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1500

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1979

IRISH SCHOLARS IN THE UNIVERSITIES
AT PARIS AND OXFORD BEFORE 1500

by

MARY HAYES SOMERS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
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of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
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Introduction

As the "land of saints and scholars," Ireland made a remarkable contribution to early medieval culture. Scant reference, however, has been made to Irish learning, at home or abroad, in the late medieval period. Indeed, the accounts of Irish learning or scholarship by scholars such as Ludwig Bieler, Mario Esposito and Edmund Curtis, either terminate with the tenth century or provide only vague and unsubstantiated generalizations about Irish scholarship or lack of it in the later Middle Ages.

This neglect is unfortunate because, while Ireland's system of higher education in all likelihood was adversely affected during the Anglo-Norman invasions of the twelfth century, continental Europe was experiencing a stimulus to learning with the rise of the university associations or corporate societies of scholars. On the other hand, Ireland appears not to have developed a functioning university. Irish scholars reportedly traveled to the university centers of Europe to study and to teach. Yet, to date, although their presence in these centers has been noted, their activities have not been clearly delineated. Rather, the role of Irish scholars at the medieval universities seems to have been sorely neglected. This is true not only for the historians of Ireland but also for those historians, such as Hastings Rashdall and Pearl Kibre, who have written major works on the medieval universities, as well as those scholars, such as Gray C. Boyce, Madeleine Toulouse and Astrik Gabriel, who have concerned themselves with the foreign students who visited these centers of learning.

It is the purpose of this study to initiate an intellectual prosopography of those Irish scholars who were members of the Medieval

universities or were in the university milieu before 1500. Since the scope of the total enterprise is quite broad, the present study will focus on those scholars who are known to have been in Paris and Oxford between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Particular attention here will be directed to the task of identifying the scholars who are associated with Ireland, be they English, Anglo-Irish or Irish, noting from whence they came, and indicating the preparatory studies they should or might have had in Ireland before going abroad. An attempt will also be made to ascertain their activities in Paris and Oxford and the course of study they pursued while in those cities. Within the limitations of this brief study, some indication will be given of the influence of the university experience on their careers after leaving Paris and Oxford and the nature of their special contributions, if any, to European culture.

A study of this nature and scope would be a formidable if not impossible task were it not for the help and availability of some extremely important works. Thus, documentary sources essential to the investigation of Irish affiliation with the University of Paris are available in printed collections. All or most of the important documents pertaining to the university are to be found in the Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis (eds. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, Paris, 1889-97). Also, since the Irish are known to have been included in the English-German nation at Paris, relevant information is to be found in the Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis: Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae) Volumes I-II, 1333-92 (ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, Paris, 1897-99); Volume III, 1466-92 (ed. C. Samaran and E. A. Van Moe, Paris, 1935), and Auctarium Chartularii: Liber Recep-

torum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemaniae) (ed. A. L. Gabriel and G. C. Boyce, Paris, 1964). Moreover, no longer extant extracts from sources are included in C. E. DuBoulay's Historia Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris, 1665-73).

Of particular interest for this study are the works on the foreigners in Paris, specifically, G.C. Boyce's The English-German Nation in the Middle Ages (Bruges, 1927), F. Michel's Les écossais en France (London, 1862), and M. Toulouse's La Nation Anglaise-allemande de l'université de Paris des origines à la fin du XV^e Siècle (Paris, 1939).

Also, the investigation into the Irish presence in Oxford has been greatly facilitated by A. B. Emden's three volume Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 (Oxford, 1958). It should be noted too that this work is of seminal importance, since it provided the model for the present study. Moreover, important source material relating to Oxford was found to be available in collections such as Munimenta Academica (ed. H. Anstey, London, 1868), Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis (ed. S. Gibson, Oxford, 1931), and Snappe's Formulary (ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford, 1924).

Two further compilations which provided information on Oxford are A. Wood's Survey of Antiquities of the City of Oxford (ed. A. Clark, London, 1889) which includes as an appendix, John Rouse's Catalogue of Colleges and Halls of Oxford, and H. E. Salter's Medieval Oxford (Oxford, 1936).

Other pertinent materials comprise petitions, letters and documents in Great Britain's Rolls Series, Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, and Ireland: Statutes and Ordinances. Records of religious orders have also been

fruitful; in particular, Luke Wadding's Annales Minorum and Quétif and Echard's Scriptores Ordines Praedicatorum Recensiti. The annals of the period, such as the Annals of the Four Masters, Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin and the Annals of Ulster, as well as contemporary writers, for example, Matthew Paris, Robert Grosseteste and Jordan of Saxony, have also added to the information available on these Irish scholars.

The completion of this study has been made possible by the patient attention and constructive criticism given by Professors Howard Adelson, Richard Lemay and Pearl Kibre, Emeritus, of the History Department of the City University Graduate Center. I wish to thank them individually and collectively for their interest and encouragement.

Encouragement has also been received from Professor A.J. Otway-Ruthven of Trinity College, Dublin; Rev. Professor F.X. Martin, O.S.A., of University College, Dublin; and Rev. Professor (Emeritus) A. Gwynn, S.J., who very kindly permitted me to make use of some of his lecture notes. For this assistance, I extend my sincere gratitude.

Acknowledgment is also here tendered to Dr. Dorothea L. Browne for the opportunity to consult her doctoral dissertation, "The Church and Learning in Ireland 400-800," completed at New York University. Similarly, my expression of appreciation is here extended to the staffs of the New York Public Library, the Hunter College and the Graduate Center libraries for their assistance in making pertinent materials available to me; to the Columbia Law Library for permission to use their facilities and especially to consult William of Drogheda's Summa Aurea, and to the University of Colorado Library for permission to make use of Russel O. Brock's unpublished edition of Richard

FitzRalph's De Pauperie Salvatoris (Books 5, 6, 7). Furthermore, Dr. Niels Sonne of the General Theological Seminary is deserving of my gratitude, not only for making Reginald Poole's edition of De Pauperie Salvatoris (Books 1, 2, 3, 4) available to me, but also for granting me permission to use the Seminary library as a haven in which to work. Finally, I wish to thank my family, Ms. Diane Mennella, and Ms. Patricia Synan for their assistance in preparing and editing the final manuscript of this work.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abelson Paul Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts, 1965.
- AC Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis, eds. Henrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain, 1935-1964.
- Academica Munimenta Academica, ed. H. Anstey, 1868.
- Academia Francis Peck, Academia Tertia Anglicana, 1727.
- AFM Annals of the Four Masters, ed. John O'Donovan, 1854.
- ALKG Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, ed. Henrich Denifle and Franz Ehrle (1885-1900), 1931-1957.
- Annatis De Annatis Hiberniae, ed. M.A. Costello, 1909.
- Aspects Louis Halphen, et al., Aspects de L'Université de Paris, 1949.
- Halphen, Aspects - "Les Origines de l'Université de Paris"
- Glorieux, Aspects - "La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Principaux Docteurs au XIII^e Siecle"
- Dupont-Ferrier, Aspects - "La Faculté des Arts dans L'Université de Paris et son Influence Civilisatrice"
- Samaran, Aspects - "La Vie Estudiantine à Paris au Moyen Age"
- AU Annals of Ulster, ed. B. MacCarthy, 1893.
- Bale John Bale, Anecdota Oxoniensis: Index Britanniae Scriptorem, ed. Reginald L. Poole, 1902.

- Baxter James H. Baxter, et al., "Latinitatis Medii Aevi" in Bulletin du Cange, VII, 1932.
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- BF Bullarium Franciscanum, ed. S.Sbaralea, 1765-1768.
- Black Henry Campbell Black, Black's Law Dictionary, 4th ed., 1951.
- BNE Bethada Naem n'Erenn, ed. Charles Plummer, (1929) 1968.
- Boehner Philotheus Boehner, Collected Articles on William of Ockham, ed., Eligius M. Buytaert, 1958.
- Boyce Gray C. Boyce, The English-German Nation in the University of Paris, 1927.
- Browne Dorothea Lawrence Browne, "The Church and Learning in Ireland 400-800," unpublished dissertation, 1975.
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- Carlyle R.W. Carlyle, A.J. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West, 1928.
- Cart. Eynsham The Cartulary of Eynsham Abbey, ed. H.E. Salter, 1906-1908.

- CCR Great Britain, Court of Chancery, Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1892.
- CD John Wycliffe, De Civili Dominio, ed. R.L. Poole, 1885.
- Chart. Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, eds. Henrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain, 1899/1907/1964.
- Chron. Maj. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. Henry R. Luard, 1887.
- CIC Corpus Iuris Canonici.
- Clark Henry W. Clark, History of English Non-Conformity, 1911.
- COD Calendar of Ormond Deeds, ed. Edmund Curtis, 1932.
- Cotton Henry Cotton, Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae, 1848-1851.
- CPL Calendar of the entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, (Papal Letters), ed. W.H. Bliss, 1893-1951.
- CPP Calendar of the Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, (Papal Petitions), ed. W.H. Bliss, 1896.
- CPR Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1891-1961
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- De Pauperie (Poole) Richard FitzRalph, De Pauperie Salvatoris, Books 1-4, 'Appendix to John Wycliffe's De Dominio Divino, ed. Reginald L. Poole, 1890.
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- Eubel Conrad Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, 1910.
- EUM Henrich Denifle, Die Entstehung Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400, (1885), 1956.
- FMI Mario Esposito, "Friar Malachy of Ireland," English Historical Review, XXXIII, 1918.
- FML Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland A.D. 1230-1450, eds. E.B. Fitzmaurice and A.G. Little, 1920.
- Foxe John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, ed. George Townsend, 1965.
- FZ Fasciculi Zizaniorum magistri Johannes Wyclif cum tritico, ed. W.W. Shirley, 1858.
- Gams Series Episcoporum, ed. P.B. Gams, 1931.
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- Leff Gordon Leff, Richard FitzRalph, Commentator on the Sentences, 1963.
- Leland John Leland, Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicus, ed. A. Hale, 1709.
- LVF Jordon of Saxony, Liber Vitasfratrum, ed. Rudolph Arbesmann, 1943.
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PART I

IDENTITY OF THE IRISH AT PARIS AND OXFORD:

THIRTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

Irish masters in Paris in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries were customarily enrolled in the English-German nation, one of the four nations in the faculty of arts, which included scholars from Ireland and Scotland as well as from England and other northern European countries. Irish scholars have been identified among the members of the Scots province within the English-German nation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is difficult, therefore, to distinguish the Irish from the Scots in the university documents since the provinces within the English-German nation were not subdivided into dioceses. Only incidentally might a person be identified by his homeland in the documents of the faculty of arts, as well as in those of the higher faculties.¹ Furthermore, a permanent system of territorial dioceses was not established in Ireland until the Synod of Kells (1152) established the Provinces of Armagh, Cashel and Tuam,² after which there followed a gradual and uneven formation of dioceses between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.³ Parochial organization got a slightly later start,⁴ so that it is not surprising that information is lacking.

Despite this dearth of information regarding their provenance, university and other records show that the Irish scholars in Paris during this entire period numbered twenty-two; nine in the thirteenth century,⁵ thirteen in the fourteenth century,⁶ and none in the fifteenth century.⁷

The only scholar to be identified by diocese is Richard "the Chancellor" of Ferns diocese who studied at Paris in 1252.⁸

In addition to those known to have been specifically of Irish origin, there were a number of English churchmen who had their careers in Ireland. One of these was John Derlington.⁹ Another was William of Hothum whose specific birthplace is not given, but who is known to have been at the same Dominican convent.¹⁰ Moreover, two Anglo-Irish Dominicans, Reginald and Godfrey of Waterford also stayed at the convent in mid-century before traveling on to the Holy Land.¹¹ In addition, four secular clergy in the faculty of arts: Maurice,¹² Patrick,¹³ Robert,¹⁴ and Thomas¹⁵ were each identified only as de Hibernia.

Such lack of specificity appears to have been the rule rather than the exception. Of the thirteen Irish known to have been in Paris in the fourteenth century only one, Egidius, is referred to as being from Dublin.¹⁶ The Irish origins of the others are not known. Several are identified only as de Hibernia. For example, Hugh, Denis and Richard, who were present at the Franciscan Convent in Paris¹⁷ were so designated. Other Franciscans at this studium were W. de Dendale,¹⁸ Hupert de Kalvesnaken¹⁹ and Thomas O'Colman.²⁰ Only one Dominican, William Charnells,²¹ is mentioned, as is one Carmelite, William Paul.²² Three scholars who were probably in secular orders were Thomas Mackinver²³ as well as a Thomas²⁴ and a William de Hibernia.²⁵ Furthermore, two apparent laymen, Stephen²⁶ and Nicholas,²⁷ were also identified only as de Hibernia.

Toward the end of the fourteenth century, there was a marked decrease in the number of foreign scholars in Paris. The papal schism, the war between England and France, as well as the establishment of

other university centers and the recurrent Black Death were no doubt contributing factors.²⁸ of these, the most immediate was the increasing enmity between the French and English. As the relations between England and France grew more troubled, the number of English, Scots and, presumably, the Irish in Paris declined drastically.²⁹

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the fifteenth century the presence of any Irish scholar in Paris cannot be confirmed.³⁰ In fact, despite the numerical stability of membership in the English-German nation, only two Englishmen are noted in the documents before 1480.³¹ Furthermore, while scholars who were members of the Scots province were known to be present in Paris, none of them can be identified as being from Ireland.³²

In summation, the number of Irish scholars in Paris from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century appears to be insignificant. The ample university documents reveal so few Irish that it may be assumed that either they were students who remained unrecorded or, if the Irish did travel abroad to centers of learning, they did not choose to visit Paris. Of those who did come, the information is meagre. More than half were mendicants -- Dominicans and Franciscans, one was a Carmelite, nine were secular clergy and possibly two were laymen. But for the most part, the shield of anonymity - de Hibernia - covered the Irish in Paris.

When we turn to Oxford, it is clear that the situation differed greatly. The university had already been recognized as a studium generale with a Chancellor at its head, when scholars from the four Provinces of Ireland began to arrive there to form one of the most important Southern (Austales) Nations of the University.³³ While their

numbers varied through the centuries, they remained a substantial proportion of the scholarly population. University and other records show that the Irish in Oxford numbered about forty-seven in the thirteenth century; that their number was increased to fifty-seven in the fourteenth century while, in spite of restrictions,³⁴ their number increased to eighty-three in the fifteenth century.³⁵ The Irish, therefore, appear to have represented about four per cent of the scholars in Oxford in the fourteenth century and about eight per cent in the fifteenth century when the university population at Oxford had dwindled.³⁶

Of the Irish scholars in thirteenth century Oxford, the documentary information is meagre. Only one Irish master, William of Drogheda, can be placed as possibly coming from Limerick.³⁷ He was very likely of an Anglo-Norman family.³⁸ The origins of the remaining forty-six scholars remain unknown; only the predominance of Anglo-Norman names³⁹ suggests that the few designated as de Hibernia, the one Patrick, William O'Fellan, David and John MacCarwell, may possibly be Gaelic Irish.

Fourteenth century records are somewhat more informative than those of the preceding century although they by no means provide a complete picture. Of the fifty-seven Irish who went to Oxford during this century, eight are known to have come from areas of the English "Pale" -- Louth, Limerick, Dublin, Meath⁴⁰ -- and their Anglo-Norman names bear this out. The others with similar names probably came from the same area. Matthew MacConmarre⁴¹ was connected with the Celtic diocese of Killoloe while Matthew O'Howen was a member of the renowned UaEogain clan.⁴² There are several somewhat anonymous individuals de Hibernia, among whom is the celebrated Malachy who wrote De Venemo

and who is reputed to have attended the Franciscan school at Oxford.⁴³ It would seem then, that there was a preponderance of Gaelic Irish during this period, although without full records it is impossible to ascertain for each of them the section of Ireland from which they came to Oxford in the fourteenth century.

Of the eighty-three scholars identified as Irish at Oxford in the fifteenth century, the records provide information about the dioceses of only forty-six. Not surprisingly, they almost all came from the areas of the Anglo-Norman settlements -- notably, the southeastern counties of Meath, Waterford, Wexford, the area around Dublin, and the northeastern counties of Ulster and Louth, the seat of the Primacy of Armagh.⁴⁴ Only six scholars were from the southwestern counties of Kerry, Clare and Tipperary;⁴⁵ two from Tyrone and one from Roscommon.⁴⁶

While Anglo-Norman names dominate the list, it becomes increasingly difficult to use this criteria in isolating the Gaelic Irish from the Anglo-Norman Irish. By the fifteenth century, intermarriage and cross cultural influences had created such hybrid cognomens as William MacKachathmayl.⁴⁷

As might be expected, the Irish at Oxford were, as far as the records inform us, in clerical orders. The sparse information available for the thirteenth century shows that at least four were known as clerks;⁴⁸ while Nicholas Cusach, reputed to have been a Franciscan friar,⁴⁹ may have been one of the first of that order in Ireland, since it is said to have reached Ireland in 1231 or 1232.⁵⁰

In the following century, several scholars are known to have been in minor secular orders, while nine were members of regular orders. Henry Crumpe, a Cistercian from the famous Baltinglass Abbey, County Wicklow, was in attendance around 1382.⁵¹ Also, each of three of the

four mendicant orders had members who are said to have traveled from Ireland to their order's Oxford Convent, namely: Walter Jorz, O.P. and John Tropt, O.P.;⁵² Malachy of Ireland, O.F.M.,⁵³ Hupert de Kalvesnaken, O.F.M.,⁵⁴ and Thomas O'Colman, O.F.M.;⁵⁵ Thomas Colby, O. Carm.,⁵⁶ John Geese, O. Carm.,⁵⁷ and David O'Bugey, O.Carm.⁵⁸

Furthermore, Matthew O'Howen, noted earlier as a member of the UaEogain clan, stands out as a possible member of the laity among the fourteenth century Irish at Oxford. Mention is made of his father, archdeacon of Clogher, his wife and sons, and no indication is given that he might have been in orders while studying at Oxford for fourteen years.⁵⁹

Available details on the Irish in Oxford in the fifteenth century show that those in secular orders far outnumbered the members of regular orders. Most of the seculars were, however, in several stages of minor orders, for example the ordination of eleven to the priesthood was recorded.⁶⁰

During this century, the earliest of the regular orders introduced into Ireland in the twelfth century, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, had four scholars in Oxford;⁶¹ and the Hermits of St. Augustine, a mendicant order which did not reach Ireland until the thirteenth century, sent one scholar to their Oxford Convent.⁶² The Franciscans apparently did not increase the number of Irish at their Oxford Convent since fifteenth century records indicate only Edmund Courcy⁶³ and Richard Gelis⁶⁴ in attendance. The Dominicans, also, sent two members to their Convent at Oxford: Denis Tully, O.P.⁶⁵ John Payne, O.P.,⁶⁶ and another Dominican, John O'Leachluyn⁶⁷ who reportedly left that order by 1453 to join the Cistercians.

The dearth of available information thus makes impossible a definitive identification of the Irish in Oxford from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. From the little information available, only a tentative and inconclusive summary can be drawn. In general, it would appear that it was the Anglo-Normans from the area of the Irish Pale who traveled to Oxford between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries to constitute at most perhaps eight per cent of the total number of scholars resident in Oxford. Furthermore, the available information indicates that, with one possible exception, all were probably in ecclesiastical orders of some kind. Of these, most were seculars, few were members of the regular orders represented at Oxford, namely the Cistercian, Augustinian Canons and Friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites. These orders were among those introduced into Ireland after the twelfth century reformation of the Irish Church had replaced the Celtic monastic system.

¹ Madeleine Toulouse, La Nation Anglaise-Allemande de L'Université de Paris (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1939), pp. 6, 17, 22.

Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, /1895/ 1935), I, 320n. Gray C. Boyce, The English-German Nation in the University of Paris (Bruges: The St. Catherine Press, 1927), p.28 ff. In addition, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, eds. Heinrich Denifle and Émile Chatelain (Paris: Didier, 1935-1964), Volumes, I, II, III, VI list over 250 Scoti. When dioceses have been mentioned, they are clearly from Scotland, e.g., St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, etc. None of these could be identified positively as Irish. v. Thomas Burke, Hibernica Dominicana (Cologne: Metternich, 1762), pp. 4-6 regarding the use of Scotus and Hiberniae to describe the Irish and the confusion regarding the nomenclature. Furthermore, all university-related documents have been cross-checked with my file of approximately 650 names of Irish churchmen and others, many of whom are reputed to have studied and obtained degrees somewhere. These names were garnered from Irish and British public records, episcopal registers, chartularies, annals and other pertinent sources.

² Annals of St. Mary's, Dublin (1151) in Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, ed. John T. Gilbert (London: Great Britain, Public Record Office, Chronicles and Memorials, No. 80, 1884), pp. 263-264. Also, Keating's History of Ireland, ed. and trans. P.S. Dinneen (Dublin: Irish Text society, 1902-1914), III, 315.

³ Walter A. Phillips, ed., History of the Church in Ireland (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II 78 ff.

⁴ A. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1968), pp. 126-127.

⁵Infra, R. Chancellor (p.87), Derlington (p.97), Maurice (p.107), Patrick (p.108), Robert (p.108), Reginald (pp.130-31), Thomas (pp.109-10), G. Waterford (p.138).

⁶Infra, pp. 81-140.

⁷Astrik Gabriel, "English-German Nation at the University of Paris from 1425-1494," Garlandia: Studies in the History of the Medieval University (Notre Dame, Ind.: The Medieval Institute, 1969), pp. 170-171. The Irish are also missing from Gabriel's geographic survey of the English-German nation.

⁸Augustin Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia, 1216-1547 (Rome: Vatican, 1864), p. 56. Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, ed. William H. Bliss (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893-1951), I (1198-1304), p. 287.

⁹Burke, p. 461.

¹⁰César E. DuBoulay, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris: F. Noel, 1666), III, 687. Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, ed. Heinrich Denifle and Franz Ehrle (Berlin, 1885-1900), V, 109. Luke Wadding, Annales Minorum, ed. P. Joseph, 3rd edition (Florence: Tipografia Babera /1625-1654/ 1931-1957), II, 238. Burke, pp. 462-463, 537.

¹¹Burke, p. 533.

¹²Chart. I, 530. DuBoulay, III, 418, 699.

¹³Chart. I, 589.

¹⁴Ibid., 602-604. DuBoulay, III, 469.

¹⁵Chart. II, 65. DuBoulay, III, 712. This is the same Thomas who is numbered among the scholars of the fourteenth century, supra p.3, infra, p. 109-10.

¹⁶Chart. II, 661.

¹⁷Georges Picot, Documents relatifs aux états généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901), p. 381. Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland A.D. 1230-1450, eds., E.B. Fitzmaurice and A.G. Little (Manchester: The University Press, 1920), p. 79. Canice Mooney, Devotional Writings of the Irish Franciscans (Killiney: Four Masters Press, 1952), pp.10-11.

¹⁸David Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae (London: n.p. 1737), II, 376, 378.

¹⁹Bullarium Franciscanum, ed. S. Sbaralea (Rome: n.p. 1765-68), VI, 578. also FML, p. 159.

²⁰BF, VI, 549. also FML, pp. 156-157.

²¹ALKG, II, 222.

that Drogheda is Irish are: James H. Baxter, et al., "Latinitatis Medii Aevi" in Bulletin Du Cange, VII, 1932, 160; M.U. von Bethmann-Hollweg, Der Civilprozess des Gemeinen Rechts, (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1874), VI, 123; Mario Esposito, "The Latin Writers of Medieval Ireland.: Hermathena, Vol. XVI, p. 72; Josiah Cox Russell, Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1936), pp. 186-7. Opposing views are: H. R. Richardson, "Azo, Drogheda and Bracton," The English Historical Review, Vol. LIX (1944), p. 22; F.D. Logan, article on William of Drogheda in New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw Hill & Co., 1967), Vol. XIV, p. 924.

³⁸A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), I, 594 lists some variations of his name as: Dorochwedus, Dorochius, de Drocheda, Droghedale, Drothedar, Droka, Drokedda, Drokedis, Droreda, Drouhedale, Droweda, Proreda. Patrick Woulfe, Irish Names and Surnames (Dublin: M.H. McGill, 1923), pp. 10-11, 172, where he notes that William was most frequently used by the Anglo-Normans. Also it was quite common for them to adopt local place names, i.e., Drogheda.

³⁹Woulfe, passim.

⁴⁰Phillips, II, 116.

⁴¹Phillips, II, 132. Infra, p.114.

⁴²Infra, p. 122.

⁴³Infra, p.107. Mario Esposito, "Friar Malachy of Ireland," English Historical Review, XXXIII, (1918), Malachy of Ireland 359-66 says the claim that Malachy was a student at Oxford is based on Bale's remark that Malachy was esteemed at Oxford. Though Wadding, VI, p. 176 and later writers also claimed Malachy as an Oxford student, Esposito says he finds no evidence for it but believes a connection with Oxford would not be improbable.

⁴⁴Phillips, II, 116. Infra, pp. 81-140.

⁴⁵Infra: Brown (p.84), Byllyan (pp.84-85), J. Cantwell /1427-52/, (pp.85-86), More (p.115), O'Griffa (p.121), Walsh (p.138).

⁴⁶Infra: O'Flannagan (p.119), O'Hannratty (p.122), O'Quirk (p.124).

⁴⁷Infra, p. 114. From Derry diocese (Ulster) (MacCamyll, MacKamayl). Otway-Ruthven, p. 125.

⁴⁸Infra: Burel (p.84), Cracfergus (p.91), Rathonar (p.130), Vilers (p.137).

⁴⁹Infra, pp. 95-96.

⁵⁰Phillips, II, 82.

⁵¹Infra, pp. 93-94. Emden, I, 524-5.

⁵²Infra, Jorz (pp.110-11), Tropt (p.137).

²²Monumenta Historia Carmelitana, ed. B. Zimmerman (Lerins, 1905), pp. 225-27.

²³Calendar of Entries into the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Petitions, ed., William H. Bliss (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896), I, 506.

²⁴Histoire Littéraire de la France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, ed., Benedictines of St. Maur (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1888), XXX, 398-408. There is some confusion as to how many Thomas's there were.

²⁵Chart., II, 224. DuBoulay, IV, 959.

²⁶Chart., II, 179-180.

²⁷Chart., II, 273.

²⁸Pearl Kibre, The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1961), pp. 108-110.

²⁹Garlandia, 168-169. AC, II, 458.

³⁰Supra, note 1, p. 9.

³¹Garlandia, 168-171. Supra p. 9.

³²v. Chart., IV, 109-110. The masters in this list of the English-German nation indicates that they were all Scots. It is tempting to list John de Irelandia, who figures prominently in university documents (AC, III, 821-822 and Vols. II, IV, VI passim), and William Irlandia (ibid., VI, 600, 619), as Irish. Both, however, are clearly identified as being from the diocese of St. Andrew in Scotland.

³³Snappe's Formulary, ed. H.E. Salter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 318-35. Rashdall, II, 3. Kibre, Nations, p. 161. Munimenta Academica, ed. Henry Anstey (Great Britain: Public Record Office, Chronicles and Memorials No. 50, 1858), I, 23.

³⁴Edmund Curtis, History of Medieval Ireland from 1100-1513 (London: MacMillan and Co., 1923), pp. 192, 225, 330-31, 342.

³⁵Infra, pp. 81-140.

³⁶H.E. Salter, Medieval Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press /OHS/ 1936), pp. 107-110. Though there is no conclusive evidence for the size of the University or the number of scholars in Oxford in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Salter, using documentary evidence, estimates that the university was most crowded c. 1303-1306 and in 1315 had about 1500 in residence. The number was reduced to about 1200 1400 and had dwindled to about 1000 by the mid-fifteenth century.

³⁷Francis de Zulueta, "William of Drogheda" in Melanges de droit romain dédiés à Georges Cornil (1926), p. 657 cites the inquest at Drogheda's death in the Assize Roll 700. Some other writers claiming

⁵³Infra, p. 107.

⁵⁴Infra, p. 111. He is also reported to have been at the Paris studium.

⁵⁵Infra, pp. 117-18. He is reported to have been at the Paris and Cambridge studia.

⁵⁶Infra, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁷Infra, pp. 101-102.

⁵⁸Infra, p. 117.

⁵⁹Infra, p. 121.

⁶⁰Infra, pp. 81-140.

⁶¹Infra: Fyche (p. 101), O'Lynch (pp. 123-124), O'Mulchonerre (p. 124), Scadan (p. 133).

⁶²Infra, p. 126.

⁶³Infra, pp. (90-91).

⁶⁴Infra, p. 102.

⁶⁵Infra, p. 137.

⁶⁶Infra, pp. 126-127.

⁶⁷Infra, p. 123.

POSSIBILITIES OF PREPARATORY STUDIES IN IRELAND

For admission to studies in Paris and Oxford, although there were no entrance examinations, students were presumably required to know how to read, write and speak Latin.¹ Unfortunately, since available records do not indicate the preparatory studies for any of the Irish scholars in Paris and Oxford, there seems to be no chance of obtaining exact information. It becomes necessary, therefore, to reconstruct the available educational agencies in Ireland, which would have provided them with preparatory instruction before they set out for Paris and Oxford.

