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Author(s): Charles H. Haskins

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## THE LIFE OF MEDIEVAL STUDENTS AS ILLUSTRATED BY THEIR LETTERS

THE early history of universities is one of the most interesting and fruitful of the many questions of origins with which historical science has in recent years been occupied. Through the efforts of Denifle and of others such as Kaufmann, Fournier and Rashdall, the subject of medieval universities has been lifted out of the realm of myth and tradition and placed upon a solid basis of established fact, so that, while many perplexing problems still remain unsolved, we can now trace with measurable confidence the main outlines of their early development. As yet, investigation has centred chiefly about what may be called the anatomy of the medieval university—its privileges and organization, its relations to king and pope, and similar questions—while much less attention has been given to its inner life and history or to the daily life and occupations of its students, topics manifestly of the greatest importance if we are to form an accurate and comprehensive idea of what a university of the Middle Ages really was. The life of medieval students is, however, a large and complex subject, exhibiting wide differences at different times and in different places, and no treatment of it will be in any sense adequate which does not rest on the detailed study and comparison of the conditions at each centre of learning and the changes they underwent at different periods.<sup>1</sup> Such an investigation demands the careful examination of a great variety of sources, literary, documentary and narrative, which are at present in large measure unpublished and whose value and interest for this purpose are by no means generally understood. The present article is designed to call attention to one class of these sources, student letters, and to point out how far they throw light on the academic conditions of their time.

The intellectual life of the Middle Ages was not characterized by spontaneous or widely diffused power of literary expression. Few were able to write, still fewer could compose a letter, and the professional scribes and notaries on whom devolved the greater part of the labor of medieval correspondence fastened upon the letter-

<sup>1</sup> On the proper methods to be followed in studying the history of medieval civilization, too often treated in a dilettante and uncritical fashion, see the excellent observations of Langlois in the *Revue Historique* (1897), LXIII. 246 ff.

writing of the period the stereotyped formalism of a conventional rhetoric. Regular instruction in the composition of letters and official acts was given in the schools and chanceries, and numerous professors, called *dictatores*, went about from place to place teaching this valuable art—"often and exceeding necessary for the clergy, for monks suitable, and for laymen honorable," as one rhetorician tells us.<sup>1</sup> Beginning with the latter part of the eleventh century we find brief manuals of epistolography in which definite rules of composition are laid down and the order and form of the various parts of a letter fixed.<sup>2</sup> According to the usual theory there should be five parts arranged in logical sequence. After the salutation—as to which the etiquette of the medieval scribe was very exacting, each class in society having its own terms of address and reply—came the exordium, consisting of some commonplace generality, a proverb, or a scriptural quotation, and designed to put the reader in the proper frame of mind for granting the request to follow. Then came the statement of the particular purpose of the letter (the narration), ending in a petition which commonly has the form of a deduction from the major and minor premises laid down in the exordium and narration, and finally the phrases of the conclusion.

The construction of a letter in accordance with this elaborate

<sup>1</sup> Albert of Samaria, in Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher* (see below), 84.

<sup>2</sup> On medieval treatises on rhetoric and collections of forms in general (*artes dictaminis*, *summae dictaminis*, etc.), see Palacky, *Ueber Formelbücher, zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte*, in *Abhandlungen der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (1842, 1847), fifth series, II. 219–368, V. 1–216; Wattenbach, *Ueber Briefsteller des Mittelalters*, *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, XIV. 29–94 (and separately as *Iter Austriacum*); Rockinger, *Ueber Formelbücher vom dreizehnten bis zum sechszehnten Jahrhundert als rechtsgeschichtliche Quellen* (Munich, 1855); id., *Ueber Briefsteller und Formelbücher in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1861); id., *Ueber die ars dictandi und die summae dictaminis in Italien*, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy, 1861, I. 98, ff.; id., *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, IX.; Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas apud Gallicos Medii Aevi Scriptores Rhetoresque* (Paris thesis, 1880); Gabrielli, *L'Epistole di Cola di Rienzo e l'Epistolografia medievale*, in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* (1888), XI. 379–479; Gaudenzi, *Sulla Chronologia delle Opere dei Dettatori Bolognesi*, in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*, XIV. 85–174; Langlois, *Formulaires de Lettres du XII<sup>e</sup>, du XIII<sup>e</sup>, et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, XXXIV. and XXXV., 1890–1896 (five monographs on various medieval formularies; the author is also to publish a comprehensive study of the *artes dictaminis* composed in France and England in the Middle Ages).

Several treatises and formularies have been edited, especially in Germany, where the most active investigator in this field at present is Dr. Simonsfeld, of the University of Munich; but an enormous number still remain unpublished. There is a bibliography in Oesterley, *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Urkundensammlungen*, I. 7–18 ("bibliographie incomplète et confuse mais qui n'en rend pas moins des services"—Giry); see also the appendix to Rockinger, *Ueber Formelbücher*. An excellent brief survey of the subject is given by Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, I. 624–645.

scheme was, however, possible only for those who had attained some proficiency in the epistolary art; for the ordinary man the writing of a letter meant, not the composition of an original epistle of his own, but the laborious copying of a letter of some one else, altered where necessary to suit the new conditions. It is in this way that the greater part of medieval correspondence has come down to us, preserved not as personal mementoes or sources of historical information, but as models for future letter-writers. Frequently these models would be copied and added to until they grew into considerable collections, which might find use as independent compilations of forms or be joined as illustrations to the various current treatises on the art of composition. It must not be supposed that all of the letters contained in these useful collections were actual pieces of correspondence. The authors of rhetorical manuals did not hesitate to compose models of their own or to incorporate exercises of their pupils, possible letters, but not actual ones, and they needed to make large use of such inventions when they proposed, as did many, to provide "complete letter-writers" containing examples suited to every station and condition in life. Where real letters were used the names were often omitted or altered beyond recognition, while sometimes bits of pure fancy—letters to or from Venus, Lent, Rhetoric, the Devil, and similar personages<sup>1</sup>—would find their way into these strange compilations.

It is evident that the collections of letters which have come down to us from the Middle Ages differ widely in character and contents and, consequently, in the nature of the information they afford the historian. The correspondence of known individuals has obviously a very different value from a series of anonymous or invented models, and the difficulty of distinguishing the real from the fictitious is one reason for the relatively small use that has been made of these formularies. While, however, the student of diplomatics in his search for authentic and datable acts cannot exercise too great caution in utilizing material of this sort,<sup>2</sup> the danger to the student of social conditions is much less. To him a possible letter may yield as valuable information as an actual letter, provided he can

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting paper of Wattenbach, *Ueber erfundene Briefe in Handschriften des Mittelalters besonders Teufelsbriefe*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1892, 91-123. Exercises of this sort occur frequently; several are mentioned by Valois, 43, from MS. Lat. 1093 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and examples may be seen in Wattenbach, *Iter Austriacum*, 92; *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, second series, XXV. 466; *Rendiconti dei Lincei* (1888), IV. 2. 404; *Oxford Collectanea*, I. 42-49.

<sup>2</sup> On this question, and particularly on the necessity of examining each collection as a whole before utilizing any of the documents it contains, see Wattenbach, *Iter Austriacum*, and *Ueber erfundene Briefe*; Pflugk-Harttung, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIV. 198; Delisle, *Catalogue des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*, xxx.

satisfy himself as to the place and time of its composition and the good faith of its author. He will not seek in these formulae trustworthy details of biography or of political history, but he may well expect them to reflect faithfully, because unconsciously, the conditions of the age in which they were composed, and thus add to the stock of material, none too large at best, available for the history of medieval civilization. The models were written to be used; and the more closely they corresponded to the needs of the user the greater the popularity of the *dictator* and his manual. Most of all is this true in cases relating to student affairs, since the collections of forms and the treatises on rhetoric were generally put together in the schools and for the use of scholars—some of the most famous are directly connected with Orleans and Bologna—so that even where they were the product of direct invention they would be likely to represent correctly the life of the academic environment in which they arose.

The number of extant letters and forms of letters which concern the life of the medieval student is very great. Of the hundreds of formularies and collections of letters preserved in every large European library, probably the greater number contain some reference to student affairs, and several seem to have been composed with special regard to the needs of students and their parents. All kinds of schools and all parts of Europe are here represented: cathedral schools like Hildesheim<sup>1</sup> and Chartres,<sup>2</sup> lower schools like those of Arbois<sup>3</sup> and St. Denis,<sup>4</sup> and nearly all the important university centres—Bologna, Pavia, Padua, and Siena, Vienna and Leipzig, Prague and Erfurt, Oxford and Cambridge, Salamanca, Toulouse, Montpellier, Orleans and Paris. An exhaustive critical study of this mass of student correspondence is not at present possible, as the

<sup>1</sup> Sudendorf, *Registrum*, III. 30–36. Cf. the exercises from Worms, likewise of the eleventh century, in Pflugk-Harttung, *Iter Italicum*, 382–389.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1855, 454 ff.; Wattenbach, *Iter Austriacum*, 44. The schools of Rheims are mentioned in a MS. of the Bodleian (Laud Misc. 569, f. 187) which contains a version of the treatise known as the *Aurea Gemma*: “Remensi studio legum—vel dialectice—alacriter et sane die noctuque adherere.” Rheims is here substituted for the Pavia of the original model of Henricus Francigena (cf. Pertz's *Archiv*, IX. 632; *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, romanistische Abtheilung, VII. 2. 66).

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 8653A; a student's notebook of the fourteenth century from Arbois in Franche-Comté, containing, besides a collection of proverbs and a vocabulary (published by U. Robert in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXXIV. 33–46), a number of forms of correspondence composed about the year 1316. Some relate to the schools of Arbois, others to scholars from Besançon studying at Orleans.

<sup>4</sup> Letters in the same library, MS. Lat. 15131, ff. 177–189. According to Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits de quelques Manuscrits Latins*, IV. 267 ff., they were composed by the schoolmaster of St. Denis; some of them refer to Orleans.

greater part of it is still unpublished and many of the manuscripts have not been catalogued, while the sources of the various letters and the relations of the collections to one another have yet in most cases to be determined. The present inquiry has been restricted to printed works and to the manuscripts of Paris, Munich, London, and Oxford.<sup>1</sup> While absolute completeness cannot be claimed, even within these limits,<sup>2</sup> the material examined has been sufficient to make the results reasonably representative.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In one or two cases material has also been drawn from formularies preserved at Rouen and Troyes and from the *dictamina* of Wolfgang of Altaich in the Königlische Bibliothek at Berlin (MS. Lat. oct. 136). At Oxford it was necessary to confine investigation to the Bodleian, where very little was found; something more might perhaps be discovered in the libraries of the colleges.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly in the case of formularies subsequent to 1400, which exist in considerable numbers in German and Austrian libraries. These I hope at some future time to examine more thoroughly with reference to the light they throw on German universities in the fifteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> In order to present the results of the study in compact form, only the more significant letters are printed, and many of these only in extract. In general the quotations from manuscripts are published just as they stand in the original; the occasional emendations necessary to render a passage intelligible are noted wherever they have been made. If more than one MS. is mentioned, the text is that of the first. The MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris are cited simply as "MS. Lat."; in all other cases the name of the library is given.

