

13 Erasmus at School: The *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*

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Thus far Erasmian specialists have been little interested in *De civilitate morum puerilium libellus*,¹ as though they were afraid that this minor work might decrease the reputation of the prince of humanists. Guillaume Budé reproached Erasmus during his own lifetime for wasting his eloquence and his talent on such insignificant subjects:² "And, great gods, you will tell me again that you corrected the little Cato (*Catonis disticha*, 1514) and that you do not regret the short day's work devoted to that trivial task; as if so many little books do not risk tarnishing the brilliancy of your name."³

The editor of the *Disticha moralia* (attributed to Cato the Censor), a work not without similarity to the *De civilitate*, did not at all share the fears of his French friend. On the contrary, he estimated that "in the domain of belles-lettres, there is nothing on earth, even the most vulgar, which is to be scorned, and especially not these verses of the pseudo-Cato that so adorn the Latin language and serve as the means to good manners."⁴ Adrien Barland had well understood this when he wrote to his brother: "This book, as I explain every day to my students, is for the purpose of forming their minds to virtue and their language to the art of expressing themselves correctly; for to teach one without the other is truly rather to corrupt than to teach."⁵

The theologian⁶ Erasmus feels repugnant neither at "becoming a child again" nor at being occupied with subjects that may appear marginal:⁷ "For whoever may seek to render service only and not to attract attention," Erasmus writes to Budé, "the brilliancy of the material is less important than its utility. I will not reject any work, not even that scornfully wretched *Catunculus*, if I determine that it is useful in bringing about progress in studies. I do not write for Persius nor Laelius, I write for children and for the unlettered [*pueris et crassulis scribuntur*]."⁸

The *De civilitate morum puerilium libellus* was destined for children, and although it was dedicated to the *crassissima philosophiae pars*,⁹ it is far from being the least important of Erasmus's pedagogical works: the *civilitas morum* being for Professor Telle a way of "utilizing the medium of the printing

Translated from the French by Louise M. Kamenjar.

(avec quelques erreurs.)



press,"¹⁰ the indispensable complement to intellectual and religious formation: "The task of instructing the young consists of several things," Erasmus writes, "the first and, therefore, the principal one is to inculcate in tender minds the seeds of piety; the second, to have them love and study the liberal arts; the third, to acquaint them with life's duties; the fourth, to accustom them from their first steps to courtesy in their manners."¹¹

One page of the *De pueris*, a work published only a few months before the *De civilitate*, illustrates this fine definition of education: "If the young child does something unsuitable at table, he is admonished and, after this warning, he sets up for himself a code of deportment, conforming himself to the example that was proposed to him. He is led to church; he learns how to kneel, to join his little hands, to discover and to give to his whole body an attitude proper to devotion; he is ordered to be silent when the mysteries are being performed, and he is made to turn his head towards the altar. The child learns these rudiments of modesty and piety before knowing how to speak, and, as they remain fixed in him as he grows up, such rudiments profit true religion. The child learns that he must rise before an old person and remove his hat before the representation of the cross. Those who imagine that these rudiments of virtue, such as they are, have no moral value, commit, in my opinion at least, a grave error."¹²

Beginning as soon as possible the apprenticeship in propriety continues parallel with the initiation into Latin conversation, as in witness whereof the first edition, formally recognized, of the *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae* (March 1522). Indeed, Erasmus reserves a very important place there for the rules of public well-being and city life (*urbanitas*)¹³ before teaching his young readers how to behave in the street, at play, in school, at table, in bed, in church: the two short colloquies, entitled *Confabulatio pia* (The Whole Duty of Youth) and *Monita paedagogica* (A Lesson in Manners), the latter being a true lesson in good manners, constitute the outline of the *De civilitate*.¹⁴

This work, which Erasmus carried with him for several years, appeared in Basel, in March 1530, in the form of a letter addressed "to the very noble son of Prince Adolph of Veere."¹⁵ The humanist who had utilized the epistolary genre to exhort the father to virtue began again thirty years later in order to indicate to the son the kind of manners suitable to boys his age. That child "who offered the greatest expectations" was not Maximilian of Burgundy, to whom Erasmus dedicated the *De pronuntiatione*, but his brother Henry of Burgundy, who was then eleven years old.

