

THE COLLEGE OF PREMONTRE IN MEDIAEVAL PARIS *

PART I FOUNDATION AND NON-INTELLECTUAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

By the mid-thirteenth century the University of Paris had become what one may well call the intellect of Christianity. So important were the University's views that to be unaware of them was a grave

* The present work — written to commemorate the septcentenary of the College of Prémontré, 1252-1952 — is a revision of part of two Master's dissertations which were submitted to the Department of History and to the Mediaeval Institute at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, in 1950 and 1951 respectively. It is only fitting that I give brief acknowledgement here to those who have invaluable assisted me with this work. The first is the Rev. Dr. A. L. Gabriel, Director of the Mediaeval Institute. He first suggested the topic for my research, and has freely and constantly given his most able and inspiring assistance in bringing it to completion. The manuscripts of the original dissertations benefitted immeasurably from the suggestions of Canon Julian C. Resch, Prior of the Premonstratensian House in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Mr. James A. Corbett, a professor of history at the University of Notre Dame, both of whom submitted them to a careful reading. For all the deficiencies which still remain, I alone must assume full responsibility. Special thanks are due to the Premonstratensian Canon Gerard L. Nolan, Subprior at Philadelphia, for his very generous loan of the utterly indispensable and almost utterly unobtainable *Ordinis Praemonstratensis Annales* written by Charles-Louis Hugo. A late confrere of Father Nolan, Canon Richard Boschmans, has left some valuable notes on the College of Prémontré which have been lent to me through the kindness of Canon J.-B. Valvekens of Averbode, Belgium. Here at the University of Notre Dame I am particularly indebted to the Mediaeval Institute for the financial assistance which sustained me during the years from 1948 to 1951. Of the many others for whose assistance I am grateful I must mention Miss Helen Cheadle, librarian of the Mediaeval Institute, and Mlle. Yvonne Lanhers of the Archives Nationales in Paris.

imprudence for anyone officially representing the Church. The best way for a religious order to become aware was to have its members in touch with the faculty of theology at Paris. Such had been the policy of the Dominicans almost from their inception¹). They and the Franciscans who followed soon after made it a point not only to become aware of University views but also to take a major part in their formulation. The great intellectual success of the Mendicants provoked attempts at imitation among the other religious orders. The Cistercian abbot Stephan of Lexington, for example, was piqued by charges of ignorance which the friars were hurling at his monks and took it upon himself to found a college at Paris for students from Clairvaux in 1246²). The Mathurins had already been in Paris since around 1209³).

If even the monastic and secluded Cistercians found it expedient to have a College at Paris, surely St. Norbert's Canons of Prémontré had at least equal reason. There was of course no question of the Premonstratensians having an obligation to further the development of theological or legal thought. Such had never been their primary intention. But they did have a certain obligation to keep abreast of the thought of their time, whether contemplation, the divine office or the care of souls was predominant among their essential aims⁴). In the twelfth century this could still be feasibly accomplished by men devoting only a part of their time to intellectual pursuits, working in the comparative isolation of a monastery, and not having an abundance of books at hand. If the several daily periods of divine reading prescribed by the early statutes of the

1) For the details and significance of the establishment of the Dominicans in Paris see P. MANDONNET, « *De l'incorporation des Dominicains dans l'ancienne Université de Paris* », *Revue Thomiste*, IV (1896), 133-170, and « *La crise scolaire au début du xiii^e siècle et la fondation de l'ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs* », *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XV (1914), 34-49.

2) See *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XVI, 54; XIX, 13.

3) *Ibid.*, XVI, 54.

4) The traditional attitude of the Order of Prémontré towards learning has been summarized by one of its own members as follows: « Si l'ordre de Prémontré n'a jamais considéré les études comme un de ses buts essentiels, il s'est toujours maintenu, néanmoins, à un niveau intellectuel en corrélation avec la culture de son temps. » A. ERENS, article « *Prémontrés* » in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XIII. I, col. 22. See also G. MADELAINE, *Histoire de Saint Norbert* (3d ed., 1928), II, 184-5, and H. LAMY, « *A propos d'un Catalogue, Glanes Historiques sur l'Abbaye de Leffe*, » *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, XXV (1949), 13.

Order of Prémontré⁵) were well utilized, the canons were able not only to keep up to date but even occasionally to make original contributions of their own to the sum of human knowledge. This is demonstrated by the works of such men as Adam Scot, Philip of Harvengt and Anselm of Havelberg. The fact of course seems to be that many canons had little interest in, perhaps even a hostility towards, realizing such a possibility⁶). But regardless of whether or not the possibility was realized, by virtue of the very intellectual progress made in the twelfth century, what was then a possibility was much less so in the thirteenth century. A greater integration of effort, a more abundant assemblage of books were necessary merely to maintain and much more so to advance on what had already been achieved. It was precisely this function of integration that was filled by the University of Paris.

The Premonstratensians were not unaware of the new trend. A number of the men associated with the Parisian schools of the early thirteenth century either already were or later would become members with influential positions within the Order of Prémontré. One ought to mention Emo, a chronicler, theologian and canonist who was at Paris around 1204. He later became first abbot of Werum in Friesland⁷). Another, a member of the faculty of theology and author of several treatises, was James of Arras⁸). He became the ninth abbot of Mont-S.-Martin, diocese of Cambrai⁹). Eustace of Lens, a confrere with whom James of Arras is supposed to have carried on considerable correspondence, is spoken of in *Gallia Christiana* (III, 463) as a doctor and professor of theology at Paris. Although no other source seems to confirm that he actually was a faculty member at Paris, there is no reason to doubt that he studied there before becoming abbot of two monasteries near

5) See RAPHAEL VAN WAELFELCHEM, *Les premiers statuts de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, Louvain, 1913, p. 40.

6) See Philip of Harvengt's *De institutione clericorum* in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCIII, 703, 706, where he reproves those canons who relished manual labor and parochial duties merely because they offered an escape from the discipline of a vigorous study of Holy Scripture.

7) See L. GOOVAERTS, *Ecrivains, artistes et savants de l'ordre de Prémontré, dictionnaire bio-bibliographique*, Brussels, 1899-1917, I, 239-40. Emo's Chronicle has been edited by L. Weiland in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXIII, 454-523.

8) See P. GLORIEUX, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au xiii siècle*, Paris, 1933, I, no. 122, p. 286.

9) See C.-L. HUGO, *Sacri et Canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis Annales*, Nancy, 1734-36, II, 325.

Soissons, Val Sery and Val Chretien. He died at his desk, sometime after 1226, while writing a treatise on the Trinity ¹⁰). Another was Gervais of Chicester, successively abbot of St. Just, Thenailles and Prémontré. As abbot-general he attended the Lateran Council of 1215 and won the good will of Innocent III. His works include letters and scriptural commentaries. From 1220 till his death in 1228 he was bishop of Séz ¹¹). Still another was Ausculphus, appointed first abbot of Joyenval by Gervais. He is credited with Parisian studies in theology and canon law ¹²). Finally one must mention John of Sacro Bosco whose *Tractatus de sphaera*, written at Paris around 1220, « was the clearest, most elementary, and most used textbook in astronomy and cosmography from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century » ¹³).

The careers of these men, most of whom were at the University before entering the Order, at the least demonstrated a compatibility between Prémontré and Paris. Perhaps in addition they helped convince many of the other abbots of the desirability of a closer association. Whether or not the above named men were responsible for it, however, the fact remains that the period from 1220 to 1250 saw a considerable number of abbots favorably inclined towards University studies. One might mention John de la Chapelle, abbot of Sept-Fontaines and Floreffe (died ca. 1242 or 1245), Giles de Lewis, abbot of Middelburg and Vicogne (died 1237), Hugh III, abbot of Prémontré (died in 1240 or 1242), and Conon, his successor at Prémontré (died 1247). If it is true, as we shall soon see,

10) DUVAL in *Histoire Litt. de la France*, XVIII, 4-6; *Gallia Christiana*, new edition, IX, 487, 500.

11) See GOOVAERTS, *Ecrivains*, I, 305-6 for further information and bibliography. One source for asserting that Gervais studied at Paris is the following statement in HUGO, *Annales*, II, 85 : « Ivo, filius Saulis, Comitis de Konski, natione Polonus, ... in alma Facultate Parisiensi Doctor, eam cum Gervasio Abbate Praemonstrati contraxerat necessitudinem a pueritia, dum sacris ambo in eadem Academia litteris vacarent, ... » See also F. PETIT, *L'Ordre de Prémontré*, Paris, 1927, pp. 54-6. That Gervais was acquainted with affairs in Paris is clear from the fact that it was largely through his intercession that Pope Honorius III treated the Chancellor of the University, Philip de Grève, with leniency when the latter in 1219 had precipitately excommunicated all the masters and scholars of Paris who had appealed to Rome against one of his orders. See DAUNOU in *Hist. litt. de la France*, XVIII, 185. This latter reference was given to me by Dr. Gabriel.

12) HUGO, *Annales*, I, 707; *Gallia Christ.*, VIII, 1334-5.

13) L. THORNDIKE, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators*, Chicago, 1949, p. 1. Thorndike, oddly enough, does not discuss the question of John's affiliation with the Premonstratensians. On this see GOOVAERTS, *Ecrivains*, II, 119-21.

that some of these abbots were already sending their canons to study in Paris, the implication is that a majority of the abbots attending the annual General Chapters approved of their action. For a provision of the statutes then in effect forbade any abbot to send one of his canons away to school without the permission of the General Chapter ¹⁴).