The necessity for compression has prevented any extended discussion of the nature of the different formularies utilized, but the date and place have been noted in each instance. In the case of MSS. cited but once or twice this information is given in connection with the citation; some collections, however, are referred to so frequently that they can be most conveniently described once for all. They are:

Bernard de Meung, a *dictator* from the region of Orleans, author of an *Ars Dictaminis* of the close of the twelfth century, which is found in a great number of MSS., often with an appendix of models which vary in the different redactions, although the student letters are much the same throughout. See Langlois in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1893), LIV. 225 ff.; of the MSS. that he enumerates on pp. 231-232, 795, I have examined *a-f, h-k, m-p*.

Rudolfus Turonensis, the supposed author of a *Summa Dictaminis* preserved in Munich Cod. Lat. 6911 and printed in part by Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 95-114, who assigns it to the close of the twelfth century. The student letters relate chiefly to Paris. The incomplete collection in MS. Lat. 14069, f. 181-204v., contains many of the same forms as the foregoing; the other models concern chiefly the diocese of Mainz and are of the first half of the thirteenth century. The date and authorship of the Munich MS. are to be discussed by Simonsfeld in a forthcoming publication of the Munich Academy.

Buoncompagno, professor at Bologna and author of numerous rhetorical works of which the *Antiqua Rhetorica*, composed in 1215, is the most important for student affairs. A partial list of MSS. will be found in Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften des Magisters Buoncompagno* (Freiburg i. B., 1894), 24; I have used Munich Cod. Lat. 23499; MSS. Lat. 8654, 7732, and 7731; and British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VIII. The table of contents of the *Antiqua Rhetorica* is published by Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 133 ff.; cf. also *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, II. 225-264. On Buoncompagno's life and writings see the above mentioned monograph of Sutter, and particularly Gaudenzi in the *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, XIV. 85 ff.

By far the largest element in the correspondence of medieval students consists of requests for money—"a student's first song is a demand for money," says a weary father in an Italian letter-writer,

Guido Faba, a younger contemporary and rival of Buoncompagno. On the chronology of his life and writings see Gaudenzi in the monograph just cited. The forms of Faba were less bizarre than those of Buoncompagno and hence were more widely copied and imitated; the collections which contain material on student affairs have been published as follows: *Dictamina Rhetorica* (1226-1227), in *Il Propugnatore*, new series, V. 1. 86-129, 2. 58-109; *Epistole* (1239-1241), *ibid.*, VI. 1. 359-390, 2. 373-389; *Parlamenti ed Epistole* (1242-1243), in Gaudenzi, *I Suoni . . . dell' Odierno Dialetto della Città di Bologna* (Turin, 1889), 127-160. I have also examined the copy of the *Parlamenti* in the British Museum, Add. MS. 33221, which Gaudenzi does not appear to have seen. The models of Faba form the basis of a collection of the fifteenth century from Salamanca in MS. Lat. 11386, ff. 55-60, and of a compilation from Orleans now at Avignon (MS. 831).

Ponce de Provence, author of a well-known *Summa de Dictamine*, to which is joined a collection of letters dedicated to the students of Orleans. There are two redactions, dated 1249 and 1252. I have used the following MSS.: MSS. Lat. 18595, 8653 (f. 1-212), 11385; Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal at Paris, MSS. 3807, 1132; British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 54 (apparently the best text); Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 278 (redaction made in Germany in the fourteenth century); Troyes, MS. 1556. There are brief extracts in Munich Cod. Lat. 16122, f. 11v.-16v.; other MSS. are in Arras (MS. 433), Vienna (MS. 2512), at the Laurentian in Florence (MS. 1545), and in the Archives of Aragon at Barcelona. The beginning of a version composed for the students of Toulouse is in MS. Lat. 11386, f. 13.

Laurentius of Aquileia (or rather from Cividale in the neighborhood of Aquileia—Loserth in *Neues Archiv*, XXII. 300) was one of the most prominent of the travelling rhetoricians of the type of Ponce de Provence. From his pompous addresses to students we learn that he visited Bologna, Naples, and Paris, while the models mention also Orleans and Toulouse. The student letters are rhetorical and commonplace and are generally adapted as well to one university as to another. I have used MSS. Lat. 11384 (f. 1-78v.), 14174 (f. 16v. and foll.), 14766 (ff. 108-122), 16253 (f. 5v.-26v.); British Museum, Harleian MS. 3593 (composed at Paris and dedicated to Philip the Fair).

The Formulary of Tréguier, composed in the diocese of Tréguier in lower Brittany about 1315 and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Nouv. Acq. Lat. 426). The letters relating to students at Orleans have been published by Delisle, *Le Formulaire de Tréguier et les Écoliers Bretons à Orléans*, in Volume XXIII. of the *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Orléanais* and separately; seven of them are reprinted by Fournier in the appendix to the third volume of his *Statuts et Privilèges des Universités Françaises*. See also the *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 25-35.

MS. Lat. 8661, f. 95 and foll., succeeding a copy of Guido Faba and bearing the heading, "Quedam epistola de curtisia quesita a quodam canonico." The series of letters has to do chiefly with city affairs in the Romagna and the Marches toward the middle of the thirteenth century. This seems to be the collection alluded to by Gaudenzi, *Bullettino dell' Istituto*, XIV. 174, which he dates ca. 1245.

Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS. 854. M. Ch. V. Langlois kindly called my attention to a number of student letters contained in this MS., ff. 217-244, dating from the early fourteenth century and relating to the University of Toulouse. They are preceded, ff. 214-216, by a group of letters from Orleans which belong to the close of the thirteenth century.

Munich Cod. Lat. 2649, ff. 34-53. A treatise ("De arte dictandi breviter et lucide . . .") with anonymous models belonging to the end of the thirteenth century and dealing principally with Thuringian affairs.



"and there will never be a letter which does not ask for cash."<sup>1</sup> How to secure this fundamental necessity of student life was doubtless one of the most important problems that confronted the medieval scholar, and many were the models which the *dictatores* placed before him in proof of the practical advantages of their art.<sup>2</sup> The letters are generally addressed to parents, sometimes to brothers, uncles, or ecclesiastical patrons—a much copied exercise contained twenty-two different methods of approaching an archdeacon on this ever delicate subject.<sup>3</sup> Commonly the student announces that he is at

<sup>1</sup> "Primum carmen scolarium est petitio expensarum, nec umquam erit epistola que non requirit argentum." Buoncompagno, *Antiqua Rhetorica*, in MS. Lat. 8654, f. 14v.; MS. Lat. 7732, f. 9v.; Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 8v.

<sup>2</sup> There is a decided sameness in the contents of letters of this kind, and only the most interesting are given here. Examples of more commonplace types may be found in Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 71, 81, 372, 487; id., *Ueber Briefsteller*, 40; Guido Faba, *Dictamina Rhetorica*, I, 22, 24, 63, *Epistole*, 66 and 67, *Parlementi ed Epistole*, 83; Delisle, *Le Formulaire de Tréguier*, Nos. 1, 12, 16, 19; Günthner, *Geschichte der literarischen Anstalten in Baiern*, I, 217, 230; Biondi, *Le Dicerie di Ser Filippo Ceffi* (Turin, 1825), 65. Cf. also the authentic letters of Gui de Bazoches from Montpellier, *Neues Archiv*, XVI, 76, 77.

The manner of constructing one of these letters may be seen by the following extract from an anonymous treatise in the British Museum (Add. MS. 18382, f. 59): "Assumatur ergo tale tema, quod quidam Parisius insistens studiis et nimis pauperrime vivens litteras dirigat matri sue ut in rebus necessariis sibi provideat. Assumendum est *proverbium* in hunc modum: Mater moribus redolet novercam que filii non sublevat egestatem. *Nar.*: Diu est quod Parisius studiis inservivi et nummos meos in usus necessarios iam expendi. *Petitio*: Mihi igitur necessaria propinetis et sic egestatem meam expensis minimis munere sublevis. *Ultimum proverbium*: Domesticum est enim matri ut filio subveniat indigenti." A similar example is found in Munich Cod. Lat. 2649, f. 38v., printed in a slightly different form by Rockinger, *Ueber Briefsteller*, 40. See also Langlois, *Formulaires de Lettres*, IV, 14. The rhetorical elaboration of a simple letter of this sort is illustrated in Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 487.

This commonplace of medieval student existence is also treated in verse. See *Carmina Burana*, 50; *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* (1873), XX, 8; and particularly the poetical *dictamina* of Mathieu de Vendôme, published by Wattenbach in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy for 1872, phil.-phil. Classe, 561-631, which contain much interesting information on the student life of the twelfth century. Another begging letter of the same author is in M. Haupt's *Exempla Poesis Latinae Medii Aevi* (Vienna, 1834), 31.

<sup>3</sup> Published by Bärwald in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, second series, XXV, 455-464, from a fourteenth-century MS. in Vienna. The earliest occurrence of this exercise that I have found is in a treatise in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 16252, ff. 39-41v., composed, it would appear from the names on f. 34v., between the years 1243 and 1249. Other copies are in MS. Lat. 14357, f. 129v. (fourteenth century), and Munich Cod. Lat. 5319, f. 182v. (fifteenth century).

Petitions to ecclesiastical dignitaries are usually either requests from students for benefices or petitions from benefited priests for leave of absence for purposes of study, such leave to carry with it, of course, the enjoyment of the fruits of the living. Examples of such letters and the replies are common; e. g. Guido Faba, *Epistole*, 25, 26, *Dict. Rhet.*, 88, 89; *Fourth Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 380, 394; *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, V, 161; Langlois, *Formulaires de Lettres*, IV, 7; *Register of Archbishop Peckham* (Rolls Series), I, 3, 8; *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* (Rolls Series), III, 307.



such and such a centre of learning, well and happy but in desperate need of money for books and other necessary expenses. Here is a specimen from Oxford, somewhat more individual than the average and written in uncommonly bad Latin :<sup>1</sup>

"B. to his venerable master A., greeting This is to inform you that I am studying at Oxford with the greatest diligence, but the matter of money stands greatly in the way of my promotion, as it is now two months since I spent the last of what you sent me. The city is expensive and makes many demands; I have to rent lodgings, buy necessities, and provide for many other things which I cannot now specify. Wherefore I respectfully beg your paternity that by the promptings of divine pity you may assist me, so that I may be able to complete what I have well begun. For you must know that without Ceres and Bacchus Apollo grows cold."<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the supplies needed—books and parchment, trousers, linen, bedding, etc.—are sought directly from home.<sup>3</sup> In an interesting set of letters written from Chartres at the beginning of the twelfth century and quite unspoiled by the phrases of the rhetoricians, we find two brothers asking their mother for thick lambs' skins for winter clothing, parchment for making a psalter, their father's great boots, and some chalk, good chalk, since theirs is

<sup>1</sup> The text of the formularies of the Middle Ages is frequently quite corrupt; in many cases it is clear that the copyists did not understand the meaning of what they wrote. Langlois, *Formulaire de Lettres*, V. 26, note.