According to Erasmus, Henry did not have a great need for his counsels on good manners: the son of a prince, born to rule, he was raised from the cradle in the midst of courtiers and had been recently instructed by a remarkably gifted

teacher.¹⁶ In writing those lines, the humanist was only obeying the rules of a literary genre in which he excelled. Is not one of the characteristics of the *epistola monitoria* "to point out to the inexperienced the behavior that should be followed while pretending to have nothing to teach him?"¹⁷ The remarks on comportment which suits a well-born boy,¹⁸ and especially the admonitions against the manners recommended occasionally by certain courtiers,¹⁹ prove that the *De civilitate* was not destined only for children of the lower classes.²⁰ Erasmus was concerned with children of noble ancestry as well, for the milieu in which they lived was generally not a nursery for well-bred individuals: "Some still send the young into the prince's courtyard, so that they may learn civility and especially princely manners. By what, pray then, are princely manners? Let nothing be added: everyone decides for himself."²¹

In seven chapters, Erasmus applies himself to a survey of all the social situations, and even some intimate details, in the life of the child. In succeeding chapters he becomes interested in the exterior aspect and behavior (*De corpore*), in dress (*De cultu*), in the manner of behaving in church (*De moribus in templo*), in how one serves and behaves at the table (*De convivii*), in meetings and conversation (*De congressibus*), in comportment at play (*De lusu*), and in the bedroom (*De cubiculo*), speaking in the same way of how to expectorate or snuff out a candle, not hesitating to study and to "name some functions of the body that our sensibility no longer permits us to discuss in public, much less in treatises on good manners."²² He considers the most familiar gestures as well as the most unusual, trying to foresee all the particular circumstances in which the child can be found. In passing, he points out proper or absurd attitudes he has observed around him: those he has noted in the course of his reading or his travels; even those he has noticed in some paintings. Certain countenances or facial expressions inspired in him some comparisons with the behavior of certain animals and some remarks on character: Erasmus obviously believed in physiognomy, but he did not seem to be inspired by ancient practitioners of this art.

The well-bred child whose portrait appears in filigree in the *De civilitate* resembles Gaspar, the hero of the *Whole Duty of Youth*. Modest, deferential, and smiling under all circumstances, he behaved according to nature and reason,²³ respecting the customs of different areas he was called to frequent and avoiding the temptation to singularize himself by exaggerating the signs of politeness. He constantly worried about the image that he reflected. He knew how to close his eyes to the defects of others,²⁴ and he attached more importance to his health than to courtesy itself: "But it is not proper to make yourself ill in an effort to be seen as a man refined in manners."²⁵

Today's reader cannot fail to be struck by the universality and the reality of

the counsels and admonitions of Erasmus. Formulated for children—*nos puerum formamus*—²⁶ these rules of conduct have a universal significance: they apply even to a preacher and, with some exceptions, remain valuable in our own age.

The work of a moralist with his eyes wide open, the *De civilitate* is an important document, not only for the history of manners and mentalities, but equally for the history of pedagogy, since this work was the most esteemed school manual in the sixteenth century and even in the following century. Several generations of children learned how to read and to write with this little book, which was usually printed with characters—in imitation of actual handwriting—and owed its name to it, "characters of civility."²⁸ Moreover, long before the invention of these characters, the *De civilitate* was used in schools as a manual of good breeding and as an introduction to the Latin language. If, in the Middle Ages, and even at the beginning of the Renaissance, the knowledge necessary for living in society was not learned at school but with an outside family—preferably noble—or even at some princely court where the child, representing a miniature valet, served his apprenticeship in contact with adults,²⁹ all of this had begun to change in Erasmus's time,³⁰ and this humanist is without doubt the one who contributed the most to the development of instruction in courtesy for the various classes.³¹

Most of the school programs of the sixteenth century required that one class be dedicated to mores or that a special meeting be set aside which defined the behavior to be adopted and the rules to be respected inside as well as outside the institution.³² Almost all of these elementary disciplinary rules seem to have been inspired by the *De civilitate*, the reading of which was recommended frequently by the schools. Indeed, the use of this Erasmian manual is attested in the statutes of the schools in the following cities or regions: Wittenberg³³ (1533), Brunswick³⁴ (1535), Speyer³⁵ (1538), Bury Saint Edmunds³⁶ (1550), the Duchy of Mecklenburg³⁷ (1552), Neubrandenburg³⁸ (1553), Magdeburg³⁹ (1553), Augsburg⁴⁰ (1557), the Duchy of Deux-Ponts⁴¹ (1557), Neuburg-on-Danube⁴² (before 1559), Braunau⁴³ (1560), Ingolstadt⁴⁴ (about 1560), Nördlingen⁴⁵ (1561), Landshut⁴⁶ (about 1562), Winchester⁴⁷ (between 1561 and 1569), Wassenberg⁴⁸ (1562), Pomerania⁴⁹ (1563), Brandenburg⁵⁰ (1564), Deventer (1564) and Utrecht⁵¹ (1565), Wismar⁵² (1566), Regensburg⁵³ (1567), Lindau⁵⁴ (1568), Bangor⁵⁵ (1569), Breslau⁵⁶ (1570), Oettingen⁵⁷ (1575), Utrecht⁵⁸ (1578), Höningen⁵⁹ (about 1580), Brieg⁶⁰ (1581), Kampen⁶¹ (1587), Annaberg⁶² (1594), Brunswick⁶³ (1596, 1598, 1599).

