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CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

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ARTS, LAW AND OTHER STUDIES IN ORLEANS IN THE TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

by

ANNE M. HALLEY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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PREFACE

Although the institutional history of the medieval university is very well known at this time, the same cannot be said in regard to the scope and specific nature of the content or the actual instruction which was given in these institutions. This is especially true of the University of Orleans which has attracted the attention of several outstanding historians. The standard monographic study of this great medieval university is that of Eugene Bimbenet, Histoire de l'universite de lois d'Orleans, published in 1853. Since that time, other significant monographs have appeared and have been collected in the revised 1936 edition of Hastings Rashdall's Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. II. The conclusion set forth in this last named work has become the basic tenet pertaining to the University, and this is that studies at Orleans were largely restricted to law alone after 1200.

It is my intention to show that Rashdall's account is not entirely adequate, and to demonstrate that Orleans was a famous center for the study of classical authors and continued to be so in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Up to this time, except for the studies of Dr.

Dorothy M. Quynn, there has apparently been no conclusive work which has definitively demonstrated the continued existence of other studies. The need for such a study, however, has been apparent since Paetow, in his important book, the Arts Course at Medieval Universities, published in 1910, pointed to conflicting evidence in the documents of 1312 of the University published by Fournier. These documents, as Dr Quynn pointed out, contain definite mention of the liberal arts at Orleans.

The purpose of this paper is therefore to present the results of a thorough search in the extant materials and to draw attention to evidence regarding the presence of subjects other than law which were being taught at Orleans between 1200 and 1350, perhaps the most important period in the history of the University. The documents published by Fournier must, however, be supplemented by other materials, since the documents he published date largely from the year 1306, the year in which the original university charter was granted. It is impossible to prove from the archival or documentary materials alone that Orleans was or continued to be a famous center for the study of classical or other studies. However, other sources, such as the literary works of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Matthew of

Vendôme, and Henri d'Andeli, for example, offer considerable evidence that the subjects of the liberal arts were being taught at Orleans. Even more convincing are the student letters of the period, many of which have been published by Haskins and Delisle. These present clear evidence of the persistence of other studies in the curriculum and provide the primary focus of my attention in this study. To complete the study, it may also be of interest to compare the curriculum of Orleans with that of other thirteenth and fourteenth century universities, and to note the changes throughout these centuries. Orleans did not exist in isolation and should be considered in relation to other contemporary universities for a proper understanding of its curriculum. A cursory study of the intellectual milieu from which the University of Orleans emerged and of which it was the beneficiary is also of importance for an understanding and appreciation of its curriculum.

The preparation of this study owes a great deal to the materials on universities and related subjects gathered at the New York Public Library, the C.U.N.Y. Graduate School Library, Hunter College Library, the Butler Library at Columbia University, and the Widener Library at Harvard University. To the staffs of these librairies I wish to

express my grateful appreciation. I should also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Peter A. Ford who first interested me in the medieval universities, and particularly to Dr. Pearl Kibre who suggested this topic to me and who aided me in the task by her helpful criticism and by generously turning over to me for inspection the many valuable documents pertaining to Orleans that she received as a legacy from the estate of Dr. Dorothy Mackay Quynn. Dr. Quynn had devoted a major part of her scholarly attention to Orleans in the hope of one day publishing a definitive work on the subject. I should also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Howard Adelson and Dr. Richard Lemay who by becoming my sponsors enabled me to continue work on this fascinating topic after Dr Kibre's retirement from teaching. Their help has been invaluable. It would not be appropriate to conclude these remarks without mentioning my mother and my fiance. Without their patience and encouragement in the difficult years since I first began my research on this topic, this work would not have been completed.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEC	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes
BSAHO	Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais
ed.	Edited by
HL	Histoire litteraire de la France
MSAHO	Memoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL	Patrologiae latina cursus completus. Series Latina. Ed. J.P. Migne.
TiR	Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis
Tr	Translated by

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ORLEANS

THE SCHOOLS IN THE PRE-UNIVERSITY PERIOD

One of the most original contributions that the medieval centuries made to the civilized life of Europe is the university. As a historical topic, the university holds a fascination that is particularly keen: first, because of the enduring significance of the institution itself, secondly because of the mystery and lack of detail that surround its emergence. The earliest universities of Europe had no founders and no certain dates to which their establishment could be assigned. While in fact the universities grew by a very slow process, the obscurity that shrouded their beginnings has led to the production of fictitious evidence of their alleged foundation by illustrious monarchs, kings and emperors. This fact has added to their historical appeal to both students and professors. Ultimately, however, the emergence of the university, whether it be Paris, Bologna, Salerno, Oxford, Montpellier or Orléans, was the direct result of many

causative factors or antecedents coming together to establish an institution that in time grew to possess its own legitimate rights.

In tracing the emergence of the university, we pass from a bleak beginning to a period of brilliant intellectual life. From the early medieval period when learning and letters were often denounced by prudish leaders of the church, we pass through the centuries to the zenith of medieval intellectual achievement with men like Abelard and St Thomas. While this seems to be a development of contrast, it is nevertheless a study of continuity. As Sir Maurice Powicke so eloquently stated, the early university was not created but grew as a natural expression of the spiritual, intellectual and social energies of the age.[1] It is indeed a statement that can be repeated with safety. In the case of Orléans we have a very vivid example of this: it is hardly surprising or remarkable that a University of Orléans emerged. The preconditions that mark the evolutionary process of all universities were present in great abundance in the region of Orleans.

In tracing the slow emergence of the universities, it is apparent that even in the darkest ages the tradition of learning was never to die out completely. In fact, it would be an exaggeration to describe the period following

the collapse of the Roman Empire as a period of unmitigated barbarism. While Jerome and Tertullian denounced the writing of the heathens, a love of books and literature nevertheless did survive. Because of the glorious efforts of Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore and Bede, the love of learning remained, and continuity of culture was maintained between the ancient and medieval world. Chiefly in the church and through the efforts of the clergy, some form of learning survived. As a result of the clerical contribution, the powers of the teacher eventually revived and soared to new heights. Students gathered throughout Europe in astonishing numbers to hear their lectures. It is a well known and delightfully romantic tale how they did this by travelling great distances in their quest for knowledge amid the daily peril of medieval life armed only with a spirit of inquiry.

In Central and Northern France we find the home of the most originative medieval development. The creative energies and vitality of the medieval period can best be seen in the development that took place in this neighborhood. The region of Orleans is a typical example of this creative energy, vitality, and zeal. Like Chartres, Orléans was an ancient home of letters. Both cities were referred to as such by Caesar in his History of the Gallic Wars.[2] Under

the empire, liberal arts studies quickly sprang up and did not cease completely even in Merovingian times, although they did experience a state of decline. With the Carolingian renaissance they revived and thenceforth in both cities they were pursued continuously: in Chartres at the convent school of St Peter, if not at the school attached to the cathedral; at Orléans at the cathedral school of Sainte Croix as well as at the many monastic schools that flourished there.[3]

Much of the fame and prestige of Orleans actually dates back to this early period. Fortunately a great deal is known about Orléans in the Gallo-Roman period and in the early medieval period as well. In the most ancient sources Orleans is referred to as Genabum, a name that was applied until at least the fifth or sixth century when it was replaced by the new name Aurelianum.[4] Among the authors using the term Genabum were Caesar in the aforementioned History of the Gallic Wars and Orosius, the Roman historian, writing in the early fifth century.[5] Perhaps the last author to have used this particular place name was Gregory of Tours in his De Gloria Confessorum, Cap. 61.[6] Subsequently the new term Aurelianum was consistently applied.

Given the medieval temperament, legends grew up to account for this change of names. These accounts are indeed interesting and varied. One tells of a new people who were

called the Aureliani whose origin was traced back to the time of Marcus Aurelius.[7] Yet another account maintained that Orleans was founded by Marcus Aurelius, while a third claimed that the founder was Aurelian.[8] Still another popular notion, probably derived etymologically, suggested that the word Aurelianum meant that the town was gold for foreigners.[9] Other literary sources have pointed to the favored position that Orleans enjoyed.[10]

Whatever the actual reason for the change or the source for the new name, it has conclusively been established that the two names Genabum and Aurelianum actually refer to and identify the same place. Historically, the first statement to this effect occurred in an eleventh century text, the "Deeds of the French" by Aimoin, a monk at the Benedictine abbey of Fleury.[11] In the twelfth century this fact was reiterated by another monk of Fleury in a similar history.[12] More recently, in 1858 to be exact, a French commission on topography composed of the most accomplished scholars in the field confirmed once and for all after a very thorough investigation that the two towns were one and the same.[13]

The accounts of the founding of the town are of course on a parallel with the accounts of other imaginative annalists of the period for whom it was a point of honor to claim a measureless antiquity for the academy they loved. Out of

this devotion they labored arduously to carry back the origins of these institutions to fabled kings. In the case of Orleans, Hugh, Bishop of Orleans, writing in 1367, tells us that lectures at the University of Orleans by Virgil mark the foundation of this famed university.[14] This legend has been repeated by more modern historians and writers.

There are many revealing sources for the political, economic and intellectual history of Orleans in the early medieval period. One of the most important of these sources is Gregory of Tours who in his History of the Franks has so vividly depicted for us the decay of urban institutions, morality and learning that characterized the Merovingian period. Even in this bleak period, however, Orleans stands out in striking contrast to the general picture as an example of continuity.

A mere perusal of Gregory's narrative gives ample indication that within the walls of this medieval town there resided a professional merchant class composed of Jews and Syrians. One of the most illustrative and most cited passages of Gregory's history is the one concerning the arrival of the Merovingian king Gontran in Orleans. On his way to Paris, he stopped at Orleans where he was warmly received by the people. It was the twenty-fourth year of his reign and the day of his arrival in Orleans was a very festive day, for it was also the Feast of St Martin. A

throng of people came to greet him with standards and banners singing praises to him, and shouting long live the king. Here Syriac could be heard, there the language of the Jews and also Latin.[15]

The information that Gregory supplies us is of the utmost significance since it is brought into the narrative in an incidental fashion. From it we are also able to glean the fact that knowledge and use of writing were also maintained at Orleans throughout this bleak period,[16] primarily because of the continued existence of this very merchant class. It is interesting to note that Henri Pirenne, that champion of the theory of continuity between Roman and barbaric times, frequently cited Orleans in support of his thesis.[17]

Having briefly surveyed the Merovingian period and having noted the many continuities that persisted at Orleans, we come to an even more important epoch, the Carolingian era. Much of the French learning of the eleventh and twelfth centuries seems to root directly in the soil of the Carolingian era and tradition. The Carolingian period had a profound impact upon the intellectual and cultural development of Orleans. Generally speaking, there would be no turning back after this period, no regression, for too much had been accomplished. To Charlemagne and to Alcuin, as well as to the men who carried out their plans and ideas,

the educational system of the Middle Ages owes a memorable debt.

Charlemagne was not only a conqueror, he was a reformer as well. By his authority and through his inspiration he succeeded in carrying out an educational reform which was of such sweeping importance that it managed to survive even after the breakup and collapse of his empire. The particular purpose of the educational reforms of Charlemagne was the cultural reconstruction of society. The emperor was inspired by his fear that the Bible was not being read intelligently, and he wanted to be certain that there was a sufficient number of literate priests and monks.

The Carolingian educational reforms were epoch making. Written with a crisp precision, the decrees were universal in their application. More importantly they remained as a precedent from which the universities of Europe would grow. The crowning achievement of the Carolingian educational reforms was the establishment of the medieval educational system itself.[18]

It is well known how Charlemagne gathered a band of illustrious scholars about him to accomplish this cultural reconstruction of society. Around 781 Alcuin took over the organization of the palatine school in order to begin the task of disseminating existing learning.[19] Alcuin was a wise choice, for he understood the problems in-

volved in educating an elite from among a barbarous and illiterate nation. In order to insure the success of Alcuin's program, the most distinguished scholars and educators were sent for either from within the Carolingian domains or outside them. Many were called to take part in the program, which, if successful, would achieve the literacy of the clergy and set the framework for lay education as well. Those who were called were made bishops or abbots.

Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, was one of the people chosen for the project. A Goth by nationality, an Italian by birth, Theodulf, who also appeared at the court of Charlemagne about 781, delighted the palace circle with his lively and elegant verse. He was one of the most cultured members of the group and a favorite of the Emperor. Theodulf could talk on all matters of state, of the Church, of books. Recognizing his skills, the Emperor often used him as a missus and sent him out as a royal envoy on errands of diplomacy, law and arbitration. Theodulf became the most distinguished poet of the palace assembly and was known to the palatine group as Pindar.[20] Charlemagne as was his custom rewarded Theodulf with the See of Orleans.

In certain dioceses of the realm, exceptionally enlightened bishops strove to go considerably beyond the

minimum requirements set forth in the royal capitularies. Such was Theodulf. He fully appreciated the significance of the imperial decrees. So eager was he that it could be said without exaggeration that Charlemagne possessed no more zealous and energetic a bishop in the whole of his vast kingdom. With extreme thoroughness Theodulf carried out the royal injunction that schools be established in connection with monasteries and cathedrals. Much of Theodulf's understanding of and enthusiasm for the educational decrees can be attributed to the fact that Theodulf himself had been the recipient of a superior education as a student in Spain where Christian schools still existed and where an unbroken tradition of education from the days of Isidore continued. This education left him with a great feeling for works of art and a love of precious things. Alcuin's plan to secure the promotion of men who were learned and full of zeal bore fruit with the appointment of Theodulf. His contribution represents something that must be seriously considered in the history of the Carolingian revival.

While other bishops carried out the plan for the universal application of instruction, Theodulf introduced a novelty into the scheme. He was the first to assert the principle that elementary education should be given gratuitously. In every parish of his diocese he organized schools for the children exhorting the priests to exact no

fees for their teaching. His works on this subject make it clear.

> "Let priests hold schools in the towns and villages and if any of the faithful wish to entrust their children to them for the learning of letters, let them not refuse to receive and teach such children. Moreover, let them teach them from pure affection, remembering that it is written 'the wise shall shine as the splendor of the firmament' and they that instruct many in righteousness shall shine as the stars forever and forever. And let them exact no price from the children for their teaching, nor receive anything from them, save what their parents may offer voluntarily and from affection."[21]

The schools were thus no longer restricted for those who wished to enter the priesthood. The Sunday sermon became a standard feature of worship as well as a vehicle of instruction under Theodulf and other bishops tended to follow this practice.[22]

So committed was Theodulf to this educational undertaking that he also acquired a reputation as a writer of school books. He was apparently motivated by a desire to popularize the basic tenets of the seven liberal arts so that they would be more digestible for young and tender minds. Theodulf obviously empathized with students who had no or very little knowledge and who were suddenly exposed to the trivium and quadrivium, to Priscian and Martianus Capella. In his effort to popularize and make more comprehensible the seven liberal arts, he composed in simple Latin verse a description of a supposed tree of science which he caused to be drawn and pointed, the parts of which

were the subjects of the trivium and quadrivium. This imaginative concoction is his Carmina de septem artibus.[23] As Drane points out, Theodulf's attempt to scatter the thorny path of learning with the flowers of imagination was indeed commendable for a scholar who had at least a tincture of Greek and Hebrew.[24]

In a period which is considered by many to have been an age of inferior civilization, there were schools quite more numerous than one would suppose. The schools were a very important feature of life in Orleans, and they provide the direct context from which the later university would emerge. While many of the schools date back further than the Carolingian period, under Theodulf they became better organized and acquired a direct sense of purpose.

The principal schools at the time of Theodulf were Sainte Croix or the cathedral school, St Aignan, St Lifard de Meung and St Benoit sur Loire or Fleury as it was most commonly called.[25] Following Theodulf's death the precedents he established for education remained vital. The schools continued to function, the liberal arts continued to be taught, other reforms took place which favorably affected letters in monasteries. Here and there another exceptional man like Theodulf emerged to create another exceptional situation, and so the state of letters in the Loire Valley prospered. By the eleventh century there were many schools

there, and their fame had spread beyond the confines of the Loire Valley throughout France and Europe and as far away as England.

Of the early schools at Orleans, one of the most famous was Fleury. A great deal of its fame and prestige derived from the fact that the remains of St Benedict were buried there.[26] In 672 the remains of St Benedict became the possession of the abbey of Fleury. The abbey itself had been founded by Leodebod, abbot of St Aignan in the reign of Dagobert, some time between 630 and 650.[27] It is impossible to fix the date any more precisely. At the time of its foundation, the abbey came into competition with another nearby abbey, that of St Mesmin de Micy, the earliest known monastery of the region, founded in 498 and given to the bishop of Orleans by Clovis. At the time it was the greatest religious establishment of the region. Mummole, the second abbot of Fleury, however, hit upon the idea of sending some of the monks to Italy to search for the remains of St Benedict. The envoys were successful in their mission, and the body of the founder of the Benedictine order was brought to Fleury about 672.[28] From that time the abbey enjoyed great celebrity. Countless miracles are said to have taken place as a result of the transfer of the relics, and these miracles have been recounted in the copious volumes produced by the monks of Fleury.[29]

Fleury was one of the monasteries at which letters were cultivated with the most ardor. As an abbey it also enjoyed the advantage of outstanding leadership. In 963 Richard succeeded Wulfade as abbot of Fleury. He is indicative of the type of leadership that the abbey of Fleury enjoyed. He imbued a profound recognition of the importance of learning in the monks. As a matter of fact, he deemed learning a worthy and powerful ally of the monastic life.[30]

In 988 Fleury came under the direction of the monk Abbo whose leadership led to the enhancement of its reputation.[31] Abbo was born in the region of Orleans and as a child he was brought to Fleury for instruction by his parents. This was about 957 or 958 when Wulfade was abbot. At Fleury he eagerly followed the threefold and fourfold paths of the liberal arts, the trivium and quadrivium. He was such a keen student that his biographer Aimoin, also a monk of Fleury, tells us that as a boy, Abbo needed only one telling from his teachers. He immediately understood all that he was taught and hid the information deep in his mind.[32] So precocious and gifted was Abbo as a student, that he wanted to hear the lessons of other masters in France. In this way he became a student of Gerbert's. As a result of this affiliation, Abbo carried over to his own monastic school at Fleury where he was appointed

scholasticus upon his return, the broad program of studies and instruction that he had acquired under Gerbert. As a teacher and intellectual giant, he gave decisive impulse to the later studium that grew in Orleans.[33]

An incredibly large number of students are said to have attended Abbo's lectures. It has been speculated that at this time there were as many as 5,000 students in attendance at the lectures.[34] They came to hear Abbo's lectures on astronomy, mathematics, chronology and grammar. It is said that in gratitude, each student made a gift of two manuscripts to his professor upon graduating.[35] Because of this custom, Fleury acquired one of the richest and most valuable libraries in all of Europe. So reputable and vast was the collection that Gerbert reportedly inquired of the monks of Fleury whenever he was in need of a book. He was almost certain to find it there. Ultimately the majority of the manuscripts in the collection passed into the hands of Queen Christina of Sweden, and thus today can be found in the Vatican collection.[36]

The intellectual renown of Abbo was such that he was surpassed only by Gerbert, the outstanding genius of his day, in his reputation. The range of Abbo's intellectual interests was vast. His pen touched such subjects as dialectics and grammar, patristic literature, papal history, canon law, and mathematics. He was a prolific author, and

during the year he resided in England he produced two works, Quaestiones grammaticae and a Life of St Edmund.[37] Among the many authors cited by Abbo are Horace, Virgil, Terence, Lucan and Juvenal. He also appears to have had a good command of Greek.[38] Under the direction of Abbo, attention was given to grammar, logic, mathematics as well as to the study of Scriptures and the Church Fathers. Abbo admonished his hearers about the thorns of sin and warned that the battle was against the vices of the flesh. In the battle he deemed that the study of letters would be of advantage to them particularly the exercise of composition. He himself a studious man scarcely let pass a moment when he was not reading, writing or dictating.[39]

In the year that Abbo was away in England, Fleury was directed by another outstanding scholar, Constantine. During this period the interdependence and interaction between Fleury and Rheims continued. Gerbert and Constantine carried on a voluminous correspondence, much of which dealt with the most sophisticated mathematical problems. In fact it was to Constantine to whom Gerbert's treatise De Abaco was dedicated.[40]

The tenth century represents the highlight of teaching at Fleury. The graduates of the school were many and notable. The bastard son of Hugh Capet, Gauzlin, was one graduate who subsequently became abbot of the monastery.[41] Although he

encountered opposition from the other monks because of his illegitimate birth, Gauzlin nevertheless succeeded in gaining numerous donations for the monastery and was a zealous defender of its rights. One reason for his success was the high regard and esteem that his brother Robert the Pious felt for him.

The monks of Fleury were prolific writers. During the abbacy of Gauzlin, Aimoin wrote the "Deeds of the French," the "History of the Abbots of Fleury," and the "Life of Abbo." Naturally a great deal of the writing focused upon the life of St Benedict. Arnoul wrote about the miracles, Constantine composed a musical piece about the arrival of the relics of the saint, Eude wrote in heroic verse about his life, and Geraud and Gontard, less well known monks, wrote in a similar vein. In the early eleventh century, Helgaud, another monk of Fleury, in addition to writing a biography of Robert the Pious, also composed one about Gauzlin. Of these authors, Aimoin and Helgaud, also served as abbots of Fleury. Another abbot of considerable reputation was the poet Raoul Tortaire who taught versification to the youths.[42]

From their inception, studies at Fleury were maintained in a continual state of brilliance. The only apparent interruption occurred during the period of the Viking invasions. In 853, 854, 863, 877 and 878 there were

attacks. Each time the monks fled taking with them the most important possessions. In 911 Fleury was spared.[43] When the monks were able to return to their cloister, they found both it and their own lives in hapless confusion. For some time this continued and the monks were in no mood for discipline. Finally in 930 when Odo became abbot, studies were restored to their state of brilliance.[44] The abbey was highly praised and pointed to as an example to be emulated. In a letter to the archbishops of Lyon, Tours, Sens, Bourges and Rheims, Leo VII recommended Fleury as an example to be followed.[45]

The other important school of this period was Sainte Croix, the cathedral school. It was equally as important as Fleury if not more so. The cathedral itself was begun by Saint Euvert, one of the first bishops of Orleans, and his successor, St Aignan, enlarged upon the original plans.[46] Like Fleury the cathedral school also profited from exceptionally capable leadership, that of Theodulf, Jonas, Wulfin, Boece and Agius, to name but a few.[47]

Information about the cathedral school is however much more sketchy than is that about Fleury. One feature of interest is the fact that musical instruction held a high place of honor at Sainte Croix. It was at Sainte Croix in fact that Abbo himself was sent to receive his first musical instruction.[48] Apparently even at the time of Theodulf

music was an important feature of the curriculum.

At the beginning of the eleventh century the school of Sainte Croix was directed by two learned masters, Stephen and Lisoius. Their orthodoxy was strongly suspected, however, and in 1022 they were condemned by Robert the Pious.[49] The heresy was quite pernicious and quite widespread. Heribert, another master who taught at St Pierre le Puellier was also accused of being a member of the heretical Manichean sect. The heresy at Orleans was discovered by a clerk named Hubert.[50]

It is interesting to note the silent and unsuspected way that the sect grew. Stephen, one of the leaders, had been confessor to the queen of France. His colleague Lisoius was also familiar to the king and court. Even the council that condemned them admitted that they were distinguished for their wisdom.[51]

As to the origin of the sect, we know little. The Acts of the Synod of Orleans really offer no clue. Among contemporaries, Ademar of Chabannis alone describes it as Manichean and traces it to a certain Rusticus.[52] On the other hand, Raoul Glaber says it was imported from Italy by a woman.[53] This conflict among the sources on the Orleans heresy which merited the first official execution for heresy has plagued historians. At any rate we can agree with Poole in his assessment that the dissemination of the

heresy at Orleans was assisted by the reviving spirit of inquiry which was already manifesting itself as a powerful force in France.[54]

Some time after this serious incident, Engelbert, a former student of Fulbert of Chartres, became Master at Sainte Croix and began his lecturing. Once again the school of Sainte Croix acquired a famous reputation. Among Engelbert's students was one Gerard who built a reputation as a philosopher.[55] Around 1048 Adelman, director of the school of Liege, came to assist Engelbert in the public lessons.[56] Another scholar connected with the school was Robert d'Angers, one of the most famous teachers of his time.[57] At the beginning of the twelfth century, the school was directed by Alfred and Jacques. The Milanese historian Landolf of St Paul studied there at this time.[58]

The episcopal school enjoyed a worthy reputation in both the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One of the most famous graduates of the cathedral school was Stephen of Tournay. Stephen supplies us with a great deal of information about former students. Three such students, John, William, and Robert, worked for Pope Alexander III and Lucius III as secretaries. Maurice de Sully, a famous bishop of Paris, was another student. Yet another was Hilaire, a native of Orleans, who directed the school there and also the schools of various towns in France, among them

Angers. Other students included Baudry, Bishop of Dol, Odo, Bishop of Cambrai, Joffride, Abbot of Croyland. Both Joffride and Odo were natives of Orleans as well as products of the episcopal school. Joffride, who was very well versed in sacred and profane literature, took the religious habit at Saint Evroul and crossed the channel to England, where he spread the traditions of his native village.[59] The list could go on and on. Except for the Viking invasions which also interrupted studies at Fleury, Sainte Croix enjoyed a prosperous history of academic growth.

Apparently the love of learning and letters which characterized the intellectual and cultural lifeoof Orleans was not limited to the schools and to the clerics who resided there. Manifestations of an interest among the laity also were evident throughout the medieval period. A large part of the laity at Orleans obviously also continued to be literate. For example, in the ninth century, Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, Theodulf's successor, composed a treatise called De Institutione Laicali which was written for and dedicated to Count Malfred of Orleans. The count belonged to a group of laymen under Louis the Pious who took an interest in things intellectual.[60]

Certainly the role of Robert the Pious in the development of Orleans cannot be overlooked either. Orleans was

his favorite regia urbis and home of the king, the second Capetian ruler of France who reigned from 996 to 1031. Richer, Robert's fellow student, tells us how well versed Robert was in divine and canon law and how he applied himself to the liberal arts. Raoul Glaber is another of the authors who speaks of Robert's learning.

Having studied under Gerbert at the cathedral school of Rheims, Robert was the first Capetian to whom a knowledge of Latin could be ascribed. An illustration of his scholarly reputation can be gleaned from some documents of the period in which he is referred to as "regnante rege philosopho."[61] Because of his own scholarly nature and love of the city of Orleans, we can only assume that Robert must have had a direct impact upon the town. This impact was not simply political. It entailed sustaining the intellectual life and vitality of the region. It is therefore without doubt necessary to attribute to the frequent residence of the king in Orleans the rapid intellectual growth and importance of the region.

The conditions at Orleans were quite favorable to scholastic growth. Schools were built up in the early period and a consistent tradition of academic teaching was maintained. While there were digressions from the path of learning because of the overall course of historical events, the tradition of academic teaching was so deeply ingrained

that these incidents, once passed, were merely momentary interruptions. The good fortune of outstanding leadership continued, and the schools continued to thrive. The overall general environment was favorable to scholastic growth. There were many students, a plentiful supply of lodgings and food, and obviously a permanent body of masters. Conditions were similar to those preeminently enjoyed by Paris. The schools at Orleans, located in the midst of a bustling town, at the highways of trade, communication and pilgrimage, proved an additional attraction. The eminent custom of gratuitous instruction continued at Orleans and was also one of the contributory factors that led to the extension and growth of the schools at Orleans into a university.

From this background and cultural setting the University of Orleans emerged. Other factors would later affect its growth and reputation, but in these embryonic stages, it developed in a fashion similar to that of the University of Paris which grew out of the cathedral school of Notre Dame. Yet Paris itself would not have acquired the fame and reputation it did had it not been for the other centers of learning which had existed there: the collegiate church of Sainte Genevieve where Abelard taught and the abbey of St Victor. Such was the case of Orleans which emerged also as the result of the fame and reputation of several famous and

celebrated schools or centers of learning in the milieu.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1]Quoted by Helene Wieruszowski, The Medieval University(New York: Van Nostrand, 1966), p. 15.

[2]Julius Caesar, Bellum Gallicum, Vol. I of Commentarii Rerum Gestarum, ed Otto Seel(Lipsiae: Teubneri, 1961), I, 6 and 7.

[3]H.O. Taylor, The Medieval Mind(New York: 1911), I p. 298.

[4]M. Guerrier, "Genabum: Nouvelle étude d'après les anciennes controverses et les travaux les plus récents," MSAHO, XXV(1884), p. 394. See also Pauly Wissowa, Real Encyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft(Stuttgart: 1910), VII, p. 1129.

[5]Guerrier, p. 394.

[6]Ibid. See also Anatole Bailly, Etymologie et Histoire des mots Orleans et Orleanais, 1871.

[7]Guerrier, p. 394.

[8]Ibid.

[9]J. Warichez, Etienne de Tournai et son temps(Paris: 1936), p. 91 citing Arnoul le Roux, BN latin 8241.

[10]Raoul Glaber, Historia Sui Temporis, ed. Dom Bouquet in Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, X, p. 17, referred to its beauty, its large population, the fertility of its soil and the purity of the water of the Loire.

[11]Guerrier, p. 398 quoting Aimoin, "...Parisius, Carnotum, Genabum ubi nunc Aurelianis..."