What suggests that Premonstratensians were already studying in Paris, that they even had a house there, are several papal bulls directed to the chancellor of the University of Paris. The first of them, dated in March 1245 ¹⁵), enjoins the Chancellor Peter Parvus to force the religious as well as secular clerics to submit to the taxation of their houses just as the laity must, even if they are Premonstratensians ¹⁶). The order is repeated to the Chancellor Haimeric on May 30, 1252, and this time it is to apply despite any previous papal privileges of exemption ¹⁷). The only identification of such a house which I can at present suggest is the *xenodochium* or strangers' hospice called the Holy Trinity which Premonstratensians from the nearby abbey of Hermières had been running in Paris since the early years of the thirteenth century ¹⁸).

Despite our ignorance of many of the details the general impression still remains that Prémontré was gradually coming nearer and nearer to Paris. It so happens that just at this juncture, in 1247, the man newly elected as abbot-general of the Order was a man who had received a thorough theological formation at the University. With his own intimate knowledge of the intellectual advantages of Paris, it is hardly possible that John of Rocquigny would not use the authority and prestige of his position to try and make those same advantages available to more of the Premonstratensian canons. But such a project, involving the foundation of an official house of studies in Paris, certainly could not be undertaken without the

14) See PL. LEFÈVRE, *Les statuts de Prémontré réformés sur les ordres de Grégoire IX et d'Innocent IV au xiii^e siècle*, Louvain, 1946, p. 43.

15) The late Canon Richard Boschmans says that a similar bull of 1237 had already mentioned the Premonstratensians. For an abstract of this bull see C. JOURDAIN, *Index Chronologicus Chartarum Pertinentium ad Historiam Universitatis Parisiensis*, Paris, 1862, p. 8, no. L.

16) H. DENIFLE and E. CHATELAIN, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, Paris, 1889-97, I, no. 138, p. 179.

17) *Ibid.*, I, no. 203, p. 232.

18) For accounts of this hospice see HUCO, *Annales*, II, 983-6, and GOOVAERTS, *Ecrivains*, IV, 308-09.

approval of the abbots of St. Martin of Laon, Floreffe and Cuissy ¹⁹), and probably not without the approval of the General Chapter. The details of the Abbot-General's attempts to convince his fellow abbots are again lacking. However, if one of the issues of his campaign, beyond the basic necessity of establishing a firmer contact with the Parisian wisdom, was a desire to have Premonstratensian representatives take an active part in the development of that wisdom, then a critical stage would seem to have arrived by February of 1252. At that time the rising quarrel between the Mendicant and Secular theologians of Paris had come to the point where the latter, jealous of the Mendicants' popularity with the students, passed a statute forbidding entrance to their society or « universitas » of theological masters to any religious not associated with a college ²⁰). If this statute appeared to have any force, and if the Premonstratensians had any University teaching aspirations, then it certainly behooved them to hurry to Paris.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL FOUNDATION, GROWTH, DECLINES, AND RESTORATIONS

Hardly four months after the decree of the theological faculty intending to restrict the teaching rights of the religious orders, Abbot John of Rocquigny and the Abbey of Prémontré bought a house located on the Rue Hautefeuille in Paris. The purchase of this house has usually been regarded as the official establishment of the College of Prémontré at the University. To discern more about the nature of this initial foundation, about subsequent additions to it, and about its later fate is the chief object of the present inquiry.

With respect to the initial foundation our first concern is with the background of Abbot John, the founder of the College ¹). He

19) The statutes of 1236-38 forbade the mother abbey of Prémontré from making property transactions involving more than a 100 Parisian pounds without the consent of these three abbots. See LEFÈVRE, *op. cit.*, dist. III, cap. 4, p. 97.

20) See DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 200, pp. 226-7.

1) Most of what has been said about John of Rocquigny in the last three hundred years only repeats what was said of him by a seventeenth century prior of the College

was born of a modest family towards the beginning of the thirteenth century in Rocquigny, a village in Thiérache, a part of Picardy. His progress in the liberal arts had already been noteworthy when he enlisted among the canons of Prémontré, apparently at the mother abbey of Prémontré itself. He was sent to Paris where he studied under the great Franciscan doctor *irrefragabilis*, Alexander of Hales. Having attained his mastership in theology he wrote a *Summa Theologica*, divided in the scholastic manner into books, treatises, chapters and questions, and also some homilies on the Gospels and Epistles for the Sundays and feastdays of the year²).

The date of his accession as abbot of Clairefontaine in the diocese of Laon is left undecided by Hugo, the Annalist of the Premonstratensians³). If, as has been suggested⁴), his reign there began in 1239, it surely ended in June of 1247 when the canons of Prémontré elected him to the headship of the whole Order⁵). For the

of Prémontré, JOHN LE PAIGE, in his *Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis* (Paris, 1633), pp. 306, 581-5, 934-5. For the most part his testimony will be followed here, except where it is manifestly inconsistent. Some other sources with further bibliography are : GOOVAERTS, *Ecrivains*, III, 134-5; FELIX LAJARD in *Hist. litt. de la France*, XIX, 423; U. CHEVALIER, *Répertoire, Bio-Bibliographie*, II, 2481; P. FERET, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Docteurs les plus célèbres, Moyen Age*, II, 29, 593-4.

2) Inasmuch as these works have not been edited (GOOVAERTS, *Ecrivains*, III, 135), indeed since it does not seem certain even that they are still extant, it is impossible to judge the nature and profundity of Rocquigny's thought. If it is true that he was a disciple of Alexander of Hales, then he too was influenced by the impulsion given by Alexander « au groupe de théologiens franciscains dont l'oeuvre devait être d'assimiler le savoir philosophique nouveau [of Aristotle] à l'aide des principes posés par saint Augustin. » E. GILSON, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age*, 3d ed., Paris, 1947, pp. 436-7.

3) HUGO, *Annales*, I, 519, 25.

4) *Gall. Christ.*, IX, 494.

5) Most of these facts have been given by Le Paige, but the order he ascribes to them is not consistent. First (*op. cit.*, 581), he says John received the white habit from Conon, abbot of Prémontré. Then he adds (pp. 581-2) that Conon sent John to Paris to study philosophy and theology under Alexander of Hales, and that after John had attained his doctoral laurels and wrote a *Summa Theologica* he was made abbot of Clairefontaine. This information cannot all be true. First of all, Conon became abbot of Prémontré only in 1241 (HUGO, *Annales*, I, 24-5, 398, 682; II, 953; *Gallia Christiana*, IX, 651) or 1242 (C. TAIÉE, « Prémontré. Etude sur l'Abbaye de ce nom, sur l'Ordre qui y a pris naissance, ses Progrès, ses Epreuves et sa Décadence, » *Bulletin de la Société Académique de Laon*, XIX, 180). Hence it is hard to believe that John could have been sent to Paris by Conon in 1241, have studied under Alexander of Hales who retired in 1238 (though he did not die until 1245 — P. GLORIEUX, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au xiii^e siècle*, Paris, 1933, II, 15), in the meantime have completed the decade or so of years required for attaining the mastership in theology,

next twenty two years, that is, until his death August 29, 1269⁶), a good part of his effort was devoted to a rejuvenation of the Order's primeval fervor⁷). Among his many other interests and concerns, it seems that none absorbed his devoted care as much as the College which he and his fellow abbots founded in Paris. This care will nowhere be more obvious, as we shall immediately see, than in his attention to the humblest aspect of this many-sided educational project, namely to its material basis, its buildings.

The charter recording the first purchase made by John of Rocquigny is dated June 15, 1252, and is witnessed by the Official of the curia of Paris⁸). The Official reports that Abbot John and the Premonstratensian convent bought a house named after Pierre Sarrazin, with all its adjuncts, for the sum of 120 Parisian pounds. The seller, Lady Gila de Houzel, a citizen of Paris and widow of John Sarrazin, held the house apparently as a censive from another seigneur and then let it out for rent. That the house was a censive holding — that is, that it was a nonfeudal inheritance on which the seigneur had the right of collecting an annual payment as a chief tax or *fons de terre*⁹) — is clear from the fact that it was burdened with a capital tax (*capitalis census*) or *fundus terre* of 12 *solidi*. This capital or chief tax underlines the seigneurial character of the censive¹⁰). But in addition to this tax there were two others encumbering the property, an increment tax or census of 100 Parisian *solidi*, and an annual tax or census of 4 Parisian *livres* on the three parts of the house¹¹). These latter taxes were hardly more than ground or property rents which enabled the seigneur to gain a

have written a *Summa Theologica*, and still have had time to become abbot of Clairefontaine (as a master in theology) in 1239 (*Gall. Christ.*, IX, 494). If John's early patron was an abbot of Prémontré, he must have been a predecessor of Conon. Or if this first patron was Conon himself, then the latter's encouragement must have been extended before 1241 while he was abbot of Fontaine-André, Thenailles, or Braine.

6) See AUGUSTE MOLINIER, *Les Obituaires Français au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1890, p. 89.

7) LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 581 ff.

8) The charter attesting this sale has been published by LE PAIGE, *op. cit.*, 582-3; HUGO, *Annales*, I, Probationes, ccccxxviii; MICHAEL FELIBIEN & GUY-ALEXIS LOBINEAU, *Histoire de la Ville de Paris*, (Paris, 1725), III, 208-9; I, 339; and DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 214, pp. 238-40.

