Rethinking the School of Chartres

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Translated from the French by Claude Paul Desmarais

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Illustrations

Abbreviations

AHDLMA	Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen-Âge.
Behrends	Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
BGPTMA	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters.
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum*. Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols).
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum*. Continuatio Mediaeualis (Turnhout: Brepols).
CNRS	Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris.
GL	*Grammatici Latini*, ex recensione Henrici Keilii (Leipzig, 1855–1923).

Lectio philosophorum	Édouard Jeauneau, "*Lectio philosophorum*." *Recherches sur L'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1973).
McGarry	*The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury. A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, translated with an introduction and notes by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
PIMS	Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66).
Ronca and Curr	*William of Conches: A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy* (*Dragmaticon Philosophiae*). Translation of the new Latin critical text with a short introduction and explanatory notes by Italo Ronca and Matthew Curr (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997).
RTAM	*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1929-1998).
SAEL	*Fulbert de Chartres, Œuvres: Correspondance, Controverse, Poésie* (Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, April 2006).
Tendenda Vela	Édouard Jeauneau, *"Tendenda Vela." Excursions littéraires et digressions philosophiques à travers le Moyen Âge*. Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia. Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity 47 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

Foreword

From 1948 to 1958 I taught scholastic philosophy at the foot of the towers of the Cathedral of Chartres. Almost every day, and often several times a day, I would pass in front of the *Portail royal* (Royal Portal), which dates from the first half of the twelfth century. Soon I became convinced that this portal bore a message for me. Quite often I stopped in front of its right porch to contemplate the sculptures, found in the archivolts, which represent the seven Liberal Arts: Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. These statues reminded me, naturally, how in a previous age the renowned schools of Chartres attracted students from the four corners of Europe. I wanted to learn more about these schools, and so I sought out the texts related to them, some printed and others—far more numerous—available only as manuscripts. So began my vocation as a medievalist.[1]

The cathedral itself fascinated me as well. I was instantly struck by its majestic beauty, which always drew me back to it. I soon realized that, in order to understand the cathedral's message, I would have to submerse myself in the cultural universe that had created such a masterpiece. Let me first be clear, however: I do not pretend that a study like this of the works of the masters of Chartres can provide an account of the iconography of the Cathedral of Chartres.[2] Still, it is precisely

Figure 1. *Portail royal*, engraving by Charles Jouas (1866–1942) (from the private collection of Édouard Jeauneau, all rights reserved)

because the Cathedral of Chartres was the site of famous schools—the same holds true for the Cathedral of Laon—that the seven Liberal Arts were carved and represented in the *Portail royal.* It is possible to say, then, that a certain familiarity with the Chartrian masters and their teachings is one path to a better understanding of the spirit of the cathedral.

It was with such thoughts in mind that one sculptural detail in particular caught my attention one day. On the south side of the *Clocher vieux* (the south tower) is the statue of a donkey: *l'âne qui vielle* (the ass who plays the lyre).[3] This donkey holds in its large hooves a musical instrument, from which the beast is unable to bring forth music. A modern viewer might wonder, could this be a burlesque fantasy, a concession of medieval clerics to popular taste? Far from it. If the statue could speak to the astonished tourist, it would ask, in ancient Greek, "Are you the *onos lyras*?" While the last two words might be incomprehensible to a visitor today, educated pilgrims of the twelfth century would have easily understood the allusion,[4] for they would have read those same words in the works of Boethius[5] and Martianus Capella.[6] They possibly would even have known of a fable by Phaedrus entitled "The Ass and the Lyre," in which an ass tries but fails to play the stringed instrument.[7] From its high perch, the donkey seemed to be asking me, "Are you the ass with the lyre? For the cathedral that you are contemplating is a lyre, ready to vibrate under your fingers. Will you be able to extract its secret harmony? Or will you, like me, be unable to play the lyre you have found?" Clearly this donkey was inviting me to study the famous school that began in the cloisters of Notre-Dame under Fulbert of Chartres (1006–1028), and reached its zenith in the twelfth century.

Once I started to look, one difficulty in studying the school quickly became apparent: there is no information still existing that pertains to the number and names of the students who attended the School of Chartres, or to the places where they met. Often, chance alone has presided over the preservation of the data upon which all our findings rest. Consequently, it is not possible to establish a precise account of this school in the fashion of modern historical research. The reader should, therefore, not expect to find in these pages a statistical report on the School of Chartres. What I offer instead is a gallery of portraits—depictions of the most famous masters of the school, illustrated with vignettes and personal recollections of my own.[8] I have done my utmost to be impartial while sketching these portraits, but I do, nonetheless, present

Figure 2. The ass who plays the lyre, statue on the south side of the *Clocher vieux*, Chartres Cathedral (photo by Annemarie Geyskens, all rights reserved)

the Chartrian masters in a favorable light. This is how they appear to me, and I believe that this is how we must see them in order to comprehend them: without a minimum of sympathy, there can be no true understanding.

Whatever the nature of my sentiments for the masters of Chartres, I must admit that this alone would not have sufficed to set me upon the perilous and treacherous task of dedicating this work to them. For this, I must thank those who encouraged me to embark on this path, and those who provided the even more precious gift of helping me to continue on it and complete this book.

My first debt of gratitude is to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (PIMS) of Toronto. For well over thirty years, the Institute and its library have generously provided the space and the tools necessary for my research. In chapter four, I relate how the Basilian Fathers, founders of this Institute, long ago saved one of the most remarkable witnesses to the blossoming of the School of Chartres in the twelfth century: the *Heptateucon*. With this book project, they have permitted me to return to a love of my youth, the School of Chartres. In fact, despite my work on John Scottus (Eriugena) over the years, the School of Chartres never ceased to intrigue, to challenge, and to fascinate me. My thanks go out to the various presidents of PIMS and to the team from its Department of Publications, especially Fred Unwalla, as well as to its librarians: Father James K. Farge in particular. I would also like to thank several colleagues from Toronto and elsewhere: the Reverend Keven Kirley, C.S.B.; Andrew Hicks, who is a doctoral candidate in Music and Medieval Studies; William Edwards of the PIMS Library; Suan Yen Foo, graduate student at the School of Theology; and Dr. Gerd Bayer, University of Erlangen, Germany. They all were kind enough to review this text and suggest, here and there, either useful additions or necessary corrections. Of course, I have also profited from the expert advice and copyediting of Natalie Fingerhut of the University of Toronto Press and freelance editor Kristen Chew, to whom I owe much gratitude.

Help to carry me along the path has not only arrived from Ontario, but also from British Columbia. I thank Professor Paul Edward Dutton, Jack and Nancy Farley University Professor in History at Simon Fraser University, for kindly welcoming my modest work into this collection. The greater debt, though, is for Paul's effort in making this book a better one through his insightful reading and editing of it. The very idea of

publishing this gallery of portraits from the School of Chartres emanates from British Columbia as well. In this case, thanks are due to Professor Claude Paul Desmarais, Reichwald Professor in Germanic Studies at the University of British Columbia Okanagan. His first task, which, admittedly, was not the easiest one, was to break my resistance to the project. His second was to translate into English texts written in French, some of them still unpublished, while the others were previously published but extensively reworked for this new project. He suffered patiently through my numerous changes, which obliged him to delete entire pages and replace them with completely new texts. He did not balk at the task. This book owes much to Claude. It even owes him its existence, for without his amiable and tenacious insistence, this book would not have seen the light of day.

We now enter the gallery of portraits, as promised, where we will be introduced to some of the masters responsible for the School of Chartres's fame in the twelfth century. Before doing so, however, one question begs an answer: did the School of Chartres exist? This question has been asked forcefully in the past, and it deserves careful consideration.

Chapter 1
The School of Chartres: Myth or Reality?

The cathedral of Chartres, like other important European cathedrals, maintained schools for the education of its clergy from the Middle Ages up to the threshold of modernity. There exists little or no information about the origins of such schools, and the theory that they replaced druidic schools, however enticing, cannot be verified. For the Merovingian era, history provides us with the names of only a few bishops who carefully promoted the clergy's training. The most important among them are Lubinus, Caletricus, and Betharius. With the advent of the Carolingian Renaissance, however, and particularly after Charlemagne promulgated his capitulary mandating educational reform in 789, there was a renewed interest in the value of letters and education at monasteries and cathedral schools throughout the empire. We have every reason to believe that Chartres also benefited from this new emphasis on learning, but it cannot be confidently asserted that the capitulary had an immediate effect upon Chartres. It may not have: in the two centuries after Charlemagne's reforms, the city of Chartres occupied only a modest place on the map of Western European centers of learning.[9] In fact, it was not until the episcopate of Saint Fulbert (1006–1028)

that the School of Chartres began to make a name for itself, and the school's period of glory would coincide with the later episcopates of Ivo of Chartres (1090–1115) and Geoffrey of Lèves (1115–1148). These two bishops greatly favored the development of the School of Chartres, but they were not the only ones to secure its success. The cathedral school itself was under the authority of the college of the canons (the Chapter), and it was the chancellor who undertook its direction. In the first half of the twelfth century, the school had the good fortune to have three notable chancellors to run it: Bernard of Chartres, Gilbertus Porretanus (also known as Gilbert of Poitiers), and Thierry of Chartres. The work of these three men is the reason why the first half of the twelfth century can be considered the golden age of the School of Chartres.

The first scholar to draw the attention of historians to the School of Chartres in modern times was Lucien Merlet, chief curator of the *Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir* and author of *Lettres d'Ives de Chartres et d'autres personnages de son temps*, published in 1855.[10] Roughly thirty years later an English historian, Reginald Lane Poole, painted a sympathetic portrait of the School of Chartres in his well-received book *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning*, which assured the school a place of honor in European cultural history.[11] However, it was left to a Chartrian priest, Canon Alexandre Clerval (1859–1918), to establish the reputation of the School of Chartres in his doctoral thesis *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Âge*, defended in 1895.[12] Head of La Maîtrise (the choir school of Chartres Cathedral) and professor at the Institut catholique de Paris, Clerval had been taught in his early years by the eminent scholar Msgr. Louis Duchesne.[13] Clerval established the modern reputation of the School of Chartres and was also the first modern academic to mine the rich manuscript materials of both the Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres and the Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir.

The work of these great scholars ensured that the School of Chartres had a special status in relation to the other episcopal schools of Europe, none of which had scholars such as Merlet and Clerval to write their history. Their work did play a particularly important role in shaping the favor that the School of Chartres came to enjoy among historians of medieval philosophy, but medieval philosophy scholars had turned their attention to the Chartrian masters even before Clerval's work was

published. For instance, Barthélemy Hauréau (1812–1896), with whom Clerval would cross swords on several occasions, had already displayed a distinct sympathy for Bernard of Chartres (whom he initially conflated with Bernard Silvestris of Tours and Bernard of Moëlan), as well as for Thierry of Chartres. The history of medieval philosophy and theology owes much to Hauréau's research. A great decipherer of manuscripts and tireless editor of texts, he admired above all those authors who flirted with heresy; that is to say, those who professed doctrines that, rightly or wrongly, seemed audacious to him and thus might be deemed heretical. The greatest compliment that Hauréau could bestow on a medieval author was to consider him a "free-thinker."[14] Most likely included in this category was Thierry of Chartres, whom Hauréau took to be a pantheist.[15] On this point, Hauréau fell victim to a figment of his imagination, for there is not an ounce of pantheism in the thought of Thierry of Chartres. And yet, this misconception explains, to some extent, why Thierry of Chartres was so greatly admired by Hauréau himself, and then by Hauréau's disciples.[16] If Hauréau had been able to detect the truth—that Thierry held orthodox views—he most likely would have found Thierry less interesting. At any rate, if Hauréau's conclusions were misdirected, his interest was not misplaced, for Thierry is an author worth studying. By bringing to light and editing for the first time Thierry's *De sex dierum operibus* (Concerning the Work of the Six Days), a commentary on the first chapter of Genesis which describes how God created the world in six days, Hauréau made an important contribution to the history of medieval thought.

The enviable reputation enjoyed by the School of Chartres at the end of the nineteenth century was consolidated into a privileged position in the twentieth. Open a history of medieval culture or a history of Western civilization from this time that does not ignore the Middle Ages, and you will find the School of Chartres mentioned. Beyond the works of the scholars mentioned above, at least two more factors contributed to the school's elevated stature: first and foremost the cathedral itself and, second, a particular philosophy of history. The first factor need not be commented upon at length. The city of Chartres justifiably takes pride in its cathedral, one of the most famous in the world, and it is no wonder that readers were ready to believe historians who equated the importance of the School of Chartres in the Middle Ages with the

renown of the cathedral itself. To quote Richard Southern:

> Yet Chartres was, and long continued to be, a sweet and pleasant place. The genial liberality of its counts, the lack of tension in its political relations, the freedom of its ecclesiastical society, the wealth and numbers of its cathedral canons, all helped to provide an atmosphere of well-being and learning in the church. In the course of the century it had many learned and distinguished men as bishops, chancellors, and canons; even in a century of great cathedrals, the cathedral of Chartres must be reckoned one of the finest monuments of the age. All these factors must give Chartres a special place in our mental image of the twelfth century, but when we transfer this glowing image to the school of Chartres we must beware.[17]

The second factor—a particular philosophy of history—deserves more of our attention, for it seems that a Marxist reading of history played a role in promoting the renown of the School of Chartres in the modern era.

From a Marxist viewpoint, the twelfth-century emergence of the bourgeoisie or burgher class (closely linked to the development of cities) represents an important stage in the process through which a classless society will ultimately be achieved. Such an interpretation of history makes it possible to see the twelfth-century conflict between the Cistercian monk Saint Bernard and the Parisian master Peter Abelard as symbolic of class struggle: Bernard of Clairvaux, because he was a monk and a descendant of a line of Burgundian nobility, is the embodiment of feudalism and pontifical theocracy. By contrast, Peter Abelard, born in Le Pallet, represents the communal spirit visible in the rise of cities and the bourgeoisie. Historically speaking, of course, all of this is debatable,[18] as Abelard hailed from the lesser nobility of Brittany and eventually became a monk himself. What matters is that, in the eyes of some Marxist historians, Abelard represents progressive forces and Saint Bernard reactionary ones. The School of Chartres, as an urban school (and not a monastic one), is therefore on the same side as Abelard: it falls onto the winning side of history.

The minor proposition of this syllogism is not, however, without

foundation. When Abelard appeared before the Council of Soissons in 1121, the bishop of Chartres, Geoffrey II of Lèves, intervened clearly and vigorously on his behalf.[19] At the same council, a schoolmaster, a "certain Thierry" in whom we may recognize, not unconvincingly, Thierry of Chartres, also energetically took up the defense of Abelard.[20] In doing so, he held the papal legate up to such ridicule that his bishop, presumably the bishop of Chartres, was forced to call him back to order.[21] Thierry, however, persisted and inveighed against the assembly with an allusion to the biblical story in which the chaste Susanna is falsely accused by two wicked men: "Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel, that without examination or knowledge of the truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel? Return to the place of judgment and there give judgment to the judge himself."[22] The judge, in this instance, was none other than the papal legate.

This connection to Abelard also caused scholars from Chartres to face the direct scrutiny of Bernard of Clairvaux, who, for his part, would play an active role in the campaign against Gilbert of Poitiers, one of the most brilliant of the Chartrian chancellors.[23] While Bernard was doing so, William of Saint-Thierry, abbot of the monastery of the same name near Rheims, put pressure on him to condemn William of Conches, another master traditionally associated with the School of Chartres. The abbot of Saint-Thierry declared William of Conches to be like an adder risen from the root of a serpent (namely Abelard), because he considered both Abelard and William of Conches, and their progressive ideas, to be a threat to traditional theology.[24] Given the close relationship between Chartres and Abelard, and the similarity of their ideas, it is understandable that the school at Chartres would enjoy a reputation among certain Marxist historians that was on par with the very favorable one granted Abelard. To illustrate this point, I would like to quote the Soviet historian Boris J. Ramm's view of William of Conches, published in Moscow in 1961:

> The brilliant blossoming of intellectual culture in France during the first half of the twelfth century, the renaissance of spiritual life and the intensification of the struggle amongst the representatives of various tendencies, was the result of profound changes in the entire social and economic life of the country. The rapid rise of

> cities, the spread of the young urban civilization with its forward-looking concepts on the one hand, the considerable advancement of religious heresies among the rural masses on the other, contributed to the formation of new ideas, which removed the mystical veil from the material world, unmasking religion and placing the focus on humans and the conditions under which their lives pass. With manifestly growing interest in profane knowledge, those minds, hungry for knowledge, sought to uncover the rational explanation of the phenomena of the exterior world, and thus cleared the path to materialism. The new ideas were opposed to the dogma of Providence and challenged the ecclesiastical authority and the feudal system sanctified by the Church. William of Conches, master of arts and man of science, was one of the preeminent representatives of these progressive ideas, where rationalist tendencies and elementary materialism broke through. Bourgeois historiography (Charma, Flatten, Werner, Gregory) steadfastly maintained its silence, for a century, toward William's fight against religious dogmatism, his fearless attacks against the obscurantism of theologians. The ideas of William of Conches, imbued with the spirit of the School of Chartres, with which he was closely associated, find their expression in his work, which is dedicated to the problems of natural philosophy and cosmological questions.[25]

Other historians, not as strongly influenced by Marxist thought and more discrete, have also been quite willing to envisage the School of Chartres as a ship proudly sailing in the right direction—forward with the progress of History. Take, for instance, the view found in a book, small in size but great in merit, that helped foster an appreciation of the medieval period in general, and of the School of Chartres in particular, Jacques Le Goff's *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*:

> The intellectuals of the twelfth century, in those urban surroundings which were slowly rising up, where everything was shifting and changing, put the machine of history back in motion and began by defining their mission in time: *Veritas filia temporis*, as Bernard of Chartres still said.[26]

Do not look for these words—"Truth is the daughter of Time"—in the writings of Bernard of Chartres: they are not to be found there. However, you will find them in the works of Aulus Gellius, a Latin author of the second century CE, who attributes the quotation to an ancient poet, whose name he cannot recall.[27] It also appears that Aulus Gellius, lover and collector of antiquities, does not seem to have cared much about "putting back into motion the machine of history." Rather, according to Erasmus, Gellius's adage *Veritas filia temporis* signifies that it is impossible to keep a secret indefinitely: sooner or later the truth will emerge. The humanist from Rotterdam confirmed the adage of Aulus Gellius by quoting Matthew 10:26: "For nothing is covered that will not be revealed, or hidden that will not be known."[28] Let us return the floor to Jacques Le Goff:

> Chartres was the great center of learning in the twelfth century. The arts of the trivium—grammar, rhetoric, and logic—found their place there, as was seen in the teachings of Bernard of Chartres. But beyond the study of *uoces*, Chartrian scholars preferred the study of things, *res*, which belongs to the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. This orientation determined the *Chartrian spirit*, a spirit of curiosity, observation, and investigation which, fed on Greco-Arab knowledge, was to flourish and expand.[29]

I have quoted Le Goff here, but I could have referred just as easily to Étienne Gilson (1884–1978) to make my point: "During the entire first half of the twelfth century, the most vibrant intellectual center is found in the School of Chartres."[30] We may also quote Marie-Dominique Chenu (1895–1990), a Dominican with a piercing and subtle spirit, of fine intelligence and kind heart, and another admirer of the School of Chartres:

> The school of Chartres provided, during the *renaissance* of the twelfth century, a ready-made case in point, if it is true that there the study of Euclid and the translation of the *Almagest* were touched off by a native interest in the scientific exploration of the universe and not by the curiosity of some librarian lovesick for the

> past; if it is true that there the commentaries upon the *Timaeus* were the means of satisfying minds eager to know the origin of the universe, not just to devote their energies to scholarly annotation.[31]

There is no lack of material to prove this point. Hence it is clear that, since the end of the nineteenth century and during a large part of the twentieth, the School of Chartres benefited from an uncontested prestige, which likewise appeared to many as incontestable.

In 1965, the unanimity with which historians sang the praises of the School of Chartres was broken, and a challenge came from the very country where the school's reputation was first made: England. In a paper delivered to the Congress of the Ecclesiastical Historical Society of Great Britain in 1965 and published in 1970, Richard Southern reduced to rubble the beautiful edifice that had been raised to the glory of the School of Chartres by his countryman Reginald Poole and by Alexandre Clerval.[32] While admitting that the Cathedral of Chartres possessed a school in the Middle Ages, Southern contested the importance granted to that school since the end of the nineteenth century. According to him, in the rankings of episcopal schools, Chartres not only did not hold the first position, but ranked far behind the schools of Laon and Paris. Southern's thesis can be summed up in two points:

> 1 All of the famous masters who established the reputation of the School of Chartres in the twelfth century, with the exception of Bernard of Chartres, taught not at Chartres but elsewhere, particularly at Paris;
>
> 2 All of these masters, without exception, were men of the past in their own times. Thierry of Chartres was *démodé*, an "old-fashioned master."[33] The masters of Chartres were *rétro*: "All their thoughts were old thoughts. They had the strength to make old thoughts live again, but they could not add to them."[34]

This last argument is of little importance to us here. After all, what does it matter if one learns to read with an old-fashioned master? The important thing is being able to read, and no one will contest the fact that certain students of the Chartrian masters knew how to read. Take,

for instance, John of Salisbury, an English humanist of great learning who studied under some of the Chartrian masters, and who later became bishop of Chartres (1176–1180). His writings attest to the depth and breadth of learning provided by the School of Chartres. Moreover, terms such as "progressive," "regressive," or "modernist" encompass notions so subjective in nature that we can rightfully ask what criteria are used to assert or deny such designations. The matter is already difficult enough—given the complexity of human nature—when it involves our contemporaries; it is all the more difficult when it involves those who are separated from us by eight centuries. Despite the need for caution in making such assessments, I am more inclined to side with Peter Dronke, who, as volume editor of *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, places William of Conches, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Thierry of Chartres in the section entitled "Innovators."[35]

On the other hand, the first of Southern's two propositions—that the most famous masters in whom the School of Chartres takes pride taught not in Chartres but in Paris—deserves our attention. From the very beginning of the controversy that followed publication of Southern's essay "Humanism and the School of Chartres," scholars such as Nikolaus Häring, Roberto Giacone, and Peter Dronke have contradicted Southern's view on this matter.[36] Southern answered their critiques with elegance, but did not change his view substantially,[37] although he did graciously recognize the qualities of such masters as William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres.[38] This recognition did not greatly benefit the School of Chartres, however, since, according to Southern, these two masters taught in Paris, not Chartres:

> It seems to me that they [William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres] lose nothing—indeed that they can only gain—by being freed from the school of Chartres and placed in the wider setting of a common scholastic enterprise, freed from the label of Chartrian Platonism and placed among the masters of the schools who used the *Timaeus* as a source book among many other texts.[39]

And yet, the question is not whether it is better for Thierry and William to have taught at the School of Chartres or at the schools of Paris, but whether in fact they taught at Chartres or not. A definitive

answer is, perhaps, impossible for some of the masters traditionally associated with Chartres, and particularly for William of Conches. I agree that there is no incontrovertible evidence of William teaching in Chartres, but, as Tullio Gregory rightly observed, there is no evidence of William teaching in Paris either.[40] We can glean scattered hints: some are in favor of Paris; others in favor of Chartres. In such a debate, it seems to me that, as we shall see later in chapter four, the scale tips towards Chartres. However, even if the probabilities were equal, we would not be entitled to give preference to Paris simply because it is advantageous for William to be "freed from the school of Chartres and placed in the wider setting of a common scholastic enterprise, freed from the label of Chartrian Platonism."

In all of these debates on the existence or importance of the School of Chartres, it seems to me that two important points have gone unnoticed and unmentioned. The first is that the diocese of Chartres was much greater in size in the twelfth century than it is now, stretching from Mantes-la-Jolie on the Seine river in the north to Blois on the Loire river in the south. It is hardly likely that this vast diocese, rich and prosperous, able to attract the artists of unparalleled talent who erected the *Portail royal*, would have failed to recruit qualified masters able, for their part, to attract students in search of knowledge. The number of such students was, perhaps, not great, but their abilities were often remarkable. The second point, which we would do well to remember, concerns ecclesiastical absenteeism. Southern presents a number of examples of clergy in the twelfth century who never or rarely resided near the churches from which they received their ecclesiastical benefices.[41] This point is well taken. However, is it likely that Gilbert of Poitiers, chancellor of Chartres, and Thierry of Chartres, also chancellor of Chartres (and archdeacon of Dreux as well), would collect the substantial revenues from their positions at Chartres only to reside for the most part in Paris? As chancellors responsible not only for the cathedral school but also for the chancery of the bishop of Chartres, they almost certainly would have fulfilled their duties while residing in Chartres.

We must admit that Southern's work produced a salutary effect on the field in that it obliged us to nuance our judgments and to speak of the School of Chartres in more moderate terms. As Winthrop Wetherbee has said in light of these arguments,

> while we are now learning to see the activity of the School of Chartres as part of a broader scholastic movement, it remains clear that there are important and widely influential common elements in the thought of those masters whose names have been most frequently associated with Chartres.[42]

But enough with introductions! It is time to acquaint ourselves with the masters who made this school famous. Our focus will be on the first half of the twelfth century, the golden age of the School of Chartres. Nevertheless, before we can address the school's scholars in their full flourish, we must introduce the man who has been hailed as its founder: Fulbert of Chartres.

