functions in this manuscript. It may be part of an educational curriculum, with *Urbanus magnus* acting as *Facetus: cum nihil utilius* of the *auctores octo*. It may also fulfil a poetic function, alongside texts such as the *Anticlaudianus* and *Alexandreis*.

Provenance and Date:
This manuscript likely dates to the latter half of the thirteenth century. It was likely written at Worcester, and Thomson believes the inscription of f.i 'Thom(as) de

Hyndel' refers to Thomas de Hindelop, a Worcester monk by 1280 and still alive in 1295.

Reference:

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library, ed. R. Thomson (Cambridge, 2001).

Part II: Partial Copies

MS C_2

Cambridge, St John's College, MS 79
Made up of three volumes:
Vol. I: S.XII-XIV; Vol. II: S.XII; Vol. III: XI-XII England

Contents:

Volume I

1. *Antidotatius glosatus*, ff.1r-82r → Anonymous book of medical antidotes

2. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.82r-83r
Contains lines 2676-2823, representing nearly the whole of section IV. Note that there is no identification of authorship, and the text is referred to as 'Phisica urbani'.

3. Peter of Salerno, *On Salernitan Beliefs about the Universe*, ff.83r-100v → May be Petrus Musandinus, *Glossae in Hippocratis Prognostica*, translated into Anglo-Norman

ff.100v-105r contain miscellaneous remedies. These were added after the first two volumes were bound together,

All deal with health and diet

Volume II

4. Matthaeus Platearius, *De simplicibus medicinis*, ff.105r-147r → A herbal text, also known as *Circa Instans*, c.12th century. Platearius is associated with the school of Salerno

On ff.147r-148r are further remedies, followed by a tract on stones or rocks.

Volume III

5. Muscio, *Genecia*, ff.149r-177r → Probably 6th century

6. Theodorus Priscianus, *De gynecologia*, ff.177v-181v → 4th century

Part of the early gynaecological corpus

Urbanus Magnus and MS C_2:
This manuscript has a medical and scientific focus. This is seen through the interest in Salernitan literature, antidotes, and gynaecology, coupled with the texts on herbals and rocks. *Urbanus magnus* functions here as a dietary text, and due to the presence of passages from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem* in *Urbanus magnus*, may be included to compliment the work by Peter of Salerno.

Provenance and Date:
The volume containing *Urbanus magnus* likely dates from the latter half of the thirteenth century. Provenance is unknown.

Reference:
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge, ed. M. R. James (Cambridge, 1913).

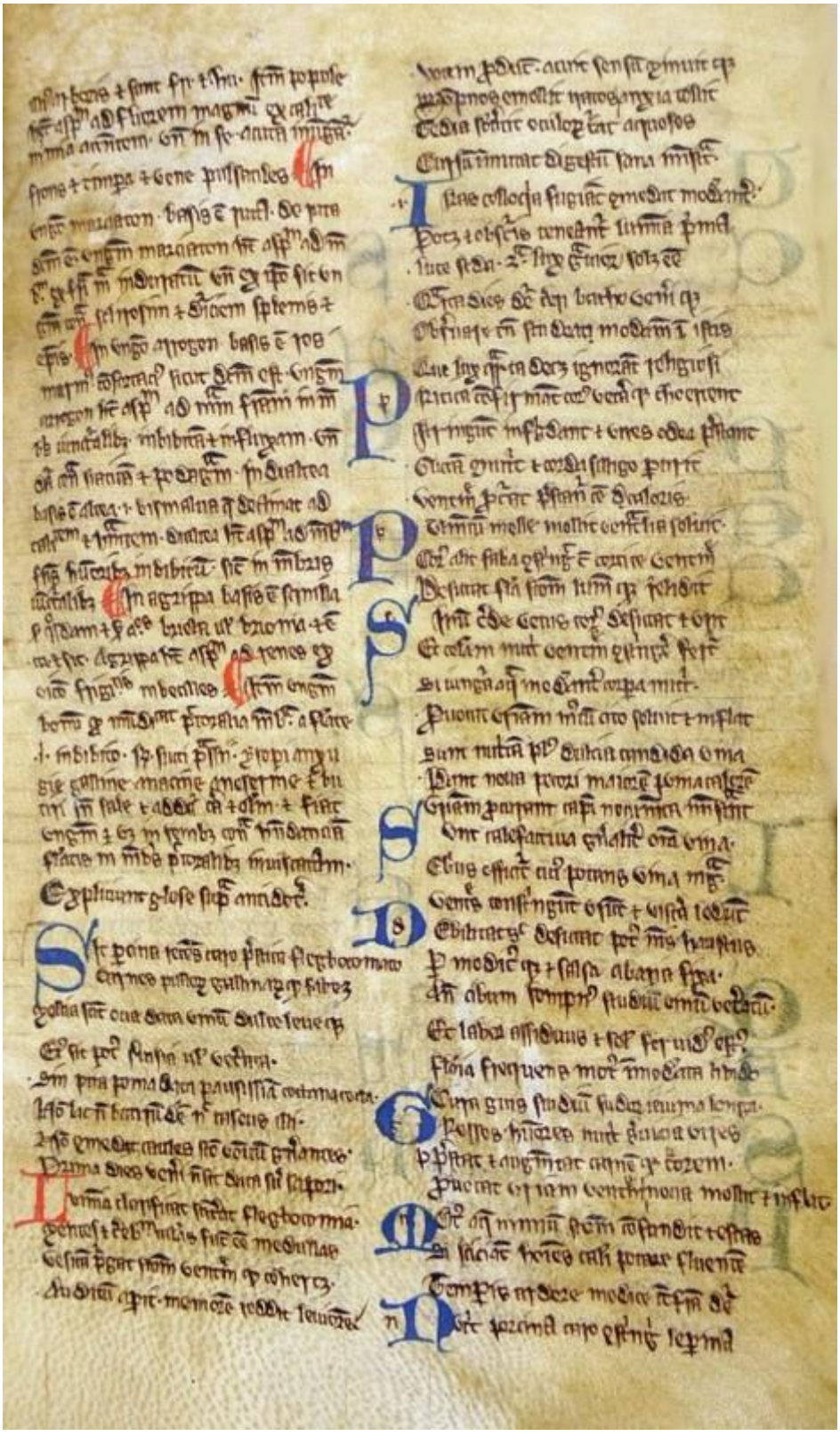


Fig.42. Beginning of *Urbanus Magnus* extract
Begins at l. 2676: Sit porcina recens caro prestita fleubotomato
Cambridge, St John's College, MS 79, f.82r

