

ENGLISH MASTERS AND STUDENTS IN PARIS DURING THE XIIth CENTURY

I.

The earliest indication of any organization of foreign scholars in Paris appears prior to the first half of the XIIIth century. The Faculty of Arts in Paris which later was divided into four Nations, did not emerge until 1219 when the Papal Bulls mentioned for the first time the existence of certain dignitaries at the Paris Faculty of Arts ¹⁾. In 1222, the existence of the Nations *per se* was affirmed ²⁾.

The English Nation specifically appeared upon the scene in 1252 ³⁾ and was divided into two tribes : the English and the Non-English speaking students. The latter was comprised of scholars from Hungary, Slavonia, Sweden, Denmark, Rheinland, Saxony, Holland, parts of Flanders, and the Germanies. The former was made up of English, Scotch and Irish students ⁴⁾.

The origin of the English Nation is obscure. The present short study would attempt to investigate that shadowy origin and point out some indications of the existence of an embryonic and fluid society of English scholars during the XIIth Century. A study of this period uncovers allusions to the four disciplines, (Theology,

1) *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. DENIFLE O. P., and E. CHATELAIN, (Paris 1889), I, p. 89, no. 31. See also G. C. BOYCE, *The English-German nation in the university of Paris*, (Bruges 1927), p. 26; and P. KIBRE, *The Nations in the mediaeval universities*, (Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Ma 1948), p. 65.

2) *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, 103, no. 45 : « ... nec scolares interim secundum nationes suas sibi quemquam preficient ad injurias ulciscendas... »

3) *Chart. univ. Paris*, I, 227, no. 201 : « ... magistri nascionis anglicanae in artibus regentes Parisius... » H. RASHDALL, *The universities of Europe in the middle ages*, (Revised edition in 3 vols., by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, Oxford, 1936), I, 319.

4) KIBRE, *The Nations*, 19; BOYCE, *op. cit.*, 28.

Law, Medicine and the Arts) which later evolved into the Four Faculties.

Why was this association of Non-French speaking masters and students who were affiliated with the Faculty of Arts called the English Nation in seeming disregard of the fact that this Nation was not exclusively English but was instead a heterogeneous gathering of all nationalities? It is my belief that it was because the English speaking scholars at large in Paris during that time were far more numerous than the aggregate of other foreign students.

There were, of course, many non-English students in Paris. In a letter written by Fulk to Abelard, mention is made of the Irish, Flemish, German and Swedish scholars who followed Abelard's lectures with great enthusiasm ⁵⁾.

The Italians, too, were quite in evidence and included among them such notables as Lanfranc, Peter of Capua, Praepostinus and Roland Bandenelli, the future Alexander III.

There were also a number of Germans present : Otto of Freising, Manegold of Lautenbach, Adalbert II, the future Archbishop of Mainz, Hugh of St. Victor ⁶⁾ and Otto ⁷⁾.

Hungarians and Northern students began to make their appearance at this time. Luke, Archbishop of Esztergom ⁸⁾, was in Paris along with three students of Stephen of Tournai; Bethlen, Adrien and James ⁹⁾ who were scholars sent to Paris by their King, Adalbert III. Mention should also be made of Isaac Angelus, a scholar from Constantinople ¹⁰⁾.

This afflux of non-English speaking scholars never outshadowed the number of English masters and students. So, in our search for

5) MIGNE, *PL*, 178, col. 371, Epist. XVI; E. LESNE, *Les écoles de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e*, (Lille, 1940), p. 207.

6) M. DE WULF, *History of mediaeval philosophy*, (London, 1925), I, 68.

7) *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae*, (ed. by A. F. GOMBOS, Budapest, 1937), I, 761, no. 1752; See also : MGH. (Pertz), SS. IX, pp. 607-613.

8) WALTERUS MAP, *De nugis curialium*, Dist. II, cap. 7; See GOMBOS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1095, n. 2621.

9) *PL*, 211, col. 334; GOMBOS, *Catalogus*, III, p. 2181, no. 4697 : « Nobilissimo regi Stephanus de Sancta Genovefa dictus abbas... excellentiam vestram scire volumus, quia bonae memoriae adolescens Bethlehem... in ecclesia nostra sepultus est... diligenter inquiri fecimus, an aliquo debito... Verumtamen sicut non comparuit creditor sic et defuit fideiussor. His interfuerunt clerici de regno vestro Iacobus, Michael et Adrianus ».

10) *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, (ed. by W. STUBBS, Rolls series, London, 1867), I, p. 256.

on explanation of why this polyglot society of foreign students came to be specifically designated in the first decade of the XIIIth Century as the *English Nation*, we may say that this was because the English scholars were the heirs of a tradition that reached back into the XIIth Century when this *honesta societas* an expression used by Alexander Neckam ¹¹⁾, was preponderantly composed of English speaking scholars.

The entire range of Mediaeval civilization was unavoidably indebted to the XIIth Century since this great period contributed specific formative qualities to the overall character of Western Civilization. The brilliant thinkers of the French schools of Laon, Chartres, Orleans and Paris attracted students from every part of the world and Peter of Blois, a great Latin poet and stylist of the time, was right in saying :

« A clerk is not much worth
Who has not been to Paris
To study, and stayed there,
And studied so much,
And so much learned that he has become a master
Who there and elsewhere
Are renowned with the best » ¹²⁾

Many of the Masters teaching in Paris began to enthusiastically examine the fascinating problems springing out of the seven Liberal Arts and, owing to the interest of these Masters, the number of artists began gradually to increase as the end of the XIIth century approached. The embryonic stages of a powerful Faculty of Arts began to take shape in Paris. Avid young clerks from the world over swarmed into the city in their eagerness to gain an understanding of the brave new philosophical world that had appeared on their horizon. Because of their almost fanatical concern with the easily grasped superficialities of the new learning, they neglected all the more profound approaches to the intellectual life. It was this superficiality that provoked the admonitions of Geoffrey of Troyes who called them « brutes and asses » as they swarmed frantically

11) ALEXANDER NECKAM, *De naturis rerum*, Book II, chap. 173, (ed. T. WRIGHT, *De naturis rerum libri duo*, London, 1863), p. 297.

12) ROBERT OF BLOIS, *L'Enseignement des Princes*, quoted by FR. FUNCK-BRENTANO, *The Middle Ages*, (New York, s. d.), p. 206.

about the masters and hastily prepared for admission to the higher schools ¹³).

« *Fortunate City* ».

In time, Paris became the center of Arts and Letters :

Fortunate city in which the students are
so many that their number almost exceeds
that of the inhabitants ¹⁴).

The totality of learning was enshrined in France and Paris usurped the role of Athens ¹⁵).

Philosophy and all clerkly knowledge
flourished in Paris. The study of the
Seven Arts was so great there and in
such authority that it outshone Athens,
Egypt and Rome ¹⁶).

From among the seven Liberal Arts, Paris appropriated that of Logic which it preferred to Poetry ¹⁷). The XIIth Century brought about the change of the *Old Grammar* into the *New* and contributed to the general intellectual progress of the Paris schools. The influence of the dialectical method transformed Grammar into a speculative study which became a new attraction for those who were looking toward the schools of Paris ¹⁸).

13) Paris, BN, Ms. lat., 13586, fol. 85; L. BOURGAIN, *La chaire française au XII^e siècle*, (Paris, 1879), p. 292 : « Grammatici et scolares nostri temporis jumenta sunt vel asini ».

14) FUNCK-BRENTANO, *The Middle Ages*, op.cit., p. 206. Cf. *Chartularium Univ. Paris.*, I, 50, no. 51; *PL*, 203, col. 31.

15) W. NITZE, *The so-called twelfth century renaissance*, in *Speculum*, XXIII (1948), pp. 467 ff.

« Puis vint chevalerie a Rome
Et de la clergie la some,
Qui or est an France venue » (Cligés, vss. 33-35).

16) *Les Gestes de Philippe Auguste*, (Rec. Hist. des Gaules), XVII, p. 395e : « En celi tens florissoit à Paris philosophie et toute clergie, et i estoit li estudes des sept arz si granz et en si grant auctorité, que l'on ne trove pas que il fust onques si pleniers se si fervenz en Athens ne en Egypte, ne en Rome... »

17) LESNE, op.cit., p. 189. « Parisius logicam sibi jactitet, Aurelianus auctores, elegos Vindocinense solum ».

18) L. J. PAETOW, *The Arts course at mediaeval universities with special reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*, (University of Illinois, The University Studies Vol. III, no. 7), 1910, pp. 34-35.

The first great wave of foreign students arrived in Paris at the time when Abelard began to teach in that city of philosophers. Abelard had every brilliant quality these young and ardent students admired. His wit, personal charm and dramatic teaching methods attracted disciples from all parts of the world. Germans and Italians braved the Alps to follow his instruction. However, others condemned him as did Evrard the German who referred to Abelard as one of the *Four Scourges* of France along with Gilbert de la Porrée, Peter Lombard and Peter of Poitiers and referred to them as *Laborintus* ¹⁹⁾. But, for the most part, Abelard's renown drew students not only from the Continent but from the islands across the Channel. The English scholars intrepidly faced the choppy crossing in order to glimpse the genius of the New Learning.

The distance of the countries, the heights
of the mountains, the depths of the valleys,
The difficult roads beset with dangers; all
these could not keep them from hurrying to
see him ²⁰⁾.

However, the exercise of dialectics had flourished even before the arrival of Abelard in Paris as he himself confessed in the *History of my Calamities*.

Thereafter, covering divers provinces in
search of discussions, wherever I had
heard the study of this art flourished,
I became an emulator of the Peripatetics.
I came at length to Paris where this study
had long been flourishing ²¹⁾.

19) E. FARAL, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, (Paris, 1923), p. 39. Cf. on Paris :

« Afflixit corpus Parisiana fames

Sicut Parisius est divitibus paradus

Si est pauperibus insatiata palus » (Labirintus, vvs. 944-946).

FARAL, *op. cit.*, 369.

20) PL, 178, col. 371, *Ep. Fulconis prioris de Diogilo, ad Petrum Abelardum*. Letter of Fulk, Prior of Deuil to Abelard : « Nulla terrarum spatia, nulla montium cacumina, nulla concava vallium, nulla via difficili licet obsita periculo et latrone, quominus ad te properarent, retinebat... Anglorum turbam juvenum more interjacens et undarum procella terribilis non terrebat : sed omni periculo contempta, audito tuo nomine, ad te confluebat. Remota Britannia sua animalia erudienda destinebat... Normannia, Flandria, Teutonicus et Suevius tuum colere ingenium, laudare et praedicare assidue studebat...

21) ABELARD, *Historia Calamitatum*, Chap. I-II; PL, 178, col. 115. — English translation : C. K. SCOTT MONCRIEFF, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, (New York, 1942), pp. 4-5.

Both kinds of study in our school grew and the reputation and pecuniary gain it brought me cannot have failed to reach your ears 22).

His popularity among the foreign students may be illustrated by the above mentioned letter of Fulk's wherein the eagerness of the English scholars is described. « They flaunted every conceivable danger at the very sound of his name and flowed into Paris ». At this point it is a temptation to quote from the harrangue of an English clerk in the time of Rabelais who had abandoned his affairs without hesitation in order that he might have been able to go to Paris for the simple purpose of discussing a trifling passage of philosophy ²³).

The society of English scholars expanded once more around 1164 when English ecclesiastics arrived in France seeking refuge from the arbitrary conduct of Henry II ²⁴). The continuous quarrels between Henry II and France increased the difficulty of communication between Paris and England. John of Salisbury complained in 1167 that France, the most gentle and civilized of all nations, had expelled the scholars ²⁵). In 1169, Henry II issued an order which restrained monastic communication with the Continent. Robert Partes, a poet of this time, made a wistful allusion to this state of affairs in a versified letter addressed to his brother in France ²⁶).

In 1170, the number of students began to grow again and Paris became a truly cosmopolitan city. In 1180, Gui de Bazoches said proudly :

Paris, queen among cities, moon among stars,
gracious valley, island of royal palaces...
And on that island Philosophy hath her royal
and ancient seat : who alone with study commands
the eternal citadel of light and immortality
and hath set her victorious foot upon the with-
ering flower of a fast aging world 27).

22) ABELARD, *Hist. Calam.*, Chap. V; *PL*, 178, col. 126; « ... scholae nostrae vehementer multiplicatae... » SCOTT MONCRIEFF, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

23) RABELAIS, *Pantagruel*, chap. 18. Comment un grand clerc d'Angleterre voulait arguer contre Pantagruel...

24) *Gallia Christiana*, IX, (1751), p. 224c.