The *De civilitate* serves obviously to teach good manners:⁶⁴ "Sometimes . . . some rules will be taken out of Erasmus' manual on civility of manner or the *De disciplina puerorum*, so that manners may more properly be formed."⁶⁵ Children must refer to this code of behavior in every circumstance: "Every child's

behavior in all circumstances represents the kind of manners that Erasmus' book, written for erudite civility, illustrates," according to the rules of the *Gymnasium poeticum* of Regensburg.⁶⁶ The statutes of the *schola Martiniana* of Brunswick foresaw that this manual would be read every Thursday to pupils gathered together from three classes.⁶⁷ As for the rules of the school of Neubrandenburg, they did not insist on the means to remove from the school barbarities in manners and in conversation, since they insisted that Erasmus's "*De civilitate morum puerilium libellus* is always in the hands of our school children."⁶⁸ The manual appears, then, as one of the instruments in the struggle against the coarseness of manners as well as language: "Henceforth, pure conversation and acceptable manners are to be learned and harmful ones are to be avoided," stipulated the statutes of Brandenburg.⁶⁹ Those of Ingolstadt bore witness to the same concern: "For this reason in this class, albeit gradually, let the same, formed jointly in the courtesy of manners, be instructed in the perfection of the Latin language."⁷⁰

The use of the *De civilitate* for grammatical and stylistic ends took several forms. Sometimes the teacher helped the children to find "Latin phrases and names of numerous things"⁷¹ in the book; sometimes he used the text to illustrate a lesson in morphology or syntax.⁷² "The other two classes should be combined, and the schoolmaster should explain to them the *De civilitate morum* . . . and on the other days one should make constructions and declensions out of it," so ordered the statutes of the school at Wittenberg.⁷³ The grade in which the manual was studied was generally neither the first nor the last, but an intermediary one, most often the third—that is to say, the one in which children who read perfectly were admitted⁷⁴ and who knew fairly well the declensions and conjugations.⁷⁵ In certain schools, they still spent the major part of their time declining and conjugating,⁷⁶ and they completed their grammatical formation by practicing the application of rules, which the teacher showed them how to use. The study of Latin grammar was accompanied by the use of the *De civilitate*: at Bury Saint Edmunds and at Bangor, for example, the *King's Grammar* was one of the other manuals used in the third form. Certain school statutes did not mention any specific grammar, but they did not forget to remind the teacher how to use "the little book," so that the precepts of Latin grammar might be added.⁷⁷

Without any doubt the *De civilitate* answered a social need: its immediate success—twelve editions at least in a single year, 1530—its early translation into the major vernacular languages, its utilization in schools, are all incontestable proofs of this need. The extraordinary diffusion of this little book can be explained by the fact that it came at the right moment and that it presented some models of comportment that were suitable to its time.⁷⁸ However, its adoption

not only as a guide to decorum for use by children but also as a book for reading—"whence the knowledge and use of Latin conversation becomes self-evident"⁷⁹—is certainly not unrelated to the multiplication of reissues of the original and of school or annotated editions as well.

