



1967

The Concept of Man in the Twelfth-Century Humanism of Chartres

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Recommended Citation

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THE CONCEPT OF MAN IN THE TWELFTH-CENTURY
HUMANISM OF CHARTRES

by

Sister M. Carol Sullivan, OP

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June

1967

CURRICULUM VITAE

Sister M. Carol Sullivan was born in San Francisco, California, on August 8, 1937.

She was graduated from Presentation High School, San Francisco, California, in June, 1951. She entered the Dominican Sisters of Edmonds, Washington, in September, 1957, after having attended the College of Notre Dame, Belmont, California, for two years. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Holy Names College, Spokane, Washington, in June, 1961, and entered Loyola University Graduate School in September of that year.

In 1964-65, as the recipient of an Alliance-Francaise grant, Sister Carol pursued her doctoral research in Paris, France.

At present, she is assistant professor of history at Seattle University.

PREFACE

Two motives have prompted the undertaking of the present research. The first is best described simply as a long-standing curiosity about the term "humanism" and its frequent application to cultural high-points in history. The second refers directly to the school of Chartres and to the vast amount of periodical literature which has appeared on or related to it, especially since the publication of Abbé Clerval's presumed definitive work, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, in 1895. The fact that so much literature has appeared since that date might be reason to fear adding more, and thereby simply to duplicate. On the other hand, it indicates that the subject of twelfth-century Chartres was anything but closed as of 1895.

While Clerval's was a descriptive study, the analytic work which has come to light in recent years opens up the possibility of going beyond description of the school's academic features to evaluate the motivation of its activity. This would be dependent not only upon an analysis of the writings and commentaries authored by the scholars of Chartres, but also upon an integration of this with the philosophical and theological currents of the twelfth century, in addition to the spirituality, natural sciences, art, and political situation of Chartres at this period. It is in this sense that the present work proposes to be

both an analysis and a synthesis.

The study of the Chartrain manuscripts has been enormously facilitated by the editorial work of Nicholas Haring of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, and of his colleague in Paris, Abbé Edouard Jeuneau. The extent of my indebtedness to their work will be evident in the following pages and in the bibliography. To the work of another French scholar I am likewise indebted--that of Père M. D. Chenu. His numerous insights in publications collected and revised in his Theologie au XII^e siècle and elsewhere have often provided the necessary springboards for launching into the topics esteemed by the Chartrains. Not infrequently his insights have reversed their role and have instead provided penetrating summary conclusions. If the entire dissertation contributes anything new to its subject by way of approach, it is due to the ideas sparked by these men.

Access to unedited manuscript material was made possible through a year's grant for study and research in France, given by the Alliance Française de New-York and the Fribourg Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to these organizations for the opportunity accorded me. I wish further to acknowledge those professors at Loyola University who gave generous support and encouragement toward the completion of this project.

This dissertation is respectfully dedicated to the late John A. Kemp, S.J., in the hope that it would have met his

expectations.

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CHAPTER I

HUMANISM AND ITS ORIENTATION IN
PRE-TWELFTH-CENTURY CHARTRES

Several years ago Gerald Walsh described the spirit of Dante Aligheri as

an integral humanism, a humanism that admits both the one and the many in human living; one that accepts both structure and steps in things and thoughts and values; one that is, at the same time, architectonic and hierarchic; one that can accept the Cosmos as a whole, and yet see in Man . . . the horizon between God and Nature, a being utterly one and yet linked by his senses to the world of matter, by his mind to the world of thought, and by his spirit to the world of Mystery.¹

With little or no modification these same words may be used to keynote an investigation on an earlier aspect of cultural history, less polished perhaps from a literary point of view than Dante's chef-d'oeuvre or subsequent masterpieces of the Renaissance of the Quattrocento. But the twelfth-century school of Chartres was no less interested in Man, and with justification has been called a school of humanism. The application of the term "humanism" to Chartres is the particular object of this study, but it can only become meaningful after its ambiguity as a concept has been resolved into some degree of clarity. Such an

¹Gerald G. Walsh, "Dante as A Medieval Humanist," Thought, XIV (1939), 385.

analysis may well result in a definition which approaches the "integral humanism" assigned above to Dante, than in what has generally come to be associated with the term.

Part of the reason for the ambiguity of the notion of "humanism" may be the result of its retroactive application, as it were, to movements and phenomena long a part of history. Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage, in listing the number of distinct meanings which the term has acquired, particularly since the advent of nineteenth-century Comtian positivism, points up the ambiguity of the term "humanism" and the consequent ineffectiveness of its use or application without the author's stating precisely what he means. Ask one who is cursorily acquainted with Western history for a definition, and it is more than conceivable that he will respond with "Extensive study of the classics." Others may place it on a pole, at the opposite end of which they place Christianity. Still others would polarize it with an Aristotelian science of nature or physics. A consideration of these polarities will prepare the ground for the intended approach to the cathedral school of Chartres in the twelfth century, and it is hoped, will place the school in historical perspective both as regards its own milieu and its place in the stream of Western cultural history.

In his popularly acclaimed Founders of the Middle Ages, E. K. Rand wrote:

A humanist is one who has a love of things human . . . ; one who cares more for art and letters, particularly the art and letters of Greece and Rome, than for the dry light of reason or the mystic's flight into the unknown; one who distrusts allegory; one who adores critical editions with variants and variorum notes; one who has a passion for manuscripts, which he would like to discover, beg, borrow or steal; one who has an eloquent tongue which he frequently exercises; one who has a sharp tongue, which on occasion can let free a flood of good billingsgate or sting an opponent with an epigram.²

This I would term the "classicism slant" to humanism. As such, it cannot but be one-sided. A humanist in this sense is solely a literary enthusiast, and it is difficult to see in him what others have referred to as the "Renaissance man." With a kind of antiquarian interest in the heroes and literary productivity of an era glamorized by its very antiquity, it is this type of imitation which comes closest to being called "bookish humanism." There is no intent here to discredit the reading of the classics or to discredit the age in which they were produced. What is called into question is the seeming identification of classicism with humanism, of literary ability, production, and analysis with the ultimate in human cultural activities, thereby meriting the label "humanism."

Classical antiquity has provided a basis for another group of humanists, in this case a group who see in the classics not simply an end but a means to a loftier goal. Taken simply from an etymological point of view, probably the most accurate

²(Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 102.

way of obtaining a primary meaning of the word, "humanism" denotes a concern with man in himself, and in the fulfillment of his potentialities. Which of these two senses of humanism--the classic or the etymological or anthropocentric--preceded in order of time may never be known, but it does appear that admiration for what was conceived as the Greek ideal of human excellence and achievement was responsible for steeping oneself in the "humanities." Hence it is not the literary expression of the ancients which is sought by this brand of humanist, but rather the motivation and inspiration of their works. In his essay on the survival of the Greek ideal of humanism, Moses Hadas has written:

What the world has admired in the Greeks is the remarkably high level of their originality and achievements, and this high level premises a deeply held conviction of the importance of individual attainment. The goal of excellence, the means of achieving it, and (a very important matter) the approbation it is to receive are all determined by human judgment. The whole outlook, in other words, is anthropocentric: man is the measure of all things. This does not imply that there are no gods; there are, but they behave as it behooves gods to behave, and man must behave as behooves man to behave, which is to attain the excellence he is capable of. The important point is that the sphere of the human and the sphere of the divine are disparate.³

It is thus the concept of man proposed in the ideal which serves as the drawing card to humanistic learning.

³Humanism; the Greek Ideal and Its Survival (New York, 1960), p. 13.

One may safely say that it is a combination of these two aspects of humanism which has been at the heart of the traditional view of such historians and philosophers of history as Burckhardt, Voigt, Cohen, Focillon, Curtius, and Gilson.⁴ Keeping in mind that their statements, for the most part, refer to the Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a resumé of their ideas may result in something like the following:

- 1- an unshakable confidence in the "eternity" or continuity of human nature;
- 2- a respect for the primacy of spiritual values and the effective application of the intellectual, moral and aesthetic resources of man;
- 3- a creative optimism which transcends all religious sects or specific philosophical doctrines;
- 4- a cult of Homo universalis, the whole man, which ignores artificial compartmentalizing of man's life and activities and allies itself with maintaining the unity of being;
- 5- the interpretation and fruitful confrontation of two civilizations, by means of a critical and realistic method of classical philology, classical culture being considered as an ideal point of reference--and on the ethical and aesthetic planes, as a necessary and useful point of departure.⁵

⁴L. Philippart, "Essai sur le mot et la notion d'Humanisme," Revue de Synthèse, IX, 2 (1935), 107-113.

⁵Ibid., 112-113.

Therefore, putting aside momentarily any opposition or tension between human and religious interests, it is the human individual and his potential greatness that occupies the center of attention on the stage of the humanist's activities. It is not a smugness with which we are concerned, for the accent is on man's potential, based on the promise of past achievements.

Built upon this attitude is a third vision of humanism, one with which the present paper is essentially concerned. Chartres at the zenith of its reputation has often been called the "finest flower of Christian humanism." While the emphasis on the philosophical and theological writings of antiquity, and the more than obvious Christian orientation of scholarship renders twelfth-century humanism distinct in flavor from its counterpart in the subsequent Renaissance, it would be most inaccurate to oppose these two cultural periods as one opposes divine and pagan--a not infrequently-met exaggeration. As will be seen in the following chapter it was Chartres in the twelfth century which made an effective attempt to graft a philosophy of nature, based on newly arrived Greek models, onto its spiritual teaching. It is the humanitas christiana of Augustine's De Civitate Dei, wherein pagan culture and Christianity are indissolubly linked, which is given an invigorating shot of life in this cultural high-point of the Middle Ages.⁶ To those who, like Toffanin,

⁶"The Platonic prophecy, in the Augustinian system, is

would argue that the newcomer, Aristotle, was essentially dualistic, that the dualism between "an active intellect which is God, immortal and eternal, and a passive intellect which is represented by the individuality of man,"⁷ was a bulwark safeguarding the transcendence of God, and therefore was essentially anti-humanistic, the historian may simply appose those Christian humanists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who, rightly or wrongly, considered Aristotle as a guarantee of objective science as well as a foundation block for humanitas and human culture. The fact remains that Western culture has retained an ideal concept of man, comprising general contributions of freedom from the Greeks, of law from the Romans, and of love from Christianity. The relative balance achieved at any one time among these factors may be said to determine the character of the humanism of that period. The following pages will analyze but one school on this basis. It is thus a concept of man which will be sought as the essence of Chartrain humanism, rather than a definition of only secondary significance.

From an educational point of view an assumption will be made which ties in with the aforementioned senses of humanism. That is that for the schoolman humanism is an act of total

assigned a place side by side with Biblical prophecy."--Giuseppe Toffanin, History of Humanism, vol. II of Storia dell'umanesimo, tr. Elio Gianturco (New York, 1954), p. 3.