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Chapter 2
Fulbert of Chartres: The Mythical Founder of the School of Chartres

Neither the precise birthplace (Italy according to some, Picardy according to others) nor birthdate (between 960 and 970) of Fulbert of Chartres can be established with any certainty. One tradition, which dates to the twelfth century, maintains that he visited the schools of Rheims and studied there under Gerbert of Aurillac. Since no contemporaneous eyewitness accounts have provided confirmation, the grounds for such a claim have been called into question.[43] What we do know is that Fulbert arrived in Chartres around 990, at which time he became a canon and chancellor of the cathedral Chapter. In 1006 he was named bishop of Chartres, and in 1020 he undertook the reconstruction of the cathedral, which had been destroyed by fire.[44] He died 10 April 1028.[45]

As a scholar, Fulbert's known œuvre contains letters, sermons, and poems.[46] The letters are addressed to King Robert the Pious (996–1031), members of the nobility, and clergymen of various rank (archbishops, bishops, abbots, priests), and are teeming with interesting details concerning everyday life. Of Fulbert's sermons, the most famous is the sermon he composed for the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.[47] The

sermon relates the story of Theophilus, a Christian who enters into a pact with the devil, but is miraculously rescued by the Savior's Mother.[48] The legend of Theophilus, an officer appointed to handle the temporal affairs of the bishop of Adana in Cilicia (Anatolia, i.e., present-day Turkey), had been translated into Latin from the Greek by Paul, a deacon from Naples;[49] this legend was tremendously successful in the Middle Ages.[50] It should be noted that *Against the Jews*, a treatise that Fulbert wrote, has also, at times, been counted among his sermons.

Fulbert used various forms in writing his poetry.[51] Some poems are didactic, as we shall see later, while others were destined to be sung in church,[52] where some are still sung today. If you should happen to attend an Easter Day service in an Anglican church, you might hear the congregation sing "Ye choirs of new Jerusalem,"[53] which is an English adaptation of a hymn attributed to Fulbert of Chartres, "Chorus nouae Ierusalem."[54]

Fulbert had numerous disciples, some of whom stayed on at Chartres. His student Sigo became Fulbert's secretary and, after his teacher's death, piously devoted himself to preserving Fulbert's memory. Other students, like Adelman of Liège, Berengar of Tours, and Hartwic of Saint-Emmeram, were responsible for spreading Fulbert's reputation further abroad.[55] Of all the testimonies of loyal devotion left by Fulbert's students, perhaps the most moving is Adelman's letter to his former colleague Berengar, who had become head of the School of Saint Martin in Tours:

> I called you my foster brother, because of that very gentle companionship which I enjoyed, when I was already a young man and you were still an adolescent, in the Chartrian Academy, under the guidance of our venerable Socrates [Fulbert]. We have more reason to rejoice for having lived in his company than Plato did when he offered thanks to Nature for having given birth to him … in the time of his dear Socrates.[56]

At first glance, these words of praise invoking Plato and Socrates look as though they were written in fifteenth-century Medici Florence rather than in Liège by an eleventh-century disciple of Fulbert of Chartres. This brings up the question of how much Greek Fulbert actually knew. We should not assume from this analogy to Socrates that Fulbert himself

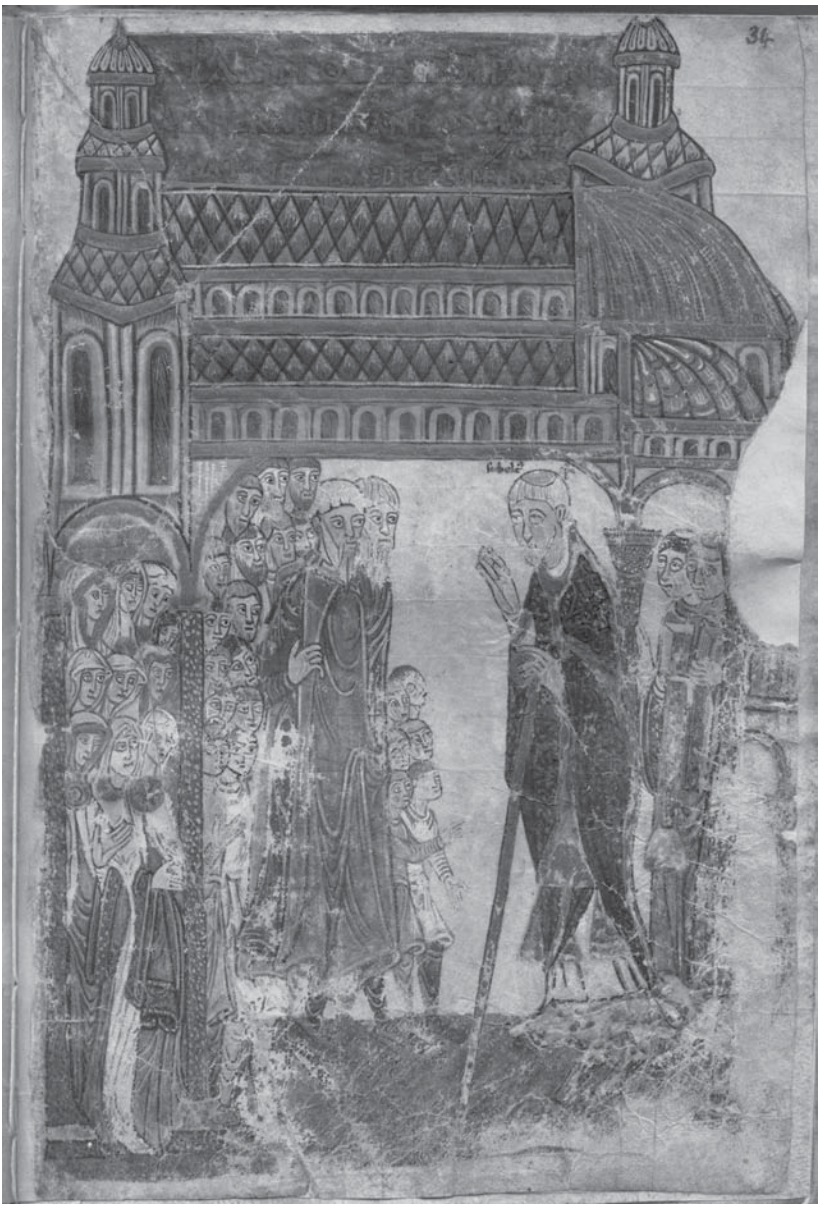

Figure 3. Fulbert of Chartres and his disciples, Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres, nouv. acq., Ms. 4, folio 34 (image by kind permission of Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres, all rights reserved)

read Greek with ease. Fulbert in fact tells us the exact opposite: that he learned the language of Virgil, and not that of Homer, under the cane of a Latin teacher.[57] At the same time, it would be wrong to assume that Fulbert knew no Greek at all. In his works we find some Greek words, both common and rare. From which sources did Fulbert draw these Greek words?

Evidently he did so from Latin authors, and particularly from Priscian, a grammarian who taught in Constantinople in the fifth century and whose *Institutiones grammaticae* were the *vademecum*, or companion handbook, of Latin students in the Middle Ages. As a companion it was a heavy book, so big that it was divided into two parts: *Priscianus maior* (books 1–16) and *Priscianus minor* (books 17–18). This monumental work is much more than a simple Latin grammar: rather, it is a comparative grammar of Greek and Latin.[58] In Priscian's grammar we encounter, on virtually every page, words and even entire sentences written in Greek. An attentive reader, eager to learn, could find there elementary information on the Greek language, its morphology, and syntax. We know that Fulbert sent a copy of Priscian to Bonipert, bishop of Pécs in Hungary,[59] and it is highly likely that Fulbert had carefully read and studied Priscian.

What is truly of interest here, however, does not lie in the scraps of Greek that Fulbert could have extracted from the Latin authors he read. It is what this new Socrates knew of the ancient Socrates. What knowledge did Fulbert possess of Socrates, Plato, and the ancient philosophers in general? Just as crucially, what part of this knowledge was he able to transmit to his students? We would expect to have these questions answered by reading Fulbert's poem entitled "The Teachings of the Philosophers concerning the Highest Good."[60] A reading of this slender poem in which the question of God's existence, for instance, is dealt with in a scant four lines (23–26), brings us no closer to a complete answer than before:

> There was also among them [the ancient philosophers] a great discussion concerning God and no little difference of opinion. One thought that there was no god, and another that there were several; but Plato knew better than both and proved that there was only one.

We can see in this quote an indication that the founder of the Athenian Academy enjoyed a high reputation in the "Chartrian Academy." It would be wrong, however, to conclude that the School of Chartres possessed precise ideas about Plato and Platonism. The only dialogue of Plato available for the Chartrians to read was the *Timaeus*, which had been partially translated into Latin by Cicero and Calcidius. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, Fulbert does not mention the *Timaeus*, even though his contemporary, Abbo of Fleury, had both read and commented upon the text.[61] More invaluable information on the ancient philosophers could have been gleaned from three other texts: Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, Macrobius's commentary on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. Here too, though, these three seminal texts, which were to be studied widely in the twelfth century, are conspicuous in that they are never mentioned in Fulbert's works. This does not necessarily mean that Fulbert was unfamiliar with them.[62] Given the possibility that the texts reflecting Fulbert's scholarly work have not been fully transmitted to us, it is impossible to reach any definite conclusions. A further point to consider in this regard is that Fulbert does not seem to have greatly appreciated those who make a point of displaying their erudition. In his poem "How Dialectic and Rhetoric Differ," he ridicules the pedants who carry on about having read Cicero and Aristotle.[63] He most certainly did not make this mistake in his own work, and it is all for the better, as his writing has a spontaneity, a freshness, and a humanity that move us more than would learned references to classical authors.

We are forced to admit that Fulbert tells us almost nothing about either the content or the method of his teaching. And, yet, we do have at our disposal his didactic verse on subjects such as the calendar,[64] the pound and its parts,[65] and the astrolabe.[66] Elsewhere his correspondence indisputably bears witness to his interest in medical science.[67] Moreover, we can quote one of Fulbert's letters to gain insight into his teaching method. The letter in question was sent to Hildegar, vice-dean of Chartres, who had become Fulbert's representative at Poitiers and held the position of treasurer of the Church of Saint-Hilary. Fulbert advises his former student that, when teaching Donatus (a fourth-century Latin grammarian and teacher of Saint Jerome), he should avoid engaging in frivolous jokes foreign to the subject matter simply to amuse his class:

> I am sending you copies of Cyprian, Porphyry, and the *Lives of the Fathers* along with a psalter as you asked. I also wish to remind you when you are construing Donatus not to mix in any unseemly levity by way of amusement, but to keep everything serious. Remember that you are on show, and take care. Also see to it that your disciples are not troubled by want of food or clothing.[68]

Other than this comment, there is little information on the teaching at the School of Chartres in the writings of the man who is considered to be its founder. Let us, therefore, turn to Fulbert's students, in hope of finding more clues, although here too, if we are to believe Frederick Behrends's assessment, there is scant information:

> Proud as Fulbert's students may have been of having studied with him, they tell us next to nothing about the studies themselves. In fact, it appears that what attracted them was Fulbert himself rather than the subjects which were studied. The warm personal devotion which he inspired is indicative of the man behind it, and no other master in Fulbert's day seems to have been quite so successful at this.[69]

These words are among the highest praise one can give a teacher, but they do not tell us exactly what the teacher professes. In this case we are reduced to conjecture. We can assume that the program of studies at the School of Chartres in the eleventh century was, essentially, that of other cathedral schools of the time.[70] We can, I believe, concur with Richard Southern:

> It is doubtful whether Fulbert added anything to the sum of knowledge, but he touched every side of learning, and everything that he touched he made familiar. The range is important. He was in touch with the latest developments in the sciences of logic, arithmetic, and astronomy, which reached Chartres from Rheims in the North-West and from Moslem Spain, and he wrote poems to familiarize his pupils with the processes of calculation and the Arabic names of the stars just coming into fashion. It was a simple

> form of instruction he practised, suitable to the rudimentary state of the sciences. In early life he was famous as a physician, and it is in keeping with the rest of his work that his fame rested on a large assortment of medicines intelligently applied, rather than on an armoury of difficult words and abstruse theory. There seemed to be no end to his versatility.[71]

Despite such praise of Fulbert's erudition, Behrends rightfully states that "our knowledge of the School of Chartres in Fulbert's day […] is quite sketchy."[72]

Fulbert most certainly was a man of culture who wrote elegant Latin, both in prose and in verse. He can be given credit for having played an important role in the process that allowed the School of Chartres to attain the level of excellence it possessed in the twelfth century. How else are we to explain the perhaps brief, but very intense, brilliance that emanated from this school in the period of its great chancellors, Bernard of Chartres, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Thierry of Chartres? Would Thierry have been able to amass such riches in his *Heptateucon* if Fulbert had not started to collect the foundational works necessary for teaching?[73] It could also be argued that Fulbert's interest in medicine paved the way for the physician and physicist William of Conches, whom I, wrongly or rightly, insist on linking to the School of Chartres.

All of these considerations lead us to place Fulbert in the company of those for whom it was imperative to integrate profane wisdom into the Christian message—to transfer to the Hebrews, according to a famous saying, the spoils of the Egyptians.[74] Fulbert's disciple Adelman of Liège wrote a poem about some of his deceased colleagues, among whom he mentions Hildegar, vice-dean of Chartres (encountered earlier in this chapter). Adelman depicts Hildegar as the mirror image of his teacher: this faithful disciple exercised his talents in fields as diverse as Hippocratic art, Socratic dialectic, and the Pythagorean lyre.[75] This is not pure rhetoric, but rather a demonstration of Adelman's reverence for antiquity.

Despite the praise, little was known about Greek antiquity in the eleventh century, and it was not actually until the Renaissance of the fifteenth century that scholars truly rediscovered the texts of the ancient

Greeks. However, the groundwork for that later period was laid during the Renaissance of the twelfth century, when the School of Chartres played a significant role, thanks to the work of its remarkable chancellors: first among them, Bernard of Chartres.

Chapter 3
Bernard of Chartres: "The Foremost Platonist of Our Time"

Building on the foundation laid by Fulbert a century before, Bernard of Chartres is the intellectual forefather proper of the masters responsible for the renown of the School of Chartres. His teaching career began around 1114, at the end of the episcopate of Ivo of Chartres (1090–1115). Ivo, with his formidable intellectual stature as a canon law scholar of international standing, had contributed to the continuing growth of the school by attracting students and distinguished masters to Chartres. Ivo's importance is corroborated by the obituary list of the Cathedral of Chartres, which attributes the creation of schools to him.[76] But it was under Ivo's successor, Geoffrey of Lèves, that the masters who are the focus of this study taught at Chartres. Geoffrey's episcopate (1115–1149) was also a period of great artistic activity, for it is in the first half of the twelfth century (between 1142 and 1150) that the famous *Portail royal* rose from the ground.[77]

Bernard became chancellor of the School of Chartres in or about 1119 and died on 2 June 1124.[78] According to Richard Southern, Chancellor Bernard is the sole master who can be said to belong with absolute

certainty to the School of Chartres.[79] Such a concession was of little consequence at the time as, until recently, only a few lines of the poetry of Bernard of Chartres, preserved in the works of John of Salisbury, were known to posterity. From this, it was easy for Southern to concede that Bernard taught in Chartres because, with his writings no longer extant, the school had not at all been enriched through him. In 1984, however, a commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* was discovered and attributed to Bernard of Chartres.[80] Since John of Salisbury had called Bernard of Chartres "the foremost Platonist of our time," the attribution of this commentary, if accurate, would be all the more significant.[81] What was this "Platonism"? It is difficult to say.[82] John of Salisbury contents himself with illustrating it in two elegiac couplets:

> I say that the cause of particular existences is to be found,
> Not in the intimate union of matter and form,
> But rather in the fact that one of these [the form] perdures,
> Being called by the Greek *idea*, even as he called matter *hyle*.[83]

In fact, we find the same couplets in a twelfth-century manuscript as a marginal gloss to Plato's *Timaeus* (49e).[84]

Above and beyond his reputation as a Platonist, Bernard remains best known for a famous dictum, which, as far as we know, he created: the image of dwarves seated upon the shoulders of giants. John of Salisbury formulated this analogy, which the Chartrian master used to define the position of the Moderns in relation to the Ancients, as follows:

> Bernard of Chartres used to say that we [the Moderns] are like dwarves perched on the shoulders of giants [the Ancients], and thus we are able to see more and farther than the latter. And this is so not at all because of the acuteness of our sight or the stature of our body, but because we are carried aloft and elevated by the magnitude of the giants.[85]

This comparison between dwarves and giants proved popular among both writers and scientists.[86] Yet, barring any evidence to the contrary, it is in Chartres, and more precisely in the school of Chancellor Bernard, that this comparison was first made. In fact, it has only relatively recently become clear that the first mention of Bernard's dictum concerning

dwarves and giants appeared in a work by one of his students, William of Conches, in Conches's *Glosae super Priscianum*.[87] Most likely John of Salisbury took the saying from William of Conches, under whom he studied for three years, but it is John's elegant formulation that became the standard for future generations. This is a point worth noting. Good teachers are so devoted to their profession that they have no time to enhance their own reputation—to construct, in their lifetime, the temple that Horace boasted he had erected to his posthumous glory: "I have built a monument more durable than bronze."[88]

In fact, many of the masters of the School of Chartres are known to us solely through the work of their students. We would know little about Bernard of Chartres had John of Salisbury not spoken of him. The same can be said about the school itself. Earlier, I declared that the School of Chartres was fortunate to have had Merlet and Clerval; it was also fortunate to have had John of Salisbury, whose works preserve vital information about the school. This refined Englishman studied for many years in France and then became secretary to Thomas Becket, before concluding his career as bishop of Chartres (1176–1180). While John of Salisbury was not able to benefit directly from Master Bernard, he learned about the content and spirit of his teachings from William of Conches, and wrote about them. John of Salisbury starts his description of the teaching method of Bernard by reminding his readers that philosophy consists not only of the seven Liberal Arts but also of physics. Above all there is ethics, which he places at the summit of the edifice of learning and, thereby, at the summit of philosophy. He then relates how, while reading and commenting upon the Latin poets, Bernard of Chartres introduced his students to the different parts of philosophy:

> The fruit of the lecture on the authors is proportionate both to the capacity of the students and to the industrious diligence of the teacher. Bernard of Chartres, the greatest font of literary learning in Gaul in recent times, used to teach grammar in the following way. He would point out, in reading the authors, what was simple and according to rule. On the other hand, he would explain grammatical figures, rhetorical embellishment, and sophistical quibbling, as well as the relation of given passages to other studies. He would do so, however, without trying to teach everything at one time. On the contrary, he would dispense his instruction to

his hearers gradually, in a manner commensurate with their powers of assimilation.[89] […]

In view of the fact that exercise both strengthens and sharpens our mind, Bernard would bend every effort to bring his students to imitate what they were hearing. In some cases he would rely on exhortation, in others he would resort to punishments, such as flogging. Each student was daily required to recite part of what he had heard on the previous day. Some would recite more, others less. Each succeeding day thus became the disciple of its predecessor. The evening exercise, known as the "declination,"[90] was so replete with grammatical instruction that if anyone were to take part in it for an entire year, provided he were not a dullard, he would become thoroughly familiar with the [correct] method of speaking and writing, and would not be at a loss to comprehend expressions in general use. Since, however, it is not right to allow any school or day to be without religion, subject matter was presented to foster faith, to build up morals, and to inspire those present at this quasi-collation[91] to perform good works. This [evening] "declination," or philosophical collation,[92] closed with the pious commendation of the souls of the departed to their Redeemer, by the devout recitation of the Sixth Penitential Psalm[93] and the Lord's Prayer.[94]

This is quite a good program of study, which does not lack relevance even now. Some of Bernard's pedagogical principles are still valid today: do not teach everything about everything, adapt your teaching to the ability of the students, demand a sustained effort, reward and punish. Also, what should one say about this admirable formula: "each day was the disciple of its predecessor"?[95] Some might object that this concerns only literary studies, in particular those designated under the name *grammatica*. Beware, for this word is among those which language teachers term "false friends." We translate this word into English as "grammar," for lack of a more suitable word. If we wanted to find an equivalent in modern English, the most appropriate translation would probably be "philology." This, however, does not resolve our problem, for philology is not philosophy. In the portrait that John of Salisbury draws of Bernard of Chartres's teaching, there is no mention of the "science of things," with which recent historians have credited the School of Chartres; but

Figure 4. *Musica* with Pythagoras, and *Grammatica* with Priscian (or Donatus), from the right bay of the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral
(photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

it is possible that John of Salisbury's purpose in the passage cited above was not to describe in a complete and exhaustive fashion the Chartrian program of studies. However, we do know that the program of study taught by Bernard of Chartres comprised not only the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic), or the science of words, but also the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy), the science of things.

This traditional division is magnificently illustrated by the statuary in the archivolts of the right bay of the *Portail royal* of the Cathedral of Chartres, in which the seven Liberal Arts are represented. Such were the main secular disciplines (*studia humanitatis*) taught in Chartres, and elsewhere, in the first half of the twelfth century. We should also add ethics and medicine to these two disciplinary groupings. In addition to the secular disciplines, that is, the humanities, the sacred science was also practiced. It was not yet called "theology," but rather *studia diuinitatis* or *diuina pagina*. We can also assume that canon law was not ignored, but—and this is surprising for a city that had Ivo of Chartres as its bishop—Clerval supplies only scant evidence that this was the case.[96]

Whatever the hypotheses we consider, the conditions under which scholars of the twelfth century labored should not be forgotten. The experimental method was not known to them. All of their sources, or almost all of them, were book-based, which explains the importance of *Grammatica*. In the spirit of the scholarship of that time, *Grammatica* was the door to all knowledge: Thierry of Chartres stated that she (*Grammatica*) walked ahead of all others in the synod of the seven Liberal Arts.[97] According to John of Salisbury, she is both the cradle and the wet-nurse of philosophy.[98] Going even further, for Bernard of Chartres, grammar and philosophy or, to be more precise, grammar and ontology—the science of language and the science of being—live in a symbiosis. Bernard of Chartres's view is representative of a current of thought present throughout the medieval period: as characterized by Jean Jolivet, "Grammar, the elementary art of the Middle Ages, impregnates philosophical speculations; without dictating philosophy's approach nor its conclusions, she provides philosophy with a rule and is a womb for certain concepts and certain models."[99] Bernard's method was very influential, and helped the next generation to reach even greater heights of scholastic achievement.

Chapter 4
William of Conches: "The Most Accomplished Grammarian after Bernard of Chartres"

Along with his insight into Bernard of Chartres's method of teaching, John of Salisbury tells us that this same method was used by John's own masters, William of Conches and Richard Lévêque (who, despite his surname of "the bishop," was only an archdeacon at Coutances).[100] Since Bernard of Chartres seems to have taught in no place other than Chartres, we can conclude with great probability that William of Conches also studied at Chartres.[101] But, did he teach there? It is highly likely that he did, as we shall soon see, but of all the masters depicted in our portrait gallery, the case for William's tenure at Chartres is the weakest, and we must admit that the philosopher from Conches left very few traces of his stay in Chartres.