<sup>2</sup> "Venerabili domino suo A., B. salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego Oxonie studeo cum summa diligencia, sed moneta promociorem meam multum impedit. Iam enim due mense transacte sunt ex quos mihi misisti expendidi (!). Villa enim cara est et multa exigit; oportet hospicium conducere et utensilia emere et de multis aliis extra predicta que ad presens non possum nominare. Quare paternitati vestre pie suplico quatinus divine pietatis intuitu mihi succuratis, ut possim includere quod bene incoavi. Sciat is quod sine Cerere et Bacone frigescit Apollo. Quare tum facite ut vobis mediantibus incoatum bene possim terminare. Vale." British Museum, Add. MS. 8167, f. 104 (collection dating from 1220 or soon after).

<sup>3</sup> "Linea mea vestimenta simul lectisternia, pro studii oportunitate a vobis mihi longe procurata, iam a vetustate temporis corosa tendunt annichilari," says a student at Vienna, and he asks for others, in order that "me honesto more cum ceteris bursalibus valeam conservare;" Munich Cod. Lat. 11799, f. 121 (fifteenth century). "Mutatoria ac pelles" is the demand in the formulary of Hugh of Bologna (*Neues Archiv*, XXII. 300), while in the poetical *dictamina* of Mathieu de Vendôme (ed. Wattenbach, 624) the student begs:

"Delegare mihi mantilia, lintea, bracas  
Accelera, matrem talia dona decent."

The needs of a student at Paris are thus stated in a monastic letter-writer of the fourteenth century in the Bibliothèque de Troyes (MS. 1992, f. 67): "Parisiensis equidem scholaris non ad victum solum denariis indiget, sed ad multa, sicut libros emendos, ad exemplaria conducenda, ad pergamenum ceteraque necessaria que conveniunt ad notandum."

worth nothing.<sup>1</sup> A Vienna student who writes to his father N., citizen of Klosterneuburg, that he has spent his money for books and other things that pertain to learning, receives in reply "by this present messenger ten Rhenish gulden, seven ells of cloth for a cloak, and one pair of stockings."<sup>2</sup>

If the father was close-fisted, there were special reasons to be urged: the town was dear—as university towns always are!—the price of living was exceptionally high owing to a hard winter,<sup>3</sup> a siege,<sup>4</sup> a failure of crops,<sup>5</sup> or an unusual number of scholars;<sup>6</sup> the last messenger had been robbed<sup>7</sup> or had absconded with the money;<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1855, 454-455. Cf. Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen Âge* (Chartres, 1895), 194, 195, 216-218. The elder brother, Arnaud, was dean of the chapter, and the younger, Jacques, was studying in the cathedral school.

<sup>2</sup> "Dem allerliebsten so ich in auf erden hab, dem N. purger zu Newburg. . . . Das gelt das ir mir geben habt, das hab ich nun vertzt und hab mir auch davon pücher gekauft und auch ander ding das zu der lernung gehört. . . ."

"Meinem hertzen lieben Sun N., studenten zu Wien. . . . Darumb, lieber Sun, sende ich dir pei disem gegenwartige poten x gulden reinisch und vii ellen tuch zu einem mantl und j parhosen." Munich Cod. Lat. 11799, ff. 4-5 (a brief collection of German *dictamina*, ca. 1447).

<sup>3</sup> "Pro yemali frigore magis expendidi." British Museum, Harl. MS. 4993, f. 19 (a brief treatise, with examples, by an Oxford scholar, Thomas Sampson, dating in its present form from 1420 or thereabouts).

<sup>4</sup> "Cum propter imperatoris adventum, quem Bononienses trepidanter expectant, Bononia facta sit cara in victualibus ultra modum." Guido Faba, *Epist.* 6. Cf. Thymon of Erfurt in British Museum, Arundel MS. 240, f. 123. So a foreign student in France asks for money at once because none can reach him after Easter, when war with England is to begin. Munich Cod. Lat. 96, f. 38v.

<sup>5</sup> "Per grandinem et per alias tempestates importunas annone per totam Thuringiam (MS. Thuringia) perierunt, ex quo caristia invaluit satis magna." Munich Cod. Lat. 1466, f. 71v. (Letter from Erfurt in a Silesian formulary of the fourteenth century. Cf. Unterlauff in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, XXVII. 310 ff.)

<sup>6</sup> So at Laon early in the twelfth century, according to the letter of an Italian student, "multis clericis Laudunum adventantibus, vix inveniri valde cara poterunt." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1855, 466. A similar statement regarding Paris toward the close of the twelfth century is in Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, VI. 1. 427. In the *Dictamina Rhetorica* of Guido Faba, 38, the citizens of Bologna are accused of concealing the abundance which God has given them and thus creating an artificial scarcity.

Uncommon dearth is a frequent excuse and comes from every quarter. Thus, besides the passages just cited, we find for Bologna Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.*, 1; for Paris Laurentius of Aquileia in MS. Lat. 16523, f. 16, and Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 961; for Toulouse, Laurentius in MS. Lat. 11384, f. 44, and MS. Lat. 14174, f. 26v.; for Vienna, Munich Cod. Lat. 5667, f. 188 (MS. of the year 1404); for Faenza, an extract in *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, XIV. 173; for Arbois in Franche-Comté, MS. Lat. 8653A, f. 1v.; for Oxford, British Museum, Harleian MS. 670, f. 26, (fifteenth century); etc. In how many cases a real scarcity existed it would be impossible to say; Gaudenzi, *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, XIV. 131, thinks the model of Guido Faba (*Dict. Rhet.* 1) refers to the severe famine of 1226-1227.

<sup>7</sup> Munich Cod. Lat. 22373, f. 207 (collection of the fifteenth century relating to Prague).

<sup>8</sup> "Reverendo patri suo ac per omnia merito diligendo A. suus filius studens Parisius, filialis dilectionis constanciam et utriusque vite salutem. Paternitati vestre reverende

the son could borrow no more of his fellows or of the Jews ; and so on. The student's woes are depicted in moving language, with many appeals to paternal vanity and affection. At Bologna we hear of the terrible mud through which the youth must beg his way from door to door, crying, "O good masters," and bringing home nothing unless the Lord go with him.<sup>1</sup> In an Austrian formulary a scholar writes from the lowest depths of prison, where the bread is hard and moldy, the drink water mixed with tears, the darkness so dense that it can actually be felt.<sup>2</sup> Another lies on straw with no covering, goes without shoes or shirt, and eats he will not say what—a tale designed to be addressed to a sister and to bring in response a hundred sous *tournois*, two pairs of sheets, and ten ells of fine cloth, all sent without her husband's knowledge.<sup>3</sup> In another

notum esse cupio quod cum nuncios Parisius mihi destinaveritis cum equis et aliquanta pecunia (MS. aliquantam pecuniam), ex inopato eventu rerum se subtraxit unus nunciorum cum . x. maricis et cum equo qui fuit ad valorem estimatus . c. maricarum, qui, ut dicitur, postmodum interfectus fuit. Unde sicut multis positus anxietatibus, cum non possim habere Parisius credenciam aliquam, supplico benignitati vestre quatinus alium equum et pecuniam mihi sine obstaculo dilacionis aliquam mihi transmittatis, ne tanquam feminam oporteat effugere et tanquam scirram vagari me contingat aliqua dierum ad confusionem meam et vestrum opprobrium in vestra facie comparere." MS. Lat. 14069, f. 194v.

<sup>1</sup> "Cogit me anxietas eximie paupertatis et abhominabilis inopia me compellit exordium promere lacrimosum et narrationum seriem pudorosam. Nam cum deberem lectioni vacare et studiosius insistere scholasticis disciplinis, per hostia scolarium clamito mendicando. Insisto quippe reiterans aliquando vigesies, O boni domini, vel huiusmodi, et non reperto nisi vado cum Deo. Festino postmodum ad hostia laicorum, a quibus frequentius repellor cum clamoribus et garitu, et si quando dicitur, Expecta, exhibetur mihi panis de triplici mixtura quem canes comedere perorrescunt propter aristas spelte ibidem insertas. Olera quidem repudiata, cuticule, nervi qui commasticari non possunt, mucilagines carniū, abiectiones intestina, mice spinose, rapa, legumina, contemptibilia cibaria, et vina dampnata sepius mendicantibus exhibentur. Discurro de nocte per civitatem, in manu dextra baculum et in sinistra parasidem (*other* MSS.: piscidem, pixidem), peram iuxta cingulum et cucurbitam ad modum scarsellule deferendo, baculo canibus resistendo, sed piscis oleribus, pera panibus, et cucurbita potibus deputatur. Cado frequenter in lutum Bononiense, cuius fetor est odori sepulcrorum similis, et ita fedatus ad hospitium revertor satisfaciens latranti stomacho de perceptis." . . . Buoncompagno, *Antiqua Rhetorica*, in Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 9v. Also in MS. Lat. 8654, f. 16; MS. Lat. 7732, f. 10v.; British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VIII., f. 96v. Letters on the same folii of these MSS. describe the misfortunes of another begging student and of one who is lying in the hospital. The example cited is a good specimen of Buoncompagno's style; manifestly his descriptions are not to be taken as entirely typical. The mud of Bologna is also referred to by Mathieu de Vendôme, ed. Wattenbach, 627.

<sup>2</sup> *Summa* of Petrus de Hallis, ca. 1337, in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, second series, VI. 117.

<sup>3</sup> "Soror discrepta (*i. e.* discreta) et callida suum debet maritum et parentes etiam ad amorem sui fratris indigentis et subsidium inflammare. Soror dulcis, tua noscat dilectio quod ego sum in tali studio sanus et lectus (*i. e.* laetus) per Dei gratiam et bene ad disco et facio factum meum. Multas enim paupertates sustineo: iaceo quidem in paleis sine linteaminibus et incedo discalcatus et male vestitus sine camisia, et solum de pane non loquor, de quo edigeo non possum reficere ventrem meum (*the Arsenal MS. has: de quo*

form of appeal to the sister's mercy the student asks for the loan of twenty sous from her, since he has been so short a time at school that he dares not make the demand of his parents, "lest perchance the amount of his expenses displease them."<sup>1</sup>

To such requests the proper answer was, of course, an affectionate letter, commending the young man's industry and studious habits and remitting the desired amount.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the student is cautioned to moderate his expenses—he might have got on longer with what he had,<sup>3</sup> he should remember the needs of his sisters,<sup>4</sup> he ought to be supporting his parents instead of trying to extort money from them,<sup>5</sup> etc. One father—who quotes Horace!—excuses himself because of the failure of his vineyards.<sup>6</sup> It often happened, too,

non audeo ventrem meum satiare). Precor igitur, soror dulcissima, ut diligenter et subtiliter tuum ducas maritum in quantum poteris ut iuvamen aliquod mihi mittat." The sister cannot express her distress over his poverty; she has done what she could and got together "c. solidos Turonensium et duo paria linteaminum et .x. ulnas de subtili tela, que omnia tibi dirigo per talem hominem presencium portatorem. Cave tamen cum summa diligentia ne hoc possit ad mei mariti noticiam pervenire, nam si hoc sciret mortua essem penitus et destructa. Ipse enim, prout credo firmissime, ad instantiam mei tuam in brevi tibi peccuniam destinabit." Ponce de Provence in British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 76v. Also in MS. Lat. 18595, f. 22v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 13; MS. Lat. 11385, f. 73v.; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 3807, f. 61v.; Bibliothèque de Troyes, MS. 1556, f. 20.