⁷Ibid., II, 8.

confidence in the human tradition of forming and educating man; it is a conviction that there exists (not necessarily in the Platonic sense) a true model of man, and that this model is constituted by an ensemble of all the great works of literature and philosophy, an ensemble with which every educated man must be acquainted and according to which he must be measured.⁸ For the Christian humanist, these works are not restricted to a canon of Greek and Roman authors, but to any one which sheds light on the question of what it is to be a man. For the contemporary humanist, this assumption represents an independent but critical attitude and drive toward a recovery of the Unity of Being-- either in God or in some invariant corresponding to a maturity of man's critical spirit. To all alike it presupposes the necessity for a knowledge of man as a point of departure for affirming the validity of human values.

Since it is impossible to view the cultural contributions of Chartres in a vacuum, much less to ascertain that which underscored it, some review of the cultural climate of the period and the predominant elements which constituted that climate can be of little waste. It would be difficult, for example, to consider any aspect of the Christian tradition between the fourth and thirteenth centuries without some reference to Augustine, either by way of direct and positive application

⁸Fernand Robert, L'Humanisme, essai de definition (Paris, 1946), p. 83.

of his or his successors' writings, or by opposition to him. Because the schoolmen of twelfth-century Chartres were so thoroughly imbued with Augustinian and Plotinian Neoplatonism, one would be hard put to justify omission of his contributions to the stream of Christian humanism. This is not intended to be a lesson in comparison and contrast between Chartres and Augustine, for the latter produced in a world very different from the pre-university cathedral schools, but it does help to delineate Chartres in reference to its past.

Common to the two, or at least common to the approach to Chartrain humanism adopted in this paper, is a preoccupation with man as a person, and even man as a problem. Augustine's intellectual biography bears witness to this as he passed from adherence to Manicheism, Academic skepticism, and Neoplatonism to Christianity. At the basis of this is, of course, a search for Truth:

Seeking why it was that I approved of the beauty of bodies, whether heavenly or earthly, and what was present to my mind, when I made a right judgment concerning mutable things and said: "This ought be so and that should not be so"; seeking, I say, why it was that I made this judgment, when I so judged, I had found that there was above my changeable mind the unchangeable and true eternity of truth.⁹

And to know ultimate truth, and therefore God, Augustine found that he need not go outside himself:

⁹Confessions, Bk. VII, ch. 17.

The dwelling place of truth is in the inner man. And if you discover your own nature as subject to change, then go beyond that nature. But remember that, when you thus go beyond it, it is the reasoning soul which you go beyond. Press on, therefore, toward the source from which the light of reason itself is kindled.¹⁰

Whence is enunciated the doctrine of illumination, so important to Augustine's epistemology and to an evaluation of the poetry produced at Chartres in the twelfth century. Ethical knowledge is but a particular case of the divine illumination.¹¹ Free will, which encounters this ethical knowledge, and grace--both of which subjects Augustine may have overstressed in view of the anti-Pelagian controversies of the first quarter of the fifth century--were means to enable man to arrive at the source of all beatitude. As for the means of attaining intellectual and religious certitude, i.e., faith or reason, Augustine described them as correlative, in the sense that if faith precedes understanding, understanding becomes the reward of faith.¹² Hence, one finds even in this early direction of Christian attitude and philosophy in the West "a vindication of what may be called the primitive and original values of selfhood, the

¹⁰De vera religione, XXXIX, 72.

¹¹"There is . . . a moral illumination of the virtues as there is a speculative illumination of scientific cognitions."--Etienne Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (New York, 1955), p. 77.

¹²In Johannis Evangelium, Tract XXIX, 6: "intellectus merces est fidei."

sense of existence, of awareness, and of autonomous yet orderly activity which constitute the native endowment of mankind."¹³

Augustine's ideas on sin and the necessity of grace colored not only his attitude toward education but that of the western world for many centuries to follow. Since man is in need of grace for the purpose of regeneration, and since he cannot of himself achieve a good outside of the order in which he was created, he cannot through any means of independent effort or self-education arrive at the ultimate fulfillment of his humanity, that goal being union with a divine beatitude. Here he broke with the classical ideal of perfectibility in that the latter did not go far enough: "for the abberations of humanity, he saw no remedy through education, whether conceived as intellectual discipline or moral habituation or both, apart from a recognition of the creative truth in the light of which alone these processes might properly be understood."¹⁴ Nevertheless, as a former teacher and master of rhetoric, Augustine did not entirely disdain secular studies; rather he defended them to an extent, both for their utility and for themselves,¹⁵ insofar as

¹³Charles Norris Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture (New York: Galaxy Books, 1957), p. 400.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 452.

¹⁵Cf. Confessions, Bk. III, 4; IV, 16. Also the entire De doctrina christiana.

the liberal arts and philosophy were considered essential to Christian doctrine and to the interpretation of Sacred Scripture.¹⁶

Finally, in the realm of human society Augustine lent another direction to medieval culture, a direction which the most eloquent of the twelfth-century Chartrains was to embody in his Policraticus. Adapting the Ciceronian definition of a res publica (i.e., an assemblage of a multitude associated by consent to law and community of interest) into a Christian context, Augustine asserted that the sole possible bond which can unite men as a true populus in a real res publica is justice--the justice of God--expressed in the love and pursuit of some common good.¹⁷ Furthermore, human society is not simply constituted by a mere juxtaposition of liberties and loves, but it is inscribed in nature. "The passage of love--interpersonal--to justice--with its social objectivism--is the characteristic operation of social progress; civilization is measured by the establishment of rights, rights whose subject is not just the person, but the social body It follows that love is the promoter of justice."¹⁸

¹⁶Cf. H. Marrou, St. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique (Bibl. des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome, cxlv, 1938).

¹⁷De Civitate Dei, XIX, 24; also XIX, 31.

¹⁸M. Dominique Chénu, "Situation humaine, Corporalité et Temporalité," L'Homme et son destin (Louvain, 1960), p. 48.

In brief, the whole point to Augustine's theology was the integration of personality, i.e., a realization of those positive values to which mankind aspires in the present order of creation.¹⁹ Such an integration involved liberation from faulty intellectual and moral conclusions which are the consequences of sin, and from a positive point of view, the hope of attainment of the sovereign good through the conditions of freedom and peace. Such was the direction which Augustine gave to Christian culture and to the medieval concept of man. Yet it is only fair to note that although he firmly asserted the unity of man and the integration of his personality, both individually and in relation to the collective body, he never was sufficiently able to correlate his definition of man as a "soul using a body"²⁰ with this assertion of unity. It may well be that this was partially responsible for medieval heads to cast an inquisitive glance at Aristotelianism.²¹

It would be idle to list all the names and their contributions to the medieval concept of man which the school of Chartres in the twelfth century inherited, and to which it in turn contributed. Only a few names are here suggested so as to orient

¹⁹De Civitate Dei, XIX, 25.

²⁰De quantitate animae, XIII, 22.

²¹Gilson, The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy (New York, 1940), p. 175.

the specific approach that will be taken to the school. Augustine will remain the dominating influence; John Scotus Erigena, with his concept of nature and the place of man in the hierarchy of being, will be briefly considered in a succeeding chapter; and one must not overlook the name of Anselm of Bec. That scholars continue to argue the relative merits and demerits of the latter's "ontological argument" for the existence of God is ample evidence for his contribution to western philosophical and theological thought.

Anselm (d.1109) considered himself thoroughly Augustinian and set about to prove it in his considerations on the illumination of the soul²² and his interpretation of the Platonic exemplars, i.e., the "rectitude of ideas corresponds to the one truth of all that is true, namely, God";²³ whence follows the unity of truth in all things.²⁴ For the intellectual tradition which was to make its high mark in the contemporary and subsequent cathedral schools and universities, Anselm's attitude toward the relation between reason and faith (Credo ut intelligam) played a key role. In the words of Gilson:

Saint Anselm's confidence in reason's power of interpretation is unlimited. He does not confuse faith and reason, since the exercise of reason

²²Monologion, 67 (PL 158, 213).

²³De veritate, 2 (PL 158, 470).

²⁴Ibid., 13.

presupposes faith; but everything happens as though one could always manage to understand, if not what one believes, at least the necessity of believing it To understand a mystery would be much more than to understand its meaning.²⁵

Such a direction in philosophical thinking, particularly the use of the dialectical method in intellectual research, was not to be reversed in the decades to follow, and was a controverted inheritance which Chartres would pass on to Paris through Abelard. On the question of individual liberty Anselm lent a great impetus to the discussions of the following scholastic period and to the piety of the later Middle Ages, characterized as it was by liberty and individuality. Nevertheless, he did not come up with a satisfactory answer; in fact, his thought tended to drift away from this direction. Like all thinkers of a Platonic tendency, he encountered the same basic difficulty "in separating the world from God and separating one individual from another."²⁶

Anselm is a good transition figure to cite in drawing up a sketch of the cultural milieu and attitudes of the period in which the Chartrain scholars were situated. That is because Anselm was both a scholastic and a monk. And the intellectual

²⁵History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, pp. 129-30.

²⁶R. W. Southern, Saint Anselm and His Biography, A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c.1130 (Cambridge, 1963), p. 350.

atmosphere of the cathedral schools, situated as they were in a nascent urban culture, most certainly differed from the monastic milieu which preceded it. That monasteries were anything but void of literary and classical culture has been eloquently demonstrated in Dom Jean Leclercq's essay on The Love of Learning and the Desire for God.²⁷ Nevertheless, there was a difference in emphasis and undoubtedly in the matters taught, as may be gleaned from the examples of Lanfranc, Anselm, and those monks who were from time to time sent into the towns for supplementary study.²⁸

For a pure monastic vision of the world and the condition of man, one may well turn to a man like Peter Damian (1007-1072) whom M. Robert Bultot has referred to as being at the antipodes of humanism.²⁹ Such a judgment is not meant to be restricted to the classical or literary interpretation of the word as it has been described above. While being very God-centered in direction and ascetically implemented in practice, this purely monastic attitude displays an unmistakable distrust

²⁷Tr. Catherine Misrahi (New York, 1961). A series of lectures given to the monks of the Institute of Monastic Studies at Sant'Anselmo in Rome; originally published in France under the title L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu.

²⁸Ibid., p. 194.

²⁹Christianisme et valeurs humaines. La doctrine du mépris du monde, T.IV: Le XI^e siècle; vol. I: Pierre Damien (Louvain, 1963), p. 91, n. 223.

rather than confidence in humanity. One of the fundamental themes of Peter Damian's monastic meditation and work of reform is that of contemptus saeculi, of the mépris du monde, as Bultot has named the first part of his Christianisme et valeurs humaines series. This theme is manifest in several approaches to man which may be taken. Influenced by the dualist anthropology which dominated the Hellenistic world at the birth of Christianity and inspired by anti-Manichean polemics against any theory that would even hint that God was corporeal, his concept of the soul's likeness with God actually went contrary to Biblical anthropology, i.e., contrary to the substantial unity of man.³⁰ Pushing the consequences of this attitude a step further, the disfavor in which Peter Damian held specifically terrestrial activities and interests and, at bottom, the presence of man in the world, is to be noted.³¹ On the subject of exterior nature the reader finds rather the absence of a principle of solidarity intrinsic to nature, an immediate dependence of nature on the movement of essentially religious or divine initiatives, and in consequence, the impossibility of a

³⁰Ep. II, 5 (PL 164, 265); Op. XI, 3 (PL 165, 234).