What we know for sure is that he was born in Normandy. William declares so in one of his last works, the *Dragmaticon*, which was written as a dialogue between a philosopher (William himself) and Geoffrey Plantagenet, duke of Normandy:

> Matters that I have heard again and again from my teachers, most serene Duke, I have committed to memory after endless recollection and constant meditation […]. I have taught such matters to others for twenty years and longer; still I understand them but incompletely and imperfectly myself, and even if I do understand them, I am hardly able to explain them in suitable, clear terms. And why should I have such a weak brain, such a poor memory, and so little eloquence? Is it because I was born in a country of mutton-heads (*uerueces*) under the dense sky of Normandy?[102]

The contradiction between the exquisite Latin of this passage and its self-deprecating content is striking. Only someone who had read the Roman poet Juvenal could poke fun at himself with such refinement![103] William plays on the double meaning of the word *ueruex*, which means both a sheep—Normandy is rightly famous for its sheep—and a dullard or muttonhead. The text that follows this passage makes it even more evident that William is speaking ironically, as he makes the false savants, full of pride, who have detracted and belittled him from their high perches for his provincial origins, look ridiculous. In this elegant and witty way we learn from William himself that he is from Normandy, although we can also infer this fact from his name, which tells us that he was born in Conches, a charming city in Normandy. Although no precise date can be asserted with certainty, we have good reason to think that William of Conches started to teach around 1120 and that his teaching career ended around 1154; after this date it is difficult to even provide conjecture about his whereabouts.[104]

What we would most like to know about the somewhat mysterious life of William is the name of the school where he taught. Here too we have just a few clues, but no certain proof. In his *Glosses on Priscian*, William alludes to the "choir of Our Lady," which we can take to mean that he taught close to a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This matter, which has caused much debate, revolves around one question: is William referring here to Notre-Dame of Chartres or to Notre-Dame of Paris? The scales seem to tip in favor of Chartres.[105] In fact, in his *Glosses on Priscian*, William proffers Chartres as an example of a place name.[106] He also compares the pronunciation of certain Latin words by people from Chartres to how the same words are pronounced by

people from Normandy.[107] Based on this evidence, combined with the knowledge that William of Conches taught in a school situated close to a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, we can say, as Paul Dutton has convincingly argued, that this church was probably Notre-Dame of Chartres.[108]

After teaching at this school for a time, William seems to have had a disagreement with his bishop. An echo of this quarrel can be detected in his complaints against the prelates of his time, found at the beginning of his philosophical dialogue *Dragmaticon*. In an analysis of the causes of the deterioration of education—an eternal theme, it seems—William blames both pupils and bishops in general; however, the bitterness and injured pride that seeps out of the text makes it clear that the author personally experienced the situation he describes:

> The pupils are also not without blame: they have abandoned the Pythagorean model of teaching, according to which a pupil should listen and believe for seven years, and ask questions only in the eighth. Instead, from the first day of school, even before sitting down, they question and, in fact, what is worse, they pass judgment. They study carelessly for the space of a single year and think that the whole of wisdom has accrued to them, whereas they have merely snatched rags from it; they leave school full of the wind of loquacity and pride, empty of a solid knowledge of things. And when their parents or others listen to them and discover that there is little or nothing of any use in what they say, they are at once led to believe that this is all the pupils received from their teachers: so the authority of the teacher is impaired.
>
> The prelates, too, but especially the bishops, are not without blame either, since they see to their own interests and not Jesus Christ's;[109] in fact, to be able to squander the goods of their churches without any opposition, they exclude wise and noble men from the clergy and, just to keep positions filled, include foolish and ignoble people, shadows of clerics, not clerics at all. As a result, those who could advance in science if they devoted themselves to studying, realizing that they would gain nothing but hatred and envy from such studies, and that the bishops are seeking a rich coffer rather than a rich mind, follow a different path in life: they crave

> wealth and profit and, while impoverishing their minds, only labor to enrich their coffers.[110]

In a later section, book 5 of the *Dragmaticon*, the same criticisms against bishops are presented but in an even more biting tone:

> The greatest part of our prelates searches every corner of the earth for poulterers and cooks who can cunningly prepare peppered dishes and other morsels to titillate their appetite. Once these cooks have been spotted, the prelates compel them to come to their homes at prices that are never an obstacle to their conscience. They flee the students of philosophy as if they were lepers but, to hide their own wickedness, impute to them the poison of pride, slander, or some other crime.[111]

To William, pupils and bishops were not the only ones responsible for this state of affairs; blame also lay with the masters, as William acknowledges in a passage that defines the "gloss," a literary genre that he himself employed. He notes that the term "gloss" comes from the Greek *glossa*, meaning "tongue." The masters of old, moved by paternal affection, wrote glosses in order that pupils, in their absence, could have access to their explanations of texts. In fact, the masters felt that the pupils, in reading their glosses, would have an experience similar to hearing their voices. William could not help but notice the contrast between the ancient masters and the masters of his own time:

> But we miserable masters, what will we say in the Last Judgment? We make our lessons confusing by introducing new words or strange word order so that our students understand little or nothing. We write nothing that is useful to them. … From this come two evils. Sometimes, because of the obscurity of our teaching, they come to hate the Liberal Arts. And those, in whom there is an inborn love of knowledge, attain slowly and with an enormous effort what they would have attained quickly and without difficulty, if we had taught and written diligently.[112]

In another passage of the *Glosses on Priscian*, William renews his criticism against certain masters of his time:

> Whoever loves the knowledge he seeks, finds it easily. Love, according to Calcidius, makes easy what is difficult.[113] This is why, nowadays, we see many masters teaching, but few pupils progressing, for the former do not teach because they love the Liberal Arts, but in order to make money or gain glory.[114]

Whatever the case may be, it seems that William, after having taught at an episcopal school—probably Chartres—fell into conflict with his bishop and sought refuge elsewhere. This refuge was to be found not in another episcopal school but in a princely court, that of Geoffrey the Fair (1113–1151), also known as Plantagenet, count of Anjou, duke of Normandy, and son of the crusader who became king of Jerusalem, Fulk V. In 1127 (at the ripe age of 14!), Geoffrey had married Matilda, the daughter of Henry I of England and childless widow of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V; their eldest son would become Henry II of England in 1154. At the side of the founder of the Plantagenet dynasty, William discovered a welcoming harbor of consolation, and yet, he might, at the same time, have learnt from his experience the stoic or fatalistic approach to life expressed in the inscription above the door of the ducal palace: *Hodie malum, sed cras peius* (Bad today, but worse tomorrow).[115]

We know from the *Chronicle of the Counts of Anjou* that Geoffrey was well read and perfectly at ease in discussions with scholars (clerics) and laymen.[116] His wife, Empress Matilda, was an enthusiastic patron of men of letters, many of whom, like Hugh of Fleury[117] and Clarembald of Arras,[118] gladly dedicated their works to her. It is highly likely that this secular environment, quite different from the clerical one in which the philosopher of Conches had previously lived, influenced his writing style. Of course the *Dragmaticon* is written in Latin, as were his other works, but the intimate tone of the dialogue between the duke and the philosopher and the fluid writing style both place the text in the vicinity of certain popular scientific treatises written in the vernacular and intended for the laity.[119]

John of Salisbury, one of the students of William of Conches, tells us that his master was a *grammaticus*, and even sees him as the most accomplished *grammaticus* since Bernard of Chartres.[120] The English word "grammarian," however, does not correspond exactly to the meaning of the Latin word *grammaticus*. Of course, the medieval *grammaticus* knew and taught Latin grammar; however, as mentioned above, *Grammatica*

Figure 5. *Grammatica*, from the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral (photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

includes not only grammar but philology as well. A *grammaticus* was more than a mere grammarian.

William of Saint-Thierry, an adversary of William of Conches, called him a *homo physicus*.[121] The term *physicus* can apply either to a man who studies the natural sciences (a physicist) or to a medical doctor (a physician).[122] William of Saint-Thierry, in using *physicus* as an adjective when speaking of William of Conches, likely intended the first meaning. However, when William of Conches introduces himself as a *physicus* in the *Glosulae super Prisciani Librum Constructionum*, it has a different meaning altogether: "If I say: 'This horse is mine' (*iste equus meus est*), this is the same as saying: 'This is the physician's horse' (*iste est equus fizici*)."[123] It would be a mistake to translate the phrase as "this is the horse of the professor of physics." The fact that William of Conches reveals this title while commenting on Priscian's discussion of possessive adjectives does not weaken his claim to it. On the contrary: in referring to himself in this way, William is using the title by which he was known to his pupils—he is "the" physician. Why should we doubt his claim?

In truth, William was both *grammaticus* and *physicus*. Observations on natural science in his work are intertwined with questions of grammar. While commenting upon a text such as the *Satires* of Juvenal,[124] which is now studied in Classics departments rather than in schools of medicine, he did not hesitate to quote the Greek physician Galen (129–ca. 199 CE). Take, for instance, his comment on a salacious passage of *Satire* I, 40–43, where Juvenal speaks of men who spend their nights satisfying the desires of rich old women in the hope of inheriting their wealth. The Latin satirist concludes, "Fine, let them receive payment for their blood and turn as pale as someone who has stepped on a snake with bare feet." These last words give William an opportunity, which he happily seizes, to quote the Greek physician: "Whence Galen: man is more weakened by a thrice-repeated coition than by a single blood-letting."[125] I wonder how many commentators on Juvenal have quoted Galen. We know that William did not have direct access to Galen's Greek text, but some of Galen's teachings were available at the time in Latin adaptations made by Constantine the African.[126] The technique of blood-letting (*phlebotomia* in Greek, *minutio* in Latin) mentioned by the Greek physician was definitely familiar to William. In his *Dragmaticon*, he explains to the duke of Normandy how eyes adjust to the dark: "Surely, when

you undergo blood-letting in a dark chamber, if you stay there long, you can see: a person who just enters there does not."[127]

Who was the physician who performed the blood-letting for the duke of Normandy in that dark chamber? I am tempted to think that—at least for a time—it may have been William of Conches.

William was a physician, but a physician who, according to a long tradition, was also a humanist. He cannot be encompassed by a single discipline; he practiced true interdisciplinarity. For William, there were no impassable borders between the humanities and the sciences, as is often the case today, and there can be no doubt that William of Conches shared the view of Bernard of Chartres, according to whom the moderns are like dwarves seated on the shoulders of giants. As mentioned in chapter three, this comparison appears for the first time in William's *Glosses on Priscian*, precisely when commenting on the passage in which Priscian declares that some modern grammarians are more perspicacious than the ancient grammarians.[128] In the first edition (*Versio prior*) of his *Glosses on Priscian*, William writes:

> The ancients had only the books which they themselves wrote, but we have all their books and moreover all those which have been written from the beginning until our time.… Hence we are like a dwarf perched on the shoulders of a giant. The former sees further than the giant, not because of his own stature, but because of the stature of his bearer. Similarly, we [moderns] see more than the ancients, because our writings, modest as they are, are added to their great works.[129]

In the second edition (*Versio altera*), the text is slightly different:

> We [moderns] are not more learned than the ancients, but we yet have a wider perspective. For we possess their books and moreover a natural ingenuity by which we discover something new. We are dwarves on the shoulders of giants: we perceive much on account of their merit, but little on account of our own.[130]

In perfect harmony with this view, William writes elsewhere, "I am a transmitter and commentator of the ancients, not an inventor of

novelties."[131] It is perhaps not out of place to compare this statement with what Erasmus wrote four centuries later, on 18 October 1520, in a letter to Godschalk Rosemondt: "All I do is to restore the old; I put forward nothing new."[132] Certainly William of Conches, as a "grammarian," fulfilled that ideal. Take, for instance, the problem of the diphthongs "ae" and "oe." William, not unlike later scholars in the Renaissance, faithfully promoted the classical tradition against the scribal practice of collapsing the diphthongs to "e," first with—but soon without—a cedilla.[133]

The writings of William of Conches can be divided into two categories: systematic treatises and commentaries on classical authors.[134] Works that belong to the first category are the aforementioned *Dragmaticon* and *Philosophia*. In the second category are found glosses on Priscian's *Institutiones*, glosses on Boethius's *Philosophiae consolatio*, glosses on Macrobius's *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, and glosses on Plato's *Timaeus*. We know for certain that William commented on Juvenal's *Satires*, although only fragments of this commentary still remain.[135] William most likely commented on other classical texts as well, such as Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*[136] and Boethius's *De institutione musica*,[137] and perhaps even on Virgil's poems.[138] A collection of maxims borrowed from the ancient moralists, the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, has also been attributed to William of Conches, but its authenticity is doubtful.[139] All of these works were, for the longest time, very difficult to find.[140]

William devoted his energies less to theology proper than to all branches of the natural sciences: astronomy, meteorology, geology, optics, anatomy, and physiology. His sources were exclusively Latin, and included Pliny the Elder, Solinus, and Isidore of Seville, but we have already learned that he also had indirect access to the great Greek physician Galen (129–ca. 199 CE) through the translator known as Constantine the African. An eleventh-century monk at Monte Cassino,[141] Constantine translated a number of other important Greek and Islamic medical texts into Latin, the most important of these being the *Pantegni*, written by the tenth-century Baghdad court physician Alī al-'Abbās al-Maǧūsī. William also cites the Greek physician Theophilus, author of *De urinis*, as well as Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (Johannitius), author of an *Introduction to the Techne of Galen*.[142] Moreover, William is the first medieval writer to cite

at length Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones*.[143] To date, these are William's main sources as identified by historians.

A scholar of the twelfth century could not, however, avoid making reference to the Bible. Thus, William was led to take positions on certain problems that arose from sacred text, and he did so with an originality that proved worrisome to defenders of orthodoxy. Another William, the abbot of Saint-Thierry near Rheims, wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux (Saint Bernard) to denounce the philosopher of Conches, whom he compared derisively to the Parisian master Peter Abelard:

> From out of the serpent's root has come forth an adder,[144] someone of obscure origins, deprived of all authority, who pollutes the atmosphere with his pestilent venom. After the *Theologia* of Peter Abelard, William of Conches brings us his new *Philosophia*, confirming and exaggerating all that the former had said, and all the more impudently adding from himself many things which the former had not said.[145]

Soon after his attack on Abelard, William of Thierry attempted to have William of Conches condemned. The abbot of Saint-Thierry was irritated and scandalized by the fact that William of Conches had tackled the Christian mysteries, considered beyond the scope of natural science, with the methods of a *physicus*: "Physicist and philosopher, he philosophizes on God as a physicist." William of Saint-Thierry had previously denounced the errors of Peter Abelard to Saint Bernard, resulting in the latter condemning the former at Sens in 1141,[146] and, in fact, William of Conches's allegorical interpretation of the Greek myths found in Plato's *Timaeus* and in Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* is largely in accord with that of Abelard.[147] Also like Abelard, William of Conches was inclined to identify the World Soul, of which Plato speaks in the *Timaeus* (34a–39e), with the Holy Spirit of Christian theology,[148] as did Thierry of Chartres.[149] Curiously enough, while William of Saint-Thierry's letter on the errors of Abelard resulted in a condemnation of the Peripatetic from Pallet, his letter against the errors of William of Conches did not result in the condemnation of the Norman philosopher. It seems that, for the good of the Cathedral and School of Chartres, Geoffrey of Lèves, the bishop of Chartres (1116–1149), legate of Pope

Figure 6. *Dialectica*, from the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral
(photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

Innocent II from 1130 to 1143 and friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, protected William of Conches from persecution.[150]

William of Conches had great confidence in human reason, and this was the cause for his conflict with the abbot of Saint-Thierry. The accusation of the latter against the former is similar to that which the zealots of Socrates's time leveled against him: to attempt to understand the universe is to question the existence of the gods.[151] William of Conches belongs to a spiritual family that allies him with Socrates rather than with Socrates's detractors. The philosopher of Conches believed that the Creator is not in the least honored when He is made to intervene directly at every moment. It is too simplistic, in William's view, to declare that things are thus because God wishes them to be thus; not only that, it is a slothful attitude that in no way pays homage to the Creator. How could such an abdication of reason be pleasing to Him who has given us reason? Therefore, after giving an account of the creation of the world, animals, and mankind in accordance with the laws of physics—meaning, of course, according to those laws that were at his disposal, which are quite different from those of modern physics—William raises an objection, only to resolve it immediately:

> Once again they will say that it is derogatory to divine power to say that man was created in this way [that is, in keeping with the laws of physics]. To which we answer, on the contrary, that it is to accord the divine power more importance, because we attribute to it both to have given such a nature to things and so to have created, through the workings of this nature, the human body.[152]

Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) refutes "those who refuse to the realities of nature a proper activity" in roughly the same terms:

> To withdraw something from the perfection of creatures is to withdraw it from the perfection of the divine power. But if not a single creature acts in order to produce an effect, great damage is done to the perfection of creation. For it is by virtue of the abundance of its perfection that a being can communicate to another the perfection that it possesses.[153]

Let us be clear. I am not claiming that Saint Thomas would have approved of the entire cosmology of William of Conches. It is striking, however, that the principle upon which Aquinas based the efficacy of secondary causes bears a strong resemblance to the principles upon which William of Conches based his cosmology. Seen in this light, any fault William of Conches may have committed seems to lie in having been right too early. It is always dangerous to support a thesis that will become orthodox only in the following centuries. One wonders: is it possible that a man traditionally associated with a school whose masters have been deemed "old-fashioned" was actually a scholar ahead of his time?[154]

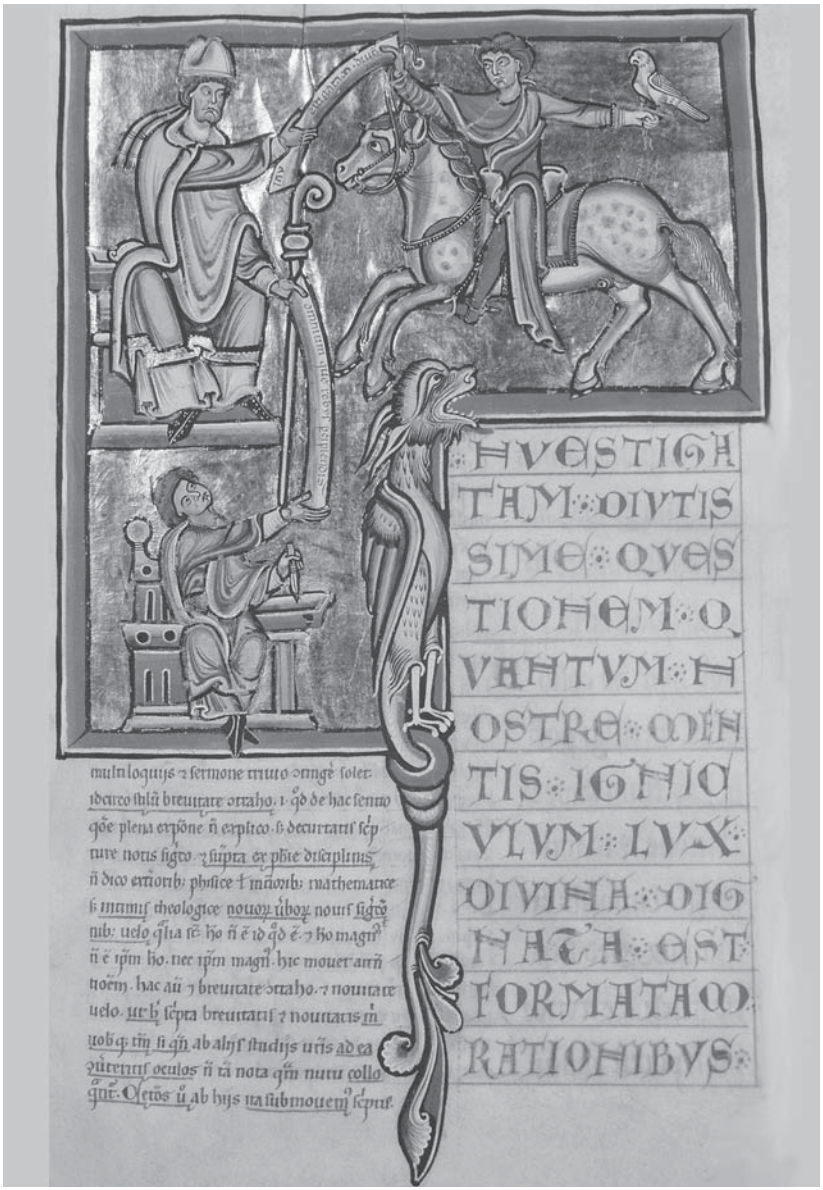

Figure 7. Boethius riding a horse and presenting his theological treatises to Gilbert of Poitiers. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 197, folio 7r (image by kind permission of the Bibliothèque municipale, Valenciennes, all rights reserved)

Chapter 5
Gilbert de la Porrée: Chancellor of Chartres and Demanding Master

Gilbert de la porrée, also known as Gilbert of Poitiers, was born around 1075. He completed his first studies at Poitiers before attending the School of Chartres, where he followed lessons given by Master Bernard. Later he was a student of Masters Anselm and Ralph at the School of Laon.[155] We are already acquainted with Bernard of Chartres. Anselm of Laon and his brother Ralph, both particularly well versed in biblical sciences, were scholars who played an important role in the formation of a work of biblical exegesis known as the *Glossa Ordinaria*.[156] Clerval assumed that Gilbert returned to Poitiers from Laon, where he may have taught for a while, and we find Gilbert back at Chartres in 1124, among the cathedral canons. Gilbert was appointed to succeed his teacher Bernard as chancellor of the cathedral Chapter after Bernard's death, an office Gilbert held from 1126 to 1140. Gilbert is mentioned as being among the Parisian masters in 1141, but in 1142 he was elected bishop of Poitiers.[157] By assuming this office, Gilbert de la Porrée became Gilbert of Poitiers. Shortly thereafter, two of his archdeacons, Arnaud and Calon,[158] denounced him for professing erroneous ideas

about the Holy Trinity. As a result, Gilbert was forced to defend himself at the Council of Rheims (1148), presided over by Pope Eugene III, and against a formidable prosecutor who had investigated other scholars associated with Chartres: Bernard of Clairvaux. Despite the latter's prodigious efforts, Gilbert avoided conviction on the charges of heresy, and later died in Poitiers in 1154. His authenticated works include commentaries on the Psalms, on the Epistles of Saint Paul, and on Boethius's *Opuscula sacra* (*Theological Tractates*).[159]

Gilbert's membership in the School of Chartres seems undeniable. The charters that he signed attest to his presence there,[160] as does the mention of his name in the obituary list of the cathedral dated 4 September 1154:

> Death of Gilbert, who was at first canon of this church, then the very learned chancellor, and finally the venerable bishop of Poitiers. He gave to this Church [Notre-Dame of Chartres] two chalices in silver, weighing eight marks: he gave them to be used daily at the altar and had it confirmed, under the threat of anathema, that they would never be removed from this use. He diligently corrected and improved in numerous ways the books of the library, and every time that he could, he honored all the clergy of this church, whether they be canons or not.[161]

Gilbert was a demanding master. He did not hesitate—as we shall see—to have a student whipped for making a grammatical error. He held a grudge against those who wasted their time at school: time that, he felt, they could have spent more profitably elsewhere. As John of Salisbury explains,

> Master Gilbert, who at the time was chancellor of Chartres and who afterwards became the venerable bishop of Poitiers—I do not know if he was joking or whether he deplored the folly of his time—was in the habit, when he saw people rush into the studies I spoke of above, of advising them to take up the art of bread-making. In his part of the country, he would say, the art of bread-making was the only one which readily accepted all those who were deprived of work or employment. For this art is easily

> learnt, it is the support of the other arts, and it is more suitable to those who seek bread rather than a profession.[162]

Become bakers instead! This is not the kindest of remarks about the valiant artisans who spend a good part of the night without sleep to supply fresh bread and, at least in France, croissants for people every morning. Gilbert was a man of hard words. His remark brings to mind the sharp tone of the French poet Boileau:

> Be rather a mason, if this is your talent,
> esteemed worker in a necessary art,
> than a common writer and a vulgar poet.[163]

Let us return to the major debate that still simmers about the School of Chartres: namely, whether the most famous Chartrian masters actually taught in Chartres or not. Can we claim that Master Gilbert—"at that time chancellor of Chartres," according to John of Salisbury—made this biting remark anywhere but in Chartres? Another argument in support of Gilbert's having taught at Chartres can be found in the *Dialogue between Ratius and Everard*, written by the Cistercian Everard of Ypres, a former student of Gilbert of Poitiers, between 1191 and 1198.[164] The Ratius of the title is, supposedly, a Greek from Athens, sent to France by Ratio Atheniensis, his mother, in order to take lessons from the great philosopher Gilbert. And this is what Ratius did: "In Chartres I was the fourth to attend his lectures, and roughly the three-hundredth at Paris in the palace of the bishop."[165] According to Nikolaus Häring, "the Cistercian Everardus and the Greek *Ratius* are one and the same person."[166] Southern, on the contrary, thinks that, although the names of Ratius, his sister (Sophia), and his uncle (Sosias) are fictitious, the *Dialogue* itself is reliable,[167] and so the person named Ratius in the *Dialogue* was "the first Greek student in Paris."[168] Whether Ratius was Greek or not, if the dialogue is reliable, as suggested by Southern, it would mean that Gilbert undoubtedly had a larger audience in Paris than he did at Chartres; it would also mean that Gilbert taught at Chartres, and not exclusively in Paris.[169] On the other hand, it would be risky to conclude that every day (or every week) Gilbert was teaching three hundred students in Paris. After all, the lecture that the chancellor

of Chartres gave in the palace of the bishop of Paris, and that Ratius attended, may well have been given on a special occasion.

The personality of Gilbert de la Porrée was so strong that his school of thought—those who followed his ideas and were his students—cannot be geographically confined to the places (Chartres or Paris) where the master taught, nor were his disciples recorded as Chartrian or Parisian. Rather, they were known as Porretans (*Porretani*).[170] Among the characteristic features of the Porretan School is a strong interest in the Greek Fathers,[171] to whom Gilbert and his followers had access only through Latin translations. These translations, although available in the Latin world, were not widely read. Nor should we imagine that the Porretans promoted new translations from the Greek. They can be credited with having drawn attention to Greek texts already translated into Latin. This interest in the Greek Fathers explains the eagerness with which the Porretans quote the famous Homily of John Scottus (Eriugena) on the Prologue of St. John's Gospel. Like many others in the twelfth century, the Porretans attributed it to Origen (ca. 185–253), and did not know that this homily—*Vox spiritualis aquilae*—was actually written by John Scottus (ca. 810–ca. 877).[172]

Much like the other Chartrian masters, Gilbert taught grammar. We even have an amusing anecdote pertaining to this, which instructs us about the customs of the time. It concerns the grammatical rule according to which, in good Latin, an adjective is to be placed before, and not after, a noun:

> One day master Garnier, master Aubri, and many others having entered into the class of master Gilbert of Poitiers, master Garnier said to him: "*Magister Gilleberte Porreta, responde.*" The professor was indignant: "Young man, do you not know that adjectives must be placed before nouns? You therefore should have said: *Porreta Gilleberte.* Because you have spoken badly, you will pay for it." He had him whipped copiously.[173]

This anecdote is well illustrated by the sculpture representing *Grammatica*, found on the right wing of the *Portail royal* of the Cathedral of Chartres among the seven Liberal Arts. In her right hand *Grammatica* brandishes a bundle of birch-rods, with which she prepares to strike one

Figure 8. Gilbert de la Porrée teaching his disciples. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 197, folio 4v (image by kind permission of the Bibliothèque municipale, Valenciennes, all rights reserved)

of the two disciples at her feet.[174] This also brings to mind the words of Thierry of Chartres, who describes *Grammatica* in the prologue of his *Heptateucon* as "a matron with austere dress and countenance" (*Matrona uultuque habituque seuero*).[175]

Although both grammarians, William of Conches and Gilbert of Poitiers nonetheless took very different paths: the first is above all a *physicus* (both physicist and physician), the second a theologian.[176] This is also what we learn about Gilbert from the inscription that accompanies a figurative representation of him and his disciples found on folio 4v of manuscript 197 in the Bibliothèque municipale of Valenciennes: "Master Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, reveals the highest secrets of theological philosophy to four diligent, attentive, and demanding (*pulsantibus*) disciples. Their names are written below, because they deserve to be recorded."[177] These names are: Jordan Fantosme; Ivo, dean of Chartres; John Beleth; and Nicholas (perhaps Nicholas of Amiens). Let us consider, for a moment, the use of the word *pulsantibus.* Good students, who deserved to have their names and their "portraits" associated with that of the master in the luxurious manuscript of Valenciennes, are students who do not hesitate to provoke their master by asking questions.