The most celebrated and widespread of these editions, accompanied by annotations, is, unquestionably, that of Gisbertus Longolius which Johann Gymnicus published at Cologne in October of 1531. It was not the first effort of the editor, who became rector of the school at Deventer, then professor at the University of Cologne, since scarcely a few months after the appearance of the *De civilitate*, he published an edition of the work enriched by some marginal notes.⁸⁰ The other annotators are less well known and less interesting than he: one of them, however, was William Hachusanus, another citizen of Deventer.⁸¹

Most of the editions of the *De civilitate* were the work of pedagogues, who carefully placed at the disposal of their students a manual designed especially for them. Dedicated to a son of a prince who had been instructed by a tutor and had not attended school, the *De civilitate* did not discuss school behavior and set before the student some rules that could only be memorized with great difficulty. Beginning in 1534, a teacher at the school of Marburg, Reinhard Hadamarius, transformed the work into a kind of catechism in the form of questions and answers, "so that the young might learn by heart more easily and be able to remember it."⁸² He also introduced a supplementary chapter, entitled "De moribus in paedagogio et inter praelegendum servandis," thus filling a gap in the original version.

In 1536, another pedagogue, Ewaldus Gallus, drew a series of brief *Leges morales* from the principal chapters of the *De civilitate*. Less complete than the work by his German colleague, this rector of the Latin school at Weert was interested neither in children's clothes nor in school conduct. Thus he reserved only a few lines for comportment at play and at bedtime.⁸³ Like the question-and-answer manual designed for schoolchildren at Marburg, this edition was nevertheless a faithful adaptation of the text of Erasmus:

Erasmus

A naribus absit purulentia, quod est sordidorum. Id viciū Socrati philosopho datum est probro.

Inflectere cervicem et adducere scapulas pigritiam arguit, resupinare corpus fastus indicium est; molliter erectum decet. Cervix nec in levum nec in dextrum vergat: hypocriticum enim, nisi colloquium aut aliud simile postulet.

Hadamarius

Quales debent esse nares? Mundae, et ab omni mucoris purulentia alienae.

Qualis debet esse cervix? Nec inflexa, non in laevum nec in dextrum vergens, sed (ut etiam corpus) molliter sit erecta.

Gallus

A naribus abesto mucor, ab ore saliva.

Cervicem nec in laevum humerum, nec in dextrum, nisi ad colloquium non reflectito: nec scapulas adducito, nec resupinato corpus.

In order that children might more easily memorize the rules they were to know by heart and to recite before their fellow classmates,⁸⁴ certain teachers had the idea of putting the *De civilitate* in verse form. Requiring that his pupils respect scrupulously the Erasmian precepts, the rector of the *Gymnasium poeticum* at Regensburg added: "Wherefore and indeed this composition being translated by us into poetry on a favorable occasion, we offer it to the students of the highest class."⁸⁵ This rhymed version is no longer extant, but we possess several others, among which is one by Francois Heeme, teacher in the chapter school of Notre Dame at Courtrai.⁸⁶

The diffusion of these adaptations proves that the *De civilitate* was utilized in many more schools than our list indicates. Students in regions that remained faithful to Rome had nothing to envy in students in German-Lutheran schools or in British grammar schools: Did not the *De civilitate* appear in 1550 among the school books recommended by the University of Louvain?⁸⁷ The acts of censorship took effect only very slowly. Speaking of instruction in propriety in a letter to Vérépée dated January 3, 1574, the regent of the college of the Jesuits at Cologne wrote to this effect: "This matter must be drawn from books which treat specifically of the civility of manners. Why have you not written a work of this type! Teachers and students would read it in the place of Erasmus's *Civilitas morum*."⁸⁸

It is known that the Jesuits disclaimed with difficulty certain Erasmian manuals and that they continued to use them sometimes, but without citing the name of the author. Responding to Johann von Rheitt, Vérépée pointed out to him the existence of the *Leges morales* of Ewald Gallus, which *ex Erasmo fere collectas*, and he announced his intention of inserting them in his *Progymnasmata*, after giving them a form better adapted to young children and suppressing the name of a certain person (*suppresso cuiusquam nomine*).⁸⁹ Thirty years later, in 1593, a certain Jean Houtveus of Vlierden published in Brussels a small book entitled *De civilitate morum puerilium libellus, de integro in breviores redactus quaestiones memoriae invandae gratia*. The *Librorum censor* gave his approval to the publication of this version, scarcely altered in its question-and-answer approach by Reinhard Hadamarius and destined for Jesuit pupils. The name of

the teacher at Marburg appears nowhere, nor does that of Erasmus, from whom the plagiarist borrowed not only the title and the contents but the appendixes of the small book as well.⁹⁰

