The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres

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Some years ago I criticized the generally received view of the importance of the school of Chartres in the first half of the twelfth century.[1] If I return to the subject, my purpose is not to go over the old ground again, nor to spend much time answering objections—though this will sometimes be necessary—but to investigate some broader issues raised by a reinterpretation of the school of Chartres. I should begin by recalling the main points which I urged in 1970, and which, with modifications for which I have to thank my critics, I would still urge: first, that the importance of the school of Chartres has been very greatly exaggerated by scholars in the last hundred years; second, that after the death or retirement of the great master of the school, master Bernard, in or about 1124, there is no convincing evidence of a continuing intellectual tradition in the school of Chartres beyond what might be expected of any cathedral school; third, that the association of Chartres with a unique tradition of Platonism arose mainly from a mistaken identification of master Bernard of Chartres with Bernard Silvester, and that the whole theory of Chartrian Platonism requires radical revision; and fourth, that from the early years of the century Paris had far outstripped Chartres as a place of teaching and study, even in those areas of study which have been particularly associated with Chartres.

precedenti affermazioni

If the argument were only about geography it could be left to sleep in peace. But beneath the surface, there are two deeper and more important issues. The first concerns the circumstances in which scholastic thought developed, the environment which made it possible and profitable, and the

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[1] "Humanism and the School of Chartres," Southern, *Humanism* 61–85. The main criticisms are: Nikolaus M. Häring, "Chartres and Paris Revisited," *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto 1974) 268–329, which is extremely valuable for its detailed information about masters of this period; and Peter Dronke, "New Approaches to the School of Chartres," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1971) 117–40. Roberto Giacone, "Masters. Books and Library at Chartres According to the Cartularies of Notre-Dame and Saint-Père," *Vivarium* 12 (1974) 30–51, has reviewed the problem and has made a number of new and interesting observations.

conditions of freedom and competition which led to the astonishing proliferation of new ideas and new methods of intellectual communication in the early twelfth century. The second question concerns the nature and extent of what is commonly called Chartrian Platonism.[2] It is with the first—the problem of circumstance, environment, and motivation—that I shall deal here.

I

The first step in studying these problems is to consider very broadly the respective roles of Paris and Chartres in the development of early twelfth-century scholastic thought, and the reason for the distinction between them. We may begin by noticing that the *place* of teaching had a very subordinate importance in the minds of contemporaries, compared with the *person* of the teacher. One sign of this is that students, who tell us with evident pride and particularity the names of the masters under whom they studied, very often fail to mention *where* they studied. We shall have later to consider three particularly striking examples of this habit. Second, we may notice that when contemporaries mention schools which are specially distinctive in their doctrines, they use group names such as *Albericani, Meludinenses, Montani, Porretani, Heliste, Parvipontani.*[3] None of these groups is called after a town or a well-established institutional school: they are called after masters or the neighborhoods in which these masters taught. Even the *Meludinenses* were not students in Melun but students in Paris of Robert of Melun, an Englishman who had once taught in Melun. The *Albericani* are named after master Alberic who taught on Mont Ste Geneviève in the 1130s and 40s, the *Meludinenses* after Robert of Melun who taught in the same area; the *Montani* are the pupils of one or other of the masters, or of a group of masters, on Mont Ste Geneviève; and the *Porretani, Heliste*, and *Parvipontani* are the pupils of Gilbert of Poitiers, Peter Helias, and Adam of the Petit Pont respectively.

In brief, it would seem that the most important, or at least the most distinctive, teaching of the period had become deinstitutionalized, detached from the corporate schools of the past and attached to a master who taught wherever he could find a place to teach. This state of private enterprise did not last long. New institutional ties and conventions were soon formed, which dominated the scholastic scene until the seventeenth century. After about 1170 the institutionalizing went ahead rapidly, and we begin to hear much about the *licentia docendi* and about scholastic jurisdiction, in phrases drawn

[2]For further discussion of this question, see Richard W. Southern, *Platonism, Scholastic Method and the School of Chartres*, Stenton Lecture 1979 (Reading University Press), where bibliographical references will be found.

[3]The names of these schools with the doctrines which they supported are collected and commented on by Richard W. Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, Part II," M&RS 2 (1950) 1–56 at 50–51.

from the vocabulary of canon law as it took over the task of pressing unruly events into shape. But for a short time, broadly corresponding to the first half of the twelfth century, there was a wide opportunity for individual enterprise and for ruthless competition, which was never again so uncontrolled.

The reason for this relatively brief but profoundly important phase of scholastic development was simple: quite suddenly there were many individuals who wanted new skills and new knowledge, which few masters could supply and which traditional institutional schools were by their nature and functions not well adapted to provide. The traditional idea of a school had been an organized community providing instruction in its functions to beginners and practice and rehearsal for its more advanced members. The *schola* of a monastery or cathedral was originally the whole community at its work of worship in the choir. As the demands of the liturgy became increasingly exacting, the work of the master in his school grew in importance, but it was always dominated by the corporate needs of the community.[4] The large and rapidly increasing number of students in the early twelfth century did not fit into this pattern. They were not acting as members of a community: they were adventurers seeking rare and difficult knowledge which would lead to personal advancement or the perfecting of a personal gift. So too were the masters whom they sought. Of course such people had existed before the early twelfth century; the new feature was that they now existed in sufficient numbers to determine the shape of the organization and the procedures and subject matter of the teaching, in the schools which they helped to create. The students had committed a great deal of their available resources to their search for a master, and they wanted to be sure of success—as sure as the necessarily chancy nature of the business would allow. A kind of bush-telegraph rapidly developed to signal the masters who were worth finding and the places where they were to be found.

Curiously enough, one of the best pieces of evidence for this state of affairs is the collection of letters from the first quarter of the twelfth century which has been taken (wrongly as I think) to provide incontrovertible evidence for the importance of the school of Chartres.[5] Its real lesson is quite different: it provides evidence of the students' uncertainty about where to go for the teaching they wanted, and of the need to act quickly on up-to-date information if the master was to be caught before he was promoted to a higher dignity, or moved elsewhere, or died: "I give you this advice, that if you or any of your neighbors are thinking of coming here to profit from [the teaching of] master

[4]This is the meaning of *schola* for which numerous examples can be found from the time of Alcuin to Orderic Vitalis. I hope to return to the stages and significance of the shift of meaning which brought the independent master and his group of pupils into strong relief in the twelfth century, and prepared the way for the new institutional *scholae* of the later Middle Ages.

[5]Lucien Merlet, "Lettres d'Ives de Chartres et d'autres personnages de son temps, 1087–1130," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 4th ser. 1 (1855) 443–71.

Anselm you should come as quickly as you can, for it is doubtful if he will long have leisure to devote to clerks, and you may have come in vain if you delay."[6] So, in one of these letters, wrote a student at Laon to his relatives at home, probably in about 1115. He was in the school of the most widely admired master of his day, the school of master Anselm, to whom students came from as far afield as Pisa and Milan, from Germany, and in unexpectedly large numbers from England. Master Anselm stayed long enough in one place for the school at Laon to become widely known throughout Europe, but there was always the risk that the light might go out at any moment. The master might move, be promoted, fall ill, or die; when this happened his school would fall to pieces, or survive only in the traditional form of a cathedral school without interest to an international body of students.

The great masters of this period were much sought after because the skills which they could impart were rare and difficult and (to put the matter at its lowest) commanded great rewards. Their skills commanded great rewards because they were needed for the highest places in the government and administration of the Church. These were not skills which were needed by local churches or liturgically oriented communities, except perhaps when they were involved in lawsuits. For the ordinary routine of life, even the greatest churches needed chiefly a high degree of proficiency in reading and writing Latin, in singing and in composing prose and verse. These skills could indeed be exquisitely developed and splendidly maintained, and they could become the expression of a high civilization; but it was not generally for these skills that students traveled to find famous masters. They traveled to hear of new techniques and new texts, and the manner of applying them to the study of law, medicine, the Bible, or the nature of the physical universe. They wanted to learn to argue and analyze, and to build up a stock of authoritative *sententiae* on the controversial questions of the day. None of these activities was a normal part of the functions of a local church. Consequently the cultivating of these skills fitted only awkwardly into the traditional pattern of a cathedral school.