This resonates with what John of Salisbury tells us about Gilbert as a teacher. In his *Historia Pontificalis*, the future bishop of Chartres relates the events surrounding a theological tournament held at the Council of Rheims in 1148, which saw Bernard of Clairvaux oppose Gilbert of Poitiers. John of Salisbury describes the two combatants with impartiality. He admires Bernard's exceptional familiarity with the sacred texts, his eloquence, and his epistolary talents. However, Bernard was less well versed in the secular texts in which, John asserts, Gilbert was without equal. The bishop of Poitiers perhaps lacked the speed and agility to find the proper biblical citation for each circumstance, but he was more familiar than the abbot of Clairvaux with the Fathers of the Church, most notably Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine:

> He [Gilbert] made use of every branch of learning as occasion demanded, knowing that all were consistent with each other. For he held that the disciplines are interrelated, and made them minister to theology.… Even in theology he explained the properties and qualities of words by quotations from philosophers and orators as

> well as poets. When he was left alone, he appeared to be rather slow. But when he was provoked and attacked by goading questions, then he displayed his subtle reasonings with more abundance and clarity. You would have wanted him always to be so stimulated, so that the vigor of his fiery mind would both illuminate and set you ablaze.[178]

These are admirable words. Could there be finer praise for a teacher? The whole art of teaching is found there: not a brilliant monologue, but a fertile dialogue! This calls to mind Porphyry's words about his master Plotinus, the third-century philosopher and founder of Neo-Platonism:

> When he was speaking his intellect visibly lit up his face: there was always a charm about his appearance, but at these times he was still more attractive to look at: he sweated gently, and kindliness shone out from him, and in answering questions he made clear both his benevolence to the questioner and his intellectual vigor. Once I, Porphyry, went on asking him for three days about the soul's connection with the body, and he kept on explaining to me. A man called Thaumasius came in who was interested in general statements and said that he wanted to hear Plotinus speaking in the manner of a set treatise, but could not stand Porphyry's questions and answers. Plotinus said: "But if when Porphyry asks questions we do not solve his difficulties, we shall not be able to say anything at all to put into the treatise."[179]

Certainly, John of Salisbury had never read the *Life of Plotinus.* If there is some resemblance between his description of Gilbert and Porphyry's description of Plotinus, it cannot be explained by literary influence. Yet the resemblance is striking, and this is why I allow myself to compare the two masters—Plotinus (third century) and Gilbert of Poitiers (twelfth century)—as André Malraux compared the two sculptures of the Buddhist head of Gandara (fourth century) and the "Smiling Angel" of Rheims (thirteenth century).[180] Despite the centuries that separate them, there perhaps remains some continuity between the ancient Academy and what Adelman of Liège, as mentioned above, called the Chartrian Academy.[181]

Figure 9. *Rhetorica*, from the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral
(photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

Chapter 6
Thierry of Chartres: "The Most Devoted Explorer of the Liberal Arts"

Thierry of Chartres succeeded Gilbert as chancellor of the cathedral Chapter, occupying the position from approximately 1142 to 1150 and combining it for a certain time with his position as archdeacon of Dreux. It seems that he spent the last years of his life in a monastery.[182] Upon his death, however, "Master Thierry, chancellor and archdeacon of Notre-Dame" bequeathed to the cathedral Chapter a "Bible of the seven Liberal Arts"—the *Heptateucon*, discussed below—"as well as books on Roman law"—Justinian's *Institutiones*, *Novellae*, and *Digesta*—"and, in addition to this, forty-five other books."[183] For the time, this was a remarkable number of books to hold in one's private collection. That he was chancellor of the Cathedral of Chartres is attested by the charters in which his name and title appear; that he was a famous master is attested by his students. Clarembald of Arras saw in his master the most important philosopher in all of Europe: "Magister Theodoricus, meus doctor, … totius Europae philosophorum praecipuus."[184] The poet Bernard Silvestris from Tours places this master's name at the opening of his *Cosmographia*: "To the very famous doctor Thierry, Bernard

Silvestris dedicates his work."[185] Just to make sure that there is no confusion as to the addressee, one manuscript of the *Cosmographia* specifies that the person in question is the "very great man of learning and friend of philosophers, chancellor and archdeacon of the church of Chartres."[186] The epitaph, discovered and published by André Vernet, bears witness to both Thierry's scholarly reputation and the high positions he held at Chartres (lines 57–58): "Such is the man whom Chartres had as a *doctor*, as *protoleuita* [archdeacon] and *logothetes* [chancellor]: she will hardly find his equal."[187]

Thierry was not a Chartrian by birth but a Breton, and this was often thrown in his face as an insult by his detractors. Fighting back, Thierry introduced Envy personified in his commentary on Cicero's *De inuentione rhetorica*, who requests the help of Rumor in order to eliminate "Thierry the Breton, man of a barbarian nation":[188]

> Moved by these words of Envy, Rumor beats her wings, makes much noise, travels through cities and nations under the guidance of Envy, fills them with gossip, everywhere accuses Thierry, calling him by ignominious names. With simple and ordinary people, she swears that he is a Boeotian, born under a dense sky. With religious people, she calls him necromancer and heretic.[189]

Thierry's detractors made fun of him because he was born under the heavy skies of Brittany, whereas William of Conches was mocked for being born under the heavy skies of Normandy.[190] In the first case, as in the second, these are but classical references: of Horace in the case of Thierry,[191] of Juvenal in the case of William of Conches.[192] This is not the only thing the two masters have in common. In the introduction to Thierry of Chartres's *De sex dierum operibus* (a commentary on the first chapter of Genesis), his disciple, Clarembald of Arras, addresses a noble Lady "whose generosity surpasses all imperial munificence."[193] The noble Lady to whom this flattering dedication seems best suited is Matilda of England, widow of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V and wife of Geoffrey "the Fair" Plantagenet, patron of William of Conches.[194] Proud of her position, Matilda carried the title of empress until her death at an old age in 1167.[195]

It is, in fact, in the *De sex dierum operibus* that Thierry sets out to explain the biblical account of the creation of the world "according to

physics."[196] From the start, commenting upon the first verse of Genesis, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth," he says, "How should we understand the words 'heaven and earth'? How were the two, from the point of view of the physicist (*secundum rationem physicorum*), created at the same time? This is what I will try to show."[197] The argument that follows, as rightly noted by Étienne Gilson, is an attempt at an "experimental justification of Genesis."[198] Both Thierry of Chartres and William of Conches believed that a Christian thinker cannot—nay, must not—content himself with the narrative of the Book of Genesis in order to explain the physical world. Both men would have subscribed to the statement of John Scottus (Eriugena): "I would not say that the constitution of this world lies outside the understanding of the rational nature, when it was for that nature's sake that it was created."[199] In other words, Thierry of Chartres and William of Conches thought that it is the duty of the Christian thinker, both as a Christian and as a thinker, to explain the physical world by physical reasoning.[200]

Thierry and William also agreed that one must fight to maintain a standard of excellence in research. Immediately after reporting Gilbert of Poitiers's biting retort concerning the art of baking, quoted above, John of Salisbury wrote:

> But other men, lovers of learning, such as Thierry, the most devoted explorer of the Liberal Arts, and also William of Conches, the most accomplished grammarian since Bernard of Chartres, as well as the Peripatetic from Pallet,[201] … all fought against this error.[202]

Had Thierry only compiled the *Heptateucon*, he would nonetheless deserve high praise as "the most devoted explorer of the Liberal Arts." The *Heptateucon* is one of those Greek titles that writers of the Middle Ages sometimes gave to their works in order to add a certain stylish elegance—think of Saint Anselm's *Monologion* and *Proslogion*, and of John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon* and *Policraticus*. Thierry rightfully called his work *Heptateucon*, for elsewhere this same work is referred to as the "Bible of the seven Liberal Arts,"[203] and the *Heptateucon* is also the name given to the first seven books of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges). By giving to a secular book a title that was otherwise reserved for the first seven books of the Bible, Thierry seems to have conferred part of the prestige of Holy Writ

onto the study of the Liberal Arts. In the same spirit, Clarembald of Arras established a connection between the five parts of Roman law (*Institutiones*, *Digesta*, *Codex*, *Novellae*, *Authentica*) and the five books of the Pentateuch.[204]

Let us return to Thierry of Chartres's *Heptateucon*. It is a rich collection in two volumes (once manuscripts 497 and 498 of the *Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres*, now destroyed), more than eleven hundred pages in length, that comprise the fundamental texts for teaching the seven Liberal Arts. In the prologue, Thierry develops a notion of culture, dear to Cicero, in which eloquence and wisdom, the science of words (*trivium*) and the science of things (*quadrivium*), come together harmoniously. This is the theme of Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (a classical text present in every school in the Middle Ages): Mercury is the god of eloquence, and Philology (the love of reason) an allegory for Wisdom. Another important theme of Thierry's prologue is the transmission of learning from the Egyptians to the Greeks, and from the Greeks to the Romans. Thierry's text deals solely with grammar, but no one can doubt that the process he discusses applies to all the arts:

> Grammar is said to have been born from a sacred union of gods: Niligenus was her father, Nilotis her mother. She was born in Egypt, in the city of Memphis, during the reign of Osiris. For a long time she remained hidden there. Mercury discovered her, fostered her and transported her to the Greek cities. Finally, in her great age she came to the grandsons of Romulus.[205]

This is the classical path: Memphis, Athens, Rome. If we agree with Rodin, we would add Chartres to the list: "Chartres, the most splendid of our cathedrals. Is it not the Acropolis of France?"[206] Later in history, Oxford and Paris would be added to the list.

It is a well-recognized fact that culture moves from place to place. If and when it does, it is often because a culture is threatened and must seek refuge elsewhere. Wars, in particular, are fatal to culture and its artifacts, and the cathedral of Chartres gained first-hand experience of this painful truth during World War II. Fearing German bombs, the directors of the Monuments historiques de France decided to take down the cathedral's priceless windows and place them in safe-keeping. Those

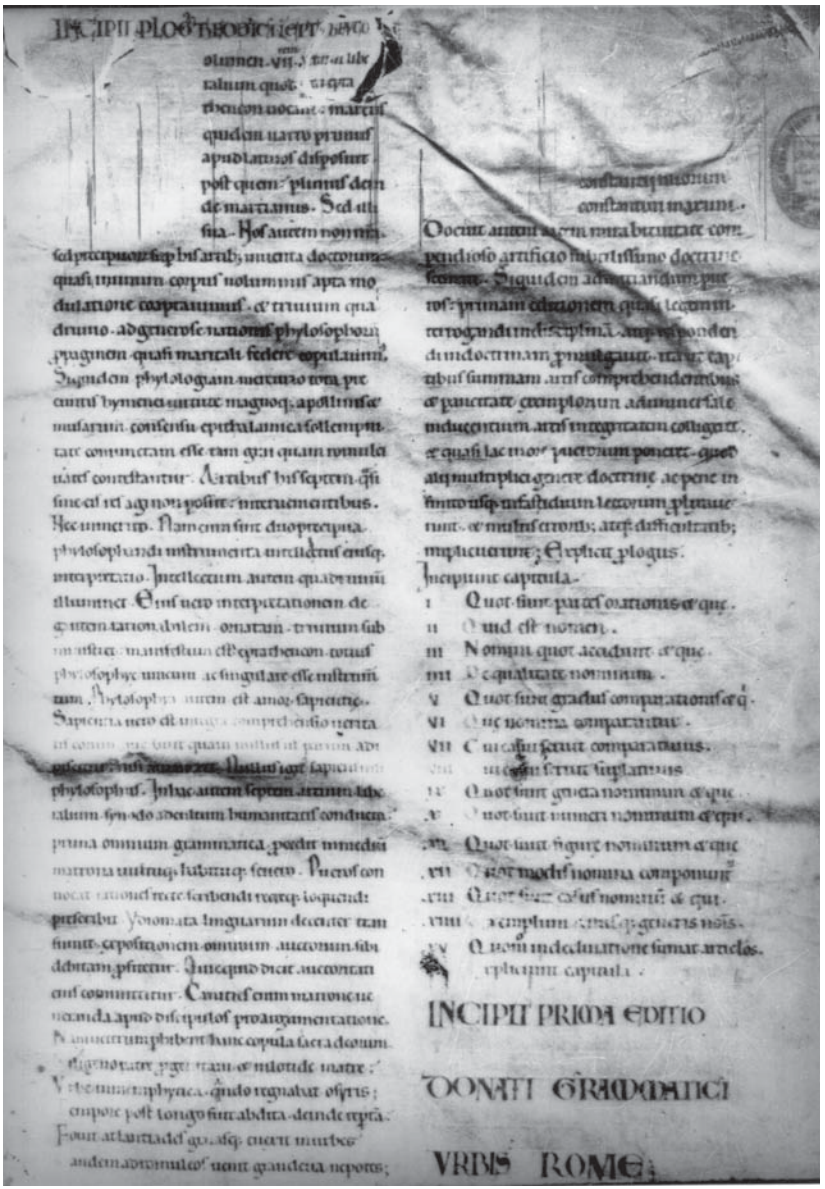

Figure 10: Introduction of Thierry of Chartres to his *Heptateucon*. Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 497, folio 2r (photo by kind permission of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, all rights reserved)

responsible for the Bibliothèque municipale of Chartres thought their manuscripts deserved the same treatment. The shelter they chose for the Chartrian manuscripts was some twenty-three kilometres west of Chartres at the château of Villebon, once owned by Sully (1559–1641), prime minister to Henry IV. And so, on 5 September 1939, the manuscripts, incunables, and several other rare books were transferred from the Bibliothèque municipale to the château of Villebon.

There they remained until December 1940, by which time most of France was under German occupation, including Chartres. The occupation forces, for reasons that are not entirely clear, demanded that the manuscripts stored in Villebon be returned to Chartres. Obviously those in charge of the library were unable to refuse the orders of the German occupier,[207] but it would be inaccurate to say that they greeted the return of the manuscripts with tears. In any case, this return was marked by an exhibition held at the Museum of Chartres in February and March 1942.[208] The exhibition, which I attended, was a success, as documented by the local media reports of the time.[209] In the midst of the joy over this return of the manuscripts to Chartres, the fact that the war had not yet ended seems to have been forgotten. The manuscripts were no longer protected from the bombs, from whichever side they might come,[210] and the bombs that destroyed the manuscripts came from Allied aircraft around 6:00 p.m. on 26 May 1944.[211]

Among the manuscripts that were either destroyed or so damaged that they became, for all intents and purposes, useless, were the two volumes of the *Heptateucon*. Luckily, two microfilms of Chartres manuscripts 497 and 498 had been made before the disaster, one by the monks of the Benedictine abbey of Mont-César (Louvain), the other by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Toronto). Thanks to these two institutions we are able to study reproductions of these two precious manuscripts.[212] The Benedictine monks of Louvain and the Basilian Fathers of Toronto thus saved one of the most splendid monuments produced by the School of Chartres, Master Thierry's *Heptateucon*, and thanks to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, I was allowed the honor of returning to Chartres, if only in microfilm, the venerable *Heptateucon*.[213] This microfilm—sent on 30 January 1953 to Raoul Harscouët, bishop of Chartres, by Father George Flahiff, at the time Fellow of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (PIMS) and later

Cardinal Flahiff—was requested by me through the bishop. Once it arrived, I showed it to Maurice Jusselin, at the time directeur des Archives départmentales d'Eure-et-Loir. He urged Marie Guittet, librarian of the *Bibliothèque municipale*, to order a second copy for the library's collection.

We can see Thierry as someone who achieved the synthesis of two currents that are represented, each for its own part, by William of Conches and Gilbert of Poitiers. Following the lead of William of Conches, Thierry delineates Genesis in the manner of a physicist (*physicus*); and, just as Gilbert of Poitiers did, Thierry comments on Boethius's *Opuscula sacra* in the same manner as a theologian. This does not at all mean, however, that Thierry's doctrinal positions coincide with those of Gilbert. Far from it! Clarembald of Arras, a disciple and admirer of Thierry, allowed himself a bitter comment about Gilbert that leads one to believe that the relationship between the two great scholars, who succeeded one another as chancellor of Chartres, was not one of perfect harmony. Clarembald accused Gilbert of adding obscurity to a text of Boethius that was, in itself, perfectly clear, and scoffed, alluding to Terence, that "this man of understanding behaves such that nobody understands him."[214] William of Tyre likewise seemed to register a divergence of opinion between Thierry and Gilbert. This famous historian of the Crusades, when enumerating the masters under whom he had the privilege of studying in his youth—Bernard of Moëlan (who later became bishop of Quimper), Peter Helias, and Ivo, dean of Chartres—added:

> All of these masters, over an extended period, were students of master Thierry the Ancient, a great man of letters. However, the last among these, master Ivo, professed the doctrine of Master Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, whose lectures Ivo attended after those given by master Thierry.[215]

Hermann of Carinthia, one of Thierry's contemporaries, offered his *Planisphere of Ptolemy* to Thierry, holding him up as the new Plato with these dedicatory words: "To you, Thierry, my very diligent master, in whom, I have no doubt, the spirit of Plato is reincarnated."[216] Influenced as the scholars of Chartres were by Plato, it actually is almost commonplace by this time to speak of Chartrian Platonism, and it is notable

that, in the twelfth century, the two most important commentaries on Plato's *Timaeus* are associated with Chartres. One of these was written by William of Conches, while the second has been attributed, as we have seen above, to Bernard of Chartres. According to Thierry, the four sciences of the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy) play, in relation to theology, an analogous role to the one they play in Plato's *Republic*. The other name for *quadrivium* is *mathematica*. As Thierry states, "The custom of the ancients was first to learn *mathematica*, in order to be able to accede to knowledge of the divinity."[217] *Mathematica* (the *quadrivium*) is, therefore, the necessary propaedeutic, or preparatory course of study, for the study of theology. It is able to fulfill this function because, in the tripartite division of speculative philosophy, *mathematica* occupies a middle ground between physics and theology. *Mathematica* has a point in common with physics because, in order to study the ideal figures that are its subject, it requires material support. *Mathematica* has a point in common with theology because its subject is immaterial.

The *quadrivium*, or *mathematica*, thus acts as a bridge between the world of the senses and the intelligible universe: all those who aspire to theological knowledge must pass through it. Such knowledge was understood, at the time, as being a matter not for the masses, but for an elite. To enter into this realm one needs to have received the gift of *intelligentia* (Greek *noûs*), an intellectual ability that, as Plato attests, is the attribute of the gods and of a small number of human beings.[218] The following words of Macrobius on the subject were well known: "When our thoughts rise up from us to the gods, the first degree of perfect immateriality which they encounter is Numbers."[219] Through Macrobius, but also through the *De institutione arithmetica* and the *De institutione musica* of Boethius, a healthy dose of Pythagorean or, more precisely, of neo-Pythagorean doctrine found its way into the School of Chartres. Thierry's work is a good example of this influence in action.

"God is Unity, Unity is God." Such formulas, which Thierry likes to repeat, express the fundamental principle of his thought. Contemplation of the Unity is a force that stimulates his ideas, for the Unity he contemplates is not sterile, but rather fecund in two distinct ways: as Unity generates the many, it creates the universe; as Unity generates Unity, it blossoms into the Holy Trinity. The first type of generation allows us to explain creation: as numbers flow from the Unity, so all creatures flow

Figure 11. Pythagoras, from the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral (photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

from God. And, just as the Unity may generate numbers to infinity, so the generative power of God is infinite. For, as Thierry says in an admirable Pythagorean phrase, "to create numbers is to create things."[220]

The second type of generation allows Thierry to voice the dogma of the Trinity in Pythagorean terms. Such speculations will appear abstruse to some, puerile to others, but it is necessary to note that nothing, or almost nothing, has prepared us to enter into the mental universe of twelfth-century thinkers. We, dwarves perched on the shoulders of giants, are tempted to judge their speculations from above, just as the cultured elites of the eighteenth century scorned the architecture and sculpture of the Middle Ages, making the term "gothic" a synonym for "barbarous." But before we pass judgment, a question needs to be asked: is it possible that the refined cultural milieu, at once vigorous and creative, that gave birth to the *Portail royal* was unable to produce anything of value in the realm of pure thought? The speculations of Thierry of Chartres on the Trinity, however impenetrable they may seem at first glance, deserve some consideration.

Multiplied by itself, Unity engenders Unity: 1 x 1 = 1. However, engendered Unity is rigorously identical to engendering Unity: it is Equality of Unity. Moreover, since Unity that engenders is eternal, Equality of Unity is itself both eternal and eternally engendered by Unity. Now, there cannot be two eternal beings, which would be equivalent to affirming the existence of two infinities. This is, of course, impossible. Engendering the Equality of Unity, therefore, does not introduce duality into the bosom of Unity: Unity and Equality of Unity are thus one and the same Unity. It is clear that, for Thierry, Unity means the Father and Equality of Unity means His Son.[221] That leaves us to "find" the third person of the Holy Trinity. Let us quote Thierry himself:

> There exists between Equality and Unity a certain connection: Unity loves Equality, and Equality loves Unity. One can prove this *a contrario.* In fact, Unity avoids division, and it is for this reason that every living being is horrified at its body's decomposition. For everything which is, strives naturally toward existence; hence, it strives toward Unity. Everything which is, exists insofar as it is one in number. Everything which is thus desires to be one,

> and therefore must necessarily avoid division. Let us conclude. If Unity avoids division, it is because Equality loves Unity, and because Unity loves Equality. Thus there is a Love-Connection from Equality to Unity and from Unity to Equality of being. This Love-Connection is neither engendered, nor engendering: it proceeds from Unity and Equality of Unity, not from only one of them, but from both. Love, in fact, like Connection, requires two terms. This Love-Connection, which proceeds from Unity and from Equality of Unity, is the Holy Spirit: from Unity, the Father, and from Equality, the Son, the Holy Spirit proceeds. And since Unity, Equality of Unity, and the Love-Connection which proceeds from both are one and the same, we must necessarily confess that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one and the same. Just as, however, neither the Father is the Son, nor the Son the Father, so the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son; and just as Unity, insofar as it engenders, is not engendered, and insofar as it is engendered, does not engender, likewise Unity, insofar as it proceeds, is neither engendered nor engendering.[222]

It is important to note that the Trinitarian formula *Unity, Equality, Connection* is not Thierry of Chartres's invention. It belongs to the repertory of "images" first used by the Fathers of the Church, then by medieval theologians, in order to expound the dogma of the Trinity of the persons in the unique divine nature. Some of these images were borrowed from physics. For instance, we can distinguish between rays, heat, and splendor in the unique Sun. Other images of the Holy Trinity were borrowed from human nature: to be, to know, and to will; or, alternatively, power, wisdom, and goodness. Thierry of Chartres and his disciples do not seem to have been interested in an image of the Trinity borrowed from physics.[223] Thierry's preferred image, borrowed from *mathematica*, had been formulated by Saint Augustine: "In the Father there is Unity, in the Son Equality, and in the Holy Spirit Concord of Unity and Equality. And all these three are one because of the Father, all equal because of the Son, and all connected because of the Holy Spirit."[224]

This formulation offers, therefore, a serious guarantee of orthodoxy, at least from the point of view of Latin theology, which professes that the

Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son (*Filioque*). John Scottus, who knew that the word *Filioque* does not belong to the authentic text of the Nicene Creed, would probably have been reluctant to agree with Thierry's interpretation of the Augustinian formula *Unitas, Aequalitas, Concordia*.[225] John Scottus was not a "mainstream intellectual," however, and we find the revised formula—*Unitas, Aequalitas, Connexio* (sometimes in an altered form)—in old breviaries like those of Hyde Abbey[226] or of the Paraclete, whose abbess was Heloise.[227] The same formula appears as one of the fifty-two articles of a profession of faith found in a twelfth-century manuscript in Rheims,[228] and was also widely invoked by authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[229] To give but one example, let me quote a twelfth-century commentator on Plato's *Timaeus*, who, for want of a full name, we designate by his surname, Hisdosus (in French *Lehideux*).[230] Hisdosus commented on a passage of the *Timaeus* (34b-36d) that deals with the World Soul. Although his commentary depends unequivocally on William of Conches's *Glosae super Platonem*, he quotes the formula dear to Thierry of Chartres: *Unitas, Aequalitas, Connexio*.[231] We may surmise from this that Hisdosus was likely a disciple of William of Conches. Could the formula *Unitas, Aequalitas, Connexio* suggest that he had also been a disciple of Thierry of Chartres? It would be daring to assert it, but imprudent to exclude *a priori* such a hypothesis.

