



**CENTRE CULTUREL
IRLANDAIS**

**Gentlemen Scholars: Minding Manners and Polite Society at
the Irish College, Paris.**

Linda Kiernan Knowles

Research Fellowship

May 2011

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
I. Introduction	3
II. The Texts	
i. Torquato Tasso, <i>De la Noblesse</i> , 1633.	11
ii. Charles de Bourdonné, <i>Le Courtisan désabusé ou Pensées d'un gentil-homme</i> , 1658.	14
iii. Antoine de Courtin, <i>Suite de la Civilité</i> , 1675.	17
iv. Saint Jure, <i>Conduites pour les Principales Actions de la Vie Chrétienne</i> , 1682.	20
v. Antoine Le Grand, <i>Les caractères de l'homme sans passions</i> , 1682.	23
vi. La Chétardie, <i>Instructions pour un jeune seigneur</i> , 1682.	26
vii. Baudrand, <i>L'âme intérieure, ou conduite spirituelle dans les voies de Dieu</i> , 1787.	29
viii. Martin-Pierre Crussaire, <i>Manuel du vrai sage ou recherches sur le bonheur de l'homme et sur ses devoirs</i> , 1803 (An XI).	31
ix. A Father of the Society of Jesus, 'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women', printed for private circulation, no date.	33
III. The Themes	35
i. Finding Mr Right: the elusive <i>honnête homme</i> .	36
ii. Being Good and Doing Well: Interior and Exterior Lives.	39
iii. Evolving Bonheur: The Troubled History of Happiness	43
Endnote	45
Bibliography	46

Abstract

This research was undertaken at the Centre Culturel Irlandais for four weeks during the month of May 2011, with the assistance of a research bursary awarded by the Fondation Irlandaise. The project sought to examine the collection of courtesy and spiritual handbooks held in the Old Library in order to explore the themes of civility, spirituality, le 'bonheur', and the relative discourses on the interior and exterior life. The library is home to some better-known titles like Antoine de Courtin's *Suite de la Civilité*, and Torquato Tasso's *De la Noblesse*, but also to some unusual ones too; most notably the nineteenth century pamphlet, 'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women', by 'A Father of the Society of Jesus'. By examining these texts, in conjunction with wider collections, the reader is introduced to the world(s) of the early modern courtier, bourgeois and scholar. This study conducts a comparative analysis of these secular and ecclesiastical publications, juxtaposing the themes, structures, advice and tone of the works, in order to understand more fully the mutual influences of these two genres.

Introduction.

The original holdings of the Library of the Irish College, Paris, were seized and lost during the revolutionary period. The 8,000 strong collection of the Irish College, Paris, constitutes material drawn from a variety of sources in the aftermath of the revolution, as well as material accumulated by the college in the nineteenth century. In the Napoleonic era a new collection was assembled, taken from the holdings of the English and Scottish colleges among others which were held nearby. With the original holdings and their records lost, what the collection can tell us about the secular ambitions of the college, of its librarians, or of its students is hampered. However the volumes gained by the college in the 1790s and 1800s allow researchers to explore several fields of seventeenth and eighteenth century intellectual life. What this short study seeks to do is to uncover the significant holdings of courtesy and spiritual literature stored on the Irish College's shelves. The works held by the Irish College Library represents a cross-section of both secular and spiritual guides on behaviour and morals, particularly editions of the seventeenth century. From the well-known seventeenth-century volume *Suite de la Civilité*, by Antoine de Courtin to the anonymous nineteenth-century pamphlet 'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women', the collection houses some intriguing pieces on conduct, comportment and manners, all of which are suffused with spiritual and religious concerns for the interior life.

It has been said that all that was published in the seventeenth century could be classified as either courtesy or ecclesiastical literature. While it is certainly true that these two genres constituted a sizeable proportion of what was published, the relationship has been regarded as unclear and problematic, displaying the close ties and almost indiscernible borders between the ideals of religious and secular life. The genres of courtesy literature and, later, the less reputable literature of etiquette, were lambasted for their tendency to gloss, rather than reform the character, therefore placing this genre outside the realm of genuine ecclesiastical guidance. However, perhaps conscious of the criticism, courtesy literature increasingly argued that a respectable and forthright character was not simply a case of 'faking it'. The perception and projection of goodness was reliant upon an inner core of integrity; outer harmony and composure were utterly dependant upon inner purity and sanctity. In many ways, the courtesy genre gave

religious lessons new life in the wider world, offering not just personal peace, but presenting it as a means to ‘get ahead’; classically humanist promises. The performance of good deeds, one’s faith in one’s fellow-man, and the presence of inner peace, arise again and again in the genres of nobility, honour and courtesy. It suggests that while the great conflicts of the reformation and religious wars across Europe might have settled to some extent, the central debate of whether one earned, demonstrated or was awarded salvation continued unabated in many forms, especially in the late seventeenth century.

Questions of salvation, of virtue, of man’s place in society and of man’s purpose of existence troubled all types of writers, and were popular avenues of exploration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the lesser-known works included in this study to the best-selling essays of Michel de Montaigne, writers searched inside of themselves, and examined the projection of the self in the wider world with an increasing intensity. The motivations behind this were both circumstantial and pragmatic. The certainty of religious practice and reward had been irrevocably undermined in the sixteenth century, and for writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this instability of belief was played out not just in the mind, but on the battlefield, and in the court. How one performed one’s faith became central not just to one’s fate in the hereafter, but to one’s immediate safety on earth. The proliferation of the genre had as much to do with religious affairs and declarations of faith, as it had with simply behaving oneself.

Instructive guides for the nobility, courtiers and the socially ambitious in general abounded in the early modern period. Building upon earlier chivalric traditions, the works of Machiavelli, Castiglione, and Erasmus injected a vigour into the genre, motivated by the increasingly complex court system, changing political circumstances, and an ever-growing population of educated, ambitious and socially and geographically mobile readers. Machiavelli’s *The Prince*, (1513) Castiglione’s *The Boke of the Courtier* (1528) and Erasmus’s *De Civilitate* (1530) all dealt with elements of court society; essentially how to survive and thrive within it. Beyond these well-known names a host of authors, a good number of them Italian, contributed their views and wisdom. A large number appeared in the sixteenth century, many of which would reappear in reprinted and newly translated form in the following century: Giovambattista Nenna of Bari’s *Il Nennion* (1542), Sperone Speroni’s *I dialogi* (1542), Archbishop Giovanni Della Casa’s *Galateo* (1558), Girolamo Muzio’s *Il Gentilhuomo* (1571), Stefano Guazzo’s *Civil Conversation* (1574), Annibale Romei’s *Discorsi* (1585), and Torquato Tasso’s *Il forno* (1580). The proliferation of Italian works reflects the growing importance of Italian as a literary language, but also more significantly its role at the heart of counter-reformatory debate. During the following century, French would assert its place as the dominant linguistic medium of

the courtesy genre, influenced no doubt by the growing primacy of the French court in the wider European context. The extent of these works and their reach is borne out by their extensive record of translation, re-edition and re-printing over the following two centuries, as well as their citation by new authors in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.

The increasingly complex and consequential ceremonial and etiquette of the court also led to the emergence of protocol books. These large and expensive volumes, like Théodore Godefroy's *Grand Cérémonial de France* (1649) and Jean Dumont's *Histoire de Traités de Paix* (1675) were vastly outnumbered by pocket-sized handbooks offering advice on everything from how to enter a room, to where to sit, and other practical information on manners concerning dressing, eating, drinking, and controlling bodily functions (nose-blowing being a particularly tricky subject). Seeing beyond the everyday banality of this conduct, its cultural significance has been examined by Norbert Elias in his two ground-breaking studies, *The Court Society* and *The Civilizing Process*. Since the publication, and more importantly translation, of these works in the 1960s, the remit of court historians has expanded enormously; some would argue before Elias they hadn't much of a remit at all.¹ Studies on early modern nobility, court dynamics, and centralised monarchical power must all now pay close attention to the role played by courtly conduct, and how that transmitted, and indeed encapsulated, power dynamics at the early modern court.²

While courtesy literature was enjoying a growing audience, spiritual literature was slowly but surely losing ground to the emerging genres. In keeping with the general trend in publishing during the seventeenth century, spiritual literature was increasingly published in the vernacular; whereas Latin titles accounted for the majority of works published in 1600, they held just 5% of the market in 1800. The fractious debates of Protestant and Catholic thinkers formed a large part of the ecclesiastical genre, and yet within these texts many of the sentiments of the courtesy writers are echoed. Coming from different vantage points, the salvos fired by these writers sound very alike. As one

¹ Several excellent works have provided a rigorous debate on Elias' findings; the two most significant are perhaps Jeroen Duindam's *Myths of Power* (Amsterdam, 1994), and Daniel Gordon's *Citizens without Sovereignty* (Princeton, 1992).

² See Orest Ranum 'Courtesy, Absolutism, and the Rise of the French State, 1630-1660' in *Journal of Modern History*, No 52, (September, 1980) p. 426-451, Michael Curtin 'A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy' in *Journal of Modern History*, No. 57, (September, 1985) p. 395-423, William Roosen 'Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach' in *Journal of Modern History*, No. 52 (September 1980) p. 452-476, Lawrence M. Bryant, 'Making History: Ceremonial Texts, Royal Space, and Political Theory in the Sixteenth Century' in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France* edited by Michael Wolfe (London, 1997) p. 46.

would expect the spiritual guides were generally written by those who held ecclesiastical office; the courtesy guides usually traded on the expertise of their author as a man of the court.

Only rarely do we see examples where the author crosses the field and directly attempts to bridge the two genres. The best-known is Erasmus's *De Civilitate* (1530), in which Erasmus advises a young man of all the temptations and dangers of modern life. This humanist work was hugely popular; reprinted 30 times in its first six years, it eventually ran to over 130 editions, over a dozen of which appeared in the eighteenth century. Its continued popularity underscored the seminal nature of the work, not least in that it presented the first elaborated discussion of what constituted 'civilité'. *De civilitate morum puerilium*, soon appeared in German, Czech and French, in the latter, new translations appeared in 1537, 1559, 1569 and 1613.

The short work of roughly thirty pages was dedicated the 11-year-old Henry of Veere and served as much as a treatise of education as one of courtesy. Erasmus offers guidance of all kinds; how to avoid drinking too much, how to comport one's features so as to maintain a physiognomic nobility, and how to incorporate prayer into one's daily life. Master de Verre is advised to be forgiving, patient, responsible and independent in his action, and with these a true nobility will be cultivated. The humanist education indeed promised a spiritual but also practical grounding to help young men in the wider world. Pleasing society at large however was important but so too was maintaining an inner core sanctified by true religious practice. Erasmus's work fused sanctity and spirituality with sociability, and the transitional period of the young Henry of Veere's life in many ways reflected the changing circumstances of the church. While Erasmus may not have rated *Civilitate* very highly in the overall canon of his work, it was undoubtedly a success, so much so that it became a touchstone of reference for all courtesy writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the aftermath of its publication the word 'civility' appeared with increasingly regularity in various languages: French *civilité*, German *Zivilität* and the Italian *civiltà*. While Erasmus was by no means the very first writer to address the issue of human conduct, the impact of his short and succinct work was to push aside all those who had gone before him.