Thus, a long time after his death Erasmus continued to teach fine manners to little schoolchildren, and his career as textbook writer was far from terminated. In 1625, the famous *Schoolordre* promulgated by the States of Holland prescribed the utilization of the *De civilitate* in all the schools of Holland and Friesland, and it ordered the printing of an edition "corrected in some places" that would be reproduced in a thousand copies. Reedited several times, this manual was still used in Amsterdam⁹¹ in 1677. In the school at Stralsund, at the edge of the Baltic, the *De civilitate* appeared in the 1643 curriculum of the second and third classes: the teacher read the work to his pupils and used the occasion to teach them things that were not found in the manual but concerned the issues treated.⁹² In an ordonnance of 1651, enforced in all the schools of his jurisdiction, Duke Augustus of Brunswick concluded the chapter devoted to the "censure of manners" with the words: "Let whoever may be either holding onto or fleeing tradition in daily living with others be instructed especially by Erasmus of Rotterdam's work on the civility of manners."⁹³ At the end of the eighteenth century, the German pedagogue Joachim-Henry Campe, the successor of Basedow as head of the *Philanthropinum* at Dessau, drew from the *De civilitate* and from the *Introductio ad sapientiam* by Vives a *Compendium artis vivendi*, which well served his pupils, first at Hamburg, then at Brunswick.⁹⁴

We could multiply these examples⁹⁵ and could likewise evoke here the *Bonne habitude nouvelle*, a book of Erasmian counsels in verse, published in 1829 by a Rumanian teacher,⁹⁶ as well as the innumerable adaptations, imitations, translations of the manual—these *Civilités puériles et homêtes*, more or less inspired by Erasmus, who was in effect "the model for these inept little books which for two centuries have multiplied rapidly in the schools"⁹⁷ and made fortunes for the book trade.⁹⁸ The history of this literature remains to be written. He who charges himself with the task will have to return often to Erasmus, concerning whom Melanchthon underlined in 1522 his permanent concern for the *civilitas* and the *boni mores*: "Erasmus nearly always teaches this."⁹⁹

NOTES

1. The most recent and the most complete study is by Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, "The First 'Book of Etiquette' for Children," *Quaerendo* 1 (1971): 19-30.

2. P. S. Allen et al., *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi* . . . (Oxford, 1906-58), vol. 2, Ep. 403, p. 232, ll. 122-23; hereafter referred to as *EE*.

3. *EE*, vol. 2, Ep. 435, p. 275, ll. 88-91.
4. *Ibid.*, Ep. 298, p. 2, ll. 17-20.
5. *Ibid.*, Ep. 492, p. 389, ll. 115-18.
6. *Ibid.*, Ep. 298, p. 2, ll. 16-17: "Sed interim clamabit vitiligator aliquis, Hui theologum in tam frivolis versari nugis?" An explication by Gisbertus Longolius illustrates this remark of Erasmus: "Fuere tamen quorum ineptam et loquacem temeritatem hic praeterire non possum, quibus incomparabilis hic puerorum thesaurus quum primum aeditus esset, ansam calumniandi autorem dedit. Deum immortalem quo supercilio Erasmum grammaticum (nam Erasmum theologum dicere, apud eos verecundum est, et capitulari censura dignum) pro consuetudine sua damnarunt, iam apud omnes, inquit, evulgatum est, quod hactenus in homine latuit, ô intempestivam stultitiam, iam senex se ad pueros erudiendos demisit. . . ." (see the edition of the *De civilitate* printed at Cologne: Johann Gymnicus, October 1531, p. 5).
7. Erasmus, *De civilitate*, in *Opera Omnia* . . . , ed. J. Clericus (Leiden, 1703) henceforth cited as *LB*, 1:1033A: "Si ter maximum illum Paulum non piguit omnia fieri omnibus, quo prodesse posset omnibus, quanto minus ego gravari debeo iuvandae inventutis amore subinde repuerascere." See also *De utilitate colloquiorum*, ed. L.-E. Halkin et al., in *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi* . . . (Amsterdam, 1969-), vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 741, ll. 16-17: "Quod si quis clamet indecorum homini sic pueriliter ludere, nihil moror quam pueriliter, modo utiliter." Henceforth *ASD*.
8. *EE*, vol. 2, Ep. 480, p. 364, ll. 69-74.
9. *De civilitate*, *LB*, 1:1033C.
10. Emile V. Telle, *Erasmé de Rotterdam et le septième sacrement* (Geneva, 1954), p. 299.
11. *De civilitate*, *LB*, 1:1033B-C. See also *Institutio christiani matrimonii*, *LB*, 5:713C: "Est autem duplex institutionis cura, altera quae pertinet ad disciplinarum cognitionem, altera quae pertinet ad pietatem ac bonos mores."
12. *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, ed. J.-C. Margolin (Geneva, 1966), pp. 412-14.
13. *Colloquia*, *ASD*, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 125-30. See also *De conscribendis epistolis*, ed. J.-C. Margolin, *ASD*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 276-85 ("De salutatione").
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-81 and 161-63.
15. We take the liberty of sending the reader to our critical edition of the *De civilitate*, which will appear in *ASD*.
16. *De civilitate*, *LB*, 1:1033B.
17. *De conscribendis epistolis*, *ASD*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 488, ll. 5-6.
18. *De civilitate*, *LB*, 1:1033C and 1043B.
19. *Ibid.*, 1035A, 1038C, and 1038E.
20. *Ibid.*, 1033D.
21. *Ecclesiastes*, *LB*, 5:909F.
22. N. Elias, *La civilisation des mœurs* (Paris, 1973), p. 193. An excellent analysis of the Erasmian manual and of other treatises of the same genre will be found in this work, whose first edition (German) appeared in 1939.
23. *De civilitate*, *LB*, 1:1036B: "At non statim honestum est quod stultis placuit, sed quod naturae et rationi consentaneum est."
24. *Ibid.*, 1044A: "Maxima civilitatis pars est, quum ipse nusquam delinquas, aliorum delictis facile ignoscere, nec ideo sodalem minus habere charum, si quos habet mores inconditiones. Sunt enim qui morum ruditatem aliis compensent dotibus."
25. *Ibid.*, 1036C.
26. *Ibid.*, 1035A.
27. The advice given to teachers in *Ecclesiastes* (*LB*, 5:963A-967A) blends with that lavished on Henry of Burgogne.