Thierry's originality, and that of his disciples, is to be found in their attempt to establish the Augustinian theorem quoted above through arithmetical proofs (*arithmeticae probationes*).[232] It is possible, however, that these *probationes* are not offered as real mathematical demonstrations, but rather as an attempt to approach the unfathomable.[233] Otherwise, the mystery of the Holy Trinity would be voided, and Thierry's views would thereby be deemed unorthodox, or even heretical, if judged by the standards of the nineteenth-century definitions of the Catholic Church.[234] Whatever the case may be, the influence of Thierry's arithmetic *probationes* of the Holy Trinity continued to be felt at least through to the time of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464).[235]

Chapter 7
John of Salisbury: From Disciple of William of Conches to Bishop of Chartres

The man I have chosen to conclude our tour of the gallery of portraits illustrating the golden age of the School of Chartres does not belong, strictly speaking, to this school. He did, however, know several of the masters responsible for its renown, and he spoke of them with the utmost respect and sympathy.

John of Salisbury was born in England in the city whose name he shares. During his lifetime, the town of Salisbury was not situated on the plain, where modern-day Salisbury lazily lies, but three kilometres to the north on a hill named Old Sarum.[236] This imposing hill, inhabited since the Iron Age, was crowned by a fortified castle and a Romanesque cathedral by the twelfth century. If the date of John's death is well established (25 October 1180), that of his birth is still a matter of debate: in all likelihood, he was born between 1115 and 1120. This Englishman belongs to Chartres, at least by way of the last four years of his life and his burial: he was buried at the abbey of Josaphat, close to the town of Lèves, which is itself not far from Chartres. Four short years before,

Figure 12. Capricorn and Janus Bifrons (representing the month of January), arch of the left bay of the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral (photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

on 22 July 1176—the feast of Saint Mary Magdalene—the Chapter of Chartres Cathedral had elected John of Salisbury bishop at the instigation of the king of France, Louis VII. Immediately, a delegation from that same Chapter made its way to Canterbury to offer John the bishopric of Chartres. By accepting their proposal, John of Salisbury became John of Chartres. The newly elected bishop received his episcopal ordination on 8 August 1176, in Sens, from Maurice of Sully, bishop of Paris, and John took possession of his cathedral on August 15. The *Portail royal*, through which he entered the church, still exists. However, other than the *Portail royal* and the crypt, nothing more remains of John's cathedral today other than the two towers, one of which is the *Clocher vieux* (the Romanesque Old Bell Tower, built between 1145 and 1165), the three beautiful stained-glass windows of the western façade, and the stained-glass window known as *Notre-Dame de la Belle-Verrière* (Our Lady of the Beautiful Window, alternately known as the Virgin's Window or the Blue Virgin).

Why go all the way to England to find a bishop for Chartres? Some scholars believe that John of Salisbury had studied at Chartres in his youth and that he had even spent three years there, during which time the bonds of friendship were forged between him and the Cathedral Chapter. If this is the case, when the time came to choose a successor to William of Champagne (1164–1176), the Chartrians would naturally have turned their thoughts to this "former student," who, in the meantime, had solidly established himself as a writer and diplomat of considerable repute. This hypothesis is seductive, but there is no definite proof to support it. The idea rests upon a passage of the *Metalogicon*, in which John of Salisbury lists the various teachers under whom he studied while in France between 1136 and 1148.[237] Among them were Gilbert de la Porrée, Thierry of Chartres, William of Conches, and Petrus Helias, himself a disciple of both Thierry of Chartres and William of Conches.[238] Upon his arrival on the continent, John of Salisbury began his studies with Abelard, who was teaching at montagne Sainte-Geneviève, which was outside the city of Paris at the time, on the left bank of the Seine and in what is now in the 5th *arrondissement* of Paris:

> When, still but a youth, I first journeyed to Gaul for the sake of study, in the year following the death of the illustrious king of the

> English, Henry [I], "the Lion of Justice," I betook myself to the Peripatetic from Pallet [Abelard], who was then teaching at Mont Sainte-Geneviève. The latter was a famed and learned master, admired by all. At his feet I learned the elementary principles of this art, drinking in, with consuming avidity, and to the full extent of my limited talents, every word that fell from his lips.[239]

Unfortunately, Abelard was forced to leave Paris before John's appetite for learning had been satisfied. Two other masters replaced the master of the montagne Sainte-Geneviève: Robert of Melun (who, despite his name, was an Englishman, and later became bishop of Hereford) and a certain Alberic. After two years spent learning dialectics with these men either in Paris or at montagne Sainte-Geneviève, John decided to devote himself to another discipline and so needed to move to a different place: "I then transferred, after deliberation and consultation, and with the approval of my instructors, to the grammarian of Conches. I studied under the latter for three years, during which I learned much. Nor will I ever regret the time thus spent."[240]

But where did John of Salisbury study under William of Conches? The answer to this question depends on the answer provided to another equally thorny question, which we have already faced: in which cathedral school did William teach before settling in at the court of Geoffrey "the Fair" Plantagenet? Two cities fight for this honor: Chartres and Paris. Not a single document exists to prove that William taught at Chartres; however, none supports the assertion that he taught in Paris either. Nonetheless, as discussed in chapter four, the scales do tip in favor of Chartres.[241]

Whatever the case may be, John of Salisbury's learning had such breadth and depth that no school, no matter how brilliant it may have been, can capture its essence. This humanist gathered his knowledge in a great variety of places, and not just from books. He was, though, inarguably a great lover of books and an avid reader. If he made use of a large number of continental European libraries (in France and Italy), he also made the most of those in his native country, particularly the rich library of Canterbury Cathedral. After spending twelve years of his youth studying, his love of reading remained with him for the rest of his life. Hence his motto, borrowed from Quintilian: "The practice of

grammar and the love of reading do not end with one's time in school, but with the length of life."[242]

John of Salisbury, it should by now be clear, read copiously, and not just from the Bible and Christian authors. He also read from the philosophers and writers of antiquity,[243] and particularly admired Plato and Aristotle. For John, Plato was "the prince of all philosophy"[244] and "the prince of philosophers";[245] these are formulations already used by Cicero. He felt that Aristotle also had the right to a princely title, but that this title is a more modest one. To John, Aristotle is neither the prince of all philosophy nor the prince of philosophers, but the prince of a particular school of philosophy, the Peripatetics.[246] The respect that John of Salisbury expressed for this prince did not keep him from criticizing him or from enumerating his errors.[247] He judged the founder of the Peripatetic School to have been more gifted in combating the views of others than in solidly establishing his own: "Just as this man [Aristotle] was more successful with his refutations than with his assertions, so too there are many others who are better at assertions than refutations. Each of us cannot do everything."[248] Such an assessment clearly proves that John of Salisbury did not have a sound knowledge of Aristotle's *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Nicomachean Ethics*. If it appears, at times, that John of Salisbury alludes to any of these works, it is in fact an indirect quotation. For him, as for the High Middle Ages in general, the place of Aristotle in the concert of philosophers had already been well defined in the sixth century by Cassiodorus: "Plato is a theologian, Aristotle a logician."[249] John knew Aristotle well, but solely as a logician (*Aristoteles logicus*) and, as such, books two to four of the *Metalogicon* are a summary of his readings of Aristotle's books on logic (collectively known as the *Organon*).[250]

That being said, I also feel that we have in John of Salisbury the forerunner of the Aristotelian revolution that would take hold of the Occident and triumph over traditional Platonism.[251] His awareness of Aristotle's importance has John remarking with satisfaction that Aristotle's *Topics*, thanks to the impulse of a diligent mind whose name he unfortunately does not reveal to us, recently had been saved from an unjust oblivion.[252] He also deems some of his contemporaries to be miserably backward because they content themselves with Boethius's treatises on logic and neglect the works of Aristotle, which are, evidently, superior.[253]

Even more significant is John of Salisbury's use of the *Posterior Analytics*. John of Salisbury quotes this Aristotelian treatise from the translation of James of Venice (1125–1150), and he is the first to do so.[254] He also quotes a new translation (*translatio noua*) of the same treatise[255] that was rediscovered in the twentieth century[256] and known to have been done by a man named John. Could this be John Sarrazin, from whom John of Salisbury requested a new translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite? If John Sarrazin is in fact the author of this new translation of the *Posterior Analytics*, John of Salisbury may well have been its instigator.[257]

Seneca is another "great" of ancient philosophy that John of Salisbury read and quoted from. He praised Seneca with the words "Never—or, at the very least, rarely—has there been amongst the pagan authors a master of ethics whose words or maxims can be so conveniently used for every occasion."[258]

In the end, John of Salisbury found his master of philosophy not among the Platonists, nor the Peripatetics, nor the Stoics. His tendency toward moderation and the golden mean led him to choose a middle way between the minor philosophers and those giants, Plato and Aristotle. This middle way is that of the New Academy,[259] led by Cicero: "our Cicero."[260] For John, the Roman orator was not only a master who teaches us how to speak, but was also, and above all, a master who teaches us how to think.[261] Cicero taught the future bishop of Chartres a kind of moderate scepticism, the merits of which John took pleasure in praising.[262] Assuredly, John of Salisbury did not blindly follow the Roman master of eloquence, just as he allowed himself to disagree on certain points with Plato and Aristotle. He even echoed the following harsh remark, made by Saint Augustine, about Cicero: "All admire his mouth, but not his heart."[263] Despite this, the Roman orator remained his favorite guide and, in his will, John bequeathed to the Cathedral of Chartres copies of Cicero's *De officiis* and *De oratore*.[264] It seems that the admiration that John had in his younger years for this great man, "whom no one in the Latin world had ever surpassed," remained intact to the very end of his life.[265]

In addition to the Bible and the ancient philosophers, John of Salisbury also read the Fathers of the Church and often linked the two groups together, referring to "ancient philosophers and Catholic

Figure 13. *Musica,* from the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral
(photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

fathers,"[266] and "Augustine and other philosophers."[267] He would even mix them together, saying "according to Jerome and other philosophers."[268] We have a letter documenting his interest in St. Jerome, in which John wrote to William the Breton (Guillelmus Brito), sub-prior of Canterbury Cathedral, "Farewell … and remember I have an interest in the letters of St. Jerome."[269]

The education of medieval clerics remained, however, firmly grounded in the seven Liberal Arts of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music). Grammar, in particular, is indispensable to a philosopher: "Grammar is the cradle (*cunabulum*) of all philosophy, and in a manner of speaking the first wet-nurse of the whole study of letters."[270] To John, a philosopher without grammar would be like a person who was blind or deaf from birth.[271] What he said of grammar in general, he applied to the poets in particular: to him, they are the cradle of philosophy, stating "that poetry is the cradle of philosophy is a commonplace."[272] He saw it, therefore, as necessary to read and reread the ancient poets in order to extract the seasoning for one's own philosophy, whatever philosophy it may be: "Thoroughly shake Virgil or Lucan, and no matter the philosophy you profess, you will find in their works seasoning for it."[273]

Despite his intense interest in books and scholarship, John of Salisbury did not choose a career in teaching. He chose—unless we argue that the circumstances made the choice for him—to live in the entourages of some of the leading figures of the time, particularly Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury. Some of the important persons in whose shadow he dwelt were also his friends. Pre-eminent among them was, without doubt, Nicholas Breakspear, who became Pope Hadrian IV in 1154, the only English pope in the history of the Roman Catholic Church to date.

After completing his studies in France, and with a letter of recommendation from Saint Bernard in hand, John of Salisbury joined the court of the archbishop of Canterbury. He stayed there for twenty years, serving as secretary first to Archbishop Theobald, and then to his successor, Thomas Becket. His work called upon him to travel extensively, and the court of the English primate acted as a home base from which he would often leave to fulfill missions abroad. After one such mission to France for Bishop Theobald in 1159, King Henry II was not amused

with the results: John of Salisbury could not return to England and so was condemned to exile, wandering throughout Europe. However, this disgrace granted him the luxury to write his two most important works: the *Policraticus* and the *Metalogicon*. At the time, he wrote about this experience:

> Leaving England, I have crossed the Alps ten times, journeyed all through Apulia twice, in Rome I often negotiated the affairs of my superiors and my friends, and as various court cases arose, traveled throughout not only England, but also Gaul.[274]

John of Salisbury was a very astute and sharp-minded traveler, as revealed by his works (*Policraticus*, *Metalogicon*, *Historia pontificalis*, and *Letters*). For though the numerous references to authors of antiquity might make his work seem like an anticipation of the *Essays* of Michel de Montaigne, John of Salisbury's work is also teeming with anecdotes drawn from daily life, often amusing and always instructive. He wrote about the physicians of his time in such a sarcastic voice, and with such verve, one would think it was Molière himself were it not for the inimitable touch of humor that tempers John's refined Latin prose and strikes the reader as very British.[275] For instance, his mocking portrait of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who had come to Rome to curry favor and returned home empty-handed,[276] demonstrates John of Salisbury's observational skills and ability to paint the foibles of his contemporaries.

This does not mean that he lacked clarity about his own life. In 1159, thinking about his past, he found his life could be divided into two parts: twelve years of study (1136–1148), followed by eleven years spent either at the papal court in Rome or at the court of the archbishop of Canterbury (1148–1159). This second part of his life seemed, to him, to be full of the frivolities of courtly life (*nugae curialium*), which prevented him from following in the footsteps of the philosophers (*uestigia philosophorum*).[277] Through personal experience he knew that the life of a courtier does not allow one to devote oneself to philosophy. On the other hand—and therein lies one of those contradictions in which his subtle spirit seemed to have revelled—he also clearly saw the sterile nature of lives limited to the narrow walls of schools. Upon visiting his fellow students in Paris a few years after leaving, he found them at the

exact same place as he had left them, montagne Sainte-Geneviève:

> Accordingly, I felt that it would be pleasant to revisit my old associates, whom I had previously left behind, and whom dialectic still detained at the Mont. I wanted to confer with them concerning matters that had previously appeared ambiguous to us, and to estimate our progress by mutual comparison. I found them just as, and where they were, when I had left them. They did not seem to have progressed as much as a hand's span. Not a single tiny proposition had they added toward the solution of the old problems. They themselves remained involved in and occupied with the same questions whereby they used to stir their students. They had changed in but one regard: they had unlearned moderation, they no longer knew restraint. And this to such an extent that their recovery was a matter of despair. I was accordingly convinced by experience of something which can easily be inferred: that just as dialectic expedites other studies, so, if left alone by itself, it lies powerless and sterile. For if it is to fecundate the soul to bear the fruits of philosophy, logic must conceive from an external source.[278]

In other words, reduced to itself, dialectic runs in circles:

> So also, if it is bereft of the strength of the other disciplines, dialectic is in a way maimed and practically helpless; but if it derives life and vigor from other studies, it can destroy all falsehood, and, to say the least, it enables one to dispute with probability concerning all subjects. Dialectic, however, is not something great, if, as our contemporaries would have it, it continually circles back on itself, surrounding itself and rummaging its own secrets, and deals only with matters that are of no use whatsoever at home or in the army, in the forum or in the cloister, in the court or in the church—in other words, useful nowhere save in school.[279]

John of Salisbury conceived of philosophy not as an abstract science, but rather as a wisdom and a discipline for life. To him, it did not seem worth exhausting oneself and consuming one's life investigating purely speculative problems; he preferred the Delphic precept "Know thyself."

In his own words, "to know oneself is, according to Apollo, practically the highest wisdom."[280] Moderation, sobriety, and a strong sense of the limits of reason: such are the lessons which John of Salisbury retained from his readings in philosophy.[281]

And yet, this man of the golden mean and of moderation admired those whose ideals were different from his, among them his master and friend Thomas Becket. In the life-and-death struggle that saw the latter oppose King Henry II, John loyally and courageously supported his archbishop. For defending Thomas's cause, John of Salisbury endured six years of exile (1164–1170). However, John was also in conflict with Thomas at times,[282] although their conflicts were not in terms of fundamental points or content but, rather, in terms of form. John thought the archbishop was too abrupt, too sharp-tonged in discussions; and John did not shy away from telling him so. Using the authority of Saint Paul (Galatians 2:11), he went so far as to voice his opposition to Thomas directly:

> I have kept the faith I owe the church and the archbishop of Canterbury; and I have stood faithfully by him in England and on this side of the Channel when justice and discretion seemed to be with him. If ever he seemed to steer away from justice or pass due measure, I withstood him to his face.[283]

Thus, in discussing a letter that Thomas had written to the papal legate Cardinal William of Pavia, John wrote in the following terms to the primate of England:

> I have read the letter you have resolved to send to the Cardinal William of Pavia. I would not presume to judge the author's mind; but I cannot approve the manner and style. The letter does not seem to strike the note of humility nor to have come from the mind of a man who has heard the Apostle urging Christ's disciples "Let your moderation be known to all men: the Lord is at hand."[284] If each clause of your letter and his is compared, your reply will seem to have come from bitterness and rancor of spirit rather than from pure affection.… Did you think that a cardinal priest and legate of the Holy See at first greeting should be branded

> with suspicion and gratuitously provoked?—and disparaged with insults, contrary to the pope's advice and the reverence due to the Roman Church? I really think that is not the way to address even a humble courier of the pope.[285]

Right to the very end, the differences in character between Thomas Becket and John of Salisbury could be clearly seen. On the tragic day of 29 December 1170, the day that Thomas died under the blows of his murderers, John of Salisbury was there, at his side, in Canterbury. He had counseled the archbishop to treat the king's emissaries with caution, but all his efforts were for naught. Thomas was unyielding and proud:

> Thereupon one of his clerks, Master John of Salisbury, a man of much learning, great eloquence, and profound wisdom and (what is more than all of these) a man firmly established in the fear and love of God, answered him thus: "My lord," said he, "it is a very strange thing that you will take no one's advice but always only say and do what seems good to yourself alone. What need was there that so great and good a man as yourself should exasperate these malignant fellows by rising from your seat and following them to the door? Would it not have been better, after taking counsel with those here present, to have returned a softer answer to men who are plotting to do you all the mischief they can, so that they may provoke you to anger and catch you out in your talk." "We all have to die," so the archbishop replied, "nor should we be diverted from the right way by the fear of death; I am more ready to undergo death for the sake of God and of justice than they to inflict it." "We," replied John, "are sinners and not yet prepared to die; I see no one here who wishes to die for dying's sake but you." To this Thomas answered: "The Lord's will be done."[286]

Nonetheless, after Thomas had been martyred, John of Salisbury was among the most fervent of those who honored his memory and the most zealous to promote his cult. John's efforts to this end are particularly noticeable during his time as bishop of Chartres, when he chose as his introductory formula to episcopal charters the following words: "John, by the grace of God and the merits of the blessed martyr Thomas, humble servant of the Church of Chartres."[287]

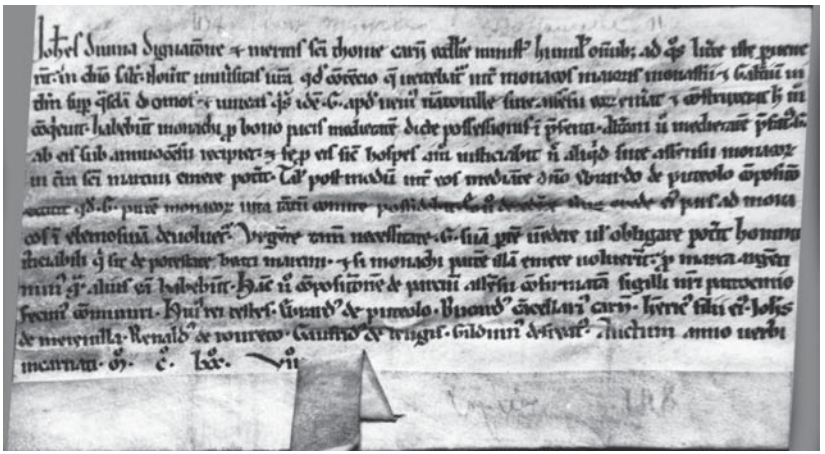

Figure 14. Charter of John of Salisbury, Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir, H2369: "Iohannes diuina dignatione et meritis sancti thome … anno uerbi incarnati MCLXXVII." (photo by kind permission of the Archives départmentales d'Eure-et-Loir, all rights reserved)

In his will, John bequeathed to the cathedral, among several other precious objects, a reliquary containing the blood of "the glorious martyr Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury."[288]

This refined humanist, friend of sobriety and moderation, was clearly able to understand and value heroism. At the time he was writing his *Policraticus* (1159), John had already declared that the measure prescribed for loving God is to love Him with a limitless love.[289] This is surely an echo of an admirable saying made famous by Saint Bernard's treatise *On Loving God*: "The reason for loving God is God himself, and the measure of loving Him is to love Him immeasurably."[290] The philosophy of this bishop, a follower of Cicero, was therefore not completely drawn from the libraries of cathedral schools—it also has a monastic flavor. John of Salisbury knew Saint Bernard personally and admired him; he was a frequent guest in monasteries, particularly that of Saint Remi of Rheims, whose abbot was Peter of Celle, John's friend and eventual successor as bishop of Chartres. In keeping with monastic tradition, John asserted that true philosophy is the love of God, and that the true philosopher is the one who loves God. In the words of Étienne Gilson:

> John of Salisbury knows that philosophical speculation is no idle game. If the true God, he says, is the true Wisdom, then the love of God is the true philosophy. The complete philosopher therefore is not he who is content with a theoretical knowledge, but he who lives the doctrine he preaches; to follow the true precepts one teaches is truly to philosophize. *Philosophus amator Dei est*: in that appeal to love and piety lies the completion and consummation of this conception of life. John was a mind more delicate than powerful, but so fine, so rich, and so perfectly cultured that its presence ennobles and graces in our thought the image of the twelfth century.[291]

It ennobles and graces, as well, the School of Chartres.

Chapter 8
In Lieu of a Conclusion

In the preceding pages, I have offered a gallery of portraits of a number of the key masters who are responsible for the renown of the School of Chartres. Still, we are far from having painted a complete tableau, or even a sketch of the school itself. I do not know if there is someone able to complete such a task; I am certain, though, that I am not able to do so. Yet I would like to say a few words about what, in my estimation, constitutes the originality of this school during the twelfth century.

As a first step, it is essential to disabuse ourselves of the notion that the School of Chartres can somehow be compared to a modern university, with its large lecture halls and large numbers of students. At Chartres in the twelfth century, the students were but very few in number, an elite drawn from the four corners of Europe. Teaching was done in the cloister of Notre-Dame, and perhaps in the lodgings of the cathedral canons.

In the cloister of Notre-Dame of Chartres, favorable to philosophical meditations, people read and discussed books. Which books did they read? Thanks to the *Heptateucon*, the vast compendium in which Thierry of Chartres assembled the required texts for the study of the seven Liberal Arts, we can answer this question with some confidence. The

main authors cited were, for grammar, Donatus and Priscian; for rhetoric, Cicero and book five of Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*; for dialectic, the works on logic by Porphyry and Aristotle, translated by Boethius; for arithmetic and music respectively, the *De institutione arithmetica* and *De institutione musica* of Boethius, Latin adaptations of the Greek treatises by Nicomachus of Gerasa (first century CE), as well as book seven of Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (on arithmetic). Geometry is represented by Euclid's *Elements*—but only the theorems, as the proofs are missing—in Adelard of Bath's Latin version (the so-called "Adelard II"), which is based on the Arabic text, with interpolations borrowed from an older translation based on the Greek original.[292] The texts used for astronomy are the poem of Hyginus (ca. 64 BCE-17 CE), which contains more mythology than science; Ptolemy's *Canons* and the astronomical tables (the *Zij*) of al-Khwârizmî (ninth century), which had been translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath.[293] These are the main authors from whom Thierry of Chartres borrowed the texts assembled in his *Heptateucon*.