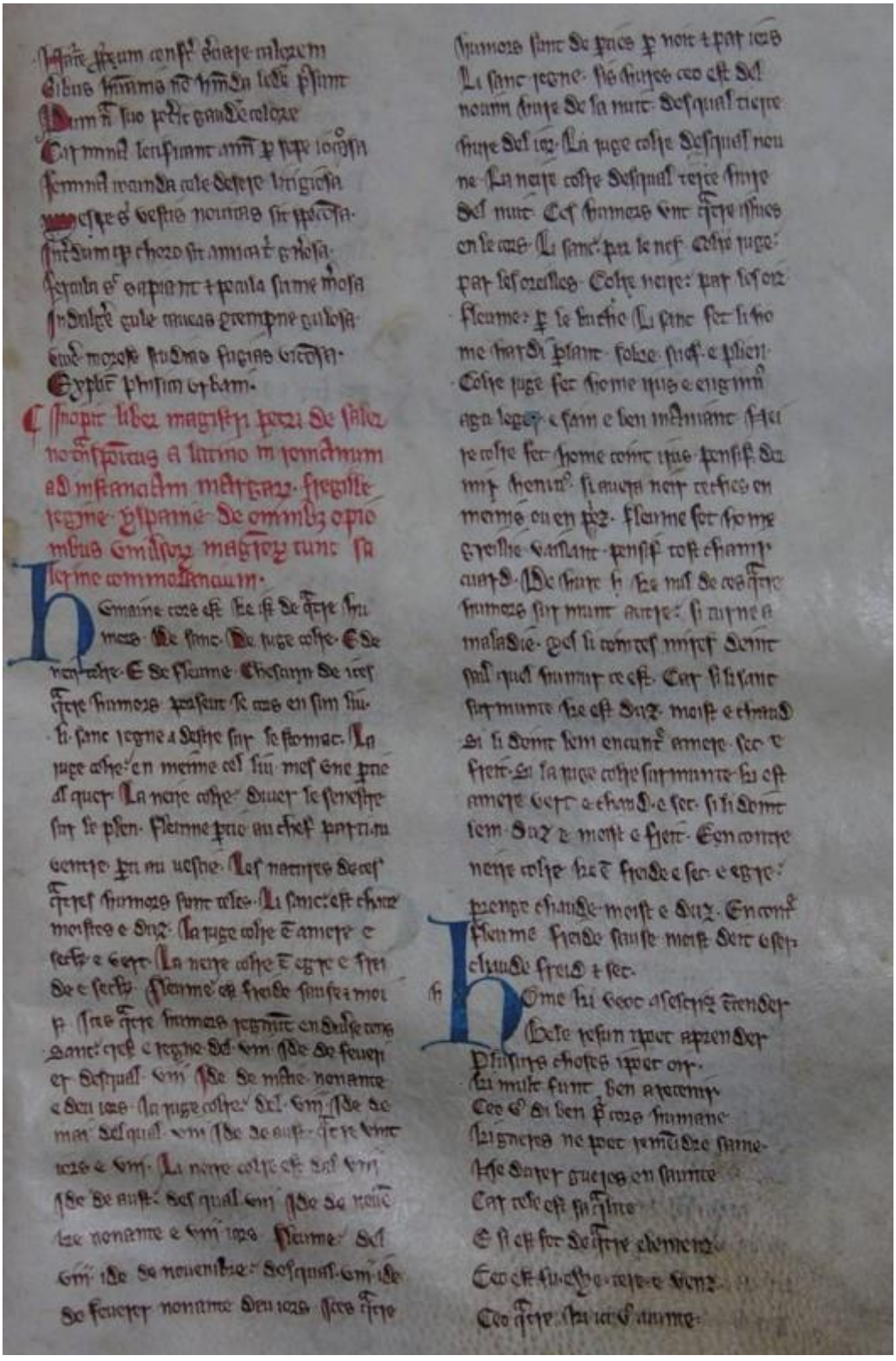


Fig.43. Ending of *Urbanus Magnus* extract
Ends at l.2823: Viuere morose studeas, fugias uitiosa. Explicit phisica urbani.
Cambridge, St John's College, MS 79, f.83r

MS L_1

London, British Library, MS Arundel 52
S. XIII/XIV England

Contents:

1. Various authors, *The Life of Thomas Becket*, ff.1r-41r → Extracts from Herbert of Bosham, John of Salisbury, William of Canterbury, etc.

Theology:

2. Simon of Cascia, *Gesta Salvatoris*, ff.41v-46r

3. Various authors, *De resurrectione Christi*, ff.46r-47r
Includes Gregory of Tours and Augustine of Hippo

4. Boncompagno of Signa, *Rhetorica antiqua* [extract], ff.48r-57r → On rhetoric as the basis for social order

5. Anonymous, *Tractatulus de regulis accentandi*, ff.57r-57v

6. *De rebus physicis*, ff.58r-62r → Scientific; On the questions of Craton

Grammar:

7. *De grammatica* [extract], ff.62r-63r

8. *S. Pauli Visio*, ff.63r-64r → On the archangel Michael coming to Paul

Virtues and vices:

9. Giles of Rome, *Speculum Ecclesiae* [fragment], ff.64r-65r

Grammar:

10. *Grammatical rules*, ff.65r-66r

11. *Interrogationes in confessione*, f.66r-66v → On penitents

12. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.66v-68r
Lines 2524-2814. Equals section IV of the text, concerned with food, diet, and health. There are some marginal notes:
l.2652/3: *Quiddam salsa mentum*
l.2664: *De ciueta*
l.2676: *De dieta fleubotomati*
l.2696: *De panet*

Grammar:

13. *Uersus de permutatione literaum et formatione casuum obliquorum*, f.68v

14. Johannes de Garlandia, *Liber de homonymis*, ff.68v-72r

15. Robert Grosseteste [translator], *Extract from Suidas, Lexicon*, ff.72r-73r

In vernacular French:

16. *A short tract*, ff.73v-75r → Description of the Holy Land and Jerusalem

17. Gautier de Metz, *Livre de Clergie*, ff.75r-99v → Known as *L'image du monde*; encyclopaedic work

18. *De altitudine siue distantia lunae et planetarum*, f.100r → Scientific

19. Hugonis Priorus ecclesiae Convenarum, *Epistola*, f.100r

20. Robert Grosseteste, *De Templo Dei*, ff.100v-107v → For parish priests in the execution of their duties. See MS O_3

21. Tractatulus de componendis epistola a monacho quodam ecclesiae Christi Cantuar. compositus; in quo plures epistolae ad istud monasterium spectantes habentur, ff.108r-111r → Letter collection

Virtues and vices

22. On the seven vices, f.111v-112r

23. *Historiolae et anecdota*, ff.112r-114r → Exempla about the capture of Jerusalem in the First Crusade

Marian literature

24. *Historia beatae Mariae Virginis* [extract], ff.114r-117r

25. *Qualiter b. Maria assumpta fuerit in coelum*, ff.117r-119r

26. Verses on Thomas Becket, ff.119r → Similar to first entry in this MS

***Urbanus magnus* and MS L_1:**
This manuscript is a mixture of history, theology, pastoralia, grammar, and scientific texts. It is difficult to situate *Urbanus magnus*. The extract is concerned with diet and health, and may fit with the scientific texts. However, it is found between grammatical texts, and may have fulfilled an educational role in learning Latin and grammar. Indeed, this manuscript could represent a rare example of a genuine miscellany.

Provenance and Date:
This manuscript dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, or possibly the early fourteenth century, due to the presence of workd by Simon of Cascia (c.1295-1348) and Giles of Rome (c.1243-1316).

A stamp on f.1 states 'ex dono. Henr. Howard Norfolciensis'. Given to the Royal Society, London by Henry Howard (1628-1684), 6th duke of Norfolk, previously in the collection of Thomas Howard, the fourteenth earl of Arundel, fourth earl of Surrey, and first earl of Norfolk (1585–1646). Presented to the Royal Society in 1667 by Henry and acquired by the British Museum in 1831. The provenance of the manuscript prior to its acquisition is unknown.

Reference:
Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum. New Series. Volume 1. The Arundel Mss. ed. J. Forshall (London, 1834).

MS L_2 [SMYLY MS T]

London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. xx
In 7 parts, all S.XIV — England

Contents:

Part I

Satire
1. Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum stultorum*, ff.4r-50v

2. *Verses on the Black Prince in Spain*, ff.50v-51v → Political poem

Part II

3. *Debate between Michael of Cornwall and Henry of Avranches*, ff.52r-58v

4. *Debate between water and wine*, ff.66r-66v

5. *De coniuge non ducenda*, ff.66v-67v

6. *Edward I's Scottish Wars*, ff.67v-69v → Historical poem

Satire
7. *Uersus contra artistas*, ff.69v-70r → Satire on occupations

8. *Ne sit torpor*, f.70r → Political poem

9. *Dives et Lazarus*, ff.70r-70v

10. Walter Map, *Punicio mundi propter peccatum*, ff.70v-71r

Satire
11. *De contemptu mundi*, f.71r

12. *De bello strivelyn* (Bannockburn), ff.71-71v → Political poem

13. *Joseph's Exile*, ff.71v → Political poem

Part III

14. *Proba: Cento Uirilianus*, ff.72r-80v → Virgilian piece

Political poems
15. *Battle of Crecy, 1346*, ff.81r-85v

16. *Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346*, ff.85v-88v

17. *Summary of Crecy and Neville's Cross*, f.89r

Satire

18. *Die Bettelmonche*, f.89r → Satire/parody on monks

19. *Proprietates multorum animalium et aliorum*, ff.89v-90v

20. Matthew of Vendome, *Ars uersificatoria* (extracts), ff.90v-97v → Grammar and rhetoric

21. Eugenius of Toledo, *Epigramma*, f.98r

22. Petrus Riga, *Floridus aspectus*, f.98r

23. Hildebert, *De exilio suo*, f.98r

'Hildebert-Floridus aspectus' tradition

24. Arnulf of Lisieux, *Ad scaeuam*, f.98v

25. Pseudo-Virgil, *Moretum*, f.98v → Virgilian piece

Satire

26. *Antifeminist Conflation*, f.100v
Rigg states that this is a conflation of separate poems, specifically Hildebert *Carmina minora* and Bernard of Morlais, *De contemptu mundi* (Rigg, p.301)