[12]Ibid.

[13]For an interesting discussion of this fascinating topic, see M. Soyer, "La légende de la fondation d'Orleans par l'empereur Aurélien," Mémoires de la Société Agriculture de l'Orleanais, X(1910), pp. 74-88.

[14]Ibid., p. 83. For an interesting analogy see C.E. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford(London: 1924), I, p. 2, in relation to the legends surrounding the foundation of the University. See also Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages(Oxford: 1936), I, p. 142 on the legend of Bologna being founded by Theodosius in 433. One historian at least, Symphorien Guyon, Histoire de l'église et diocèse, ville et université d'Orleans, 1650, apparently accepted the legend that Marcus Aurelius was the founder of the University of Orleans.

[15]Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, MGH, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum(Hanover: 1884), VIII, 1: 'Igitur Guntchramnus rex anno vigesimo quarto regni sui de cavillonno progressus, Nevernensem urbem adgreditur. Invitatus enim Parisius veniebat, ut Chilperici filium, quem iam Chlothacharium vocitabant, a sacro regenerationes fonte deberet excipere. Degressus vero a Naverno ad Aurilianensem urbem venit, magnum se tunc civibus suis praebens. Nam per domibus eorum invitatus abibat. Et prandia data libabat; multum ab his muneraque ipsis proflua benignitato largitus est. Sed cum ad urbem Aurilianensem venissit erat ea die solemnitas beati Martini is est quarto nonas mensis quinti. Processit que in obviam eius in mensa populi turba cum signis adque vixillis, canentes laudes. Et hinc lingua Syrorum, hinc latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum iudaeorum in diversis laudibus varie concrepabat, dicens: 'Vivat rex, regnumque eius in populis annis innumeris dilatetur.'"

[16]Ibid., passim.

[17]See Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities(Garden City, NY: 1956), Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe(New York: 1937), and Mohammed and Charlemagne(New York: 1939) for examples.

[18]On this subject see T. Hodgkin, Charles the Great (London: 1908); J.B. Mullinger, The Schools of Charles the Great, and A.F. West, Alcuin(London: 1893). M.L.W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900(London:

1931), pp. 189-224, gives an excellent account of learning and poetry in the Carolingian age.

[19]Laistner, pp. 193-194.

[20]Theodulf has leftaa poem in which he sets forth the contents of his library. The title of the poem is "De Libris Quos Legere Solebam et Qualiter Fabulae Poetarum a Philosophis Mystice Pertractentur(Poet. Lat. Aevi. Car: I (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), p. 543. He cites among others, Gregory, Augustine, Leo, Ambrose, Isidore, Cyprian, Sedulius, Paulinus, Arator, Avitus, Fortunatus, Prudentius, Donatus, and Virgil. These were the authors he had become familiar with as a student in Spain. F.J.E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed(London: 1957), I, p. 181, points out that it was probably Theodulf who brought from Spain the poems of his countryman Martial and certainly those of Cyprian who was not well known in the west.

Among the most famous poems composed by Theodulf are "Gloria, Laus et Honor Tibi, Sit, Rex Christe, Redemptor," a poem composed for Palm Sunday which has provided the material for a famous hymn, and "De Septem Liberalibus Artibus in Quadam Pictura Depictis"(MGH, Poet. Lat. Aevi. Car.(Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), I, 544-547. This poem was written for scholastic use and parts of it are cited by Raby, I, p. 188.

On the names used by the court group, see Raby, p. 183.

[21]Andrew Fleming West, Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools(New York: Scribners, 1892), p. 55. The original can be found in Migne, PL, CV, 191 and 207.

[22]Ibid., p. 57.

[23]Raby, I, p. 188.

[24]Augusta Drane, Christian Schools and Scholars (London: 1881), p. 134.

[25]St Benoit and St Aignan are known to have been in existence in the seventh century. Cf Lesne, La propriété ecclésiastique en France aux époques romaine et mérovingienne(Paris: 1910), VI, p. 110.

[26]For a discussion of the early history of the abbey see Mlle. Foulques de Villaret, "L'enseignement des lettres et des sciences dans l'Orléanais," MSAHO, XIV(1875), p. 317.

[27]On this topic see E. Certain, Les Miracles de Saint Benoit(Paris: 1858), p. v.

[28]Foulques de Villaret, p. 314.

[29]Adrevald, a contemporary of Charles le Chauve, was the first to treat the subject. Aimoin added books II and III. See J. duBois, Bibliotheca Floriacensis, 13-78, 79-148, Bollandists Mart II, 305-316; 316-334 and Mabillon, Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti in saeculorum classes distributa, II, 369-392 aand IV, 356-390.

[30]Foulques de Villaret, p. 347 citing Richard in Mab., Traité des études monast, XI, Ch IV, p. 32: "oportet eum(monachum) non esse minus litteratum quam religiosum,"

[31]Abbo, Opera, PL, CXXXIX, 417ff. Also see A. Van de Vyver, "Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury," Revue Bénédictine, XLVII(1935), 125 ff. Aimoin's life of Abbo can be found in PL, CXXXIX.

[32]Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Death and Life in the Tenth Century(Ann Arbor, Mich: 1968), pp. 300-304 where she gives an excellent brief sketch of Abbo's life.

[33]On the monastic schools in general see U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique des origines au XIIe siècle, 2nd ed, ch. III(Paris: 1921). Also see "Ecoles claustrales du moyen âge," Bulletin des lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique(1921), pp. 550-72.

[34]Taylor, I, p. 296. Foulques de Villaret, p. 333 citing Aimoin as found in DuBois, Bibl. Flor, cap I, 302: "scholae quondam adeo insignes atque celebres in coenobio floriacenci habebantur ut scholasticorum in eis numerus plus quinque millibus recenseretur." D. Rivet in HL, VI, p. 36, however, says it would be impossible to amake a just enumeration of all the men who left Fleury on the completion of their studies at the time of Abbo.

[35]L. Maitre, Les écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe-Auguste (Paris: 1865), p. 78.

[36]On the titles of the manuscripts see Septier, cat. 12-13.

[37]Duckett, p. 302.

[38]A. Tougard, L'Hellénisme dans les écrivains du moyen âge du septieme au douzième siècle(Paris: 1886), pp. 45-6.

[39]Duckett, p. 302.

[40]Gerbert, De Abaco, PL, CXXXIX.

[41]André de Fleury, "Vie du Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury et archéveque de Bourges," ed. L. Delisle, MSAHO, II(1855), p. 260.

[42]Maitre, p. 101.

[43]Charles Cuissard, MSAHO, XIV, p. 50 citing Dudon, "Deeds of the Dukes of Normandy," II: "videns autem Rollo monasterium Sancti Benedicti illud contaminare noluit, nec praedari provinciam Senonis propter Sanctum Benedictum permisit."

[44]Duckett, p. 202.

[45]Duissard, p. 562.

[46]Foulques de Villaret, p. 368

[47]For a fairly complete list of those who served as scholasticus at the cathedral school, See Mlle. Foulques de Villaret, "Recherches historiques sur l'ancien chapitre cathédral de l'église d'Orleans de son origine jusqu'au XVI siècle," MSAHO, XIX(1883), p. 612. The scholasticus was the head of the school who taught the young clerks and who conferred the license to teach.

[48]Foulques de Villaret, "L'Enseignement," p. 368.

[49]Ibid., p. 383.

[50]Charles Cuissard, "Origine, formation et développement de la Bibliothèque publique d'Orleans," MSAHO, XXV, p. 65.

[51]R.L. Poole, Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning, 2nd ed rev(London: 1920), p. 84.

[52]Ibid., p. 85.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid. On the topic of heresy and the subsequent execution of the leaders, see J.B. Russell, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages(Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 86-95.

[55]Foulques de Villaret, "L'Enseignement," p. 384.

[56]Maitre, p. 101.

[57]Foulques de Villaret, "L'Enseignement," p. 381.

[58]J. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, V(1724) p. 461: "Praefat Histor. med. urbis Landulpho...Qui tunc temporis discebat Aureliani ab egregio magistro Alfredo et nobili Jacobo."

[59]Stephen of Tournay, Epistle 78, PL, CCXI(1855), pp. 375-6: "In ecclesia Sanctae Crucis Aurelianensis a puero nutritus." Letters 65 and 85 supply information about the papal secretaries. On Maurice de Sully and Hilaire, see Foulques de Villaret, "L'Enseignement," p. 390. On Joffride and Odo, see Maitre, p. 101.

[60]J.W. Thompson, Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages(Berkeley, Cal: Univ. of Cal. Press, 1939), p. 33.

[61]Helgaud, "Vie du Roi Robert," Bouquet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, X. Also Thompson, p. 127 citing Hist. libri quatuour in 13, MGH, SS, IV, p. 634. Ch. Pfister, Etudes sur la regne de Robert le Pieux (Paris: 1885), particularly p. 34 and n.3.

CHAPTER II

ORLEANS IN THE 12th CENTURY
THE RENOWNED SCHOOLS OF
CLASSICAL STUDIES AND GRAMMAR

In the course of the twelfth century, Orléans gained high renown for the distinction of its schools whose reputation for excellence in the arts culminated in the latter part of the century. In this field, its fame eclipsed that of other institutions and was frequently commented upon by contemporary authors. Such was its reputation that it was classed as a school of literature on a level with Salerno, Bologna and Paris as schools of medicine, law and logic respectively.[1] During this period the school of literary studies at Orléans flourished to such a degree that it was able to attract the attention of scholars from throughout Europe.

For a long period of the Middle Ages, grammar was the paramount subject of the trivium. Essentially it was the introductory subject of the trivium in the early Middle Ages, a subject that had to be mastered before the student could progress to the other arts. As such, in the Caro-

lingian period, grammar was conceived as the source and foundation of all the liberal arts. This intense interest in grammar continued well into the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The curriculum of the twelfth century remained much as before: Priscian and Donatus were the standard texts.

But just as the twelfth century witnessed a broadening of the current of intellectual life, so the classical authors were studied in this period with an exactness and a freedom such as had not been known since the last days of the ancient schools. The ancient authors were read assiduously at Orléans, and rhetorical composition was studied there as well as the writing of prose and poetry.

One also gets the impression that during this period, the number of classical authors who were read steadily widened. This was particularly evident at Orleans. The reading of the schools which had formerly been largely Christian or had moved within the bounds of some accepted anthology now included material which from the religious point of view could be classed as undesirable. The inevitable result of this was that murmurs of protest began to swell into a violent chorus, and for many there were moments of doubt and pangs of conscience.[2] For example, Baudry of Bourgueil reminded his readers that his heart and his mind

were pure even though his verses could be called frivolous.[3] In a similar manner, Marbod of Rennes wrote a condemnation of Ovid and his works as an old man.[4] The schools, however, were not given over to the exclusive cult of erotic poetry. The old traditions of a classical learning within the bounds of the Christian outlook continued and were even deepened. Those students who were to gain a broad understanding of the classics were those trained in the few schools where literature was specifically studied, namely Chartres and Orleans.

The twelfth century at Orléans was a truly fascinating period. The reputation of the school of literary studies was at its peak. The most significant of literary figures of the period, Hugh Primas, Arnulf of Orleans, and Matthew of Vendôme, were either associated with the school or refer to it in their writings. Yet, despite the vitality of the literary schools in this period, never before has this period been treated as a whole in regard to those who taught in the literary schools of Orleans and what the actual content of instruction given there included. While histories of the universities have been written which include Orleans, and while one was written by Eugene Bimbenet about Orleans in particular,[5] these works have totally neglected the study of letters and the classics in every period of the University of Orleans. This is remarkable in light

of the fact that in contemporary sources, references to the glorious period of the literary schools and their vitality abound. John of Garland and Henri d'Andeli, for example, were among the contemporary authors who spoke about the glory of the literary schools at Orléans the most frequently. I do not, however, wish to single out Bimbenet as a scholar who committed the heinous sin of omission in his work. While his primary purpose was to relate the history of the university of law at Orleans, he could not have, even if he chose to do so, depicted for us the entire intellectual climate at Orleans largely because the literary giants associated with the school in this period somehow became lost to historians and scholars in the course of the centuries. It was really not until the twentieth century that the primary scholars associated with the literary school once again became concretely identifiable and this was a result of the individual efforts of many scholars.

Most significant of the authors associated with Orléans in the twelfth century were Hugh, nicknamed the Primate, Arnulfus Rufus, and Matthew of Vendôme. These were the main scholars who gained for Orléans its high esteem as a literary center. As a literary center, Orléans makes a much more pagan impression upon us than its earlier counterpart, Chartres. Haskins was one of the first scholars to draw

attention to this fact.[6] Hugh and Arnulf in particular were responsible for Orléans' having acquired the notorious reputation of imparting pagan doctrines to the students. This characteristic of the instruction given was one of the reasons that Orléans was later singled out for criticism as the more lucrative subjects of study became increasingly popular. Indeed, these scholars who were mentioned above were controversial men who had many detractors. In fact, they even detracted from each other in the course of their own bitter rivalries and feuds. Yet their writings and their teachings, however unattractive their personalities, give us a clear indication of the intellectual milieu of this twelfth century intellectual capital.

The foremost poet of the group was Hugh. Born at Orléans at the close of the eleventh century, he studied the classics there and remained to teach grammar.[7] Noted for the facility with which he improvised witty verse and the freedom with which he revealed contemporary manners and vices, particularly those of the clergy, Hugh's connection with Orleans is well attested although he was until comparatively recent times one of the least well known writers of the Middle Ages. A giant of the medieval literary scene, Hugh was subsequently confused by later scholars with his German counterpart, the Archpoet of Cologne, who wrote in a

later generation.[8] For a very long period his works were neglected by students of medieval literature.

One of the first scholars to attempt to unravel the mystery surrounding Hugh the Primate was Leopold Delisle, one of the great pioneers in medieval literary studies.[9] Motivated by a desire to show exactly what it was that gave the literary schools at Orléans such a wonderful reputation as well as the ability to attract students from as far away as Italy and England, Delisle began his pioneering studies. Because of his interest and involvement, Delisle was one of the first to establish the actual basis of the lectures. He published for the first time many materials and documents that were illustrative of the lectures given in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The task before Delisle was not a simple one, for he had to keep in mind always an awareness of the various shifts in interpretation relative to a particular subject.

However, Hugh the Primate is referred to by several contemporary sources of the following centuries. Among the best known of these were Henri d'Andeli, the thirteenth century trouvere, and Francesco Pippino, a fourteenth century Italian chronicler. Henri d'Andeli cited Ovid and Primas of Orleans as the two champions of grammar in his famous Battle of the Seven Arts.[10] The association of Ovid and Primas by Henri d'Andeli is indeed interesting and

illuminating, for it implies the overwhelming stature that Hugh enjoyed during this period. Pippino's statement in his Chronicle, "I marvel at his works," also suggests the fame and reputation that Hugh enjoyed at least two centuries later.[11] Pippino, however, unfortunately added to the confusion and mystery surrounding the poet by dating his career as contemporary with Frederick I, during the pontificate of Lucius III. This would have dated Hugh's activity at Orléans in the years 1181-5, when in fact it was in the mid-century that he was at Orleans.[12]

Other contemporary or near contemporary writers in fact supplied abundant information about Hugh the Primate. For example, it is supposed that he was surnamed Primas because he was head of the schools at Orléans.[13] While he was alive, he was hardly referred to in any other way. In addition to Henri d'Andeli, John of Salisbury also referred to Hugh with the appelation Primate.[14]

In his investigation, Delisle discovered several other significant references to Hugh by his contemporaries, one by Thomas of Capua,[15] and a second by Richard of Poitiers, a monk of Cluny.[16] Thomas of Capua cited Hugh the Primate in a compilation of the early thirteenth century as offering the best models of rhythmic composition: "dictaminum... tria sunt genera...prosaicum, ut Cassiodori, metricum, ut Virgilii, rithmicum, ut Primatis."[17] Writing earlier than

Thomas, Richard of Poitiers wrote in his twelfth century chronicle of a certain rimer, a man of base condition and disgraceful appearance, whose pleasant verse was in high vogue among the students. The man lived at Orleans and was called Hugh, his surname being the Primate.[18] There are still further contemporary references to him. Matthew of Vendôme related that he was one of Hugh's students at Orleans.[19] Serlo of Wilton was another who offered his assessment of Hugh's talent: "cum vinum poto, facum lavo, corpore loto, tum fundo lacrymas tunc versificor quasi primas."[20]

Mentioned repeatedly as the outstanding poet of his day, Hugh nevertheless remained a shadowy figure until this century. While some facts about his life emerged, and some anecdotes were ferreted out of chronicles by Delisle and others, a clear impression of his career and writing did not become available to scholars until the researches of the German scholar Wilhelm Meyer totally and completely transformed this situation. Meyer made the exciting discovery of some twenty-three genuine and very interesting poems by Hugh in an Oxford manuscript.[21] In a miscellaneous corpus of about two hundred Latin poems, a collection of Hugh's verse was embedded. One of the poems, "Dives eram et dilectus," had previously been published by Wright in his anthology of Latin poetry, but it was erroneously attributed

to Walter Mapes.[22] This error occurred despite the fact that the poet clearly mentioned his name more than once.

Meyer's discovery was one of paramount importance. At last the voice of the poet who had exercised such a mysterious and powerful fascination over his contemporaries was heard. An extraordinary talent and a legend of a man emerged from this collection of poems. Delisle's earlier estimation of him held up. He was "un type legendaire...la personnification de l'ecolier farceur."[23]

As a poet, Hugh was a true craftsman. He was a lover of words: his knowledge of them was so precise that he could artfully build the most descriptive contrasts. His Latin was always clear and forceful, and the satires he created were very often steeped in concentrated venom. One of the most vivid examples of this was his satire against Pope Lucius:

> Lucius est piscis, rex et tyrannus aquarum
> A quo discordat Lucius iste parum.
> Devorat hic homines, hic piscibus insidiatur;
> Esurit hic semper, hic aliquando satur.
> Amborum vitam si lanx aequata levaret,
> Plus rationis habet qui ratione caret.[24]

His style was also easily identifiable by the lively dialogue that characterized it. The poem "Hoc indumentum" is a striking example of his skill with this genre of expression:

"Where did you pick up that coat? it must have
been bought for a song!
Is it your own?"--"Yes, it is! But who gave,
took the collar along."
"Who would present such a gift?"--"'twas the
bishop who made the donation!"
"The fellow who gave it, I swear, was planning
your sheer ruination!
Who would have use for a coat sans fur-with a
lining so old?
Just let a blizzard approach, you'll perish of
wind and of cold."[25]

His verse was typified by his play on words which was the salient feature of his composition. Technically speaking, the devices he used to create his effect were alliteration, anaphora, and antithesis. In his play on words, he liked to use a single rhyme throughout the long strophes and even to violate metrical rules in order to achieve the novel effects he so often was successful in achieving. Hugh was also partial to the leonine hexameter in the construction of his verse. Nearly half the lines published by Wilhelm Meyer were quantitative elegiac distichs ending in two syllable rhymes(a-a b-b c-c). So great was Hugh's talent that Raby has called him the most original of all the medieval Latin poets.[26]

Indeed Hugh was a poet of great originality and creativity. The range of his subject matter was wide and quite varied, and he chose his subjects according to his whim and fancy. One of the most outstanding features of his composition was its individuality and originality. If he

decided upon a tale from classical sources, then he told it in his own way. He was not preoccupied with imitating and modeling himself after the ancient models. More often than not, however, he found his subject matter in his own life experiences. The vicissitudes of fortune which plagued him in his career often provided the frame of reference for his poems. Yet this is not to imply that he was not well versed in the classics. He was a scholar who had passed through the schools, composed his exercises, read the Latin poets and knew all the tricks of rhetoric. He chose, however, to use his skill in a quite original way, and the assurance with which he did this made the poems even more novel.

The poems themselves are very revealing about the author and the conditions of the time. A proud, egotistical man emerges from the lines of verse. For example, in the first poem of the Oxford collection, "Hospes erat michi," Primas relates how he was often entertained hospitably at the house of a certain man who treated him like a brother. In retrospect he realized, however, that the attention and kindness were motivated by the evil intent of despoiling him in a dice game, not by friendship. Hugh tells the story of a splendid meal, many drinks and the dice game that followed. It was suggested by the host to his inebriated guest. When Hugh finally awoke from his stupor, his once

jingling pockets were empty. His false friend had taken everything. Hugh was obviously a bad loser and recounted similar events that occurred frequently to him in other poems. But his pen was as sharp as his temper. In this the first poem of the Oxford collection, he says he will not divulge the man's name, but he can't wait to tell in the next line that this friend had red hair. This of course led many contemporaries and later scholars to conclude that the former friend was Arnulfus Rufus, his former colleague at Orleans.[27]

Apparently Hugh was not a very attractive person either in a physical or psychological sense. He was small, undersized and unattractive.[28] In addition to these physical impediments, he had sharp defects of character and personality as well. He was very spiteful, as well as very proud, and in sum, a very testy individual who estranged many people because of his sharp tongue and his outspoken, often malicious, criticisms. One poem informs us that Hugh was taken in by some clerks in Paris during a bitter winter. He was given a coat by the bishop and rewarded him with a poem, "Pontificum spuma."[29] Another of his famous poems, "Dives eram et dilectus," is also a poem in which Hugh gives full vent to his anger and hatred of ecclesiastical figures. In the poem Hugh recounts an episode in which he was entertained at the canon's table, but as soon as his money ran

out, he says he was placed in a hospitium with the sick and the poor. The chaplain and a man named William Palamedes were in charge of the place, and Primas hated them from the depth of his soul. One day these two threw out a lame inmate; when Hugh attempted to come to his defense, he received the same treatment. Whatever the whole truth may have been, we will never know. The poem depicts Hugh's side of the story, and in it he assails the chaplain never once forgetting to depict his own dove-like innocence. He protests his fate proclaiming that he who was the associate of learned men and the companion of the muses for no fault of his own is in misery. The poem contains the entire sordid tale and ends with Hugh appealing to justice and vengeance.[30]

Because of the instability of his character, his forced moves from place to place,[31] his resort to begging and the vagabond type existence he ultimately led, he became the archetype of all wandering scholars. For this reason, as well as the fact that he also celebrated youth, pleasure, and wine in his playful verse, he has often been classified as one of the Goliards.[32] Despite his poetic genius, a gift which should have enabled him to earn a comfortable existence, Hugh, it is presumed, died in a state of misery not far from Orleans, probably at Paris.

In Arnulfus Rufus, we have another brilliant literary

figure highly regarded and esteemed by his contemporaries, yet once again a figure about whom modern knowledge has been not only scanty but highly confused. Arnulf, who facetiously referred to himself as "ardua nulla fugiens" was best known for his commentaries on the classical authors, in particular, Ovid and Lucan.[33] He was highly instrumental in making the schools at Orleans top notch in rank among literary centers, and he worked determinedly to foster and develop a love for the classical authors in his students. His having taught at Orleans is also well attested: he tells us himself at the end of his commentary on Ovid's Fasti where he states that the glosses themselves were composed at Orleans.[34]

Perhaps of all the works under consideration in this chapter, Arnulf's is the most representative of its age, for it reflects its spirit, its passionate interest in the ancient authors, its eclecticism, its fusion of old and new. Fortunately, we are able to conjure up a very vivid idea of the twelfth century schools because of Arnulf's commentary on Lucan's Pharsalia, which has recently been edited by Berthe Marti.[35] This is an extremely valuable work because it, like other commentaries, was composed by a master in the schools to serve as the basis for his teaching, and as such, it provides a most illuminating index of the level of culture at that time in Orleans. The commentary on the Pharsalia

is as we shall note illustrative of the method of teaching that was being utilized at this particular time. In addition to throwing much light on Arnulf's pedagogical method, the work also gives us an impression of the learning and originality of one of Orléans' masters in the period of the school's greatest distinction as a literary center.

Arnulfus Rufus was a man of much learning, an educator more than a critic. Generally speaking, he used the Pharsalia as the starting point for lectures on the subjects of the trivium. In his typical way, he would analyze the work point by point. Arnulf showed Lucan's skill and the ways in which he achieved his most striking effects, noting the art with which Lucan worked up to a climax.[36] Repeatedly Arnulf praised Lucan for his exactness and his choice of words,[37] and he stressed how carefully the plan and details of the narrative were thought out by the author.[38] In order to simplify the lesson for his students, Arnulf prefaced each book with a brief summary of events so that its plan would be made clear at the very beginning and so that there would be less confusion as the lecture progressed. In a similar manner he pointed out the structural principles underlying the composition of the poem throughout his commentary. Presumably the text was later used as a point of departure for devising student exercises in rhetoric.

After giving the usual and necessary grammatical

explications on the text itself, Arnulf considered the work in much greater depth, commenting on the history of the text, on archeology, mythology and astrology, as these subjects pertained to the text. He imparted notions of history, geography, astronomy, philosophy and rhetoric to his students. By doing this, he repeatedly proved himself to be a man of extensive if not encyclopedic knowledge. The Commentary on the Pharsalia was much more than a simple textbook: it was an annotated edition ranging from the most elementary rules of grammar to complicated problems on the most sophisticated levels. Among the authors who are quoted in the commentary are Homer, Plato, Ovid, Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Statius, Juvenal, Suetonius, Macrobius, Priscian, Boethius and Isidore of Seville. Sometimes the wide range of Arnulf's knowledge made him seem longwinded and pedantic, but on the whole his glosses were lucid, straightforward and concise.

From the Commentary on the Pharsalia it is possible to construct Arnulf's conception of the nature of the world. The sources of information he utilized in this regard seem to be Macrobius, whose Somnium Scipionis was a major influence, as well as Chalcidius, Martianus Capella, Pliny and others.[39] It is most interesting to note that Professor Marti suggests that the reference in the text to a certain Magister Guillermus refers to none other than William of

Conches.[40] This would tend to imply that Arnulf was in touch with individuals responsible for ideas currently in vogue.

The conception of the world that Arnulf transmits to us is that of a geocentric universe in which the earth rests as an immovable globe at the center of the universe supported there by the surrounding air and by the magnetic power of the fires which were at equidistant points outside.[41] He construed the surface of the globe to be divided into zones which were distinguishable by their climates and by their potential for habitability.[42] Like Macrobius, he recognized the existence of the antipodes, and he was of the opinion that there were other worlds in existence besides our own.[43] It is obvious from this brief discussion alone that Arnulf's thought was permeated by the theories of Chalcidius and by the ideas emanating from the school of Chartres.[44] In Book Nine of the treatise, Arnulf describes the process by which the soul descended from the highest realm of light to be united on earth with the body. He also spoke about the way in which it ascended from the material to the immaterial world as well as from the "archetype" in God's mind.[45]

Arnulf's belief in the fixed laws of nature was also expressed several times in the course of the work. The world he defined as "a collection of things set in order"--after

William of Conches.[46] Arnulf also expressed his firm belief in magic as well as divination and the ability of man to foretell the future.[47] His faith in this was absolute and unquestioning. On reading the commentary it is highly apparent that Arnulf was very familiar with mythological stories, and he appears to have assumed some knowledge of them on the part of his students. In those stories and tales that did require explication or elucidation, Arnulf depended to a great extent on etymology in his explanations. It might be added that Arnulf did not pass any form of judgement on these mythological tales. He put himself on a parallel with Lucan in this regard, for in his commentary he had applauded and defended Lucan by pointing out that Lucan made use of these stories as a poet and not as a historian.[48] It is apparent that he obviously thought that Lucan was worthy of emulation in this regard, and he followed the pattern set by him.

The Commentary on the Pharsalia reveals the power and skill of Arnulf as a teacher. Certainly there were great limitations involved in working on a commentary consisting of glosses on an ancient text. Because of the very nature of the work, information had to be presented in a somewhat incoherent manner. As a result of this, a great deal of ingenuity was needed to impress the essentials upon the memory of his students. In this he apparently succeeded be-

cause he was able to relate the material to his students' needs, at the same time making it seem alive and vital. On the whole Arnulf performed the task of interpreting a troublesome author conscientiously, sometimes with insight, and often with learning, as Professor Marti says.[49] She also congratulated him on his pedagogical skill, for as a teacher, Arnulf was constantly aware of the deficiencies of his students. He was always resourceful in filling his students' needs whether these needs concerned matters of construction, definitions, historical or geographical problems.

