Refiguring Moderation in Eating and Drinking

In Late Fourteenth- and Fifteenth- Century Middle English Literature

by

Sun Young Lee

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Richard Newhauser, Chair
Robert Bjork,
Robert Sturges

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ABSTRACT

It has become something of a scholarly truism that during the medieval period, gluttony was combatted simply by teaching and practicing abstinence. However, this dissertation presents a more nuanced view on the matter. Its aim is to examine the manner in which the moral discourse of dietary moderation in late medieval England captured subtle nuances of bodily behavior and was used to explore the complex relationship between the individual and society. The works examined foreground the difficulty of differentiating bodily needs from gluttonous desire. They show that moderation cannot be practiced by simply refraining from food and drink. By refiguring the idea of moderation, these works explore how the individual's ability to exercise moral discretion and make better dietary choices can be improved. The introductory chapter provides an overview of how the idea of dietary moderation in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Middle English didactic literature was influenced by the monastic and ascetic tradition and how late medieval authors revisited the issue of moderation and encouraged readers to reevaluate their eating and drinking habits and pursue lifestyle changes. The second chapter focuses on Langland's discussion in *Piers Plowman* of the importance of dietary moderation as a supplementary virtue of charity in terms of creating a sustainable community. The third chapter examines Chaucer's critique of the rhetoric of moderation in the speech of the Pardoner and the Friar John in the *Summoner's Tale*, who attempted to assert their clerical superiority and cover up their gluttony by preaching moderation. The fourth chapter discusses how late Middle English conduct literature, such as Lydgate's *Dietary*, revaluates moderation as a social skill. The fifth chapter explores the issue of women's capacity to control their appetite and achieve moderation in conduct

books written for women. Collectively, the study illuminates how the idea of moderation adopted and challenged traditional models of self-discipline regarding eating and drinking in order to improve the laity's discretion and capacity to assess its own appetite and develop a healthy lifestyle for the community.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my loving parents, Myung Hee Lee and Young Ran Myung, who have never got tired of supporting their daughter's dreams to explore and study new things.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my husband and my daughter, without whose encouragement and patience, this dissertation would not have been completed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:

DISCOURSE ON DIETARY MODERATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLISH LITERATURE

This dissertation discusses how the idea of moderation was employed and developed to measure gluttony and cultivate better dietary habits in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Middle English literature. The dissertation considers moderation in late medieval English culture in its socio-economic context. It focuses specifically on literature that refigures moderation in a critical commentary on the individual's bodily behavior as a means of coping with social and economic changes in the aftermath of the Black Death (1348-49). The works considered include *Piers Plowman*; *The Canterbury Tales*, in particular *The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale* and *The Summoner's Tale*; conduct literature such as Lydgate's *Dietary*; and a selection of conduct manuals written for women including William Caxton's English translation of *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, written by Geoffrey de la Tour Landry in 1371-72 for his daughters, Middle English didactic mother-daughter poems such as *The Thewis of Gud Women* and *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage*, and the moral precept in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours. The works discussed in this dissertation show how ethical discussions on dietary moderation continued to be carried out in later medieval England. The authors of these works stress the necessity of developing self-discipline by highlighting the tension between desire and need that results when individual eating and drinking habits change, when changing dietary habits hinder the equal distribution of food, when bodily practices

are not consistent with what is morally expected of the clergy, or when dietary choices do not conform to natural appetite and social norms. By questioning a narrow understanding of moderation as abstinence or adherence to prescribed dietary rules, the texts to be examined accommodated lay people's needs for moral and spiritual instruction by critiquing and reforming people's dietary disciplines in times of change.

The dissertation also considers gendered aspects of moderation in eating and drinking. Feminist scholars have questioned the role of moderate consumption in reinforcing gender differences in modern culture. In their view, unrestrained appetites have long been considered inappropriate for women; female drinking practices have been expected to be moderate and abstention has been perceived as a feminine virtue.[1] The dissertation asks whether food practices were recognized as gender-specific in the Middle Ages and on what grounds moderation was recommended to medieval women, in particular in late Middle English conduct literature.

I. The Value of Dietary Moderation in Modern Culture

The concept of moderation has a complex relationship with food practices in modern culture, because dietary behaviors are strongly influenced by social norms regarding food intake and choice. According to food studies, perceptions of appropriate and healthy consumption are shaped by the dietary and culinary rules of groups and

[1] For discussions on moderation as a feminine virtue, see Patsy Staddon, *Women and Alcohol: Social Perspectives* (Bristol: Policy, 2015), esp. 34-6.

communities.[2] When the individual is uncertain about norms, but there are clear expectations about what and how much should be consumed, s/he is likely to conform to rules. However, if norms are ambiguous or not clearly communicated among group members, the individual's eating and drinking practices tend to be less restricted. To avoid excessive consumption of food and alcohol or to eat and drink in moderation is considered an important behavioral constraint in the social-normative model of eating and drinking, on the grounds that modern culture values self-control.[3] The social-normative model claims that people are inclined to restrain their desire to maximize food intake in the presence of other people.

On the other hand, it has been argued that norms of moderation have weakened in consumer culture. Critiques of consumerism maintain that moderation has lost its appeal in a marketplace of mass consumption where the promise of an ever-growing economy encourages more purchases, an upscale lifestyle, and indulgence in pleasure (Cohen 237). Yet the value of moderation has continued to be reevaluated and reaffirmed. Some sociological studies have stressed the necessity to intervene in the individual's eating habits and promote moderate consumption by raising individuals' awareness of behaviors that pose a health risk.[4] The *Dietary Guidelines for Americans* and other dietary manuals

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[2] Suzanne Higgs provides a broad review of the empirical literature on the relationship between social norms regarding eating and food choice and amount in "Social Norms and Their Influence on Eating Behaviours," *Appetite* 86 (2015): 38-44.

[3] The social-normative model of eating and drinking is discussed in Suzanne Higgs and Jason Thomas' "Social Influences on Eating," *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* 9 (2016):1-6, and Tullia Leone, Patricia Pliner, and C. Peter Herman's "Influence of Clear Versus Ambiguous Normative Information on Food Intake," *Appetite* 49.1 (2007): 58-65.

[4] For details, see Michel Jean Louis Walthouwer, et al., "Eating in Moderation and the Essential Role of Awareness: A Dutch Longitudinal Study Identifying Psychosocial Predictors," *Appetite* 87

such as *Nutrition* place an emphasis on balance and moderation. They encourage individuals to adopt the principle of "everything in moderation" in their food choices to prevent obesity and maintain a healthy diet.[5] Such unresolved oppositions between the ideal of the well-managed self and a "consuming passion" have been understood as a pathological characteristic of consumer culture, in that they induce contradictory bodily behaviors and the instabilities in the individual's constructed identity (Bordo 109).

Anti-consumerist rhetoric that establishes a dichotomy between the celebration and the censorship of consumption has been criticized for oversimplifying the individual's attitudes toward products and the process that yields meaning through consumption. Rejecting both overly negative and celebratory views of consumption, Umberto Eco argues that products are conceived of and consumed as "messages" which require continuous adjustments of the balance between passivity and critical thinking. Eco states that "all members of the community become, to some degree, consumers of an intensively produced and non-stop stream of messages which are generated industrially and transmitted through the appropriate commercial channels governed by the laws of supply and demand" (32). Robert Sassatelli concurs with Eco's point that consumption should be situated in its social context and considered as a meaningful sphere of action. He maintains that "to consume is not to abandon oneself to desire, but to accomplish some kind of value attribution, demonstrating a certain dose of self-discipline" (122-3).

(2015): 152-9.

[5] An example can be found in Maurice E Shils and Moshe Shike, *Modern Nutrition in Health and Disease* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2006), 1678-9; Paul M Insel, et al., *Nutrition* (Burlington, MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning, 2014), 345.

According to Sassatelli, moderation does not have to function as psychological Pressure, as anti-consumerists claim; instead, it enables consumers to interpret and control bodily behaviors.

II. The Significance of the Study

This dissertation lends much-needed historicity to consumer culture theories that investigate how consumers engage with the material and symbolic resources that markets generate.[6] The analysis of the late medieval refiguration of moderation in food practices that is presented in this dissertation sheds light on the complex dynamics that exist between consumption and ethics. In medieval culture, people were encouraged to consider consumption's moral and spiritual benefits and consequences. Market prosperity and the growth of commercialization in the later medieval period enabled medieval consumers not only to improve the quality of their diet and to make healthier food choices, but also to further examine the problems consumption poses for the fulfillment of personal needs. This dissertation illustrates the ethical aspects of consumption that underlay the discourse of moderation in late medieval England.

Moreover, the research testifies to a rich variety of ethical approaches to food consumption in medieval culture which have been overlooked by modern scholars of food. Stephen Mennell, for example, argues that the Church's teaching of moderation and gluttony was unlikely to be effective or to be internalized in medieval Europe, since the

[6] A review of consumer culture theories can be found in E. J. Arnould, "Consumer Culture Theory: Retrospect and Prospect," *European Advances in Consumer Research* 7.1 (2006): 605–607.

majority of the population suffered from the starvation and poverty caused by famine and plagues. Mennell states that "there is very little evidence of people having internalized the controls the rules embodied; few evidently felt any personal guilt or repugnance at breaking the rules" (29). In "A Short Introduction of Food Ethics", Hub Zwart also stresses the absence of the ethical practice of food moderation in the Middle Ages: "The ancient Greek morale of temperance, directed towards the 'right measure' – that is *askesis*, in the original sense of exercise – was replaced by 'asceticism' in the sense of excessive abstention" (118). According to Zwart, gluttony is the by-product of the ideology of asceticism and functions as a "counter-image" to ascetic abstinence.

This idea of an absolute dichotomy between gluttony and abstinence in medieval culture has become a scholarly truism. For instance, Jessica Warner argues that the concept of feminine temperance came into being in the early modern period based on the assumption that an emphasis on abstinence characterizes the idea of moderation (99). In Warner's account, women's drinking practices in the late medieval period were not condemned as indicators of gluttony because abstinence was not enforced. She argues that "the generations who survived the catastrophic plagues of the mid-fourteenth century allowed women access to alcohol because they could afford to do so and because abstinence was neither practiced nor advocated as a socially useful virtue" (100). On the other hand, in her recent study of taste, Laura Giannetti claims that the emphasis on self-restraint as a measure against gluttony in the medieval period made people less concerned with taste and pleasure in eating and drinking. In Gianetti's view, "a positive vision of taste" could not arise until the sixteenth century, when views of gluttony as a sin and the negative perception of taking pleasure in food and drink began to "decline" (289).

Giannetti's conclusion draws on common accounts of medieval food and food practices which often emphasize the importance of abstinence as the most effective remedy against gluttony and drunkenness propagated by the Church.[7]

The cultural significance of the practice of moderation in eating and drinking in the late medieval period has not been fully recognized because of a lack of research into the perception of moderation in relation to both religious and social practices in the late Middle Ages. The emphasis placed on plague- and famine-induced food insecurity's influence on food choices diminished the effects of teachings on moderation and the significance of medieval discussions of food ethics. Little attention has been paid to the appreciation of high-quality food or the efforts to rectify the unequal distribution of food and to improve levels of nutrition and hygiene standards. This is because it has generally been uncritically accepted that asceticism replaced the ancient Greek virtue of temperance in the Middle Ages. Medieval Christians were expected to renounce the pleasure of eating and drinking for the purity of the soul, rather than to exercise moderation for the improvement of individual and communal life. The observance of fasting and abstinence, therefore, has been considered to have been the most important practice for medieval people as a measure of self-discipline against the temptations of food.

This study contests such an absolute dichotomy between gluttony and abstinence. It provides literary evidence challenging the current scholarly perception of moderation as abstinence. It redefines the virtue of moderation in eating and drinking as a way to

[7] For an example, see Melitta Weiss Adamson's extensive survey in *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), 194.

address social and moral problems and to develop self-discipline. The cultural reception of dietary moderation in late medieval England should be understood by examining the complex relationship between social changes and the earlier moral tradition. In response to the growing societal need for the control and reform of appetite, the concept of self-discipline found in the earlier ascetic tradition continued to be questioned, renewed, and refigured.

III. The Moral Tradition of Moderation: Gregory the Great's *Morals on the Book of Job* and the *Book of Vices and Virtues*

Medieval moral philosophy explored the complexity of the gustatory desire to eat and drink more and better. [8] Gluttony appears in various shapes. It is generally discussed in terms of the five types of temptations defined by Gregory the Great: to eat and drink before the time of meal; to eat and drink beyond moderation, or too eagerly; to seek delicacies; to eat foods that require too much preparation. Furthermore, gluttony often accompanies other sins, because gluttonous individuals tend to adopt inappropriate or limited measures of moderation in other aspects of their lives as well. Immoderate eating and drinking practices were considered not only to damage the individual's physical and spiritual health, but also to threaten the material and moral well-being of the community.

[8] For the medieval definition of gluttony, particularly in late medieval literature, see William Ian Miller, "Gluttony," *Representations* 60 (1997): 92-112; Suzan Hill, "The Ooze of Gluttony: Attitudes towards Food, Eating and Excess in the Middle Ages," *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 57-72; and Virginia Langum, "Gluttony," *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins in Late Medieval Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 159-76.

Therefore, it became critical for the individual to develop the ability to distinguish the "right" ways of moderation from the "wrong" ways of moderation in order to recognize incorrect behaviors and promote a healthy communal lifestyle. This section discusses the moral tradition of moderation. After introducing the concept of moderation in late medieval thought, it considers how moderation was conceived of in the monastic and lay communities. Particular attention is paid to Gregory the Great's *Morals on the Book of Job* and the *Book of Vices and Virtues* in order to show how moderation was conceived of as requiring active consideration of appropriate standards of measure.

Moderation was conceived of as a contrary virtue to gluttony and sins of the tongue in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English didactic literature. Various words such as "methe", "skilywse", "mesure", "mesurable", "temperance", and "moderate" were created and used to distinguish between physiological needs and uncontrolled desires and actions. Such an expansion of the lexicon enriched the discourse of Aristotelian ideas of moderation in late medieval culture, as Carolyn Collette has pointed out (375-6). Late medieval English pastoral writings adopted Aristotle's application of the principle of the mean to virtues and vices to explicate socially acceptable forms of behavior and the adverse effects of bad conduct for vernacular audiences. For example, in *Handlying Synne*, "mesure" is defined as wisdom that maintains people's rationality and social status by preserving their reputation and wealth (6531-4).[9] Mannyng warns readers not to spend their resources too freely ("over mesure") to avoid the risk of succumbing to

[99] All references to *Handlying Synne* are taken from Robert Mannyng, *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS OS 119, 123 (New York: Karus Reprint, 1979).

gluttony, which leads to theft and blasphemy (6541-4). Gluttony fails to observe maintain psychical, social, and spiritual well-being. The *Lay Folks Catechism* also exhorts readers to follow "the lawe" which directs one's bodily needs and practices to "methe or methefulnes" and let it stop "fulle lykynge and luste of the flesche" (84-5).[10] As *Handlying Synne* teaches, gluttony in the *Lay Folks Catechism* not only refers to the failure to control one's excessive appetite, but also to the desire to satisfy the body's wants at any cost.

The idea of moderation was employed in the literature of pastoral care to measure gustatory desire. This is because appetite itself cannot be denied or fully embraced, but must be controlled. The difficulty of differentiating appetite from gluttonous desire was emphasized in late medieval English didactic literature as the necessity of eating and drinking was considered more seriously in scholastic thinking on moderation.[11] The view that the necessity and pleasure of eating and drinking in everyday life cannot be condemned was expected by Thomas Aquinas, who tried to distinguish venial sins from mortal sins in the discussion of gluttony. In the *Summa Theologiae*, Aquinas considers inordinate desire for food and drink as a venial sin if it does not "knowingly [exceed] his measure from

[10] All references to *Lay Folks Catechism* are taken from "John Gaytryge's Sermon," *Middle English Religious Prose,* ed. N. F. Blake (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1972).

[11] For scholastic discussions on moderation and a gradual relaxation of the rules of fasting, see Giles Constable, "Moderation and Restraint in Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages," *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought: Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeauneau*, ed. Haijo J. Westra (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 315-27; David Grumett and Rachel Muers, *Theology on the Menu: Asceticism, Meat and Christian Diet* (New York: Routledge, 2010), esp. Ch. 2.

desire for pleasure" (43:2a2a3, 148).[12] Aquinas' discussion underlines the reality that men ultimately cannot avoid the pleasure of satisfying hunger and thirst.

In *The Scale of Perfection*, Walter Hilton further articulates the difficulty of distinguishing the needs of the body from lust and the will for pleasure. Since gluttony is grounded in bodily needs, Hilton comments that it is only a venial sin that arises from "the delight and pleasure that come in the guise of this need"; therefore, for Hilton, gluttony is "the most excusable and least perilous of all sins" (144-6).[13] Not all authors were as restrained in their language as Hilton in describing gluttony's negative consequences, but the inevitability of unintentional sin was discussed. For instance, the *Parson's Tale* explains human frailty by including the discussion drunkenness as a venial sin: it acknowledges that people may get drunk due to ignorance, misjudgment or out of necessity (X 824).[14]

Middle English pastoral writings provided an account of the necessity of moderation and did not place abstinence and gluttony in absolute opposition. *A Form of Living* clearly illustrates this point. Richard Rolle places "temperance and discrecion in mete and drynk" between overindulgence and a lack of "skilwys sustinance for thi body"

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[12] All references to *Summa Theologiae* are taken from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae. Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*, vol. 43 (Cambridge: Blackfriars and McGraw Hill, 1964).

[13] All references to *The Scale of Perfection* are taken from Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, trans. John P. H. Clark, and Rosemary Dorward (New York: Paulist P, 1991).

[14] "but soothly, whan that a man is nat wont to strong drynke, and peraventure ne knoweth nat the strengthe of the drynke, or hath feblesse in his heed, or hath travailed, thurgh which he drynketh the moore, al be he sodeynly caught with drynke, it is no deedly synne, but venyal." A reference to the *Parson's Tale* is taken from *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 316.

(54).[15] Rolle discourages excessive asceticism, on the grounds that satisfying bodily needs is as important as avoiding excessive consumption. Another example can be found in *The Jacob's Well,* the fifteenth-century collection of sermons. It teaches that eating and drinking "wyth-outyn temperure & mesure" are sinful, but "moderate apetyȝt" or "delyȝt folwyng in þin etyng" is not (142; 146).[16] People are encouraged to learn how to balance austerity and indulgence. In this regard, pastoral teaching on gluttony and moderation aimed to induce people to examine their wills and intentions and use their discretion rather than simply suppressing the body's demands.

It is true that in a monastic context moderation and asceticism could not be clearly distinguished, because individual discretion had been encouraged in monastic discipline from the beginning and continued to be promoted to strengthen the community and its spiritual pursuits. As David Grumett and Rachel Muers have pointed out, the Rule of Benedict established and promulgated a principle of moderation in the monastic diet, emphasizing both regulation and flexibility (18). The individual's eating times and the quality of his food had been subject to regulation since John Cassian in *The Institutes* articulated the need for a monastic diet and the use of the canonical hours for eating to achieve moral integrity and spiritual perfection. Cassian argued that it is necessary to pay attention to the needs of the body in pursuing spiritual exercises, although it is more important to develop an attention that cannot be diverted by the necessary care of the

[15] A reference to *A Form of Living* is taken from *English Mystics of the Middle Ages*, ed. Barry Windeatt (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994).

[16] All reference to *Jacob's Well* is taken from *An English Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience*, ed. Arthur Brandeis, EETS os 115 (London: Oxford UP, 1900).

body.[17] Communal rules were thought to enable individual members to restrain an excessive desire for food and remain governed by discretion and the dictates of spiritual life. Cassian stresses the importance of "temperate eating habits" fostered by observing dietary rules and practices and encourages monks to achieve a sense of balance in their ascetic lives (121).

However, as Susan Hill has argued, the meaning of moderation and its relationship with gluttony were continuously "reformulated for the lay community" throughout the Middle Ages ('The ooze of gluttony' 66). This shift in meaning had been underway since Gregory the Great directed his attention towards lay Christian communities. Hill's analysis shows how Gregory changed the understanding of moderation from "ideas of the soul's purity or a definition of abstinence toward a rational approach to balancing necessity and desire" (*Eating to Excess* 142). Gregory instructs Christians to develop a sense of balance by paying moderate attention to bodily desires. Richard Newhauser has also noted Cassian's and Gregory's different views of the problem of temporal possessions and bodily temptations: Gregory's revision of Cassian's eightfold scheme of vices attends to "the needs of a broader reading public" (*The Early History of Greed* 101). For Cassian's elite audiences, temporal matters are described as unfortunate necessities from which the individual ultimately needs to be liberated to achieve spiritual perfection. On the other hand, Gregory's scheme of the seven capital vices makes pride the root of all evil and encourages lay audiences to gain control over

[17] "so that there is no longer any time wherein we may feel that we are being diverted from spiritual pursuits beyond that which compels us to descend to the necessary care of the body, on account of its fragility." See John Cassian, *The Institutes*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York: Newman), 125.

their natural appetites to achieve obedience to God and secular authorities. Gregory's teaching emphasizes the point that spiritual contemplation needs to be accompanied by public responsibility.

Yet it is challenging for lay people outside of monastic orders to exercise moderation by drawing a subtle distinction between the necessary care of the body and an excessive appetite. Gregory explains that "the measure of moderate refreshment" can easily be exceeded in the lay community.[18] In *Morals on the Book of Job*, Gregory discusses unstable inner states and increases people's awareness of how satisfying bodily needs easily turns into seeking pleasure: "pleasure so veils itself under necessity, that a perfect man can scarce discern it" (*Morals* 30.18.62, 407). Gregory claims that a man will continue indulging in food even after his hunger has been appeased if he fails to keep the force of desire in check. Appetite can deceive people into thinking that they need to eat more and better to nourish the body. Gregory convincingly shows how people fall prey to self-deception and the desire of their appetites because they willingly ignore the difficulty of differentiating between needs and desires: "whilst the mind flatters itself on the necessity, it is deceived by pleasure" (*Morals* 30.18.62, 407). Newhauser has observed that *Morals* urges people to recognize "vices masquerading as virtues" by "explicitly [awakening] the sinner's private feeling of guilt about a public act that was not at all intended as a sin" ("On Ambiguity" 10-11). The more keenly aware of the deceptive

[18] Cassian explains how gluttonous desire violates monastic rules in three ways: gluttony "urges the anticipation of the canonical hour for eating", "rejoices only in filling the belly to repletion with any food whatsoever", and "is delighted with more refined and delicate foods" than what can be available in the monastery. See Cassian, 131-32. Gregory adds two more modes to Cassian's list: how much money one expends on food and how one exceeds the measure of necessity. See Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, 30.18.60, trans. James Bliss, 407.

nature of bodily needs a person becomes, as Gregory puts it, "the more he chastises in himself the incentives of the flesh" (*Morals* 30.18.63, 408).

The practice of abstinence, however, does not always resolve the problem of intemperance. If the body is not adequately cared for, the abstemious become susceptible to pride. By using the imagery of nourishment, Gregory effectively admonishes those who practice strict fasting and fail to comply with the body's legitimate demands.

> For our vices become proud upon the same food, on which our virtues are nourished and live. And when a virtue is nourished, the strength of our vices is frequently increased. But when unbounded abstinence weakens the power of vices, our virtue also faints and pants (*Morals*, 30.18.63).

In effect, the attempt to eliminate bodily temptations feeds pride because there is no need to struggle against temptation. Gregory cautions against a sense of perfection or self-centered achievement, describing moderation as a continual fight in a constant quest for victory. In his view, it is better to keep striving to overcome the temptations of food under the guidance of the Church's teaching than to nourish pride by rejecting bodily needs.

In *Pastoral Care*, Gregory offers the pastor pragmatic advice on how to counsel the sinner to distinguish between meeting his or her needs and finding pleasure in food. The pastor is provided with scriptural passages which can be used to enlighten sinners about spiritual danger and foster a balanced understanding of food and drink. For example, those who pursue pleasure in food and drink need to remember that "meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats, but God shall destroy both it and them". On the other hand, those who practice abstinence of food need to understand that "not that which

goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but what cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man" [Matt. 15.11] (*Pastoral Care* 151).

Middle English pastoral manuals in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries embraced Gregory's idea of gluttony as corporeal temptation in general, which demands that people think carefully in order not to be deceived by desire disguised as necessity.[19] Observing regular fasts and eating at the designated time replaced monastic rules and were understood as necessary measures for controlling the individual's appetites and creating harmony in the community. Pastoral manuals explained that breaking the rules of fasting exposes people's uncontrollable appetites.[20] *Handlyng Synne* illustrates this

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[19] The new Episcopal legislation and policy regarding the role of confession in parish life issued after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 produced a large amount of pastoral literature aiming to regulate priests' behavior and promote the idealism of the priesthood to maintain their sacramental status. Vernacular penitential manuals had begun to play an important role for lay instruction in late medieval England. In 1357, the *Lay Folk's Catechism* was translated into English under a commission from Archbishop John Thoresby of York to disseminate basic knowledge of the faith and the sacrament of penance among secular clerics and lay people. Archbishop Thoresby believed that the dissemination of knowledge would resolve the discord between the priest and the parishioner, which was bred by the carelessness and ignorance of parish priests. The *Lay Folk's Catechism* was translated into a form of verse to accommodate lay people who were less educated. He ordered more frequent lay instruction to the curates – at least every Sunday – than Pecham's statue of 1281 required to eliminate all the clergy's excuses (Et ne quis super hiis per ignorantiam se valeat excusare, hae sub verbis planis et incultis, ut sic levius in publicam deducantur notita, fecimus annotare. C. 1. 26, p. 22). See John Thoresby and John Wycliffe*, Thomas Simmons and Henry Nolloth, The Lay Folks' Catechism, Or, the English and Latin Versions of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for the People: Together with a Wycliffite Adaptation of the Same and the Corresponding Canons of the Council of Lambeth,* eds. John Peckham, Thomas Frederick Simmons, Henry Edward Nolloth and John De Taystek, EETS OS 118 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1901), xi-xx. For the discussion of the relation between confessional practice and the catechetical teaching program of the English church, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Alters: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), 61.

[20] A warning against breaking the rules of fasting was usually included in pastoral writings in late medieval England. For example, *Fasciculus Morum* blames the lust of the palate and the desire for drinking on ignoring fast days and eating hours. *Fasciculus Morum*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel, 629. In the *Mirour de l'Omme*, the first daughter of gluttony is Voracity, who cannot fast because of hunger akin to what Eve felt after being tempted by the devil. In addition, treating the problem of drunkenness separately as the third daughter of gluttony, Gower particularly

lesson clearly. Robert Mannyng denounces eating and drinking too much "ouer mesure", proclaiming that gluttony is "cursed yn chyrch" (6541-52). "Holy cherche ys wroth" with people who willingly eat more because such "euyl custom" is an act of disobedience (6555-58). He also says that it is also "a grete folye" to get together for eating and drinking (6575-66). Mannyng criticizes people for forgetting that they disobey the Church's rules when they eat and drink beyond measure in company. By connecting disobedience with immoderate consumption of food and drink, Mannyng emphasizes that eating habits and social gatherings should be regulated by the Church. Another example can be found in Lavynham's *Litile Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*. Lavynham reorganizes Gregory's five manners of gluttony into four: "Gredynesse, Lustyhed, Surfet in etyng or drinkying and curye curyowshed" (20). "Gredynesse" refers to eating and drinking hastily and immoderately. The *Litile Tretys* stresses the importance of the Church's rules of fasting to overcome such greedy temperaments. Lavynham instructs people to consult with their pastors when they satisfy hunger in order to make a confession.

The *Book of Vices and Virtues*, a fourteenth-century Middle English translation of the *Somme le Roi*, further elaborates on the point that the individual's appetite needs to be controlled by the Church.[21] The author cautions against any groups that exist outside the

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condemns the clergy who indulge in wine, displaying how drunkenness hinders people from keeping to the rules of a monastery or chapel. See *Mirour de l'Omme*, trans. William Burton Wilson and rev. Nancy Wilson Van Baak, line 7765 and lines 8175-80.