27. *Debate between and Englishman and a Frenchman*, ff.101r-101v → Political poem

28. Simon Chevre d'Or, *Ylias* (On the Trojan War), ff.102r-107r → Historical poem

29. *Two unidentified couplets*, f.107r

30. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Extracts*, f.107v → Grammar and rhetoric

Satire

31. *Verses against redheads*, f.107v

Part IV

Satire

32. Nicholas of Caen, *Satire against monks*, ff.108r-111r

33. *De moderato studio*, f.111r

34. *Poem about a Pederast*, f.111v

35. *Advice to a beautiful boy*, f.111v

Instruction and advice

36. Pseudo-Hildebert, *De die natalis domini*, f.112r

37. Pseudo-Hildebert, *Uersus ad auarum promissorem*, f.112v

'Hildebert-Floridus aspectus' tradition

38. Hildebert, *Ad milonem*, f.112v

39. Hildebert, *De milone mercatore*, f.112v

40. Pseudo-Hildebert, *Ad romam de desensu sui*, f.112v-113r

'Hildebert-Floridus aspectus' tradition

41. Serlo of Wilton, *Ad regem*, f.113v

42. *Epitaph on a soldier poet*, f.113v

43. Marbodus Redonensis, *Commendatio Uirtutem*, f.113v → Virgilian piece

44. Rufus and Corinna, *Carmen*, f.114r

45. *Epitaph of a Symoniac*, f.114r

46. Embricon de Mayence, *Vita Mahumetu*, ff.114v-128v

47. Albinus and Rufinus, *De ambitione reliquiarum non sanctorum*, f.129r

48. *Grammatical extracts*, f.129r
Excerpts include lines from the *Graecismus* (of Everard of Bethune) and *Doctrinale* (of Alexander de Villa Dei) → Grammar

49. *Edward III's wars, the truce of 1347*, ff.129v-131r → Historical poem

Part V

50. *Comedia babionis*, ff.132r-137v

51. Vitalis of Blois, *Geta*, ff.138r-144r

Comedy

52. Pamphilus, *De amore*, ff.144v-154r

53. Pseudo-Virgil, *De rosis nascentibus*, ff.154r-154v → Virgilian piece

54. Bernardus Silvestris, *Story of the Twins*, f.154v-155v

Part VI

55. Walter Map, *Apocalypsis Goliae*, f.156r

56. Petrus Riga, *Susanna*, ff.158v-160v → Forms part of the *Aurora*

Satire

57. *The Husband's Complaint*, ff.161r-161v

58. *A Lover's Lament*, ff.161v-162r

59. Robert Baston (or Walter Map), *De diuersis statubis hominum*, ff.162v-163v → Satire on estates

60. Walter Map, *Satire against monks*, ff.163v-164r

Part VII

61. Walter Map, *Debate between the body and soul*, ff.165r-166v

Satire

62. *De miseria mundi*, ff.166v-167r

63. *Conuocacio sacerdotum*, f.167r

Satire

64. *Descripcio Northfolchie*, ff.167v-168r

65. John of St Omer, *Impignacio descripcionis*, ff.168v-170v

66. *The Incarnation*, ff.170v-171v

67. Walter of Wimborne, *De Maria uirgine (?)*, ff.171v-175r

68. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.176r-178r
Contains lines 2524-2832 from *Urbanus magnus*, representing the final section of the text. *Urbanus magnus* is referred to as *De curialitate in diaeta*. This text was reproduced and roughly translated by Furnivall in *The Babees Book*.

***Urbanus magnus* and MS L_2:**
This is a literary manuscript, comprised predominantly of satirical and historical poems. Rigg describes this manuscript as a verse anthology, or a Goliardic manuscript. *Urbanus magnus* likely functions here as a poetic text, perhaps satirical in intent, as opposed to a strictly pedagogical or instructional role.

Provenance and Date:
This manuscript likely dates to the mid-fourteenth century, due to the presence of texts relating to the Battles of Crécy and Neville's Cross (1340).

Rigg suggests a monastic origin, compiled in London towards the end of the fourteenth century. Compiled in several stages. Subsequently owned by John Leland (d.1552).

Reference:

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum, ed. J. Planta (London, 1802).

A. G. Rigg, ‘Medieval Latin poetic anthologies', *Mediaeval Studies*, 39 (1977), pp.281-330.

MS L_3

London, British Library, MS Royal 10 A. X
S. XIII-XIV England

Two manuscripts bound together, probably in the eighteenth century.

Contents:

Volume I

On law

1. Geoffrey of Trani, *Summa super titulis Decretalium*, ff.1r-93v → Resource for canon law

2. *Tract on procedure*, ff.94r-146v

Volume II

Theology

3. Nicholas of Amiens, *Liber de Articulis fidei*, ff.147r-152r → Theological summa, known also as *Ars fidei catholicae*

4. *Florilegium sancti Augustini*, ff.152r-159r

5. Alexander Neckham, *Distinctiones uerborum*, ff.159r-169r → On the alphabet

Theology

6. *Meditation on the Life of Christ*, ff.169r-170v

7. *Sermon on Hosea 2, 14*, ff.170v

'Hildebert-Floridus aspectus' tradition

8. Petrus Riga, *Aurora* (extracts), ff.171r-173r → Biblical poem

9. Hildebert, *Versus de Missa*, ff.173r-175r → On the mass

10. Petrus Riga, *Historia euangelica* from the *Aurora*, ff.176r-186v

11. *Copy of a writ*, ff.187r-187v

Classical

12. Dares Phyrgius, *Epistola ad Sallustium*, ff.188r-192

13. *Prologus in commentarium super Bucolica*, f.192v → Virgil, *Bucolics*

14. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, f.193v-194v
Contains lines 48-249 (the last couple of lines indecipherable due to mutilation of the manuscript leaves) from *Urbanus magnus*, representing a portion of the first section of the text

which is moralistic. This extract is inserted into the manuscript in an early fourteenth-century charter hand.

***Urbanus magnus* and MS L_3:**
The second volume of this manuscript contains theological works, Biblical commentaries, and classical texts. *Urbanus magnus* is inserted in a different hand, and may be used to complement the classical texts as a poetical work.

Provenance and Date:
The second volume of this manuscript dates to the second half of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century. Belonged to Henry Savile of Banke, and subsequently to John Theyer.

Reference:
Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, V.1. Royal Mss. 1A. 1 to 11 E XI, eds. G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson (London, 1921)

Watson, A. G., *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1969)

MS O_1

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 310

Made up of two volumes, bound together at a later date:
Vol.I: S.X; Vol.II: S.XIV England

Contents:

Volume I

1. Gregory the Great, *Moralia on the Book of Job*, ff.1r-145v

Volume II

2. Bartholomaeus de Urbino, *Memoriale milicie*, ff.146r-300v → Excerpts from Vincent of Beauvais by Bartholomew of Urbino

Inserted in the *Memoriale milicie* on ff.147v-148v are three separate elements in the same hand:

Instructional texts on manners and behaviour

(i) Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.147v-148r
Begins: 'Uersus prandentem tecum tua lumina sepe...'
Ends: 'Cum cane cum lepore currens simul esse caueto'.