In general, it might be noted that reverence for learning was an integral part of the social system in pre-Christian Ireland. Men of the learned class (aes dana) were accorded a privileged place in early Irish society, where they held a status equal to that of a petty king. Of the aes dana several groups, such as senchaid (historians), brithemain (jurists) and filid (seers and poets), survived and flourished in Christian times, preserving the history, law and poetry of Ireland through an oral tradition. The filid conducted the schools where the course of study was a sophisticated one which required twelve years of prescribed work before one would reach the highest rank of ollamh.²

Carried over into the Christian era, this secular learning continued as part of the Irish tribal system and was thus sustained through the patronage of the great families. Each family or tribe maintained its own historians, judges and poets, and bestowed special honors on them. The annals of Ireland provide evidence for the extent of such learning up to the sixteenth century on the part of both lay and ecclesiastical patrons who sponsored scholars in their studies.³

Co-existing with this native educational tradition in the

Christian era was that of the monastic schools, sometimes on the same site.⁴ The monastic system took hold in Ireland and the first monastic school was established by Finnian at Clonard in 515.⁵ Furthermore, the rule of St. Columba required monks to instruct neighbors as part of their duties.⁶ Going beyond this, it was not long before the Irish monastic schools had attracted teachers and students from near and far.⁷ Generally from the upper classes, students could receive an education in monastic schools without necessarily taking orders, although, while in monastic schools all boys were to live as monks. A close relationship would form between student and teacher, even though the former was in a subordinate position.⁸

Instruction was given individually or in small groups, out-of-doors or in whatever building happened to be available.⁹ That daily classes were conducted in the Irish language is suggested by an abundance of notes and glosses in Old and Middle Irish.¹⁰

The curriculum in monastic schools had as its core the study of biblical exegesis and was based on the study of Latin as a foreign language.¹¹ A student would begin to learn the Latin alphabet and script at the age of seven years. Next, he would learn to read with the Vulgate version of the Bible as a text.¹² His daily lesson also required that he memorize a Psalm and he would continue to do so until all the Psalms were memorized.¹³

Further studies in the legand or written learning included grammar. using, among others, the texts of Donatus and Priscian until an Irish-Latin grammar, Ars Malsachane, became available.¹⁴ The catechetical style of question and answer was used once some competence in Latin studies had been achieved. And, while there is little direct evidence for the study of arithmetic in the monastic schools, it has been pointed

out that the literature on the Paschal controversy indicates extensive knowledge of mathematics and astronomy.¹⁵

Of importance to exegetical studies was Isidore of Seville's Etymologies and other Isidorian works.¹⁶ Irish scholars were familiar with the Alexandrian and Antiochene schools of exegeses and were adept at using etymological interpretation, despite their scant knowledge of Greek and Hebrew grammar.¹⁷ They, however, did know Latin grammar. It can be said that the Irish scholars learned their Latin well and reflected the high standards of the early monastic schools in Ireland.¹⁸

Although the Viking invasions and faction fighting among the Irish leaders decimated the smaller Irish monastic houses, those houses with greater resources survived¹⁹ and, presumably, so did their educational system. Armagh was the one great school which is known to have survived these attacks. In 1162 the Synod of Clane decreed that no person could teach in an ecclesiastical school in Ireland unless he had completed his studies at Armagh.²⁰ A few years later, in 1169, King Roderich made an annual grant to maintain a teacher at Armagh to instruct youths of Ireland in literature.²¹

When one of these lecturers, Flann O' Gorman, died in 1174, it was noted that he had spent twenty years directing and governing Irish schools and that he was well-versed in both sacred and profane philosophy, having spent twenty-one years studying in France and England.²² Unfortunately, the school at Armagh did not grow. Probably it was hampered in its growth by political difficulties, such as the dispute which arose in 1203 over King John's attempt to replace the archbishop-elect with his own choice for the vacant See of Armagh.²³

By the thirteenth century, the cathedral system had been established in each Irish diocese. Chapters were constituted for these cathedrals

but appear to have been formed gradually, without uniform plan, throughout the medieval period.²⁴ Each cathedral was expected to maintain a schoolmaster to teach its clerks and other scholars.²⁵ Also, each religious order provided for the education of its members. In a number of these and in the grammar schools in some towns, that is, at a monastic, parish, convent or chantry school in the smaller towns or in the important centers at Armagh or Dublin,²⁶ presumably the rudimentary skills in Latin necessary for higher studies in a university could be acquired.

The Irish also had aspirations for the establishment of a university of their own. Dublin was the focus of this aspiration. In 1312, lamenting the lack of literate men in Ireland, Clement V granted the right to establish a university in Dublin.²⁷ Because of a disputed election and the threat of the Bruce invasion, it was not until 1320 that Archbishop Alexander Bicknor inaugurated the university in St. Patrick's Cathedral, providing for the office of Chancellor and the government of the studium. It was planned to have a faculty of Arts, as well as the higher faculties of Law and Theology. Theology was to be taught by friars William Hardite O.P., Edmund Kermerdyn O.P. and Henry Cogry O.F.M., while William Rodyard, Dean of St. Patrick's, was designated as the university's first Chancellor.²⁸ There is no evidence that the studium actually functioned, however. Although hopes for the new university were still apparent in 1496, its fortunes were adversely affected by Archbishop Bicknor's personal difficulties, his death in July, 1349, and the effects of the Black Death.²⁹ Furthermore, Dublin's political eclipse in the late fourteenth century might further explain why the university at Dublin seems never to have gone beyond its "paper" foundation.³⁰

There were no further attempts to establish a university in Ireland until 1463 when Edward IV decreed that a university modeled on Oxford should be established at Drogheda.³¹ Again, the university does not seem to have functioned and, at the close of the medieval period, Irish scholars still found it necessary to go abroad for their higher education, since this was not available in Ireland. Her scholars who thus went abroad to study and to teach, some to Paris and Oxford, as well as to other university centers, in order to follow the course of study in these centers would, of necessity, have had to have a working knowledge of the basic three R's: reckoning, reading and rhetoric or Latin grammar. Hence, though there is no direct evidence of the nature of their preparatory studies, it may perhaps be assumed from the fragments of evidence of the availability of such preparatory instruction that they had acquired in Ireland the skills necessary to undertake higher studies in Paris and Oxford.

¹Rashdall, III, 341-50.

²Francis J. Byrne, Irish Kings and High King, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 13-14. Dorothea Lawrence Browne, "The Church and Learning in Ireland 400-800," unpublished dissertation, New York University, 1975, pp. 13-15, 21-23.

³Eugene O'Curry, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish (London: William and Norgate, 1873), II, vi-viii, 68-178.

⁴Browne, pp. 24, 108-109.

⁵Ibid., pp. 72, 80.

⁶Ibid., pp. 103-104.

⁷Ibid., pp. 127-138.

⁸Ibid., pp. 117-118, 124-126.

⁹Ibid., pp. 144-146, 183.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 191, 204.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 178-179. Maartje Draak, "Construe Marks in Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts," Mededlingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks Deel 20, No. 10, 195w, 261-282.

¹²Browne, p. 201.

¹³Ibid., p. 179. Bethada Naem n'Erenn, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford: Oxford University Press /1929/, reprinted in 1968), II, 13.

¹⁴Ryan, Irish Monasticism (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931), p. 379 and Kenney, Sources for the Early History of Ireland, p.552, both cited by Browne, pp. 182-183.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 189-191.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 193-197.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 215-217.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 239-245.

¹⁹Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses - Ireland (London: Longman Ltd., 1970), pp. 28-46. Of 207 early monastic foundations, more than 50% ceased to function by the twelfth century. Of those remaining, 43% continued in some manner, 23% were turned over to the Augustinian Canons, another 23% became cathedrals. Another 10% became convents for nuns or Cistercian houses. Kathleen Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1966), pp. 199-245.

²⁰Annals of Ulster, ed. B. MacCarthy (Dublin: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893), II, p. 141. Annals of the Four Masters, ed. John O'Donovan (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1854), II, 1147 (1162).

²¹AFM, II, 1171-73 (1169).

²²AFM, II, 1 (1174).

²³AU, II, 248-249. John Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus, ed. and trans. M. Kelly (Dublin: Celtic Society Publications, 1848-52), I, 191 as cited by Alice Stopford Green, The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing (London: MacMillan and Co., LTD., 1908), pp. 312-313.

²⁴Phillips, II, 79-84. MRH, pp. 47-101.

²⁵Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, ed. J.D. Mansi (Paris, 1778, reprinted 1961), XXII, columns 227-228, 999-1000.

²⁶William Tempest, reviewing one of Aubrey Gwynn's articles in County Louth Archeological Society, VII, Pt. 4 (1933), 553-554, discusses the existence of highly organized chantry schools in the counties of Louth and Meath. Otway-Ruthven, p. 143. Edmund Campion, A History of Ireland (1571) (Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, New York, 1914). Writing from materials collected while in Ireland c. 1569, Campion speaks of the "meere Irish" (Gaelic-Irish) ". . . they speake Latine like a vulgar language . . ." and goes on to discuss their schools. If his observations are correct, one might expect that such education had been continued from an earlier period. It should be noted that according to the Oxford English Dictionary, V, 476; VI, 353, his use of "meere Irish" refers to the native or pure Irish, who were the vast majority of the population at the time of his visit. The last half of the sixteenth century marked the beginning of the plantations which displaced the native population in favor of English settlers.

²⁷CPR (1304-1342), II, 102. Burke, p. 66. W. Monck Mason, The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick Near Dublin (Dublin: W. Folds, 1820), p. 117, Appendix ix.

²⁸Burke, pp. 190-191. Gwynn, MRH, p. 74. Mason, pp. 97-98n, 100-101 and the Ordinatio of Archbishop Alexander Bicknor in Appendix, pp. x-xi.

²⁹Burke, pp. 85, 190-191. Gwynn, MRH, p. 74.

³⁰Rashdall, II, p. 86.

³¹Gwynn, Studies, pp. 199-212.

RELATION OF IRISH TO PARIS AND OXFORD

Although little information has come down to us regarding the daily life of the Irish in Paris, perhaps it can be inferred that, like their colleagues from other countries, the Irish were lodged in some of the numerous hospices and colleges which were established on the left bank of the Seine.¹ The scholars of various localities had early set up houses where they could live together with their countrymen.² One such foundation, dedicated to St. Thomas-du-Louvre, housed poor scholars in the arts. Here, Robert of Ireland was one of the resident masters who supervised the instruction of these scholars.³ While there is no evidence of a house exclusively for Irish scholars, some may have mingled with the Scots in their houses on the Rue des Fosses-St. Victor.⁴ Or perhaps, like Egidius of Dublin, they would have taken lodgings in the Clos Bruneau where other members of the English-German nation resided.⁵ Unlike some of his peers however, Egidius of Dublin did not choose to share his accommodations with other students.⁶

Even in the thirteenth century, and certainly later, a variety of lodgings from which to choose were available to Irish scholars, such as Maurice, Patrick and William of Ireland, as well as Thomas Mackinver. Their particular living arrangements were not identified; but as regent masters in arts,⁷ they could be found in the respective assemblies of their Faculty at the convent of the Mathurins⁸ or in the Church of St. Julien-le-Pauvre,⁹ among their colleagues in arts.

Persons from Ireland were also to be found among the librarii or booksellers who were under the jurisdiction of the faculty of arts as clients of the university.¹⁰ As such, for example, Stephen and Nicholas of Ireland were under the supervision of the rector of the university.¹¹ They were required to take an oath of obedience to the regulations of

the university,¹² in exchange for which they received specific privileges, such as exemptions from some taxes and other impositions, and were assured a virtual monopoly over the production and sale of books.¹³ Of course, if they refused to take the oath or reneged on its provisions, they were liable to sanctions by the university.¹⁴ Otherwise, they were assured of their rights by the rector's letter of approval under the official seal of the university.¹⁵ Furthermore, a board of four masters and four principal booksellers were named by the university to set the fees to be charged by these approved booksellers.¹⁶ In order to comply with these regulations it can be assumed that approved booksellers such as Stephen and Nicholas had some degree of learning since it was essential to the functioning of the university that they provide accurate texts at a reasonable price to the students and masters of the schools.¹⁷

Frequently, masters in the faculty of arts were also bachelors in the higher faculties. Those who were members of the faculty of theology, for example, were the beneficiaries of Robert de Sorbon, Canon of Paris and royal chaplain, who had established the college of the Sorbonne for poor secular clerks wishing to study theology.¹⁸ Originally planned to house four scholars from each of the four nations, the college of the Sorbonne soon grew in size and prestige.¹⁹

In order to facilitate their theological studies, a library was established at the Sorbonne in the second half of the thirteenth century. It soon became an important repository of books.²⁰ One of the benefactors of this library was Thomas of Ireland, a fellow of the Sorbonne,²¹ who donated several manuscripts which became part of a collection in the community reading room.²² This collection contained the works which were most frequently studied and were kept on chains for easy access to the scholars in theology.²³

Mendicants interested in the study of theology were also drawn to the intellectual atmosphere in Paris.²⁴ The Dominicans who came to Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, among whom were John Derlington, William de Hothum, William Charnells, Reginald and Godfrey of Waterford, were quartered in that order's convent on the Rue St. Jacques.²⁵ Similarly, the Franciscans were settled in a convent on the Rue des Cordeliers near the Church of Sts. Cosmos and Damien, on land obtained from the abbot of St. Germain des Prés.²⁶ At the beginning of the fourteenth century, two Irish Franciscans at this convent, Hugh and Denis, jeopardized their continued residence in Paris by voicing their opposition to Philip the Fair's appeal against Boniface VIII in 1303.²⁷ Shortly thereafter, another Irish Franciscan, W. de Denedale reportedly was present during the testimony of a Templar. Presumably this was in the spring of 1308 when, on trial before Philip and his court, the Templars were forced to confess to their evil ways and Pope Clement V was coerced into renouncing them.²⁸

The foregoing anecdotes indicate that a few of the Irish in Paris were involved, albeit tangentially, in the political struggle between the French king and the Papacy. What little else is known about the Irish in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries suggests that, with one exception, they were not outstanding. The mendicants lived in their respective convents while those in secular orders presumably had lodgings similar to their colleagues in the English-German nation. It would seem therefore, that the Irish in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries settled into the mundane life at this center of learning; some as masters or students in the arts and two as booksellers to that faculty; one as a fellow in the faculty of theology; and the others, as members of the Franciscans and Dominicans, the two dominant

religious orders at Paris.

Similarly, in Oxford the Irish scholars appear to have had connections with the convents, priories, abbeys and halls of that city. As already mentioned, scholars in regular orders resided at their respective convents, in particular those of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Cistercians, Augustinians and Carmelites.²⁹ A few others remained with their orders at the priories of St. Frideswide and Littlemore, while others did so at the abbey of Oseney.³⁰

A greater number of Irish scholars joined the students in Oxford halls.³¹ Among the few known to have rented halls in the fourteenth century were Mailler of Ireland, Ape Hall;³² Laurence of Ireland and Rouhelt of Ireland, St. Andrews Hall;³³ Thomas de Keting, Chimney Hall;³⁴ and Walter Le Whit of Ireland, Sheld Hall.³⁵ More complete records of the fifteenth century halls indicate that, although Aristotle Hall in Logic Lane was the most popular, throughout the century the Irish scholars lodged in about a dozen of the Oxford Halls.³⁶

There were only two nations in the University in Oxford; northerners or Boreales and southerners or Australes. The Irish, along with the Welsh, were among the southern (Australes) nation of the university.³⁷ Throughout the medieval period, frequent dissensions occurred between the northern and southern nations.³⁸ Irish participation in the peace accords is well documented, notably those of 1252 and 1267.³⁹ Maurice O'Deorroghayn⁴⁰ was wounded in a fourteenth century "town and gown" conflict; Robert of Ireland⁴¹ was arrested and jailed for burglary (1243-46). Other Irish scholars were convicted for violent attacks on persons, some even were involved in murders.⁴² Two thirteenth century scholars, William of Drogheda⁴³ and William of Hibernia⁴⁴ were themselves slain. However, when we take note of the

considerable number of Irish recorded to have been in Oxford from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century,⁴⁵ also the fact that a foul deed is more often recorded than is good behavior, and that this was a violent age, the number of these misdeeds is small in proportion to the size of the Irish community of scholars presumed to have been in Oxford during this period.

It is precisely because of a supposed Irish penchant for violence and disorder, coupled with a fear of Irish uprisings that the fourteenth and fifteenth century English monarchs promulgated statutes and proclamations placing restrictions on the Irish. The Irish Parliament at Dublin had already reflected this bias in 1310 when it forbade "mere" Irish from entering a religious order among the English in the area of the Pale.⁴⁶ Though the lack of facilities for higher education in Ireland was of concern to Irish scholars, by the fifteenth century fear of Irish uprisings and disloyalty was still so great that it became necessary to post security in order for an Irish scholar to travel to Oxford or elsewhere for the purposes of study.⁴⁷

Similar restrictive steps in regard to the Irish were taken in England. In 1394, King Richard II ordered that all Irishmen of whatever background be required to leave England within two months.⁴⁸ Concern for peace within the realm of England prompted the distinction, by 1413, between Irish clerks and beggars, who were compelled to leave, and the Irish graduates in the schools, serjeants and apprentices at the law and other reputable Irishmen, who were allowed to remain in England.⁴⁹ Within a few years, however, church promotions were denied the Irish because their Irish servants might "find out the secrets of the English."⁵⁰

Moreover, members of the Irish community in the Oxford area were singled out as the cause of various felonies which were especially disturbing to the university. As a result, other orders for expulsion and

restrictions were enacted in 1422⁵¹ and 1423.⁵² Irish graduates were forbidden to have halls of their own, and were required to live under the principality of others.⁵³ All Irish scholars were required to present a letter under the seal of the Justiciar of Ireland to the Chancellor of the university before being admitted to study there.⁵⁴ Throughout the fifteenth century, the Irish continued to be treated as aliens, felons and rebels. Another order for their expulsion was enacted in 1477 during the reign of Edward IV.⁵⁵

Yet despite such restrictive measures, the Irish continued to be found in Oxford in increasing numbers. Apparently all they did was to obtain the requisite letter and pay the necessary fees. In Oxford, the Irish appear to have constituted an active part of the student community. They lived in the various Oxford halls and, though there is no record of their other lodgings, they presumably were among the many Oxford scholars who took rooms in Oxford homes. Those who were in regular orders were generally to be found in their respective convents, abbeys and priories.

Moreover, as members of the southern nation at the University, the Irish participated in the not uncommon clashes between the nations of the University, as well as those between the townsfolk and the University. It has been shown, too, that Irishmen were both lawbreakers and the victims of such acts. Their behavior would not seem, however, to have differed radically from that of their English colleagues, and certainly not sufficiently so to have warranted the restrictions placed on them from the late fourteenth into the fifteenth century. However, although these restrictions may have been responsible for a proportionate decline in their numbers, it is apparent that Irish scholars continued to attend the schools of Oxford right up to the close of the medieval period, or the fifteenth century.

¹Rashdall, I, 498-501. Stephen d'Irsay, Histoire des Universités Francaises et Etrangères (Paris: August Picard, 1933), I, 155-156.

²Astrik Gabriel, Skara House at the Medieval University of Paris (Notre Dame, Ind.: The Mediaeval Institute, 1960), pp. 15-17, Boyce, pp. 140-147.

³Chart., I, 602-605. DuBoulay, III, 469. Rashdall, I, 503-504.

⁴AC, I, Memorabilia, xix, although Toulouse (pp.25, 118) points out there is no mention in the documents of a house for Scots. Cf. Dubarle, I, 133-134, 143. Rashdall, I, 538.

⁵Chart., II, 661. Gabriel, Skara, pp. 70-71, 110.

⁶Chart., II, 661. Rashdall, I, 499-500.

⁷Chart., I, 530, 589; II, 215.

⁸AC, I, 15, 287, 293, 881; II, 423; III, passim. Rashdall, I, 480. Kibre, Nations, pp. 73-74, 102-103.

⁹AC, I, 19, 20, 878; II, 333, 894. Rashdall, I, 480. Kibre, Nations, pp. 73-74. 102, 103.

¹⁰Rashdall, I, 421n. According to Rashdall, there is a distinction between stationarius and librarius, the former as producer of new books, the latter a seller of books. He concedes, nevertheless, that the statute of 1275 refers to them as synonymous: ". . .stacionarii, qui vulgo librarii appellantur." Cf. Kibre, Privileges, 251.

¹¹Chart., II, 179-180, 273.

¹²Chart., I, 533; II, 179-180, 190-192, 978. Kibre, Oaths, 123-124.

¹³Kibre, Privileges, pp. 162, 168, 188.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 251-255. Chart., II, 179-180, 190-192.

¹⁵Kibre, Privileges, p. 168.

¹⁶Ibid., 252. Rashdall, I, 422. Chart., II, 190-192.

¹⁷Kibre, Privileges, pp. 251-254.

¹⁸René Hardré, "A Brief History of the University of Paris and of the Sorbonne," The Septicentennial Celebration of the Founding of the Sorbonne College in the University of Paris, Proceedings and Papers (Chapel Hill, N.C. : The University of North Carolina, 1953), pp.8-9. Rashdall, I, 507. Chart., I, 505-514.

- ¹⁹Rashdall, I, 507.
- ²⁰Léopold Delisle, Histoire Générale de Paris: Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1874), II, 142, 181.
- ²¹Jordon of Saxony, Liber Vitasfrateum, ed. Rudolph Arbesmann and Winfrid Humpfner (New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Co., 1943), p. 171. Delisle, II, 176 "socius domus." Elsewhere, Salter points out that in college statutes, a fellow is called socius or scholaris, p. 98.
- ²²Delisle, II, 142, 200n.
- ²³Ibid., II, 181-182.
- ²⁴Rashdall, I, 346-347.
- ²⁵Appendices I and II. Rashdall, I, 372-373. Louis Halphen, "Les Origines de L'Université de Paris, " Aspects de L'Universite de Paris (Paris: Albin Michel, 1949), p. 23.
- ²⁶Wadding, Annales, II, 431; III, 48-49.
- ²⁷Fitzmaurice, FML, p. 79. Picot, p. 381. Chart., II, 101-102.
- ²⁸Infra, p.96.
- ²⁹Supra, pp. 89.
- ³⁰Infra: St. Frideswide: Calfhead (p.85), Charer (p.88), Richard (p.131), Walsh (p. 138), Warying (p.138): Littlemore: Daniel (p.95): Oseney: Cornysh (pp.89-91), Cusach (pp.95-96), D.MacCarwell (p.113).
- ³¹Salter, p. 95.
- ³²Infra, p.107.
- ³³Infra, pp.107, 109. Anthony Wood, Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), I, p. 189 lists a Master Laurence of Hybernia as having rented this St. Andrew's Hall in the reign of Edward III.
- ³⁴Infra, p.112.
- ³⁵Infra, p.112.
- ³⁶John Rowse's Catalogue of Colleges and Halls in Wood, I, Appendix K, p. 639, especially notes Aristotle, Heron and Vine halls as residences of the Irish legists. Wood also indicates that Beef Hall in St. Ebb's parish was at times favored by Irish clerks (I, 211), and that Irishman Street was so named probably because Irish students and/or businessmen were situated there (I, 363-65). A.B. Emden, An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p.30 points out

that it was not until the fifteenth century that the University insisted that undergraduates reside in halls.

³⁷Kibre, Nations, p. 161.

³⁸Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis, ed. Strickland Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 84-89, 108-109, 128-30, 151-54, 203. Kibre, Nations, pp. 162-66.

³⁹Gibson, p. 87. Wood, I, 27ln.

⁴⁰Infra, p. 151.

⁴¹Infra, p. 141.

⁴²John de Falworth (infra, p. 131), Henry de Rathonar (infra, p. 164), and William de Cracfergus (infra, p.122), in the thirteenth century; Thomas de Keting (infra, pp. 144-145), Walter (infra, p. 142) and another Robert of Hibernia (infra, p.141) were all involved in murders.

⁴³The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1908), II, 174n. cites the Assize role 700. Drogheda is reported as having been murdered by his valet in 1245.

⁴⁴Infra., p. 143. A tailor and clerk, William was apparently attacked and slain by about a dozen Oxford scholars in his house by the town wall opposite Smith Gate in 1285.

⁴⁵Infra., pp.181-140, list a total of 187 Irish scholars at Oxford from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.

⁴⁶Ireland, Statutes and Ordinances, ed. Henry F. Berry (Dublin: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1907), I, 273.

⁴⁷Harris, Collecteana, III, p. 27 cited by Curtis, pp.278-9,330.

⁴⁸Calendar of the Close Rolls, Richard II, V, 1392-1396 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), p. 295.

⁴⁹Calendar of the Close Rolls, Henry V, I, 1413-1419 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), p.110.

⁵⁰Ibid., 425. Curtis, pp. 330-31.

⁵¹Berry, I, 560-61. Rot. Parl., IV, pp. 13, 190, as cited by Curtis, 330-31. Enactments in Parliament, ed. Lionel L. Shadwell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), I, 18-21.

⁵²Curtis, p. 342.

⁵³Enactments, I, 20.

⁵⁴Ibid., I, 21.

⁵⁵Ibid., I, 73-74.

COURSE OF STUDY FOLLOWED BY IRISH SCHOLARS

Available records do not disclose precise information about the studies undertaken by the Irish who were known to have been in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, since these Irish scholars have been identified with either the faculty of arts or of theology, it might be assumed that they followed the accepted procedure for matriculation and curriculum in each of these faculties.

Matriculation in the faculty of arts took place when an incoming student associated himself with a regent master in the arts, usually one who came from the same geographical area as he did. As a suppositus or undergraduate, the matriculated student was, through his master, subject to the authority of the university.¹ However, the matriculation rolls are not as informative as one might wish regarding the number of Irish students in Paris because a student's name generally did not appear in the records until he became a determinans in preparation for a baccalaureate in arts.² Thus, in 1329, one Irish scholar, Egidius of Dublin, was listed as a determinant by the receptor, the financial officer of the university.³ However, although it was customary to list on such an occasion the bursa or requisite payment made by the determinant to the university, the sum owed by Egidius was not stated. Although there is no indication that the payment had been waived for reasons of poverty, such a waiver would have given him a dispensation from his financial obligation to the university. As a determinant, Egidius would have been eligible for the baccalaureate degree in arts, since he presumably would have attended lectures, both ordinary and cursory, on logic, that is, on the Old and New Logic; on the three philosophies: natural, moral and metaphysical; on grammar, that is, on Priscian major and minor and on Donatus' Barbarismus, as well as on Aristotle's de Anima, the Ethics and Topics,⁷ all of which were taught in

the schools of the faculty of arts.⁸ Presumably Egidius attended lectures in some or all of these and participated in the requisite disputations in one of the schools of the English-German nation in the Rue du Fouarre⁹ before he presented himself to be examined for the baccalaureate degree in arts.¹⁰

The student who attained this degree might then go on toward the licentiate and the master in arts.¹¹ The candidate was incepted or admitted to mastership after having lectured cursorily for one year as a bachelor, after which he was accorded a license to teach.¹² However, we have no further information about Egidius in this regard. In fact, while the lists of determinants, licentiates and incepting masters of the English-German nation seem fairly complete, the Irish are conspicuously absent.¹³ On the other hand, despite the assertion that Irish clerks were noted for their lack of scholastic degrees,¹⁴ seven Irishmen were mentioned as having been masters in the arts at Paris. Of these, Thomas Mackinver and Richard the Chancellor are identified as masters in arts, although not necessarily regent or teaching masters.¹⁵ The others, namely Thomas, Robert, Patrick, William and Maurice -- all of whom were called "de Hibernia" -- were regent masters of arts who examined candidates for the licentiate¹⁶ and participated generally in the teaching and governance of the university.¹⁷

Presumably, these masters had attained the baccalaureate either at Paris or some other university. Some of them also may have continued their studies in one of the higher faculties. The only Irishman for whom such evidence is available is a certain Thomas, who held the master in arts in 1295 and earned the bachelor of theology degree by 1306.¹⁸ Thomas, in one of his extant works, drew attention to the fact that the study of the arts is the foundation of the loftier one of theology.¹⁹

Furthermore, Thomas was cited as the author of a disputation on the Sentences of Peter Lombard,²⁰ a basic text in the theological curriculum at Paris and Oxford.²¹

In addition to the Irish scholars in the university were those pursuing the study of theology in the schools of the mendicant orders.²² Of these, the Dominicans, founded as a bulwark against heresy, had established in their convent at Paris in 1217 a studium for the study of theology.²³ The Franciscans, though presumably less intellectual in their aims, also had established a course of theological studies at their convent.²⁴

It was to the Dominican and Franciscan houses that most of the Irish in Paris were drawn. Among those named are John Derlington, William Charnells and William de Hothum who were masters of theology at the Dominican priory of St. Jacques in thirteenth and fourteenth century Paris.²⁵ Their interest in theology was consistent with the Dominican requirements that members concentrate their studies in theology.²⁶ Moreover, in accordance with an emphasis on the study of languages to aid in their mission of spreading God's word,²⁷ Godfrey of Waterford, in Paris around 1237, was reputed to have become skilled in French (Gallic), Latin, Greek and Arabic.²⁸

Among the Irish Franciscans in Paris were two fourteenth century scholars, Thomas O'Colman and Hugh Kalvesnaken who studied theology at both the Paris and the Oxford convents of their order.²⁹ The others who stopped at the Paris convent -- Hugh, Richard, Denis and W. de Dendale -- no doubt availed themselves of ongoing lectures.

There is no available evidence to link Irish scholars at Paris with the higher faculties of law and medicine although a considerable number had indicated their interest in these faculties. For example,

of one hundred names found in the documents regarding permission to be absent from their benefices for the purpose of study, three are noted as having studied medicine and seventy-three are recorded as having studied canon or civil law or both.³⁰

It would seem, therefore, that the Irish at Paris were there primarily as members of the mendicant orders and most likely studied theology at their respective convents. One of the Irish, named Thomas, was among the secular clergy who studied theology at the Sorbonne, after having earned a master's degree in the arts. He was among the six secular clergy -- Thomas Mackinver, Richard the Chancellor, and Thomas, Robert, Patrick, William and Maurice -- who were masters in the arts and members of that faculty's English-German nation at Paris.