Yet despite Arnulf's skill and patience in the classroom, he was an arrogant scholar, sure enough of himself to brush aside with impatience whatever he considered to be the mistaken interpretations of others. For example, at one point, he interjected his assessment of his predecessors by saying that "what they say will be seen to be worthless and trifling."[50] He often expressed his disagreement with the opinions of his predecessors with curt self-assertiveness and a total disregard for the feelings of his rivals, and he did this quite frequently, in the Pharsalia and in other works as well. "Quidam somniant" he said in the commentary on Ovid's Fasti about scholars he disagreed with, and elsewhere in the same commentary he called his opponents "lippi et tonsores."[51] Whatever borrowings he did

make were not slavish copies or imitations, but seemed to be adaptations or summaries of the original texts. This aspect of the work in particular made Professor Berthe Marti's project much more difficult, since she could not easily decipher the sources Arnulf had utilized. She therefore concluded that Arnulf either deliberately modified and freely paraphrased his models or drew from them indirectly through intermediaries which are now lost or still unpublished.[52]

Throughout the Commentary on the Pharsalia, Arnulf's personality is clearly marked. His style is direct, wholly his own, and completely recognizable. Even his conception of the Pharsalia as a work of art shows his independence of thought. Arnulf presented the work to his students in a manner that was different from former presentations of it which simply and without question categorized it as an ethical poem.[53] Arnulf showed far more penetration into the problem than did the former critics who were content to rank Lucan among the historians. For Arnulf the problem was one of much wider scope and much greater complexity. His conception of the Pharsalia differentiated it from straightforward hsitory. He thought of Lucan as a historian, yes, but also as a philosopher, and yet as something even more. Where a historian or a philosopher sought to establish the truth and in the attempt stated his views and conclusions, a poet like Lucan simply suggested many possible explanations

of the facts but did not attempt to choose among them or solve any problem.[54]

From a discussion of the Pharsalia alone the importance of Arnulf's contribution to medieval literature is quite evident. Arnulf has been recognized by historians of medieval thought particularly as an exponent of Ovid, but without doubt his work on Lucan's Pharsalia was a significant contribution to the classical culture of his day. His reputation is attested to by the number of manuscripts of his commentaries and by the references to him in the works of other scholars.[55] Yet, Arnulf too has been paid little attention by modern scholars because his works have largely remained unpublished. C.F. Weber was the first scholar to note Arnulf's connection with Orleans although it was clearly stated in the explicit of the commentary on Lucan and was further established by some of its glosses.[56] Once again it was Leopold Delisle who first demonstrated that the commentaries on Ovid and those on Lucan were the work of one and the same individual, Arnulf of Orleans.[57] Delisle also argued convincingly from evidence provided by the texts themselves that Arnulf must have flourished at Orleans during the twelfth century. A few years later, Haureau associated Arnulfus Rufus, the commentator, with the master who was satirized under the nickname Rufus or Rufinus by the poet Matthew of Vendôme.[58] Both these modern scholars were also

undoubtedly correct in identifying Arnulf with the teacher excoriated by Alexander of Villedieu in the prologue of his Ecclesiale, which was composed between 1199 and 1202. Alexander took a particularly strong stand against the pernicious pagan doctrine taught through the Roman poets in the schools of Orléans and accused a certain Orleans' master who remained nameless of perverting the scholars there through his exposition of the pagan authors:

> Orleans teaches us to sacrifice to the Gods, pointing out the festivals of Faunus, of Jove and of Bacchus. This is the pestiferous chair of learning in which, according to the testament of David, no holy man sits who would escape the baleful doctrine, which, as in Orleans, is like a disease spreading contagion among the multitude. Nothing should be read which is contrary to the Scriptures.[59]

Indeed it can be said that Arnulf was certainly one of the people responsible for the reputation that Orleans acquired for having cultivated the pagan poets and writers. Arnulf taught the classics with such zeal and such success that he was very often attacked by bigots for teaching immoral pagan doctrines.[60]

Because of the pagan tinge to his work and because of his personality, Arnulf had many detractors.[61] The image of a man who was not very amiable or attractive emerges from the sources. One of his colleagues described him as a "disgrace to mankind" with a tongue "poisonous with the venom of ill will."[62] Even Professor Marti, who devoted much of her

scholarly career to studying Arnulf and his works, pointed out the totally arrogant nature of Arnulf as a scholar. He was a man who had a complete disregard for the feelings of his rivals and a rashness in brushing aside what he considered to be the mistaken interpretations of others.[63]

The most famous of Arnulf's rivalries concerned another teacher at Orleans, Matthew of Vendôme. It was a rivalry that had very important consequences for, because of it, Matthew composed his Ars Versificatoria to serve as a reply to the envy and hostility that Arnulf heaped upon him.[64] Many of the "domestica exempla" included in the work were nothing more than darts that were shot in Arnulf's direction. The eventual outcome of the controversy was that Matthew had to make a reluctant retreat from the city of Orléans. Arnulf was obviously the better connected of the two, and he was instrumental in forcing Matthew's departure from the town.[65]

At any rate, the rivalry of the two men has incited a great deal of controversy in modern scholarship vis a vis the merits of each of these talented individuals and masters. Ghisalberti, who wrote the only other study of Arnulf's contribution to classical scholarship based upon an examination of Arnulf's commentaries upon Ovid, was of the opinion that the rivalry between the two stemmed from the fact that their views of literature were so widely divergent.[66] This ap-

pears to be true although scholars have long been arguing about the various merits and contributions of the two men. Bruno Roy recently argued that on account of his vast knowledge of the classics, Arnulf could easily have produced works in the Ovidian style that were technically comparable to those of Matthew the theoretician.[67] Ghisalberti, on the other hand, asserted that Arnulf's conception was limited, that his methodical analyses of classical poetry consisted mainly of historical and philological comments according to the traditional method of the schools. He therefore favored Matthew who he said surveyed the very same ancient texts with the freshness of approach and independence of a poet.[68] But Matthew also had his share of detractors. Haureau considered Arnulf's aversion to Matthew's verse totally justified. In his opinion, Matthew was the most prolix and banal of all the poets of the twelfth century.[69]

Orléans it seems was too small a town to have happily contained the likes of these three men of talent, Hugh, Arnulf, and Matthew. Three individualists with the greatest of egos would hardly be able to put up with each other anywhere. The chief poet, the foremost teacher, and the theoretician had met each other. Even Hugh appears to have satirized Arnulf, as was noted above. Professor Marti is of

the impression that in the first poem of the Oxford collection of Hugh's poetry, Arnulf is the former friend and host whom Primas attacked so bitterly for his deceit and dishonesty.[70] Both Hugh and Matthew satirized Arnulf under his nickname Rufus. While Matthew specifically identified him at the end of his Ars Versificatoria, Hugh preserved an illusion of anonymity which, however, was transparent enough to be easily penetrated by contemporary readers. In the Middle Ages, the name Arnulf had many pejorative connotations. Matthew played on all of these meanings: stupid, rogue, rascal, betrayed husband, panderer, devil and thence the idea of redness which occurs.[71]

In summation, all the works of this principal teacher at Orleans that have come down to us are glosses.[72] Many commentaries on the classics that are still unpublished are attributed to Arnulf of Orleans either as Arnulfus Rufus or Arnulfus Aurelianensis. It appears, however, that there might have been an even wider scope to Arnulf's career and writing. Matthew of Vendôme tells us that Arnulf also wrote verse,[73] although, as one would expect, he found Arnulf's verse uncouth and totally lacking in the imagination and creative power which he brought to his own verse.[74] It has even been speculated that Arnulf may have written comedies, for in the repertory of Latin comedies there are two works acknowledged by critics as having been written by

a contemporary and rival of Matthew of Vendôme. According to Bruno Roy, Arnulf himself may be the obvious answer for these characters in search of an author.[75]

Last of the notable teachers at Orleans in this period was Matthew of Vendôme. Born at Vendôme, he moved probably at an early age to Tours where he was brought up by an uncle. It was here that he began his studies under Bernard Sylvester. From Tours he went to Orleans which at that time was already a flourishing center of literary studies. After his own studies were completed, he remained at Orléans, and he himself began to teach there until bitter friction developed between him and Arnulfus Rufus and he was compelled to leave town.[76]

Once again in the case of Matthew it is possible to derive the manner in which composition was taught in the schools at Orléans. The primary reason for this is the fact that Matthew's Ars Versificatoria was composed by Matthew for use in the schools of Orleans.[77] Written in 1175, the Ars Versificatoria was basically an introduction to writing although it was primarily concerned with versification. Matthew, in fact, made it clear that he was writing an introduction for beginners which was to serve as a guide for student exercises in verse composition.[78] He also referred to the work as "Introductivum windocin-

ensis opus."[79]

Matthew of Vendôme and his composition, the Ars Versificatoria, are by far better known to the modern medievalist than are the works of Hugh and Arnulf. For this reason it will be treated with more brevity. On the whole, Matthew's instruction was based primarily upon Horace's Art of Poetry and Isidore of Seville's Etymologies as well as the Rhetorica ad herennium which he chose not to cite.[80] Matthew's instruction, simply stated, was devoted to composition in the narrow sense of the word, that is, in the choice and arrangement of words in the sentence and rhetorical embellishment, not in the development of unity of plot. The principal or primary concern was not the poem as a whole, but the individual line of poetry. Matthew concentrated in particular on what gave beauty to the line of verse, not what made it a verse, typically speaking.[81] The number of feet and the length of syllables were merely minor considerations.[82] Instead Matthew chose to devote his attention and energies to what contributed to the elegance of the verse, namely beauty of thought expressed by verse.[83]

With this in mind, Matthew discussed the form of words, citing numerous examples of elegant and inelegant words in various combinations.[84] Matthew also was a highly conscientious instructor. While, generally speaking, the student's

writing was based upon material chosen for him, Matthew largely devoted the first book of his work to hints on how to invent subject matter. In warning his students about errors in composition, Matthew referred his students to Donatus' Barbarismus for a complete list of faults in composition.[85] This aspect of Matthew's instruction was highly traditional.

Yet in Matthew one can sense a very deep and conscious desire to be modern. He considered description to be the supreme object of poetry: this was a highly original notion for its time.[86] In addition, he stressed brevity as a characteristic of the modern stylistic ideal. This was in direct contrast with the ancients, and it was probably this tendency on Matthew's part in particular that explains the extremely bitter rivalry between him and Arnulfus. Matthew has been accused of having a lack of enthusiasm for the ancients as well as a lack of veneration for antiquity.[87] He was of the opinion that the ancients had loaded down their poetic narrations with a superfluity of similes, rhetorical figures and digressions: in Virgil, Lucan, Terence and Ovid he found faulty constructions of which he was highly critical.[88]

While Matthew certainly seemed to have been an earnest and innovative instructor, he was forced to leave Orléans resentfully because of the controversy with Arnulfus. He

subsequently went on to Vendôme where he continued his teaching career.

Despite this severe embarassment, it does appear, however, that Matthew had the last word in the rivalry simply because all that remains of the altercation is the libellous portrait of Arnulf which emerges from the pages of the Ars Versificatoria. One must admit that Matthew chose an original way of punishing his rival. In the midst of this rather dull and sober treatise, numerous grammatical or rhetorical illustrations contain the word rufus or the name rufinus in abusive or obscene contexts. Wherever and whenever the words rufus or rufinus are used, Arnulf of Orléans is to be understood.[89] Matthew said that Arnulf had red hair and so had to be false by nature. He claimed that Arnulf's red hair revealed his vicious disposition.[90]

Quite obviously it did not require much intelligence on the part of the reader to guess the identity of the man so maligned.[91] As a result of this literary condemnation, the name of Arnulf became a byword there and wherever the art of composition was taught. As a result of it, Hauréau did not hesitate to attribute to Matthew an anonymous poem found in a manuscript in Paris because it contained similar obscene attacks against a certain Rufus whom he identified with Arnulf of Orleans.[92] Somewhat after the rivalry and Matthew's forced departure from Orléans, Eberhard the German acknowl-

edged Matthew's victory:

> scribendi regit arte stylum rufoque negante
> laudem matthaeus vindocinensis habet.[93]

The literary school at Orléans was the epitome of all medieval schools of classical studies. The style and works of Hugh, Arnulf and Matthew have been focused upon, and obviously they were a significant contribution to the classical culture of their day. Yet there have been other indications of an even deeper, more profound knowledge and love of the classics at Orleans which was by far superior to that of other learning centers in Europe in which instruction in letters and the classics was also given.

A recent and tremendously exciting discovery has virtually proven that the Florilegium Angelicum, a collection of extracts from ancient and patristic writings and epistles which was compiled in France in the second half of the twelfth century, emanated from the literary center at Orleans.[94] The Florilegium which takes its name from the manuscript at Rome, Biblioteca Angelica MS 1895, is of exceptional value because it contains extensive extracts from many works which were considered rare in this period. These works include Pliny's letters, the Verrine orations of Cicero, the works of Ennodius, and even the Querolus. For these excerpts in particular, the Florilegium Angelicum was a significant vehicle of transmission and dissemination

in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[95]

Orléans is immediately suggested as the home of the Florilegium Angelicum because its compiler was obviously working at a place where interesting classical texts were available including those that were so particularly rare for twelfth century Europe. Secondly the purpose and intent of the compiler were to provide a collection of eloquent quotations from which one could draw apt and stylish phrases to be utilized in the composition of pronouncements and official letters. This intended purpose of the compilation as well as its interest in the ars dictaminis which also flourished at Orleans about this time, indeed make Orléans a logical choice as the place of its composition. This is the hypothesis accepted by Professor Rouse.[96]

There is a great deal of internal evidence in the manuscript that substantiates the hypothesis to a very large extent. For example, there is a list of parishes and the tithes they paid under the administration of a certain Arnulf.[97] Delisle identified these parishes mentioned in the manuscript as being within the diocese of Orléans.[98] Other evidence suggested that the manuscript belonged to the library at the cathedral of Orleans or to some member of the chapter.[99] Furthermore, judging from the glosses of the late eleventh century or early twelfth century, which incidental-

ly mention the Loire, the manuscript remained at Orléans. The writer's corrections, his glosses and his commentary on the Querolus show that he was learned and even suggest that he was a master at the schools of Orleans. He was concerned about correct divisions between words and the proper use of capital letters, and incidentally, even appears to have known Greek well.[100]

Naturally the questions of the date and the authorship of the Florilegium Angelicum arise. Judging from the hand and the decoration, the florilegium was compiled in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[101] The Prologue dedicated the Florilegium Angelicum to a pope who "enmeshed in the business of the world, with a ready response judges the intricacies of causes in such fashion that all marvel at his eloquence." This tends to suggest Alexander III(1159-81), a canon lawyer, who coincidentally, along with his successor, employed masters from Orleans in the papal chancery.[102] The three masters from Orleans who were employed by Alexander were John, Robert and William.[103] All of this evidence leads one to speculate that the author of the Florilegium Angelicum was someone at Orléans in the third quarter of the twelfth century who was interested in epistolary style, knowledgable in the classics and no doubt desirous of papal preferment.

The emphasis of the prologue points out that the com-

piler gave greater consideration to beauty of expression than to ethical content. The book contains "brief passages remarkable for their memorable words...profound meaning clad in the most attractive language."[104] The author tells his recipients that he has chosen and collected those passages that would delight the spirit. There is no hint at all that the contents might lead to salvation or even on a lower scale to edification. As the compiler makes clear in the prologue, the florilegium is a reference book for discourse and for the writers of business letters.[105]

The compiler tells the pope that he has written the work so that the pope will always have at hand a source from which to fit his speech appropriately as to person, place and occasion. The compiler adds that the florilegium permits one to give advice and state conclusions in the eloquent language of famous men of letters.[106]

Because of the difficulty of determining with certainty the immediate source of classical quotations which float freely about, entirely detached from their matrix, it is not easy to trace the use made of a florilegium. Rouse has been able to show, however, that it was extensively used by Gerald of Wales, especially in the later years of his life.[107] It is also instructive to observe how far into the thirteenth century the Florilegium Angelicum continued to be copied. This serves to give a clear indication of the

changing interests in classical authors. Of the seventeen surviving manuscripts, four date from the twelfth century. The thirteenth century saw ten copies of this collection or parts of it written in France. The last copy was made in the fifteenth century.[108]

The survival of these texts indicates that the interest of twelfth century humanists in classical authors did not pass away with such twelfth century humanists as Peter of Blois, Gerald of Wales or Walter Map. Instead of disappearing, the florilegia of the twelfth century were appropriated and absorbed. Eventually they were recast as preachers' tools.[109]

To establish Orléans as the home of the Florilegium Angelicum has implications extending far beyond the work itself. It is self evident that if the florilegium was compiled at Orleans, the texts used by its compiler must also have been available there. The localization of the Florilegium Angelicum at Orleans has tremendous implications concerning Orléans as a cross roads in the dissemination of classical texts in central France. The possibility that Orléans was the home of this collection of maxims as well as the undisputed fact that Hugh, Arnulf, and Matthew as well as lesser known individuals were associated with the schools there, show that Orleans was a center of tremendous vitality and intellectual vigor in classical studies in

the twelfth century, perhaps more so than any other center in Europe at which classical authors and letters were studied.[110]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1]Louis J. Paetow, Arts Course at Medieval Universities With Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric (University of Illinois: University Studies, Vol. II, No. 7, Urbana-Champaign: University Press, 1910), p. 17.

[2]R.R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries(New York: Harper and Row, 1954), pp. 190-191.

[3]Ibid., p. 414 citing P. Abrahams, Les Oeuvres poetiques de Baudri de Bourgueil, p. 341: "Sed quicquid dicam, teneant mea facta pudorem, cor mundum vigeat, mensque pudica mihi."

[4]Bolgar, p. 414.

[5]Jean Eugène Bimbenet, Histoire de l'université de lois d'Orleans(Paris: Dumoulin, 1853).

[6]Charles Homer Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century(Cambridge, 1927), p. 102.

[7]Berthe M. Marti, "Hugh Primas and Arnulf of Orleans," Speculum, XXX(1955), p. 233.

[8]Ibid. This error of identification first occurred in the chronicle of Salimbene(Parma, 1857), pp. 41-45. At a later time he added as an afterthought "Nota quod Primas Aurelianensis fuit." This afterthought appears in printed form in Chron., MGH SS, XXXII, p. 83. Another author who made the same error of identification was Giraldus Cambrensis. In his Speculum Ecclesiae, IV(1861), p. 15, he confused the works of the two poets, Primas and the Archpoet.

[9]Leopold Delisle, "Le Poete Primate," BEC, XXI (1871), p. 302 et seq. as well as his article "Notes sur quelques manuscrits de la bibliotheque de Tours," BEC XXIX(1868), pp. 604-611.

[10]Henri d'Andeli, Battle of the Seven Arts, ed. and tr. Louis J. Paetow("Memoirs of the University of California," Vol. IV, No. 1; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914), p. 54.

[11]See Chapter XI of Book I of his chronicle in Muratori, IX, 599.

[12]Lucius II was elected pope in 1144 and died in 1145. It was Berthe Marti in the article noted above who suggested that it must have been Lucius II who was depicted in the poem.

[13]The terms primas and caput scolae were synonymous. See DuCange and also B. Haureau, HL, XXX(1888), p. 289.

[14]John of Salisbury, "Entheticus," PL, CXCIX, col. 969: "Clauditur archivis remorum, Belgica prima hunc dedit et Primas Aurelianus habet."

[15]Thomas of Capua was a cardinal, curial official, poet and literary stylist(d. 1243). Salimbene referred to him as the leading literary figure at the Roman Curia. Delisle, "Le Poete Primate," pp. 304-305.

[16]Richard of Poitiers was a monk of Cluny as well as a chronicler. Delisle, "Le Poete Primate," pp. 306-307.

[17]Ibid., p. 305, n.1.

[18]Haureau, HL, XXX(1888), pp. 288-9 and MGH, SS, XXVI, p. 81: "His etenim diebus viguit apud Parisius quidam scolasticus, Hugo nomine, a conscolasticis Primas cognominatus, persona quidem vilis, vultu deformis. Hic a primeva etate litteris secularibus informatus propter faceciam suam et litterarum noticiam fama sui nominis per diversas provincias divulgata resplenduit. Inter alios vero scolasticos in metris ita facundus atque promptus extitit, ut sequentibus versibus omnibus audientibus cachinum moventibus declaratur, quos de paupere mantello sibi a quodam presule dato declamatorie composuit de Hugone lo Primat Aurelianensi." See also note 25 below.

[19]Matthew of Vendôme, "Ars Versificatoria" in Les Arts Poetiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle, ed. Edmond Faral(Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, 1924), p. 193. "Mihi dulcis alumna tempore primatis Aurelianis ave."

[20]Raby, II, p. 171.

[21]MS Oxford Bodleian Rawlinson G109. See Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas," Göttinger Nachrichten(1907), pp. 89-175.

[22]T. Wright, ed., The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes, Camden Society, 1841.

[23]Delisle, "Le Poete Primate," p. 310.

[24]Marti, p. 234.

[25]Edwin H. Zeydel, ed., Vagabond Verse(Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), p. 70:

"Hoc indumentum tibi quis dedit? An fuit emptum?
Estne tuum?"--"Nostrum. Sed qui dedit, abstulit ostrum."
"Quis dedit hoc munus?"--"Presul michi prebuit unus."--
"Qui dedit hoc munus, dedit hoc in munere funus.
Quid valet in bruma clamis absque pilo, sine pluma?
Cernis adesse nives, moriere gelu neque vives."

[26]Raby, II, p. 180.

[27]Marti, p. 237. The poem is printed in Meyer, "Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas," p. 113.

Hospes erat michi se plerumque professus amicum,
voce michi prebens plurima, re modicum.
Quis fuerat taceo, si quis de nomine quaerat;
sed qualis possum dicere: rufus erat.

[28]Richard of Poitier described him as "persona quidem vilis, vultu deformis." See note 18 above. Zeydel, p. 27 pointed out that Hugh compared himself with Zaccheus in this regard.

[29]Zeydel, pp. 70-71.

"Pontificum spuma, fex cleri, sordida struma,
Qui dedit in bruma michi mantellum sine pluma!"

Zeydel translates the poem in the following manner:

Bishop, you're scummy, the dregs of the clergy,
your throat has a crop.
Winter is here and you gave me a coat without
fur on the top.

[30]Meyer set the background of the poem and printed it, pp. 158sqq.

Dives eram et dilectus
inter pares preelectus:
modo curvat me senectus
et etate sum confectus.
unde vilis et neglectus
a deiectis sum deiectus,
quibus rauce sonat pectus,
mensa gravis, pauper lectus,
quis nec amor nec affectus,
sed horrendus est aspectus.
homo mendax atque vanus
infidelis et profanus,
plus avarus quam Romanus,
me deiecet capellanus
veteranum veteranus
et iniecit in me manus,
dignus dici Dacianus.
prius quidem me dilexit
fraudulenter et illexit.
Postquam meas res transvexit,
fraudem suam tunc detexit.
Primas sibi non prospexit
neque dolos intellexit,
donec domo pulsus exit.
verecundus victum quero,
sum mendicus. Ubi vero
victum queram nisi clero
enutritus in Piero,
eruditus sub Homero?
sed dum mane victum quero
et reverti cogor sero,

iam in brevi(nam despero)
onerosus vobis ero.
Onerosus et quo ibo?
ad laicos non transibo.
Nos optamus hoc audire
plus quam sonum dulcis lyre.
modo, fratres, iudicate
(neque vestro pro Primate
aberranted declinate
a sincera veritate)
an sit dignus dignitate
vel privandus potestate
senex carens castitate
et sacerdos honestate,
caritate, pietate,
plenus omni foeditate,
qui, exclusa caritate,
nos in tanta vilitate,
quorum fama patet late,
sic tractavit. iudicate!"

[31]Hugh Primas subsequently taught at Paris, Amiens and Rheims. Raby, pp. 176-177. See Meyer, pp. 100 sqq, 103 and 115 for poems which relate the events of Hugh's stays in these cities.

[32]The so-called Goliardic poetry written in what has been called the Goliardic measure is mainly satirical in character, and the name Goliard, derived perhaps from Goliath of Gath, is attached vaguely to versifiers who attacked the Papal Curia and ecclesiastical or monastic authorities. But there was no 'order' of Goliards and some of these satirists such as Hugh Primas were famous poets. P. Pascal in New Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, p. 602.

[33]Paris BN 8241, f. 24v. Sets of glosses still extant upon the Fasti, Ars Amatoria, Remedia and Metamorphoses are attributed to Arnulf in various manuscripts.

[34]The explicit of the Paris MS of the commentary on the Fasti, BN 8241, reads: "Expliciunt glosule super librum fastorum feliciter que facte fuerunt Aurelianis ab optimo magistro arnulfo rufo."

[35]The Pharsalia or De Bello Civili was a work in which Lucan warned his readers not to take part in civil war.

[36]Arnulf, I.199, 376; 2.38, 520; 4.253; 6.304.

[37]Ibid. 2.621; 5.744: "Sed morte parata te sequar ad manes id est statim moriar post te mortuum, hec inquam vota facies perire si me removeris, quia morte tua mihi absenti ignorata sub exspectatione tua vivam, donec nuntium tue mortis aut ruine audiam, et hoc est quod dicit feriat proprio usus est verbo quia nuntius tristicie ferit, sed leticie demulcet et delinit."

[38]Ibid., 3.28, 396; 4.134; 6.80.

[39]Ibid., 2.716 and XLV.

[40]Ibid., 4.81: "...natura pluvie et iris, secundum magistrum Guillermum ita se habet: nubes calore planetarum presse dissolvuntur quia que sunt graves non possunt se sustinere particule nubium, immo semper descendunt versus terram et hoc in pluvian."

[41]Ibid., 1.20: "Et gens si qua iacet quis partes orientis habitabiles et meridiei remociores sunt a roma ideo hic moratur probando quod oriens et meridies potuissent hoc sanguine parari. Iacet pro adiacet, vel per hoc notat remociores partes meridiei, que iacere dicuntur quantum ad dispositionem nostram. Nam in omni sp(h)erico, que diversis locis sunt posita videntur aliis subiacere. Nascenti conscia nilo cuius origo nostri climatis hominibus ignoratur."

5.93: "Nota quod terre reguntur et sustentantur viribus ignis, quia cum ignis equaliter distet a terra undique et undique sit equa vis ignis, et etiam sit attractive nature cum semper attrahat res, oportet quod semper eodem modo se habeat terra intra ignem, nec alicubi moveatur, nec versus istam partem nec versus illam, quis sic iam prevaleret ista vis ignis illi, sed hoc impossibile est et ideo terra est immobilis."

1.89: "In medio in communi. Dum terra fretum quasi diceret: quid iuvat inquam quod esse non potest, et vere quia dum mundus durabit, et hoc est quod dicit levabit sustinebit fretum et aer terram aer enim terre circumfunditur unde ab aere dicitur sustineri."

[42]Arnulf, 9.496: "Circulus paralellus qui terminat torridam et nostram habitabilem, scilicet libiam. Ostendit quod sub illo erant."

[43]Ibid., 8.160: "Quibus abscondit scilicet nobis. Nec si quibus exerit ut sunt antipodes."
6.696: "Innumeros mundos quia secundum quosdam multi ac diversi sunt mundi, vel mundos id est partes mundi quia similiter vellet omnia esse confusa."

[44]See in particular Book IX of the commentary.

[45]Ibid., 2.7.

[46]Ibid., 2.3.

[47]Ibid.; "Fulminis edoctus. Hic notat eum in arte magica valere que V. species habet, manthicem, mathematicam, sortilegium, maleficium, prestigium...."
1.639: "At figulus iste involvebat sed figulus omnia explicabat et aperiebat. Tres modos cognoscendi futura hic commiscet, auspicium per arruntem, astrologiam per figulum, arrepticios per matronam. Sed ne superflui videantur, secundus post primum, tercius post secundu, primus malum indeterminate; secundus civile bellum tantum, tercius et personas et loca determinat. Figulus proprium nomen. Cui cura deos. Laudat eum in arte illa per curam et exercicium quia ubi intenderis animum ibi valet. Deos vuluntatem deorum. Secretaque celi expositio est precedentium: vel celi celestium planetarum ut coniunctionem ipsorum proportionalem et separationem localem, vel secreta dicit quia pauci noverunt."
See also 2.3 and 5.93

[48]Ibid., 1.412: "Ventus ab ponit tres opiniones more philosophi sed nullam solvit aut affirmat more poete."

[49]Marti, p.xxxvi.

[50]Arnulf, 1.1: "Nam illud frivolum esse videtur quod dicunt..."
See also 1.4, 655; 2.134; 431.

[51]"Quidam somniant," he says in the commentary on Ovid's Fasti about scholars he disagrees with(2.326) and elsewhere in the same commentary(2.44) he calls his opponents "lippi et tonsores." The following quotations from his commentary on the Pharsalia indicate the caustic way in which he dismissed the views of his predecessors.

2.402: "Nullus persuadeat tibi hoc esse de comparatione..."

4.824: "Nam quod quidam somniant emere a curione, frivolum est..."

1.608, 5.224, and 8.872 also provide good examples of this attitude of Arnulf.

[52]Marti, p. xxxii.

[53]This was following the example of Servius. See Ibid., xxxvii.

[54]Arnulf, 1.412: "Ponit tres opiniones more philosophi sed nullam solvit aut affirmat, more poete."

2.410" "Non affirmat verum esse ut historiographus sed tangit ut poeta."

[55]Arnulf's commentary on the Fasti was well known. Arnulf was quoted as an authority in the margin of a manuscript in Florence, MS Laur. 36.24: "Arnulfus in Fastis refert Ovidium duodecim libros se scripsisse fastorum, verum beatum hieronymum propter nimium idolatriae cultum asserit igni sex ultimos dedisse idque omni populo christiano suassisse."

Ghisalberti also cites several references to his commentary on the Metamorphoses. Another work, the "Faits des Romains," an anonymous French work of the early thirteenth century, which was a life of Caesar, essentially compiled out of Lucan, Suetonius and Sallust made constant use of Arnulf's work. Arnulf provided the compiler of this historical novel with facts about history, geography, mythology, astronomy and science. For an actual breakdown of borrowings see Marti, p. xxxv. See also Jeanette M.A. Beer, A Medieval Caesar(Geneva: 1976).