9) FR. OLIVIER-MARTIN, *Histoire de la Coutume de la Prévôté et Vicomté de Paris*, I (Paris, 1922), p. 378 : A censive is « un heritage non feodal sur lequel le seigneur a droit de prendre annuelle pension pour fons de terre ».

10) *Ibid.*, 382.

11) One *livre* equalled 20 *solidi* and 1 *solidus* equalled 12 *denarii*.

profit from his holdings more commensurate with their increasing economic value¹²).

Other property in the immediate neighborhood would soon be added to the College holdings, but before investigating these subsequent additions it may be profitable to locate this neighborhood in the circuit of mediaeval Paris. The charter recording the purchase from Lady Gila says the house is located in Paris beyond the Petit-Pont on the Rue Hautefeuille. But where is the Rue Hautefeuille? The original location of both Paris and its famous schools was one of the islands interrupting the course of the Seine River. On this isle, called the Cité, were situated both the palace of the king and the cathedral of Notre-Dame. With the island as a fountainhead the University tide surged over onto the left bank. The main connection at this time between the Cité and the left or south bank, the site of the ever famous Latin Quarter, was the Petit-Pont or little bridge. It was beyond this bridge — in other words, on the left bank — that one would find the Rue Hautefeuille. If a mediaeval tourist, having come to the southern end of the Petit-Pont, walked about 250 metres almost straight west, he would arrive at the Place St.-André-des-Arcs where the Rue Hautefeuille began its 300 metre-long course in a rather south southwesterly direction to the Rue des Cordeliers (the modern Rue Ecole de Médecine). The charter recording the purchase of 1252 mentions no other crossing street by means of which one could determine how far down the Rue Hautefeuille our tourist would have had to walk. It does mention, however, the fact that the house was named after Pierre Sarrazin. It so happens that a street of that same name ran into the Rue Hautefeuille about 25 meters from its southern extremity. If one could surmise that the Pierre Sarrazin house was built near the end of the Pierre Sarrazin street then he would have finally determined the approximate location of the College — almost 300 metres south southwest of the Place St.-André-des-Arcs which in turn is 250 metres west of the Petit-Pont¹³). The accuracy of this

12) OLIVIER-MARTIN, *op. cit.*, 380-1.

13) An excellent eighteenth-century map which shows the material disposition of the College at that time and the surrounding neighborhood may be found in JAILLOT, *Recherches Critiques, Historiques et Topographiques sur la Ville de Paris*, 18^e Quartier, *S.-André-des-Arcs*, Paris, 1774. Very useful for determining thirteenth-century street names are the maps at the back of H. GÉRAUD's work, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel* (Paris, 1837). Actual sketches of the rebuilt College as it appeared in the Lacaille plan of

surmise may be verified from information divulged in regard to the second purchase made by John of Rocquigny.

This took place exactly three years later, in June of 1255. It is possible that the number of students was growing and that they needed additional living quarters in which to expand. More immediately apparent, however, as a *raison d'être* for the deal was the founder's desire to gain greater autonomy in handling his property while at the same time freeing it of its tax burdens. A resumé and analysis of the transaction will help make this desire clear. The maker of the charter is the seller, the Abbess Guillerma of the Abbey of St.-Antoine-des-Champs slightly east of Paris. Her Abbey had seigneurial dominion over nine houses located in the street named « Estuves » next to the Parisian Convent of the Franciscans. The respective holders or names connected with the houses are Adam the Roman, the deceased Pierre Sarrazin, John of Bellomont, Margaret Dou Celier, Nicholas the Roman, Richard Dou Porche, John a canon of St. Benedict at Paris, Agnes de Vitriaco, and Denis de Campis. The locality of these houses is really the same as that mentioned in the first sale of 1252, for the Franciscan Convent was situated on the south side of the Rue des Cordeliers just at the point where it was met by the Rue Hautefeuille. The Rue des Estuves, which soon after was shut off, was a very short distance to the west of the Rue Hautefeuille and ran parallel to it ¹⁴). As a result of its dominion the Abbey had the right of collecting the *fundus terre* or chief census on the nine houses plus any tolls which could be collected when the property changed hands, and on one of the houses it also collected the much larger increment tax or census. The total annual revenue equalled 7 Parisian *livres* and 6 Parisian *solidi*. Having obtained the consent of her own community and of her superiors, Abbess Guillerma sold all of her rights in the aforesaid houses to the Abbot and Order of Prémontré for the sum of 350 Parisian *livres* ¹⁵).

What leaves one uncertain as to whether the purchase was dictated by a need for expansion is the fact that John of Rocquigny was not acquiring these houses necessarily with the view of occupying them.

Paris (1714) and in the Turgot plan (1739) are reproduced by A. FRANKLIN, *Les Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, I (Paris, 1867), 319, 203, and also 367.

14) See FRANKLIN, *op. cit.*, I, 319, note 2.

15) This charter, first printed in 1612 by JACQUES DUBREUL in his *Le Theatre des Antiquitez de Paris*, 628-9, and later reprinted by many others, is most readily available in DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 254, pp. 290-1.

What he was primarily buying was seigneurial dominion over them and the right to certain revenues resulting from that dominion. It is almost certain that his canons already occupied one of the houses and hence if the purchase was primarily intended for an enlargement of living quarters it would have availed nothing here. When Abbess Guillerma lists the revenue due from each house, she mentions that her abbey receives 12 *solidi* of chief tax on the house of the deceased Pierre Sarrazin plus 100 *solidi* of increment tax on the same house. These amounts are the same as those listed in the charter recording the original purchase made in 1252, where it was stated that the house bought by Abbot John was burdened with a chief tax of 12 *solidi* and an increment tax of 100 *solidi*. Inasmuch as the house was also of the same name — Pierre Sarrazin — there should not be too much doubt that one of the main results of this second purchase was to give the Premonstratensians seigneurial dominion over a house which they had already been occupying for the previous three years. Of the 7 *livres* and 6 *solidi* of annual revenue acquired through the new purchase, 5 *livres* and 12 *solidi* were those due on the house of Pierre Sarrazin — in other words, paid to the Abbey of St.-Antoine until then in all likelihood by the Premonstratensians themselves. The annual revenue obtainable on the other eight houses — one *livre* and 14 *solidi* — was quite insignificant. Surely the Premonstratensians wanted these houses for their own use and not for their revenue, even though the present document gives no evidence of this.

The surmise that enlarged housing facilities were already needed becomes verified in a charter of the following year. This time John of Rocquigny is dealing with John of Bellomont, a citizen of Paris and the owner of one of the nine houses over which he and the Order already enjoyed seigneurial rights. The house in question, from which the Premonstratensians had the right of receiving an annual chief tax of 6 *solidi* ¹⁶⁾, was next to that of Pierre Sarrazin — that is, next to the original foundation of the College. Its location made it the logical place for expansion. No doubt it is with this advantage in mind that John of Rocquigny bought the house for the use of his students on October 31, 1256. The purchase cost 250 Parisian *livres*; but for this price he not only gained possession of another house, he also finally freed the original house purchased by him from Gila de Houzel in 1252 of the last of its financial

16) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 254, p. 290.

encumbrances. It will be remembered that the Pierre Sarrazin house which Abbot John bought in 1252 had three tax encumbrances — a chief tax of 12 *solidi*, an increment tax of 100 *solidi*, and finally an annual tax of 4 *livres*. Two of these taxes were owed to the Abbey of St.-Antoine, until John and the Order purchased the Abbey's rights in June of 1255. It now turns out that the third and last one was owed to this same John of Bellomont.

The charter recording the transaction, drawn up by the Official of the curia of Paris, contains information on one other matter of interest. It states that John of Bellomont had received 14 Parisian *livres* from the Premonstratensians, partly in payment of the annual tax which they owed to him on their College building, and partly in payment of a lease that they had on the house which they now purchased from him. This fact further confirms what was previously surmised, namely that a need for more housing quarters had manifested itself already before October of 1256¹⁷).

A fourth purchase thirty years later — on June 15, 1286 — finally brings the material domain of the College to its ultimate limits within the Mediaeval period. The founder of the College had been dead almost seventeen years when this deal was made under the regime of Guido, his third successor as abbot of Prémontré. The new property, acquired at a cost of 90 Parisian *livres*, consisted of a garden and a granary. They were located next to the College and were owned by Gillette du Celier, the widow of William the Hongre. It is most probable that Gillette was a descendent and heir of the Margaret Dou Celier mentioned in the charter of 1255 as the owner of one of the houses over which the Premonstratensians had bought seigneurial rights. Jacques Dubreul, who saw a copy of the charter reporting this sale and whose account of it is followed here¹⁸), notes that the garden extended up to a street then already closed which (if it existed) would have separated the College of Prémontré from the College of Burgundy. This effaced street was the one called *Estuves*.

It is because of its surrounding streets — Hautefeuille on the east, Cordeliers on the south, Estuves on the west, and Petit-Paon,

17) This document has been reproduced by, among others, LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 584; FELIBIEN-LOBINEAU, *op. cit.*, III, 210; HUGO, *Annales*, I, Probationes, cccxxx. It is also mentioned by DUBREUL, *op. cit.*, 629, and DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 254, note 2, p. 291.

18) DUBREUL, *op. cit.*, 629-30.

which was later built in, on the north — that the College of Prémontré, according to Dubreul's often repeated story, was called an island ¹⁹).