<sup>1</sup> "Ne mearum expensarum quantitas eos forte tedio afficiat." Munich Cod. Lat. 6911, f. 54v.

<sup>2</sup> Examples in Rockinger, *Ueber Briefsteller*, 41; Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.*, 2; Delisle, *Formulaire de Tréguier*, Nos. 2, 5, 14, 17.

<sup>3</sup> "Debuisses quidem per biennium primo fecisse moram in scholis antequam tam importune subsidia postulares." To which the student replies: "Qui remorantur domi iudicant de absentibus prout volunt, et dum sedent super ollas carnum in saturitate panem edentes illorum nullatenus recordantur qui fame, siti, frigore, ac nuditate opprimuntur in scholasticis disciplinis." Buoncompagno in MS. Lat. 8654, f. 14v.; MS. Lat. 7732, f. 9v.; Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 8v.

<sup>4</sup> Mathieu de Vendôme, ed. Wattenbach, 622.

<sup>5</sup> "Verecundari debet adultus et discretus filius cum a patre suo pauperrimo credit et nititur pecuniam extorquere, cui deberet potius in necessariis providere." Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 280v. Cf. also f. 281.

<sup>6</sup> "P. civis Bisuntinus suo precordiali filio G. in Montepessulano studenti, salutem et cure paternalis affectum.

Insani sapiens nomen fert, equus iniqui,

Ultraquam satis virtutem si petat ipsam,

sicut Horatius asseverat (*Epistles*, I. 6, 15). Ut attumavi satis esse tibi sumptus hucusque, suspeticavi pectore letabundo, sed hoc anno ymbres et uredo primitus, demum importune ulucres (*i. e.*, volucres) vinearum fructibus partibus istis adeo deterserunt quod in tribus vigneis sportas duntaxat dovam in qualibet sigillatim collegi. Meos autem convicaneos par sterilitas reddidit consternatos. Hac ratione non est michi suppetens qua te valeam relevare, nisi ultra quam satis immergar usurarum voragine, quo facto videar insanire. Igitur faciens de necessitate virtutem sustineas quousque nobis pinguorem Omnipotens largiatur fortunam." MS. Lat. 8653A, f. 9v. In a formulary from Toulouse, on the other hand, the parents cannot send money because of the low prices of produce: "Cum de blado et vino nostro propter multitudinem que nunc est nullam poterimus pecuniam extorquere." Arsenal, MS. 854, f. 232.

that the father or uncle has heard bad reports of the student, who must then be prepared to deny indignantly all such aspersions as the unfounded fabrications of his enemies.<sup>1</sup> Here is an example of paternal reproof taken from an interesting collection relating to Franche-Comté :

"To his son G. residing at Orleans P. of Besançon sends greeting with paternal zeal. It is written, 'He also that is slothful in his work is brother to him that is a great waster.' I have recently discovered that you live dissolutely and slothfully, preferring license to restraint and play to work and strumming a guitar while the others are at their studies, whence it happens that you have read but one volume of law while your more industrious companions have read several. Wherefore I have decided to exhort you herewith to repent utterly of your dissolute and careless ways, that you may no longer be called a waster and your shame may be turned to good repute."<sup>2</sup>

In the models of Ponce de Provence we find a teacher writing to a student's father that while the young man is doing well in his studies, he is just a trifle wild and would be helped by judicious admonition. Naturally the master does not wish it known that the information came through him, so the father writes his son :

"I have learned—not from your master, although he ought not to hide such things from me, but from a certain trustworthy source—that you do not study in your room or act in the schools as a good student should, but play and wander about, disobedient to your master and indulging in sport and in certain other dishonorable practices which I do not now care to explain by letter." Then follow the usual exhortations to reform.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Mentiti sunt per medios dentes qui de me talia predicaverunt," says a student in the formulary of Ponce de Provence. British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 75; Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 282v.; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 21. Specimens of the conventional reproof and denial may be seen in Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 3, 4; *Epist.* 8, 9. In *Epist.* 8, the father calls down on the son's head "the maledictions of the Old and New Testaments."

<sup>2</sup> "P. Bisuntinus G. filio suo Areliensis—vel Aurelianus—residenti, salutem cum zelo paternali. Scriptum est, 'Qui mollis est et dissolutus in opere suo frater est sua opera dissipantis' (*Proverbs*, xviii. 9). Te nuper intellexi [te] molliter et dissolute adeo vivere ut petulanciam plus celibatu diligas et ludicra seriis anteponas, nec non cum ceteri lucubrationi vacant in cithara diceris concrepare; unde contingit unum volumen legeris, quamquam tui choetanei plura condecensius legerint commentaria (MS. comitaria). Igitur te duxi presentibus exortandum quod (MS. qq) a tuis dissolutionibus insolentis totaliter respiscas, quod non dicaris bonorum dissipator sed in bonum nomen tua possit ignominia commutari." MS. Lat. 8653A, f. 9; a similar letter is on f. 13v.

<sup>3</sup> "Non per tuum magistrum, qui tamen non deberet mihi talia celare, sed per certam relationem quorundam, didici quod tu non studes in camera tua nec in scholis sis ut bonus scholaris solet facere, sed extra vagabundus efficiaris atque lusor et tuo magistro non obediens et rebellis, indulgens ludis et quibusdam aliis inhonestis que ad presens nolo per lit-

The arrival of students at school is frequently the occasion of letters to parents describing their new surroundings, as in the following illustration, which comes from Moravia :

“After my departure from your gracious presence the circumstances of my journey continued to improve until by divine assistance I arrived safely in the city of Brünn, where I have had the good fortune to obtain lodgings with a certain citizen who has two boys in school and provides me with food and clothing in sufficient amount. I have also found here an upright and worthy master, of distinguished reputation and varied attainments, who imparts instruction faithfully ; all my fellow pupils, too, are modest, courteous, and of good character, cherishing no hatred but giving mutual assistance in the acquirement of knowledge and in honor preferring one another.”<sup>1</sup>

The following, from Orleans, is more fresh and original :

“To their dear and respected parents M. Martre, knight, and M. his wife, M. and S. their sons send greeting and filial obedience. This is to inform you that, by divine mercy, we are living in good health in the city of Orleans and are devoting ourselves wholly to study, mindful of the words of Cato, ‘To know anything is praiseworthy.’ We occupy a good dwelling, next door but one to the schools and market-place, so that we can go to school every day without wetting our feet. We have also good companions in the house with us, well advanced in their studies and of excellent habits—an advantage which we well appreciate, for as the Psalmist says, ‘With an upright man thou wilt show thyself upright’” (*Psalms*, xviii. 25). Then follows the inevitable demand for money, this time for the purchase of a desk, ink, and parchment, and the letter

teras explicare.” Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 278v.; Cod. Lat. 16122, f. 11v.; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 16v. Cf. Buoncompagno in Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 4v.

<sup>1</sup> “Postquam discessi a vestra facie graciosa, divino favente (MS. vavente) auxilio, meum iter [convertitur] de bono in melius se disposuit donec Brunnensis civitas incolomem me recepit. Ibidem apud quendam civem qui duos habet pueros scholas frequentantes sospes et cum gaudio sum locatus, qui sufficienter vestes et victualia aministrat ; ibidem etiam inveni magistrum probum et honestum, suos subditos fideliter informantem, honestatis titulo ac diversis facultatibus presignitum. Preterea socii qui se in suis scholis recipiunt omnes sunt curiales, humiles, et honesti, inter quos nullum latet odium sed mutuo scientiis proficiunt et honoribus se exaltant.” Munich Cod. Lat. 2649, f. 49 ; on f. 44 a student gives a similar account of his surroundings at Erfurt. The following, of much the same character, is from Buoncompagno : “A vobis licentia impetrata et recepto benedictionis vestre munere, cepi ad studium properare sicque cum successive fortune incremento intravi Bononiam, ubi a sociis et amicis fui cum ingenti alacritate receptus et ab eis multipliciter honoratus. Postmodum vero conducxi hospitium, preelegi mihi magistrum et socios competentes, cum quibus lego et proficio iugiter in moribus et doctrina.” Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 5 ; MS. Lat. 8654, f. 8. See also Guido Faba, *Epist.* 54 ; and Ponce de Provence in Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 279, and MS. 3807 of the Arsenal, f. 57v.



closes by saying that the bearer will take charge of the books and shoes their parents have to send and will also bring any message they may desire him to convey.<sup>1</sup>

The student's journey and arrival were not always so prosperous, and the famous Bolognese dictator Buoncompagno devotes a chapter of his collection to the accidents that may befall one on the way to the university.<sup>2</sup> Attacks from robbers seem to have been the chief danger; the scholar was hastening to Bologna, for the love of letters, but in crossing the Alps he was attacked by highwaymen, who took away his books, clothing and money, so that he has been obliged to remain in a neighboring monastery till help can reach him.<sup>3</sup> In other instances the robbery takes place in the forest of Bologna,<sup>4</sup> or in the highway near Aosta.<sup>5</sup>

Once safely arrived at a centre of learning, medieval students were slow to quit academic life.<sup>6</sup> Again and again they ask per-

<sup>1</sup>MS. Lat. 1093, f. 82v., published by Delisle in the *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1869), VII. 149, 141. There is a reprint in the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* (1888), XI. 396.

With these may be compared such descriptions of Paris as are given by a German student at the beginning of the twelfth century (Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, V. 285); by Gui de Bazoches about fifty years later (*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Isle de France*, IV. 38—cf. *Neues Archiv*, XVI. 72); and by John, later Archbishop of Prague, in 1375 or 1376 (*Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, LV. 385).

<sup>2</sup>See the table of contents in Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 134.

<sup>3</sup>"Eram in procintu itineris et Bononiam properabam ob amorem studii litteralis, unde si essent in homine vie illius meum duxissem propositum ad effectum; sed comparuit evidens impedimentum quo cogor a proposito resilire. Sane cum essem in transitu Alpium occurrerunt quidam ratopres (MS. Lat. latrones) qui pecuniam, libros, vestes, et equos mihi penitus abstulerunt, me nudum, verberatum, et vulneratum, lugubrem et abiectum in solitudinem dimittentes. Postmodum autem diverti ad quoddam monasterium, in quo tandiu proposui commorari donec quid mihi sit agendum vestris litteris intimetis." Buoncompagno in Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 5; MS. Lat. 8654, f. 8; British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius, C. VIII., f. 93v. In Mathieu de Vendôme (ed. Wattenbach, 587) the same fate befalls a student of medicine on his way to Salerno.