³¹Op. L, 2 (PL 165, 733): Atque haec Aegyptus, vita videlicet praesens, quae nos oppressit blandiens, adjuvet premens; quatenus, quae, dum foveret, iugo nos servitutis attriverat, libertatis viam, dum affligit, ostendat. Haec itaque causa est quod ab injustis justis sinuntur affligi, ut, dum futura audiunt bona quae diligunt, patiantur etiam mala praesentia quae perhorrescunt, atque ad faciliorem exitum, dum amor provocat, cruciatus impellat.

real intellectual endeavor on the part of man to undertake a study of the order and laws of the universe. Though man has received a kind of monarchical sovereignty over all other terrestrial beings, Peter Damian interpreted this power in a purely supernatural sense, referring its efficacy to the workings of grace. Hence, man, being dead to the world, should feel no interest for "profane realities," no desire to put order into the earth, nor to exploit the latter.³²

It is true that one may cite several monastic examples which run counter to this rigid attitude of Peter Damian's, as has Dom Leclercq,³³ or at least were not as intransigent as his. But I do not think that using him as a figure of the monastic ideal as it was represented in the period of the Gregorian Reform and echoed later in men like Bernard of Clairvaux, distorts historical fact. Bultot has observed that this monastic ideal is identified by Peter Damian with the Christian vision of man

³²Ep. II, 5 (PL 164, 264): Hinc itaque Deus omnipotens verum mundo scilicet mortuum, sibi que viventem, suam constituit thronum, ac per eum saepe justitiae suae promulgat edictum. Hinc est etiam, quod ordo ille angelicus per quem frequentius judicia sua decernit omnipotens Deus, thronus vocatur: quia in eis summus arbiter praesidet, cum judicia per eos aequitatis exercet. Perfectum itaque virum Deus suum constituit solium, ut in eo suaviter requiescat. Unde per prophetam: "Super quem, inquit, requiescet Spiritus meus, nisi super humilem, et mansuetum, et timentem sermones meos?" (Isa. LXVI).

³³Yet it must be observed that Leclercq's chapter on "Liberal Studies" defends monastic humanism by drawing examples almost entirely from the twelfth century, and not before, e.g., Suger of St. Denis, Conrad of Hirsau, William of St. Denis, Peter the Venerable, etc.

engaged in the process of salvation, rather than conceived as a spirituality within a general Christian vision which acknowledges certain human values in themselves, even though the monk may have renounced them.³⁴ On the subject of schools and the teaching of liberal arts such an attitude expressed itself in forbidding monks to undertake anything of this sort for itself--in the name of the monastic ideal of sancta simplicitas and of the separation from society, although it was permitted only with the utilitarian view of aiding in the comprehension of Scripture. Clearly, this does not bespeak a humanism but a utilitarianism, a reductio artium ad sacram Scripturam. Lest this be interpreted too pejoratively one must frequently return to the emphasis under which monastic culture flourished. Dom Leclercq has called it a "prolongation of patristic culture in another age and in another civilization," since it is "thoroughly penetrated by ancient sources and under their influence, centered on the great realities which are at the very heart of Christianity It is not dispersed in the occasionally secondary problems which are discussed in the schools."³⁵ Elsewhere he effectively hits the heart of this

³⁴p. 120. Cf. the remarks of approval given to this observation by Yves Congar in Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, VII, 1 (Jan.-Mars, 1964), 64.

³⁵The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, pp. 113-114.

attitude, and does so in citing Peter Damian:

But all monastic authors pass the same judgment on those who would derive all their nourishment from literature alone. If grammatica were to occupy in their hearts the place which belongs to Christ, they would reject it. And sometimes, indeed, they appear to, so intense is their obsession with the one sole necessity. Mea grammatica Christus est, affirms St. Peter Damian with the vehemence of love. (Ep. VIII, 8; (PL 164, 476).³⁶

These, then, are the intellectual and cultural currents which contributed to the climate in which Chartres was to render its own form of Christian humanism. Schematically arranged, there is on the one hand an ascetic current. Not only does it stand aloof from the study of philosophy, but it declares a persevering war against secular studies and against those who pursue them. It regards negatively the task of the logicians, i.e., the danger which these latter present to the Faith by their attempts to scientifically interpret revealed truths. It also manifests an innate antipathy, varying in intensity, with respect to the rational order. The center of action of this particular direction is situated in the reforms of Fonte Avellana and of Cîteaux, in the foundations of Chartreuse and of Premontré.³⁷

On the other hand, a school of mystical theologians, if

³⁶Ibid., p. 255.

³⁷P. Mandonnet, "Polémique averroïste," 22. Quoted in Gabriel Robert, Les Écoles et l'enseignement de la théologie pendant la première moitié du XII^e siècle (Paris, 1909), pp. 84-85.

one may so call them, developed concurrently with that of monasticism, who followed more or less in the suite of St. Augustine. Their ordinary field of labor was Scripture, theology, and asceticism. Insofar as they entered the domain of philosophy, they styled themselves Platonists. Their most illustrious representatives included Lanfranc and Anselm, and in the twelfth century, the Victorines. The very character of the cathedral schools, situated as they were in the leading towns and not in the cloister, almost necessitated a different and perhaps adapted emphasis in intellectual circles. The cathedral school of Chartres provides a telling example of this fresh adaptation.

* * * * *

Most histories of Chartres as an intellectual center begin with the episcopacy of Fulbert (ca. 960-1028), some going so far as to attribute the school's founding to Bishop Fulbert. While this claim certainly is not true, neither is it to our purposes here to go back as far as did Clerval³⁸ in order to set up the intellectual orientation as background for a study of the school's activities in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, since documentary evidence indicative of the school's activities in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, since documentary evidence

³⁸Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, du Ve au VI^e siècle (Chartres, 1895).

indicative of the school's growth into prominence increases from the time of Fulbert on, it is from this point that the following summary of pre-twelfth-century Chartres is begun. Let it be noted that it is based almost entirely on secondary research except in cases where the interpretation of the historians consulted seemed based on weak arguments or upon preconceived notions. They will be pointed up in the course of the summary.

Knowledge of Chartres' reputation at this period is based on the Historia of Richer³⁹ who, like Fulbert, was a former student of the famed Gerbert of Aurillac at the school of Rheims. Richer's own transfer from the leading school at Rheims to Chartres reveals the esteem in which the quality of medical studies at Chartres was held:

While I was living in the city of Rheims constantly and deeply engaged in the study of the liberal arts and anxious to master the Logica of Hippocrates of Cos, I one day chanced to meet a horseman from Chartres. When I questioned him . . . he replied that he was a messenger from Heribrand, cleric of Chartres, and that he wished to speak with Richer, monk of St. Remi. Recognizing at once the name of a friend, and understanding the reason for the message, I made known to him that I was the one he sought Immediately he produced his letter. It was an urgent invitation to come and read the Aphorisms with him. I was greatly pleased at the prospect and . . . made my preparations to start for Chartres in company with the horseman [On arriving] I entered diligently into the study of the Aphorisms with Master Heribrand who was a man of great culture and learning. But in this I learned only the prognosis of diseases, and since

³⁹Histoire de son temps, tr. J. Gaudet. 2 vols. (Paris, 1845). Composed between 995 and 998.

such a simple knowledge of ailments was not sufficient for my desires I begged him to read [with me] his book entitled Concerning the Harmony of Hippocrates, Galen, and Soran. He granted this also, for he was very eminent in his profession, and well informed in pharmacology, pharmacy, botany, and surgery.⁴⁰

Fulbert's transfer between the same two locales is also indicative: after Gerbert's departure from Rheims to become Sylvester II, Chartres would succeed to the leadership of Rheims as the educational center of Gaul.⁴¹ Before being consecrated bishop of Chartres in 1006, Fulbert spent some sixteen years in the office of scholasticus at the cathedral school, and probably as chancellor.⁴²

In order not to sing the praises of Fulbert too highly and uncautiously, note must be made of the distinction between Fulbert as a scholar per se, and Chartres as an intellectual center at the time of Fulbert. Professor Loren MacKinney's attempts to temper the over-enthusiasm of Abbé Clerval,⁴³ who attributed the accomplishments of Chartres in the early eleventh

⁴⁰Ibid., II, 215-221. The English translation is that cited by Loren MacKinney in Early Medieval Medicine, with special reference to France and Chartres (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 122-23.

⁴¹Loren C. MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 122-23.

The reputations of several of the cathedral schools in the tenth and eleventh centuries were short-lived, their popularity or fame being based on the presence or activity of one particular scholar.

⁴²Ibid., p. 7, n. 8, citing letter II of Fulbert in PL 141.

⁴³Les Écoles de Chartres, pp. 58-107.

century to the personal activities of Fulbert, may have swung too far in the opposite direction in depreciating Fulbert's scholarly contributions, and even greater, his obvious impetus through encouragement and administrative support to Chartres' increased intellectual activity, especially in the liberal arts. It is true that much of the outside information on Fulbert comes from commemorative poems, epitaphs, and laudatory correspondence of some of Fulbert's admirers, and hence is to be carefully worked through for objective fact. But on the other hand, it is equally unhistorical to reject all pedagogical influence on the part of Fulbert, going so far as to deny that he ever delivered a lecture on any one of the liberal arts to a class of students,⁴⁴ on the basis that those who attributed such influence to him were emotionally attached, unobjective admirers. There had to be some basis for their admiration and for the scholarly claims, albeit exaggerated, which they made for him. Most of the following emphasis will be placed on what seems to have been taught at Chartres rather than by whom it was taught.

Reference has been made above to Chartres' attraction in the science and practice of medicine. Richer's Historia mentions the name of Heribrand, certainly the most prominent medical expert at Chartres and, since he was able to attract

⁴⁴MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert . . . , p. 25.

students from Rheims, quite probably in all of northern France. Ironically, next to nothing is known of him, save for the professional astuteness which attracted Richer. It is difficult to determine if the instruction was carried on informally through directed reading with experts in the field or by formal lectures. Richer speaks of reading the Aphorisms of Hippocrates with Heribrand. As for content, Richer records two stages of advanced study: one in prognosis, the second in methods of treatment chiefly by means of drugs. His medical vocabulary suggests that he read widely in classical medicine, and was himself an excellent theoretician as well as a practitioner. The terms he used are to be found in the classical and late Roman treatises which the library of Chartres possessed in manuscript form in the eleventh century.⁴⁵ Furthermore, his explanation of disease was based on the classical theory of the four humors; he made practically no reference to the supernatural in relation to human ailments.⁴⁶

On the other hand, Fulbert displays little evidence of a mastery of medical theory, although his letters show that he was well-versed in the practical aspects of pharmacy and

⁴⁵Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Chartres, Fonds du chapitre et de L'abbaye de Saint-Père; reprinted in Leon Maitre, Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident (Paris, 1866), pp. 287-89.