It had been a long time since Aristotle presented the concept and ideal of his Magnanimous man, or Cicero his *honestus vir*. Indeed the Middle Ages were not so dark as their descendents would point out; during this period a multitude of texts survive demonstrating that chivalry and courtly ideals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries provided the bedrock on which later writers would construct politicised and perhaps proselytised texts on how to behave. From Daniel of Beccle's *Urbanus Magnus* (early 13th

century) to John Russell's *Book of Nurture* (c. 1460), from Thomasin von Zirclaria's *The Italian Guest* (c. 1210) to Bonvincino da Riva's *Courtesies* (late 13th century), these works taught young noblemen the basics of princely society. Rather than promoting new ways of behaving, they recorded the traditional ideals of the time, and unlike later works the connections drawn between 'godly' or moral behaviour and noble behaviour are not apparent. There are some exceptions to this however: the twelfth-century works of Hugh of St Victor (*De institutione novitiorum*), Petrus Alphonsi (*Disciplina clericalis*) and Johannes von Garland's 1241 work *Morale scolarium* show some early examples. However one practical distinction between these early works and their Renaissance heirs is the extent of the audience, and the ability to transmit ideas concurrently across the continent. One way in which manners were taught is a lot murkier: the oral tradition. Rhyming verses served as reminders for those who had the privilege of hearing works of courtliness, but not the means to purchase such rare works. By the time Erasmus published his pocket-sized and relatively purse-friendly work the printing culture of Europe had changed dramatically, facilitating the swifter and more affordable transmission of new works.

De Civilitate was certainly the product of compromise; the Christian humanist stance which paid special attention to its application for the secular advancement of its audience, but what of work produced within the firmly religious viewpoint? Like some of the medieval works mentioned above, religious tracts continued to provide strict guidelines on how to behave. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (1548) provides one of the best-known examples and embodies some interesting features. It offered a template of behaviour, it advised readers on meditation and discipline, and it outlined how the senses could be employed in fulfilling these duties. While the Council of Trent sought to definitively codify Catholic behaviour, *Spiritual Exercises* was in ways a precursor to those later religious and secular works seeking fresh guidance with the Catholic tradition. 'Perform the acts of faith and faith will come' advised Loyola; later courtesy texts would counter this with 'First be good, then do well'. In essence this was one of the most central discussions of the reformation, and Catholic writers were certainly as desirous as Protestant ones to get involved in the debate, no matter what Tridentine decrees might say. Unfortunately Jesuit, and casuist, conduct came unfairly synonymous with deviousness, and underhanded misconduct. The truly applicable and useful advice of the Jesuit tradition was trampled underfoot of later political and ecclesiastical moves to remove the vestiges of their influence, as it had developed in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed their very success, fuelled by their efficacy in negotiating the secular world, was certainly instrumental in their downfall.

In the wake of Protestant reform and Catholic reconstitution, the presses of Europe were increasingly busy, and works on conduct, spiritual, courtly or otherwise, formed a large part of the publisher's list. While France and Italy remained the most prolific publishers of courtesy material, Erasmus' adopted homeland, England, also showed a lively trade in courtesy works. However, these were more often than not heavily indebted to their continental counterparts, for example Della Casa's *Galteo* appeared in English translation as *The Refin'd Courtier* (London, 1679).³ Other works were especially popular: Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) and Richard Braitwait's *The English Gentleman* (1631). Interestingly Braitwait's *English Gentleman* had a companion volume: *The English Gentlewoman* (1631), extolling the proper virtues for the lady at court, none of which allude to any ambitious tendencies. This latter title is rare in specifically addressing a female audience. It was in the English editions that one could discern a tongue-in-cheek approach to some aspects of human etiquette: Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* promised to 'recover you from the tyrannie of these ignorant times, and from the common Education; which is, to weare the best cloathes, eate, sleepe, drinke much, and to know nothing'.⁴

This lighter side of courtesy literature however contrasted sharply with a much darker one, a side as much concerned with salvation in the next life as it promised rewards in this one. Within the courtesy, nobility and honour genres several issues continued to draw debate. Firstly, the issue of *honnêteté* and the *honnête homme* pre-occupied courtiers and the authors who wrote for them, but across the century that concept was open to both adoration and ridicule, as the term was alternatively idealised, questioned, berated and revived. Secondly, while the emergence of Cartesian thought on mind/body connections enlivened the field, debates on the relationship between the interior and exterior of the person were already hotly disputed. Della Casa's influential *Galateo* posed the question and answer all too easily: 'The habit then, son, beautiful and becoming on the outside, is inside totally empty, and consists in appearances without substance and in words without meaning. This does not allow us, however, to change it. On the contrary, we are obliged to abide by it because it is a fault of our times, not of ourselves.'⁵ A third ever-changing but increasingly relevant aspect of courtesy and

³ Royston's translation of Della Casa's work was not unusual. Courtin's *Nouveau traité de la civilité* was heavily indebted to *Galateo*.

⁴ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), frontispiece.

⁵ Giovanni Della Casa, *Galateo* (first published 1558) (Toronto, 1986), 24.

spiritual literature is that of happiness, or *le bonheur*. Discussion of Christian *bonheur* give way to more Enlightened versions, of happiness in things other than God or godly behaviour, with increasing intensity during the eighteenth century. In this sense Crussaire's *Manual du vrai sage* presents us with an interesting post-Enlightenment fusion of both secular and Christian viewpoints of what it takes to make man happy.

This dichotomy of inner peace and outer goodness presents the scholar with a number of avenues to explore. What precisely did the inner life mean, and to what extent was the meanings of interiority, the mind, body and soul change in the wake of Cartesian thought? In what ways if any were the concepts of happiness, *le bonheur*, developed during this time, and it is possible to discern a difference between Christian and secular happiness? What links and mutual influences can be examined throughout these texts, and to what extent are ecclesiastical writers especially mindful of their secular audience, that is, an audience reading not for spiritual, theological or moral purposes, but for social advancement? These questions form some of the issues that will frame and highlight the significance of these works in both their individual and collective contexts.

The Works

Torquato Tasso, *De la Noblesse* (1633)

Charles de Bourdonné, *Le Courtisan désabusé ou Pensées d'un gentil-homme*, (1658)

Antoine de Courtin, *Suite de la Civilité* (Paris, 1675)

Trotti de La Chétardie, *Instructions pour un jeune seigneur, ou l'idée d'un galant homme* (1682)

Saint-Jure, *Conduites pour les principales actions de la vie chrestienne* (1682)

Antoine Le Grand, *Les caractères de l'homme sans passion* (1682)

Baudrand, *L'Âme intérieure, ou conduite spirituelle dans les voies de Dieu* (1787)

Crussaire, *Manuel du vrai sage ou recherches sur le bonheur de l'homme et sur ses devoirs* (1803) (An XI)

Anon, by A Father of the Society of Jesus, [Robert Whitty], 'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women', no date [1891?]

Torquato Tasso

De la Noblesse, dialogue de Torquato Tasso, où il est exactement traité de toutes les prééminences et des principales marques d'honneur des souverains et des gentilshommes

Paris, 1633

(B968)

De la Noblesse by Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) is the earliest work pertaining to courtesy and nobility in the college's collection. It first appeared as *Il forno overo della nobilita* (check this) in 1580, competing with the texts of a prolific group of Italian writers concerned with comportment and manners. Printers handled a multitude of titles: Giovambattista Nenna's *Il Nennion* (1542), Sperone Speroni's *I dialogi* (1542), Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* (1558), Girolamo Muzio's *Ile Gentilhuomo* (1571), Stefano Guazzo's *Civili Conversation* (1574), and Annibale Romei's *Discorsi* (1585).⁶ Tasso was already a celebrated poet with strong links to the Ferrara court, but he is best-known as the author of *Jerusalem Delivered*, published when he was thirty-one. His reputation remained strong into the early nineteenth-century, helped to some extent by Goethe's celebration in the eponymous 1780 play, and Byron's defence of him in *The Lament of Tasso* (1817).

Tasso's work was certainly in the poetic medium, however his extensive personal experience and ties to the courts of the Este at Ferrara made him an expert witness to the growing significance of courtly culture, society and behaviour in the late sixteenth-century. Born in Sorrento, he came from a noble family with origins in Lombardy, whose connections crossed Europe, and through traveling with his father, Bernardo, also a poet, he gained a restlessness that would characterise his adult life. He was published at an early age, with the appearance of *Rinaldo* when he was 19, by which time he had also completed studies at the University of Padua. Tasso began work on *Il forno* in 1578, however shortly afterwards his fortunes changed; Tasso's works on the court were marred by his deteriorating social and mental state. Tasso's greatest misfortune seemed to have been a talent for falling in love with the wrong people; with Lucrezia Benedidio, who chose to marry Machiavelli instead, and the most disastrous, his alleged love of the Duke of Ferrara's sister. In 1579, on the orders of the Duke, Tasso was imprisoned by reason of insanity. Tasso remained confined until 1586 when his release was secured by Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua, whom he followed back to court where he wrote the tragedy *Il Re Torrismondo* (1586), 'King Torrismondo'.

⁶ Rudolph Bell, *How to do it Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians*, 282.

Tasso also wrote another work on household management which appeared in English, printed in London as *The Householder's Philosophie* in 1588.⁷ On this count Tasso was not entirely in touch with the reading public, as guides for the management of large country estates were less in demand than manuals for the growing court audiences. However Tasso was known primarily as a poet, indeed his twentieth-century biographers focus on this, sometimes exclusively, and as the author of *Jerusalem Delivered*.⁸ Tasso's popularity as a poet was considerable even into the nineteenth-century, by which time his character had inspired Goethe to pen an eponymous play in his honour, and Byron to defend his supposed love for Leonora d'Este in *Lament of Tasso*. Tasso's best work was certainly in the poetic medium, however his extensive personal experience at the courts of the Este, at Ferrara, gave him the literary as well as social attributes to explore the inner workings not only of the powerful court, but of the courtier's (human) condition. During the years of his imprisonment Tasso continued to write, and his works continued in print. Tasso eventually gained noble recognition of sorts before his death, being named Poet Laureate by Pope Clement VIII in 1595, however he took ill shortly after arriving in Rome and died before receiving the honour.

Regarding the college's copy; while it is incomplete, lacking pages 527 onwards, its significance in the canon however demands its inclusion in this survey. The bookplate indicates that it was from the collection of the English Seminary, Paris, and is also inscribed with the name 'John Jones', and '1726'. The library's copy dates from 1633, however Tasso's work on nobility had previously appeared in France in 1584 translated by Antoine Le Fevre de la Boderie. The 1633 edition was translated into French by Jean Baudoin, a translator of Spanish, Italian, English, Latin and Ancient Greek, who became a founding member of the Académie Française in 1634. Baudoin was well equipped to translate Tasso's work, having produced the first French edition of *La Jérusalem Délivrée*. The opening *epistre* is dedicated to François de Vignerot, Marquis du Pont de Courlay, nephew of the Duc de Richelieu.

Like many others in the courtesy genre, the book employs the popular device of a dialogue, opening with Alcandre and Clidamant, who discuss the merits of the court and the qualities of the nobility. This was a structure which Tasso was particularly fond of, and he employed it in several other works including *Niso, or On Pleasure*, *The Messaenger*

⁷ Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility*, 101.

⁸ C.P. Brand, *Torquato Tasso*, Cambridge, 1965.

and *The Father of the Family*.⁹ Throughout the work Tasso's protagonists debate the great eternal issues including questions on the nature of love, beauty and what constitutes the true state of nobility. Like many of the other sources the work alludes to nobility as a virtue, indeed that nobility, and acting accordingly constitutes a beauty of sorts. Tasso's approach is unlike that of our other authors. The employment of a dialogue is not uncommon, but the manner in which Tasso debates his topics is. It would appear that his confinement during the writing of the work may have had something to do with the increasingly philosophical nature of his work; indeed he offers his views as a 'philosophe' as well as a 'courtisan'.¹⁰ The interweaving of current philosophical debates, including his protagonists' views on empiricism and observation make this work an eclectic, indeed Epicurean, example within the collection.

⁹ Carnes Lord and Dain A. Trafton (eds), *Tasso's Dialogues A Selection, with the Discourse on the Art of the Dialogue*, (Los Angeles, 1982), 6.

¹⁰ Tasso, *De la noblesse*, 18.