<sup>4</sup>"Mirifice divinitatis nutu Vercellensis ecclesie religioso antistiti B. humillimus clericus . . . . . Cum enim nuper preter parentium velle filosofice discende liberalitatis gratia versus Bononiam iter incepissem et procuratorem habens itineris Bononiensium silvam ingressus essem, supervenientes quidam milites de contiguis castrorum finibus ad depredandum, sicut revero venerant habiles, me cum prefato itineris tutore ceperunt et cuncta seriatim investigantes cetera violenter abstulerunt. xv. argenti marcas, pelles grisias . . . . . exceptis subpellectilibus plurimis et diversis que scolares in terra extranea victuros portare cognoscitis." *Precepta Prosaici Dictaminis secundum Tullium*, of the twelfth century, from northern Italy, in British Museum, Add. MS. 21173, f. 17v.

<sup>5</sup>"Consultatione vestra Bononiam (MS. Bonaniam) profiscebar iuris scientiam adepturus, verum in strata publica (MS. plubica) vispiliones me spoliaverunt, libros et pecuniam cum vestibus absportantes, unde pauperculus regressus sum ad Augustam ubi cum robore miserabili mendicitate sustentor." MS. Lat. 8653A, f. 3v.

<sup>6</sup>Buoncompagno even tells of one who had spent twenty-eight years in study: "Ecce iam xxviii. annorum spacium est elapsum quod te dedicati scholasticis dis-

mission to have their term of study extended; war might break out,<sup>1</sup> parents or brothers die, an inheritance have to be divided,<sup>2</sup> but the student pleads always for delay. He desires to "serve longer in the camp of Pallas;"<sup>3</sup> in any event he cannot leave before Easter, as his masters have just begun important courses of lectures.<sup>4</sup> A scholar is called home from Siena to marry a lady of many attractions; he answers that he deems it foolish to desert the cause of learning for the sake of a woman, "for one may always get a wife, but science once lost can never be recovered."<sup>5</sup> In a similar case another student holds out against the charms of a proposed wife, who, "though she is dark, is clever and of placid demeanor, good, wise and noble, and moreover has a considerable dower and belongs to an influential family."<sup>6</sup> Sometimes, however, the student is taken ill and writes for money and an easy-going horse to take him home,<sup>7</sup> while occasionally he discovers his inability to learn and

ciplinis." Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 13; MS. Lat. 8654, f. 21v.; MS. Lat. 7732, f. 14v.

<sup>1</sup> Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 53, *Epist.* 84. Cf. Petrus de Hallis in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, second series, VI. 116; and *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, XIV. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Munich Cod. Lat. 2649, f. 50; Cod. Lat. 96, f. 38; Cod. Lat. 14708, f. 58, 58v.; *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, new series, XI. 34; Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 15, 16.

<sup>3</sup> "In castris Paladis disposui longiori spatio militare." MS. Lat. 8661, f. 98v. So the nephews of Wolfgang of Altaich ask for more time (Berlin MS. Lat. oct. 136, f. 112v.), and a beneficed student promises to return to his parish in the spring (Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 84, 85).

<sup>4</sup> "Ad presens te non possum presencionaliter consolari nec ante futurum Pascha tuam presenciam visitare, quia magistri quorum lectionibus me subiunxi quosdam libros mihi utiles legere inceperunt, quorum neglectio meo studio generaret irrecuperabile detrimentum." Munich Cod. Lat. 2649, f. 50v.

<sup>5</sup> Guido Faba, *Parlamenti ed Epistole*, 16-19.

<sup>6</sup> "G., filiam Bernardi de Gualdo . . . que, quamquam bruna sit, abilis est et placida in conspectu, morum elegantia decoratur, nitet sapientia, magnaue nobilitate clarescit. Preterea nominata dotem exhibet grandi censu, caros habebit amicos plurimos et affines." MS. Lat. 8661, f. 98; on f. 96v., on the other hand, a student writes that his approaching marriage will prevent his return to school.

The same MS., f. 99v., reproduces a form of Buoncompagno's written by a woman to her husband who has remained in the schools longer than he had promised; she is sure he has been studying in some other Code, and proposes to read a little in the Digest on her own account! This is published from an anonymous fragment at Rheims by Wattenbach in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1892, 93; it will be found, followed by another of similar character, in the copies of the *Antiqua Rhetorica* in MS. Lat. 8654, f. 22, and MS. Lat. 7732, f. 14. Cf. Guido Faba, *Epist.* 9, where a son assures his father that he has been studying in the Code of Justinian and no other.

<sup>7</sup> E. g., the letter of a French student at Bologna in the Formulary of Tréguier (MS. Lat. Nouv. Acq. 426, f. 17), cited by Delisle in the *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 30. The following letter from Angers in the same collection (f. 3) is not mentioned by Delisle: "Reverendo pre omnibus suo patri reverencia filiali tali patrifamilias titulis domini talis opidi decorato, talis suus filius Andegavis in studio moram trahens (MS. traans) salutem corporis et anime, licet ipsa salute corporis iam privetur. Reverende pater, vobis

asks to enter the army or some other more congenial occupation.<sup>1</sup>

As is indicated by letters already cited, one of the first cares of a student was to provide himself with a suitable room. Various models show that it was usual to secure accommodations in advance through acquaintances, a necessary precaution when the number of new students was uncommonly great.<sup>2</sup> The scholar is going to Paris at the feast of St. Rémy,<sup>3</sup> or he is a monk whose prior has just granted him a year's leave of absence,<sup>4</sup> and he would like to live "away from the rush and noise of men,"<sup>5</sup> in the same room with his friend, if possible, or at least in the same hospice.<sup>6</sup> Fre-

tenore presencium innotescat me gravi valetudine corporis iam detentum taliter quod exercere studium nequeo, sed in lecto iacens egritudinis me rectis pedibus non valeo sustentare. Quare paternitati vestre carissime suplico, care pater, visis presentibus unum de vestris clientibus cum equo suaviter ambulante et sufficienti pecunia ad expensas pro me mittere non tardetis, quo ducente vestram gratuitam presenciam ante quam moriar valeam visitare. Spero etenim firmiter quod mea infirmitas mutacione locorum valeat immutari, alias timeo et oresco ne ossa mea terra contegat aliena." In MS. Lat. 15131, f. 177v., a student at Orleans writes to the same effect. So in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius, C. VIII., f. 141, where the writer wishes "vehiculum et expensam."

<sup>1</sup> "Patri karissimo, etc. In labore scholastico sedi diucius ut mihi thesaurum scientie comparem, verum sed irritum laboravi et video quantum magis studeo tanto minus proficio nec ad memoriam possum reducere peraudita. Ad hoc ergo discretum habeat consilium vestra veneranda paternitas me ab officio clericali removendo et ad decus milicie, ad quod meus valde suspirat animus, transferendo; aliquin regnum Francorum gressibus visitabo regi donec me faciat militem cum diligencia serviturus." The father tries to dissuade him, but adds that if in his simplicity he still insists on becoming a knight, he would better serve under his natural lord. Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 281. In other MSS. of Ponce de Provence (MS. Lat. 18595, f. 19v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 11v.; Arsenal MS. 3807, f. 59; British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 73v.) the request is more general—"filius patri quod non potest addiscere, et removeat eum ab officio clericali ad aliud aptum officium transferendo," and in the reply the student, if he returns, is to go into business like his brothers—"negociando lucraberis, sicut faciunt fratres tui." So in the *dictamina* of Nicholas of Breslau (*Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, V. 318) a father promises the delights of manual labor to a son who complains that the Scriptures are too hard for him to understand and desires to do "some more useful work which leads to temporal gain."

<sup>2</sup> See the letter from Laon, written not long after 1103, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1855, 466.

<sup>3</sup> "Ad festum beati Remigii est mihi propositum ire Parisius et vobiscum in eodem hospicio commorari. Unde vestram benivolentiam commoneo ut tam mihi quam vobis de bono hospicio curetis providere, quod in illud nostri socii utrumque confiteant ad honorem." MS. Lat. 8653, f. 32v.

<sup>4</sup> "De priore meo et meis confratribus pro anno sequenti scolatizandi licenciam optinens." *Salutationes secundum usum Oxonie*, in the Bodleian, Auct. F. 3. 9, f. 423 (fifteenth century).

<sup>5</sup> "Ab incursu hominum et strepitu separata." Delisle, *Formulaire de Tréguier*, No. 15. "Longe a tumultu hominum sequestratus," says another model in the same formulary (MS. Lat. Nouv. Acq. 426, f. 13).

<sup>6</sup> "Vobiscum in eodem hospicio et etiam in camera et propono et desidero, si vobis placuerit, commorari." Ponce de Provence, in British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 77v.; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 23v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 13; Arsenal MS. 3807, f. 62v.; Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 283.

quently the student's father places him under the care of a relative or friend,<sup>1</sup> or he may ask the master to take special charge of the young man and his spending-money.<sup>2</sup> That indefatigable *rhetor*, Ponce de Provence, has left us models of all necessary correspondence between father and teacher—how the son is sent and received, the reports of his conduct and the appropriate parental admonition, statements of his progress and of the completion of his studies, and finally the letter sending the master his pay with the father's thanks.<sup>3</sup> In an example written at Cambridge a master is asked to permit a student to visit his parents,<sup>4</sup> while in another letter of the same collection a young man announces that he will take his master home with him for two or three days at Christmas.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Mittitur filius ad amicum ut eum in pedagogio ponat." *Epistolares quedam formule . . . extracte ex maiorum litterarum collectorio scholaribus Lovanii in pedagogio Lili lectarum*, of the end of the fifteenth century, in Munich Cod. Lat. 7082, f. 20v. (there is another copy in the Library of the University of Cambridge, Gg. v. 37). Cf. Munich Cod. Lat. 96, f. 39v.; Cod. Lat. 14708, f. 59v.; Cod. Lat. 22294, f. 42v. In a formulary from Orleans composed about the year 1230 (see Langlois, *Formulaires de Lettres*, III. 14), and preserved in the Bibliothèque de Rouen, MS. 1468, f. 363v., we find: "Exoramus quatinus expensis tali filio nostro apud vos ad studium misso vobis placeat (MS. placat) providere et omnia bene computetis; nam parati sumus ad mandatum vestrum persolvere quicquid iustum fuerit cum actione multimoda gratiarum." A Silesian student at Paris, near the middle of the fourteenth century, receives money weekly from the *hospes* with whom it is deposited (Jacobi, *Codex Epistolaris Johannis Regis Bohemiae*, Berlin, 1841, 58). See further Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 13, 14; *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, XXVII. 354; Wattenbach, *Iter Austriacum*, 52 (formulary from Naples, ca. 1230).