[56]Arnulf, 1.584, 4.673, 4.820, and 20.6.

[57]Leopold Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans au XIIe et au XIIIe siècles," Annuaire bulletin de la société de l'histoire de la France, VII(1869), pp. 139-154.

[58]B. Haureau, HL, XXIX(1885), pp. 573-81.

[59]Sacrificare deis nos edocet Aurelianis,
Indicens festum Fauni Iovis atque Liei.
Hec est pestifera, David testante, cathedra,
In qua non sedit vir sanctus, perniciosam
Doctrinam fugiens, que, sicut habetur ibidem,
Est quasi diffundens multis contagia morbus.
Non decet illa legi que sunt contraria legi.

This excerpt from the prologue of Alexander's Ecclesiale is found in Charles Thurot, "Notices et Extraits des divers MSS. Latins pour servir a l'Histoire des Doctrines Grammaticales au Moyen Age," in Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, XXII, pt 2(Paris: 1868), p. 115. A translation can be found in the introduction of Paetow's translation of the Battle of the Seven Arts by Henri d'Andeli, p. 28.

[60]Marti, "Hugh Primas and Arnulf of Orleans," p. 236.

[61]Ibid.

[62]E.H. Alton, "The Mediaeval Commentators on Ovid's Fasti," Hermathena, 44(1926), p. 124.

[63]Marti, p. xxix.

[64]Bruno Roy, "Arnulf of Orleans and the Latin Comedy," Speculum, XLIX, no. 2(1974), p. 263.

[65]Marti, p. xxiix.

[66]Ibid., p. xxvii.

[67]Roy, p. 263.

[68]Marti, p. xxviii.

[69]Ibid., p. xxv.

[70]Marti, "Hugh Primas and Arnulf of Orleans," p. 237.

[71]For a discussion of this topic see Roy, pp. 263-4.

[72]The commentaries on the Ars Amatoria, Remedia and Ex Ponto are found in a Wolfenbuttel manuscript (Gud. lat. 155). The explicit of the Remedia attributes this work to Arnulf, "ut recipiat per hoc opus de Remediis quod Arnulfus glossavit ad sanandos illos qui a Fulcone erant decepti." The authorship of the glosses on the Metamorphoses copied in a twelfth century manuscript now in Venice(Marc. Lat. 14222) is clearly indicated at the end: "anime siquidem bonorum non deflentur unde et anima Arnulfi qui has glosulas fecit Aurelianis defleri non debet, et si eas bene fecit immo si quid habent viri vatum presagia vivam cum Ovidio."

[73]Matthew of Vendôme, Ars Versificatoria, ed. Faral (Paris: 1924), 3.46, p. 178: "Igitur, quia non cuivis hominum contingit adire Corinthum, vires suas hic experiatur sibilator Rufinus, qui in elegis Thyresias, in canoris nugis etiam Poliphemus esse consuevit. Fustus enim est judex saporis et experientia arbitraria est difficultatis vel veritatis."

[74]Matthew of Vendôme,

Rumpere, Rufe, loquar, rumpantur ut ilia Rufo
Quicquid conabor dicere versus erit.
Extasis occursu quateris dum Thaidasolus
Solus amas; nec habes, solus habere putans.
Concolor utrimque rufizat copula, Rufum
Rufa subit, simium simia, capra caprum
Invide Rufe, bonis digitis, ad fenora pronis
Leges othonis recolis putealque Libonis.

[75]Roy, p. 263.

[76]The biographical information on Matthew was furnished primarily by the author himself in the Ars Versificatoria and other works, particularly the Tobias.

[77]Both Faral and Douglas Kelly agree that the Ars Versificatoria was actually used as part of the instruction at Orleans. See Douglas Kelly, "The Scope of the Treatment of Composition in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Arts of Poetry," Speculum, 41(1966), pp. 261-278.

[78]On the date of composition of the Ars Versificatoria, see C.S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p.85. Matthew, in fact, made it clear that he was writing an introduction for beginners which was to serve as a guide for student exercises in verse composition. In Book IV, 16 he refers to the work as "...in scolastico versificandi exercitio."

[79]The prologue of the work begins:
"Spiritus invidiae cesset, non mordeat hostis
Introductivum Windocinensis opus."
Faral edition, p. 109.

[80]Kelly, p. 265

[81]Matthew of Vendôme, Faral edition, pp. 110-111: "Et quia ad versuum introductionem praesens spectat negotium, qualiscumque versus descriptio debet declarari. Versus est metrica oratio succincte et clausulatim progrediens venusto verborum matrimonio et flosculis sententiarum picturata, quae nihil diminutum, nihil in se continet otiosum. Non enim aggregatio dictionum, dinumeratio pedum, cognitio temporum facit versum, sed elegans junctura dictionum, expressio proprietatum et observatum uniuscujusque rei epeithetum."

[82]Ibid., pp. 166-67; Sections 43-45, p. 181, Section 6, and p. 188, section 34.

[83]Ibid., p. 153, section 9: "Etenim sunt tria quae redolent in carmine: verba polita, dicendique color, interiorque favus. Versus enim aut contrahit elegantiam ex venustate interioris sententiae, aut ex superficiali ornatu verborum, aut ex modo dicendi."

[84]Ibid., pp. 154-167.

[85]Ibid., p 183, section 12: "Sunt etiam alia, scilicet eclypsis, tapynosis, kacosynteton, et multa alia, quorum descriptiones quisquis sibi voluerit intimari, consulat Barbarismum."

[86]Ibid., p. 76.

[87]Curtius, p. 490.

[88]Matthew of Vendôme, ibid., p. 181, section 8. "In hoc autem articulo modernis incumbit potius antiquorum apologia quam imitatio."

[89]Ibid., p. 190: "Quicquid dictum est de Rufo et Rufino, de Arnulfo (et) de Sancto Evurcio spiritualiter, intelligatur, qui me quotidianis exasperat absentem opprobriis, cuius linguam veneno invidiae toxicatam existimo."

[90]Ibid., p. 109, Prologus 2: "Siquidem detractoribus indulgeo deliberationis inducias, ut, non nisi consulto discretionis domicilio et praecognita occasione vel deliberatione scribendi, morsu praesumptuoso praesenti opusculo indiscretum adhibeant praejudicium. Igitur, quia diuturnitas silentii nutrimentum est verbi et male cuncta ministrat impetus, Rufinus collateralis adversarius, obprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis, ponat custodiam ori suo et ostium circumstantiae labii suis, nec ex conflatu invidiae meae paginae sine discussione rationis impetuosum praetendat vituperium, sed suo alludens concubinario Thaida rufam complectatur. Siquidem,

Si mea Rufinus corrodat carmina, rufus
Nequitiae poterit esse propheta color.
Vox pelli resonat, alludit lingua colori,
Palpitat in Rufo rufa colore fides.

Non equidem invideo:

Si me sustinuit, quamvis mercede, scolarem,
Sustineat Rufum rufa capella marem.

Attacks such as these are found throughout the Ars Versificatoria. To mention some of the most striking passages: Prologue 5; 2.20; 2.28; 2.37; 2.42; 3.5; 3.14; 3.19; 3.35; 4.47; 4.478

[91]Ibid., 4.47: "Facta exceptione similiter coloratorum, quia rufi coloris iniquitas in eo plenius exuberat et in eius uxore forsitan emanabit. Quicquid dictum est de rufo et rufino, de Arnulfo de Sancto Evurcio spiritualiter intelligatur."

[92]B. Hauréau, Notices et Extraits de quelques MSS Latins de la Bibliothèque National 2(1891), p. 354 where he quotes from Bib. Nat. Lat. 14193.

[93]Eberhard the German, Laborintus, in Les Arts poetiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle, ed. Edmond Faral(Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, 1924), p. 361: 675.

[94]Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary Ames Rouse, "The Florilegium Angelicum: its Origin, Content and Influence," in Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt, edited by J.J. G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 66.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid., p. 77

[97]Ibid.

[98]L. Delisle, "Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican," BEC, XXXVII(1876), pp. 445-6.

[99]C. Barlow, "Codex Vaticanus latinus 4929," Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, XV(1938), pp. 87-124.

[100]Ibid., pp. 105-7.

[101]Rouse, p. 85.

[102]Ibid., p. 86.

[103]Ibid., n.2. See also letters 65 and 85 of Stephen of Tournai, PL CCXI(1855), 356-7; 380-1.

[104]Rouse, p. 88.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Ibid., p. 89.

[108]Ibid., p. 92.

[109]Ibid. See also H. Wieruszowski, "Arezzo as a

Center of Learning and Letters in the Thirteenth Century," Traditio, IX(1953), pp. 321-91, and in particular her "Rhetoric and the Classics in Italian Education of the Thirteenth Century," Studia Gratiana, XI(1967), pp. 169-208.

[110]Two less well known figures associated with the literary schools at Orleans were Foulques and Bertier of Orleans. The former also commented upon Ovid; the latter wrote poetry. They will be the subjects of a future article.

CHAPTER III
THE CONTINUATION OF LITERARY STUDIES AT ORLEANS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Although the institutional history of the medieval university is very well known at this time, the same cannot be said in regard to the scope and specific nature of the content of the actual instruction which was given in these institutions. For this reason historians have made sweeping and inaccurate generalizations about the curriculum at various university centers. For example, the basic tenet pertaining to the University of Orleans is that studies were largely restricted to law alone after 1200. This judgement has been handed down and unquestioned since Hastings Rashdall, the dean of university historians, wrote his great work on the medieval universities, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. Rashdall stated that "after the decay of the literary schools in the thirteenth century, no regular faculty of arts manifests its existence in the Orleans documents, nor any other faculty except that of law."[1] He further maintained that "this school of grammar appears to have dwindled into insignificance before A.D.

1300."[2] In the revised edition of Rashdall, the editors modified his judgement somewhat, but certainly not sufficiently.

Without doubt, it is not easy to obtain a full picture of the normal course of studies in the medieval university. This is obviously one of the reasons that so many generalizations have been made in the past. Our information is particularly meager concerning the faculty of arts. It is essential that in order to obtain a clear picture of the common practice in the schools we must piece together bits of information contained in a great variety of sources. We must look beyond the statutes which, since the medieval university always followed legitimate custom, were enacted by the university, faculty or nation, only to correct abuses or to clarify obscure points then in dispute. As often as not, the statutes only formalized situations that had prevailed for some time among members of the academic community. What we must do is try to reconstruct on a broader base the total intellectual milieu with all its ferment and change so that we will arrive at a more precise and more realistic notion of what was taught in the medieval curricula.[3]

Although what we must do can be stated quite simply in words, to do it successfully is a complex problem indeed. Even Father Glorieux, in his most recent work on the faculty

of arts at Paris, La Faculté des arts et ses maitres au XIII siècle, has noted that while the task of providing the details for his earlier work on the faculty of theology[4] was relatively simple because of the precise structure of that faculty and the renown of most of its masters, the task for the faculty of arts and its masters posed far greater difficulties for him because the masters of arts were more numerous than those of other faculties.[5]

In addition, the thirteenth century experienced what has been called the "problem of the classics," that is, the classics were no longer seen to be of interest because of the various trends which characterized the intellectual and university milieus of that time. As Louis J. Paetow pointed out in his study "Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric," the classics were overshadowed in the rising university associations by the more popular studies of law and medicine. In this excellent monograph Paetow listed five causes for the neglect of the classics at the university. These included strict clerical feeling against profane and in particular, indecent profane literature; the interest in science and the increasing popularity of logic. Not to be neglected among the causes was the lure of lucrative studies such as medicine and law.[6]

Many of the causes that Paetow pointed out in this work

had an impact and an effect upon Orleans and the pursuance of literary studies there. Clerical feelings of opposition were expressed by several scholars. Alexander of Villedieu, a master at the University of Paris, strongly voiced clerical opposition in his direct and vitriolic attack upon the humanists at Orleans, as was noted in the preceding chapter. A similar message is found in a sermon delivered before the students of the University of Paris by Jacques de Vitry (1240). He asserted:

> In spite of the value of the art of eloquence which we derive from the poets, properly called authors(auctores), it is better to choose for our instruction those works which contain moral teaching, such as those of Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, Prudentius, Prosper Sedulus, and above all the versified Bible. Do not books of this kind suffice without turning to the historians and poets for excitations which lead to debauch and vanity?7

On the other hand law and medicine as practical studies rose to such great importance that students rushed through their preliminary arts courses to partake probably of the pecuniary gain associated with medicine and law. In their eagerness to study law, the students neglected particularly the art of grammar which involved the ancient classics. Even at Paris, in the preceding century, Gerald de Barri, one of the most prolific writers of the age, had lamented the overwhelming desire to study law, for he saw it as one of the most important causes of the neglect of letters. Especially

interesting and revealing is his recollection of how he once heard a certain professor at Paris proclaim before a large number of students that the evil days had come which the sibyl had foretold in her prophecy 'the days will come, woe to them, when law will obliterate the study of letters.'[8]

Law indeed did pose a threat to the study of the letters as we may judge from several pieces of evidence. Constantly recurring in the collections of student letters that have come down to us are requests that fathers allow their sons to read law, an expensive course, but one of great future profit and honor. "He who maketh his son a lawyer," said Ponce de Provence, "hath fashioned an engine against his enemies, a machine for his friends."[9] The list of great and honorable alumni of the University of Orleans shows that there was indeed a great deal of substance in this statement for among the graduates in law were the popes Clement V and John XXII as well as the humanist John Reuchlin.[10]

Despite the mass of information the statutes provide relating to the study of law, we cannot conclude that there was only a faculty of law in much of the thirteenth and all of the fourteenth centuries. The evidence is perhaps more indicative of a newly aroused interest in law. To illustrate this it is necessary to keep in mind the date 1235, the year of Gregory's bull allowing both civil and canon law to be

studied at the University of Orleans.

The continuity of the arts faculty at Orleans on the other hand is clear from the fact that in the year 1312 there are two specific instances in which the liberal arts, or the disciplines of grammar, logic and theology are mentioned. The first occurs in a statute or ordinance dated July 17, 1312, governing the study of civil and canon law. Here there is a specific reference to the study of the liberal arts which had flourished since the time of their forefathers, referring to the last or previous century.[11] This statute also elaborates on the fact that the school had flourished because of its favourable surroundings.

Later that very same year, December 12, 1312, to be exact, the statutes record an ordinance of Philip the Fair stating that the doctors do not form a university and would not be able to make their own statutes. This document was one of those issued when Philip was trying to prevent the school from functioning as a university. In it he specifically ordered the provost to see that certain privileges were also enjoyed by "all masters, and scholars in theology, grammar, and logic."[12]

There are other statutes relating to this topic, which, however, do not fall within the thirteenth or fourteenth century. They are nevertheless worthy of mention here. One of these, dated April 20, 1446, concerns a ruling that each

grammarian who would like to enjoy the University privileges would have to pay a fee to his nation.[13] Another ruling in the following year, July 31, 1447, which pertains to the reformation of the University of Orleans by Charles VII, mentioned both a faculty of law as well as instruction in the liberal arts.[14]

The information found in the above statutes is important and revealing. However, there are still gaps which must be filled in with data found in other sources. One of these sources is contemporary literature which supplies considerable additional information. About the year 1200, Orleans was ranked with Paris and other famous seats of learning such as Salerno and Bologna.[15] However, the writers always distinguished it as the center of ancient classical studies. For example, about the work being done at Orleans, Alexander Neckham enthusiastically said, "Parnassus itself cannot compare with thee, Orleans...I think that in no other city the songs of the Muses, watched over with so much zeal, are better interpreted."[16]

The contrast between Paris and Orleans is clearly shown in certain Latin poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. "Let Paris be proud of her logic and Orleans of her authors," wrote the poet Matthew of Vendôme.[17] The Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, perhaps the best known of all the medieval arts of poetry undertaking to teach the prin-

ciples of poetic composition, is also indicative of the literature which tells us of the glory of Orleans in the thirteenth century. In it Geoffrey asserts:

> In time of sickness Salerno, with its medical skill cures those who are ill. In civil causes Bologna arms the defenseless with laws. Paris, in the arts, dispenses bread to feed the strong. Orleans in its cradle rears tender youth on the milk of the authors.[18]

A similar statement can be found in a sermon delivered in 1229 before the students of the University of Toulouse by the monk Helinand. In the course of the sermons, Helinand asserted that clerics seek the liberal arts at Paris, the authors at Orleans...and morals nowhere.[19]

Moreover John of Garland, who in his Morale Scholarium lamented the decline of the liberal arts in the face of the more profitable studies, invoked Orleans as the last stronghold of the art of eloquence. Among the last of the classicists in Paris, John's importance lies not merely in his championing of the classical authors, but in his insistent planning for a return to literary studies in a hostile age and environment. In this regard he appealed to Orleans to revive a forsaken cause. In 1234 he wrote, "God has chosen you to sustain the edifice of eloquence shaken to its very foundation."[20] This is indeed a lament that the ancient authors were being neglected elsewhere, but the fact that Orleans was turned to as the last hope is evidence that the

authors were holding their own there.

That the classical authors had perhaps lost the day but were still cultivated is evident further in the poem "The Battle of the Seven Arts" written about 1250 by the trouvere Henri d'Andeli.[21] Grammar, the champion of Orleans, supported by the humanists and the classical authors, went out to do battle against Logic of Paris, who, by this time, had gathered under her wing all the books and studies taught at that university. Following a spirited battle, Grammar was defeated, and she, the Muse of Poetry, went into hiding. However, the author optimistically concluded the poem with a vision that the next generation would return to the study of classical letters.[22]

The poem itself is most revealing of the situation of the day:

> For logic who is alway wrangling
> Calls the authors authorlings
> And the students of Orleans mere grammar boys.[23]

The poem goes on:

> However logic has the students
> Whereas grammar is reduced in numbers
> Grammar is much wrought up
> And has raised her banner
> Outside of Orleans in the midst of
> the grain fields
> There she assembled her army.[24]

The composition of the army is most interesting. Its ranks were made up by the following: the grammarians Donatus, Martianus Capella and Priscian, the medieval

grammarians, Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune; Cato, Avianus, and Theodulus, the ancient classical authors Homer, Claudian, Perseus, Juvenal, Horace, Vergil, Lucan, Terence, Ovid, Seneca and Martial; the early Christian poets Sedulus, Prosper and Prudentius; the medieval Latin poets Jean de Hauteville, Matthew of Vendôme, Gautier of Chatillon, Peter Riga, Alain de Lille, Primat of Orleans, Bernard Sylvester and various unknown poets of Orleans.[25]

The ending of the poem is also significant:

> Grammar withdrew
> Into Egypt where she was born
> But logic is now in vogue
> Every boy runs her course
> Ere he has passed his fifteenth year
> Logic is now in vogue
> Logic is in a very bad situation
> In the tower of Montelary
> There she practices her art
> But grammar opposes her
> With her authors and authorlings
> Sententious and frivolous[26]

Whatever interest there is in this poem today is most likely due to the insight it casts upon the history of learning and to its prophetic nature as to the decline of classical grammar and literature in the face of logic.

In addition to contemporary literature our knowledge of the medieval curriculum that flourished at different institutions of learning is further increased by the insights contained in student letters, a third source of information. Student letters provide an invaluable source of information

to scholars of the universities. As Haskins pointed out, they enabled Thurot to conclude from the models of Ponce of Provence that logic was not only necessary for the study of law but was demanded also of students of medicine and was indispensable for theology.[27] Similar evidence enabled Delisle to establish the existence of a flourishing school of rhetoric and literature at Orleans in the twelfth century.[28]

Student letters also are a valuable source for the problem being considered in this paper. They particularly shed much more light upon the actual situation than do the statutes, and make possible a more definitive conclusion. In utilizing student letters, it is important to remember, however, as Haskins pointed out, that one should not seek in them trustworthy details of biography or of political history. But one may well expect them "to reflect faithfully because unconsciously, the conditions of the age in which they were composed."[29]

In the case of Orleans, the student letters are highly illustrative, and exactly for this reason. There is, for example, a student letter written at Orleans in the first half of the thirteenth century which helps emphasize the fact that Orleans was known as a humanistic center. The writer of the letter asserts:

> I have been a long time at Paris, and I have learned from many testimonies that knowledge of authors redounds singularly to the honor of those who possess it. I have therefore come to Orleans with the interest of making some progress in this study and I hope to succeed if I have the books.[30]

From Orleans also another student wrote that he had become famous in dialectic and was desirous of studying theology if only his father would send him enough money to buy a Bible. Apparently the father, however, could not afford the expense of such a course and advised his son to turn to some more lucrative profession.[31]

Furthermore, according to Auvray, Orleans was particularly fecund in formularies which abound in precious information about the history of rhetoric and diplomatics, although they were once thought to be empty of such valuable information.[32]

However, the best evidence perhaps that Orleans was offering courses besides those in law is found in the Formulary of Treguier, a collection of model letters, which was published by Leopold Delisle in the Memoires of the Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais. The letters are by an anonymous author whose style furnished sufficient evidence for attributing their composition to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. Several of the letters, in fact, are dated 1313, 1314, and 1315.[33] In most of these texts, either or both

the school of letters and the teaching of grammar and rhetoric is mentioned. In addition, it is interesting to notice that at least seven times the schools of Orleans are designated by the words "gymnasium" or "studium Genabensi."[34] The author of the formulary seems to have regarded the word Genabum, the ancient name of the town or Orleans, as being synonymous with Orleans.[35] The collection is highly interesting in the sense that it also provides abundant details about the household finances and private lives of the Breton families to whom the letters are addressed. All social conditions and occupations seem to be represented in the letters.

In the above collection, Formulary 4 comprises a request by a student to his brother for compassion and aid, and it refers to Orleans as "dedicated to literary studies"(deditus studio literali).[36] The reply to this letter is contained in Formulary 5 which makes specific reference to "Orleans dedicated to literary studies"(Literarum studio dedito genabensi) as well as an amount of one hundred solidi to be sent.[37] The kindly and wise character of the brother is evident throughout the letter of reply.

The next two formularies, numbers 6 and 7, are also quite significant. Although number 6 concerns the school of law, it is still valuable as a source regarding other subjects of the curriculum. It is a letter of recommendation

for two professors of law. In it there is also reference made to the "gymnasio Genabensi."[38] Formulary 7 opens with a salutation to the Aristotelian labyrinth, a reference that is common in the collection.[39]

Especially interesting is Formulary 8. This is a letter from a master at the school of Prat[40] to a friend at Orleans requesting that the latter buy him a copy of the Doctrinale, a grammar composed by Alexander of Villedieu about 1199 which replaced the grammars of Donatus and Priscian. In asking for this book as well as a few other works of grammar, the writer states that these books are necessary for his own lessons and are books to which he has no access.[41] This letter also begins with the revealing salutation "precordialissimo suo socio ac etiam speciali litterarum studio dedito Genabensi...," a type of salutation commonly found in many of the letters contained in the nineteen odd folios.[42]

Finally Formulary 19 has the request of a student at Orleans engaged in literary studies and in need of money. The letter is addressed to the student's uncle and it asks for the profits from the student's rents. The reply refers to the nephew as "Genabense exercenti."[43]

References to literary studies dominate the entire collection of letters in the Formulary of Treguier. The overall collection led Delisle to make important conclusions

regarding the role of grammar in the medieval curriculum.[44] The University of Orleans was not the only university mentioned in the collection. Yet it is the one that is referred to most frequently. It seemed to enjoy tremendous popularity as well as a great reputation among the people of Brittany.

One famous Breton alumnus was Yves Helory or as he was more commonly called, Yves le Breton. Yves le Breton studied civil and canon law at Orleans. He completed these studies in 1278 and returned to his native province. He became known as the lawyer of the poor, for he put his legal expertise to work for the poor people of the region. His reputation as an honest lawyer and as a man of charity and heroic asceticism grew quickly. He was ordained a priest and in 1347 he was canonised. The prose for his office said "Sanctus Ivo erat Brito, advocatus sed non latro, res miranda populo."[45]

Another illuminating example from the time of Innocent III and Philip Augustus and evidently emanating from Orleans concerns Flemish students of the classics at Orleans. While the letter does mention the study of the classics there, unlike the other letters noted above, the letter writer complains about the instruction being given. The letter is full of insights about conditions at Orleans. The student complained that "departing from the province of

Flanders, we chose the school of Orleans in order to read the authors." On arrival at their chosen school, however, the students found that the masters were very difficult since they conducted their courses on a highly advanced level and neglected to take time out for students who were not sufficiently or properly prepared for their classes. In desperation the students turned to a tutor, but he unfortunately taught them with less care than was necessary for their success.[46]

The above thus provide evidence that well beyond the twelfth century, literature and the authors were still being taught and read at Orleans. And this was true not only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but well after as well. However, the belief in the discontinuity of interest in classical Latin culture is so widespread that it would perhaps minimize the importance of this evidence. E.K. Rand was one of the first to challenge the concept of the discontinuity of Latin culture.[47] In his writing on this subject Rand emphasized that there must have been some sort of schools in which the liberal arts were continuously cultivated. Rand admitted that it would be absurd to deny that the ruling passion of the age was indeed dialectic, or that there was a general call to the practical, the revolutionary, and the modern. Yet despite all the novel aspects that characterized the age, Rand felt that grammar

and the old authors were still recognized as the portal of a sound education. After all, he reasoned, Everard the German,[48] Hugo of Tremberg,[49] and Brunetto Latini[50] were somewhere informing youth.

The notion that study of the classical authors was being neglected in favor of law and medicine is one that has been maintained for far too long a period. The liberal arts as a prerequisite for training in the advanced areas of study, law and medicine, continued to be true. The liberal arts were preparatory to the higher studies, not in opposition to them. There is a requirement precisely of this kind in the statutes of the University of Toulouse in the fourteenth century. Presumably this was indicative of conditions in the thirteenth century as well. Instruction in grammar was prescribed at Toulouse with provision for the study of the two medieval grammars, the Doctrinale and Grecismus as a qualification for the course in arts.[51]

At this point in our study, it is worthwhile to look in close detail at a product of the training and instruction that was being offered by the University of Orleans. One of the most prolific writers of the age was Eustache Deschamps, a poet born at Marne shortly before 1350.[52] Deschamps is said to have studied arts and law as well as astrology at the University of Orleans.[53] He later became a royal functionary.

The work of Eustache Deschamps is a gold mine since it reflects the dual aspects of instruction offered at Orleans. Deschamps had legal training, and many of his works offer illuminating information about preliminary training in the trivium and quadrivium as well as insights into medicine and astrology. It can be assumed that much of the knowledge and information that is reflected in his poetry was acquired during the course of his university education at Orleans.

Eustache Deschamps is pictured as a youth of lowly birth who was quite precocious. As a young child he is said to have developped a love of books and of learning as well as a spirit of inquiry that characterized his university days. As a student he wanted to learn everything, ancient languages, law, rhetoric, sciences. He apparently took whatever courses he could in order to extend his range of learning.[54]

Although there is general disagreement concerning his literary reputation, Deschamps was highly appreciated by his contemporaries.[55] However, following his death, his work fell into oblivion. In 1837 a selection of his poems was published, and in 1849 Tarbe came out with his series on Deschamps' work. Between 1878 and 1903 the complete works of Eustache Deschamps were published. One characteristic of Deschamps' work that impressed all his critics was the fact that it abounds in detail regarding political history and

manners and in this way serves as a faithful mirror of the general aspirations of his time.

One of Deschamps' most enlightening works is his Art de Dictier in which he gives a general account of the trivium and quadrivium. Written in 1392, the Art de Dictier is the only critical document by a poet whose literary and personal connections with Chaucer are demonstrable, whatever attitudes it reveals about poetry are thereby of the utmost importance.[56]

The summaries of the seven liberal arts found in the Art de Dictier are fairly conventional although they focus more on practical application than earlier treatments. Grammar is the first of the seven liberal arts and its principal art. Through it, according to Deschamps, one can learn all the other arts. It is the first step to the highest of things.[57] The second of the arts, logic, is the art of reasoning. It enables one to discern and recognise the truth among falsities. And mastery of it makes man subtle in his choice of words as well as more clever among men.[58] Rhetoric which consists of four parts is the science of speaking correctly. A good student of rhetoric must be able to speak wisely, briefly, completely and without difficulty.[59]

Moving to the quadrivium, Deschamps held that geometry is the science of measuring and constructing according to

proportions. He conceived geometry in the most practical way as an art that is mastered by carpenters and masons if they are to perform well in their own metier.[60] Arithmetic, Deschamps continued, is the science of calculating and counting with Arabic numbers and of measuring, and surveying, knowing time and the monetary system. Thus, according to Deschamps, it is an essential art for bankers, money changers and astronomers.[61] Astronomy, he held, is the science of the cognition of the stars and the seven planets, erratic and principal: Mars, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun and Moon. It concerns their influences and dispositions according to their qualities and conjunctions in different signs and their oppositions. According to Deschamps, astronomy was a very useful art in that one could judge the natural inclinations of men according to their birth dates. It was also quite useful for agricultural and medicinal purposes.[62]

Music, he asserted, is the last of the seven liberal arts. To this art Deschamps devoted the lengthiest discussion in the work and the one in which he varied the most from traditional medieval discussions of this art. Deschamps seems, in fact, to divorce music completely from the other six liberal arts. No association is made in the Art de Dictier of music with the contemplation of universal proportion, a characteristic of earlier medieval treatments of

this art, for example, that of Boethius. Instead Deschamps referred to the practical and psychological purpose of music. While the other six liberal arts were studied so that man would be well educated, the function of music was to facilitate that study by assuaging man's weariness and psychologically refreshing him. In this way he could turn to his pursuit of learning and knowledge with increased vigor and energy, and more importantly, with undivided attention.[63]

According to Deschamps there were two types of music, artificial and natural. Artificial was made up of notes. Knowledge of these notes enabled man to sing and play instruments.[64] The other type of music, natural music, Deschamps equated with lyric poetry.[65] Not only does Deschamps define lyric poetry as a species of music, but he also makes an analogy between the function of music and that of medicine, a theme that recurs in some of his ballads. Natural music consists of the metrical arrangement of words in certain patterns, although, as he points out, the words of a song could be divorced from their musical setting and could live independently.[66] Continuing this theme, Deschamps makes clear the fact that these words, once arranged in rhythmical patterns, are not necessarily sung or even set to music. This he felt was due to the fact that writers in his day for the most part did not know how to compose music.[67]

The Art de Dictier was the lengthiest work on the seven liberal arts that Deschamps wrote. Yet he returned to this topic on several occasions and devoted several poems to this topic.[68] Another subject that he chose to describe repeatedly was that of medicine.[69] Having been trained as a lawyer at Orleans, Deschamps nevertheless chose to philosophize and write about the essential elements of a liberal education, apparently the kind of education he received at Orleans.