Charles de Bourdonné

*Le Courtisan désabusé ou Pensées d'un gentil-homme qui a passé la plus grande partie de sa vie dans la
Cour et dans la Guerre*

Paris, 1658

(B1479)

A first edition of Bourdonné's work which proved to be extremely popular, warranting reprints in 1685, 1688, 1696, 1700, 1705, 1711 and 1713.¹¹ The first edition was printed by Antoine Vitré 'imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, & du clergé de France', who introduced his readers to 'un livre qu'on peut appeler avec raison un ouvrage de bonne foy, puis qu'il est sans artifice, & qu'il part d'un homme sans science'. The publisher is initially quite pleased with himself asserting that this was somewhat of a literary coup: 'J'avoüe que je n'avois pû d'abord me persuader qu'un Cavallier engagé dans la Cour & employé dans la guerre pût donner au public quelque chose d'utile en cette matiere'. However the printer claims that he was soon aware of the fact that he was faced not with a courtly text, but with one that would appeal to 'personnes de pieté', recognising that 'l'amour que l'on doit avoir pour Dieu n'ayent penetré le fond de son coeur'.

Like some of the other authors, Bourdonné spoke from experience, being described as a 'gentilhomme qui a passe rande partie de sa vie sand la cour et dans la guerre (par de Bourdonné, Parisien, gouverneur de la Bassée, et ensuite de Moyenvie)'.¹² The 'Disillusioned Courtier' of the title seems to be in reference to Bourdonné himself and also to the reader, and the volume constitutes his effort to give hope to others like him, by way of a spiritual re-awakening. By his own account, Bourdonné had a long career behind him, having started at the court of Louis XIII at the age of thirteen. By the age of twenty he was with French troops in Holland, but was disconcerted by what he described as the multitude of beliefs and religions in that 'region de tenebres'. He returned to France, where he felt he had experienced all life had to give: obeying, commanding, making friends and enemies, doing well at court, but also on occasion doing badly; in all experiencing the wider world. He attests that the court is indeed a wondrous place, but he tempers this with a deep devotion to God, whom he credits with his overall good fortune. His fifty years at both court and on the battlefield would certainly endear his credibility as an authority on court life.¹³

¹¹ Antoine-Alexandre Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonyms*, Vol. 1, 243.

¹² Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages*, Vol. 4, 20.

¹³ Bourdonné, *Le Courtisan Désabusé*, 438.

The tone of Bourdonné piece is clear from the start, his opening sonnet warns against a life spent in pursuit of physical and sensual pleasures, reminding the reader that while the diversions of the earthly court might be tempting, its ultimately another kind of court where the final judgement awaits:

N'escoute que la chair & ses allechemens, Tiens sous tes passions ta raison asservie,
Enfin il faut mourir, & dans l'éternité paroître au tribunal d'une divinité.

[Do not listen to the flesh and its attractions only, As such your passions, your reason are enslaved, Finally we must die and in eternity and appear in the court of the deity.]

‘Le feu Roy auprès duquel j’ay eu l’honneur de passer vingt-cinq ans, & qui avoit beaucoup plus de lumiere que la plupart du monde ne l’a creu, m’a fait concenvoir le memme sentiment pour un sceptre qu’en avoit ce Prince qui disoit, que si l’on en connoissoit bien la pesanter on ne le ramassareoit pas si on le trovoit à ses pieds’.¹⁴

Bourdonné offers some very well-worn advice at times, echoing Polonius : Considerons-donc bien toutes ces choses, & travaillons tout de bon à acquerir la connoissance de nous-memes, puis que c’est la science des sciences & la plus importante de toutes. ¹⁵ The style of Bourdonné’s work is accessible and his tone engaging, constituting one of the most readable works not only in this collection but in the genre at large. Bourdonné sets himself a familiar task; to explore and assess the attributes of man, his virtue, knowledge, patience and humility among many other things. Like many of the other authors in this collection Bourdonné offers his advice on all aspects of life, intermingling practical topics on the nature of nobility, on the wisdom of marriage, and on the court, with chapters on penance, death, vengeance, on enemies, and on friendship. Discerning a definite line of enquiry by Bourdonné is difficult, as he weaves his ways between these topics. Nonetheless throughout the work the reader is reminded that they are being shown the way by a well-versed and experienced man of the world. Indeed the sociability of Bourdonné’s character seems to infuse the prose with an accessibility and applicability that evades other, more highly-educated, writers on the topic. The structure of Bourdonné’s work was arguably influenced by spiritual texts, considering the initial appearance of the structure of the work. An emphasis on the godly life, on Christian virtues, and on the omnipresent concern of the afterlife is suggested by his introduction, however the text reveals an author clearly concerned with the earthly rather than heavenly life. While Bourdonné’s work might be described as reductive, indeed derivative

¹⁴ Bourdonné, *Le Courtisan Désabusé*, 176.

¹⁵ Bourdonné, *Le Courtisan Désabusé*, 299.

of earlier works, it is nonetheless a fascinating example from a thoroughly-experienced courtier.

Antoine de Courtin

Suite de la Civilité Française et des règles pour converser et se conduire avec les incivils et les fâcheux

Paris, 1675

(B1026)

Courtin's *Suite de la Civilité* constitutes one of the most influential and ubiquitous works of the courtesy genre in the seventeenth century. Following its initial publication in 1671, the work was quickly reprinted numerous times. The college's edition was published by Helie (Élie) Josset (1636-1711) in 1675 at his premises at the corner of rue de la Parcheminerie on rue Saint-Jacques, a busy printing house known primarily for its publication of religious and historical titles. This work proved to be popular and various editions appeared, right up until the eve of the revolution. It was one his many titles which included *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité* (Paris, 1671) *Traité de la paresse, ou l'Art de bien employer le temps en toutes sortes de conditions* (Paris, 1673)

Antoine de Courtin (1622-1685) was a convincing author.¹⁶ His background confirmed his authority on court affairs and how to navigate diplomatic waters successfully. The son of a government official in the Auvergne, he served at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden on the recommendation of the French ambassador to Sweden. Building on the extensive experience of his early career Courtin served as diplomat to the northern countries under Louis XIV. However following his unblemished service Courtin appears to have retired to a life of piety sometime in the late 1660s, and this is certainly borne out by the overall tone of his work. In the *avertissement* the author outlines the pitfalls, insults and indignities one may have to suffer in the wider world, and how one must deal with these little annoyances, but always in a graceful way. Nuggets of advice such as the proviso that one must remain helpful in any social scene, one must maintain composure and not to show disdain for anyone while remaining selective in expressing admiration, lest one's good opinion become devalued for it. One should not spend any length of time deciphering small slights of injustices one might have imagined to have suffered.¹⁷ In short, all were designed to create a harmonious member of society, whether too optimistic a plan or not.

This clearly was a step beyond the early works which focused on outward appearance and decorum; while Erasmus certainly gave

¹⁶ Kamal Farid, *Antoine de Courtin (1622-1685), étude critique*, Paris, 1969

¹⁷ 'C'est donc par où s'exprime le méprise; et cette enumeration nous fait voir combine on se preoccupe, en prenant souvent de gaiété de Coeur pour injure, des actions et des paroles qui ne sont nullement ny injurieuses', *Suite de la Civilité*, 61.

thought to inner sanctity, *De Civilitate*, was as much about how to hold one's drink as it was about moral restoration. De Courtin's work clearly transmits and reinvigorates central Christian ideals, dressing them for success in the material world, and infusing them with secular relevance. 'Treat others as one would like to be treated' sums up much of the advice. *Suite de la Civilité*, in addition to *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité*, were extremely popular works,¹⁸ but they were far from being complete originals. While Courtin's work represented a departure into the moralising potential of courtesy literature, he was indebted to earlier works. V.B. Hetzel has traced the influence of the Jesuit manual *Bienséance de la Conversation entre les hommes* (Port-à-Mousson, 1618), and in turn the influence of Della Casa's *Galateo* (1558) on this work. It is certain that Courtin borrowed heavily from Della Casa; in fact he reproduced certain passages in their entirety. This was not unusual practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was considered a tribute rather than as plagiarism. Nonetheless, Courtin points out recent changes in behaviour, while using Della Casa as his starting-point.¹⁹ Courtin is very specific on human behaviour in his works. In *Nouveau Traité*, he minutely examines human behaviour, table manners, comportment, and how to show due deference. Indeed one of the truest guides provided by Courtin resonates in various works at this time:

Or nous ne sçaurions pratiquer cette science, si nous n'observons exactement les quatre circonstances qui suivent. La première est de comporter chacun selon son âge et sa condition. La seconde de prendre toujours garde à la qualité de la personne avec laquelle on traite. Le troisième de bien observer le temps. Et la quatrième de regarder le lieu où on se rencontre.²⁰ : Knowing one's place in society was an essential pre-requisite if one was to succeed.

Suite de la Civilité adopts a more philosophical tone, and moves on from the finer points of conduct. The more nebulous issues of human nature, of vengeance and honour, concern Courtin in this work, perhaps explaining why it is the less popular of his civility works. The *bons sens* of man is treated as a sacred thing, tantamount to his own bodily mortality, and that to injure it should be seen as equal to murder ; Courtin is far from timid in defending the subject of his writings. However time and again he promotes the patient response, and humility. Rather than react harshly to perceived

¹⁸ Multiple editions of each work appeared: *Nouveau Traité*: 1671, 1672, 1675, 1676, 1679, 1682, 1689, 1695, 1702, 1708, 1712, 1719, 1728, 1766, *Suite de la Civilité*: 1675, 1680 (twice), 1717

¹⁹ Norbert Elias traces the development of various modes of behaviour and includes many examples from Courtin in his extensive analysis: *The Civilising Process*, 85, 91, 97-98, 101-102, 108, 109, 115 etc.

²⁰ Antoine de Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, (Paris, 1675), preface.

insults one should embrace a toleration of those, perhaps imagined, enemies. ‘C’est donc par où s’exprime le mépris, et cette enumeration nous fait voir combien on se precoccupe, en prenant souvent de gaiété de coeur pour injure, des actions et des paroles qui ne sont nullement offençantes ny injurieuses’.²¹ This appeal to humility and restraint is present in many of the works.

Courtin returns to the role of God in man’s behaviour repeatedly. The role of reason in human nature is downplayed, showing the impact of ongoing debates regarding Cartesian rationalism. Courtin refutes reason however, infavour of God’s laws : ‘Mais cette raison est foible d’elle même, elle cherche de la lumière pour parvenir à la connoissance de la perfection où elle se porte naturellement ; elle consulte pour cela les loix, mais particulièrement les loix de Dieu’.²² He also explains the orders of society as part of God’s plan, and that the ultimate instruction comes from Jesus Christ. The presence of so much religious moralizing places Courtin’s work firmly at the centre of the courtesy genre, well beyond the range of the ‘immoral’ and ‘exterior’ literature of etiquette. Whether read to foster peace at increasingly fractious courts or as a reflection of true Christian sentiment, of ‘turning the other cheek’, these works fulfil both courtly and Christian duties in many cases, leaving the reader to follow, at times, indistinguishable paths.

²¹ Antoine de Courtin, *Suite de la Civilité*, 61.

²² Courtin, *Suite de la Civilité*, 85, 91.