Of the Irish scholars in Oxford, available evidence is scanty on the course of study pursued by individuals. In all probability, they followed the basic curriculum of the faculty of arts which was similar to that of Paris.³¹ Then, presumably, they proceeded to the higher faculties of either medicine, civil and canon law, or theology.³²

Scholars at Oxford in the thirteenth century whose studies are known are William de Solars, student in the arts;³³ Henry de Cardis, John de Herford, Patrick, John of St. Bridget, John de Ta and John de Thorney, masters in arts;³⁴ and William of Drogheda, master of canon law.³⁵ There is an indication that a few fourteenth century scholars are known to have incepted in arts, civil and canon law, and theology. Among these are Richard FitzRalph who was awarded both the bachelor's and master's degrees in arts by 1351.³⁶ Several Irishmen reportedly studied civil and canon law, among them Michael de la Felde who received his bachelor of canon law by 1388.³⁷ In the faculty of theology, Henry Crumpe, O. Cist., was said to have been a regent master in theology,³⁸

while the elder Richard FitzRalph, who had received his master in arts and bachelor in theology degrees by 1329, is known to have incepted for the advanced degree in theology by 1331.³⁹

In the fifteenth century on the other hand, an overwhelming interest in legal studies is evident for the Irish in Oxford. Of those known to us, most are found to have studied in the faculties of canon and civil law, at least seven of whom received bachelor's degrees in both laws: John Cantwell (1427-9), David Creagh, William Haddesors, Denis O'Dea, John Prene, William Rath.⁴⁰ Eight seem to have received only the bachelor of canon law or the bachelor of civil law degrees.⁴¹ John Stackpole was a teaching master of canon law who is mentioned as having been principal of the canon law school in 1441.⁴² Patrick Ragged studied both civil and canon law and received an advanced degree in canon law.⁴³

Irish scholars did not neglect the other faculties in the fifteenth century. For example, John Spencer, determined for his bachelor in arts degree in 1456⁴⁴ and, as Principal of St. Thomas Hall, Henry Caldey was master of arts in 1436.⁴⁵ Thomas Cornysh incepted for his master's in arts in 1457, after which he continued his studies in the faculty of theology, receiving his bachelor of theology in 1466.⁴⁶ Several other scholars were in this faculty, among them: William Colan, who received his bachelor of theology in 1434⁴⁷ and Adam Payne, who received the advanced degree in theology by 1413.⁴⁸ Noticeably, there is no reference to any Irish scholars in the faculty of medicine.

Of the seven noted as "Magister" in the thirteenth century, six were in the faculty of arts and William of Drogheda is known to have taught in the faculty of law.⁴⁹ Fourteenth century records indicate four as "Magister": Nicholas Fleming,⁵⁰ Nicholas O'Grada,⁵¹ Stephen de

Walle,⁵² and Maurice of Ireland.⁵³ Only Simon Cantwell⁵⁴ and Nicholas O'Fyllym⁵⁵ are specifically referred to as "Magister" in the fifteenth century.

Richard FitzRalph (the elder), seems to have been the only Irish administrator of the university in Oxford, having served briefly (1333-34) as Chancellor during the period of the Stamford Schism,⁵⁶ when his high-handed manner occasioned a parody on his behavior.⁵⁷

Presumably, based on the available information, the Irish in Oxford pursued studies in the faculties of arts, civil and canon law, theology, and possibly in medicine. From the evidence on the studies of the later scholars, the Irish apparently concentrated on the subjects of law and theology, especially the former. Since only a few Irish are known to have taught in the Oxford schools, and only one, Richard FitzRalph, is known to have served as Chancellor, it appears that the majority of the Irish in Oxford were students.

- ¹Nations, pp. 15-16. Privileges, p. 150n. Rashdall, I, 521.
- ²AC, I, Memorabilia, XXVIII. Charles Samaran, "La Vie Estudiantine à Paris au Moyen Age," Aspects, pp. 115-116.
- ³Chart., II, 661. Garlandia, p. 174.
- ⁴Ibid., Chart., I, 230-231.
- ⁵Garlandia, pp. 174-177.
- ⁶Ibid., although it was customary for the dispensation to be noted as cujus bursa nihil or juravit paupertatem, p. 186. Chart., III, 160-161.
- ⁷Chart., I, 227-229. Rashdall, I, 433-434, 440-443, 452-466. Paetow, pp. 7-8.
- ⁸Rashdall, I, 439-471. Eugene Dubarle, Histoire de L'Université de Paris (Paris: Didot Frères, 1844), I, 132.
- ⁹The lectures in the arts were initially given in any facility available; there were no university buildings, those rooms needed were rented or borrowed for the occasion. Rashdall, I, 406-407. Dubarle, I, 132-134. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the schools of the faculty of arts were located in the rue de Fouarre on the left bank of the Seine, P. Glorieux, "La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Principaux Docteurs au XIII^e Siecle," Aspects. Théophile Du Vernet, Histoire de La Sorbonne (Paris: Chez Buisson, 1790), I, 15. G. Dupont-Ferrier, "La Faculté des Arts dans L'Université de Paris et son Influence Civilisatrice," Aspects, pp. 71-76. Samaran, Aspects, pp. 111-112. Rashdall, I, 454-455.
- ¹⁰Rashdall, I, 454-455.
- ¹¹Dubarle, I, 64. Dupont-Ferrier, Aspects, p. 70. Rashdall, I, 450-454. Chart., I, 227-232.
- ¹²DuBoulay, IV, 243 ff. AC, I, Memorabilia, xxviii.
- ¹³Boyce, p. 21. For example, CPP, I, 539, 545, 547, 560-561, 565, 584, 627 and elsewhere in this and other volumes of Papal Petitions.
- ¹⁴CPP, I, 467.
- ¹⁵CPP, I, 505-506. CPR, I, 287. Theiner, 56.
- ¹⁶Chart., I, 589.
- ¹⁷Rashdall, I, 309-311.
- ¹⁸Chart., II, 65. Jordan of Saxony, p. 171. HLF, XXX, 400, 402.
- ¹⁹HLF, XXX, 405.

²⁰Ibid., XXX, 407. Léopold Delisle, "Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, Histoire Générale de Paris, ed. M. le Baron Haussmann (Paris: Municipal Council /no. 10/, 1874), II, 159.

²¹Rashdall, I, 474-478.

²²Rashdall, I, 344-346.

²³Ibid., I, 347.

²⁴Ibid., I, 348 and note.

²⁵Infra: Derlington (pp.128-129), Charnells (p.118), Hothum (p.137).

²⁶Chart., I, 112-113. In fact, they were enjoined from studying the secular sciences.

²⁷Chart., I, 317-319.

²⁸Burke, pp. 60, 538-539. Infra, p.138.

²⁹Infra, p. 111, 117-18.

³⁰One hundred names are cited in CPL, IV-XII passim.

³¹Supra, pp.30-31, for Paris. Also, for Oxford, Academica, II, 410-15. James A. Weisheipl, "Curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Oxford in the Early Fourteenth century," Medieval Studies, XXVI, 1964, pp. 168-176. Rashdall, III, 153-156.

³²Academica, II, 383-408. Rashdall, III, 156-159.

³³Infra, p. 134.

³⁴Infra; Cardis (p.87), Herford (p.104), Patrick (p.125), St.Bridget (pp.131-32), Ta (135), Thorney (p.136).

³⁵Infra, p.98.

³⁶Infra, pp.100-1 This Richard FitzRalph is the nephew of the man by the same name, whose career will be discussed in greater detail below.

³⁷Infra, p.99.

³⁸Infra, p.93-94.

³⁹Infra, p.100.

⁴⁰Infra: Cantwell, (pp 85-86), Creagh, (p. 92), Haddesors (p.103) O'Dea (p.118), Prene (p.128), Talbot (p.135).

⁴¹A total of forty-one in legal studies. Eight of these received the degree of bachelor of canon law. Infra: Corkeran (p.89), Cranley (p.92), Felde (p.99), Motyng (pp.115-116), O'Hurley (pp.122-123), Porter (p.127), Shanahan (p.133), Weston (p.139). Six received the degree of bachelor of civil law. Infra: Ardagh (pp.81-82), J.Cantwell/1439-82/ (p.86), Howgan (pp.105-106), Lehwyra (p.112), Rowe (p.131).

⁴²Infra, pp. 134-135.

⁴³Infra, pp. 129-130.

⁴⁴Infra, p. 134.

⁴⁵Infra, p. 85.

⁴⁶Infra, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁷Infra, p. 88.

⁴⁸Infra, p. 126.

⁴⁹Infra: Arts: Cardis (p.87), Herford (p.104), St. Bridget (pp.131-32), Stragoil (p.135), Ta (p.135), Thorney (p.136). Law: Drogheda (p.98).

⁵⁰Infra, p. 101.

⁵¹Infra, pp.120-121.

⁵²Infra, pp. 137-138.

⁵³Infra, pp. 107-108.

⁵⁴Infra, pp. 86-87.

⁵⁵Infra, p. 120.

⁵⁶Infra, pp.41-42. H.E. Salter, "The Stamford Schism," English Historical Review, Vol. XXXVII (1922), pp. 250-51.

⁵⁷Infra, pp. 41-42.

CAREERS OF IRISH WHO WERE AT OXFORD AND PARIS

Irish students of law and theology were no doubt preparing for their later careers, which were largely in ecclesiastical posts in Ireland and England. The careers of the Irish who were at Paris were diversified. In the thirteenth century, Godfrey and Reginald of Waterford, both Dominicans, were papal penitentiaries who had stayed in Paris before traveling to the Holy Land in the hope of converting the heathen in the East. Later they notified the community at St. Jacques that Master Jordan, General of the order, had been drowned off the Anatolian coast. Although Godfrey's later career is not known, Reginald is known to have served as Archbishop of Armagh from 1247 until his death in 1256.¹

Two English Dominicans who held positions in Ireland and had been active in the scholastic life of Paris both became archbishops of Dublin. John Derlington held that position from 1279 until 1297, after having served as emissary from Edward I to Pope Nicholas III in 1278.² The other, William de Hothum, twice provincial of the order (1282-87, 1290-96), was appointed archbishop of Dublin in 1296 and remained so until his death in 1298. In 1297, the year prior to his death, he served as envoy of Edward I to Boniface VIII.³

Of the secular clergy at Paris, it is known that Richard the Chancellor, a native of Ferns, was granted a canonry in that diocese.⁴ Unfortunately, there is no information available after their days in Paris for Maurice, Patrick and Robert, each known only as de Hibernia.⁵

The cloak of anonymity provided by de Hibernia prevents knowing much about those so designated. In the fourteenth century, William of Ireland is known to have served as Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin

in 1318.⁶ Thomas of Ireland, who was the author of Manipulus Floren around 1306 and contributed a number of volumes to the library of the Sorbonne, served as rector of the university but nothing further is known of his professional life.⁷ On the other hand, Thomas Mackinver was precentor of Limerick in 1365.⁸ Two Englishmen, William Charnells and William Paul, held posts of greater importance. William Paul, O. Carm., was consecrated Bishop of Meath in 1327 and served in that position until his death in 1349.⁹ William Charnells, O.P., was Treasurer of Ireland and then Bishop of Ferns from April, 1350 until his death in July, 1362.¹⁰

Indications are that whatever duties were undertaken, they were mainly concentrated in the Anglo-Norman areas of Ireland. It is also true of those scholars who were at Oxford. This is entirely the case with those posts recorded for the fourteenth century, except for three assignments to the counties of Tyrone, of Derry, and Donegal.¹² Concentration of assignments to the Anglo-Norman areas remains evident in the following century. For the first time, during the fifteenth century, assignments are recorded for the counties Offaly,¹³ Fermanagh and Moneghan.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that some of these scholars held benefices and served in ecclesiastical posts in England. Some, such as Thomas Cranly held posts in England and Ireland, where he served as Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland.¹⁵ Others, such as John Whitehead seem to have remained in England.¹⁶

Administrative posts in the Irish church were frequently filled by Englishmen who had been in Oxford: Alexander Bicknor¹⁷ and Robert de Wikeford¹⁸ served as Archbishops of Dublin in the fourteenth century.

In the same century, Nicholas Fleming¹⁹ and Thomas O'Colman²⁰ were elected Archbishops of Armagh. John Prene²¹ was chosen Primate of Ireland in the fifteenth century. In 1484, David Creagh²² was made Archbishop of Cashel in Gaelic Tipperary.

Although Richard FitzRalph is known to have had a notable career as Archbishop of Armagh, some of which will be discussed elsewhere,²³ his tenure as Chancellor of Oxford was brief and controversial. He served in this capacity in 1333-1334, during which time he incurred the enmity of those masters and students who left Oxford for Stamford, during what is known as the Stamford Schism, because they considered Oxford to be dangerous and detrimental to study.

FitzRalph had wagered his head that the schism would not last more than six months. A poem written in the spring of 1334, probably in late April, shows that the dissidents had already been away from Oxford for at least six months. With much punning, they taunt FitzRalph about collecting on his wager:

"FitzRalph, who has the means to live abundantly, change things, (for) your charges are in another place. It is almost useful and better to avoid the capital penalty and conviction by such a pledge, because it is the cause of evil. While possessions endure as if they actually serve as security, yet it is not necessary to offer the head expressly. Towards Stamford, which is now a place of study hated by (its) enemies, you offer heady words that we ought to be repressed. Unless the state is weak, you pledged your head in half a year. What if we persist and the king by law allows it? When merit demands, it is not a crime. It remains to allow the contract that you will remove your head as a pledge. O unhappy fate, then you brood upon your earlier words. It is clear to everyone that things may come and things may go, but a severed head will never return. (to Oxford) When you perused the course of the planets, you were star gazing while violence pushed us to unite. You stepped on us, only with a net-like foot. You transplanted many, (for) your words are not prophetic. When I reject the blood-stained ford and the horned ox (Oxford), I change my pasture and welcome a more fertile place. I prefer to live safely under the shield of the rock. (Stamford) I think better and pass

the time nobly."²⁴

Other Anglo-Normans received episcopal appointments. Nicholas Cusach²⁵ served as Bishop of Kildare and Thomas of St. Leger²⁶ as Bishop of Meath, in the thirteenth century. In the following century, Peter de Curray²⁷ was Bishop of Limerick and Thomas Den,²⁸ Bishop of Ferns. Stephen de Walle²⁹ is reported to have served as the Bishop of Ferns, of Limerick and of Meath, as well as having been the Treasurer of Ireland in the fourteenth century.

Compared with the episcopal appointments in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, those of the fifteenth century were considerably more diverse. Oxford-trained Anglo-Irishmen were appointed to the Sees of Lismore (Waterford), Cloyne (Cork) and Leighlin (Carlow), as well as Limerick, Kildare and Louth in counties of the same names. More interesting were the appointments of bishops to dioceses in the more western and predominantly Gaelic-Irish regions: Achonry, Clonfert, Killaloe and Raphoe.³⁰

The regular orders were also represented by episcopal appointments. David MacCarwell served as Dean of Cashel (Tipperary) before becoming Archbishop of Cashel in 1254. As such, in 1272, he established Hore Abbey there as a Cistercian foundation and sought the purchase of English law for the Irish.

Archbishop MacCarwell was joined in this effort by the bishops of Killaloe and Emly, respectively, Matthew O'Hogan and David O'Cussigh, another Cistercian. These churchmen were the leaders in an effort to obtain for the Irish, a general charter of English law. This effort was no doubt related to the reform movement within the Irish Church. Certain aspects of Irish law, in particular, the laws of marriage and

inheritance, were considered unchristian and detrimental to both the Church and Irish society. Although the general principle that one law should prevail throughout Ireland was stated frequently, throughout the medieval period individual charters of English law were issued.

Archbishop MacCarwell and others were unsuccessful in acquiring a general enfranchisement for the Irish, however; an extension of English law to all of Ireland was not achieved until the reign of James I.³¹

Also connected with regular orders in Ireland were: Henry Crumpe, a Cistercian of Baltinglass Abbey (Wicklow);³² David O'Bugey, the Prior Provincial of the Carmelite convent in Kildare;³³ and Thomas O'Colman, who served as lector at the Franciscan convent of Armagh.³⁴ In the fifteenth century, John O'Leachluyn was the abbot of Baltinglass Abbey.³⁵

In order to determine the impact on Ireland of persons influenced by the university milieu, a survey of the holders of bishoprics and archbishoprics of Ireland was made. Of thirty-four dioceses and archdioceses in Ireland in approximately a two hundred year period, early thirteenth through early fifteenth centuries, five hundred and forty-three persons held positions as bishop or archbishop.³⁶ Of these, only forty-four (8%) are known to have been at Paris (three) and Oxford (forty-one). Also of interest is the fact that of the total number, two hundred and fifteen persons had Celtic surnames, two hundred and four had non-Celtic surnames (Anglo-Norman, English, and others) and one hundred and twenty-four had first names only which could not be readily identified as belonging to either of the two aforementioned groups.³⁷

This information seems to indicate that the experience of the university milieu of Paris and Oxford had little influence on the

selection of bishops and archbishops in Ireland. Perhaps further inquiry into the other university centers, as well as a study of the organization of studies in Irish schools would allow a more accurate assessment of the influence of the medieval universities in Ireland.

- ¹Infra: Godfrey, p. 138: Reginald, pp. 130-131.
- ²Infra, p. 97.
- ³Infra, pp. 104-105.
- ⁴Infra, p. 87.
- ⁵Infra: Maurice, (p. 107), Patrick (p.108), Robert (p.108).
- ⁶Infra, p. 110.
- ⁷Infra, pp. 109-110.
- ⁸Infra, p. 115.
- ⁹Infra, p. 126.
- ¹⁰Infra, p. 87.
- ¹¹Infra: Mackachathmeyl (p.114), Courcy (p.90).
- ¹²Infra: Oferrall (p.120), O Flannaghan (p.120).
- ¹³Infra: O'Whelan (p.125).
- ¹⁴Infra: O'Hanrathy (p.122).
- ¹⁵Infra, pp. 91-92.
- ¹⁶Infra, p. 139.
- ¹⁷Infra, pp. 83-84.
- ¹⁸Infra, pp. 139-140.
- ¹⁹Infra, p. 100.
- ²⁰Infra, pp. 117-118.
- ²¹Infra, p.128.
- ²²Infra, p.92.
- ²³Infra, pp. 56-64.
- ²⁴Brasenose College Quatercentenary Monographs, Falconer Madan, et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), I, 15-20; Collectanea ed. C.R.L. Fletcher et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885) First Series, pp. 4-14; Charles E. Mallet (London: Methuen & Co., 1924), I, 157; Academia tertia Anglicana, ed. Francis Peck (London: James Bettenham, 1727) pp. 6-16, Schism, 249-251:

"Fy-Rauf fecunde, qui rebus vivis habunde,
 Res alias funde, tua pignora sint aliunde
 Parcere letali prodest pene capitali,
 Et, quia causa mali, convinci pignore tali.
 Dum res possesse valeant quasi pignus in esse
 Set caput expresse non est offerre necesse.
 In Vada Saxosa, quo nunc loca sunt studiosa,
 Hostibus exosa, profers quedam capitosa,
 Nos debere premi, nisi sint sine remige remi,
 Anno sub demi capud hinc spondes tibi demi.
 Quid si perstemus, velit et rex lege volente?
 Cum non sit facinus, pacis virtute iubente.
 Restat pacta pati, capud et pro pignore solves.
 Heu miseri fati; tunc dicta priora revolves.
 Omnibus est visum; veniet res resque peribit,
 Sed capud abcisum per tempora nulla redibit.
 Cum divinasti cursus sectando planete
 Sidera servasti, dum nos vis iungere mete;
 Nos conculcasti; modo frangitur a pede rete;
 Plurima plantasti; non sunt tua verba prophete.
 Cum bove cornuto vada sanguinolenta refuto,
 Pascua permuto; loca fertiliora saluto.
 Sub saxi scuto magis est michi vivere tuto,
 Qua meliora puto; sic tempus nobile muto."

²⁵Infra, pp. 95-96.

²⁶Infra, pp. 132-133.

²⁷Infra, pp. 94-95.

²⁸Infra, p. 96.

²⁹Infra, pp. 137-138.

³⁰Infra, pp. 81-140.

³¹Infra, p. 113. Otway-Ruthven, pp. 189-190.

³²Infra, pp. 93-94.

³³Infra, p. 117.

³⁴Infra, pp. 117-118.

³⁵Infra, p. 123.

³⁶Eubel, I, 79-496, passim; Gams, pp. 203-234.

³⁷Ibid.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION OF OXFORD-TRAINED IRISH
TO LATE MEDIEVAL CULTURE

Particular members of the Irish community in Oxford are of special note further because, through their written works, they have made a contribution to European culture. The remainder of this study will therefore be devoted to a consideration of William of Drogheda's Summa Aurea and Richard FitzRalph's De Pauperie Salvatoris in this context.

As has been previously mentioned, William of Drogheda (c.1200-1245) is reputed to have been from Ireland, probably of an Anglo-Norman family in Limerick.¹ While there is no available information on where William studied before he became a master at Oxford,² details regarding his career after he was a master are not lacking. William was a master by 1238, when he pledged security for one of his students who had been involved in the riot against the Papal Legate at Osenev.³ A few years later, in 1239, he was regens in legibus at Oxford.⁴

Drogheda also seems to have been a practicing lawyer⁵ and Matthew Paris attests to his ability as "the most diligent advocate in England."⁶ Nevertheless, in addition to his activities as a professor and a practicing lawyer, William of Drogheda found time to compose the Summa Aurea, his only known written work.

The Summa Aurea is a practical treatise on procedures in the ecclesiastical courts and is believed to have been written as a text for the school at Oxford. Although there is no direct evidence of its use as a text, Wahmünd, for example, maintains that internal evidence such as the language and material used points to the Summa's use as a text at Oxford.⁷

Neither in the manuscript texts,⁸ nor in the printed editions⁹ has the Summa been completed beyond the first book which discusses procedure in an action down to litiscontestatio.¹⁰ In the Summa, William follows an action step by step and gives advice about legal procedure, formulae for use in preparing documents, and various hints¹¹ on how one might win his cases. The book is divided into five sections, each treating a different aspect in preparing a case for trial. Since this is a book for the practitioner, William uses concrete examples to illustrate the following procedures: initiating a court action taken within ecclesiastical jurisdiction, presenting the plaintiff's statement of claim, obtaining a papal writ appointing judges delegate to hear a case, presenting the papal mandate to the delegates, and finally, preparing the defendant's statement.¹² The material in the Summa is not theoretical, but does draw on contemporary sources in both civil and canon law.

Although Hastings Rashdall claimed that William of Drogheda was quoted by the doctors at Bologna,¹³ aside from Johannes Andreas' reference to William, there apparently was no such citation.¹⁴ Rather, William acknowledges as two of his sources Azo of Bologna (ob. 1230) and Roffredus of Beneventum (ca. 1237), both teachers of law at Bologna.¹⁵ There does not seem however, to be any relationship between William's Summa and the work of Vacarius, a twelfth century professor of law at Oxford.¹⁶

William, primarily a legist, was mainly influenced by civil law.¹⁷ However, it is the canonist element in the Summa which has greater claim to originality, since not even Wahrmund, the editor of the text, had been able to discover William's canonist sources for the procedural steps in ecclesiastical litigation.¹⁸ The legal basis for the canonist elements has been identified as the Gregorian Code of 1234 and the

1237 legatine constitution of Otho.¹⁹

For the purposes of this study, one aspect of the Summa Aurea, namely, the ecclesiastical libelli,²⁰ may be considered. In the examples that he gives of these libelli, Drogheda suggests the proper form to be used in cases under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He presents them in four main categories: complaints involving clerical holdings, patronage disputes, testamentary cases, and questions of ecclesiastical rights and liberties.²¹ Not only do these libelli give information about an important step in ecclesiastical procedure, but also, as law texts,²² they make use of typical cases as examples. Hence, they offer an insight into the nature of ecclesiastical litigation during the early years of the reign of Henry III of England (1216-1272), in particular to the years prior to 1238, the accepted year for the completion of the Summa Aurea.²³

Drogheda's formulae for presenting claims in ecclesiastical courts were, in the first half of the thirteenth century, requisite and essential aids to the procedure to be followed in these courts.²⁴ The introductory libellus, in canon law, was stipulated as a written form of complaint in all contentious cases.²⁵ It was required in all ecclesiastical litigation, according to the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)²⁶ and the Decretals of Gregory (1234).²⁷ Drogheda, however, indicated that even though the libellus was decreed as necessary, injured parties were expected to use moderation and were to bring to court only those actions involving claims of some importance.²⁸

In the section of his Summa Aurea dealing with the ecclesiastical libelli, William of Drogheda affirmed that, in the tribunal which usually met in the chapel of Blessed Mary (Oxford), local trials were judged according to the law common to the universal church (de iure communi).²⁹

The plaintiff initiated his action by applying for a papal writ, after which a citation was served on the accused and the plaintiff stated his case in a written libellus.³⁰

Whenever the libellus of complaint was used, it was drawn up according to the formula: "I complain of a certain prior, who is in charge of a certain priory in a certain place ...that said house be subject to me in these things, I seek from such a judge."³¹ This model was followed in ecclesiastical property disputes involving collection of tithes, complaints of property being violently usurped,³² disturbance of one vicar's livelihood by another,³³ and in cases of pluralism.³⁴ Restitution of the property claim was sought, as well as punishment of the defendant for any personal injury done to the plaintiff.³⁵ Although the reforms of the Constitution of Otho (1237)³⁶ were meant to remedy specific abuses, examples given in the Summa seem to indicate that such reforms had not yet taken place. Instances of clerical avarice were such that, not only were the land and sacraments of the church being sold illegally, but ecclesiastical benefices were allegedly being seized by fraud or physical violence.³⁷

Disputes often arose out of questionable presentations of benefices. Drogheda cites examples of claims and counter-claims regarding the patronage given lesser clergy by lay and episcopal lords.³⁸ For example, on a complaint against a knight for revoking a presentation to a benefice, the plaintiff asked for canonical justice and deferred the assessment for damages and interest to the discretion of the court.³⁹ Another case, this one involving action against a bishop who had refused to admit the plaintiff to the benefice originally presented to him, requested that either the person put there in his stead be moved or that the plaintiff be compensated with an equally valuable benefice.⁴⁰

The first example illustrates how a case which sought money from

a layman could, by following Drogheda's suggestion to ask for canonical justice, avoid the secular court and be brought into an ecclesiastical court, a situation which would probably involve a confrontation with secular authorities over jurisdiction. If the plaintiff was successful in his case, he would most likely receive his payment in the guise of restitution, which was necessary for the absolution of sin.⁴¹ On the other hand, through a case against a bishop might seek damages, the plaintiff would also ask for reinstatement of a benefice.⁴²

There was specific mention, further, of appeal to both the archepiscopal See and to the apostolic See in cases involving a claim against the bishop for refusing the plaintiff's admission to his rightful benefice. The memorandum of appeal was made in both French and English by the bishop whose signature was witnessed.⁴³ If he was unable to be present, a proxy could be appointed to appear on the bishop's behalf.⁴⁴ Drogheda gave the format for a letter of appeal to either the archiepiscopal or apostolic Sees, but mentioned that episcopal patrons could, as defendants, choose to have their cases heard before the court of first instance, the Papal Court.⁴⁵

Many of the testamentary cases⁴⁶ cited in Drogheda's Summa involved complaints against the executor of a will. A claim against him for withholding a bequest due the plaintiff, and thus delaying the execution of the will,⁴⁷ could be met with a counter-claim by the executor that the action was brought unjustly, that the case be dropped and, that damages be paid.⁴⁸ Apparently the court did not trust the defendant's good faith since, if found guilty, he was expected to give security that he would make restitution to the deprived party.