25) *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, p. 21. « ... Bella et seditiones ubique fervent, mercuriales adeo depressi sunt, ut Francia, omnium mitissima et civilissima nationum, alienigenas scholares abegerit ».

26) W. H. CORNOG, *The poems of Robert Partes*, in *Speculum*, XII (1937), p. 219. « Rex iubet et sequitur nova promulgatio legum ».

The stream of English scholars flowed toward Paris for at least one century and did their part in making Paris a

P aisible domaine

A moureux verger

R epos sans dangier

J ustice certaine

S cience hautaine... (Vatican. Reg. 1389, fol. 22).

... a peaceful domain, an orchard of lovers, a place of rest without danger. William of Brittany was not too far wrong in his endeavor to express the common opinion :

Whatever a nation has that is most precious,
whatever a people holds the most famous, all
the treasures of science and all the riches
of the earth; lessons of wisdom, the glory of
letters, nobility of thought, refinement of
manners, all this is to be found in Paris 28).

The number of foreign scholars reached such a peak around 1175-1200 that Master Gilles of Paris, a poet and pedagogue of Louis VIII, was moved to protest against the slanderers of the city who claimed that Paris had allowed its native erudition to be swallowed up in the deluge of foreigners 29). When Stephen Langton came to Paris as a young scholar in the last quarter of the XIIth Century, the splendour of Paris was flourishing under the episcopate of Maurice of Sully (1160-96) and the time was not far removed when William of Breton would write :

At Paris, letters were brilliant; in no other
epoch and in no other part of the world had
such a crowd of students been seen. This is
accounted for not only by the natural beauty

27) *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, p. 55, no. 54. Translation : H. WADDELL, *The Wandering Scholars*, (Boston and New York, 1927), p. 112.

28) GUILLELMI BRITONIS ARMORIC, *Philippidos*, Book I, vss. 100-105. (*Rec. Hist. des Gaules*), XVII, p. 121. Translation in Fr. Raphael (new ed. W. Gumbley), *Christian Schools and Scholars*, (New York, 1924), p. 365; About William of Brittany see : *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XVII, 336-56.

29) Aegidius Parisiensis *Carolinus* (*Rec. Hist. des Gaules*), XVII, p. 297.

« Sed segura minus, cum dira infamia nostros
Jam dudum laceret cives, orisque maligni
Audeat immeritos commune incessere probrum
Quod nullos habeat urbs Parisiana scientes ».
Cf. *Hist. Litt. France*, XVII, p. 62.

of the city but by the privileges which the King and his Father had conferred upon the schools ³⁰).

The privileges of Philip Augustus which favored the students of Paris had been granted at the turn of the XIIth Century and had partly legalized the unwritten privileges of the students which heretofore had been of vital importance and eventually opened the gates of Paris to those who built the University of Paris upon the tradition of the early XIIth Century scholars. The immunity of the students was guaranteed so that, « neither our provost nor our judges shall lay hands upon a student for any offence whatever » ³¹). In the riot of 1200 which precipitated the granting of this privilege, the servant of a German student had been attacked and his fellow countrymen leaped into the brawl. After this, all students, regardless of nationality, would be protected.

In XIIth Century Paris, the most important centers of learning were the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the monasteries of Sainte Geneviève and Saint Victor and the area which surrounded the little bridge over the Seine, Petit Pont. Around the Petit Pont there were many houses inhabited by various masters who had transformed their houses into schools and supported themselves by taking in students ³²).

II.

Before the Queen of France.

One of the first representatives of the XIIth Century English scholars in France was *Adelard of Bath* who was a famous name in science prior to the advent of Robert Grosseteste and Roger

30) *De Gestis Philippi Augusti*, loc. cit., (*Rec. Hist. des Gaules*), XVII, p. 82 E. — The same text in Old French : *op. cit.*, 395 C. — See FUNCK-BRENTANO, *op. cit.*, p. 206, without indication of the source.

31) *Chart. univ. Paris*, I, pp. 59-61, n. 1; Translation : *Translations and reprints from the original sources of European History, The Mediaeval Student*, (ed. by D. C. MUNRO, Philadelphia, 1899), p. 4.

32) R. LLOYD, *The Golden Middle Age*, (London, 1939), p. 94.

Bacon. He had been attracted to Paris by the famed French learning as he himself states in the prologue to his *Questiones Naturales*, a work adressed to his nephew ³³). Adelard studied in the schools of Tours and Laon and one day while he was sitting on the bank of the picturesque Loire, he had a vision in which Philosophy and Philocosmia, the real erudition and worldly enjoyment, symbollically appeared to him in the form of two women. *De Eodem et de Diverso* was conceived out of this scholarly vision ³⁴). While studying music in France, Adelard speaks of having played a guitar before the Queen of France so he must have written this treatise prior to 1109 since there was no reigning Queen of France between the death of Phillip I and the coronation of Louis VI (1115) ³⁵).

French learning did not satisfy him and he eventually expressed his dissatisfaction to his nephew. He complained that he was forced to attribute his own ideas to someone else since all contemporary opinions were distrusted ³⁶). He completed his education in Greece and in Spain. The *Questiones Naturales* was the fruit of his contact with this new and unknown world. He could not, however, divert his nephew from his French studies and this nephew later made an express condemnation of his uncle's Arabic enthusiasms ³⁷).

« They Came Crowding to Me ».

These were the words of Abelard concerning those students who came from all parts and, deserting the comfort of the towns and citys, were content to dwell with Abelard in the wilderness. We don't know the identities of those scholars who, according to Fulk, came from « distant Brittany » and flowed into Paris to follow Abelard's lectures. All too often they came without sufficient preparation

33) DE WULF, *op. cit.*, I, 157. «... Gallicarum sententiarum constantia...»

34) Published by H. WILLNER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, IV. Des Adelard von Bath Traktat «De Eodem et Diverso», Münster (1903), pp. 1 ff.

35) B. G. P. M., IV, (1903), p. 25 : «... cum praeterito anno in eadem musica gallicis studiis totus sudares adessetque in serotino tempore magister artis una cum discipulis cum eorum reginaeque rogatu citharam tangeres...» Cf. CH. H. HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2), (Cambridge Ma, 1927), p. 21.

36) «... si quando inventum proprium publicare voluerim, personae id alienae imponens inquam, «Quidam dixit, non ego»...» quoted by L. THORNDIKE, *A history of magic and experimental science*, (New York, 1929), II, p. 25 ff.

37) TH. WRIGHT, *Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Norman period*, (London, 1846), II, p. 96.

for dialectical study as we learn from further statements of Abbot Fulk's ³⁸). Among those students who, following Abelard, left the spacious houses of Paris to inhabit little tents in the peaceful solitude of Paraclet (the Place of Consolation) was *Hilary*, an Englishman possessed of poetic talent. He referred to himself as a disciple of Abelard and, in one of his poems, he speaks of a misunderstanding between himself and Abelard who had ordered him to leave his school ³⁹).

An anonymous *Irish scholar* whom we know only as the author of the *Life of St. Machulius* arrived in Paris during the first part of the XIIth Century. He was born between 1110 and 1120 so, it is conceivable that he could have followed Abelard's lectures ⁴⁰).

In those first days when youth in me
was happy and life was swift in passing,
I wandered through the divers cities
of sweet France and, because of the
desire I had for learning, gave all
my night to letters.

Isaac of Stella, a scholarly English contemporary of Abelard and Anselm of Laon was not as fortunate on the Continent. In a letter addressed to John of Bellesmains, Bishop of Poitiers, *De Officio Missae*, Isaac sorrowfully complained that he had been made responsible for the damage done to his monastery by the English and, therefore, desperately regretted his English birth ⁴¹). One of the Bishop's men had broken into the monastery, causing much disorder and forcing Isaac to abandon his work, and so, he wrote bitterly to the Bishop, « While I was writing this letter to you, you took care that this letter should not be long » ⁴²).

³⁸) *PL*, 178, col. 371. See note 20.

³⁹) *The Dictionary of National Biography*, (London, published since 1918), XX, 831; *Hist. Litt. France*, XII, p. 252 :

« O quam durum Magistrum sentio
Si pro sui bulbuci nuntio
Qui vilis est et sine pretio
Sua nobis negetur lectio
Tort avers vos li Mestre ».

⁴⁰) *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.*, (Pertz), XX, 512. « ... dum in diversis dulcis Galliae urbibus desiderio scientiae, studio litterarum pro viribus operam dedissem... » (Ex vita Sti Mochul-
lei Hiberniensis Episcopi). Cf. WADDEL, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁴¹) *PL*, 194, col. 1890, 1896.

⁴²) BLIETMETZRIEDER F., *Isaac of Stella. Sa spéculation théologique*, in *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, IV, (1932), pp. 136.

Isaac was a Cistercian and Abbot of L'Etoile in Poitou. During his lifetime, he maintained a warm academic friendship with John Bellesmains, Bishop of Poitiers. His career corresponds at least superficially with that of Stephen Harding who, if we are to accept Budinszky's statement ⁴³⁾, had gone to Paris, became a Cistercian and was made Abbot of Cîteaux. We have no explicit reference to Isaac's stay in Paris but, his scholarly work and familiarity with the points of academic interest in Paris gives us reason to believe that he studied under one of the Parisian masters. The fact that Robert of Pullus quotes an argument of Isaac of Stella in one of his statements lends an element of probability to this hypothesis ⁴⁴⁾.

Happy Banishment (Felix Exilium).

John of Salisbury was among those students who flocked to Abelard's lectures on the Hill of Ste Geneviève while he taught there as a celebrated and admired Master. As John himself says, he obtained the first rudiments of the art of Logic from Abelard and welcomed all learning under this Master with eagerness ⁴⁵⁾. John was certainly one of the best read scholars of his time and his life is too well known today for me to dwell lengthily upon its details. I simply desire to point out the principal events of his sojourn in Paris and his relation to the other English Master and students ⁴⁶⁾.

He appears to have come to Paris at the age of sixteen and ⁴⁷⁾, after the departure of Abelard, attached himself to Alberic, the strongest opponent of the Nominalists, and studied Dialectics on the Hill of Ste Geneviève for two years. The vivacity of the city's inhabitants, the splendour of its religious ceremonies, the majesty of its numerous churches, and the active life of its schools all seem to have entranced his young sensibilities ⁴⁸⁾. Later, he placed him-

43) A. BUDINSZKY, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter*, (Berlin, 1876), p. 107. Cf. LESNE, *op. cit.*, p. 199; *Hist. Litt. France*, XI, pp. 213-236.

44) *PL*, 186, col. 675 A. BLIEMETZRIEDER F., *loc. cit.*, 159.

45) IOANNES SARESBERIENSIS, *Metalogicon*, (ed. C. C. J. WEBB, Oxford, 1929), II, 10, (78, 2-6); English translation by L. THORNDIKE, *University records and life in the middle ages*, (New York, 1944), pp. 11-14.

46) D. D. MCGARRY, *Educational theory in the «Metalogicon» of John of Salisbury*, in *Speculum*, XXIII (1948), 659 ff.

47) In 1135, according to LESNE, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

48) *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, pp. 17-18, no. 19. «... Ubi cum viderem victualium copiam, letitiam populi, reverentiam cleri, et totius ecclesie majestatem et gloriam et varias occupationes philosophantium, admirans velut illam scalam Jacob... »

self under the tutelage of a great friend of St. Bernard, Master Robert of Melun. Although Robert was of English birth, he had been given the gallic last name of *Melun* by his fellow students in the French schools. John of Salisbury gave a very sharp portrait of this English Master in his *Metalogicon* which was addressed to Chancellor Thomas Becket and was completed in 1159 to become a work of prime importance. In the *Metalogicon*, he pointed out the gateway of learning. This educational theory has recently been analysed with great competence by Daniel McGarry.

John condemned those Masters who were, « ... blunting the mental faculties of others while trying to display their own erudition »⁴⁹). After several years of study in Chartres, John of Salisbury returned to Paris around 1141 where he attended, in addition to the lectures of Gilbert de la Porrée, who later became Master of the schools of Poitiers, those of his fellow countryman, Robert Pullus, who was « praiseworthy in life and learning alike ». He pursued a course in theology under Robert Pullus and Simon of Poissy. Following the tutelage of these Masters, he came under the influence of one of the most popular Masters of the time, Adam of Petit Pont (Adam of the Little Bridge). A friendship grew between John and Adam who was a man of vast learning and keen wit. This relationship between the English Master and student was of great intellectual benefit to the young man even though he was not formally attending Adam's school. John of Salisbury did not want to mingle with the band of students that frequented Petit Pont and he sharply satirized those young scholars who referred to those masters who taught the ancient learning as « old Donkeys ». John, who liked and read Plato, Aristotle, Terence, Cicero, Lucan, Juvenal, Appulius and the other writers of antiquity did not wish to associate with the fanatical devotees of the new learning. He had a profound contempt for those who proselitized the cause of the Moderns⁵⁰) :

Our band does not accept the dogmas of the ancients, we do not bother ourselves to follow the utterances of those authors whom Greece and Rome cherished. I am a resident of the Petit Pont, a new author in arts and glory in the fact that previous discoveries are my own.