Joachim Trotti de La Chétardie
Instructions pour un jeune seigneur, ou l'Idée d'un gallant homme
Paris, 1682
(B1712)

A first edition of La Chétardie's succinct but fervently religious guide, which was quickly translated into English, by Bentley and Marnes, London.²³ This copy is signed Francis Cottington, presumably a member of either the Scottish or English colleges (alas too late to be *the* Francis Cottington). Joachim de La Chétardie (1636-1714) wrote numerous titles in French and Latin, publishing many before he took office as curé of Saint-Sulpice in 1696. Unusually for a French author, Chétardie produced a companion volume for '*jeune seigneur*' in the form of an *Instruction pour une jeune princesse, ou l'Idée d'une bonnête femme*, produced by the same publisher, T. Girard two years later in 1684. Both works proved popular, *Jeune homme* was reprinted in 1683 (both in French and English translation), 1700, 1701, 1702, and 1714 (in German), and *Jeune princesse* in 1688, 1697, 1700, 1701, and in re-edited form with the work of Fénelon in 1754 and 1758. Considering his later appointment to the church it is unsurprising due to find many of Chétardie's other works primarily concerned with theological matters. The sense that this is indeed a world for the younger gentlemen is borne out in warnings against *raillerie* for example, advising that what one might consider good fun could end up being source of alarm or distress for others. In defence of rambunctiousness however the author describes it as a 'combat d'esprit'.²⁴ And it is to the popular subject of *l'esprit* that the author turns to on repeated occasions: 'La vie d'un Courtisan doit etre une continuelle étude de souplesses d'esprit'.²⁵

The work also exhorts its young men to observe the status quo. While he was expected to respect his superiors and to recognize his inferiors the young man should be civil to all, but always mindful that the composition of society was the right thing. 'Il n'y a rien si juste, que la subordination, & on la doit plus régulièrement garder dans la conversation, parce que les paroles s'envolent, & que les choses écrites demeurant'.²⁶ This transcended all levels of communication, especially in written correspondence.

The strong devotion the *jeune seigneur* owes to God is apparent from the first pages of this work:

²³ Trotti de La Chétardie, *Instructions for . . .* London, 1683, British Library.

²⁴ La Chétardie, *Instructions pour un jeune seigneur*, 33.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 92.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 135.

‘Après Dieu, rien ne vous doit ester sic her en ce monde que vôtre honneur. Vous devez songer que la perte en est irreparable; que c’est le monde qui en est le Juge; que le monde ne pardonne rien, moins encores aux Personnes de vostre rang, qu’à ceux que la naissance ou la mauvaise fortune, ont place dans un étage plus bas, parce que naturellement l’envie s’attache plus aux choses élevées, que par cette raison, plus on a de qualité, plus on doit avoir de merité, & qu’un grand Seigneur sans estime, est plus digne de pitié que d’envie.’²⁷

The connections between nobility and Christian duty resonate here. Chétardie certainly reminds the reader of traditional Christian teachings, and references to God, but he does not overuse them, instead employing them as anchors to worldly behaviour. As a man of the church, one would expect much more theological reasoning, however even Bourdonné, the self-confessed man of the world incorporates a lot more. Indeed at times Chétardie advises paying closer attention to the ‘Maxims of the World’, than those of the Gospels, even though he couches his message carefully.

The work is also charming in its succinctness at times. Throughout the book additions in the margins are made consisting of snippets of advice such as ‘Dy-moy qui tu voy, je te diray qui tu es’.²⁸ These easily recalled nuggets of advice would surely endear the work to a reader sorely in need of swift and snappy guidance when dealing with the vagaries of the court. Indeed the English translation went further and added a list of maxims which each gentleman should practice, but in keeping with the Christian morals of the French original. ‘Who prefers the pleasures of his Body, before the Salvation of his Soul, suffers the Man to be drowned while he is saving his Cloak’, ‘Who goes slowly in the Practice of good Works, runs swiftly in the way to Hell’, and ‘Pride is a puffing up of the Spirit, which no less Corrupts all the good Qualities that a proud man can have, than the swelling of the Stomach does after all the good Dispositions that a Body can be posses’d off’.²⁹

This last piece of advice on observing the control of bodily desires is a recurring theme throughout the courtesy genre, and indeed echoes the Christian ideal of avoiding gluttony and greed. As Erasmus advised his young nobleman to avoid drinking to excess, and to be aware of the evils therein, so too does Chétardie issue warnings against this particular vice. Interestingly Chétardie reveals his belief in the beneficial role women play in ‘civilising’ men in these sentiments: ‘For Drunkenness, as of all Vices there is none less

²⁷ La Chétardie, *Instructions pour un jeune seigneur*, preface.

²⁸ La Chétardie, *Instructions pour un jeune seigneur*, 14.

²⁹ La Chétardie, *Instructions for a young nobleman*, (London, 1683), 66-67, 71.

in the mode than it, and that the Ladies whose Commerce so much contributes to the polishing a Gentleman, cannot bear with it, so it produces the worst effects imaginable.³⁰ While the courtesy genre as a whole does not often turn its attention to the specific roles of women at the court, Chétardie is one of the few who issue guides to the young gentlewoman or noblewoman. The general trend shows that more were printed in England than in France for example, and whether this is influenced in some part by the official exclusion of women from power in France requires further investigation. While Salic Law operated in France women operated ‘under the radar’ thus negating the need for guides on how to ‘perform’ like their male counter-parts. At the English court, the intermittent presence of a female monarch perhaps promoted the more formalised role of aristocratic women in the realm of court society, even if they wielded no significant influence.

At the heart of Chétardie’s work is the aim of living a life of integrity, a goal reflected not only in this work but in several others published during his lifetime. There is especially a religious tone to these works; *Catechisme ou Abregé de la doctrine chrétienne*, (1690) which was organized in five parts ‘Ce que nous devons croire’, ‘Ce que nous devons recevoir’, ‘Ce que nous devons faire’, ‘Ce que nous devons éditer’ and ‘Ce que nous devons méditer’. Other works included *Compendia quorundam tractatum moralium* (1691) and *Explication de l’Apocalypse par l’histoire ecclésiastique* (1692).

³⁰ La Chétardie, *Instructions for a young nobleman*, 10.

Antoine Le Grand
*Les caractères de l'homme sans passions*³¹
Paris, 1682
(B 1707)

This work by Antoine Le Grand was previously unidentified in the collection of the library. Originally catalogued as an anonymous work entitled 'L'Homme sans passions', the copy of the Old Library is lacking title pages as well those beyond page 352. Judging by the layout of the work and the number of missing pages, this copy is most likely the edition published by J. Le Gras in Paris in 1682.³² Le Grand's work first appeared in 1662 as *Le sage des Stoïques, ou l'homme sans passions. Selon des sentimens de Senèque*, published in The Hague. The following year it was published anonymously in Paris as *Les caractères de l'homme dans passions, selon les sentimens de Senèque*. Its popularity grew slowly across Europe, being published again in Lyons in 1665 and first 'Englished' in 1675 as *Man without passion, of, The wise stoick, according to the sentiment of Seneca*,³³ pointing to a growing European audience for the work.

Antoine Le Grand, born in Douai in 1629, gained fame as a philosopher and a Catholic theologian who is credited with facilitating the acceptance of Cartesian philosophy in the relatively hostile environs of the English universities. His English connection was fostered by the presence of a Franciscan college in Douai, then under Spanish Habsburg rule, and Le Grand became a Franciscan Recollect friar in the 1650s. In 1656 he left for England to work as a missionary, and during the 1660s it would appear his admiration and championing of Descartes reached new levels. In 1672 he published *Institutio Philosophiae* in London, clearly outlining his justifications of Descartes' work. His defence of Descartes against his English critics lasted until the end of his life, and his most comprehensive work on Descartes' philosophy appeared in 1694: *An Entire Body of Philosophy According to the Principles of the Famous Renate des Cartes*.

While the bulk of Le Grand's work was concentrated on justifying and defending Descartes' work, his early books were influenced by the philosophies of Seneca,

³¹ Appeared in 1662 as *Le sage des Stoïques ou l'homme sans passions. Selon des sentimens de Senèque*.

³² Two other editions are possibilities: Augustin Besoigne, Paris, 1682, and Fournot, 1688, both of which are held by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

³³ Seneca remains one of the most popular classical reference authors for writers of conduct books in the seventeenth century, with perhaps the exception of Cicero. The Stoic traits fit nicely with those of courtly behaviour.

specifically the Stoical belief that the moral man has a duty to control, if not expunge, the passions. This was a view he later modified, bringing his beliefs more in line with Descartes, who believed that the passions needed to be controlled rather than expelled from the moral life. During this early period of writing, Le Grand also penned a utopian work, *Scydromedia* (1669).

While Le Grand presents nothing particularly innovative in his work his message is clear and supported by a variety of sources: ‘Les passions qui ne sont que les maladies des fous, luy ont servi de pretexte: car voyant ques des illustres Philosophes vouloient les détruire, qu’ils les regardoient commes des monstres de la nature humaine’.³⁴ Passions were but the diseases of fools. Le Grand’s distaste for the passions is demonstrated forcefully in his introduction; neither virtuous or vicious ones are of any use to the wise man, to the philosopher: ‘Les passions sont donc inutiles aux sages; il n’y a que les foibles ou les insensez qui les ressentent: & si nous consultons meme ceux qui leur ont donné des bons usages, ils confesseront avec nous qu’elles favoristet plutôt le vice que la vertu, qu’elles sont plus criminelles qu’innocentes, & qu’elles sont plus propres à formentor qu’à détruire les desordres de notre âme.’³⁵ It is a theme he continues to elaborate upon for the first half of the work. In the second part he turns his attention to the sins that disrupt human nature, to the distractions of beauty and vanity, and the pitfalls that await those driven by avarice or vengeance, indeed the seven deadly sins resonate throughout the work.

Le Grand’s tone and his choice of subject matter do not lend themselves to promoting a benevolent picture of the learned man. Indeed his view of the ‘sage’ is that not only should the passions be contained, the scholar is not particularly social, nor empathic: ‘Que le sage est heureux dans le bannissement & la prison. . . Que la compassion & l’envie sont ennemis de la sagesse’. Whether Le Grand changed his opinions on this particular point is to be further explored, as it would shed some significant light on how Descartes, judged to be at the vanguard of the radical Enlightenment, may have influenced a shift towards the sociable ideals of the eighteenth-century philosophe.

The place of reason in Le Grand’s work is also of paramount importance: ‘I declare then with Seneca, that Reason is Man’s real Good, and his only advantage: That the Goods of the Body, and of Fortune, are not in his power, and that without searching for Riches out of himself, he may find his happiness in his Vertue.’³⁶ Although Le Grand

³⁴ Le Grand, *Les caractères de l’homme sans passions*, 2.

³⁵ Le Grand, *Les caractères*, 14.

³⁶ Le Grand, *Man without passion*, Introduction.

has been judged free from Cartesian influence in his early life this would certainly suggest that he was on the same track. 'Reason is then Man's only benefit: he must use it to climb Heaven, he must consult it to govern his Life, and if he do but hearken unto her, he shall be vertuous, and tame the most insolent of his Passions.'

Le Grand's work represents an interesting juncture between courtesy works, spiritual guidance and indeed the changing philosophical landscape. While this work pre-dated his 'Cartesian' years, it suggests that for many thinkers and writers of the period, penning a work that dealt with the inner turmoil of man, and his attempts to reconcile himself with society at large was a vibrant subject on which to publish. By no means were these works quaint or affected; they addressed the very serious subject of 'how to live'.

Saint-Jure
Conduites pour les Principes Actions de la Vie Chrestienne
Paris, 1682
(B 1564)

Jean-Baptiste Saint-Jure (1588-1657) was Jesuit priest and writer whose many works included *De la connaissance de l'amour du Fils de Dieu* (1634), *Méditation sur les plus grandes et les plus importantes vérités de la foi* (1642) and popular *La vie de M. de Renty*.³⁷ Part of the Jesuits order that followed the spiritual doctrine of Saint Jean and that of Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle. Bérulle, possibly one of the most significant theologians of the early seventeenth century, exerted considerable influence on St Vincent de Paul and St François de Sales, as well as having a sizeable impact on the education policies of the Jesuits, he is also thought to have encouraged Descartes in his work.

Saint-Jure had similarly intriguing links to the mystic spiritual side of the Christian faith. Saint-Jure became the 'père spirituel' of Jeanne des Anges, some years following the Loudon convulsions, and acted also as spiritual advisor to Gaston de Jean-Baptiste Renty, whose good works he immortalised in his life of the aristocrat.