[21] The *Somme le Roi* was a very popular penitential text in late Middle Ages. There are various Middle English translations and derivatives, including the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, the *Speculum vitae*, the *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman*, *The Mirroure of the Worlde*, and *The Ryal Book* translated by William Caxton in 1484. The *Somme le Roi* is technically not a manual designed to instruct pastors in how to administer the sacrament of

boundaries of Church rules, because the virtue of discretion is threatened by gluttonous desires to eat and drink. Gluttony includes any eating and drinking practices that deviate from ecclesiastical rules. Gluttonous desires make people scorn restrictions imposed by the Church and attract other people to follow their new codes. The *Book of Vices and Virtues* accuses such recalcitrant groups or people of vainglory:

> þei seyn þei mowe not faste, but þei lyen, for þe little loue þat þei han to God makeþ hem to seye so; for ȝif þei loueden God as wel as þei doþ þe vayn glorie of þis world – as whan þei fasteþ for gret worldely besynesse þat þey beþ ynne for profiȝt or worschippe, som tyme in-to derke nyȝt – þei ne wolde not grucche to fast a day til noon for God, ȝif þei luede hym so moche (48-9).[22]

The *Book* argues that when people do not follow the rules, they claim that it is for the love of God. Their failure to fulfill the religious duty of fasting, however, undermines their claims to honesty and integrity and thereby exposes vainglory.[23] Abstinence from food *ad arbitrium* also serves to increase the vanity of people who believe that excessive

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confession, although it includes catechetical materials. It was composed by Friar Laurent of Bois in vernacular French. See Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1993), 141-42. The text of the *Somme le Roi* has recently been edited: Friar Laurent, *La Somme le roi*, ed. Édith Brayer and Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français; Abbeville: F. Paillart, 2008).

[22] All citations are taken from *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme Le Roi of Lorens d'Orléans*, ed. Nelson Francis, EETS OS 217 (New York: Oxford UP, 1968).

[23] Vainglory is the fifth branch of the sin of pride in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*. It refers to people's desire to be praised for who they are or the thing they have or want to have. This is said to be a foolish desire, because it is God who should be worshipped. Men are required to be grateful for what God provides. See *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, 19.

devotion makes them worthy of a reputation for sanctity.[24] The *Book of Vices and Virtues* renders unregulated eating and fasting practices ineffective and unreliable. It is difficult to overcome bodily temptations without controlling private desires. People are encouraged to comply with the institutionalized rules to maintain a communal sense of the proper times for eating and fasting.

However, the *Book of Vices and Virtues* prompts readers not only to fulfill their obligation to the Church, but also to adopt specific techniques for self-discipline. It demands obedience to ecclesiastical rules to promote a sense of community instead of condemning the individual's appetite. Moreover, moderation cannot be easily achieved by simply observing existing regulations. Concerns about the individual's discretion in eating and drinking are amplified in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, in which the devil, instead of the pastor, equipped with exegetical skills, attempts to suppress the individual's discretionary abilities. The *Book of Vices and Virtues* teaches that the penitent should be familiar with how the devil uses various ingenious arguments to persuade people to sin. The devil may argue that if one does not eat as much as others do, one may be considered a hypocrite. When one attempts to fast, the devil may remind one of the importance of bodily health to sustain life. In the example provided, the devil even quotes a scriptural passage and distorts its meaning to justify the desire to eat (51).[25] Rather than simply

[24] In its discussion of abstinence and soberness, the contrary virtues of gluttony, the *Fasciculus Morum* also stresses the importance of moderation in fasting. The author advises the penitent to be subject to the judgment of a priest on penance. Bernard's quote on moderation is cited: "A person who mortifies his body without moderation, that is, by depriving himself of food (add: which he needs) or sleep, makes a burnt offering from stolen goods." See *Fasciculus Morum*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel, 641.

[25] The devil uses the story of David in Samuel 21: "Or he seiþ, 'Loke what good þou dost or myt do. þou etest nouȝt for delit of þi body, but for to serue God þe betere; þou schalt kepe þi strengþe

relying on spiritual instruction given by the pastor, the illustration of the devil's tricks enables the penitent to be keenly aware of and to mediate the difficulty of differentiating the body's natural appetites for food and drink from its gluttonous appetites.

According to the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, gluttony is not only a problem of exceeding the measure of moderation, as Gregory states, but also a problem of adopting the wrong standards of measure. The *Book* states that the individual would be well advised to determine the correct measures by contemplating various modes of eating and drinking in the community. The concept of "mesure" becomes important in characterizing gluttony in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, underlining the malleable nature of the measure of moderation. According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, the word "mesure" had a wide range of meanings: it could refer to measuring tools or the action of measuring; to moderate practices or to balanced distributions.[26] The *Book of Vices and Virtues* effectively employs a metaphor of measurement to interpret the term "wiþ-out mesure" in an interesting way. The following eight examples are provided in the *Book* to elaborate on this point. When people live as the body demands or live for merrymaking, there is no consistent measure that quantifies their appetites. If people succumb to greed or hypocrisy, they hold double standards that contradict each other. Covetousness does

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to serue God; þat Dauid seiþ." The devil's speech distorts the meaning of Luke 6.3-5, in which Jesus defends his disciples' eating grains on the Sabbath from the Pharisees' accusations by citing the biblical story of David's eating consecrated bread.

[26] According to the *MED*, "mesure" has nine different meanings: 1) the action of measuring or reckoning; 2) an instrument or vessel used for measuring quantity; 3) the size of objects, spaces, etc.; 4) the measurable amount or quantity of things; 5) the value of something; 6) the capacity of a bodily organ; 7) proper proportion, balance; 8) moderation in food, drink, spending, etc.; and 9) a rhythmic pattern or mode in music.

not allow people to satisfy their appetites, even though gluttony keeps asking for more food; hypocrisy suppress people's desire to eat in public, but releases them from moral obligations when they eat in private and leads them to eat more.

The *Book of Vices and Virtues* introduces different kinds of measures. Medical knowledge functions as a measure that determines what to eat for physical health. Reason functions as a measure that makes people practice good table manners in the community. Contrition for sin functions as a measure that causes people to abstain from meat and other food; and the love of God functions as a measure that leads people to live a spiritual life. These measures certainly affect eating practices, but they do more than that: they control all aspects of living. Therefore, through the observation of these different modes of life, moderation can be learned: "who-so wole learn þat mesure, he mot wite þat þer beþ now many manere of lyuynges in þe world" (50). This statement implies that eating habits are deeply embedded in the ways people live. Immoderate eating and drinking are part of immoderate patterns of living. The idea of "mesure" allows the *Book* to expand the concept of gluttony beyond eating practices alone. The discussion of gluttony draws a broad distinction between moderation and its opposition.

Therefore, it becomes critical to distinguish "right measures" from "wrong measures". The metaphor of measurement is used to show how moderation can take different forms. People maintain different standards of measure and allow them to control their lives. However, not all of the standards of measure are equally recommendable or bring about the virtue of sobriety, which is an embodiment of moderation. The *Book* explains each measure with qualifications. Those who live for the love of God serve the Holy Spirit as their master, and it is the Holy Spirit who controls all their faculties. Their

behavior and speech are guided by the Holy Spirit's teaching. Those who are brought to realize their sin do penance. Reason leads people to live honest lives in the world: using reason as a guide, people always eat at a designated time and in the right manner. However, if people attach importance to medical advice, they eat and drink as prescribed by a physician, since their survival depends on Hippocrates' knowledge. However, such knowledge is limited (it is called "litle and stre3t", 51), and these limitations may bring about a lack of moderation or even death. Hypocrisy seems to suppress the body's gluttonous appetites, but only in public, not in private; therefore, it is "not ri3t mesure" (50). The measure of covetousness is contrary to the measure of gluttony: the former is "wreeched, strei3t, an scars", and the latter is "grete and large" (50). In this case, people eat using others' resources, trying not to spend their own money. Bodily needs and merrymaking make people act irrationally and live carelessly. When the body and evil company are in control of what people eat and drink, there is "no mesure" (50). In short, the distinction between moderation and its opposite relies on the objects by which people are governed. By observing these different modes of life, moderation can be learned.

The *Book of Vices and Virtues* is an exemplary illustration of how Middle English pastoral writings acknowledged and cultivated the individual's sense of discretion and ability to create his or her own theology of consumption for the community. It exhorts readers to reflect on whether they have a consistent measure to quantify their appetites and to avoid unsatisfactory or double standards of measure. Not all measurement techniques generate "right" moderation. Moderation, therefore, does not simply amount to avoiding excessive consumption or suppressing one's appetite by abiding by rules, but actively seeking adequate ways of measuring desire in the community. The *Book of Vices*

and Virtues shows that pastoral teaching in late medieval England actively engaged people in examining their eating and drinking habits and encouraged the individual to develop self-awareness and communal knowledge to distinguish between correct and incorrect ways of moderation in a way that went beyond reliance on the ecclesiastical rules of fasting and abstinence.

IV. Social Changes after the Black Death and Literary Responses

Medieval historians have documented that consumption patterns changed dramatically in late medieval England. Changes in the consumption of food and drink had a marked effect on the production of food and the agrarian economy.[27] Christopher Dyer notes the significant developments of the commercial economy that took place slowly and gradually in England after 1350 (3). Markets multiplied as the population and towns grew in the thirteenth century. Grain production and trade volumes increased. However, the Great Famine of 1315-17 and the plagues, especially the Black Death of 1348-9, led to a catastrophic decline of the population in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Grain and meat prices dropped. A labor shortage resulted in a decrease in land prices and rent, a

[27] Further discussion of the late medieval economy can be found in Kathleen Biddick, "The Link That Separates: Consumption of Pastoral Resources on A Feudal Estate," *The Social Economy of Consumption*, eds. Henry Rutz and Benjamin Orlove (Lanham: UP of America, 1989), 121-48; Maryanne Kowaleski, "A Consumer Economy," *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, eds. Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 238-59; Christopher Dyer, *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 128-172; and Derek Keene, "Medieval London and its Supply Hinterlands," *Regional Environmental Change* 12.2 (2012): 263-81. There. See R. C. Richardson, and William Henry Chaloner, *British Economic and Social History: A Bibliographical Guide* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996), 28-48.

rise in wages, and shifts in trade. While traditional landlords suffered from the loss of income, wage-earners enjoyed high individual incomes and relatively wealthy peasants gained larger holdings. Specialization in production enabled peasants to grow crops and animals according to the needs of the market. Merchants and urban artisans continued to earn profits from exporting, importing or manufacturing goods for customers who were able to obtain large holdings and high wages. People began to spend more money on food and drink. More meat, fresh fish, white bread, and ale were consumed. The demand for high-quality food and other goods reflected a change in food and drink consumption patterns.

The difficulty of distinguishing basic appetite from gluttonous desire came to the fore in literature when people's eating habits started to change. In *The Former Ages*, Chaucer contrasts the present to the past, when people were content with what they could get from the fields and did not indulge in the new kinds of food to which they could now gain access. The comparison enables Chaucer to evaluate the present situation: people used to "eete nat half y-nough" and maintain moderation, but not anymore (11). The portrait of a poor widow's eating and drinking habits in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* reflects such an idealized past. Although it is not clear whether she had a choice in this matter, the *Nun's Priest's Tale* praises her contentment with a simple diet without "poynaunt sauce" or "deyntee morsel" (VII 2834-5).

In *Confessio Amantis* Gower focuses on the two sins of drunkenness and delicacy in his discussion of gluttony. The discussions of these two sins show that wine and expensive food such as paindemain no longer exclusively belonged to the aristocracy, but had become accessible to other classes. An appetite for wines and delicacies should be

carefully examined, he claimed, when people cannot forsake material wealth and refuse to be bound by abstinence (VI 632-4).

The idea of moderation related to the growing market trade expressed in late medieval moral discourse has recently received renewed attention from scholars. Diana Wood explores how the Aristotelian ideas of the mean, moderation, and balance were adopted, developed, and modified by medieval theologians and writers to account for socio-economic changes and to justify mercantile values from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. In such discourses, the virtue of moderation was more often associated with the sin of avarice than the sin of gluttony. Wood states that "The attitude of the scholastics to wealth and avarice had underlined the need for control and moderation. Avarice was the vice of immoderation, of unbounded appetite" (53). Avarice was identified with deceitful measuring and excess appetite because it acquired the material necessary for corporeal pleasure and thus was understood as requiring moderation in the same way that gluttony did. James Davies observes that the sin of avarice was consistently attributed to market traders' activities of making money and accumulating wealth, while moderation was encouraged (52-3).

Moderation served to reconcile the mercantile way of life with the principle of charity promoted by the Church and thereby regulate it. It was thought that if the members of the merchant and artisan class contributed to the prosperity of the community by distributing their material gains through charitable acts, then mercantile activity could be justified. The discourse of moderation underlay the debate on how to interpret the quality of charity as an act of justice and mercy opposed to avarice.

The principle of moderation as it related to a healthy communal lifestyle attracted attention from secular authorities. Carole Rawcliffe argues that the government in late medieval England tried to integrate the Church's teaching of moderation into its policy to regulate the individual practice of eating and drinking for the community's well-being. She states that "the provision of adequate as well as wholesome food at prices that ordinary men and women could afford was essential for the survival and proper function of the entire community, it being the task of magistrates to maintain careful balance between deprivation and gluttony" (231). Gluttony was considered to be criminal negligence, an act of injustice and attenuated almsgiving, rather than individual carelessness.

Moderation, on the other hand, called for a reexamination of the current idea of poverty and the value of charity. With the growth of the urban population, the number of the "new" poor, such as low-paid workers and the unemployed, increased in fourteenth-century England, and attitudes toward poverty also changed.[28] The presence of the able-bodied poor was disturbing. It questioned the ideals of voluntary poverty and charity and promoted the virtue of moderation. The debate regarding the Franciscan principle of absolute poverty continued and the anti-mendicant movement appeared. For example, John Trevisa's translation of Richard FitzRalph's sermon "Defensio Curatorum" in 1357

[28] A discussion of the change in attitudes toward the problem of poverty and the poor is presented in David Aers, "*Piers Plowman* and Problems in the Perception of Poverty: A Culture in Transition," *Leeds Studies in English* 14 (1983): 5-25; Derek Pearsall, "Poverty and Poor People in Piers Plowman," *Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane*, eds. Edward Donald Kennedy, Ronald Waldron, and Joseph S. Wittig (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988), 167-85; and Dinah Hazell, *Poverty in Late Middle English Literature: The Meene and the Riche* (Dublin: Four Courts P, 2009), 187-212.

raises a strong objection to religious poverty and professional beggars on the grounds that no man should beg without need. FitzRalph argues that If priests were in need, they could not live in moderation (60). He emphasizes the Church's responsibility to provide priests with sufficient food and clothes, because no man can hold the office without them (60). Professional beggars were criticized by FitzRalph for their gluttonous behavior, such as entering a house and consuming good food, which contrasted with the behavior of the traditional poor, who would beg at the gate (90-2).

In *Piers Plowman*, beggars are similarly portrayed.[29] In the vision of the fair field, Will sees beggars who fill both their bellies and bags successfully by begging under false pretenses (Prologue 40-3). The beggars in Will's vision do not seem to suffer from hunger and poverty, since they are able to consume as much as they want without diminishing their possessions. Langland depicts such people who practice alms-begging in order to satisfy their appetites for food and money as false beggars and condemns them for their gluttony. Begging enabled them not only to gratify their desire to eat and drink, but also to not waste their money. Moderation was demanded not only of prosperous artisans and merchants, but also of the able-bodied poor. These individuals seemed to

[29] Wendy Scase finds a connection between FitzRalph's reinterpretation of Franciscan poverty and Langland's praise of poverty in *Piers Plowman*. Scase argues that FitzRalph and Langland addressed "the fundamental questions of the nature and degree of the poverty of Christ and the apostles" and attempted to "develop a new anticlerical polemic". Wendy Scase, *Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism*, 54. Lawrence Clopper agrees with Scase's point that FitzRalph's writing and *Piers Plowman* seek a better understanding of the Franciscan idea of Christ's poverty. Clopper explains that Langland's use of the phrase "perfect poverty" is historical and closer to an ideal of absolute poverty in the Franciscan past than John Trevisa's translation of FitzRalph's word "spontanée" into "willful poverty", which was commonly used to refer to mendicant poverty in contemporary reformist and other writings in England. See Lawrence Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse*, 327-28.

seek better food choices and an urban lifestyle to the neglect of labor or religious duties, thereby challenging previously accepted ideas of who is poor.

It is worth noting that the importance of moderation was often emphasized less than the duty of charity in pastoral teaching, which generally associated avarice with rich people and their gluttonous behaviors. For example, the early fourteenth-century penitential manual *Handlying Synne* concludes its discussion on the vice of eating overly fine foods by stating that charity is the remedy for gluttony: "For who so ȝyueþ curtysly, // Hyt fordoþe þe synne of glotonye" (7075-76). To deliver this lesson, *Handlying Synne* uses the narrative of Lazarus and the rich man and two other tales ("The Tale of St. John the Almoner" and "The Tale of Bishop Troylus").[30] The rich man in the story is guilty of gluttony as well as avarice.[31] He craves fine food with no regard for Lazarus, who begs for just a morsel of bread. Mannyng exhorts rich people to learn a lesson from the story: they should remember the poor when they eat, since God will pass "euene Iugement" in the end according to the extent to which people have desired food (6743-52). The narrative of Lazarus exemplifies the point that wealth leads the rich man to gluttony, while the poor man is hardly able to feed himself. Mannyng even blames rich people for

[30] The narrative of Lazarus and the rich man was often used to describe the sin of avarice in Middle Ages. For example, *The Book of Vices and Virtues* deals with the example of Lazarus and the rich man and the story of St John the Almoner in its exposition of mercy and the contrary virtue of avarice (see *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. Nelson Francis, 194-97.) Lester Little notes that the story of Lazarus is engraved on the porch of the monastic church at Mossac to remind people of the danger of money. For a short discussion of the story of Lazarus and the sin of avarice, see Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1978), 36-37.

[31] The rich man confesses the two sins when he pleads with Abraham to send Lazarus or other prophets to his relatives, since they, like him, need to turn away from both sins. See Mannyng, *Handlying Synne*, lines 6693-97.

the poor person's crime of food theft: the rich man "hadde so moche pyne . . . þat many pore men pyle and bete" (6797-01). In fact, the rich man who robs the poor of "þat þey shulde by lyue" is said to be guilty of avarice (6818). The other two narratives serve to emphasize the importance of alms-giving.

In *Piers Plowman*, however, moderation is required for all community members, because the poor as well as the rich need to remain alert to gastronomic temptations when economic growth and the market system alter the individual's financial situation. By personifying Hunger as a form of dietary discipline, Langland illustrates the necessity of keeping regular eating hours and observing fasting so as not to commit gluttony. In passus VI Piers encounters Wastour, which represents those who refuses to work with him but also does not care about meal times. Eating habits give Piers a standard by which to distinguish the "deserving poor" from false beggars: anchorites and hermits who "eten but at nones / And na moore er morwe" will receive Piers' alms because "it is unresonable Religion that hath right noght of certein" (VI 145-45; 151). Piers understands that the bodily needs of ascetics should not be ignored, but their unregulated eating habits are conceived of as a sign of gluttony.

When Piers finally calls on Hunger to deal with the problem of Wastour, Hunger's guidelines for healthy eating extend across the distinction between the lay and monastic lives, since Piers realizes that he, like the wasters, is also vulnerable to physical temptations (VI 255-56). Piers cannot escape from what his body asks for, thereby calling for a measure of his need. Through Piers' demand for "medicine" for the illness of gluttony, Hunger explains how to distinguish need from greed by presenting certain dietary rules for all community members.

"I woot wel,' quod Hunger, "what siknesse yow eyleth;

Ye han manged over muche--that maketh yow grone.

Ac I hote thee,' quod Hunger, "as thow thyn hele wilnest,

That thow drynke no day er thow dyne somwhat.

Ete noght, I hote thee, er hunger thee take

And sende thee of his sauce to savore with thi lippes;

And keep som til soper tyme and sitte noght to longe;

Arys up er appetit have eten his fille. (VI 257-63)

Hunger's speech demonstrates that gluttonous appetite cannot be moderated without common sense regarding proper times to eat and appropriate amounts of food and drink. Hunger depicts the existing guidelines as being voluntary in *Piers Plowman*, because it is not the authority of the Church but the individual's sense of hunger that exerts control over bodily appetites. Rules are construed as useful tools to help the individual maintain a sense of hunger. If hunger is forced due to unavoidable natural disasters like plagues or famines, the rules seem superfluous. Nonetheless, hunger is likely to be dealt with differently according to the individual's physical, economic, and moral conditions. Piers cannot afford expensive food, but he is content with what he can get by working hard. Consequently, Piers is able to control his appetite for eating, instead of trying to satisfy his desire for better food (VI 280). Piers' agenda for personalized dietary disciplines, however, fails to come to fruition, because people are not convinced of its applicability to the changing environment.

V. Overview of My Work

This dissertation is comprised primarily of literary close readings that aim to flesh out why and how the idea of moderation was employed, examined, and its practice encouraged. Four chapters are tied to a specific text or set of texts.

Chapter 2: "'mesure is so muche worth': Advocacy for Moderation and Sustainable Community Development in *Piers Plowman*." This chapter explores how Langland's *Piers Plowman* promotes the virtue of moderation as a remedy for the problem of food distribution caused by the changing economy and altered consumption patterns. Langland seeks an alternative remedy for moral problems caused by a gluttonous appetite and material gains. I focus on the penitential dialogue between Patience, a clerical figure, and Hawkyn, a baker. Instead of a complete renunciation of material possessions, Patience demands food discipline based on the fine discernment between need and greed, both from the rich and the poor, because charity is not an optimal solution to the problem of the poor and the inadequate distribution of food. Moderate consumption becomes a moral obligation to develop sustainable lifestyles and community so that no one suffers from food shortage and lack of charity.

Chapter 3: "'He wolde been the moore measurable': The Suspicious Rhetorical Emphasis on Moderation in the *Pardoner's Prologue and Tale* and the *Summoner's Tale*." This chapter focuses on Chaucer's satirical portrait of clerical speech, demonstrating how he challenges a narrow understanding of moderation in traditional ascetic practices that fails to account for clerical abuse of the rhetoric of moderation in ostentatious displays of spiritual authority. Critics have been interested in how Chaucer exposes clerical hypocrisy

in these two tales. However, less attention has been paid to the Pardoner's and Friar John's attempt to cover up their appetite or avoid the suspicion of moral failure. Despite the lingering suspicion of gluttony, both figures are allowed to preach because of their confidence in pastoral rhetoric. They try to avoid the accusation of gluttony by replacing the practice of moderation with the teaching of moderation, thus attempting to affirm their clerical discretion and superiority. Chaucer encourages his lay audience to uncover a cleric's hidden desire in the discrepancy between his speech and behavior.

Chapter 4: "'Voide away al surfete & excesse': Moderation and Social Practice in Fifteenth-Century English Courtesy Texts." This chapter queries the complex relationship between the practice of abstinence and the doctrine of moderation by comparing and contrasting pastoral and conduct literature. Conduct literature adopted the idea of moderation from pastoral literature as social skills to adjust the individual's appetite to preserve and improve his or her well-being, social standing, and even pious life. The chapter focuses on Lydgate's *Dietary* to illustrate how moderation was imagined as social practice in medieval conduct literature. Abstinence began to be conceived as a traditional model of self-restraint and an emphasis on spiritual reward receded. Instead, readers are advised to be carefully attuned to a natural appetite, a sense of discretion to navigate healthier food choices and improve social well-being and the quality of life.

Chapter 5: "'As ye love mete and drynke': Women's Capacity for Self-Discipline in Late Medieval Conduct Books." This chapter compares how women are taught abstinence and dietary moderation in conduct literature written for them (such as William Caxton's English translation of *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, written by Geoffrey de la Tour Landry in 1371-72 for his daughters, and Middle English mother-daughter

advice poems of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century) to how men are advised to instruct their wives and daughters on abstinence in treatises on governance composed for princes (such as John Trevisa's Middle English translation of *De Regimine Principum* by Giles of Rome and Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*). In conduct writings for women, women readers were assumed to be capable of performing dietary self-control to improve quality of social and religious life. In particular, the moral precept included in Elizabeth Scrope's Book of Hours illustrates that conduct advice did not limit the woman reader's capacity to appreciate quality food and drink. Instead of rejecting or subduing appetite, this precept inspires readers to achieve moderation and spiritual growth by embracing both the practice of abstinence and an appreciation of food and drink.

CHAPTER 2

"MESURE IS SO MUCHE WORTH": ADVOCACY FOR MODERATION AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN *PIERS PLOWMAN*

In passus XIV of *Piers Plowman*, despite Haukyn's sneer at Patience's praise of spiritual food over earthly food, the narrator/dreamer Will desires to know what food Patience is able to offer to all creatures to sufficiently feed them (48).[32] Patience explicates the contribution of his spiritual food, *fiat voluntas tua* ("Thy will be done"), the third petition of the *Pater Noster* in making humankind less concerned about earthly food, and hence less concerned about physical suffering, hunger and physical labor. Patience gives examples of the Israelite people who could sustain their lives in the wilderness without plowing, and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus who could even survive without food when they were walled up in a cave to escape from the persecution of the Emperor Decius (63-70). But the issue is not survival. Patience tells the Dreamer that "the shorter lif the bettre," if you live according to God's word (60).[33] It is not a lack of earthly food that degrades the quality of life, but too much concern for it. The problem of a food shortage cannot be solved by more supply, but by "mesure": "And if men lyvede as mesure wolde,

[32] All references of *Piers Plowman* are to A. V. C. Schmdit's second edition of *Piers Plowman* B text: *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Complete Edition of the B-Text* (London: Everyman, 1995).

[33] John Alford explains that Patience's discussion of spiritual solicitude can be linked with Luke 14.15: "Only those will eat bread in heaven who do will of God." *Fiat voluntas tua* illustrates that Patience is identified with the will of God. Langland's association of passages follows the commentary tradition. See John A. Alford, "The Role of Quotations in *Piers Plowman*," *Speculum* 52.1 (1977): 80-99.

sholde nevere moore be defaute // Amonges Cristene creatures, if Cristes wordes ben trewe" (XIV 70-1).[34]

This chapter focuses on passus XIV of *Piers Plowman*, in which Patience introduces moderation as a complementary virtue to his spiritual food, *fiat voluntas tua*, and stresses the importance of moderation in tackling various problems related to eating and drinking. The chapter examines the significance of moderation to the balanced food distribution and sustainable community development discussed in passus XIV by comparing Patience's discussion of moderation with fourteenth-century Middle English pastoral writings on moderation. I begin with an explanation of why Patience's emphasis of moderation has not yet received much attention from critics, and go on to argue that Langland employs and transcends a schematic analysis of moral ideas. By connecting *fiat voluntas tua*, which was often linked with charity, with moderation, Langland explores the importance of food discipline in facilitating charitable behavior when people try to improve their diet and lifestyle. Patience offers spiritual food that reorients the attitudes and values associated with food by demanding fine discernment between need and greed. The chapter continues by discussing how Langland asserts the social obligation of moderate consumption by reworking pastoral discourse on vices and virtues. Moderation requires eating and drinking habits to be examined and evaluated when the community

[34] The meaning of "defaute" possibly indicates moral problems as well as economic problems. The *Medieval English Dictionary* offers four different meanings of "defaute:" "insufficiency," "a defect," "an offence or a sin," and "responsibility for fault." *Piers Plowman* displays these different meanings of the word. In passus VII, "defaute" means a famine Jacob and his family faced. In passus V, the word is used to describe how friars are trying to find fault with parsons. In passus XI, Scripture approves Lewte's teaching that we should not blame other people's misbehaviors because it is better to be sorry for them. See *Piers Plowman*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt, line 163 in passus VII, line 144 in passus V, and lines 103-04 in passus XI.

encounters a problem of ineffective and inequitable distribution of food. Without food discipline, a surplus of supplies does not necessarily yield self-sufficiency, nor feed all members of the community sustainably. The latter part of the chapter analyzes a discussion about the meaning of "patient poverty" between Patience and Haukyn. I argue that patient poverty embodies moderation, encouraging readers not only to develop a sense of self-control but also to envision a sustainable community. Langland offers a penitential dialogue between a clerical figure and a baker as a way of recognizing and interpreting the effects of greedy consumption on the community and implementing better behavior.