28. See especially Harry Carter and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Civilté Types* (Oxford, 1966).
29. Valuable information and numerous texts will be found in the works of F. J. Furnivall, *The Babees Book* . . . (London, 1868) and *Queene Elisabethes Achademy* . . . (London, 1869).
30. Contrary to what Philippe Ariès thinks in *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1973), p. 429.
31. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (London, 1908), p. 104.
32. See especially R. Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh, 1860), pp. 57-58, 426-27, 569-71; E. E. Fabian, "M. Petrus Plateanus, Rector der Zwickauer Schule von 1535 bis 1546," in *Gymnasium zu Zwickau* (Zwickau, 1878), p. 31. The statutes of the school at East Redford (1552) specify that the purpose of the institution is to teach "not only grammar and virtuous doctrine but also good manners." See T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (Urbana, Ill., 1944), 1:315. Let us note finally that among the exercises of the pupils of the college of the Jeromites in Liège appear two letters which concern good manners. See M. Delcourt and J. Hoyoux, "Documents inédits sur le Collège liégeois des Jéromites (1524-1526)," in *Annuaire d'histoire lidgeoise* (Liège, 1957), 5:933-79.
33. Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen*, p. 29; Karl Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Berlin, 1889), p. 427.
34. Friedrich Koldewey, *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828* (Berlin, 1886), 1:50 and 54.
35. K. Reissinger, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der humanistischen Schulen im Gebiet der Bayerische Pfalz* (Berlin, 1911), 2:371.
36. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine*, 1:298.
37. Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen*, p. 63; Heinrich Schnell, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte des Mecklenburgischen Unterrichtswesens* (Berlin, 1907), 1:206.
38. Vormbaum, p. 434; Schnell 1:240 and 242.
39. Vormbaum, p. 415.
40. H. Ockel, *Geschichte des höheren Schulwesens in Bayerisch-Schwaben während der vorbayerischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 35 and 323.
41. Reissinger, *Dokumente zur Geschichte*, 2:6.
42. Ockel, *Geschichte des höheren Schulwesens*, p. 249.
43. G. Lurz, *Mittelschulgeschichtliche Dokumente Altbayerns, einschliesslich Regensburgs* (Berlin, 1907), 1:290.
44. *Ibid.*, 1:308-09.
45. Ockel, p. 128.
46. Lurz, *Mittelschulgeschichtliche*, 1:324.
47. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine*, 1:330.
48. Lurz, 1:318.
49. Vormbaum, p. 172.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 529.
51. P. N. M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland* (Antwerp and Utrecht, 1955), p. 143.
52. Schnell, *Urkunden und Akten*, 1:287.
53. Lurz, 2:407-08 and 416.
54. Ockel, pp. 177-78. The work was still in use in 1624.
55. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine*, 1:305.
56. Vormbaum, pp. 196 and 219.
57. Ockel, pp. 262-63.
58. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland*, p. 143.