Deschamps apparently held the University of Orleans in such high regard that he sent his son there. By this time, however, conditions evidently had changed for the worse. In Le Miroir de Mariage, a satirical poem, Deschamps depicted the conditions that were then prevalent. Some, he said, sent their sons to Orleans to learn the laws, but not for two or three years. Rather they remained there for seven or eight years without attaining mastery of their subject. They lost all sense of purpose, became ribald, and, to make matters worse, turned to vice. They very often became robbers and murderers, studied little and fought well, usually over women:

> Aultres qui sont praticiens,
> Mectent leurs filz a Orliens
> Pour aler aprandre les drois.
> Mais ce n'est pas deux ans ne trois:
> Sept ans our huit illec demeurent,
> Et l'avoir leurs peres deveurent.
> Ribaulx deviennent et putiers,
> Les aulcuns larrons et murdriers:

Po estudient, bien se batent,
Pour leurs fillettes se combatent.
Telz y est drois et sains alez,
Qui en revient tous affolez.
Telz y a fait six ans demeure,
Qui est tuez en petit d'eure.

FOOTNOTES ON CHAPTER III

[1]Rashdall, II, p. 151.

[2]Ibid., p. 142.

[3]For an excellent statement as well as treatment of such a problem see Richard Lemay, "The Teaching of Astronomy in Medieval Universities, Principally at Paris in the Fourteenth Century," Manuscripta, XX(1976), pp. 197-217.

[4]P. Glorieux, Repertoire des maitres en theologie de Paris au XIII siècle. 2 vols. Paris: J. Vrin, 1933-34.

[5]P. Glorieux, La Faculte des arts et ses maitres au XIII siècle. Paris: J. Vrin, 1971.

[6]Paetow, "Arts Course...," p. 20.

[7]Ibid., p. 27

[8]Giraldus Cambrensis, "Speculum Ecclesiae Proemium," in his Opera, ed. J.S. Brewer(Rolls Series), IV(1861), p. 7: "Venient dies, vae illis, quibus leges obliterabunt scientiam literarum."

[9]Helen Waddell, Wandering Scholars(London: Constable and Co., 1927), p. 132.

[10]Bimbenet, pp. 348-351.

[11]Fournier, I, p. 37: "Sane dum inter cives Aurelianensis civitatis, in qua propter opportunitatem, fertilitatem et amenitatem loci, sub aliis progenitorum nostrorum et nostris liberalium artium, precipue juris canonici studium et civilis noscitur floruisse, unde tot et tanti doctores processisse noscuntur, et eminentes persone, temporibus retroactis, qui virtutum et scientie fulgore splendentes, fructum multiplicem, Deo gratum, et hominibus salubrem, per mundi diversa climata reddiderunt."

[12]Ibid., pp. 40-41: "...nos ad eorum requisitionem hujusmodi gratias et privilegia ad omnes magistros et scolares in theologia, grammatica, et logica legentes et studentes Aurelianis, volumus et de gratia speciali elargiri precipimus et extendi..."
It is interesting to note that several people are mentioned as having studied theology at Orleans. Robert de Bardi, a Florentine by birth is said to have studied first at Orleans, then at Paris in the early fourteenth century. See Sabbadini, III, p. 35. Also mentioned as having either studied or taught theology at Orleans are Richard of Chichester(d. 1253) as well as the Aicelin Brothers. These clerics are discussed in detail in the last chapter of this work. The recent study of Luciano Gargan, Lo Studio teologico i la biblioteca dei domenicani a padova nel tre e quattrocento shows that the Dominican studium in Padua was incorporated into that city's university in 1363. The affiliation between the Dominican studium and the University of Orleans does not appear to have followed this pattern.

[13]Fournier, I, p. 213: "Nonnullos grammaticos se deicentes suppositios dicte nationis."

[14]Ibid., p. 220. "Et ultra hoc, doceant quod tempore predicto, acquirebant tempus solum in facultate canonum, vel legum, exempti a disciplina artium liberalium, non acquirentes tempus in alia facultate."

[15]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 17.

[16]A. Neckham, De Naturis Rerum. Ed. T. Wright (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863), p. 454. "Non se Parnassus tibi conferat Aurelianis, Parnassi Vertex cedit uterque tibi. Carmina Puridum multo vigilata labore exponi nulla certius urbe reor."

[17]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 14.

[18]Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova, tr. Margaret Nims(Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1967), p. 52. The Latin is found in Leyser, Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi(1721), p. 920, ll. 1007-1013:

In morbis sanat medici virtute Salernum
Aegros. In causis Bononia legibus armat
Nudos. Parisius dispensat in artibus illos
Panes, unde cibat robustos. Aurelianis
Educat in cunis autorum lacte tenellos.

[19]E. Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa, Vol. II(Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1898), p. 726. "Ecce quaerunt clerici Parisius artes liberales, Aurelianis auctores, Bononiae Codices, Salerni Pyxides, Toleti daemones et nusquam mores."

[20]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 16.

[21]Henri d'Andeli. The Battle of the Seven Arts. Ed. and tr. L.J. Paetow. Memoirs of the University of California, Volume 4, No. 1(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914.

[22]Henri d'Andeli, ed. Paetow, p. 60, ll. 450-456.
"Sirs, the times are given to emptiness
Soon they will go entirely to naught,
For thirty years this will continue,
Until a new generation will arise,
Who will go back to Grammar,
Just as it was the Fashion
When Henri d'Andeli was born,"

[23] Ibid., p. 31, ll. 116-118.

[24]Ibid., p. 37, ll. 19-24.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., p. 59, ll. 406-417.

[27]Charles Homer Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters," American Historical Review, III(1898), p. 221.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Charles Homer Haskins, Studies in Medieval Culture (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 4.

[30]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 15.

[31]Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students...," p. 223.

[32]L. Auvray, "Documents Orléanais du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle. Extraits du Formulaire de Bernard de Meung," MSAHO, XXII(1892), p. 393.

[33]Leopold Delisle, "Le Formulaire de Tréguier et les écoliers Bretons des écoles d'Orléans au commencement du XIVe siècle," MSAHO, XXIII(1892), p. 42. The internal evidence was important in dating the documents. For example, one letter was addressed to Geoffrey Tournemine, who was Bishop of Tréguier and who died in 1316. Another letter mentions a convocation of the "l'ost" of the king for an expedition against the "Flamands."

[34]Ibid., p. 47. See I, II, V, VI, VII, X, XV, XX. DuCange, 1st edition, p. 6012, defines gymnasium as "pro ludo illo literario, in quo pueri letteris et liberalibus desciplinis exercentur."

[35]See Chapter I above.

[36]Delisle, "Le Formulaire de Tréguier," p. 56.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid., p. 57.

[40]Prat is most probably Prat, Cotes du Nord, Canton de la Roche-Derrien.

[41]Delisle, "Le Formulaire de Tréguier," p. 59

[42]Ibid., pp. 49-50. Seven of the formularies are reprinted by Marcel Fournier in the Appendix to the third volume of his edition of the Statutes and Privileges. Some are also published in the HL, XXI(1893), pp. 25-35.

[43]Delisle, "Le Formulaire de Tréguier," pp. 63-64.

[44]Ibid., pp. 49-50. He concluded that grammar had to be taught to the children of nobles and to girls who were destined to the religious life.

[45]R.J. King, Sketches and Studies(London: 1874), p. 247. In May 1347, Clement VI decreed St Yves to be patron saint of lawyers.

[46]Haskins, Studies in Medieval Culture, p. 186. "De Flandria provincia recedentes scolas Aurelianis elegimus expetendas ut actores nobis cum attenta sollicitudine legerentur, sed quia magistri graves erant et minus instructos minus sollicite quam expediret singulis instruebant, frequentare scolas eorum sumus reveriti, semiplenam nostram scientiam attendentes non posse lectionum sufficere gravitati. Talis vero scolaris ovidianos subcerto precio repromisit nobis secundum possibilitatis exigentiam se lecturum, sed quia promissionem suam non est efficaciter prosecutus, inter nos et dictum scolarem contentio pullulavit propter quod in discretione vestra his inde nostra sedulitas compromisit."

[47]E.K. Rand, "The Classics in the Thirteenth Century," Speculum, IV(1929), pp. 249-269.

[48]Everard the German in fact spent part of his teaching career at Orleans. Everard has been confused with Everard of Bethune, author of the Grecismus, a medieval grammar which appeared about 1212. It was not until 1870 that Charles Thurot discovered the error. See Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, nouvelle serie, VI(1870), p. 259. The only work known of Everard the German is the Laborinthus. Verses 945-950 of this work make it appear that Everard had studied first at Paris then at Orleans. The poem recites a large number of classical authors with whom Everard was familiar.

Sicut Parisius est divitibus paradisus,
Sic est pauperibus insatiata palus.
Deinde tibi fornax fuit Aurilianis, alumna
Auctorum, Musae fons, Heliconis apex.

[49]Hugo of Tremberg was a poet and lay teacher born in Lower Franconia ca. 1235. For more than forty years he taught at the collegiate school of St Gangol in Bamberg where he ultimately became rector. He is considered an important representative of didactic poetry in the era after it ceased to center in court circles. His best known work is Die Renner, ca. 1290-1300. See F. Dressler, "Hugo of Tremberg," in New Catholic Encyclopedia, VII, pp. 195-196.

[50]Brunetto Latini was a Florentine notary who as a translator and populariser did much to lay the foundations of a civic culture in Florence in the mid-thirteenth century. See J.K. Hyde, Society and Politics in Medieval Italy(New York: St Martin's Press, 1973), pp. 91-93.

[51]Rand, p. 267.

[52]P. Tarbe(ed). Oeuvres inédites d'Eustaches Deschamps(Paris: 1849), p. viii, moved back the dates of Deschamps' birth to some time between 1328 and 1350 because of the fact that Deschamps alluded to the fact in his writings that he lived through the reigns of four successive kings.

[53]George Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science(Baltimore: 1947), II, pp. 1410-11. For a biographical sketch, see Wickersheimer, Dictionnaire, p. 145.

[54]Tarbe, p. ix.

[55]Molinier refers to him as one of the most prolific French poets of the end of the fourteenth century. J. Huizinga in Waning of the Middle Ages refers to him, on the other hand, as a superficial poet and a commonplace mind.

[56]The influence of Deschamps upon Chaucer is discussed by G. Olson, "Deschamps' Art de Dictier and Chaucer's Literary Environment," Speculum, XLVIII(1973), pp. 714-723.

[57]Eustache Deschamps, L'Art de Dictier, Oeuvres Completes, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de St-Hilaire et G. Raynaud, VII, p. 266:

"...est le premier et principal ars GRAMAIRE, par lequel l'en vient et aprant tous les autres ars par les figures des letres de A, B, C, que les enfans aprannent premierement, et par lesquelz aprandre et scacoir l'en peut venir a toute science, et monter de la plus petite letre jusques a la plus ahulte."

[58]Ibid., p. 266-267. "LOGIQUE est apres une science d'arguer choses faintes et subtiles, coulourees de faulx argumens, pour discerner et mieulx congnoistre la verite des choses entre le faulx et le voir, et qui rent l'omme plus subtil en parole et plus habille entre les autres."

[59]Ibid., p. 267. "RETHORIQUE est science de parler droictement, et a quatre parties en soy a lui ramenees, toutes appliquees a son nom; car tout bon rethoricien doit parler et dire ce qu'il veult moustrer saigement, briefment, substancieusement et hardiement."

[60]Ibid. "GEOMETRIE est science de mesurer et faire par proporcion la taille des pierres et des merriens, et la perfection des tours rondes et quarrees; de faire et edifier les chasteaulx, salles et maisons pour habiter, les clochiers et autres edifices en ront, en triangle et en quarreure, et les mener droit sanz boce jusques a leur perfection; faire tonneaulx et autres vaisseaulx de certaines pieces, longueur et grosseur, et aucunefoiz cornus, comme sont les baingnoueres et autres vaisseaulx, par contrainte de cercles de certaines pongnies, par les lieures des osiers; faire nez et galees en mer. Et cest art s'applique aux fevre, charpentiers et macons, ausquelz, se ilz sont bons ouvriers de leurs mestiers, il fault comprandre et avoir en ymaginacion de leur pensee toute la fourme et la perfection d'un chastel, dune maison, d'un grant vaissel et des circonstances, avant que il soit commence, et faire la forme et mesure de chascune pierre, et ainsi des autres."

[61]Ibid., pp. 267-268. "ARISMETIQUE est science de getter et compter par le nombre de augorisme et autre nombre commun, et de mesurer et arpenter les terres, les boys et choses semblables, pour scavoir la haulteur des choses en alant vers le ciel; la largeur des eaues et des rivieres, la parfondeur des puis et des concaves de la terre; de scavoir les heures, les temps, les minutes et les momens; pour scavoir le commencement des jours et des nuis, des sepmaines,

des moys et des ans; pour venir au grant miliaire et scavoir par ce nombre, en querculant, la revolucion des temps et congnoistre le cours du souleil et de la lune, et du zodiaque; scavoir la maniere du poys et de la loy des monnoyes, tant en or comme en argent, les dragmes, caras, demi dragmes et les empirances; et a venir par getter et compter en montant et multipliant son nombre de la plus petite somme jusques a la plusgrande et haulte; et pour congnoistre selon les espaces des charpenteries, a veoir les cours des toiz par un des cours seulement, quans milliers de clou et de late et de tieulle il avra sur un toit, et ainsi des autres choses en ce cas. Et cest art appartient assez scavoir aux monnoyers et changeurs, et si fait il bien aux astronomiens pour les jugemens de leur science."

[62] Ibid., pp. 268-269. "ASTRONOMIE est une science de la congnoissance des estoilles et des sept planettes erratiques et principales, c'est assavoir: Mars, Mercurius, Venus, Saturnus, Jupiter, Sol et Luna; de leurs influences et disposicions selon leurs qualitez et conjunctions en divers signes et leurs opposicions, pour jugier des inclinacions natureles des hommes selon leur nativite, et aussi des fertilitez our sterilitez des terres et des fruis, des chauls et des froiz, des sentez et maladies des gens et des bestes; de scavoir le compost du soleil et de la lune, de partire les ans et trouver les bisextes et leurs conjunctions des lunes pour ordonner leurs saingnies, et les temps de prandre medicine, et autres choses qui de ce se despendent."

[63] Ibid., p. 269. "MUSIQUE est la derreniere science ainsis comme la medicine des VII ars; car quant le couraige et l'esperit des creatures ententives aux autres ars dessus declairez sont lassez et ennuyez de leurs labours, musique, par la doucour de sa science et la melodie de sa voix, leur chante par ses VI notes tiercoyees,...sont medicinez et recreez, et plus habiles apres a estudier et labourer aux autres VI. ars dessus nommez."

[64] Ibid., pp. 269-70. "Et est a scavoir que nous avons deux musiques, dont l'une est artificiele et l'autre est naturele. L'artificiele est celle dont dessus est faicte mencion; et est appellee artificiele de son art, car par ses VI. notes, qui sont appellees us, re, my, fa, sol, la, l'en puet apprandre a chanter, acorder, doubler, quin-

toier, tiercoier, tenir, deschanter, par gifure de notes, par clefs et par lignes....

[65] Ibid., p. 270. "L'autre musique est appellee naturelle pour ce qu'elle ne puet estre aprinse a nul, se son propre couraige naturelment ne s'i applique, et est une musique de bouche en proferant paroules metrifiees, aucunefoiz en laiz, autrefoiz en balades, autrefoiz en rondeaulx cengles et doubles, et en chancons baladees...."

[66] Ibid., p. 271.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Other poems on the seven liberal arts include V, p. 150 and pp. 152-153 as well as VII, pp. 22-24.

[69] Medical themes appear in the following, VII, pp. 38-39; pp. 40-41, and p. 249. Also VIII, p. 339.

[70] Eustache Deschamps, "Le Miroir de Mariage" in Oeuvres Completes, IX, pp. 43-44.

CHAPTER IV
THE ARS DICTAMINIS AT ORLEANS

In addition to law and literary studies, there was a third subject of major importance at Orleans, the Ars Dictaminis. The Ars Dictaminis may be comprehensively described as the art of composition, or more succinctly, apt and elegant writing.[1] It utilized to some extent all five traditional parts of rhetoric, but mainly style.[2] The Ars Dictaminis was specifically concerned with the art of letter writing and included not only rules for private epistolary correspondence but also the more technical rules for the compilation of official briefs, bulls, and other legal documents, the knowledge of which became very highly desirable as the Middle Ages progressed. It was another of those subjects which benefited from the trend in education whereby whatever was of practical and utilitarian value was very much in vogue.

The Ars Dictaminis was a novelty of medieval education. There was no separate theory for letter writing in the ancient world since it was assumed that any person with standard

rhetorical training would be able to master this task without major difficulty.[3] In the early Middle Ages, letter writing and the preparation of documents occupied the attention of the student of rhetoric. A Benedictine monk, Alberic of Monte Cassino, is generally credited with the first systematic application of Ciceronian rhetoric to the matter of letter writing.[4] In his Rationes dictandi, composed about 1087, Alberic taught that there were five essential parts to a letter, the salutation, exordium, narration, petition and conclusion. This doctrine was generally accepted throughout the Middle Ages. So prevalent were his teachings that all future writers on the subject in essence merely elaborated upon Alberic and his theories.

From Monte Cassino, however, the center of activity in the field quickly shifted to Bologna. Several major works on the subject appeared in rapid succession in the early twelfth century from this site. By 1200 the great mass of popular manuals were written, most of them in Italy by such masters of the art as Bernard of Bologna, Guido Faba, Buoncompagno, Bene of Lucca, Lawrence of Acquilegia and Thomas of Capua.[5] As the Middle Ages progressed the treatises became increasingly more technical. The practical needs of the lay and ecclesiastical chanceries became the consideration first and foremost of the later manuals. As a result, more and more space was given to the acts of the

Roman Curia, royal courts, or the chanceries of cities. Work in these chanceries required a great deal of special training. For example, it was necessary to learn the charter hand which was totally different from the ordinary book hand. This work also entailed the rules of the cursus or the rhythmic cadence of phrases employed in drawing up important acts.[6]

From Italy the Ars Dictaminis moved to France. In France, it was Orleans, not Paris, which was the chief center of the art. By the second half of the twelfth century, Orleans was already an independent center of influence in the study. Since a place where both the arts and the practical study of law flourished was favorable to the development of the Ars Dictaminis, it is not surprising that Orleans moved to the forefront in this study in all of France. In the Loire Valley there were also other centers of instruction in this art, the monastery of Magdunum or Meung nearby and the cities of Tours and Chartres, for example.[7] But they never achieved the prominence which Orleans did. The only other French universities at which the Ars Dictaminis is known to have been taught were Toulouse and Montpellier.[8]

For the most part the Ars Dictaminis was taught by itinerant professors known as dictatores. They were among the most colorful individuals of the Middle Ages, the sort

of men who loved to talk about themselves in the most hyperbolic and exaggerated terms and phrases. They made exalted claims for their art as well and sought to raise it to a sphere of quasi-holiness in order for it to compete with theology.[9] Their descriptions of its place among the other learned disciplines sometimes recalled the classical rhetorical ideals.[10] The prologues of their works abound with philosophic claims and pretensions for their discipline. In the words of Bene of Florence, the Ars Dictaminis increased eloquence, promoted favor, enlarged the honors bestowed upon one and often enriched the needy.[11] Thus the technical skills of the Ars Dictaminis became highly desirable. So important did the art become that in some places it usurped the whole field of rhetoric. The law students found it advantageous to study it on the side in the hopes of early professional opportunities. Those who limited themselves to the study of the Ars Dictaminis alone were attracted by a place which had standing in the legal profession.

Without doubt, the most colorful of the dictatores was Boncompagno, a famous master of the art in Bologna, about 1215, who wrote many books on the art. The longest and most important of his works, the Rhetorica Antiqua or simply the Boncompagnus reveals the close connection which still ex-

isted between this branch of the old comprehensive rhetoric and the rising professional school of law. The work was solemnly read before the professors and students of canon and civil law.[12] Boncompagno was a ridiculously vain individual. He took delight in the accusations of his adversaries who said that he considered himself greater than Cicero. In his Rhetoric he claimed that he had not followed Cicero or any other author, and he jokingly added that he could not recall whether or not he had ever as much as read Cicero.[13]

While this vain and braggodocious aspect of Boncompagno's personality might not endear him to us, he nevertheless played a major role in the history and development of the Ars Dictaminis. Under his influence the thirteenth century stressed the practical and legal side of rhetoric very heavily. His Rhetorica Novissima emphasized the practical tasks of the rhetorician and his connection with law. It also played down the usefulness of classical rhetorical precepts set forth by Alberic. He claimed that there were only three essential parts of a letter, the salutation, narration and petition. The rest were only secondary.[16]

The one aspect of Boncompagno's thought and work that is of particular interest to us is the fact that he singled out the school of Orleans for special censure because he felt that the masters of Orleans unduly imitated classical models.

Since this was in opposition to the theories he advocated, expounded and popularized, he described the educational theory of the school of Orleans on the Ars Dictaminis as "falsam et supersticiosam Aurelianensium doctrinam."[15]

Several impressions about Orleans emerge from Boncompagno's writings. One is that Orleans indisputably was the French center par excellence of the Ars Dictaminis. Another is the complete contrast in the methods of instruction utilized by the Italian and French masters. This was the very feature which inspired Boncompagno's jealousy.[16] Boncompagno did not believe in spending undue amounts of time in writing a letter. Nor did he believe in attempting to adorn the letter with picturesque phrases and citations from learned books. He believed that one should be able to write a letter correctly in an extemporaneous manner. In his opinion the proper models for good style were to be found in the papal curia or in the imperial chancery.

Other Italian masters as well frequently commented upon and compared the methods of Orleans with their own. A certain Florentine attributed to the masters of Orleans the invention of a particular style of cursus which he called the "stilum gallicum."[17] Thus the style of Orleans became synonymous with the style of France. As late as the fourteenth century at Padua, the merits of the different schools of rhetoric and dictamen were discussed as is indicated by a

work of Bene of Bologna entitled "Summa Super Stylo Dictaminis Aurelianensi Videlicet Tulliano ac Romanae Curiae Potissimi."[18]

Like Boncompagno and the Italians, the dictatores of Orleans stressed the practical nature of the Ars Dictaminis. They envisioned it as a distinct field of professional knowledge which offered the hope of a successful and lucrative career. There was, however, a different outlook as to how one should approach mastery of the subject. For Boncompagno and the Italians, the course consisted of a study of documents. For the masters of Orleans the classical authors held the key.[20]

There were even distinct differences between the Ars Dictaminis that was taught at Paris and that which was taught at Orleans. The practical purpose of training students directly for positions in the chanceries was always uppermost in the minds of the dictatores at Orleans. In comparison, the Ars Dictaminis was a distinct and important branch of learning and specialization at Orleans at a time when at Paris, John of Garland was teaching dictamen in prose and verse as a mere adjunct to grammar and rhetoric.[21]

A second distinction between the various types of teaching offered at Paris and Orleans is evident in the various instructional manuals emanating from the two areas. The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland treats the Ars Dictamin-

is in its three-fold division, but none of the manuals emanating from the Loire Valley treat it in this way.[22]

Many of the manuals of the epistolary art were written at Orleans toward the beginning of the thirteenth century.[23] The majority of them conclude that there were two types of dictamen. Such an example is the Summa Dictaminis of Orleans, a composition of the late twelfth century, which is indicative of the style of Orleans.[24] It was an anonymous composition and the briefest textbook on dictamen that is extant. Its cursory character seems to indicate that at Orleans more attention was paid to the classical idea of rhetoric, that is, the reading of the ancient rhetoricians and historians than to the medieval study of dictamen and epistles.

The work commences with the very logical statement that since its purpose is to treat the ars dictaminis, dictamen must first be defined. Dictamen is thus defined as "Literalis edicio, venustate sermonum egregia, sententiarum coloribus adornata."[25] The author continued, enumerating the different kinds of dictamen that exist, metricum and prosaicum. The treatise, however, did not discuss the metric kind. The author elaborated that there were three kinds of prosaic dictamen, oracio, rethorica and epistola, and added "et etiam pretermissis aliis de epistola agamus." [26]

The lengthiest discussion in the treatise concerned

letters and the various parts of which they were composed. The author agreed with Alberic, it should be noted, in that there were five parts of a letter: salutation, exordium, narration, petition and conclusion. He discussed each of these parts in full detail. The salutation was the most regulated of the parts for there were different greetings to be utilized for different occasions and situations depending upon who was sending the letter to whom. For example, the pope might send a letter to an ecclesiastic or to a member of the laity. In the same way an ecclesiastic or royal figure might write to the pope. There was an appropriate salutation for each of these circumstances.[27] The author then systematically but briefly treated the other four parts of a letter. After these necessary components were described the author also mentioned the various changes and privileges which could affect the form of a letter. He then concluded stating that this was the information necessary concerning dictamen.[28]

Perhaps the most famous dictator to have been associated with the teaching of the Ars Dictaminis at Orleans was Ponce of Provence. Ponce who also taught at Toulouse and Montpellier, arrived at Orleans about 1250 with a noble promise. He claimed he would pass by the fables of the authors and lead his students directly to that pearl of knowledge, the Ars Dictaminis.[29] Like many of his counter-

parts in the field, Ponce claimed that all who wished to become the best possible dictatores in the least possible time should come to him as he held the keys to the science. He apparently had been inspired by the Italian school and brought its influence more directly to bear on the school of Orleans.[30] It is also quite possible that Laurentius of Aquilea also taught at Orleans.[31]

There is still much to be discovered regarding the exact status of the Ars Dictaminis at Orleans. Important questions immediately come to mind. For example, what was the exact status of the Ars Dictaminis at Orleans? Once again the statutes are silent, and there is not the same abundance of information that has so greatly enlightened the Italian situation. We have very little detailed information pertaining to the courses themselves and to whether those teaching the Ars Dictaminis formed a distinct faculty or not. It would seem, as Dorothy Mackay Quynn maintained, that these teachers were not regent masters and that they had no real university status.[32] That at least is the impression one receives considering those who taught at Orleans such as Ponce of Provence who typifies the itinerant dictator.

There have been many others, however, who have classified those who taught the Ars Dictaminis at Orleans as the grammarians, and this is very much possible. One of the

first scholars to come to this conclusion was Thurot. Basing his conclusions on the fact that twelfth century manuals of the art have been uncovered which have treatises of grammar and versification attached to them, Thurot stated that the Ars Dictaminis was taught by the grammarians at Orleans.[33] More recently, J.J. Murphy wrote in his study on rhetoric in the Middle Ages that the French absorbed dictamen into the grammar curriculum.[34] Certainly this is a question well worth keeping in mind, even though it is quite possible that we shall perhaps never have an answer to it.

Unfortunately there also are no records which indicate how extensively the Ars Dictaminis was studied at Orleans. It seems that shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century, the Ars Dictaminis suffered the same decline that befell it in Italy. As law grew in importance, the art of letter writing seems to have declined at Orleans. By the early fourteenth century when the Formulary of Treguier was compiled, the art was not even referred to. This was an amazing reversal for a subject which for a short time enjoyed such an immense popularity that even students of theology were willing to put aside their callings in order to pursue it.[35] Without question, the art was much more important during the reign of Philip Augustus than it was in that of Philip the Fair.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1]C.S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric, p. 216 defines dictamen as "apt and elegant writing inseparable from subject matter, depending on native ability, teaching, and practice, using to some extent all five traditional parts of rhetoric, but mainly style."

[2]Ibid.

[3]J.J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages(Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1974), p. 3.

[4]Alberic of Monte Cassino, Flores Rhetorici, ed. D.M. Inquanez and H.M. Willard, Misc. Cassine, 14(1938). The work was also called Radium Dictaminis.

[5]See L. Rockinger, Briefsteller und Formelbücher des Elften bis Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts. 2 vols. NY: B. Franklin, 1961, for a discussion and excerpts of the works of these authors on the Ars Dictaminis.