This manuscript reproduces lines from *Urbanus magnus* in a different order than the edited text. It begins with line 995 and ends with line 95. It contains extracts from throughout the text. The order of the text is as follows:

ll.995-1002, 1006-9, 1015-6, 1035-8, 1043-4, 1042, 1046, 1056-7, 927-31, 933, 937-8, 943-4, 946, 924, 947-9, 923, 960, 1070, 990-1, 1066-9, *(unidentified line)*, 2377, 2373-6, 2381, 2389-91, *(unidentified line)*, 1458, 1187, 1203, 1205, 2422-5, 881-4, 2426-7, 2419-20, 1004, 1017-9, 1013, 1478-9, 1483, 1647, 611-2, 992-3, 96, *(unidentified line)*, 871, 891-4, 994, 2385, 895-6, *(unidentified line)*, 863, 886-7, 100, 95.

(ii) Anon., *Poem on drinking*, f.148r → Short poem on drinking and table manners

(iii) Anon., *Ars dictandi*, ff.148r-148v → On the skill of speaking

***Urbanus Magnus* and MS O_1:**
The three texts inserted into the 'Memoralis milicie' are united by an instructional tone, concerned with practical manners such as table manners, drinking, and speaking. Despite

the re-ordering of the *Urbanus magnus* text, together the extracts form a cohesive description of table manners:

1	Look often at your guests during the meal;	995
	while eating, the back should not be turned towards the master.	996
	Don't put morsels of bread that are already bitten back into the pottage;	997
	spoons ought not to lie next to the dish;	998
5	don't put a spoon that is overloaded with food into your mouth,	999
	no piece of food should fall from the same excessive spoon.	1000
	One should not dine with another using the same spoon for eating.	1001
	Spoons which are for eating do not become your property.	1002
	After the meals have begun, wipe the spoons with a napkin.	1006
10	When food is finished being eaten, do not make for another drink.	1007
	Do not ask for more food; accept that which is presented.	1008
	Do not ask for the drinking cup, accept what the cupbearer gives you.	1009
	Do not find fault with food at another person's table.	1015
	Do not finish eating the food after having disapproved of it.	1016
15	Do not lower your head to the dish; with raised neck	1035
	you should sit silent and not let your eyes roam about.	1036
	If a fat morsel lies in the dish before a guest, do not touch it with	1037
	your finger, for fear that fingers will be pointed at you as rustic.	1038
	Do not wipe your fingers or bread around the plates.	1043
20	Having consumed the pottage, do not shake out fingers over the dish.	1044
	Think little of licking fingers that are covered in grease.	1042
	Nor swirl a piece of bread in it [*in reference to soup*]	1046
	Spurn stretching your arms towards lords and ladies,	1056
	there should be no nasal emissions made towards them.	1057
25	You should arrange to portion enough bread and meat.	927
	Do not portion pieces of meat which are too large or too small	928
	to your companions sitting at the table.	929
	A dish should not receive them (*meat*), but a crust of bread.	930
	With a knife cutting smoothly, carve courteously.	931
30	After, you should wipe your grease-covered knife with your bread.	933
	Hot bread should be broken; you should carve fresh	937
	hare, lamb, rabbit and suckling pig.	938
	While a companion drinks, you should stop eating.	943
	Avoid shouting 'Weisheil' aloud unless instructed to.	944
35	While food is in the mouth, you should be silent.	946
	Eat a small piece of food; chewing should be courteous.	924
	There shouldn't be too large a piece of food in your mouth for eating,	947
	so that it is not appropriate to speak.	948
	Beware of drinking wine greedily like Bacchus.	949
40	If you wish to be courteous esteem restraint.	923
	Neither your hand nor voice should be prone to the drinking vessels.	960
	Refuse to take dishes served of the lord.	1070
	While sitting as a guest at the table, don't put your elbows on the table.	990
	As master, elbows may be on the table, but not while visiting others.	991
45	Drink by command of the lord; with the cup given to you	1066

accept it, drink it, take care to give it to others. 1067
Don't return the vessel to the lord unless he says ‘Prebibe’, 1068
when the cup is handed to you, don't say ‘drink to me’. 1069
Refuse to take dishes served of the lord (*repeated*). 1070
You should not praise the food and drink at your own table. 2377
An honest man is not compelled to empty the cups/drinks. 2373
He who wishes to drink moderately, should drink slowly 2374
Do not be a rebel guest to hospitable authorities 2375
All things should be preserved and commanded with reasoning. 2376
It is an immense shame to quarrel at the table. 2381
While a guest is eating, he should not be tormented with questions: 2389
Whatever grumbling of rumours should meanwhile wait. 2390
It is pleases to question him, let the questioning happen after dinner. 2391
You should not be a boaster, nor a gluttonous guest. 1458
With courteous steps, walk upright. 1187
Don’t sit next to the lord unless it is commanded of you. 1203
When it pleases the lord to rise, be prepared to rise (also). 1205
You should not give strong drinks to your small children, 2422
for a strong drink injures the life of children, 2423
Weakens the step, dulls the senses, agitates the 2424
mind; many are made senseless through drink. 2425
When you are laughing, laughter should be delicate in the mouth. 881
A sensible man laughs modestly. 882
It is a man with an empty brain to shake with boisterous laughing. 883
Lips should cover teeth when laughter surpasses delight. 884
Clothes should not be given to small children until the clothes are cheap; 2426
they cover clothes with ashes, make them dirty, and dribble on them. 2427
Instruct young children with courteous lessens. 2419
Chastise the ignorant with beatings, chastise with words. 2420
You should not play with the knife or spoon while eating. 1004
Don’t pick your teeth with a pin. 1017
If it is useful, you may rub them with a napkin. 1018
It is not considered disgraceful to leave something hidden between teeth. 1019
The giver of food and drink ought to be courteous to companions. 1013
When a piglet is given in thanks, it should be taken promptly. 1478
The mouth of the bag should not be closed; loss oftens follows from delay. 1479
You should be a liberal giver, you should approve of a gift. 1483
You should not dare to forget the name of a friend. 1647
If the lord or a trusting confident should entrust a 611
secret to you, conceal that secret with a silent heart. 612
Eating unimpaired you should not place cushions under your 992
elbows, you should sit upright at the table. 993
One hand should not tend the hearth until the other can manage the wave. 96
It is stupid to be deceived twice, once is enough. 871
Avoid striking the firm bench with your feet while sitting. 891
If you are a boy, you should sit with young boys. 892
If you are a young man, then young men should sit with you. 893
If you are a worthy lord, then lords should sit with you. 894

	Before eating, the loosening of the belt is allowed.	994
95	Often the tavern turns knights into footsoldiers.	2385
	When playing you should not force companions to play;	895
	desist from playing and joking with those you do not want to.	896
	There is praise in knowing how to cloak pain with laughter.	863
	Guard your temper, avoid reporting shames about companions	886
100	to the master, except if they harm the master's honour.	887
	When spoken to you should be silent, the mouth should locked.	100
	Take precaution against the dog and the hare running simultaneously.	95

Provenance and Date:
The second volume of this manuscript likely dates from the second half of the fourtheenth century, due to the *Memoriale milicie* by Bartholomew of Urbino (d.1350).

On f.300r: 'Liber memoralis milicie Edmundie Caldecote precii iii marcarum cum dimidio marcae', above it 'xx denarii'. Given to New College, Oxford by Richard Andrew, Dean of York (d.1477). Then presented to the Bodleian Library by Thomas James, a fellow of New College, Bodley's first librarian.

Reference:
A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, ed. F. Madan and H. Craster (Oxford, 1922), vol.2.