The Summa's other examples of testamentary cases dealt primarily with claims on the property of those who died intestate. In one instance, the plaintiff complained of another who wrongly acted as

executor when, in fact, there was no will. He requested that the property be administered by the court and the defendant be warned to "prepare his soul" for the canonical punishment (excommunication) due such an offense.⁴⁹ As a professor at Oxford, Drogheda might well have been familiar with a claim of a young scholar who had been robbed of his inheritance.⁵⁰ Furthermore, on returning home from school, a young man might find himself deprived of a portion of his father's estate because the archdeacon or bishop had taken the property as payment for prayers for the father's soul.⁵¹

The last category under consideration in this section of the Summa dealt with ecclesiastical rights and liberties.⁵² A rather amusing case was that of a rector who complained about a parishioner who disturbed him in the performance of his church duties, preventing the celebration of Mass by shouting obscenities and brawling in church. Drogheda, in an aside, hinted that it might be wiser first to admonish the wrongdoer and thus avoid the necessity of barring him from the church and excommunicating him.⁵³

At this time, there were even more serious offenses against the Church's liberties.⁵⁴ Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, complained to Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, that he was to be called before the King's court to answer to the charge of protecting bastards because of his refusal to state birth origins on Church records.⁵⁵ Grosseteste also objected to clerks' being required to appear in royal courts in personal actions, because this was properly under the jurisdiction of the Church.⁵⁶ Yet, although such an attempt to assert secular jurisdiction over that of the Church would seem a more flagrant violation of Church liberties than such a minor offense as causing a disturbance in Church, both offenses incurred the same penalty of excommunication.⁵⁷

In addition to infringement on their ecclesiastical rights and liberties by laymen, members of the clergy also suffered interference with their rights and jurisdiction by other clergymen. For example on the question of visitations, which were often troublesome to the lesser clergy, an archdeacon was prompted to file a claim for the procuration (payment) due the bishop when he visited a church because it was refused by the rector of a church in his archdiocese. Drogheda cited a counter-claim against the procuration, in which the rector asserted that he had been aggravated by this assessment. His church, he maintained, did not and could not grow because it was troubled by the expense of a number of official visitations.⁵⁸ There was also conflict between a bishop and an abbot or prior situated within his diocese. The bishop claimed that the abbey owed him canonical obedience in matters both temporal and spiritual, especially in regard to visitations. In the counter-claim, it was insisted that the bishop unjustly enforced canonical obedience and caused extreme financial hardship by his excessively long visitations.⁵⁹

Robert Grosseteste interestingly enough was involved in such disputes within his jurisdiction. While deacon of Leicester (1231), he had accused the abbot and convent of Redding of fraud for claiming a procuration from him as rector of Abbotsley in Huntingdonshire. He referred the case to the archiepiscopal court at Durham for a decision on the just title to the church, hoping the accused would learn their lesson when their false claim was set aside.⁶⁰ Later, as bishop of Lincoln (1239), Grosseteste sent a pamphlet to the dean and chapter of Lincoln cathedral, asserting the bishop's right to visit his chapter unless it had received a papal exemption.⁶¹ To the chapter's claim that the bishop had no power to decide cases and correct offenses of persons connected with the cathedral, Grosseteste asked on what law

they based their claim.⁶² He was forced to suspend the dean, and to prevent the precentor and the subdean from entering the cathedral. He also considered excommunicating them for refusing to submit to ecclesiastical discipline.⁶³ However, although he preferred arbitration by an impartial judge rather than court action,⁶⁴ he found it necessary eventually to appeal to Pope Gregory IX for help in securing an unbiased judgment against the dean and chapter of the cathedral.⁶⁵

In concluding the section of the Summa Aurea on ecclesiastical libelli, William of Drogheda pointed out that he had given these formulae as suggestions, so that one would know how to designate a suit for court. In particular, he reminded the reader that, however often one had to institute a case against a layman, he was not to seek money. Rather, he was to ask for canonical justice, in order to circumvent the jurisdiction of the secular courts.⁶⁶

A member of the Irish community at Oxford in the thirteenth century, William of Drogheda was a practical man of affairs as well as a professor of law at Oxford. He was a practicing lawyer and author of the Summa Aurea, a treatise on court procedure. This treatise appears to have been prepared as a text or handbook (albeit a very large one), since its avowed purpose was to help one win cases in ecclesiastical courts. Though there is no direct evidence for its use as a text, the fact that the Summa Aurea was known to Johannes Andreas of Bologna in the fourteenth century and to Phillipus Wolfius of Germany in the fifteenth century, and that there were manuscripts at Luxembourg, Tours, and the Vatican, as well as in England, indicates that it was probably being used on the continent.

Consideration of the section of the Summa Aurea dealing with the ecclesiastical libelli has not only yielded information about the importance of the written statement of claim in legal proceedings but,

more importantly, has provided an insight into the nature of ecclesiastical litigation during the early years of Henry III's reign (1216-1271) in England. While there was established procedure for bringing an action to the court of first instance and for appeal to a higher ecclesiastical court; while cases could on occasion be heard by the Papal Court as the court of first instance, there was frequent conflict between secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A clever advocate might find it necessary to use artifice to circumvent this infringement on the liberties guaranteed to the Church. Hence, William of Drogheda offered his practical advice on how a case might be kept within ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

It is indicative of the nature of his era, that William particularly cited libelli which dealt with property claims. One might have expected references to cases dwelling more on the spiritual aspect of life. Instead, the cases cited are concerned with the worldly considerations of personal and church property, although they made use of the spiritual tools of suspension and excommunication as punishment for offenses. And, as has been seen, similar penalties were imposed on widely differing cases.

William of Drogheda, without apparently planning to do so, revealed some of the practical concerns of the English clergy. At the same time, he threw light on the conflicts between secular and ecclesiastical authorities which were to become magnified in the coming centuries. He unwittingly endorsed the lamentations of his contemporary, Matthew Paris, whose concern in the thirteenth century for the wretched condition of England where, "the true faith was dying," caused him to cry out -- "Woe to England."⁶⁷

Somewhat similar to Drogheda was his compatriot at Oxford in the following century, Richard FitzRalph. FitzRalph also had a diversified career as scholar, administrator, preacher and reformer.⁶⁸ As for Drogheda, there is no available information on FitzRalph's early life or preparatory studies, although it is probable that he was born around 1300 of an Anglo-Norman family in Dundalk, County Louth.⁶⁹ After he had received a series of academic degrees in Oxford⁷⁰ and had served as Chancellor of that university in 1333-34,⁷¹ Richard FitzRalph was unanimously elected archbishop by the Chapter of Armagh, to which See he was appointed by Benedict XII in July, 1346 and was consecrated by Bishop Grandisson in July, 1347.⁷² In his role as archbishop, FitzRalph showed concern for the deplorable state of higher education in Ireland, and particularly, the effect it had on the clergy.⁷³

Even before his appointment to the archbishopric of Armagh, FitzRalph seems to have been drawn to the papal court at Avignon. There he is known to have preached a number of sermons between the years 1335 and 1344.⁷⁴ From the number of these sermons that are extant, it would appear that FitzRalph was in great demand as a preacher both in Ireland and England, as well as at Avignon.⁷⁵ After 1350, when he apparently returned to the Papal court at Avignon,⁷⁶ these sermons concentrated on the mendicant problem and the need to reform the abuses within the mendicant orders.⁷⁷

It is for his involvement in the mendicant controversy of the fourteenth century that Richard FitzRalph is perhaps best remembered.⁷⁸ Paradoxically, attempts were made both to condemn and to praise him. The friars had cited FitzRalph to the Pope at Avignon in 1357 for his views⁷⁹ but, so far as it is known, the case was not resolved, and may have been postponed indefinitely because of FitzRalph's death in 1360.⁸⁰

On the other hand, it is reputed that, after his death at Avignon, his remains were removed to Dundalk by the bishop of Meath and were placed in the church of St. Nicholas,⁸¹ where miracles were claimed at his tomb.⁸² Although he was apparently never canonized,⁸³ as late as the seventeenth century, FitzRalph was reported to have been popularly regarded as St. Richard of Dundalk:⁸⁴

"Manny a mile have I gone,
and manny did I walk,
But never sawe a hollier man
than Richard of Dundalk." 85

Whether Richard FitzRalph was truly a heretic or a saint, he was a man whose thought was representative of the intellectual climate of his times. From his lectures on the Sentences delivered at Oxford (c. 1329) to his Defensio Curatorum preached before Innocent VI on November 8, 1357, Richard FitzRalph's works⁸⁶ revealed the traditional theological, or Augustinian, position current in Oxford and other centers of learning.⁸⁷ FitzRalph has been seen as a direct link between earlier Augustinian ideas and the ideas developed by the late fourteenth century Oxford scholar, John Wycliffe.⁸⁸ Indeed, the latter had acknowledged FitzRalph as the source of much of his inspiration.⁸⁹

For the purposes of this study, attention will be directed to FitzRalph's ideas as expressed in De Pauperie Salvatoris,⁹⁰ with emphasis on their political content, especially their relation to ideas held by the two Oxford scholars, William of Ockham and the afore-mentioned John Wycliffe.

Written by FitzRalph between 1350 and 1356⁹¹ for the clearly practical purpose of making an independent inquiry into the questions of lordship, property, possession and use,⁹² the De Pauperie Salvatoris was dedicated and directed to Pope Innocent VI for his examination and approval.⁹³ In the seven books making up the work, FitzRalph first

investigated lordship (dominium) and its relationship to possession and use.⁹⁴ He then moved on to the more specific problem of evangelical poverty⁹⁵ and, in the seventh book he touched upon the contradictory interpretations of poverty contained in the decretals of Nicholas III and John XXII.⁹⁶ The concluding chapter, in the form of a prayer, summarized the main theses of the work and humbly suggested that some vicars of Christ had departed from Christ's rule.⁹⁷

Simply stated, FitzRalph's theory of dominion perceives man's common original lordship over the things of this world as based on the grace of God.⁹⁸ This theme is carried out in the distinctly Augustinian terms of man's fall from grace whereby he lost all that was held in common, receiving it back from the man-made institution of the state in the form of private property in accordance with positive law.⁹⁹ According to FitzRalph, if man had retained his innocence, all men would be rich through this common lordship. Through his sin and fall from grace, man had lost his original lordship and, though restored to grace by Christ, man did not again receive full power of exercising this lordship.¹⁰⁰ Sin thus made positive laws necessary.¹⁰¹ Original lordship is, according to FitzRalph, the right of possessing naturally and in common and does not require the exercise of the will;¹⁰² whereas possession of things is merely a title, a symbol of lordship which depends on an act of volition.¹⁰³ Use, as the reasonable employment of things is the end of lordship and is the nobler of the two.¹⁰⁴

As an Augustinian thinker, FitzRalph would agree that the Christian man, although not required to share his goods, can achieve a greater perfection by doing so.¹⁰⁵ Hence, it remains that the sharing

of the use of things is more admirable than transferring possession, since the former conforms to a higher law than does civil lordship.¹⁰⁶

Differing somewhat from FitzRalph's opinion, William of Ockham's¹⁰⁷ nominalist view of grace would deny its reality as an intrinsic entity. However, he held the traditional view that the institution of private property was a result of man's sin. He equated civil lordship with private property, seeing them both in accord with the natural law of God, but carried out through the exercise of human or positive laws.¹⁰⁸ FitzRalph saw a similar relationship, making the distinction that lordship, acquired in accord with civil or political institutions of society, excluded the right of use by another; such limitations not, however, part of original lordship.¹⁰⁹

The De Pauperie indicates the possible influence of an earlier Augustinian writer, Giles of Rome, who held that all lordship is based on justice received through God's grace.¹¹⁰ Similarly, FitzRalph pointed out that original lordship did not involve property, and in a most important passage, maintained that no man is lord unless he is righteous through justifying grace.¹¹¹

John Wycliffe followed FitzRalph in the idea of lordship as beginning with creation.¹¹² and as a direct gift from God to the righteous man.¹¹³ However, he went beyond FitzRalph in extending his ideas of dominion to the nature of political authority in both the temporal and spiritual realm, so that Wycliffe's theory would allow ultimately for no ecclesiastical intermediary between man and God.¹¹⁴

Wycliffe, however, differs from FitzRalph on the relation of lordship to possession and use. Man's lordship is neither a right, nor a power; rather it is a habit of a reasonable nature,¹¹⁵ essential to this nature and therefore apparently unconditional. This would, it seems,

preclude an act of volition in the possessing of things.

Though Wycliffe would agree with FitzRalph that use is not necessarily lordship,¹¹⁶ in his De Dominio Wycliffe discussed lordship in terms of God's use, since all men hold their lordship directly of God through the act of creation.¹¹⁷ He does not make the distinction between original and civil lordship that FitzRalph does,¹¹⁸ but sees man's lordship as a stewardship of all that belongs to God as Lord.¹¹⁹ Since Wycliffe saw giving of the use of things as an act in the service of God, he would not necessarily see the sharing of use to be of higher value than individual use, as did FitzRalph.

While FitzRalph did not develop his theory of dominion as far as his successor John Wycliffe, there is, however, some further political theory implicit in De Pauperie Salvatoris. Starting from his acceptance of the Augustinian idea that man is unable to refuse grace at the first instant of being,¹²⁰ FitzRalph extended this idea of the predestined recipient of grace to its becoming a condition of hereditary civil lordship. Although he recognized that human laws may seem to confer lordship on tyrants and impious men, he pointed out that these heirs merely have legal title to lordship and that a righteous stranger has more of a right to lordship on the basis of original dominion which precedes civil dominion.¹²¹ Yet, in spite of this statement, he cited scriptural authorities to uphold the principle of hereditary lordship.¹²² FitzRalph did not suggest tyrannicide, revolt, or even substituting another heir because there was always the possibility of reform, the removal of sin and the institution of grace.¹²³ If the heir was without grace and therefore not entitled to lordship, nevertheless he might gain the lesser right to civil acquisition, which is sufficient according to human laws.¹²⁴

Ockham also considered the problem of what to do with a tyrant; his concern was the extension of papal power and how that power could be limited.¹²⁵ He did not suggest tyrannicide either, but argued that, though power cannot be taken away without just cause, an unfit ruler, spiritual or temporal, can be deposed.¹²⁶ Since Ockham considered the Pope at Avignon a heretic,¹²⁷ the Pope could then be deposed as unfit. The temporal ruler, according to Ockham, has his power from God alone, but it is transferred to him by the people and must be used for the common good.¹²⁸ If, therefore, he abuses his power, he can also be deposed.¹²⁹

Ockham, it would seem, preferred a form of government in which the people would have a voice in deciding whether or not the ruler could justifiably remain in office. The highly theoretical discussion of the relationship of grace to lordship in De Pauperie gives a somewhat unclear idea of the form of government favored by FitzRalph. It is only when he touched on the problem of miscarried human justice¹³⁰ that FitzRalph made his recommendation. It is clear that he favored a theocratic form of government in which God's law took active precedence over the civil law. Pointing out that the judge must not offend God's law,¹³¹ he recommended a set of rules by which the judge could avoid making unjust decisions.¹³² Since the human law has shortcomings which do not provide for looking into men's consciences, FitzRalph's judge might find it necessary to refer a case to a higher judge or even to suspend judgment entirely for lack of understanding of men's hearts.¹³³ In the final analysis the aim should be the reform of sinners and heretics in accord with God's image.¹³⁴

Since the law cannot prescribe anything which is contrary to the higher law of God and nature, every man must receive justice in accord with God's law.¹³⁵ In FitzRalph's opinion, if the civil law interferes

with the salvation of soul and the function of divine justice, the civil authority is subject to ecclesiastical discipline.¹³⁶

The thread of this theocratic idea is continued with FitzRalph's very subtle criticism of Papal ambiguity on the issue of evangelical poverty. This second thesis of De Pauperie Salvatoris explains that there are many grades of poverty which can be voluntarily assumed: giving up no rights and retaining civil lordship, participating in common property by virtue of civil lordship, only using private property with associates, giving private right but retaining common right, and, the strictest form of poverty, retaining only original lordship and the common right and natural possession conforming to it.¹³⁷

It is FitzRalph's opinion that Christ and His Apostles observed the strictest poverty and that those who wish to imitate them should accept voluntary poverty, disdaining special licenses and supporting themselves through gifts, through begging, and through their labor.¹³⁸ However, he cites scriptural authority to support his contention that evangelical poverty does allow a prelate to possess goods, only in the degree that he may provide for the future needs of his ministry.¹³⁹

This scarcely seems to be a vicious attack on the ideals of the mendicant order, and indeed it is not. Rather, FitzRalph's remarks are directed to those clerics who digress from Christ's rule.¹⁴⁰ Much more obscure is FitzRalph's attack on the papal constitutions of Nicholas III and John XXII. His equivocations in dealing with the terms of those decretals dealing with the friars' rules and privileges seem to be an effort to reconcile their many contradictions,¹⁴¹ with regard to a Pontiff's contradicting himself.¹⁴² FitzRalph's skillful use of def-

initions seems to reconcile their differences. Yet, by his dedicating the De Pauperie Salvatoris to still another Pope, Innocent VI,¹⁴³ by his skillful suggestion that some vicars of Christ have digressed from Christ's rule,¹⁴⁴ by his humbly disclaiming any desire for special favors.¹⁴⁵ Richard FitzRalph seems to be asking this Pontiff to reach a conclusion on the mendicant controversy. FitzRalph offered no solutions, drew no conclusions of his own, other than his appeal to the higher law of God.¹⁴⁶

FitzRalph's rather oblique attack on the papacy is in marked contrast to that of William of Ockham. Yet Ockham's argument, that the law of the Gospels applies to all and does not allow for even papal tyranny over men, that the Pope as the spiritual servant of Christians is giving ministry (ministerium) and not lordship (dominium) by God, makes much of this seem implicit in the argument presented by FitzRalph in De Pauperie Salvatoris.

As has been shown only briefly, Richard FitzRalph had a remarkably interesting career as scholar, administrator, preacher and reformer. Although he has been known for his polemical writings and sermons against the mendicants and might, but for his untimely death, have been condemned for his views, it has been shown that FitzRalph's ideas were clearly in the Augustinian tradition. In addition, it has been shown that he had some ideas in common with those of William of Ockham, a Franciscan with whom one would expect nothing but differences. Ockham was however, of the Spiritual Franciscans, so that this might well explain their relationship in thought.

The importance of De Pauperie Salvatoris cannot be found in the immediate resolution of the problems of the mendicant controversy,

with which it claimed to be concerned. Rather a study of the De Pauperie Salvatoris reveals FitzRalph as a member of the Augustinian school of theology at Oxford whose ideas on lordship were adopted and developed further by John Wycliffe. It also leads one to suspect that the work was in reality a covert challenge to Papal authority. If this was the case, then Richard FitzRalph was indeed as radical, though more cautious, than either Ockham or Wycliffe.

¹Efforts to trace his name or one of its variants has been unsuccessful. *Infra*, p.11 n38. I give more credence to Zulueta's view among the many differing ones about Drogheda's background, since his is the only one based on documentary evidence.

²William of Drogheda, "Die Summa Aurea des Wilhelmus de Drogheda," Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter, ed. Ludwig Wahrmund, Bd. II, Heft. 2 (Innesbruck, 1914), xiv.

³Emden, I, 594-5. CCR, p. 135. Gibson, LXXXIX, 83, 85.

⁴regens in legibus -- a master of arts who lectured and presided over disputations in the university, a professor. Weisheipl, p. 163-67. Black's Law Dictionary, 4th edition, 1951, p. 1448.

⁵Emden, I, 594. Summa, pp. 189-190, 252-53. William of Drogheda served as an alternate before the precentor of Herford at Oxford in 1239 and was also appointed delegate in a case by Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury. Drogheda was the advocate for Oliver Deincourt against the bishop of Lincoln, as well as the principal advocate for William de Montpellier in his disputed election as bishop of Coventry in 1245.

⁶Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. Henry R. Luard (Great Britain: Public Record Office, Chronicles and Memorials. No. 57, 1837), IV (1240-47), 423. Matthew Paris' comment was occasioned by Drogheda's murder in his Oxford home. William of Montpellier was led also to resign his claim. Cart. Eynsham, II, 174n cites Assize Roll 700. William of Drogheda had granted his home to the Abbey of Eynsham. In 1255, Eynsham gave it to the Priory of Monk Sherborne which immediately sold it to William of Durham's scholars. Later this house was known as Drowda Hall of University College, Oxford. Ibid., pp. 174-75. Wood, I, 99.

⁷Summa, II, xviii-xix. I have searched a number of books lists and, although I have found references to other "iudiciorum ordines" and to canonists, there is no direct reference to William of Drogheda or to his Summa Aurea being used as a text.

⁸As far as can be ascertained, there were nine known manuscripts of the Summa Aurea. According to Wahrmund, only six of them were extant when the text was edited (Summa, ix-xi). There were two at Caius College, Cambridge; one each at Luxembourg and Tours; and at the Vatican, one complete and one fragment of a manuscript. Wahrmund also points out that these were not identical. The Caius College manuscripts open with a preface that begins: Cum in singulis diebus; while the others, without preface, have the incipit: Cum omne artificium, Ibid. Zulueta, 642-43. F. W. Maitland, "Canon Law in England," English Historical Review, 1897, No. XII, pp. 631, 641-42. Richardson, p.38.

In addition, according to John Bale, there were two other manuscripts at Oxford in the sixteenth century, but apparently they have not survived. John Bale, Anecdota Oxoniensia: Index Britanniae Scriptorum, ed. Reginald L. Poole (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 123, Appendix iv, 498. He cites a reference to William of Drogheda and the Summa Aurea by master Johannes Pullanus of Oxford, and also in John Leland's Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britanniae (A. Hall's edition), p. 346. Richard J. Hayes, ed., Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish

Civilization (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1965), IX, 766, 773, 785, lists only four manuscripts: two thirteenth century manuscripts at Caius College, Cambridge (MS 54 and MS 85), one thirteenth century manuscript at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (MS Palat. Lat. 796), and a fourteenth century manuscript at the Bibliotheque Publique, Tours (MS 607). These four were included in the six mentioned by Wahrmund, Summa, IX-xi. My search has located neither the additional Vatican nor the Luxembourg manuscripts.

Reference was made to the Summa Aurea by Johannes Andreas of Bologna in the fourteenth century, Johannes Andreas, addition to William Durantis' Speculum, 1539, I, proemium, fol. 4. J. Andreas, born in 1270, was a lay professor of canon law at Bologna, 1302-1348. He was a principal canonist of the fourteenth century.

Another reference to the Summa Aurea was made by Philippus Wolfius of Germany in the fifteenth century. Bale, Appendix IV, pp. 500, 506, cites Philippus Wolfius, a German Dominican (c. 1485), who included William of Drogheda in a catalogue (de peritorum vitis) of distinguished men and their works.

⁹ Apparently, there are but two available printed editions. F.W. Maitland attached excerpts of the Summa Aurea, based on the use of two manuscripts (v. note 8), to his article on William of Drogheda, Maitland, pp. 646-58. The only complete printed edition of the Summa Aurea was made in 1914 by Ludwig Wahrmund, who used all six manuscripts extant at the time in his edition of the Summa Aurea, ix-xi.

¹⁰ The formal entry of a suit in a court of law; the respective parties enter opposing statements on the issue. Black. p. 1083.

¹¹ Maitland, p. 632 translates cautelae as "tips," and complains that they are "none too honest."

¹² Summa, Passim: Titt. 1-163, 164-347, 359-397, 398-434, and 435-469.

¹³ Rashdall, III, n. 3, pp. 32-33 cites as his source, M.V. von Bethmann-Hollweg, Der civilprozess des Gemeinen Rechts (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1874), VI, 123-124. However, my understanding of the material is that William of Drogheda had used the writings of the school of Bologna and was familiar with the classics: "... dass er die Schriften der Schule von Bologna benutzt hat auch die classische Literatur ist ihm nicht ganz unbekannt," Bethmann-Hollweg, VI, p. 124. Also, Bethmann-Hollweg, VI, 123, incorrectly said that both Johannes Andreas and William Durantis praised William of Drogheda. Actually, it was only J. Andreas who did so in his addition to Durantis' Speculum, I, proem., fol. 4. Durantis did not mention William of Drogheda.

¹⁴ Zulueta, p. 652.

¹⁵ Summa, 238-39 and note on same pages. Zulueta, 643-45, believes William might have also used Tancred's Ordo Iudiciorum, Ibid., p. 644.

¹⁶ Zulueta, p. 644, who has written elsewhere on Vacarius' Liber pauperum, says he finds "no literary connexion" between William of

Drogheda and Vacarius.

¹⁷Zulueta, p. 655.

¹⁸Summa, xxiii-iv.

¹⁹Zulueta, pp643-45.

²⁰The present study is concerned only with the ecclesiastical Libelli, Tit. 282-247, Summa, pp. 239-259. Zulueta considers this section as "original work and the best part of the Summa," p. 650. The libellus or plaintiff's statement of claim is defined as "a brief, written statement, clearly expressing the petition of the plaintiff and the reason of the petition, and requesting the judicial ministry of the superior." It "should have the attributes of clarity, brevity and pertinence . . ." as "the instrument by which introduction is accomplished and juridical relationship established between plaintiff and tribunal; John James Kealy, The Introductory Libellus in Church Court Procedure (Washington, D.C. : Catholic University of America, 1937), pp. x, 3. cf. Black, p. 1061.

²¹Summa, Tit. 282-347, pp. 239-59.

²²Supra, p. 47.

²³Zulueta, 645-46.

²⁴During the thirteenth century, the court of first instance, i.e., the court of original jurisdiction to which the plaintiff brought his first action, the libellus or statement of claim, was that of the archdeacon. Appeals from his decision went first to the bishop, then to the archbishop and, ultimately, to the Pope. Within each of these ecclesiastical courts, the "official principale" heard cases and presented judgments in the name of the archdeacon, the bishop or the archbishop. Report of the Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, The Ecclesiastical Courts (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), pp. 5-8.

Although the competent judge was the judge ordinary of the defendant's place of residence, i.e., the judge in the court of first instance, in the first half of the thirteenth century the Pope was recognized as the judge ordinary of all men. Roma (Digest 50, i, 33): Decretum C 17, C 9, qu. 3, as cited by Maitland, Roman Canon Law, in The Church of England (London: Methuen & Co., 1898), p. 104.

The Pope exercised his jurisdiction of the first instance by acting as the universal ordinary, hearing cases and presenting judgments "through local delegates appointed by him ad hoc on the petition of the plaintiff," Zulueta, p. 641. Hence, the Papal Court was both an "omnicompetent court of appeal (and) . . . omnicompetent court of first instance for the whole of Christendom," Maitland, RCL, p. 101 cf. Eccl. Courts, p.6.

²⁵RCL, p. 15.

²⁶Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils, H.J. Schroeder, ed. (St. Louis, Mo. : B. Herder Book Co., 1937), Canon 38, pp. 272-73.

²⁷Corpus Iuris Canonici, Decretales Gregorii IX, Lib. II, Tit. I, Cap. 6: Lib. II, Tit. VIII, Cap. 3; Lib. II, Tit. III, Cap. 1, H.G. Richardson, G.O. Sayles, eds., Select Cases of Procedure without Writ under Henry III, (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1941), lxi, lxv.

²⁸Summa, p276. Select Cases, lxvi, cf. Zulueta, p. 648.

²⁹Summa, p. 239: ". . . quod omnes obventiones quas capella ecclesiae sanctae Mariae solet percipere, spectant ad ecclesiam suam de iure communi quasi iure parochiale." cf. 118-19; according to the Canonists, the "ius Commune" was the law common to the universal church. In the early thirteenth century this consisted of the decretals of Pope Gregory IX (1234). RCL, pp. 4, 25. Chron. Maj., III, 238.

³⁰"Impetration," a letter seeking a "papal writ appointing judges delegate to hear (a) cause," RCL, pp.111-112.

The remaining steps in the plenary procedure are outside the scope of this paper; for details on the action up to judgment and sentence, v. Eccl. Courts, pp. 14-15.

³¹Summa, p. 241. "Conqueror de tali priore, qui super prioratu talis loci . . . ut (dicta) domus mihi in hiis subiciatur, peto a tali iudice."

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 242-43.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 242-43.

³⁶Chron. Maj., III, 416.

³⁷Ibid., 419-27.

³⁸Summa, pp. 251-54.

³⁹Ibid., 251. "Conqueror de N. milite, qui me praesentavit tali episcopo ad talem ecclesiam vacantem de tali loco, qui est verus patronus eiusdam ecclesiae, eo quod in grave mei praeiudicium praesentationem de me factam revocavit, alium ad eandem ecclesiam praesentando, occasione cuius praesentationis et revocationis dampnificatus sum in centum, quae peto vel melius super quibus peto iustitiam canonicam mihi exhiberi. Et dampni et interesse aestimationem relinquo arbitrio vestro, qui estis iudicantes inter nos."

⁴⁰Ibid., "Conqueror de tali episcopo, qui me praesentatum ad talem ecclesiam vacantem a vero patrono contra iustitiam admittere ad eandem recusavit et alium in eadem instituit in mei praeiudicium et gravamen, unde peto, quod idem amoveatur vel quod mihi in aequivalenti beneficio provideatur ab eodem. Peto etiam interesse, etc., similiter et dampna."

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 251, 259.

⁴²Ibid., p. 251.

⁴³Ibid., p. 251.

⁴⁴Chron. Maj., III, p. 436.

⁴⁵Summa, pp. 252-3: ". . . Et quia non fit iniuria ei, a que appellatur, ab eo, qui appellat, ideo pro patronatus mei et possessione eiusdem, nequid in praeiudicium mei et praesentati fiat, sedem apostolicam appello et ad eiusdem tuitionem archiepiscopum Cantuariensem . . ."

⁴⁶The canonists claimed jurisdiction over both testamentary cases and the distribution of goods of those dying intestate. RCL, p. 59. Every will made in England had to be approved before an official representing the bishop. Any interference with the effect of a will or with the judgment of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which dealt solely with testamentary cases, brought the penalty of excommunication. Arthur Ogle, The Canon Law in Medieval England (London: John Murray, 1912), pp. 87-88.

⁴⁷Summa, p. 246-247: "Dico contra N. executorem testamenti talis, qui legavit mihi in suo testamento tales res, quas iniuste mihi reddere contradicit . . . Dico etiam, quod est in mora exequendi, unde peto, quod condempnetur propter moram . . ."

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 247: "Dico quod cum sim constitutus executor testamenti talis, N. se opposuit iniuste quominus possim exequi, dicendo, quod omnia bona sua sunt sibi obligata et falso vel opponendo ei, quod fuit servus suus et ita quod non potuit testari, et consimilia, unde peto, ut desistat a tali impetitione, una cum interesse, id est centum, in quibus dampnificatus sum occasione praedictae oppositionis."

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 248.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 249-50.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 254-258.

⁵³Ibid., p. 255.

⁵⁴Robert Grosseteste, Epistolae, ed. Henry R. Luard (London: Longmans, Green, Inc., 1861), p. 234.

⁵⁵Grosseteste, pp. 101-105.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 108-113, 220.