[6]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 73.

[7]Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[8]Ibid., p. 91. Ponce de Provence taught the subject at both of these universities before he came to Orleans. See L. Delisle, "Note sur le dictamen de Poncius Provencialis," BSAHO, IV(1862-67), pp. 42-44. Also XIV, p. 410, n.1.

[9]Ernst Kantorowicz, "Anonymi 'Auria Gemma,'" Medievalia et Humanistica, I(1943), pp. 41-57.

[10]J. Siegel, Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 210.

[11]Quoted by C.S. Baldwin, p. 220.

[12]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 76.

[13]Henri d'Andeli, ed. L.J. Paetow, p. 24.

[14]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 78. In response to the criticism that he taught contrary to the teachings of the ancients, Boncompagno argued that the ancients taught superfluous and harmful things. Sutter, Aus Leben und Schriften, IV, p. 52 and 109.

[15]H. Wieruszowski, "Rhetoric and the Classics in Italian Education of the Thirteenth Century," Studia Gratiana, XI(1967), p. 176, n. 9. Wieruszowski expressed the belief that this aspect of Buoncompagno's thinking was probably blown out of its proper proportion. She asserted that Boncompagno himself showed a fair degree of familiarity with many classical writers, for example, Livy, Cicero, Sallust, Pliny and Josephus. He also apparently knew Ovid, Vergil, Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Priscian, and Cassiodorus. See also Nancy G. Siraisi, Arts and Sciences at Padua, The Studium of Padua before 1350(Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), pp. 38-39, where the author points out that one of Boncompagno's students, Rolandino of Padua, obtained from Boncompagno 'sciencia litterale' and not legal training. Rolandino's own writings also show considerable knowledge of some classical authors.

[16]An interesting incident which typified the jealousy between the two schools can be found in Sutter, Aus Leben und Schriften, pp. 42-45. Boncompagno related that he wrote a fictitious letter to the masters and scholars of Bologna which purportedly was sent by a certain Frenchman named Robert. In the letter Robert challenged Boncompagno to a public debate on the value of their respective methods in the ars dictaminis. The very idea of the debate generated a great deal of excitement. On the designated date the whole university assembled. The enemies of Boncompagno were particularly numerous since they were certain that the self-centered teacher would be defeated. Boncompagno arrived and took his seat. The crowd waited and waited, and when they finally gave up hope that Robert would appear, Boncompagno announced that it was all a joke, that he had outwitted them since it was he who was the author of the letter.

[17]Charles Thurot, Notices et extraits de divers MSS latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge, XXII, pt II(1868), p. 483: "Artificialis est illa compositio que lepidam orationem reddit, quia dictiones quadam equabili ordinatione concinnat. Sed hoc aliter ab Aurelianensibus, aliter a fonte latinitatis Tullio, aliter a Sede apostolica observatur. Aurelianenses enim ordinant dictiones per ymaginarios dactilos et spondeos. Tullius per singulorum pedum artificium tradit hanc doctrinam. Unde sine lege metrica stilum eius non potest aliquis observare. Nos vero secundum auctoritatem romane curie procedemus, quia stilus eius cunctis planior invenitur."

[18]Siraisi, p. 38, n.28.

[19]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 79.

[20]Wieruszowski, p. 104 shows the transition that took place in the trivium at Bologna. The masters there emphatically asserted that rhetoric held the ghighest place in the trivium. She was the queen of the sciences to be identified with the 'sciencia litteralis' itself. It seems quite apparent that the study of the Latin authors had been replaced by the more practical study of Latin with emphasis on dictamen and rhetorical doctrine and was required by the faculty of law. Grammar was taught but merely as a preparation for dictamen and the understanding of the Latin manuals. Few if any authors were read, Wieruszowski asserts.

[21]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 88.

[22]Ibid.

[23]The work in which one finds the most information on the Orleans formularies is that of M.N. Valois, De Arte Scribendi Epistolas Apud Gallicos Medii Aevi Scriptores (Paris: 1880).

[24]Rockinger, pp. 103-114.

[25]Ibid., p. 103.

[26]Rockinger, p. 103.

[27]Ibid., pp. 103-108.

[28]Ibid., pp. 109-114: "De diminucione, de conmutacione, de privilegiis domini pape, privilegium inperatoris, de privilegio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum privilegium saeculare." The author concludes, "et hec sufficiant de dictamine dicendo."

[29]Thurot, XXII, pt 2, p. 39: "Incipiunt dictamina magistri Poncii. Universis scolaribus qui decorari cupiunt epistolaris dictaminis scientia gloriosa P. Magister in dictamine salutem et neglectis actorum fabulis ad margaritam dictaminis properare."

[30]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 90.

[31]C.H. Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by Their Letters," American Historical Review, III(1898), p. 208.

[32]Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "The Medieval Extracurriculum, The Orleans Example," The Mississippi Quarterly, (1961), p. 121.

[33]Thurot, Notices et Extraits, XXII, p. 91.

[34]J.J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages(Berkeley: 1974), is an excellent survey. In Italy the Ars Dictaminis was replaced by the Ars Notaria which became a distinct faculty. According to Sarti, I, 505, there were regular graduations in notaria. In the days of Odofredus the notaries formed a guild and instruction in notaria included the elements of law, in particular the Institutes.

[35]Paetow, Arts Course..., p. 29.

CHAPTER V

THE EMERGENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY AND LEGAL STUDIES

In addition to being a famous center of literary studies, Orleans also acquired an illustrious reputation as a center of legal studies, particularly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The law school at Orleans developed in line with the growth in popularity among students of the more lucrative subjects of study, notably law and medicine. Because of this powerful trend which characterized the university milieu throughout Europe, the law school at Orleans seemed to have totally eclipsed the literary center at Orleans in fame, at least in the popular imagination. By the end of the thirteenth century, the school at Orleans was called principally a law school, although the practice of the other arts did not disappear entirely.

To a very great extent, Orleans was a unique and privileged institution. The one characteristic that made it so different was the fact that a student could pursue courses in either civil or canon law there, a feature not

at all common among French universities.[1] As a result of this unique opportunity, the professors who taught at Orleans came to exemplify the lucrative nature of the law degree as well as the mobility that a legal career could provide. Many of these men moved on from post to post, often ultimately assuming high government or church positions by the end of their careers. For example, Pierre de Belleperche became Chancellor of France under Philip IV; Peter Peregrossi advanced in the Roman Curia and ultimately became a cardinal, and Simon Paris, another professor, became Chancellor of Naples after he entered the service of Charles of Anjou.

One of the most influential factors affecting the rise and growth of the university of law at Orleans was the prohibition by Pope Honorius III in 1219 which forbade the teaching of civil law at Paris.[2] The motivation behind the decree, of course, has perplexed scholars over the years. The Bull itself, called Super Speculum, declared its object to be the promotion of the study of theology. From the papal point of view, it was naturally highly desirable that the chief university of France, the University of Paris, above all others should be a stronghold of the church devoted solely to the study of the arts and theology. The University of Paris was given a sort of monopoly of this branch of higher learning and was thus

made the school of theology par excellence by Honorius' prohibition.

The decree Super Speculum, in fact, supported Robert de Courson's program of study for Paris.[3] In the bull the pope renewed the prohibition of law and medicine to monks and confirmed Robert's extension of this restriction to clerics with ecclesiastical responsibilities. It was customary at this time for ecclesiastical superiors to forbid their clergy to study civil law. In this sense, the decree Super Speculum was an act of ecclesiastical reform aimed at preventing the disorganization of the Church by clerics abandoning their professional duties in order to follow the obviously more lucrative career in law. Very often, however, such prohibitions as this were rendered entirely inoperative by wholesale dispensations.[4]

While the explicit motive and the principal theme of the bull Super Speculum may have been the promotion of theological studies, the implications of the decree in the political sphere however, are not difficult to see. The Pope connected the local prohibition with the fact that the laity of the Isle de France and elsewhere was not served by Roman law. Many scholars, therefore, have seen the un-- expressed motive behind the ban as papal support for the independence of the French king against the imperial pretensions of the German Emperor whose powers were founded

on Roman law. Fawtier even went so far as to state that Honorius issued the bull at the request of Philip Augustus as a precaution so that the Emperor and his supporters would not claim that the regnum Francorum was part of their new Roman Empire simply because the Civil Law was in use in some parts of France.[5] On a wide scale, we may also see a manifestation of the perennial papal design to deprive the Roman civil law of its universal character. The decree formed an important link in the deployment of papal arguments which were to weaken the cause of the empire and strengthen its own cause. Innocent IV, perhaps the foremost political pope of the Middle Ages, also recognized in the study of the laws a continual threat to the advancement of papal aims.[6] It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1253, he extended the earlier prohibition of Honorius to England, Scotland, Spain, Hungary, and the whole of medieval France.[7] The policy of the church in this matter was simply a natural and necessary phase of the ancient antagonism between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. The total exclusion of Roman law at Paris was simply a manifestation of this policy.

Many writers, of course, have denounced the policy of the Church as intolerant and bigoted. Some however, like Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century and Richard de Bury in the fourteenth, complained that the prohibition was not

stringent enough.[8] Their assertion was that the study of Roman law made men friends of the world and enemies of God.[9] There was actually a great feeling of resentment against the lawyers at this time, and it was much more common than has been presumed. One of the many criticisms against them was that they were inspired simply by love of money or profit.[10] The principal critics of the lawyers were the theologians, who, it is amusing to note, also accused the lawyers of laziness since the legal lectures were not as early in the morning as the theological lectures.[11]

Regardless of the motivation behind the bull Super Speculum, its impact upon Orleans was tremendous. Whatever connection legal studies had with Orleans prior to this time, the Bull gave great impetus to the schools of law at Orleans. Not only did the prohibition react unfavorably upon the study of civil law at Paris, but it is also quite possible that there was a migration from Paris to Orleans by those who still wished to study and pursue careers in civil law. The proximity of the two areas would tend to suggest that this occurrence was just as likely to happen at that time as it was in 1230 when such a migration in fact did take place.[12]

Roman law was as much a heritage of the ancient world as were the Greek and Roman belles-lettres. At least some

rudiments of law were everywhere taught in the schools of the liberal arts by the masters of these arts. The old division of rhetoric into three branches, demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial, allowed the introduction of legal studies under the last mentioned category without requiring the addition of a new art to the sacred seven. As Rashdall pointed out, "when we remember the enormous proportion of the intellectual energy of Europe which had been concentrated in the study of law during the latter days of the Roman Empire, it would have been antecedently probable that wherever any education at all survived, some elementary instruction in law would have formed part of the education."[13] There were, as a matter of fact, many distinct traces of the continuance of legal instruction in the schools of the period called the "Dark Ages" throughout Europe.

Roman Law persisted in practice throughout the momentous vicissitudes of the centuries after Justinian and neither territorial conquests nor the development and eventual supremacy of the feudal system could crush it out. Just as an example, there is ample evidence of the universality of the practice of learning law at school in the citations and accumulations of passages quoted by such highly reputable scholars as Savigny, Ozanam, Fitting and others.[14] If there does not seem to be enough information to document completely the existence of Roman law's study

throughout this period, it is only because of the complete amalgamation of the study of law with the ordinary curriculum of education. Although it might have been debased, adulterated or garbled, Roman law survived even though it was confined mainly to the schools of clerical and monastic orders where it was treated as a mere supplement or adjunct to the study of rhetoric.[15]

With regard to Orleans and the actual instruction in law, the question is just as moot. H.O. Taylor maintained that there was no time when instruction in Roman law could not be obtained somewhere in Western Europe. As specific instances of this, he cited Narbonne where he said Roman law was taught very early, and to further substantiate his argument, he pointed to Orleans where he maintained law was taught from the time of Theodulf.[16] Many scholars, in fact, a majority of scholars, concurred in the view that the study of law at Orleans preceded the establishment of the university in 1306 by centuries.[17] Savigny expressed the opinion that in the early history of Orleans, a school, and without doubt a school of law, was in existence.[18] Fournier, the editor of the university statutes of Orleans, very emphatically stressed that the study of law antedated the documentary material that has come down to us on the university. So adamant was Fournier that Orleans was the foremost legal university of Europe that he went on to add

that the French law school was created before Bologna itself became an important center of law. He further stipulated that it was the French professors who were an inspiration to the Bolognese masters.[19] He displayed such fierce loyalty to his subject that he could quite easily and fittingly be called an exaggerator, which is exactly the term that he applied to Savigny. Fitting, another noted legal historian, asserted also that there was good reason to believe that law was taught there as far back as the ninth century.[20]

When we turn to those authors who have primarily or exclusively devoted their scholarly attention to the subject of Orleans, however, there is not the same consensus of opinion. Bimbenet, the historian who gave us the only history of the University of Law at Orleans, maintained that there was no trace of legal studies at Orleans in the early period.[21] Even Meijers, the most recent author to devote his research to the study of law in the Middle Ages, and in particular at Orleans, felt that it was impossible to speak of any serious study of law at Orleans before the twelfth century.[22] One would have to concur with these assessments, for essentially it is only the appearance of proof that the other authors point to. Without a doubt, the germ or seed of teaching civil and canon law existed as part of the instruction given in the episcopal and cathedral schools of the region which so clear-

ly fostered rhetorical and grammatical instruction, but certainly there was no distinct field of study or knowledge which could be called law.

While the study of law may have existed at Orleans in an embryonic sense, the first documentary evidence that makes mention in a specific and concrete way of there being a school of law at Orleans is a bull of Gregory IX, dated January 17, 1235.[23] Apparently some question had arisen as to whether both civil and canon law could be taught at Orleans. Perhaps the memory of the bull Super Speculum was still fresh. At any rate, the pope was appealed to in order to clarify this confusing situation, and he confirmed that both laws could be taught at Orleans. The earlier prohibition did not apply to this center of learning. There is evidence which also serves to substantiate this date as the significant and crucial turning point in the growth of the university's law school. A letter from Pierre de la Chapelle to Michael Maucondit, then professor of law at Orleans, indicated that law dated from around this time and mentioned some of the key individuals who were teaching there at that time.[24]

The growth of the law school was enormously rapid in the first years of its existence. This is a certain fact. Among the factors which contributed to this rapid and unprecedented growth were the special qualities of the first

professors who taught there. Unrecognized in Bimbenet's treatment of the law school, they merit attention because their achievements were so great in contributing to Orleans' growth and fame. Many of them had studied at Bologna before coming to Orleans to teach. The majority of them dedicated ten or twenty years to teaching before moving on to government or ecclesiastical careers. They typify to a great extent the financial rewards and the mobility that made the legal profession one of the most sought after in this period. Many of these professors also wrote legal tracts or treatises, most of them dating from the period during which they were engaged in teaching at Orleans. These tracts reflect the type of teaching that was in vogue at Orleans, the topics that were of particular interest there, and help to differentiate its mode of teaching and thought from that of other law schools. In addition, these men also played a very valuable role in helping to organize the school's administration, so that by 1306 when a papal bull finally confirmed the existence of the university, it was merely an act of recognition, and certainly not an act of creation.

The following represent the professors who were most instrumental in building and adding to the reputation of the law school, that was in the process of formation in this crucial period in the history of the University of Orleans.

PETER PEREGROSSI. Like many of his colleagues at Orleans, he was a former student of the school at Bologna where he studied under Odofredus.[25] After completing his studies at Bologna, Peter came to Orleans to teach. Although it is not certain how long he taught at Orleans, it is estimated that his teaching career spanned not more than fifteen years. His teaching post served as a stepping stone toward high ecclesiastical honors. About 1273 he was a canon of Notre Dame in Paris. The next year he became active in the Roman Curia, and from March 1277 to 1288 he was its vice chancellor. In 1288 he was appointed a cardinal by the Pope.[26]

During his teaching career, Peter Peregrossi composed three works which have come down to us. The most important work was a commentary on the title of the Institutes, "De Actionibus," which is extant in only one manuscript (Paris, BN lat 4488). This work was referred to among the books of the stationarii of Bologna as "Lectura Domini Petri Grassi Super Actionibus."[27] Although the manuscript itself does not mention Peregrossi as the author, it has been substantiated from internal evidence that he was in fact the author of this work composed about 1260.[28] The work itself has been described as more elaborate and more thorough than other works of the period. It has also been characterized as a work belonging to the Bolognese school

because its treatment is typical of that school of thought and because it seems to lack all influence from the French milieu. The author in fact used as his primary sources the works of Azo, Placentius and the Glossa. But since the work was not known to the later Bolognese authors, and was in fact known by French jurists, it seems highly probable that it was written at Orleans.[29]

Another of Peregrossi's work that is also extant in but one manuscript(Paris BN lat 4489, ff. 102sq) is his Introduction to "Reading of the Digestum Vetus." Although Savigny erroneously attributed the work to Odofredus,[30] Meijers showed that it properly belonged in the collection of Peregrossi's works.[31] The third extant treatise of Peregrossi's bears the title De Primo et Secundo Decreto. It is included in the Tractatus Universi Juris published in Venice in 1584. Once again, even though Peregrossi revealed himself as the author in the opening sentence, the work was also erroneously ascribed to another author.[32]

SIMON OF PARIS. Simon of Paris also studied law at Bologna, but his master there is not known to us. After attaining his doctor's degree, he became affiliated with the university of Orleans where he taught until about 1260. He gave up his teaching position, however, along with several other faculty members, due to an incident in one of the town and gown controversies that marked Orleans' history just as

they characterized the histories of other universities like Paris and Oxford. This particular incident concerned the right to fix rents.[33] Simon subsequently went on to Paris to study canon law. In 1272 he entered the permanent service of Charles of Anjou and he was promoted to the chancellorship of the Kingdom of Sicily as successor of Geoffrey of Beaumont. As Chancellor he thereby served as rector of the University of Naples. While serving in this capacity, he addressed an invitation to the students and professors at Orleans to come to Naples. Shortly after assuming the chancellorship of Naples, Simon fell ill, and he died a short time later in April, 1273.[34]

As an author, Simon composed a procedural dissertation entitled "Argumenta et Solutiones contra Procuratorium," a work extant in one manuscript, Paris BN lat 4489, f. 100. From the contents of the treatise, it is certain that the work was composed at Orleans. The opinions set forth in it were later quoted by Jacques de Revigny and later authors.[35]

JEAN DE MONCHY. Jean de Monchy was undoubtedly the professor who was the most highly esteemed among contemporaries. He was probably the master of Pierre de la Chapelle and was certainly the master of Jacques de Revigny. He also enjoyed an important ecclesiastical career. In 1263 he was in Rome and bore the title papal chaplain. He was also canon of the cathedral at Orleans, canon of the church of

St Aignan, which was also located in Orleans, canon of the church at Bayeux and probably also at Amiens.[36] The registers of Pope Urban IV for the year 1263 give testimony to the high regard Jean de Monchy enjoyed from the pope who was also a Frenchman. In 1263 the pope also conferred upon him the canonship with a prebend in Notre Dame at Paris.[37] Jean also seems to have continued his studies at the University of Paris.[38] On occasion he served as a mediator for the pope in his negotiations with Charles of Anjou concerning Sicily's crown. When Charles of Anjou accepted the crown, Jean de Monchy signed the official documents.[39]

In 1264 Jean de Monchy was at Rome acting as lawyer on behalf of John de Courtenay whose election as archbishop of Rheims was being contested. Jean was successful in the representation of his client. And this apparently was his last opportunity to act in a legal defense, for it is believed that he died shortly after this since there is no further mention of him in any documents.[40]

Through his teaching and through his students, Jean de Monchy enjoyed enormous influence in the development of French law. Yet he did not leave any writings to posterity. Presumably he never wrote, and unfortunately only some of his glosses were recorded by his students. Many of his teachings, however, have been handed down to us by Jacques

de Revigny. Wherever Revigny refers to his dominus, it is always Jean de Monchy who is meant.[41] The quotations by Jacques de Revigny allow us to determine the influence which de Monchy enjoyed in the development of the law school at Orleans. His role in this was evidently very great. In his teaching many of the characteristics by which the school at Orleans stood out were to be found: above all the preparation of Roman law for the new situation in harmony with the traditional customary law, and secondly, the many subtle arguments and distinctions that were so prevalent in the works that emanated from this center of legal instruction.[42]

PIERRE D'AUXONNE. Pierre d'Auxonne apparently also studied at Bologna before he taught civil law at Orleans. He seems to have also broken contact with the law school at Orleans about the same time as Jean de Monchy and Simon of Paris, presumably also over the right to fix rents. The rest of his life was spent in England. In the year 1265 when Eleanor of Provence crossed over from France to England, Pierre d'Auxonne was in her train. Through Eleanor's influence, he received the rectorship of the church at Wimbledon. In 1268 he was an official of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and upon the Archbishop's death in 1270, he became the executor of his will. Pierre d'Auxonne died about 1272 as a man of means. He left no writings.[43]

FOULQUES DE LAON. Foulques taught at Orleans and then entered the royal service. From 1270 on he is mentioned as clericus legis in official documents. In the beginning of 1273, when complaints from the Count of Toulouse about the actions of the royal administrators reached Philip, the king sent Foulques along with Thomas of Paris in order to settle disputes.[44] In 1274, Foulques was active in an entirely different region. This time the king assigned him to a position as an advising jurist to Gaston de Bearn who was summoned to England to render account. During this stay in England, he probably received the rectorship of the Church at Ringwood in Hampshire. In a document of 1284, he is mentioned as deceased.[45]

During his career in royal service, Foulques was held in high esteem as is evident from the large salary which he received, 100 pounds tournois a year.[46] Foulques apparently did not write any legal tracts, and without the reference to him by Pierre de la Chapelle, it would not have been known that he was a professor of law at Orleans, since there is no mention of him in the official documents.[47]

GUICHARD DE LANGRES. Guichard de Langres taught at Orleans about the same time as Jean de Monchy. Everything else about him seems to be uncertain, including his name. He was called Quichard after the example of Jacques de Revigny in his lectures on the Digestum Vetus. Pierre de Belleperche,

however, and Cinus and other authors who followed Belleperche, always referred to him as Richardus Lingonensis. Pierre de la Chapelle referred to him as Gaucherius de Lingonensi.[48]

PIERRE DE LA CHAPELLE. Pierre de la Chapelle was born in the diocese of Limoges and became a professor of civil law at Orleans where he earned a reputation for his knowledge and prudence. In 1291 he was called to govern the church at Carcassone. In 1298 Boniface VIII named him bishop of Toulouse. In 1302 he assisted at the Council of Rome and in 1305 he was named Cardinal by Clement V. He died in 1312. Manuscripts containing his work include Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. VI, sin. codex VI, containing his lectures on the Code; and Vatican, Borghese 277, which contains his repetition on the Digestum Vetus.[49]

LAMBERT DE SALINS. Lambert de Salins was another thirteenth century professor at Orleans. He was a disciple of Pierre de Belleperche and had an international reputation. One of his works, "Collection des Distinctiones super Codice et Digesto Vetere" was printed in Heidelberg in 1570 by Vitus Polantus, councillor to the Prince Elect Frederick III of the Palatinate, from a manuscript in Frederick's possession. A reprint of the work was issued in 1611 in Hanover entitled Quaestiones earumque distinctiones in libros Codicis domini Justiniani incerti authoris ex

Vetusto Manuscripto Exemplari Descriptae. Paris, BN lat 14328, gives a text of the Distinctiones of Lambert of Salins which appears to be the last work of the school of law at Orleans that was popular in Italy. Cinus,[50] Albericus de Rosate and Baldus made considerable use of it in their own works.[51]

MICHAEL MAUCONDIT. Michael Maucondit was an outstanding example of the lawyers who came into the royal government at the end of Philip the Fair's reign and served to the end of the Capetian dynasty. Born of a noble Norman family whose lands were located on the Channel coast between Fecamp and Dieppe, Michael in 1306 was a professor of law at Orleans.[52] One year earlier he had pleaded with Clement V to grant new privileges and immunities to the law school.[53] Like many other professors at Orleans, his teaching career preceded his entry into Capetian government. Michael Maucondit came to the service of Philip the Fair the moment that Nogaret and Plaisians passed from the scene. He entered the king's council immediately, and during the rest of the reign of Philip, he was present on the Council more often than anyone else. He also served Louis X.[54]

It is difficult, however, to describe his contributions to policy making or to the machinery of government during these years. By his very presence on the council, one must presume that he had influence on decisions of state. But his

career was quiet and uneventful. His ecclesiastical advancement also moved along unspectacular lines. He typified a lawyer of Philip V and Charles IV who after the great battles had been fought, dedicated himself to the calm and undisturbed administration of government. He died in 1328.[55]

JACQUES DE REVIGNY. Jacques de Revigny was foremost among the lawyers who taught at Orleans. He took his name from the small town in Lorraine where he was born about 1230 or 1240. He was an alumnus of the University of Orleans where his masters included Guichard de Langres and Jean de Monchy, his principal instructor.[56] Once he had completed his studies, he remained at Orleans to teach, a role he continued until the late 70's.

Jacques de Revigny's association with Orleans was important to the university in two ways. Academically speaking he was an instructor and educator whose association with the university served to add to its fame. Yet his importance to the university can also be measured by the contributions that he made to the institutional growth of the school. Skilled as a jurist, Jacques de Revigny applied the law of corporations to the existing situation at Orleans while he was there. It appears that as late as 1270-1280, the right of the university to elect a rector was a matter of dispute. This fact is made evident by the publication in Fournier's

Les statuts et privileges des universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789 of an extract of uncertain date from the LECTURAE of Jacques de Revigny.[57] In it Jacques de Revigny pointed out that the Parisian scholars elected their own rector and he added "we who are here at Orleans are not able to do this." And so the doctors who before this time probably had no head, attempted at Jacques de Revigny's behest to obtain the powers of an independent corporation. They were eventually successful in this ambition.[58]

By the late 70's, it is evident from the references made to Jacques de Revigny by Pierre de Belleperche that he was no longer at Orleans. It is thought that he went to Toulouse to teach after leaving Orleans. From his stay at Toulouse an interesting anecdote about his greatness was born. This added to the considerable reputation he already possessed and put him on a level of legendary proportions. A reflection of his reputation is the fact that he was known to contemporaries as the 'Great James.' According to the tale, Jacques de Revigny sat incognito among the students listening to a lecture that was being given at Toulouse by the noted legist Accursius. Objecting to some of the matter being presented, Jacques de Revigny spoke out and challenged Accursius. Accursius, however, was unable to meet the great master's objections and remained silent.

The two apparently were an unequal match.[59]

After teaching at Toulouse, Jacques de Revigny entered the ecclesiastical service and in 1289, he was elected bishop of Verdun. He seems, however, to have been in total and constant conflict with the burghers of Verdun, and these conflicts finally led him to travel to Rome in 1296. He died in the course of this journey.[60]

The works of Jacques de Revigny are both numerous and famous. Attributed to the period in which he was professor of civil law at Orleans, the works touch nearly every aspect of the civil law. Trithemius credited him with twenty-nine works on the Code, twenty-four on the Old Digest, and twelve on the New Digest.[61] Revigny is also believed to be the author of a dictionary of law entitled Lumen ad revelationem gentium.[62] It is unfortunate to note, however, that only fragments of Revigny's thought have survived to the present day, and these are in the form of three extant manuscripts and reproductions of his teaching by his own students, Pierre de Belleperche, Cinus, as well as citations in the works of other legists.

Everything extant of Revigny's work consists exclusively of lectures for his students. These were recorded by members of the classroom audience and are of great value since they treat every aspect of the civil law. The sequence in which the writings of Revigny originated is con-

nected with the way in which the professor of law at Orleans divided the subject matter.[63]

A) The Institutes: this work is probably the oldest of Revigny's writings. It is composed of lectures and repetitiones of different years. Hence all the extant texts are incomplete. Tourtoulon who edited the works of Jacques de Revigny knew only the text in the Paris manuscript, BN 14350, ff. 144-213. There is also Brussels MS 2710, ff. 45-88. This lecture was also printed, but is incomplete, in numerous editions. All of these are copies of one editio princeps, printed in folio in Milan in 1506. This composition is dated to about 1270.[64]

B) Digestum Vetus: so far only one copy is known of this lecture on the Digestum Vetus. It is the manuscript, traced by d'Aiblang, the Dutch legal historian, which presently belongs to the Leyden University Library.[65] This was the only text of the lecture in circulation.