When a cathedral school under a famous master expanded its activity beyond its local needs, an awkward situation arose, as we can see in Laon at the time when the letter I have just quoted was written. Laon was a small walled town of about twenty-five hectares with a population of perhaps 3,000, on a

[6]Ibid. 466: "De vobis vero vobis consulo quatinus, si vobis vel aliquibus vicinis vestris in proposito est adhuc magistro Anselmo frui, illum quam citius potueritis adeatis, ne tandem eum, quem dubium est diu vacare clericis, tarde aut frustra queratis." Note also from another letter, to a canon of Pisa, the following passage: "Unde rogo multumque vestram deprecor clementiam, ut de vestro adventu, et si apud nos Laudunum hiemare debetis, certis vestris notis per hunc mihi certificare curetis. Sum enim modo cum hospite meo non in propria domo; sed si certus fuero de vobis, proprium hospitium mihi et vobis locare curabo. Unde me firmum ad presens volo faciatis quia, multis clericis Laudunum adventantibus, vix inveniri valde cara poterunt. De apostolico, et aliis novis nostre patrie que scitis vel audistis, similiter mihi significate. Domnus Ildebrandus a Lauduno vos multum salutat; alii nostri socii adhuc sunt Parisius, quos de die in diem expecto."

constricted site which allowed no possibility of easy growth.[7] Master Anselm was the *magister scolae* of the cathedral, and later the chancellor, who (among his other duties) had the task of controlling the teaching in the cathedral and town. The core of the cathedral *schola* was the choir which needed instruction in the liturgical functions of the church. Then, perhaps distributed in different parts of the cathedral, there must have been classes of clergy being taught (in the words of Gregory VII's recent decree)[8] the *artes litterarum*, which were necessary for the well-being of the diocese as a whole. These were the permanent and inescapable functions of the cathedral. But in Laon there was also a cosmopolitan throng of students of all ages and levels of social and ecclesiastical consequence, who had been attracted to Laon by the reputation of master Anselm. Many had come with their own tutors, and these tutors were interested in making their mark in the scholastic world: it was probably they who chiefly benefited from Anselm's learning and from arguments with him and their fellow students.[9] How, or whether, they were organized we do not know, but at the height of Anselm's fame they must have numbered several hundreds, and their relations with both the town and the cathedral were uneasy.[10] Organically they had no connection with the permanent functions of the cathedral; they were a floating population held together only by the presence of master Anselm and by the advantages of being part of a large scholastic community.

A precisely similar situation existed in Reims a few years later, as we learn from the *Life* of Hugh, later abbot of Marchiennes. As a young man in about 1117–20, Hugh went with his tutor to the school of master Alberic at Reims.

[7]For the site of Laon, with plans and bibliography, see the magnificently produced work of Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1: *Gallien* (Cologne 1975) 73–82. The walled area in the twelfth century contained (on my calculation) 25 hectares, which on the basis of 100 inhabitants per hectare would give a population of 2,500. To this some addition should be made for those living outside the walls, but there was little room for crowds of students.

[8]*Gregorii VII Registrum* 6.5b (Decree of 1078), ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epist sel 2 (Berlin 1920; repr. 1955) 402 [XXXI]: "Ut omnes episcopi artes litterarum suis ecclesiis doceri faciant et ornamenta ecclesie sine certa utilitate aut gravi necessitate nullo modo nulloque ingenio ecclesiis subtrahant ne periculum sacrilegii, quod absit, incurrant." The combination of care for the *artes litterarum* and the *ornamenta ecclesie* puts the duty of teaching in the correct liturgical context.

[9]Examples of tutors taking their young pupils to famous schools, as a step in their own studies, are Adelard of Bath (see *Quaestiones naturales*, ed. Martin Müller, BGPTMA 31.2 [Münster 1934] 4) and William of Corbeil (see Herman, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis* 2.6, PL 156.977), both at Laon; Walter of Mortagne, at Reims and Laon (see *Ex vita Hugonis abbatis Marchianensis*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* 14 (1806) 398–99; and the tutor who took his English pupil to study dialectic under "magister T. universalis" (master Thierry?) and became ferocious when his young pupil outshone him. (See the text of the letter describing his experiences in Marvin L. Colker, *Analecta Dublinensia* [Cambridge Mass. 1975] 132. This incident took place in about 1120; as a result of his ill-treatment the young pupil fell into despair and despondency, became a monk for sixteen or seventeen years, and died probably in 1139.)

[10]Signs of overcrowding are apparent in the letters quoted above, and a further example is given by K. M. Fredborg, "The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux," CIMAGL 17 (1976) 1–39 at 13.

The town was crowded with students—so much so (his biographer tells us) that there were almost more clerks than citizens in the town, and peace could only be maintained by keeping them apart. The boy's tutor at once began to challenge the opinions of master Alberic and to collect pupils of his own.[11] Alberic reacted by forcing him to leave the town. He went first to the nearby precincts of St Remi, and then further afield to Laon, where there was by this time something of a gap left by the death of master Anselm. In these briefly recorded events we have as in a microcosm the situation of an overgrown cathedral school: the overcrowding, the tension between the single dominant master and potential rivals, the ambitious tutors with their pupils and their hopes of building up a following of their own, and the uneasy relations with the local people.

We may expect to find that the more successful a master became, the more he was irked by the restrictions of a local school. He looked for a place where his powers could be more freely exercised. Equally, as the number of students grew, the disadvantages of a small and constricted town became more irksome. These two pressures together led to a fairly rapid disengagement of "higher studies" from cathedrals, which existed primarily to provide education for a liturgical community or for the diocesan clergy. This process of disengagement has several contemporary parallels in other walks of life; for instance, it may be compared with the separation of the higher functions of government from the daily life of the English royal household in the early twelfth century, or the separation of governmental and liturgical functions in the papal Curia in the middle of the eleventh century and in episcopal households all over Europe a hundred years later. All are instances of the separation of general from local needs, and in all cases the general needs called for a high degree of scholastic training.

The most ambitious and able masters who could provide this training needed to be easily accessible to the pupils whom they wished to teach; they needed also to be free to teach only those pupils who had the capacity to understand and the resources to pay for what they heard, as well as the stamina to follow long and arduous courses of study. The ablest students needed the assurance that when they arrived at their destination they would find masters able and willing to teach them difficult subjects. Without this assurance they might better have stayed at home. The hazards of study far from home were great, and the basic requirements which needed to be met were, first, the assurance of finding masters; and second, the assurance of finding a plentiful supply of food and lodgings, and if possible friends from home. These were not easy requirements to meet.

[11]The tutor was Walter of Mortagne, who later became bishop of Laon. For him see Ludwig Ott, *Untersuchungen zur theologischen Briefliteratur der Frühscholastik*, BGPTMA 34 (Münster 1937) 126; Nikolaus M. Häring, "A Hitherto Unknown Commentary on Boethius' *de Hebdomadibus* Written by Clarenbaldus of Arras," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953) 212–21 at 214.

II

How are Paris and Chartres to be compared as places where these requirements could be met?

In the middle of the eleventh century the advantages and limitations of the two towns were probably about equal. Both were small cathedral cities and centers of government in a fertile landscape. Paris, however, by about 1100 was beginning a period of very rapid growth. Recent studies have considerably increased our knowledge of the stages of this growth, and we begin to have a fairly substantial idea of the city's expansion southward across the Petit Pont into the area around the church of St Julien le Pauvre, the Clos Mauvoisin, and the vineyards which belonged to the Garland family; then out to the bourg St Germain on the west and St Victor on the east, and further south to St Hilaire du Mont and Mont Ste Geneviève. As a result of these extensions and a comparable extension on the north bank of the river, Paris grew in the course of the twelfth century from being a small town mainly confined to the Ile de Paris, to a city comparable in size and population to the largest urban centers in Europe: by 1215 it had a walled area of about 275 hectares and a population of at least 25,000–30,000.[12] No doubt much of the space within the walled area was unoccupied, but it was available for occupation, and this meant that there was plenty of room for schools and lodgings.

Everyone in the twelfth century who wrote about Paris—and a surprising number did—stretched his command of language to extol the advantages which Paris offered to masters and students alike. Not least among these advantages was the abundance of food and wine—amenities evidently felt to be so important that almost every prospectus for a new university in the Middle Ages inserted them among its chief claims.[13] Paris, everyone agreed, actually possessed them. Besides, it had another advantage: it was at the center of an area in which there were many schools. At least twenty-five well-known twelfth-century schools can be counted within a hundred miles of Paris. This was important, because students who looked for higher studies must always have had a good grounding in the skills which were cultivated in local grammar schools. Students would come from very far afield to find the best masters, but it must always have been an advantage to have a large supply of competent

[12]See once more the plans, discussion, and bibliography in Brühl (n. 7 above) 6–33. Calculations of the size of the walled area of Paris in 1210 differ, but a reasonable estimate (excluding uninhabited islets) is 252 hectares. On the basis of 100 inhabitants per hectare this would allow a population of 25,000, to which some addition (say 10% in 1210) should be made for those living outside the walls. This gives a total of 27,500. Most estimates are higher than this: Brühl, 19, gives 50,000–60,000.

[13]Frederick II's proclamation of 1224 establishing the university of Naples and promising prospective masters and students "locum . . . ubi rerum copia, ubi ample domus et spatiose satis, et ubi mores civium sunt benigni; ubi etiam necessaria vite hominum per terras et maritimas facile transvehuntur" set a pattern followed by most later foundation charters for universities. (See the text in J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi* [6 vols. in 11 Paris 1852–61; repr. Turin 1963] 2.450–53 at 451.)

students and ambitious masters near at hand who could easily be influenced by the pull of the great city.