⁵⁷Summa, pp. 256-8; cf. p. 28n., 161. Grosseteste pp. 220, 230.

⁵⁸Summa, p. 257.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Grosseteste, pp. 357-431.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 235-36.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 253-60.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 248-49.

⁶⁶Summa, p. 259.

⁶⁷Chron. Maj., III, 389-90.

⁶⁸Emden, II, 693-4. Aubrey Gwynn, "Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh," Studies, XXIII-VI (1933-37), a series of articles covering FitzRalph's entire career. Also see article by M.B. Crowe, "Richard FitzRalph," New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw Hill & Co., 1967), XII, 479 and article by Reginald L. Poole, Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1921-22), VII, 194-98.

⁶⁹Emden, II, 693-4. CPR, II, 355. Studies, XXII, 389, bases his evidence on FitzRalph's remark in a sermon to Friars at Avignon October 4, 1349" . . . quia solus hic ordo locum habet in villa mee originis . . ." which, Gwynn says, refers to the Franciscan house at Dundalk. cf., William Tempest in a review of this article, Tempest, pp. 553-554, not only concurs with this but presents additional evidence supporting Dundalk as FitzRalph's birthplace. There is a counter-claim for FitzRalph's being from Devon in John Prince, Worthies of Devon (London, 1810), p. 367. However, there is no substantial evidence given to support such a claim.

⁷⁰Emden, II, 692-94. Infra, p. 100.

⁷¹Emden, II, 693. John J. Greaney, "Richard FitzRalph of Armagh and the Franciscans (1349-1360)," Catholic University Bulletin, XI no.1. (Jan. 1905), 72-3. Reg. Bishop Burghersh, Linc., fo. 268, cited in Schism, pp. 249-253. Snappe's, p. 295. A contemporary poem, satirizing FitzRalph's repressive measures, chides him for pledging his head that the schism would end in six months. v. Supra, p. 41.

⁷²Emden, II, 693. CPR, III, 217-225. Register of John de Grandisson, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), II, 1022.

⁷³Studies, XXII, 399. CPR, III, 367. John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, ed. George Townsend (London: AMS Press, Inc. /1837-41/1965), II, 160. Rashdall, I, 517, note 1. Richard FitzRalph, Defensio Curatorum, Appendix to Ortwinus Gratius, Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et Fugiendarum, ed. Edward Brown (London: Richard Chiswell, 1690), II, 474. L. L. Hammerich, "The Beginnings of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants," Det. Kg. danske videnskabernes selskab Historiskfilologiske Meddelelser, XXVI, no. 3 (1930), 38.

⁷⁴Chart., II, 454, note 5. Most probably FitzRalph was the Richard summoned to the Roman Curia in 1334 to help in theological discussions on the beatific vision, CPR, III, 117, and probably he remained in residence at Avignon until 1344, Emden, II, 693-4. Aubrey Gwynn, "The Sermon-Diary of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh." Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C, XLIV, no. 1 (1937) 35-44. See Studies, XXII, 591-607. Hammerich, pp. 1-11.

⁷⁵Aubrey Gwynn, "Two Sermons of Primate Richard FitzRalph," Archivium Hibernicum, XIV (1949), 50-65. Annales Hiberniae, compiled by James Grace, ed. & trans. Richard Butler (Dublin Archeological Society, 1842), p. 149. Hayes, II, 150-52. Hammerich, pp. 26-39. Many of these sermons were originally delivered in English.

⁷⁶Hammerich, pp. 30, 53-84. Gwynn, PRIA, 31-37.

⁷⁷Ibid., a discussion of the mendicant controversy is outside the scope of this paper. For FitzRalph's role in it, also see Aubrey Gwynn's articles in Studies. A brief survey of the criticism directed toward the religious orders in the fourteenth century is made by David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), pp. 90-114.

⁷⁸FitzRalph, Defensio. Studies, XXVI, 61-67. T. Walsingham, Historia Angliana, ed. Henry T. Riley (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1863-4), I, 285. John Capgrave, The Chronicle of England, ed. Francis G. Hingeston (London: Longmans, Brown, Green, 1858), p. 218.

⁷⁹Studies, XXVI, 61-67.

⁸⁰CPR, III, 596.

⁸¹Emden, II, 694. James MacCaffrey, "Richard FitzRalph of Dundalk," County Louth Archeological Society Journal, II, pt.1, 13.

⁸²CPL, V, 245.

⁸³In 1399, Boniface IX appointed a commission under the direction of Archbishop Colton of Armagh to investigate the claims for canonization of Richard FitzRalph, (Crowe, p. 479), but the results are not known; the case appears to have been dropped.

⁸⁴MacCaffrey, p. 13., John O'Hanlon, Lives of the Irish Saints, (Dublin: Duffy & Sons, 1875), I, 528 note 2.

⁸⁵Hammerich, p. 11, quoted from MS No. 506 in Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, f. 115r.

⁸⁶For listings of all his known works: Emden, II, 692-94. Hayes, II, 152-53. Studies, passim.

⁸⁷Michalski, "Les Courants philosophiques à Oxford et à Paris pendant le XIV^e siècle," Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, (Cracow, 1922), pp. 63-8.

Rashdall, III, 74-5; III, 266-269. R.W. Carlyle, A.J. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West (London: William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., 1928), I, 89-90, 132-35, 146; VI, 60-61. Studies, XXVI, 50-67. Gordon Leff, Richard FitzRalph, Commentator on the Sentences, (Manchester: University Press, 1963), p. 4. Leff considers FitzRalph a traditional Augustinian whose ideas derive from Henry of Ghent. Étienne Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 521. Gilson also believes that FitzRalph's Augustinian ideas seem to be derived from Henry of Ghent.

⁸⁸Rashdall, III, 269-71. John Wycliffe, De Dominio Divino, ed. Reginald L. Poole (London: Trübner & Co., 1890), p. xxiv. John Wycliffe, an Oxford theologian (D.D. by 1374), attacked Papal authority, denied Transubstantiation, and founded a heretical sect. Kenneth B. McFarlane, John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Non-Conformity (London: English University Press, Ltd., 1952), pp. 82-100, *passim*. Aubrey Gwynn, The English Austin Friars in the Age of Wyclif. (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 71. Father Gwynn sees FitzRalph's doctrine of lordship and grace as borrowed from those of the Augustinian school of Giles of Rome who set forth in his De Ecclesiastica Potestate (c. 1302) the idea that lordship is a gift of God dependent on grace. FitzRalph, he believes, absorbed these ideas probably through contact with two Augustinian friars at Avignon, William of Cremona and Cardinal Pierre Roger, pp. 59-73. Gwynn also believes that FitzRalph was indirectly influenced through Grandisson, by the ideas current at Paris, especially those of the secular master, Jean de Pouilli who, having attacked the privileges of the mendicant orders, was condemned for his views in 1321, pp.81-83.

⁸⁹Wycliffe, pp. xlvi-xlviii; I, Ch. 2, 12:

"Unde videtur domino Ardmacano, qui istam materiam egregie pertractavit, quod Deus habet dominium propter creacionem, possessionem propter conservacionem, et usum propter gubernacionem." I, Ch. 5, 30:

"Sed ad illud respondet dominus Ardmacanus in primo de Pauperie Salvatoris, capitulo vii, quod duplex est fructus divini domini scilicet intrinsecus et extrinsecus."

and other references to FitzRalph in the same work, cf. I, Ch. 5, 36; Ch. 8, 50; Ch. 13, 114; Ch. 14, 115-116; Ch. 15, 128, 136; Ch. 16, 137-38. Capgrave, p. 218, "In Oxenforth he (FitzRalph) held strange opiniones, wech Wiclef meyntened afterward more venomously." Henry W. Clark, History of English Non-Conformity (London: Chapman & Hall, 1911), I, 25, 75.

⁹⁰Richard FitzRalph, De Pauperie Salvatoris, Books I-IV, Appendix to Wycliffe's De Dominio Divino, pp. 260-476. De Pauperie Salvatoris, ed. Russell O. Brock, Jr., unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1953. Books V-VII.

Apparently, the seven books of De Pauperie Salvatoris are unavailable in a complete printed edition. It was only because of FitzRalph's influence on John Wycliffe's doctrine of dominion that Reginald Lane Poole

included the first four books of this work as an appendix to an edition of Wycliffe's De Dominio Divino, published in 1890 (p. xxxiv). The remaining three books of De Pauperie Salvatoris were not available until 1953, when Russell Brock edited them for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Colorado. Both of these texts are in Latin. There is no known English translation.

There are fourteen extant manuscripts of De Pauperie Salvatoris, all of which are from the fourteenth century (Brock, pp. xli, 5-6). According to Brock, the original manuscript of De Pauperie Salvatoris is not known to exist. Brock assumes that this work aroused little enduring interest on the continent, (Brock, pp. xxv, xl), in all probability it was influential in Oxford circles. Wycliffe, p. xxiv, Supra, note 89. Wycliffe's familiarity with the work as a member of the Oxford generation immediately following FitzRalph shows its use there. In De Pauperie (Brock, p. xl), the editor discussed the disposition of several texts, indicating its use at Oxford. Hayes, II, 150-52 lists these and other works of FitzRalph.

⁹¹De Pauperie (Poole) p. xxxviii, he later revised his original estimate (see DNB article) and agreed on this date, along with Brock, De Pauperie (Brock) p. xl.

⁹²De Pauperie (Poole) I, Ch. 1, 273-74.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid., I-IV.

⁹⁵De Pauperie (Brock), V-VI.

⁹⁶Ibid., VIII.

⁹⁷Ibid., VII, Ch. 18, 307: ". . . quamvis aliqui tui vicarii super hoc discrepare quodammodo videantur . . ."

⁹⁸De Pauperie, (Poole), IV, Ch. 3, 440-41.

⁹⁹Carlyle, I, 30-33, 141-46.

¹⁰⁰De Pauperie, (Poole), III, Ch. 13-16, 354-58; (Brock), V, Ch. 13, 41-43..

¹⁰¹De Pauperie, (Poole), IV, Ch. 4, 440-1.

¹⁰²Ibid., III Ch. 7-8, 390-394.

¹⁰³Ibid., III, Ch. 3, 384; Ch. 8, 390.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., III, Ch. 20, 408.

¹⁰⁵Carlyle, I, 135.

¹⁰⁶De Pauperie (Poole), III, Ch. 27, 417-19: " . . . quia est conformior apostolice legi iustissime, qua omnia debent esse communia; cui legi in omni casu detrahit civile dominium. "

¹⁰⁷Emden, II, 1384-87. A Franciscan friar at Oxford Convent (c. 1310-20), Ockham's career had so many ramifications that it would be difficult to summarize it here. A member of the nominalist school of thought, Ockham had been cited at Avignon for his views on the Eucharist. In the controversy on evangelical poverty, he took the position of the Spiritual Franciscans and stood by Michael of Cesana in the struggle with Pope John XXII. Excommunicated in 1328, Ockham spent his remaining years at the court of Louis the Bavarian and wrote polemical treatises in support of the imperial cause against the Pope.

¹⁰⁸Philotheus Boehner, Collected Articles on William of Ockham, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1958), pp. 455-57. William of Ockham, Breviloquium de Potestate Papae, ed. L. Baudry (Paris: J. Vrin, 1937), III, Ch. 6, 84; Ch. 7, 85-7: "Primum dominium, scilicet commune toti generi humano fuit et permansisset in statu innocencie, si homo non peccasset, set absque potestate appropriandi rem aliquam alicui persone aliter quam per usu . . . Post peccatum autem, quia in hominibus pullulavit avaricia et cupiditas possidendi et utendi non recte temporalibus rebus . . ."

¹⁰⁹De Pauperie, (Poole), IV, Ch. 1, 437; IV, Ch. 3, 440.

¹¹⁰Gwynn, EAF, p. 71, cites Giles of Rome, Aegidius Romanus de Ecclesiastica Potestate, ed Richard Scholz (Weimar, 1929), pp. 60-61.

¹¹¹De Pauperie, (Poole), IV, Ch. 4, 441: " . . . quoniam secundum purum sensum huius verbi dominus (ut supra probavimus) dominus rerum non est aliquis nisi gracia iustificante sit iustus, quales non sunt in sua conceptione filii Eve, set omnes nascimur filli ire secundum apostolum ad Eph. ii, 3."

¹¹²Wycliffe, I, Ch. 2, 10: " . . . quod nullum dominium est eternum simpliciter, cum sit effectus incipiens ad inceptionem creature subservientis, ipsa creatura posterior natura."

¹¹³Ibid., III, Ch. 5, 235-49.

¹¹⁴Carlyle, VI, 62.

¹¹⁵Wycliffe, I, Ch. 1, 4: "Dominium est habitudo nature rationalis secundum quam denominatur suo perfici servienti."

¹¹⁶De Pauperie (Poole), III, Ch. 6, 389. Wycliffe, I, Ch. 5, 36-37.

¹¹⁷Wycliffe, I, Ch. 2, 10-15; 30-33. pp. 30-37

¹¹⁸Supra, notes 105-106.

¹¹⁹Wycliffe, III, Ch. 1, 250: "Primo quod quelibet creatura rationalis sit improprie dominus, quin potius minister vel dispensator supremi Domini. Patet ex hoc quod quelibet creatura est servus Domini habens quidquid habet ex mera gracia ut dispenset."

¹²⁰De Pauperie (Poole), II, Ch. 2, 364-5.

¹²¹Ibid., IV, Ch. 4, 441.

¹²²Ibid., IV, Ch. 4, 442.

¹²³Ibid., IV, Ch. 10, 451: Conversely, he sees the possibility that another heir, chosen to replace the unjust hereditary heir, might fall from grace by committing sin. ". . . quia de primogeniti penitencia vere apparere non potest atque de eius permanencia in peccato . . . etsi non penitet in presenti, tamen potest in proximo penitere, sicut et secundus nunc iustus potest peccare, si velit, continuo et ius perdere si quod eo modo acquireret . . ."

¹²⁴Ibid., IV Ch. 10, 451-52: ". . . preter hoc quod in peccante titulus et ius domini acquisiti remanent sublato vel non remanente dominio, quoniam ius a iubeo derivatur . . . et si ex pluribus legibus iustis id habent, iura tot habent ac titulos ad hereditatem paternam habendam sive tenendam: dominium tamen sive dominar similitudine per caritatem seu gratiam omnino non habent. Hoc ius seu titulum . . . ad rem aliquam civiliter optinendam congrue poteris appellare . . . set est quoad leges humane sufficiens . . ."

¹²⁵Ockham, I, 42-43: "Porro, si, secundum istos, tenendum est quod papa non habet predictam plenitudinem potestatis a Christo, dicatur ergo quam potestatem habet a Christo et quam non habet quod tamen a nullo ampliancium potestatem pape adhuc est dictum. Et utinam aliqua eorum excogitata veritas clarius elucesceret."

¹²⁶Ibid., I, 111, 157.

¹²⁷"Noveritis itaque et cuncti noverunt Christiani, quod fere quatuor annis integris in Avinione mansi, antequam cognoscerem praesidentem ibidem pravitatem haereticam incurrisse, quia nolens leviter credere, quod persona in tanto officio constituta haereses definiret esse tenendas, constitutiones haereticas ipsius nec legere nec habere curavi. Post modum vero, ex occasione data, superiore mandante, tres constitutiones seu potius destitutiones haereticas . . . legi et studui diligenter. . ." L. Baudry, "La Lettre de Guillaume d'Occam au Chapitre d'Assise;" in Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine III (1926), p. 207, quoted in Bohner, p. 443 n.

¹²⁸Bohner, pp. 459-60. Ockham, I, 111 and V, 159-160.

¹²⁹Ockham, V, 160.

¹³⁰De Pauperie (Poole), IV, Ch. 6 and 7, pp. 443-47.

131 Ibid., IV, Ch. 8, 446: "Tacita condicio in omni intelligitur iuramento, scilicet, ut legem Dei euis observancia non affendat. . ."

132 Ibid., IV, Ch. 8, 446-47.

133 Ibid., IV, Ch. 6, p. 444-445 ". . . Quoniam non possunt leges humane aut iudices investigare consciencias hominum, renes scrutando et corda, quod facere solius est Dei. Quibus ob hoc necessaria est lex alia illis legibus humanis superior . . . donec ad summum iudicem veniatur, qui habet super eo casu congruum remedium adhibere. . . (vel) debet omnino differe iudicium. . ."

134 Ibid. "Quod autem existentes in peccato mortali heredes, donatari. . . quod nunquam reperitur in aliquo nisi ad Dei ymaginem et similitudinem reformatus."

135 Ibid., IV, Ch. 15 and 16, 459-467.

136 Ibid., IV, Ch. 15, 459.

137 De Pauperie (Brock), VI, Ch. 17, 128-9.

138 Ibid., VI, Ch. 20-22, 142-149; Book VII, Ch. 18, 304: ". . . seu communiter retinentes imitatores tui eo modo effecti in artissima tibi accepta atque voluntaria paupertate nulli fratrum suorum utendi ius aliquod adimenes . . . cum aut tua donacione aut tua legacione seu mendicacione aut laboricio carnis sue aut cuiusquam devoteconcedentis licencia quicquam adquirunt . . ."

139 Ibid., VI, Ch. 14, 115-19, he points out that Paul said that the Church should provide for itself; this care for the future (sollicitudo) should not distract from care of God, yet one shouldn't observe poverty to the extent of asking for miracles, for Non temptabis dominum Deum tuum (Matt. 4:7). cf. with Franciscan idea, especially Ockham and other Spiritual Franciscans.

140 De Pauperie (Poole), 273.

141 De Pauperie (Brock), VII, in Ch. 5-6, FitzRalph compares the Exiit of Nicholas III (1279) with the Ad Conditorem of John XXII (1322) and finds no contradiction in the positions taken on the lordship and property of the friars. Subsequent chapters of Book VII deal with other contradictions: use, the poverty of Christ, strict poverty in imitation of Christ, etc. In each case, reconciliation is achieved through a definition of terms.

142 Ibid., VII, Ch. 17. Nicholas seemingly contradicts himself in Exiit on whether Christ held property.

143 De Pauperie (Poole), I, Ch. 1, 273-274.

144 De Pauperie (Brock), VII, Ch. 18, 306.

145 Ibid., 307.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., VI, Ch. 26, 152: because " . . . vicarius Christi non potest directe ac sancte statuere contra sui magistri Christi consilia . . ."

CONCLUSION

The number of Irish known to have been in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was insignificant. The twenty-two so identified were predominantly Anglo-Norman and English. Except for two possible laymen, eleven were regular and nine were secular clergy.

With one exception, the Irish at Paris were not outstanding. The secular clergy probably lived in housing available to members of the English-German nation, while the regular clergy lived in their respective convents. Similarly, the Irish at Oxford are known to have lived in various halls, in particular, Aristotle Hall in the fifteenth century. Those of the regular order were also found in their respective convents, abbeys and priories.

No doubt the enmity between the French and English in the fifteenth century was a deterrent which kept Irish from traveling to Paris. Despite legal restriction against the Irish presence in England, and despite dissension with the Northern nation at the university, the Irish continued to study at the schools of Oxford to the end of the medieval period. It appears that the reasons for the restrictions, as stated, were entirely unjustified.

Seven of the Irish at Paris were identified as masters in arts, while three others have been shown to have connections with the faculty of arts as students and booksellers. Members of the regular orders presumably were involved with the study of theology at their respective studia.

On the other hand, though larger in number, few of the Irish at Oxford were masters, most were students. Available evidence has shown that, with the possible exception of the faculty of medicine, the Irish at Oxford

pursued studies in all of the faculties, apparently concentrating on the study of law and theology, especially the former.

The concentration of the Irish on the study of law and theology appears to have been in preparation for ecclesiastical posts in Ireland. They provided an educated clergy for the parishes and monasteries, as well as highly trained administrators in the archdioceses, dioceses and abbeys of the country. Comparison of their careers with those of archbishops and bishops who did not experience the university milieu at Paris and Oxford indicates that university studies were not essential to advancement to these positions. In fact, only eight per cent of these posts were held by those connected with Paris and Oxford. In almost all instances, their assignments were in the Anglo-Norman areas of Ireland.

Of those Irish scholars whose work has been discussed in some detail - - William of Drogheda and Richard FitzRalph - - it seems clear that they made a considerable contribution to European culture. There is some indication that William of Drogheda's Summa Aurea was used as a law text, probably at Oxford. And, in addition, the work itself played a role in legal history on the continent, specifically in the field of canon law procedure. On the other hand, Richard FitzRalph's De Pauperie Salvatoris has been shown to represent the Augustinian current of thought in Oxford and, through his concept of lordship, to have been pertinent to the development of medieval political thought. Hence, the work of both men is part of the legal, religious and political literature of European culture.

PART II

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Angelicus, Thomas fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford.
(Gibson, p. 87)

Archebold, Richard O. Cist. fl. 1451-1480

A Cistercian monk of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, he studied at Rewley Abbey, Oxford. (Dijon Archives departementales, Cote d'Or, archives eccl. ii H. 19 /ex inform. H.M. Colven/, cited by Emden, I, 43)

He sought the B. Th. in October, 1451 and incepted for D. Th. in 1478. (O.V. Reg., Aa, fo. 56 v., Reg. Univ. Oxon., OHS, I, 14 cited by Emden, I, 43; Salter, II, 321) In 1480, he was suspected of having "dabbled too freely in the science of alchemy" (ex inform. Aubrey Gwynn) and was reported to the General Chapter of the Cistercian order. (Statt. Capitul. Gen. Ord. Cist. V, 381-382, cited by Emden, I, 43)

Ardagh, John fl. 1426-1459

Of Armagh diocese but of English stock. (Statute Rolls, Ire., Henry VI, 619-23, cited by Emden, I, 44) He apparently rented a room in University College, Oxford in 1426-27 and again in 1429-30. (Univ. Coll. Bursars' Accts. cited by Emden, I, 44) Although noted as having studied theology (CPL VIII, 206-207), reportedly he was a bachelor of civil law by October, 1420. (CPL, VII, 342) He held several posts in Ireland: Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin in November, 1430 (CPL VIII, 206-207) and vicar of Athboy in County Meath at the same time. (Reg. Mey, Armagh, fo. 81 cited by Emden, I, 44); canon of St. Patrick's in September, 1434, (CPL, VIII, 236) He was granted dispensation

to hold an additional incompatible benefice in October, 1434 (Ibid., VIII, 503) and was an official of Meath, 1445-1459 and rector of Painestown, county Meath, 1447-1451. (Reg. Mey. fo. 5v, 44v, 81, cited by Emden, I, 44).

Bampton, Stephen de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Barrett, William fl. 1414-1421

Of Ferns diocese, he was vicar of Kilcoran, county Wexford before 1414, when he was granted permission to go to England and spend four years at Oxford. (PCH, p. 205b) Appointed assessor for Irish clerical subsidy in October 1421.

(H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, Parlts. and Councils of Med. Ireland /Irish MM. Comm. 1947/ I, 167, cited by Emden, I, 117) In the same year he served as rector of Kilcoran. (CPL, VII, 173, 176)

Barry, John de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Barry, Nicholas fl. 1458-1469

Treasurer of Cloyne by papal provision in 1458. (CPL, XII, 17-18) He served as proctor for abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin in Oxford 1469. (RCO, II, 305)

Barynton, John fl. 1420-1427

Vicar of Diamore, county Meath, he had studied at Oxford for three or four years by June, 1420, at which time he was given papal dispensation to hold four additional compatible benefices. Prior to 1420 he had also received a dispensation because of

illegitimacy, so that he could receive minor orders. (CPL, VII, 142-143) By September, 1427 he was canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin and prebendary of Stagonil, which prebend he exchanged with a Thomas Donegan and was presented to the rectory of Rathwere, county Meath. (Swayne, p. 71, cited by Emden, I, 126; Cotton, I, 176)

Beringham, Robert de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Bicknor, Alexander fl. 1305-1349

An Englishman of Gloucester, he was a master of arts, presumably of Oxford. (The. Rymer, Foedera, II, pt. I, p. 241, cited by Emden, I, 186) He held some benefices and royal posts in England. (Emden, I, 186-187) As a king's clerk, he arrived in Ireland with the Justicier of Ireland in April, 1305. (CPR, 1301-1307, p. 335) Treasurer of the Exchequer in Dublin, 1307-1313 (CPR, 1301-1307 passim), he also served as canon of St. Patrick's Dublin and prebendary of Maynooth in 1310 until he was appointed as archbishop of Dublin in 1311. The election was set aside by Edward II so that he did not become archbishop of Dublin until the death of archbishop Leach and then only after a disputed election. He was consecrated in July, 1317 and served until his death in 1349. (CPR (1313-1317), pp. 79, 357, 558; (1317-1321), pp. 18, 663; CSM, II, 339, 359; Eubel, I, 336; Cotton, I, 14; Gams, 218; Emden, I, 186 for other references) Missions to the Roman Curia in 1314 and 1315, royal duties and litigation kept him preoccupied and out of Ireland. (Emden, I, 186-187) He did make an impact on events in Ireland through his

sermons (CSM, II, xiv-xv), his attempt to found a University at Dublin (Mason, Dublin, appx. pp. x-xi, infra, pp. 17-18) and his dispute with Richard FitzRalph. (Studies, XXV /1936/, 81-96)

Blaunchewile, Richard de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Bole, William fl. 1444

An Irish scholar of Oxford's Aristotle Hall in Logic Lane in April, 1444. (RCO, I, 97)

Brakdan, David fl. 1369

Rector of Darver, county Louth, he was granted license to study at Oxford in June, 1369. (Sweetman, p. 235)

Brown, Robert fl. 1484

Of Cashel diocese, he had been granted a papal dispensation to receive orders because of illegitimacy, sometime prior to May, 1484, at which time he received collation of a benefice with or without cure. He had studied for many years at Oxford and then Rome, but returned to Oxford for the study of canon law because of lack of money. (CPL, XIII, 184; Emden, I, 285)

Burel, John fl. 1298

Clerk killed in a tavern brawl in 1298. (Rec. Med. Oxf., p. 8, cited by Emden, I, 307)

Byllyan, Thomas fl. 1434-1447

A canon of Cashel and prebendary of New Chapel, 1434-1437.