We should not conclude, though, that the *Heptateucon* contains the complete list of works used at Chartres for teaching arts and science. We find in it none of the philosophical texts commented upon by the Chartrian masters: Plato's *Timaeus*, Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. Nor do we find any of the poets, who, according to John of Salisbury, are the cradle of philosophy.[294] In fact, the Chartrian masters demonstrated remarkable intellectual curiosity: they actively sought out those texts that could widen their intellectual horizons. We have just seen how Thierry of Chartres integrated Latin translations of scientific Arabic treatises, as well as Greek treatises preserved in Arabic, into his *Heptateucon*. Even Thierry's epitaph assures us that this Chartrian chancellor was the first in the country of the Gauls to bring back into circulation two treatises of the Aristotelian *Organon* that had sunk into oblivion in the preceding centuries: the *Posterior Analytics* and *On Sophistical Refutations*.[295]

For his part, William of Conches quotes the Greek and Arab physicians translated into Latin by Constantine the African (ca. 1020–1087 CE).[296] It is not impossible that William of Conches read these translations while at Chartres. In the twelfth century, the Chapter library of the Cathedral of Chartres possessed two manuscripts[297] containing the Latin translations of the *Isagoge in Artem paruam Galeni* of Hunayn ibn Ishāq (in Latin,

Johannitius), the *Aphorisms* and the *Prognosticon* of Hippocrates, the *De urinis* of Theophilus, and the *De pulsibus* of Philaretus (a collection of five texts later known as the *Articella*), as well as the *Pantegni* of Constantine the African.[298] It is perhaps also worth noting that there existed, in manuscript 171, Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, an early commentary on the *Articella*, which may have been composed in Chartres.[299] To the extent that the intellectual predilections of John of Salisbury reflect the interests of his Chartrian masters, it is necessary to remind ourselves that John of Salisbury promoted new translations from the Greek: he certainly encouraged John Sarrazin to make a new translation of the Greek works of Dionysius the Areopagite[300] in order to replace Hilduin's translation, which dates from the ninth century. John possibly also motivated Sarrazin to produce a new version of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*.[301]

We should not jump to the conclusion that the Liberal Arts reflect the totality of the Chartrian scholarly program. Certainly, the High Middle Ages in general, and the School of Chartres in particular, remained faithful to the tradition of the seven Liberal Arts as inherited from the schools of late Antiquity. However, at the same time, they were able to go beyond this rather restrictive framework, in order to open themselves to new disciplines. William of Conches, for example, proposed a division of philosophy into two branches. One branch would consist of practical or moral philosophy and its three parts: individual, domestic, and civic ethics. The other branch would be theoretical philosophy, also containing three parts: theology, mathematics (or the *quadrivium*), and physics. There exists a reworking of the *Philosophia* which is certainly not by William of Conches, but which further develops his thought. In that work, space is made for the mechanical arts beside the liberal ones. Just as there are seven Liberal Arts, there are likewise seven Mechanical Arts, and like the Liberal Arts, the Mechanical Arts are divided into *trivium* (weaving, armaments, and navigation) and *quadrivium* (agriculture, hunting, medicine, and theatre).[302] This division, which embraces the pure and technical sciences, roughly corresponds to that proposed by Hugh of Saint Victor in book two of his *Didascalicon*, a work from roughly the same epoch.[303]

Above and beyond the science of things human is the science of things divine, the science soon to be called (largely due to the influence of Abelard) *theologia*, but which, in the first half of the twelfth century, is more generally called the divine page (*diuina pagina*) or the sacred page

(*sacra pagina*). Here, just as in the Liberal Arts, teaching was based upon reading a text and commenting on it. The book read and commented on above all others is obviously the book *par excellence*, the Holy Bible. Nevertheless, theology is not limited to biblical commentaries. Gilbert of Poitiers and Thierry of Chartres also commented on the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius, which allowed them to express opinions that were new and sometimes audacious. The Chartrian masters, though very mindful of the primacy of faith over reason, were no less concerned with guaranteeing the latter, in its proper domain, a relative autonomy. William of Conches expresses this idea very clearly:

> In those matters that pertain to the Catholic faith and moral instruction, it is not allowed to contradict Bede or any other of the holy fathers. If, however, they err in those matters that pertain to physics, it is permitted to state an opposite view. For although greater than we, they were only human.[304]

The School of Chartres clearly experienced a period of prosperity in the first half of the twelfth century. It benefited from distinguished masters and excellent students.

What remains of that? The gardens of the cathedral canons are gone. The school itself disappeared long before them. Clerval was able to follow the history of the School of Chartres into the fifteenth century, but the school's golden age had long since ended by then. Paris had already taken the lead by as early as the second half of the twelfth century, yet the efforts of the masters of Chartres were not in vain, nor was their message forgotten. Gilbert of Poitiers left behind disciples numerous and influential enough that one could speak of a Porretan School.[305] William of Conches was read until the threshold of the Renaissance, not only for his systematic treatises (*Philosophia*, *Dragmaticon*), but also for his commentaries.[306] This is why Marsilio Ficino placed the philosopher of Conches, with Apuleius and Calcidius, among the "noble Platonists" who commented upon Plato's *Timaeus*.[307] As for the Pythagorean speculations of Thierry of Chartres, they were revived in the fifteenth century thanks to Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464).[308] Most celebrated of all, however, is perhaps Bernard of Chartres for his famous comparison of dwarves and giants, even if a great number of those who have invoked it through the centuries remained oblivious to the name of its author.

Figure 15. Christ of the Apocalypse, tympanum of the central bay of the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral (photo by E. Houvet, all rights reserved)

Some might argue that this is a meager yield for the School of Chartres, yet this is only true if our judgment is based on the paucity of texts that have survived.[309] But why shed tears for what is no longer? Is it not better to rejoice over what remains? For we retain a magnificent witness to the golden age of the School of Chartres, the *Portail royal*. Let us stop in front of the right bay of this portal. On the tympanum we see the Virgin Mary, seat of Incarnate Wisdom (*Sedes Sapientiae*). Surrounding her, in the arching of the vault, the seven Liberal Arts—Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music—form a halo of glory. Each of them is evoked by two figures: the one, feminine, is that of the discipline in its ideal form; the other, masculine, is that of a famous representative of the discipline. The female figures are easy to identify: they carry the emblems ascribed to them by Martianus Capella. The same cannot be said for the male figures. As they carry no emblems, they have been given names by art historians, based on those authors quoted by Thierry of Chartres in his *Heptateucon*. These attributions seem credible: Donatus (or more likely Priscian), Cicero, Aristotle, Boethius, Pythagoras, Euclid, and Ptolemy. Two of these authors, Boethius and Priscian of Caesarea, were Christians; all the others were pagan authors and thus strangers to Christianity. This makes it eminently clear that, in the minds of the masters of Chartres, there was neither rupture nor conflict, but rather harmony between the cultures that we call "profane" and Christian wisdom. One example will suffice to illustrate this point.

At the central bay of the *Portail royal* we find a sculptural representation of the vision related by Saint John the Divine in his Apocalypse. For the visitor who contemplates this imposing scene, just as for the visionary of Patmos, "a door is opened in heaven."[310] Through this door one may attend the celestial liturgy. In the tympanum, around the figure of Christ in Majesty, are the four living creatures (a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle) representing the four evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John). In the archivolts are the twenty-four Elders carrying musical instruments.[311] Two Elders, those on the outermost positions of either side of the tympanum, stand on mythical beings crouched beneath their feet. Under the left foot of the Elder on the right—a harpist—is nestled a siren: the body is that of a bird, the head that of a young woman, with her curly hair encircled by a fine headband. The Elder on the opposing side of the tympanum—likewise a musician—also rests his left foot on

Figure 16: Elder musician with his harp, a drawing taken from Arcisse de Caumont's *Abécédaire ou rudiment d'archéologie, Architecture religieuse*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1867), 246; in the arches of the central bay of the *Portail royal*, Chartres Cathedral (photo by Édouard Jeauneau, all rights reserved)

a siren: the face is female, her long hair held back by an elegant crown. Sirens (birds with the face of a woman) are, of course, straight from the world of Greek mythology.[312]

One may justifiably wonder why the sculptors of the *Portail royal* introduced such figures into the celestial liturgy described by St. John in his *Apocalypse.* In the Middle Ages sirens often were emblems of the temptations that can hinder Christians in their march toward heaven, just as Homer's sirens strove to keep Odysseus and his companions from returning to Ithaca.[313] But the sirens of Chartres do not fit into this moralizing framework of interpretation. What can they mean then? What message do they convey to the visitor? We can venture an answer thanks to the glosses of William of Conches on Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio.* Macrobius, a Latin writer of the fourth century CE, describes how Scipio the Younger, while visiting his deceased ancestor (his adoptive father, Scipio the Elder) in a dream, hears the cosmic music generated by the celestial spheres, a music inaudible on earth.[314] Commenting on this passage, William of Conches says that, like Scipio, Saint John had the privilege, in his vision, to hear the music of the cosmos.[315] In his *Republic*, Plato states that a siren is seated over each of the seven celestial circles, sounding her note.[316] Is it not possible that, in placing sirens under the feet of the Elders, the genial architect of the *Portail royal* intended to underline the secret harmony which some Chartrian masters discovered, or thought they had discovered, between the biblical world and pagan antiquity?[317] Keen on emphasizing this harmony, the masters made use of an allegorical interpretation which they termed *integumentum*.[318] For instance, we read in the Book of Genesis (28: 12) how the patriarch Jacob "dreamed that there was a ladder set up on earth, and the top of it reached to heaven." According to William of Conches, the ladder of Jacob was nothing other than the golden chain mentioned by Zeus, father of the gods, in Homer's *Iliad* (8, 19).[319]

In fact, the entire *Portail royal* is a hymn to the harmony of the world as created by God: harmony between ancient wisdom and Christian revelation, between the Old and the New Testament, and between *trivium* and *quadrivium.* This last harmony is proudly proclaimed by Thierry of Chartres: "We have joined together, as in a matrimonial alliance, *trivium* and *quadrivium* for the growth of the noble nation of philosophers."[320]

Chartres glorified those whom Thierry called "philosophers," and whom we would in our own age doubtless call "intellectuals." Chartres, however, also glorified those who do manual labor. By their very existence, and through their miraculous conservation, the sculptures of the *Portail royal* are a hymn to the glory of the artists who created them: they proclaim the nobility of their hands. Yet, there is an even more explicit witness to the harmony described above. While the bay on the right exalts intellectual labor, the bay on the left exalts manual labor, divided according to the months of the year. The balance between the two types of work is guaranteed, on the tympanum of the central bay, by a sculpture of Christ in Majesty. Just as the Sun, through its yearly course, determines the four seasons and the twelve months of the material world, Christ, the Sun of Justice, reigns over the spiritual universe of the four evangelists and the twelve apostles, over the labor of hands and the labor of minds.

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Notes

1 The only account currently available that describes how I became interested in the School of Chartres is in Russian. See Valery V. Petroff, "Athens and Chartres: Conversations with Édouard A. Jeauneau," *Dialogue with Time*: *Intellectual History Review* 22 (2008), 309–55.

2 Édouard Jeauneau, "L'école de Chartres et son influence sur la statuaire du Portail royal de la cathédrale" (compte rendu par Odette Pileux), in *L'art sacré à Blois, Chartres, Saint-Aignan*, Cahiers de Rencontre avec le Patrimoine religieux 4 (Chatillon-sur-Indre, 1996), 29–42.

3 Guy Villette, "Des ânes musiciens," *La voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres* (May 1958), 66–69; Villette, "L'âne qui vielle de Chartres," *Notre-Dame de Chartres* 81 (December 1989), 4–9; Villette, *La cathédrale de Chartres, œuvre de Haut Savoir* (Chartres: Jean-Michel Garnier, 1994), 69–78. See also Helen Adolf, "The Ass and the Harp," *Speculum* 25 (1950), 49–57.

4 There is an allusion to the fable "The Ass and the Lyre" in line 16 of the old French novel *Le Roman de Thèbes et de Troie*: "Come li asnes al harper." Cf. Robert Marichal, "Naissance du roman," in *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du XIIe siècle*, ed. Maurice de Gandillac and Édouard Jeauneau (Paris: La Haye, Mouton, 1968), 460, 486, 491. The theme remained a famous one until at least the sixteenth century, when Luther declared, in 1518, that Cardinal Cajetan was no more fit to handle his case than an ass was to play a harp. See Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Plume, 1995), 73–74.

5 Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, I, prosa IV, 1, ed. Claudio Moreschini

(Munich and Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2005), 11. See also Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*: *Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1967), 59.

6 Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, VIII, 807, ed. James Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983), 305.

7 Phaedrus, *Fables*, Perrotti's Appendix, 14 (*Asinus ad lyram*). See *Babrius and Phaedrus*, Loeb Classical Library 436, ed. and trans. Ben Edwin Perry (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 390–91, which reads: "An ass saw a lyre lying in a meadow. He went up to it and tried the strings with his hoof; they sounded at his touch. 'A pretty thing, on my faith' said he, 'but it has ended in failure, because I am an ignorant of the art. If only someone of greater skill had found this, he might have charmed all ears with notes divine.'"

8 An excellent portrait gallery of Chartrian masters (Bernard of Chartres, William of Conches, Thierry of Chartres) is available in Andreas Speer, *Die entdeckte Natur. Untersuchungen zu Begründungsversuchen einer 'scientia naturalis' im 12. Jahrhundert* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995). See also Michel Lemoine and C. Picard-Perra, *Théologie et cosmologie au XIIe siècle. L'École de Chartres: Bernard de Chartres, Guillaume de Conches, Thierry de Chartres, Clarembaud d'Arras*, Sagesses Médiévales 2 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004).

9 Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1989). Of the three maps that Pierre Riché provides in order to record the centers of study flourishing in the West from the sixth until the eleventh century, only the third one (from the beginning of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh century) mentions Chartres.

10 Lucien Merlet, "Lettres d'Ives de Chartres et d'autres personnages de son temps," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 4ème série, 1 (1855), 443–71.

11 See Reginald Lane Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning*, 2nd ed. (London: Society for promoting Christian knowledge; New York: MacMillan, 1920).

12 Alexandre Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Âge*, Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir XI (1895; repr., Frankfurt: Minerva, 1965), 163–65.

13 Monseigneur Duschesne was a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, professor at the Institut catholique de Paris and, later, director of the École française de Rome. See Pierre Bizeau and Édouard Jeauneau, "Bibliographie du chanoine Alexandre Clerval (1859–1918) suivie de lettres inédites de Monseigneur Duchesne (1843–1922)," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* (3e trimestre 1964, no. 4), 64 pages.

14 "B. Hauréau calls him [John Scottus] a very free thinker, thus awarding him the highest eulogy at his disposal." See Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House, 1954), 113.

15 Speaking of Thierry of Chartres, Barthélemy Hauréau writes: "Son système est un panthéisme avoué." *Histoire de la philosophie scolastique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1872), 403.

16 See Maurice De Wulf, *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, 3rd ed., trans. Ernest C. Messenger (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1935–1937), 1: 177–79. Based on the 6th French edition.

17 Richard W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1970), 76.

18 Maurice de Gandillac, "Sur quelques interprétations récentes d'Abélard," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 4 (1961), 293–301.

19 Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, 9 (PL 178, 148 A–150A), ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: J. Vrin, 1959), lines 782–867 (pp. 85–87). See also *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. Betty Radice, rev. by M.T. Clanchy (London: Penguin Classics, 2003); Peter Abelard, *The Story of My Misfortunes: The Autobiography of Peter Abélard*, trans. Henry Adams Bellows (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958), 40–43; and *The Story of Abelard's Adversities: A Translation with Notes of the Historia calamitatum, with a preface by Étienne Gilson*, trans. Joseph Thomas Muckle (Toronto: PIMS, 1964), 45–50.

20 Paul Edward Dutton, *The Mystery of the Missing Heresy Trial of William of Conches*, The Étienne Gilson Series 28 (Toronto: PIMS, 2006), 19–20.

21 Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, 10 (PL 178, 150 AC), 87-88, lines 868–90. See also *The Story of My Misfortunes*, trans. H.A. Bellows, 44; *The Story of Abelard's Adversities*, trans. J.T. Muckle, 50–51.

22 Daniel 13: 48–49.

23 For more on the campaign against Gilbert of Poitiers, see chapter five.

24 William of Saint-Thierry, *On the Errors of William of Conches*, 1 (CCCM 89A), 61. The reference to the adder is from Isaiah 14:29. In the end, William of Conches was not condemned; for an explanation, see Paul Edward Dutton, *The Mystery of the Missing Heresy Trial of William of Conches*, 15-24. William of Saint-Thierry rightly pointed to the similarities between Abelard and William of Conches; see Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 55–67.

25 Boris J. Ramm, "William of Conches: A History of the Evolution of Progressive Ideas in France at the Beginning of the Twelfth Century," *Francuskij Ezegodnik* [Annuaire d' Études françaises] (1959: 1961), 74 (in Russian with a French summary). I wish to thank Jacques Le Goff for bringing this study to my attention.

26 Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993), 13–14.

27 "Alius quidam ueterum poetarum, cuius nomen mihi nunc memoriae non est, ueritatem temporis filiam esse dixit" (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XII, xi, 7).

28 Erasmus, *Adagia*, II, iv, 17, Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata vol. 2, no. 3 (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1969–2005), 330–32; Collected Works of Erasmus, vol. 33:

Adages II, I, I to II, vi, 100, trans. and annotated by R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 198.

29 Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, 48.

30 "Pendant toute la première moitié du XIIe siècle, le centre intellectuel le plus vivant se trouve dans les écoles de Chartres": see Étienne Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Payot, 1947), 259. In the English "adaptation" of Gilson's book, the emphasis is different: "The twelfth century witnessed the development of a Platonist movement whose center was the school of Chartres": see *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1955), 139.

31 Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 3.

32 Richard W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and other Studies*, 61–85.

33 Ibid, 81.

34 Ibid, 83.

35 Peter Dronke, ed., *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 308–85.

36 Peter Dronke, "New Approaches to the School of Chartres," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1969), 117–40, repr. in Peter Dronke, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*, Storia e letteratura: raccolta di studi e testi 183 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1992), 15–40; Roberto Giacone, "Masters, Books and Library at Chartres according to the Cartularies of Notre-Dame and Saint-Père," *Vivarium* 12 (1974), 30–51; Nikolaus M. Häring, "Chartres and Paris revisited," in *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto: PIMS, 1974), 268–329. See also John Marenbon, "Humanism, Scholasticism and the School of Chartres," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6 (2000), 569–77; J. Marenbon, "The School of Chartres," "Thierry of Chartres," and "William of Conches," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. E. Craig (London: Routledge, 2005), 2: 290–92, 9: 371–73, 9: 730–31.

37 Richard W. Southern, *Platonism, Scholastic Method, and the School of Chartres*, The Stenton Lecture 1978 (Reading, UK: University of Reading, 1979); idem, "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 113–37; idem, "Chartrian Humanism: a Romantic Misconception," *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995), 58–101. On page 86 of *Scholastic Humanism*, Southern repeats what he said twenty-five years previously: "They [Bernard of Chartres, William of Conches, and Thierry of Chartres] had the strength to make old thoughts live again, but they could not add to them."

38 Richard W. Southern, "Scholars at the Frontiers of Knowledge: William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres," in *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), 66–89.

39 Richard W. Southern, *Platonism, Scholastic Method, and the School of Chartres*, 40. The same opinion is expressed in volume 2 of *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 89.

40 Tullio Gregory, *Anima mundi: La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1955), 2, n. 3: "Non si ha alcuna testimonianza dell'insegnamento di Guglielmo a Parigi."

41 Richard W. Southern, "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres," 124–28.

42 Winthrop Wetherbee, "Philosophy, Cosmology, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 21.

43 Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'An Mil* (Paris: Fayard, 1987), 76. See also Claude Genin, *Fulbert de Chartres (vers 970–1028): Une grande figure de l'Occident chrétien au temps de l'an Mil* (Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 2003). The proceedings from two conferences held in Chartres on the topic of Fulbert should also be mentioned here: *Le temps de Fulbert. Actes de l'Université d'été du 8 au 10 juillet 1996* (Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1996); and *Fulbert de Chartres, précurseur de l'Europe médiévale?*, ed. Michel Rouche et al. (Paris: PU Paris-Sorbonne, 2008).

44 The year of the fire is still a matter of conjecture.

45 For a brief biography of Fulbert, see Mark Zier, "Fulbert of Chartres," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William Kibler (New York: Garland, 1995), 377; Colette Deremble, "Fulbert of Chartres (c. 960–1028)," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, ed. André Vauchez et al., trans. Adrian Walford (New York: Routledge, 2000), 580. For a bibliography of Fulbert's work, see "Fulbert de Chartres," in *Le Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises: Le Moyen Âge*, ed. Robert Bossuat et al. (Paris: Livres de Poche, 1992), 474–75.

46 Fulbert's works are available in the following editions: *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter PL) 141; Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), hereafter Behrends; and Fulbert de Chartres, *Œuvres: Correspondance, Controverse, Poésie* (Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 2006), hereafter SAEL. The latter is a reproduction of the edition by Frederick Behrends, with a French translation.

47 PL 141, 320B–331C. Cf. J.-M. Canal, "Los Sermones Marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres (†1028)," *RTAM* 29 (1962), 33–51. Concerning the sermon "For the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary," see Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and its Afterlife," *Speculum* 75 (2000), 389–434, and Gilbert Dahan, "Fulbert de Chartres, Sermon IV, sur la Nativité de la Vierge Marie, Vierge et génitrice de Dieu," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, Supplément, Mémoires, XXXIV-3, No. 94 (October–December 2007), 23–46.

48 The name Theophilus also appears in Fulbert's prayer to the Virgin Mary: see Yves Delaporte, *Une prière de saint Fulbert à Notre-Dame* (1928, repr. SAEL), 593–97. Canon Delaporte returned several times to the subject of that prayer:

see Pierre Bizeau, "Bibliographie du chanoine Yves Delaporte … pour les années 1904 à 1969," item numbers 289 and 470, *Bulletin des Sociétés archéologiques d'Eure-et-Loir*, 113e année (1969): Documents, 8. See also Henri Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'Occident à la Mère du Sauveur* (Paris: Letheilleux, 1963), 150–62.

49 Concerning this Neapolitan deacon, who is not to be confused with Paul the Deacon, historian of the Lombards, see Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 2 (Munich: W. Fink, 1992), 336–39 and 604–605. A French translation by Henri Rochais appears in *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Âge*, vol. 2 (Turnhout, 1996), 291–94 and 560–61. The dates for his life are still a matter of conjecture.

50 It was dramatized by the French thirteenth-century playwright Rutebeuf, for instance, both in his play *Le miracle de Théophile* and in his poem "L'Ave Maria Rutebeuf": see *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, vol. 2, ed. Edmond Faral and Jules Bastin (Paris: Picard, 1960), 167-203 and 241–42.

51 Concerning Fulbert's poetry, see Pascale Bourgain, "La poésie de Fulbert de Chartres," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, Supplément. Mémoires, XXXIV-3, No 94 (October–December 2007), 1–22.

52 Yves Delaporte, "Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine de chant liturgique au XIe siècle," *Études grégoriennes* 2 (1957–58), 51–61; Philippe Bernard, "Les répons chartrains pour la fête de la Nativité de la Vierge Marie à l'époque de l'évêque Fulbert," in *Monde médiéval et société chartraine*, ed. Jean Robert Armogathe et al. (Paris: Picard, 1997), 137–50.

53 "Ye choirs of new Jerusalem," *English Hymnal*, Hymn 139.

54 PL 141, 352 BD. For more regarding the authenticity of this hymn, see Bourgain, "La poésie de Fulbert de Chartres," 14.

55 Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1967), 80–83; L.C. MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Notre Dame: Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1957).

56 Adelman of Liège, *Epistola ad Berengarium*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (CCCM 171), 182, lines 3–9; see also Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae*, Caius Marius, 46, 1, ed. K. Ziegler (Leipzig: Teubner, 1971), 262; Lactantius, *De opificio dei*, vol. 3, ch. 19 *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (CSEL 27, 13).

57 "Me non Argolici docuit sed uirga Latini … Mecum Virgilius, nequaquam lusit Homerus" (Behrends, 246).

58 Priscian, *Institutiones*, ed. M. Hertz, in *Grammatici Latini* (GL), vols. 2 and 3 (Leipzig, 1855–1859).

59 Behrends, 148. See also Elöd Nemerkényi, "Latin Grammar in the Cathedral School: Fulbert of Chartres, Bonipert of Pécs, and the Way of a Lost Priscian Manuscript," *Quidditas* 22 (2001), 39–53.

60 "Rithmus de sententiis philosophorum de summo bono" (Behrends, 264–65).

61 Irene Caiazzo, "Abbon de Fleury et l'héritage platonicien," in *Abbon de Fleury: Philosophie, science et comput autour de l'an 1000*, ed. Barbara Obrist, special volume, *Oriens-Occidens, mathématiques et philosophie de l'Antiquité à l'Âge classique* 6 (2004), 11–41. For the fate of the *Timaeus* in the eleventh century, see Anna

Somfai, "The Eleventh-Century Shift in the Reception of Plato's *Timaeus* and Calcidius's *Commentary*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002), 1–21.

62 For a discussion of the fate of Macrobius's *Commentarii*, Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis*, and Boethius's *Consolation*, see Édouard Jeauneau, *Études érigéniennes* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), 133–72. On Macrobius in particular, see Irene Caiazzo, *Lectures médiévales de Macrobe*: *Les "Glosae Colonienses super Macrobium" étude et édition* (Paris: J. Vrin, 2002), and "L'Âme du monde: un thème privilégié des auteurs chartrains au XIIe siècle," *Le temps de Fulbert*, 79–89. One finds a rich bibliography on Macrobius and his influence in the Middle Ages in Maya C. Petrova, *Macrobius Theodosius and the Teachings on the Soul and the Universe in Late Antiquity* (Moscow: Krug, 2007) (written in Russian).