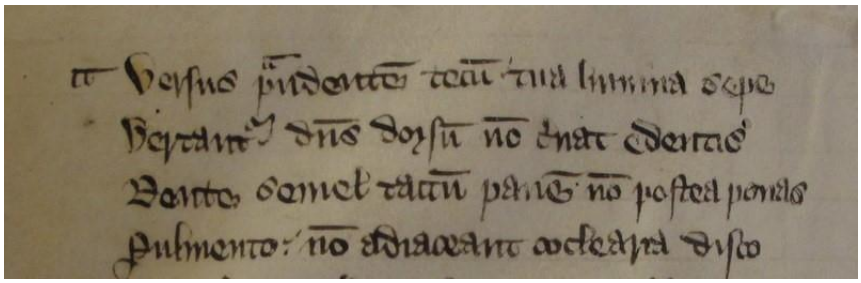


Fig.44. Beginning of *Urbanus magnus* extract
Begins l.995: Uersus prandentem tecum tua lumina sepe
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 310, f.147v

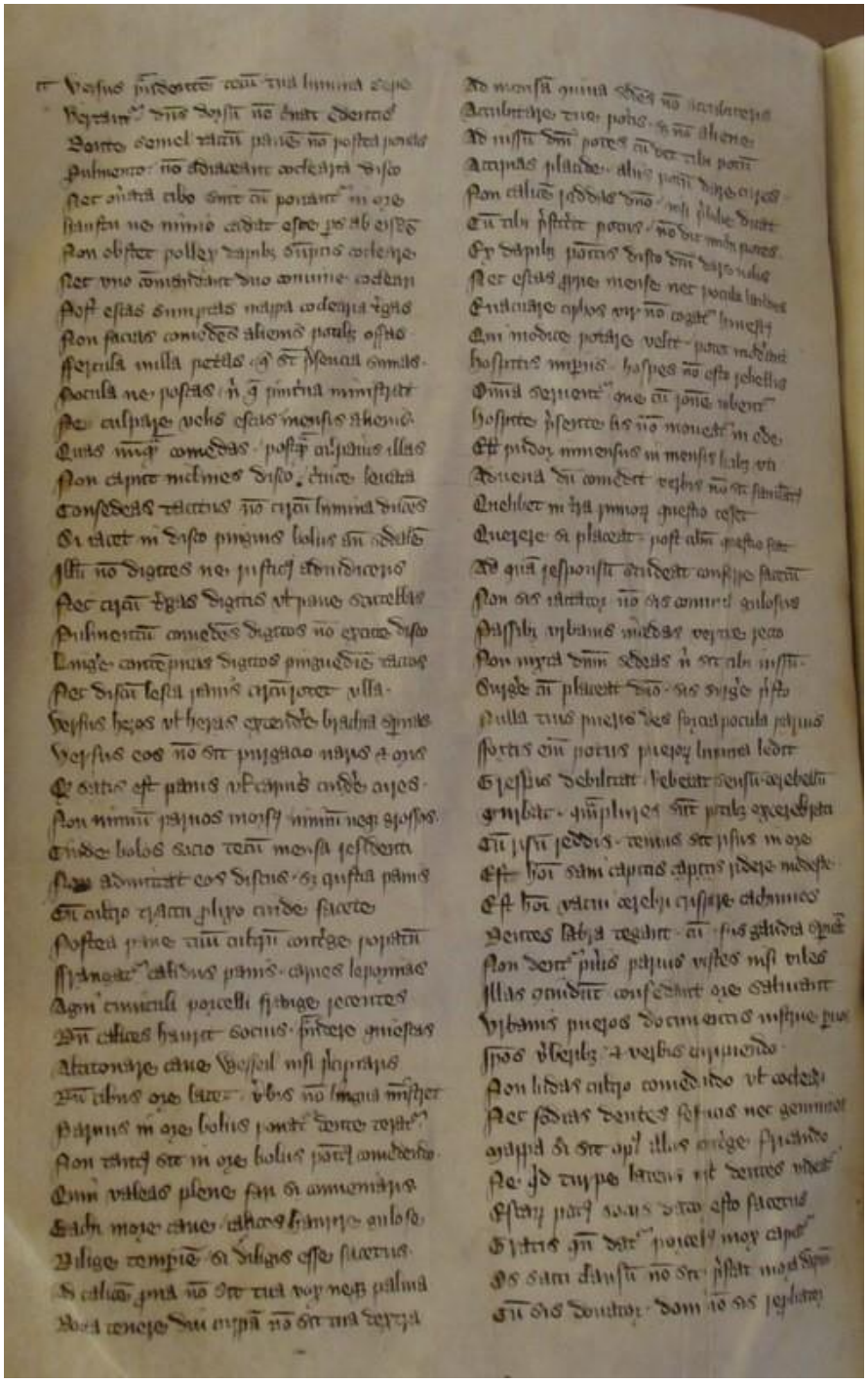


Fig.45. Full page of *Urbanus magnus* extract
Begins l.995: Uersus prandentem tecum tua lumina sepe
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 310, f.147v

MS O_2

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 552

S.XII or XIII England

Contents:

Classical canon

1. Virgil, *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Copa* [excerpts], f.1r
2. Virgil, *Epitaph*, f.1v
3. Virgil, *Aeneid* [proverbial excerpts], ff.2r-3r
4. Lucan, *Proverbs*, ff.3v-4r

5. Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* [proverbial excerpts], f.4 → C.f. MS W

Classical canon

6. Juvenal, *Proverbs*, ff.5v-6r
7. Horace, *Epistles* [excerpts], ff.6r-7
8. Persius, *Proverbs*, ff.7r-v
9. Ovid, *Proverbs*, ff.7v-12v
10. Claudian, *Proverbs*, ff.13r

11. Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus* [proverbial excerpts], f.13v → C.f. MS W

12. Prudentius, *Psychomachia* [proverbial excerpts], f.14r → Allegory about the battle between virtue and vice

13. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria noua* [excerpts], ff.14v-15v → C.f. MS L_2

14. Matthew of Vendôme, *Tobias* [excerpts], ff.15v-16r → Part of *auctores octo*

15. Maximian, *Elegies* [Proverbial excerpts], ff.16r-v → Part of *sex auctores*

Classical canon

16. Homer, *Proverbs*, f.17r

17. Simon Chèvre d'Or, *De excidio Trojae* [proverbial excerpts], ff.17r-v → Poetical text on the Trojan War

18. Arator, *Verses on Rome*, ff.17v-19r → 6th century

19. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus Magnus* [excerpts], ff.19r-23r

Extracts range from lines 1-1240, representative of sections I and II. Large portions of *Urbanus magnus* are omitted in the manuscript. The largest missing extracts include lines 5-14, 33-48, 59-64, 68-73, 241-405, 433-47, 451-69, 479-90, 537-43, 548-54, 578-87, 605-616, 626-631, 637-642, 647-996, 1126-57, 1225-34.

These correspond largely to sections I and II of the poem, concerned with moral behaviour, adherence to religious teaching, peace between neighbours, hospitality, and table manners.

Classical canon ← 20. Avianus, *Proverbs*, f.23v

21. Alan de Lille, *Liber Parabolum* [excerpts], f.23v-24r → Part of *auctores octo*

***Urbanus Magnus* and MS O_2:**
This manuscript is a florilegium of proverbial extracts from the classical *auctores*, alongside texts from the *sex auctores* and *auctores octo*. *Urbanus magnus* likely functions as a pedagogical tool, possibly for learning Latin, grammar, or the art of poetical composition.

Provenance and Date:
This manuscript is rougly dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 1230 contains leaves separated from the original manuscript which Rawlinson C 552 was part of.

Reference:
Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae bodleianae pars V fasc. II Rawlinson C & Index, ed. G. D. Macray (Oxford, 1862-1900).

Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae bodleianae pars V fasc. III Rawlinson D 861 – 1516, ed. G. D. Macray (Oxford, 1862-1900).

Ker, N. R., 'The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries', *The Library*, 23 (1942), pp.1-11.