<sup>2</sup> "Et pourceo que jeo pensa qil demoura illeosques entre cy et Pasche sanz venir al hostel, si ay envoie oue lui vint soldes queux devers voillez prendre de luy et les gardre devers vous tanque soient ouelement despenduz, qar si la somme demouroit en son burse desmeme y les degastreit maintenant en chose queu amonterent rienz." British Museum, Harleian MS. 4971, f. 20v. (a rhetorical treatise in French, with models, belonging to the reign of Edward III. Cf. Ellis, *Original Letters*, third series, I. x., note). John, archbishop of Prague, who studied at Prague, Padua, Bologna, Montpellier, and Paris, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, says that in his student days the masters had charge of the scholars' money, so that they rarely had anything to spend and could never buy sweetmeats (*Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, LV. 327).

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 70; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 16v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 9; Arsenal MS. 3807, f. 56v.; Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 278. Letters of fathers sending their sons to school may also be found in Gaudenzi, *I Suoni*, 170; and in Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits de quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, IV. 271. In Munich Cod. Lat. 7082, f. 18, a master at Louvain returns a scholar "in artibus graduatus," but hopes he will continue his studies at Louvain or some other university.

<sup>4</sup> "Et, tres gentil sire, vous plaise entendre que nous en avons tres grant voulanttee et regret pour parler avec notre chier filz, sil vous plaist. Car vrayement ja grant temps a que nous ne lui vismes mais. Si vous prions chierement, tres doulz et tres gentil sire, que vous lui vueillez donner licence pour venir a lostel de parler avec nous au plus tost que faire se pourra bonnement." British Museum, Harleian MS. 3988, f. 49 v. (forms of letters, in French, relating chiefly to affairs in the eastern counties in the reign of Richard II. Cf. Ellis, I. c.).

<sup>5</sup> "Mon tres doulz pere, sauve votre grace il nest pas vray ce que vous mavez certifiée par votre lettre, comme mon tres honeuree maistre vous dira plus plainement á Noel,

The letters of students make frequent mention of their books and studies, but do not add much to our information on these subjects. Books were, of course, in steady demand, and furnished a convenient occasion for appeals to the parental purse,<sup>1</sup> although it might also happen that they would be left in a chest at home until sent for.<sup>2</sup> Often the particular work wanted is ordered through some friend. Thus if the writer is studying grammar, he wants a *Grecismus* and a *Doctrinale* with the glosses copied in a large and accurate hand,<sup>3</sup> or more rarely a Priscian and *Argentæ Lingua*.<sup>4</sup> When well advanced in grammar, he may aspire to study law,<sup>5</sup> and thus become a "refuge to his friends and a source of terror and confusion to his enemies."<sup>6</sup> Then, if a civilian, he will need "ten livres *tournois* for a certain book called *Digestum Novum*,"<sup>7</sup> or forty livres *parisis* for the Code, Digest and Institutes,<sup>8</sup> while if he forsakes these "clamorous subter-

quar il venra avecque moy pour sojourner et prendre desduit avec vous par deux jours ou trois, sil vous plaist." *Ib.*, f. 45v.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the warning to certain students in Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, VI. 2. 186.

<sup>2</sup> "Dilectioni tue notum esse desidero quod, cum me Parisius transtulerim ad hoc ut studiis vacem omni qua possum diligentia, libros quos in archa tua habes repositos habeo necessarios ad propositum studiorum," writes a student to his mother in Munich Cod. Lat. 6911, f. 53, and MS. Lat. 14069, f. 201. Cf. the request for "anonymale and a bok of sofystre of my brother Emundes" in the *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), I. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Thus a student at Orleans sends to his friend "P. de tali loco," "Doctrinale cum magnis glosulis de litera veraci et legibili tam in nota quam in textu." Arsenal MS. 854, f. 214v. In the *Formulaire de Tréguier*, No. 10, a *Doctrinale* of this sort is sought by the schoolmaster of Prat. So in the same MS. of the Arsenal, f. 215, the student wants "Doctrinale . . . et Grecismus et ceteros libros grammatice oportunos;" and in Ponce de Provence the *Grecismus* and *Doctrinale* are desired—British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 72; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 18; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 11; Arsenal MS. 3807, f. 58. Cf. also *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, new series, XI. 34.

On the *Doctrinale* of Alexandre de Villedieu and the *Grecismus* of Évrard de Béthune, the popular grammatical text-books of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei* (Berlin, 1893), and Wrobel, *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Grecismus* (Breslau, 1887); and cf. Thurot in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXII. 2, especially pp. 98–102. A fac-simile of a portion of a MS. of the *Grecismus*, showing the glosses, is given by Prou in his *Manuel de Paléographie*, second edition, 124.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh of Bologna, in *Neues Archiv*, XXII. 300.

<sup>5</sup> Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 61. Ponce de Provence, in British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 72v.; Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 280; Troyes, MS. 1556, f. 16.

<sup>6</sup> "Tuorum turris et refugium amicorum et inimicorum confusio atque terror." Ponce de Provence, l.c. Cf. *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, V. 318, and the letter from Orleans cited below.

<sup>7</sup> "Quatinus michi in .x. libris Turonensium pro quodam libro emendo qui *Digestum Novum* dicitur dignemini subvenire." Laurentius of Aquileia, in MS. Lat. 11384, f. 36v.; also in MS. Lat. 16253, f. 12, except that here the text reads "libris Parisiensibus" (in full).

<sup>8</sup> "Patri ac domino metuendo B. civi Parisiensi, C. humilis eius natus scolaris (MS.

fuges"<sup>1</sup> for the canon law, he must have the Decretals at least<sup>2</sup> and perhaps the *Summa* of Gaufridus.<sup>3</sup> From Orleans a student writes that he has become famous in dialectic, and desires to study theology if only his father will send him enough money to buy a Bible.<sup>4</sup> The father praises his ambition but cannot afford the expense of a theological course—let the son turn to some of the "lucrative" professions.<sup>5</sup> There are, of course, numerous letters in praise of the *ars dictaminis* and its study,<sup>6</sup> and the "frivolous and empty quarrels" of the logicians are not forgotten.<sup>7</sup>

Usually the writers of these letters study their law at Orleans or Bologna, their medicine at Montpellier, and so on, but sometimes their statements add to our knowledge of the medieval curriculum and the branches that flourished at different institutions. Thus Thurot concludes from the models of Ponce de Provence that logic was not necessary for the study of law, but was demanded of students of medicine and was indispensable for theology,<sup>8</sup> and it is on such forms that Fitting bases his argument for the early pre-emi-

scolari) Ariliensis salutem cum reverencia filiali. Cum scientia sit nobilis possessio, illa est maxime appetenda que nobilissima reputatur. Hinc est quod in legum honorabili facultate propono ulterius desudare, quia sui possessores multum honoris consequuntur. Quare dominatione vestre supplicat devotio filialis quod (MS. qq) causa emendi Codicem et Digestum cum Institutionibus quadraginta libras Parisiensium michi mitere procureritis, scientes pro certo quod iste labor vobis et amicis nostris honorem et gloriam reportabit." Arsenal MS. 854, f. 214.

<sup>1</sup> "Clamoris tergiversationibus legistarum." Laurentius of Aquileia, MS. Lat. 11384, f. 59v.

<sup>2</sup> "Decretales in textu et glosa sufficienter correctas ad usum meum pro competenti precio emere procureritis." Id., MS. Lat. 14174, f. 126; MS. Lat. 11384, f. 55; MS. Lat. 16253, f. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Starzer and Redlich, *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung . . . des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1894), 245.

<sup>4</sup> "Demonstratione presentis cedula noscat vestra paterna bonitas, pater karissime, quod ego sum Aurelianis sanitate corporea per Dei gratiam predictatus et in dyalectica taliter fundatus quod omnes scolares et etiam magistri dicunt me fore disputatorem optimum et sophistam, et multum desidero in sancta theologia de cetero prostudere. Michi mittat igitur, precor et moveo, paterna pietas unde possum Bibliam comparare et expensas habere, quamvis non plenarie, quoquo modo." Ponce de Provence, British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 73; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 19v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 11v.; Arsenal MS. 3807, f. 59; Troyes, MS. 1556, f. 17. In Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, VI. 2. 185, a student who has secured a benefice is required to learn the Psalter by heart.

<sup>5</sup> "Hoc requirit, sicut mihi dicitur, magnos sumptus. Audias ergo artes, fili karissime, vel actores vel phisicam vel aliquam scientiam lucrativam, quia non possem tibi magnam pecuniam ministrare." Ponce de Provence, Arundel MS. 514, f. 73v., and other MSS. as above.

<sup>6</sup> For examples see Valois, *De Arte Scribendi Epistolas*, 25–27; Pertz's *Archiv*, X. 559. Cf. also a letter in the Arsenal (MS. 854, f. 233), where "scolaris studens Parisius significat socio studenti Tholose quod dictator optimus venit Parisius, et ibi ad studendum venire non postonat."

<sup>7</sup> Petrus de Hallis, in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, second series, VI. 117.

<sup>8</sup> *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXII. 2.93, note.



nence of Pavia over Bologna as a centre of legal instruction.<sup>1</sup> Similar evidence has enabled Delisle to establish the existence of a flourishing school of rhetoric and literature at Orleans in the twelfth century,<sup>2</sup> while the later decline of the trivium there is seen in a letter of the early fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A careful study of the formularies would also show something as to the regions upon which the various universities drew most largely for students,<sup>4</sup> and might throw some light upon the matter of inter-university migration.

Letters from all parts of Europe testify to the expense attendant upon securing a degree. Thus a student at Paris asks a friend to explain to his father, "since the simplicity of the lay mind does not understand such things," how at length after much study nothing but lack of money for the inception banquet stands in the way of his graduation.<sup>5</sup> From Orleans D. Boterel writes to his dear relatives at Tours that he is laboring over his last volume of law and on its completion will be able to pass to his licentiate provided they send him a hundred livres for the necessary expenses.<sup>6</sup> A success-

<sup>1</sup> *Die Anfänge der Rechtsschule zu Bologna* (Leipzig, 1888), 80, 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Écoles d'Orléans au XII<sup>e</sup> et au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de France* (1869), VII. 139-154.

<sup>3</sup> A certain P. of Salins (Jura) desires to give instruction in rhetoric and logic at Orleans, "ubi plures dicuntur trivialibus assidentes," but in response to his inquiries "G. Arelianus studens" writes: "Scicitatus sum quot et quanti forent Arelianus in trivialibus auditores, tandem pro facto compertum est hos scolares esse paucos et indigos nec non superficialia rudimenta sectantes, quod eorum doctores intuiti ad reliquias convolant disciplinas. Igitur quamquam meus animus vestram gliscat presenciam, nullominus vobis instinctu consulo caritatis quod (MS. qq) Arelianus non curetis pro trivialibus edocendis venire, ubi non sunt plures qui subtiliter audirent sermonis vestri dogmata [venienda] veneranda." MS. Lat. 8653A, f. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Delisle has pointed out on the basis of the Formulary of Tréguier that the youth from that part of Brittany frequented Orleans rather than Paris. The collection from Arbois (MS. Lat. 8653A), to which reference has frequently been made, indicates that Orleans was also the favorite resort of scholars from Franche-Comté, although Paris, Montpellier, and Bologna are also mentioned in the letters. We find Paris occupying a prominent place in forms from the upper Rhine (*Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, new series, XI. 34; Pertz's *Archiv*, XI. 503), and from more remote parts of the Empire (Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, VI. I. 427, 2. 14, 179 ff.; Jacobi, *Codex Epistolaris Johannis Regis Bohemiae*, 58; etc.), while German students are often represented as attending Bologna (*Das Baumgartenberger Formelbuch*, Vienna, 1866, 317; *Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*, V. 318; British Museum, Arundel MS. 240, ff. 122-123). In general evidence of this sort must be used with caution, as names of universities might be retained from older models, or well-known *studia* like Paris or Bologna might be inserted without their having any close connection with the region where the formulary took its present shape.