The College had reached its ultimate material limits by 1286. But it did not yet have all the necessary assurances that it could keep the limits it had so far acquired. Because of the permanence with which a religious institution normally held its property, the acquisition of property by a religious order normally entailed a loss of revenue for the lay lords who previously had been able to exact fees on sales, transfers, inheritances, etc. As a protection against this loss the king made his approval, which could be obtained for a price, a prerequisite to putting property in *mortmain* or dead hand. It is the merit of William of Louvignies, John of Rocquigny's fifth successor as abbot general, to have secured this approval from King Philip IV in November of 1294. The original charter was made out by two of Philip's clerks and collectors — Simon Bonel and Simon Payen — on June 8, 1294, at a cost to the Order of Prémontré of 210 *livres* and 5 *petits tournois solidi*. In addition to this information with which it is essentially concerned, the charter incidentally mentions several other interesting details. It gives the location of the College, reaffirming what we have said above, and names two other adjacent establishments — the house of the treasurer of Beauvais and the house of the archbishop of Reims. Finally it reveals the final fate of all nine of the famous little houses. They were all dismantled apparently and the building materials thus provided were used for the reconstruction of a single house which henceforth served as the College ²⁰).

The foregoing sketch gives us a vague idea of the College of Prémontré in the process of its material growth. The vicissitudes of its maturity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are what now remain to be seen. Our knowledge of this subject is unfortunately quite fragmentary. We must be content with several isolated glances.

A first is provided by a record from the years 1329-36 which enables us to make an inference, by no means foolproof, about the size of the College. The record is an account of the taxes imposed

19) Besides DUBREUL, see JAILLOT, *op. cit.*, 90 ff.

20) The original of this charter is in Paris, Archives Nationales, Series S, 4342. A copy has been published by LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 937.

by the University on those under its jurisdiction. It certifies that the house of the Premonstratensians was assessed 50 *solidi* and that 21 *socii* were dwelling therein ²¹). From this fact one can estimate that the College building was large enough to include at least 21 cubicles besides whatever rooms — chapel, chapter, dining, etc. — were necessary for common use.

A second glance comes towards the end of the fourteenth century. The sources of our information are several letters from the abbot-general of Prémontré. They contain decrees of excommunication against the abbots of Clairefontaine and Bellosana. The charge brought against them is their refusal to pay the tax levied on their abbeys for the reparation of the house of the scholars in Paris. The assessment of the abbey of Clairefontaine was 10 *francs* ²²).

It is not known whether the reparations then envisaged were actually carried out. What we do know, however, is that forty years later, around 1440, the material state of the College was on the brink of ruin. Conditions seem to have become so bad that the University was moved to address a letter to the Order begging an amelioration ²³). According to this dolorous appeal, dated September 19, 1440, a great part of the College structure had collapsed and the rest of it was not far from ruin. In this sad state of affairs it was the Premonstratensians' good fortune to have a representative on the faculty of canon law who took a personal interest in the welfare of the College. This man, named John Toppet and whose career we shall follow in detail in a later chapter, had built up the outer walls of the College, had retrieved the hall and lecture rooms from their fallen state, and had repaired the students' chambers. This much he had accomplished before the University's appeal, at a cost of 200 florins. Probably as a result of the University's letter, the Order

21) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 1184, p. 663.

22) The letter concerning the abbot of Bellosana has been published by J. J. EVERS, «*Formularium Praemonstratense. II*» in *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, VIII (1932), separate pagination, 127-8, with the suggested date 1396. The second, concerning the abbot of Clairfontaine, in *ibid.*, p. 127, should, I think, be dated within a few years of the same time. It would seem to come after another letter to the same abbot had gone without result. In this other letter, dated 1398 (estimated from its mention of the ecclesiastical foregathering in Paris that year to attempt to heal the great Schism), the abbot of Clairefontaine had been given the chance to make amends for his disobedience in not sending a scholar from his abbey to Paris by contributing 10 francs for the rebuilding of the College. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

23) This letter has been edited by J. J. EVERS, *loc. cit.*, IX (1933), pp. 257 ff.

on October 11, 1440, sent Toppet an official commission authorizing him to continue making all the repairs of the College which seemed fitting and necessary. The big problem, then as before, was a lack of money. The Order's solution was to thrust the whole burden on Toppet's shoulders, letting him raise the money anyway he could, and then promising to reimburse him²⁴). One of the ways used to repay Toppet was to assign him all the taxes collected from the Premonstratensian abbeys in the circary or province of Friesland. Another way was to give him an outright grant from an abandoned nunnery in the same province²⁵).

What seems to have been intended as a third way of raising money, and if so, a way which reveals the desperate financial straits the Order was in, was a plan to sell part of the College grounds. It is not known to me whether the sale was actually concluded. What we now have is a letter dated within several years of 1440 in which the abbot-general and the general chapter name three procurators — John Toppet, John La Vache, abbot of Hermières, and John of Hainaut, prior of the College — to carry out the sale²⁶). The ground involved was located within the College enclosure and constituted part of the garden. The price of the transfer was to be determined by the counsel of men versed in these matters. The Order would retain its seigneurial dominion over the ground and would collect an annual tax of one or two *denarii*. The prospective buyer was Master Helya, a counselor of the king in the Parlement of Paris. Since Helya already owned a garden adjacent to the College, he would merely have been extending his holdings. His political status makes one wonder whether the Premonstratensians were planning the sale not only for the needed money, but also in return for the favor of the buyer's influence with the King.

The next documents bearing on the material status of the College take us beyond our period to the 1520's. They have the same tenor. The College is again scandalously near to ruin and again the Order is financially unable to do much about it. This sad state of affairs was to prevail during most of the sixteenth century²⁷).

24) *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

26) *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

27) See the remarks and decisions of the Chapter General concerning the College in E. VALVEKENS, « *Le Collège des Prémontrés à Paris au Seizième Siècle* », *Anal. Praem.*, XVI (1940), pp. 8 ff., 17, 34; and in his « *La Situation Financière du Chapitre Général Prémontré au Début du Seizième Siècle* », *ibid.*, XIV (1938), p. 170.

The sketchy account still available to us of the material fate of the College during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may seem like an almost uninterrupted *historia calamitatum*. It should be counterbalanced by the consideration that outside of a real need for repairs there was no reason for the documents to mention the condition of the College buildings. Let us assume then that during much of the long periods of silence the calamities were interrupted. Nevertheless, what we have seen is enough to conclude that the material basis of the College was recurringly in desperate straits. It will be illuminating to remember this fact when we try to explain the more properly intellectual side of the College life.

For the present let it suffice to say that the College underwent a thorough reconstruction and was enriched by the erection of a new church in the seventeenth century²⁸). Through the mediation of a Revolution and a secular expropriation part of the latter church was occupied in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Café de la Rotunde. Today all traces of our mediaeval foundation are completely covered over by the Ecole de Médecine. Only two witnesses continue their silent watch : the neighboring Rues Haute-feuille and Pierre Sarrazin.

CHAPTER III

NON-INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS OF LIFE WITHIN THE COLLEGE

That material holdings were necessary to the College of Prémontré is certainly obvious, but that of themselves they were not enough is even more obvious. The life and heart of the College came from the students who, in effect, constituted it. It is with the students, therefore, that we will henceforth be concerned. In the second part of our work we will treat them as individuals and from a more academic point of view. Here we will look at some aspects of their common life within the College.

The most important and most obvious thing to remark about the internal life of the College of Prémontré is the fact that its mem-

28) The later history of this new church and a very informative description (the most complete that I am aware of for any period of the College's existence) of the whole College as it appeared in 1720 can be found in F. BOURNON's *Rectifications et Additions* to LEBEUF's *Histoire de la Ville et de tout le Diocèse de Paris*, Paris, 1890, pp. 302-3.

bers were men living according to a religious rule. From its earliest days our College was also a Priory¹). It is to be expected therefore that the collegiate life was organized with the intention of following the Rule of the Order as closely as the exigencies of university studies would allow.

Unfortunately the sources available for testing our expectations are not as ample as they might be — especially in regard to the annual decisions of the Premonstratensian General Chapter. Nevertheless we can appeal to several redactions of the statutes of the Order, to some letters of the abbot general, to various papal bulls, to University decrees, and to the customs of life prevailing in other colleges. The only complete statutes for the College that I am aware of come from the year 1618. Because of their late date they will not be extensively relied on, even though many of their provisions merely repeat earlier regulations. Whenever our account depends entirely on statutes we shall keep in mind the possibility of confusing what was intended to be or what ought to have been with what actually was.

By way of introduction let us see something of the method of selecting students. First of all, they might come from any house in the whole Order. This fact had been incidentally mentioned in King Philip IV's amortization in 1294²). It was vigorously re-asserted a century or more later in a letter from the abbot-general to one of his fellow abbots³). When the College was founded, the statutes of the Order then in force forbade any abbot to send one of his canons away to school without the permission of the Chapter General⁴). The statutes revised in 1290 omitted this restriction, and, indeed, several years later the rule became just the inverse. What the statutes of 1236-38 had forbidden an abbot to do on his

1) A papal bull of 1263 already referred to it as a priory. DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 386, p. 429.

2) «... de domo... ad opus scolarium totius ordinis premonstratensis.» Paris, Archives Nationales, S. 4342.