⁴⁶MacKinney, Early Medieval Medicine, p. 130.

antidotaria.⁴⁷ There are only vague references in his writings to Esculapius and Hippocrates. Rather, in his verses in honor of St. Pantaleon, patron saint of medicine, his stress is on the healing power of religion.⁴⁸ MacKinney concludes that "he seems to have picked up the rudiments of practical medicine and to have passed them on to his assistants in an empirical rather than academic manner."⁴⁹ From this he assumes that the medicine which Fulbert learned, practiced, and taught at Chartres was the simple home-remedy type of healing that clergymen were supposed to know and use in an amateur fashion. But it may also be concluded that the school made itself responsible for imparting both theoretic and practical medicine, regardless of the particular talents or penchants of individuals.

Pupils of Fulbert, or successors to him in the field of medicine, bear witness to the sustained medical reputation of Chartres. Fulbert's pupil and admirer, Adelman of Liège, described another pupil, Hildegard, who, he said, combined the art of Hippocrates with the speech of Socrates, and cultivated no less the Pythagorean lute.⁵⁰ In addition, there was the

⁴⁷Cf., e.g., letter IV, in PL 141, 195-96.

⁴⁸PL 141, 339 ff.

⁴⁹MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert . . . , p. 34.

⁵⁰PL 143, 1295 ff.:

8. Hildegerum, quem Pupillam nuncupare soliti,
Quod pusillus esset, immo perspicacis animi;

"black sheep," Berengar of Tours, less remembered for his ability in medicine as for his ability to get into theological hot waters; Goisbert of Chartres; Ralph the Clerk of Malecorona, also a student at Salerno; Guizo and John, both physicians; and Baldwin of Chartres. The latter's medical knowledge was to be put to use as the royal physician to Edward the Confessor and to William the Conqueror.⁵¹ To summarize, in the words of the authority on this phase of Chartres:

The history of medicine at Chartres may be taken as a symbol of the nature and development of human medicine in the early middle ages. It is noteworthy that Chartres has no tradition of supernatural healing; for the earlier centuries there is nothing save the record of liberal arts education. As elsewhere medicine was merely a part of the general training of intelligent churchmen. There were few professional physicians and most medical practice was carried on by amateurs, either lay or clerical. For the post-Carolingian ages Chartres has two remarkable developments, a book knowledge of classical medicine and a sane type of empirical practice.⁵²

In the area of the liberal arts, there is nothing too startling or peculiar to eleventh-century Chartres, or anything that represents a deviation in content or procedure from the Carolingian disciplines. Beginning with grammar, it is known from Fulbert's correspondence that the first book of Donatus was

Caterorum princeps atque communiiceps praesuli.

9. Is magistrum referbat vultu, voce, moribus,
Ypocratis artem jungens Socratis sermonibus,
Nec minus Pytagoreis indulgebat fidibus.

⁵¹MacKinney, Early Medieval Medicine, pp. 139-44.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 147-48.

being used, though perhaps presented in anything but an exciting manner. To Hildegard he wrote: "When you are construing Donatus, do not, I warn you, mingle any foolish levity with it that may cause a laugh, but in all things be serious."⁵³ More advanced students received instruction in Priscian, of which several copies existed either in the school or in the library of the monastery of Saint-Père de Chartres.

In dialectic, the example provided by Gerbert at the school of Rheims was followed. The Isagoges of Porphyry, translated by Boethius, was used as a text,⁵⁴ as was Aristotle's treatise on the Categories, and his books, De Interpretatione and Topica.⁵⁵ But of the three arts of the Trivium, Chartres in the time of Fulbert seems to have shone most brightly in that of rhetoric. The evolution of the Trivium throughout the Middle Ages will be considered in greater detail in a later chapter. At this point it suffices to note, with Christian Pfister, that the idea of dialectic predominating in the schools is indeed true for the thirteenth century when the first universities were founded, but that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the place of dialectic in no way eclipsed the other arts.⁵⁶ There is no

⁵³Letter LXIII, PL 141, 232.

⁵⁴A copy of which was sent by Fulbert to Hildegard.--
Ibid.

⁵⁵Cf. Richer, Historia, III, 46.

⁵⁶De Fulberti Carnotensis Vita et Operibus (Nancy, 1885),
p. 30.

question but that they studied diligently the three phases of rhetoric: 1) a somewhat dry and jejune exegesis of the rules; 2) a reading of the ancient writers, especially of the poets (Fulbert's correspondence betrays an imitation of Virgil, Juvenal, Persius, Horace, Lucan, and quite possibly Terrence;⁵⁷ he also makes explicit mention⁵⁸ of Gregory of Tours, Orosius, and Livy); 3) exercises in both prose and poetry. Generally, this type of exercise took the form of letter-writing, and Fulbert's letters are excellent examples of the imitation of the classics. They are not examples of hasty composition, but distinguished specimens of carefully selected and ornate diction. Poetry also flourished in the school. Fulbert and his contemporaries at Chartres--Angelran, Adelman, and Berengar--wrote verses and rhymes. It would appear that the imitation of the classics in both prose and poetry was restricted to borrowing specific words from the ancients, rather than using a complete sermon or oration as a model for their own composition.⁵⁹ Hence, it was a rather unsophisticated type of imitation. It may also have been responsible for the occasional appearance of an over-worked piece of correspondence.

MacKinney's claim that in the sciences of the Quadrivium

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Letter LXXX, PL 141, 239.

⁵⁹Pfister, De Fulberti Carnotensis Vita . . . , p. 32.

"the torch of learning burned rather dimly at Fulbert's Chartres," simply because he could find no direct evidence that Fulbert actually taught these subjects, is a rather sweeping generalization.⁶⁰ Chartres may not have been the outstanding mathematical center in all of western Europe in the eleventh century, as Clerval infers in his chapter on "Studies at Chartres in the Eleventh Century,"⁶¹ and Fulbert may not have held formal classes in mathematics, but this does not eliminate the school's reputation entirely, nor does it square with existing evidence. Within an eight-letter correspondence between Ragimbald, a ranking mathematician of Cologne, and Rodolf, a mathematician of Liège, are two letters which refer to the Chartrain school at this period,⁶² and its reputation for mathematics. The first makes mention of the occasion when Ragimbald was passing through Chartres and took advantage of the opportunity to discuss with Fulbert a difficult mathematical problem and to request a demonstration of it.⁶³ Though it says

⁶⁰Bishop Fulbert . . . , p. 29.

⁶¹Les Écoles de Chartres, Pt. II, c. 3, pp. 108-42.

⁶²Bibliothèque Nat. Ms. Lat. 6401, published by P. Tannery and A. Clerval, "Une Correspondance d'écolâtres du XI^e siècle," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques (Paris), XXXVI, pt. 2, 533; also quoted in part in Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters (Munich, 1931), II, 693 f., 779; in Clerval, Les Écoles, p. 464; and in part in MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert, Appendices 9 and 10, pp. 55-57.

⁶³Memini quidem quondam Carnotum sic. ut transeundo

nothing of Fulbert's professional role in the school of Chartres, the fact that Ragimbald, already an accomplished scholar before visiting Chartres, would consult with Fulbert, says something for the latter's reputation among mathematicians. Furthermore, the other member of this correspondence team, Rodolf, came from Liège a center for mathematical studies in the eleventh century,⁶⁴ to Chartres and became a favorite of Fulbert's, from which it can be deduced that the reputation of the school or an individual must have been no mean thing to encourage his change of residence.

A second piece of correspondence between the two indicates the presence at Chartres of a rare classical work on geometry "by a certain Albinus."⁶⁵ One can justifiably ask that if the treatise were not common to the everyday teaching of

venisse domnum Fulbertum id loci episcopum, eandem tuam figuram cum expositione super nostram primam de triangulo quaestionem mihi demonstrasse, et post plures inter nos collationes nostre sententiae consensisse. Posuit etiam ille descriptionem interioris anguli sic: Interior angulus dicitur qui suam perpendicularem intra tres lineas habet in triangulo. Cuius expositionem, quoniam ille se excusando denegavit mihi querenti, quero a te mihi delegari, dum tu etiam apud illum, ut audio, esses ingentis exercitii.--Cf. Appendix 9, in MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁴MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert, p. 15, n. 26, cites Godefroid Kurth, Notger de Liège de la civilisation au X^e siècle (Paris, 1905), ch. XIV, for this assertion.

⁶⁵De geometricis pedibus bene admodum et vere disseruistis eadem quippe Carnoti positus Albino quodam auctore didici, et alia perutilia id genus, quem librum occasione questionis conabar mutuari a vobis. Sed huic astutiae percallide occurristis, nam propositae questioni ita satisfacistis ut necesse non sit pro ea librum postulare. Jamvero frontate, quod aiunt,

mathematics in the average liberal arts program of the cathedral schools, why should it with certainty be located at Chartres, unless Chartres were more than average?

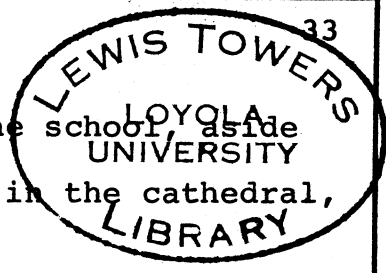
Akin to mathematical studies, and the third of the arts of the Quadrivium, was music. There is a goodly amount of evidence that it flourished at Chartres to a greater extent than in other schools in northern France. Chartres' tradition in music seems to have been established in the tenth century by another disciple of Gerbert of Rheims--a certain Herbert, a fellow-student with Fulbert at Rheims. He was reputed to have been "especially proficient among others in all knowledge of contemporary letters, and in the art of chanting, and in the excellence of his voice."⁶⁶ (He is also thought to have been the abbot of Lagny near Paris at the turn of the eleventh century, who offered the monks of Chartres a refuge during a period of trouble.)⁶⁷ Another figure to be noted in the field of music at Chartres was Fulbert's assistant, Sigo, "a most reknowned chanter," "preeminent in organized music and chanting."⁶⁸

peto, ut aut ipsum si habetis aut eiusmodi alium quem podismum [a treatise by Marcus Junius Nipsius] vocant transmittatis.-- Appendix 10 in MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert, pp. 56-57.

⁶⁶From an appendix to the Chronicon Fontanellense, ch. vii, ad ann. 1031; reprinted in MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert, Appendix 8, p. 55.

⁶⁷Cf. Fulbert's letter II (PL 141, 191 f.)

⁶⁸Karitate Sigo noster plenus atque gratia
Multa prebens ore, many, advenis solatia



Just how organized the study of music was at the school, aside from the practical aspects of liturgical chant in the cathedral, remains uncertain.