I. *Fiat voluntas tua* and Moderation

The discussion of the virtue of moderation in passus XIV has not received sufficient attention. Critics have missed nuanced insights into the problem of solicitude for bodily necessities in Patience's speech. For instance, John Alford argues that any doubt about God's provision is discouraged in Patience's speech to Haukyn.[35] Concurring with the idea that Patience promotes unconditional absence of solicitude, Lawrence Clopper argues further that Patience represents the Franciscan ideal, an absolute

[35] Alford examines the influence of John Chrysostom's three-fold distinction of solicitude: "the first is for our spiritual needs and is commended; the second is for the necessities of our life and is allowed; the third is for superfluity and is condemned." Patience elaborates the second kind of solicitude, according to Alford, by emphasizing the point that people should not concern themselves about material needs, if they have faith in God who provides enough. See more Alford 94-5. Alford uses Hugo de Sancto Charo's comment on Crysostom's idea. See Hugo de Sancto Charo, *Opera Omnia in Universum Vetus & Novum Testamentum: Tomi Octo* (Lvgdvni & Barbier: Hvgvetan, 1669), 6.26 (col.1).

renunciation of worldly goods and the life of charity, which Langland supports: "Patience clearly offers the call for Haukyn to give up his labor in order to live 'rechelesli'" (245). The discussion of voluntary poverty and theological virtue has overshadowed Patience's advocacy of moderation. E. M. Orsten remarks that Patience speaks in favor of poverty and encourages Haukyn to embrace it since Patience's words about the life of moderation "have no immediate effect on Haukyn," who "needs to repent of all his excesses, and appears unable to exercise due restraint in the use of worldly goods" (324-5). David Aers elaborates on the point that Patience idealizes voluntary poverty and asserts its charitable value to reinforce the traditional idea of community, which disapproves of the work ethos Haukyn embodies (*Community, Gender, and Individual Identity* 59-60).

Critics has emphasized the antithesis between Patience's exhortation for voluntary poverty and Haukyn's intense involvement in commercial activities, interpreting Patience's spiritual food as an allegory of material poverty. Nicholas Watson, for example, argues that Patience's teaching on *fiat voluntas tua* places a premium on "the absolute and willing renunciation of worldly goods and cares" to attain spiritual perfection, which moves one away from service to community, productive physical work, and "the social complexities of late-fourteenth-century lay life with its richly varied modes of winning one's livelihood" (103-4). According to Watson, Haukyn cannot cooperate with Patience's "spiritual elitism," which remains an inadequate response to the ethos of the lay merchant group Haukyn represents (112). Watson concludes that Langland ultimately resists and critiques Patience's "intimate conceptual and institutional link with two other concepts, poverty and perfection" (100). Aers has also expressed dissatisfaction with Patience's "liflode" because Haukyn's labor for the community's

material needs cannot be easily disregarded: like Rechelesnesse's, Patience's teaching "involves allegorizing the *fyndynge* into spiritual food so as to displace the need for Actyf's labor and invoke saints whose bodily needs were met by divine miracles" (*Sanctifying Signs* 134).[36] However, Patience's emphasis on moderation has not been completely dismissed. A. V. C. Schmidt has argued that Patience's teaching affirms "the socially transformative potential of a sincere lay effort" by describing his "liflode" using the idea of moderation, reflecting Langland's concern for the problems of social and economic justice in his community (232). In Schmidt's view, Patience's ultimate goal is to achieve the repentance of Haukyn, "the active provider of man's food," which will lead him to fast, do penance, and persevere (231). Wendy Scase agrees with the view that Patience's example of Christ aims to urge alms giving, not the renunciation of labor, contending that Patience's interpretation of *Ne solicitii sitis* "[indicates] uncertainty over the best strategy with the solicitude argument" because it can be read as an admonition against "excessive solicitude" by those who own property (63). In line with the claims that Patience's teaching on poverty offers moderation as the key to the good life for lay people, my analysis of Passus XIV provides a fuller account of the relationship between Patience's spiritual food, *fiat voluntas tua* and the idea of moderation in late fourteenth-century moral discourse on vices and virtue. I argue that through Patience's advocacy of moderation, Langland addresses the problem of food distribution caused by failing to distinguish need and greed.

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[36] Aers suggests that Langland added the description of Patience's dependency on Actyf's material labor to the C text (XV 35), thereby rendering Patience's exempla of God's miraculous provision less appealing. See David Aers, *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: U of Notre Dame P, 2004), 126.

There have been attempts to give an account of the pastoral tradition of the *Pater Noster* to get a sense of Patience's invocation of *fiat voluntas tua* in passus XIV (96). Vincent Gillespie claims that Patience's teaching aims to transform Will's devotion to the prayer; it points to the need to change "from abstract and idealistic advocacy of the merits of the *Pater Noster* to a kynde knowynge of its efficacy" (88). Lorraine Kochanske Stock also argues that Langland more clearly shows in his final revision of *Piers Plowman* that Will's misunderstanding of the *Pater Noster* invites correction by Patience by adding in passus V in the C-text the scene where Will is chided by Reason for his use of the petition to justify his slothful life (461-62). Stock's and Gillespie's searches for medieval commentary on the *Pater Noster* to explain the meaning of Patience's quotation of *fiat voluntas tua*, however, demand further examination (96). Although she acknowledges a complex chain of interrelation between the petitions and sins, Stock does not fully expound on the association of *fiat voluntas tua* with the fourth petition, *panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie,* as the remedy for Will's ruling sin, sloth (469-70). It is also not clear why Gillespie explains away other commentary traditions by linking *fiat voluntas tua* with the sins of wrath and envy, which are "more applicable to Haukyn than the other deadly sins" (98). In his analysis, the "manye moles and spottes" in Haukyn's coat indicate the sins of wrath and envy allegorically (XIII 314). Other sins, such as the sin of avarice, slip away from Patience's lesson, as does the sin of gluttony, which Patience specifically brings up in his speech. It is worthwhile to note that in their encounter with Haukyn, Will and Patience notice different sins from Haukyn's clothing stains. While Will catches sight of "wrathe and wikkede wille, [w]ith envye and yvel speche" in Haukyn's dirty cloak, Patience sets his eyes on "coveitise and unkynde

desiryng" (XIII 321-22; 355). Patience's finding is followed by Haukyin's account of his sins of covetousness and avarice, and then the sins of the mouth (sins of the tongue and gluttony) are added to the description of the soiled clothes (XIII 399-403).

If avarice and sins of the mouth draw Patience's special attention in passus XIII, moderation is presented as overcoming these two sins in Patience's teaching in passus XIV. The two sins are more closely related than others in Patience's exposition of moderation, showing some affinity with the *Somme le Roi* tradition which associates *fiat voluntas tua* with avarice and charity and gluttony with the virtue of moderation.[37] From the eleventh century, the division of the *Pater Noster* into seven petitions had systematically been linked with the seven deadly sins and their contrary virtues, along with the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Beatitudes.[38] There were several commentary

[37] The influence of the *Somme le Roi* on English penitential manuals and writings has been noted by critics. Robert Yeager examines how, when Chaucer and Gower describe the sinful behaviors of certain characters, such as the Pardoner and Amans, they employ the same annexation of the sins of the tongue to gluttony that the *Somme le Roi* did. See R. F. Yeager, "Aspects of Gluttony in Chaucer and Gower," *Studies in Philology* 81.1 (1984): 42-55. Larry Scanlon explains that the sins of the tongue cross the fundamental division between the sins of spirit and the sins of body, and the new idea of a tavern where a convergence between gluttony and the sins of the tongue happens enables Chaucer and Langland to use personification as a medium between mimesis and allegory. Larry Scanlon, "Personification and Penance," *YLS* 21 (2008): 1-29. Edwin Craun explores further how *Piers Plowman* participates in the pastoral discourse on deviant speech. Craun also offers a comparison between *Piers Plowman* and the *Somme le Roi* tradition in terms of the sins of the tongue. Edwin D. Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 157-86. Gerald Leo O'Grady attempts to find the connection between *Piers Plowman* and the translation of the *Some le Roi* in Middle English in his discussion of the idea of confession. Gerald Leo O'Grady, "*Piers Plowman* and the Medieval Tradition of Penance," Diss. (University of Wisconsin, 1962), 94-98. G. R. Owst compares Glutton's confession in *Piers Plowman* to the description of gluttony in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*. See G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters & of the English People*, 2nd ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966), 430-32.

[38] Avril Henry states that it was Richard of St Victor who comprehensively discussed the petitions, vices and virtues together in the eleventh century, although his commentary was attributed to Hugh of St Victor. See Avril Henry, "The *Pater Noster*," esp. 98-102. Richard's

traditions, however, and the petitions were not always attached to the same sins and virtues in late fourteenth-century Middle English treatises and sermons. For instance, Sermon 9 in MS. Royal 18.B.XXIII sets *fiat voluntas tua* against the sin of wrath, as Hugh of St. Victor's influential commentaries on the *Pater Noster* elucidate.[39] The prayer is opposed to the sin of wrath which makes people unwilling to do what God wishes (*Middle English Sermons* 51). Gluttony is put under the sixth petition, *Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem* ("Lead us not into temptation"), because there are many causes of temptations "of oure flessh" and "of þe world" (*Middle English Sermons* 55). The author emphasizes that the prayer can handle a wide range of temptations related to food and drink. In the *Festial,* composed by the Augustinian canon John Mirk in 1380, the sixth

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exposition of the petitions can be found in *Expositio in Abdiam*, PL 175:400-5. For the arrangement of the *Pater Noster* with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven sins and virtues in Latin treaties and Middle English sermons, see Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College P, 1952), 83-85; Maurice Hussey, "The Petitions of the Paternoster in Medieval English Literature," *Medium Ævum* 27 (1958): 8-16; Alexandra Barratt, "Works of Religious Instruction," *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1984), 419-20; and Robert Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung, vol. 7 (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), 2255-2380, esp. 2279-82.

[39] The author explicates that the seven deadly sins are "contrarye" to the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster*. Sermon 9 is estimated to be written during the Great Schism (1378-1417). See W. O. Ross, *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. Xxiii* (London: Oxford UP, 1960) xxxiv and 46-59. Morton Bloomfield notes that Sermon 9 discusses the petitions of the *Pater Noster* with the seven sins together for the first time in English. Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 163. For Hugh of St Victor's commentaries, see Hugh of St Victor, *De Quinque septenis seu Septenariis*, PL 175: 405-14. The *Glossa ordinaria* also explicates that *fiat voluntas tua* serves to get penitents away from the sin of wrath. See *Memoriale credencium: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People*, ed. J. H. L. Kengen (Nijmegen: Universiteit te Nijmegen, 1979), 198. For more examples which relate *fiat voluntas tua* to the sin of wrath, see Vincent Gillespie's "Thy Will Be Done: *Piers Plowman* and the *Paternoster*," *Looking in Holy Books: Essays on Late Medieval Religious Writing in England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 97, n. 37 and 38.

petition is more tightly linked with the sin of gluttony as bodily temptation to eat and drink. All Church members are vulnerable to this sin because the devil "knowyth welle þat vche beste of kynde is sonnest takon with mete" as he tempted Adam and Eve by sight and taste (286). To put away the sin of gluttony they need to pray before and after eating and drinking. Learning how to say prayers in English, therefore, is a very critical task for lay people.[40] However, unlike in Sermon 9, the third petition, *fiat voluntas tua,* is aligned with the sin of envy. The prayer restores an attitude of reverence and worship when people envy each other: "Thus ȝe schull sle þe foule synne of envy, þat may not fynd at his hert forto do reuerence and worschyp to hom þat he ys yn company wyth" (284).[41]

On the other hand, the fourteenth-century Middle English versions of the *Somme le Roi* describe the more complicated interconnectedness of the petitions, the gifts, and the vices and virtues. *Fiat voluntas tua* is linked with the gift of counsel, which works to overcome the sin of avarice and to plant the virtue of mercy.[42] The third petition is

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[40] In the beginning the sermon, Mirk points out the importance and benefits of knowing and saying the *Pater Noster* in English: "Then schul e knowe at þis begynnynge þat hit ys miche more spedeful and merytabull to ȝow for to sayne ȝowre Paternoster in Englysse, þan in Lateyne, os ȝe doþ. For whan ȝe spekon Englysse, þan ȝe know and vndurstande welle whate ȝe sayne, and so, be ȝoure vndurstandyng ȝe haue lekynge and deuocione for to seyghe hit." See John Mirk, ed. Susan Powell, 263.

[41] Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* teaches that *fiat voluntas tua* cures the sin of envy. See Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, ed. Joseph W. Goering, and Frank A. C. Mantello (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984). Vincent Gillespie also points out that the subsidiary sin of envy, *odium*, was not only linked to *fiat voluntas tua* but was also categorized as the sin of wrath in some cases. See Vincent Gillespie, *Looking in Holy Books*, 97.

[42] *The Book of Vices and Virtues* makes an explicit link between the petitions of the *Pater Noster* and the gifts of the Holy Spirit by adding supplemental comments to the original text: the gifts "destroien þe seuene heuede wikkednesses of herte and setten & noreschen þe seuene vertues, bi whiche a man comeþ to þe seuene blessednesses." See the text and the editor's additional notes in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. Nelson Francis, lxxvi-lxxviii, 104 and 293-97. Ralph Hanna

effective when the gift of counsel teaches how to attain "verray pouerte, where-bi men despiseþ and putteþ vnderfote þe world and all couertises for þe loue of God" (*Book of Vices and Virtues* 190).[43] Gluttony is purged by the virtue of sobriety, associated with the gift of wisdom and the first petition, *sanctificetur nomen tuum* ("Hollowed be your name"). The gift of wisdom enables people to "fele and tast þe grete sweteness and þe sauour of Godde almyghty" (*Speculum Vitae* 428). *Speculum Vitae* notes that the gift of wisdom particularly draws the sin of gluttony out of the heart and strengthens the virtue of soberness because nothing on earth is sweeter than the knowledge of God (428-29). *Ayenbite of Inwyt* and *The Book of Vices and Virtues* elaborate further that when men understand the holiness of God and desire to have such perfect contemplation with the gift of wisdom, the soul is filled with heavenly joy and peace by resisting an inordinate desire to eat and drink and instead living in moderation (245-46; 272-73). Avril Henry observes that the scholastic method for defining and relating moral concepts was "flexible, capable of development" as the *Pater Noster* table in the Vernon Manuscript

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points out that *Speculum Vitae* restructures and reformulates its source material "to unify the entire work as a discussion of the basic prayer Pater Noster." The translator explicates the prayer twice: the first exposition relates the seven petitions to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the second exposition combines the petitions and the gifts of the Holy Spirit with the exposition of the seven sins and virtues. See *Speculum Vitae*, ed. Ralph Hanna, lxxii. For a short review of the *Somme le Roi* tradition, see Robert Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," esp. 2258-62. Avril Henry also offers a good survey of *Speculum Vitae* in Ms. Vernon. See Avril Henry, "The *Pater Noster*," esp. 103-05.

[43] *Ayenbite of Inwyt* explains that the gift of counsel helps men to achieve "true poverty," as opposed to the sin of avarice. See *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt: Introduction, Notes, and Glossary*, eds. Richard Morris and Pamela Gradon (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979) 185. *Speculum Vitae* does not mention poverty. See *Speculum Vitae*, 205.

(Oxford, Bodleian MS. Eng. poet. a. l. fol. 231v), which is located in section three right before *Speculum Vitae*, richly illustrates (102).[44]

In this context, Patience's association of *fiat voluntas tua* with moderation in *Piers Plowman* reflects the intricate and fluid relationship between the petitions of the *Pater Noster* and the vices and virtues. Patience's teaching shows how Langland explores and transcends a contemporary schematic presentation of moral ideas. Patience defines "mesure" and "sobretee" as restraining a gluttonous appetite, following the *Somme le Roi* tradition in which "mesure" is construed as a key concept in the explication of gluttony and its contrary virtue, sobriety. Patience's discussion goes even further and offers new insight into the relationship between gluttony and avarice, and moderation and charity by linking moderation with *fiat voluntas tua*.[45] Eating and drinking habits are closely tied to

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[44] Avril Henry makes a connection between the table and *Speculum Vitae*. See Avril Henry, "The *Pater Noster*," esp. 91-97. Anna Gottschall also concludes that the table is firmly grounded in the tradition of diagrammatic representations of moral ideas and requires "a complex religious exercise" beyond linear reading. Anna Gottschall, "The Lord's Prayer in Circles and Squares: An Identification of some Analogues of the Vernon Manuscript's Pater Noster Table," *Marginalia* 7 (2008). Marginalia. Web. 18 Aug. 2013. A copy of the manuscript can be found in *A Facsimile Edition of the Vernon manuscript: A Literary Hoard from Medieval England*, ed. Wendy Scase (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2010), fol. 231v.

[45] Gluttony had been closely connected with avarice from the early Middle Ages. For Evagrius, avarice is one of three bodily temptations (greed, lust, avarice) and understood as "unending need of the body for food and drink," but avarice has also had a transition status to spiritual temptations. However, Cassian distinguished gluttony from avarice by their kinds: "if gluttony is natural to humanity, avarice is not part of human instinct, outside human nature." Since avarice did not relate to the maintenance of biological life and its temptation was caused by external objects, such as money, the total renunciation of property for monastic discipline was enough to extinguish the desire. Gregory reinterpreted Evagrius' triad model of vice, and avarice was defined as more than a material greed as Cassian claims: "The possession of tangible or intangible goods for oneself alone becomes the most distinguishing characteristic of the vice" in Gregorian thought. Therefore, sinners should be "admonished to learn to retain what is their own in a reasonable way and then afterwards not to go out after other's goods." In this sense, giving to the poor is an act of justice, not mercy. See Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed,* 54-115.

the possession of corporeal materials. The desire for worldly possession goes together with the desire for food, and the excessive desire for food results in taking away the poor man's food.[46] Prosperity, therefore, does not necessarily generate self-sufficiency and promote charity unless people continue to exercise self-control in eating and drinking. In passus XV, Anima builds on his discussion on charity by affirming a link between *fiat voluntas tua* and charity as opposed to avarice: charity enables people to maintain self-sufficiency in times of plentitude as well as in times of need without giving their whole attention to material gain because *fiat voluntas tua* sustains provision (lines 177-8). Charity is also accompanied by dietary reform, which turns the attention away from food and drink and back to God, who provides them (line 179). Anima's teaching echoes Patience's advocacy of moderation with the aim of formulating sustainable lifestyles and communities.

II. Moderation in the Balanced Food Distribution

Late Middle English didactic literature often included a discussion of the need for moderation for rich people. Given that Patience's explication of moderation deals with the problem of prosperity, it is comparable to the exposition of moderation in the poem

[46] The connection between gluttony and avarice is articulated throughout *Piers Plowman*. In passus XIII the Doctor's voraciousness is a sign of greed. Will argues that eating luxurious foods is tantamount to taking bread out of the mouth of the poor: "For ye han harmed us two in that ye eten the puddyng/ Mortrews and oother mete--and we no morsel hadde" (lines 106-07). Like the beggars in the fair field, Wastour in passus VI is criticized by Piers for his practice of begging, which is a way of taking away what others produce to gratify his desire to eat better food and drink (lines 133-35).

titled “Hou a man schal lyue parfytly,” one of the two verse translations of the Latin *Speculum S. Edmundi* in the Vernon Manuscript, which contains the A text of *Piers Plowman*.[47] “Hou a man schal lyue parfytly” sets “mesure” against worldly riches.

Þe riches of þis world is on,

Þat alle weyes deseyueþ mon,

He disseyueþ mon in mony þinges,

þorwh swete restynges;

A-noþur is Contek of worldli strif.

Aȝeynes mon, doun hym to dryf.

Aȝeynes richesse mesure þe in tide,

Beo þou not risen to muche in pride:

Þat vertu is wiþ-outen distaunce

[47] Another verse translation is titled “Þe Spore of Loue” and the two poems are separated by *The Visions of St Paul* and *Pope Gregory’s Trentals*. The two versions have been considered as poetic adaptations of *The Mirror of St Edmund*, a prose translation of the Latin text. The prose text is also included in the Vernon Ms. N. F. Blake comments that the poetic versions are “less learned and more accessible to the average secular person,” compared to the prose text which “[exhibits] a greater sophistication in approach and [makes] greater emotional and intellectual demands on the reader.” N. F. Blake, “Vernon Manuscript: Contents and Organisation,” *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), 46-59 at 53 and 55. The comparison between “Hou a man schal lyue parfytly” and *Piers Plowman* has not yet been made by critics, but *The Mirror of St Edmund* has been referenced as one of the treatises of religious instruction that *Piers Plowman* draws on. See Stanley Stewart Hussey, *Piers Plowman: Critical Approaches* (London: Methuen, 1969), 220; and Mark Allan Lindquist, “*Piers Plowman* and Manuals of Religious Instruction,” Diss. (Indiana University, 1981), 112-15. For a review on *The Mirror of St Edmund*, see Harry Wolcott Robbins, "An English Version of St. Edmund's *Speculum*, Ascribed to Richard Rolle," *PMLA* 40.2 (1925): 240-51; and Clare Rosemary Goymer, *A Parallel Text Edition of the Middle English Prose Version(s) of the 'Mirror of St. Edmund' based on the known complete manuscripts*, M.A. Thesis (University of London, 1961). [available online: http://digirep.rhul.ac.uk].

Þis þat men calleþ temperaunce. (1019-30)[48]

In the poem, "mesure" is introduced as the virtue of Temperance, one of four principal virtues for self-discipline. As Patience highlights the benefits of exercising moderation ("Ac mesure is so muche worth it may noght be to deere," line 74), the poem affirms the value of the cardinal virtues governing men's behavior: "Bi wȝuche vche monnes lyf here // Is gouernet in þis world so dere" (lines 1001-2). With "mesure," in particular, people can deal with the problem of "richesse," which deceives men with "swete restynges" and leads men into pride. It is worth noting that the word "restynges" is added in the poem, specifically referring to idleness or slothful behavior.[49] The instruction implies that moderation helps men not to be idle and succumb to pride when they are rich.

Patience teaches in a similar way that moderation is demanded in the case of excess supply because men become susceptible to pride.

Ac unkyndenesse caristiam maketh amonges Cristen peple,

And over-plentee maketh pryde amonges poore and riche;

Ac mesure is so muche worth it may noght be to deere;

For the meschief and the meschaunce amonges men of Sodome

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[48] All references of the poem are to Carl Horstmann's edition of *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Ms: With a Few from the Digby Mss. 2 and 86*, EETS 98, 117 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892-1901), 221-50.

[49] According to *MED*, "restynges" means refraining from work. The word is not used in the prose texts. *The Mirror of St. Edmund* in the Vernon Ms. uses the word, "swetness," to refer to worldly pleasure accompanied by wealth in a broad sense. See *The Mirror of St. Edmund* in *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers* (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 1999), 240-61 at 249. The northern version of the text in the Thornton Ms. only mentions "false vanytes." See *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse: Ed. from Robert Thornton's Ms. (Cir. 1440) in the Lincoln Cathedral Library*, EETS os 26, ed. George G. Perry (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1867), 16-50 at 28.

Weex thorugh plentee of payn and of pure sleuthe:

Ociositas et habundancia panis peccatum turpissimum nutrivit.

For thei mesured noght hemself of that thei ete and dronke,

Diden dedly synne that the devel liked

Vengeaunce fil upon hem for hir vile synnes;

[So] thei sonken into helle, the citees echone. (XIV 72-81)

The exemplary story of Sodom adds the vice of sloth to the list of moral problems the virtue of moderation can handle. However, Patience's discussion differs in that gluttony is linked with the problem of prosperity as illustrated in the story of Sodom.[50] Patience comments on the Latin quotation about the destruction of Sodom: when food was abundant, people in the city of Sodom and Gomorrah became lazy and their failure to discipline their desire for food led them to lust, thereby incurring divine punishment.[51] Sloth and lust have something to do with such an unrestrained appetite bred of opulence

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[50] *The Mirror of St. Edmund,* a prose text lists "mesure in mete and drinke" as opposed to the sin of gluttony along with other virtues in the separate chapter on the Seven Blessings of the Gospel, whereas the connection between the sin of gluttony and moderation is not made explicit in the verse translations. *The Mirror of St. Edmund* is a closer rendering of the Latin text than the verse translations. See *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers* (Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 1999), 240-61 at 247.

[51] The ultimate reference to the Latin quotation in Patience's exemplar is Ezekiel 16.49: the sin of Sodom is pride, fullness of bread, abundance, idleness and unconcern for the poor (KJV). For the references to the Latin quotation in Patience's exemplar, see Skeat's notes in his edition of *Piers Plowman*. Walter William Skeat, *The Vision of William Concerning Piers Plowman: General Preface, Notes and Indexes*, EETS, os 81 (London: N. Trubner, 1885), 324. The passage from Ezekiel about the sin of Sodom had consistently been used to examine the gravity of gluttony in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. See Cassian, *Institutes*, 5.6; Jerome, *Commentria in Hiezechielem*, 5.16.48-51; Gregory the Great, *Morals*, 30.18.60; Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2.2.148. For the discussion on the association of the story of Sodom with sexual sins, in particular same-sex copulation, by medieval theologians, see Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984), esp. chapter 2.

and more leisure and they are also pitted against moderation.[52] Patience's use of the story of Sodom to warn against gluttony (and overeating in particular) corresponds to penitential teaching in fourteenth-century England. For example, *Fasciculus Morum*, a preacher's handbook written in Latin, uses the story of Sodom as an exemplar of eating too eagerly and too avidly ("*nimis ardenter et nimis avide comedere*"), adopting Gregory's biblical examples of gluttony (629).[53] According to Gregory, Esau, an avid eater is condemned for his strong desire for a simple dish, not necessarily for the amount he consumes; the Sodomites, on the contrary, were punished because they ate too much.[54] *Fasciculus Morum*, however, blurs Gregory's distinction between overeating and avid eating, making overindulgence or intoxication a subtype of voracious eating ("*Unde ex hoc proprie accidit crapula*," 629), which drives people to consume more than the body can digest "easily and naturally" ("*bene et congrue*," 629). *Fasciculus Morum* cites more

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[52] Some medieval clerics placed more emphasis on the sloth of Sodom than gluttony. The author of *Ancrene Wisse* interpreted the same Latin quotation somewhat differently from Patience, explaining that those who are negligent in practicing spiritual disciplines seek bodily pleasure: "Of idelnesse awakeneþ muchel flesches foudunge." See *Ancrene Wisse, A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi college, 402, with variants from other manuscripts*, ed. Bella Millett, vol. 1, EETS 325 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), 160. In 1375, Thomas Brinton, the Bishop of Rochester and a Benedictine Monk also admonished the audience not to be lazy by showing how the idleness of Sodom incurred God's punishment. *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton (1373-1389)*, ed. Mary Aquinas Devlin (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1954), no. 48.

[53] Gregory uses the story of Jonathan to account for eating outside the proper time, the story of the Israelites for the desire for daintier food, the story of Eli's sons for the desire for food prepared in a certain way, the story of Sodom for eating too much, and the story of Esau for eating too eagerly. The author of *Fasciculus Morum* revises Gregory's five branches of gluttony into four: "too soon, too rich, too eagerly, and food too well prepared" (*Prepropere*, *laute*, *nimis ardenter*, *studiose*). See Gregory, *Morals*, 30.18.60, 405-6; *Fasciculus Morum*, trans. 627-8.

[54] "And when it is said to Jerusalem, *This was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance*, it is plainly shewn that she forfeited her salvation, because, with the sin of pride, she exceeded the measure of moderate refreshment." Gregory, *Morals*, 30.18.60, 406.

leisure time and a rise in food supply as the reason for the destruction of Sodom, because people can be stimulated by plentitude to eat and drink too much until they upset their stomach and vomit ("*Per quod contingit frequenter vomitum facere*," 629). In Patience's lesson, on the other hand, the consequences of overeating are more dangerous and deadly than vomiting. The whole city collapsed and was destroyed because people failed to exercise moderation when they were able to enjoy food and drink as much as they wanted (line 81). The vivid description of the destruction of Sodom shows that the goal of Patience's speech is to assert the importance of moderation rather than illustrate overeating.

Interestingly, moderation is required for the poor as well as the rich in Patience's teaching because both the rich and the poor are prone to pride in times of abundance. This is a rare reference to the pride of the poor. In fourteenth-century Middle English penitential literature, excessive consumption and sumptuous feasts were associated with pride, which usually characterized the rich. Feasting was a manifestation of wealth. The poor are usually excluded from those sumptuous feasts. In the section on pride in the *Parson's Tale*, for instance, the Parson mentions the "pride of the table" (X 444). Throwing a great banquet and consuming luxurious food and drink are considered to be a sign of wealth and pride because wealthy people seek delicacies more than God (X 447). Moreover, they do not allow the poor to enjoy the feast. Another example can be found in the discussion of gluttony in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, in which eating dainty food, the fourth branch of gluttony, is not only a sin of the mouth but also the sin of pride and vainglory (52). The *Book of Vices and Virtues* concludes that conspicuous consumption by the rich is a waste of food with which the poor could sufficiently be fed. On the other

hand, describing the sin of gluttony in his sermon, John Mirk notes the poor who are tempted to eat dainty food and spend all their money (*Festial* 267). Such temptation ultimately makes them beggars, but the poor person's desire for expensive food and drink is not considered the sin of pride by Mirk.