These were all considerable advantages, but more important than any other was the wide freedom enjoyed by independent masters in Paris to set up their own schools. The cathedral church of Paris, like other northern cathedrals, enjoyed a monopoly of teaching in the city and perhaps also in the diocese, and this monopoly was administered by the chancellor of the cathedral. The exercise of any medieval monopoly was subject to many limitations, but in Paris the limitations are very conspicuous: there were ancient churches in the suburbs (the abbey of Ste Geneviève in particular) exempt from the chancellor's control; there were the canons of the chapter, who seem from an early date to have had much freedom in letting their houses as schools and lodgings for masters and students; and there must have been a real practical difficulty in supervising the large, sprawling developments of a growing city. In practice, the chancellor's monopoly seems to have been exercised, if at all, by charging a fee to masters who wished to set up a school of their own.[14] To charge a fee to those whom it is impossible to restrain is one way of exercising a commercial monopoly, but it tended to reduce teaching to the level of other commercial activities.[15] Alexander III forbade this commercial practice in about 1170, but almost at once he had to withdraw his prohibition in the case of the chancellor of Paris, who was perhaps the biggest offender of all in northern Europe.[16]

As for the chancellor's capacity to control his own colleagues, it seems that the canons of Notre-Dame at the end of the eleventh century were already accustomed to letting their houses in the cathedral close and its neighborhood to masters and their pupils for schools and lodgings, and by about 1120 this practice had become so great a nuisance that an agreement was made between the bishop and the canons to limit their freedom in this respect.[17] This may have

[14]In 1170–72, Alexander III forbade the practice of taking a fee for allowing masters to teach, and a commentator on this decree, Vincentius Hispanus, says that it was directed especially against the chancellor of Paris, "qui a quolibet docente marcam unam exigebat." Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* (4 vols. + supp. Paris 1889–97, 1937–64) 1.4–5.

[15]The too-often forgotten fact that schools were a commercial asset is emphasized in a number of English twelfth-century charters in which the grant of a school is associated with the grant of a market, e.g. Henry I's foundation charter for St Peter's Dunstaple (1131–33) giving the canons the "manerium de Dunstaple . . . et mercatum eiusdem villae, et scolas eiusdem villae, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus eidem villae pertinentibus" (William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, rev. John Caley et al. [6 vols. in 8 London 1817–30] 6.240). In a practical context, the association of markets and schools, however offensive it may be in ecclesiastical theory, was not illogical: the right of setting up a stall or a schoolroom was a valuable commercial privilege for which the monopolist could charge a fee.

[16]For Alexander III's letter of 29 October 1174 exempting Peter Manducator, chancellor of Paris, from the rule which he had just laid down against taking a fee for the *licentia docendi*, so long as his fee was moderate, see *Chart. univ. Paris.* (n. 14 above) 1.8–9.

[17]B. Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (4 vols. Paris 1850) 1.338: the agreement limited the right of canons to let their houses to scholars as schools or lodgings, and the bishop in return agreed to build a

had some effect in the immediate neighborhood of the cathedral, but by then it was too late to alter the general situation: the proliferation of schools and lodgings had spread too far into the suburbs on the left bank of the Seine to be halted.

If we compare the situation in Chartres with that in Paris, the great difference lay in the urban development of the two towns, and probably in the way in which the scholastic monopoly was operated. Chartres exhibits little significant growth in the twelfth century, and even in the sixteenth century it was still a small town almost totally enclosed within a walled area of about sixty hectares.[18] Politically the town sank in importance after 1125, when the county of Chartres was reintegrated into the commercially richer and more active county of Champagne, with its capital at Troyes.[19] We have no information about the way in which the monopoly of teaching was exercised by the cathedral of Chartres, but it is significant that the chancellor of Chartres was still enforcing his monopoly in the fourteenth century and still obtaining royal charters to support it as late as the sixteenth century.[20] We may conclude from this that whereas the teaching monopoly of the chancellor of Paris had broken down early in the twelfth century except as a source of fees, no similar breakdown took place in Chartres.

III

The practical effect of this breakdown of control in Paris can first be observed in Abelard's *Historia calamitatum*, a work which has been studied from almost every point of view, but not I think from this angle. It will be recalled that Abelard spent the years of his early adolescence going from school to school in the Loire valley within fairly easy reach of his home, probably like many other young men with a tutor as his companion. Then, as his abilities and ambitions unfolded, he made straight for Paris to study under William of Champeaux. He probably arrived in Paris about 1098 and he describes the next fifteen years

covered building for schools near the episcopal palace. It was probably in this building that Gilbert of Poitiers lectured "in the bishop's hall" in about 1140 (see at n. 29 below), for it should be remembered that lectures, like lawsuits, seem often to have taken place in halls which could accommodate different classes in separate corners as need arose. A similar shortage of lodgings had brought about a similar letting of houses by the canons of Laon. See Fredborg (n. 10 above) 13 n. 36, quoting William of Champeaux: "Vere non est turpe Laudunensibus canonicis hospitia clericis locare, quia non est turpe clericis ea conducere."

[18] A plan of the town with its suburbs, made at the time of the siege of 1591 for lord Burghley by his emissary Edmund Yorke who was present at the siege, is reproduced in Eva M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England* (12 vols. in 13 Royal Leamington Spa 1933–60) 8.314: it shows little extensive building outside the walls.

[19] Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge* (3 vols. Paris 1957–62) 1.125–26.

[20] The chancellor's scholastic authority was defined in 1324 in a dispute with the master of the schools of St Jean en Vallée just outside the city walls, and was confirmed by royal charter in 1515. See E. de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, eds., *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres* (3 vols. Chartres 1862–65) 1.1xxxii.

of his career in terms of a military operation aimed at the academic capture of the stronghold of Paris. In Abelard's eyes, the stronghold was not held by the chancellor or by any other official person, but by a famous master, William of Champeaux, against whom he pitted himself in individual combat. In all his operations Abelard never mentions any overall authority. William, indeed, who was also archdeacon, could call on mysterious forces against the intruder, but these forces are always portrayed as working through personal influence.

Abelard's first aim was to appropriate William's fame, position, and pupils, but the ultimate prize was Paris. Abelard speaks of his career as a series of advances toward, and withdrawals from, this goal. He tells us how he first established himself in Melun, some fifty miles from Paris—just outside the bishopric of Paris and just beyond the long arm of the archdeacon, his enemy. At Melun he was in a royal town, where he had friends whom he could rely on to guard him against the enemy's attacks while he gathered strength for his first campaign. This is how he described his strategy:

> From this first trial of my schools [at Melun], my fame as a logician began to spread, so that the renown of my master—not to mention the reputation of my contemporaries—began to shrink and wither away. This led me to grow in confidence and to transfer my schools as soon as possible nearer Paris to Corbeil, from where I might launch more frequent and importunate dialectical assaults.[21]

At Corbeil Abelard was poised for a final assault when ill health suddenly forced him to call off his attack. This enforced withdrawal lasted a few years, probably from about 1105 to 1108. When Abelard returned, William of Champeaux had withdrawn from his school on the Ile de Paris and had installed another master in his place, while he himself continued to teach free of charge at St Victor on the south bank of the river. Here Abelard joined him once more, and very soon the battle was resumed. At first it seemed that Abelard was going to have an easy victory, since the master whom William of Champeaux had installed in his former premises on the Ile offered Abelard his school. Abelard says nothing about the details of the transaction, but he speaks of it as a deal freely entered into by the two parties, like transferring a lease.[22] But William objected to the transfer, and Abelard was obliged once more to return to his old retreat at Melun. Very soon, however, William also left Paris and Abelard at once came back, not to the city itself (where the school which he had taken over was still occupied by his rival) but to Mont Ste Geneviève. From this height Abelard began a regular siege of Paris: "I pitched my scholastic camp outside the city on Mont Ste Geneviève, to lay siege as it

[21]Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris 1959) 64–65: "Ab hoc autem scolarum nostrarum tirocinio ita in arte dialetica nomen meum dilatari cepit, ut non solum condiscipulorum meorum, verum etiam ipsius magistri fama contracta paulatim extingueretur. Hinc factum est ut de me amplius ipse presumens ad casttum Corbolii, quod Parisiace urbe vicinius est, quamtotius scolas nostras transferrem, ut inde videlicet crebriores disputationis assultus nostra daret importunitas."

[22]Ibid. 66.

were to the man who had seized my place."[23] The threat brought William himself back once more to Paris, and the battle was resumed between the two principals supported by their rival troops. Abelard saw the ensuing conflict as a *conflictus disputationum* on a Homeric scale. He compared the battle to the fight between Ajax (Abelard) and Hector (William): "If you ask who won, I say with modest pride 'I was not defeated.'"[24]

With this quotation from Ovid, Abelard gave a final military stamp to his account of his long campaign for scholastic domination of Paris. He makes no secret of his motives: he was avid for fame, which could best be gained at the center of affairs, and for the wealth that could only come from having a large body of pupils. This was what the battle was about, and it was fought without any reference to an overriding authority exercised by the chancellor of the cathedral. William of Champeaux was indeed a power to be reckoned with, but even he could not prevent Abelard from occupying for a time his scholastic premises on the Ile de Paris itself or from continuing to plague him from the heights of Mont Ste Geneviève.