<sup>5</sup> Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 487. On inception feasts at Oxford compare the *Literae Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series), I. 416; and the *Paston Letters* III. 248.

<sup>6</sup> "Viris providis et discretis consanguineis peramatis A. et B. et C. cognomine Ro-

ful inception at Bologna is thus described by Buoncompagno : "Sing unto the Lord a new song, praise him with stringed instruments and organs, rejoice upon the high sounding cymbals, for your son has held a glorious disputation, which was attended by a great number of teachers and scholars. He answered all questions without a mistake, . . . and no one could prevail against his arguments. Moreover he celebrated a famous banquet, at which both rich and poor were honored as never before, and he has duly begun to give lectures which are already so popular that others' classrooms are deserted and his own are filled."<sup>1</sup> Buoncompagno also tells of an unsuccessful candidate who could do nothing in the disputation but sat in his chair like a goat while the spectators in derision called him rabbi; his guests had such eating that they had no will to drink, and he must needs hire students to attend his classes.<sup>2</sup>

If we were to judge them by their own accounts, medieval students were models of industry and diligence, hearing in some in-

terellis, civibus Turonis, D. Boterel Aurelianus in ultimo legum volumine lectionibus elaborans, cum salute vite cursum prosperum et longevum . . . . . Vestra noverit dilectio mihi cara quod infra mensem, favente Deo, finiem librum meum, quo finito licentiam in legibus adipisci potero, qua obtempta conscribi desidero venerabili collegio professorum. Sane cum tunc oporteat me facere sumptus graves, vobis supplico quod (MS. qq) in . c. libris Parisiensium vos habeam provisores, taliter quod, meo principio subventionem vestra laudabiliter celebrato, vestre dilectionis affectum recoligens per effectum vobis impensius magis teneat obligatus." Arsenal MS. 854, f. 215. Cf. the Italian models published by Gaudenzi, *I Suoni*, 168, and the following from Montpellier: "Venerabili patri in Christo suo P., civi Bisuntino, G. studens in Montepessulano . . . . . Porro nostis quod dudum theoreticis et practicis laborans (MS. laborant) ad eliconam medicine provear, cuius messis est copiosa. Propinquat nunc tempus quo predicatus honore magistrali repatriare decrevi. Placeat igitur paternitati vestre mihi plus solito pecunia subvenire." MS. Lat. 8653A, f. 9v.

<sup>1</sup> "Cantate Domino canticum novum, psallite in cordis et organo, cum cimbalis benesonantibus iubilare (*Psalm* cl. 4, 5), quia filius vester venerabilissimum celebravit conventum, in quo fuit innumerosa magistrorum et scolarium multitudo. Ipse vero querentibus et questionibus absque defectu aliquo satisfacit, nullus ei concludere potuit obiciendo, sed ille universis obiciendo conclusit et nemo fuit qui suis potuerit argumentis instare. Preterea famosum convivium celebravit, in quo tam pauperes quam divites melius quam unquam auditum fuerit honorati fuerunt. Item cum sollempnitate scholas regere celebres iam incepit, vacuavit scholas multorum, et habet plurimos auditores." Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 6v.; MS. Lat. 8654, f. 11; British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VIII., f. 94v.

<sup>2</sup> "Celebravit conventiculum, non conventum, in quo sedit tanquam hircus in cathedra et rabbi (MS. arabi) fuit derisorie appellatus, quia non erat puer qui sibi de quolibet sophismate non concluderet manifeste et ipse in obiciendo procedere non sciebat. Invitati autem ad convivium taliter comederunt quod non habuerint voluntatem bibendi. Item incepit regere cum quibusdam conductitiis et novitiis, quia nullum valet habere profectum nisi velit illum pretio numerario comparare." Ibid. (Cf. the *Novissima Rhetorica* in Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca Juridica Medii Aevi*, II. 273, 282). This is followed by an ac-

stances at least three lectures a day and expecting soon to excel their professors as well as their fellows.<sup>1</sup> The *dictatores*, however, were well acquainted with other types of academic youth, who needed to be reminded that reward came, not from having been at Paris, but from profitable study there,<sup>2</sup> and many are the forms of warning or reproof that they have left us. Buoncompagno indeed has a rebuke for him who studies too much—who rises before the morning bell, is first to enter and last to leave the schools, spends the day in his room reading, ponders his lectures at meal-time, and even reviews and argues in his sleep—but he significantly adds that the same letter may be addressed in irony to one who studies too little.<sup>3</sup>

Letters to fellow-students occupy a considerable place in these collections, but they are confined for the most part to messages of condolence, introductions, requests for news, protestations of friendship, and similar commonplaces.<sup>4</sup> We also find students urging friends to join them at the university,<sup>5</sup> arranging to make the journey of a candidate who answered satisfactorily the question set him, but, to the amusement of the audience, proved unable to explain a proposition which he himself had propounded to others.

<sup>1</sup> "Scolas commaneo frequenter, omni die ad minus tres lectiones mihi utiles a magistro et sociis audiendo, et spero dum ad partes natales rediero quod tantum profecerim quod non solum meos coetaneos sed etiam quosdam meos magistros in facultate scholastica valeam superare." Munich Cod. Lat. 2649, f. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Philippe de Harvengt, in *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I. 53; Konrad von Mure, in Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher*, 440; Wolfgang of Altaich, in Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, VI. 2. 185, and Berlin MS. Lat. oct. 136, f. 112.

<sup>3</sup> "Littere quibus notantur gravamina que possunt de nimietate studii provenire. . . . Dicitur autem quod ante pulsationem initialis tintinabuli surgis preter consuetudinem ad legendum, in ingressu scholarum es primus et ultimus in regressu; postquam autem reverteris ad hospitium diem totum continuas in lectionibus quas audisti; immo, quod plus est, variis cogitationibus dum comedis anxiaris, et etiam in sompno, in quo animalium virtutum quies esse deberet, sub quadam imaginatione disputas et lectiones repetis dormiendo." Then, after describing the student's neglect of his personal appearance, he adds: "Nota quod premissa narratio destinari potest etiam illi qui *huc* et *illuc* vagatur et studere contempnit, et dicitur hoc species ironie in qua delinquens efficitur maiori pudore." Munich Cod. Lat. 23499, f. 4; British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VIII., f. 93.

<sup>4</sup> These are particularly common in the various redactions of Bernard de Meung. Thus: "Socius socio consolans eum de morte socii sui" (MS. Lat. 1093, f. 62); "Scolaris sociis suis ut latores presentium secum in hospicium habeant" (British Museum, Add. MS. 8167, f. 179v.); "Scolaris amico suo" for news (Munich Cod. Lat. 96, f. 38); etc.

<sup>5</sup> Ponce de Provence in MS. Lat. 18595, f. 24v. Bernard de Meung in MS. Lat. 1093, f. 61v. (also British Museum, Add. MS. 18382, f. 94v.; Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VIII., f. 140): "Tuam ergo commoneo caritatem ut, relicta soli natalis dulcedine, mature te conferas ad urbem Parisius, ubi florent ambages artium et profunda scientia divine pagine cum decretis." An exhortation to come to Paris is also noted in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, new series, XI. 34; and in MS. Lat. 14069, f. 185, we read: "Cum igitur circumstancias ville Parisiensis scire meoque rescripto super hiis cer-

ney together,<sup>1</sup> or inquiring concerning the advantages of another place of study.<sup>2</sup> Reference has already been made to the practice of securing rooms through friends already at school; in case of the death or sudden departure of a student his effects were sent home by one of his fellows.<sup>3</sup> At Bologna, at least, it was customary for the companions of a departing student to accompany him on horse-back some miles on the way, and we even find outlines<sup>4</sup> of a proper speech of thanks to be made to these *transcursibiles amici*<sup>5</sup> when they turned back. Like his modern successor, the medieval student seems to have been an inveterate borrower. Sometimes it is a book for which he asks, more commonly a loan of money until a messenger arrives from home, and models are not lacking for demanding back the money or the book.<sup>6</sup> We hear of a certain faith-

tificari desideres, innotescat tue dilectioni quod status terre bonus est, vinum et annona pro modico precio sui plenam exhibent ubertatem, magistrorum etiam copia tanta super quod scolarium indigentia supprimatur, et—quid plura referam?—omnia se prospera sociis studere volentibus offerunt et iocunda.” So from Leipzig in the fifteenth century “quidam scribit quodam socio hortando eum ut ocius beanorum spretis inepciis ad universitatem quampiam sese recipere festinet” (Munich Cod. Lat. 14529, f. 357). See also the *Rethorica Poncii* (no place, 1486; Hain, No. 13255), ff. 18, 20, where a friend is exhorted to come to Basel.

<sup>1</sup> See for example the correspondence of two German students planning to study canon law at Bologna, in British Museum, Arundel MS. 240, f. 122. One writes: “Patefecit mihi quorundam relatio quod tue voluntatis in hoc stabiliatur propositum ut ad Bononiense proficiscatis studium postquam estivi fervoris virtus per successionem auctumprni fertilis fuerit mitigata.” The other will be glad to have his company; “in crastino beati Michaelis proximo tuum adventum desiderabiliter prestolabor.”

<sup>2</sup> See the MS. just cited, f. 123, and particularly Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 38, 39, where a student at Bologna is compelled to leave because of the dearness of living and writes for information concerning conditions at Naples. Laurentius of Aquileia (MS. Lat. 14766, f. 119), represents a student at Naples making similar inquiries with respect to Bologna, while a Spanish redaction of Guido Faba (MS. Lat. 11386, f. 56) substitutes Salamanca for Bologna and Paris for Naples in the example cited from the *Dict. Rhet.*

<sup>3</sup> Delisle, *Le Formulaire de Tréguier*, No. 18; cf. also No. 11 and an unpublished letter in the MS. (MS. Lat. Nouv. Acq. 426, f. 9). An analogous letter to a student at Oxford, ca. 1331, is printed in the *Litterae Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series), I. 417, and in the same collection (III. 334) is a long and interesting letter of the reign of Henry VII., written in English and describing the property to be packed and the commissions to be performed for a former student. See also the *Rethorica Poncii* (1486), f. 20v.