Instead of focusing on ostensible display or overspending as shown by the above examples, Patience pays attention to a close linkage between the sin of pride and negligence in keeping appetites in check. When people are able to access more and better food than before, satisfying hunger is not an issue anymore. More people, whether rich or poor, are lured into consuming more than the body needs, and they wittingly allow an appetite to take priority in their life. In this regard, the poor have greater opportunities to commit the sin of pride due to changes in the diet and economic order.[55] Through Patience's observation about the temptation of food which draws both the rich and the poor away from contentment with God's provision, Langland underlines a lesson in a certain degree of food discipline for anyone whose life comes under the influence of the abundant food supply.

Furthermore, moderation is celebrated not only with the aim of cultivating self-discipline, but also for the relief of the needy. According to Patience, moderation keeps a balance between excess food supply and food shortage ("caristiam"), which causes

[55] Peasant food and drink was dramatically improved in late fourteenth and fifteenth century due to the decline of population and a labor shortage in the aftermath of the Black Death. See Christopher Dyer, "Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Age: The Case of Harvest Workers," *The Agricultural History Review* 36.1 (1988): 21-37; "Did the Peasants Really Starve in Medieval England?" *Food & Eating in Medieval Europe*, eds. Martha Carlin and Joel Rosenthal (London: Hambledon P, 1998), 53-72.

"unkyndeness" (line 72).[56] Patience sees food scarcity as a social and moral problem – not because it makes more people hungry but because it makes people less concerned about distressed fellow Christians. Moderation is required in times of need when distribution matters more than production. Patience encourages Haukyn to extend the meaning of moderation beyond restraining one's appetite. It is a charitable action to take care of hungry people in the community so that no one starves or suffers from the shortage of food. Patience proposes moderation as an effective means to overcome problems associated with food production and supply by promoting better distribution.

It is worth noting that Patience's teaching is more attentive to the social obligations of moderate consumption than Lady Holy Church's teaching in which moderation is introduced as medicine for the illness of gluttony in passus I. Holy Church appears to offer an interpretation of Will's vision of "a fair feeld ful of folk" (Prologue 17), raising the problem of excessive desire for food and drink in the community Will observed. Holy Church's sermon, however, does not deal with the effects of the individual's consumption on the community as much as Patience's lecture. According to Holy Church, gluttony constitutes a moral failing, which needs to be overcome by individuals. Holy Church gives a solemn warning against indulging in the pleasures of the flesh because people are vulnerable to bodily temptations: "Mesure is medicine, though thow muchel yerne. // Al is nought good to the goost that the gut asketh, // Ne liflode to the likame that leef is to the soule" (lines 35-7). If one listens only to one's

[56] Skeat notes that *caristia* is the nominative case, not the accusative case. The word was used often in the fourteenth century. Langland describes "mesure" as the mean between dearth and plenty. See Skeat, *The Vision*, 324.

body, one cannot achieve moderation because the body is an unreliable teacher and always ready to work together with the devil: "For the fend and thi flesch folwen togidere, // And that [shendeth] thi soule; set it in thin herte (lines 40-1). Margaret Kim argues that "[c]onsumption here is not an isolated practice but integral to the operation of 'likame' and 'flesch' that . . . must not be trusted at all" (344). The virtue of "mesure," however, enables Holy Church to claim that not everything that a belly craves is bad for a soul. Holy Church's teaching illustrates gluttony as something every person has to face and overcome, since bodily needs appeal to human nature. Holy Church begins her speech by elucidating Truth's intention for the community to share the necessities of life – food, drink and clothes – in common by ordering the earth to produce "in mesurable manere" (line 19). Nevertheless, people desire more and fall into error. The story of Lot exemplifies how people can be governed by "likynge of drynke" and be led to the sins of gluttony and lechery (line 27). Jill Mann claims in her essay, "The Nature of Need Revisited," that the need of the body assumes a moral role to establish moderation in Holy Church's teaching: "it sets limits, it balances and regulates, producing physical and spiritual health" (16).[57] Mann's analysis, however, misses the point that Holy Church

[57] Mann further argues that need determines what "mesure" is and finds "need ethos" through the whole poem. The character of Need stands for natural principles that enforce social justice as well as mercy. Mann sees that Need's speech on the supremacy of the virtue of temperance in passus XX fully develops the theme of Holy Church's teaching. See Jill Mann, "The Nature of Need Revisited," *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 18 (2004): 3-29. On the other hand, Andrew Galloway contends that the idea that need harmoniously connects donors and recipients of charity is challenged in *Piers Plowman*. Langland's criticism of beggars shows that physical need does not control economic exchange anymore and it is hard for humans to evaluate need. According to Galloway, the character of Need appeals for the necessity of life by self-promotion, thereby undoing the economy of need. See Andrew Galloway, "The Economy of Need in Late Medieval English Literature," *Viator* 40 (2009): 309-331, esp. 328-30. In my view, Mann's advocacy of need and Galloway's criticism of Need's speech require a balanced approach. Need's description of the needy may not sound appealing because it does not seem to fully consider the complex

stresses: the difficulty of distinguishing basic appetites from gluttonous desire. Her sermon reaches the conclusion that bodily needs do not always conform to the measure of moderation, raising questions in the Dreamer's mind about further problems that increase the need to differentiate between need and greed, in particular the problem of wealth (lines 44-5).

Even though the Dreamer's inquiry about the problem of wealth implicitly identifies greed for money with greed for food, avarice is treated separately from gluttony in Holy Church's speech. She chastises chaplains who do not favor the poor, but instead "chew up" food that should be given to people in need (line 93). Nevertheless, the clergy are criticized for their lack of charity, not for their lack of moderation. In this regard, Patience's association between moderation and charity serves as a commentary on Holy Church's solution for avarice, which remains an abstract concept of justice:

> Though ye be myghty to mote, beeth meke in youre werkes,
>
> For the same mesure that ye mete, amys outher ellis,
>
> Ye shulle ben weyen therwith whan ye wenden hennes (I 176-78)

The meaning of justice is conveyed by the metaphor of "mesure." Holy Church makes a point that rich people's possessions should be transferred into charitable actions in a reasonable way so that all community members have their needs met, as Truth originally intended. The judgment of the rich will be made by how much they have given to the poor in this world. Holy Church, however, does not directly address the problem of

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relationship between need and greed that Langland explores in *Piers Plowman*. However, I do not think Need's speech on temperance encourages begging. Rather, it underlines the virtue of moderation for self-discipline.

richness related to food consumption after she gives her lecture on moderation. By simply claiming that Reason and Kynde Wit need to govern the wealth of the rich, Holy Church leaves open the possibility that there is a right way to acquire money if they share what they earn with their neighbors in need.[58] In Passus XIV, Langland offers a more complex discussion on the relationship between wealth and charity by tying the question of consumption to the question of fair distribution.

III. "Patient Poverty" and Moderation

Haukyn reworks Patience's idea of moderation into a conception of "patient poverty," casting doubt on the legitimacy of Patience's teaching: "Wheither paciente poverty . . . be moore plesaunt to Oure Drighte // Than richesse rightfulliche wonne and resonable yspended?" (101-02) His notion of "patient poverty" presupposes that voluntary renunciation of wealth is recommended to achieve true charity. Haukyn's question attempts to challenge a tendency to downplay the value of wealth and the possibility of reasonable consumption, seeking alternative ways for the rich to attain

[58] Jill Mann argues that physical need is conceived as a regulating force to drive the money economy in Holy Church's speech. The use of money is required to be controlled by the necessities of life, as Thomas Aquinas and other medieval scholars argued. Under the influence of Aristotelian philosophy, medieval scholars saw that economic exchange can be justified based on need. Jill Mann, "The Nature of Need Revisited," 17-18. For a comprehensive review of the medieval economic idea of common possessions and "just price," see Odd Langholm, "The Medieval Schoolmen (1200-1400)," *Ancient and Medieval Economic Ideas and Concepts of Social Justice*, ed. S. T. Lowry and Barry Gordon (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 439-502; and Omar F. Hamouda, "The Justice of the Just Price," *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 4.2 (1997): 191-216. Langholm notes that medieval scholars generally paid less attention to the management of production and consumption than economic exchange.

salvation without renunciation. Patience's answer to Haukyn's question does not contradict what Holy Church taught in passus I. If rich people do justice to the poor by feeding them, they will be rewarded in the afterlife (lines 145-8). However, unlike Holy Church, Patience draws attention to the tension between prosperity and distributive justice in the community. There have been few rich people who pity the poor and willingly provide them with the necessities. Charity is hardly found among the rich. They are not always governed by reason and do not appreciate the merit of charity because they can take "muche murthe" in their meals and clothing (line 157). While the rich trade off long-term benefits of charity for the immediate pleasure of eating and drinking, the poor suffer from hunger and thirst in their present life. Both the poor and the rich experience ramifications of wealth inequality because all members of the community have the desire to earn money and gain respect (lines 206-07). Nevertheless, the poor are disdained by the rich because of their poverty. Yet, due to their wealth, it becomes harder for the rich to maintain self-sufficiency and live in moderation than the poor.

Langland examines the negative effects of greedy consumption on the community in a form of penitential dialogue between Patience and Haukyn. Patience's description of the seven sins of the rich is figured as a representation of the power of poverty to restrain a gluttonous appetite. The figuration of poverty ultimately serves to amplify the problem of overconsumption, particularly among rich people. Wealth hinders people from being satisfied with "broke loves," unlike people in need (line 222). Instead, rich people become boastful about what they can eat. Wealth also allows people to complain fiercely in court to protect their interests by using legal knowledge, although they do not have to

worry about meals.[59] Moreover, they easily indulge in foods and drinks and become lazy because they have enough money to buy "riche metes" and "good ale" (lines 231-32). The large cupboards ("almaries") and chests ("yren-bounde cofre") entice rich people to acquire more and be greedy (line 247). When delicate food and drink stimulate rich people's carnal desires, they fall victim to the sin of lechery. On the contrary, poor people's desires are ultimately frustrated by their poverty, and they are able to remain free from the consequences of overconsumption. However, Patience does not propose material poverty as a remedy to the problem of consumption. As Ann Scott has pointed out, Patience admonishes Haukyn for his attention to material gain: "Patience's view of poverty is not a rejection of wealth but a reappraisal" (137). Moreover, Haukyn is advised to examine his eating and drinking habits to patiently pursue "sobretee," not material poverty: "For pacience is payn for poverte hymselve, // And sobretee swete drynke and good leche in siknesse" (lines 314-15). Hauykn should learn that it is the unequal distribution of wealth and basic resources that bring sins into his life and various moral problems into the community, but moderation will take them away by fostering self-sufficiency and promoting a better distribution. In this sense, Patience's exposition of "patient poverty" draws on and expands his former lesson on "mesure."

[59] The complicated process of the courtroom and the formality of law raised a suspicion in the later Middle Ages that they only serve rich people and oppress the poor. Medieval satire often harshly criticized the greed of professional lawyers and their alliance with wealthy and powerful people. For a review of the criticism on medieval lawyers' practice of law, see John A. Yunck, "The Venal Tongue: Lawyers and the Medieval Satirists." *American Bar Association Journal* 46 (1960): 267-70; and Laura Kendrick, "Medieval Satire," *A Companion to Satire: From the Biblical World to the Present*, ed. Ruben Quintero (Oxford: Blackwell Pub, 2007), 52-69.

Patience teaches that moderation should be complemented with charity and the work of mercy by using the metaphor of spiritual food, which links *fiat voluntas tua* associated with the virtue of charity to the virtue of moderation, the opponent of the vice of gluttony. Patience's poverty is an embodiment of two virtues and is a remedy for avarice tied to gluttony. Kate Crassons points out that in *Piers Plowman,* Langland develops "a massive meditation on poverty that stresses the epistemological and ethical difficulties involved in discerning need" by creating various allegorical figures that represent different aspects of poverty such as Hunger, Patience, and Nede (24). Those figures demonstrate that poverty was an elusive concept, the meaning of which was not readily transparent. Crassons claims that *Piers Plowman* resists "preconceived interpretations of need" imposed by "powerful moral visions current in legislative, Franciscan, and anticlerical discourse" (25). However, Langland does not always render these concepts inefficacious in distinguishing between need and greed. By reworking contemporary moral discourses on the vices and virtues, Langland encourages readers to evaluate and assess the meaning of wealth and poverty and seek an alternative remedy for food insecurity and the problem of uneven distribution caused by greedy consumption.

CHAPTER 3

"HE WOLDE BEEN THE MOORE MEASURABLE": THE SUSPICIOUS RHETORICAL EMPHASIS ON MODERATION IN *THE PARDONER'S PROLOGUE AND TALE* AND THE *SUMMONER'S TALE*

The Pardoner is keenly aware that there is a pressing need to cater his speech to different audiences. After the Physician concludes his tragic tale of Virginia, the Host admits that he has allowed his pity for her to govern his mind, and that such emotional excess requires treatment. He calls out to the Pardoner for "a myrie tale" that can console his grieving heart instead of "a draughte of moyste and corny ale" (VI 314-6).[60] The Host's analogy between ale and tale elicits an immediate response from the Pardoner, who has a considerable taste for ale.

> "Telle us som myrthe or japes right anon."
>
> "It shal be doon," quod he, "by Seint Ronyon!
>
> "But first," quod he, "heere at this alestake
>
> I wol bothe drynke and eten of a cake."
>
> But right anon thise gentils gonne to crye,
>
> "Nay, lat hym telle us of no ribaudye! (VI 319-24)

The Pardoner never fails to stop at an alestake. The lure of a new brew is irresistible to him.[61] The Pardoner promises that his tale will meet the Host's expectations, because he

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[60] All quotations from Chaucer are taken from the *Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).

[61] Medieval alehouses used an alestake as a sign to announce a new brew and attract customers. See Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 93.

is going to strengthen the analogy by literally having a drink. The "gentils" immediately accuse the Pardoner of gluttonous behavior, exPing concern about the ribaldry that is expected.[62] The Pardoner's action reminds them of the close association between the sin of gluttony and sins of the tongue: overdependence on food and alcohol easily leads to verbal abuse.[63] Being aware of the detrimental effects of ale and its strong taste, the virtuous audience frown upon the Pardoner's strong appetite for drinking as well as storytelling.[64]

Critics have long been interested in the sin of gluttony and its intimate association with sins of the tongue in the *Pardoner's Tale*.[65] Katheryn Lynch has argued that the

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[62] Frederick Tupper has pointed out that ribaldry in a tavern was often associated with gluttony in late medieval literature. See Frederick Tupper, "The Pardoner's Tavern", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 13.4 (1914): 553-565; 564. For example, in *Piers Plowman*, Gluttony confesses how much he enjoyed ribald tales when he got drunk in taverns: "ich fadded me with ale out of reson among rybaudes here rybaudrye to huyre" (C. VI 434-5); "For love of tales in taverns, to drynk the moore I dyned" (B. V 377). For B-text, see A. V. C. Schmidt, *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (London: Dent, 1991), 81. In *Jacob's Well*, ribaldry is listed as one of the tavern sins. See *Jacob's Well, an English Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience*, ed. Arthur Brandeis, EETS OS 115 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1900; reprint Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1975), 141.

[63] An extensive review of the association between gluttony and the sins of the tongue is presented in Edwin D. Craun. "Aristotle's Biology and Pastoral Ethics: John of Wales's De Lingua and British Pastoral Writing on the Tongue." *Traditio* 67.1 (2012): 277-303; and in Clara Iglesiass-Rondina, "Flesh and Spirit: Vices and Virtues of Food in Domenico Cavalca's Pungilingua and Frutti della Lingua" in *Table Talk: Perspectives on Food in Medieval Italian Literature* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 37-51.

[64] For a study of the medieval conception and production of ale and its taste, see Andrew Dalby, *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices* (Berkeley: U of California P, 2000), 54-5; and Jayne Elisabeth Archer et al., *Food and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 73.

[65] Robert E. Nichols Jr. argues that the scene of the Pardoner's eating and drinking in the introduction to the tale "prefigures" the structural use of food and drink in his harsh condemnation of gluttony and the exemplum of gluttonous rioters. *Pardoner's* ale and drink are part of the artistic design and accentuate the irony in his performance. See Robert E. Nichols Jr., "The Pardoner's Ale and Cake," *PMLA* 82.7 (1967): 498-504; 504. R.F. Yeager notes the tavern

Pardoner's concern for his own belly and profit blind him to the fact that his tale is betraying his own sins, namely gluttony and sins of the tongue: he is a hypocrite, "but deprived now of the self-understanding of which he is excessively proud" (397). The Pardoner, however, is not the only churchman whose speech reflects his own moral depravity in the *Canterbury Tales*. In an exploration of "divine ventriloquism" from the Anglo-Saxon period to the fifteenth century, Mary Hayes has contended that Friar John's speech in the *Summoner's Tale* is a good example of how ventriloquial speech "[loses] its authority… through errant preachers who rendered it [the Word] incorrectly either by accident . . . or for personal gain" (6). According to Hayes, Friar John's misinterpretation of the Bible in requesting a feast is obviously attributed to his gluttony, exemplifying the two branches of the "sin of mouth" (143).

Although the two critics have rightly pointed out that Chaucer employs the connection between gluttony and sins of the tongue in pastoral literature in the portraits of the Pardoner and Friar John, they pay less attention to the two clergymen's attempts to justify their appetites and avoid the suspicion of moral failure. If the Pardoner completely failed to convince the pilgrims that corny ale would not impair his ability to tell a moral tale, his speech may have been interrupted or may not have been allowed in the first place. Friar John could have been chased out earlier if Thomas and his wife had been frustrated by his demand for a sumptuous meal. The Summoner could have been

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sins (swearing, blasphemy, sorcery, witchcraft, and devil worship, as well as excessive eating and drinking) illustrated in the Pardoner's sermon about gluttony. See R. F. Yeager, "Aspects of Gluttony in Chaucer and Gower," *Studies in Philology* 81.1 (1984): 42-55. Jerome Mandel identifies gluttony, hazardy, and blasphemy as "principal characters" governing the Introduction, Prologue, and Tale. See Jerome Mandel, *Geoffrey Chaucer: Building the Fragments of the Canterbury Tales* (Rutherford [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson UP; London: Associated UP, 1992), 54.

interrupted by the Friar again, if the sarcasm in his tale of gluttonous friars had been too obvious to ignore.[66] Despite suspicion of their audiences, the Pardoner and Friar John manage to avoid the accusation of gluttony and verbal abuse by drawing attention away from their dietary behaviors and back to their rhetorical and preaching skills.

This chapter focuses on the rhetorical moves used by the two preachers to persuade their audiences of the moral value of their preaching on moderation in the *Pardoner's Prologue and Tale* and the *Summoner's Tale*. The chapter examines how Chaucer encourages readers to be cautious about clerical speech and to recognize glib clerics' hidden desires in the discrepancy between their speech and their behavior. Chaucer raises the question of how to measure bodily needs and embody moderation by presenting two churchmen who manage to preach against gluttony regardless of their moral qualifications and their relative unrestricted diets. The Pardoner shamelessly enjoys drinking corny ale. Friar John asks for his favorite delicacies. These individuals try to convince their audiences that the moral value of their preaching is not reduced by what and how much they eat or drink. Moreover, they attempt to reinforce their clerical superiority by substituting rhetorical competence for dietary discipline. Can the moral of the story replace or disguise the moral character of the speaker? This question lingers throughout the two tales, and their rhetorical emphasis on moderation continuously falls under suspicion. The chapter argues that the excessive emphasis placed on moderation in

[66] The Summoner begins his story with a sarcastic portrayal of friars who beg for charity and promise their prayers in exchange. The Friar is enraged and interjects when he finds the Summoner's satire insulting. However, the Host allows the Summoner to continue his story about friars. See the *Summoner's Tale*, lines 1761-4.

the Pardoner's and Friar John's preaching incurs and heightens suspicion rather than reinforcing moral lessons.

I. Gluttonous Preachers and Their Suspicious Rhetoric

The Pardoner attempts to win over those who are suspicious of his moral qualifications. He persuades them to let him drink with a promise that he will not lose control in devising a moral story: "I moot thynke upon som honest thyng while that I drynke" (V 327-8). His promise may sound unconvincing and insincere to the pilgrims. In fact, when he starts to preach, the Pardoner upends the promise he has made. He states that a drunk loses control over his tongue, body, and mind, thereby risking a tainted reputation: "Thy tonge is lost, and al thyn honeste cure, // For dronkenesse is verray sepulture // Of mannes wit and his discrecioun" (VI 557-9). His preaching against drunkenness nonchalantly contradicts his claim that his rhetorical ability to deliver a speech suitable for his virtuous audience is unaffected by drinking. If drunkenness makes people lose control of their speech and removes their concern about their reputation and respectability, it may be questioned how the Pardoner can think and speak about "honest thyng" if he does not remain sober.

The Pardoner is fairly conscious of the moral expectations imposed on the clergy, and he seeks rhetorical means of manipulating his audiences. He does not deny that pilgrims may see him as "a ful vicious man" guilty of all kinds of sins, including avarice and gluttony (VI 459). He despises the ideal of voluntary poverty: even though children die of hunger, he does not hesitate to take food and money from the poorest and weakest

(VI 447-52). Yet at the end of the "confession", probably induced by the strong ale he has consumed, he demonstrates his confidence in his ability to control and adjust his speech to the pilgrims' liking (VI 458). At least at this moment, he may not have been completely drunk. Martin Carmargo has pointed out that the Pardoner's "confession" is carefully designed to achieve his rhetorical purpose, which is "to magnify his own skills as a rhetor: in excluding ethos from his available means of persuasion" (152). It should be added that the pilgrims' attention is diverted from his drunkenness and towards his rhetorical competence by the Pardoner's tactful substitution of rhetorical discipline for moral discipline. In his assertion, his training in the art of preaching overcomes the problems of drunkenness.

The Pardoner creates an opportunity to demonstrate his preaching skills by devaluing his moral character but highlighting his educational background and experience. He has learned by heart what and how to preach ("For I kan al by rote that I telle" VI 332). His profession has allowed him to use his preaching techniques and successfully stir his audience to repentance and devotion, despite his immoral intention to exploit gullible people ("For though myself be a ful vicious man, // A moral tale yet I yow telle kan, // Which I am wont to preche for to wynne" VI 459-61). The efficacy of his moral tale, according to the Pardoner, lies not in the narrator's sobriety or virtuous intent, but in his rhetorical ability to tailor a message to the circumstances and to facilitate the audience's engagement with the message. The Pardoner's claim subtly undermines the interconnectedness of the speaker's moral consciousness and rhetorical competence. In response to the audience's suspicion of his actions and moral character, the Pardoner attempts to establish his clerical superiority by portraying himself as a "good preacher"

regardless of his strong appetite for alcohol.

The Pardoner tries to assuage the pilgrims' concerns about his drunkenness through a display of rhetorical competence. In the *Summoner's Tale*, Friar John is depicted as a morally dubious friar-confessor who uses rhetorical strategies to pre-empt complaints about his gluttonous appetite when he begs for gifts of food. Unlike the Pardoner, Friar John attempts to enhance the moral status of mendicant friars who exercise discretion and flexibility in their dietary practices.

> "Now, dame," quod he, "now je vous dy sanz doute,
> Have I nat of a capon but the lyvere,
> And of youre softe breed nat but a shyvere,
> And after that a rosted pigges heed --
> But that I nolde no beest for me were deed --
> Thanne hadde I with yow hoomly suffisaunce.
> I am a man of litel sustenaunce;
> My spirit hath his fostryng in the Bible. (III 1838-45)

Thomas's wife seems to occasionally invite the Friar to a meal out of respect for his spiritual discipline. Friar John is familiar with her hospitality and her special bread. He might be well aware of the food Thomas's relatively rich household can afford to prepare for him. His self-consciousness in public, however, restrains him from freely ordering whatever he wants to eat. Instead, he attempts to persuade Thomas's wife to fulfill his request for his favorite delicacies with a claim that food does not damage his spiritual

status or hinder his spiritual pursuits.[67] He argues that he can eat whatever he pleases, because food does not alter the prioritization of spiritual nourishment over physical nourishment ("My spirit hath his fostryng in the Bible"). Friar John's insistence on the prioritization of the soul over the body serves to justify his relaxed dietary discipline. Moreover, the Friar's glossing over of his own appetite for tasty food such as fat capon or roast pig implies that his desire is not excessive. He aims to create the impression that he is only seeking simple contentment ("hoomly suffisauce") with what is freely given to him.[68] He pretends to make a moderate request, emphasizing his devotion to a life of poverty ("I am a man of litel sustenaunce"). Friar John maintains that his dietary practices still conform to the ideal of a life of mendicancy, because he is continually searching for sustenance by relying on the hospitality of others.

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[67] There were contrasting ideas of food assimilation in the Middle Ages. Anti-assimilationists such as Hugh of St Victor and Peter Lombard in the twelfth century argued that the human body does not assimilate the food that it consumes. Food is ultimately expelled from the body through perspiration, fluids, etc. Holders of this view also believed that growth does not necessarily require food, as the original matter of the body remains unchanged. This stance provided a theoretical basis for ascetic fasting. On the contrary, the anti-assimilationist position was rejected by theologians such as Thomas Aquinas, who posited that the body was dependent on food and emphasized the importance of good nutrition as much as that of moderate consumption. Aquinas argued that the original matter of the body could be recovered, because the soul is completely separate from the body. Grumett and Muers argue that the idea of the spiritual soul drew theological attention away from the issues of diet while discussions of food were gradually secularized. For a review of scholastic debates about food assimilation, see Grumett and Muers, *Theology on the Menu*, esp. Ch. 3.

[68] Franciscan Rules permitted friars to eat and drink whatever food was served to them. See "Earlier Rule" and "Later Rule", *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, eds. Regis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann and William J. Short (4 vols; New York: New City P, 1999-2002) vol. 1, 73 and 102. Francis, however, was aware that some members may have abused hospitality and gratified their desires. He thus instructed brothers to eat no more than three morsels of meat when they dined with lay people. (Regarding these laws, see Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1959), 157. Friar John is clearly dismissing this rule.

Furthermore, Friar John tries to establish an absolute dichotomy between voluntary poverty and gluttony, which dismisses the laity's ability to behave moderately in eating and drinking. As Mary Hayes has pointed out, the main goals of Friar John's preaching are to reconfirm the fraternal privilege to communicate with the divine and to demonstrate fraternal superiority over lay people (144-5). He evokes a spiritual status disparity between laymen and mendicant friars. According to Friar John's argument, friars are entitled to receive divine revelation by virtue of the purity and holiness brought about by the practice of abstinence, while laymen are enslaved by gluttony and sensual pleasures.

> Oure orisons been moore effectueel,
> And moore we seen of Cristes secree thynges,
> Than burel folk, although they weren kynges.
> We lyve in poverte and in abstinence,
> And burell folk in richesse and despence
> Of mete and drynke, and in hir foul delit. (III 1870-5)

Assuming that the efficacy of prayer depends on the number of times one can see "Cristes secree thynges", mendicancy is essential to increase efficacy, because it is difficult for laymen ("burel folk") to maintain abstinence and overcome gastronomic temptations. Lay people will always be temporally richer than and spiritually inferior to friars unless they renounce worldly possessions and take the vow of poverty. Friar John endorses the idea that the mendicant's lifestyle itself can eradicate gluttony by accusing lay people of gluttony and advocating strict abstinence. His vision of Thomas' death and his subsequent preaching against gluttony do not aim to bring spiritual benefits to

Thomas, but to provide material gains and food to his institution. His narrow definition of moderation as abstinence fails to accommodate lay people's spiritual needs, because it asserts spiritual authority at the expense of their moral status.

Both the Pardoner and Friar John attempt to avoid condemnation of their strong appetites for food and drink and to claim the superiority of clerical authority. However, they adopt different rhetorical strategies. The Pardoner argues that his authority as a preacher does not depend on his moral character but on his rhetorical competence. Even though he does not strive for sobriety, he demonstrates confidence in delivering a moral lesson and preaching moderation. On the other hand, Friar John emphasizes the value of abstinence and a life of poverty with the aim of reinforcing his spiritual status without strengthening his dietary discipline. The sanctity of mendicancy grants him the authority to preach about the importance of self-restraint.