C) CODEX: Revigny's commentary on the Code is undoubtedly his principal work. Only half of it is extant in a manuscript also discovered by d'Aiblang, BN 14350. In addition to this manuscript, there was a printed edition in 1519 bearing the title Petrus de Bella Perthica, Lectura Super Prima Parte Codicis et Super Secunda Parte Codicis. E.M. Meijers, the Dutch scholar, who as noted above, devoted most of his research and writing to the study of law at

the University of Orleans, however, found it apparent upon examining this work that it was not a composition by Pierre de Belleperche, but rather was one by Jacques de Revigny. The internal evidence made this fact apparent. In this particular work, Books II, III and IV are complete while Books I and V are incomplete.[66]

D) Digestum Novum: the lecture on the Digestum Novum has come down to us in only one copy in the same manuscript, Paris, BN 14350, ff. 1-143. It treats only books 39-41, 43 and 45 and most of these are incomplete. It is probably the material of one course. Both Pierre de Belleperche and Albericus de Rosate cite the lecture by de Revigny on Book 62 of the Digest.[67]

E) Authentica and Tres Libri: the lectures on the Authentica are cited once by Revigny himself, while treating a law from the Digestum Vetus. These lectures together with those on the last three books of the Code are preserved in one copy that is found in the National Library in Madrid(573).[68]

F) Infortiatum: Jacques de Revigny's lecture on the Infortiatum is lost entirely. The many quotations from it by Baldus, however, prove that it must have existed at one time. It has been conjectured that this was the last lecture that Jacques de Revigny gave.[69]

G) Summa de Feudis or Summa Feudorum: this Summa is extant in one copy in MS Parma 1227, and the work was edited and published by Corrado Pecorella in 1959. Tourtoulon said that Jacques de Revigny produced a work on feudal principles that was more comprehensive than Beaumanoir's work, Les coutumes de Beauvaisis.[70] Certainly one must concur with Tourtoulon in regard to the clarity of Revigny's method of exposition. Prior to 1100 feudalism was a dominant factor in the political life of Europe, but there were hardly any contemporary theoretical explanations or justifications of the fact. However, in the later stages of its existence feudalism was competing with and slowly losing ground to other types of political organization and many capable writers of the time attempted to explain how and why it functioned. The great law books of the thirteenth century, those of Bracton[71] and Beaumanoir, for example, fit the facts of feudalism in a much more organized and precise manner than was actually true in practice. In this category of Bracton and Beaumanoir may be said to fall the Summa Feudorum of Jacques de Revigny. The fact that feudal law was considered an important enough branch of law to warrant actual classroom instruction was another remarkable feature about Orleans.[72] Since the Libri Feudorum was considered the tenth section of the Authentica, one could suppose that the teaching of the Authentica and

Novels which was required of the bachelor in several statutes included the teaching of feudal law.

Albericus de Rosate also attributed the first dictionary of law to Jacques de Revigny. It is said to have been entitled Lumen ad revelationem gentium. Albericus gave the incipit of the work, but the work unfortunately has been lost in its entirety.[73] There are three manuscripts which contain the repetitions of Jacques de Revigny, as well as those of other authors. They are Bamberg 33, Paris, BN 4488, fol. 139-319, and Leipzig 921.[74]

Jacques de Revigny was also said to have been a professor of theology. A fifteenth century scholar Gian Battista Caccialupi referred to him in 1496 as "in theologia magister."[75] Trithemius, the German scholar, writing a short time later, in 1516, to be exact, referred to him in a similar manner as "Sacrae Paginae Professor."[76] Savigny chose to cite the reference in Il Diplovatazio, 1541, "fuit monachus niger ordinis S. Benedicti, et abbas, et fuit magnus philosophus, et erat magister in theologia antequam inciperet leges."[77] Meijers on the other hand chose to ignore the qualification "magister in theologia." He treated it merely as a legend that grew up because Jacques de Revigny referred to the opinions of theologians and more precisely to those of the Dominicans at Orleans.[78] The Italian scholar Domenico Maffei, most recently has

written that some credence should be given to the statements of Caccialupi and Diplovatazio because they made these statements in a manner of certitude, not in a manner of speculation. He further contends that in his work, Revigny manifested the knowledge and interest of a theologian in his writings and not in a way that could be called an occasional reference or illusion.[79]

PIERRE DE BELLEPERCHE. Pierre de Belleperche was one of the most illustrious lawyers of his time, certainly the only contemporary who could rival Jacques de Revigny in fame. There is uncertainty surrounding his place of birth, although it is thought that he was the son of a noble family residing in the Bourbonnais.[80] He taught at Orleans some time between 1280 and 1295; about 1296 he entered government service. In 1306 he became Bishop of Auxerre and Chancellor of France. He died the very next year.[81]

As a councilor of the king, Belleperche became immersed in a variety of administrative and ambassadorial assignments, performing the same sort of tasks required of Flote, Nogaret and Plaisians. In one year alone he helped with the Exchequer business at Rouen, made a trip to Arras, advised the king at Saint Germain en Laye, attended royal cases at Troyes and went on an embassy to England. When not on the road he was occupied with the work of the Parlement in Paris. For an unspecified period toward the end of his career he

performed the duties of chancellor. It is impossible to assess the role of Belleperche in Capetian government. He counseled the king during his difficulties with Boniface and was a member of the group that included Pierre de Mornay, Flote, Aicelin and which was closest to Philip the Fair at the turn of the century.[82]

Pierre de Belleperche was one of the few lawyers of the last Capetians who wrote formal law tracts and commentaries. Meijers found two manuscripts which previously had not been known or recognized as the work of Pierre de Belleperche. The MS Plut. VI sin. cod. VI of the Bibl. Laurenziana in Florence contains his lectures on the Code. Unfortunately the fifth book is missing and the ninth book is incomplete. A Vatican manuscript, Borghese 277, also contains part of a work by Belleperche, Repetitions on the text of the Digestum Vetus. It contains 81 repetitions, only 7 of which are found elsewhere. This would bring the number of repetitions on the Digestum Vetus up to 102.[83] Belleperche's lessons on the Institutes, De Actionibus, were written down by an English student.[84] Another of his works, Tractatus de Feudis, was published in 1584. Apparently a great deal of Belleperche's thought can be gleaned from the compositions of Bartolus.[85] Baldus reproached Bartolus for having borrowed a great deal from Belleperche without having cited him as his source.[86]

These were the teachers whose roles at Orleans were most important in this early formative period. As the reputation of most schools depends to a large extent upon the fame and scholarly attainment and reputation of its faculty, even to this day, they are worthy of mention in this chapter. They are the heretofore unknown or unrecognized heroes who helped create a famous university. As a result of their contribution, the university would be officially recognized, the rules and regulations of its governance would be formalized and written down, and the required courses of study would also be formulated.

In 1306 a series of bulls was issued by Clement V who himself had once been a student at Orleans. These recognized the University of Orleans after the manner of the University of Toulouse. Clement conferred upon the doctors some of the rights that hitherto had been monopolized by the scholasticus, for example, the right of making statutes for certain purposes, the right of electing a rector, and all privileges enjoyed by the University of Toulouse.[87] At the same time, the prison of the scholasticus was abolished and his jurisdiction was transferred to the bishop.

The constitution of the university exhibited a remarkable compromise between the rival types of Paris and Bologna. Before the papal bull of incorporation, the

scholasticus of Orleans, like the chancellor at Oxford, occupied a double position as the bishop's representative and at the same time as head of the magisterial guild. After the final establishment of a rectorship, the scholasticus receded into the position of the Parisian chancellor and the rector became the head of the university proper. From this time the ordinary affairs of the university were administered by a college consisting of the doctors ordinary and the ten proctors of the student nations. This was indeed a compromise situation, for prior to this agreement being reached, both the bishop of Orleans and the scholasticus of the cathedral claimed the same control over the law schools that they had wielded over the old grammar schools. Although the bull of 1306 seemed to confer power only on the masters, the practice of Toulouse was that the students should enjoy at least a nominal participation in the government of the studium. Accordingly we find the statutes enacted by the rector, the doctors and the proctors of the ten nations, the latter being students and elected by the students.[88]

There were many difficulties associated with regularising the body of rules which would organize university administration. The history of the University of Orleans was marked by many conflicts between the citizens of the town and those associated with the university. The year

1309 was marked by quarrels with the town. The trouble continued and in 1312 both the university and the nations were suppressed by Philip the Fair. Only the masters might meet at the summons of their dean to make necessary regulations, and these only for the most strictly scholastic purposes.[89] The king, however, did try to compensate the scholars for the loss of their university rights by handing them over to the protection or surveillance of the bailliff and provost of Orleans. The provost was made the conservator of whichever privileges the king chose to recognize.[90]

Conflict persisted and peace seemed unattainable. Finally in 1316, one of the students was insulted by an inhabitant of the town, and the bailliff of Orleans, Simon de Montigny, was not able to satisfy the student body in making redress for the offense. The whole body bound themselves by an oath to leave the town if their demands were not acceded to by a particular deadline. The threat was executed, all lectures ceased, and the masters and scholars migrated to Nevers, in Burgundian territory.[91]

The consent of the town of Nevers was obtained only by a renunciation of most of the university privileges. Conditions were not any better at Nevers and ultimately the settlement there ended in a bloody riot during which the citizens of the town, antagonized by the scholars, expelled them from the town by force, pitching the doctors' cathedrae

into the river so that it would float back to Orleans.[92] It was a very colorful incident to be sure. The mob had been made even more fervent by the promise of forty days indulgence if they achieved the desired effect, removal of the scholars from the town of Nevers.[93]

John XXII, also an alumnus of Orleans, intervened in this difficulty, and a compromise was arranged in 1320 with Philip V. By the Pope's mediation it was arranged that the university should never interfere as a corporation in disputes between a private citizen and an individual scholar.[94] These terms were accepted by the town and enforced by a royal edict in 1320 after which the scholars returned to Orleans. After this period of difficulties, some semblance of tranquility was maintained.

There were ten nations at Orleans: France, Germany, Lorraine, Burgundy, Champagne, Picardy, Normandy, Touraine, Aquitaine, and Scotland, and they played a more important role than their peers at Bologna, or Montpellier, for example.[95] The nations at Orleans were composed of "suppositi" or non-graduate members of the university who through their proctors, who were also students, assisted in the enacting of statutes with the rector and the doctors.[96] The rector was elected four times a year. The bachelors in the nations took oaths of obedience to both the proctor of the nation and the rector of the university. The rector

presided over the congregations of the university in which were discussed and resolved such questions as the payments to be made for university lectures, the subjects of examinations for the baccalaureate, the courses to be given and the times for vacations, the length of time for study, and the general requirements for the degrees. Decisions were made by a majority vote of those present.[97] With the passage of time the statutes became more specific regarding the subjects to be taught. The qualifications for a degree in law stipulated a five year course of study in the Digest, the Institutes, three books of the Code, and the book of Authentica besides certain portions of canon law. The minimum attendance required was three days weekly during eight months of each year.[98] As the fourteenth century progressed, the ten nations appear to have gained in power. Among the most cherished of the rights was that of bearing arms.

In the sixteenth century, in 1538 to be exact, the ten nations of Orleans were reduced to four. This was done by royal edict, and as a result, the nations of Aquitaine, Touraine, and Burgundy became part of the French nation. Champagne and Picardy had already been joined together as a single nation by a decree of Parlement in 1512. The nation of Lorraine was united with the German nation. Finally the English, Scotch and the students from Northern Europe

were joined with the Norman nation. In name at least, the nations came close to resembling those at Paris.[99]

As a university of law, Orleans ranked as an equal of its Italian counterpart, Bologna. The two universities were of such vast importance that it seemed a natural question to ask what characteristics they shared in common, what characteristics differentiated them. One of the scholars who addressed himself to this very question was Marcel Fournier.[100] Among the different tendencies that Fournier found between them was a difference in the actual purpose or aim of instruction in law. The Bolognese school desired to restore Roman law to a pure form. It was this purpose that gave birth to a true scientific current in creating an ideal jurisprudence.

On the other hand, Orleans perpetuated the tendencies of the preglossators by seeking to amalgamate Roman law with the actual law in force without losing sight of the practical nature of the study. It aimed to create a current of fusion of the different legislations, customary and Roman. This would have very important consequence on the French monarchy whose king contemporaneously was becoming emperor in his own realm.[101]

This fact obviously raises another important question. Can it be said that the law school at Orleans developed in line with the French monarchy? One could forcefully argue

that the law school at Orleans achieved splendid heights while the French monarchy was at work to realize its own political plan. Secondly it hardly seems accidental that the creative impact of the school stopped when the high design of the French monarchy was abandoned.[102]

The war of rational law against irrational feudal custom, which the Capetian lawyers fought, was a war of new ideas against ancient usage. This war reached new heights in the thirteenth century when the study of Roman law was introduced to France and an entirely new class of jurisconsults and political men entered the royal service and began this very battle. During the reign of Philip the Fair, the grand program of rolling back feudal pretensions and strengthening royal power entered a new phase wherein license replaced restraint. Once again we revert to the basic question asked by Charles Victor Langlois at the beginning of this century. Was the monarch or were his ministers responsible for the policies which made his reign the most unusual and perhaps the most violent of medieval Europe?[103]

The development and rapid growth of the University of Orleans also had important consequences upon the University of Bologna in the sense that it was no longer necessary for French students to travel to Italy for legal instruction. They could stay in France and receive excellent legal train-

ing at Orleans. As a result, there was a very decided drop in ultramontane enrollment at Bologna. Not only did French students discontinue crossing the Alps but other European students, particularly the Germans and Bohemians, stopped as well, and there were large concentrations of these groups at Orleans.[104]

As law became increasingly popular as a course of study, certain changes in faculty and student body also began to be noticed. A much sharper distinction arose between students and teachers of law and students and teachers of other studies. The law doctor rose to a position of marked superiority to that of all other masters. There were changes in the student body as well. There grew up a class of students who were older and more independent than the students of the earlier Middle Ages. These changes were necessitated by the fact that if the whole Corpus Iuris was to be taught, it required the undivided attention of its students. Such a vast and technical subject could not be ventured into until the basics of education had already been mastered.[105] This transition is most particularly evident at Orleans where the German students abounded. An older group of scholars, they were also vastly wealthier, so well off, in fact, that many of them came to Orleans with their servants and domestics.[106]

There are certain legal works or compositions that are

associated with the University of Orleans. These include the Glossa Aurelianensis, Le Livre de Justice et de Plet, which supposedly had a profound impact upon the codification of French law in the Middle Ages, Les Etablissements de Saint Louis, and the Brachylogus. These works were associated with the period of growth of the Law School at Orleans, and they were all well known but anonymous compositions.

The first of the above named works, the Glossa Aurelianensis, was not a particular apparatus of glosses that would have taken shape independent of the Bolognese apparatus. The frequently mentioned expression "Haec est glossa Aurelianensis, quae destruit textum" refers only to particular opinions which were developed by the Orleans' professors in their lectures and not to a real apparatus of glosses. The expression first appeared in the work of Jacques de Revigny.[107] From the context it is clear that the remark was ironically intended; it probably was a reflection of a remark made by an Italian jurist at Orleans who thereby wanted to discard an interpretation of the local jurists. The same expression was then borrowed from de Revigny by later authors such as Pierre de Belleperche and another Frenchman, Johan. Faber,[108] as well as the Italians Dinus,[109] and Cinus. When some Italians later cited the expression to show their disdain for the school of Orleans, this was entirely in line with their many other

similar remarks on the theories of the ultramontani.[110]

Both the Etablissements de Saint Louis and Le Livre de Justice et de Plet are similar in their composition and are attributed to the middle of the thirteenth century. Both also contain the combination of texts of Roman law with sources of customary law, which was so typical of the school of law at Orleans. Little original work was done on these compositions; instead the compilers simply combined pre-existing texts into a whole. The mingling of treatises in these works is quite clearly visible. Neither of these works represented classnotes but instead was a group of literal translations of quotations from the Digests as well as the literal copying of the customary law texts.[111] Meijers has speculated that both works were probably the product of a "clericus legis" who had connections with the university but who did not actually teach there. Evidence of knowledge of the court procedure of Parlement was apparent throughout the text.[112]

The last work to be associated with the law school at Orleans was the Brachylogus, which, according to Fitting, was completed at Orleans about the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.[113] Conrat attributed it to the twelfth century.[114] The value of the work is attested by the twenty-three editions of it published between 1548 and 1829. The Brachylogus was an elementary

textbook based on the system of the Institutes of which it was in part an extract. The predominant trait of the work is its systematic character. According to Kantorowicz, the Brachylogus and the Exceptiones, another work of the French law schools, were unthinkable without the work of Irnerius since they are almost exclusively based on Justinian's legislation, not on the Lex Romana Visigothorum of 506.[115]

The above are some of the works that have come to typify the manner of legal thinking that was prevalent at Orleans. Legal interpretation as expressed in the writings that emanated from Orleans and in the teachings of the masters there was different from that which characterized Bologna. Yet it was of a kind and stature that made Orleans the foremost legal university in France during the Middle Ages as well as a most important center of legal studies on the Continent.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1]At Angers, Avignon, Montpellier and Poitiers, both laws, civil and canon, could be studied. John Kirkpatrick, "The Scottish Nation in the University of Orleans, 1336-1538," Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, II (1904), p. 53.

[2]Heinrich Denifle et E. Chatelain(eds), Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis(Paris: Henricum Didier, 1889), I, no. 32, p. 92. See also S. Kuttner, "Papst Honorius III und das Studium des Zivilrechts," Festschrift fur Martin Wolff, E. von Caemmerer, ed(Tubingen, 1952), pp. 79-101. This article contains an excellent summation and bibliography on the controversy.

[3]J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 86. At the Councils of Paris in 1213 and of Rouen in 1214, Robert de Courson renewed the earlier prohibitions decreed earlier at the Council of Reims in 1131 against the regular clergy who left their cloisters for the purpose of studying or practicing law and medicine. Unless these members of the regular clergy returned to their houses within two months, they were to be excommunicated and avoided by all, the permission of their abbots notwithstanding. At the Council of Paris, Robert de Courson even extended these restrictions to the parish clergy, declaring all clergy having parochial responsibilities to be forbidden to seek instruction in the "secular sciences," i.e. medicine and law, which were of no value to their parishioners' salvation. See J.D. Mansi et al(eds), Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio(Paris: 1901), XXII, 831, 845, 910.

[4]Rashdall, I, p. 135, n. 3 and p. 322, n.2.

[5]Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, 987-1328(New York: St Martins Press, 1972), p. 86.

[6]Walter Ullmann, "Honorius III and the Prohibition of Legal Studies," Juridical Review, LX(1948), pp. 177-186.

[7]C. Bulaeus, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris), II, p. 265ff; or Denifle et Chatelain, Chart., I, no. 235. Denifle doubted the authenticity of this bull which was called Dolentes. Marcel Fournier, however, dispelled these doubts in his article "L'Eglise et le droit Romain au XIII siecle," Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger, XIV(1890), p. 50ff; XV(1891), p. 134 ff.

[8]Kirkpatrick, p. 54.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Baldwin, p. 249.

[11]Baldwin, pp. 249-250. These pages present some very interesting anecdotes in regard to this rivalry. Among the most vociferous of the critics were Peter the Chanter, Jacques de Vitry, and among the humanists, Peter of Blois.

[12]Bimbenet, pp. 7-8.

[13]Rashdall, I, p. 100.

[14]Ibid., pp. 101-102.

[15]With the dismemberment of the western Empire, law schools as public endowments were no longer maintained. We hear, however, of a school at Toul about the mid eleventh century, and one at Ravenna which supposedly was the school which had formerly existed at Rome. For a discussion of actual legal training in the Roman Empire, see H.I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity(New York: New American Library, 1964), pp. 387-390.

[16]Taylor, p. 279.

[17]Among the sources pointed to by these scholars who maintained that legal studies had long existed at Orleans was a passage in the chronicle of Adrevald, a monk of Fleury, who recounted an incident of how a debate took place between

the clerics of Fleury and those of St. Denis on the subject of ecclesiastical serfs. Judges were unable to pass a verdict on the various arguments postulated, and, as a result, the case and judgement had to be deferred to Orleans. Maitre, p. 62.

[18]F.C. Savigny, Geschichte des Romischen Rechts (Heidelberg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1850), II, p. 286.

[19]Marcel Fournier, "La nation allemande a l'université d'Orleans au XIV siecle," Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger, XII(1888), p. 388.

[20]H. Fitting, Die Anfange der Rechtsschule zu Bologna(Berlin: 1888), p. 45.

[21]Bimbenet, p. 313: "Depuis le V siecle jusqu'au XII, il ne se manifeste aucune trace de l'enseignement du droit dans cette ville."

[22]E.M. Meijers, "De Universiteit van Orleans in de XIIIe Eeuw," TiR(1919), p. 445.

[23]Marcel Fournier, Les Statuts et Privileges des Universités Françaises Depuis Leur Fondation Jusqu'en 1789 (Paris: Larose et Forcel, 1890), I, p. 2: Gregorius episcopus...Aurelianensi episcopo...A nobis tua fraternitas postulavit, ut cum prohibitum sit, ne leges legantur Parisius, et in Aurelianensi civitate plures legum doctores et scolares etiam commorentur, utrum id tolerare valeas per nostras te litteras edocere benignius dignaremur. Nos igitur tuam super hoc prudentiam commendantes mandamus, quatinus scolares prefatos, archidiaconis, decanis, archipresbyteris et aliis personis ecclesiasticis curam animarum habentibus dumtaxat exceptis, libere leges ibidem audire ac docere permittas. Dat. Perusii xvj Kal. Februarii, anno octavo."

[24]Meijers, p. 445: "Et per advenas et perigrinos fuit fundatum primum studium Aurelianense, sicut per dominum Guidonem de Guinis Lombardum, per dominum Petrus de Ausona Burgundum, doctoratum Bononiae, per dominum Symonem Parisiensem, doctoratum Bononiae et plures alios."

[25]Meijers, p. 458.

[26]Ibid., pp. 459-460.

[27]Ibid., p. 460.

[28]Ibid., pp. 460-461. Among the evidence pointed to by Meijers to prove that Peregrossi was in fact the author of this work are the following: the work was written by a pupil of Odofredus; it was found in the middle of other works emanating from the school of Orleans; it contains several opinions which were referred to as Peter Peregrossi's by Pierre de Belleperche who was also a professor at Orleans.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Savigny, V, p. 368.

[31]Meijers, pp. 462-463.

[32]Ibid., p. 463 and p. 464, n.1.

[33]Ibid., p. 447 and n.1: "Doctores semel juraverunt quod non legerent plus nisi haberent taxacionem domarum. Rex sciens hoc concessit eis taxacionem. Deinde legerunt. Elapso modico tempore rex abstulit eis taxacionem suis concessam. Modo queritur numquid illi qui perseveraverunt in lectura post alteracionem sunt perjuri? Videtur quod sic. Petrus en Cinus t.a.p. noemen doctores Aurelianenses.

[34]Ibid., pp. 446-451.

[35]Ibid., p. 449.

[36]Ibid., pp. 450-451 and n.2 in which Meijers is citing les Registres Cameral d'Urbain IV, n. 264, 362, 364, 366, 367, and 913.

[37]Meijers, p. 451.

[38]Meijers, p. 451.

[39]Ibid., p. 452.

[40]Ibid., pp. 453-454.

[41]Other than these references in De Revigny's work, there are no other biographical facts on Jean de Monchy's life at all.

[42]Meijers, p. 454.

[43]Ibid., p. 455-456.

[44]Ibid., p. 457 and n. 2 citing Langlois, Le règne de Philippe III le hardi, p. 172.

[45]Meijers, pp. 456-457.

[46]Ibid., p. 457, also citing Langlois, Le règne de Philippe III le hardi, p. 320, n. 4.

[47]Ibid., p. 458.

[48]Ibid., pp. 464-465.

[49]E.M. Meijers, "Un Centenaire Oublié," TiR, XIV (1936), p. 258. See also B. Hauréau, HL, XXVII(1877), p. 423.

[50]Cinus was an Italian jurist of the early fourteenth century.

[51]Meijers, "Un Centenaire Oublié," p. 261.

[52]Franklin Pegues, The Lawyers of the Last Capetians(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 197-199.

[53]Fournier, Les Statuts, I, p. 11.

[54]Pegues, p. 108.

[55]Ibid., p. 199.

[56]J. Calmet, Bibl. Lorraine(1751), pp. 855-857; U. Chevalier, Répertoire des sources historiques: bio-bibliographie, II(Paris: 1877), p. 2326; J. Fabricius, Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis, III(Hamburg: 1738), pp. 42-43; P.B. Gams, Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae(Graz: Akademische Druck U. Verlagsanstalt, 1873), p. 653; V. LeClerc, HL, XX(1842), pp. 504-510.

[57]Fournier, I, p. 7: "Lex ista allegatur cotidie ad hoc, quod universitas potest facere et eligere iudicem, licet electus alias nullam habeat iurisdictionem, unde privatus consensus non facit iudicem eum, qui non est alias iudex. Hoc est verum, nisi sint privilegiati collegiati, unde scolares Parisienses, qui habent Universitatem, possunt sibi eligere rectorem. Sed nos, qui sumus hic Aurelianis, singuli ut singuli non possumus hoc facere. Itaque bonum esset adire, ut impetraretur, nam collegium illicitum est, si non fuerit a superiore approbatum ut ff. Quod cujusc. univ., 1.I. Dico colligunt hic, quod qui habet curam collegii vel rectoriam, est judex singulorum de collegio seu de universitate et lex ista hoc dicit. Sed quod universitas eligat eum, certe lex ista hoc non dicit nec lex alia, etc."

[58]Fournier, I, p. 20-21.

[59]Ibid., I, pp. 453-454: 1274-"Disputation solennelle entre François Accurse et Jacques de Revigny: Glossa per predictam rationem non potest sustineri, nec potuit eam defendere Franciscus Accursii, dum legeret hanc legem ultra montes, dum fuit cum regi Anglie...et Jacobus predictus in forma discipuli ponerit(Opponerit) sibi, nimirum non erat in mundo adversarius durior nec subtilior." Although this incident was taken as fact by Savigny, V, p. 311 and by H. Denifle, Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400(Berlin: Weidmann, 1853), p.335, Fournier did not believe it to be factual, however, since the story appears in no other document.

[60]LeClerc, HL, XX(1842), p. 507.

[61]LeClerc, HL, XX(1842), p. 507 quoting the figures of Trithemius.

[62]Calmet, 857; LeClerc, 508; Tourtoulon, 8.

[63]In the thirteenth century, a young professor started with the explanation of important laws by way of repetitio and the giving of lectures, both probably in coordination with the teaching of a senior university professor. One became professor ordinary only later. In its heyday Orleans had about 9 or 10 such professors in civil law. The professor lectured ordinarily alternating between the Digestum Vetus one year and the Codex the other and extraordinarily one year on the Digestum Novum and the next year on the Infortiatum. The Digestum Vetus and Codex were always completed in one year, even though not all parts were treated with equal elaboration. Only a few books of the Digestum Novum and the Infortiatum were dealt with in one year. Furthermore, the professor ordinary also held repetitiones at the end of a semester. He then selected some laws which he had skipped in his course lectures, and these were generally the laws which by their content or by tradition lent themselves to the treatment of a more general topic.

[64]Meijers, "De Universiteit...," pp. 480-481.

[65]Ibid., pp. 483-484.

[66]Ibid., pp. 484-487.

[67]Ibid., p. 487.

[68]Ibid., pp. 487-488.

[69]Ibid., p. 488.

[70]P. Tourtoulon, Les Oeuvres de Jacques de Revigny (Paris: Chevalier Marescq, 1899), p. 45. Beaumanoir was the author of Coutumes de Beauvaisis. For a discussion of his life, work, and thought, see P. Vinogradoff, Roman Law in Medieval Europe, 3rd ed.(Oxford: 1961), pp. 80ff.

[71]Bracton was an English jurist born ca. 1210, famous for his attempt to organize and rationalize English medieval common law.

[72]A manuscript of Tours, certain passages of which were published, tells us that Bertrand Chabrol, who ultimately became a master at Orleans, gave a course in feudal law when he was still a bachelor there. R. Feenstra, "L'Organisation de l'enseignement du droit civil à Orleans au Moyen Age," BSAHO, new series, 2(1962), p. 218. Pierre de Belleperche, also a professor at Orleans, was the author of a work on feudalism, the Tractatus de Feudis, which was published at Paris in 1584.

[73]Meijers, "De Universiteit...," p. 488.

[74]Ibid., pp. 485-486.

[75]Domenico Maffei, "Il Giudice Testimone e Una 'Quaestio' de Jacques de Revigny," TiR, 35(1962), p. 55.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Savigny, II, p. 608.

[78]Meijers, "De Universiteit...," p. 472. The Dominicans were among the religious orders at Orleans. They resided in the northern part of the town in a chapel called Saint Germain des Fosses. Their reputation became such that they developed in their residence a school of theology and a school of law. Lattin, Recherches historiques(1836), p. 112 citing Lemaire(1645).

[79]Maffei, pp. 54-55.

[80]Pegues, p. 108. See also E. Caillemar, "Les disputationes dans les écoles de droit aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," Memoires de l'académie nationale des sciences, arts et Belles Lettres de Caen, 1879, pp. 421-442. Leopold Delisle, "Lettre relative au jurisconsulte orléanais Pierre de Belleperche," BSAHO, VI(1876), pp. 362-363; F. Perot, "Esquisse biographique sur Pierre de Belleperche," BSAHO, VII(1878-1882), pp. 510-514.

[81]HL, XXV, p. 362.

[82]Pegues, pp. 108-109.

[83]Meijers, "Un Centenaire Oublié," pp. 258-259.

[84]HL, XXV, p. 367.

[85]Bartolus was an Italian jurist b. Sassoferrato 1313. He was professor of law at Pisa and Perugia and was famous for developing a method of applying Roman law to contemporary problems by use of the scholastic method.

[86]E. Caillemar, "L'enseignement du droit civil en France au XIIIe siecle," Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger, III(1879), p. 610: "nota quod dominus Bartolus furatus fuit Petro."

[87]Fournier, Les Statuts, I, pp. 11-13, Jan. 27, 1306 no. 19.