In 1150, he returned to England and resided at the court of

⁴⁹) *Metalogicon* IV, 3, (167. 15-27). See McGARRY, *loc. cit.*, p. 674. « ... Ut suum uenditent, aliorum obtundunt ingenia... »

Canterbury where he became engaged in the business of the Chancellery and in several diplomatic missions which obliged him to journey to Rome. Paris remained a great attraction to him and, upon seeing the city again in 1164, he was charmed by his perception of a more congenial climate.

« ... the cheerfulness of the people, the reverence of the clergy, the majesty of the entire Church, and the glory and various occupations of those philosophising » 51).

He decided to stay over in Paris as a student and so hired lodgings for which he was obliged to advance a whole year's rent. During the early part of his stay he paid a visit to the King of France and wrote a joyous letter to Thomas Becket in which he exclaimed, « ... happy banishment that is permitted to find a home ! » 52).

His exile lasted until 1170. He was present at Canterbury on the fateful day of Becket's murder and, according to Peter of Cell, he was « ... sprinkled with the precious blood of the blessed martyr. » 53).

After the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, he had to fly from England and seek refuge in France where, in 1176, he was made Bishop of Chartres. He returned aged and tired to that place where he had been nourished by the spirit of Bernard of Chartres, « the most copious fountainhead of learning ».

Previously, he had had with him in the schools of Paris Thomas Becket and many other English students who had studied under Robert of Melun and Robert Pullus. All in all, John of Salisbury had liked his youthful classes and classmates and had once thought that it would be pleasant to revisit the old friends he had left at the Mount and confer with them upon the old problems while also comparing notes and scholarly progress. Unfortunately, he found that no progress had been made since he had left... the same masters and the same learning.

50) Ioannis Saresberiensis *Entheticus*, vss. 42-54, *PL*, 199, col. 966; Translation by THORNDIKE, *University records*, p. 14.

51) *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, pp. 17-18, no. 19; THORNDIKE, *University records*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

52) *Chart. univ. Paris.*, *ibid.*, p. 18 : « ... Felix exilium, cui locus iste datur ».

53) E. SANDYS, *English Scholars of Paris and Franciscans of Oxford. Latin Literature of England from John of Salisbury to Richard of Bury*, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER, (Cambridge, 1932), I, p. 186.

John of Salisbury was not yet old enough to undergo the deepest pangs of nostalgia but, 1164, the year of his exile, would bring about profound changes in his personality.

« *A happy people who have such rectors* ».

Adam of Petit Pont was most certainly among those masters whom John of Salisbury found in Paris when he returned twelve years after he had begun his initial studies in that city upon the Mount of Ste. Geneviève. « I found the same men precisely where they had been previously » ⁵⁴). Regardless of some rather depreciatory statements made about him by John of Salisbury, Adam of Petit Pont had made a name for himself not only within the ranks of the Dialecticians but, according to recent researches, he appears to have busied himself with theological problems. He did not belong to those « word tricksters » who thought that Dialectics consisted basically of verbosity and so were condemned by John of Salisbury as being dolts who argued for the simple sake of argument ⁵⁵). Although John had realized that his friendship with Adam had been of a frank and open nature he was also aware that in his lectures to the students on the Petit Pont Adam withheld much of the pith of his knowledge ⁵⁶). It was no wonder then that Adam's students soon degenerated into a group of verbose sophists after having been deprived of a full understanding of Adam's doctrines ⁵⁷).

Adam was born at Balsham in England near Cambridge and studied under Mathew of Angers and Peter Abelard after his arrival in Paris. Later, as a Master of Arts, he lectured in a school situated near the Petit Pont. According to Gui de Bazoché, the Petit Pont had been appropriated by the Dialecticians who were often seen « pacing

54) *Metalogicon*, II, 10, (82. 13-18); THORNDIKE, *University Records*, op. cit., p. 14. « ... Inventi sunt qui fuerant et ubi; neque enim ad palmam usi sunt processisse... »

55) Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis *Policratici sive de Nvgis Civialium et vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*, (ed. C. C. I. WEBB, Oxford, 1909), Book VII, chap. XII, (136. 21 ff.). *Ibid.*, (139. 9-10) : « Multos videbis huiusmodi qui totum longo detinent sermone diem et nichil omnino dicunt aut minimum »; *Metalogicon*, II, 7, (72. 13 ff.); *Ibid.*, 72. 25-27 : « ... querentes semper, sed numquam ad scientiam peruenientes; et tandem conuertuntur ad uaniloquium... »; *Ibid.*, II, 8, (74. 22 ff.) : « Verba concinnant et continuant... »

56) *Metalogicon* II, 10, (81. 10-11) : « ... Putabatur enim inuidia laborare ».

57) *Polycrat.* VII, 12, (136. 24-5) : « Errant utique et impudenter errant qui philosophiam in solis uerbis consistere opinantur... »

back and forth upon it engrossed in their interminable discussions » ⁵⁸). Here Adam lectured on his treatise, *Ars Disserendi*, which was severely condemned by John of Salisbury ⁵⁹). The approximate date of its composition is 1132 ⁶⁰).

Adam became a canon at Paris in 1145 and his period of greatest activity in the field of theology began after this date. Heated theological discussions took place at that stronghold of the Dialecticans of the Petit Pont. John of Salisbury, a devotee of classical antiquity, was not, of course, in sympathy with this colony of « free lance Masters ». Nevertheless, I would not agree with Lloyd who said that Adam and his teaching had killed the Paris of Abelard ⁶¹). Adam's disciples were not, however, without their admirers. This may be illustrated by Walter of St. Victor's statement, « Happy people who have such rectors ! »

This same Walter of St. Victor gives a description of the various sects scattered throughout the Parisian schools in a poem dedicated to Stephen Tournai and written before 1191. He condemned the Nominalists and the Realists and Gilbert de la Porrée did not receive mercy from Walter's hand nor did Gilbert's followers who were mocked in turn as being « *Porri Condimenta* » (seasoning of the leek). The Masters of Petit Pont who, according to Walter, were currently popular did receive his approval. A venerable order of Seniors resided on the Bridge and were highly regarded because of the unimpeachable quality of its Rectors' doctrine and morals ⁶²).

In 1147, Adam of Petit Pont participated in the trial of Gilbert de la Porrée who had been accused heresy by Calo and Arnold Neverlaugh. Adam's actions in this trial were not favorably received by his contemporaries in Paris ⁶³). They acknowledged his proficiency in the true methods of argumentation, « *viros, magnos et in*

58) *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, 56, no. 54. « ... Pons autem Parvus aut pretereuntibus, aut spatiantibus, aut disputantibus logicis didicatus est ».

59) *Metalogicon* IV, 3, (167. 18-20) : « ... quo quidam uicio Anglicus noster Adam michi pre ceteris uisus est laborasse in libro quem *Artem Disserendi* inscripsit ».

60) P. FERET, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*, (Paris, 1894), I, p. 49. Ms. in BN, Paris : Ms. Lat. 14700.

61) R. LLOYD, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

62) *Hist. Litt. France*, (1869), XV, p. 84.

« Venerandus sedet hic ordo seniorum
Et doctrinae gratia proeminens est morum
Simplices erudiunt turbas populorum;
O beatus populus talium rectorum ».

63) *MGH*, (Pertz), SS., XX, p. 379.

disserendi exercitatos », but, they found that he had taken his oath prematurely.

After having spent twelve years in Paris, he rejoined his family in England. His parents called him *Adam de Balsham* as had been customary when he was a youth. Adam has left us a description of this in his treatise, *De Ustensilibus*, which was composed for Anselm. Here he used a highly descriptive vocabulary in telling of those things which he « saw when he returned from France to England » ⁶⁴). A cousin, noting that Adam's mother neglected to refer to him by his title of Master, once said to him :

You who are a native of England, born in Balsham of a family originally from Beverly and who has sojourned in Paris for a longer time than I would have wished, do you not think that it would be far more honorable for you to benefit from the paternal domain rather than from a modest salary ? ⁶⁵).

Adam, however, preferred the modest salary and swarms of eager students which he had found in Paris because of his great desire for intellectual fame and academic reputation. His followers are referred to in the *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi* as a zealous, gesticulating Masters. This would lead us to believe that at this time the French had no monopoly on the little theatrics of exposition which are today so contemptuously regarded by the English ⁶⁶).

64) P. MEYER, *Les Manuscrits français de Cambridge*. IV. Gonville et Caius College, in *Romania*, XXXVI, (1907), p. 487 : « ... Materia hujus opusculi sunt nomina diversa et exotica que, in redeundo a Gallia in Angliam, vidit, in notando res diversas ».

65) B. HAURÉAU, *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, (Paris, 1891), III, p. 212-213 : « Quid ergo, inquit... cum tu sis natione Anglicus, patria Balsamiensis, genere Belvacensis, mansione, jam diutiori quam voluisssem, Parisiensis, numquid alicubi rurale aedificium huic simile vidisti ? Nonne tibi, si fieri posset honestius judicares rure paterno frui quam salarii lucello addictum fuisses ? »

66) *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, (ed. by TH. WRIGHT, London, 1861), p. 28.

« Inter hos et alios in parte remota
Parvi Pontis incola, non loquor ignota
Disputabat digitis directis in jota
Et quaecumque dixerat erant per se nota ».

See also : R. L. POOLE, *The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's time*, in the *English Historical Review*, XXXV, (1920), p. 339.

By virtue of the testimony of Stephen of Tournai who was very familiar with the Parisian school life we possess evidence that Adam of Petit Pont was also engaged in the discussion of certain *Questiones* in theology. Mgr. Landgraf, Bishop of Bamberg, found several passages in a hitherto neglected collection of *Questiones* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford wherein Adam is quoted together with Peter Lombardus concerning the properties of the Father and the Son in the Holy Trinity ⁶⁷). I feel that when his respective works come to be subjected to a careful academic examination any superficial opinions about his verbal sophism will be altered and the charge that he « killed the Paris of Abelard » removed.

In 1175 or 1176, Adam became Bishop of Ashphalt ⁶⁸) and in 1179 he attended the council of Lateran where he rose to the defense of his former Master, Peter Lombard, saying, « *Domine Papa defendam sententiam Magistri* » (I defend the memory of my Master) ⁶⁹). His open friendship with John of Salisbury, his theological opinions which were quoted by Stephen of Tournai, his frankness and courage in the defense of his old master, all embellish his scholarly portrait.

« A Celebrated Name ».

Robert of Melun succeeded Abelard at the Mount of St. Geneviève. He founded the school whose disciples would flourish long thereafter ⁷⁰) and would eventually scandalize Walter of St. Victor at the end of the XIIth Century. Walter compared these stubborn Nominalists to rocks which remain insensible to the rain or the dew of doctrine. In short, Walter accused them of lending their support to a tissue of lies ⁷¹). The Master and his early adherents

67) Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C. 161, fol. 54. A. LANDGRAF, *Some unknown writings of the early Scholastic Period*, in *The New Scholasticism*, IV, (1930), p. 4-5 ff. « ... Nec concedit Magister Adam et dicit non concedere magistrum Petrum, quod Pater et Filius spirent Spiritum Sanctum, sed Spiritus Sanctus spirat ».

68) R. FOREVILLE, *L'Église et la royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet (1154-1189)*, (Paris, s. d., (1942), p. 385.

69) MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, XXII, p. 247.

70) R. J. RAYMUND MARTIN, *L'oeuvre théologique de Robert de Melun*, dans *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, XV, (1914-1920), pp. 456-489. See also Bibliographie du R. P. MARTIN in *Studia Mediaevalia in honorem Raymundi Josephi Martin*, (Bruges, s. d. (1948), no. 14; no. 18; no. 47; no. 55.

71) *Hist. Litt. France*, XV (1869) :

were not responsible for the dereliction of the later disciples. Robert of Melun was an eminent and sharp witted theologian who, according to his disciple, John of Salisbury, « won the glory of a great philosophy and an even more celebrated name » ⁷²⁾. One of the biographers of Thomas Becket tells us that he taught for more than forty years in Paris, lecturing on Dialectics and Theology. He was, apparently, one of those indigent English fellows, whom fame had favored ⁷³⁾. Though a disciple of Abelard's, Robert studiously avoided any action which could have been considered even slightly offensive to the Church ⁷⁴⁾.