II. Preaching Moderation and Its Dubious Efficacy

Chaucer's satirical portraits of the Pardoner and Friar John illustrate the hypocrisy of preachers who promulgate the doctrine of moderation but fail to adhere to it. Medieval theologians promoted moderation as the key requirement in religious dietary discipline and condemned extreme fasting on the basis of hypocrisy. Giles Constable has argued that moderation gradually replaced the ideal of asceticism in theology: "a new ideal of temperance and unostentation replaced the heroic asceticism and conspicuous sufferings of the early saints" (326-7). The strong demand for moderation in ascetic practices emerged in the eleventh century. At this point, monastic asceticism was popularized, but

at the same time resistance to extravagant ascetic practices grew. Church leaders warned against the hypocrisy of people who craved recognition of the supposed sanctity that arose from their ascetic behavior. Constable notes the growing distrust of lavish displays of ascetic suffering in the twelfth century. Discussions of the problems of hypocrisy and pretension, however, began much earlier. For example, in *Letter 52 to Nepotian*, Jerome presents the differences between ideal fasting and "superstitious" fasting, which dismisses traditional monastic fasting which involves subsistence on bread and water because it is too common.[69] Practitioners of "superstitious" fasting reject bread and instead indulge in diverse foods which cannot be procured easily, such as dates and pistachios. These ascetics fall prey to pride and hypocrisy. Jerome recommended a moderate diet to achieve true fasting.

A similar example of hypocritical fasting is found in the description of the Doctor who secretly enjoys delicacies by circumventing dietary rules in *Piers Plowman*. In Passus XIII, Will is invited by Conscience to a penitential meal with Patience, the Clergy, and the Doctor. Conscience and Patience enjoy their meal with spiritual food. However, Will witnesses the Doctor's excessive eating and drinking.

> For this doctour on the heighe dees drank wyn so faste:
>
> Ve vobis qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum!
>
> He eet manye sondry metes, mortrews and puddynges,
>
> Wombe cloutes and wilde brawen and egges yfryed with grece. (XIII 60-4)

[69] Further commentaries on Jerome's criticism of "superstitious fasting" can be found in Andrew Cain, *Jerome and the Monastic Clergy: A Commentary on Letter 52 to Nepotian, with Introduction, Text, and Translation* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 234-7.

Will notices that the Doctor drinks wine too hastily, which is an indicator of gluttony. In addition, he knows that eating different kinds of meat is usually forbidden on penitential days.[70] Will openly express his annoyance at the Doctor's manner of eating and his sumptuous meal. The Doctor's practice contradicts what he preaches about fasting. In Will's eyes, the Doctor is clearly not living up to the principle of spiritual discipline. However, according to Patience, he will claim that his food list does not breach the laws: "That neither bacon ne braun ne blancmanger ne mortrews/ Is neither fissh ne flessh but fode for a penaunt" (XIII 91-92).[71] Patience ridicules the Doctor's pretense of abstaining from food and drink which is maintained by taking advantage of a loophole in the rules. In this regard, the Doctor's penitential meal is comparable to Friar John's request for a feast. Both episodes illustrate how clerics manipulate dietary restrictions in order to satisfy their appetites whilst maintaining their spiritual authority.

The object of criticism in Chaucer's anticlerical satire differs from that in Langland's. Langland critiques the Doctor's relaxed approach to dietary discipline through the mouth of Patience, personified by a poor pilgrim who reiterates the importance of self-restraint when eating and drinking. Chaucer's criticism, on the other hand, focuses its attention on hypocritical preachers who do not practice what they preach in regard to dietary moderation. Chaucer calls into question the rhetorical emphasis of the Pardoner's and Friar John's preaching on moderation, which is designed to assert clerical

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[70] For a discussion of the rules of fasting and abstinence in the Middle Ages, see Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times*, 185-201.

[71] All references of *Piers Plowman* are to A. V. C. Schmdit's second edition of *Piers Plowman* B text: *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Complete Edition of the B-Text* (London: Everyman, 1995).

superiority rather than to provide spiritual guidance for lay people. In *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, Caroline Walker Bynum attributes the emphasis on moderate observance to theologians' and moralists' efforts to accommodate and spiritualize the diverse social roles of the laity and their secular activities in the community. Paradoxically, while the pressure on preachers to fast was eased, the demand for moderation was placed on lay people, especially on women who were capable of exercising discretion in their spiritual disciplines. In Bynum's reading, the doctrine of moderation can be perceived as a tool for the "cozy domestication of women and of the laity" which the Church devised in order to gain control of spiritual authority (*Holy Feast and Holy Fast* 241-2). Chaucer's cynical portrayals of the Pardoner and Friar John testify to medieval criticism of the Church's failure to meet the layman's spiritual needs by raising the issue of the discrepancy between what preachers teach regarding dietary moderation and how they apply this principle in practice.

Through the portrait of the Parson in the *General Prologue*, Chaucer suggests that a preacher's personal integrity improves the efficacy of his preaching on dietary moderation. The *Parson's Tale* includes orthodox teaching on gluttony and moderation which the Pardoner and Friar John would gladly have referred to.[72] Larry Scanlon argues that the Parson's voice hardly caters to the Church authority, given that "his doing authorizes his teaching" (8). However, it is difficult to conclude that the clergy's ecclesiological authority is ultimately negated in this case. On the one hand, in the *General Prologue*, Chaucer emphasizes the aspect of the parish priest as a loyal subject

[72] The Pardoner's definition of drunkenness is similar to the Parson's definition of gluttony. See VI 558-9 and X 823.

of his office who does not enjoy power as a holder of benefice.[73] On the other hand, the Parson effectively exerts spiritual and didactic authority on "Christ loore" by making himself a "noble ensample" (I 527; 496). The Parson's "ensample", therefore, is the charitable actions that the Church imposes on him, as well as an effective teaching method for his parishioners. His reading of the Scripture is translated into charitable actions in order to indicate the validity of his teaching to his parishioners.

On the contrary, the efficacy of the Pardoner's preaching remains dubious, because all the pilgrims are suspicious of his moral qualification as a preacher. The pilgrims would not thoroughly disapprove of the Host's seeking solace from the Pardoner's tale, since they agree with his criteria of "best sentence and moost solaas" (*GP* 798). Nevertheless, the Pardoner's practice of drinking makes them skeptical about the "sentence" or morality of a "myrthe or japes" which the Host has asked the Pardoner to tell. The suspicion that the Pardoner's merry tale may turn out to be a ribaldry seems perfectly legitimate, given that he is known for "flaterye and japes" (*GP* 705). Priests and preachers who provided spiritual care for the members of the community were expected to avoid playful jokes and bawdy tales. In his *Instructions for Parish Priests*, John Mirk

[73] R. N. Swanson explains that public hostility towards the parish clergies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries registers the laity's demands regarding the clergy's moral behavior and public service. Orthodox parishioners and dissenters actually shared the idea of the clerical estate. J. Patrick Hornbeck suggests new terminologies to distinguish the two sets of ideas of English dissenters instead of using only the ambiguous term of "anticlericalism": there was "antisacerdotalism", referring to "the abolition of a separate priestly class with the exclusive right to celebrate the sacraments". The majority of dissenters, however, were "hyperclericalists who subscribed to traditional theologies of the priesthood but desired the restoration of ideal standards of behavior among clergymen". See R. N. Swanson, "Problems of the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation England," *English Historical Review* 105.417 (1990): 845-69; J. P. Hornbeck, *What Is a Lollard?: Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford UP, 2010), 142-46.

advises particularly against not only speaking but also listening to ribaldries and japes for mere pleasure.[74] As Katheryne Lynch has pointed out, the Host may not look to the Pardoner's tale for moral lessons at all.[75] The addition of the word "japes" by the Host, however, refers to more than his indifference to a moral tale. The Host's modifier, which carries negative connotations, calls attention to the questionable moral character of the Pardoner, who is reputed to use storytelling to make a fool of himself and others, as described in the *General Prologue*.[76]

Friar John's moral character and the efficacy of his preaching are also open to doubt. Given that the Summoner is telling the story with animosity to the Friar, Friar John's praise or justification of mendicancy can be viewed skeptically. Moreover, the portrait of the Friar in the *General Prologue* as chasing after rich lay people for profit also disrupts the traditional division between lay and clerical that Friar John establishes in his tale. Readers are encouraged to be suspicious of the Friar's emphasis on the dichotomy between a life of poverty and one of gluttony and to question the underlying

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[74] "From nyse iapes and rybawdye Thow moste turne a-way þyn ye." See John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. E. Peacock, EETS OS 3 1 (London: Oxford UP, 1868; reprint 1996), 61.

[75] Katheryn Lynch has argued that the Host is only seeking pleasure for his literal stomach. His desire for ale testifies to his lack of interest in spiritual nourishment. According to Lynch, the Host's inability to digest spiritual meanings from the Pardoner's tale ultimately represents "an alternative, less authoritative reading", allowing Chaucer to explore "the importance of reception even if intention goes wrong". See "The Pardoner's Digestion: Eating Images in the Canterbury Tales," in *Speaking Images: Essays in Honor of V. A. Kolve*, ed. R.F. Yeager and Charlotte Morse (Asheville, NC: Pegasus P, 2001), 401.

[76] When the narrator describes the Clerk in the *General Prologue*, he applies the principle that one's speech reflects one's moral state: "Sownynge in moral vertu was his speche." See *GP* line 307.

assumption that gluttony is characteristic of a worldly life and that moderation cannot easily be achieved by lay people.

Friar John's sermon has been criticized for misusing the source by placing greater emphasis on the problem of drunkenness than on the problem of anger in the story of Cambyses. Paul Zietlow has pointed out that the Friar's translation of Seneca's exemplum of Cambyses "distorts the meaning and emphasis" of the original story, thus rendering his speech meaningless. (12). According to Zietlow, "[t]he whole sermon is a patchwork of aphorism, quotations, and examples on vaguely similar subjects" (13). Zietlow attributes the wordiness of the Friar's speech to his "obtuseness and imperceptiveness", which the Summoner intentionally portrays to ridicule the Friar. However, Zietlow's criticism misreads the Friar's intention. The Friar cares less about Thomas's well-being than his profits and image as a privileged cleric. Even though he may have known knew the original meaning of Seneca's exemplum, he may not have changed his own story to cure Thomas' anger.

Aside from the fact that it is not true to the original point, Friar John's lengthy adaptation of Seneca's exemplum is carefully structured to highlight the negative physiological and mental consequences of gluttony. Seneca's story draws attention to the social ramifications of Cambyses' drunkenness. He criticizes Cambyses' overconfidence in his power and misreading of sensual experiences.

> Cambysen regem nimis deditum vino Praexaspes unus ex carissimis monebat, ut partcius biberet, turpem esse dicens ebrietatem in rege, quem omnium oculi

auresque sequerentur. Ad haec ille: "ut scias, inquit, quemadmodum numquam excidam mihi, adprobado iam et oculos post vinum in officio esse et manus."[77] (Cambyses was too much addicted to wine, Praexaspes, one of his dearest friends warned so that he drinks sparingly, saying that drunkenness is shameful, which all men's eyes and ears are turned away. To these things he said: as you may know, I will never lose myself to such an extent, I will prove now that both my eyes and my hands are in service after wine. *My translation*)

Compared to Seneca's version, Friar John's opening is lengthened by a stronger warning against inordinate drinking.

"'A lord is lost, if he be vicius;
And dronkenesse is eek a foul record
Of any man, and namely in a lord.
Ther is ful many an eye and many an ere
Awaityng on a lord, and he noot where.
For Goddes love, drynk moore attemprely!
Wyn maketh man to lesen wrecchedly
His mynde and eek his lymes everichon.'
"'The revers shaltou se,' quod he, 'anon,
And preve it by thyn owene experience,
That wyn ne dooth to folk no swich offence.
Ther is no wyn bireveth me my myght

[77] All quotations are taken from Seneca, De Ira III. 14, in *L. Annaei Senecae Opera quae Supersunt*, ed. F. Haase (Leipzig, 1852) I, 91

Of hand ne foot, ne of myne eyen sight.' (III 2048-60)

The Friar does not only reiterate the social consequences of drunkenness that Praexaspes identifies. He also mentions the detrimental impacts of heavy drinking on the body and the mind to elaborate on Praexaspes' point of how alcohol addiction shames the lord. It is worth noting that the Friar employs rhetorical devices commonly used by medieval pastoral authors to warn people of the dangers of uncontrolled desire and actions and lead them to behave moderately. The story is delivered in the form of a dialogue between a king and a knight who "loved vertuous moralitee" (III 2046). The knight plays the role of a moral counselor. To teach the importance of self-control, the knight adopts "a rhetoric of detestation", which is used to emphasize that the body responds negatively to immoderate behavior because it is governed by Nature's principle of moderation.[78] Cambyses is advised to examine the detrimental effects of heavy drinking on the eyes, ears, and limbs and to realize the importance of moderation. When he is advised to restrain his desire for alcohol, Cambyses demands further empirical evidence of the negative effects of alcohol ("preve it by thyn owene experience"). Cambyses resists overturning his own judgment about his willpower and the interpretation of the bodily sensations he is currently experiencing.

Cambyses' claim creates a pastoral context in which moderation can be learned through the senses. As Edwin Craun points out, pastoral teaching encourages readers to

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[78] A rhetoric of detestation aims to make people avoid the negative consequences of immoderate desire and practices in eating, drinking, and speaking. For details, see Edwin Craun, Aristotle's Biology and Pastoral Ethics: John of Wales's De Lingua and British Pastoral Writing on the Tongue." *Traditio* 67.1 (2012): 277-303 at 299.

find the mean by closely and thoroughly examining the physiological effects of food and drink and discerning what would effectively nourish the body and the mind from what would harm them (302). In this respect, Chaucer's translation of "parcius" as "attemprely" rather than "sparingly", which is closer to the original meaning, is appropriate to the pastoral setting the Friar establishes by using the rhetoric with which he is familiar. As a result, instead of advocating Seneca's stoicism, the Friar's exemplum thematizes moderation. His choice of rhetoric not only lengthens the original story, but also changes its essence. However, the moral efficacy of the exemplum remains dubious, because his emphasis on moderation does not serve a spiritual purpose. In fact, Friar John is not concerned about the thematic change, as long as his rhetorically well-structured tale can dispel Thomas and his wife's suspicions regarding his spiritual status, reassert his superiority, and yield material profits.

The Pardoner also adopts and modifies the rhetoric of detestation for his own gain in his preaching on gluttony. The harmful consequences of excessive appetite and consumption are noted by using biblical exempla such as the story of Lot and the Fall of Adam and Eve. It is advised to make wise use of the negative sensual experiences caused by gluttony in order to measure one's bodily needs and achieve moderation.

O, wiste a man how manye maladyes
Folwen of excesse and of glotonyes,
He wolde been the moore mesurable
Of his diete, sittynge at his table.
Allas! the shorte throte, the tendre mouth,
Maketh that est and west and north and south,

In erthe, in eir, in water, men to swynke

To gete a glotoun deyntee mete and drynke!

Of this matiere, o paul, wel kanstow trete --

Mete unto wombe, and wombe eek unto mete,

Shal God destroyen bothe, as paulus seith. (VI 513-23)

However, the metaphor of a glutton who searches everywhere for food and drink that appeals to his palate does not necessarily emphasize the unpleasant, unfortunate or tragic aspects of sensual experiences. This contrasts with the *Summoner's Tale*'s story of Cambyses, who eventually murders his own son in a moment of madness.[79] The Pardoner's quotation of Seneca's comments on madness does not provide as much sensual information as Friar John's exemplum of Cambyses does (VI 492-7). The metaphor, however, is inviting. The pleasure of gluttony seems more tangible and palpable than "many maladyes" recorded in the distant past in the Bible or by Seneca. The metaphor challenges the traditional moral by asking whether it is really better to sit at the table instead of looking for more palatable food and drink.

Although the Pardoner evokes an unpleasant feeling by juxtaposing excrement and the practice of eating and drinking, it is rather theoretical and almost forced. Instead of punctuating his homiletic speech with such a dubious metaphor, he could have quoted another authoritative voice, as Innocent III does in *De Misera*.

[79] W.W. Skeat suggests that Chaucer may have borrowed this metaphor from St. Jerome's *Epistola*, Book II, chap. 8. See W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol 8. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1894), 278.

> inde non salus et sanitas, set morbus et mors. Audi super hoc sentenciam sapientis: Noli avidus esse in omni epulacione, et non te effundas super omnem escam; in multis enim escis erit in firmitas, et propter crapulam multi obierunt." "Esca ventri et venter escis: Edus autem et hunc et has destruet."[80]
>
> (…thence not prosperity and health, but sickness and death. Hear the opinion of the wise man on this: "Be not greedy in any feasting, and pour not out thyself upon any meat; for many meats there will be sickness, and by surfeiting many have perished." "Meat for the belly and the belly for the meats: but God shall destroy both it and them.)[81]

Innocent III uses different sources in order to restrict the imagination of the pleasure derived from a sumptuous feast. The reminder of the unpleasant and fatal physiological consequences of gluttony discourages the imagination of pleasure. In comparison to the relatively literal translation of Innocent III's *De Miseria* in the *Man of Law's Tale*, Robert E. Lewis observes that the Pardoner's use of source materials including *De Miseria* is much more selective and periphrastic. Lewis states that the Pardoner "paraphrases, condenses, and chooses ideas and lines from each of the four chapters [in *De Miseria*] in an order quite unlike that of the original, introducing them in the tale as they fit his artistic plan" (8). Whatever his plan is, the edifying power of the Pardoner's speech fluctuates. The audience is not properly directed as to how to measure their physiological desire and control their bodily senses. The structure of the materials and the rhetorical

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[80] All quotations are taken from Lotharii Cardinalis (Innocent III), *De Miseria Humane Conditioni,* ed. Robert E. Lewis (Lugano: Thesaurus Mundi, 1955), II.17.21-6.

[81] I browed Robert Lewis' translation from his edition of *De Miseria*,166

devices used disturb the interpretive process, despite the Pardoner's claim that he can deliver a moral story.

The *Pardoner's Prologue and Tale* and the *Summoner's Tale* evoke questions about the preacher's moral characteristics and his rhetorical power. In *On Christian Teaching*, Augustine notes that the preacher's eloquence does not always appeal to the audience if their knowledge of his immoral life prevents them from listening to him. Yet he advises against dismissing the truth that the immoral preacher's rhetorical knowledge can convey. Augustine argues that "it is possible for a person who is eloquent but evil actually to compose a sermon proclaiming the truth for another, who is not eloquent, but good to deliver" (145).[82] Therefore, the importance of the audience's ability to distinguish a preacher who can convey the truth from one who only imitates what he learns is emphasized in Augustine's discussion. Chaucer also sees the importance of honing the audience's interpretative skills to enable them to detect deceptive uses of the rhetoric of moderation in clerical speech by recognizing the discrepancy between words and actions. In so doing, they will be able to cultivate a better understanding of moderation. The Pardoner and Friar John try to manipulate the rhetoric of moderation to disguise their desire for food and drink. The audience is encouraged to doubt their words and to scrutinize their behaviors.

[82] The translation is borrowed from Saint Augustine's *On Christian Teaching* (New York: Oxford UP, 2008).

CHAPTER 4

"VOIDE AWAY AL SURFETE & EXCESSE": MODERATION AND SOCIAL PRACTICE IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH COURTESY TEXTS

Fifteenth-century English conduct books illustrate the complex relationship between the practice of abstinence and the doctrine of moderation. From pastoral literature, conduct literature adopted the idea of moderation as the social skill of adjusting the individual's appetite to preserve and improve his or her well-being, social standing, and even pious life. Rules about food consumption and table manners were one of the main themes in medieval conduct writings because they envision ideals of social behavior and delineate the individual's relationship and responsibility in the community.[83] In conduct literature, moderation came to play a central role in fostering a healthy lifestyle and appropriate etiquette, contrasting with its portrayal in pastoral literature strictly as a means of battling vices. In this context, appetite was conceived more as something

[83] The centrality of food rituals in medieval conduct literature has been indicated by scholars. For the review of the importance of eating lessons in medieval conduct literature, see Claire Sponsler's "Eating Lessons: John Lydgate's *Dietary* and Consumer Conduct," *Medieval Conduct*, eds. Kathleen M. Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2001), 2. Roberta Krueger explains that social, moral, and spiritual ideals in monastic writings were extended to the lay audience through vernacular conduct books and that table manners and rituals concerning food consumption were fundamental issues for social cohesion and mobility. See Roberta L. Krueger's "Introduction: Teach Your Children Well: Medieval Conduct Guides for Youths," *Medieval Conduct Literature: An Anthology of Vernacular Guides to Behaviour for Youths, with English Translations*, ed. Kathleen M. Ashley and Mark D. Johnston (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2009), xv. Philip Grace connects the importance of moral instructions about food-related behavior to the responsibility of fatherly figures in medieval conduct literature. See Philip Grace's "Fathers and Guardians: Fosterage and Fatherly Provision," *Affectionate Authorities: Fathers and Fatherly Roles in Late Medieval Basel* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), esp. 63-66.

manageable under the guidance of reason in preserving health and cultivating courtesy of manners than as the site of sinful cravings that needed to be curbed through abstinence. Accordingly, the word "greediness", which denoted gluttony in pastoral literature, was reconstrued in courtesy books as a tendency toward social blunders or embarrassing behaviors to be avoided.

To explain the significance of moderation imagined as a social practice in fifteenth-century English courtesy texts, it is important to trace semantic changes to the concepts of gluttony and moderation in association with the concept of abstinence within pastoral and didactic literature of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England. This chapter attempts to contextualize the idea of moderation represented in John Lydgate's *Dietary* by investigating the meanings of "greediness" and "abstinence" in late medieval pastoral and conduct literature. The chapter provides an analysis of Lydgate's *Dietary* to illustrate how fifteenth-century English courtesy texts served as a catalyst to cultivate moderation in the context of social practices. As the Aristotelian idea of moderation enters the discussion of a virtue opposite gluttony in pastoral literature, the discipline of abstaining from food and drink is gradually detached from the ideal of monastic asceticism. Lydgate's *Dietary* makes spiritual food discipline more relevant within social settings, encouraging readers to apply the principle of moderation to modes of social life. The *Dietary* proposes moderation as practical skills to improve physical health and social well-being.

I. "Greediness" in Late Medieval Conduct Literature

Lydgate's *Dietary* is a fifteenth-century Middle English didactic poem about how to maintain health. It is a close translation of the fifteenth-century Latin poem the *Dietarium*, which borrowed its medical content from *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* or *Flos medicinae*.[84] While it was not as popular as *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, Lydgate's *Dietary* was a hit with the public in late medieval England. With forty-nine extant manuscripts, the poem is one of the most circulated medieval works, alongside works such as the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Prick of Conscience*.[85] In accordance with the instructions of Latin sources, the *Dietary* presents a moderate diet or, more broadly, a

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[84] Jake Walsh Morrissey verifies the *Dietarium* as an immediate source of the *Dietary* and disputes an unverified claim that the *Dietary* is a direct translation of *Flos medicinae*. The *Dietarium* only appears in BL MS Sloane 3534 at fol 1-3v alongside the *Dietary*. See Jack Walsh Morrissey, "'Termes of Phisik': Reading between Literary and Medical Discourses in Geoffrey Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales'" and John Lydgate's "Dietary," Doctoral Dissertation (McGuill University, 2011), 223-9. *Regimen Sanitatis* was a popular genre of medical literature in late medieval Europe which derived from the Greek medical theories of Hippocrates and Galen. It teaches how to maintain a life of moderation, particularly in the six areas known as the *sex res non naturales*, which include air (*aer*), food and drink (*cibus et potus*), exercise and rest (*motus et quies*), sleeping and waking (*sommus et vigilia*), repletion and excretion (*repletio et evacuatio*), and emotions (*accidentia animi*), because health is the balance of four humors. *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* is an Arab compilation written in verse later than *Secretum secretorum*, possibly in the twelfth- or thirteenth-century, about dietetic rules loosely grouped in the six non-naturals. Although it is not clear whether the text is a product of the medical school of Salerno, the fame of the school was attached to the poem. Between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, the poem rose to prominence and grew longer, from three hundred sixty-four hexameter verses to over three thousand five hundred. See Melitta Weiss-Adamson, "Regimen Sanitatis," *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Thomas F. Glick, Steven Livesey, and Faith Wallis (London, New York: Routledge, 2014), 438-9.

[85] For the index of the manuscripts containing the 'Dietary', see Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005), no. 824; The most up-to-date list can be found in Mooney, Daniel W Mosser, and Elizabeth Solopova, with Deborah Thorpe and David Hill Radcliffe, "The DIM EV: An Open-Access, Digital Edition of the Index of Middle English Verse", < http://www.dimev.net/> (accessed 22 Nov. 2016), 1356.

life of moderation as a key principle to health.

The generic fluidity of the *Dietary* as a conduct manual and its subject matter led to its widespread popularity. Jake Walsh Morrissey's analysis of surviving manuscripts concludes that the universality of the theme and contents as well as the plasticity of the genre of the *Dietary* appealed to medieval readers because such literary characteristics "contributed to its adaptability in the competitive manuscript and early print ecosystems," as the poem was put together with a wide number of genres, such as medical treatises, receipts, romances, devotional writings, or teaching texts (272). The rich manuscript contexts enabled medieval readers to explore moderate and immoderate ways of bodily care and lifestyle in terms of social manners as well as medical, moral, and spiritual advice and to pursue comprehensive understanding of the doctrine of moderation laid out in the *Dietary*. For instance, Rory Critten observes that the conduct texts in Ashmole MS 61, including *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, *Dame Courtesy*, and the *Dietary* elucidate the ethics of moderation and self-restraint for the late medieval middle-class household and that such "bourgeois ethics expounded in the conduct texts in Ashmole 61 pervade the codex" (118). Devotional texts like the *Morning Prayer* and the *Prayer to Mary* assist readers in internalizing the precept of the *Dietary*. Romance texts like *Sir Isumbras* exemplify the virtue of a life of moderation. However, there is also a tension between the exhortation of self-regulation given by the conduct texts and the emotional and behavioral disorder described in other romance texts in the manuscript, such as *Lybeaus Desconus*, *The Erle of Tolous*, and *Sir Orfeo*. This tension encourages readers to "catch a glimpse of the full repertoire of a culture's conflicted attitudes towards the matter of good conduct" (132).

According to Critten, texts of different genres anthologized in the manuscript revolve around the theme of the ethics of moderation because the bourgeois household context engages both the scribe, who also belonged to the merchant class, and his targeted middle-class readers.

Yet, as George Shuffelton has pointed out, medieval readers would have had no qualms about embracing the emphasis of moderation in the *Dietary* and would even have been eager to receive its instruction because moderation had long been taught as one of the principal virtues (529).[86] Introducing Lydgate's *Dietary* included in MS Ashmole 61, George Shuffelton explains the continuing influence of "surviving traditions of Roman Stoicism and Christianity's insistent balance of feasting and fasting" on dietary moderation in late medieval England (529). Shuffelton cautions against views like Clair Sponsler's, which interpret Lydgate's advocacy for moderation as a response to new forms of bourgeois consumerism emerging in the late medieval economy. Sponsler argues that the idea of moderation in the *Dietary* rejects the traditional model of extravagant consumption by the aristocracy and endorses "the enclosed space of private consumption whose value rests less on public approbation than on individual health and happiness" (17). Shuffelton turns attention back to religious traditions, emphasizing the importance of understanding the socio-cultural context of religious dietary practices to

[86] Temperance was one of the four cardinal virtues, the scheme of which was widely accepted within medieval theology and philosophy. For the development of the idea of the four virtues, see István Pieter Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral thought from the fourth to the fourteenth century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011). In pastoral manuals, the seven capital vices were paired with the three theological and four cardinal virtues or, equally often, with the "contrary" virtues to combat or treat vices. Temperance was usually accompanied by gluttony. See Richard Newhauser, "Preaching the Contrary Virtues," *Medieval Studies* 70 (2008): 135-62.

explicate Lydgate's conceptualization of moderation in the *Dietary*.[87] According to Shuffelton, medieval readers were more likely to understand dietary moderation based on long-held beliefs in the value of ascetic practices.