This picture of Abelard's experiences in Paris forms a strong contrast to his account of his attempt to pursue the same tactics at Laon against master Anselm that had succeeded at Paris against master William. At Laon when he attempted to lecture in opposition to master Anselm he was abruptly told to desist; and, with whatever indignation, he obeyed and left the city never to return.[25]

What we have been observing in the Paris of Abelard's struggle for fame is precisely that deinstitutionalizing of the *schola*, that separation of the schools from their corporate involvement and their attachment to an individual master, which I have already described as a symptom of the age. In this process of disengagement the place where teaching was done assumed a new kind of importance: it was no longer the importance of the institution that mattered, but the convenience of the place. The masters needed freedom to teach the subjects of their special interest, and a wide choice of pupils eager for the specialty they could offer; the students sought a place where they could find a choice of masters, the possibility of profiting from several masters, and plentiful supplies of lodgings and provisions. Paris offered these advantages more abundantly than any other town in northern Europe, and Abelard's plan of campaign is the earliest proof of its superiority. No doubt, when Abelard became famous, he could teach where he wished and draw pupils wherever he went; but when he was beginning he needed to be in Paris, and even when he was famous he returned to Paris because he needed to be sure of finding an eager audience already in existence.

[23]Ibid. 66–67: "extra civitatem in monte Sancte Genovefe scolarum nostrarum castra posui, quasi eum obsessurus qui locum occupaverat nostrum."

[24]Ibid. 67.

[25]Ibid. 70. Note the similarity between Abelard's experience at Laon and that of Walter of Mortagne at Reims, described above.

IV

Of the number of students in Paris when Abelard was conducting his great battle, we can make no estimate. That it was already large is suggested by a letter written probably in 1109. It comes from a German student writing to his patron back home:

I am now in Paris in the school of master William . . . who, though he was archdeacon and almost the chief adviser to the king, gave up all he possessed to retire last Easter to serve only God in a poor little church. There, like master Manegold of blessed memory, he offered his services to all comers free of charge, and he now directs a school of secular and sacred learning larger than any I have ever heard of or seen in my time anywhere in the world.[26]

The words are vaguer than we could wish. Nevertheless, they are early evidence of the large number of students in Paris who were prepared to take advantage of a free offer. We have to go on to about 1140 to get some more precise idea of the size of the local student body. The evidence comes from a writer, Everard of Ypres, whom I failed to notice in my earlier study.[27] What he tells us relates to the teaching career of Gilbert of Poitiers, who became chancellor of Chartres in 1126 and bishop of Poitiers in 1142, and it will make the context of the discussion clearer if I quote the passage in my earlier essay which needs revision. I wrote:

Gilbert became a canon of Chartres by 1124 and chancellor in 1126. He *may* have taught there, but there is a striking absence of pupils who can be shown to have studied under him during these years. His teaching career still needs to be elucidated, but for the moment the only certainty attaches to his teaching in Paris in 1141, and there is some evidence that his influence radiated from this centre.[28]

In writing these words I was certainly wrong on one point. Everard of Ypres heard Gilbert lecture not only in Paris, but also in Chartres. He adds that in Chartres he was one in a class of four, and in Paris in the bishop's hall he was one in an audience of nearly three hundred.[29]

[26]Jaffé, *Bibl* 5.285–87 at 286: "Parisius sum modo, in scolis magistri Gwillelmi. . . . Qui cum esset archidiaconus fereque apud regem primus, omnibus quae possidebat dimissis, in praeterito pascha ad quandam pauperrimam ecclesiolam, soli Deo serviturus, se contulit; ibique postea omnibus undique ad eum venientibus gratis et causa Dei solummodo, more magistri Manegaldi beatae memoriae, devotum ac benignum se praebuit. Iamque tantum studium regit tam in divinis quam in humanis scientiis, quantum nec vidi nec meo tempore usquam terrarum esse audivi."

[27]Nikolaus M. Häring, "A Latin Dialogue on the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1933) 243–89. For the bearing of this testimony on the school of Chartres, see Häring (n. 1 above) 302, 304–05, and Dronke (n. 1 above) 120–21.

[28]Southern, *Humanism* 71.

[29]Häring (n. 27 above) 252. The facts I have summarized are conveyed in a peculiar and ambiguous form, but my summary follows the general lines of Häring and Dronke. In addition to the articles already cited see Nikolaus M. Häring, "The Cistercian Everard of Ypres and His Appraisal of the Conflict between St. Bernard and Gilbert of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955) 143–72, for Everard's career.

Everard's testimony gives an assurance that Gilbert taught in Chartres during the years from 1126 to 1142. It provides a similar assurance that he also lectured in Paris. How can this be explained? It has been suggested that he must have resigned his chancellorship at Chartres in order to teach in Paris, and that he was replaced as chancellor in 1137 by a certain Guido.[30] If he did this, his willingness to resign an assured position in Chartres to engage in free-lance teaching in Paris would be the strongest possible evidence for the superiority of Paris over Chartres as a teaching center. But the evidence does not support the suggestion and it seems very unlikely.[31] In the absence of any known successor, or any mention of a gap in his career between his being chancellor of Chartres and bishop of Poitiers, it is highly likely that he continued as chancellor until 1142, and that he taught in Paris as well as Chartres during this period.

Should this after all surprise us? Similar combinations have excited no surprise. We know that at this same time Robert Pullen was lecturing in Paris while holding the office of archdeacon of Rochester in England. His absence of several years from his official duties was indeed thought by his bishop to be a dereliction of duty and the bishop tried to force him to return, but Robert Pullen refused and was supported in his refusal by St Bernard.[32] The duties of an archdeacon were almost certainly more onerous and carried more pastoral responsibility than those of a chancellor, and Rochester was much more remote from Paris than Chartres, yet Robert Pullen successfully resisted the strongest pressure on him to return. A little later there is evidence that master Clarembald was writing and teaching in Laon for some considerable time in 1157–59

[30]Häring (n. 1 above) 274: "During the year 1137 Gilbert seems to have left Chartres, for charters dated 1137 and 1139 show that a certain Guido was given the office [of chancellor]"; and 302: "In 1137 Gilbert was still chancellor in Chartres. Before 1141 he must have left Chartres, for in 1141 John of Salisbury found him in Paris and studied logic and theology under him."

[31]His proposed successor Guido does indeed appear as *cancellarius* in witness lists of charters of the bishop and chapter of Chartres, but he appears with this title as early as 1136 and probably as early as 1135 (Charles Metais, ed., *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Josaphat* [2 vols. Chartres 1911–12] 1.116–17, 121–22), so he cannot have been the successor of Gilbert who witnessed as chancellor in 1137. Moreover, it seems likely that *Guido cancellarius* is the same witness who appears elsewhere as *Guido cancellarii* or *Guido nepos cancellarii*. Under one or another of these designations he is found in charters of Chartres from 1119–24 to 1139. The full list, so far as I have traced it, is as follows: *Guido cancellarii*, 1119–24 (René Merlet and A. Clerval, *Un manuscrit Chartrain du XIe siècle* [Chartres 1893] 196), 24 January 1139 (*Cart. N-D Chartres* [n. 20 above] 1.148; *Guido nepos cancellarii*, ca. 1137 (*Cart. Josaphat* 1.123–24); *Guido cancellarius*, ca. 1135 and 1136 (*Cart. Josaphat* 1.116–17, 121–22), 1137 (B. Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres* [2 vols. Paris 1840] 2.384–85). All these forms are found only in transcripts of which the originals seem to be lost, except the document of 1139, with the form *Guido cancellarii*, of which the original exists. Unless we are dealing with two (or three) Guidos, a mistaken transcription of *cancellarius* for *cancellarii*, which would be easy, seems the only explanation. In any event, Guido cannot be Gilbert's successor as chancellor of Chartres.

[32]The documentary evidence for this curious and complicated incident is in Walther Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, Abh Göttingen n.s. 25 and 3rd ser. 14–15, 33 (3 vols. Berlin 1930–52) 2.177–79, 195–96; and see also 3.173; also St Bernard's letter no. 205 (PL 182.372).

while holding office as archdeacon of Arras;[33] and, later still, master Peter Comestor seems to have lectured at and even become chancellor of Paris while holding the office of dean of Troyes.[34] We find everywhere too many examples of official duties being performed by deputy to be surprised at the absence of a cathedral dignitary for several months of the year, and residence in the schools was one of the commonest grounds of absence, sometimes for years on end.