The very nature and purpose of the cathedral schools--to educate young clerics and to produce men of virtue--implies the teaching of the principles of religion and exercises in spirituality. Bishop Fulbert has often been referred to as an orthodox theologian, but just how far one can go in asserting that the science of theology was formally taught in the eleventh century is dubious. It was certainly not the thirteenth-century theology of Paris. Not until the logical treatises of Aristotle were accepted and taught in Western schools as dialectical guides was theology taught in a formalized manner. But this is not to say that instructions in the Faith were limited to pious exhortations. Certainly there must have been some theological preparation (in an academic sense), for example, which contributed to the intellectual equipment of Berengar of Tours, who had been trained from youth at the school of Chartres, and taught there for some time after his own studies were completed. The same Adelman who praised Fulbert and his deceased disciples in poetry⁶⁹ wrote a letter to Berengar urging him to return to the Faith of their master Fulbert, and of the school of Chartres,

Singularis organali regnebat in musica.--Verse 10B, of Adelman's poem regarding Fulbert and his deceased disciples (PL 141, 1295).

⁶⁹Cf. previous note.

saluting him as a former "youthful schoolmate . . . at the Academy of Chartres under our venerable Socrates."⁷⁰ Berengar's involvement in the theological controversies concerning the Eucharist took place after his departure from Chartres, while he was archdeacon of Angers and head of the cathedral school of Tours, but his introduction of rationalism into the principles of religion was not entirely unnoted even while at Chartres.⁷¹ Hence though it is true that one cannot pinpoint a direct legacy of Fulbert in the area of theology, it is still safe to assume that the stage was being set in the eleventh century, even at Chartres, for the theological activity, properly so-called, of the mid-twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

What can be known with certainty of the character of theological instruction at this period is its general simplicity. Greater weight was placed on the authority of the Fathers, such as Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Cyprian, than on the scholar's own reasoning, if the tracts, sermons, and

⁷⁰Collactaneum te meum vocavi propter dulcissimum illud contubernium quod cum te adopescentule, ipse ego majusculus, in academia Carnotensi sub nostro illo venerabili Socrate jucundissime duxi; cujus de convictu gloriari nobis dignius licet quam gloriabatur Plato, gratias agens naturae eo quod in diebus Socratis sui hominem se non pecudem peperisset. (PL 143, 1289 ff.)

⁷¹Cf. a description of him by a fellow-classmate, Guitmund, in the latter's De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate in Eucharistia (PL 149, 1427 ff.); also, Appendix 5 of MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert, p. 54.

correspondence of Fulbert may be used as an index. Among the medievals quoted were Bede, Rhabanus Maurus, Amaleric, and Haimo of Auxerre. In the area of Scriptural exegesis, the epitaphs of Fulbert, as well as eulogies given him by pupils at Chartres, testify to a probable stress on the literal interpretation. This may also be inferred from the concise exposition given to texts of grammar and logic among the liberal arts. Still, there exists no authentic work by Fulbert on Scripture in which this can be demonstrated.⁷² Miss Beryl Smalley's Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages has drawn up an argument, or rather what she would call a tempting thesis, based on fragments of a large collection of glosses on the Pauline epistles,⁷³ including some ascribed to Drogo of Paris, Lanfranc of Bec, and Berengar, Fulbert's pupil at Chartres. A comparison of the three shows a similarity of exegetical method, and it is on this similarity that Miss Smalley suggests that Berengar is at "the centre of a movement which derived from his master St. Fulbert of Chartres, and which his pupil Lanfranc continued at Bec and Caen (1043-5 to 1070)."⁷⁴

⁷²The sermon ascribed to him in PL 141, 278-306, is spurious; cf. J. Chatillon, "Le contenu, l'authenticité et la date du Liber exceptionum," Revue du Moyen-Age latin, IV (1948), 364.

⁷³([Oxford, 1952], Notre Dame--paperback edition, 1964) pp. 47-48. Cf. also, B. Smalley, "La Glossa Ordinaria," Recherches theologiques anciennes et médiévales, IX (1937), 372-99.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 48.

It has been noted above that Fulbert in his own day was known as a pillar of religious orthodoxy. It has been the tendency of modern investigators to manifest interest in his role as a reconciler of the faith with reason, of religion with the liberal arts, of theology with philosophy. There is a danger here of reading into the origins of the school the accomplishments of a later century--as the following chapters will show in greater detail, of Chartres in the twelfth century. In the fields of philosophy and theology and the integration of the two, the groundwork and orientation was laid in the eleventh century, but within the cathedral schools would reach its maturity only in a John of Salisbury, a Thierry of Chartres, a William of Conches, or a Gilbert de la Porrée.

Although there is no evidence that formal courses in canon law were conducted at Chartres at this time, there is much to observe along ecclesiastical and administrative lines that would necessitate a fairly thorough knowledge of both church and civil law. Fulbert's correspondence is dominated by administrative affairs that involved Chartres and neighboring dioceses in problems both spiritual and temporal. It must be recalled that the study of Roman law in the West did not revive until the end of the eleventh century, and that in the area of ecclesiastical law, collectiones per se were hardly in existence, let alone their organized study. Nevertheless, on matters which

involved ecclesiastical tradition Fulbert cited the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, canons of the councils and the so-called "false decretals" to settle questions of episcopal elections, ordinations, church ritual, annulments of marriages, and the like.⁷⁵ Where principles of right or justice were involved, his vision marked him as an administrator who could subordinate legal technicalities to fundamental human needs, and to the understanding of the human condition. But there are also letters which reveal his unswerving defense of the French episcopate before the Pope⁷⁶ and before monastic leaders who tended to disregard or flout the authority of the bishops.⁷⁷ With kings and other temporal rulers such as Count Odo of Chartres and Duke William of Aquitaine his correspondence reveals support of the Capetian dynasty even at the risk of offending his immediate temporal lord, Count Odo,⁷⁸ and an authoritative knowledge of feudal procedure. His letters to Duke William and others concerning the oath of fealty and the obligations of Fulbert's vassals are revealing documents on eleventh-century French

⁷⁵MacKinney, Bishop Fulbert, p. 7.

⁷⁶Letters XXVI, LXXIV, and LXXXII (all references of Fulbert's correspondence are found in PL 141).

⁷⁷Letters XVI and XCI.

⁷⁸Letter XXXII.

feudalism and the role of the bishop within it.⁷⁹ All of which indicates a very practical knowledge of the law which clerics at the school could observe with keen interest, were formal instructions lacking.

From Fulbert's knowledge and practice of legal procedures a logical transition may be made to another famous administrator of Chartres, one whose name is seldom omitted from even the most cursory of histories of canon law. Reference is, of course, to Yves of Chartres, bishop of that diocese from 1090 to 1115, and who, in turn, will provide a logical transition to a study of the cathedral school in the twelfth century. One historian of Chartres, M. E. de Lepinois, has contrasted Fulbert at the beginning of the eleventh century and Yves at its conclusion by calling the former the creator of a school of philosophy, while the latter made practical philosophers of the monks whom he governed in the monastery of Saint-Quentin.⁸⁰ Yves was a man like Gregory of Tours, much more embroiled in the political events in France than Fulbert, a zealous promoter of the religious movement behind the Crusades. His extensive correspondence reveals a man who cared not to mince his words with kings and princes, and yet received in return respect for his counsel. A variety of impressive names is dispersed

⁷⁹Letters VI, X, XXIII, and LVIII.

⁸⁰Histoire de Chartres (Chartres, 1854), I, 88-89.

throughout collections of his letters: Kings Philip and Louis VI of France, Henry I of England, Popes Urban II and Pascal II, legates, bishops, the countess Adele, Counts Etienne and Thibaut of Chartres, lords of Puiset and the faithful of his dioceses.⁸¹ Though a bishop who frequently employed the parable of the Good Shepherd to describe his duties toward all the members of his diocese, there is nonetheless an unmistakable militancy to his correspondence, and probably to his own mode of thinking, wherein the political life of his day is depicted in the guise of an armed theocracy, and his own duties seen in the light of reforming the morals of the soldiers of God, be they on their way to Palestine or members of a cloister.⁸²

Yves of Chartres is most frequently remembered in medieval history for his contributions toward the collective organization of canon law. The Panormia (ca. 1100) is his collection, topically arranged, of carefully selected extracts of laws and of principles of ecclesiastical law--a useful and accurate compilation in that day. On the basis of Yves' reputation as a canonist, C. H. Haskins concluded that Chartres was a center for canon law,⁸³ but there is no evidence of

⁸¹Yves of Chartres, Correspondance, ed. Jean Leclerq, T.I.: 1090-1098 (Paris, 1949).

⁸²Lepinois, Histoire de Chartres, I, 89.

⁸³Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (New York, 1955), p. 376.

anything more being produced along these lines by any of the students or masters of the school. Indeed, the late French archivist and medievalist, B. Hauréau, has concluded in his study of the masters of the Chartrain school that Yves never taught canon law in any kind of an academic chair.⁸⁴ All that can be safely claimed is that there must have been established a climate for the practical application and understanding of ecclesiastical law as it was administered earlier by Fulbert and here by Yves.

To the school of Chartres in the first half of the twelfth century Yves may have left a slightly less tangible heritage. Although scholars and masters of Chartres in the decades following his episcopacy quite characteristically broke beyond the confines of the usually accepted canon of Biblical and patristic authorities for support of their own writings, this is not to deny that a respect for traditional authorities was at the same time maintained. To this respect and cult of tradition Yves contributed in large measure. To Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, he wrote in 1097:

I do not mean that one cannot promulgate new ordnances to counter new abuses; but I say, in the words of Pope Zozimus, to the inhabitants of Narbonne: To make concessions or changes contrary to the decrees of Fathers does not even pertain to the authority of

⁸⁴"Mémoire sur quelques maîtres du XII^e siècle," Mémoires de l'Institut national de France--Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXVIII (1874), 2^e partie, 226.

the Holy See, because for us antiquity lives by roots which cannot be torn up, and the Fathers sanction respect for it.⁸⁵

His counsels in this respect are clothed in terms of justice, right, and law: his was the cult of tradition and he intended that no one exceed its right, that no one transgress the time-honored limits placed by the Fathers. He took care, as he notes elsewhere, not to stray from order, whose respect is imposed on everyone: non recedere ab ordine.⁸⁶ This same spirit was handed to his twelfth-century successors and is evident in their work, although, as will be noted, the necessity of remaining within the confines of the Fathers would no longer be felt.

Thus it is evident that the renaissance of the twelfth century did not occur unheralded. Nor was Chartres suddenly made the focal point of the literary and philosophical activity of this renaissance without some ground of preparation. The framework of the liberal arts within which the noted Chartrain names of the twelfth century would work was sturdy enough by the end of the eleventh century to allow room for freshness and adaptation. Chartres' record in medicine and mathematics lends some directive explanation to its interest in the first half of the twelfth century in learning the secrets of nature and organizing natural and supernatural knowledge according to

⁸⁵Letter V, Correspondance, p. 241.