However, the influence of the contemporary pastoral literature, which contains the teaching of moderation, on Lydgate's *Dietary* as a guide for conduct has not been fully examined yet. As Roberta L. Krueger has pointed out, priests, monks, and secular clerics who were knowledgeable about pastoral care played an active part in the production of conduct literature when they were closely associated with lay education (xiv-xv). Felicity Riddy observes that male clerics were deeply involved in female education, as evidenced by the fact that *What the Goodwife Taught Her Daughter* (the earliest example of Middle English didactic mother-daughter poems) was included in the Emmanuel manuscript, which was a "a friar's collection of *pastoralia*" (69-70).[88] Sir Geoffrey composed the *Book of the Knight of the Tower* for his daughter was after consulting priests and clerics

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[87] The idea of moderation in the *Dietary* has also been examined within social, political and medical contexts Joanna Martin argues that the doctrine of moderation in the *Dietary* reflects and propagates Lancastrian moral and political values. See Joanna Martin's "John Lydgate's Shorter Secular Poems," *A Companion to Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, eds. Julia Boffey and Edwards, A. S. G (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), 87-98; 96; Claire Sponsler focuses more on the rise of the middle class and their moral values as differentiated from the aristocracy's. See Claire Sponsler, "Eating Lessons: Lydgate's Dietary and Consumer Conduct" in *Medieval Conduct*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minnepolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2001), 1-22. For the influence of medical understanding increased by pandemic plagues, see Bryon Lee Grigsby "Learning to Cope with Disease," *Pestilence in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), 127-56 and Charles F. Mullett, "John Lydgate: A Mirror of Medieval Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 22 (1948): 403-15. The recent analytical study of manuscripts has elucidated the importance of the broad subject as well as the generic aspects and literary character of the *Dietary* to explain its popularity in the fifteenth century. See Jake Walsh Morrissey's "'To al indifferent': the virtues of Lydgate's 'Dietary'," *Medium Aevum* 84.2 (2015): 258-78.

[88] The poem is in Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 106 composed in the mid-fourteenth century.

about its contents and format.[89] His book was designed to emulate pastoral teaching. Lydgate was a Benedictine monk who started his literary career after his monastic education and expanded his writing range with the patronage and support of royal and noble personages, merchants, and guilds. He was known as "the monk of Bury" when his moral instruction reached an audience beyond the monastery. The *Dietary* enjoyed popularity among lay readers, who were attracted by the idea of moderation as a principle of governance in line with monastic and church discipline for their physical, social, and spiritual health.

Pastoral literature exhorted the laity to overcome gluttony through the virtue of moderation. Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* epitomizes characteristics of a spiritual guide to sins. In the case of gluttony, a person is admonished for misconduct indicating "unmeasurable appetite," which is against the law of God: "Glotonye is unmesurable appetit to ete or to drynke, . . . this synne corrumped al this world" (X 819-20).[90] Then, the list of regulatory actions including abstinence, moderation, and sobriety is given as a remedy. Conduct books in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England continued to disseminate such pastoral lessons. For example, the *Boke of Courtasye* in Sloane MS 1986 gives guidance on how to exercise self-control by waiting to eat and drink until everyone is served lest one look starved or behave like a glutton: "Spare brede or wyne, drynke or ale, // To thy messe of kochyn be sett in sale; // Lest men sayne þou art hongur

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[89] A citation is taken from Geoffrey De La Tour Landry, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, trans. William Caxton, ed. M. Y. Offord, EETS SS No. 2 (1484; reprint, New York: Oxford UP, 1971), 13.

[90] All citations of Chaucer's works are taken from the *Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987).

beten, // Or ellis a gloten þat all men wyten" (lines 43-6).[91] A similar example is found in one of the Middle English conduct poems in Ashmole 61. This poem is a redaction of Robert Grosseteste's *Stans puer ad mensam*, a Latin conduct poem on table manners. Lydgate made a more popular version of the translation of Grosseteste's Latin text, but the scribe of Ashmole 61, Rate, added more stanzas and changed the wording.[92] While Lydgate's and Rate's versions both enlighten the youth about the danger of hasty eating, Rate elaborates that hasty eating stains a diner's reputation because it is a churl or a glutton who indulges in tasty food: "When thou etys thi mete be not to hasty- // Be well were therof — be it befe or moton, // Or any other metys other pye or pastye, // Leste thou be callyd els both cherle or gloton" (lines 80-4).[93]

It is worth noting here that a community determines whether a person commits gluttony or not. Gluttony is portrayed as a type of social blunder as opposed to its portrayal in pastoral manuals as a sinful behavior. Moderation in the two conduct poems consists of eating and drinking in a restrained manner to avert the risk of making a blunder and tarnishing one's reputation as a member of society. If pastoral literature offers moderation as corrective action to deal with a failure to control the appetite and observe pastoral guides, conduct literature presents moderation as a list of social skills to control appetite to prevent breaking etiquette rules and to increase social status.

Though it does not enumerate the behaviors of a glutton, Lydgate's version of

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[91] A citation is taken from *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS OS 32 (London: Oxford UP, 1868; reprinted in 1931), 178.

[92] For the introduction to Ashmole 61, see Shuffleton, 1-18.

[93] A citation of *Stans puer ad mensam* in Ashmole 61 is taken from Shuffelton's edition. pp. 60-7.

Stans puer ad mensam also clearly concludes that hasty eating arouses sharp reactions from people because it is a sign of voracious appetite: "Be not to hasty on brede for to byte, // Of gredines lest men the wylle atwyte" (lines 27-8).[94] The word "grediness" was commonly used in vernacular pastoral writings and devotional treatises in the fifteenth century to comment on greed for food or gluttonous behavior. In its discussion of gluttony, the *Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, a Middle English adaptation of Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes de Vita Christi*, by Nicholas Love in the first decade of the fifteenth century, cited "the comoun infirmyte of the firste synne of Adame" as a reason why people eat and drink "with grete lust and gredynes" even when they choose wholesome food and drink.[95] Greediness is explained by Love as a failure to overcome bodily temptation and sensual pleasure. *Jacob's Well*, a series of fifteenth-century Middle English sermons written by a parish priest for preachers and lay people, arouses the reader's attention to a desire for delicacies and sauces, which may easily lead to greediness: "For mete is good to man, be it neuere so delycate, so mesure be kepte, & þe

[94] A citation is taken from William Caxton's publication of Lydgate's *Stans puer ad mensam*. Caxton made a short collection of didactic poems attributed to Lydgate including *An Holy salue regina in englissh*. See John Lydgate, *Stans puer ad mensam* (Westminster: Caxton, 1476), reprinted by Text Creation Partnership. Available online <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A06567.0001.001> The stanza which contains the cited lines is not fully restored in Caxton's printed edition. There is no critical edition of Lydgate's version of *Stans puer ad mensam*. A critical edition of the Latin version has been made by Servus Gieben. See Servus Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books," *Vivarium* 5.1 (1967): 47-74.

[95] A citation is taken from Nicholas Love, *The Mirrour of the Blessed lyf of Jesu Christ: A Translation of the Latin Work Entitled Meditationes Vitae Christi*, ed. Lawrence Powell (London: H. Frowde, 1908), 132-3. It is the edition of Brasenose College Oxford MS. e.9. A more recent critical edition is available. Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition*, ed. Michael G Sargent (Exeter: U of Exeter P, 2005). It is a complete collation of the 71 known surviving manuscripts and early prints.

sause þerto be dreed of god, þat gredynes be left" (line 8).[96]

The *Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* and *Jacob's Well* both acknowledge that humans need food for a healthy life while alerting readers to the frailties of human nature: people should heed their appetites and practice self-restraint for salvation because they are vulnerable to pleasure and easily become greedy. On the other hand, Lydgate's *Stans puer ad mensam* promotes awareness as a means to avoid being blamed for greediness, which is a lack of courtesy. *Stans puer ad mensam* focuses more on the education of courtesy than the quest for purification and spiritual perfection. Readers were advised not to come to the dinner table hurriedly and eat their food without consideration of social hierarchy, hygiene, or etiquette. In other words, hastiness and greediness show lack of social sensibility:

> Pare clene thy naylys, thyne handys wasch also
>
> To fore mete and whan þou doost a ryse.
>
> Syt yn þat place þou art assygned to,
>
> Prere not to hye yn no maner wyse,
>
> And tyll þou se a fore þe þy seruyce
>
> Be not to hasty vp on brede for to byte,
>
> Of gredyness lest men þe wold atwyte (22-8).[97]

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[96] *Jacob's Well*, ed. A. Brandeis, part 1, EETS OS 115 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990; reprint 1973), 144.

[97] It is my own transcription of Lydgate's *Stans puer ad mensam* in the British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.II., fols 14-15v. The punctuation is suggested by Professor Richard Newhauser. This manuscript is chosen because Lydgate's *Dietary* immediately follows his version of *Stans puer ad mensam*, and there is no clear distinction between the two poems. The scribe may have placed the *Dietary* as an extension of *Stans puer ad mensam*.

A person develops self-discipline and learns good table manners by waiting until the seat is assigned, maintaining clean nails and hands before and after meals, and controlling his or her appetite. According to *Stans puer ad mensam*, moderation both is realized by and serves social participation.

Interestingly, in Cotton Caligula A.II, Lydgate's version of *Stans puer ad mensam* is attached to the *Dietary* without titles or marks differentiating the two poems.[98] Medieval readers may not have read *Stans puer ad mensam* and the *Dietary* as two separate poems, or at least they may have been encouraged to find unifying themes, although the two poems use different stanza forms: *Stans puer ad mensam* is in rhyme royal and the *Dietary* has ballad stanzas. Indeed, both poems promote the virtue of moderation at the table and advise against hasty eating and being greedy. Yet they discuss the issue in slightly different contexts. While moderation improves the quality of social life in *Stans puer ad mensam*, the *Dietary* offers moderation as alternative medicine in the absence of professional care, apparently turning the attention of readers

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[98] The *Dietary* is often found very near to Lydgate's version of *Stans puer ad mensam*. Jack Walsh Morrissey lists fourteen manuscripts with this feature; Cotton Caligula A.II is one of them. See Morrissey's dissertation, "Termes of Phisik", 219; n 86. *Stans puer ad mensam* and the *Dietary* belong to the first section of Cotton Caligula A.II. These two conduct poems are sandwiched between two romances, *Susannah* and *Sir Eglamour* and Lydgate's romance of moral fables, *Churl and the Bird*. Every work is titled except these two poems, and the title "The Chorle" is even noted in every verso. The word "explicit" appears by the end of the *Dietary*, but not between *Stans puer ad mesam* and the *Dietary*. Cotton Caligula A.II was written in a single hand on paper in about 1450. It contains forty-one works, including eight romances (three of them attributed to Thomas Chestre), ten didactic and religious poems written by Lydgate, and other penitential poems by unknown authors. A Latin chronicle and a page of recipes are added in a later hand. The manuscript is believed to be used as a household book. See Gisela Guddat-Figge's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: Wilhelm FinkVerlag, 1976), 95-7. Denise C. White argues that the contents of the manuscript are carefully organized to present the unifying theme of obedience. See Denise C. White, "BL Cotton Caligula Aii, Manuscript Context, The Theme of Obedience, and a Diplomatic Transcription Edition," Diss. Georgia State University, 2012, 8. <http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/english_diss/97>

to their physical health: "ȝyf fysyk lake, make þys þy gouernance" (line 16).[99] A self-disciplined person who values his or her body is careful not to eat hearty meals, particularly in the morning, but to drink wholesome wine in measure and overcome the cravings of a dissatisfied appetite: "Drynke good holsam wyne, feed the on lygth brede // And with an appetyte ryys from thy mete also" (lines 3-4).

The problem of handling salt more clearly illustrates the different aspects of moderation which the two poems elaborate; the *Dietary* cautions against over-salted food, which disturbs the humoral balance and causes an upset stomach.

> Ouer salt mete doþ grette oppressyon
> To febyll stomakys when they canne noȝth refrayne
> From thyngys contrarye þe to þeyr complexion.
> Of greedy handys the stomak haþ grette peyne (lines 61-64)

Moderation is refraining from the overconsumption of salt and other foodstuffs in accordance with a bodily constitution and preventing illness caused by overindulgence. Likewise, heavy breakfasts and drinking between meals are included in the forbidden list in the same stanza because they are all excessive consumption for the sole purpose of "forward delyte" (line 59). *Stans puer ad mensam*, meanwhile, brings the social implications of the action of taking salt from the table to the reader's notice. Like other tableware in a medieval banquet, saltcellars were shared with other diners.[100]

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[99] The transcription of the *Dietary* in Cotton Caligula A.II is mine. The punctuation is suggested by Professor Richard Newhauser.

[100] On medieval saltcellars, see Jeffrey L. Singman's "Courtly Life," *Daily Life in Medieval Europe* (London; Connecticut: Green Wood P, 1999), 133-4.

Accordingly, salt should be treated with care by using a clean knife, which is not touched by food: "And wher so be þou yne or soupe // Of gentylnesse take salt with þy knyf" (lines 63-4). Diners are expected to hold back from taking salt as they please in order to show consideration for others. In this respect, the *Dietary* and *Stans puer ad mensam* appear to highlight the virtue of moderation from different standpoints.[101]

Nevertheless, the *Dietary* does not discount the social context of the practice of moderation. By linking the two poems together, the scribe of Cotton Caligula A.II points to the fact that the *Dietary* shares ideas of conduct, the code of behavior and set of expectations regarding eating and drinking, with *Stans puer ad mensam*. Physical health goes hand in hand with courtesy in the *Dietary*. The poem cautions readers to beware of "greedy handys" so as to prevent over-salted food from hurting the stomach (line 64) and also notes that a "greedy" desire for variety needs to be controlled to display good table manners:

> Curteys of language, of fedying mesurable,
>
> On sodayn mete noȝth greedy at pe table,
>
> In fedyng gentyll, prudent yn dalyaunce. (18-20)

The *Dietary* makes no distinction between eating in moderation, courteous eating skills, and carefully restrained conversations. Courtesy accompanies self-restraint, without which a diner will be overwhelmed by voracious appetite and fail to learn dining etiquette

[101] Some surveys of Lydgate's works have noted different points only that the *Dietary* and *Stans puer ad mensam* enumerate. In general, they explain that the *Dietary* is about health and *Stans puer ad mensam* teaches courtesy. See Douglas Gray, *Later Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 340; Albert C. Baugh "Ebb Tide," *The Literary History of England*, ed. Albert C. Baugh, 2nd ed. vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1967), 297.

and conversational manners. An undisciplined appetite damages not only health but also social standing.

In fact, medieval readers were probably already familiar with such lessons because contemporary pastoral manuals provided the same warning against gluttonous appetite. For instance, the *Parson's Tale* identifies both devouring food without observing table manners and overeating, which disrupts humoral balance, as gluttony: "the thridde spece of glotonye is whan a man devoureth his mete, and hath no rightful manere of etynge. The fourthe is whan thurgh the grete habundaunce of his mete the humours in his body been distempred" (lines 826-8). Such systematic discussions about branches of gluttony in the *Parson's Tale* are made to prepare readers for confession and restitution because it was important for penitents from different social backgrounds to thoroughly examine their behaviors and achieve salvation. The Parson draws his audience's attention to the spiritual benefits of penitential guidance.

The *Dietary*, on the other hand, reminds readers of penitential knowledge they already possess and teaches them how to apply this knowledge within the demands of social life. This practical guide was most likely to appeal to medieval readers of sufficient social status and wealth. It encourages people to put knowledge into practice to attain social advantage and follow a healthy lifestyle.

II. Moderation and Abstinence in the *Dietary*

Like Cotton Caligula A. II, the *Dietary* was often sequenced consecutively with other advisory writings without a clear line of demarcation. Another example is found in

BL MS. Lansdowne 699, which has twenty-one stanzas: the three stanzas of the translation of a French ballad against the plague, titled *A Doctrine of Pestilence*, eight additional stanzas about more specific dietary advice, and the original ten stanzas which the other forty-eight manuscripts hold.[102] Such expandability aids the reader in building knowledge and exploring various practices that cultivate moderation. One of the additional eight stanzas copied in Lansdowne 699 is packed with health rules telling readers what to do and not do:

> Shortly for helth vse this pollicie:
>
> Voide away al surfete & excesse,
>
> Abstynence ageyns glotonye,
>
> Reer sopers & froward drounk[e]nesse,
>
> Gapying, yinxnyng & nodding hevynesse,
>
> Embassetours afforn sent for the best,
>
> Nase routyng, slombrying & ydilnesse,
>
> Bit agid men betymes go to rest. (49-56)[103]

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[102] Such fluidity and flexibility of the genre can be found in another case. As Max Förster notes, Lydgate's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* consists of the first stanza of the *Doctrine of Pestilence* and three from the additional eight stanzas of the *Dietary* that are included in MS Lansdowne 699. See Max Förster's "Kleinere mittelenglische Texte," *Anglia* 42 (1918), 176–92, esp. 178. In some printed editions, the stanzas are not laid out in the same order as that found in the manuscripts, or certain stanzas are omitted. See Curt F Bühler, "Lydgate's 'Rules of Health' in MS. Lansdowne 699," *Medium Ævum* 3 (1934): 51-6, esp. 51.

[103] All citations of the *Dietary* in Lansdowne 699 are borrowed from Henry Noble MacCracken's edition of Lydgate's poems in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate: Part Two, Secular Poems*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, EETS e.s. 192 (1934; reprint, London: Oxford UP, 1961), 702-707. I have retained the original spelling while modernizing the punctuation. The bracket at line 52 is used by the editor.

At first sight, this stanza can befuddle modern readers because its syntactic structure makes it difficult to pin down what to avoid. It seems quite clear that a healthy lifestyle is not accompanied by late suppers ("reer sopers") and immoderate drunkenness ("froward drounknesse"). Moreover, the poem later repeats this injunction to beware of "rer sopers" (line 138) and of "froward delite" (line 155). The analogy between envoys ("embassetours") and yawning ("gapying"), drooping ("yinxnyng"), and somnolent heaviness ("noddyng hevynesse") seems somewhat ambiguous, although the phrase "for the best" is most likely intended sarcastically. Those symptoms probably carry a negative connotation since they generally precede the actions of snoring ("nase routyng"), slumbering ("slombrying"), and idleness ("ydilnesse"), which are proscribed in the later stanza ("[war] of noddying hedis . . . & slombryng ydilnesse," lines 139-40).

The most bewildering questions, however, might arise from the phrase of "abstynence ageyns glotonye". Is "abstinence" listed as something to avoid? Or what does "abstinence" have to do with avoiding superfluity and excess? The *Middle English Dictionary* gives three more definitions of abstinence beyond the common meaning of avoidance: 1) austerity, asceticism; 2) fasting, fast; 3) the virtue opposed to gluttony. When the meaning of "abstynence" falls within the first and second definitions, modifiers such as "mykill" or "myche" are added to amplify the negative connotation of excessive asceticism.[104] In the same way, there is a very minor possibility that the word "excesse" before "abstinence" may function as a modifier to regulate the extent of fasting practices,

[104] The use of modifiers to warn against excessive fasting can be found in Richard Roll's *A Form of Living*, copied in BL MS Harley 1022: "Summe are begyled with ouer-mykel abstinence of mete & of drynke & slepe". See Richard Roll, *A Form of Living* in *Yorkshire Writers*, ed. C. Horstmann, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1895), 6.

not necessarily diminishing the value of asceticism.[105] However, given that "excesse" is used only as a noun in the *Dietary*, it is difficult to conclude that there is a clear association between "excesse" and "abstinence".[106]

The phrase "agynst gluttony" attached to "abstinence", on the other hand, gives a gentle hint that the word fits the third definition, the virtue contrary to gluttony. In addition, words such as "surfeit" and "excess" were commonly substituted for "gluttony" in late medieval pastoral and didactic literature. Gluttony was often described as "sorfet of mete or drinke" or "surfet in etyng or drenkyng", which leads to lechery.[107] In his preaching about gluttony, Chaucer's Pardoner uses both "excesse" and "glotonyes" (II 514). Thomas Hoccleve's confessional poem, *La Mâle Règle* also defines gluttony by employing "excesse" (line 304).[108]

In the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, Lydgate uses the phrase, "sorffét, and al excesse" to encapsulate the nature of gluttony in the mouth of the allegorical figure of Abstinence:

'Abstynence,' that is my name;

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[105] "Excesse" is given as a noun in the *MED*, but there are cases where "excesse" functions as an adjective such as "excesse price" or "excess sleep."

[106] All examples in the *Dietary* show that "excesse" is used as a noun: "excesse of labour" (line 36), "Dryve out a mene, excesse or scarsete" (line 80), "a lust of fals excesse" (line 82), "[war] of gret excesse" (line 138).

[107] See *A Form of Confession* in *Yorkshire Writers,* ed. C. Horstmann, vol. 2 (1896), 341; Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, line 913; and Richard Lavynham, *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins,* ed. J. P. W. M. Van Zutphen (Rome: Institutum carmelitanum, 1956), 21.

[108] "Excesse of mete & drynke is glotonye". The citation is taken from Thomas Hoccleve, *La Mâle Règle* in *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, ed. E. P. Hammond (Durnham, NC: Duke UP, 1927), 60-66.

And my gorger that thow doste se,

Is I-callyd 'Sobrete,'

To kepe the gorge in

ffrom sorffét, and al excesse. (22634-38)[109]

The *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* is a fifteenth-century Middle English translation of *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*, written by the Cistercian monk Guillaume de Digulleville in the late fourteenth century. It is a pilgrimage allegory about a Christian man's search for the New Jerusalem. When the Pilgrim fails to cross over the Sea of the World, Grace Dieu rescues him by offering the Ship of Religion and leading him to a monastic life. Under the guidance of Grace Dieu, the Pilgrim enters the castle where the monastery is located and meets several figures who work for the house. Abstinence appears when the Pilgrim wonders who has served food on the table. Abstinence is depicted as a "Freytourer," the person in charge of the refectory of a religious house, who distributes moderate amounts of food and drink for the sustenance of life (line 22627). She covers her neck with a "gorger" called "Soberness" and explains how she keeps people who want to cultivate self-discipline in the religious house from falling into the sin of excess.

The *Pilgrimage* deliberately contextualizes abstinence in terms of ascetic practices and monastic discipline, even though no dietary guidelines or fasting rules are given in Abstinence's speech. In fact, abstinence and moderation are fairly synonymous when Abstinence employs "a measurable meene" to do her job: "I kepe hem hool, I kepe

[109] All citations are taken from John Lydgate, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, eds. Frederick J. Furnivall, and Katharine B. Locock, EETS OS 92 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1996).

hem cleene, // By a mesurable meene, // That, surffét be not to blame, lines 22631-3). Aristotle's doctrine of the mean is assimilated into monastic discipline. Moderation is conceived as an effective means of pursuing spiritual ideals. Abstinence, here understood as moderation in practice, does more than save people from physical death. It promotes "holynesse" and "verrey perffytenesse," which should be the "ffoundacyoun off follkys of relygyoun" (lines 22643-5).

Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, which draws on thirteenth-century penitential manuals compiled by Dominican friars, also presents abstinence as a remedy against gluttony and associates abstinence with monastic discipline (X 832).[110] However, unlike in the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, abstinence is conceptualized separately from temperance ("attemperaunce") and other related virtues including shame, satisfaction ("suffisance"), moderation ("mesure"), soberness ("sobrenesse"), and refraining ("sparynge"), though these are introduced as intimate companions ("felawes") of abstinence (X 833-5). Abstinence is recommended in a different manner. Temperance and other virtues should be actualized by practicing self-restraint, such as by not seeking expensive foods or drinks, or excessively decorating food ("outrageous appariailynge"; X 834), or sitting for a long time in comfort at the table ("delacaat ese to sitte longe at his mete and softly"; X 836). The practice of self-restraint itself embodies the Aristotelian principle of the mean and the virtue of "shame" ("shame, that aschueth alle deshonestee" X 834).

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[110] Three contextual sources have been identified: Raymond of Penafort's *Summa de poenitentia* for the section of penitence, William Peraldus' *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* for the exposition of the seven sins, and its sequel, the *Summa virtutum de remediis anime*, for the explication of the remedies. For details, see Richard Newhauser, "The Parson's Tale," *Sources and Analogues of The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel, 2 vols., Chaucer Studies 28 and 35 (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2002-2005), vol. 1, 529-613.

On the other hand, abstinence serves spiritual goals. The practice of introspection and contemplation is required in order to perform abstinence deserving of spiritual reward.

> Agayns glotonye is the remedie abstinence, as seith galien; but that holde I nat meritorie, if he do it oonly for the heele of his body. Seint augustyn wole that abstinence be doon for vertu and with pacience. Abstinence, He seith, is litl worth, but if a man has good wil therto, and but it be enforced by pacience and by charitee, and that men doon it for Godes sake, and in hope to have the blisse of Hevene. (X 832-4)[111]

When rendering his source text, Chaucer adds his own comments to underscore Augustine's point that there would be no merit if abstaining from food and drink did not serve spiritual purposes. Noting a distinction between Galen's and Augustine's discussions of abstinence, Chaucer concludes that fasting should be done "for vertu" rather than for reasons of health. Overall, in the exposition of abstinence, less emphasis is placed on physical health, one of the primary concerns of medical treatises, than on inner virtues and spiritual growth, the value of which was espoused by monastic discipline.

Moreover, not all practices are rewarded in the same way, and rewards are given on the basis of spiritual aspirations, not on the basis of works. Interestingly, the Parson's focus on interiority in the practice of abstinence does not necessarily measure perfection

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[111] Sequitur de remedio gule, idest de abstinencia . . . sicut dicit Galienus quod abstinencia est medicina omnium morborum . . . . Augustinus . . .: "Passionibus non meremur nisi paciencia informentur." Vnde ipsa privacio alimentorum non est meritoria nisi assit uoluntas caritate informata, ut cum quis abstinet spe refectionis que erit in gloria. . . . (VIII 2-21). All citations are taken from *Summa Virtutum de Remediis Anime*, ed. Siegfried Wenzel (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1984), 21.

by the degree of austerity, even though it is encouraged not to be content with a physically healthy life. There is no guideline on the length of fasts or the intensity of privation. Moreover, abstinence is not prioritized over moderation, but they are guided by different, though related, principles.

As seen in the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* and the *Parson's Tale*, the association between abstinence and asceticism became loose when the idea of moderation was interposed between them and incorporated into the discussion of a contrary virtue against gluttony in pastoral literature of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England. Abstinence began to be considered an embodiment of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean or to be accompanied by the practice of moderation. On occasion, instead of abstinence, moderation was introduced as a contrary virtue to overcome the sin of gluttony. In the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, "Sobernesse" is the virtue which the gift of wisdom plants in the heart to remove the excess of gluttony. "Soberness" is defined as the virtue of maintaining right moderation, and the idea of abstinence is subsumed under its umbrella. The *Book of Vices and Virtues* instructs that any kind of spiritual discipline, including fasting, should be enforced in moderation: "it is in gostliche goodes, in fastynges, wakynges, disciplines, and in oþere werkes of virtue þat ben don for þe loue of God and for þe profiȝt of þe soule, mesure leiþ suche reson and suche riȝt as þer behoueþ to þe techynge of attemperaunce and sobernesse" (277).[112] In this way "sobernesse" embraces a wide range of moderate behaviors in which the body and the soul are

[112] All citations are taken from *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme Le Roi of Lorens d'Orléans*, ed, Nelson Francis, EETS OS 217 (New York: Oxford UP, 1968).

governed by reason: "þis virtue kepeþ reasonable mesure not onliche in etynges & drynkes but in all virtue" (277). The *Book of Vices and Virtues* enumerates behaviors from moderation in appetite to moderation in speech, clothing, and manners. In effect, the discipline of moderation illustrated in the *Book* cannot be reduced to fasting or moderate eating and drinking.

Such general guidance on moderate behavior was explored in late medieval conduct literature, particularly in Lydgate's *Dietary*. The discipline of moderation elaborated in the *Dietary* is not circumscribed by the concept of a contrary virtue against gluttony or the ideal of monastic asceticism. Abstinence began to be conceived as a traditional model of self-restraint, and the emphasis on spiritual reward receded. Abstinence does not play an essential role, but at times partially corresponds to the idea of moderation, as shown in the advice not to indulge in a late supper, a heavy meal, a drink between meals, or over salted food. Yet, it is no less important to maintain a healthy appetite than to guard against overindulgence. The *Dietary* explains how to appreciate the intrinsic qualities of food and drink to prepare nutritious meals. If a person is not careful about what, when, and how much to eat and drink, he or she will become less sensible about the mechanism of appetite, and such insensibility causes damage to health.

The *Dietary* copied in Lansdowne 699 further explores the virtue of "natural appetite" by thoroughly assessing and validating how appetite assists a person in differentiating a moderate diet from an excessive desire for food:

Yiff there falle a lust of false excese,

That wold agrotye thi natural appetite,

Thi digestioun with surfetis to oppresse, (81-3)

In terms of a "natural appetite," people have the capacity to moderate desires for food and promote digestion. Without the exertion of self-control, however, they can be blinded by the lure of pleasure and unknowingly allow the body to produce disease through humoral imbalance. In this sense, Lydgate's *Dietary* does not serve to reinforce the ascetic mode of self-restraint, but actively encourages readers to be carefully attuned to a "natural appetite," a sense of discretion to navigate healthier food choices and improve eating and drinking habits.