3) «Sane, sicut discretio vestra clare novit, domus seu collegium nostri Ordinis Parisius constitutum, non ad nostrum Premonstratensem et non ad Sancti Martini Laudunensis aut quodcumque nostri Ordinis monasterium singulariter, sed ad totum Ordinem universaliter pertinere dinoscitur...» J. J. EVERS, «*Formularium Praemonstratense. II*» in *Anal. Praem.*, VIII (1932), separate pagination, 86.

4) PL. F. LEFÈVRE, *Les Statuts de Prémontré réformés sur les ordres de Grégoire IX et d'Innocent IV au xiii^e siècle* (Louvain, 1946), p. 43, dist. II, cap. I, «De Abbate»: «Preterea nullus abbas aliquem de canonicis suis mittat ad scholas, vel ad predican-dum pro questu, nisi de licentia capituli generalis.»

own initiative he was now forbidden to refuse to do on his own initiative. Some abbots had apparently been unwilling to send their canons to Paris. To overcome this lack of cooperation, William of Louvignies, abbot-general and doctor of canon law, appealed for support to the pope. On August 1, 1295 Boniface VIII granted him the right of sending to Paris whatever canons he considered suitable. Recalcitrant abbots or canons could be punished with ecclesiastical censure. The only restriction placed upon William's discretion was the obligation of making his choices with the counsel of the three other primal abbots of the Order — that is, the abbots of Saint Martin of Laon, Floreffe and Cuissy⁵). This grant of authority exclusively to four abbots was possibly a device enabling a minority to do what the whole General Chapter might not have approved. Best results, however, could not be achieved without the cooperation of the General Chapter and hence it is not surprising to find in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that it played a part in the process of selecting students. But its role was usually not immediate, since at this level no more was done than to designate the abbeys which were to send students. The individual abbots were left to decide which of their canons were actually most suitable⁶).

It may not be unfitting to inquire next about the background of the students chosen for Paris. First, what about their religious and ecclesiastical status? We can take for granted that they had already made their religious profession⁷). In addition, most of them probably had received several ecclesiastical orders. They were going to study in the higher faculties of the University where maturity was a pre-requisite. Boniface VIII had spoken of the students as *canons* in his above mentioned bull⁸). But had they already been ordained as priests? Undoubtedly many of the students were

5) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 591, p. 66. The right of assisting in the selection of students for Paris was still strongly vindicated by the abbot of Cuissy in 1736. See HUGO, *Annales*, II, Praef. vi.

6) For an example of the procedure see EVERS, *loc. cit.*, 127.

7) C. TAIÉE expressed the opinion that the College was intended to receive the novices considered most apt for university studies. See his «Prémontré. Etude sur l'abbaye de ce nom, etc.» in *Bull. de la Soc. Acad. de Laon*, XIX, 186. Such a view received the following brief comment from the late Chanoine RICHARD BOSCHMANS: «Heureux novices qui peuvent passer leur noviciat en dehors du noviciat.» Obviously, as Boschmans suggests, Taiée meant to say «young religious».

8) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 591, p. 66.

priests⁹⁾, but it is not likely in the early days of the College that many of them had already been ordained when they first arrived. The statutes of 1236-38 deferred ordination till a man's thirtieth year. After 1290, when the age was reduced to twenty-five, the number of new arrivals who were already priests undoubtedly increased¹⁰⁾.

As religious, it is hardly surprising that prospective students were expected to be leading a morally laudable life¹¹⁾. But what about their intellectual preparation? Upon his entrance into the Order every novice had to give proof of his knowledge¹²⁾. According to a decree of the General Chapter during the reign of John of Rocquigny, this knowledge was to consist of sufficient progress in grammar and an ability to express oneself readily in Latin¹³⁾. The preparation essentially demanded, even of those about to be ordained priests, had no pretensions of being sufficient to enable one to begin studies in the Parisian faculty of theology. All that was required was a proficiency in reading the ordinary books of the liturgy. Deficiencies in other branches of learning could be redeemed by the righteousness of one's way of life¹⁴⁾. But there is no reason to believe that the minimum was held up as the ideal. The libraries which some of the abbeys possessed¹⁵⁾ would indicate that an interest was maintained in some of the pressing intellectual problems of the time. The subject of teaching within the abbeys is darkened by much silence on the part of our sources. The silence is perhaps sometimes the sign of nothing notable to record. In such cases the students who went to Paris doubtless began with a heavy handicap. But the silence is not complete. We can be sure that abbey teaching was carried on, sometimes on a rather advanced level. For when Pope Clement VI in 1349 granted Premonstratensians certain privileges with respect to obtaining university degrees, he took it for granted that the candidates were already « sufficiently

9) The statutes of 1618 clearly distinguish between students who were priests and those who were not. See FELIBIEN-LOBINEAU, *Hist. de la Ville de Paris*, III, p. 211.

10) See LEFÈVRE, *Les Statuts*, dist. I, cap. 15, p. 27.

11) Boniface's bull demanded that they be docile and praiseworthy in the maturity of their morals.

12) LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, dist. I, cap. 14, p. 24.

13) See G. MADELAINE, *Histoire de Saint Norbert*, 3d ed., Tongerlo, 1928, II, p. 184.

14) LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, dist. I, cap. 15, pp. 27-8.

15) See some of the lists of their books which HUGO gives in his *Annales*, I, 100-2, 117-8, 372-8; II, 492-3, 1092.

instructed in the primitive sciences » before they ever went to Paris ¹⁶). The « primitive sciences » referred to are those with which the faculty of arts at Paris was especially concerned, namely, grammar, logic and physics ¹⁷).

Having seen some of the qualifications expected of students sent to Paris, we may now inquire how many of them were sent at one time. The earliest document that I am aware of which gives specific information is from the years 1329-36. It mentions, as we saw in the last chapter, that 21 fellows were living within the College ¹⁸). We supposed that this number was near capacity. Around 1400 we have another assertion that the College was filled to capacity. The testimony comes from the prelate of Prémontré in a letter to a fellow abbot whom he wishes would cease to usurp the prior's room in the College. The amazement with which the author of the letter speaks of the overflow of students — « laudetur Altissimus » — suggests that such a happy abundance had not always been present in the past ¹⁹). Another reflection on the number of students is given us in 1440. When the University in that year wrote to the Order of Prémontré and urged the Order to devote more care to its dilapidated College the University deplored the fact that « few, now rather no students dwell within the College » ²⁰). Undoubtedly this estimate is a rhetorical exaggeration intended to stimulate action, but just the same it is certainly indicative of an unfortunate era for the College. The same financial difficulties that prevented the Order from repairing the buildings of the College prevented it from supporting as many students there as it might have liked. The suspicion is that these difficulties were a more or less constant plague during the remainder of our period.

Having seen something of the process by which the students were selected for Paris, let us now inquire about the organization of their way of life once they arrived. First concerning the men responsible for organizing it; then concerning the actual direction which the organization took.

16) See LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 702. See also F. PETIT, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés*, Paris, 1947, p. 49.

17) See DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 1040, p. 504.

18) *Ibid.*, II, no. 1184, p. 663.

19) See EVERS, *loc. cit.* (1932), 86-7.

20) *Ibid.*, (1933), p. 258 : « ... unde dolemus, ... paucosque nunc ymmo nullos studii incolas ibidem residere. »

According to the general rules of the Premonstratensian Order, each abbey or foundation had to admit special rights of visitation, reforming, consulting, etc. to the abbot of the monastery which had founded it ²¹). Since the College was the immediate offspring of the original abbey of Prémontré itself, these rights would normally have been the sole possession of the abbot-general. Inasmuch, however, as the College was also a unique project undertaken by and for the Order as a whole, we can expect that its control was vested in an authority broader than that of the abbot-general alone. The solution to the problem of authority was set forth in 1295. In that year Pope Boniface VIII authorized the abbot-general to regulate all matters pertaining to the students and their way of life, but required that he do this with the counsel of the three other primal abbots of the Order ²²). But since the College was certainly one of the common expenses of the whole Order, it is quite likely that the whole Order, acting through the General Chapter, had something to say about its management. This supposition becomes all the more likely after 1320 when the General Chapter decided that each monastery would henceforth have to make an annual contribution to defray the expenditures undertaken for the common good of the Order ²³). What offers itself as a likelihood is exactly what was in fact realized. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the General Chapter assume more and more authority over the management of the College. But nevertheless, even in the changing circumstances, the abbot of Prémontré, whether it was by his own right of paternity or simply as an agent of the whole Order, remained the one who from the outside exercised the most influence over the internal life of the College. It was he who took the initiative in appointing the prior of the College, the man whose office we must now examine.

From its earliest days the College had the status of a priory. Undoubtedly, then, from its earliest days it also had a prior, even though the earliest document known to me which speaks explicitly of the prior is dated February 15, 1349. The document in question is a bull of Pope Clement VI providing for the promotion of Premonstratensians to various university degrees. The prior of the

21) See LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, dist. IV, cap. 2-4, pp. 91-7.

22) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 591, p. 66.

23) F. PETIT, *L'Ordre de Prémontré*, Paris, 1927, p. 84.