59. Reissinger, 2:341.
60. Vormbaum, pp. 306 and 309.
61. Bot, p. 143.
62. P. Bartusch, *Die Annaberger Lateinschule zur Zeit der ersten Blüte der Stadt und ihrer Schule im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Annaberg, 1897), p. 137.
63. Koldewey, *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen*, 1: 127, 158-59, and 162.
64. "Ad morum institutionem": see Lurz, 1:309 (Ingolstadt, ca. 1560).
65. Vormbaum, p. 529. The other text to which this rule makes allusion is without doubt the *De disciplina et institutione puerorum* by the German humanist and reformer Othon Brunfels. This work, which was inserted in 1529 in the *Catechesis puerorum in fide, in literis et in moribus* by the same author, was published in 1525. It consisted of a judicious collection of texts, borrowed mostly from Erasmus: *Confabulatio pia, Monitoria, Epistola de ratione studii, Modus repetendae lectionis*. . . . See F. Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion* (Berlin, 1901), 3:194-220. It is to be noted that the first French edition of the *De civilitate* printed with symbols of courtesy was accompanied by a translation of the *De disciplina: La civilité puerile distribuée par petits chapitres et sommaires. A laquelle nous avons ajouté la discipline et institution des enfants, traduits par Jean Louveau* (Lyons: Robert Granjon, 1558). See H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "Typografische schrijfböeken. Een hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van de civilité-letter" in *De gulden passer* 39 (1961):300-01.
66. Lurz, 2:416.
67. Koldewey, 1:50.
68. Schnell, 1:242.
69. Vormbaum, p. 530.
70. Lurz, 1:308.
71. Ibid., 2:407 (Regensburg, 1567). See also Vormbaum, p. 172 (Pomerania, 1563). In the seventeenth century, certain printers thought of giving a list of these forms at the end of the volume. See especially the bilingual edition (Amsterdam, 1678), of which a reproduction in facsimile was published in 1969 by H. de la Fontaine Verwey: it ends with a long enumeration of the *Phrases sive Formulae loquendi, e Libello de morum puerilium Civilitate collectae, cum ad elegantiam, tum ad meliorem constructionem*. To illustrate the "multarum rerum appellationes" that the school statutes of Regensburg refer to, I shall point out the great richness of the Erasmian vocabulary. A single example will be sufficient. Erasmus devotes only a few lines to the care that a boy should give to his hair, but he succeeds in using three different words: "coma," "capillitium," and "caesaries." See *De civilitate, LB*, 1:1035F.
72. "Etymologiam cum Syntaxi e libello Erasmi de civilitate morum," precisely the *Leges et disciplina scholae Daventriensis* of 1564. See J. I. Van Doorninck, "Bouwstoffen voor eene Geschiedenis van het Onderwijs in Overijssel," in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van Overijssel* (Zwolle, 1880), 6:207.
73. Vormbaum, p. 29.
74. Lurz, 1:324: "Confluent in hanc classem omnes qui perfecte legunt" (Landshut, ca. 1562). See also *ibid.*, p. 308 (Ingolstadt, ca. 1560).
75. Reissinger, *Dokumente zur Geschichte*, 2:371: "iam Grammaticae precepta mediocriter tenent" (Speyer, 1538); Vormbaum, p. 172: "Hierin sollen sein die knaben, die Etymologiam . . . ziemlich wissen und nun ferner lernen sollen Syntaxin und linguam latinam" (Pomerania, 1563); and p. 527: "Cum enim Elementa Grammatices et Syntaxis, formulas coniugandi et declinandi mediocriter tenent" (Brandenburg, 1564).
76. Lurz, 1:324 (Landshut, ca. 1562).
77. Reissinger, 1:371 (Speyer, 1538).
78. See Elias, *La civilisation des mœurs*, p. 102 et seq.

79. Vormbaum, p. 530 (Brandenburg, 1564).

80. See F. Bierlaire and R. Hoven, "L'école latine de Deventer vers 1536: un règlement oublié," in *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique* 45 (1974): 602-17.