The copy held by the Irish College dates from 1682 and is one of the posthumous reprints of this work. Printed by Charles Angot on the rue Saint Jacques, the publisher specialised in the works of Simon Kircher, Lemoyne, Estienne Cleirac and Descartes, having published one of the earlier editions of *Discourse on the Method* in 1668. In a reprint of the work (Nancy, 1714) the author is commended to the reader thus: 'Les Ouvrages de R.P. Saint-Jure. . . sont entre les mains de toutes les Personnes pieuses, qui pardonnant au style suranné en faveur de la solidité & de l'onction qui s'y trouvent, en font encore le sujet de leur lecture ordinaire'.

In a device that appears in many of the works is the daily, weekly and monthly schedule of the dutiful Christian. Saint-Jure outlines the essential points of conduct expected of a truly Christian day (which in turn leads to a Christian life). 'Il est toujours un chemin plus court & plus droit que les autres, pour arriver au terme que l'on se propose; & la bonne vie est le seul & vrai chemin qu'un Chretien doit suivre pour arriver à la bienheureuse Eternité' Saint-Jure contends, but he adds 'notre vie étant composée d'années, de mois, de semaines, & de jours; & les jours multipliez composant les semaines, les mois & les années, il est necessaire de prescrire des regles pour passer

³⁷ Others include *Le Livre des élus* (1643), *Les trois filles de Job* (n.d.), *L'homme spirituel* (1646) and *L'union* (1653).

saintement chaque jour.’ This regulated and ordered approach to obeying Christian principles was certainly not unusual. Monastic and cloistered life was set to a strict schedule throughout the day, in tune with the demands of prayer rather than the body, it sought to divorce the soul and mind from the ‘tyranny’ of bodily wants and desires. The transgression of the ordered life to the secular world is not surprising, though in keeping up with one’s secular duties it would almost certainly have been more demanding. It would also be interesting to question whether the readers with particularly strong connections to the court life recognised the challenge these daily rotas would have posed to their duties to the sovereign’s own personal and strict daily time-table.

Saint-Jure presents a multitude of prayers and meditations to be said at various times of the day, and would necessitate the production of the little volume repeatedly throughout the day. The days are divided into morning, day-long, and evening prayers, through which the reader sought guidance, but also offered up devotion to God. One began the day by thanking God for having made it through the night, and by offering all the good to be performed during the day in advance. Everything one did was to be brought into line with the example shown by Christ: ‘Je vous les offre aussi en esprit d’une tres intime union, unissant mes pensées aux pensées de votre tres cher Fils, mes paroles à ses paroles, mes actions aux tres saintes actions de sa vie & de sa mort. . .’³⁸ The day-long prayers were in short pleas for continued counsel throughout the day, as well as seeking forgiveness for any sins that may have been committed. In the evening again, the reader was exhorted to ask God whether any sins had been committed ‘en paroles, en oeuvres, & en omissions: faisant en son esprit une douce revuë de tout, heure par heure, si cela se petit, & s’arrétant particulièrement aux péchez ausquels on est le plus enclin.’³⁹

The continuing regularity applied to moderating Christian behaving is represented in the daily schedule laid out: ‘Le Dimanche, Pour Notre Seigneur, Le Lundy, Pour les Ames du Purgatoire, Le Mardy, Pour les Anges, Le Mercredy, Pour les Graces Reçues, Le Jeudy, Pour les Sacremens, Le Vendredy, De la Croix, Le Samedy, Pour la Glorieuse Verge Marie’. Beyond the day-by-day guide to the week, observance of the sacraments, in particular the importance of communion and of confession. Saint-Jure also offers tips on resisting sin, conquering faults and remedying defects of the character. He includes a chapter with the admirable goal of reclaiming the innocence of baptism, achievable by following the prayers prescribed and taking communion. In short, Saint-Jure was concerned with the Christian’s ability to perform each and every daily duty to the highest

³⁸ Saint-Jure, *Conduites pour les principales actions de la vie chrétienne*, (Nancy, 1714), 5.

³⁹ Saint-Jure, *Conduites pour les principales actions de la vie chrétienne*, (Nancy, 1714), 7.

degree of morality possible, and to acquire all those virtues deemed worthy of a true follower of Christ, namely faith, hope and charity. The value of the interior life is considered by Baudrand, “Tout homme qui veut devenir vraiment vertueux, doit entreprendre cet exercice de Retraite interieure.”⁴⁰ The importance of a ‘quiet peaceful soul’ appears time and again throughout the works, in Saint-Jure’s he asserts: ‘Considerez que l’ame paisible & tranquille est capable en un haut degré des lumieres de Dieu & des operations de sa grace’.

Beyond these ephemeral qualities however, Saint-Jure does offer some practical applications on daily behaviour. On the art of conversation for example he advises that a good conversation should display several traits. ‘Elle doit être douce, affable & gracieuse, accompagnée d’humilité d’honnêteté, de civilité, de modestie & d’une gayeté, qui ne soit ni legere ni dissoluë, mais grave & serieuse. Elle doit être utile. . . [et] profiter à ceux avec qui l’on converse. Elle doit être prudente & avisée.’⁴¹ However, such ‘courtly’ applications are rare in Saint-Jure’s work, and his main focus remains the practice of Christian sentiments and morals. The work closes with a meditation on life and on dying a good death, the final chance to atone for any moral short-comings this side of eternity.

⁴⁰ Saint-Jure, *Conduites*, 179.

⁴¹ Saint-Jure, *Conduites*, 269-270.

Baudrand

L'Âme intérieure, ou conduite spirituelle dans les voies de Dieu, par l'auteur de l'Âme élevée à Dieu

Lyon, 1787

(B 835)

Barthélemy Baudrand, (1702-1787), was one of the most widely-read spiritual authors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a series of similarly titled books (the place of the soul always prominent), Baudrand blended the piety of the Jesuits with that of popular devotion. Following the suppression of the order Baudrand settled in retirement in Lyons and continued to publish anonymously, the best known of these being *L'Âme élevée à Dieu*, *L'Âme sanctifiée par la perfection de toutes les actions de la vie*, and *L'ame sur le Calvaire*.⁴² The stance of Baudrand's work is very much from the religious, rather than the secular viewpoint, however it serves as an important point of reference in comparison to those courtesy works which employ similar language in regard to behaviour, and the origins of such conduct. Indeed it is difficult to distinguish some of the central tenets of Baudrand's work from those of the courtesy works or the seventeenth century. The recognition of God's place in man's world, the need for obeying God's law first and foremost, and the importance of the sacraments all take special place in Baudrand's work. It is only once these central beliefs and morals are adhered to that man can find any meaningful purpose in his life, or in his relationships with others.

Baudrand presents a discussion of the interior life and the peace to be found within, followed by a popular device found in several works: a daily duty of prayer scheduled for each day of the month. The themes of selflessness, of the duty of good works, of completion of the sacraments on a regular basis, are appended by the unsurprising rewards of an inner peace, the attainment of perfect love and devotion, a special relationship with God, *bonheur de l'homme*, and an expectation of a heavenly after-life.

⁴² The Irish College Library holds several of these works: *L'Âme élevée à Dieu, par les reflexions et les sentimens, pour chaque jour du mois* (Lyons, 1780), *L'âme seule avec Dieu seul. . . pour des visites devant le Saint-Sacrement par l'auteur de l'Âme élevée à Dieu* (Lyon, 1787), *L'âme embrassée de l'amour divin par son union aux sacrés coeurs de Jésus et de Marie* (Paris, 1839), *L'âme raffermie dans la foi. . . ou. . . preuves abrégées de la religion*. (Paris, 1839), *L'âme religieuse élevée à la perfection par les exercices de la vie intérieure* (Paris, 1839). Others included *L'Âme sur le Calvaire*, *L'Âme contemplant les grandeurs de Dieu*, *L'Âme se préparant à l'éternité*, *L'Âme éclairé par les oracles de la sagesse*, *L'ame fidèle, animée de l'esprit de Jésus-Christ*, *L'Âme religieuse, élevée à la perfection*. *L'Âme affermie dans la foi*, and *L'ame sanctifiée par la perfection de toutes les actions de la vie, ou la Religion pratique*.

The question of deeds versus faith arises in Baudrand's work and unsurprisingly he plumps for good deeds. 'Les maximes sont la Vertue en paroles, les pratiques sont la Vertu en actions'.⁴³ Living only to God is advised, and by thus doing so man has a duty of sorts to resist the encroachment of wider society on his thoughts and actions; in other words once life is lived in devotion to God, an eternal happiness can be expected. The emphasis which Baudrand places on the interior life is strong, therein lies perfection. Baudrand counsels that the way of poverty, chastity, religious obedience, knowledge of God and self-denial are all required to fulfil Christian duty, and warns that penance, meditation and prayer, and observance of the sacraments are central to the attainment of happiness. It cautions the reader should they find themselves the victims of dissipation or of illusions. Illusions of the self, or of one's own expectations can lead the soul into dangerous territory, and should not be confused with genuine error; thus Baudrand instills an honesty and integrity in the reader, warning them that the alternative carries its own punishments.

Baudrand's message brings nothing innovative to the Christian experience. Its points including advice on how to resist temptation, the importance of performing good deeds, and the value of enjoying the practice and promotion of humility, mortification, inner peace and inner patience, are nothing new in either the theological guides of Protestant or Catholic faiths. The closing discussions on the nature of happiness, and the long-sought ways in which to find it, are again familiar in these genres. Baudrand promises that fulfilment of Christian duties will provide not just happiness in this life, but more importantly a contentment that will last throughout the next. As he began his work, by reminding the reader of God's hand in all duties, he ends on a similar note; that man is required always to keep an eye on the eternal, and never forget that his fate is indeed a matter for eternity.

It is the timing of Baudrand's work that is perhaps the most intriguing thing. His continuing devotion to publication and Jesuit teachings during the suppression of the order is worthy of further investigation, and how various Jesuit authors circumvented the authorities during the order's time 'in the shadows' of religious practice warrants deeper investigation, not only in the mechanics of how they published, but also of the motives, methods and meanings of the writings.

⁴³ Baudrand, *L'ame sanctifiée*, 6.

Martin-Pierre Crussaire

Manuel du Vrai Sage; ou Recherches du vrai sage sur le bonheur de l'homme et sur ses devoirs.

1803

The author Martin-Pierre Crussaire⁴⁴ (1755-1830) is known primarily as a legal writer for his later works: *Analyse des Observations des tribunaux d'appel et de cassation sur le Projet de code civil*, (Paris, 1805), and *Observations sur le Projet de code judiciaire et criminel* (Paris, 1804). His brother was the 'auteur de desseins à la plume et à l'encre de la Chine'. A note inside the cover indicates that every official copy carried the author's initials as verification of the work's authenticity; this copy is no exception. The name 'Laurence O'Callaghan' is handwritten inside the cover.

The work is written in a simple and accessible style. It includes discussions on the nature of happiness, and man's duty, and incorporates an interesting mixture of thinkers, from Rousseau to Saint Augustin, a selection of religious works with the more recent offerings of the eighteenth century. However despite the inclusion of Enlightened thinkers to begin, Crussaire soon takes refuge with mainly religious thinkers, and as the work progresses becomes increasingly heavy in religious reference and in tone. His views on human happiness are unsurprising given his inspiration. Various obstacles block man from happiness, avarice to begin with; Crussaire points out that once man has acquisitions the pleasure he derives from their possession is outweighed by the anxiety he experiences over their protection. He notes that man can be governed by his desires, and that reason and passion are constantly at odds with one another, though the remedy for this problem is less clear. The 'Romantic' element is strong within this work, the shift away from the use of reason highlighted in his third chapter 'Le bonheur de l'homme ne peut pas être le fruit de sa raison'.⁴⁵ However the bedrock of Crussaire's philosophy on good living is his Christian faith, which becomes increasingly apparent as the work as he progresses through successive chapters 'La raison nous persuade une religion', 'Il n'y a qu'une seule et vraie religion', 'La religion chrétienne est la vraie religion'. The question of Crussaire's strong religious belief in the context of this post-revolutionary period is pertinent also, however is beyond the scope of the present study.