We do not know the residence requirements of a chancellor of Chartres, but it is very unlikely that they excluded the possibility of long periods of absence. Even the chancellor of Paris, with all his real or nominal responsibility for the schools, was not at this time bound by strict requirements of residence, and it was not until 1207 that a new ordinance required him to reside in Paris and to take an oath that he would do so.[35] Nor, for that matter, did a lecturer at this time have any strict lecturing requirements which would have made it impossible for him to interrupt his lectures when called upon to carry out his official duties elsewhere. Indeed, there is some reason to think that this kind of commuting between lecturing in one place and performing official duties at another was not uncommon, for William of Tyre reports that students in Paris in the 1140s had to plan their lectures with an eye to alternative courses when their masters were called away by their other duties.[36] Altogether, therefore, it appears quite unnecessary to suppose that Gilbert or his contemporaries would have seen any objection to his dividing his time in a way which allowed him, while chancellor of Chartres, to spend a large part of his year teaching in Paris.

How, in detail, Gilbert divided his time must remain unknown to us, but Paris seems to have been the main center of his teaching and influence. We have, first of all, Everard of Ypres's very remarkable contrast between the audience of four in Chartres and nearly three hundred in Paris; then John of Salisbury's clear evidence that Gilbert was lecturing in Paris in 1141;[37] third,

[33]Nikolaus M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras* (Toronto 1965) 9–20.

[34]Ignatius Brady, "Peter Manducator and the Oral Teachings of Peter Lombard," *Antonianum* 41 (1966) 454–90 at 483–90.

[35]*Chart. univ. Paris.* (n. 14 above) 1.65–66, "statuimus in capitulo Parisiensi ut quicumque de cetero cancellarius Parisiensis fuerit, teneatur in persona propria bona fide Parisius residere, et post institutionem suam teneatur iuramentum in capitulo exhibere, se facturum residentiam bona fide in ecclesia Parisiensi, quamdiu cancellariam tenuerit, et quod per se vel per alium nullatenus procurabit, quod relaxetur a iuramento predicto." The first chancellor to take this oath was Prepositinus (1206–10), who had taken it voluntarily at the bishop's request in 1206. It is clear from this text that there had been a history of nonresidence before this date.

[36]For William of Tyre, see below at n. 53; in speaking of the three Parisian masters, Bernard Brito, Peter Helias, and Ivo *genere et natione Carnotensis*, he says, "hos alternatim secundum quod eorum negotia presentes eos nobis permittebant vel absentes annis audivimus circiter decem."

[37]John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 2.10, ed. Clement C. J. Webb (Oxford 1929) 82: "Reuersus itaque in fine triennii repperi magistrum Gilebertum, ipsumque audiui in logicis et diuinis; sed nimis cito subtractus est." Everyone agrees that this refers to lectures given by Gilbert in Paris in 1141. Commenting on this passage, Dronke (n. 1 above, 123) lays great stress on the word *repperi*, arguing that "*repperi* refers to a reunion, not to a first encounter," and that "*reversus* refers to a return from some distance, not to a ten-minute walk." In his view, the sense of the passage is that John found Gilbert, whom he had just left in Chartres, in Paris when he returned. It may,

the evidence of a writer who was well informed about Gilbert's career that he was "first a master in Paris and then bishop of Poitiers";[38] and finally the fact that there was a road on Mont Ste Geneviève known as the *rue des Porées* or *Poirées*; probably because it was the place where the *Porretani*, the followers of Gilbert, lived and were taught.[39] On the other hand, the evidence for Gilbert's presence in Chartres during his chancellorship is extremely sparse. During the years around 1126–27, when he first became chancellor, he witnessed three surviving charters; but during the next fifteen years, only two more, in 1134 and 1137, although there were several occasions when the other members of the chapter were present in some numbers.[40] Certainly it would be unwise to attach too much weight to these facts, but they are consistent with long periods of absence from Chartres.

If my general picture of the dissociation of teaching from the tenure of official positions during this period is acceptable, it will not be surprising to find masters who have duties as canons and dignitaries in one church while lecturing elsewhere in the schools. On the other side of the coin, the loosening of the corporate unity of the cathedral chapter can be seen in the declining numbers of dignitaries who witness the charters of Chartres in the 1140s.[41]

One last point in the evidence of Everard of Ypres deserves a comment: the very great difference between the number of students at Gilbert's lectures in Chartres and in Paris. The small number in Chartres is perhaps not surprising, for Gilbert was a notoriously difficult lecturer;[42] but the very large number in Paris is very surprising. Of course it is possible to give several dif-

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however, be observed that, even if *repperi* refers to a reunion, it could equally well mean a reunion with Gilbert, whom he had known earlier in Paris, after John's three-years' absence.

[38]The phrase occurs in a catalogue of twelfth-century scholars: "Gillebertus cognomento Porrata primum scholasticus Parisiensis post pictauensis episcopus." See Nikolaus M. Häring, "Two Catalogues of Mediaeval Authors," *Franciscan Studies* 26 (1966) 195–211 at 210. The latest name in the catalogue printed by Fr Häring is Peter Lombard, so it is unlikely that the list is much later than 1160. The writer is well informed on Gilbert and his works.

[39]This road ran from the rue de la Sorbonne to the rue St Jacques. See H. Legrand, *Plans de restitution: Paris en 1380* (Paris 1868) 48. Häring (n. 1 above) 303 n. 35 adds a reference to Adolphe Berty and L.-M. Tisserand, *Topographie historique du vieux Paris*, Histoire générale de Paris (6 vols. Paris 1866–97) 6.372–73, and comments that the name "probably denotes the street where Gilbert was known to have resided or taught, at least temporarily."

[40]The charters witnessed by Gilbert as chancellor in his early years are *Cart. Josaphat* (n. 31 above) 1.29–30 (dated 1124–27), *Cart. S-P Chartres* (n. 31 above) 2.267 (27 November 1126), and ibid. 2.307 (dated, surely wrongly, 1116–24, but certainly early). Thereafter we have only *Cart. N-D Chartres* (n. 20 above) 1.142 (26 February 1134) and *Cart. Josaphat* 1.126–27 (1137). Charters witnessed by a large body of canons without the chancellor Gilbert include *Cart. Josaphat* 1.114–15 (1 July 1134), 116–17 (ca. 1136), 121–22 (1136), 123–24 (ca. 1137); and *Cart. N-D Chartres* 1.148 (24 January 1139).

[41]For the decline in the number of cathedral dignitaries witnessing the charters of the bishop and canons of Chartres in the 1140s, and the increasing numbers of miscellaneous *magistri* and household officers who act as witnesses, see the *Cart. Josaphat* (n. 31 above) 1.166–67, 170–74, 179, 188. On the significance and role of these masters, see Appendix 2 below.

[42]John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, ed. Reginald L. Poole (Oxford 1927) 28, summed up this characteristic in a trenchant phrase: "Doctrina eius novis obscurior sed provectis compendiosior et solidior videbatur."

ferent explanations of these figures, but since the authority for both numbers is the same and there was no obvious reason for distortion, they should, at least provisionally, be treated seriously.[43] It takes a very large student body to provide an audience of three hundred for a lecturer of well-attested obscurity. If this number is anywhere near the truth, the total number of students in Paris by about 1140 could scarcely have been less than two or three thousand, and various indications in the later years of the twelfth century support a figure of this order of magnitude.[44]

V

By 1140, then, Paris was in the full tide of its progress toward scholastic dominance over all other schools in northern Europe. This dominance rested on three sources of strength. First, it was based on the unique combination of practical advantages which had drawn masters to Paris in preference to all other places in northern Europe for the past forty years. Second, it was based on the presence of many independent masters, and not on the fame of a single school: we must not replace the "school of Chartres" with the "school of Paris," for that would miss the point that the strength of Paris lay in the free and confusing competition of many masters and not in the fame of a single school.[45] Third, the dominance of Paris rested on the simple fact that numbers alone could provide the interplay of specialized knowledge which was necessary for the general development of scholastic thought. John of Salisbury, who was a good judge in these matters, ascribed the strength of Gilbert of Poitiers to the number of disciplines which he could bring to bear on the discussion of any particular question: "He called all disciplines to his aid as the subject required, for he knew that all things are held together by the mutual support of all their individual parts."[46] Gilbert had acquired his widely ranging expertise

[43]Dronke (n. 1 above) 121, says with justice that the "relative audience sizes . . . may have something to do with the kind of *lectio* in question." This is true, but Everard gives us no clue on this point; he mentions only the bare contrast in numbers.

[44]Converging pieces of evidence suggest that there may have been 3,000 or 4,000 students in Paris by about 1200. Charles Samaran, "La vie estudiantine à Paris au moyen âge," *Aspects de l'Université de Paris*, ed. Louis Halphen et al. (Paris 1949) 103–32, has some wise words on the difficulties of making an estimate: as between the 1,000 to 1,300 of Charles Thurot and the 10,000 of Denifle (the latter for the fourteenth century) he gives a cautious assent to the latter. Two small pointers may be mentioned, which seem to me significant for the period around 1200. First, Innocent III in November 1207 evidently envisaged some difficulty in keeping the number of theological lecturers down to eight. This suggests a figure of at least 100 lecturers in Arts, and perhaps 20 in Law and Medicine (the comparable figures for 1349 were Theology 32, Canon Law 17, Medicine 46, Arts 514; or a ratio of 16:1 between Arts and Theology). Also, in 1213 a standing committee of Masters in Arts for the admission of new masters consisted of six Masters who were changed every six months. Since these were presumably senior Masters, it is hard to see how the system could have worked without a reservoir of about 100 Masters of Arts. See *Chart. univ. Paris.* (n. 14 above) 1.65, 76; 2.623–48.