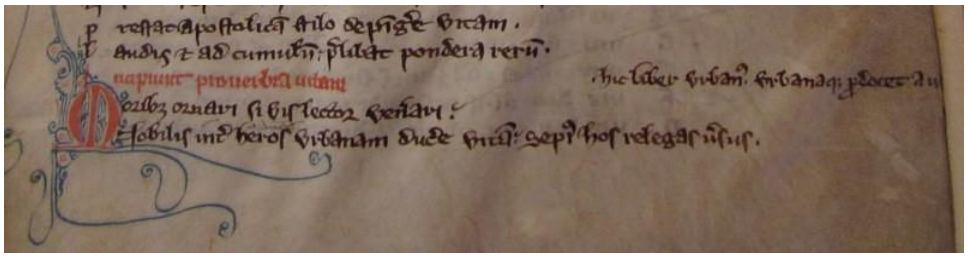


Fig.46. Beginning of *Urbanus magnus* extract
Incipiunt prouerbia urbani
Begins l.1: Moribus ornari si uis lector uenerari
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.552, f.19r

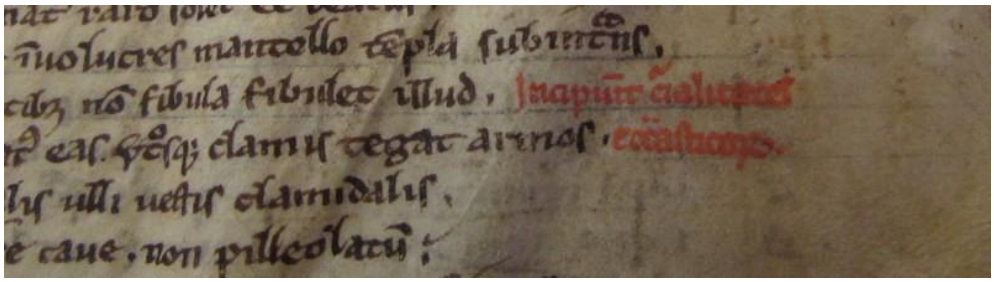


Fig.47. Marginal note
Incipiunt curialitates ecclesiasticorum
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.552, f.20r

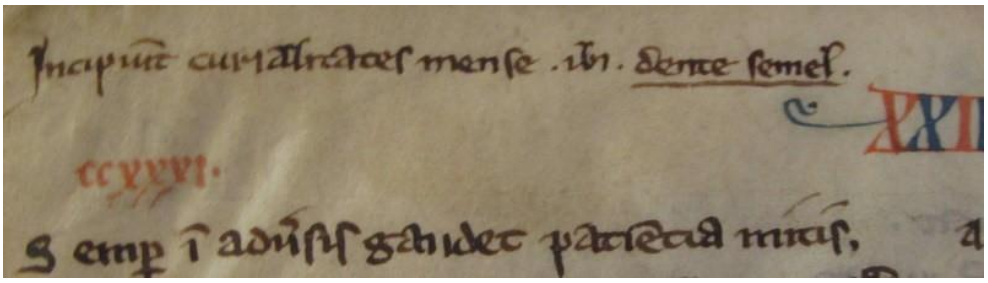


Fig.48. Marginal note
Incipiunt curialitates mense
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.552, f.22r

MS O_3

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 18
S. XIV England

Contents:

Pastoralia

1. William of Pagula, *Oculis Sacerdotis*, ff.4r-116v → Manual for parish priests
2. Iohannes de Deo, *Flos Decretorum*, ff.117r-130v → Abbreviated summary of Gratian's *Concordantia discordantium canonum*
3. Iohannes de Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi*, ff.131r-132v → Revised edition of *Oculis Sacerdotis*

4. Innocent III, *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis*, ff.133r-137v → C.f. MSS C_1 and D

Pastoralia

5. Iohannes de Deo, *Liber Pastoralis*, ff.138r-165v → Enumerates reasons for disqualification from the episcopate
6. *Verses on the Virtues and Vices*, f.116r

7. *Greek vocabulary*, ff.116v-167r → Classical

8. *Proverbial verses*, f.167v

Instructional material for the regulation of behaviour

9. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus Magnus* [excerpt], ff.168r-72r
Contains lines 875-1598, corresponding to section II. Erroneously attributed to Robert Grosseteste: 'Incipit liber curialis quem composuit magister Robertus Grosseteste'. This may be due to the fact that seven verses of a similar theme by Robert Grosseteste follow this text.

(ii) Robert Grosseteste, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, f.172r
'Stans puer ad mensam domini bona dogmata discat,
Sit uultu simplex, uisum nec ubique reuoluat;
Nec paries speculum, baculus uero sit tibi postis
Aut nares fodeat, propriam carnem neque scalpet,
Aut coram domino decet monstrare cachynnos.
Hec me qui docuit grossum capud est sibi nomen,
Presul et ille fuit, cui felix det dues omen'.

Classical canon

10. Seneca, *Excerpts on the Alphabet*, ff.172v-175r
11. Seneca, *Proverbs*, ff.175v-176v
12. Seneca, *Excerpts*, ff.177r-178r

13. Cicero, *Excerpts*, f.178v

14. Seneca, *Proverbs*, ff.178v-182v

15. Pliny the Younger, *Excepts from Letters*, ff.183r-184r

16. Seneca, *Excerpts*, ff.184v-185r

17. *Philosophical Proverbs*, f.185v

18. Cicero, *Extract from Liber Tusculanarum*, ff.185v-186r

Classical canon

19. Anonymous, *Grammatical Questions*, ff.186r-191v

20. What follows is by separate hands:
    (i) Hugh of St Victor, *Excerpts*, ff.191v-192v

    (ii) Robert Grosseteste, *Excerpt from De Templo Dei*, ff.193-200v → For parish priests in the execution of their parochial duties

***Urbanus Magnus* and MS O_3:**
MS O_3 is largely concerned with clerical education, and potentially aimed at the parish priest. Carlson notes an academic focus, aside from a purely religious or theological emphasis. It may have functioned here as a handbook for a priest. Section II of *Urbanus magnus*, which focuses on table manners and hospitality, may reflect the more outward role of the parish priest and his interactions with parishioners. The clerical focus of *Urbanus magnus* may also have factored into its inclusion with other texts concentrating on clerical education.

Provenance and Date:
This manuscript dates to the late fourteenth century due to the presence of works by Willia of Pagula who wrote *Oculis Sacerdotis* c.1326, and Iohannes de Burgo's *Pupilla Oculi*, written c.1358.

Belonged to the College of the Boni Homines at Asserugge near Berkhamsted (Ashridge Priory in Hertfordshire). After its dissolution, the lands and buildings were granted to Richard Combe in 1557. Francis Combe, the grandson of Richard Combe, bequeathed the manuscript in his will to Trinity College, Oxford, being a former member of that college (matriculated 1601).

Reference:
Catalogus codicum mss. Collegii S. Trinitatis, ed. H. O. Coke (Oxford, 1848).

Carlson, P., '"Quid me dicis bonum": An Analysis of the Library and Theology of the Good Men of Ashridge' (Claremont Graduate University, unpublished PhD thesis, 2009).