⁴⁴ *Nouveau Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*. Lyon, 1862, notice 1679. Further biographical detail can be found in Jean Marchal, 'Un juriconsulte ardennais de l'ancienne France: Martin-Pierre Crussaire', *Etudes Ardennais*, No.s 45-47, 1965-1966.

⁴⁵ Crussaire, *Manuel du vrai sage*, 13.

The religious devotion of the author is revealed more fully in the second, more lengthier, part of the book. In this he sets out the commandments, deals with the nature of sin, and the seven deadly sins, as well as offering suitable prayers with which the reader could atone for any outstanding affronts to God. The work therefore pays more than a passing resemblance to those earlier works of Baudrand and Saint-Jure, it would appear to be a resurrection of sorts. The question of why a provincial lawyer felt compelled to publish such a work, in conjunction with a great many other legal treatises remains unanswered, showing as it does the combination of a civic duty with a much deeper religious conviction.

The work appears to have found favourable reception in certain quarters. The journal *Annales Littéraires et Morales* noted that the author had presented an admirable project, even going so far as to agree with the assertion that the author was indeed a sage in what he had completed. It applauded Crussaire in his attempts to arrange the Christian thinkers, and to examine the duties of civil and Christian life as a whole, seeing to redress any imbalance in fulfilling their over-lapping, or individual requirements. What the review highlighted was the indissoluble links between man's duties and his happiness; leaving work undone was no way to to achieve happiness.⁴⁶

In many ways Crussaire's work says very little that is new, however the manner in which he attempts to reconcile Christian doctrine with a smattering of Enlightenment reason is very much a product of its time. His view that men of reason should recognise the advantages of religion and prayer in the most pragmatic sense is resonant of Voltaire's stance and also of the reconciliation between a renewed Christianity and Enlightened/Proto-romantic prompted by the works of Rousseau. The author's repeated returns to happiness throughout the work are perhaps due to the late eighteenth century's increasing focus on the earthly life rather than the heavenly afterlife. In style, tone and choice of subject matter what is clear from Crussaire is his real desire to make sense of his religious and spiritual self, while it is bombarded with philosophical logic and pragmatism.

⁴⁶ *Annales Littéraires et Morales*, Vol. 1 (1804) 201-202. Given that the journal shared the same publisher with Crussaire, the possible bias of the review should be considered.

A Father of the Society of Jesus
'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women'

no date

This 12-page pamphlet constitutes one of the more intriguing titles in the collection. Giving no details regarding publication place, date or authorship, the background of the piece will be tentatively sketched below. No further library records for this publication could be located, except for a reference noted in Milltown Institute's Library, however this does not represent a holding record. The poor quality of the paper and the style of typeset originally suggested late nineteenth century, and further investigation would appear to support this.

The sole concrete reference to this piece was found in the Kirby Catalogue (Part 8), which lists the archives of the Irish College in Rome, and in particular the personal correspondence of the Rector Tomás Kirby.⁴⁷ On 28 May 1891 Kirby received a letter from Rev. Robert Whitty⁴⁸, who enclosed two copies of 'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women' – a delicate and difficult subject'. This does not indicate if the sender is the author however. Rev Robert Whitty was a late convert to the Society of Jesus, but an active one, giving ecclesiastical retreats throughout his later years. Originally from Pouldarrig in Wexford, he spent a good deal of his later years traveling, and the above letter is postmarked Fiesole, Italy. In the same year the Irish College, Paris, received Rev. Martin Whitty⁴⁹ CM as professor of moral theology⁵⁰, where he remained in office until 1893, retiring on grounds of ill-health, despite his young age. The links between Robert Whitty and Martin Whitty are as yet unsubstantiated, however it is possible Martin invited Robert to give an ecclesiastical retreat during his short tenure as professor (indeed, given that the content of the pamphlet probably mirrors that of the retreat, one wonders if it precipitated Martin's ill-health?).

⁴⁷ The Kirby Collection Catalogue, Part 8, Irish College, Rome.

⁴⁸ Rev. Robert Whitty, 7 Jan 1817 – 1 September 1895, involved with John Newman and Oakeley prior to their conversion, and with the Oxford movement.

⁴⁹ Martin Whitty died in Sheffield in 1911, at the age of 52. A native of Carrick-on-Suir, he was educated at Castleknock and joined the Vincentian community in 1878. After his ordination in 1882, and several years in Castleknock he assumed the professorship of moral theology at the Irish College Paris in 1891. The close proximity of both Martin and Robert's homes suggests a possible connection. [Colloque, *Journal of the Irish Province of the Congregation of the Mission*, No. 58, Winter 2009, p. 260]

⁵⁰ Irish College Archives, A2.b67, document 35.

The author was modest in the aims he set for such a small pamphlet, with such an ambitious title. He describes it a 'practical subject', especially for young ecclesiastics about to embark on their church careers. The author contends that the 'subject is far too living. . . shifting and changeable, to admit of being stereotyped in the written words of a dissertation, but he tries his best in any case. The short piece draws from the teachings of St Augustine, Thomas à Kempis, and St Francis of Assisi, maintaining that while the subject may change human nature does not. 'Human nature remains indeed ever the sane, and the principles laid down by the saints remain the same'.⁵¹ Any advice drawn from experience is completely absent. 'It is indeed summed up in the one word of the Imitation, 'Be not familiar with any woman'. This familiarity is the one thing which according to all is to be avoided. And if we ask what precisely is meant by the word, we may say that at least it means, as regards the external conduct of a priest, the avoidance of long or infrequent intercourse with women, even by letters; as regards his heart, a firm purpose never to seek consolation or recreation in female society; and finally, it means that counsel 'nunquam solus cum sola' should be as far as possible the rule of daily life'.⁵²

In comparison to our other texts this remains a curiosity, and was chosen for the study initially on the presumption that it may also have been printed in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Nonetheless, as much as constituting a 'curiosity', it is a particularly rare one; only one other copy presents itself in European collections, namely in that of the Irish College, Rome.

⁵¹ Father of the Society of Jesus, 'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women', preface.

⁵² Father of the Society of Jesus, 'On the Behaviour of Priests towards Women', 4.

III. Themes

Introductory note

Three major themes present themselves through the genres of courtesy, spiritual and guiding literature: the true gentleman, the search for inner peace and outer harmony, and the elusive, shape-shifting form of happiness. This concluding section of the study will highlight some relevant issues, debates, contexts and avenues for further investigation arising from this particular collection. Unsurprisingly, these central subjects have formed the basis for a number of large studies over the years, though as ephemeral, almost individual concepts, their definition defies easy categorisation, and transcends not only the history of behaviour and comportment, but the much more challenging realms of personal happiness, fulfilment and reflection. What is presented by these volumes is a cross-section of both individual musings on these personal matters, but also interpretations of institutional stances, whether from the court or the church, on concerns of outer conduct and inner conscience.

The conflict between the inner and the outer life has troubled thinkers for centuries. In the third century in the *Distichs of Cato* the anonymous author wrote of the conflict between the need for dissimulation and the duty to follow Christian ideals. The search had continued in the following centuries, for example in the twelfth-century *Facetus* poems, however the tradition of medieval courtesy literature had been discarded by the humanist writers of the early fifteenth century. Erasmus and others either ignored or in some cases, borrowed from these earlier works, but they did explicitly acknowledge their immediate predecessors.⁵³ What would be considered plagiarism today was practiced widely in the early modern period, and considered a tribute to the author whose work had been plundered. Nonetheless, it appears that many of those writers addressing these issues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considered themselves writing for an evolved audience, in a complicated time. The tumult of religious upheaval, combined with the increasing centrality of the royal court, gave new impetus to writers and audience alike. But despite new circumstances, a very old problem lay at the heart of these texts, and in many ways the courtier's compulsion to learn the *gracia morum* (the elegance of manners), and to study the 'subtlety of spirit'⁵⁴ was the latest incarnation of man's attempts to reconcile the dichotomy of being and seeming.

⁵³ Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', 289.

⁵⁴ 'La vie d'un Courtisan doit etre une continuelle étude des souplesses d'esprit', Courtin, *Suite de la Civilité*, 92.

The search for the honnête homme, or rather the *idea* of the honnête homme, is ongoing. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the concept of the courtier, and those of the status and character of the rising bourgeois underwent significant change, reflecting the shifting social and political circumstances of the courts, and of city administrations and economies. The ideal of honnêteté emerged as distinct from the courtier, one that any man could aspire to, bound not by birth, but by behaviour; theoretically *noblesse du coeur* was given a chance to outrank *noblesse du cour*. The definitions of nobility, both social and moral, were widely debated, and presents an ever-changing, endless negotiation on what it was to live the truly good life and gain recognition for it.⁵⁵ Outward displays however were only valid if underpinned by a wellspring of conviction, sincerity and true virtue ideally located at the heart of the man. Defining honnêteté occupied many thinkers; La Rochefoucauld, Nicolas Faret, the Chevalier de Méré, Pascal and Madame de Lafayette among many others.

Seventeenth-century interpretations of the honnête homme distinguished the ideal man as morally irreproachable and without any hint of maliciousness. Primarily the honnête homme was adept at being sociable, likeable and knowing how to please. In terms of guides, the aspiring gentleman had plenty of options; from Muzio's *Il Cavaliere* to Pasquier's *Le Gentilhomme* to Nicolas Faret's influential *L'honnête homme, ou l'art de plaire à la Cour*.⁵⁶ The period before 1660 marks something of a golden age of the honnête homme, seeing the publication of works such as Du Souhait's *Le Parfait Gentilhomme*, (1600), Du Refuge's *Le Traité de la cour* (1616), Nervèze's *Le Guide des courtisans* (1606), and Grenaille's *L'Honnête Fille* (1640) and *L'Honnête Garçon* (1642). Faret's 1630 work appeared in English translation as *The Art of Pleasing*, proving its popularity and applicability. Faret presented a man both cultivated and good, grafting Christian ideals onto those of Castiglione's rather worldly courtier, who was less concerned with godly conduct than

⁵⁵ An extensive array of titles discussed the merits, characteristics and requisites of nobility: S. Champier, *Le fondement et origine des titres de Nobless*, Lyon, 1535, E. de Froideville, *Dialogues de l'origine de noblesse*, Lyon, 1574, F. de Lalouette, *Traité des nobles et des vertus dont ils sont formés*, Paris, 1577, J. de Masle, *Le Breviaire des Nobles*, Paris, 1578, P. d'Origny, *Le Heralut de la Noblesse de France*, Reims, 1578, J de Caumont, *De la vertu de Noblesse*, Paris, 1585, Antoine Le Fevre de la Boderie, *Traité de la Noblesse* (GB Nenna) Paris, 1593. Titles cited by Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance*, 363n.

⁵⁶ G. Muzio, *Il Cavaliere*, Rome, 1569, *Il Gentiluomo*, Venice, 1579, Du Souhait, *Le Parfait Gentilhomme*, Paris, 1600, N. Pasquier, *Le Gentilhomme*, Paris, 1611, Nicolas Faret, *L'honnête homme*, Paris, 1630.

earthly advancement.⁵⁷ The popularity of writers such as Le Chevalier de Méré, La Chétardie and L'Abbé Goussault was borne out by the swift translations that appeared immediately after their publication in Paris.

While attempting to define everything else, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, gave its definitive interpretation:

Honneste, signifie aussi, Civil, courtois, poly. C'est l'homme du monde le plus honneste, il n'y a rien de si honneste que luy, il a l'air honneste, les manieres honnestes, il luy a fait la reception du monde la plus honneste, accueil honneste, il luy a parlé d'une maniere tres honneste, il a le procedé assez honneste, mais cependant il ne faut trop s'y fier.