De Wulf informs us in his *History of Mediaeval Philosophy* that Robert left no disciples ⁷⁵⁾. He did, however, leave some scholars behind him to carry on in his tradition who, although they did not completely adhere to his doctrines, were at least enrolled in his school and therefore subject to his indoctrination, Roger, bishop of Worcester was one of his pupils as is mentioned by Herbert of Bosham, his biographer ⁷⁶⁾. John of Cornwall also attended his lectures while he was in Paris as he states in the *Eulogium* which

« Haerent saxi vertice turbae Robertinae

.....

Quos nec rigat pluvia neque ros dictrinae :

Vetant amnis aditum scopulorum minae » (Fons Philosophiae).

72) *Metalogicon* II, 10 (79. 9; *Ibid.*, 20-21); THORNDIKE, *University Records*, *op. cit.*, 12.

73) *PL*, 190, col. 139. « ... Qui amplius quam quadraginta annos Parisius docuerat dialecticam et divinam paginam... ; *Ibid.*, col. 117 : « ... pauperes Angligenas quos fama celebrabat bonos... »

74) *Biogr. Brit. Lit.*, *op. cit.*, II, 200-201.

75) DE WULF, *op. cit.*, I, 203.

76) *PL*, 190, col. 1125 : « ... Accedamus ad alium Robertum nomine, cognomento de Meleduno et secularium et sacrarum litterarum in scholis magistrum praeclarum, ... cujus et ille sacerdos magnus, de quo proxime sermo, prius consecratus in scholis discipulus fuerat.

Robert of Crickelade, an Augustinian Prior, confirmed the fact that Roger of Worcester had studied under Robert of Melun. In his *Speculum Fidei* III, 5, he states that Roger once came into his hospice and, upon being asked with whom he was studying theology, he replied, « With Master Robert of Melun ».

— Meminit enim me domnum Rogerum, qui nunc est Wigornensis episcopus, venisse ad hospicium nostrum. Quem cum interrogassem apud quem in divina pagina studeret et respondisset : « Apud magistrum Robertum Meldunensem ». — « Perplacet » inquam, « timebam enim ne te teneret inviscatum hereticus ille ». R. W. HUNT, *English learning in the late twelfth century*, in *Transact. Royal Hist. Society*, 4th Ser. XIX (1936), p. 32 and 37.

was addressed to Alexander III ⁷⁷). John of Salisbury had Robert for a Master at St. Geneviève and possessed a very high opinion of him. At this time he could not foretell that Robert would later become an adherent of Henry II. After this took place, John seemed to forget his earlier enthusiasm and grew cold toward Robert saying that his name had become only a shadow ⁷⁸).

He was most certainly pleased when he received the plaudits of the Parisian scholars whom his example had incited to the love of letters upon his elevation to the bishopric of Hartford in 1163 ⁷⁹). John of Salisbury, John of Cornwall and Roger ⁸⁰) who became bishop of Worcester in 1164 had been in his classes.

Robert of Melun's memory did not fall into obscurity as John of Salisbury had predicted. Robert's opinions of the Eucharist are cited in a collection of *Questiones* made by Stephen of Tournai ⁸¹) and, on the whole, he belonged among those who gained an illustrious place in the history of letters on the Hill of St. Geneviève.

« *Robertus the Poor Man* ».

Robertus Pullus is remembered in the *Metamorphosis* as Amyclas (the Poor Man) ⁸²). During his teaching career, he preferred the asceticism of the schoolroom to the temptations of worldly glory. When Henry I offered him a bishopric he refused it as he was unwilling to abandon the simple life of study which he had previously led. He did not desire anything more or less than the lot of a simple and honorable Master. St. Bernard held him in the greatest respect and interceded for him with Bishop William of St. Thierry

77) *PL*, 199, col. 1055 : « ... Duos etiam venerabiles magistros quos in theologia nihil hereticum docuisse certissimum est, *Robertum* scilicet *Melidensem*, et *Mauricium* hodie *Parisiensem* episcopum... »

78) *PL*, 199, col. 183 : « ... Quid dicam de Herefordiensi nisi quod aliquandiu etsi non magni, steti alicujus nominis umbra, antequam sciretur quid esset... »

79) *PL*, 190, col. 687 : « ... spe non modica hilarati sunt auditores vestri tum universi scholares animati ad amorem litterarum... »

80) *PL*, 190, col. 1125; See also : *Hist. Litt. France*, IX (1868), p. 90. CHEVALIER, *Rép. BB*, II, 4051.

81) LANDGRAF, *Some unknown Writtings*, *op. cit.*, p. 3 ff.

82) MAPES, *Latin poems attributed to*, ed. TH. WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, p. 29, vs. 211-212.

« ... et Robertus amyclas simile secutus,
cum hiis quos pretereo, populus minutus ».

Cf. POOLE, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 341.

by asking the Bishop to allow Robert to remain in Paris ⁸³). John of Salisbury studied theology under him and found him to be « praiseworthy in life and learning alike » ⁸⁴). A commentary on the *Liber Sententiarum* mentions his name in connection with an explanation of the IVth book, Dist. 19, c. 1 ⁸⁵). It is strange that this doctrine could not be found among his *Sentences* but it is possible that Robert communicated it only through his lectures. Praepositinus also preserved his memory and directly connected Robertus's name with the Hill of St. Geneviève ⁸⁶).

He did not, however, stay long in Paris for he was called to Rome and made a Cardinal. When John of Salisbury went to Rome in 1146 he benefitted from his acquaintance with Robertus who, as Chancellor of the Roman Church, introduced him to the various Roman Dignitaries ⁸⁷).

Prepared to Submit to the Arbitration of the Parisian Scholars.

Becket was born in London in 1119 as the son of a London merchant. He went to Paris and probably remained in France together with John of Salisbury until around 1137. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, later sent him to Bologna where he studied Canon Law ⁸⁹). During the course of his ecclesiastical career he returned to Paris several times. In 1160, while serving as Chancellor under Henry II, he was sent to Paris on a diplomatic mission and, upon his arrival, he summoned together all the English Masters and students along with those *creditores* who gave hospitality to the scholars ⁹⁰). (The term *creditores* is not too clear but it quite possibly corresponds in denotation to the use of it above).

83) *PL*, 182, col. 372. Epist. CCV (533). « ... Quid peccavi ? Si monui magistrum Robertum Pullum aliquantum tempus facere Parisiis, ob sanam doctrinam quae apud illum esse dignoscitur... »

84) *Metalogicon* II, 10, (82. 8-9); THORNDIKE, *University Records*, *op. cit.*, 13.

85) Ms. Bamberg, Gov. Library, Cod. Patr. 128; LANDGRAF, *Some unknown Writings*, *op. cit.*, 14.

86) Ms. Toulouse, Cod. Lat. 159, fol. 159; LANDGRAF, *ibid.*, p. 14.

87) FOREVILLE, *L'Église*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

88) *PL*, 190, col. 111 : « ... Thomas adolescens factus studuit Parisiis ». See also : *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, (London, 1877), Rolls S., III, p. 14.

89) *Biogr. Brit. Litt.*, *op. cit.*, II, 204; FOREVILLE, *L'Église*, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

90) *PL*, 190, col. 121 : « ... Qua comitate suscepit scholares Parisienses et magistros scholarum et cives scholarium Angligenarum creditores, dicere non sufficio ».

The presence of the Chancellor was a congenial occasion for such a gathering of English scholars. It is possible that at a similar gathering Becket planted the seeds for a forthcoming stronger organization.

Becket's acquaintances among the Parisian scholars and Masters suggested that he submit his quarrel with Henry II to the arbitration of the members of the Paris schools ⁹¹). Henry II himself was quite willing to submit the dispute to the judgement of the scholars from the divers provinces ⁹²). According to Rashdall, we should not consider this use of the expression *Provinciis* as constituting proof for the existence of a Nation at this time. In a sense he is right but, it still remains to be proven that the *provincia* as used in this text might only be a term which designates the native land or *patria* and not intended to be taken in the sense of a diocese or any other minor unit of a greater territory ⁹³).

Another problem raises itself : Who would have selected the judges and administered this comity of scholars gathered from the various *provinciis* ? We cannot suppose that the King of England would have submitted himself to the mercy of a disorganized mass of Parisian scholars unless he was well assured that their functions would be carried out in an organized and judicious manner. There must then, have been some process of organization which might have done much toward the eventual formation of a full grown Nation ⁹⁴).

In any event, Thomas Becket most certainly maintained close relations with the Masters and scholars and he was not only entertained by their company but did his best to foster a friendly *esprit de corps* among his fellow expatriates.

Of those Englishmen who studied in Paris midway through the

91) *Chart. Univ. Paris*, I, p. 23, no. 21.

92) *Mathei Parisiensis Chronica Majore*, (ed. by H. R. Luard, London, 1874), II, p. 263. « ... paratus erat... judicium in palatio Parisiensi subire, Gallicana ecclesia, interponente partes suas, seu scolaribus diversarum provinciarum aequa lance negotium examinantibus ». Cf. H. DENIFLE, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten*, (Berlin, 1855), p. 85.

93) See art. of G. DUPONT-FERRIER, *Le sens des mots « Patria » et « Patrie » en France au Moyen Age et jusqu'au début du XVII^e s.*, dans *Revue Historique*, LXV (1940), p. 89-104. *Provincia* is synonymous to *Patria*, but still we find such an expression as « patriae ac provinciae regni », *Ibid.*, p. 90.

94) Concerning Rashdall's opinion, see : *Universities*, I, 294. See also : G. MEERSEMAN, *Les « nations » dans la province de France*, in *Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum*, VIII (1938), pp. 231-252. This article has been ignored by some modern research on the Nations.

XIIth Century, we may take note of *Ralph Diceto* and *John of Fantosme*. Diceto was a scholar of position whose origin is obscure and we are not certain whether he was actually English or born in France sometime between 1120 and 1130 ⁹⁵). He undoubtedly made the acquaintance of Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, during his first sojourn as a student in Paris and they probably studied together at St. Geneviève during this time. Arnulf became Bishop of Lisieux in due course and was a great benefactor of the Canons of St. Victor. Ralph Diceto interrupted his studies and returned to England to appear only once again in Paris (around 1155) ⁹⁶).

A miniature of a manuscript of Valenciennes represents Gilbert de la Porrée teaching his four disciples ⁹⁷). Among these was *John Fantosme*, a clerk of the Church of Winchester. We are not certain that he attended Gilbert's lectures in Paris; it is more probable that he came under his influence at Chartres. Gilbert seems to refer to him in self defense when he spoke about his disciples who, although they followed Gilbert's lectures, did not perfectly understand him. One of these, however, was highly skilled and later went to England ⁹⁸). We presume that this was John of Fantosme who became Chancellor and an intimate friend of John of Salisbury. Fantosme died in 1174.

III.

The congregation of *St. Victor* was founded by William of Champeaux, canon of Notre Dame de Paris, and a former student of Roscelin and Manegold of Lautenbach. William was considered

95) W. STUBBS, *Seventeen Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, (Oxford, 1887), p. 159.

96) *PL*, 201, col. 29. «... Audivi te causa studiorum Parisios advenisse, audivi et laetatus sum...». Cf. *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londoniensis opera historia*, (ed. W. STUBBS, London, 1876, Rolls S. I, p. xxi.

97) A. CLERVAL, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen Age*, Paris, s. d., 186.

98) M. G. H. (Pertz) *SS*, p. 524 : «... Fateor me plures habuisse discipulos, qui me quidem omnes audierunt, sed quidam minus intellexerunt, quod opinati sunt scripserunt de corde suo non de spiritu meo. Inter hos fuerunt duo pre ceteris insignes ex noto singularitatis, cerebrosus quidam qui adhuc moratur in Francia, et alius non minus cerebrosus qui transivit in Angliam ».

to be « rightly and by common repute, preeminent in his teaching ». Abelard was attracted to his school but later attacked him and quite possibly was instrumental in William of Chapeaux's forthcoming departure from the school ⁹⁹). William retired to St. Victor where, around 1109, he started a school which eventually produced several outstanding theologians. Some of these distinguished scholars later acquired the surname of St. Victor. According to Rashdall, this school at St. Victor did not play any part in the development of the University because the school had ceased to exist (or at least no longer attracted secular students) before the first traces of a University organization began to appear ¹⁰⁰). I believe that some modification must necessarily accompany our acceptance of this statement. The school of St. Victor and most especially the canons of that school did indeed play a great part in the formation of the University. The reform of St. Geneviève which had failed so many times before was at last completed by virtue of the the actions of the canons of St. Victor who opened a school within the monastery. This collegiate school appears to have been separated from the external school of the foregoing Masters but, both were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Chapter of Notre Dame. These facts are of primary importance in the history of the formation of the University. The school of St. Victor itself attracted students during the middle of the XIIth Century if we are to believe the letter of Laurent, a secular student, who at this time was studying under Hugh of St. Victor ¹⁰¹). Their special teaching continued to emphasize their belief that reason must pave the way to faith and that Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric led to the higher study of theology ¹⁰²).