63 Behrends, 266–67.

64 Ibid., 256–61.

65 Ibid., 254–56.

66 Ibid., 260–61.

67 Ibid., 44–47, 82–87. Fulbert's poems on diet and on moderation in eating and drinking should also be mentioned here: see Behrends, 252–53, and E. Wickersheimer, "Textes médicaux chartrains des IXe, Xe, XIe siècles," in *Sciences, Medicine and History. Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice Written in Honour of Charles Singer*, vol. 1, ed. E.A. Underwood, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 164–76.

68 Behrends, 159–61

69 Ibid., xxviii.

70 Pierre Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le haut Moyen Âge. Fin du Ve siècle-milieu du XIe siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Picard, 1989); idem, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976); Michel Rouche, *Histoire générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France,* vol. 1: *Des origines à la Renaissance, Ve siècle av. J.-C.—XVe siècle* (Paris: Perrin, 2003).

71 Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 201.

72 Behrends, xxviii.

73 Charles Burnett, "The Content and Affiliation of the Scientific Manuscripts, Written at, or Brought to, Chartres in the Time of John of Salisbury," in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 127–60; idem, "La réception des mathématiques, de l'astronomie et de l'astrologie arabe à Chartres," in *Aristote, l'École de Chartres et la cathédrale* (Chartres: Association des Amis du Centre Médiéval Européen de Chartres, 1997), 101-7. For a study of Thierry's *Heptateucon*, see Alexandre Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen Âge*, 220–23 and Édouard Jeauneau, *Lectio philosophorum: Recherches sur l'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1973), 37–39 and 87–91; hereafter *Lectio philosophorum*.

74 Exodus 3:22 and 12:35–36. For the patristic and medieval interpretation of these verses of Scripture, see Joseph De Ghellinck, *Le Mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948), 94–95.

75 "In magistrum referebat uultu, uoce, moribus, Ypocratis artem iungens Socratis sermonibus; nec minus Pytagoreis indulgebat fidibus," quoted in Alexandre Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen Âge*, 60.

76 *Scolas fecit* ("he made the schools"). In *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, vol. 3, ed. Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet (Chartres: Garnier, 1865), 225. See also René Merlet and Alexandre Clerval, *Un manuscrit chartrain du XIe siècle* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), 185.

77 See Jean Villette, *Le guide de Chartres* (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1988), 32.

78 For a good summary of Bernard's career and a list of documents attesting to his life and teachings, see Paul Edward Dutton, *The* Glosae super Platonem *of Bernard of Chartres*, Studies and Texts 107 (Toronto: PIMS, 1991), 21–45 and 239–49.

79 "So far as I can discover the only man on the list for whom there is quite convincing evidence of a teaching career at Chartres is the first one, Bernard" (Richard W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, 68).

80 See Paul Edward Dutton, "The Uncovering of the *Glosae super Platonem* of Bernard of Chartres," *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 92–221; idem, *The* Glosae super Platonem *of Bernard of Chartres*, 8–21. The attribution has been subject to some debate.

81 See John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, IV, 35; ed. Clement Webb (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 205, lines 21–23. There are two other editions of the *Metalogicon*, one by John Allen Giles (Oxford, 1848), reproduced in PL 199, and the other by J.B. Hall, in CCCM 98 (1991). For an English version, see *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, translated by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955); hereafter McGarry.

82 The foundational text for any study of Bernard of Chartres's "grammatical Platonism" is John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*, III, 2; ed. Clement Webb, 124–25; McGarry, 151–52. See also Paul Edward Dutton, *The* Glosae super Platonem *of Bernard of Chartres*, 246-49 (Appendix 2.5)

83 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, IV, 35; ed. Clement Webb, 205; McGarry, 259.

84 Vatican, Archivio di San Pietro, Ms. H.51, f. 11v. See *Lectio philosophorum*, 199.

85 See John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, III, 4; ed. Clement Webb, 136, lines 23–27.

86 Concerning the history of this dictum, see Robert K. Merton, *On the Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript* (New York: Free Press, 1965); Édouard Jeauneau, "Nani gigantum humeris insidentes. Essai d'interprétation de Bernard de Chartres," *Vivarium* 5 (1967), 79–99, repr. in *Lectio philosophorum*, 53–73.

87 See Édouard Jeauneau, "Deux rédactions des gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Priscien," RTAM 27 (1960), 234–36, repr. in *Lectio philosophorum*, 357–59.

88 See Horace, *Odes*, III, xxx, 1: "Exegi monumentum aere perennius."

89 This is a reference to Luke 12:42.

90 "This exercise (*declinatio*) was probably so called from its characteristic part, the declination, or inflections, of nouns and verbs" (McGarry, 68, n. 350).

91 In Latin: *quasi collatione quadam* (*Metalogicon*, I, 24; ed. Clement Webb, 56, line 5). This is an allusion to the "spiritual reading" (*collatio*) that the Rule of Saint Benedict (42, 3) prescribed to the monks before evening prayer. One of the books read on that occasion was the *Collationes* of John Cassian, a monk and ascetica writer who died ca. 435. The monastic meal served after this "spiritual reading" was also called a *collatio*.

92 In Latin, *philosophicae collationis* (Webb, 56, line 7).

93 The sixth of the penitential psalms (*De profundis*) is Psalm 129, according to the Vulgate Bible.

94 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, I, 24; ed. Clement Webb, 55, line 9, and 56, line 10; McGarry, 67–68.

95 This dictum is found in Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, D 1, ed. R.A.H. Bickford-Smith (London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1895), 9; *Die Sprüche des Publilius Syrus: Latein-Deutsch*, ed. Hermann Beckby (Munich: E. Heimeran, 1969), 24: "Discipulus est prioris posterior dies." In the twelfth century, this proverb was attributed to Seneca: see John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, III, 6; ed. Clement Webb, 143, lines 11–13 (see Webb's notes).

96 Alexandre Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 270–72.

97 *Lectio philosophorum*, 38.

98 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, I, 13; ed. Clement Webb, 31, lines 17–24.

99 Jean Jolivet, "Éléments pour une étude des rapports entre la grammaire et l'ontologie au Moyen Âge," in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 13.1: *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, ed. A. Zimmermann (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1981), 136. See also, from the same author, "Quelques cas de platonisme grammatical du VIIe au XIIe siècle," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers: Société d'études médiévales, 1966), 93–99; "Vues médiévales sur les paronymes," *Revue internationale de philosophie* 29 (1975), 222–42; "Platonisme et sémantique de Bernard de Chartres aux Porrétains," in *Vestigia, Imagines, Verba: Semiotics and Logic in Medieval Theological Texts (XIIth-XIVth century)*, ed. Constantino Marmo (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 9–18.

100 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* I, 24; ed. Clement Webb, 57, lines 23–27; McGarry, 71.

101 Even Richard W. Southern admits that William most likely studied in Chartres: "That William had a connection with Chartres as a student of Bernard is virtually certain." See "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham (1982; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 130, n. 49. All the testimonials to Bernard's career have been gathered together conveniently in Paul Edward Dutton, *The* Glosae super Platonem *of Bernard of Chartres*, 239–49.

102 William of Conches, *Dragmaticon* VI, i, 1–11; CCCM 152, 179; *A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy* (*Dragmaticon Philosophiae*) VI, Prologue, trans. Italo Ronca and Matthew Curr (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 119.

103 *Veruecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci* (Juvenal, *Satires*, X, 50).

104 For a study of the thought of William of Conches, see Tullio Gregory, *Anima mundi. La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres* (Florence: Sansoni, 1955). See also Dorothy Elford, "William of Conches," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 308–27; Thomas Ricklin, "Vue et vision chez Guillaume de Conches et Guillaume de Saint-Thierry. Le récit d'une controverse," *Micrologus* 5 (1997), 19–41; Willemien Otten, "Plato and the Fabulous Cosmology of William of Conches," in *The Winged Chariot: Collected Essays on Plato and Platonism in Honour of L. M. De Rijk*, ed. Maria Kardaun and Joke Spruyt (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 185–203; W. Otten, "Opening the Universe: William of Conches and the Art of Science," in *From Paradise to Paradigm. A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 83–128; Peter Ellard, *The Sacred Cosmos: Theological, Philosophical, and Scientific Conversations in the Early Twelfth-Century School of Chartres* (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 2007); Barbara Obrist, ed., *Guillaume de Conches: philosophie et science au XIIe siècle*, Collected Papers of the Colloque international du CNRS, Paris, June 1–2, 2007 (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). For a bibliography of William of Conches (up to 2006), see Édouard Jeauneau, *Guillelmi de Conchis Glosae super Platonem*, CCCM (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006) 203, cv-cxlvi.

105 See Olga Weijers, "The Chronology of John of Salisbury's Studies in France (*Metalogicon*, II. 10)," in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 109–16. See also Édouard Jeauneau, *Guillelmi de Conchis Glosae super Platonem*, CCCM 203, xxi-xxiii.

106 See *Lectio philosophorum*, 355.

107 See Karin Margareta Fredborg, "Some Notes on the Grammar of William of Conches," in *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Âge grec et latin* 37 (1981), 21–41; see 23–24 in particular.

108 Paul Edward Dutton, *The Mystery of the Missing Heresy Trial of William of Conches*, The Étienne Gilson Series 28 (Toronto: PIMS, 2006) 20–23.

109 Philippians 2:21.

110 William of Conches, *Dragmaticon*, I, i, 22–42; CCCM 152, 4–5; Ronca and Curr, 3–4.

111 William of Conches, *Dragmaticon*, V, i, 11–17; CCCM 152, 132–33; Ronca and Curr, 91. The word *fartor* means someone who makes stuffed meat dishes. However, some scholars seem to have read *sartor* (English: tailor) instead of *fartor.* For instance, in the Catalan translation we read "La major partida dels nostres prelatz demana per totes les terres hon ha bon sartre [tailor] o bon coch que sàpia fer bones pebrades e los altres desigs de la gola" (CCCM 152, 406). See also CCCM 203, xxv, n. 30 and 31.

112 William of Conches, *Glosae super Priscianum*, Dedicatory epistle (GL 2, 1, 11), quoted from *Lectio philosophorum*, 347.

113 Calcidius, *Dedicatory Epistle to the Translation of Plato's* Timaeus, ed. J.H. Waszink (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 5, lines 1–8. Where Calcidius had written *uis amicitiae* ("the power of friendship"), William writes *diligentia* in the sense of *diligere* (to love).

114 William of Conches, *Glosae super Priscianum*, XVII, 2 (GL 3, 108, 8), quoted from *Lectio philosophorum*, 356.

115 William of Conches, *Dragmaticon*, II, i, 16–17; CCCM 152, 33–34; Ronca and Curr, 21.

116 See L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise* (Paris: Picard, 1913), 71.

117 PL 163, 873 A; MGH, *Scriptores* IX, 376. See Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother, and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 45–47.

118 Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras: A Twelfth-Century Master of the School of Chartres* (Toronto: PIMS, 1965), 20, n. 60.

119 See Charles-Victor Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au Moyen Âge d'après quelques écrits français à l'usage des laïcs* (Paris: Hachette, 1911).

120 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, I, v; ed. Clement Webb, 16–17; McGarry, 21. See also *Metalogicon*, I, xxiv and II, x; ed. Clement Webb, 57, lines 24–25, and 80, lines 1–2; McGarry, 71 and 97. In the original Latin text we read "Willelmus de Conchis grammaticus post Bernardum Carnotensem opulentissimus," which Southern translates as "the richest and most fertile grammarian of his day after Bernard of Chartres" (*Scholastic Humanism*, vol. 1, 73).

121 "Homo physicus et philosophus physice de Deo philosophatur," William of Saint-Thierry, *De erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis*, lines 268–69, ed. Paul Verdeyen, CCCM 89A, 69.

122 Jerome Bylebyl, "The Medical Meaning of Physica in Renaissance Medical Learning: Evolution of a Tradition," *Osiris* 6 (1990), 16–41. See John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, II, 29 (*De phisicis theoricis et practicis*), ed. Clement Webb (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 1: 166–69; CCCM 118, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 169–71.

123 William of Conches, *Glosulae super Prisciani Librum Constructionum*, *Institutiones* XVII, 197: quoted from *Lectio philosophorum*, 355, n. 76.

124 Juvenal, *Satires*, 1, verses 42–43.

125 Bradford Wilson, *Glosae in Iuvenalem* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1980), 106; Bengt Löfstedt, *Vier Juvenal-Kommentare aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: Brepols, 1995), 333. Unfortunately the name of Galen is hardly recognizable in these editions: *gallinus* (Wilson), *gallvius* (Löfstedt). I think it useful to give here a new transcription of this passage according to the manuscript of Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, 20): "Mer<cedem> sanguinis, quia <in> nimio coitu consumitur sanguis. Vnde Gallienus: 'Plus debilitatur homo in triplicato coitu quam in una minutione'" (I corrected the readings "*consumatur, aborrere*" to "*consumitur, abhorrere*"; the reading *gallinus*, given by Wilson, is that of the manuscript *ante correctionem*).

126 Constantine the African, *Pantegni*, *Theorica*, bk. 5 (Basel, 1539), ch. 25, 138–39; (Lyon, 1515), ch. 107, fol. 25ra: *Vnde Galenus dixit in libro de custodia sanitatis: … Cum quidam in coitu plus quam oporteat exerceantur, uirtus minuitur, corpus exsiccatur. Cum enim multo maior sanguinis quantitas minuatur phlebotomia, nunquam tamen aliquis inde delassatur sicut triplicato uel quadruplicato coitu, etsi multo minus sanguinis emittatur.* (Hence Galen wrote in his book on the preservation of health: When a man exerts himself in coition more than is necessary, his strength is sapped and his body desiccated. Although a far greater amount of blood is lost in blood-letting, nonetheless no one is as exhausted from blood-letting as he is from coition repeated three or four times, even if far less blood is expelled).

127 *Dragmaticon*, VI, xx, lines 41–42; CCCM 152, 252; Ronca and Curr, 162.

128 "Quanto sunt iuniores, tanto perspicaciores" (Priscian, *Institutiones*, Dedicatory epistle, GL II, 1, line 7).

129 Quoted from *Lectio philosophorum*, 58 and 358.

130 Ibid., 59 and 358.

131 "Sumus relatores et expositores ueterum, non inuentores nouorum," quoted from *Lectio philosophorum*, 357.

132 Erasmus, Letter 1153: "Nos uetera instauramus, noua non prodimus." *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum per S. Allen*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), lines 185–86 (367); *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, vol. 8, trans. R.A.B. Mynors (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 73, line 209.

133 *Lectio philosophorum*, 365. See CCCM 203, cii–civ.

134 For a summary of William of Conches's works, see the introduction to my edition of the *Glosae super Platonem*: CCCM 203, xxvi–xli.

135 The fragments were identified by Raymond Klibansky in a manuscript from the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (W20). We have two editions of these fragments. The first, *Glosae in Iuvenalem* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1980), is by Bradford Wilson. The second, by Bengt Löfstedt, is *Vier Juvenal-Kommentare aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: Brepols, 1995), on pages 327–65. For a review of the first edition, see Haijo Jan Westra, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1983), 368–69.

136 See William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. Lodi Nauta, V, prosa 4, lines 24–26; CCCM 158, 315; and Peter Dronke, *Fabula* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 167–83.

137 See William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, CCCM 203, xxx, n. 57.

138 See Marta Cristiani, "Guglielmo di Conches," in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1985), 811–15.

139 PL 171, 1003–56. See also *Das Moralium dogma philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches, lateinisch, altfranzösisch und mittelniederfränkisch,* ed. John Holmberg (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1929). For an elementary bibliography concerning the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, see CCCM 203, xxvii, n. 43.

140 Fortunately, *Corpus Christianorum* is publishing the complete works of the philosopher of Conches in the series *Continuatio Mediaeualis*. The works that have

already appeared in this series are *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, ed. Italo Ronca, CCCM 152; *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. Lodi Nauta, CCCM 158; and *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. Édouard Jeauneau, CCCM 203. Professor Paul Dutton is preparing an edition of the *Philosophia*; Professor Helen Rodnite Lemay is preparing an edition of the *Glosae super Macrobium*. An edition of the first version (versio prior) of the *Glosae super Priscianum* is being prepared by Eleonora Lorenzetti, and an edition of the second version (*versio altera*) by Édouard Jeauneau.

141 See "Constantine the African," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 3, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 393–95; Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart, eds., *Constantine the African and 'Alī al-'Abbās al-Mağūsī. The* Pantegni *and Related Texts*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 10 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

142 Iohannitius, *Isagoge ad Techni Galeni*, ed. Gregor Maurach, in *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62 (1978), 148–74.

143 See Clotilde Picard-Parra, "Une utilisation des *Quaestiones Naturales* de Sénèque au milieu du XIIe siècle," *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 5 (1949), 115–26.

144 Isaiah 14:29.

145 William of Saint-Thierry, *De erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis*, lines 3–6; CCCM 89A, 61.

146 Heinrich Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (Barcelona: Herder, 1946), 368–87. Concerning the date of the council of Sens, see Constant J. Mews "The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard and the Fear of Social Upheaval," *Speculum* 77 (2002), 342–82.

147 See Édouard Jeauneau, "Note critique sur une récente édition de la Theologia 'Summi Boni' et de la Theologia 'Scholarium' d'Abélard," *Revue des Études augustiniennes* 37 (1991), 157–58.

148 Abelard, *Theologia christiana*, I, 1978–2047; CCCM 13, 388–90; William of Conches, *Philosophia*, I, 15; PL 171, 46–47A; ed. Gregor Maurach (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1980), 12–13; William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, III, metr. 9, 520–61; CCCM 158, 169–71; William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, LXXI, 8–14; CCCM 203, 124.

149 Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 27; Thierry of Chartres, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and His School*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, Studies and Texts 20 (Toronto: PIMS, 1971), 566–67.

150 Paul Edward Dutton, *The Mystery of the Missing Heresy Trial of William of Conches*, 28–30.

151 Plato, *Apology*, 17bc.

152 William of Conches, *Philosophia*, I, 23; PL 172, 56B; ed. Gregor Maurach, 39.

153 Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, III, 69.

154 Richard W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, 81.

155 Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris*, I, 52, 3rd ed., ed. G. Waitz (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1912), 74.

156 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford:

Blackwell, 1983), 60–62. Concerning the School of Laon and the *Glossa ordinaria*, see Alexander Andrée, *Gilbertus Vniuersalis: Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremiae prophetae. Prothemata et Liber I: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and a Translation* (PhD thesis, Stockholm University, 2005).

157 Alexandre Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen Âge, du Ve au XVIe siècle*, 163–65.

158 Suitbert Gammersbach, *Gilbert von Poitiers und seine Prozesse im Urteil der Zeitgenossen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1959).

159 For an introduction to Boethius, see John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), and John Magee, *Boethius on Signification and Mind*, Philosophia Antiqua 77 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989). There is an excellent edition of Gilbert's commentaries on Boethius's *Opuscula sacra* by Nikolaus M. Häring: *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers* (Toronto: PIMS, 1966). For the biblical commentaries of Gilbert, see Theresa Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers: From 'Lectio Divina' to the Lecture Room* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996).

160 Lucien and René Merlet, *Dignitaires de l'Église de Notre-Dame de Chartres. Listes chronologiques*, Archives du diocèse de Chartres 5 (Chartres, 1900), 103–104.

161 *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, vol. 3, ed. Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet (Chartres: Garnier, 1865), 167.

162 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, I, 5; ed. Clement Webb, 16.

163 "Soyez plutôt maçon, si c'est votre talent, ouvrier estimé dans un art nécessaire, qu'écrivain du commun et poète vulgaire." (Boileau, *Art poétique*, IV, 26–32).

164 Nikolaus M. Häring, "A Latin Dialogue on the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953), 243–89; idem, "Everard of Ypres and his Appraisal of the Conflict between St. Bernard and Gilbert of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955), 143–72. See also Peter von Moos, "Le dialogue latin au Moyen Âge: l'exemple d'Evrard d'Ypres," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (June–August 1989), 993–1028; idem, "Literatur- und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte der Dialogform im lateinischen Mittelalter. Der *Dialogus Ratii* des Eberhard von Ypern zwischen theologischer disputatio und Scholaren-Komödie," in *Tradition und Wertung. Festschrift für Franz Brunhölzl zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Günter Bernt, Fidel Rädle, and Gabriel Silagi (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1989), 165–209.

165 *Dialogus Ratii et Everardi*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, 252: "Cui Carnoti quartus in lectionem, Parisius in aula episcopi fere tercentesimus assedi."

166 Nikolaus M. Häring, "A Latin Dialogue on the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers," 243–44.

167 "It would be difficult to imagine a more life-like report. In all the details of the conversation and its circumstances it is a small masterpiece of heart-felt and persuasive reporting … So the details of the visit, the close examination of Gilbert's doctrine, the recall of historical events in the past, and the many small accidents which befall the visitors during the visit, all confirm the reliability of

the dialogue" (Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1, 228).

168 Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1, 225.

169 This was the conclusion drawn by Nikolaus M. Häring, which was in turn questioned by Theresa Gross-Diaz: "We leave Everard off the list (still blank) of Gilbert's known students in Chartres. Still, all is not completely lost. We would certainly be justified in accepting Ratius' anecdote as an indication that Gilbert was commonly agreed to have taught in Chartres" (*The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers*, 19).

170 John Marenbon, "A Note on the Porretani," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 353–57; idem, "Gilbert of Poitiers and the Porretans on Mathematics in the Division of the Sciences," in *'Scientia' und 'Disciplina.' Wissentheorie und Wissenschaftspraxis im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Berndt, M. Lutz-Bachmann, R.M.W. Stammberger, A. Fidora, and A. Niederberger (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 37–69; Luigi Catalani, *I Porretani: Una scuola di pensiero tra alto e basso Medioevo* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

171 Nikolaus M. Häring, "The Porretans and the Greek Fathers," *Mediaeval Studies* 24 (1962), 181–209; Antoine Dondaine, *Écrits de la "petite école" porrétaine*, Conférence Albert-le-Grand 1962 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1962), 63–66.

172 See Jean Scot, *Homélie sur le Prologue de Jean*, introduction, critical edition, translation and notes by Édouard Jeauneau, *Sources chrétiennes*, SC 151 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 136–37. To the Porretans recorded in that volume we may add Radulphus Ardens: see CCCM 166, lxx–lxxi.

173 Richard W. Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, II: The School of Ralph of Beauvais," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1950), 42.

174 Jean Villette, *Le Guide de Chartres* (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1988), 101.

175 Édouard Jeauneau, "Le Prologus in Eptatheucon de Thierry de Chartres," *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954) 174; repr. in *Lectio philosophorum*, 90.

176 Michael E. Williams, *The Teaching of Gilbert Porreta on the Trinity as found in his commentaries on Boethius*, Analecta Gregoriana 56, Series Facultatis Theologicae, Sectio B, n. 23 (Rome: Universitatis Gregorianae, 1951); Nikolaus M. Häring, "Gilbert de la Porrée," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 478–79. See also H.C. Van Elswijk, *Gilbert Porreta. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée*, Spicilegium Sacrum Louaniense. Études et documents, fascicule 33 (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1966); John Marenbon, "Gilbert of Poitiers," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 328–52; C.H. Kneepens, "Grammar and Semantics in the Twelfth Century: Petrus Helias and Gilbert de la Porrée on the Substantive Verb," in *The Winged Chariot*, 237–76; Joke Spruyt, "Gilbert of Poitiers on the Application of Language to the Transcendent and Sublunary Domains," in *The Winged Chariot*, 205–36.

177 Nikolaus M. Häring, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, 29.

The folio 4v (see figure 8) shows only three of the four disciples. The fourth disciple, perhaps Nicholas of Amiens, is represented on the facing page (folio 5r) which is not published in this volume.

178 John of Salisbury, *The Historia Pontificalis* (Memoirs of the Papal Court), ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (London, 1956), repr. Oxford, 1986, 27. I quote Marjorie Chibnall's translation with some minor changes.

179 Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, 13: in *Plotinus with an English Translation* by Arthur Hilary Armstrong, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 39.

180 André Malraux, *The Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday, 1953), 160–61.

181 Adelman of Liège, *Epistola ad Berengarium*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 171, 182, lines 3–9. See Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae*, Caius Marius, 46, 1; ed. K. Ziegler (Leipzig, 1971), 262. Also Lactantius, *De opificio dei*, III, 19; *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* CSEL 27, 13.

182 André Vernet, "Une épitaphe inédite de Thierry de Chartres," in *Recueil de Travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel*, vol. 2 (Paris: Société de l'école des chartes, 1955), 660–70, repr. in André Vernet, *Études médiévales* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 160–70. For a general study of Thierry, see Enzo Maccagnolo, *Rerum universitas. Saggio sulla filosofia di Teoderico di Chartres* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1976); Peter Dronke, "Thierry of Chartres," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 358–85; Karin Margareta Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres* (Toronto: PIMS, 1988), 65, n. 7; and Peter Ellard, *The Sacred Cosmos: Theological, Philosophical and Scientific Conversations in the Early Twelfth-Century School of Chartres* (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 2007).

183 Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres*, III, 206.

184 Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras. A Twelfth-Century Master of the School of Chartres*, 225–26.

185 Bernard Silvestris, *Cosmographia*, ed. Peter Dronke (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 96. For an introduction to Bernard Silvestris, see Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

186 London, British Library, Royal 15, A. XXXII, fol. 3. The text is quoted by André Vernet, "Une épitaphe inédite … ," 663, n. 2, repr. in *Études médiévales*, 163.