Honneste homme. Outre la signification qui a esté touchée article, & qui veur dire, Homme d'honneur, homme de probité, comprend encore toutes les qualitez agreables qu'un homme peut avoir dans la vie civile. C'est un parfaitement honneste homme, il fait bien des qualitez pour faire un honneste.

Quelquefois on appelle aussi, Honneste homme, Un homme en qui on ne considere alors que les qualitez agreables, & les manieres du monde: Et en ce sens, Honneste homme, ne veut dire autre chose que galant homme, homme de bonne conversation, de bonne compagnie. ⁵⁸

Despite the Académie Française's clear-cut conclusions on the matter, the fortunes of the honnête homme had changed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and as this definition was compiled, France was on the cusp of a century in which the concept was rendered virtually obsolete. While integrity was ideally the core of the *honnête homme*, he, as well as the courtier, became emblems of a disingenuous and dissimulating aristocracy. Indeed by the eighteenth century the ideals and virtues promulgated by writers had turned the honnête homme into a parody; however the values remained admirable. The *Encyclopédie's* view of the perfect philosophe incorporated many of the characteristics: sociability, civility, honesty and probity were essential components in contemplating the almost messianic figure of the philosophe as presented by César Chesneau Du Marsais in 1765.

'For [the philosophe], civil society is, as it were, a divinity on earth; he flatters it, he honors it by his probity, by an exact attention to his duties, and by a sincere desire not to be a useless or embarrassing member of it. . .The more reason you find in a man, the more probity you will find in him.'⁵⁹

The honnête homme had truly been subsumed by this point, and with one significant alteration: the substitution of reason for all other virtues and the relegation of a

⁵⁷ Ustick, 'Changing Ideals', 163-164.

⁵⁸ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, first edition, 1694, 569.

⁵⁹ César Chesneau Du Marsais, 'Philosophe', in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire des Arts et Sciences*, Vol. 12, (1765), 509-511.

distinctly religious element which pervades the canon of courtesy literature in the seventeenth century.

The fall of the honnête homme was understandable, he had scaled the moral heights rather too optimistically. Sounding too good to be true, the Chevalier de Méré described him as the embodiment of all virtues 'L'honnêteté n'est rien de moins que la quintessence de toutes les vertus. . .peu s'en faut que nous ne comprenons sous ce mot les plus belles qualités du coeur et de l'esprit'.⁶⁰ If he had faults, he did not hide them, instead acknowledging them. 'Les faux honnêtes gens sont ceux qui déguisent leurs défauts aux autres et à eux-mêmes. Les vrais honnêtes gens sont ceux qui les connaissent parfaitement et les confessent'.⁶¹ Pascal described the honnête homme as straightforward, a man of the people in many ways: 'Il faut qu'on n'en puisse [dire] ni: il est mathématicien, ni prédicateur, ni éloquente, mais il est honnête homme. . . Quand en voyant un homme on se souvient de son livre, c'est mauvais signe. . . On n'en songe point qu'il parle bien, sinon quand il s'agit de bien parler. Mais qu'on y songe alors.'⁶²

Discussions of virtue abound in the texts:

'En effet, ayez de la prudence, vous avez de la justice, vous avez de l'honneur; ayez de l'honneur, vous avez de la conscience. Voilà en raccourci les qualités d'un honnête homme; & qui prend le contrepé, s'appuie sur de faux principes. La plupart des Gens imaginent que pour être en estime dans le monde, il suffit d'avoir l'esprit agréable, & de faire une grosse dépense, & que l'honneur & la conscience doivent être comptés pour rien, ou du moins pour peu de chose.'⁶³

The genre was not immune from a satirical treatment by some writers however. Readers could not have failed to notice the irony that integrity from within could be purchased in the form of a handbook, and indeed that there were so many willing to demonstrate what one's personal truth might be. This artificiality perhaps was one of the reasons the idea of not only the courtier, but that too of the honnête homme, found itself subject to scrutiny. It is also perhaps one of the reasons behind the increasingly Christian tone of the genre by the end of the seventeenth-century, however whether its detractors were responsible for the increasingly moral tone, or critics were amused by the growing self-importance of the works requires further analysis.

⁶⁰ Chevalier de Méré, *Conversations avec le maréchal de Clérambault*,

⁶¹ La Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*, 1745, 120.

⁶² Pascal, *Pensées*, 1669, fragment 647, edited by Lafume, 1963.

⁶³ La Chétardie, *Instructions pour un jeune seigneur*, 121.

Courtesy works were aimed primarily at men, with very few concerning themselves with the behaviour of women. While a short passage may have been included in certain works, the emphasis was very much upon on the *homme*. In England the popular work of Henry Peacham did address the issue of women's behaviour and comportment; his *Compleat Gentleman* was complemented by the accompanying volume *The Compleat Gentlewoman*, however dedicated works like this were few and far between. Far from the court being a man's world, female agency and intervention in political or dynastic matters at court could be crucial in the fortunes of a family. However the unofficial capacity in which many women operated left room for failure, saving face if things did not go according to plan. Whether this general exclusion of women from the genre indicates a conscious relegation of women to private sphere, and thus denoting a primarily male public sphere is beyond the scope of this study, however the trend of the genre clearly demonstrates that performing in public was a male occupation.

The *honnête homme* was born of an expanding social world. No longer was the court home to those who had been born to it, the doors opened for those who showed talent in both administrative and economic spheres, widening the social background of political advisors, ministers, representatives of the Parlements, intellectuals and clergymen. Operating at the highest levels of the secular world however was never too far from fulfilling one's Christian duty.

II. Being Good and Doing Well: Interior and Exterior Lives.

One of the greatest intellectual and spiritual discussion of the early modern period was that of the human condition, and more specifically the relationship between the interior and the exterior experiences, perceptions and projections of human nature. In the wake of the Reformation these questions took on a new urgency, as their answers possibly held the key to religious and political hegemony across the European continent. The connections between the body, soul and mind were discussed by thinkers and philosophers such as Locke and Descartes, anatomised by the likes of Andreas Vesalius, and portrayed by Michelangelo and Rembrandt. This great period of exploration was not confined to the outer reaches of the globe, it ventured within the deepest and most mysterious recesses of the human psyche. Explorers discovered ever growing numbers of 'foreign peoples', in its own way giving rise to a greater need for the definition of European civilization(s). It is the mystery of the place of the human psyche within wider society and civilization which is at the heart of many of the texts in question.

The struggle for personal goodness, godliness and in turn salvation pervades the thought of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Centrally the issue of securing a heavenly life, based upon one's dextrous handling of an earthly one, concerned theologians and parishioner alike. Whether the performance of good deeds fulfilled entry requirements at heaven's gates, or if good deeds denoted the existence of an already saved soul (buttressed by *sole fide*); by the mid-seventeenth century the debate which had kept most of Europe perplexed and belligerent was reaching its sesquicentennial. It is not surprising therefore to find a good deal of Christian, predominantly Catholic, sentiment in the courtesy genre. Discussing the place of God and the consequences of one's membership of the flock suffused multiple genres, and would continue to do so throughout the relatively anti-clerical, though not entirely anti-religious, eighteenth century. Following the clear-cut decrees of the Council of Trent, there was no mistaking what made one a Catholic, whereas in the Protestant faiths there was still much to define. However Catholic writers *were* concerned with the attributes of living a truly good life, and how these good deeds were nothing unless anchored to a pure soul. This sentiment arises time and again various writings and proclamations; though in some cases personal behaviour made the assertions ironic (Louis XIV 'L'exterieur dans l'interieur n'est rien de tout').

From the standpoint of philosophy, the relationship between mind and body, and particularly, mind and brain greatly troubled thinkers. Cartesian rationalism shook the foundations of early modern thought, requiring the re-evaluation of every assumption, every 'given' and introduced doubt in all realms of human knowledge. Descartes' philosophy had repercussions for discussions on the existence of God (whom he believed to exist, like most others) and on the nature of knowledge. He also attended the issue of the connections between the brain and the mind. The links between the 'mechanical' brain and the 'ethereal' mind were the most difficult things to establish. Descartes' dualism claimed that the brain and the mind existed in two different spheres – one physical, the other ephemeral. As such the workings of the brain could not explain the vagaries of the mind, and while Descartes' rationalism on one hand could be seen to question religion, on the other his views of the human psyche at once presented a clinical view, and a spiritual one. The human mind was beyond quantification; the interior workings and the exterior actions could never be tidily equated. In the following decades and century, Locke, Kant and others further debated these issues, asking whether the human mind, and human goodness, are produced by nature or by nurture. The intertwining concerns of being good, behaving properly and doing well, ran much deeper than simply knowing one's table manners.

The manner in which many of the courtesy texts were composed and directed at their readers was also infused with the importance of ‘looking within’. Most of the writers included in this study, in particular Tasso, Bourdonné, Courtin, Saint and Crussaie, delve into their own experiences, their own personal repositories of knowledge and expertise. It is through personal, and sometimes philosophical, journeys that these writers present their versions of how best to navigate dangerous terrain. And the intersection of the debates on true nobility and true Christian duty is no coincidence. Tracts on honour and nobility emerge from many religious quarters during this period, hoping to appeal to the protection of the ruling authorities, the most notable of course being Machiavelli’s Prince, who, despite a ruthless reputation, was concerned equally with some clarification of goodness, even if compromised by the ambiguous ‘virtu’,

While Machiavelli’s ‘virtu’ may be some distance from its English translation ‘virtue’, embodying a certain charisma and magnetism, the concept of virtue was considered central to the noble character. At its basest level it indicated sound character, and the ability to be of good service to one’s society, and indeed the state. Some writers, for example Castiglione offered vaguer views of virtue, presenting it as a ‘cultured state’ but without elaborating precisely what that meant. In his work Tasso grapples with the relationship between virtue with nobility.⁶⁴ Ben Jonson considered virtue the one and only requisite of nobility, but again left interpretations open to the reader. In the 1620s Owen Feltham wrote ‘Earth hath not any thing more glorious then ancient Nobility, when ‘tis found with *vertue*’. But ‘ A debauched sonne of a *Noble Families*, is one of the *intolerable burthens* of the *Earth*, and as hatefull a thing as *Hell*’.⁶⁵ In Brathwaite’s *The English Gentleman* of 1630 he wrote ‘the greatest Signall and Symbol of Gentry: is rather expressed by goodnesse of Person, than greatnesse of Place.’⁶⁶ Indeed these authors, particularly Brathwaite were some of the first to embellish their texts with not just classical references, but to add the words of Scriptures to their advice.⁶⁷ From Brathwaite down, the English gentleman as portrayed in the literature of conduct has a strong tincture of that spirit of Christianity which seeks to do good to others and accepts the self-imposed obligation to live a life of usefulness. A sense of responsibility to one’s fellows, springing from an acknowledgment that all are children of one Father and are equal in His sight, questioned the pagan notion (and feudal practice) which complacently

⁶⁴ Tasso, *De la noblesse*, 24.

⁶⁵ W Lee Ustick, 152.

⁶⁶ W Lee Ustick, ‘Changing Ideals’, 155.

⁶⁷ Ustick, ‘Changing Ideals’, 155.

put the aristocrat upon a pedestal, from which he looked down condescendingly upon *boi polloi*.