⁸⁶Letter LXXIV, Ibid.

mathematical principles. From an administrative point of view it is clear that the succession of highly educated bishops at Chartres throughout the eleventh century, from Fulbert to Yves, enormously assisted the school in transferring the best in monastery education to the cathedral center. Having this stability and brief tradition established, and at least a relative political calm prevailing, conditions were ripe for a new flow of intellectual and literary life. It is in view of these conditions that a more detailed analysis of the Chartrain writings of the twelfth century can best be appreciated and understood.

CHAPTER II

THE 12TH-CENTURY SCHOOL OF CHARTRES:

NATURE AND THE CREATOR

This and the following two chapters will be devoted to breaking down into its component elements the humanism of the school of Chartres in the twelfth century. Just how ambiguous a term "humanism" is should be clear from the previous chapter's account of the varied manner in which historians have applied it to the renaissances of history. The historian treads cautiously and somewhat hesitantly from his distance of eight hundred years in attempting to discern the extent to which the various meanings which have been ascribed to the term "humanism" came into play during the twelfth century, and to what extent one element prevailed over another. Particularly is this so when dealing with a subject as elusive as the history of ideas, and in the case of Chartres, when the philosophical and literary productions consisted more often than not of commentaries on authorities rather than original compositions.¹

¹In Appendix I (pp. 290-291) is presented a run-down of the major figures of Chartres in the twelfth century, with the known historical data of each. This is added to assist in placing the arguments and speculations which form the bulk of these chapters into historical context.

Behind this analysis of Chartrain humanism is the desire to learn its motivating principle, assuming that there was such a motivation. That the scholarly activities of the school and the literary and philosophical treatises written by its masters were not something haphazard will be seen in the course of these pages, and, it is hoped, will support the validity of this assumption. An over-all perspective of the accomplishments of the Chartrain scholars of this period suggests a number of ways in which to present the material. One way, that adopted by Edgar de Bruyne in his study of the aesthetics of the Timaeus at Chartres, is to divide the Chartrains into what he calls littérateurs and techniciens. Such a division argues that there were two strains of development which Chartrain humanism pursued: one, the technique, presented a philosophical doctrine expressed in a mathematical-scientific system; the other, the littéraire, poeticized the doctrinal content of the school and celebrated the world beau à voir in its works.² While this division is meaningful in exposing the two dominant characteristics or means of approach to philosophical problems taken by the brighter lights of the school (and one must see in it an effective means of pursuing the theme of medieval aesthetics which is de Bruyne's purpose), it falls short in a

²E. de Bruyne, Études d'esthétique médiévale, Vol. II: l'Époque romane (Bruges, 1946), pp. 257-58.

demonstration such as this where underlying motives are sought. Furthermore, it encourages an inaccurate constriction of these scholars into defined areas of specialization, a current against which the Chartrain masters vainly fought at the close of the twelfth century. For example, William of Conches is included among the techniciens, undoubtedly for his scientific and naturalistic treatises, the Philosophia mundi and the Dragmaticon. While it is true that more is known of William of Conches during the period of his life when his interests were turned in this direction, such an emphasis neglects the earlier years when his fame as a grammarian drew potential scholars to Chartres. John of Salisbury considered it sufficient to identify him merely as the "grammarian of Conches."³ Such a selective division likewise fails to take note of the many interesting observations on ethics which this same scholar offered, and which in turn certainly contributed to his general concept of the human person.

Rather than attempt to divide and analyze these writers according to a superimposed structure, another cadre has been selected, consisting of those subjects which were emphasized at

³"I then transferred, after deliberation and consultation, and with the approval of my instructors, to the grammarian of Conches. I studied under the latter for three years, during which I learned much. Nor will I ever regret the time thus spent."--The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury, trans. Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley, 1955), Bk. II, c. 10, p. 95. Hereafter cited as Metalogicon.

the school of Chartres or which were repeatedly considered by each master. Though decidedly philosophical in character and presentation, these topics nonetheless lend themselves to an historical context in that they may be regarded as a cultural development from the attitudes cultivated in earlier monastic schools, and they may also be contrasted with the scholastic specialization and definition of the thirteenth-century universities.

Accordingly, the relationship of man to nature and to the Author of nature must receive first consideration. A cursory search in the Chartrain manuscripts brings ready evidence of their naturalistic interests, as they are variously described in numerous historical monographs. The literature which proliferated after the eighteenth-century publication of the Histoire littéraire de la France by the Benedictines of St. Maur regarding the controverted Chartrain pantheism is ample indication of their interest in the origins and constitution of the physical world, and the expression of that interest in terms of their own Christian tradition as well as in the less respected terminology of non-Christian and classical authors. Apparently the shift of emphasis at Chartres from the eleventh-century study of medicine to the broader field of all the natural sciences corresponded to a broadening vision of the

objects of these sciences,⁴ and then to an even more sweeping metaphysical treatment of nature.

The Chartrain "discovery of nature"⁵ was not one of revolt against the narrower treatments characteristic of monastic writing, but rather one of expansion, at times expansive enough to involve some of the members of the school in theological disputes with Bernard of Clairvaux. Hence, a discussion of the school's position on man in relation to Nature cannot be divorced from the relationship which both man and nature bear toward the Creator. Indeed, the humanism and naturalism of Chartres can only be viewed in light of their subordination and orientation to God--this despite the labels of paganism or pantheism which some critics have tried to attach to Bernard Silvestris' De Mundi Universitate, and other Chartrain texts, as will be shown later in this chapter. To one who has read extensively in the literature of the twelfth-century renaissance, the phrase "correlation of Plato's Timaeus with the Genesis account" all but becomes a cliché in describing the Chartrain preoccupation with creation and its procession from the Creator. Because man is seen to occupy the place of honor in the created world, his relationship to the

⁴See M.-D. Chenu, La Théologie au XII^e siècle (Paris, 1957), p. 247.

⁵Ibid., p. 21 ff.

Creator will be of prime interest.

Having placed man in his larger physical and metaphysical milieu, the Chartrains considered man in himself--the complexity of the human individual with his ties to the vegetative and animal worlds, and his participation in the world of the divine by reason of his rational and spiritual faculties. Bernard Silvestris' description of the microcosmos in his De Mundi Universitate, as well as his anthropomorphic commentary on the first six books of the Aeneid, are glowing witnesses of the endeavor, conscious or otherwise, to realize the Socratic dictum: "Know thyself."⁶ As the term "microcosm" suggests, the study of creation was likewise directed to the goal of self-knowledge, i.e., in knowing the universe and its component parts, man could come to know himself. It is in this more fundamental sense of the term "humanism" that the members of the twelfth-century school of Chartres are most aptly given the label "humanists"; they were classicists only insofar as the classics were a means to an end.

Closely allied to a consideration of man in himself is a fourth topic considered important by the school of Chartres--that of man as a social being. It is for this reason that the attention paid to society is included in the same chapter. The

⁶Richard McKeon, "Poetry and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century," Modern Philology, XLIII (1945-46), 231.

theory of society, most eloquently expressed in John of Salisbury's Policraticus,⁷ is not startling in view of the changing conditions from a feudal to an urban society which he was experiencing, but it does serve to concretize the other humanistic writings that were to emanate from the school of that era. There is, in addition, an unmistakable parallel in the outlook toward society and the individual's position within it, with the larger concept of harmony and order in the universe.

The final two general topics to which the Chartrain scholars devoted much time and attention--indeed, some might say they were all but exclusively preoccupied with them--are the programs of education which develop the highest powers in man, and the goals of man's life for which his educational program was to prepare him. Here again the reader cannot expect to be startled by a departure from the traditional medieval program of the Trivium and Quadrivium at Chartres, for it is precisely these studies which formed the framework of presentation. But the somewhat daring use of texts previously shunned by ranking Christian writers, coupled with the governing orientation of the school, lent a character to Chartres which succeeding historians have not failed to note and which shed light upon the motivating concept of their

⁷Cf. Ch. III, pp. 118-25.

teaching and writing. That these concepts varied from what had preceded and from what would follow in the subsequent university age will be clear from a more extensive exposition of the Chartrain attitudes toward education and its purposes.

* * * * *

Turning, first of all, to nature. A term such as this is indeed ambiguous, and when one is up against the fluidity of twelfth-century philosophical terminology the task of definition becomes even more difficult. To the extent that Chartrain naturalism can be exposed in its entirety, the term "nature" will have to be looked at from two points of view--metaphysical and physical (or "scientific," as the Chartrains presented it). The metaphysical aspect or approach is seen most vividly in John of Salisbury's Metalogicon and in William of Conches' Philosophia mundi. The latter, in his Dragmaticon, and Thierry of Chartres, in the treatise De sex dierum operibus, also consider nature in its physical aspects. In addition, an aesthetic and poetic presentation is found in Bernard Silvestris' De Mundi Universitate. In themselves these are simply disparate considerations about the concept of nature. But when seen in the larger historical and cultural context of similar exposés, such as John Scotus Erigena's commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy of the Pseudo-Areopagite, and the

contemporary Hugh of St. Victor's Didascalion, and when seen in the context of an expanding knowledge of the geographical world and universe beyond the bounds of the earth, these disparate elements offer significant information on Chartres' basic concept of man.

That the intellectual and cultural movement of the twelfth century, particularly as it was expressed at Chartres, was not something sudden is clear from even the most cursory perusals of histories of medieval culture.⁸ But that there is any defined set of causes responsible for the increased, and in a very limited sense, specialized interest in the cosmological aspects of philosophy is assuredly debatable. To recount even the more general factors suggested by historians of this period is to end up with a list which could serve as well for an outline of the general cultural events and developments of the twelfth century. Henri Pirenne would indirectly opt for the economic and social factor of urbanization as responsible for the increasing awareness of a world beyond the individual's immediate concerns.⁹ C. H. Haskins has urged the influence of Arabic science in western educational circles, importing through translations not only their own science but also Greek

⁸Cf., for example, the background drawn up by C. H. Haskins in The Renaissance of the 12th Century.

⁹H. Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (New York, 1937), p. 40 ff.

treatises on nature;¹⁰ still others would generally attribute the increased interest in physical nature to the influence of the Crusades. And one cannot overlook the orientation of the medical studies at Chartres in the eleventh century.

No one can say that any one of these factors failed to contribute to an ambiance of discovery, limited though the latter may have been. But while lip service is occasionally paid to the writings and translations of John Scotus Erigena, his importance is far too frequently overlooked. It is surprising, to say the least, to find medieval historians presumably established in their fields, who remark that "no thinker of equal ability had less influence upon contemporaries or upon the future."¹¹ That his impact on his own age was almost nil is true. Yet recurrent appearances in subsequent centuries suggest that it is safer to conclude with Gilson in his History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages that the writings of Scotus Erigena "seem to have exercised a kind of underground activity."¹² Themes of the De Divisione naturae, though "taboo" in traditional Christian circles, were taken up

¹⁰Studies in the History of Medieval Science (Cambridge, Mass., 1927); also Lynn Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York, 1923), Vol. II, chs. 38-39.

¹¹Robert S. Hoyt, Europe in the Middle Ages (New York, 1957), p. 152.

¹²p. 128.