[45]The judgment that "the school of Chartres was the most powerful force of the twelfth century" (Häring [n. 1 above] 329) would be equally misplaced if applied to the "school of Paris."

[46]John of Salisbury, *Hist. pontificalis* (n. 42 above) 28: "Utebatur, prout res exigebat, omnium adminiculo disciplinarum, in singulis quippe sciens auxiliis mutuis universa constare."

the hard way, by seeking masters in different subjects in several different places. But by 1140, it was possible to find nearly everything in Paris. True, it was neeessaty to go to Bologna for the higher flights of canon law, and to Montpellier for the latest and best in medicine; but for every branch of grammar, logic, philosophy, and theology, and even for a respectable level of law or medicine, Paris could provide everything that most ambitious students could desire. Nearly all the leading masters of this period were themselves men with several masters. A large number of these could be found without stirring from Paris. It was not just the convenience of proximity that Paris provided; it was also the possibility of an exchange of views between various disciplines. This last was the main cause of the intellectual as well as the numerical preeminence of the city.

The nature of this preeminence is well illustrated in three documents which give a vivid picture of Paris in the 1140s.

(1) The first document is John of Salisbury's well-known account of his "nearly twelve years of varied study" from the late summer of 1136 to the early spring of 1148.[47] The chronology and the location of the schools of the twelve masters under whom he studied during these years present problems of great, and in some cases insoluble, difficulty. He mentions the precise location of only three—Abelard, Alberic, and Robert of Melun, all on Mont Ste Geneviève. Of the remainder, he makes it clear that Gilbert of Poitiers, Robert Pullen, and Simon of Poissy also taught in Paris or on Mont Ste Geneviève. This leaves six masters unaccounted for, but we know from other sources that at least three of them (Adam of the Petit Point, Peter Helias, and Thierry) taught in Paris or its suburbs.[48] In total therefore at least nine out of John's twelve masters were teaching in or around Paris.

The main master whose position is in doubt is William of Conches, the *grammaticus de Conchis* as John calls him. The chief claimants for his school have been Chartres and Paris, but on present evidence neither can be strongly supported.[49] He may even have been at Conches in 1138; he certainly seems to

[47] *Metalogicon* 2.10 (n. 37 above) 77–83.

[48] For the evidence that Thierry was teaching in Paris in the 1130s and probably earlier, see Häring (n. 1 above) 272, 283, 287, quoting the *Vita Adalberti* in Jaffé, *Bibl* 3.589–90.

[49] I suggested in my earlier article that, when John of Salisbury says (*Metalogicon* 2.10 [n. 37 above] 80, and cf. 82) that he left the schools of Mont Ste Geneviève to study for three years under William of Conches, he may have meant no more than that he went down into the city of Paris itself. Dronke (n. 1 above) 122–23 points out that this is a strained interpretation of John of Salisbury's words and I do not press it. Nevertheless, as is often the case on matters of fact (cf. his treatment of the career of Vacarius in the *Policraticus*, and indeed the whole account of his student years), John of Salisbury's precise meaning is extraordinarily elusive, and there are contemporary precedents for speaking of Mont Ste Geneviève as distinct from Paris (e.g. Abelard, *Hist. calamitatum* [n. 21 above] 66: "extra civitatem in monte Sancte Genovefe scolarum nostrarum castra posui"). The evidence for William of Conches's teaching at Chartres is at present no more than this: first, in his lectures on Priscian before 1125 he gives, as an example of simultaneity, the phrase "me sedente hic, Secana currit Parisius," which implies that he was not in Paris but does not say where he is; second, he gives *Carnotum* as an example of a word signifying place; third, he mentions the choir of St Mary's, in a way which is consistent with his being in a church dedicated to St Mary (Edouard Jeauneau, "Deux rédactions des gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur

have been in Normandy when he wrote the final version of his *Dragmaticon* at some time between 1144 and 1150. Like most great masters of the period, he was wholly individual in his range of learning and in the combination of subjects or texts on which he lectured. Paris was the place which gave such men the best opportunities for discussion with their equals and for finding and teaching the best pupils, but a master of William's eminence could draw pupils wherever he wished. Neither he nor John of Salisbury thought it important to mention the place where he taught. His own testimony is simply, "I taught others for twenty years and more."[50] That is all we know.

The other master on John of Salisbury's list who is of special interest to us is Thierry. On him I need do no more than repeat that the only place where we find him teaching before 1142 is Paris: he was certainly teaching there in the 1130s and probably a good deal earlier. It is possible that he was the Thierry who witnessed charters in the 1130s as archdeacon of Dreux in the diocese of Chartres.[51] If so, he is another example of a lecturer in Paris being at the same time an archdeacon in another diocese. In 1142 or shortly afterward he became chancellor of Chartres in succession to Gilbert of Poitiers, and held his office in conjunction with the archdeaconry of Chartres; but where or whether he taught after this date is unknown.[52]

(2) The second document is William of Tyre's account of his student years from 1145 to 1165.[53] William mentions sixteen masters under whom he studied over a period of nineteen years. Of these masters, he had ten in the liberal arts and theology, four in law, and two in classical literature and mathematics. The four lawyers, he tells us, taught in Bologna, and the two masters in classical literature and mathematics in a place or places not easy to deter-

Priscien," RTAM 27 [1960] 212–47 at 230–32). That William had a connection with Chartres as a student of Bernard is virtually certain: see *Metalogicon* 1.5 and 1.24 (16 and 57), where the fact is not directly stated (it is only stated that in his teaching of grammar he followed the same method as Bernard of Chartres, until its unpopularity caused him to give it up), but it seems to be implied. The only other point which should be mentioned here is that his teaching career probably started earlier than is generally accepted, probably at least by 1115. On this and other problems relating to William of Conches, see Southern (n. 2 above).

[50] "Per uiginti annos et eo amplius alios docui" (William of Conches's preface to the second edition of his *Dragmaticon*, ed. André Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia*, Studi e testi 5 (Vatican City 1933) 264.

[51] See Häring (n. 1 above) 272.

[52] I am glad to correct my earlier erroneous date of 1141 (Southern, *Humanism* 70) to 1142 or slightly later. Gilbert, whom he succeeded as chancellor, became bishop of Poitiers probably shortly after July 1142. At the same time, or shortly afterward, Thierry also became archdeacon of Chartres, and held the two offices in plurality at least until 1149. Giacone (n. 1 above) 38–39 argues that Thierry's appearance, in some contemporary notes on the Council of Reims in 1148, in a group described as *magistri scolarum* proves that Thierry was teaching at Chartres at this time; but the classification of those present at the Council into archbishops, bishops, abbots, and *magistri scolarum* is intended to indicate the grounds on which those who are mentioned were qualified to take part in the dispute about the doctrines of Gilbert of Poitiers. It does not necessarily indicate the present employment of the *magistri*. Hence I retain my doubts about both the place and the fact of Thierry's continued teaching; and this doubt would extend also to some of the others in the list.

[53] R. B. C. Huygens, "Guillaume de Tyr étudiant," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 811–29 at 822–24, where the chapter of William's *History* describing his student years was printed for the first time.

mine. But the remaining ten—all his masters in the liberal arts and theology—certainly taught in Paris. William of Tyre does not mention Paris, but the internal evidence suffices to identify it. The grounds for this assurance can be briefly stated. William divides his ten masters in the liberal arts and theology into three groups. The first group consists of three masters under whom he studied "alternately as their other duties made it possible for them to be present or absent." This certainly implies that they were all teaching in the same place; otherwise the students could not have switched from one to the other as the presence or absence of these masters required. Two of the three masters, Bernard Brito and Ivo of Chartres, are known to have taught in Paris.[54] We can therefore conclude with certainty that the third, Peter Helias, likewise taught there. The second group of masters consists of five to whom William went "only casually and mainly for practice in disputation." The way in which he speaks of his attendance at the lectures of these masters makes it clear that they were all in the same place.[55] Four of the five—Alberic de Monte, Robert of Melun, master Mainerus, and Adam of the Petit Pont—are known to have taught in Paris; so the fifth member of the group, Robert Amiclas, must have taught there also. The third group consists of two theologians, Peter Lombard and Maurice of Sully, who are well known to have been in Paris.[56] So here we have a list of ten masters in Paris between 1145 and 1165, of whom four are the same as the masters under whom John of Salisbury studied between 1136 and 1148.