College is mentioned in connection with the oath the Pope obliged students to take to the effect that they would not unduly celebrate their academic advancement²⁴). According to the formulary of appointment in use at the end of the fourteenth century, the prior was entrusted with the government and care, both spiritual and temporal, of all the students of the Order studying in Paris. He was granted all the rights and prerogatives which previous priors had enjoyed, whether by law or custom, and obedience to his commands was enjoined on every student in all matters concerning religious discipline and academic propriety. Members of the College who refused to obey him could be evicted and sent back to their home monasteries for punishment. The length of the prior's term was at the will of the abbot-general²⁵). What the rights and duties of the prior concretely meant, we shall see as soon as we look at the contents of the rule which it was his prime obligation to carry out. From the viewpoint of his academic status, we may state here, though proof will be offered only in the second part of our work, that the prior was normally a student still working for his degree. He was probably more mature than his fellow religious, but a student just the same. Let us now see who his official assistants were.

The same formulary used for appointing the prior provides that in his absence his place was to be taken by the abbot of Joyenval. The absence of the prior was not merely a theoretical possibility. He was gradually becoming a central figure within the Order and found all sorts of missions entrusted to his care²⁶). If the abbot of Joyenval could not be present in the prior's absence, then the latter could select one of the members of the College to take over his duties. The proximity of Joyenval to Paris (around 10 miles) made its abbot a convenient man for the deputy headship of the College. It would be rash, however, to conclude that the prelate of Joyenval automatically enjoyed this authority from his proximity alone. In

24) LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 702 f.

25) See EVERS, *loc. cit.* (1932), 40. Evers dates this document between 1423-1440, but its mention of Honoré du Bus as prior of the College leads one to believe that it was really written around 1400 when du Bus was surely prior. See *ibid.*, p. 135. If our suggested date is correct then the abbot of Joyenval referred to in the formulary of appointment is Bertrand du Mornavalle rather than John Toppet. A similar letter of appointment, with a few additional explications and dated November 1, 1439, can be found in *ibid.* (1933), 245-6.

26) Some of these missions will be seen in the second part of our work dealing with the individual members.

the two instances where the records survive, the abbots of Joyenval had the additional recommendation of an intimate acquaintance with the College and University. In the first case the abbot in question seems to have been Bertrand of Mornavalle, formerly a teaching member of the faculty of canon law; in the second it was John Toppet, soon to become an actively teaching member of the same faculty²⁷). In all likelihood the deputy was normally chosen by the prior from among the more advanced students. In the sixteenth century the hierarchy of authority under the prior was sometimes determined by the Chapter General²⁸).

It may be useful to see the list of other officials common to the ordinary abbey or priory of the Order^{28a}). After the abbot and prior came the subprior; then the circator (a kind of inspector of morals), the cantor, the keeper of the books, the sacristan, the master of novices, the provisor of affairs outside the abbey, the cellarer (a steward)²⁹, the wardrobe keeper, the infirmarian, the guest master, the doorkeeper, and the canons chosen weekly to sing the Invitatory and to read at table. The College probably did not have a separate man to fill each of these offices, but nevertheless each office (aside from the master of novices) represents one of the functions which somehow had to be carried out, whether by many canons or by few.

Let us now, at last, see just what it was in the way of regulations of the internal life of the College that the prior and his assistants were required to enforce. For the most part we can mention only what was desired to be enforced, and then only to the extent that these desires were expressed in documents still available to us. As much as possible, however, we shall try to find out how well these desires were actually put into practice.

27) Each of these men will be considered in more detail in the second part of our work.

28) See E. VALVEKENS, «Le Collège des Prémontrés à Paris au Seizième Siècle», *Anal. Praem.*, XVI (1940), 23-4.

28a) Listed by LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, dist. II, p. 40.

29) In his bull of 1335 for the reform of the Cistercian Order Pope Benedict XII ordered that the abbots provide the rectors of their houses of study with cellarers and other suitable officials to the extent that the studies pursued there would require. These officials were to promise under oath to dispense their affairs faithfully and to prepare an account of their receipts and expenses. See DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 992, p. 449. Something similar was probably expected at the College of Prémontré.

The College of Prémontré was founded for the intellectual development more than for the moral and religious improvement of its members. The latter process did not specifically require a College. But if a College was once to exist, then we can expect that religious development was one of its inseparable aims ³⁰).

The spirituality of the mediaeval Premonstratensians is a subject that has been well treated by the Chanoine François Petit ³¹). Hence, all that we shall do here is give a very brief summary of his conclusions, so as to have a view of the religious life of the Premonstratensians in general, and then add whatever specifying characteristics we can find which that life took on in the College. The central inspiration of Premonstratensian spirituality, according to Petit ³²), consists in the account which Scripture has left us of the apostolic community in Jerusalem immediately after the ascension of Christ ³³). It is not surprising then to find the following six features dominating the Norbertine conception of spiritual life : 1) communal life of poverty and work; 2) liturgical prayer; 3) devotion to the Mass and the Eucharist; 4) careful attention to the teaching of the apostles — manifested in cloistral preaching, reading of the Scriptures or the Fathers of the Church, study, meditation, contemplation, and prayer; 5) fraternal charity; and 6) devotion to the Blessed Virgin. To these six characteristics Petit would add another : austerity of life ³⁴).

With a few differences of emphasis — most obvious with regard to the place of study in the life of the religious — these same ideals prevailed in the College of Prémontré from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Whether they were practised as faithfully as in the previous century, we are not often in a position to say. Most of the extant decisions of the General Chapter relating to specific matters of religious discipline in the College come from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And as for the most impor-

30) In a mood of historical retrospection the General Chapter of 1558 expressed a similar opinion : « Item, quia Collegium Premonstratense Parisius situatum, non solum pro litterarum adeptione sed pro moribus et doctrina religiosorum ad augmentum seu decorem totius Ordinis studentium a Reverendis Patribus Ordinis institutum est... » E. VALVEKENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 29, note 61.

31) See his *La spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles (Etudes de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité, X)*, Paris, Vrin, 1947.

32) *Ibid.*, p. 200.

33) See *Acts of the Apostles*, I, 13-4; II, 42-7; IV, 32-7; VI, 2-4.

34) PETIT, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

tant matter, the interior fervor with which these religious ideals were served, we shall follow the counsel of not judging lest we ourselves be judged.

In its earliest days the College lacked an altar, and hence the students had to attend to their religious duties in neighboring churches. This situation, so disadvantageous to a communal liturgical life, evoked an appeal to the pope by John of Rocquigny and his fellow abbots. In reply, Urban IV, on January 31, 1263, requested the bishop of Paris to allow the Premonstratensians to have a portable altar within the College³⁵). The Annalist Hugo, who may not be wholly impartial in this matter, says the reason why only a portable altar was obtained was the fact that «the mediocrity of the place would not allow the construction of a chapel »³⁶). As a matter of fact, however, a chapel was actually added at some later but now unknown date. This affirmation is based on the fact that when the new church of St. John the Baptist and St. Anne was being built in 1618, room had to be made by the demolition of the old chapel³⁷).

Besides the liturgical activities proper to the Order, the students were also obliged to participate in certain religious exercises of the University. These might be the regular University or faculty Masses, sermons and processions³⁸). Advanced students in the faculty of theology were required to give several Sunday afternoon conferences on the theme of the morning's University sermon, and might also be asked even to deliver the sermon³⁹).

The Premonstratensians of the late Middle Ages are often accused of having relaxed the rigorous austerities of their founders. Without wondering whether a certain slackening may not have been a wise thing, without denying the presence of extenuating

35) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 386, p. 429. This charter is also reproduced in LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 585, and in HUGO, *Annales*, I, Probationes, cccxxx-xxxi.

36) HUGO, *Annales*, I, 533.

37) See JAILLOT, *Recherches Critiques, Historiques et Topographiques sur la Ville de Paris*, 18^e Quartier, S.-Andre-des-Arcs, V. 91.

38) See DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 1190, p. 705; no. 1188, p. 695 (14). On the matter of processions see the decision of the General Chapter of 1501, in LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 952 f.

39) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 1189, p. 699; no. 1190, p. 705. On the matter of University sermons, see M. M. DAVY, *Les Sermons Universitaires Parisiens de 1230-1231*, Paris, 1931, and P. GLORIEUX, «*Sermons Universitaires Parisiens de 1267-1268*», *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, XVI (1949), 40-71.

circumstances, and without judging whether the wills involved were good or bad, one must admit a definite basis for the accusation. In the last decade of the thirteenth century, under the Abbot-General William of Louvignies, the Premonstratensians obtained papal permission to relax the rule concerning perpetual abstinence from meat. Henceforth they could eat it while traveling, «in order not to prove onerous to those who received them»⁴⁰). This lone exception for traveling was in itself a small matter. However, by the second half of the fifteenth century the remainder of the rule about abstinence, certainly still stringent enough, had come to be impudently disregarded⁴¹). To avoid the hypocrisy of professing a rule which was no longer obeyed, such men as Theodore of Tuldel, Hubert of Monthermé, John of Sluys, etc., sought papal permission to mitigate the rule. This was finally accomplished in 1503⁴²).

Austerity of life affected more than one's diet. Doubtless the statutes of the Order forbidding women to enter certain parts of an abbey⁴³) applied also to the College. A papal bull of 1349 required that every candidate for the degree of master or doctor had to swear in advance in the presence of the prior of the College and of six prudent fellow students that he would not spend more than 2000 Tournois silvers for food, clothes, and other festivities on the occasion of obtaining his degree. Prospective bachelors had to swear in the presence of the prior and four prudent fellow students that they would not use the occasion of getting their degree as an excuse for a festive celebration⁴⁴). The commission of appointment given to the prior around 1400 and again in 1439 contained a regulation forbidding students under pain of excommunication to leave the college building after the nightly bell for Compline had rung from the Franciscans' college across the street. Exceptions were allowed if they went out with their own abbot (who happened to be in Paris) or other laudable persons and had obtained permission from the prior. The prior himself was not bound by this regulation, the reason being that his office had come

40) HUGO, *Annales*, I, 27.