John of Salisbury's account (Metalogicon, IV, xxxv,

from time to time by more daring figures, but because of pantheistic accusations, were dropped. This underground persistence, then, of Erigena's writings, themes, and terminology, seems to have been among the catalytic forces which resulted in the so-called naturalism of the twelfth-century school of Chartres, as a careful reading of the works of William of Conches, of Bernard of Chartres, and of Bernard Silvestris will suggest. This will be made more precise in the following paragraphs where the Chartrain position is presented.

pp. 259-60) of Bernard of Chartres' interpretation of the doctrine of Ideas is a case in point, wherein Bernard held that while the idea is "eternal," it is not coeternal with God. This strongly resembles the text of Scotus Erigena's De Divisione naturae,--"primordiales causae [second rung of the hierarchy of reality] ideo primordiales appellantur, quia primitus ab una creatrice omnium causa creantur, et ea quae sub ipsis sunt creant" (Lib. II, c. 15; PL 122, 547-48). Erigena maintained that the Word and the primordial causes were distinct, and the latter's "eternity" was subordinated to that of the Word (Ibid., II, c. 21; PL 122, 561-62).

A second example from Chartres is that of Bernard Silvestris, whose Nous in the De Mundi Universitate (Bk. I, c. 13; cf. bibliography reference) is assuredly the Word described by Scotus Erigena. Nous is the first image of vital life, God come from God, substance of the true, holder of eternal counsel, etc. (Cf. Pierre Duhem, Le Système du monde [Paris, 1914], V, 256).

William of Conches' interpretation of the phrase "omnis creatura" in describing the primacy of man recalls that proposed by St. Gregory and later taken up by Scotus Erigena (De Div. nat., III; PL 122, 733): man is called "omnis creatura" because he has something in common with all categories of being--inanimate bodies, vegetal, sentient, and angelic being. He is the image and resumé of the universe, the "conclusio omnium," says Scotus Erigena (Ibid., IV, c. 10; PL 122, 782). For William's adaptation of this in his commentary on Boethius, cf. below, Ch. III, p. 97, n. 32.

Allusions to Scotus Erigena's "underground activity" are likewise found in Hugh of St. Victor's Didascalion, I, 6.

Whatever the cause or causes of this consciousness of nature among these scholars--for one must speak of the school in terms of its masters and its producing scholars--one cannot deny its existence. It evinces an increased breadth of vision in the possibilities of intellectual endeavor, whose expression took a variety of forms. A treatise on physical nature, for example, is not content to describe a physical element in itself, but must relate it to the entire physical universe. Terminology provides other indications of this increased vision. The number of times the word "universitas" appears (used abstractly, and not in the sense of universitas rerum or commune) to designate "the universe" is one sign, prompted by the reading of Scotus Erigena, or the Dionysian corpus.¹³ Note, too, the title of Bernard Silvestris' "Megacosmos and Microcosmos"--the De Mundi Universitate. It is a recognition of the world as a whole, of the oneness of the universe. From a Neoplatonic point of view, the world of forms is recognized as penetrating each of its participating units, and is not completely abstracted from them. To be sure, this is not entirely peculiar to Chartres; it is true of other twelfth-

¹³Cf. Chenu, La Théologie au XII^e siècle, pp. 22-23. Cf. also, Scotus Erigena, De Divisione naturae, II, 1; PL 122, 524.

century intellectual centers, most notably the Victorines.¹⁴ Such a background nevertheless helps to demonstrate the character of the Chartrain attitude.

It is this factor of terminology which leads directly into a consideration of the first way in which nature was investigated at Chartres, viz., as a philosophical, and more precisely, a metaphysical term. This presupposes an acquaintance with the schools of thought with which the Chartrains were familiar.¹⁵ Practically every book, article, and monograph published on the school of Chartres makes reference to the Platonism or Neoplatonism which was part of its heritage through Boethius and Chalcidius--if not entirely a reproduction of Plato or Plotinus, then certainly in their use of Platonic and Neoplatonic terminology. To an extent this is true, but to leave it at that is to paint a rather incomplete picture of the philosophical currents present at Chartres in

¹⁴Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, Expos. in Hier. cael. 2; PL 175, 980. Cf. also Gerhoh of Reichersberg, De aedificio Dei, PL 194, 1103. Also, Arnold of Bonneval, Hexameron, prologue; PL 189, 1516.

¹⁵Without assigning them to any particular school of thought, a contemporary in another circle, Hugh of St. Victor, listed various ways in which "nature" had been regarded in times previous to his: viz., as (1) the archetypal Exemplar of all things in the divine Mind, the primordial cause of each thing's existence and character; (2) the peculiar being of each thing; and (3) an artificer fire coming forth with a certain power from above and begetting sensible objects upon the earth. --The "Didascalion" of Hugh of St. Victor, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York, 1961), Book I, ch. 10.

the twelfth century. Though perhaps not completely understood in its original context, due to the absence of parts of the Aristotelian corpus in Latin translation until the end of the twelfth century, Aristotelian terminology and Aristotle as an authority are frequently drawn upon in the writings of John of Salisbury, Thierry of Chartres, and Otto of Freising, who was a student of Gilbert de la Porrée at Chartres. The catalogues of the library of Chartres reveal the presence as early as the eighth century of Boethius' commentary on the Categories of Aristotle, his commentary on the Perihermenias in the ninth century, and the rest of the Organon before 1150.¹⁶ Thierry of Chartres' outline of texts to be studied, seen in the Prologue of his Heptateuchon (written before 1154), likewise lists all the books of Aristotle's Logic, with the exception of the Posterior Analytics.

Of Aristotelian origin, though tempered by Boethius, is the conception of nature as a principle of activity.¹⁷ In his

¹⁶"Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Chartres," in Leon Maitre, Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident, pp. 287-89.

A catalogue of the abbey of St.-Père de Chartres in the eleventh century reveals possession of Boethius' commentary on the Categories of Aristotle at that date (No. 62).

¹⁷Aristotle, Physica, III, 200b:--"Nature has been defined as a 'principle of motion and change.'"

Whether or not Aristotle's Physics was known to the Chartrains of the first half of the twelfth century is a matter for debate, but they would have had the same definition from Boethius' Liber de persona et duabus naturis contra Eutychem et

defense of the Chartrain program of studies against the attacks of a group whom he called the Cornificians,¹⁸ John of Salisbury hesitantly subscribed to this definition.

Nature is, according to some (although it is not easy to explain this definition) "a certain genitive force, implanted in all things, whereby they can act or be the recipients of action." . . . That force which is originally implanted in each and every thing and constitutes the source of its activities or aptitudes is a nature . . .¹⁹

According to this point of view, nature is the principle of existence for every being, and John attempted to apply it to all levels of metaphysical existence--to beings composed of physical parts, to simple beings whose composition consisted of matter and form (extremely elusive terms in the context of twelfth-century philosophical formulations), or to that being which decrees that this or that should be constituted this or that way, or act this or that way. The latter, of course, refers to the divine will which the author of the Metalogicon renames "first nature," asserting that "the principle of

Nestorium, where he attributed to Aristotle the definition: Natura est motus principium, secundum se, non per accidens. Cf. PL 64, 1342.

¹⁸"Cornificius" is the pseudonym which John gave to the leader of a group of scholars who contended that eloquence was a gift bestowed or denied by nature, and that it was therefore useless to waste time and effort on studies such as grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the more theoretical aspects of the Quadrivium. Rather, education should be devoted to vocational preparation for the professions.--Metalogicon, I, chs. 6, 9, and 24.

¹⁹Ibid., I, c. 8, pp. 28-29.

movement as such traces back to God, and that Aristotle would not deny this."²⁰ In the development of the nascent scholasticism this endeavor to provide a rational explanation in non-religious terms for the ultimate principles of reality represents a middle ground between the pragmatic program of the Cornificians²¹ and such critics of rational considerations of matters of faith and their implications as Bernard of Clairvaux.

Providing a rational explanation of reality that was in accord with Christian faith as eleven centuries of traditions had handed it down to them is a leading characteristic of the school of Chartres in the twelfth century. Not only was this to be in accord with faith, but it likewise was subordinated to religion at almost every turn of expression. Referring to nature as the will of God is a prime example of this, and is to be found more elaborately expressed in the same author's Policraticus.²² In a chapter regarding omens (one of the many

²⁰Ibid.

²¹"They would accordingly reduce attention to grammar, rhetoric, logic, and the other liberal arts almost to the point of extinction, and substitute accelerated accreditation leading to undelayed entrance into lucrative occupations."--Daniel D. McGarry, "Educational Theory in the Metalogicon of John of Salisbury," Speculum, XXIII (1948), 660. Compare Metalogicon, I, chs. 4 and 24.

²²Often rambling in its content, the Policraticus is an eight-book treatise, subtitled "The Follies of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers." Completed in 1159, it describes court life as John saw it in the domains of Henry II of England and in his own career as a papal diplomat.

enumerated follies of courtiers) and forewarning signs sent by God, John of Salisbury took up the question of signs which apparently violate nature's laws. "If," he says,

. . . we agree with Plato, who asserts that nature is the will of God, as a matter of course none of the above mentioned occurrences violate the laws of nature, since all things have occurred in accord with his will. He, as he enforces the laws of nature, has in view divine goodness as the ultimate goal. He, Plato continues, is the personification of goodness; consequently entirely freed from envy. Hence He decreed that all nature should be like unto himself in so far as each of its parts is susceptible to divine happiness. If anybody postulates that this purpose of God is the real source of all things, I agree that his judgment is sound.

Indeed the wisdom and goodness of God, in which originate all things, are with perfect truth called nature, and nothing works contrary to this because nothing annuls the purpose of God or interferes with those causes which have existed from eternity in the mind of him who in his understanding has made the heavens.²³

This passage not only refers to the religious consciousness of the school of Chartres, for it can be duplicated in other scholars as well, but it also illustrates the lack of any one prevalent philosophical system at Chartres. In the previous instance it was Aristotle who was used as an authority; here it is Plato--Plato, of course, as he was handed down through Plotinus, Chalcidius, and Augustine. In this respect some later historians have seen an attempt to reconcile these two Greek authorities at Chartres, somewhat as Boethius had hoped to do, but the assertion is only true in the case of one of the

²³Metalogicon, II, c. 17, p. 115.

earlier masters, Bernard of Chartres--called by John of Salisbury, "the greatest font of literary learning in Gaul."

In his words,

Bernard of Chartres and his followers labored strenuously to compose the differences between Aristotle and Plato. But I opine that they arrived on the scene too late, so that their efforts to reconcile two dead men, who disagreed as long as they were alive and could do so, were in vain.²⁴

"Nature" is given another metaphysical definition by a third Chartrain scholar, William of Conches. In both his Dragmaticon²⁵ and his Commentary on the Timaeus (c. 1125) nature is called vis quaedam rebus insita similia de similibus operans, an interior principle which has as its function the production of effects similar to itself.²⁶ He places the work

²⁴Ibid., II, c. 12, p. 73.