187 André Vernet, "Une épitaphe inédite … ," 679, repr. in *Études médiévales*, 170.

188 Karin Margareta Fredborg, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, 107.

189 Ibid., 108.

190 William of Conches, *Dragmaticon*, VI, i, 3–11; CCCM 152, 179; Ronca and Curr, 119.

191 "Bœotum in crasso iurares aere natum" (Horace, *Epistolae*, 2, 1, 244).

192 "Veruecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci" (Juvenal, *Satires*, X, 50).

193 *Quis enim tantam Dominam non uelit muneribus quibus possit honorare, cuius inter ceteras uirtutes liberalitas omnem imperialem supergressa est munificentiam?* (Who would not like to honor with all possible gifts such a noble Lady, whose generosity surpasses all imperial munifence?). See Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras*, 225. Concerning Clarembald of Arras, see Concetto Martello, *Fisica della Creazione. La Cosmologia di Clarembaldo di Arras. Tractatus super Librum Genesis* (Catania: CUECM, 1998). A cleric named Clarembald is mentioned as being at the court of Empress Matilda: see H. A. Cronne, R.H.C. Davis, and H.W.C. Davis, eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), xxx.

194 See Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 176.

195 Barthélemy Hauréau, "Notice sur le numéro 647 des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* 32 (1890), 5; Alexandre Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 193; Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras*, 20, n. 90.

196 "secundum phisicam": see Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 1. See also Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School* (Toronto: PIMS, 1971), 555, line 2.

197 Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 18; Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 562, lines 24–26.

198 Étienne Gilson, "La cosmogonie de Bernardus Silvestris," *AHDLMA* 3 (1928), 23, n. 1. See also Albert Zimmermann, "Die Kosmogonie des Thierry von Chartres," *Architectura poetica. Festschrift für Johannes Rathofer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Ernst and Bernhard Sowinsky (Cologne: Böhlau, 1990), 107–18; Agnieszka Kijewska, *Księga pisma I księga natury. Heksaemeron Eriugeny I Toedoryka z Chartres* [*Book of Scripture and Book of Nature. Hexaemeron of Eriugena and of Thierry of Chartres*] (Lublin: E. Zielinski, 1999).

199 John Scottus, *Periphyseon*, III, 723C; CCCM 163, 148 (Marginale 33) and 616. I am quoting from an English translation by Inglis Patrick Sheldon-Williams: see *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, XI (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1981), 263.

200 Richard Southern rightly observes, "Thierry's lectures on Genesis and Boethius are full of scientific interest. The view of the universe which they present is very similar to that of William of Conches's Philosophia Mundi" (*Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1, 85). See also Andreas Speer, "The Discovery of Nature: The Contribution of the Chartrians to Twelfth-Century Attempts to Found a Scientia naturalis," *Traditio* 52 (1997), 135–51.

201 The "Peripatetic from Pallet" was Abelard: peripatetic because Abelard was highly learned in dialectic, a discipline whose master par excellence was Aristotle, the founder of the peripatetic school; from Pallet because Abelard was born at Le Pallet, a village near Nantes in western France.

202 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, I, 5; ed. Clement Webb, 16–17. The error in question is that of the "Cornificians," who finished their studies quickly and without much effort.

203 "Obiit magister Teodoricus … qui dedit huic ecclesiae Bibliothecam septem liberalium artium," *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, vol. 3, ed. Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, 206.

204 Clarembald of Arras, *Tractatulus*, 2–5; Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras*, 227–28.

205 Édouard Jeauneau, *Translatio studii. The Transmission of Learning. A Gilsonian Theme*, The Étienne Gilson Series 18 (Toronto, 1995), 14–15, repr. in *Tendenda Vela*, 18–19; idem, *Lectio philosophorum*, 39 and 90.

206 "Chartres, notre Cathédrale splendide entre toutes! N'est-ce-pas l'Acropole de la France?" Auguste Rodin, *Les Cathédrales de France* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1914), 114.

207 Maurice Jusselin, *Petite histoire de la Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres* (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1962), 61–63 and 65–66.

208 Ville de Chartres, *Catalogue de l'exposition organisée sous le patronage de la Municipalité au profit des prisonniers de guerre.* Les arts du livre à la Bibliothèque de Chartres (Manuscrits—Incunables—Reliures), au Musée de Chartres (Ancien Évêché), février–mars 1942.

209 "La très belle exposition des Arts du livre à Chartres," *La Dépêche d'Eure-et-Loir*, 44th year, Number 12770 (February 27, 1942); "L'inauguration de l'exposition consacrée aux Arts du Livre à la Bibliothèque de Chartres," *La Dépêche d'Eure-et-Loir*, Number 12772 (March 1, 1942). I am indebted to Emmanuel Rousseau, Directeur des Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir, for his help in tracing the documents concerning the exhibition of the Chartrian manuscripts.

210 Raymond Gilbert, senator and mayor of Chartres, penned the preface to the catalogue of the exhibition (Ville de Chartres, *Catalogue de l'exposition*, I–III). His preface bears an epigraph from Maréchal Pétain: "All peoples have known in alternation success and defeat; it is from the way in which they react that they reveal themselves weak or great."

211 Maurice Jusselin, *Petite histoire de la Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres*, 64–65.

212 André Vernet told me in a private conversation that the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des Textes (IRHT) had sent a team from Paris to Chartres to microfilm all the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque municipale, before their destruction. Regrettably, when the IRHT team returned to Paris and developed the films, they were all blank.

213 For more details see Édouard Jeauneau, *Translatio studii: The Transmission of Learning*, 16–17; repr. in *Tendenda Vela*, 20–21.

214 Clarembald of Arras, *Tractatus super librum Boetii De Trinitate*, II, 50; Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras*, 127. Cf. Terence, *Andria*, 17.

215 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIX, xii, 19–23, ed. R.B.C. Huygens; CCCM 63 A, 880.

216 See the text edited by Charles Burnett, *Hermann of Carinthia, de essentiis* (Leiden and Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1982), 349, lines 2–3.

217 Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii librum de Trinitate*, II, 15; ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 73, lines 59–61.

218 Plato, *Timaeus*, 51e. See Plato, *Latinus*, IV: *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, ed. J. H. Waszink, 2nd ed. (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute and E.J. Brill, 1975), 50, lines 9–10; Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii Librum De Trinitate*, II, 6; ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 70, lines 65–67: "Haec ergo comprehendendi uis suo nomine uocatur intelligentia. Quae solius quidem dei est et admodum paucorum hominum." See William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, clxxii, 39–41; CCCM 203, 314.

219 Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, I, v, 4; ed. James Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1970), 15, lines 9–11. See also *Macrobius on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 95.

220 "Creatio numerorum rerum est creatio." Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 36; Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 570, lines 46–47.

221 Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii librum de Trinitate*, II, 30–36; Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 77–79.

222 Thierry of Chartres, *Commentum super Boethii librum de Trinitate*, II, 37–38; Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 80, lines 56–79.

223 *Tractatus de Trinitate*, 19; Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 307, lines 64–65: "Illam enim de radio et calore solisque splendore similitudinem, quoniam cunctis nota est, praetereo," which I translate as: "Since the comparison between the three persons of the Holy Trinity and the three 'properties' of the Sun—ray, heat and splendor—is well known, I shall omit it."

224 Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* I, v, 5; CCSL 32, 9, lines 15–18: "In Patre unitas, in Filio aequalitas, in Spiritu Sancto unitatis aequalitatisque concordia. Et tria haec unum omnia propter Patrem, aequalia omnia propter Filium, connexa omnia propter Spiritum sanctum." See Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R.H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 17.

225 Édouard Jeauneau, "Érigène entre l'Ancienne et la Nouvelle Rome. Le Filioque," in *Chemins de la pensée mediévale. Études offertes à Zénon Kaluza*, ed. J.J.M. Bakker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 289–321; repr. in *Tendenda Vela*, 605–39.

226 J.B.L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, vol. 2: *Temporale, Easter to Advent* (London: Hentry Bradshaw Society, 1933), folio 130: "In patre manet aeternitas, in Filio aequalitas, in spiritu sancto aeternitatis aequalitatisque connexio" (Trinity Sunday, Matines, 2nd Nocturn).

227 The Paraclete Breviary. Chaumont, Bibliothèque municipale, Manuscript 31, vol. III A: Edition; *Kalendar and Temporal Cycle*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell, Cistercian Liturgy Series, 5 (Gethsemani Abbey, Kentucky, 1983), 183 (ad Sextam).

228 Ms. Rheims, Bibl. mun., 67, fol. 198v: "In Patre unitas, in Filio aequalitas, in Spiritu sancto unitatis aequalitatisque substantia … Si quis aliter de iustissima pietate dei sentit, non christianus, sed nouatianus est" (*Catalogue général*

des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements, vol. 38, 65).

229 See, for instance, *De septem septenis* (once attributed to John of Salisbury), VII; PL 199, 961B; Alan of Lille, *Regulae theologicae*, IV; PL 210, 625AC; Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermo II in Natali Domini*, PL 212, 489C–490D; Alexander Neckam: J.B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, BGPTMA 43, 1 (Münster, 1969), 271. See *Lectio philosophorum*, 9–11 and 49.

230 Hisdosus does not reveal his name (*nomen*) to us, but he expressly says that his surname is Hisdosus: "I call myself Hisdosus, taken from the name of my father."

231 See CCCM 203, 336–37. Andrew J. Hicks is preparing an edition of Hisdosus's commentary.

232 "Arithmeticae probationes" (Nikolaus M.Häring, ed., *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, 568, lines 81–85).

233 "Thierry is offering probationes not so much in the sense of 'proofs' as in that of 'examinations'; he is examining the relationships between his pairs of terms, in the hope that this will illuminate the underlying intuition, which is never itself analysed discursively." Peter Dronke, "Thierry of Chartres," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, 367.

234 *Errores Antonii de Rosmini-Serbati*, 25, in *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, ed. Henricus Denzinger (Barcelona: Herder, 1946), 530.

235 Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia*, I, 7–9 and 24, ed. Ernst Hoffmann and Raymond Klibansky (Leipzig: Meiner, 1932), 14–19 and 48–51.

236 From among the abundant literature on John of Salisbury, see Michael Wilks, ed., *The World of John of Salisbury*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), and Klaus Guth, *Johannes von Salisbury,* Studien zur Kirchen-, Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas im 12. Jahrhundert (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1978). The works of John of Salisbury are available in the following editions:

1. *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum*, ed. Ronald E. Pepin, in *Traditio* 31 (1975), 127–93. There is another edition of the same work: John of Salisbury's *Entheticus maior and minor*, ed. Jan van Laarhoven (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987).

2. *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol 1: *The Early Letters (1153–1161)*, ed. W.J. Millor and H.E. Butler, rev. by C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); vol. 2: *The Later Letters (1163–1180),* ed. W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

3. *Historia pontificalis* (*Memoirs of the Papal Court*), ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (London, 1956; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

4. *Metalogicon*, ed. Clement Webb (Oxford, 1929).

5. *Policraticus*, ed. Clement Webb (Oxford, 1909). There are new editions of the *Metalogicon* by J.B. Hall in CCCM 98 and of *Policraticus* (books I–IV) by K.S.B. Keats-Rohan in CCCM 118. I quote the *Entheticus* according to the edition by Ronald Pepin, the *Metalogicon* and the *Policraticus* according to the Clement Webb edition.

237 *Metalogicon*, II, 10; ed. Clement Webb, 77–83; McGarry, 95–100.

238 Karin Margareta Fredborg, "The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glosae super Priscianum*," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Âge grec et latin* 11 (1973), 1–57.

239 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* II, 10; ed. Clement Webb, 77–78; McGarry 95.

240 *Metalogicon*, II, 10; ed. Clement Webb, 79–80; McGarry, 97.

241 Olga Weijers, "The Chronology of John of Salisbury's Studies in France (*Metalogicon*, II, 10)," in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks, 109–16.

242 *Metalogicon* I, 21; ed. Clement Webb, 50, 14–16; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, I, viii, 12.

243 See Édouard Jeauneau, "Jean de Salisbury et la lecture des philosophes," *Tendenda Vela*, 301–32.

244 "totius philosophiae princeps" (Policraticus, I, 6; ed. Clement Webb, I, 40).

245 "philosophorum princeps" (Policraticus, VII, 6; ed. Clement Webb, II, 105).

246 "peripateticorum princeps" (Policraticus, IV, 4; ed. Clement Webb, I, 245. *Metalogicon*, II, 2 and 20; ed. Clement Webb, 63 and 115).

247 *Metalogicon*, IV, 27; ed. Clement Webb, 193–94. *Entheticus*, verses 833–42; ed. Ronald E. Pepin, *Traditio* 31 (1975), 162.

248 *Metalogicon*, III, 8; ed. Clement Webb, 147, lines 12–14; McGarry, 181.

249 "Plato theologus, Aristoteles logicus" (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, I, 45; PL 69, 539C; MGH, *Auctores Antiquissimi* 12, 40).

250 John's explanation of the title of his work is as follows: "This treatise … is entitled *Metalogicon*. For, in it, I undertake to defend logic" (*Metalogicon*, Prologue; ed. Clement Webb, 3, lines 16–17; McGarry, 5).

251 See Ryszard Palacz, "La réception immédiate de l'aristotélisme dans le Metalogicon de Jean de Salisbury," *Studia Mediewistyczne* 5 (1964), 191–251.

252 *Metalogicon* III, 5; ed. Clement Webb, 140, lines 6–11. "John may be here referring to such scholars as Thierry of Chartres" (McGarry, 172, n. 223).

253 *Metalogicon* IV, 27; ed. Clement Webb, 193, lines 21–26; McGarry, 243.

254 *Aristoteles Latinus* IV, 1–4 (2–3: editio altera): *Analytica Posteriora*, ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello and Bernard G. Dod (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), xvi–xix. See also Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "Iacobus Veneticus Grecus, Canonist and Translator of Aristotle," *Traditio* 8 (1952), 265–304.

255 *Metalogicon*, II, 20; ed. Clement Webb, 111, lines 23–25.

256 Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 228–29; *Aristoteles Latinus* IV, 2: *Analytica Posteriora*. Translatio anonyma, ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, Paris: J. Vrin, 1953). A new edition is *Aristoteles Latinus* IV, 1–4, 109–83: Translatio anonyma siue 'Ioannis,' ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (Leiden, 1968).

257 See Édouard Jeauneau, "Jean de Salisbury et Aristote," *Tendenda Vela*, 403–11.

258 *Metalogicon* I, 22; ed. Clement Webb, 51; McGarry, 62. John bequeathed to Chartres Cathedral a copy of Seneca's *Quaestiones naturales*: Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, III, 202.

259 *Metalogicon* I, Prologue; II, 20; III, Prologue; IV, 7 and 31; ed. Clement Webb, 4, lines 10–12; 106, lines 4–6; 119, lines 17–20; 172, lines 2–4; and 199, lines 22–28. See also *Policraticus* VII, 1–3; ed. Clement Webb, II, 93–101.

260 *Policraticus* VII, 1; ed. Clement Webb II, 95, line 18.

261 Birger Munk Olsen, "L'humanisme de Jean de Salisbury, un cicéronien au douzième siècle," in *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du douzième siècle*, ed. Maurice de Gandillac and Édouard Jeauneau (Paris: Mouton, 1968), 53–83.

262 *Policraticus* II, 22; ed. Clement Webb, I, 122, lines 10–15.

263 "Os hominis cuncti mirantur, non ita pectus" (*Entheticus*, verse 1243; ed. Ronald E. Pepin, 176). See Augustine, *Confessiones*, III, iv, 7, lines 4–5: "Perueneram in librum quemdam Ciceronis, cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita" (CCSL 27, 30; PL 32, 685).

264 Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, III, 202 (Chartres: Garnier, 1863).

265 "Orbis nil habuit maius Cicerone latinus" (*Entheticus*, verse 1215; ed. Ronald. E. Pepin, 175).

266 *Metalogicon* IV, 37; ed. Clement Webb, 210, lines 15–16.

267 *Metalogicon* IV, 25; ed. Clement Webb, 192, line 2.

268 *Policraticus* VIII, 11; ed. Clement Webb, II, 294, line 2.

269 Letter 245: *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol. II: *The Later Letters (1163–1180)*, ed. W. J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke, 490, lines 23–24. See also, in the same volume, Letter 270, 546, lines 20–21.

270 *Metalogicon* I, 13; ed. Clement Webb, 31, lines 17–19; McGarry, 37.

271 *Metalogicon* I, 13 and 21; ed. Clement Webb, 32, lines 14–17, and 51, lines 8–11; McGarry, 38, 62.

272 *Metalogicon* I, 22; ed. Clement Webb, 52, line 10: "Poetas philosophorum cunas esse celebre est." McGarry translates *celebre* as "axiomatic" (63).

273 *Metalogicon* I, 24; ed. Clement Webb, 55, lines 7–9: "Excute Virgilium aut Lucanum et ibi, cuiuscunque philosophiae professor sis, eiusdem inuenies condituram." The Latin word I have translated as "seasoning" (*conditura*) can also mean "foundation"; hence, McGarry (67) translates it as: "Carefully examine the works of Virgil or Lucan, and no matter what your philosophy, you will find therein its seed or seasoning." On the sense of the verb *excutere*, see *Tendenda Vela*, 312–13.

274 *Metalogicon* III, Prologue; ed. Clement Webb, 117, lines 12–16; McGarry, 142.

275 *Policraticus* II, 29; ed. Clement Webb I, 168–69.

276 *Historia pontificalis*, ch. 40; ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 78–80.

277 The full title of the *Policraticus* is: *Policraticus, siue de nugis curialium et uestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. Clement Webb (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909). In English the full title reads: *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. and trans. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

278 *Metalogicon* II, 10; ed. Clement Webb, 82–83; McGarry, 99–100.

279 *Metalogicon* II, 9; ed. Clement Webb, 76, lines 23 and 77, line 3; McGarry, 93–94. See Peter of Blois, *Letters*, 101; PL 207, 312C.

280 *Metalogicon* IV, 40; ed. Clement Webb, 214, lines 2–3; McGarry, 270. On this point, John of Salisbury is in perfect accord with his master: see Cicero, *De finibus*, V, 16, 44.

281 Jean Jolivet, "La philosophie médiévale en Occident," *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade: Histoire de la philosophie* vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 1329–31.

282 Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools. A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 87–108; Anne Duggan, "John of Salisbury and Thomas Becket," in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks, 427–38.

283 Letter 139, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol. 2, 20–23.

284 Philippians 4:5.

285 Letter 227, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, vol. 2, 396–399.

286 Clement Webb, *John of Salisbury* (London: Methuen, 1932), 116–17.

287 In a charter dated 10 July 1179, we read: "Iohannes diuina dignatione et meritis sancti Thomae martiris Carnotensis ecclesiae minister humilis." See M. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, vol. 1 (Paris: Craplet, 1840), 656. See also René Merlet, *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée de Chartres* (Chartres: Garnier, 1906), 54 and 55 (charters 103 and 105).

288 Eugène de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, eds., *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, vol. 3, 202. An eloquent witness to John of Salisbury's devotion to the archbishop and martyr is his *Life* of Thomas Becket. See *Anselm and Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives* by John of Salisbury, trans. Ronald E. Pepin (Toronto: PIMS, 2009), 73–95.

289 *Policraticus* VII, 11; ed. Clement Webb, vol. 2, 135, lines 19–20.

290 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 3, *Tractatus et opuscula*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), 119. For an English translation, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Loving God*, ed. and trans. Emero Stiegman (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), 3.

291 Étienne Gilson, *La philosophie au Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Payot, 1947), 277. The English text is taken from Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House, 1954), 153.

292 See Charles Burnett, "Catalogue: The Writings of Adelard of Bath and Closely Associated Works, Together with the Manuscripts in which They Occur," in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 1987), 180.

293 See Charles Burnett, "Catalogue," 180; idem, "The Contents and Affiliations of the Scientific Manuscripts Written at or Brought to Chartres in the Time of John of Salisbury," *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. Michael Wilks, 127–160. See also Raymond Mercier, "Astronomical Tables in the Twelfth Century," in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist*, 87–115.

294 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* I, 22; ed. Clement Webb, 52, line 10; McGarry, 63.

295 See the text of the epitaph, edited by André Vernet, in *Études médiévales*, 170, lines 25–28. See also Charles Burnett, "Scientific Speculations," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke, 151–76. It should be noted that the *Posterior Analytics* are not part of the *Heptateucon*; see Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, 226.

296 H. Schipperges, "Die Schulen von Chartres unter dem Einfluss des Arabismus," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 40 (1956), 193–210.

297 Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, manuscripts 160 and 171, no longer extant.

298 Charles Burnett, "The Contents and Affiliations … ," 128–30 and 139–40.

299 Ibid, 144–45; Mark D. Jordan, "Medicine as Science in the Early Commentaries on 'Johannitius,'" *Traditio* 48 (1987), 133–37.

300 David Luscombe, "L'aréopagatisme et Chartres," *Monde médiéval et société chartraine*, ed. Jean Robert Armogathe, 113–22.

301 Édouard Jeauneau, "Jean de Salisbury et la lecture des philosophes," in *Tendenda Vela*, 301–32; originally published in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 29 (1983), 145–74.

302 Carmelo Ottaviano, *Un brano inedito della "Philosophia" di Guglielmo di Conches* (Naples: Alberto Morano Editore, 1935), 32–35.

303 Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, II, xx–xxvii, ed. Charles Henry Buttimer (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1939), 38–44.

304 *Dragmaticon*, III, ii, 24–28; CCCM 152, 58; Ronca and Curr, 38–39.

305 In the thirteenth century the Porretani are still mentioned: see Yukio Iwakuma, "Twelfth-Century Nominales. The Posthumous School of Peter Abelard," *Vivarium* 30 (1992), 107.

306 Concerning the fame of William of Conches in Poland, see Zénon Kaluza, "Kadłubka historia mówiona i historia pisana (*Kronika* I 1–2, I 9 i II 1–2) [Spoken History and Written History of Kadłubek (Chronicles I 1–2, I 9 and II 1–2)]", *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 12 (2006), 61–120. Concerning his fame in Bohemia, see Édouard Jeauneau, "Plato apud Bohemos," *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 161–214; repr. in *Tendenda Vela*, 347–402.

307 Marsilio Ficino, *Liber de uoluptate*, ch. 7, *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1576), 997–98. Concerning the success in Italy of the *Glosae super Platonem* of William of Conches, see the introduction to the edition of the *Glosae super Platonem*, CCCM, 203, lxvi–lxvii.

308 Nicholas of Cusa, *De docta ignorantia*, I, 7–9 and 24, ed. Ernst Hoffmann and Raymond Klibansky, 14–19 and 48–51.

309 Patricia Stirnemann, "Souvenirs de l'enluminure chartraine," *Archéologia*, Special edition, Hors série, 5H (1994), 62–65; Stirnemann, "Gilbert de la Porrée et les livres glosés à Laon, à Chartres et à Paris," *Monde médiéval et société chartraine*, 83–96.

310 Revelation 4: 1.

311 Revelation 5: 8–10.

312 "The siren is represented not as a woman-fish but as a woman-bird, and this was the tradition long followed by the bestiaries. The Greek Physiologus spoke only of the bird-siren. The old Latin Bestiary in the Brussels library, which probably dates from the tenth century, also represents sirens as half woman and half bird. This is the pure tradition of antiquity, for the Greek never represented sirens in any other way." Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth*

Century. A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography, trans. M. Mathews, ed. H. Bober (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 335–36.

313 See Jean Pépin, "The Platonic and Christian Ulysses," in *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. Dominic J. O'Meara (Norfolk: International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, 1982), 3–18.

314 Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, 2, 4, 13–15, ed. James Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963), 109. On the music of the spheres in Chartrian thought, see Andrew J. Hicks, "Musica speculativa in the Cambridge Commentary on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18 (2008): 292–305.

315 Édouard Jeauneau, "Les Sirènes dans le chœur des Vieillards," in *Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe: Essays in Honor of J.N. Hillgarth*, ed. Thomas E. Burman, Mark D. Meyerson, and Leah Shopkow (Toronto: PIMS, 2002), 319–34; repr. in *Tendenda Vela*, 717–34.

316 Plato, *Republic*, X, 617ac.

317 Similarly Abelard saw in the *Trisagion* sung by the Seraphs (Isaiah 6: 1–3) a symbol of the cosmic harmony: *Theologia 'Scholarium,'* I, 141; CCCM 13, 377.

318 *Integumentum* can be understood as the visible cloak of a hidden truth. See Édouard Jeauneau, "La notion d'integumentum à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches," *AHDLMA* 24 (1957), 35–100; repr. in *Lectio philosophorum*, 127–92. See also Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography*, vol. 1: *From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres a.d. 433–1117* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994); and vol. 2: *From the School of Chartres to the Court at Avignon, 1177–1350* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000).

319 William of Conches, *Glosae super Macrobium* (Comment, I, xiv, 15). The text is cited in CCCM 203, 129. See L. Edelstein, "The Golden Chain of Homer," in *Studies in Intellectual History Dedicated to Arthur O. Lovejoy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), 48–66.

320 *Lectio philosophorum*, 38 and 90.

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