(PCH, p. 258; Cotton, I, 133) He had studied canon and civil law for five years at Oxford by March, 1436, at which time he

held multiple benefices: canonries and prebendaries of Cork and Emly, a deanery of Ossory. (CPL, VII, 605) He was deprived of all his benefices in January, 1447, when he was charged with treason and other felonies, committed to Dublin Castle, and adjudged a traitor by Parliament. (Statute Rolls, Ireland, Henry VI, p. 73, cited by Emden, I, 333)

Caldey, Henry fl. 1436-1451

Of Ferns diocese, he was a master in arts in Oxford who was principal of St. Thomas Hall in September, 1436 and perhaps at some point a resident of Magdalen Hall. (RCO, I, 21, 235) Although he received letters of commendation from the university to the archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Ferns in February, 1438 (RCO, I, 111), he seems to have had his entire career in England. (Emden, I, 339) He died and was buried in Oxford in 1451. (RCO, I, 235-240)

Calfherd, Adam fl. 1391-1392

From Armagh diocese, he was ordained subdeacon (1391) and then deacon (1392) to St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford. (Reg. Wyckeham, I, 324-325, cited by Emden, I, 340)

Cantwell, Adam fl. 1386-1394

Irish chaplain of New College Chapel, Oxford, 1386-1391. (New Coll. Hallbooks, cited by Emden, I, 351) He paid 20s. in the hanaper for license granted 17 July, 1394 to remain for life in England, despite proclamation requiring Irishmen to return to their country. (CPR, 1392-1396, p. 452)

Cantwell, John fl. 1427-1452

Of Cashel diocese, he was principal of Oxford's Eagle Hall and Ape Hall in 1428. (Cart. Oseney (O.H.S.), III, 229, cited by

Emden, I, 351) He received bachelor's degrees in canon and civil laws by 1429. (Swayne, p. 119, cited by Emden, I, 351) Of noble birth, he had received a papal dispensation because of illegitimacy to be able to receive holy orders and hold a benefice with cure. (CPR, VII, 543) In August, 1429 he became archdeacon of Ossory and sub-collector of papal revenues in Ireland (Swayne, p. 119, Rot. Pat. 10 Hen. IV, cited by Cotton, I, 305) and he resigned his archdeaconry in November, 1440 when he was appointed archbishop of Cashel, a post he held until his death. (Gams, p. 209; Eubel, I, 170; CPL, IX, 129, 278) He assisted in the defense of Athassel Priory in county Tipperary by 1447. (CPL, X, 344) He died prior to May, 1452. (Ibid., X, 60 ln)

Cantwell, John

fl. 1439-1482

A scholar of Oxford's Eagle Hall in May, 1439 (RCO, I, 46), he was a bachelor of civil law by 1452. He was granted a papal dispensation because of illegitimacy to receive orders and to hold benefices. (CPL, X, 60ln) Dean of Cashel until his appointment as archbishop of Cashel in May, 1452, he succeeded the other John Cantwell in that post. (Gams, p. 209; Eubel, I, 170) He repaired the Dominican priory at Cashel and endowed the vicars choral college with property in Clonmel. (Cotton, I, 9-10) As archbishop, he held two provincial synods, one at Limerick in 1453 and the other at Fethard in 1480. (Ibid.; Wilkins, III, 565-571)

Cantwell, Simon

fl. 1449-1451

Of Lismore diocese, he was a master in arts at Oxford by 1450. (RCO, I, 204) While in Oxford, he was involved in litigation,

once as a guarantor of another master's appearance in the Chancellor's Court in 1449 and another time regarding a debt owed him by an Oxford tailor. (RCO, I, 184, 203) By 1451 he received papal dispensation because of illegitimacy to receive holy orders and hold compatible benefices. He served as dean of Limerick until 1449, archdeacon of Cashel, canon and prebendary of Cashel in 1451. (CPL, X, 518-520; XI, 400) He died at Viterbo in 1451. (CPL, X, 518-520; XI, 400; Emden, I, 351)

Cardis, Henry de fl. 1252

Irish master who was party to the 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Chambers, Nicholas fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Chancellor, Richard the fl. 1252

From the diocese of Ferns, he studied at Paris, and became a master in the arts. He was provided with a canonry of Ferns in 1252-1253. (CPR, I, 287; Theiner, 56)

Charnells, William O.P. fl. 1350-1362

He was a master of theology at Paris. (ALKG, II, 222) After serving as papal penitentiary, he was appointed bishop of Ferns in April, 1350 by papal provision and served until his death. (Cle. IVa. S, t. 192, ep. 242, as cited by Eubel, I, 247; Gams, 221) For his service while Treasurer of Ireland, he was made constable of the Castle at Ferns with a fee of L20 a year. (Rot. Turr. Berm., 33, cited by Cotton, II, 333. He died in 1362. (Gams, 221)

Charer, Henry fl. 1398

From county Meath, he was ordained deacon of St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford in March, 1398. (Reg. Wykeham Win., I, 345, cited by Emden, I, 390)

Chelatmaym, William de fl. 1252

Irish party to the peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Cholachain, Philip fl. 1443

An Irish student at Oxford, he was granted administration of the effects of James Clonan who died in 1443. (RCO, I, 83)

Clonan, James fl. 1443

An Irish priest and scholar in canon law, he died in Oxford in 1443 and another Irishman was given the administration of his effects. (RCO, I, 83)

Coke, William fl. 1421

Vicar of Donore, county West Meath, in 1421 he was granted permission to go to England from Ireland to study at Oxford for two years. (PCH, p. 217b)

Colan, William fl. 1420-1434

An Irish scholar in arts, he rented St. Andrew's Hall and a tenement in St. John's parish, Oxford, c. 1420-1422. (Cart. Oseney (O.H.S.), III, 221, 224, cited by Emden, I, 459) By 1434 he was a bachelor of theology and had been admitted to Aristotle Hall. (RCO, I, 7)

Colby, Thomas O. Carm. fl. 1384-1423

An Englishman from Norfolk, he was a member of the Carmelite's Oxford Convent around 1384. (Bodl. Libr. Bodl. MS. 73 (S.C.17635),

fo. 39n. cited by Emden, I, 459) He was a master in theology, possibly at Cambridge or elsewhere. (Emden, I, 459) In 1412 he was appointed bishop of Elphin by papal provision (CPL, VI, 240, 310; Eubel, I, 237; Gams, p. 220) until his translation to the See of Waterford and Lismore in 1414. (Gams, p. 233; Eubel, I, 308) His claim to this see was disputed and he was required to relinquish his title in 1421. (PCI, pp. 232b, 233; Cotton, I, 121) He died two years later in 1423. (Eubel, I, 237)

Colle, Walter fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Corkeran, Henry fl. 1484-1492

In 1464, he was a bachelor of canon law when he was left 20d in the will of a John Dongan at Oxford. (RCO, II, 136) He was rector of Painestown, county Meath in 1470 and president of Armagh consistory court in 1471. (Reg. Octavian, fos. 199, 243, cited by Emden, I, 488) Rector of St. Nicholas in Heynestown, county Louth after having served as archdeacon of Armagh 1469-1492, he became involved in a dispute with archbishop Octavian regarding his duties and either resigned or was deprived by February, 1492. (Ibid., fos. 21, 21v. 145, 271v., cited by Emden, II, 488; ex inform. Aubrey Gwynn)

Cornysh, Thomas fl. 1455- 1466

Of the diocese of Cork, he was ordained deacon and then priest of Oseney Abbey in 1455. (Reg. Bekynton Bath and Wells (Somt. Rec. Soc.), II, 505-506, cited by Emden, I, 401) He was incepted at Oxford as master in the arts in May, 1457 and then continued

his studies in theology, receiving a bachelor of theology degree by 1466. (O.U. Reg. Aa, fos, 15v 98b; Reg. Univ. Oxon. (O.H.S.), I, 25, cited by Emden, I, 491; RCO, II 130) He had rented Little St. Edmund Hall 1459-1467 (Cart. Oseney (O.H.S.), III, 250-251, cited by Emden, I 491) and rented Haberdesh Hall in September, 1461. (RCO, II 49)

Corre, Thomas fl. 1410

Vicar of St. Mary's Garristown, county Dublin in September, 1410, he was granted permission to be absent from his benefice to study at Oxford or elsewhere for five years. (PCH, p.195)

Cornwall, Richard of fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peach accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p.87)

Courcy, Edmund O.F.M. fl. 1484-1518

A Franciscan friar from the deCourcy family of Munster, he studied at Oxford and is reputed to have become a doctor of theology. (Wood, II, 712; Gwynn, MPH, p. 166) He became bishop of Clogher in 1484 until his resignation in 1502. (Wadding, XIV, 455-486; Gwynn, MPH, 164-165, 176; Gams, p. 210; Eubel, I, 192) As bishop of Clogher he supported Henry VII against the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, thus gaining favor with the king. (Registers of Clogher, cited by Cotton, III, 76) His tenure at Clogher was difficult because of opposition by Cathal MacManus and the Maguire family. (Gwynn, MPH, pp. 159, 166-169; Emden, I, 498) Upon receiving provision to the See of Ross in 1494, he intended to retain Clogher as well but was forced to resign. He remained as bishop of Ross until his death in March, 1518. (Gwynn, MPH, pp. 169-171) He was buried in the monastery

of Timoleague, county Cork. (Cotton, I, 353)

Craane, Philip fl. 1348

Vicar of Kilbreedy Major in county Limerick and student at Oxford in 1348. In that year, the bishop of Lincoln asked the chancellor of the university to corroborate that Craane's letters dismissory from his superior were in order. (Reg. Gynewell Linc., IX, fo. 16v, cited by Emden, I, 507-508)

Cracfergus, William de fl. 1298

Clerk involved in death of a weaver outside Smith Gate, Oxford on 16 June 1298. (OCD, pp. 152-153)

Cranley, Thomas fl. 1366-1417

An Englishman, he was a fellow of Merton College in 1366, a first warden of Winchester College 1382 to 1389, and a warden of New College in 1389 to 1396. (Emden, I, 510) He was a master in arts and a doctor of theology by 1390. at which time he became Chancellor of Oxford University, 1390-1391. (CPR, (1388-1392), p. 346; MPO, II, 16) Between 1375 and 1397 he held a number of benefices in England. (Emden, I, 510) In 1397, he was appointed archbishop of Dublin by papal provision (Bon. IX Obl. 48 A f. 92, cited by Eubel I, 229; Gams, 218) until his death in 1417 (Mart. V Arm. XIV, 121, p. 95, cited by Eubel, I, 229) In addition, he served as Chancellor of Ireland 1398-1401, 1413-1414 (CPR (1396-1399), pp. 344, 346, 409, 461; (1399-1401), pp. 446, 479, 512: (1401-1405), p. 212; (1408-1413), P. 452; (1413-1416), pp. 90, 253) and as Justiciar of Ireland 1413-1414. (Camden, Britannia, p. 834 cited by Emden, I, 511) He returned to England In April 1417 where he died at age 80 at Faringdon in Berkshire the following month. He is buried in New College Chapel and

bequeathed to that institution a number of philosophical and theological texts. (Cotton, I, 16; Emden, I, 511)

Cranley, Thomas fl. 1406-1423

Probably related to Thomas Cranley, archbishop of Dublin (1397-1417). In 1406 and 1408, he received permission to go to England from Ireland for a total of four years (PCH, pp. 182b, 187) to study at Oxford, where he received a bachelor of canon law degree. He was canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin and prebendary of Lusk in January, 1406 and prebendary of Finglas in St. Patrick's in January, 1408. He received the prebendary of Clonmethan, also of St. Patrick's, in 1412. (CPR (1408-1413), p. 236) In the period of 1411-1423 he had a number of holdings in England, ending with the canonry of Salisbury and prebendary of Grimston which he held when he died in 1423. (Emden, I, 511)

Creagh, David fl. 1483-1503

Of noble birth, he was a bachelor of canon and civil laws at Oxford by 1483, until which time he was canon and prebendary of Limerick. (Wood, II 629) In 1483 he was collated as canon and prebendary of Cork and rector of the royal free chapel of Holy Trinity, Cork. (CPR (1476-1485), p. 309; CPL, XIII, 144) The following year, 1484, he became archbishop of Cashel by papal provision and held this post until his death in 1503. (Eubel, II, 134; Gams, p. 209; Cotton, I, 10; CPL, XIII, 845-846) He was poorly treated by the Lord Deputy of Ireland, but was granted a pardon in 1496. (CPR (1494-1509), p. 76) He died September, 1503. (Cotton, I, 10)

Croft, Roger de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p.87)

Crukaden, Geoffrey

fl. 1401-1420

An Irishman, upon payment of 40s he received permission to remain in England for life, despite a recent proclamation requiring all Irishmen to leave the country. (CPR (1413-1416), p. 124) He incepted for the advanced degrees in canon and civil law at Oxford by 1414, after having received the bachelor of canon law and licentiate in civil law by 1401, possibly at Cologne. (Reg. Burghill, Cov. & Lich., fos. 131, 136 and H. Keussen, Die Matrikel der Universität Koln, I, 105, cited by Emden, I, 524) Having received permission to remain in England, he appears to have done so. His entire career seems to have been spent in England except for his services as proctor at the Roman Curia in 1418. He died in 1420. (Emden, I, 524)

Crumpe, Henry

O. Cist.

fl. 1376-1401

A Cistercian monk of Baltinglass Abbey, county Wicklow, he was a regent master in theology at Oxford by 1382. (Wilkins, III, 167; OF, 311-312) In a sermon of 1376, he opposed John Wycliffe's ideas regarding secular control over clerical and church property. In 1380, he was one of twelve theologians who condemned Wycliffe's view on the Eucharist. He is credited with naming Wycliffe's followers Lollards. (FZ, pp. 113, 239; Emden, I, 524) He returned to Ireland where he renewed Richard FitzRalph's attack on the mendicants and was condemned for heresy by William Andrews, O.P., bishop of Meath in 1385. (FZ, 349-356) He returned to Oxford in 1391 where he was charged for room rental in University College in 1391-1392 and 1397-1398, (OF, II, 311-312; Univ. Coll. Burser's Accounts 1391-1392, 1393-1398, 1399-1400, cited

by Emden, I, 52) but was suspended briefly from scholastic activity in 1392. (FZ, 343-356) Again returning to Ireland, he attacked the indulgence recently granted the Dominicans by the pope, for which he was condemned to silence in 1401.

(CPL, V, 432-433) Bale credits him with authorship of six works: Determinationes scholasticae, tractate contra religiosos Mendicantes, responsiones ad objecta, de Fundatione Monasteriorum in Anglia, Vita S. Edithe, Vita S. Etheldrede.
(Bale, II, 161, 246)

Curke, John fl. 1410-1420

From Killinick, county Wexford, he studied civil law at Oxford before 1410, when he was granted papal dispensation, because of his studies, to postpone for five years his taking holy orders. (CPL, VI, 221) He had received papal dispensation prior to this because he was a son of a priest and an unmarried woman, so that he could take holy orders and hold a benefice with cure, then to hold three compatible benefices by 1417. (Ibid., VII,70) He held a benefice in England which he vacated by July,1413, (Reg. Repingdon, Linc., XIV, fos. 161v, 174v., cited by Emden, I. 528)after which he received the vicarage of Callan, county Kilkenny and the deanery of Ossory, both in 1417. (CPL , VII 70) He was involved in litigation regarding this deanery, and apparently was successful, since he remained in that office until his death in 1419. (Cod. Clar. 46, cited by Cotton, II, .292)

Curry, Peter de fl. 1356-62

From the dioceses of Dublin, where he held a canonry of St. Patrick's. He was a fellow of Oxford University College in 1356, a non-regent master in arts and scholar in theology by 1362. In

ecclesiastical possessions and to deposit the money into the Exchequer as part payment of arrears. (Sweetman, IV, 271)

During his tenure as bishop of Kildare, Cusach showed his Anglo-Norman sympathies. On one occasion, he interceded on behalf of a noble youth who was wounded in conflict, captured and held hostage by the Irish. (Sweetman, III, 374; P.R.O. Anc. Corresp. XXII, 187, cited by FML, p. 59) In an undated letter, Cusach warned Edward I of the treachery of certain Irish religious who met secretly with the native Irish and encouraged their seditious activities. He recommended that such Irish religious be removed from convents in dangerous areas and be replaced by good Englishmen. (P.R.O. Anc Corres., XVI, 99, quoted by FML, pp. 52-53) He died in September, 1299 and is buried in his cathedral Church in Kildare. (Ware, I, 385-386; CPL, I, 460, 462; Cotton, III, 227-228)

Daniel, Nicholas fl. 1372-73

From the diocese of Armagh, he was ordained subdeacon and then deacon to title of Littlemore Priory, Oxford 1372-73. (Reg. Sudbury (CYS) II, 117, 120 cited by Emden, I, 541)

Den, Robert de fl. 1388

Archdeacon of Ferns in 1388, he was granted permission to be absent from Ireland to study at the University of Oxford. (Cotton, II, 360) He was granted a further leave of absence for three years in 1389 when he was rector of the free Chapel of St. Nicholas in Carrick, county Wexford. (PCI, 139b, 140)

Den, Thomas de fl. 1356-1400

A student at Oxford in 1356 when he became archdeacon of Ferns and Leighlin. (Cotton, II, 360) In 1363, he was appointed bishop of

Dowdale, Nicholas

fl. 1461-1475

He was allowed to hold a benefice despite his being an illegitimate son of an unmarried knight, thereby receiving a canonry of Dublin and prebendary of Clonmethan. In 1466 he received a papal dispensation to hold an additional benefice. (CPL, XII, 467-468) At that time he provided security for Coleshill Hall, Oxford and served as proctor appointed by the abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin, to handle the effects of a deceased monk that were in England. (RCO, II, 219) In 1475, he was still holder of the canonry and prebend when he was granted permission to return to Oxford to study for three or eight years. (Cotton, II, 146; cf. Emden, I, 589)

Drogheda, William of

fl. 1200-1245

Probably of an Anglo-Norman family in Limerick, (Zulueta, p.637) Master of canon law at Oxford by 1238 (Summa, II, 2, XIV) where he pledged security for one of his students. (CCR (1237-42), p.135; Gibson, LXXXIV, 83 85; Emden, I, 594-595) By 1239, he was regens in legibus at Oxford and a practicing lawyer (Summa, pp. 190, 253) who was highly regarded by Matthew Paris. (Chron. Maj., IV 423) Drogheda wrote the Summa Aurea, a practical treatise on procedures in ecclesiastical courts (Summa, pp. xviii-xix) which was probably completed by 1238. (Ibid., p. 23) He was murdered in his home by his valet in 1245. (Cart. Eynsham, II, 174; infra, pp.47-55.)

Drumlyn, John

fl. 1452

An Irish scholar of Aristotle Hall, Oxford in July, 1452 he was imprisoned for breach of the peace, but later released upon his providing sureties to the Chancellor of the University for his good behavior. (RCO, I, 277)

- Dublin, Egidius of fl. 1329
 A determinant in arts at Paris in 1329, whose bursa is not mentioned. He had lodgings in the Clos Bruneau where other members of the English-German nation resided. (Chart., II, 661)
- Dundonual, Peter de fl. 1267
 Irish party to 1267 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Oxf. Univ. Arch. I, 13a cited by Emden, I, 605; Wood, I, 27ln)
- Falwath, John de fl. 1298
 Arrested and imprisoned after another Irishman killed a leather worker outside of North Gate, Oxford in January, 1298. (OCD, pp. 152-153)
- Faniri, Henry fl. 1252
 Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (gibson, p. 87)
- Felde, Michael de la fl. 1388-89
 A priest from the diocese of Dublin, he studied at Oxford and received a bachelor of canon law by 1388. (CPL, IV, 348) Until then, he was vicar of Callen, county Kilkenny, but in 1388 was provided with the deanery of Ossory, with cure at the value of 50 marks, by exchange with a Thomas Waforton. (Ibid.; PCI, pp. 136b-137b) Apparently, he remained as dean of Ossory until February, 1413, at which time he received permission to be absent for three years. (PCI, p. 201b)
- FitzLion, Leo fl. 1252
 Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

FitzRalph, Richard

fl. 1300-1360

Probably born c. 1300 of an Anglo-Norman family in Dundalk, county Louth. (CPR, II, 355; Studies, XXII, 389; Tempest, pp. 553-554) Fellow of Balliol College before 1325, he received his degrees in Oxford: master in arts (1325), bachelor in theology (1329), master in theology (1331). (Reg. Grand, I, 233, 616; CPL, II, 355) He served as Chancellor of that University 1332-1334. (Reg. Bp. Burgh. Linc. fo. 268 cited by Salter, Schism, pp. 249-254; Snappe's, p. 295) He held posts in England 1331-1347 (Emden, II, 693) until he was consecrated archbishop of Armagh in July, 1347; CPR, III, pp. 217-225; Reg. Grand., II, 1022-1023; Gams, p. 207; Eubel, I, 108) He showed concern about the deplorable state of higher education in Ireland (Studies, XXII, 399; CPR (1342-1362), p. 367; Foxe, II, 160; Def. Cur., II, 474) He preached numerous sermons against the abuses of the mendicants in Ireland in England and at the Papal Court at Avignon. (Gwynn, Studies, passim; Knowles, pp. 90-114) His ideas on dominium as expounded in De Paup. Salv. inspired John Wycliffe (De Dom. Div., II, 12; V, 30 et passim; EAF, p. 71) For listing of works see Baxter, p. 59; Tanner, pp. 283-285; Hayes, Vol. X, pp. 63, 68-73, 89; Emden, II, 692-694. Also, v. supra pp. He died at Avignon in 1360 and his remains are buried in Dundalk. (CPL, V, 245; CPR (1342-1362), p. 596)

FitzRalph, Richard

fl. 1344-1351

Nephew of Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh, he became a bachelor in arts by 1344 and a master in arts by 1351, at which time he was a scholar in theology at Oxford. In 1351, he was

granted the prebend at Howeliston in Emly even though he expected a benefice from the bishop of Meath. (CPP, I, 210; Emden, II, 694)

Fleming, Nicholas fl. 1382-1416

A master in arts at Oxford and a canon of Ferns by 1385, at which time he was appointed prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin. (Rot. Claus 8 Rich. II, cited by Cotton, II, 188) Chancellor of Dublin until 1404 when he was appointed archbishop of Armagh and served until his death in 1418. (Eubel, I, 108; Gams, p. 207)

Furlong, William Fl. 1419-1427

A priest from Ferns diocese, he studied canon law at Oxford between 1419 and 1427, at which time he received a canonry of Ferns with reservation of a prebend. (CPL, VII, 168) In 1427, he was made rector of Tintern in county Wexford, with dispensation to hold that benefice in addition to the canonry of Ferns and prebend. (CPL, VII, 482)

Fyche, Thomas fl. 1468-1518

An Augustinian canon of Holy Trinity Cathedral priory, Dublin, reportedly he had studied at Oxford. (Wood, I, 213; Tanner, p.279) By 1504 he was sub-prior of Holy Trinity. (Emden, I, 735) He is believed to have been the compiler and perhaps writer of the Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church and the White Book of Christ Church. (Cotton, II, 4ln; Baxter, 207; Obits, XXX, XL-XLI) He died in January, 1517 or 1518 and was buried in Dublin. (Tanner, 279; Cotton, II, 4ln.; cf, Emden, I, 735)

Geese, John O. Carm. fl. 1409-1425

A Carmelite, he is reputed to have received the degree of bachelor in theology from Oxford. (Bale, pt. II, p. 157; Cotton, I, 120-121; Bodl. Libr. Bodl. MS 73 (S.C. 27635), fo. 120, cited by Emden,

II, 752) He was appointed by papal provision to be bishop of Lismore and Waterford in August, 1409, but was deprived by the intrusion of Thomas Colby in 1414 and the issue was not resolved until 1421. (Eubel, I, 308; Gams, p. 228). In that year he impeached Richard O'Hedian for misconduct. (Ware, I, 535) Reported to have been pious and learned, he is also known as a writer of Gloria Carmelitarum and other pieces. (Cotton, I, 120-121; Emden, I, 753) He died in December, 1424 or 1425. (Rot. Pat. 9 Henry VI cited by Cotton, I, 120-121)

Gelis, Richard O.F.M. Fl. 1450

An Irish Franciscan, in 1450 he was appointed to study theology at the Oxford Convent by order of the Minister General of the order. (Arch. Francisc. Hist., XXIII (1930), 267-268, cited by Emden, II, 754)

Gerard, Walter fl. 1455

An acolyte of Meath diocese, he studied at Oxford in 1455 and was made vicar of St. Mary's Northgate, Canterbury in November, 1458. (Reg. Bourghier Cant. (C.Y.S.), pp. 246, 361, fo. 134v, cited by Emden, I, 756)

Gilton, William fl. 1406-1419

A scholar in canon law in January, 1406 (CPR (1405-08) p. 116) he had been appointed by papal provision to be treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin and prebendary of Ballymore in 1405, but did not receive royal permission for this until January, 1406. (CPL, VI, 67; CPR (1405-1408), p. 116; PCH, p. 184b; Bodl. Libr., MS Arch Selden B.23 fos. 113n-114, cited by Emden, II, 771) He was present when Cornelius O'Farrell, as bishop of Ardagh, took oath of fealty to the archbishop of Armagh in 1419.

(Cal. Reg. Fleming, Armagh /Proc. Royal Irish Academy/, XXX, sect. C. p. 122, cited by Emden, I, 771)

Haddesors, William fl. 1422-1434

Of noble birth in the diocese of Armagh, he was principal of St. Edward's Hall, Oxford around 1422 (Bodl. Libr. Oseney Roll, No. 68; Cart. Oseney (OHS), III, 224, cited by Emden, II, 845) He was a bachelor of civil and canon law by 1427. Since he had acquired the rectory of Darver, county Louth without obtaining dispensation because of his illegitimacy, he found it necessary to resign until papal rehabilitation in November, 1427. Having acquired papal dispensation to be promoted to holy orders and to hold a benefice with cure, he was reinstated and was granted the archdeaconry of Armagh in addition to the rectory. (CPL, VII, 498) In 1427 he was commissary general at the archdiocese of Meath. (Reg. Swayne, p. 49 cited by Emden, II, 845) Briefly, he was canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin and prebendary of Glenmethan in September, 1429, though his claim was challenged by a rival. (CPL, VIII, 112-113) He was appointed bishop of Meath by papal provision in May, 1430 (Mart. V a. 13 Lat. l. 172, f 227, cited by Eubel, I, 339; Gams, p. 229) for which post he had to prove the validity of his claim before archbishop Swayne. (Ware, I, 149) He died on Ascension day, 1434. (Cotton, III, 114)

Hakeforde, Robert fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Haket, David fl. 1438-1478

One of four Irishmen who deposited in the Turville Chest at Oxford a copy of Digestum Vetus as security for a loan in July, 1438.

Quarr. Abbey, Isle of Wight, Ms deposited by Sr. Jo. Simeon, bart., and the exors. of the late Sir Jo. W.B. Simeon, bart., /ex inform. Mr. N.F. Ker/, cited by Emden, II xviii) By January, 1443, he was principal of Eagle Hall and Dean of Cashel, (RCO, I, 67) He was appointed bishop of Ossory by papal provision in July, 1460 and remained in that See until his death in 1478. (Eubel, I, 380-381; Gams; p. 231 Hist. Mss. Comm. 10th Rpt. appx., pt V, pp. 223, 264-265, cited by Emden, II, 848)

Haket,, Nicholas fl. 1406-1436

Of noble birth, he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford for about six years by January, 1421. (CPL, VII, 164; VIII, 77) By that time, he had already served as treasurer of Cashel (1406-1421) and again until 1428. (Ibid., VIII, 77, 138) He held several overlapping positions: canonry of Ossory and prebendary of Ennisnag, 1419-1424 (Ibid., VIII, 77, 138); canon of Lismore and prebendary of Killegan, 1421-1429 (Ibid., VII, 164; VIII, 77); dean of Ossory, 1429-1436 (Ibid., VIII, 76-77, 605). He died before November, 1436, (Emden, II,848)

Herford, John de fl. 1252

Irish master who was party to 1252 peach accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Hill, Henry fl. 1403

Vicar of Ardbracan, county Meath in June, 1403, he was granted permission to study at Oxford for three years. (CPR, (1401-1405), p. 15; PCH, p. 170)

Hothum, William de O.P. fl. 1280-1298

He was involved in the scholastic life of St. Jacques in Paris

before 1280, the date of his Questiones Quodlibetales (found in Sorbonne #133 fol. examined by Echard, Quetif-Echard, I, 460) which indicates that he was a master of theology by that time. He was highly regarded and was praised by his contemporaries Nicholas Trivet and Bernard Gui. (Trivet quoted and Gui cited by Burke, 462-463) Twice prior of the English province of the Dominican order, he also served as ambassador from Edward I to Boniface VIII. (ALKG, II, 238; DuBoulay, III, 687) archbishop of Dublin by papal provision in April 1296 (Bon. VIII a. 2 ep. 225 (1112) cited by Eubel, I 228; Gams, p. 218) he died at Dijon in August, 1298 (Ibid., I, 229) In addition to the Questiones Quodlibetales, his works include: Commentarii in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum, De immediate Vision Dei, De Unitate Formarum, Lecturae Scholasticae, Oration de Jure Regis ad Scotiam, In tres Libros de Anima. (Glorieux, Maitres, p. 168; Burke, p.537)

Howgan, Robert

fl. 1418-1447

Of county Cork, he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford for more than eight years by 1421, at which time he was a bachelor of civil law. (CPL, VII, 166) In 1414 he had received a benefice in England at Compton Bassett, Wiltshire which he retained until assigned canon of Cork with reservation of prebend, vicar of Kinsale, and chancellor of Limerick. (Ibid.; M. Maloney "Obligations pro Annatis Dioc. Limericenas," Arch, Hibern. X (1943), 105 cited by Emden, II, 977) Apparently, he had not resigned from Compton Bassett by May, 1421 when he was given permission to hold a canonry of Limerick and prebend of Tullabracky as well. (CPL, VII, 189) A few years later, in 1425, permission was granted him to hold benefices and to acquire property in England, such as the rectorship of Tockenham,

Wiltshire, which he held until his death c. 1447. (PHO, p.235b; Reg. pt. 1, fo. 95; Phillipps, pp. 118, 138, cited by Emden, II, 977)

Howth, Lionel fl. 1461-1463

An Irish scholar in Aristotle Hall at Oxford in 1461, (RCO, II, 58) by January, he was a scholar in canon law when he was granted a grace. (O.U. Reg. A. fo. 124 v.; Reg. Univ. Oxon. (O.H.S.), I, 35, cited by Emden, II, 977)

Hunte, Maurice fl. 1394

He studied at Oxford prior to May, 1394 when he was granted the church of Drumond in the diocese Limerick, valued at 20 marks, which became vacant when the previous rector did not become ordained. (CPR. IV, 473)

Hurtone, Roger de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Ireland, David of fl. 1285

Irish scholar whose death was the subject of a coroner's inquest at a hall in the Little Jury at Oxford. (Wood, I, 528)

Ireland, Denis of O.F.M. fl. 1303

An Irish friar present at a meeting of the community of the Franciscan Convent in Paris who heard Philip the Fair's appeal against Boniface VIII. He was among the eighty-seven, mostly foreigners, who refused to sign the appeal, thereby risking deportation. He reneged and cooperated with Philip. (Picot, pp. 379-383)

Ireland, Hugh of O.F.M. fl. 1303

An Irish friar present at the Franciscan convent in Paris who

heard Philip the Fair's appeal against Boniface VIII. He was among the eighty-seven, mostly foreigners, who refused to sign the appeal, thereby risking deportation. He reneged and cooperated with Philip. (Picot, pp. 379-383)

Ireland, Laurence of fl. 1340

A master in arts at Oxford, he was principal who rented St.