St. Victor became the principal seminar of the mystics. Accord-

99) PL, 178, col. 115 ff. ABELARD, *Hist. Calamit.*, c. II.

100) RASHDALL, *Universities*, I, 275. On the school of St. Victor see : PH. DELHAYE, *L'organisation scolaire au XII^e siècle*, in *Traditio*, V (1947), p. 241 and ff.

101) B. BISCHOFF, *Aus der Schule Hugos von St. Victor*, in the *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters*. Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres, B. G. P. T. M. Spplm. III-1, (Münich, 1935), p. 250. « ... semel in septimana ad magistrum Hugonem tabellas reportabam ut ejus arbitrio si quid superfluum esset rescicaretur... »

102) B. HAURÉAU, *Histoire de la Philosophie scholastique*, (Paris, 1872), I, p. 506 :

« Quid tibi grammatica studioso parta labore,

Quid confert logica, quae certat laudis amore ?

Quid fert rhetorica vernante superba decore ?... »

ding to tradition, the following distich was written about the Abbey's gate.

The cloister is death to him who
Is not fitted for it,
And life for him who desires it.
Through the cloister you may reach
Heaven and Eden ¹⁰³).

« *Trough Divers Regions
And Various Provinces* ».

A scholar named *Achard* who came from Brindlington in the diocese of York arrived in Paris and took his place among the Canons of St. Victor. In their school at Paris he met Hugh of St. Victor whom he frequently quotes in his works ¹⁰⁴). After the death of the Abbot Gilduin in 1165, he was elected to succeed him by the assembled canons. John of Cornwall commemorated him in his *Eulogium* wherein he referred to Achard's treatise on the Trinity. A manuscript of the B. N. of Paris contains one of his sermons ¹⁰⁵).

It is probable that Praepostinus followed his lectures and it seems that he referred to him in his *Questiones*. Maurice, Bishop of Paris, examined the work of Peter Lombard following the demands of several interested persons and discovered some few errors. According to Praepostinus, *Master Pe* (without doubt Peter Comestor) and *Master A* (Achard) were in agreement with him on this matter ¹⁰⁶).

According to Achard's teaching, the peculiar merit of the rational faculties of the intellect stems from their respect for the purity of faith and upon their willingness to willingly follow it rather than to arrogantly march before it ¹⁰⁷). A certain frankness seems to dominate his style. This is illustrated by the open manner in

103) *Ibid.*, p. 507 :

« *Clastrum nolenti mors est, sed vita volenti.
Per claustrum sedem coeli mercaberis Eden* ».

William of Vaurouillon, *In. Sent. lib.*, IV, dist. 19.

104) *Hist. Litt. France*, XIII (1869), 453.

105) *PL*, 109, col. 1054; Paris, BN., 14520; LESNE, *op. cit.*, 263.

106) G. LACOMBE, *Prepostini Cancellarii parisiensis (1206-1210) Opera*, I, Bibl. Thomiste, vol. XI, Sect. Hist. X., Le Saulchoir, 1927, p. 9 note 1. « *Magistrum PE. et Magistrum A. non aliter cognovi circa predicta affirmare nisi quod dicebat sic in sententiis scriptum esse...* »

107) HAURÉAU, *Hist. Phil.*, *op. cit.*, 507-8.

which he reveals that he was often distracted when he tried to meditate. He confessed that his mind often wandered off over far away provinces and nebulous nations ¹⁰⁸).

It is my belief that we should not echo the severity with which Achard berated himself for the disquieting frequency and range of his flights of fancy. This agile woolgathering served only as a sublimation of the man's deep rooted nostalgia for his native land.

« *Who are you who persecute a great man after his death ?* »

Around 1158, Achard, along with Robert of Melun, witnessed the attack of Peter Lombard by one Robert of Crickelade, an Augustinian Canon who had studied in Paris and had participated in many animated discussions with Lombard's disciples. Robert proudly related in his *Speculum Fidei* (III, 5) that he had called Peter Lombard a deliberate heretic ¹⁰⁹).

One of Lombard's former disciples did not hesitate to reproach Robert for prosecuting the Master after his death and added that Robert had rather suspiciously avoided airing his arguments during Lombard's lifetime. Robert replied that he had accused Peter of heresy in his own city of Paris where he was teaching at the time.

This Robert of Crickelade also congratulated a fellow countryman, Roger of Worcester, for not having studied under Lombard and thereby eluding that Master's net ¹¹⁰).

The *Scottish Richard of St. Victor* along with Andrew, an English canon of St. Victor, was among the students of Hugh of St. Victor. Richard, who became subprior in 1159 and prior in 1163 under the Abbot Achard, had a great popularity among his Insular friends. One of these, the Abbot of St. Alban, asked him for a list of his works in order that England might benefit from his learning ¹¹¹).

108) BN, Ms. Lat. 14948, fol. 76. « Curiositas et inquietudo spiritus mei; qui, cum deberet intus quiescere domique residere et his que Dei sunt vacare, foris vagatur mobilis et instabilis... per diversas regiones variasque provincias nunc ad bella hæc, nunc ad illa ducitur nec reducitur ». HAUREAU, *Notices et extr., op. cit.*, III, 50-51.

109) De hoc quod auctor hujus libri Parisius perpendinans publice Petrum hereticum denominavit... HUNT, *English learning, loc. cit.*, p. 37; See also J. CHATILLON, *Achard de Saint Victor et les controverses christologiques du XII^e siècle*, in *Mélanges offerts au R. P. Ferdinand Cavallera*, Toulouse, 1948, p. 322.

110) Immo audebam, dico, et in sua civitate, id est Parisius, ubi docebat, hereticum eum esse patenter pronuntiabam. HUNT, *English learning, loc. cit.*, p. 37.

111) FERET, *op. cit.*, I, 121. « scientiæ vestræ thesauro Anglia nostra resplendeat ».

Richard helped to orientate the newly arrived Insulars as they began their courses of Parisian study. Garin of St. Alban, at one time between 1162-63, thanked him for helping his brother *Mathew* when the latter had taken a trip to France for the « love of sciences » ¹¹²).

He was orthodox in every point of view and he did not hesitate to denounce and to correct the weaknesses of his countryman Andrew who was one of those canons who had been sent to the Abbey of St. Geneviève. Richard composed his *Emmanuel* for the purpose of setting forth the Christian point of view in reference to the interpretation of certain passages from Isaiah, notably : « *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium* ». Richard of St. Victor did not find Andrew's comment to be satisfactory. He considered it « less correct » and discovered somewhat debatable statements within its text ¹¹³). Richard's *Emmanuel* was intended to be a polemic against the Jews who had refused to acknowledge the text of Isaiah to be a prophecy regarding the Incarnation of the Son of God ¹¹⁴).

He was adamantly merciless in his denunciation of those who were « more ashamed of a barbarism slipping from their tongues than of an elegantly phrased lie and were more concerned with the rules of Priscian than of the Gospel » ¹¹⁵).

The objections of Andrew, his English opponent, may be found in a XIVth Century manuscript in the Arsenal Library at Paris.

Richard was also at odds with another of his countrymen over an administrative question. Backed by Alexander III, he instigated a break from the careless administration of *Ernisius*, Abbot of St. Victor ¹¹⁶).

Achard, Richard of St. Victor, and Andrew who were all outstanding scholars of the School of St. Victor contributed to the overall prestige of the English among the other foreign scholars in Paris and prepared the way for the eventual insular supremacy when the time arrived for the formation of the Nations.

112) Chart. I, p. 39-40, no. 36.

113) *Hist. Litt. France*, XIII, 119. Cf. on André : *Gallia Christ.*, VII, 712.

114) *Hist. Litt. France*, XIII, *Ibid.*, p. 480.

115) *Benjamin Minor* is the explanation of the 69th verset of the Ps. 67th. Cf. *Hist. Litt. France*, *Ibid.*, p. 477; The *Objectiones Andreae secundum quod Judaei solent nobis opponere de nostro Emmanuele* is in the *Arsenal Ms. 550*, fol. 37. See FERET, *op. cit.*, I, 119).

116) FERET, *op. cit.*, I, 120.

IV.

« *Multis eorum lectionibus et disputationibus interfui* ».

John of Cornwall was a native of St. Germans who studied in Paris under Peter Lombard, Maurice of Sully and Robert of Melun ¹¹⁷). He informed us that he was present along with other auditors when Peter Lombard protested against some false accusation by exclaiming, « With God's will I shall never assert anything but what the Catholic faith approves ! » ¹¹⁸). John of Cornwall was personally acquainted with Alexander III to whom he dedicated his *Eulogium* which was a treatise written in opposition to the teachings of Gilbert de la Porrée and against all ¹¹⁹) those who asserted that the humanity of Christ was a mere garment within which the Divine Word was hidden ¹²⁰). He had great respect for his fellow countrymen Robert of Melun and Maurice of Sully, Bishop of Paris, although he confessed that he was not familiar with their writings. He did however, faithfully attend their lectures and disputes and followed them in their attack against those who, « *De Homine Assumpto* » argued falsely about the humanity of Christ ¹²¹). Robert of Melun, St. Bernard, Achard, and Maurice of Sully represented orthodox authority to John ¹²²). Giraldus Cambrensis refers to him twice and acknowledges his capacities therein ¹²³).

By virtue of this loquacity of Giraldus Cambrensis's, we have been enabled to look into John of Cornwall's classes and get a vivid picture of the student life in this time. To illustrate the ignorance of a hapless clerk, Giraldus told the story of a student

117) *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, *op. cit.*, X, p. 875; *Dict. Théol. Catholique*, VIII, pars I, p. 756.

118) *PL*, 199, col. 1053 : « ... nec unquam Deo volente, erit assertio mea, nisi quae fuerit fides catholica... »

119) *Biogr. Brit. Script.* II, 216 : « ... Quoniam itaque infiniti scholares hoc calice debriati et in furorem versi... »

120) *PL*, 199, col. 1046.

121) *PL*, 199, col. 1055 C.

122) *Dict. Théol. Catholique*, VIII-1, p. 756.

123) *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera II, Gemma Ecclesiastica*, (ed. J. S. Brewer., London, 1862), Rolls s. p. 343. (*Gemma Eccl. Dist. II, chap. 35*). — GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *Invectio Libellus*, Book V, chap. 8, (ed. J. S. BREWER, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Vol. I, (London, 1861), p. 133.

who had encountered some difficulties while reading the Bible and asked his Master, John of Cornwall, the question, « Who was this man, Busillis ? » The student had thought that *Busillis* was the proper name of a king or some other important personage. John asked the student to show him the spot in Scripture where he had encountered the name and the student, producing a Missal, showed John the words IN DIE at the bottom of a column and the word BUS ILLIS at the top of another. John told the student that he would publicly answer his question on the following day.

The words, of course, combine to make the very logical phrase, IN DIEBUS ILLIS, and so, when the student publicly repeated his question the next day, he was greeted by gales of laughter. Thus John of Cornwall emphasized the shame which falls upon an ignorant clerk ¹²⁴).

« His voice drew such a gathering ».

Giraldus Cambrensis, a passionate lover of Paris and another of those chroniclers who left us a vivid description of the Parisian schools and English scholars, was born at the Castle of Manorbrier in Pembrokeshire, the « Sweetest spot in Wales », around 1147 or 1148 ¹²⁵). As a young man he was not without charm. When he met the old English poet, Serlo of Wilton, in the house of Archbishop Baldwin, at that time Cistercian Abbot, the old poet looked at him and murmured, « Is it possible that youth which is so fair can die ? ». Giraldus later confessed with his customary modesty, « I was a young man of extraordinary charm » ¹²⁶).

While still young, he made three journeys to Paris where, as he informs us in his book, *De Rebus a Se Gestis*, he studied liberal arts under the most outstanding Masters ¹²⁷). He himself lectured on the Trivium and acquired a great reputation in the field of Rhetoric. He tells us that he was most assiduous in his studies and never permitted any distraction to keep him from his lectures. He also maintained that his professors pointed him out as a model of the scholarly ideal ¹²⁸). He paid several visits to Rome but could not

124) GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, II, 35. Ed. Brewer, II, 343.

125) *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, VII, 1269.

126) *Speculum Ecclesiae*, II, 33. Ed. BREWER, IV, p. 104. Cf. WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

127) *De Rebus a se gestis*, Book I, chap. 2. Ed. BREWER, I, 23.