It unsurprising then to find that the structure of many of the texts are based around central columns of virtues, character traits requisite to the state of nobility. Bourdonné's gentleman is defined in relation to these ideals. His opening chapters deal with the perfect attributes of the ideal gentleman; wisdom, virtue, humility, and discretion rank highly. The following chapters have a distinctly Christian air: 'Dieu est admirable jusques dans les moindres de ses ouvrages, Que tous les objets nous portent à la connoissance des choses divines, Peu de personnes sont reflexion sur ce qu'ils voyent pour penser à Dieu and De la connoissance de Dieu par la voye des creatures'. The copy held by the Irish College has the handwritten annotation NB beside the chapter on 'Des obligations que nous avons a Dieu'.⁶⁸ Bourdonné's work contains some of the strongest Christian sentiment of the study's works. He reminds his readers of the pitfalls that await all who enter society, and women seem especially prone to these weaknesses 'De mille hommes il ne s'en trouve pas quatre qui n'ayant de grande foiblesses. . L'inclination a la legereté & la pente au vice livrent fr continuels assauts à notre ame. Les femmes particulièrement, l'ambition, l'avarice, le jeu & le vin sont de roudoutables ennemis. J'avouë que la tyrannie de ce dernier m'épouvante d'autant plus que la providence m'a établi dans un pays ou j'en remarqué à toute heure les deplorables effets'.⁶⁹

In the context of post-reformation concerns, many of these works display an amalgamation of reformation and count-reformation goals and the 'embedded values of the nobility': 'Il y a dans les *Essais* un 'traité de Noblesse', et un 'traité de la Cour' épars. La critique de l'incommodité de la grandeur par Montaigne est un bon point de départ pour celle de P. Caussin, qui fait cette incommodité même une épreuve de l'âme chrétienne, un 'test' de la vraie noblesse.'⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Bourdonné, *Courtisan Désabusé*, 62.

⁶⁹ Bourdonné, *Courtisan Désabusé*, 303.

⁷⁰ Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 364n.

III. Le Bonheur: The troubled history of Happiness.

‘If Philosophy be, as we take it, the Study of Happiness, must not everyone, in some manner or other, either skillfully or unskillfully philosophize?’⁷¹

The matter of happiness is no laughing matter cautioned Richard Whately, the Anglican archbishop of Dublin, in the nineteenth century. Indeed it is the case judging by our selection of texts. The human search for happiness appears in various forms in each century. While the seventeenth century has a reputation for fearing death more than loving life, the eighteenth century marks a shift in this trend, with a clear softening of the teachings of the church on how to find happiness. Happiness has always been a tricky thing to balance with Christian morals and duty. At times the two would appear mutually exclusive. Indeed finding salvation, as we have seen, was merged with finding happiness, spiritual provisions were stored to secure contentment in the next world, rather than the present one. Nonetheless, the concerns of the authors are timeless; how to live a good life, but also how to enjoy oneself was equally important.

The writings of Aristotle expand on his search for both the magnanimous man and happiness, where in fact the state of happiness was equated to perfection.⁷² The continuing endurance not only of Aristotelian philosophy, but of the concept of happiness and contentment pervaded the work of many writers, sometimes in even surprising contexts. It is a theme that Martin Luther returns to on many occasions in both published treatises and private correspondence, motivated perhaps by his own struggles to find an equilibrium in his own life. He wrote often of the need to banish melancholy, the dreaded ‘humour’, and of the duty a good Christian had to find contentment.

The conflict that arises in trying to be and do good troubles some of our writers, when they find it difficult to reconcile desires and wishes that bring happiness, but perhaps compromise something else. Bourdonné, the man of the world, who appears as the most pragmatic of the authors in the study, grapples with this, revealing not only an enjoyable lifestyle but a resignation that perfection awaits another man:

‘Quand nous avons perdu tout un jour à la Comédie, dans la ruelle du lict d’une dame, ou à quelque autre amusement de cette nature, nous disons, nous nous sommes aujourd’huy

⁷¹ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, quoted in Darrin McMahon, *Happiness: A History*, preface.

⁷² Anthony Kenny, *Aristotle on the Perfect Life* (Oxford, 1992), 16.

bien divertis; & comme si la vie que nous qymons tant estoit un objet qui nous dépleut il semble que nous n'en tenions comte. . . Senque si je m'en souviens. Dit que le temps est presque tousjours partagé en trois, que l'on en passe une partie à ne rien faire, une autre à mal faire, & la dernière à ne point faire ce que l'on droit'.⁷³

Both the pursuit and capture of happiness concerned many writers, from John Locke's early work *Essay on Human Understanding* to Voltaire's parody of Leibniz's philosophy on a happy world in *Candide*. Throughout the eighteenth century the discourse of happiness proved to be one with significant political repercussions. Filling sonnets and romantic tales, but also concerning philosophical treatises, the issue of happiness moved from fictitious scenarios into the political arena. In his entry on happiness in the *Encyclopédie* the Abbé Pestré posed the question 'Does not everyone have a right to happiness?'.⁷⁴ Others including Turgot and Raynal wrote also of this 'right to happiness'.⁷⁵ This was significant; happiness was a fortunate state certainly, but could people expect it as a *right*? Of course by the end of the century the right to *pursue* happiness was. Indeed on scholar has argued that the Enlightenment, 'translated the ultimate question 'How can I be saved?' into the pragmatic 'How can I be happy?'.⁷⁶

In this context the most significant work in this study in relation to happiness is that of Crussaire. Crussaire's work opens with a discussion of le bonheur that has little time for any other conception other than a Christian one. Published in 1803, Crussaire's work is intriguing in the light of post-revolutionary views on religion, but also in the aftermath of a so-called disenchantment of the world during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The revival of spiritual and even mystical practices of religion in the nineteenth century directly contrast with the aims of the philosophical trends of the Enlightenment. Yet in Crussaire's work we are presented with the author's clear views on Christian happiness: chapters on *Le bonheur de l'homme ne se trouve ni dans la jouissance des biens de la terre, ni dans les joies de l'esprit* and *Le bonheur de l'homme ne peut pas être le fruit de sa raison* lead him quickly to conclude that Christian living is the only option. Unsurprisingly in post-revolutionary France the importance of noble-living, or comparisons of nobility and virtue have for a time faded into the background.

⁷³ Bourdonné, *Courtisan désabusé*, 380.

⁷⁴ 'Chacun n'a t-il pas droit d'être heureux, selon que son caprice décidera?'. (Stuttgart, 35 vols, 1966-67), Vol 2, 322.

⁷⁵ Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, *Deuxième Lettre sur la tolérance* (Paris, 1754), Guillaume Thomas-François Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* 10 vols. (Geneva, 1780).

⁷⁶ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment*, 22.

Endnote

This study has achieved a number of things. Firstly, the provenance and identification of these texts have been verified and in some cases uncovered, thus adding to the already considerable data collected on the library's holdings. While the means in which the collection was acquired excludes the possibility of conducting an analytical survey on ownership or any conscious policy of acquisition, the collection nonetheless represents a significant repository of early modern sources, some of which cannot be found in other major collections. Secondly, the juxtaposition of secular and spiritual texts in this setting allows for scholarship on the intersections of clerical and civil life, as well as mutual influences between the two.

Bibliography

Secondary

Articles

P. Adinolfi, 'L'idée de bonheur au tournant des Lumières', in *D'un siècle à l'autre: le tournant des Lumières*, *Studi francesi*, 1998, Vol. 42, No. 124

Jorge Ardit, 'Hegemony and Etiquette: An Exploration on the Transformation of Practice and Power in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Jun., 1994), pp. 177-193.

Gilles Banderier, 'Un lecteur de Montaigne au XVIIIe siècle: Charles Bourdonné et le 'Courtisan désabusé'', in *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Montaigne* (1994), VIIe série, n. 37-38, pp. 67-77.

Mario Biagioli, 'Etiquette, Interdependence, and Sociability in Seventeenth-Century Science', in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Winter, 1996), pp. 193-238.

Emmanuel Bury, 'Jean Baudoin (1584-1650), Témoin de la Culture Baroque et Pionnier du Classicisme', *Dix-septième Siècle*, 2002/2003, No. 216, pp. 393-396.

Virginia Cox, 'Tasso's 'Malpiglio ovvero de la corte: The courtier' Revisited', in *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 90, No. 4, (Oct., 1995), pp. 897-918.

Michael Curtin, 'A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy', in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (Sep., 1985), pp. 395-423.

Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Boundaries and the Sense of the Self in Sixteenth-Century France', in Heller, T.C., et al eds., *Reconstructing Individualism* (1986)

John Gillingham, 'From Civilitatis to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, Vol. 12 (2002), pp. 267-289.

Marjorie Grene, 'Aristotelico-Cartesian Themes in Natural Philosophy: Some Seventeenth-Century Cases', in *Perspectives on Science*, Mar 1993, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 66-87.

Lawrence E. Klein, 'Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England', in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (1996), pp. 30-51.

Dilwyn Knox, 'Erasmus' *De Civilitate*' and the Religious Origins of Civility in Protestant Europe', in *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, 1996, Vol. 87, pp. 7-55.

Ullrich Langer, 'Merit in Courtly Literature: Catsiglione, Rabelais, Marguerite de Navarre, and La Caron', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer, 1988), 218-241.

- André Lévêque, 'L'honnête homme' et 'l'homme de bien' au XVII^e siècle', in *PMLA*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Sep., 1957), pp. 620-632.
- Jean Marchal, 'Un jurisconsulte ardennais de l'ancienne France: Martin-Pierre Crussaire', *Etudes Ardennais*, No.s 45-47, 1965-1966
- J. Martin, 'Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe', in *American Historical Review*, 102 (1997), 1309-42.
- George W. McClure, 'Women and the Politics of Play in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Torquato Tasso's Theory of Games', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 3, Fall 2008, pp. 750-791.
- D.C. Potts, 'Pascal's Contemporaries and "Le Divertissement"', in *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Jan, 1962), pp. 31-40.
- Orest Ranum, 'Courtesy, Absolutism, and the Rise of the French State, 1630-1660' in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Sep., 1980), pp. 426-451.
- Felicity Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text', in *Speculum*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (Jan., 1996), 66-86.
- William Roosen, 'Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach', in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Sep., 1980), pp. 452-476.
- John K. Ryan, 'Anthony Legrand, 1629-1699: Franciscan and Cartesian', in *The New Scholasticism*, Vol. 9, (1935) pp. 226-250.
- W. Lee Ustick, 'Seventeenth Century Books of Conduct: Further Light on Antoine de Courtin and the Rules of Civility', in *Modern Language Notes*, No. 44, No. 3 (Mar., 1929), pp. 148-158.
- W. Lee Ustick, 'Changing Ideals of Aristocratic Character and Conduct in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Modern Philology*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Nov., 1932), pp. 147-166.
- Richard J. Watts, 'Language and Politeness in Early Eighteenth Century Britain', in *Pragmatics*, 9:1, (1999), 5-20.

Books

- Pascal Bruckner, *L'euphorie perpétuelle: Essai sur le devoir de bonheur*, Paris, 2000.
- Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*, New York, New York, 1998.
- Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, Pennsylvania, 1996.
- E. Bury, *Littérature et politesse: l'invention de l'honnête homme (1580-1750)*, Paris, 1996.
- Carnes Lord and Dain A. Trafton (eds), *Tasso's Dialogues A Selection, with the Discourse on the Art of the Dialogue*, Los Angeles, 1982.
- Jacques Carré, *The Crisis of Courtesy: studies in the conduct-book in Britain, 1600-1900*, Leiden, 1994.
- Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court*, Amsterdam, 1994.
- Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, various editions, London, 2006.
- *The Civilizing Process*, Oxford, 2000.
- Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789*, Princeton, 1994.
- Kamal Farid, *Antoine de Courtin (1622-1685), étude critique*, Paris, 1969
- Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Paris, 2002.
- C.S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness – Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courty Ideals, 939-1210*, Philadelphia, 1985.
- Anthony Kenny, *Aristotle on the Perfect Life*, Oxford, 1992.
- Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV*, Chicago, 2001.
- Darrin McMahon, *Happiness: A History*, New York, 2006.
- Michael Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century France*, Cambridge, 2009.
- Nicholas D. Paige, *Being Interior: Autobiography and the Contradiction of Modernity in Seventeenth-Century France*, Philadelphia, 2001.
- Roy Porter, *Enlightenment*, Basingstoke, 2001.
- Pauline Smith, *The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth Century French Literature*, Paris, 1966.