<sup>4</sup> “Arenga qua utitur de studio litterali revertens inter illos qui eum causa honoris per aliquot miliaria vel leucas associant in regressu.” *Arenga composite a magistro Petro de Loro*, in the *Liber Epistolaris* of Richard of Bury, p. 25 of the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. Lat. Nouv. Acq. 1266). Similarly the *Arenga* of Guido Faba, MS. Lat. 8652A, f. 30.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase is Buoncompagno's. Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften des Magisters Buoncompagno* (Freiburg i. B., 1894), 75.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard de Meung, in MS. Lat. 8653, f. 32v.; MS. Lat. 1093, f. 61v.; MS. Lat. 14193, f. 27; Munich Cod. Lat. 96, f. 37. Ponce de Provence, in British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 78; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 24; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 13v.; Arsenal MS.

less Peter who borrowed ten livres *tournois* one first of January and soon afterward quitted Paris for Orleans, where the lender's friends are requested to hunt him out.<sup>1</sup> The regular means of collecting such a debt seems to have been through the bishop of the debtor's diocese;<sup>2</sup> at Bologna, however, the matter was taken in hand by the municipal authorities, who threatened, unless the debt were promptly paid, to make it good from the property of such of the debtor's fellow-townsmen as came within reach.<sup>3</sup>

For obvious reasons, the letters of medieval students do not have much to say of what Mr. Rashdall calls "the wilder side of university life." We find a Paris scholar complaining of the disorders of the schools and expressing fear of personal violence,<sup>4</sup> and a student at Toulouse writes that a certain P., against whom he had been warned before leaving his home in Narbonne, had taken forcible possession of his room and so disturbed him in his work that he would like permission to go home at Easter.<sup>5</sup> At Orleans a young man pleads for help from his father because, having quar-

3807, f. 63; Munich Cod. Lat. 22293, f. 283v. *Dictamen* from Louvain in Munich Cod. Lat. 7082, f. 11v. *Dictamen* "magistri Johannis" in MS. Lat. 16617, f. 224. Formulary from Toulouse, in Arsenal MS. 854, f. 223v. Stehle, *Ueber ein Hildesheimer Formelbuch* (Strassburg dissertation, 1878), 9. Munich Cod. Lat. 6911, f. 53; MS. Lat. 14069, f. 201.

<sup>1</sup> "Petrus, meus socius infidelis, cui decem libras Turonensium liberaliter mutuavi prima die Januarii, nunc instantis furtive dimisso studio Parisiensi Aurelianum se transtulit ad studendum. Quamobrem sapientiam vestram, que, etc. (*understand* supplico), quatinus de predicto scolarī cautius inquirentes, si eum poteritis invenire michi sine mora vestris litteris declaretis. Nam Parisius proficiscar vel certum nuntium destinabo recuperaturus pecuniam prelibatam vestro auxilio mediante." Laurentius of Aquileia, in MS. Lat. 11384; also with Toulouse in place of Paris and Paris in place of Orleans in MS. Lat. 14174, f. 26, and MS. Lat. 16253, f. 14v. In MS. Lat. 14766, f. 118v., and in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 3593, f. 49, the student has left Paris for Bologna. See also *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, XIV. 167.

<sup>2</sup> "Clericus episcopo ut cogat clericum reddere sibi pecuniam quam ei concessit." Bernard de Meung, MS. Lat. 1093, f. 57v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 31; Munich Cod. Lat. 96, f. 33v. Similarly Ponce de Provence, in British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 83; ib., Add. MS. 8167, f. 172v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 15v.; MS. Lat. 18595, f. 28v.

<sup>3</sup> Guido Faba, *Dict. Rhet.* 97, 98, *Epistole*, 33. This is confirmed by the *Statuta Populi Bononiae*, ed. Frati, II. 24, 29-32. On the collection of the debts of Bolognese students see also Giraldus Cambrensis, (Rolls Series), III. 289.

<sup>4</sup> "Cum ad presens intentus esse deberem studiis, urgencia me protrahunt negotia bellorum quorundam, scilicet scolarium nephanda atque maligna perversitas qui studia dissipant, et timor cottidianus ingenium meum distrahit, quem habere me cogit anxietas de insultacionibus malignorum." Munich Cod. Lat. 6911, f. 54.

<sup>5</sup> "Venerabili et discreto viro domino P., nobili burgensi Narbone, anchore spei sue, B. eius clericus, suus in omnibus. . . . Quando a vestra dominatione recessi, mihi districtius precepistis ut P. societatem spernerem quantum possem; sed tanquam indiscretus vestrum salubre consilium non perfeci. Iustum est ut de hoc sentiam aliquod contra velle: ipse nanque P. tam inique facere non expavit quod proprium cameram dimittere sum coactus, et quosdam socios meos oportuit facere illud idem, ita quod nunc cum filio

relled with a certain youth, as the devil would have it, he struck him on the head with a stick, so that he is now in prison and must pay fifty livres for his release, while his enemy is healed of his wounds and goes free.<sup>1</sup> That the pranks of students were not always severely judged we may perhaps infer from the letter of a professor of law at Orleans to a father at Besançon in which it is said that while no doubt the man's son G. was one of a crowd that had sung a ribald song on an organ, the matter was of no importance, as the young man's general record was good and he was making excellent progress in law.<sup>2</sup> Naturally, too, the examples of parental reproof have something to say of the evils of the time, particularly gambling and riotous living,<sup>3</sup> but in general the formularies reflect the more virtuous side of student life, and for a more ade-

domini et cum quibusdam mercatoribus de comedere in eo est. Unde cum occasione societatis predicti P. aliquantulum sum turbatus et quasi a studio deviatu, dominationi vestre supplico precibus subiectivis quatinus mihi dignetur declarare, si vobis placet, quod ad vos venire debeam in proximo festo Pasche." Formulary from Toulouse, Arsenal MS. 854, f. 232. A student makes a similar complaint of having been driven from his room in Munich Cod. Lat. 6911, f. 55, and MS. Lat. 14069, f. 181.

<sup>1</sup> "Cum essem nuper Aurelianis, pater karissime, rixatus fui cum quodam iuvene, sicut diabolus ministravit, et ipsum demum percussi cum baculo super caput, et propter vulnus sibi factum fui in Aureliani curia carceratus. Liberatus est quidem iuvenis et sanatus, et a me petunt pro expensis illius in banno curie libras Turonensium quinquaginta, nec antequam solute fuerint possum evadere carcerem supradictum." Ponce de Provence, in British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, f. 74; MS. Lat. 18195, f. 20v.; MS. Lat. 11385, f. 70v.; MS. Lat. 8653, f. 12; Arsenal MS. 3807, f. 59v.; Troyes, MS. 1556, f. 17v. Similarly Laurentius of Aquileia, MS. Lat. 16253, f. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Talis professor legum actu legens Aurelianis, laudabili viro P. civi Bisuntino salutem cum dilectionis amplexu. Lingua tertia multos perdidit, ut scriptura perhibet sacrosancta (*Ecclesiasticus*, xxviii. 16). Proinde non debetis aurem inclinare credulam linguis obloquencium qui fame filii vestri G. mendoso (MS. mendenso) satagunt derogare susurro. Constat enim non fuisse diem profectum sed aprime festivum quo idem G. nec non plurimi scolares [et] organici armonici decantarunt de scorto. Prorsus nihil est, cum ipse commendatur super mentis et corporis celibatu. Non igitur a prefato manum vestram pro linguis obtrequantium retrahatis, scientes quod in utroque iure proficit eleganter." MS. Las. 8653A, f. 10. What is meant by the contrast between "diem profectum" and "aprime festivum," I am unable to say.

<sup>3</sup> *E. g.*: "Lupanar in scolis et ludum exerceas alee, litteralis scientie profectum abhominans"—British Museum, Cotton MS. Vitellius C. VIII., f. 141. "Nam omnino labore scolastico postrigato tempus tuum et alia que habes consumis, ut dicitur, pilas, Dianam, et meretricia frequentando"—letter to student at Orleans, MS. Lat. 15131, f. 180v. Cf. also Guido Fabia, *Dict. Rhet.* 3, and the Bohemian collections of the fourteenth century analyzed by Palacky in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, fifth series, II. 259, and by Schlesinger in the *Mittheilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XXVII. 16. See also Mathieu de Vendôme, ed. Wattenbach, 620–621.

The formularies have very little to say of the more innocent amusements of students. Examples of this sort are the refusal of a scholar's request for a dog, lest it furnish him occasion for waste of time (*Liber Epistolaris* of Richard of Bury, MS. Lat. Nouv. Acq. 1266, p. 81; also in a Cistercian formulary, MS. Lat. 11384, f. 195), and the request



quate portrayal of its vice and violence we must turn to the records of courts, the Goliardic literature, and the vigorous denunciations of contemporary preachers.

It is evident from this brief examination of the letters of medieval students that their correspondence has to do chiefly with the commonplace and everyday aspects of life at the school and university, and that in substance, though not in form, much of it would be almost as representative of the Harvard or Yale of to-day as of medieval Orleans or Bologna. Lambskin cloaks and parchment, the glossed doctrinal and the inception banquet, belong plainly in the Middle Ages and nowhere else, but money and clothing, rooms, teachers and books have been subjects of interest at all times and in all places. This characteristic of the letters is in some respects disappointing—we might have known quite independently, it may be urged, that the medieval student wanted money and tried to extort it from his father, borrow it from his fellows, or beg it from others; we might have known that they were robbed by highwaymen and rebuked by their parents. What a pity that out of such a mass of letters there are none that tell us in simple and unaffected detail how a young man studied and how he spent his day! To all this the answer is that under the conditions then prevailing very few such letters could have been written, and, if written, there was no reason why a matter of such individual and temporary interest should be preserved. It was precisely because they were trite and banal, because they voiced the needs of the great student body everywhere and always, that these letters and models were considered useful to others and hence were copied and kept. It is certainly worth something to us to know what were the commonplaces of existence in the schools of the Middle Ages, and to realize more vividly those phases of student life which we might otherwise lose from view. One may, of course, easily be deceived by the modern atmosphere with which such letters, read without reference to other sources of information, surround the medieval student, and yet from one point of view their value lies just here. The contrasts between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century are broad and striking, in univer-

for the loan of a horse to ride on St. Nicholas' Day at Oxford: "*Constanciam vestram quam diligo cordis et anime puritate deprecor incessanter quatinus equum vestrum in honore sancti Nicholay equitandum dignetur vestra dilectio mihi accomodare, super quem honorifice valeam equitare.*" Bodleian, Auct. F. 3. 9, f. 427. (fifteenth century). On the feast of St. Nicholas—the patron saint of scholars—as celebrated in the schools of St. Denis, see the forms printed by Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits de quelques Manuscrits Latins*, IV. 276. A letter entitled "*Scolaris patri significans se eligendum episcopum puerorum*" (Stehle, *Ueber ein Hildesheimer Formelbuch*, 9) seems to allude to the same occasion.

sities as well as in the world at large, and we need to be reminded again and again that the fundamental factors in man's development remain much the same from age to age and must so remain as long as human nature and physical environment continue what they have been. A just historical view requires accurate appreciation of both the constant and the varying elements in the history of civilization ; the present article may perhaps serve to illustrate something of their relative importance in the life of the medieval student.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

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