(3) Finally, there is the *Metamorphosis Goliae*.[57] A penetrating study of this poem has recently dated it, rightly as I believe, between the late summer of 1142 and the early summer of 1143.[58] In this document fourteen modern masters are mentioned. What was it that qualified them for inclusion? I think this question can be answered in part at least by comparing its list of names

[54]See Häring (n. 1 above) 272. It may be worth noticing, as evidence of the vagaries of nomenclature at this time, that Ivo of Chartres was so called because he was a native of the county of Chartres (*genere et natione Carnotensis*), while Thierry who was a Breton does not appear as *Carnotensis* until he became chancellor in 1142.

[55]After speaking of Bernard Brito, Ivo of Chartres, and Peter Helias, whom he heard *alternatim*, William of Tyre goes on to say, "Audivimus et alios etsi non assidue, tamen sepius et maxime disputationis gratia," namely, Alberic de Monte, Robert of Melun, Mainerus, Robert Amiclas, and Adam of the Petit Pont. For these masters, see also Häring (n. 1 above) 324–28.

[56]For Peter Lombard's teaching career, see the *Prolegomena* to his *Sententiae*, ed. Ignatius Brady, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4 (Grottaferrata 1971) 21*–35*; for Maurice of Sully, see Victor Mortet, "Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris (1160–1196): Etude sur l'administration épiscopale pendant la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle," *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris* 16 (1889) 105–314. John of Cornwall's *Eulogium ad Alexandrum III papam* (PL 199.1041–86, esp. 1052–53) is especially valuable for his account of the relations between several of these masters in Paris in the 1150s: see Eleanor Rathbone, "John of Cornwall: A Brief Biography," RTAM 17 (1950) 46–60; Nikolaus M. Häring, "The Eulogium ad Alexandrum Papam tertium of John of Cornwall," *Mediaeval Studies* 13 (1951) 253–300 at 284, 286.

[57]For the text, see R. B. C. Huygens, "Mitteilungen aus Handschriften," *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 3 (1962) 747–72 at 764–72 ("III. Die Metamorphose des Golias").

[58]John F. Benton, "Philology's Search for Abelard in the *Metamorphosis Goliae*," *Speculum* 50 (1975) 199–217. This is an indispensable commentary on the text, but less satisfactory on the principle of selection of the masters who are mentioned in it (see 210–11). Reginald L. Poole's

with those in the two documents just discussed. Twelve of the fourteen masters have already appeared as Parisian masters in the other two lists. The two who are unaccounted for, Reginaldus monachus and Bartholomew, have not been identified with any certainty, but it seems overwhelmingly likely that they, like the other twelve members of the group, taught in Paris.[59]

The main peculiarity of this list is that, at the time when the poem was written, three of the fourteen masters who are mentioned—the three most distinguished of them—had recently ceased, or at least interrupted, their teaching in Paris as a result of promotion or enforced exile. The two who had been promoted are identified by their new positions: Thierry, who had become chancellor of Chartres, is *doctor ille Carnotensis*;[60] Gilbert, who had become bishop of Poitiers, is *presul Pictavensis*. The third, the exile Abelard, is especially deplored.[61] The author had mixed feelings about those who remained: some were good, some bad; possibly none came up to the standard of the three who had gone. It may well have seemed that the glory had departed from the schools of Paris. The three great men had gone and their pupils were left to carry on as best they could: Mainerus, Robert of Melun, and Adam of the Petit Pont, the pupils or successors of Abelard; Peter Helias, Bernard Brito, and Ivo, the pupils of Thierry; Ivo the pupil also of Gilbert, and Peter Lombard the main continuer of the work of Gilbert and of Abelard.[62] There are a number of stubborn uncertainties about the author's attitude to the masters whom he mentions, but essentially he provides a group picture of the schools of Paris as they had recently been, and still were in 1142, with a hint of decline and of foreboding for the future: the three greatest had gone; their pupils and disciples were of varying quality; the enemies of promise were strong.

The result of combining these three lists is shown in Appendix 1. Certainly they do not give us a complete picture of the masters who were active in Paris in the 1140s, but they provide a reliable view of the range of talent available to students who had the ambition and resources to make use of the opportunities which Paris offered.

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remarks in "The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time," EHR 35 (1920) 321–42, repr. in *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. Austin L. Poole (Oxford 1934) 223–47 at 240–47 still retain their value.

[59]Master Bartholomew has often been identified with the canonist and bishop of Exeter: see Adrian Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist* (Cambridge 1937) sec. 4.103, and Poole (n. 58 above) 244.

[60]This seems to be the earliest occasion on which Thierry is called *Carnotensis*, perhaps to emphasize his recent promotion and removal from Paris. Before this date, and generally also afterward, he was known simply as magister Terricus or Theodoricus, with the occasional addition of *Brito*, to denote his Breton origin.

[61]Professor Benton (n. 58 above) has shown conclusively that the *nupta* who sought Abelard in vain was not Heloise, but *Philologia* herself, and she sought him in vain because he had been driven away and silenced.

[62]At the time when the *Metamorphosis Goliae* was written, it is likely that Peter Lombard's only known work would have been his gloss on the Psalms (see *Prolegomena in Sent.* [n. 56 above] 31*), which was clearly in the tradition of Gilbert of Poitiers; and for his dependence on Abelard in the eyes of a contemporary, see John of Cornwall, *Eulogium* (n. 56 above) 1052–53.

Appendix 1

MASTERS IN PARISIAN SCHOOLS

Masters of John of Salisbury (1136–47)	Masters of William of Tyre (1145–ca. 1160)	Masters in the *Metamorphosis Goliae* (1142–43)
PROBABLY ELSEWHERE		
Peripateticus Palatinus	———	Abelard**
*Alberic	*Alberic de Monte	———
*Robert of Melun	*Robert of Melun	*Robertus theologus
Thierry	———	Doctor ille Carnotensis**
†Peter Helias	†Peter Helias	†Peter Helias
*Adam of the Petit Pont	*Adam of the Petit Pont	*Parvi Pontis incola
Gilbert	———	Presul Pictavensis**
Robert Pullen	———	———
Simon of Poissy	———	———
———	*Mainerus	*Manerius
———	Robertus Amiclas	Robertus Amiclas
———	†Bernardus Brito	†Bernardus
———	§†Ivo of Chartres	§†Ivo
———	§Peter Lombard	*§Lombardus
———	Maurice	———
PROBABLY IN PARIS		
———	———	Reginaldus monachus
———	———	Bartholomew
Hardewinus Teutonicus	———	———
CERTAINLY IN PARIS		
William of Conches	———	———
Richardus episcopus	———	———

†pupils of Thierry
§pupils or followers of Gilbert of Poitiers
*pupils or followers of Abelard
**recently moved by force or promotion

Appendix 2

MASTERS IN GOVERNMENT

This paper has been concerned chiefly with the disengagement of masters and schools from their long-established association with the communities of cathedrals and collegiate churches; but it would be seriously incomplete without a brief note on contemporary developments within the cathedral communities. I shall deal only with one small part of this subject, that part which can be observed in the witness lists of charters of this period: an inconspicuous feature, but a keyhole through which a large landscape can be surveyed.

(1) If we look at witness lists of episcopal or cathedral charters of the early twelfth century, we shall, with very rare exceptions, see only one category of persons to whom the title *magister* is given. He is the official in charge of the school of a cathedral or other corporate church, and he is generally qualified very precisely as *magister scolae* or *scholasticus*. Thus we have *Bernardus scolae magister* (at Chartres), *Ansellus magister scolae* (at Laon), *Ibertus scholasticus* and *Robertus magister* successively (at Arras), *Guirinbaldus scholasticus* (at Cambrai), *Beclais magister scolarum* (at Tours), *Vasletus magister scolarum sancti Mauricii Andegavensis* (at Angers), *Baldwinus archdiaconus et magister scolarum principalis ecclesie Leodiensis* (at Liège).[63] In all these examples the man's function is added to his name and comes after his name. The last three examples also provide a clue to one part of the process whereby the plural form *scolarum* takes over from the singular *scola*, for these men were not only schoolmasters of a single community but also administrators of a scholastic monopoly in an area.

(2) This usage continued with few exceptions until about 1135. By then there are signs, few at first but growing more frequent as we approach the middle of the century, of a new system coming into existence. The following charters will give some examples of the new system. The first is a charter of William, bishop of Norwich, dated between 1146 and ca. 1150. Among the witnesses appear the following: *magister Stangrimus, magister Nicholaus, magister Godwinus, magister Walterus de Calna, magister Alanus capellanus.*[64] Or again, in a charter of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to be dated between 1150 and 1153, the following appear among the witnesses: *magister Johannes Salesberiensis, magister Guido de Pressenni, magister de Tyleberia, magister Rogerus Species.*[65] Or again, among the witnesses of a charter of Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, datable between 1133 and 1145, there is a group of men described as *clerici* of the bishop, and they include a *magister Guillermus Magdunensis* alongside *Guillermus medicus Aurelianensis*, and Ivo *legis doctus.*[66]

We are here in the presence of a new system of nomenclature. The *magistri* who witness these charters are not given this title in order to specify their function in the

[63]For Chartres, see Merlet and Clerval, *Un manuscrit Chartrain* (n. 31 above) 196; for Laon, *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Laon*, ed. René Poupardin (Paris 1902; repr. from *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 29 [1902] 173–267) 204; for Arras and Cambrai, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras*, ed. E. Dríval (Arras 1875) 64–67, 146–49, 175, 389–91; for Tours, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Madeleine de Châteaudun*, ed. Lucien Merlet and L. Jarry (Châteaudun 1896) 12–14; for Angers, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. Charles Metais (5 vols. Paris 1893–1904) 2.320–23, 344; for Liège, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, ed. Charles Piot (2 vols. Brussels 1870–74) 1.93–94.