128) *Ibid.*, « quotiens de bonis scolaribus doctores artium exemplificare vellent, Giraldum prae ceteris omnibus nominarent ».

obtain the bishopric of St. David which was a post he ardently desired. In 1176, his ambition thwarted, he returned to his beloved Paris where he devoted himself to the study of canon law and theology. It was his desire to « raise up the wall of the laws and the canons on the foundation of the Arts and literature ». Therefore, Giraldus tried to enhance his exposition of the Decretals with all the persuasions of Rhetoric he had at his command ¹²⁹). It may well be that he was aware of the anxiety of Master Mainerius who had been one of Abelard's favorite pupils and who numbered Giraldus among his auditors : « The Law shall kill the study of Letters » ¹³⁰).

Giraldus left a very colorful account of his studies during this period and tells us therein that he acquired a measure of fame among the Masters and students in Paris because of both the soundness of his arguments and the charm of his voice.

He applied his efforts first to the Imperial and then to the Pontifical constitutions and finally to the Holy Scriptures. He won such popularity by his exposition of the Decretals which he was accustomed to deliver on Sundays that, on the day upon which it was known in the city that he desired to discourse, the pleasure of listening to his voice drew such a gathering of almost all the teachers together with their scholars that scarce the largest hall could contain his audience. He reasoned on Civil and Canon Law in such a lovely fashion... that... they were so drawn and charmed by the sweetness of his words that they hung upon his lips as he spoke his discourse, no matter how long and protracted it might be... Wherefore, numbers of students used to take

129) *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Book II, chap. 1, Ed. BREWER, I, p. 45 : « ... congestis librorum thesauris in Franciam transfretare seque Parisius denuo studiis elegantioribus totis desideriis applicare curavit... »

130) *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Dist. II, chap. 37. Ed. BREWER, II, 349. « ... magistrum Mainerium in auditorio scholae suae Parisius dicentem, et damna sui temporis plangentem audiui, vaticinium illud Sibillae vere... « Venient dies et vae illis, quibus leges obliterabunt scientiam literarum ».

down his lectures word by word just
as they fell from his lips and strove
with great eagerness to take them
to heart 131).

On a certain day, a Norman Master, Roger, who became Dean of Rouen, « a famous doctor who had read at Paris in the Arts and studied for a long time at Bologna in the Laws », rose from the multitude of the scholars amid the praise and applause of all and burst out as follows : « There is no knowledge under the sun which, brought to Paris, does not acquire incomparable strength and an excellence which may not be found elsewhere in the world ». When he discussed the question of whether « a judge should give judgement according to what is alleged by witness or according to his own conscience », a Canon of Paris, the son of the Castel of Montmorency and a man of noble birth, came to see Giraldus and asked him, « how many years he had given to the study of the Laws and Canons at Bologna ? » When Giraldus informed him that he had studied exclusively in Paris and for only three years, he departed « marveling much » ¹³²). Giraldus continued his teaching giving two lectures daily, one on the Distinctions and one dealing with special cases.

In relation to the departure of his Master, Mathew of Anjou, whose Parisian lectures he attended, Giraldus left an interesting description of the early manner of conferring degrees and permissions to teach. Mathew warmly recommended Giraldus to his former students and praised his talents highly ¹³³).

In 1179, Giraldus was still teaching canon law but soon afterwards he returned to England. He had been a shrewd and attentive observer of the scholarly life and, in spite of all his boasting and bombast, he was a man of high ideals. He was quite validly concerned with solid and substantial learning and was therefore merciless in his denunciation of those who looked for a facile and

131) *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Book II, chap. 1. Ed. BREWER, I, 45-46. Cf. Translation of H. L. BUTLER, *The autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, London, 1937, 37.

132) *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Book II, chap. 2. Ed. BREWER, I, 46-48. BUTLER, *op. cit.*, 65 and ff. « ... et cum ab ipso audierit, quod Parisius tantum operam huic studio per triennium indulerit, cum admiratione recessit... »

133) *Ibid.*, BREWER, p. 48. « magister Matthaeus Andegavensis, quem in legibus et decretis tunc audiebat, vocatus a papa Alexandro III... a sociis in auditorio suo licentiam accipiens, quatinus magistrum Giraldum loco ipsius auditorem et preceptorem haberent cum multa ipsius commendatione monuit... »

superficial success. In his work, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, he tells us that Ralph of Beauvais had divided the students into three groups; the *pannosi* or those who merely desired a skin deep superficial sort of learning, the *superseminati* who abjured the study of sound authors and moved from Donatus and Cato to the divine and human laws without a careful and studied transition, and finally the real scholars, the *a fundamento massati* who were content to carefully follow the long path which lead to the possession of a superior learning ¹³⁴).

He gave some very amusing details about those superficial scholars who returned boasting from Paris and flashily exhibited their paltry knowledge when they where not even conversant with the most elementary rules of Latin Grammar.

He bitterly derided the logicians who expected to gain renown through simply toying with definitions and tells the story of a student who returned to England after five years of study and wanted to prove to his father that the six eggs which they were to have for breakfast were actually twelve in number. The father noticed that his son had apparently applied himself to the mastery of logical legerdemain instead of literary studies but nevertheless allowed the son to prove by his art that there were twelve eggs instead of six.

The son did this by placing the eggs in two rows and counting in both directions. The father was duly impressed and then took six eggs for his own plate telling his son that he might have the remaining six. A short time after this, the son was reprimanded and sent back to Paris where he confined his studies to the realm of literature ¹³⁵). Giraldus sceptically exclaimed of these scholars, « though there is much subtlety there is little utility » ¹³⁶).

When Giraldus was in Paris he studied part of the time under Peter Manducator, Mainierius, Abelard's beloved son, and William of Mont ¹³⁷). These three years in Paris were full of important

134) *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Dist. II, chap. 37. Ed. BREWER, II, p. 348-350.

135) *Ibid.*, BREWER, p. 350 : « ... et sic filium tam facete delusum et vanis ac frivolis studuisse deprehensum Parisius, non ad reticulatas logicorum argutias, sed ad litteraturam totis nisibus addiscendam iterato remisit ».

136) *Ibid.*, BREWER, p. 356 : « ... etsi aliqua forte subtilitas, nulla tamen prorsus utilitas ».

137) Concerning Peter Manducator : *Gemma Eccl.*, Dist. II, chap. 6. Ed. BREWER, II, p. 187; *Ibid.*, BREWER, p. 349 : « magistrum Mainerium in auditorio scholae suae Parisius dicentem ». See note 128.

events and Giraldus left an account of some of them. One night, for instance, he was awakened by a tremendous clamor, bells were ringing, the streets were ablaze with torches and swarming with crowds and the general commotion was so great that he thought the city was menaced by fire. When he leaned out the window and inquired after the reason for all this frantic excitement, two Frenchmen, referring to the birth of Philip Augustus (1165) screamed back at him, « We have a king and heir to our kingdom who will bring disaster to your England ! » ¹³⁸).

When he returned to England in 1184 he was made one of Henry II's chaplains and accompanied the King's son on an expedition into Ireland where he spoke at the Council of Dublin. In 1187, he preached to the Welsh who were, for the most part, unable to understand the French and Latin in which he addressed them. The fervor of his delivery, however, drew tears from their eyes and sent scores of them to take the cross ¹³⁹).

It is not my task to write about his life in England. I simply want to point out that in Giraldus's ecclesiastical life he incurred difficulties with his former Parisian schoolmates. During the course of his altercation with the Bishop of St. Asaph, he skirted excommunication by that dignitary even though they had been Parisian schoolfellows. Eventually, however, the two became friends « for old acquaintances sake » ¹⁴⁰).

Later, in 1191, he prepared to go back to France but, the war between Richard and Philip broke out as had been prophesied years before by the two Frenchman. He then repaired to Lincoln where he studied under William Du Mont, his former Master in Paris ¹⁴¹). *William*, a native of Leicester and Canon of Lincoln, had spent his academic youth in Paris where Giraldus had come

138) GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *De Principis Instructione*, Dist. III, chap. 25. Ed. G. F. WARNER, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, (London, 1891), VIII, p. 292.

139) *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Book II, chap. 18. Ed. BREWER, I, p. 76 : « ... cum archidiaconus lingua tantum Gallica loqueretur et Latina, quod non minus vulgares qui neutram linguam noverant... »

140) *Ibid.*, Book I, chap. 6. Ed. BREWER, I, 34 : « ... Alioquin ipsum, licet invitus, quia Parisius olim socii fuerant et conscolares, excommunicaret... » and *Ibid.*, Ed. BREWER, I, p. « ... Rogavit etiam, quod sicut olim in Francia socii fuerant boni... »

141) *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Book III, chap. 3. Ed. BREWER, I, p. 93 : « ... propter quod eundi in Franciam securitas ei nulla patebat; ... sub doctore peroptimo magistro Willelmo de Monte dicto, quoniam in monte S. Genovefae Parisiis legerat, quem etiam ibi archidiaconus tunc noverat, studii causa Lincolniam adivit ».

under his influence sometime prior to 1172 ¹⁴²). He received the praise of Alexander Neckam in his *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae* wherein he was referred to as *Montanus*, the stable mountain and pillar of the faith. The nickname *Montanus* had its origin in the fact that William had taught at the Mount of St. Geneviève ¹⁴³). After living some time in Paris, William was appointed Chancellor of Lincoln.

When Giraldus encountered William in Lincoln, it is quite certain that he remembered the teachings of an old priest who had once told him that a man should withdraw from the stream of life and contemplate the eternal values. Giraldus could not then return to the disputes and applauding crowds of Paris and so, it may be that he came to realize the value of the old priest's teaching that one's opponent should be ignored and that the good life was to be found by sitting quietly in corner reading a book and enjoying one's own company which was the best ¹⁴⁴).

« *I Was a small of the Petit Pont* ».

Alexander Neckam, the possessor of an encyclopedic mind and a broad interest in the Liberal Arts, was born in 1157 and probably arrived in Paris around 1180 ¹⁴⁵). In his poem, the *Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, he hailed Paris as the center of all the arts and sciences. Whatever the Athenians, the Chaldeans, or the Romans had taught, Paris received and augmented it and so became a veritable fountain of doctrine ¹⁴⁶).

142) *Biogr. Brit. Lit.*, II, 463.

143) ALEXANDER NECKAM, *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, Dist. V, vss. 835-848. Ed. TH. WRIGHT, *Alexandri Neckam de « Naturis Rerum libro duo »* with the poem of the same author « *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae* », London, 1863, p. 460.

« ...

Montanus sed mons stabilis fideique columna

Cui se coelestis pagina tota dedit.

Montanus, meritis, pius et servator honesti

Veraque simplicitas digna favore fuit.

Contulit huic primam cathedram Genovefa... » vss. 839-43.

144) *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Dist. II, chap. 37. Ed. BREWER, II, 350.

145) CH. H. HASKINS, *The renaissance of the twelfth century*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 134-5.

146) *De Laudibus Dinivae Sapientiae*, Dist. III, vss. 807-818. Ed. WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, 414.

« Quidquid Roma potens tradidit atque Pharus,

Accepit, docuit urbs haec, feliciter auxit;

Hic fons doctrinae semper abundat aquis » vss. 807-810.

It is probable that Neckam attached himself at an early date to the school of Petit Pont in the structure of which he became a « small pillar ». After studying and teaching the Arts, he turned to the study of Scripture and followed lectures in Canon Law. He also familiarized himself with Galen and Hippocrates. Neckam appears to have been a universal scholar who described the full circle of science. He was also another of those articulate witnesses whose testimony would seem to indicate that in his time, around 1180, the Four Faculties were already forming or had been formed in Paris. He spoke about the Arts, Sacred Lecture, Canon Law, Civil Law and Galen who implies medicine. These were the origin of the four disciplines which would form the four faculties of the University ¹⁴⁷). He spoke enthusiastically of an « honest society » *honesta societas* which is manifestly related to the formation of a society of the Masters and students.

Neckam did not consider Rhetoric to be a discipline in itself and was not numbered among those who argued for the simple sake of argumentation. He appreciated Rhetoric as a means of persuasive defense against the rationalists and sceptics of his time. In connection with this he would often relate a story concerning a certain scholar of Paris who, by means of Rhetoric, had been convinced of the final resurrection at the Last Judgement. After telling this story, Neckam would take the opportunity to praise the *honest society* of the Parisian scholars ¹⁴⁸).

In his two principal writings, *De Natura Rerum* and *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, there are many allusions to his stay in Paris and

147) *Ibid.*, Dist. X, vss. 331-340. Ed. WRIGHT, p. 503.

« Hortarer te Parisius partesque remotas

Visere, sed terret me maris unda tumens.

Vix aliquis locus est dicta mihi notior urbe,

Qua Modici Pontis parva columna fui.