Andrew's Hall sometime in the reign of Edward III. (Wood, I, 189)

Ireland, Mailler of fl. 1324-25

Rented Ape Hall in St. Edward's parish, Oxford, 1324-25. (Cart. Oseney (O.H.S.), III, 156, cited by Emden, II, 1004)

Ireland, Malachy of O.F.M. fl. 1310

Probably a member of the Franciscan Convent at Oxford, (Wadding, VI, 176; cf. Burke, p. 540) reportedly he was a doctor of theology. (FMI, pp. 359-364) May have been the Malachy whose election in 1279 as archbishop of Tuam was annulled by Pope Honorius IV in 1286. (Theiner, pp.135-136; CPL, I, 487-488; Sweetman, II, 311-312) His Tractatus De Venemo describing vices of the Irish is extant in printed (1518) and manuscript copies (Little, DNB, 12, (1921-1922; DuCange, 176; Hayes III, 289-290; Emden, II, 1004)

Ireland, Maurice of fl. 1275

A master in arts who, as proctor of the English nation, participated in a meeting regarding reform of administration of the University at Paris. (DuBoulay, III, 418, 699; Chart., I, 530; Glorieux, Mâitres, p. 414)

Ireland, Maurice of fl. 1329

A master in arts at Oxford, whose name was mentioned in connection with his servant's having been found guilty of assaulting someone

in August, 1329. (Pro KB 9/98 A no. 22, cited by Emden, II,1004)

Ireland, Nicholas of fl. 1277-1279

A nephew of archbishop David MacCarwell, he rented the Hall of the Four Sons of Edmund at Oxford sometime between 1277 and 1279. (Cart. Oseney (O.H.S.) III, 115, cited by Emden, II, 1004) Also, he may be the Nicholas who was killed in 1285. (CPR, (1281-1291), p. 92)

Ireland, Nicholas of fl. 1323

A bookseller to the University at Paris in 1323. (Chart., II, 273; Delalain, pp. 5, 28, 61)

Ireland, Patrick of fl. 1281

A regent master in the faculty of arts at Paris, in 1281 he joined other masters of that faculty who met in the great hall of the bishop of Paris to protest to the Pope the Chancellor's conferring a degree on the brother of the king of Aragon without any prior examination by the regent masters. (Chart., I, 588-589)

Ireland, Richard of O.F.M. fl. 1303

An Irish friar present at a meeting of the community of the Franciscan convent in Paris who heard Philip the Fair's appeal against Boniface VIII. He was among the eighty-seven, mostly foreigners, who refused to sign the appeal. While his compatriots Denis and Hugo reneged, he did not and presumably he was deported. (Picot, pp. 379-383)

Ireland, Robert of fl. 1284

One of seventeen,, he was a resident master supervising instruction to poor scholars in the arts housed in the chapter house of St. Thomas du Louvre at Paris in June, 1284. (Chart., I, 602-604; DuBoulay, III, 469; Glorieux, Maitres, p. 420)

- Ireland, Robert of c. 1243-1246
 Between 1243 and 1246 he was handed over to the Chancellor of the University of Oxford on suspicion of burglary. (Snappe's, p. 321)
- Ireland, Robert of fl. 1345
 Clerk who was found guilty of slaying a man in High Street, Oxford on 25 February 1345. (Rec. Med. Oxf., p. 33 cited by Emden, II, 1004)
- Ireland, Rouhefd of fl. 1324-25
 In this year, rented St. Andrew's Hall in Kibald Street, Oxford. (Cart. Oseney, III, 156, cited by Emden, II, 1004)
- Ireland, Stephan of fl. 1316
 A bookseller to the University at Paris in 1316. (Chart., II, 179-180; Delalain, pp. 13, 54)
- Ireland, Thomas of fl. 1295-1306
 A fellow of the Sorbonne in July, 1295 (LVF, p. 171) he was already a master in arts (Chart., II, 65) and received the bachelor of theology degree before 1307. (Ibid., II, 65, 530) He is not the same as Thomas de Palmerston, O.P. (cf., Glorieux, Mâitres, p. 371; Glorieux, Sorbonne, I, 328) His works include Manipulus Florem, which was located in the reading room of the Sorbonne after 1306 and prior to 1338. (Glorieux, Mâitres, p. 244) His other known works are: Tractatus de tribus punctis religionis Christianae, De Tribus sensibus Sacrae Scripturae and De Tribus hierarchiis (Glorieux, Mâitres, 371-372; Glorieux, Sorbonne, p. 170) He was a benefactor of the Sorbonne and his portrait hung in the library. (Glorieux, Mâitres, p. 294, note 3; Delisle Cabinets, II, 176, 197; III, 105-108; HLF, XXX,

398-408)

Ireland, Walter of fl. 1284-1313

In 1284, he was granted protection for two years while studying at Oxford. (CPR (1281-1291), p. 131) He served as rector of Nether Deanery in England until his death in 1313. (Ibid. (1307-1313), p. 549)

Ireland, William of ob. 1285

In 1285, he was slain by clerks in his house near the town wall opposite Smith Gate, Oxford. (Snappe's, p. 289)

Ireland, William of fl. 1317-18

A regent master in arts at Paris, he served as rector of the University in 1317 and took part in the deliberation about masters of the Sorbonne teaching in the University. (Glorieux, Sorbonne, I, 210-211) In 1318, as proctor to the Roman Curia, he carried a request that the university be permanently granted eight temporal privileges. (Chart., II, 224; DuBoulay, IV 959) Also he has been identified as chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin. (Ibid.)

Joudin, Michael fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Jorz, Walter O.P. fl. 1307-1311

He taught at the Dominican convent in Oxford prior to 1307. (Tanner, p. 444; Burke, pp. 60, 463-464, 539) Appointed archbishop of Armagh, he was consecrated in August, 1307. (Cle. V a. 2 ep. 313 (1808) as cited by Eubel, I, 108; Gams, p. 207) In 1308 Clement V ordered him to conduct a hearing on charges against the Templars. He was involved in lawsuits with Theobald de

Verdon and was accused of debt to the Crown. This harassment caused him to resign his position in 1311 for which he received a pension of L50 for the remainder of his life. (Theiner, pp. 183-184) Also, his disputes with the Crown involved the question of primatial rights of the See. (Cotton, III, 14) He is credited with written works: Promptuarium Theologiae, De peccatis in genere, Questiones variae, and others. (Ibid.; Tanner, p. 444)

Kalvesnaken, Hupert de O.F.M. fl. 1376

He studied theology at the Franciscan Convents of Paris and Oxford. In 1376, he was already a bachelor of theology and had lectured on the Sentences when Gregory XI ordered Philip Torinton, archbishop of Cashel, to confer the degree of master of theology on him after he had been examined and found suitable. (BF VI, 578; FML, p. 159)

Kendy, Philip de fl. 1303

He was a Sheld Hall scholar at Oxford who, with other Irish clerks, attacked Adam de Sarum while playing football on High Street on 25 March 1303. (Rec. Med. Oxf., p. 11, cited by Emden, II, 1035)

Kernerdyn, Edmund de O.P. fl. 1331

He was among a number of Oxford graduates who received papal graces in 1331, (CPL, II, 351, 356, 362, 364-365), at which time he was appointed bishop of Ardfert by papal provision. (CPL, II, 351, Jo. XXII a.16 (t.101) ep. 53, cited by Eubel, I, 110; Gams, p. 221) As a master in theology, he was designated as one of the masters for the planned University of Dublin (SMD, II 361; FML, p. 108; Burke, 60, 465)

Keting, Thomas de fl. 1303

He was a Chimney Hall scholar at Oxford who knifed another clerk, Adam de Sarum while playing football on High Street on 25 March 1303. (Rec. Med. Oxf., p. 11, cited by Emden, II, 1042)

Ledewich, Adam de fl. 1267

Irish party to 1267 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Oxf. Univ. Arch. I, 13a cited by Emden, II, 1121; Wood, I, 271n)

Ledewich, John de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Lehwyr, Henry fl. 1331

A bachelor of civil law, he was rector of Athboy, in the diocese of Meath in 1331 when he was provided with a canonry of Dublin, with reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding the former benefice. (CPL, II, 329)

LeWhit, Walter fl. 1303

He was a Sheld Hall scholar at Oxford who with other Irish clerks attacked Adam de Sarum while he was playing football on High Street on 25 March 1303. (Rec. Med. Oxf., p. 11, cited by Emden, II, 1139)

Lowe, Philip fl. 1393

He had studied civil law at Oxford by 1393. Rector of Holy Trinity, county Cork, he had been granted papal dispensation because of illegitimacy to allow him to proceed to holy orders and to hold a benefice without cure. In 1383, he was granted a further dispensation to hold additional compatible benefices. (CPL, IV 445)

MacBradaid, Nicholas fl. 1368

With five other Irish students at Oxford, he deposited in Langton Chest, as security for a loan, a copy of Lectura Hostiensis in two volumes, on 28 June 1368. (Brit. Mus. Roy. MSS 10E V and 10E VI)

cited by Emden, II, 1199)

MacBreanun, Salmon fl. 1368

With five other Irish students at Oxford, deposited in Langton Chest, as security for a loan, a copy of Lectura Hostiensis in two volumes, on 28 June 1368. (Brit. Mus. Roy. MSS 10E V and 10E VI, cited by Emden, II, 1199)

MacCarwell, David O. Cist. fl. 1253-1289

While in Oxford, he seems to have acquired property there and to have had some connection with Oseney Abbey. (CCR, (1279-88), p. 183; CO II, 474-475) He was dean of Cashel before 1253, at which time he was elected archbishop and confirmed in the following year. However, he did not receive his temporalities until 1255. (CCR (1279-1288), p. 183; Inn. IV a. 12 (t.23) ep. 137, cited by Eubel, I, 170; Gams, p. 208) By 1269, he had become a Cistercian and in 1271 he established Hore Abbey at the foot of the Rock of Cashel as a Cistercian foundation, displacing the Benedictines. (Cotton, I, 607) He was in England in 1281, having received protection for the duration. (Emden, II, 1199) In the same period, along with the bishops of Killaloe and Emly, he sought the purchase of English law for the Irish of Munster (Otway-Ruthven, Eng. Law, pp. 263-264) He is reported to have had a tyrannical and violent disposition (Harris, pp. 313-14; Cotton, I, 607) He died in September 1289. (CPR (1281-1291), p. 322).

MacCarwell, John fl. 1302-1329

An Irish master at Oxford prior to his ordination at Croyden in June, 1302 (Reg. Winchelsey Cant. (CYS), II, 955, cited by Emden, II, 1200; Glorieux, Maitres p. 434) He was dean of Cork until his promotion to bishop in that year. (Gams, p. 214; Eubel, II, 1200;

CPR (1301-1307), p. 39; Cotton, I, 218, 237) In 1321 he was translated to the See of Meath, where he served as bishop until 1327. (CPL, II, 212, 216; Jo. XXII a. 5 (t. 72) ep. 1360, cited by Eubel, I, 338; Gams, p. 320) Although an earlier appointment to the See of Cashel in 1317 was not approved, (CPL, II, 162) he was finally appointed archbishop of Cashel by papal provision in 1327 and served until his death in London on return from Rome in August, 1329. (Jo. XXII, a. 11 (t.84) ep. 2114, cited by Eubel, I, 170; Cotton, I, 7-8, 112; CPR (1327-30), pp. 139, 145; CPL, II, 255, 258-259, 288-289)

MacConmarre, Matthew fl. 1375

A cleric of the diocese of Killaloe, in 1375 he was given permission by the Earl of Desmond to study at schools of Oxford and elsewhere. (Harris, III, 209)

MacGirr, Denys fl. 1368

With five other students at Oxford, he deposited in Langton Chest, as security for a loan, a copy of Lectura Hostiensis on 28 June 1368. (Brit.Mus. Roy. MSS 10E V and 10E VI, cited by Emden, II, 1201)

MacKachathmayl, William fl. 1391-1401

He was a student of canon law at Oxford in 1391, at which time he was a priest of the diocese of Derry, having been dispensed as a son of a priest to be ordained and to hold benefices and other graces. In 1391 he was rector of Urney, county Tyrone and canon of Derry, which he had obtained without further dispensation and had to resign. However, he was then granted dispensation to hold compatible benefices. (CPL, IV, 403) He was dean of Derry in 1397 from which he was deprived in 1401. (Ibid., V, 1421; Cod. Clar. 36 and Reg. Armagh, cited by Cotton, III, 330)

Mackinver, Thomas fl. 1365

A master in arts at Paris, he was granted a benefice of the precentorship of Limerick, valued at 80 gold florins. (CPP, I, 506)

Marche, Thomas de la fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

More, Richard de fl. 1401-1408

Of noble birth in Ardfert diocese, by 1408 he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford, after having received his master in arts degree by 1400. (CPL, VI, 131; CPR (1399-1401), p. 296) He was provided with the archdeaconry of Armagh in 1401 which, after obtaining royal permission, he retained until his death in 1408 (PCH, p. 163 b.; Cal Reg. Fleming, Armagh (Proc. Royal Irish Academy) XXX, sect. C., p. 136, cited by Emden, II, 1305) By 1405 he also was holding two rectorships; that of Annagh and of Clogher-brean, both of county Kerry. He was deprived of these by May, 1408 because he had failed to obtain a papal dispensation to hold them together. (CPL, VI, 131) He was vicar of St. Fedens' Termonfeckin, county Louth, until his death in October, 1408. (Cal. Reg. Fleming, Armagh, Proc. Royal Irish Acad. XXX, Sect. C., pp. 111, 136, cited by Emden, II, 1305)

Moriel, John fl. 1453

Irish scholar at Oxford who died intestate in 1453, after which an inventory was made of his effects. (RCO, I, 321)

Motyng, Peter fl. 1463-1466

Of Lismore diocese, he was granted a grace in March 1463 after having studied canon law for four years and one term and civil

law for three years and two terms. (O.U. Rrg. Aa fo. 124; Reg. Univ. Oxon. (O.H.S.), I, 36, both cited by Emden, II, 1325) By 1466, after he had studied at Oxford for about eight years, he received the bachelor of canon law degree. At the same time he became dean of Ossory and received a papal dispensation to hold two incompatible benefices. (CPL. XXII, 488, 519)

Norreys, Philip

fl. 1427-1465

Of Dublin diocese, he was principal of Little University Hall in 1427-1429. (Univ. Coll. Bursar's Accts cited by Emden, II, 1365). Presumably he had spent the entire seven years in Oxford where he received a master in arts degree, followed by a bachelor in theology (1431) and an advanced degree in that subject by 1435. (Reg. Swayne Armagh (N. Ireland Rec. Publns.) p. 63, cited by Emden, II, 1365) in 1430 the university commended him to archbishop Richard Talbot and he was made a canon of St. Patrick's Dublin and prebendary of Mulhaadart in August, 1433. (CPL, VIII, 468-469) He had other benefices in Ireland, (Emden, II, 1365) but his main activities involved criticism of the mendicants and the charges and counter-charges that resulted. In 1437, for example, he was cited for criticising the friars in his university lectures and breaching the privileges of the university. (Epp. Acced. Oxon. I 157-160, cited by Emden, II, 1367) This battle went on for sixteen years, culminating in his imprisonment in 1441-1436 by order of Henry VI and his successful appeal of a sentence of excommunication at the Council of Basil, May, 1443. (Emden, II, 1365-1366) Works ascribed to him: Declamationes, Lecturae Scripturarum, Sermones ad populum and Contra mendicitatem Valedam. (Bale, pt. ii, pp. 246-247; also Tanner, p. 549)

O'Brien, Turlough fl. 1483-1525

A member of the ruling family of Thomond, he is reputed to have studied at Oxford. (Wood, II, 726) Between 1483 and 1525 he served as bishop of Killaloe, as did his relative and predecessor, Donnchad O'Brien. (Eubel, II, 190; Ware, I, 594; Emden, II, 1383)

O'Bryon, Odo F. fl. 1387

In June, 1387 he was granted permission to go to England from Ireland in order to study at Oxford. (PCH, p. 135b)

O'Bugey, David O. Carm. fl. 1304-1320

He was noted as a theologian at the Oxford convent and later at the Trier convent of his order. (Tanner, p. 138) In 1304-1305, he was involved in a dispute about the division of the English province of the Carmelite Order. (B.M. Xiberta, De Script. Scholast. saec XIV ex ord. Carm., p. 311, cited by Emden, II, 1383) He returned to Ireland where he served as Prior Provincial of the Carmelite Order until his death in 1320. (Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 3838, fos. 59v, 60, 166v., cited by Emden, II, 1383) He was noted as a man learned in philosophy, theology and law and is credited with several works: Epistolae, Sermones ad clerum, Propositiones disputatae, Lecturae Trevirences, Regulae quaedam juris, Contra Gerardini Bononiensem. (Bale, II, 243; Tanner, p.138)

O'Colman, Thomas O.F.M. fl. 1375-1383

Dispensed because of illegitimacy, he was of noble and powerful families on both sides. Having studied and disputed theology at Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, he was a lector in theology in the Franciscan house at Armagh by 1375. (CPL, VI, 206, 242-246; Theiner; p. 353; BF, VI, 549) Further dispensation was granted by Clement VII so that he might be promoted to episcopal office in the

See of Armagh, in 1381. (CPL, IV, 242; BF, VII, 229) Eubel, I, 239; cf., Gams, p.207) In 1383, as archbishop of Armagh, he was ordered to excommunicate and suspend the bishops of Killala and Elphin for recognizing Urban VI as Pope. (CPL, IV, 246)

O'Conyll, Nicholas fl. 1394

Clerk of the diocese of Cloyne and scholar of civil law at Oxford, he was dispensed because he was the son of a priest. In 1394 he was assigned the perpetual vicarage of Castlemagner in the diocese of Cloyne, valued at 12 marks. (CPL, IV, 471)

O'Cormik, Lactinus fl. 1464-1469

Having been granted a dispensation because he was the illegitimate son of a priest, he was vicar of Fanlobbus, county Cork by March, 1464. At that time, it was also noted that he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford for several years. (CPL, XII, 251) In July, 1469 he was given the additional posts of canon of Cork and prebendary of Dromdaleague. (Ibid., 325)

O'Dea, Denis fl. 1391-1426

Of Killaloe diocese, he was born around 1391 of a subdeacon from a noble family. He was dispensed because of his illegitimacy in order to take holy orders and hold a benefice with cure, as well as four compatible benefices. (CPL, VI, 189) In 1415 he was granted permission to go to England from Ireland for five years to study at Oxford. (PCH, p. 206b) By 1421 he was a bachelor in both civil and canon law (CPL, VII, 174) and was considered "a man of great knowledge in the municipal laws of his country." (Cotton, II, 274) Probably a relative of bishop Cornelius O'Dea (Cotton, I, 398), he was precentor of Limerick when he was promoted to bishop of Ossory in July, 1421 and served until his death in 1427. (Eubel, I, 381; Gams, p. 230)

O'Deorroghayn, Maurice fl. 1335-1396

An Irish scholar at Oxford who was seriously wounded in a town and gown conflict on St. Scholastica's Day in February, 1335 (Wood, Annals, I, 460, cited by Emden, II, 138) Rector of Rosconnell, county Kilkenny and vicar of Clonemagh, county Leix, vacated in 1396 for lack of papal dispensation, (CPL, IV, 529)

O'Duvaill, Roger fl. 1368-1397

With five other students at Oxford, he deposited in Langton Chest as security for a loan, a copy of Lectura Hostiensis on 28 June 1368. (Brit. Mus. Roy. MSS 10 E V and 10E VI, cited by Emden, II, 1389) In 1397 he was a canon of Derry. (Cotton, III, 340)

O'Fallon, Donald fl. 1452

Of Cloyne diocese, he had studied civil and canon law at Oxford for ten years by 1452, at which time he was rehabilitated for his lack of dispensation because of illegitimacy. He was then allowed to serve as chancellor of Limerick. (CPL, X, 521-522) Later, he seems to have become an Observantine Franciscan and was promoted to bishop of Derry by the Pope in May, 1485. (Cotton, I, 314; Eubel, I, 159; Gams, p. 215) He was considered to be a man of great learning and a diligent speaker who served as bishop until his death in 1500. He is buried at Trim. (Cotton, I, 314)

O'Felan, Denis fl. 1368

With five other students at Oxford, he deposited in Langton Chest as security for a loan, a copy of Lectura Hostiensis on 28 June 1368. (Brit. Mus. Roy. MSS 10E V and 10E VI cited by Emden, II, 1389)

O'Fellan, William fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Oferrall, John

fl. 1367-68

A bachelor of civil law from the diocese of Ardagh in 1367 when he was a member of the household of the bishop of Raphoe at whose request his dispensation as a son of a subdeacon was extended to allow him to accept any dignity short of the episcopal. (CPL, IV, 74) With four other students, at Oxford, he deposited in Langton Chest as security for a loan a copy of Lectura Hostinsis on 28 June 1368. (Brit. Mus. Roy. MSS 10E V and 10E VI cited by Emden, II, 1389)

O'Flannagan, Redmond

fl. 1428-1452

Of Clogher diocese, around 1428, he was a son of an Austin canon and of noble family. By 1452 he had received papal dispensation because of his illegitimacy in order to be ordained and hold benefice with cure. At that time, he had already studied canon law at Oxford and Bologna and intended to continue his studies. (CPL, X, 588-589) Also in 1452, he was rector in Inishmacsaint, counties Donegal and Fermanagh, as well as archdeacon of Clogher, (CPL, X, 695)

O'Fyllym, Nicholas

fl. 1424

An Irish master at Oxford, he deposited a manuscript of Hugh of St. Victor's, de Archa Noe and others. (presently Bodl. Libr., Bodl. MS 750 (S.C. 2661) in the Vienne Chest as security for a loan. (Emden, II, 1392)

O'Grada, Nicholas

fl. 1343-46

Noted as skilled in the law, he had been dispensed as son of a subdeacon so he could be ordained. In 1343, because of his progress and diligence at Oxford, a further dispensation was requested to enable him to hold any benefices canonically offered to him. Upon

dispensation, he would receive the canonry of Cork, prebendary of Killaloe and the rectory of Comac, the value not to exceed 40s. (CPP, 1, 19, 23, 39-40, 110; Emden, II, 1393)

O'Griffa, Matthew

fl. 1442-1483

Of Killaloe diocese, he was dispensed in 1442 because he was the illegitimate son of a priest so that he could be ordained and hold a benefice with cure. (CPL, IX, 295) By this time he had studied canon law in Oxford and in Ireland. In orders by 1443, (Ibid., IX, 372-373), he was vicar of Dysert, county Clare in 1442 and, given dispensation to hold four compatible benefices, he was rector of Drumcliffe, county Clare 1450-1458 (Ibid., X, 444; XII, 167); vicar of Ballingarry, county Limerick, 1458-1463; canon of Limerick and prebendary of St. Munchius 1458-1463 (Ibid., XI, 72-73, 350, 351, 353, 499; XII, 398); dean of Cashel 1458-1463 (Ibid., XI, 345-346, 496) and archdeacon of Limerick 1458-1462. (Ibid., XI, 482; XII, 16-17) He resigned these posts when he was appointed bishop of Killaloe in May, 1463, which he remained until his death in September, 1483. (Ibid., XI, 480; XII, 187; Gams, p. 225; Eubel, I, 293) he was charged as a notorious fornicator in 1453 and with simony in 1471. (Emden, II, 1393) He died in 1483 and was buried at Inesnegananagh, county Clare. (AFM, III and IV, 1123, cited by Emden, II, 1393)

O'Hagayn, William

fl. 1469

The son of a priest and an unmarried noble woman, he was dispensed because of illegitimacy in order to become a priest. He had studied canon law for some time at Oxford by 1469, at which time he was perpetual vicar of the parish church of Aersgrene, in the diocese of Emly. Because he reported to the Pope that Cornelius

O'Hagayn was guilty of simony, fornication, dilapidation of goods and other crimes regarding the precentorship of Killaloe, he was granted dispensation to hold this precentorship and part of its goods for life, notwithstanding his retaining his vicarage.

(CPL, XII, 779-780)

O'Hanratty, Nemeas fl. 1413-1432

By July 1413, he had studied canon law at Oxford for about three years, at which time he was canon of Clogher, (CPL VI, 424, 428, 446, 477) Furthermore, in that same year, he was collated as rector of Clones, counties Fermanagh and Monaghan, and canon of Armagh. (Ibid., VI, 428; VII, 42; Annatis, pp. 1, 17, 36) In 1421, he also became rector of Errigal Keerogue, county Tyrone, rector of Deryvullan, county Fermanagh, and rector of Muckno, county Monaghan, holding them until 1432. (Ibid., I, 27, 28 cited by Emden, II, 1394; CPL VII, 485; VIII, 435-436)

O'Howen, Matthew before 1382

A son of Conor O'Howen, archdeacon of Clogher, reportedly, he studied at Oxford for fourteen years. He was part of the Gaelic revival of the fourteenth century and was known as the Great Master. His wife Aine died in 1382 and left three surviving sons. (AU, III, 11, 97, 209, 347 cited Emden, II, 1394)

O'Hurley, Reginald fl. 1455-1470

Of Cork diocese, he was a deacon and rector of Cursruhara by 1455 without dispensation. He received a papal dispensation because of illegitimacy which allowed him to be rehabilitated in April 1464. At that time it was noted that he was a bachelor of canon law and had lectured on that subject at Oxford for more than a year and a half. (CPL, XII, 215) He became canon of Cork in 1469 and canon of Ross in the following year. (CPL, XII, 344,

372, 656)

O'Hydyrsgol, Matthew fl. 1394

He studied canon law at Oxford and Vienna for many years. By 1394 he was rector without cure of the church of Grenagh in the diocese of Ross. He was permitted to retain that and another rectory in Tolagh, together valued at 6 marks, and to accept the archdeaconry of Ross which had cure and a value of 18 marks. (CPL, IV, 474; V, 410, 543; Emden, II, 1394)

O'Kelly, Hugh fl. 1344

From the diocese of Meath, he was a kinsman of Ralph, bishop of Leighlin, and a scholar at Oxford in 1344. He was granted a canonry and prebendary of Lismore even though he already had a canonry of St. Patrick's, Dublin with an expectation of a prebend. He was excused from examination because of his ability and his absence at his studies. (CPP, I, 44, cited in Emden, II 1395)

O'Leachluyn, John O.P. fl. 1453

A dominican friar of Athy Convent, county Kildare, he had already studied theology at Oxford for several years and was lector at Athy. In March of that year, he was granted a dispensation because of illegitimacy so that he could rule a monastery. He was then appointed abbot of Baltinglass, county Wicklow due to charges against the present abbot and subject to his becoming a Cistercian. It appears that he obtained his release from the Dominicans to join the Cistercians, presumably in order to qualify as abbot. (CPL, X, 596-597)

O'Lynch, Alan Fl. 1411-1455

Of Limerick diocese, he had received a papal dispensation because of illegitimacy so that he could receive holy orders and hold a

benefice with cure. In December, 1411 he was received as canon of the Augustinian priory of St. Mary's, Killagh, county Kerry, (CPL, VI, 278-279) He was vicar of Dingle, county Kerry by 1427 (CPL, VIII, 43) and, in November, 1432 he became canon of Killaloe and prebendary of Innescattery, county Clare; rector of St. Catherine's Old Abbey, county Limerick and, with dispensation, precentor of Limerick as well. At that time it was noted that he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford for four years prior. (CPL, VIII, 400-401) In 1455 he was accused of fornication and the wasting of the possessions of the precentorship. A papal inquiry was undertaken in June, 1445 and July, 1451. (CPL, IX, 519, 592, 532-534)

O'Mulchonerre, John fl. 1455

He had been a secular scholar of canon law at Oxford for more than two years by June, 1455, by which time he had become an Augustinian canon and prior of St. Michael's Mount, Ballinskelligs, county Kerry. At the time it was noted that earlier he had been dispensed because of illegitimacy in order that he might receive holy orders and hold a benefice with cure. (CPL, XI, 203)

O'Quirk, Malachy fl. 1444

He had studied canon and civil law at Oxford, Bologna and Cambridge. Of the diocese of Elphin, he had received a papal dispensation because of illegitimacy in order to be ordained and hold a benefice with cure. By 1444 he was vicar of Aughrim, county Roscommon and at that time was also provided with the archdeaconry of Clonmacnoise. (CPL, IX, 430)

Orewode, John fl. 1411

A clerk of Meath diocese, he served as notary at an inquiry held in Oriel College in September, 1411. (Snappe's, p. 215)

O'Whelan, Richard fl. 1427

Of Kildare diocese, he had studied at Oxford and studia particulares by 1427. (CPL, VII, 484) In that year, it was noted that he had received a papal dispensation because of his illegitimacy in order to become ordained and to hold a benefice with cure. (Ibid.) Accordingly, he was granted a further dispensation to hold two compatible benefices, namely, the rectorship of Clonsast, county Offaly with the canonry of Kildare and prebendary of Rathangan. (Ibid.) Another dispensation was granted to also hold the vicarage of Killegh, county Offaly. (Ibid.)