Lydgate's *Dietary* in Lansdowne 699 provides a good example of how the practice of abstinence was integrated with the doctrine of moderation in late medieval vernacular conduct literature. When compared to contemporary pastoral literature, the spiritual benefits of abstinence become less notable in the practical guide to health, even though the idea of health is not limited to a physical one in the *Dietary*, as seen in the concluding stanza, which encapsulates the two main principles of the poem: a moderate diet for bodily health and charity for spiritual health. The *Dietary* proposes dietary moderation for the individual's healthy lifestyle. As self-controlled performance improves, it influences social well-being and quality of life accordingly.

CHAPTER 5

"AS YE LOVE METE AND DRYNKE":

WOMEN'S CAPACITY FOR SELF-DISCIPLINE IN LATE MEDIEVAL CONDUCT BOOKS

In a book of hours made in Bruges c. 1490 for export to and use in the Diocese of Lincoln, a short moral precept is included as part of a customized supplement of Latin and English devotions for a female owner, Elizabeth Scrope.[113] While it generally follows the model of a common set of mnemonic moral verses (the so-called 'precepts in *-ly*'), which were popular in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century in England, the rhymed precept in this manuscript (*Cambridge University Dd. 6.1*) was copied somewhat differently compared to other manuscripts.[114] The scribe added more lines about the vanity of wealth to explain the value of devotion over worldly prosperity. Moreover, instead of the verb "to choose" or "to wish" taken by other scribes, the verb "to love" was

[113] Elizabeth Scrope left her signature at the last folio of the manuscript. See *Cambridge University Library Dd* 6 I, fol. 145. Elizabeth was born in Yorkshire, 1439, a daughter of Henry Scrope (4th Scrope of Bolton, a descendent of King Edward) by Elizabeth (a descendant of King Henry II). She married John Bigod Settrington, Yorkshire and later Henry Rochford of Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire. Her last husband was Oliver Saint John, Sheriff of Lincolnshire, 1489–90. Elizabeth became a legatee in the 1489 will of her sister-in-law, Ann Harling, a widow of John Scrope (5th Scrope of Bolton), and she settled the manors in Lincolnshire and Warwickshire for life. She died in 1503 and was buried at Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire. For the biographical information of Elizabeth Scrope, see Douglas Richardson, *Plantagenet Ancestry: A Study in Colonial and Medieval Families*, ed. Kimball G. Everlingham, 2nd edition, 1 vol. (Utah: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2011), 120.

[114] The precept is found in four manuscripts including *Ashmole 59*, *Bodly 393*, *Egerton 1995*, and *Cambridge Dd.6.1*. About precepts in *–ly* see Douglas Gray, *Later Medieval English Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2008), 371. It is worthy to note that the precept was attached to Lydgate's *Dietary* in MS Egerton 1995.

chosen to promote better food choices and explain how such educated decisions are followed by a good manner of speaking and the improvement of the quality of thinking: "As ye love goode mete and drynke, // So y praye you bothe speke and thinke" (lines 8-9).[115] Although "to love" can include the meaning of "to choose" and "to wish," the wording may sound dubious because it acknowledges the pleasure of enjoying quality food and drink.[116] Of course, the importance of a moderate diet for a devotional life is noted: "Mesurably eate and drynke" (line 4). Penance, which probably requires fasting and abstinence, is also encouraged: "Use preuey penauance discretly" (line 2). Interestingly, the enjoyment of good meals is also not denied in this version of the precept. It is something to be cultivated, showing not only the level of cultural education but also spiritual discipline. Instead of rejecting or subduing his or her appetite, the precept inspires the reader, particularly Elizabeth Scrope, to achieve moderation and spiritual growth by embracing both the practice of abstinence and an appreciation of food and drink.

This chapter explores how late Middle English conduct literature was designed to instruct women in moderate consumption with the assistance of abstinence and fasting

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[115] Printed from the Cambridge manuscript in Henry A. Person, *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 1962), 25. The punctuation is suggested by Professor Richard Newhauser. Other scribes copied the two lines differently, which may slightly change the meaning. In *Egerton 1995* the verb "chesse" (choose) emphasizes a behavior suitable and agreeable to situations: "as ye wolde chesse mete and drynke, so loke to speke and thynke." In *Ashmole 59*, the verb "willen" (wish) was used: "as ycewol (ye wol?) these gode mete and drynke // I pray yew it to chose & thynke." In this case, the poem solicits reasonable food choice based on common sense. *Bodley 393* has a shorter precept, which does not include these lines.

[116] According to *MED*, when food is the object, "to love" can mean "to enjoy with the senses; to take pleasure in."

and how that message differed in texts addressed to male readers and female readers. Exhortations to moderation for women were often accompanied with examples of gluttonous women based on the assumption that, by nature, women are inclined to follow passion more than reason. While treatises on governance composed for men failed to fully endorse women's capacity for self-restraint, conduct writings composed for women emphasized women's discretion. To explore these ideas further, I have chosen three conduct writings composed for women: William Caxton's English translation of *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, written by Geoffrey de la Tour Landry in 1371-72 for his daughters; Middle English didactic mother-daughter poems such as *The Thewis of Gud Women* and *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage*, written in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the moral precept included in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours. These texts advise women to keep their appetites in check because women are susceptible to temptation. However, women readers were also assumed to be capable of performing dietary self-control to improve their quality of social and religious life. On the other hand, texts like John Trevisa's Middle English translation of *De Regimine Principum* by Giles of Rome (The Governance of Kings and Princes) emphasized for husbands, fathers, and rulers both women's intemperance by nature and their own masculine duty to instruct and govern women. The advice on abstinence in Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* included an exemplar that alludes to the inferiority of the female body. The two royal advice books represent an attempt to assert male authority at the expense of women's ethical competence. My analysis highlights how medieval women readers actively engaged with conduct writings in enhancing their ability to assess the quality of food and drink to promote moral integrity and a devotional life, as shown in the moral precept of

Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours.

I. Dietary Disciplines and Fallible Women

The moral precept added to Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours exemplifies the conflation of medieval guides to conduct and devotional writings. The two different types of advice are integrated in this moral precept, whereby spiritual disciplines of food are discussed in the context of conduct, and social practices at the table are described as the means to develop piety. Fifteenth-century Middle English conduct books continue to assert the value of the practice of abstinence as illustrated in Caxton's prologue to the translation of *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*. Caxton was not hesitant about calling Sir Geoffrey's advice for his daughters, which accentuates the merits of abstinence, "a special doctryne & techyng by which al yong gentyle wymen specially may learne to bihaue them self vertuously" (3).[117]

The discipline of abstaining from food and drink is one of the primary subjects to be taught to women in *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* in which the rules of fasting are given in the beginning of the book next to the first subject of the rules of matins and prayers. To subdue the temptations of their flesh and maintain cleanness of heart and body, Sir Geoffrey exhorts his daughters to fast three or four days a week till they married or at least fast on every Friday in commemoration of the death of Jesus (19). The less they eat, the more they will be rewarded. The story of a knight who was beheaded

[117] All citations are taken from William Caxton, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, ed. M. Y. Offord, EETS SS 2 (London: Oxford UP, 1971).

but survived is given as an example of how a man can be saved from the damnations of sins by means of fasting on bread and water, particularly on Fridays. In addition, his daughters are encouraged to fast on Saturdays in honor of the Blessed Virgin who protects their virginity and chastity. The detailed instructions on fasting and abstinence included in *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* demonstrate that the notion of abstinence as a contrary virtue against gluttony continued to be supported and strengthened in late medieval vernacular conduct literature.

The *Book of the Knight of the Tower* does not impose the moral duty of abstinence only on women because both women and men are susceptible to gluttony and other accompanying sins. Sir Geoffrey alludes to this in the book written for his sons in which the grave dangers of gluttony are also recounted (120). The devastating consequences that women suffer due to gluttony, however, are more than bodily malfunction and damage. Sir Geoffrey cites Solomon's example of thirty drunken women who lost their reputation because of their questionable chastity: "men shold not fynde one of all them good and honest of her body" (120). In the prologue, Sir Geoffrey tells readers that he decided to write about good manners and deeds of respectful ladies and stories about mishaps and vices of evil women because he keenly realized the necessity of teaching and chastising his daughters when he saw the vulnerability of his little young girls who are "deprived of all wits and reason" ("dysgarnysshed of al wyttee & reason," 11). Lack of guidance allows a girl to "haue all her wylle," resulting in her behaving as she pleases, such as disregarding the rules of fasting, secretly eating delicious food in her chamber, and having late meals when her parents sleep, as the example of a spoiled girl illustrates (18). Though she grows up and gets married, bad habits are not easily fixed.

Eventually she loses her eye by the splinter of her husband's staff when he beats one of her male servants who was enjoying a secret meal with her in a private room at night. Notwithstanding her husband's gentle admonitions, she remains "euil bothe for the body & the soul" and gets punished (18). She suffers the loss of her husband's love as her household is destroyed as well as her reputation. The portrait of a gluttonous girl in *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* exemplifies the idea of women and children's physical, mental, and moral inferiority, which underlies the Aristotelian notion of moderation. As István Bejczy explains, Aristotle's account of gendered virtue pervaded Latin and vernacular writings intended for religious and moral instruction in the Middle Ages and coexisted with Christian theology, which did not differentiate women and men in terms of their virtue since virtues were conceived as gifts of the Holy Spirit (7-8). Among other cardinal virtues, the necessity of moderation guidelines for women was stressed by the Aristotelian tradition of commentary on temperance with the assumption that women generally lack reason and easily get emotional.

The need for guidance and restrictions on women's behavior based on their moral defect and inferior rational faculty was also discussed in other contemporary conduct writings addressed to women. Mother-daughter advice poems written in Middle English particularly deal with the education of young girls who belonged to the middle-class household.[118] *The Thewis of Gud Women* (*The Customs of Good Women*), the Scots

[118] According to Tauno Mustanoja who collated all extant MSS of Middle English mother-daughter advice poems, the instruction is directed to young women of the middle class with practical advice on household management. However, Mustanoja suggested that the audience of *The Thesis of Gud Women* seems to be wider than other versions and does not exclude women of higher social standing, given that a proper upbringing is emphasized throughout the poem. See T. F. Mustanoja, *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter, The Good Wife Wold a Pylgrymage, The Thewis of Gud Women* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1948), esp. 79 and 136.

version of mother-daughter advice poems written in the late fifteenth century, brought forward a reason women need to be urged to keep themselves from wandering around and being exposed to bad company:

> At E nocht seis, hert nocht ȝarnys;
>
> Tharfor women suld kepyt bee,
>
> That thai mycht na licht women see;
>
> Suppos it war agane thair wyll,
>
> It kepis thaime oft tymis fra ill.
>
> Fore ful women ar so smytabill,
>
> And til al wykit wycis able, (3790-6)[119]

Women need to be restrained from leaving the house and seeing things at will; otherwise, they will not be able to control their desire. Women are conceived of as objects that can be defiled by such unmanageable yearning. Once they find a way to go after their heart, they end up doing all wicked things. For this reason, women are advised earlier to flee from taverns and drunkenness (line 3760) and to refuse delicious food and drink which lead them to lechery (lines 3672–4). Young girls are particularly subject to restrictions and chastisement because they are capricious and likely to face tragic consequences of unruly behavior: "Gerris madenis oft tak ill endinge" (line 3820). In addition, the youth

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[119] All citations of *The Thewis of Gud Women* are taken from J. R. Lumby's edition of the *Cambridge MS. Kk. i.5*. I follow the editorial decision to retain the original spelling but modernize the punctuation. See *Ratis Raving, and other Moral Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse*, ed. J. R. Lumby (London: Trübner, 1870), 103–112. W. W. Skeat's edition of MS. *G. 23*, in the Library of St. John's College is entitled "How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter." See W. W. Skeat, *The Bruce, Or, The Book of the Most Excellent and Noble Prince, Robert de Broyss, King of Scots*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, London: Scottish Text Society, 1894), 201–214.

are inclined to behave badly out of ignorance ("For ȝouyhed ay inclynis to wyce," 3809) and to imitate a bad model ("ill ensampil see thaim by," 3818). *The Thewis of Gud Women* supports the theory of child education presented in *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*: to attain self-control, women need to be put under restraint when they are still young because a young maiden's undisciplined behavior may not be corrected when she becomes old (line 3812).

Mother-daughter advice poems written in Middle English survived in different forms with various editorial titles, such as *The Thewis of Gud Women*, *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgrimage*, and so forth.[120] Though *The Thewis of Gud Women* is the only version that provides a lengthy explanation of women's moral inferiority and vulnerability, these conduct poems all together raise concern about women's appetites which can be a threat to their reputation. Women were discouraged from frequenting taverns (a disrespectable place particularly when associated with women) because taverns and inns gradually became a male-dominated area, but the domestic atmosphere remained. Taverns and inns emerged as an extension of domestic space in which brewing and purchasing ales for home consumption were part of women's work. The brewer's house gradually became a place for social gathering and dominated

[120] The poem entitled "How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter" is in *Ashmole 61* and *Loscombe MS*. The title is given to the poem by F. J. Furnivall. Under the same title, Furnivall collated two copies in MS. *Lambeth 835* and MS. *R.3.19* in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. See F. J. Furnivall, *The Babees Book* (London: Pub. for the Early English text society, by N. Trübner, 1868). *Porkington MS No. 10* has a copy entitled "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage." For the list of eight extant manuscripts, see Skeat, 201. For the modernization of Furnivall's edition, see Edith Rickert, *The Babees Book: Medieval Manners for the Young Now First Done into Modern English from the Texts of Dr. F. J. Furnivall* (London: Ballantyne P, 1908; reprinted London: Chatto and Windus, 1923), 31–42. Furnivall's edition is reprinted by University of Michigan Library in 2006, available online <https://quod.lib.umich.edu>.

by male customers, but a distinction between a domestic and economic and a social site remained blurred.[121] The presence of women was blamed for "tavern sins" including drunkenness and lechery, in particular.[122] Felicity Riddy points out that the advice to refrain from visiting taverns was included in the didactic mother-daughter poems to reinforce the importance of respectability to the bourgeois ethos (78).

Indeed, tavern haunting is listed as one of the misbehaviors that taint women's reputations: "Ne go þou noȝt to tauerne þi wrschipe to felle" (line 49).[123] Yet, this advice also express worries about the possibility of women's excessive drinking accompanied by the increase of financial means. Compared to the same advice given for men in *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, which was often transmitted together with *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, it is worth noticing that the mother-daughter poem imputes tavern haunting to women's failure to control their appetites and expenditure: "For þei þat tauernes haunten, // Her þrifte þei adaunten" (lines 71-2).[124] The wise man's son is warned to beware of committing sins, such as gambling and lechery, by frequenting

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[121] For the history of taverns and women's involvement, see Barbara A. Hanawalt, "The Host, the Law, and the Ambiguous Space of Medieval London Taverns," *Medieval Crime and Social Control*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1998), 204–23, esp. 205.

[122] For the development of the idea of tavern sins, see R. F. Yeager, "Aspects of gluttony in Chaucer and Gower," *Studies in Philology* 81 (1978): 175–9, esp. 177.

[123] A citation is from T. F. Mustanoja's copy of "What the Goodwife Taught Her Daughter" in the *Emmanuel and Huntington Manuscripts*. See Mustanoja, 158–70, esp. 160. The advice against tavern-haunting appears in all eight MSS.

[124] A citation is taken from F. J. Furnivall's edition of *How the Good Wiff tauȝte Hir Douȝtir* in the *Lambeth MS. 853* and the *Cambridge Trinity College MS. R.3.19*. The *Lambeth* manuscript includes *How the Wise Man tauȝt His Son*. See Furnivall, 36-52. The *Ashmole MS. 61* is another manuscript in which the two advice poems are put together. See Shuffelton, 32-39.

taverns in *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, but the negative effects of "greet myscheef" on a state of prosperity are not clearly mentioned.[125] In *The Good Wyfe Wold A Pylgrimage* included in the *Porkington MS. No. 10* (now *Brogyntyn MS. ii.1*) compiled in the late fifteenth century, the mother-narrator not only enumerates harmful consequences of drunkenness, including "lechery, sclandorynge, and gret dyssese" (line 73), but also advises the daughter/listener to be conscious of the eyes of others and show herself to be socially respectable when she eats and drinks ("Revel þe well in met and drenke," line 72).[126] Women are expected to avoid dainty foods ("fatt mosellys and swett), which demonstrate poor financial management and bring poverty (line 74). The poem clearly illustrates that women's appetites and their food and alcohol consumption were the object of public concerns because it was presumed that women's eating and drinking habits are not distinguishable from their domestic responsibilities to manage the household. Riddy has argued that the various forms of *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* are "the product of a meeting of interests between male clerics and city fathers" who had to deal with women migrants and girl apprentices seeking a better life by joining the urban middle-class household (77–8). The overall emphasis on thrift and modesty,

[125] "Be waar of vsinge of þe tauerne, // And also þe dijs y þee forbede, // And flee al letcherie in wil and dede // Lest þou come to yuel preef, // For alle þi wittis it wole ouer lede, // And bringe þee into greet myscheef" (lines 59–64). See Furnival, 50. The advice about tavern haunting is not included in the copy of the *Ashmole* manuscript.

[126] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the verb "reveal" was used reflexively in the late fifteenth century. All citations of *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgrimage* are borrowed from T. F. Mustanoja's copy of MS *Porkington 10*. See T. F. Mustanoja, 173-175. The *Porkington* manuscript has been suspected to be composed as a household book for gentry family members near the Welsh borderlands. See Auvo Kurvinen, "MS Porkington 10: Description with Extracts," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 54 (1953): 33–67.

however, was not intended to enhance the social mobility of middle-class women, but to reinforce traditional domestic ideals embodied in the figure of the housewife. By adopting the maternal voice of counseling daughters to present a modest appearance and exhibit restraint in material consumption, the author circumscribes young girls' aspirations to be gentlewomen.[127]

In comparison to *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, a conduct manual filled with exemplary stories of disciplined noble ladies and aristocratic daughters, the absence of advice on abstinence in the mother-daughter poems merits attention. In *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, the practice of abstinence is portrayed as the means for daughters and wives to achieve honor. The story of a knight's daughter who was rewarded with a good marriage and prosperity for her disciplined life by observing the rules of fasting is given to inspire women readers (including female members of the middle class) to emulate such an exemplary lifestyle. As Rebecca Barnhouse explains, the prologue to Caxton's translation of *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* identifies "a member of the rising middle class with money and social aspirations," such as Robert Goodwyn, a wealthy London wool merchant who possessed a copy of Caxton's book, as a target audience (29). Caxton encourages upper-middle-class audiences to bring up their daughters with examples of "ladyes & gentilwymen, douȝters to lordes & gentilmen," which the book provides for girls to learn how to govern themselves "by whiche they may the better & hastlyer come to worship and good renommee" (3). By contrast, there is

[127] *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage* clearly warns against a woman's proud look because it makes people wonder if she pretends to be a gentlewoman or behaves like a foolish woman ("callot"). The advice not to exceed one's status indicates that the poem does not promote mobility. See lines 13-5.

no clear connection between the prospect of marriage and a devout lifestyle in the mother-daughter poems, though there is a promise of material blessings. In terms of religious life, the goodwife's daughter receives advice to attend church regularly, behave herself during the service, give tithes and offerings, and feed the poor by charity, but the practice of abstinence is not on the list, and there are no fasting requirements. Caroline Walker Bynum observes that, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, laywomen were allowed to perform almsgiving and fasting when these actions did not hinder them from carrying out their responsibilities to supervise the preparation of food and other household goods: "what women ordinarily did, as housewives, mothers, or mistresses of great castles, was to prepare and serve food rather than to eat it" ("Fast, Feast, and Flesh" 254). It is no wonder that the goodwife who embodies such traditional models of femininity chastises young girls for excessive drinking and conspicuous consumption, but it is not clear why she says nothing about fasting unless she has some concerns about women's capacity for self-control apparently unrelated to housewifery. In this regard, the absence of abstinence in the mother-daughter advice poems can be ascribed to "male anxiety" about women as agents of social mobility, which Riddy reads as an underlying motive of the poems (77).

Male anxiety over women's social mobility by virtue of self-discipline, however, is not necessarily an intrinsic attribute of bourgeois femininity. Abstinence was not always presented to women as a vehicle of social mobility in late medieval conduct books, which included instructions on what to teach women, regardless of class. Rather, the Aristotelian-based depreciation of female virtue propagated by Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum* (completed in 1280) was widely diffused in medieval didactic

writings (Bejczy 9–10). A dietary abstinence often served as a preventive measure for women to suppress their appetites before they are lured by the temptations of food and drink and led to sexual sins. Women's uncontrolled appetites generally indicated their inferiority and instability. In particular, fifteenth-century Middle English advice literature on the art of governance continued to disseminate the instruction of Giles of Rome and to stress the necessity of abstinence for wives and daughters on the basis of their "natural" tendency not to restrain their appetites. The advocacy of abstinence, or temperance in general, in the royal counsels, such as *The Governance of Kings and Princes*, John Trevisa's Middle English translation of the *De Regimine Principum* in the early fifteenth century, and the *Regiment of Princes*, written by Thomas Hoccleve in the same period, aimed to consolidate male authority in the role of a governor by highlighting risks posed to princes and their subjects due to their undisciplined appetites, but failed to fully endorse women's ethical capacity.

The *Governance of Kings and Princes* faithfully conveys Giles's perception of women whose intemperance by nature and inferior rational faculty call for the guidance of husbands and fathers on abstinence.[128] Along with sobriety, chastity, and modesty, abstinence is described as one of the four types of temperance, the virtue which moderates passions under the guidance of reason, opposed to the service of Venus, such

[128] "wymmen folwen passions whanne þei mowe and ben intemporate, for in hem lackeþ resoun and hauen not whareby he scholde be withdrawe fro lust and likyng as a man haþ þat is more irewled by resound;" wyues mot be abstinent, for to be waar of superfluyte of mete and of drynke is cause of incontinencia." All citations are taken from John Trevisa, *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the De regimine principum of Aegidius Romanus*, ed. David C. Fowler et al., (New York, Garland Pub., 1997), 199; 200.

as lechery and pleasure in the sense of taste.[129] Though temperance theoretically lies between delectation and insensibility, the discussion of temperance in *The Governance of Kings and Princes* comes to the conclusion that "temporancia accordeþ more with insencibilite" (71). "Sencible delectacioun" is set against insensibly forsaking all pleasures of flesh more than reason asks (68). However, a disciplined person finds it better to avoid even lawful food than to satisfy bodily needs because consumption easily advances to delectation. It is less difficult to achieve temperance by means of abstinence from food than other moral virtues because it is a matter of willingness to discipline the body. People are relegated to a status of beasts by lack of discipline, which is the vice of children who follow passions by nature; therefore, a prince's failure to restrain, like a beast or child, draws criticism and leads to losing the respect of his people. According to *The Governance of Kings and Princes*, temperance is a necessary and achievable virtue for a prince to demonstrate authority over people.

However, the case of women is different. Temperance through abstinence is also required for a woman to earn a reputation, but it is hard to achieve due to her weak nature and inherent inferiority:

> wymmen ben more inclyned þan men to doo amys and aȝenst forbedyng for þei hauen more defaute of reson þan men and mow worse refrayn þyng þat exciteþ appetite and desire þanne men mowe (207–8)

Women's inferiority legitimizes men's governance over their appetites and bodily desires. It is, of course, not easy. Husbands receive the advice that wives need to be

[129] "Among þynges þat draweth vs to do aȝenst reson is service of Venus, þat is lechery and lekyng of tast, and þerinne stondeþ temporancia." Trevisa, 68.

treated differently from children and servants, and there are various ways of dealing with issues related to wives according to husbands' social positions. It is better (and more effective) if wives are treated gently. The focus of the book, nevertheless, is to teach a man his duty to establish his authority as a husband by monitoring and regulating her behavior with good counsel and admonishment.[130]

Hoccleve also drew on Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum* in his composition of the *Regiment of Princes*.[131] The necessity of abstinence, however, is more amplified here than in *The Governance of Kings and Princes*, and the issue of women's inferiority is more subtly handled. Hoccleve discusses sexual abstinence and abstinence from food and alcohol together in the section on the virtue of chastity ("De castitate"). Abstinence is required to combat all excesses of the body. The reader is alerted to how easily the body is led astray by the temptations of food and alcohol, which pave the way for lust, whereupon the body needs to be "scourged" with abstinence.[132] The advice is

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[130] It is iseid tofore þat wyues, children and seruants scholde not be rewled by on manere rewlyng, for þe housebonde scholde rewle his wif oþer wise þan his children oþer seruants…. And þe manere by þe wyues scholde be ibrouȝt to al þese is dyuerse as housebondes been diuerse in gentelesse and richesse. . . . But riche men and lordes þat been gentile and hauen cyuyle myȝt and power scholde aspie wymmen of good fame and of good age, wiȝse, and of good maners and þewes to teche here wyues and brynge hem in by þew monyciouns and teachynge to be chaast, honest, and sobre, and to haue þe goodnsse þat is irekened tofore." Trevisa, 199; 201.

[131] Hoccleve identified his two sources for the *Regiment of Princes*: one is the *Screta Secretorum*; the other is *De regimine principium* (lines 2038–53). For the sources of the *Regiment of Princes*, see Charles R. Blyth's introduction in Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth, (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Published for TEAMS by Medieval Institute Publication, 1999), 5–11.

[132] ". . . whoso chast lyve shal // Moot scourage his flesshly lust with abstinence; // Thriste him adoun, geve him no place at al. // Metes and drynkes make a soule thral // If the body be reuled by excesse (lines 3796–3800). All citations of the *Regiment of Princes* are from Charles R. Blyth's edition. See Hoccleve, 151.

mainly addressed to a prince whose failure to conquer temptation is perilous because he "hath a land in governance" (lines 3839–40). Interestingly, Hoccleve cites Jerome's advice to a maiden with an exemplar of the apostle's abstemious life. The maiden is urged to exercise vigilance against an abundance of food like the apostle, or more rigorously than how the apostle avoids the enjoyment of sumptuous meals, because the heated temperament of a youth is more greatly influenced by lust kindled by food.[133] By pointing to the vulnerability of the adolescent body, Jerome induces the maiden to acknowledge the difference between her female body and the male body:

> Of continence how maistow sikir be
>
> Of foode delicat that hast plentee,
>
> [stanza break]
>
> And specially now in thy youthes hete? (3821–3)

The exemplary story of the apostle is given to exhort a young girl to emulate his self-denying lifestyle and ascetic diet. She needs to more strictly keep her body disciplined in food, especially when the body is more prone to lust due to her young age, to overcome its inferiority by nature.[134] Jerome's warning of "youthes hete," nevertheless, also

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[133] The patristic association of food with sex made food even more dangerous to young people because their bodies were thought to be warm with an internal heat. Food increases the heat of their over-heated body and leads them more easily to sexual desire. Jerome particularly recommended a cooling regimen to the virgin and ascetic male. For Jerome's perspective on food and instruction on young women's diet, see David Crumett and Rachel Muers, "Food in the Ordered City," in *Theology on the Menu: Asceticism, Meat and Christian Diet* (London, New York: Routledge, 2010), 33–4; Teresa M. Shaw, "The Physiology of Ascetic Fasting", in *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity,* (Minneapolis: Fortress P, 1998), 99–106; Joyce E. Salisbury, "The Early Fathers on Virginity," in *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins* (London, New York: Verso, 1992), 35.

[134] Jerome ardently advocated virginity and a rigorous ascetic diet, encouraging women to eschew sex and marriage and become a man: "As long as woman exists for birth and children, she is as

underlines the gap between the master's mature body and her weak body, his achievements and her instability.

Hoccleve tries to bridge such a gap. From Jerome's advice, Hoccleve highlights the importance of a strong willingness to achieve abstinence and promotes the ability to control sexual desire and appetite for food and drink: "For whoso wilneth to be continent, // Many a lust superflu moot he lete // And likerous; by mesure his talent // Mesure he moot" (lines 3824–7).[135] In fact, it is crucial for Hoccleve to emphasize a capacity for restraint rather than human frailty in demonstrating the efficacy of his advice on governance for a prince when the fate of the nation depends on his ethical conduct. Nicholas Perkins concludes that the exemplars of restraint in the *De casitate* section serve to establish "a clear link between the virtues of the physical body and the conduct of political affairs" (140). Hoccleve's use of Jerome's exemplar, however, does not completely resolve the questions of women's physical inferiority and their capacity for restraint, even though the author finds it useful to encourage a prince to improve the ability to discipline his body and achieve his political authority. Notwithstanding his praise of chastity as the virtue of womanhood and edifying exemplars of virtuous women

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different from man as body is from soul. But once she wishes to serve Christ more than the world, she will cease to be a woman and will be called 'man' (uir), since we all desire to progress 'to the perfect man'" (Quamdiu mulier partui seruit et liberis, hanc habet ad uirum differentiam, quam corpus ad animam. sin autem Christo magis uoluerit seruire quam saeculo, mulier esse cessabit, et dicetur uir, quia omnes in perfectum uirum cupimus occurrere). See Jerome, "Commentarius in Episolam ad Ephesios," III. 5:28 (*PL* 26, col 533b). A translation of this passage is borrowed from Kevin Coyle, "The Fathers on Women and Women's Ordination," in *Women in Early Christianity* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 125–6. Kevin Coyle discusses Jerome's view of the inferior female body as a threat to chastity.