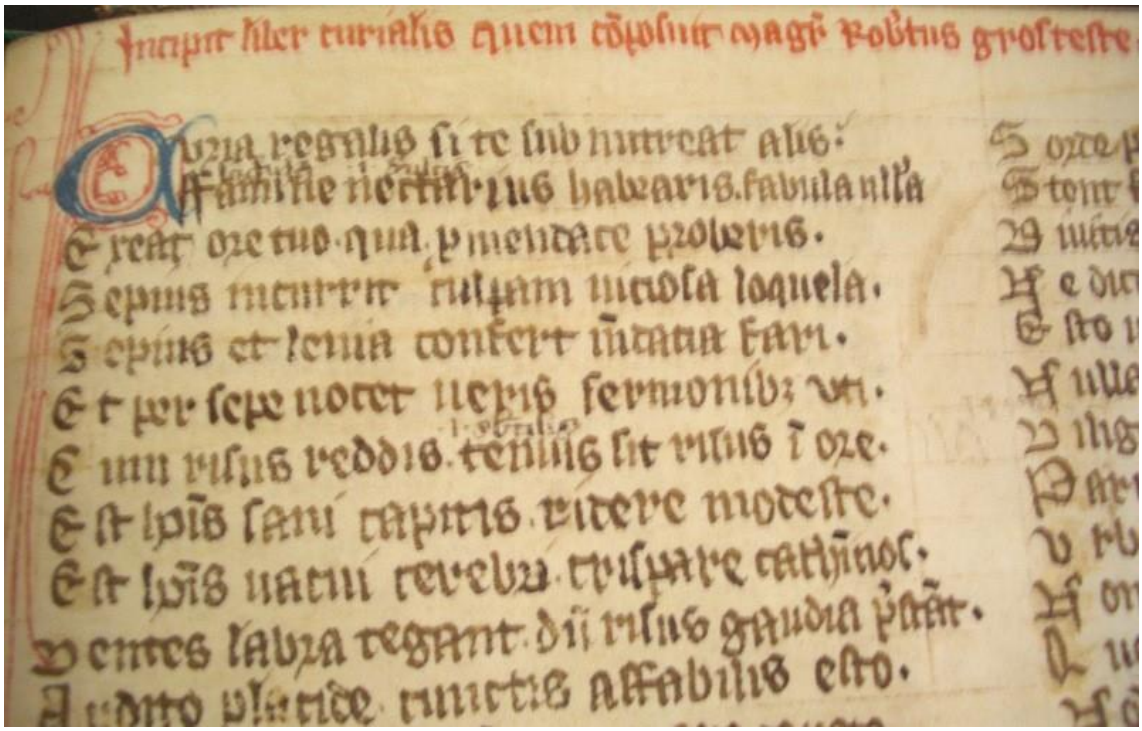


Fig.49. Beginning of *Urbanus magnus* extract
Incipit liber curialis quem composuit magister Robertus Grossteste
Begins l.875: Curia regalis si te sub nutreat alis
Oxford, Trinity College, MS 18, f.168r

MS P_1

Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3718
S.XIII France

The manuscript is divided into 3 small volumes. Note that volume II of this manuscript was originally part of volume I, inserted between ff.11-12.

Contents:

Volume I

Verse

1. *Psalms 118-120*, ff.2r-2v — Concerned with following God's teachings on moral behaviour
2. Dreu de Hautvillers, *Extracts*, ff.2v-11 r — Rhyming verses on the corruption of the law courts
3. *Eight verses on the seven liberal arts*, f.11r
4. Philip the Chancellor, *Verses on the Heart and the Eye*, ff.11r-11v — Lyric debate poem - concerned with the responsibility of the eye in the conception of sin
5. *Verses on the seven sacraments*, f.11v
6. *Discussion between Lazarus and Mary Magdalene*, ff.12r -16r
7. *Vita Magdalene sub compendio*, f.16r
8. *Some bestiary verses*, ff.16r-17r
9. William de Montibus, *Verses*, ff.17r-18r — Possibly concerned with pastoral care
10. *Nine verses on moral judgements*, f.18r
11. Anon., *De proprietate feminarum*, ff.18r-v — Verses against women. Possibly written by a cleric called Adam.
12. Various authors, *Verses on the Virtues and Vices*, ff.19r -27v

Volume II
[originally inserted between ff. 11-12]

Verse

1. Anon., *Amicus and Amelius*, ff. 28r-48v — Versified from the Latin prose; on friendship
2. Anon., *Liber karolellus / Metrical version of Turpin's Chronicle*, ff.48v-80r — Forged chronicle of the life of Charlemagne and Roland, composed c.1200

3. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.80r-82v

This manuscript contains two separate extracts from *Urbanus magnus*. The first contains lines 2676-2838, and the second which follows immediately contains lines 1589-1613. This second section is given a title: 'De eodem libro uersus'.

(i) *Extract from Section IV of Urbanus magnus*

Lines 2676-2838. Note that the final lines, 'Qui dedit alpha et omega, sit laus et gloria Christo. Explicit iste liber qui uocatur Urbanus', do not appear in Smyly's edition. This extract is concerned with food and diet, and includes the reproduced passages from the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatem*.

There are some glosses present:
l.2722: *Ceruisia*
l.2729: *De genere carnium*
l.2741: *De genere piscium*
l.2764: *Quomodo homo mane surgens se debet habere*

(ii) *Extract from Section III of Urbanus magnus*

Lines 1589-1613. This second section is given a title: 'De eodem libro uersus'. This short extract is concerned with the duties of a judge.

Volume III

Verse

1. Serlo of Wilton, *De diuersis modis uersificandi*, ff. 83r-85r → Praise of a wise and clever man, possibly high up in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

2. Bernardus Silvestris, *Mathematicus*, ff.85r-88v → Astrological fable

***Urbanus Magnus* and MS P_1:**

This is verse anthology. It is difficult to discern the use of *Urbanus magnus*. The second extract on the correct and moral duties of a judge fit with the moralistic tone, such as Dreu de Hautvillers's text on the corruption of law courts. However, the dietary extracts from section IV are anomalous and have no clear links with any other works in this manuscript. It is likely that *Urbanus magnus* fulfils primarily a poetic role.

Provenance and Date:

This manuscript dates to the mid-late thirteenth century, due to the presence of works by Dreu de Hautvilliers (c.1197-1271) and Phillip the Chancellor (c.1160-1236).

Belonged to Philippe Drouyn (Abbé) d.1722. Entered the Bibliothèque Royale in 1734.

Reference:

Catalogue général des manuscrits latins. Tome VI: numéros 3536 à 3775^{B}, eds. P. Gasnault, M. Laffitte-Pochat, J. Schafer de Lagarde, and J. Vezin, 5 vols. (Paris, 1975), vol.6.

Faral, E. 'Notice sur le manuscrit latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale no.3717', *Romania*, 46 (1920), pp. 231-270.

MS P_2

Paris, BnF, MS lat. 15170
S.XII-XIII Chichester/France

Contents:
(The damaged nature of the manuscript rendered it difficult to identify every element contained within; what follows are the main contents of the text which can be identified.)

1. **Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*, ff.3r-13v**
   The extracts taken from *Urbanus magnus* represent Section I, however there is significant reordering of the text which deviates from Smyly's edition. For example, the first line in this manuscript corresponds to l.255 of the edited version but the final line is l.254. So, the text commences with ll.255-691. After l.691, the text continues from ll.1-254.

2. *Bele Aaliz men se leva*, f.14v → Romance poem

On sophisms:
3. *Treatises on resolving sophisms*, ff.15r-28v

4. *Treatise on mystical theology*, ff.29r-41r

5. *Gloss on the Doctrinale*, ff.41v-47v

6. Johannes Pagus, *Syncategoremata*, ff.48r-50r

On sophisms:
7. Hervicus, *Sophist abstracts*, ff.50v-54r

8. *Fragments on sophisms*, ff.54v-62v

9. *Treatise on logic*, ff.63r-71r

10. Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, ff.71v-125r → Possibly taken from a separate manuscript. See provenance

On calendars:
11. *Calendar*, ff.125v-141r

12. Gerlandus, *Computus usualis*, ff.141v-146

13. Hilpericus, *Compotus*, ff.146v-162v (?)

***Urbanus magnus* and MS P_2:**
Urbanus magnus may be used as a poetical text, with the romance poem *Bele Aaliz men se leva* following immediately. However, it may also be utilised in conjuction with the sophist texts which are concerned with virtue and excellence through rhetoric, themes which run though section I of *Urbanus magnus*.

Provenance and Date:
This manuscript is roughly dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Part of the library of the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris. Folio 3r: 'S.Victor. 500'. Ouy suggests that ff.71r-125r were originally from Paris, BnF, MS lat. 15015 (ff.114-168).

Commentum sui glose super Frigium Daretum
Summa quedam dictaminis
Liber metricus glosatus dictus Massa compoti
Frigii Dareti Yliados, liber scilicet metricus de excidio Troie
Prosper Acquitanici metra epigrammatica ex quibusdam dictis notabilis Augustini
Macrobii commenta ex Cicerone in Somnium Cipionis
Glose super Tullium de Amicicia
Glose super Peryarmenias
Liber quidam astrologie quadraginta capitulorum, cuius libri hic solum habentur uiginti quotuor prima capitula
Enchiridion Augustini, 71^{ius} capitulorum
[Ouy, vol. 2, pp.563-4]

Hunt suggests that part of this manuscript may have originally come from Chichester, England.