41) *Ibid.*, I, 35.

42) See LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 953. On this matter and the whole question of the reform of the statutes see E. VALVEKENS, «*Le Chapitre Général de Prémontré et les Nouveaux Statuts de 1505*», *Anal. Praem.*, XIV (1938), 53-94.

43) See LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, dist. IV, cap. 13, pp. 115 f.

44) See LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 702 f.

to be recognized officially as that of an itinerant representative and investigator for the Order ⁴⁵).

The same clothes or habits which the general Statutes prescribed as the normal dress for each canon ⁴⁶) undoubtedly were to be worn also in the College. In any event, the striking white habits of the students going to and from their lectures did not fail to leave an impression on contemporary observers, as these rather harsh words of the poet Rutebeuf show :

De cex de Prémontré me convient dire voir :
Orgix & convoitise les set bien decevoir;
Il sont par dehors blanc, & par dedens sont noirs;
S'ils fussent partot blanc il fesissent savoir ⁴⁷).

There must have been a strong tendency for religious students to become either too careless or else too punctilious in their dress. In any event, religious dress provoked many University decrees, of which the following by the faculty of canon law in 1340 is typical :

Members of religious orders for their outer garments shall have frock or cowl or other habit befitting their order. Also the same, of whatever state or condition they may be, shall not wear pointed or openwork shoes, red hose or sandals, nor knotted hoods, or other clothing or colors of cloths prohibited by law ⁴⁸).

Clement VI in his privilege of 1349 also insisted on clothes befitting the Order ⁴⁹), and the Chapter General itself, in 1501 under the leadership of John of Sluys, added a similar injunction of its own ⁵⁰).

The disciplinary powers of the prior were considerable. Regula-

45) See EVERS, « *Formularium Praemonstratense* », *Anal. Praem.*, VIII (1932), separate pagination, 40; IX (1933), 246.

46) See LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, dist. II, cap. 13, pp. 56 ff.

47) RUTEBEUF, « *De la Vie dou Monde* » in *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Achille Jubinal, Paris, 1874, II, 41.

48) L. THORNDIKE, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1944, no. 77, pp. 193 f. Also in M. FOURNIER, *La Faculté de Décret de l'Université de Paris au XV^e Siècle*, I, p. 15, and DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 1040, pp. 503-4.

49) See LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 703.

50) See *ibid.*, 952 f.

tions in effect during the first half of the fifteenth century authorized him to send back to his original monastery for punishment any student who showed himself rebellious⁵¹). His right to hear the Confessions of all the students⁵²) enabled him to keep a close watch over their moral development. If any of them should happen to incur the sentence of excommunication, suspension or irregularity — «quod absit!» — the prior was able to absolve and dispense them⁵³). An unfortunate disadvantage to the religious life of the College was the prior's frequent absence from Paris on business of the Order.

We do not have the evidence to determine whether or not the College was more loyal to the Rule than the rest of the Order. We do know, however, that in the sixteenth century when the commendatory abbots had brought the life of the Order to its lowest ebb, it was the students from Paris who brought about a rejuvenation⁵⁴).

The economic life of the College, to which we now turn our attention, might be studied from the viewpoint of the extent to which it was regulated by the Premonstratensians' vow of poverty. Such a study would bring us to the heart of Premonstratensian life, if it is true that what St. Norbert primarily meant by a return to the apostolic life, which was the object of his canonical reform, was a return to apostolic poverty⁵⁵). This viewpoint, however, since it depends finally on a knowledge of the interior affections of human hearts, is unfortunately not very feasible. Hence, after giving what we can of the processes of economic life in the College, we shall not push our search for the significance of these processes beyond their influence on intellectual activity in the College. Undoubtedly they were also a help or hindrance to religious perfection but here we shall not venture. Finally, our inquiry here

51) EVERS, *loc. cit.*, VIII (1932), 40; IX (1933), 246.

52) *Ibid.*

53) This privilege was issued in 1474 by Pope Sixtus IV. It is reproduced in LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 722. In previous commissions given to the prior around 1400 and in 1439 the power of dispensing from irregularity was especially entrusted to the abbot of Joyenval. See EVERS, *loc. cit.*, VIII (1932), 40; IX (1933), 246.

54) See E. VALVEKENS, «Le Collège des Prémontrés à Paris», *Anal. Praem.*, XVI (1940), 34.

55) See C. DEREINE, «Le Premier Ordo de Prémontré», *Revue Bénédictine*, LVIII (1948), 89-90.

presupposes what was already said in Chapter II concerning the maintenance of the College buildings.

The best account still extant of the way a Premonstratensian student was supported at Paris comes from a bull of Pope Benedict XII in 1339. This bull was intended for the reformation of canons regular in general. Ten years later Clement VI applied its substance specifically to the Premonstratensians. If Clement's bull makes no explicit mention of Benedict's economic provisions, perhaps we can infer that they were tacitly included in the « *statuta et ordinationes... alia quaecunque per eundem Benedictum ...facta & edita* » which Clement says he now extends and amplifies⁵⁶). Regardless of whether or not this inference is true it still remains that Benedict's provisions probably give us a picture of actual customs. He decreed that every monastery having a student at Paris was required to grant him an annual pension, varying according to his status. A master lecturing in theology was to receive sixty Tournois pounds — or their equivalent in other money; a bachelor and also a theological scholar (pre-bachelor?) was to get forty; a doctor *decretorum* lecturing in canon law was to receive fifty; a bachelor or canon law scholar was to get thirty-five. This money should suffice for the scholar's food, clothing, shoes, books and any other necessities he might have. It was to be given him on or around the feast of the Holy Cross (September 14), and should have been paid to the collector by the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15). Of the amount received, the scholar was supposed to use only twenty pounds for daily expenses, and six pounds for shoes and clothing. The rest should be reserved for books and other necessities such as occur in times of illness⁵⁷).

The mid-fourteenth-century ideal pictured here probably continued as the ideal through the whole mediaeval period. In 1618 the students were still supposed to receive pensions from their home monasteries⁵⁸). But the ideal was not always what was actually practised. The impecuniousness of a monastery often prevented it from supporting a student at Paris. It may be that

56) See LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 703 f.

57) DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, II, no. 1002, pp. 463 f. A further provision, which may not have been the custom in our College, required that part of the remaining sum had to go as a contribution to the prior. Even students whose income came from a source independent of their monasteries were required to pay the prior the same portion as the other students.

58) See the Statutes of 1618 in FELIBIEN-LOBINEAU, *Hist. de la Ville de Paris*, III, 212.

financial hardships were one of the main reasons for the opposition met by William of Louvignies and his plans for sending students to Paris at the end of the thirteenth century⁵⁹). In the period around 1400 we have several instances of threatened or actual excommunication of an abbot because he refused to send a student to Paris as the General Chapter had enjoined him⁶⁰). By 1442 the situation seems to have worsened. The General Chapter, harried by the interminable French-English wars, no longer felt able to enjoin or command; it merely exhorted the monasteries to send « virtuous and studious scholars » to Paris⁶¹). During all this time, whenever a Premonstratensian became a teaching member of one of the faculties, whatever income he received from his home monastery was supplemented by the fees he received from his students.

A matter of special financing for the College was the stipend of the prior. In this regard one might expect, since the prior was usually a student, that his burse would come from the abbey which had sent him to Paris. In effect this would mean Prémontré, since it was from there, the paternal abbey, that the prior usually came. The documents which we possess, however, all agree in making the prior's stipend a responsibility of the whole Order. The General Chapter authorizes the grant. Sometimes it assigns to the prior the tallage due from particular abbeys. This was the practice around 1400⁶²). In several instances when the abbots involved refused to pay the sum demanded, they were excommunicated⁶³). Some of the abbeys of Normandy were so accustomed to have their tallage devoted to this purpose that one year they sent a contribution to the prior without any special authorization. The result was the wrath of the abbot-general⁶⁴). Around 1440 a good part of the prior's burse seems to have depended on whatever funds he could raise during the visitations which the Order was coming to consider more and more as a function of his office⁶⁵). At the end of the fifteenth century the burse came out of the common funds which

59) See p. 154 and note 5 above.

60) See EVERS, *loc. cit.* (1932), 127, 145.

61) *Ibid.* (1933), 260.

62) See *ibid.* (1932), 41.

63) *Ibid.*, (1932), 127-8, 41.

64) *Ibid.*, 143.

65) As an example see *ibid.* (1933), 264.

the Chapter General had on hand. The financial account given to the General Chapter of 1499 by the Abbot-General John of Sluys included an expenditure of 90 Tournois pounds for the prior's burse. Out of this sum the latter was obliged to pay a total of 560 *solidi* (28 pounds) to six different men who represented the Order before the Parlement of Paris ⁶⁶).