81. I consulted an edition published at Cologne: Martin Gymnicus, 1549.

82. The first edition that uses this question-and-answer format (Marburg: E. Cervicorn, May 1537) is entitled: *Elegantissimus D. Erasmi Roterodami libellus, de morum puerilium Civilitate. Eadem in succintas et ad puerilem aetatem cum primis adpositas Quaestiones Latinas et Germanicas olim digesta, iam recognita, et locupletata, per Reinhardum Hadamarium. In Marpurgensis usum paedagogii* (University Library of Ghent: Th. 2662/1). Erasmus's text precedes the adaptation and German translation. The prefaces of the two versions are dated Sept. 8, 1534 and Sept. 13, 1536, respectively. Before becoming a teacher, then rector, at Marburg, R. Loerich Hadamarius had attended the University of Cologne. See H. Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln* (Bonn, 1931), vol. 3, no. 1745, p. 103.

83. See Wouter Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (The Hague, 1923), vol. 1, no. 951, pp. 334-35. We have consulted another edition dated: "Antverpiac, apud Antonium Tilenium Brechtanum, Anno 1569."

84. Vormbaum, p. 219: "Recitabitur memoriter Civilitas morum a pueris . . ." (Breslau, 1570).

85. Lurz, 2: 416.

86. This "elegiacum carmen" appeared for the first time in an edition of *Poemata* by the author that was published in Antwerp, at Plantin's, in 1578 (pp. 246-75).

87. *Les Catalogues des livres reprenez, Et de ceux que lon pourra enseigner par laduis de Luniuersite de Louvain* (Louvain: Servais Sassenus, 1550), folio C⁴r^o. The work is classified among "Les auteurs en lart de Reticque et Oratoire."

88. M. A. Nauwelaerts, "La correspondance de Simon Verepaeus (1522-1598)," in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24 (1974): 282.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 294. See also idem, *Latijnse school en onderwijs te 's-Hertogenbosch tot 1629* (Tilburg, 1974), p. 257.

90. This work is to be found at the Library of the University of Liège (shelfmark: 6487-A). Among the appendixes is a brief text entitled *Repetendae lectionis modus*, which previously appeared in one of the first editions of the *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*. See the *Colloquia*, ASD, vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 119-20.

91. H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "The First 'book of etiquette' for Children," pp. 28-29; E. J. Kuiper, *De hollandsche Schoolordre van 1625* (Groningen, 1958); W. H. Van Seters, "De historische achtergrond van de uitgave van een Grieks-latijns schoolboekje, volgens decreet der Staten van Holland in 1626 verschenen, en tot 1727 in gebruik gebleven," in *Het Boek*, 3d ser., 33 (1958-59), pp. 84-105.

92. R. Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des siebenzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh, 1873), pp. 380-81.

93. Koldewey, *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen*, 2: 157.

94. The Municipal Library of Rotterdam possesses two editions of this work: one is dated 1778 (7 H 29), the other is dated 1797 (7 H 1/1).

95. The work was used at Güstrow in 1602 (Schnell, *Urkunden und Akten*, 1: 439), at Görlitz in 1609, at Beuthen in 1614, at Soest in 1618 (Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen*, pp. 95, 118, 204), at Speyer in 1612 (Reissinger, *Dokumente zur Geschichte*, 2: 407), at Augsburg in 1665 and in 1670 (Oekel, *Geschichte des höheren Schulwesens*, p. 66). In the middle of the seventeenth century, Nicolas Mercier, assistant principal of the Collège of Navarre in Paris, published the *De civilitate* and the rhymed version by François Heeme as an appendix to his *De officiis scholasticorum sive de recta ratione proficiendi in litteris, virtute et moribus* (Paris: Claude Thiboust, 1657 and 1664).

There is a copy at the University Library at Ghent (shelfmark: BL 1648) and at the Municipal Library of Rotterdam (shelfmark: 9 H 16). This same author published an expurgated edition of the *Colloquies* as well.

96. Constantin Crisan, "Erasmus en Roumanie," in the *Colloquia Erasmania Turonensia*, ed. J.-C. Margolin (Paris, 1972), 1: 178-79.

97. Alcide Bonneau, *La Civilité puérile par Erasme de Rotterdam. Traduction nouvelle, texte latin en regard, précédée d'une notice sur les livres de civilité depuis le XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1877), p. vii.

98. See, for example, Georges Wildenstein, "L'imprimeur-libraire Richard Breton et son inventaire après décès, 1571," in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 21 (1959): 371: "Item mil six cens livre *La civilité honneste*."

99. The text is cited by Allen, *EE*, vol. 5, Ep. 1496, p. 545, nn. 26-27.



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