Hic artes didici docuique fideliter, inde

Accessit studio lectio sacra meo.

Audiui canones, Hippocratem, cum Galieno,

Jus civile mihi displicuisse neges » Vss. 330-338.

148) *De Naturis Rerum*, Book II, chap. 173. Ed. WRIGHT, p. 297 : « Audi etiam quantum valet rhetorica persuasio. Scholaris igitur quidam, laborans Parisius in extremis, asseruit se nunquam crediturum esse resurrectionem futuram... »

Accessit ad eum socius fidelis, conveniens eum talibus... Hac audita allegatione, credidit scholaris, et credens diem clausit extremum. O res commendabilis, honesta societas !

to his love for that city which was for him a happy paradise ¹⁴⁹). However, around 1180, he returned to England possessed of a great fund of scientific knowledge and became Canon then Abbot of Cirencestre. He said farewell of the *honesta societas* of the English scholars who, at this time, should have been grouped into a loose tribe.

Like Adelard of Bath, *Daniel of Morlay*, had absented himself from England for many years in the pursuit of learning. He had spent the early part of his youth at Paris where he was apparently engaged in the study of Roman Law. However, he soon became disgusted with Parisian learning and in his preface to his *Liber de Naturis inferiorum et superiorum* he spoke sarcastically of « *brutes bestiales* » who, « with grave authority », occupied professorial chairs and pored over codices which were far too heavy to carry. Daniel decided that their dignified and statuesque silence was a mere cloak for an incredible ignorance that became evident in all its childishness when they spoke. Shortly after this discovery Daniel hastened to Spain where he might acquire Arabic learning and listen to « wiser philosophers » ¹⁵¹).

« *Subtiles Sensu Considerat Anglos* ».

Nigel Wireker, the witty author of *Speculum Stultorum*, was one of those contemporaries who left us precious information concerning the English scholars in Paris during the XIIth Century. *The Speculum Stultorum* is a history of the adventures of a donkey called Brunellus who represents the personification of human ambition. The ass, Brunellus, anxious to have a longer tail (higher dignities) decides to go to Paris. Upon his arrival he searches for hospices as John of Salisbury and so many English scholars had done before him ¹⁵²).

149) *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, Dist. III, vss. 797 ff. Ed. WRIGHT, p. 413.

« *Secana Parisius geminos divisus in arcus* ».

..... »

150) HASKINS, *Studies*, *op. cit.*, p. 113-129.

151) L. THORNDIKE, *A history of Magic and experimental science during the first thirteen centuries*, (New York, 1929), II, p. 171-173.

152) *Bibl. Brit. Lit.*, II, 354-55.

« *Parisius subeunt, hospitiumque petunt*.

.....

Inde scolas adiens... »

Stephen Langton, a Master in Paris between 1185 and 1206, made allusion in one of his sermons to these hospices situated along the Rue St. Jacques. The proprietors of the hospices in this street apparently advertised excellent beds but, when the « travellers went to bed they found them to be nothing but straw » ¹⁵³).

After having procured lodgings, Brunellus could not decide which school would be the most profitable for him. Finally, because he thought the English scholars to be the most subtle, he decided to associate himself with them. These English scholars had charming voices and graceful features and were provided with much talent as well as a contempt for parsimony. They liked good food and their drinking knew no bounds ¹⁵⁴). A XIVth Century poem states that « the Normans sing, the English drink, and the Germans eat ». This convivial reputation had already been firmly established by the English expatriates in XIIth Century Paris ¹⁵⁵).

It is curious to compare Nigel's description of a drinking party with that of John of Hauteville who, in his *Architrenius* ¹⁵⁶), gave a vivid picture of the English scholars' wassail which continued until the participants rolled under the table and which was interspersed with much clinking of glasses and crying of, « Wesheil ! ». These convivial gatherings were the origin of the festivals of the English Nation which consisted of fraternal drinking in an appointed tavern after the initiations of the Masters and other occasions.

Returning of Nigel's Brunellus, it seems that the donkey proved himself an inept scholar and so, left Paris. Nigel dedicated this poem to William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely ¹⁵⁷).

153) FR. POWICKE, *Stephen Langton*, (Oxford, 1928), p. 44. « Sic hospites in via beati Jacobi ostendunt lectos pulcherrimos set cum dormitum vadunt peregrini nihil reperiunt nisi poleam » Ms. Magdalen College, Ms. 168, fol. 60.

154) *Bibl. Brit. Lit.*, II, 354-55.

« Inde scolas adiens...

Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos,

Pluribus ex causis se sociavit eis.

Moribus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti

Ingenio pollent consilioque vigent ».

155) H. DENIFLE, E. CHATELAIN, *Auctarium Chart. Univ. Paris*, I. (Paris, 1894), Intr. 56. « Cantat Normannus, bibit Anglicus, est Alemannus ».

156) F. J. E. RABY, *A history of Christian-Latin poetry from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1927, pp. 337-8.

157) John of Hauteville also gave an insight into the various scenes of the student life in his *Architrenius*, finishing his book on a superlative elege of Paris. *Hist. litt. France*, XIV, (1869), p. 573.

He Purveyed the Arts In Paris.

Another of the XIIth Century English poets who studied in Paris was *Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, the author of a metrical Latin treatise. Geoffrey had a rival in Paris, one Robert, who intrigued against him and so, in his own defense, Geoffrey wrote his *Causa Magistri Gaufredi Vinsauf* wherein he made many artful allusions to both Paris and Robert. Paris was for him the center of the Arts and the storehouse of the nourishing bread of learning ¹⁵⁸).

Geoffrey was also enamoured of Rome. The poem, *Nova Poetria*, dedicated to Innocent III gives free and lyrical expression to Geoffrey's feeling of joy at entering Rome which he compares to entering heaven or going from darkness into light ¹⁵⁹).

« *Publicam Lego, Clam do* ».

Serlo of Wilton, an English Master, poet and artist whose spectacular conversion shook many a conscience around and about the Parisian taverns, reached his ascendancy during the second half of the XIIth century. As a distinguished Master, he had difficulties with the Chancellor of Paris who, in spite of the decree of Alexander III, exacted an exorbitant fee from the Masters for the privilege of teaching. Serlo addressed a poem to the King of France in which he exposed the grafting Chancellor who had obliged him to furtively pay for the right to teach publicly. He implored Louis VII to suppress this abuse and to restore the freedom granted by the Papal decree ¹⁶⁰).

« Parrhisius, Cyrrha viris, Chrysaea metallis
Graeca libris, Inda studiis, Romana poetis,
Attica terra sophis, mundi rosa balsamus orbi ».

158) E. FARAL, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle*, (Paris, 1923), p. 17 :

« ... rabies tota Robertus erat
Parisius socium, sed ibi et prebuit hostem ».

Ibid., 228 :

« ... Parisius dispensat in artibus illos
Panis unde cibatur robustos. Aurelianus
Educat in cunis auctorum lacte tenellos ».

159) *Biogr. Brit. Lit.*, II, 399.

« Me transtulit Anglia Romam
Tanquam de terris de coelum; Transtulit ad vos
De tenebris velut ad lucem ».

160) B. HAURÉAU, *Notices et Extraites*, I, 311 :

Prior to 1171, Serlo taught the Trivium in Paris. He composed an abbreviated grammar for his students of which we possess the preface written in verse. The body of his poetry gives us a great deal of information about his life ¹⁶¹).

One day he came upon a student lying on his deathbed and Serlo requested this student to return to the world after death in order that he might describe the fires of Purgatory. Apparently the scholar fulfilled his promise for it is said that he reappeared before Serlo bowed beneath the weight of a parchment cape which was as heavy as the tower of St. Germain and had all the sophism of the schools inscribed upon it. A drop of his sweat fell upon Serlo's hand and burnt it to the bone. So, the Master received a most graphic demonstration of the intensity of the fires of Purgatory ¹⁶²).

It may be that this pious exemplum had some connection with Serlo's precipitate flight from Paris. He became a monk and later entered the Abbey of Charity on the Loire. According to E. Faral, Serlo did not abjure the composition of profane verse after his conversion ¹⁶³). Giraldus saw him later when this gaunt old Cistercian had become Abbot and was apparently given to nostalgically dwelling upon the memories of his wild and sceptical youth ¹⁶⁴). Walter Map also encountered him and embodied some of his reminiscences in the book, *Courtiers' Trifles* ¹⁶⁵).

« Many are Making Progress Under Your Mastership ».

Gerard la Pucelle taught in Paris with some interruption from 1162 to 1180. Herbert of Bosham, one of the writers of life of Thomas Becket, stated that Becket had granted Gerard the first ecclesiastical benefice ¹⁶⁶). It seems then, that Gerard arrived in

« Nec loquor istud ego, dono scolasque rego.

Tractamur misere, dare cogimur atque tacere;

.....

Ergo tibi mando, rex summe, palam lego, clam do;

Sed decreta vetant; hoc peto ne qua petant ».

161) E. FARAL, « Le ms. latin 3718 de la B. N. », *Romania* XLVI (1920), p. 255 ff.

162) RABY, *op. cit.*, 340.

163) FARAL, *Ibid.*, p. 269.

164) GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, II, 33. Ed. BREWER, IV, 104 ff.

165) GUALTERI MAPES, *De Nugis Curialium*. Ed. TH. WRIGHT, (Camden Soc., 1850), Dist. II, chap. 4, p. 70-71.

166) PL, 190, 1287.

Paris after Becket became Archbishop. John of Salisbury was on friendly terms with Gerard and addressed several letters to him concerning Gerard's stay in Cologne ¹⁶⁷).

Gerard had previously been established in Cologne where he had accepted benefices from the schismatic Archbishop but, after the intervention of the Archbishop of Mainz, he resigned all his benefices and quickly regained the favor of the Pope ¹⁶⁸). We find his signature on a charter issued in Paris between 1173 and 1179 ¹⁶⁹).

He was held in great esteem by the ecclesiastical authorities and his fellow Masters. Peter, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, referred to him in a letter addressed to Alexander III as a distinguished man of letters, « *discretus et literatus* » ¹⁷⁰). The Pope himself apparently echoed this opinion for he issued two bulls restoring the benefices which Gerard had left in England and Germany. Alexander III also recognized the high degree of scholastic ability which Gerard's pupils had attained by virtue of his direction ¹⁷¹). He was given the privilege of non-residence provided that he would continue to lecture in the schools and he was not obliged to return to his previous benefices unless he might be given a more important benefice or ecclesiastical dignity. He had many friends in France and Paris; Peter Blois with whom he occasionally functioned as an official witness to the signing of charters ¹⁷²), Simon of Tournai who taught with him at the Hill of St. Geneviève, and Praepostinus who quoted him in his *Summa* ¹⁷³).

Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, proffered him an invitation to return to England which Gerard promptly accepted and eventually became attached to the Archbishop's household. On the 25th of September, 1183, he was elected Bishop of Coventry. In quoting

167) *PL*, 199, col. 192; col. 199; col. 219.

168) *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, pp. 9-10, n. 11.

169) *LESNE, op. cit.*, p. 237, who quotes *Cart. de Paris*, 519, p. 429.

170) *PL*, 200, col. 1371.

171) *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, p. 9, no. 10. Febr. 7, 1178 : « ...sub magisterio tuo multi per Dei gratiam proficiant in scientia litterarum... »

172) *JAFFÉ-LOEWENFELD* no. 13039.

173) J. WARICHEZ, *Les disputationes de Simon de Tournai*, (Louvain, 1932), quotes the Cartulary of Ste Geneviève where Simon of Tournai is mentioned with Gerard la Pucelle. Cf. *Chartularium Univ. Paris.*, I, p. 45, note 1, no. 45. Praepostinus quotes Gerardus : M. BERGERON, *Le concept latin de personne*, in *Etudes d'Histoire Littéraire et Doctrinale du XIII^e siècle*, (Paris, 1932), II, p. 148. Cf. *Summa*, ms. Paris, B.N. 14526, fol. 3c.

him, the author of the *Summa Decreti Lipsiensis* acknowledged his elevation to this dignity ¹⁷⁴).

He excelled not only in the Arts and Theology but in Canon Law and was called upon several times to settle disputes and juridical cases. John of Salisbury encouraged him by letter to denounce without fear anything in the Church which he might have judged reprehensible ¹⁷⁵). Gerard's disciple, Luke of Hungary who was later the Archbishop of Strigonie, inherited this spirit of scrupulosity from his Master because, according to Walter Map, he refused to accept any favor if he remotely suspected that it came to him through simony ¹⁷⁶).

Previously, he had had several famous students in Paris. These included not only Luke of Hungary, the friend of Alexander III, but Walter Map, the poet, and Ralph Niger, Thomas Becket's devoted clerk. Gerardus died on the 13th of January, 1148.