[135] According to the *MED*, the adjective "continent" encompasses a wide range of the meanings of temperance such as "abstinence," "continence," and "chastity."

(lines 3788–90), Hoccleve's advice for princes remains ambiguous as to women's ethical competence.

II. Developing Self-Discipline

The predominant view of the nature of women as weaker and inferior to men, especially if they are young, also permeated the teaching of moderation in late medieval Middle English conduct books written for women as seen in *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* and the mother-daughter advice poems. The hierarchical structure seems to be similar; daughters and young women receive instruction from a father, a husband, a guardian, or motherly figures because women tend to let appetites lead them astray. Therefore, their consumption habits related to food and drink need to be regulated by admonishments and chastisements. However, conduct manuals for women did not cast female readers in the role of passive receiver of advice as portrayed in the guides to conduct addressed to princes. Although there are limits of acceptable behavior described in a statement of expectations, there is still room within the given rules for women readers to exercise discretion. For instance, in *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, Sir Geoffrey draws a lesson from the exemplar of the knight's two daughters in which one ruins her life due to her gluttony and the other is rewarded for her disciplined life: "And by this ensample it is good to serue god & here all the masses that maye be herd fastyng. And to take on her honeste and sobrenes of mete and drynke in due tyme, as aboute the houre of tyerce, at mydday, at souper, at houre couenable after the tyme" (19). This lesson clearly directs the woman reader to the importance of attending mass daily,

observing fasting imposed by the church, and having a meal in due time. In particular, the author sets mealtimes to restrict the desire to binge on food outside of regular eating. Yet, there is no clear direction on what constitutes "sobernes of mete and drynke" (other than fixed mealtimes), such as what to eat and drink or how much should be consumed at one time. From the story of a gluttonous girl who liked to eat soups often and sneak delicious food ("lycorous thyng") away, it can be deduced that food choices should not be made in accordance with taste or personal preferences (18). In this manner, the exemplar encourages the woman reader to figure out and reflect on how to achieve moderation by putting principles into practice rather than simply obeying rules.

In terms of abstinence, Sir Geoffrey agrees with the necessity of teaching the value of fasting to his daughters in restraining appetite and desire as recommended in advice literature on the governance of fathers, husbands, and rulers. He gave a separate chapter to the rules of fasting after telling the exemplum of the knight's two daughters and elaborated on when, why, and how to abstain from food and drink. His advice, however, leaves some leeway for the woman reader to adopt different rules in different situations. The first recommended time of fasting is three or four days a week. This fasting is good for guarding the body doubly and being prepared for mass. If circumstances do not allow a three-day fast, the second choice should be Friday fasting ("And if ye may not faste the three dayes yet at the lest fast frydaye," 19). Fasting on bread and water is admirable. However, if it is difficult to abstain that much, it is required to eat something and not to suffer death ("And if ye fast it not to brede & water atte lest take no thyng that suffreth deth," 19). The advice on fasting and abstinence in *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* does not impose rigorous rules on women or blame them for

making excuses whenever they fail to abstain more. Sir Geoffrey's tactics to induce compliance by his daughters may presuppose women's apathetic, rather than enthusiastic, willingness to carry out a fast with minimal effort due to their weak nature. The story of the knight's second daughter who complains about an "euylle custommе" of fasting fits the theory (18). The advice, nevertheless, by no means discourages the woman reader's use of fasting to enhance her capacity to exercise discretion in determining the best rules for controlling appetite and exPing piety. In the same story, the knight's first daughter makes a "maruaylously deuote" decision not to eat until she finishes her prayers and attend all masses (18). The emphasis of her story lies more on her devotion and ability to self-restrain than her compliance with rules.

In the moral precept included in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours, discretion in performing a fast and other penitential acts is also advised to readers, including Elizabeth Scrope and her household: "Use preuey penauance discretly" (line 2). It is worth noting that the woman reader is endowed with discretional power to moderate fasting. The moral precept allows the woman reader to participate in a negotiation process to find suitable penance. Fasting for a certain amount of time was the most common penance in the Middle Ages.[136] However, medieval moral theologians discouraged excessive fasting, and other forms of penances, such as prayers and almsgiving, could substitute for

[136] Fasting accounted for about a half percentage of penance in early Anglo-Saxon penitentials. See Allen J. Frantzen, "Fasting and the Anglo-Saxon 'Fish Event Horizon,'" in *Food Eating and Identity in Early Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell P, 2014), 244. For the development of the system of tariff penance by means of fasting and other forms of penances, see Arnold Angenedt, et al. "Continuing Piety in the Early and High Middle Ages," in *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, ed. Bernhard Jussen, trans. Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001), 20–31.

fasting.[137] *Speculum Christiani*, a Middle English religious treatise from the fourteenth century, raised concerns about abuses of fasting; fasting without discretion is a vice because afflicting the body immoderately cannot be considered virtuous anymore. Almsgiving is more beneficial than fasting if the latter is merely used to put off eating for a short period or to hoard money.[138] A penitent was required to examine if fasting is properly motivated and reasonably express inner sorrow and contrition.[139] Moreover, the ability of lay women to perform fasting was restricted under male control.[140] According to *Speculum Sacerdotale*, a fifteenth-century Middle English collection of sermons, parish priests received instruction that they should be careful not to enjoin married women to do rigorous penance lest their sins be revealed to their husbands.[141] Women's

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[137] Prayers, almsgiving, and fasting were considered interchangeable. See Arnold Angenedt, et al., 34.

[138] "Ysidorus: What thynge so thou do of gue thynge wythouten discrection, it is vice. For a uirtu indiscretly don is accounted for a vice. Bernardus: No-thynge profiteȝ to bere an emty wombe two days or thr if fastynge be peysede by fulsumnes.... Ieronimus: Ȝeue thou to pore men that thynge that thous schuldest ete if thous fasted not, that thi fastynge be fulsomnes of the soule and not lucre to te poche or th purse." See *Speculum Christiani: A Middle English Religious Treatise of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Gustaf Holmstedt, EETS. OS. 182 (London: Oxford UP, 1933), 216.

[139] The emphasis of contrition can be found in the discussion of the seven modes of absolution including baptism, martyrdom, confession and penance, weeping, almsgiving, forgiving others, and charity in *Speculum Christiani*. The title "De lacriminis" is given to the discussion and the efficacy of weeping is treated first. See *Speculum Christiani*, 214.

[140] For the discussions of the limited pastoral care of women as to confession and penance in late medieval England, see Jacqueline Murray's "The Absent Penitent: The Cure of Women's Souls and Confessors' Manuals in Thirteenth-Century England," in *Women, the Book, and the Godly: Selected Proceedings of The St Hilda's Conferece, 1993, vol. 1,* eds. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 22–25 and Beth Allison Barr's *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Bodwell P, 2008), 111–2.

[141] "If a woman have trespassed in adultery and dare not fast for her husband should not hold her suspect, it is our counsel that she receive the fasting that is worthy for adultery, but let her eat . . . that she be not in no suspect of her husband." See *Speculum Sacerdotale: Edited from British*

fasting could be discontinued if husbands wanted their wives to eat. In this context, the advice to carry out penance with discretion could be used to promote a compromise between the individual's salvation and a woman's uxorial duties rather than simple obedience to laws. Nevertheless, the woman reader is not encouraged to remain a bystander on important matters related to spiritual discipline. The moral precept copied in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours could also enable the woman reader to rely on her own discretion in performing penance, considering that the contents of books of hours are closely related to penance, such as the Penitential Psalms, and the Office of the Dead, and confessional prayers were often added as a supplement to prepare readers for confession and penance.[142] The advice on penance in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours allows the woman reader to utilize fasting and other penances not only to develop her ability to practice self-control and but also to pursue salvation.

The exercise of discretion is required not only in doing penance. In fact, in the precept, the emphasis is consistently placed on discretion and self-control. A moderate level of self-discipline regarding food, drink, amounts of sleep and wakefulness, and

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Museum MS. Additional 36791, ed. Edward H. Weatherly, EETS OS 200 (London: Oxford UP, 1936), 82.

[142] Moral precepts, prayers, and recipes were often attached to late medieval books of hours because of its healing power and assurance of eternal life. The church actively participated in the production of books of hours to provide spiritual guidance for lay people. Supplemental confessional texts added to books of hours, such as the fourteenth-century *De Mohun Hours*, and the fifteenth-century *Isabel Ruddok's Hours* and the *Bolton Hours* show the influence of mendicant spirituality. For the survey of the historical backgrounds, contents, and supplemental materials of medieval books of hours owned by women, see Charity Scott-Stokes's "Introduction" in *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England* (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2006), 4–5; 16–17.

talking is recommended.[143] Sobriety, chastity, and piety are also demanded. The advice, however, does not simply advocate the dominance of appetites to affirm spirituality. It is interesting to note that the precept, probably customized for Elizabeth Scrope, does not limit the woman reader's capacity to appreciate quality food and drink:

> As ye love goode mete and drynke,
>
> So y praye you bothe speke and thynke.
>
> Loue gentel Ihesu feruently (8-10)

This chapter started with the scribe's unique choice of the verb "love" to associate the enjoyment of good food with improvements in speech, and the quality of thinking. If the reader knows how to cultivate taste and appetite, such knowledge can affect how to speak and what to think. Moreover, the verb "love" combines the acquisition of manners, moral education, and religious piety. The reader's love of God can be expressed better when he or she knows how to cultivate and enjoy a quality life. The explicit link between love of food and devotion in the precept is not found in other manuscripts. The moral precept can be divided into two sections: one starting with "love gentle Jesus fervently," which focuses more on devotion, and the other starting with "use private penance discreetly," which gives instruction about self-discipline. In the Bodleian Library MS *Bodley 393*, a collection of theological works by Isidore of Seville and Latin sermons, only the instruction on self-discipline is included.[144] The two lines about food choice, speech, and

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[143] "Mesurably eate and drynke // Wake praye and thynke // Be sober sad and chaste // And talke no worde in waste" (lines 4–7).

[144] For the description of the manuscript, see *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, eds. Falconer Madan and Herbert Henry Edmund Craster, vol. 2 part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1922), 266–7.

thought are left out, possibly because the advice may sound redundant. The precept is copied with Lydgate's *Dietary* in British Library MS *Egerton 1995*, a commonplace book, written mainly by one scribe, including various passages from the *Book of Courtesy*, Gregory's *Chronicle*, and other popular historical poems and romances.[145] The precept includes only the advice on a disciplined life, but the advice on penance is excluded. The scribe's interest in the themes of dietary choice, manners, and morals expounded in Lydgate's *Dietary* is clearly reflected in his choice of the verb "choose" in copying the following two lines: "As ye wolde chesse mete and drynke, // So loke to speke and thynke" (lines 5–6).[146] The advice emphasizes the importance of food choice, speech, and thought suitable to places and situations.

The Bodleian Library MS *Ashmole 59*, an anthology of Chaucer's and Lydgate's works written by Shirley, has a complete version of the precept.[147] It is part of the collection of various moral poems here. In comparison to the copy included in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours, the order is reversed: it begins with the devotion part starting with "Love gentyl Ihesu fervently" and the instruction on self-discipline follows. Moreover, Shirley's copy does not make a clear association between food choice and other manners, but the poem solicits reasonable food choice based on common sense:

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[145] For the list of works included in *Egerton 1995*, see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1853-1875* (London: British Museum, 1877), no. *Eg. 1995*; *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols., eds. H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, vol. 2 (London: British Museum, 1883–1910), 218–24.

[146] See fol. 78v. A transcription of the poem is mine. "ycewol" = ye wol?

[147] For the backgrounds of Shirley's manuscripts and the description of *Ashmole 59*, see E. P. Hammond, "Ashmole 59 and Other Shirley Manuscripts," *Anglia* 30 (1907): 320–48.

"And as ycewol these gode mete and drynke, // I praye yew it to chose & thynke" (lines 11–12).[148] A difference is blurred between the desirability of quality food and the reasonability of choice. The quality of food is determined by rational thinking and such rational choice makes food desirable. Shirley's version does not count the value of a food's sensory properties noted in the copy of the moral precept in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours. The advice also does not attempt to connect the cultivation of appetite to devotion. The final comments that Shirley added to the poem show that he was more interested in self-reflection: "So I pray yowe what is come or was, // Love wele is him þat wele done has. // Nowe lorde Ihesu I crye þee nowe mercy, // To do penaunce or þat I hens dye" (lines 13–16). Shirley's comments prompt the reader to take the advice within a penitential framework. He cries for mercy after examining his conduct according to the precept, and the reader is encouraged to follow his model.

In this context, it is notable that the moral precept in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours draws a connection between the enjoyment of good meals and pious conduct as well as appropriate social behaviors. In fact, an appreciation for good quality food was conceived as part of decent table manners in contemporary conduct writings. The medieval reader of courtesy books learned how to courteously deal with elegant dinners served in the great hall of a noble household. For example, *The Babee Book*, written about 1475, instructs a young noble to taste every "goode metys" brought to him before they are taken away (line 164).[149] The advice not to ask for a second serving assumes that

[148] See fol. 73. The transcription of the poem is mine.

[149] "Eke yf to yow be brouhte goode metys sere, // Luke curteysly of ylke mete yee assay, // And yf your dysshe withe mete be tane away // And better brouhte, curtesye wole certeyne // Yee late

the young reader would take pleasure in tasty meals, and therefore he needs to acquire skills to enjoy in moderation. Yet, it is also important to recognize the quality of the dishes offered by checking their appearance and tasting all. Not only young noblemen but also young middle-class women received instruction on consuming moderate amounts of food and drink prepared for them. *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* teaches young women readers to be careful of "god drinke" or "good ale" offered to them because unrestrained indulgence can damage their reputation (line 73).[150] Respectable women show appreciation of the drink offered by exercising moderation rather than taking too much or refusing to take any. In this manner, late medieval conduct literature describes moderate enjoyment as an expected social skill. Likewise, the moral precept in Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours encourages the woman reader to enhance such skill.

Furthermore, the precept illustrates how the enjoyment of quality food and drink goes hand in hand with devotional practices. Spiritual pursuits embrace discretion exercised in the choice of food (what and how much to eat). Given that medieval readers would be familiar with the idea that a love for worldly things creates tension in a relationship with God as presented in contemporary didactic literature, the precept's teaching is inspiring.[151] The woman reader is guided to differentiate between an

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yt passe and call it nat ageyne" (lines 164–8). See Furnivall, 256. For the publication and audience of the *Babee Book*, see Furnivall, 1–9.

[150] "And if thou be in any place where good ale is aloft, // Whether that thou serve thereof or that thou sit soft, // Measurably thou take therof, that thou fall in no blame, // For if thou be often drunk, it falleth to thy shame" (lines 73–6). Furnivall, 35. Instead of "ale", the earlier version in the Emmanuel manuscript chose a more general word, "drinke." See Mustanoja, 162.

[151] In Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, for example, a love for worldly things causes a man's heart to move away from God and leads a man to commit sins, either mortal or venial ones: "Soothly, whan man loveth any creature moore than jhesu crist oure creatour, thanne is it deedly synne.

uncontrolled desire and a cultivated appetite. While gluttony leads a person to disregard manners to satisfy belly hunger by any means, with the ability to recognize and appreciate the quality of food and drink, a person can lead a pious life. This affirmation of women's capacity for self-discipline is also discussed in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, which was often owned by women.[152] In the exposition of gluttony, the *Book of Vices and Virtues* contrasts unrestrained and undisciplined eating with moderate consumption of good quality food: ". . . riȝht so it is no synne to eete goode metes, but for to ete hem to hastely or to likyngely, in vnsittynge wise. All metes been goode to goode men and wommen, to hem þat by mesure and reasoun vsen hem and þat takeþ þerwiþ þe saus of drede of our lord" (52). Devout men and women are governed by reason, thereby being able to discipline appetite and give it direction. A spiritual life does not contradict the ability to enjoy good meals moderately. The compatibility between piety and moderate enjoyment is also promoted in the moral precept attached to Elizabeth Scrope's book of hours. This customized supplemental advice for the woman reader testifies to medieval women's interest in cultivating their capacity for self-discipline in eating and drinking for a better social life and exercising discretion to express their piety.

Medieval women may not have been excluded from reading Lydgate's *Stans puer ad mensam* and *Dietary*, but the moral discretion Lydgate portrays was not readily

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And venial synne is it, if man love jhesu crist lasse than hym oghte" (X 358). According to the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, a man falls into gluttony when he loves his belly more than God: ". . . for a glutoun doþ gret schame to God when he makeþ his god of a sakful of dong, þat is to fille his wombe, þat he loueþ more þan God. . ." (47).

[152] For the influence of the *Somme le Roi* on lay readers in late medieval England, particularly women, see W. Nelson Francis's introduction to his edition of the *Book of Vices and Virtues*; and Karen Green and Constant Mews, "Introduction" in *Virtue Ethics for Women 1250–1500*, xiii.

attributed to women in Middle English conduct literature in the late Middle Ages.[153] Examples of evil women are often used in conduct manuals, addressed either to men or women, to urge caution about women's appetite and their unstable discretion. In particular, the advice on governance for princes attempts to place women's appetite under men's control by stressing the necessity of the instruction on abstinence for women. However, medieval women readers did not remain passive in the education of moderation. In conduct books written for women, women readers are encouraged to exercise discretion in their social and religious life with their capacity to appreciate quality food and drink and to moderate their behaviors. Self-discipline is presented as an important and expected skill that women need to acquire to improve social well-being and pursue a spiritual life.

[153] Lydgate's *Dietary* and *Stans puer ad mensam* were often included in manuscripts designed for household books for family use such as *Cotton Caligula A.II* and medieval women probably had access to them. See Julia Boffey, "Lydgate's Lyrics and Women Readers" in *Women, The Book and the Worldly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference*, eds. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor, vol. 2 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), 143.

EPILOGUE

THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIEVAL MORAL ADVICE ON SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS OF MANNERS

In the preceding chapters, I have explored the importance of the idea of moderation in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Middle English texts in which lay readers were encouraged to improve their dietary habits and increase their sense of self-control. Pastoral discourse on moderation in eating and drinking enabled the authors of the selected texts to diagnose social and moral problems relating to community food practices following the Black Death and to propose better methods to develop ethical standards and measure quality of life. The authors emphasized that dietary moderation meant more than simply abstaining from food or observing fasting rules set by the Church. Medieval readers learned how to cultivate the discerning capacity to make ethical consumption choices by identifying and evaluating the effects of greedy consumption on the community in *Piers Plowman* as well as by critiquing the abuse of the rhetoric of moderation in preaching and criticizing clerical failures to apply the principle of moderation in daily life in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Prologue and Tale* and the *Summoner's Tale*. Conduct and courtesy books, which proliferated in the later Middle Ages, provided guidelines on how to be attuned to a natural appetite and social expectations regarding table manners. In particular, conduct writings addressed to women readers acknowledged and facilitated women's ability to seek a balance between the practice of abstinence and an appreciation of quality food and drink. The selected texts in this dissertation portray the influence of monastic asceticism and pastoral teaching on

discussions on food ethics and self-discipline in late medieval England. The idea of moderation found in the earlier moral tradition continued to be redefined and reevaluated.

However, the continuity between medieval and early modern ideas of moderation has not been fully addressed since *The Civilizing Process*, in which Nobert Elias sought to articulate "a different type of self-control" in the early modern period by carefully analyzing Desiderius Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium*, a book of manners that gained immediate popularity in Western Europe following its publication in Germany in 1530.[154] The following rhetorical questions by Elias imply that this sixteenth-century treatise on manners reflects the fact that Renaissance people became more socially conscious and restrained than medieval people: "Were the thresholds of embarrassment and shame raised at the time of Erasmus? Does his treatise contain indication that the frontiers of sensibility and the reserve which they expected of each other were increasing" (70)? In his article, "The Social Constraint towards Self-Constraint," Elias further explains that in the early modern period, the consequences of failing to constrain behavior and moderate emotions were potentially greater, while the fear of external powers and physical threats in medieval feudal society gradually diminished (370).

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[154] There is a dearth of discussion around the contribution of medieval teaching on moderation and behavior to Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium* and other early modern books of manners. In the recent English translation of Erasmus' treatise, the translator introduces it as "the first book in western literature devoted to the question of how to behave in society." In the introduction, medieval conduct books were not mentioned, except Cato's works. See the translator's introduction in Desiderius Erasmus, *A Handbook on Good Manners for Children: De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*, trans. Eleanor Merchant (New York: Random House, 2011). For critiques of Elias, see Richard Newhauser, "On Ambiguity in Moral Theology: When the Vices Masquerade as Virtues," trans. Andrea Nemeth-Newhauser, *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS869 (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT, 2007), essay I; Barbara Rosenwein, "Introduction," *Anger's Past*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1998), 2-3.

Compared to stabilized, calculated, and dispassionate self-control in the early modern courtier society, Elias argues that the medieval practice of self-control invariably takes the forms of extreme asceticism, a self-imposed struggle against the maximum enjoyment of pleasures (373).

Even though Elias examines the influence of medieval conduct books on Erasmus' treatise, he simply concludes that medieval teaching on moderation lacks psychological nuances and complexities in its transmission of traditional rules: Elias sees that "[I]n eating, too, everything is simpler, impulses and inclinations are less restrained" (63). His observation not only overlooks the complexity of food culture in the medieval period, but also ignores the contribution of the medieval moral tradition to the process of civilizing courtiers and all other people in Europe. This epilogue aims to show how sixteenth-century English books of manners, in particular *A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren*, an English translation of Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium*, continued to call for restraint, as medieval conduct literature and, more broadly, medieval didactic literature served to raise awareness of the physical and social consequences associated with immoderate eating and drinking. I argue that it is important to recognize and emphasize continuity between medieval and early modern ideas of moderation.

Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium* was translated into English in 1532 by Robert Wittington as *A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren*.[155] It was reprinted in

[155] Robert Wittington was a schoolmaster who taught grammar and rhetoric in the city of Litchfield. He wrote several grammatical works and became a laureate in grammar in 1533. He also translated major Latin philosophical texts, including Seneca's *De remediis fortuitorum* and Cicero's *De Officiis*. For his biography and translation, see Anthony Wood and Philip Bliss, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (London: F. C. & J. Rivington), 1813, 55–7.

1534 following the success of the first edition, proving the great popularity of the Latin treatise. The first and second editions were issued with side-by-side presentations of English and Latin. In general, Wittington gives a close translation of the original Latin text. His translation endorses Erasmus' idea of moderation, whereby moderation (*moderatio*) is recommended in order to maintain good health and cultivate proper table manners. This particular conceptualization of moderation as a social skill demonstrates the influence of late medieval conduct books, as discussed in Chapter 4.

> But measure ought to be knowen.
>
> The body of a childe ought be fed without full belly and rather ofte a lytell at ones.
>
> Some knoweth nat whan they be full but whan the belly is swollen so that it is in daunger to breke or els by vomyt he muste pycke ouer the perche.
>
> They hate their chyldren that sytting at supper longe vnto late in the night suffre them to sytte styll by them.
>
> Therfore if thou muste ryse fro longe supper take vp thy trenchour with fragmentes and salute hym that semeth the greatest man at the table and other lykewise and so departe: but by and by returne leste thou be noted to departe bycause of playe or of other lyght cause. (21) [156]

To achieve moderation in terms of physical health, readers are advised not to eat to the point that their bellies become full. They learn that they suffer physical consequences

[156] All references to *A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren* are taken from Desiderius Erasmus, *De Civilitate: A Lytell Booke of Good Manners for Chyldren*, trans. Robert Wittington (London: Wynkyn de worde, 1532; 1534). The pages of the original editions are not numbered.

such as vomiting if fullness cues are ignored. Good table manners also require moderation. Readers recognize the importance of reading social cues and knowing when and how to leave the table and return so that they do not stay too long over dinner and bother those who need to oversee them. By closely translating the Latin text, *A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren* offers valuable information to readers about practicing the principle of moderation to improve their health and social well-being.

Yet, as indicated on the title page, Wittington, to some degree, imposes his own interpretation of the Erasmus treatise.[157] In particular, his choice of the word "glutton" to describe a person who shows bad table manners is interesting because it reflects his decision to draw on late medieval conduct books in which gluttony is regarded as a type of social blunder, as discussed in Chapter 4. Wittington conjures up the image of a glutton when he illustrates the greedy behaviors of a diner.

> Se that thou put nat thy hande first in the dysshe nat onely bycause it shewth the to be gredy but bycause it is somtyme ioyned with parel as what he taketh any thing scaulding in to his mouth at vnwad eyther he must spyt it out agayn or if he swalow it downe it woll scaulde his throte: on both sydes he shal be laughed at / and take as a foole. . . . And lyke as it is the maner of a gloton to threst his hande in to euery parte of the disshe so it is vnmanerly to turne the dysshe vp so downe to the ende more deyntie dysshes may insue.

[157] The long title explains that the book is an interpretation of the Latin text: "A lytell booke of good maners for chyldren, nowe lately compyled and put forth by Erasmus Roterodam in latyne tonge, with interpretacion of the same in to the vulgare englysshe tonge, by Robert whytyngton laureate poete." See the title page of Erasmus, *De Civilitate: A Lytell Booke of Good Manners for Chyldren*.

. . .

To swalowe thy meate hole downe is the maner of storkes and deuourynge gluttons. (17-8)

Readers are advised not to be the first to start eating when food is served, as it is deemed a sign of greed. They also learn that if they poke around on a plate or turn the dish around, they will be perceived as gluttons looking for the best piece of food. In addition, swallowing food whole should be avoided because it is how gluttons eat for the gratification of appetite. By elaborating uncivilized table manners as characteristic of gluttons, Wittington's translation not only reinforces negative connotations of the word "glutton," but also continues to adopt the very idea of gluttony, found in late medieval conduct books, as socially embarrassing eating and drinking habits.[158] Unrefined diners are to be derided as "glutton[s]" for their failure to acquire and apply self-control to their social life.

It is worth noting that it is Wittington's idea to identify so-called unrestrained table manners as characteristics of gluttony. Erasmus does not use the word "gulosus" to designate a glutton. In its use of the word "intemperantis": "Vt igitur intemperantis est in omnes patine plagas manum immittere …", the Latin text ascribes greedy behaviors to a lack of self-control. Erasmus also chooses the word "balatro" to ridicule uncivilized, immoderate people who swallow their food whole like storks: "Integros bolos subito

[158] A similar instruction can be found in *The Boke of Courtasye* in Sloane M.S., 1986. This fifteenth-century courtesy poem urges readers not to behave like gluttons by starting to eat and drink before everyone is served: "Spare brede or wyne, drynke or ale, // To thy messe of kochyn be sett in sale; Lest men sayne þou art hongur beten, // Or ellis a gloten þat all men wyten" (lines 43–6). See *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS OS 32 (London: Oxford UP, 1868; rpt. in 1931), 178.

deglutire, ciconiarum est, ac balatronum." Convesely, Wittington encourages readers to associate poor table manners with the concept of gluttony, evoking a sense of shame about such behaviors by translating "intemperantis" into "the maner of a gloton," and "balatronum" into "deuourynge gluttons." Wittington's readers are expected to have prior knowledge of medieval moral advice on gluttony and moderation.

Wittington's explication of moderation as a social skill aimed at acquiring good table manners and his use of the concept of gluttony to describe bad table manners demonstrate that early modern people acknowledged the value of medieval teaching on the subject of moderation. Wittington finds it useful to describe unrestrained and unpleasing eating behaviors as the manner of gluttons because he was aware that the earlier moral tradition had taught people to avoid behaving like gluttons. *A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren* is a great example that undermines Elias' efforts to emphasize novelty in the practice of self-control in the sixteenth century. In his discussion of the problem of behavioral changes during the Renaissance, Elias claims that there was "the increased tendency of people to observe themselves and others," which led people to "mold themselves and others more deliberately than in the Middle Ages" (79). However, medieval teaching of moderation emphasized the importance of learning how to control one's appetite at the sight of others and how to behave oneself with moderation. Sixteenth-century books of manners continued to place emphasis on navigating social settings and developing effective self-control.

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