Reference:
Delisle, L., 'Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint-Victor,' in *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613* (Paris, 1863-71).

Hunt, T., *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1991).

Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de *Grandrue*, 1514, ed. G. Ouy and V. Gerz-von Büren (Paris, 1983).

Les manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor: catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514), ed. G. Ouy, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1999).

APPENDIX III

SURVEY OF *URBANUS MAGNUS* FROM THE CORPUS OF BRITISH MEDIEVAL LIBRARY CATALOGUES

[R. Sharpe, List of Identifications based on *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*]

The following manuscript descriptions are based on the catalogue entries in the CBMLC series. Where possible I have tried to provide the authorship and identification of each entry; however, there are cases where the catalogue entries do not provide enough detail for authorship and identification.

Dover Priory
Augustinian

A catalogue of the priory library was made in 1389 by John Whytefelde, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 920. *Urbanus magnus* is listed under the classification *I*, which refers to the sub-division of schoolbooks, including classics, grammar and dictionaries.

BM$_{I}$. 409a
Contents:

1. **Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus***
   This catalogue refers to *Urbanus magnus* as the *Liber urbani*. It begins at line one (moribus ornari….). It takes up fifty-five folios, suggesting that this was a full copy of the text.

2. Robert Grosseteste, *Prognostica*
3. Cassiodorus, *De uera amicicia*
4. Aristotle, *Phisnomia*
5. Nigellus [?], *De commendacione philosophie*
6. Petrus Albini, *De partu uirginis*
7. *Somniarium Danielis*
8. *Epistola Aristotilis ad Alexandrum*
9. *Secreta secretorum*
10. Petrus Alphonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*
11. Socrates, *Prognostica*
12. *Ars ciromancie*

Urbanus magnus here is included with texts such as the *Secreta secretorum*, along with works of Aristotle, Socrates, and medieval writers such as Petrus Alphonsi and Robert Grossesteste. *Urbanus magnus* may fulfil an educational role, complementing the classical texts.

BM$_{I}$. 440
Contents:

1. *Alphabetum Papie*
2. *Tractatus super quibusdam tit'*
3. *Biblia uersificatus*
4. Matthew of Vendôme, *Tobias*
5. *Pars kalendaris et algorismus*
6. Donatus, *Partes oracionis secundum*
7. *[A]pologi Auenti exposico*
8. Adam of Bosham, *Phaletolum*
9. *Item idem Phaletolum*
10. Statius, *Acheilleis*
11. Claudian, *De raptu proserpine*
12. Maximian or Ovid

13. **Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus***
Urbanus magnus begins at line one. *Urbanus magnus* took up approximately twenty-three folios, again suggesting that it may have been a full copy of the text.

14. Liber sinonomorum

This is an educational manuscript, containing works of the *sex auctores*, along with key texts such as Donatus. It is similar in content and purpose to MS W.

[*Dover Priory*, ed. W. P. Stoneman (London, 1999) = *CBMLC* vol. V]

Leicester Abbey
Augustinian

The catalogue of the library at Leicester Abbey was undertaken sometime between 1477 and 1494, probably by William Charyte. The catalogue is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 623. The manuscript which contained *Urbanus magnus* is listed under the subject heading of *Grammatica*.

A20. 979
Contents:

1. Pseudo-Cato, *Disticha Catonis*
2. Theodulus, *Eclogue*
3. Avianus, *Fabulae*
4. *Liber equiuocorum*
5. *Liber sinonomorum*
6. *Liber intitulatus Dicronas*

7. Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus*

The catalogue refers to *Urbanus magnus* as the *Liber urbani* [see BM$_{I}$. 409a], and identifies the author as Daniel of Beccles, suggesting that this manuscript contained a full copy of the text as the reference to Daniel of Beccles appears in the explicit.

8. Serlo of Wilton, *Uersus de generibus nominum*
9. John of Garland, *Commentarius*
10. John of Garland, *De miraculis domine*
11. *Accentarius*
12. *Liber poetriarum*
13. *De mysteriis ecclesiae*
14. Glosses on Priscian
15. Glosses on Donatus, *Ars minor*
16. *Liber de regiminibus casuum*
17. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Liber Algoismi*
18. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Massa compoti*
19. *Ars kalend'*
20. *Liber parui Alexandri*

Urbanus magnus may fulfil an educational role, and specifically a grammatical role here, due to the presence of texts such as Donatus, *Ars minor*, and texts on grammatical rules.

[*The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, eds. T. Webber and A. G. Watson (London, 1998) = *CBMLC* vol. VI]

York Austin Friars
Austin Friars

The catalogue of this library was compiled in 1382, and is Dublin, Trinity College, MS 359. The manuscript containing *Urbanus magnus* is listed under the sub-division of *Liber magistri Johannis Erglome*. According to Humphreys, Erglome was master of York priory/convent by 1377 and could have witnessed the catalogue being made.

FA8. 502c
Contents:

1. John of Garland, *Usus omnium*
2. John of Garland, *Liber synonomorum*

3. **Daniel of Beccles, *Urbanus magnus***
   This entry describes *Urbanus magnus* as the *Liber urbanis Danielis*. Although the incipit shows that *Urbanus magnus* begins at line one, the lack of foliation means we have no clue as to the extent of the text. However, this catalogue entry provides identification of authorship, as Daniel absent of surname. Similar to A20. 979, this may indicate that this manuscript contained a full copy of the text.

4. Matthew of Vendôme, *Tobias*

5. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Algorismus uersificatus*
6. Item tractatus qui incipit ‘Que bene wlt’
7. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*
8. Alexander de Villa Dei, *Massa compoti*

Urbanus magnus in combined here with texts from the educational curriculum, such as Matthew of Vendôme, along with grammatical works by John of Garland. It is likely that *Urbanus magnus* functions in an educational framework here.

[Reference: *The Friars' Libraries*, ed. K. Humphreys (London, 1990) = *CBMLC* vol. I]

Dubia

The following catalogue entries may refer to *Urbanus magnus,* but may also refer to one of the *Facetus* poems, most likely *Facetus: moribus et uita* which was frequently known as *Urbanus*. From the catalogues, it is impossible to definitively say which text the title *Urbanus* refers to.

St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury
Augustinian

The manuscript which refers to *Urbanus* is under the subject heading of *Moralia et naturalia*.

BA_I. 873
Contents:

1. Peter Damian, Dominus uobiscum
2. Petrus Alfonsi, Disciplina clericalis
3. Henry of Sawtrey, De purgatorio Sancti Patricii
4. De quodam monacho quodam comedebat carnes
5. The Life of the Virgin Mary
6. The Life of St Alexis
7. De contemptu mundi
8. Uersus de diuersis generibus
9. Rithmus de actibus sacerdotum
10. De abbatibus et eorum moribus
11. Dives et Lazarus
12. De decimis
13. De xii abusiuis
14. Quomodo sacerdos debet curare oues suos
15. De x preceptis
16. Excempla doctorum de bibione latis aquensis
17. De quodam presbitero et quadam matrona
18. Rithmi de diuersis generibus
19. Apocalypsis Goliae

20. Vita et sententiae secundi philosophi
21. Descriptio Northfolchiae
22. De cuiusdam claustralis dissolucione

23. Urbanus*

24. De wlpe et lupo
25. Cantus pastoralis
26. Uersus et rithmus de potencia nummi
27. Alter[c]acio inter Salomonam et Marcolsum
28. Euangelium secundum marcam argenti et
29. De Rogerio et Theobaldo sacerdotibus

[*St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, vol. II*, ed. B. Barker-Benfield (London, 2008) = *CBMLC* vol. XIII]

Titchfield Abbey
Premonstratensian

The catalogue of the library at Titchfield Abbey was completed between 1400 and 1405, and is now London, British Library, MS Add. 70507.

P6. 156
Contents:

1. Adam of Balsham, Phaletolum
2. Magnum doctrinale
3. Grecismus
4. Cato
5. Alexandex (sic) de Montibus uersificatus super
6. exposicione uerborum bibliothece
7. **Urbanus**

[*The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. D. N. Bell (London, 1992) = CBMLC vol. III]