Between clerks and laymen in Paris.

Walter Map was one of the most outstanding students of Gerard. He was born in Wales about 1140 and eventually crossed the Channel to study in Paris during the time when Louis VII showed « kindly favor to the clergy that from all ends of Christendom came together under him » ¹⁷⁷).

In 1179, he attended the Lateran Council and, while dealing with the case of Waldenses, he had occasion to sit among the, « Masters of Law and Learning ». This would seem to give evidence that he profited from Gerard la Pucelle's courses in Canon Law and Theology. Giraldus Cambrensis had mentioned the fact that Map was a scholar well versed in Law and Theology and praised the learning he had acquired in Paris. According to a letter written to Map by Giraldus, he did not dwell upon Martianus or Maro but on

174) J. GHELLINCK, *Le mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle*, (Paris, 1914), p. 224. *Summa Decreti Lipsiensis*, Dist. 54, can. 2. « Magister tamen G. Coventrensis episcopus dixit... » The new edition of J. DE GHELLINCK's book : *Le Mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle*, Bruges, 1948, just arrived when I was correcting my galley-proofs. Concerning Gerard Pucelle see p. 348, no. 4.

175) *PL*, 199, c. 195.

176) MAPES, *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. II, chap. 7, *op. cit.*, p. 73. De Luca Hungaro; A. GABRIEL, *Les Hongrois et la Sorbonne médiévale*, (Budapest, 1940), p. 3-4.

177) MAPES, *Ibid.*, V, 5, p. 216; Translation : FR. TUPPER and M. BLADEN OGLE, *Master Walter Map's book « De Nugis Curialium » (Courtiers' trifles)*, London, 1924, p. 273.

Mark, Mathew, Luke and John and, altogether emphasized the superiority of the study of Theology ¹⁷⁸).

While in Paris, he had occasion to witness more than one altercation between the clerks and the laymen of the city.

While I was in Paris, there arose
between the clerks and laymen in
the court of the King a quarrel
which soon grew into an open feud.

During the period when he « was spending some time in the school there » he observed the punishment of « the richest Jew of all France » who had insulted a clerk in a procession.

Of no avail in his case were the prayers
of all France or the thousands of talents
of the Jewish people. The king replied
to their prayers and tears, 'I wish the
Jews to know that dogs must be kept from
the processions of the Christians.' ¹⁷⁹).

In the works of Gerard there are many allusions to Map wit ¹⁸⁰). His book, *De Nugis Curialium*, is made up of curious anecdotes which he had garnered during his life at court. In 1203, he was one of Giraldus Cambrensis' candidates to the see of St. David. He died seven years later in 1210 leaving Paris and France behind him where in his youth he had found nothing but « bread and wine and joy »... the joy of learning and meditation ¹⁸¹).

Ralph Niger tells us in the preface to his theological work that he too studied in Paris under Gerardus la Pucella. A faithful partisan of Thomas Becket, he was forced to leave England and followed the Archbishop into his French exile. John of Salisbury addressed several letters to Ralph and congratulated him on his studies which he pursued in the « windy and garrulous » city of Paris ¹⁸²). John of Salisbury was glad to know that Ralph was not

178) GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *Symbolum Electorum*, Pars I, Epist. 24. Ed. BREWER, I, p. 286 : « Marcum igitur amodo, mi charissime, manu teneas, non Martialem... »

179) MAPES, *De Nugis Curialium*, V. 5. (WRIGHT, p. 217); TUPPER, and OGLE, *Ibid.*, p. 283.

180) *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Dist. III, chap. 1. Ed. BREWER, IV, p. 140; *Ibid.*, Dist. III, chap. 14. BREWER, *Ibid.*, p. 219; De Verbis W. M.

181) GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *De Jure et Statu Menevensis ecclesiae*, Dist VI, Ed. BREWER, in (Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, London, 1863), III, p. 321; *Symbolum electorum*, Dist. I, Epist. 28. Ed. BREWER, I, p. 306.

182) *PL*, 199, col. 179 D. Letter 181. « Unde et studiis tuis congratulor, quem agnosco ex signis perspicuis in urbe garrula et ventosa, ut pace scholarium dictum sit... »

searching for inconsequential argumentation but for sincere intellectual virtues. John warned him that those who preferred debate to virtue were not valid dialecticians and were most certainly not philosophers.

Among the scholars who, like Ralph, had been in Becket's household and followed him into France we should also mention Becket's secretary *Herbert of Bosham*, one of Lombard's disciples from 1173 to 1179 ¹⁸³).

Another English scholar whom we know only as the anonymous author of *Sacerdos ad Altare* should have been in Paris during Neckam's time. He quotes the Parisian Masters in reference to an etymological question and was apparently quite familiar with Paris. When this author speaks of tournaments he does not omit their classification as a sport of « French knights » ¹⁸⁴).

Rainier was expected in Paris around 1166 since Pope Alexander III recommended him to Hugh, Bishop of Soissons as a student desirous of French learning ¹⁸⁵).

We are not certain that *Adam of Eversham* belonged with the English scholars at Paris because we have no information as to the place of his birth. The phrase « *in nostrum venit orbem* » which Adam used while writing the life of Hugh of Burgundy, the Bishop of Lincoln, is the only indication we have of his possible English birth. In the above mentioned work, Adam gave an interesting description of Hugh's reception in Paris by Raymund, a scholar in higher Faculties, who also entertained Adam himself on another occasion ¹⁸⁶).

V.

At the close of the XIIth Century, there were in Paris a great many young scholars who were mere clerks at the time. A great many of their number would eventually become outstanding but their

183) LESNE, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

184) Haskins, *Stud. Med. Science, op. cit.*, p. 362, 365.

185) *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, p. 3, no. 2. « Dilectus filius noster Rain. Salesberiensis archidiaconus Parisius se moram habiturum disposuit ».

186) *Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolnensis*, (ed. J. F. DIMOCK, Rolls S., London, 1864), see also *Vita*, Book V, chap. 13. Ed. DIMOCK, p. 303 ff.

greatest period of literary activity and intellectual maturity took place for the most part in the XIIIth Century when the University had become a firmly established association of Masters and scholars and the higher Faculties had been organized. I therefore consider them as more properly belonging to a study of the scholastic life in the XIIIth Century. Even though they had their roots in the XIIth Century, their language and ideas anticipated the dawn of the XIIIth Century.

Stephen Langton, an eminent pupil of Peter Manducator¹⁸⁷⁾ and a prominent theologian, preacher and statesman, should have sojourned in Paris between 1185 and 1206 while composing his *Questiones* which were a sort of collection of class notes. Innocent III was one of Stephen's classmates along with Robert of Courçon from Kedleston in Derby who studied in Paris between 1180-1186¹⁸⁸⁾.

Alberic of Trois Fontaines referred to Stephen Langton as « *Nominatissimus Doctor* ». Of his pupils we know only one, a certain Master Guerin who studied Theology under Stephen and later became a heretic. Guerin was one of the scholars condemned in 1210. Powicke believes that while Langton was in Paris he composed the immortal hymn, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, which certainly conforms to the musical tradition of Notre Dame¹⁸⁹⁾.

Gervase of Chichester who became Abbot General of Prémontré witnessed Parisian student life at the end of the XIIth Century¹⁹⁰⁾ as did John of Garland who entered France at the age of fifteen and derived his nickname from the street where he lodged. John, along with Robert Grosseteste, became a prominent leader of the English scholars.

187) DOM O. LOTTIN, *L'authenticité de la « Summa » d'Etienne Langton*, in *Recherches de Théologie Anc. et Méd.*, I, (1929), p. 499. Cf. POWICKE, *Langton*, *op. cit.*, 58, 62 (about his disciples). It seems that Thomas of Marlborough, who later became abbot of Evesham had been a pupil of Langton at Paris. The Chronicle of Evesham makes an allusion to this fact. « ... locutus sum cum domino Cantuariensi super responsione abbatis. Et quum tunc esset cum eo magister Ricardus decanus Sareberiensis, postmodum episcopus ejusdem loci, et essem ei notissimus quia discipulus fueram quondam archiepiscopi et conscholaris decani ». *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*. Ed. W. DUNN MACRAY, London, 1863, RS. no. 29, p. 232.

188) P. GLORIEUX, *Répertoire des Maîtres en Théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1933, I, p. 235, no. 103.

189) POWICKE, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

190) *Hist. Litt. France*, XVIII (1895), p. 41-43. « Anglia me genuit, nutrit Gallia sanctus Justus, Thenolium, Praemonstratumque dedere Abbatis nomen ». Cf. FR. PETIT, *La spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1947, p. 79, 82, 83, 85.

Budinszky has also mentioned the names of other scholars but it is difficult to determine with accuracy whether or not these clerks and ecclesiastics actually studied in Paris or were of English birth ¹⁹¹).

Adelard of Bath, Daniel of Morlay, the Anonymous Irish Scholar, Isaac of Stella, John of Salisbury, Adam of Parvo Ponte, Robert of Melun, Robert of Pullus, Thomas Becket, Herbert of Bosham, Ralph Diceto, John Fantosme, Achard, Roger of Worcester, Robert of Crickelade, Richard of St. Victor, Ernesius, John of Cornwall, Andrew, Rainier, Giraldus Cambrensis, William Montanus, Alexander Neckam, Nigel Wireker, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Serlo of Wilton, Gerard la Pucelle, Walter Map, and Ralph Niger were among the best known Insular scholars at the end of the XIIth Century along with Robert Grosseteste, Robert Gourçon and Stephen Langton.

VI.

During the second half of the XIIth Century, there existed in Paris a loose society of English scholars that was readily accessible to newly arriving Insulars.

A growing preference of the English scholars for English masters may also be remarked during this period. This practice became more widespread in the later centuries in the life of the English Nation. Robert of Melun studied under Isaac of Stella; Roger, John of Salisbury and Serlo under Robert of Melun; Walter Map, Ralph Niger and William Mont were guided by Gerard la Pucella; John of Cornwall studied a while under Achard and Andrew was a pupil of Richard of St. Victor.

The wassails and banquets described by Nigel Wireker and John of Hauteville were the predecessors and the origins of the official celebrations of Nations in commemoration of the feast days of their patrons. Thomas Becket, at the time of his arrival in Paris gathered

191) *Die Universität, op. cit.* : Adam of Shirborn (p. 75), Adam of Lintea (76), Adamus Scotus (76), Alanus Tewkesbury (76), Hadrian IV (83), Gilbert Sempringham who went in France in the second half of the XIIth century : D. N. B. VII, 1194; John of Oxford (Chevalier BB. 2461), Joseph Exeter (93), Theodoricus (107), the teacher ? of John of Salisbury in Paris, Walter of Coutances (110), William Anglicus (111).

around him all the English scholars and their *creditores*. (As we said before, the term *creditores* is obscure but, when used in connection with the students it may be interpreted to hint at something like an early welfare organization). As we remember, Henry II had wanted to submit his dispute to the judgement of the various *provinces* of the Parisian scholars and so we must assume that the English scholars and Masters could have selected and sent their own representative who would have been a precursor of the later *nuntius* or *proctor*.

The *societas* referred to by Alexander Neckam must have been the germ of a Corporation for, according to Gaines Post, the term *societas* could have been accepted in such a sense toward the end of the XIIth Century ¹⁹²). This society of English scholars and Masters would later develop into a province or tribe and, in the opening decads of the XIIIth Century, would form a Nation along with other small provinces. According to Gaines Post's excellent study, the Masters and students asserted their will to incorporate and the University of Paris took form as a legal entity sometime between 1208 and 1215.

At the time of the amalgamation of the smaller provinces into a Nation, the Insular scholars would confer their name upon that body of foreign scholars because of the influence of their previous unity and number and also because of the authority of the Masters of the Schools of Arts which they numbered in their ranks.

In a letter written in 1255 and addressed to Pope Alexander IV the University stressed the *antiquity* of the Nations ¹⁹³). This use of the term is, in one sense, truthful because it implies the long evolutionary process which made the casual association of Insular scholars into a highly organized and influential corporation the English Nation.

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192) GAINES POST, *Parisian masters as a corporation, 1200-46*, in *Speculum*, IX (1934), 422-23 ff.

193) *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, p. 296, no. 256. « sigillis quatuor nationum ab antiquo Parisius distinctarum in hac littera usi sumus ». KIBRE, *Nations*, *op. cit.*, 17.

I am indebted to Rev. G. B. Phelan, Director of the Mediaeval Institute at Notre Dame University for his wellcome critical comments.

« English Canonists in the XIIth century » an article written by Prof. S. Kuttner and Miss E. Rathbone which will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Traditio* will contain much illuminating information about the same subject.