[64]Barbara Dodwell, *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, Pipe Roll Society n.s. 40 (London 1974) 70.

[65]Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London 1956) 482.

[66]*Cart. Châteaudun* (n. 63 above) 12–14.

community of the chapter, but to specify their status as professional men. To give a modern analogy, it is the difference between distinguishing a man's function by calling him a schoolmaster, and distinguishing his status by calling him M.A. or Dr. It is quite likely that none of the *magistri* in the second class was actually teaching when he witnessed a charter with the title *magister*: certainly the majority of those I have mentioned were not.

This change of usage has both a particular and a general application. The particular application relates to the school of Chartres; the general, to the position of masters in society. We will take them in order:

(1) From the time of Clerval to the present day, the number of masters alleged to have been teaching at the cathedral school of Chartres has been greatly swollen by counting among them all witnesses in the charters of the bishop and chapter of Chartres who have the title *magister*. In view of what has just been said it is clear that we must distinguish. Those who appear with the designation *magister scolae* after their names were either teaching or in charge of the cathedral or corporate school; those who appear with the simple designation *magister* before their names were not necessarily or even normally engaged in teaching, still less were they teaching in the cathedral school. The most important example in the first category is a document of 1119–24 which contains a very full list of the canons of Chartres, apparently in order of precedence, beginning with the dean and continuing through precentor, archdeacons, *praepositi*, chancellor, and so on down to simple canons without designation. About halfway down the list there appears *Bernardus scolae magister*, and we can be sure that he was in charge of the cathedral school at that date. In the second category there are several charters, most of them after 1140 but a few earlier, in which masters appear with the designation *magister* before their names. In these cases the title denoted a status, not a function, and it cannot be assumed that any of them was teaching at the time when he was given this title. The great majority of those who have traditionally been given a place among the masters of the school of Chartres belong to this class.[67]

(2) The general application of this shift of meaning relates to the position of masters in society. The evolution of the word *magister* provides a parallel to the evolution of the word *schola*. Just as the word *schola* takes on new meanings which shift the emphasis from the corporate community to the individual master, so the word *magister* takes on a new meaning which shifts the emphasis from the office-holder in a community to the status-holder in an ill-defined social setting. This new emphasis reflects the growing importance and general usefulness of men with a scholastic training, and it is associated with the breakdown of the old solidarity of the corporate cathedral chapter, which is very evident if we compare the witness lists of Chartres charters of about 1150 with those of thirty years earlier. It is associated also with the transfer of the functions of government from the chapter to the households of the bishop and other officials. The most important men in the households of the great often had no formal office: they were advisers, advocates, writers of letters, and so on. Their claim to consideration rested on their expertise, their mastery, and the title *magister* became the sufficient indication of their authority. It was the sign that they had the weight of the schools behind them, and this was a distinction which they clung to, even when they had risen very high in the hierarchy of the Church.

[67]The twelve masters between 1133 and 1165 listed by Häring as evidence that "the cathedral employed a number of teachers" (n. 1 above, 274–78) are in this category. See also the remarks of Giacone (n. 1 above, 33–38) on the *magistri* in the cartularies of Chartres.

Bibliographical Note

This essay has its origin in a controversy for which the necessary bibliographical references will be found in the footnotes and need not be repeated here. The essential foundations were laid in works which are still important: Reginald L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought in the Departments of Theology and Ecclesiastical Politics* (London 1884) and "The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time," EHR 35 (1920) 321–42, repr. in *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. Austin L. Poole (Oxford 1934) 223–47; and A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge* (Paris 1895). More broadly, the work of Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (2 vols. in 3 Oxford 1895) still retains its value in the revised edition by Frederick M. Powicke and Alfred B. Emden (3 vols. Oxford 1936); and Gérard M. Paré, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay, *La renaissance du XIIe siècle: Les écoles et l'enseignement*, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa 3 (Paris and Ottawa 1933) is still the best account of schools and teaching of the period as a whole. Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France* (6 vols. in 8 Lille 1910–43) vol. 5, *Les écoles de la fin du VIIIe siècle à la fin du XIIe*, contains a mass of information about masters and schools, which needs to be supplemented by the information in Nikolaus M. Häring, "Chartres and Paris Revisited," *Essays in Honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto 1974) 268–329.

The greatest addition to our knowledge of the schools in the first half of the twelfth century has come from the large amount of material that has become available in the last thirty years, illustrating the teaching that went on within lecture rooms and the issues which divided leading masters and their pupils from rival groups. On the general outline of theological teaching in this period, Joseph de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle* (2nd ed. Bruges 1948; repr. 1969) is full of important ideas, as also is the relevant part of Smalley, *Study*. For the main theologians, Artur M. Landgraf, *Einführung in die Geschichte der theologischen Literatur der Frühscholastik* (Regensburg 1948) is a valuable guide, especially in the French edition, *Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature théologique de la scolastique naissante*, rev. Albert M. Landry, trans. Louis B. Geiger, Université de Montréal, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales 22 (Montreal and Paris 1973). Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (6 vols. Louvain 1942–60) vols. 1 (2nd ed. 1957) 12–50, 4.12–89, and 5.9–472, has much valuable information about the ramifications of the theological schools of this period. Bernhard Bischoff, "Aus der Schule Hugos von St. Viktor," *Mittelalterliche Studien* (2 vols. Stuttgart 1966–67) 2.182–87 has analyzed a document of the highest interest for the procedures of the school of Hugh of St Victor; and Heinrich Weisweiler, "Zur Einflussphäre der 'Vorlesungen' Hugos von St. Viktor," *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J.* (2 vols. Gembloux 1951) 2.527–81 has traced the influence of these lectures on various works of the period. Nikolaus M. Häring has produced important editions of the various forms of commentary on Boethius's *De Trinitate*: (1) by Thierry of Chartres and his followers, in *Commentaries on Boethius, by Thierry of Chartres and His School*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 20 (Toronto 1971); (2) by Clarembald of Arras, in *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras* (Toronto 1965) 63–186; and (3) by Gilbert of Poitiers, in J. Reginald O'Donnell, ed., *Nine Medieval Thinkers: A Collection of Hitherto Unedited Texts* (Toronto 1955) 23–98. These have added greatly to our knowledge of the introduction of Boethius's Trinitarian speculations into the theological teaching of the schools. Fr Häring's "Bischoff Gilbert II. von Poitiers (1142–54) und seine Erzdiakone," DA 21 (1965) 150–72 also provides valuable information about the later career of Gilbert of Poitiers and about the schools of his diocese.

For the *artes*, the works of Richard W. Hunt are of primary importance; see especially "Sfudies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," M&RS 1 (1941–43) 194–231; "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, Part II," M&RS 2 (1950) 1–56; "The Introductions to the 'Artes' in the Twelfth Century," *Studia mediaevalia in honorem . . . Raymundi Josephi Martin* (Bruges 1948) 85–112; and "Hugutio and Petrus Helias," M&RS 2 (1950) 174–78. Edouard Jeauneau's *Guillaume de Conches: Glosae super Platonem* (Paris 1965) is the most important publication of lectures on the Arts in the first half of the twelfth century outside logic, and his "Note sur l'Ecole de Chartres," *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 5 (1964) 821–65 contains much of value on the masters commonly associated with this school. In logic, the editions of Peter Abelard by Bernhard Geyer, *Peter Abaelards philosophische Schriften, I. Die Logica 'ingredientibus,'* BGPTMA 21 (4 vols. Münster 1919–33); by L. M. de Rijk, *Dialectica* (Assen 1956; 2nd ed. 1970); and by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, *Twelfth Century Logic: Texts and Studies* (2 vols. Rome 1956–68) vol. 2, *Abaelardiana inedita*, are of outstanding importance. To these must be added volume 1 of the last-named work, containing *The Ars disserendi of Adam of Petit Point*.

More recently, K. M. Fredborg has published several studies of lectures on the Arts in CIMAGL, notably "The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose super Priscianum*," 11 (1973) 1–57; "Petrus Helias on Rhetoric," 13 (1974) 31–41; "The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux," 17 (1976) 1–39. In the same periodical, N. J. Green-Pedersen has studied "William of Champeaux on Boethius' *Topics* according to Orleans Bibl. Mun. 226," 13 (1974) 13–30. For the immediately preceding period there is a fund of valuable information on the study of the Arts in Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford 1978).