Paris, Peter fl. 1446-1458

Of Waterford and Lismore diocese, he was principal of Haberdash Hall 1450 and 1459, and also rented Little St. Edmund Hall in 1454 and 1459, both at Oxford where he was a master in arts. (RCO, I, 215, 236, 249, 286, 338; CO, III, 250-251) His entire career seems to have been in England. Ordained acolyte in June, 1446, he then proceeded to subdeacon, deacon and priest, to title of Oseney Abbey, Oxford. (Reg. Aiscough, Sarum, pt. II; Reg. Carpenter, Worc., I, cited by Emden, III. 1425) Admitted as vicar of Almondsbury, Gloucester in January, 1458, he served until his death in October of the same year. (Reg. Bourghier, Cant. (C.Y.C.), p. 241; Oriel Coll. Treas. Accts. cited by Emden, III, 1425)

Patrick fl. 1252

A master who was an Irish party to the 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Paul, William O. Carm. fl. 1322-1349

A Carmelite, he is reputed to have studied at Oxford and Paris and to have become a master of theology by 1327 (MHC, I, 225-227, 436; Eubel, I, 338) Prior of the York Convent in August, 1322, (PRO, Exch. Issue Roll, E 403/198, as cited by Emden, III, 1437) bishop of Meath by papal provision, February 16, 1327. Consecrated at Avignon, he held this post until his death in 1349. (Jo. XXII a.11 (t.82) ep. 995, cited by Eubel, I, 338; Gams, p. 229; Cotton, III, 113)

Payne, Adam O.S.A. fl. 1392-1429

An Augustinian friar, he was granted permission to study theology at Oxford Convent of his order in May, 1392 (AA, V, 109) He was a master in theology by June, 1410, when he was one of a party of mendicants who defended their privileges before the Pope (Chart., IV, 165-168) A report of his doctoral disputation may be found in Corpus Christi College, Oxf., Ms. 280, fos. 145-145v (Emden, I, 1440) He seems to have remained in England until 1409 (Ibid.) or perhaps until 1413, when he was made bishop of Cloyne by papal provision, July 25, 1413. (Jo. XXIII a.4 Lat. l. - pr. f. 198, cited by Eubel, I, 193; Gams, p. 213) He became bishop of the united dioceses of Cloyne and Cork in September 1418 and held this post until it was vacated by June, 1429. (CPL, VI, 449, 454; VII, 65-66; VIII, 109, 380; Eubel, I, 193, 200, 212, 220; Ware, I, 578)

Payne, John O.P. fl. 1445-1507

A Dominican friar of the Canterbury Convent in 1445, he was at the Oxford Convent by 1472 when he was incepted in theology and still there in 1475. (Univ. Coll. Arch. Pyx AA, fasc. I. no. 4; Med. Arch. Univ. Oxf. (O.H.S.), II, 306, cited by Emden, III, 1441) He had taken orders in 1445 and served as Prior Provincial of the

order in England, 1474-1483. (Emden, III, 1441) In 1479-1480 he was at Cambridge. (Ibid.) He became bishop of Meath by papal provision March 17, 1483 and retained this post until his death on March 6th, 1506. (Sixt. IV, Lat. a. 12b. f. 266 cited by Eubel, II, 211; Gams, p. 229) During these years he transferred his activities to Ireland. An active supporter of the Yorkist claims, he also had quarrels with the primate Octavian and with Gerald, the Eighth Earl of Kildare, whom he charged with treason. (MPH, 17-24, 27, 30-35, 118-20, 159-60, 169) He was appointed Master of the Rolls, October 3, 1496. At his death, March 6, 1509, he was buried in the church of the Black Friars, Dublin. (Ware, I, 152; Eubel, II, 211)

Le Poer, William fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Porter, James

Of Meath diocese, he was principal of Aristotle Hall in Oxford, December 31, 1459 (RCO, II, 149; Emden, III, 1502) He studied both canon and civil law, receiving the degree of bachelor of canon law by 1468. In January of that year, he became archdeacon of Kells by papal provision, and also was granted a dispensation to hold another incompatible benefice. (CPL, XII, 606) Vicar of Ardraccan, county Meath by March, 1468, he was involved in litigation regarding title to this post. (CPL, XII, 286, 465-466; Emden, III, 1502)

Prendergast, Robert fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Prene, John

fl. 1414-1443

Studied canon and civil law at Oxford for seven years, receiving the degrees of bachelor of civil law by 1446 (CPL, VII, 445) and bachelor of canon law by 1429. (CPL, VII, 100; Emden, I, 1515) He began his career as vicar of Termonfeckin, county Louth in January, 1414. (CPL, VII, 445; Emden, III, 1515) After having received permission to hold an additional incompatible benefice for two years, July 1426, for four years, September, 1429 and for seven years, October, 1429, he held the following positions in addition to Termonfeckin: rector of St. Patrick's Trim, county Meath; vicar of St. Peter's, Drogheda, county Louth; and archdeacon of Armagh 1431. (CPL, VII, 445; VIII, 100, 117, 137, 508-509; Annatis, p. 19; Emden, III, 1515-1516) He also served as an official of the metropolitan court of Armagh in 1425, 1427 and 1431; papal chaplain by 1428; and protor of the archbishop of Armagh at the Roman Curia in July, 1428 and September, 1429. Emden, 1515-1516) On March 27, 1439, he was appointed archbishop of Armagh on letter of recommendation from the king. (CPL, IX, 56, 60; Cotton, III, 16; Eubel, II, 107; Gams, 207) On promotion to archbishop, he vacated his other positions (CPL, VIII, 502, 508-509; Emden, III, 1515-1516) but retained a manor at Termonfeckin, where he died on June 13, 1443. He was buried in the Chancel of the church at Termonfeckin. (Cotton, III, 16)

Pursell, John

fl. 1452

Dominus. His will, dated November 3, 1452, provided that he be buried in the church of the Black Friars, Oxford. He died in November, 1452. (RCO, I, 295-296, 331; Emden, III, 1526)

Pursell, Robert fl. 1438

A scholar of Aristotle Hall, Oxford. On February 13, 1458, he was accused and convicted of having struck a woman with an iron fork. (RCO, I, 26; Emden, III, 1526)

Pursell, Thomas fl. 1482-1518

Reputed to have studied at Oxford, (Wood, II, 712) he was prebendary of Fethard in the diocese of Ferns and Leighlin (RP, 22, Ecl IV) Consecrated bishop of Lismore and Waterford in 1486, he vacated the position in 1518. (Eubel, I, 308; Gams, p. 228; Ware, I, 537)

Ragged, Patrick fl. 1407-1421

Also known as Patrick Fox. From Ballyraggettin in the diocese of Ossory, he studied canon and civil law at Oxford and Cambridge and was a doctor of canon law by 1407. (CPL, VI, 114) In March, 1407, he was provided with the canonry of Cloyne and prebendary of Cooliney and, notwithstanding these assignments, was also made dean of Ossory. (CPL, VI, 114, 124) His appointment as bishop of Cork by Alexander V on October 14, 1409 conflicted with a similar appointment made by Gregory XII to someone else. (CPL, VI, 197, 409; Alex. V Arm. XII, 121, p. 15, cited by Eubel, I, 211) His translation to the See of Ossory was confirmed on January 3, 1418 and he held this post until his death, April 20, 1421. (CPL, VII, 46, 49; Cotton, II, 274; Eubel, I, 381; Gams, p. 231) Esteemed as an expert canonist, he was chosen by Henry V as one of the representatives of the English nation at the Council of Constance. (PC, I, p. 261b) At that council, he joined with other judges in the condemnation of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, the desposition of John XXIII and the summons to Benedict XIII ordering him to appear before the council and answer for his stubborn

refusal to make way for a new Pope. (H. von der Hardt, Magn. Constant. Council. IV, 279-282; 398, 734, 769 and passim as cited by Emden, III, 715) On January 7, 1418 he was designated as papal collector in Ireland. (Arm. 29 t. 5, f, 77 as cited by Eubel, I, 381) He died April 20, 1421. He is credited with having written the Acts of the Council (Cotton, I, 221; Tanner, 615; cf. Ware, I, 413, 561)

Rathe, William fl. 1434-1480

Principal of Aristotle Hall in Oxford in September, 1438 and again in September, 1461, (RCO, I, 39, 103, 216, 249, 286, 321, 338; II, 51) he studied canon and civil laws, receiving the degrees of bachelor of canon law by 1444 and bachelor of civil law by 1446. He served as proctor for the provost of Oriel in 1446 and 1449. (Dean's Reg. of Oriel, pp. 359, 363, 374, 377; Cal. Munts. Oriel Coll. cited by Emden, III, 1548) Although noted as being from Ireland, his entire career was spent in England. (Emden, III, 1548-1549)

Rathonar, Henry de fl. 1298

Irish clerk involved in death of Oxford weaver outside Smith Gate, Oxford, in January, 1298. (OCD, pp. 152-153)

Reginald O.P. fl. 1247-1256

A Dominican, he stayed in the convent of St. Jacques before traveling on to the Holy Land in hopes of converting the heathen of the East. (Burke, p. 533) He was a penitentiary of the Pope and at a later date wrote from the Papal court to the Dominicans at Paris, notifying them that Master Jordan, general of the order, had drowned off the Anatolian Coast. (Ibid.) He was archbishop of Armagh from 1245 to his death in 1256. (Eubel, I, 108; Gams, p. 207) It is not known whether he was of Irish or of foreign birth.

(Burke, 458, 533; cf, Ware, I, 67)

Richard, John fl. 1493

Of Meath diocese, he was ordained a priest to title of St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford on March 23, 1493. (Reg. Hill, London, cited by Emden, III, 1574)

Rigford, John fl. 1444

In priest's orders, he was a scholar of Aristotle Hall, Oxford, in April, 1444. (RCO, I, 9; Emden, III, 1576)

Rochefort, W. de fl. 1267

Irish party to 1267 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Oxf. Univ. Arch. I, 13 A, cited by Emden, III, 1582)

Ronan, Richard fl. 1470

An Irishman whose servant was licensed on March 3, 1470 by the Chancellor's Commissary of Oxford. (RCO, II, 339; Emden, III, 1588)

Rowe, Richard fl. 1401-1429

Of Meath diocese, he had studied civil law at Oxford for five years by February, 1423 and had received the degree of bachelor of civil law by 1426. (CPL, VII, 254; Reg. Swayne, Armagh (N. Ireland Rec. Publshn.), p. 29 cited by Emden, III, 1599) He became rector of Kilmoon, county Meath on December 9, 1426 and archdeacon of Armagh May 5, 1427. Archbishop Swayne excommunicated him for contumacy on November 29, 1427, but absolved him by 1428. He was restored to his temporalities by October 29, 1429 (Swayne, k 54, 62-63, 82, 96, cited by Emden, II, 1599)

Rupe, Nicholas de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

St. Bridget, John of fl. 1267

A master who was an Irish party to 1267 peace accord with Northern

scholars at Oxford. (Oxf. Univ. Arch. I, 13A cited by Emden, III, 1624; Wood, I, 27ln)

St. James, Gerald of fl. 1427-1455

By July 1427, he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford for more than seven years. (CPL, VII, 540) A papal dispensation was given him at that time, because of illegitimacy, allowing him to hold a benefice with cure as rector of Chapel Russell in county Limerick. In addition, he was canon of Limerick and canon of Killaloe, both with reservation of prebend. (CPL, VII, 540; XI, 254) In August, 1455, he was charged with wasting the goods of Chapel Russell, with keeping a concubine, and with twenty-seven other offenses. (CPL, XI, 254)

St. Leger, Thomas of fl. 1267-1320

Irish party to 1267 and 1274 peace accords with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Oxf. Univ. Arch. I, 13A cited by Emden, III, 1627-1628; Wood, I, 27ln) Of noble family, he was archdeacon of Kells and was elected bishop of Meath in 1281. This election was not confirmed because the Primate wished to place Walter de Fulburn in his stead. It was not until July 1286 that St. Leger received the Pope's approval and in November of the following year, he was consecrated by the archbishop of Dublin in the Cathedral at Kilkenny. (CPR (1281-1292), pp. 39, 137; CPL, I, 488; Harris, pp. 316-318; Cotton, III, 112) On May 28, 1290, he was granted protection to stay in England for one year and again for two years on January 15, 1291. (CPR (1281-1291) pp. 357, 416) In 1291, along with the bishop of Kildare, he was appointed collector of the papal tenth assessed for the relief of the Holy Land. (Ibid., 476; Cotton, III, 112) Also, he was appointed a member of the Kings Council in Ireland on October 22, 1292. (CPR (1281-1291),

p. 476) Advanced in years, he died in December 1320. (Cotton, III, 112)

Scadan, Richard fl. 1431-1445

Of Lismore diocese, he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford for six years by June, 1431. (CPL, VIII, 335) At that time he was granted a papal dispensation, because of illegitimacy, to take holy orders and hold a benefice with cure as canon of Lismore and prebendary of Merton. (Ibid.) He was professed as an Augustinian Canon and was admitted to St. Edmund's Priory in county Tipperary on condition that he resign his canonry and prebend. He was to be admitted as prior of St. Edmund's, but he may not have done so, since he died as canon of Lismore by November, 1445 while at the Roman Curia. (CPL, 209-210, 510; Emden, III 1650)

Shanahan, Thomas fl. 1447

A scholar of canon and civil law at Oxford for more than four years, he was a bachelor of canon law by 1447 (CPL, X, 369, 433) He had been an official of the court of Cashel before 1440. (Ibid.) By 1447 he had received a papal dispensation to hold two incompatible benefices, allowing him to retain provision of vicarage of Ardmore, county Waterford, and the deanery of Lismore. (Ibid.)

Sheridan, Patrick fl. 1411-1427

Of Kilmore diocese, by 1411 he received papal dispensation because of illegitimacy to take holy orders and hold a benefice with cure in 1411. (CPL, VI, 270) At that time he was granted the vicariate of Kilmore, county Caven. (Ibid.) As a clerk of the diocese in 1413, he denounced the bishop of Kilmore, John O'Reilly, for his evil life. (Reg. Fleming, Armagh, PRIA, xxx, Sect. C, 158 cited by Emden, III, 1408) By 1427, he had studied canon and civil law at Oxford and was granted the rectory of Keadow, county Caven, (CPL,

VII, 483) He died in 1427 (CPL, VII, 483)

Solars, William de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87) In need of money, on February 22, 1254, he borrowed 12s from the St. Frideswide loan chest at Oxford and gave as security a book which today forms the first twenty pages of Vatican Library Urbino MS. Lat. 206, the earliest extant dated text of a Latin translation of Aristotle's Physics with a commentary by Thomas Aquinas. (Emden, III, 1726-1727; Rashdall, III, 240n)

Spenser, John fl. 1455-1456

Of Armagh diocese, he sought a bachelor of arts degree in June 1455 and determined for it on February 7, 1456. (O.U. Reg. Aa fos. 15v, 20v, 90, cited by Emden, III, 1742; RCO, I 24) On March 27, 1456, he was ordained a priest with title to a yearly salary of six marks. (Reg. Beauchamp, Sarum, I, pt. II fo. 168v. cited by Emden, III, 1742)

Stakpoll, John fl. 1441-1470

Principal of the canon law school at Oxford on April 15, 1441, at which time he was a master of canon law. (RCO, I, 53) In 1443 he was accused by a monk of having failed to pay him for a lecture. (Ibid., 78-79) Although appointed rector of St. John the Baptist Church in Kylbery, county Meath in 1450, his right to hold it was investigated in February, 1468. (CPL, XII, 284-285) Meanwhile, his troubles increased as he was charged with high treason and imprisoned in Dublin Castle by a Sir Thomas Bathe. He appealed to the Roman Curia for an excommunication of Bathe. There is a story that Bathe's men seized and imprisoned him; cutting out his tongue and injuring his eyes. He was returned to Navan Abbey

where, it is said, his tongue and sight were restored.

(CPR (1441-1446), p. 222; Stat. Rolls, Ire. Henry VI, pp. 655-569 cited by Emden, III, 1752-1753) Reportedly, he was still living in 1470. (Reg. Octavian, Armagh, fos. 74-74v, 150, 212-212v, cited by Emden, III, 1753)

Stragoil, Philip de fl. 1252

A master of arts who was a member of the Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p.87)

Syredean, Neil fl. 1368

With five other students at Oxford, he deposited in Langton Chest as security for a loan, a copy of Lectura Hostensis on June 28, 1368. (Brit. Mus. Roy. MSS 10E V and 10E VI cited by Emden, II, 1843)

Ta, John de fl. 1299

In October, 1299, as a master of arts he was granted protection for two years in order that he might travel from Ireland to study at Oxford. (CPR (1292-1301), p. 448)

Talbot, Richard fl. 1399-1418

Of noble birth, he was a master of arts by 1405 when he received permission to study at Oxford. (Reg. Mascall, Heref. (C.Y.C.), p. 189 cited by Emden, III, 1845) By 1411 he had received bachelor's degrees in canon and civil law. (Snappe's, p. 156) He held posts in England 1399-1417 at which time he became archbishop of Dublin (Emden, III, 1846; Mart. V. Arm, XII, 121, p. 95 cited by Eubel, I, 229; Gams, p. 218) He held a number of governmental administrative posts after his arrival in Ireland in 1418. (Emden, III, 1846) and served as chancellor of Ireland 1423-1442. (CPR (1422-1429), pp. 103, 379) He was elected as archbishop of Armagh but did not serve, remaining as archbishop

of Dublin until 1449. He is credited with a tract: De abusa regiminis Jacobi Jacobi comitis Ormoniae dum esset locum tenene Hiberniae. (Ware, I, 339)

Them, Constantius de fl. 1267

Irish party to the 1267 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford (Oxf. Univ. Arch., I, 13 a cited by Emden, III, 1859; Wood, I, 27n)

Thorney, John de fl. 1286

A master of arts at Oxford, along with another Irishman, he reportedly killed a graduate's servant in Grandfont and fled. (OCD, p. 196; Emden, III, 1866)

Tilafinayn, William de fl. 1252

Irish party to 1252 peace accord with Northern scholars at Oxford. (Gibson, p. 87)

Torynton, Philip de fl. 1364

By 1364, he had studied theology at Oxford and Cambridge for many years. He had also lectured on the Sentences in the faculty of theology at three universities and had served as chief lector in theology at his order's principal convents. (CPL, IV, 40; BF, VI, 376) He was examined and promoted to master of theology with license to teach at Oxford or Paris. (CPP, I, 497; Wadding, VIII, 208) In 1374, he was consecrated archbishop of Cashel, a position he held until his death in 1380. (Gre. XI a.3 (t.272) ep. 85, cited by Eubel, I, 170; Gams, p. 208) At Cashel he petitioned Richard II to restore to him the church of Dungarvan and the chapels of the Cathedral church of Cashel whose chaplains had been decimated during the Black Death. (P.R.O. Anc. Pet., 5063, cited by Fitzmaurice, p. 160). In 1374, Torynton was emissary of Richard II to Urban VI. On his return from Rome

Ireland, he advocated that England invade France because of that country's adherence to the anti-pope Clement VII. He died in 1380. (Wadding, VIII, 350)

Tropt, John O.P. fl. 1355

At the meeting of the general chapter at Pamplona in 1355, it was ordered that the way be made clear for his appointment as lecturer of the Sentences at the Oxford convent of the Dominican order. (Acta. Capit. Gen. (M.O.F.P.H.IV), II, 1370, cited by Emden, III, 1909)

Tully, Denis O.P. fl. 1483

Oxford university reported to the archbishop of Dublin that Tully and a Franciscan, both degeneres alumni, were preaching in the Dublin diocese that Christ begged from door to door, despite papal censure of this doctrine. (EPP. Acad. Oxon. (.)H.S.) II, 485-486, cited by Emden, III, 1912)

Vilers, Nicholas fl. 1298

Irish clerk involved in a tavern brawl in Oxford in September, 1298. (Rec. Med. Oxf. p. 8 cited by Emden, III, 1949)

Walle, Stephen de fl. 1357-1379

A scholar of canon and civil law at Oxford by 1357. (CPP, I, 397, CSM, II, 284) he was an enemy of the friars and promoted the canonization of FitzRalph as St. Richard of Dundalk. (Emden, III, 1966) His early career was spent in Limerick as canon, then dean (1357) and bishop of Limerick in 1360 until his translation. (CPP, I, 304, 307, 317, 327; Gams, p. 227) In 1369 he was translated to the See of Meath, where he was bishop until his death. (Urb. V, Av. t. 2 of 151 cited by Eubel, I, 338; Gams, p. 229) He served briefly as Treasurer of Ireland, March through June of 1368. (CPR (1367-1370), , 119, 123; (1370-1374), 239) He died at Oxford

on November 10, 1379, where he is buried in the church of the Black Friars. (Eubel, I, 339; Emden, III, 1966)

Walsh, William fl. 1488

Of Cashel diocese, he was ordained deacon to the titles of St. Frideswide's priory in Oxford in March and priest in May, 1488.

(Reg. Russell Linc. XXII, fos. 27v 29) cited by Emden, III, 1970)

He is possibly the William Walsh who was one of four Vicars Choral in the eleventh year of Edward IV. (Cotton, II, 373)

Waring, Andrew fl. 1362-1384

Of the Armagh diocese, he was ordained a priest at St. Frideswide's priory in Oxford on September 22, 1362. (Reg. Sudbury Lond. (CYS). II, 12, cited by Emden, III, 1997) A few years later, in June, 1369, he was granted permission to study at Oxford. At that time, he was rector of Beaulieu, county Louth and remained so at least until 1384. (Sweetman, p. 235)

Waterford, Godfrey of O.P. fl. 1237-c. 1300

A native of Waterford, he stayed at the Dominican Convent in Paris before visiting the Holy Lane in order to convert the heathen. (Burke, 531, 533) A papal penitentiary, while in Rome he wrote to the prior at the Paris Convent informing the community that the General of the Order, Master Jordan, had drowned off the Anatolian Coast. (Ibid.) Godfrey reportedly skilled in French (Gallic) Latin, Greek and Arabic (Ibid., pp. 538-539) He translated Dares the Phrygien's De excidio Trojae historia, Eutropius' Historia romana and the Pseudo-Aristotle's Secretum Secretorum. (Glorieux, Maitres, pp. 142-143; HLF, XXVI, 468-471; Burke, p. 539)

Went, Richard fl. 1391-1407

He was a student of canon and civil law at Oxford for seven years prior to 1391. Treasurer of Cork, he resigned in 1391 to accept the perpetual vicarage of Kinsale in the diocese of Cork, valued at 50 marks. (CPL, IV, 413; V, 220, 226) He was a canon of Cloyne by January 1404 but had disputed possession of the rectory of Ringrone, county Cork (CPL, IV, 614; PCI, 171, 177b; Emden, III, 2015)

Weston, Nicholas fl. 1426

Canon of Armagh, he had the degree of bachelor of canon law by 1456. (Cotton, III, 63; O.U. Reg. Aa fos. 14v 95; RUO, I, 26 cited by Emden, III, 2024) In 1466 he was promoted to bishop of Derry, a post that he held until he died in 1485. (Eubel, II, 159; Gams, p. 215)

Whitehead, John fl. 1394-1409

In 1394, he was granted permission to leave Ireland and study at Oxford for ten years. (CPR (1391-1396), pp. 417, 451) He had his advanced degree in theology by 1408. (Cal. Reg. Fleming, Armagh, (PRIA, xxx (1912-1913) Sect-C p. 117 cited by Emden, III, 1037) His works are in Bodleian Library, Oxford. (MS Digby 98 (1699) fos. 100- 207, 208-213): Determinacio de confessione et absolutione and Determinacio in materia de mendicatate contra fratres (Hayes IV, 867), attacking the privileges of the mendicants.

Wikeford, Robert de fl. 1340-1390

An Englishman of the Winchester diocese (CPP, I, 149), he was a scholar and fellow of Merton College, Oxford, between 1340 and 1349. (Mert. Coll. Rec. 3673-3674, 3676, 3678, 3681; Mert. Coll. Cat. Vetus p. 13; Mem. Mert. Coll. (O.H.S.), pp. 217-218, cited by

Emden, III, 2045) By 1349 he was regent master in arts
(Oriel Call. Record (O.H.S.), p. 20 cited by Emden, III, 2046)
in 1354 he was a scholar in canon law (CPL, III, 519) and by
1368 he was a doctor of canon and civil laws. (Ibid., IV, 76)
He held a number of benefices and posts in England between
1349 and 1375. (Emden, III, 2046) In 1375 he became archbishop
of Dublin by papal provision which he held until his death
August 29, 1390. (CPR (1374-1377), pp. 300, 383; (1377-1381),
p. 27; (1381-1386), pp. 455, 550) His career was mostly outside
of Ireland (Emden, III, 2046).

ADDENDUM TO PROSOPOGRAPHY

A number of Irish are known to have studied somewhere but have not yet been identified with a particular center of learning.

Abindon, Richard de	fl.	1322
Aherne, Denis	fl.	1400
Akertoun, Robert	fl.	1414
Alleyn, John	fl.	1464-1505
Arthur, Thomas	fl.	1486
Babynghe, John O.P.	fl.	1410
Baterley, John O.P.	fl.	1427
Belmer, Richard	fl.	1424
Blake, John	--	
Blont, Philip	fl.	1368
Braynog, Edmund	fl.	1363
Bremicham, Raymund	fl.	1441
Bird, Thomas O.P.	fl.	1438
Bristol, Ralph de	fl.	1219-1232
Browne, Stephen O. Carm.	fl.	1399
Bula, William	fl.	1363
Burgo, Bernard de	fl.	1424
Caneton, Gerald O.S.A.	fl.	1392
Cantwell, Myler	fl.	1472
Carrewe, David O.F.M.	fl.	1428-1452
Clary, Matthew	fl.	1425

Disaard, Nicholas	fl. 1354
Dulardi, Bartholomew	fl. 1361
Geraldine, John de	fl. 1368
Geraldine, Gerald	fl. 1471
Geraldine, Thomas de	fl. 1392
FitzHugh, Robert	fl. 1408
FitzJohn, Richard O.F.M.	fl. 1462
FitzMartin, Fergus O.S.A.	fl. 1425-1430
FitzMaurice, John	fl. 1467
Fitzrery, John	fl. 1431
Fleming, Thomas	fl. 1432
Formay, Walter O.F.M.	fl. 1418
Forster, Robert O.F.M.	fl. 1418
Fressinsfield, John	fl. 1346
Fulburn, Stephen	fl. 1273-1286
Galtrim, John	fl. 1358
Galuy, Geoffrey	fl. 1393
Goldop, Nicholas	fl. 1394
Gower, David	fl. 1363
Gryk, Thomas	fl. 1361
Hardits, William de O.P.	fl. 1320
Hollywood, John	fl. 1392
Karok, John	fl. 1363
Kilyn, Cornel O.S.A.	fl. 1477
Lagles, Gerald	fl. 1352
Lyster, John O.P.	fl. 1397

MacAdam, John	fl.	1354
McCearwell, Thomas	fl.	1348-1365
MacDubayll, John	fl.	1413
MacFiredinn, Maelsechlainn	fl.	1230
MacGillaguil, Maelmuire	fl.	1314
MacGillauanem, Maurice	fl.	1395
McFlynn, Florence	fl.	1250
MacGorman, Gillachrist	fl.	1220
Machelyn, John O.S.A.	fl.	1428
Mackedygayn, Maurice	fl.	1413
MacLaghlyn, Michael O.F.M.	fl.	1303-1310
MceNamara, Malachy	fl.	1433
Maconmara, Thady	fl.	1461
Martin, Gerald O.S.A.	fl.	1425
Martin, Richard	fl.	1472
Mayllabuy, Patrick	fl.	1363
Moryn, Walter	fl.	1360
Neill, John	fl.	1389
Obeollayn, Laurence	fl.	1425-1429
O'Breassil, Thady O.F.M.	fl.	1369
Occurich, Eugene	fl.	1462
Oconchuyn, Malachy	fl.	1372
Oconcobuyr, Thady	fl.	1464
Oconcowr, Dermot O.P.	fl.	1371
O'Corcraim, John	fl.	1370-1389
O'Cormack, Thomas	fl.	1354
O'Culechain, Diarmaid	fl.	1221

Odangussa, Denis	fl. 1459
O'Dea, Cornelius	fl. 1394
Odendehugh, Laurence	fl. 1393
Odin, Robert	fl. 1358
Odiuffin, Dermot	fl. 1461
Odonir, David	fl. 1343
Odubda, Niall	fl. 1460
Oduuyle, Thady	fl. 1468
Oduynd, David	fl. 1431
Ofergail, Carbric	fl. 1411
Offyn, Thomas	fl. 1465
Oflannaga, Malachy	fl. 1394
Offlangale, Dionysius	fl. 1476
O'Grada, John	fl. 1331-1345
O'Grada, John	fl. 1359-1417
O'Grada, Maurice	fl. 1343
O'Grada, Thomas	fl. 1418
O'Grada, Donatus O.F.M.	fl. 1371
Ohallabaran, Odo	fl. 1413
Ohallocham, Maurice	fl. 1361
Ohangaly, Nemeas	fl. 1394
O'Hanratty, John	fl. 1413-1440
Oharet, Reginald	fl. 1411
Oheireachtauch, John	fl. 1413
O'Hoey, Matthew	fl. 1290-1322
O'Heyne, John O.F.M.	fl. 1438
O'Higgin, Brian	fl. 1476

O'Hogan, Odo	fl. 1363
O'Hogayn, John	fl. 1449-1450
O'Huolachain, Thomas O.F.M.	fl. 1361
Ohymayr, Malachy	fl. 1390-1394
Ohymnayn, Thomas	fl. 1459
Okahyl, Maurice	fl. 1363
Okairtean, Eugene	fl. 1413
Okeall, Thady	fl. 1391
Okearbayl, Marianus	fl. 1411
Okellayg, Malachy	fl. 1396
Okennedig, Donald	fl. 1394
Okerog, Philip	fl. 1467
Olonyrgayn, Rory	fl. 1411
Olucharian, John	fl. 1478
Omachan, John	fl. 1372
Omolchonyry, Maurice	fl. 1363
O'Mordh, Donysius	fl. 1231
Omulcahan, Cornach	fl. 1476
Omuregaidh, Donatus	fl. 1427
Oqueruolan, Phelim	fl. 1469
O'Reilii, William	fl. 1469
Orogonya, Adam	fl. 1392
Otulean, Isaac	- -
Penrys, John	fl. 1373
Pullesdon, Alexander de	fl. 1366
Purcell, Patrick	fl. 1455-1465

Read, Robert	fl. 1394
Rochfort, Robert O.P.	fl. 1451
Rodyard, William	fl. 1312
Rowe, Richard	fl. 1418-1426
Ruth, Thomas	fl. 1468
Simon, S. O.P.	fl. 1459
Spackford, Thomas	fl. 1396
Stack, Philip	fl. 1469
Stanton, Edmund de	fl. 1455
Taff, John	fl. 1389
Tyrry, Nicholas	fl. 1344
Valle, John de	fl. 1347
Valle, Richard de	fl. 1363
Wadding, John O.S.A.	fl. 1388
Walshe, Nicholas O.F.M.	fl. 1448
White, John	fl. 1441

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