An extraordinary expense confronting most students was the cost of academic advancement and finally of getting a degree. The process involved, among other things, special pecuniary grants to the professors of the student's faculty. Perhaps each student's home abbey supported this expense, but we have at present little direct evidence to prove it. An interesting case presents itself, however, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Aimé Fontaine, a licentiate in theology, needed a further subsidy in order to get his doctorate. Accordingly, the General Chapter of 1518 authorized him to collect two florins from each abbot and a half florin from each curate of the Order ⁶⁷). From this instance perhaps we can quite justly conclude with respect to previous practice that whenever the expenditure promised to redound to the credit and prestige of the whole Order, as it obviously did when it was a question of having a Premonstratensian on the Parisian faculty, then the whole Order would surely supply what an individual monastery by itself could not.

The financial accounts of the Abbot-General John of Sluys tell us of one other source of income for the students. During the annual capitulary reunions it became customary for the Fathers of the Order to listen to theological conferences given by students from Paris. In 1498 the scholars received an emolument or *urbanitas* of ten pounds for their three conferences. In 1499 they received ten pounds for two conferences ⁶⁸).

From the few economic records at our disposal one is not justified in drawing many conclusions. The glimmerings we have seen would nevertheless indicate that the intellectual endeavors of the students often rested on a precarious financial substructure. Undoubtedly many young canons of intellectual promise never

⁶⁶) See E. VALVEKENS, « *La Situation Financière du Chapitre Général Prémontré au Début du Seizième Siècle* », *Anal. Praem.*, XIV (1938), 183, also 141.

⁶⁷) See Laon Ms. 538, p. 179, as published by E. VALVEKENS, « *Le Collège des Prémontrés* », *Anal. Praem.*, XVI (1940), 7-8.

⁶⁸) See E. VALVEKENS, « *La Situation Financière* », *Anal. Praem.*, XIV (1938), 178, 184, 139 note I.

had the chance for training in Paris because of the poverty of their abbeys. Of those who did get there, undoubtedly many were never sure of how long they could stay. This insecurity was not conducive to intellectual progress. It is tempting to accuse those abbots of anti-intellectualism who refused to contribute for the support of scholars at Paris. Accusations such as these tend to assume that the abbots could have made these contributions if only they had wanted to. There is some reason for thinking, however, that often the economic plight of the abbeys simply precluded the possibility of supporting intellectual activities. Whether this plight was the result of financial mismanagement or of factors beyond any individual abbot's control — wars, plagues, inflations, etc. — or of both, we leave it to others to decide.

The Library

The College library, essentially allied to intellectual life, is treated in this section on non-intellectual matters inasmuch as it too formed a part of the material inheritance of the Parisian priory. The College was founded in an epoch when the need for books, or rather codices, was matched only by their scarcity. The individual student was fortunate if he possessed any manuscripts beyond the notes taken at his professors' lectures. In such a situation one of the chief *raisons d'être* of the colleges was the greater supply of codices which they could provide for the common use of their members.

With respect to the library in our College, let us see first what is knowable about it simply from its connection with the Premonstratensian Order; after that we can look at those features impressed on it from its connection with the University.

The mediaeval statutes of the Order of Prémontré made provision for a canon in each monastery to take care of its books⁶⁹). Undoubtedly the College had a student filling the same function. His duties, according to the same statutes, were as follows : to correct the books, if he knew how; to open or close the case in which they were kept, whenever necessary; to terminate the readings, if he was suitable for this; to agree with the cantor on what should be read in the chapel and when the histories should be started; to tell the readers in the refectory when they were not reading well; to get books on loan, when needed, and to lend the

69) See LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, dist. II, cap. 7, p. 49; LE PAICE, *Bibliotheca*, 803.

books of the monastery to others asking for them, but not without the authorization of the abbot and a sufficient receipt; and finally, to know as far as possible what and how many books have been committed to his care ⁷⁰).

Some of the books which the College undoubtedly possessed from its earliest days can be inferred from the same statutes. They prescribed that no new abbot be sent to a new place without at least twelve clerics and the following books : psalter, hymnal, collectaneum, antiphony, gradual, rule, and missal. These were an indispensable minimum if the College was to fulfill its function as a priory. Charles Hugo lists the books owned by the Premonstratensian abbeys of Vicogne, Parc, Bonne-Espérance, Floreffe, Cuissy, etc. ⁷¹). Some of these abbeys were quite well supplied. By an argument of analogy, which of course may not be very strong, one might expect that the College was equally well stocked with patristic and scholastic texts.

As a University house of studies for apprentice theologians and canonists, the College surely possessed the basic texts used in the schools. This would mean at least the Bible, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, the *Decretum* of Gratian, and the Decretals. Other works then in demand —including the Fathers of the Church, Aristotle, various biblical, philosophical and legal commentaries, etc. — of which the College of Prémontré should have owned its share, if it owned any other books at all, can be found mentioned in an interesting list of book prices published by the University in 1286 ⁷²). The prices listed for each book refer to the cost of renting University approved exemplars piece by piece for private copying ⁷³). Those books which the College did not itself own, or could not conveniently have copied, it could borrow from some of the other college libraries, and especially from the nearby Sorbonne ⁷⁴). Leopold Delisle has found a receipt made out by a Premonstratensian named Baldwin for a book he borrowed on April 26,

70) LEFÈVRE, *Statuts*, pp. 49 f.; LE PAIGE, *Bibliotheca*, 803; A. FRANKLIN, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, I, Paris, 1867, p. 320.

71) HUGO, *Annales*, II, 1092, 492-3; I, 372-3, 100-2, 117-8.

72) See DENIFLE-CHATELAIN, *Chartularium*, I, no. 530, pp. 644-9; L. THORNDIKE, *University Records*, no. 49, pp. 112-7.

73) On this subject of university book reproduction see J. DESTREZ, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1935.

74) See H. RASHDALL, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, new ed. by Powicke and Emden, 1936, I, p. 491 in a note added by the editors.

1284 from the library of the Parisian Abbey of St.-Germain-des-Prés ⁷⁵).

Having seen the few books without which the College could hardly have remained a College, we should naturally like to inquire next about the gradual additions to the basic fund. The ideal source for answering our inquiry would seem to be the list of the library's possessions which was made at the time of their confiscation in 1790 ⁷⁶). This list credits the College with 1819 volumes ⁷⁷). Since many of them contain biblical, patristic, and scholastic writings, one might infer that our College had already been fairly well stocked with these texts even in the mediaeval period. Unfortunately, however, of the total number of volumes a very small percentage are manuscripts ⁷⁸). Since all the rest were printed, it is most likely that the vast majority came to the College after 1500. In other words, then, our best source gives no positive reply to our query, and by default gives some credence to the woeful report of the second best source. The latter is the letter sent by the University to the prelates of the Order in 1440 urging them to extend a helping hand to the foundering College. According to this letter the College possessed no library. One of the University's fervent hopes was that this lack would be quickly filled through the efforts of John Toppet, abbot of Joyenval and doctor of the faculty of canon law, working with the cooperation of the abbot-general and the General Chapter ⁷⁹). How well these hopes were realized we do not know. The mere fact, however, that there was a need for them, coupled with the paucity of any other authentic information on this subject, does not leave one with a very encouraging impression of the library facilities of our College.

⁷⁵) L. DELISLE, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II, Paris, 1874, p. 43. A note called to my attention by Dr. A. Gabriel.

⁷⁶) The list is preserved in Paris, Archives Nationales, S. 43-42.

⁷⁷) FRANKLIN, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, I, 321, says it possessed 1823 but he adds several manuscripts which, according to the prior, are of no value. The *ex-libris* which Franklin reproduces (p. 322) does not belong to our College, but rather to the College for Premonstratensians of the Reformed Congregation at the Croix Rouge near St.-Germain-des-Prés. The late Chanoine Richard Boschmans has found the *ex-libris* actually of our College in two manuscripts in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3319 A and 3319 B.

⁷⁸) FRANKLIN, *op. cit.*, I, 321, credits it with only three manuscripts, but an examination of the list shows that his number is incomplete.

⁷⁹) See Evers, *loc. cit.*, IX (1933), separate pagination, 258, 259.

In concluding this first part of our study let us try to summarize briefly what we have so far said. The intellectual growth of western Christendom, above all at and through the University of Paris, had come to such a stage by the mid-thirteenth century, that only through willful negligence could an official organ of the Church stand indifferently aside. The Fathers of the Premonstratensian Order correctly appraised the new situation. Accordingly, under the leadership of John of Rocquigny, they founded an establishment in Paris which could channel the nourishing wisdom of the University back to the members of their Order. They took systematic pains to provide their representatives in Paris with suitable housing facilities. Under the strain of passing time these eventually collapsed. Repeated attempts were made at restoration, but unfortunately, possibly through lack of wholehearted effort, certainly through lack of financial resources, the architectural foundations of the College never seem to have become permanently secure. At the same time that the College was serving as the intellectual vanguard of the Order, it continued the normal Premonstratensian religious life, somewhat altered, however, by the exigencies of University requirements. If the College reflected any decline in the religious enthusiasm of the Order in general, it nevertheless seems to have retained enough devotion to have inspired a rejuvenation of the whole Order in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The frequently discouraging financial situation which has confronted us at so many turns certainly weighed heavily on the interior life of the College. Perhaps not even the most religious aspects of the students' lives remained unaffected. Nevertheless, even if our final judgments about the College may not be overly encouraging, we must not resign ourselves to them prematurely, on the basis of a doleful economic determinism. First we must examine that sphere where, if anyplace, the free play of the spirit had its way. We refer to the life-giving heart of the College — its intellectual activity.

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