[88]Ibid., I, pp. 14-15, Jan. 27, 1306, no. 21-22.

[89]Ibid., I, pp. 35-40, July, 1312 and Dec. 21, 1312, no. 36-40.

[90]Ibid., p. 41, April 11, 1312, no. 41.

[91]Ibid., p. 43, May 27, 1316, no. 47.

[92]Ibid., p. 45, March 18, 1319, no. 53.

[93]Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "Migration of the Medieval Cartularies of the University of Orleans," Humanisme et Renaissance, 7(1940), p.102.

[94]Fournier, Les Statuts, p. 46, Nov. 15, 1319, no. 55.

[95]Bimbenet, p. 9. See also Pearl Kibre, The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities (Cambridge, Ma: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), pp. 132-145 for an excellent discussion of the nations at Orleans and their activities.

[96]Ibid., p. 132.

[97]Fournier, Les Statuts, pp. 81-82, March 18, 1332, no. 91.

[98]Kirkpatrick, p. 51.

[99]Bimbenet, pp. 32ff; Kibre, p. 147.

[100]Marcel Fournier, "La Nation allemande a l'université d'Orléans au XIVe siècle," Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger, 12(1888), pp. 386-432.

[101]Gaines Post, Studies in Medieval Legal Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) is one work that discusses this trend in legal thought.

[102]Maffei, pp. 71-73.

[103]Pegues, pp. 1-34.

[104]Fournier, "La nation allemande," p. 392.

[105]Rashdall, I, p. 134.

[106]Bimbenet, p. 85.

[107]Meijers, "De Universiteit...," p. 468 and n. 2: De Revigny on. Inst. 1.1.1: Sic intelligas quod glosa dicit. Alias si simpliciter intelligeris quod illa membra de diffinitione tollerentur nec ponentur ex parte subiecti, hoc esset glosa Aurelianensis que textum destruit quia in textu ponuntur ista verba 'constans et perpetua.'"

[108]Johan. Faber was a fourteenth century French jurist. He taught law at Montpellier. Savigny, IV, p. 209.

[109]Dinus was an Italian jurist of the postglossator period born near Florence in 1253. He was especially noted for his influence in the field of the rules of law. J.M. Buckley, New Catholic Encyclopedia, IV, p. 871.

[110]Meijers, "De Universiteit...," p. 468.

[111]Ibid., p. 469.

[112]Ibid., pp. 469-471.

[113]Fitting, pp. 47-67.

[114]M. Conrat(Cohn), Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des römischen Rechts im früheren Mittelalter (Leipzig: 1891), I, p. 551.

[115]H. Kantorowicz, Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law(Darmstadt: 1969), p. 112.

CHAPTER VI

EVIDENCE OF OTHER SUBJECTS STUDIED AT ORLEANS

No study on the universities of Europe in the Middle Ages would be complete without a consideration of the other higher faculties, medicine and theology, the cornerstones of many universities at this time in Europe. There has not been very much research conducted pertaining to the study of medicine at Orleans. One of the few scholars to treat the subject was Charles Cuissard, a member of the Société archéologique et historique de l'Orleanais and one of the most prolific writers on medieval Orleans and its university. Cuissard found some evidence of the study of medicine but this took place at the monastery of Fleury at a time before the university was actually created.[1] Included among the manuscripts that Cuissard utilized in his study was one containing an appendix consisting in part of a list of the parts of the body written in Greek and Latin, as well as a manuscript which included a medical glossary which was also written in both Greek and Latin.[2]

Whether these studies continued into the later medieval

period or were carried over to the university is a moot question. There is an interesting passage in a secondary work which states that Philip IV accorded the same rights to the school of medicine as those he conferred upon the university of law.[3] No other source materials that I have encountered, however, make any reference to studies in medicine.

By the sixteenth century, however, this had apparently changed. Charpignon found a mandate of the provost of Orleans dated 1548 which exempted those who were affiliated with the university from various charges and taxes. Those to whom these exemptions were to apply were the doctors of law and of medicine and the grammarians.[4]

In regard to theology, there is once again confusion regarding its place at Orleans. There are many references to its study at Orleans, the earliest of which was published by Fournier in the collection of statutes. In 1247, John, the abbot of Saint Benoit sur Loire, decided that henceforth he would send ten brothers residing at the priory of St Gervais to study theology at Orleans. The best students among them would subsequently be sent to Paris to advance in their theological studies.[5] Somewhat later a student wrote from Orleans that he had become famous in dialectic and wanted to study theology if only

his father would send him enough money to buy a Bible.[6] The father wrote back praising his son's ambition but nevertheless stating that he could not afford the expense of a theological course. He advised his son to turn to some more lucrative profession.

It should also be noted that there is at least one historian, John Kirkpatrick, who was of the opinion that there were two distinct faculties at Orleans, that of classics and theology combined, and that of law, civil and canon.[7] Unfortunately Kirkpatrick simply states this inaccuracy in passing and gives no reasons whatsoever for making such a statement. In my own investigation I have come upon the names of several clerics who were said to have studied theology at Orleans or to have taught it there. For example, Hugh Aicelin is said to have been a professor of theology at Paris and at Orleans.[8] Hugh acquired a brilliant reputation as a theologian, rose in the church hierarchy and ultimately became a cardinal. He was the author of a large number of works, in particular glosses and commentaries on the Bible and a large collection of sermons.[9]

Another contemporary associated with the study of theology at Orleans is Richard of Chichester, who died at Dover in 1253 and was canonised in 1262.[10] Richard Wych

as he was known, is said to have studied at Oxford, perhaps at Paris and Bologna and after 1229 at Orleans where he went to perfect himself in practical eloquence.[11] Richard is also said to have studied theology and to have been ordained a priest at Orleans.[12]

Despite these numerous allusions to the study of theology at Orleans, more in depth investigation reveals that these studies most probably took place not at the university but at the Dominican convent in Orleans. The Dominicans set up residence at Orleans in 1219.[13] Several years later they established a chair of theology and a chair of canon law there. It was apparently with the Dominicans that Richard of Chichester studied theology, for he entered that holy order in 1244.[14] If the above assumption is true, Orleans as a university would be comparable to both Toulouse and Montpellier. Neither of these French universities had faculties of theology.[15]

Other subjects are definitely known to have been studied at Orleans. The first of these is the study of the French language which flourished at Orleans at least as early as the fourteenth century and well up until some time into the eighteenth century. This fact has been noted by many scholars including Dorothy Mackay Quynn, Freidrich Savigny and Boucher de Molandon.[16] It seems that lawyers

and notaries were picking up accessory skills which would improve their chances of obtaining high appointments at court. This was a feature of university education on the continent and in England as well. The late Professor Tout, in his paper on literature and learning in the English civil service in the fourteenth century pointed out that the civil servant had to have a "reading and writing knowledge of three languages, his own, Latin and French."[17] This was because the official language became to an increasing extent French, which Tout referred to as the "lingua franca of cultivated lay society in Western Europe."[18]

French was taught at Oxford as early as the fourteenth century, but it was not officially recognized as a university subject. The students who pursued it were therefore required to register for and attend lectures in subjects that were closely related, for example, grammar and rhetoric. The teachers of French were supervised by the university and were taxed in order to compensate the regular faculty for the loss of students and their fees.[19] There was a definite demand for French in Chaucer's day and later, and the curious solution found at Oxford for the problem of French's place in the curriculum suggests that something of the sort may have been done elsewhere, perhaps

even at Orleans.

There would certainly seem to be a definite demand for the study of French at Orleans, for the university records indicate how exceptionally popular the university was with foreign students. The records of the Scottish and German nations show that they were a part of the university organization as early as the fourteenth century, as noted above.[20] The Germans were particularly numerous. There was a third nation, the Norman, to which, for the Middle Ages, the English and Scandinavian students belonged. Unfortunately their book has disappeared, and no trace of it has ever been found.[21] As a result of this loss, there is no possibility of doing for the English and Scandinavians what can be done for the Scots and the Germans: making a study of their names in order to ascertain what their later careers were.[22] This is all the more unfortunate since we know so much more about the interest in the French language in England.[23]

Most of the identifiable Scots registered at Orleans seem to have been students of civil or canon law who entered professions especially in the church for which their courses prepared them.[24] This is not true, however, of the Germans whose more abundant archives show a great variety of professions. The most famous member of that nation, who

endowed it in 1416, and whose memory was celebrated annually thereafter for centuries, John of Prussia, was a doctor of medicine. He was listed as such when he matriculated at Orleans.[25]

The German records, moreover, contain several references to the study and use of the French language. In 1482 a document mentions reasons why the German came to Orleans, "vel promotionis vel linguae addiscendae causa adventant."[26] Two years later, the proctor of the German nation found it necessary to order the German students to confine themselves to Latin in their legal affairs. The Germans were notorious for the litigation in which they were themselves involved. The proctor forbade the use of French in this connection, and in his warning to the nation, he referred contemptuously to the French language as the language of trade, the "lingua commercii."[27]

There is even a possibility that some of the lectures at Orleans were given in French, for Savigny quotes a fourteenth century jurist of Montpellier as saying that this was the case.[28] Just how the medieval teaching of French was organized at Orleans we do not know, but we may get a suggestion as to one possibility from some seventeenth century sources. In 1647 Louis XIV licensed a retired attorney to teach the French language to foreign

students at the University of Orleans.[29] And in 1644 the German nation required every newly matriculated student to pay with his other fees, the sum of one florin for the French teacher.[30] In 1650 there is the record of payment by the German nation of two florins to the teacher of French for four students, perhaps the amount due for a current term.[31] These sources of course prove nothing for the medieval period for which treasurers accounts were extremely sparse even for the record conscious Germans, but we can assume that some similarities did exist.

It is also a curious coincidence that two of the earliest manuals of French conversation for foreigners emanated from Orleans.[32] Both of these manuals, the Tractatus Orthographie Gallicane and La Maniere de Language have been attributed to Thomas Coyfurrel, a doctor of both laws at Orleans. Reasons for attributing the works to him include the writer's familiarity with Orleans, his use of examples from that city as well as some literary evidence. Despite the claims the work contains to teach "doulz franceis que enformera aussi bien lez petiz comme les granz a parler bien et parfaitement beau Franceis selon l'usage et la maniere de Paris et Aurilians," the French very often has a British flavor.[33] It was long known that the author was not French. Coyfurrel was recently identified as a

Scottish canon of the Orleans cathedral, a graduate in law of the university and long a resident of the city, probably from 1393 to 1421.[34]

The Maniere contains typical conversations about Orleans, for example, a conversation in which its beauty and fame are discussed:

> Est Aurelians une beau ville? Cil, sire ...la plus belle qui soit au royaume de France apres Parys. Et aussi il y en a un grand estude des loys car les plus vaillanz et les plus gentilz clers qui sont en crestiantee y repairent pour estudier en civil et canon.[35]

And indeed, a lot of people wanted to go to Orleans, for Orleans had another kind of reputation about which the students did not write home in their letters. It was a center for the study of magic and the occult, our next subject of extracurricular interest. Three contemporary works, the Maniere by Thomas Coyfurrel which was mentioned above, and two works by Chaucer, the Franklin's Tale in the Canterbury Tales and the House of Fame, depict very vividly the acts of magic and the supernatural that were performed by the clerks of Orleans.

In the Maniere, a work not well known until recently, Coyfurrel follows his description of the law studies with the following, a rumor that at Orleans the devil teaches his disciples necromancy:

> L'anemy y apprent ses disciples de nigromancie en une teste d'arrein....Il y avoit jadis un englois qu'estoit fort nigromancien qui ot a nom Colyn T. qui savoit faire beaucoup de merveilles par voie de nigromancie.[36]

This unusual passage about magic had never been taken as anything other than a conversation exercise. Likewise the references to the great magician, the Englishman called Colin T.[37] who knew how to do many marvels by means of his necromancy, were also looked upon as mere examples utilized by the language instructor Coyfurrel.

All of this changed, however, when these passages attracted the attention of the Chaucer scholars. One of the Canterbury Tales, the Franklin's Tale, contains scenes set at Orleans. One Chaucerian, the late professor J.S.P. Tatlock, became interested in checking out the details of the background of the story.[38] The studies he undertook convinced him that the local color in the story was genuine. Tatlock therefore suggested the likelihood that Orleans was a center for the study of magic and that the students neglected their law to investigate the Black Art.[39]

The Franklin's is a marvelous tale. In it a young lover, aptly named Aurelius, is told by his beloved that she will yield to him only if he will remove all the huge black rocks on the coastline of Brittany. The seeming hopelessness of the task caused Aurelius to pine and sicken,

but his brother, a law student from Orleans, remembered something very important:

> He him remembered that, upon a day at
> Orliens en study a book he say of magic
> naturel which his felaw that was that
> tyme a bacheler of lawe al were he ther
> to lerne another craft, had privily
> upon his desk y laft.[40]

This gave them inspiration, and off they both went to Orleans to look for a magician who could perform this miraculous feat. On the road, just a little way out of town, they were met by a young clerk who had guessed their errand. He guided them to a master of the Black Art. The master entertained them at dinner and gave them a spectacular demonstration of his magical skill and prowess. He agreed to undertake the task for a thousand pounds and performed the miracle as promised.

The whole tone of this story suggests that such events were not unusual or out of the ordinary at Orleans. The tale gives the impression that if one needed a magician, the place to look was Orleans. More than in any other work of Chaucer's, magic and astrology play a very essential part in the Franklin's Tale. The glimpses it offers of the bachelor of law at Orleans, active, inquisitive and daring, a student who neglected his legal studies to pursue the study of magic on the side is one of the most vivid character descriptions in all of the Canterbury Tales.[41]

The Orleans law clerk was very well versed in astronomy and in astrological magic. Though his astrological observances are what is most fully described in the tale, their primary purpose was to secure a time or moment in which the influences emanating from the heavens would reinforce his other rites. He had obviously perfected his skills, for in this particular feat he was so effective that:

> Thurgh his magik, for a wyke or
> It seemed that all the rokkes were aweye[42]

Tatlock carefully studied these excerpts from the Franklin's Tale in order to ascertain the extent of the clerk's magical skills. He concluded that the clerk must have used images or charms like the ones used in natural magic. Tatlock asserted these charms were essential for the clerk's lesser feats as well as for directing the hidden powers of nature to his purposes. Tatlock also concluded that the clerk must have invoked spirits since the rocks vanished when he clapped his hands.[43] Since the rocks disappeared all the way from the Seine to the Gironde,[44] Tatlock guessed that the clerk might also have had to use blood, sacrifices, incantations and invocations of demons which would thus make him a necromancer.[45]

The third contemporary source to illustrate that the magical arts were being practiced at Orleans is Chaucer's House of Fame. In 1926 James F. Royster noticed that in

this work Chaucer described a vision of sorcerers and witches and among them:

> Ther saugh I Colle Tregetour
> Upon a table of sicamour
> Pleye an uncouth thing to tell
> I saw him carrien a wind-melle
> Uner a walsche-note shale[46]

Royster was already familiar with the lines about necromancy in the Maniere and particularly those about the Englishman called Colin T. who was a great 'negromancien.' It immediately occurred to Royster that Colin T. was none other than the Colle Tregitour of the House of Fame. Here we have one more example of the reputation of Orleans for magic. How far this reputation extended beyond the circles of the English who frequented Orleans we do not know. Most of the trials for witchcraft in Orleans date from the sixteenth century or later when such events were more common everywhere.[47] The Chaucerians, however, have discovered several from the fifteenth century. At a witchcraft trial in the diocese of York in 1519, the accused, a priest named Sir John Wilkynson, canon of Dray, testified that as a child of twelve he had been present at an invocation of the devil at Wakefield by a 'scholar of Orlyaunce' and he saw spirits raised.[48] In addition, T.O. Wedel found in the same century a tale about someone returning to England from the continent who stopped off at Orleans to

purchase a magical substance for no good purpose.[49] There are also later literary references which are sometimes taken as reflecting a long standing reputation in the art of magic at Orleans.[50]

All of these studies, theoretically at least, were extracurricular. Apparently since they were not mentioned in the documents of the university and were not part of the official curriculum, they were not taught by regent masters. But it must have been true as Chaucer said that many a bachelor of law at Orleans was "ther to lern another craft."[51]

Certain impressions of Orleans emerge from an extensive study of the university statutes and an examination of contemporary literature. One of these impressions, noticed long ago by Rashdall, is that there is no evidence of poverty among the Orleans students.[52] Rashdall pointed out that alone among the important universities of that day, Orleans had no endowed colleges for poor students. The system of living in colleges never took root at Orleans, and students lived in private lodgings. There are even frequent references to servants employed by the students.

In the later years of its life, the reputation of the University of Orleans declined considerably. The course of

French history had a profound effect upon it. The Hundred Years' War dealt a cruel blow to the intellectual vigor of the university. During the Reformation Orleans became an important center of Calvinism in France. The subsequent Wars of Religion were particularly cruel and bloody and had a devastating effect on Orleans. By Moliere's day the university was looked upon as a diploma mill.[53] Finally in 1793 the university was closed.[54] Orleans at present, however, has regained some of its former intellectual prestige with the reconstruction of its university at Orleans-La-Source.[55]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1]Charles Cuissard, "L'Etude du grec a Orleans depuis le IX siecle jusqu'au milieu du XVIIIe siecle," MSAHO, XIX(1883), p. 784. Note 2 of that page lists among the manuscripts of the monastery Serenus, De medicamentis; Philaretus, Liber de pulsu; Constantine, Libri urinarum et febrium, and Galen, Passiones. See also L. McKinney, Early Medieval Medicine(Baltimore: 1937).

[2]Cuissard, p. 784. The manuscripts cited are Bern 351 and Bern 337 respectively. In this article Cuissard focused his attention upon the study of Greek at Orleans. Once again this study seems to have been limited to the abbey of Fleury. Cuissard traced the study of Greek in Orleans back to the time of the Druids. Orleans' important geographical location in the world of commerce played an important role in fostering the knowledge of foreign tongues. Cuissard does, however, make some important statements regarding the subject of Greek in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He points out, for example, that ten operas dating back to the thirteenth century have been found which are direct imitations of Greek tragedies (p. 716). In addition several Greek verses of the Iliad dated the fourteenth century have been found at Orleans (p. 717). Thus it can readily be seen that the Greek tradition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not inferior to that of the twelfth century in which the abbot of Fleury, Macaire, wrote a Greek lexicon(p. 700).

[3]D. Lattin, Recherches historiques sur la ville d'Orleans depuis Aurelien, l'an 274, jusqu'en 1789(Orleans: Imprimerie d'Alexandre Jacob, 1836), p. 135 citing Lemaire.

[4]R. Biemont, MSAHO, XVIII, p. 245. The catalogue of 1664 of the possessions of the German nation lists 74 books on medicine. Cuissard, XXV, p. 95.

[5]Fournier, I, pp. 4-5: "Paterna Providentia solliciti auxiliante domino decrevimus ordinare, ut ex hoc nunc et in perpetuum decem e fratribus nostris monachis docilibus, in prioratu nostro S. Gervasii Aurelianensis, in sacre theologie studio sedeant, aliqui vero eorum, qui inter ceteros provectiores extiterint, causa majoris scientie

hauriende, secundum quod studio expediens visum fuerit de consilio studentibus fratribus presidentis parisius ad studium dirigantur, subministratis eisdem necessariis ex redditibus, qui studentibus fratribus fuerint specialiter assignati."

[6]Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students...," p. 221: "Demonstratione presentis cedule noscat vestra paterna bonitas, pater karissime, quod ego sum Aurelianis sanitate corporea per Dei gratiam predictatus et in Dyalectica taliter fundatus quod omnes scolares et etiam magistri dicunt me fore disputatorem optimum et sophistam, et multum desidero in sancta theologia de cetero prostudere. Michi mittat igitur, precor et moveo, paterna pietas unde possum bibliam comparare et expensas habere, quamvis non plenarie, quoquo modo."

[7]Kirkpatrick, p. 57.

[8]Lajard, HL, XXI(1841), pp. 71-79. Hugh was known by several names, Hugh Billiom, Hughes Sequin or Sevin. Both Duchesne and Echard helped to clarify his identity. He was born about 1230 to the Aicelin family who were seigneurs of Billiom and of Montague in the Auvergne. Hugh died about 1297.

[9]Ibid., p. 78

[10]The Bollandists have published in the Acta Sanctorum, I, April III, p. 276, two lives of Saint Richard of Chichester. One by John Capgrave is very brief and precise. It was inserted in the Nova Legenda Angliae and was a resume of the proceedings of his canonization. The secondlife, by Ralph Bocking, is much more lengthy and discusses not only the life of Richard of Chichester but also the miracles at his tomb. Ther is an excellent account of Richard in J.H. Newman's Lives of the English Saints, the authorship of which has sometimes been attributed to R. Arnsby. The fullest modern biography is that of P.N.R. Capes, Richard of Wyche(London: 1913). Further useful bibliographical references are given in the DNB and in the Dictionary of English Church History.

[11]D. Attwater, Penguin Dictionary of Saints(Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 297.

[12]Butler, Lives of the Saints, II(New York: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1956), p. 23; Peter of Peckham, p. 350 states this quite clearly.

[13]R. Emery, The Friars in Medieval France(New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 84.

[14]Peter of Peckham, p. 350.

[15]Edouard Privat, ed., Les Universites du Languedoc au XIIIe siecle, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, V(Toulouse: 1970).

[16]Quynn, "The Medieval Extracurriculum," p. 121; F.K. Savigny, Histoire du droit roman du moyen age, tr. M.C. Guenoux, III(Paris: 1839), p. 318 and Boucher de Molandon, "La Salle des theses de l'universite d'Orleans," MSAHO, XII(1873), p. 309. Both Savigny and Boucher de Molandon refer, for example, to one contemporary, Jean Faure or Faber, an eminent jurisconsult, who expressed his regret and indignation that French was slowly replacing the Latin tongue in the lectures. Faure stated "Quid si Judex nescit legere latinum sed bene gallicerunt plures(Proh dolor!) videtur quod non possunt judicare, cum debeant sententiae latine scribi...nisi in partibus ubi omnes litterati sciunt gallicum legere et intellegere, quod hodie nimis viget in Francia. Unde quandoque fuerunt(ut dicitur) Aurelianenses lectores, qui partim latinum et partim gallicum, in cathedra loquebantur,...quibus melius esset quod haberent grossum idioma Engolis." Boucher de Molandon states that this was the first instance of a university using the French language in its public instruction.

[17]T.F. Tout, "Literature and Learning in the English Civil Serviceiin the Fourteenth Century," Speculum, IV (1929), p. 368.

[18]Ibid. Rashdall, III, p. 162 and note 2 also noted that French was studied at Oxford in the fifteenth century and earlier. He discovered that the art of writing and composing and speaking in the Gallic idiom and composing charters and other scripts was studied for use in the Courts and at Court.

[19]Ibid.

[20]See Chapter III above. Liber Nationis Scocie, Vatican Library, MS Reg Lat 405; Liber Nationis Alemannie, Archives du Loiret, MS D 4. The Scottish nation has left only one volume, but the German nation has left an enormous collection of documents including proctor's books and treasurer's accounts extending down to the eighteenth century. These are all in Series D of the Archives du Loiret. Part of the Scottish Book has been transcribed in the Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, II(Edinburgh: 1904), Chapter II. Many of the records of both nations have been transcribed by Fournier in Volume I of the Statutes. A recent published edition of the first proctor's book of the German nation is Cornelia M. Ridderikhoff, avec la collaboration de Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Premier livre des procurateurs de la nation germanique de l'ancienne Universite d'Orleans, 1444-1546(Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971).

[21]Quynn, "The Medieval Extracurriculum," p. 126.

[22]J.L. Kirkpatrick, pp. 47-102; M. Fournier, "La nation allemande a l;universite d'Orleans au XIVe siecle," Nouvelle revue du droit francais, XII(1888), pp. 386-431. There have been studies made also fof other groups including the students from Picardy and Champagne as well as from speical areas of the German nation. Cf. J. Doinel, "Liste des etudiants Scandinaves a l'universite d'Orleans," BSAHO, VII(1886), pp. 63-77 and Camille Bloch, "Les etudiants scandinaves a l'universite d'Orleans," BSAHO, XII (1901), pp. 373-374.

[23]K. Lambley, The French Language in England(Manchester: 1920).

[224]Kirkpatrick, pp. 47-102.

[25]John of Prussia was a member of a princely family.

[26]Archives du Loiret, D4, f.80v.

[27]Archives du Loiret, MS D4, f. 90v; Fournier, I, no. 340.

[28]Savigny, VI, p. 40, note 46.

[29]Archives du Loiret D 17

[30]Archives du Loiret D 204, f.255.

[31]Archives du Loiret D 228, f.216

[32]Tractatus Orthographie Gallicane, British Museum MS Harl. 4971 and Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 188; La Maniere de language qui t'enseignera bien parler et escrire doulz francois, British Museum MS Harl 3988, fol 1-26r and MS additional 17716, fol 106-111r, Oxford, All Souls College, MS 182, fol 305-316, 372v-373v; Cambridge University Library MS D 1223, fol 70-74v; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 13, 40 fols 179r-v; Bibliotheque Nationale, MS Nouv acq. Fr. 699. D.M. Quynn, "Quelques etudes non juridiques a l'universite d'Orleans," Extraits des actes du Congres sur l'ancienne universite d'Orleans(XIIIe-XVIIIe siecles), p. 78, note 25.

[33]Quynn, "The Medieval Extracurriculum," p. 128.

[34]D.M. Quynn, "The Identity of M.T. Coyfurelly," Modern Language Notes, LIV(1939), pp. 510-515. See also Paul Meyer, Revue critique d'histoire et de litterature, V(1939), 377ff; E. Stengel, "The Earliest French Grammar," Atheneum, no. 2658, p. 433 and Zeitschrift fur neufranzosische. Sprache und literatur, I(1879), p. 1ff; J. Gessler, Maniere de Language (Brussels: 1934). Coyfurrel was not a regent master of the university. He held a benefice and seems to haveiincreased his income by writing conversation manuals.

[35]Quynn, "The Medieval Extracurriculum," p. 129

[36]Ibid.

[37]Professor Royster identified this wonder worker as the Colle Tregitour whom Chaucer in the Houseoof Fame saw carrying a windmill under the shell of a walnut. See also George L. Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England(New York: Russell and Russell, 1956), p. 56.

[38]J.S.P. Tatlock, "Astrology and Magic in Chaucer's Franklin's Tale," Kittredge Anniversary Papers (Boston: 1913), p. 339ff.

[39]See also J.S.P. Tatlock, Scene of the Franklin's Tale Revisited(London: Chaucer Society, 1914), chapter IV in particular. Meijers in his numerous articles on the university of law at Orleans noted the decline in the study of law that characterized the fourteenth century.

[40]Geoffrey Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales(Baltimore: 1952), p. 435.

[41]Ibid., pp. 437-449.

[42]Ibid., p. 440

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., p. 438.

[45]Tatlock, "Astrology and Magic...," p. 349.

[46]W.W. Skeat(ed). The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: House of Fame, III, ll 1277-1281. James F. Royster, "Chaucer's Colle Tregetour," Studies in Philology, XXIII(1926), pp. 380-384.

[47]Quynn, "The Medieval Extracurriculum," p. 131. J. Russell, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages(Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 86-95, however, discusses an earlier episode of witchcraft at Orleans, the famous trial of 1022.

[48]Tatlock, Scene, p. 43 and Archeological Journal, XVI(1859), p. 76: Extraits des registres de l'Archive de York.

[49]T.O. Wedel, "Medieval Attitudes Towards Astrology," Yale Studies in English, LX(1920), p. 95ff as well as Rolls Series, Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard II and Henry VII.

[50]There are also later literary references which are sometimes taken as reflecting a long standing reputation in this art, notably two pieces of the sixteenth century English theater, Wynkyn de Worde, A Mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye, and an anonymous adaptation of an Italian play, the Buggbears. Cf. R.W. Bond, Early Plays from the Italian(Oxford: 1911), and W.C. Hazlett, Early Popular Poetry(London: 1866).

In Mery Geste the following lines pertaining to magic are found:

"He is a great nygromancere
In all Orlyaunce is not his pere."
(Hazlett, III, p. 79)

In Buggbears, the following:

"O Sir, you wold wonder
What miracles I dyd heare
Of those that dyd know hym
Yn Orleaunce thys other yere...!"

[51]Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, p. 435.

[52]Rashdall, II, p. 151, n.3.

[53]Quynn, "The Medieval Extracurriculum," p. 132.

[54]Bimbenet offers a great deal of information on the later periods in the university's existence.

[55]Travel guide to Orleans published by the Syndicat d'Initiative, 1970.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study show that Orleans not only was but also continued to be a famous center of literary studies in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is clear from the study that although law increased in popularity as a highly lucrative profession in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it by no means eradicated the study of other subjects. The statutes of the university, the student letters of the period, and contemporary literature make evident the fact that the liberal arts were still being studied, even if to a lesser degree than before. The statutes, moreover, reveal that well into the fifteenth and even the sixteenth centuries, as late as 1512, there were doctores regentes in artibus. By establishing the fact that the study of the liberal arts enjoyed an historical continuity at the University of Orleans and by showing that other subjects, the Ars Dictaminis, French, the occult, for example, were taught there in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this study has tried to present a more accurate impression of the intellectual milieu at Orleans.

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