²⁵A third edition of his Philosophia mundi, composed between 1136 and 1141.

²⁶Dragmaticon, 31; Commentary on the Timaeus, Excerpts reprinted in J. M. Parent, La Doctrine de la création dans l'École de Chartres (Paris, 1938), p. 148.

H. Flatten's monograph on William of Conches, Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches (Koblenz, 1929), pp. 89-90, typically German in its thoroughness, contains nevertheless a somewhat confusing discussion of "Nature and Person" in William's philosophy. Flatten says that William's definition of nature indirectly rejects other definitions which consider nature as some kind of principle of action and passivity, including Aristotle's "principle of motion." But in the succeeding paragraph he asserts that William's vis naturalis is a restatement of the Aristotelian Law of Synonymy. (See below, p. 54).

of nature between that of the Creator and that of the human artificer, and ranks the activity of the three according to the permanence of their effects: the activity of God is creation ex nihilo, i.e., in no way bound to matter. The work of nature ceases to exist in individuals, but it endures in the species. The activity of man presupposes matter which has to be formed, and a pattern or model according to which it is formed. Hence, it will pass out of existence with the matter.²⁷ Because nature provides these models and is itself not dependent upon them, what it produces is something similar to itself; it acts in this sense as a principle of generation. What is reproduced here is the Aristotelian law of Synonymy: "Similar causes beget similar effects,"²⁸ which was transmitted to the early Scholastics through Chalcidius,²⁹ Pseudo-Apuleius, Macrobius,³⁰ and Boethius' Commentary on the Topics of Cicero.³¹ This same law of Synonymy was used by Bernard Silvestris, of whom more will be noted later, in his De Mundi Universitate. Referring

²⁷Opus ergo creatoris contrahit ex suo artifice perpetuo subsistere, opus vero naturae per prolem subsequentem, opus vero hominis omnino transit.--Glossa in Timaeum, in Parent, p. 148.

²⁸Metaphysics XII 3, 1071a 5; VII 7, 1032a 25. Cf. n. 26.

²⁹In Platonis Timaeum, n. 51.

³⁰Saturnalia VII 5, 17.

³¹PL 64, 1150 ff.

to the propagation and perpetuation of the human species, he (Bernard) says:

Format et effingit sollers natura liquorem,
Ut simili genesis ore reducat avos.³²

Proof of the lack of philosophical systematization at Chartres is not to be restricted simply to the indiscriminate drawing from Plato or Aristotle. In no respect is it seen more clearly than in the discussions of nature as Neoplatonic "Ideas"--i.e., as causes of particular existences. Here the observer runs into a continual flux in terminology; essence, nature, genera, species, etc., are used sometimes with definite meanings; more often, interchangeably. Once again such concepts are employed in relation to creation, and as is to be seen so often, they indicate an underlying concern to prove and to assert the unity of all creation. John of Salisbury quotes Bernard of Chartres as teaching:

I say that the cause of particular existences is
to be found,
Not in the intimate union of matter and form,
But rather in the fact that one of these perdures,
Being called by the Greek "Idea," even as he
called matter hyle.³³

While many contemporaries of the Chartrains, and

³²De Mundi Universitate, sive Megacosmos et Microcosmos, ed. C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), II, c. 14, p. 70.

³³Metalogicon, IV, c. 35, p. 259.

historians too,³⁴ interpreted the use of this terminology and technique of thinking as a basis for their accusation of pantheism, the masters stoutly denied the attacks. Bernard of Chartres held that the idea is "eternal" but he refused to accord it coeternity with that of divine providence, concluding that

. . . the idea cannot measure up to an equal status with the divinity. For the idea is, in a certain way, subsequent in nature to the divinity, and a sort of effect which subsists in the inner sanctuary of the divine mind, without needing any extrinsic cause.³⁵

The arguments are indeed mental peregrinations, not always too convincing, but this lack of persuasive power is owed rather to the novice efforts at providing a philosophy of the world, and the paucity of philosophical formulation, than to deviations from traditional Christian teaching.

The mélange of definitions of nature is further increased by John of Salisbury who supported Aristotle in opposition to Plato, Augustine, and to certain of his contemporaries who championed Plato in his analysis of the nature of universals;³⁶ and by Gilbert de la Porrée, a teacher

³⁴Notably the Histoire littéraire de la France (Paris, 1742-63), t. XII, 261-262; Maurice De Wulf, "Le Panthéisme chartrain," Aus der Geisteswelt Mittelalters, I (1935), 282-88; B. Hauréau, "Mémoire sur quelques chanceliers de l'Eglise de Chartres," Mémoires de l'Institut national de France, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXI, 2 (1884), 85 ff.

³⁵Metalogicon, IV, c. 35, p. 260.

³⁶Ibid., II, c. 20, p. 140.

of John's, who, endeavoring to explain Aristotle, labored to prove that "native forms and universals are identical."³⁷ In effect, though he attempted to explain Aristotle, Gilbert's work constructed a hierarchy of forms, exempla, and Ideas which actually corresponded to the most Platonic elements in the Aristotelian conception of being.³⁸ Gilson has written of the "polymorphisms of the Platonic influence," and to this Gilbert contributed to developing and diffusing the Platonism of Boethius, the "realism of essences," which would subsequently find its reinforcement in the philosophy of Avicenna. In their use of Neoplatonic concepts and terminology, Bernard of Chartres and John of Salisbury unconsciously helped to remove some of the discredit previously attached to Neoplatonism as a system, and readied a path for the thirteenth-century toleration of Neoplatonized Aristotelianism as it made its appearance through the Arab commentators.³⁹

"Nature," taken in its more popular meaning of the system of all phenomena in space and time, i.e., creation, the

³⁷Ibid., II, c. 17, p. 115.

³⁸Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy, p. 143.

³⁹Cf. R. R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries (Cambridge, 1934), p. 177.

universe, etc., took on a character quite peculiar to the school of Chartres in the twelfth century, compared with other educational centers of the same period. The effort to provide a rational explanation of reality, a rapport between reason and Revelation,⁴⁰ did not remain simply on a vague philosophical level, but turned to the realm of cosmology and physics, and the subsidiary science of mathematics for its emphasis. If order and harmony were found to pervade creation on a not-too-precisely-defined metaphysical level, it was concretely "proven" to be true from an examination of those subjects comprising what we today call the natural sciences. Because of the Neoplatonic character of Chalcidius' translation and commentary on the Timaeus of Plato, upon which they relied heavily even in the physical sciences, the Chartrains were able to conclude to this overriding order and harmony on the basis of a Neoplatonic continuum.

Thierry of Chartres' De sex dierum operibus is a typical example of the manner of approaching the Genesis account

⁴⁰This accord between reason and Revelation was expressed by William of Conches in his Philosophia Mundi, when he argued that no one ought to refuse the faithful the right of seeking knowledge about that which they believe. He was strongly against those who wished to believe without the right of interpreting Scripture and of proposing scientific explanations. "Nam in quo divinae Scripturae contrarii sumus, si quod in illa dictum est esse factum, qualiter factum sit explicemus."--PL 172, 56.

at this twelfth-century episcopal center. His use of mathematics, relying in large measure on Pythagorean theories, natural and physical explanations, and occasional use of allegory are duplicated in the works of other notable Chartrains. Drawing here not from the De sex dierum operibus itself, wherein these aspects are laboriously analyzed, but rather from an epitaph on Thierry recently brought to light from the Bibliothèque de Troyes by M. André Vernet, these characteristics of his method are enumerated.⁴¹ The anonymous author of the epitaph must have been sensitive to the original position adopted by Thierry in his expose of creation, perceiving that Thierry in a sense placed himself in the place of the creator, in summo

⁴¹"Une epitaph inédite de Thierry de Chartres," Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel (Paris, 1955), II, 660-670. Lines 7-24 cited here.

Hic repetens rerum primas ab origine causas
 In summo vidit cardine cuncta simul;
 Ydeas et ylen et parturientia mundum
 Semina primevo vidit inesse globo;
 Que tantam molem virtus liget omniferumque
 Mensura, numero, pondere figat opus;
 Que rerum genesis, discordia lex helementa
 Que liget et stabili federe nectat opus;
 Alternis vicibus obitu renovata vel ortu
 Queque suum reparent restituantque genus;
 Quod semper pregnans Natura, calente senecta
 Concipiens, nunquam desinat esse parens:
 Omnis ei patuit sermo perplexus et anceps
 Nec fuit ad quevis abdita sensus hebes.
 Quadrivium triviumque simul scrutando labore
 Parvigili cunctis fecit utrunque patens.
 Quod Plato, quod Socrates clausere sub integumentis
 Hic reserans docuit disseruitque palam.

cardine, and from that position wherein he could see the entire universe at a glance, assisted at the unfolding of a processus which had to be set in motion by the Creator. From the Platonic ideas (ydeas) and from prime matter (ylen), the seeds infused into primitive chaos (primevo globo) engender the world (parturientia mundum semina), and little by little ordain it to submit to the laws of measure, number, and weight (mensura, numero, pondere). This last statement is an example of the attempt to draw an accord between the Timaeus and Revelation.⁴² The elements disturbed or agitated by these discordant movements become stabilized and an equilibrium is substituted in the original disorder by a kind of rhythmic regularity--i.e., the continual alternation of births and deaths assuring the perpetuity of Nature (semper pregnans Natura, calente senecta Concipiens, nunquam desinat esse parens). In the words of Clerval, Thierry was a "vulgarisateur né," a born vulgarizer, who knew how to teach and to reveal what were to his mind hidden secrets, veiled in mystery by a Plato or a Socrates, through the study of the Trivium and the Quadrivium.

Avowing in the prologue to the De sex dierum operibus to search for natural explanations of creation, secundum physicas rationes, Thierry used an arithmetical procedure to describe the relationship of the Creator, the One, to his artifacts, the

⁴²Wisdom XI.21.

multiples.⁴³ This aspect is best left to the section on the Creator and the relationship of nature and of man to Him. Material causality, of course, comes from matter, but how the latter comes into being is left by Thierry a moot question. Unfortunately, he tended to confuse the situation completely by introducing, as did Boethius, a series of "images" between the Godhead and material reality. In so doing one tends to lose sight of material reality and the four causes, also borrowed from Boethius. Once admitting the existence of matter, however, he proceeds to demonstrate one of the principal themes of his cosmology--the order and harmony of the world, at the same time

⁴³This follows a consideration of the four causes of the world, in which he assigns efficient causality to the Father, "formal" causality to the Son, final causality to the Holy Spirit--the same type of discussion which got William of Conches into trouble with William of St. Thierry, when the former appeared to have identified the Holy Spirit with the anima mundi, giving rise to the cry of pantheism.--Cf. Ch. Jourdain, "Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicholas Triveth sur la Consolation de Boèce," Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen-âge (Paris, 1888), p. 40 ff.

Wm. of St. Thierry's complaint had been that in identifying the anima mundi with the Holy Spirit, and in turn the Holy Spirit with Goodness, and the Son with Wisdom, the reality of the Divine Persons was destroyed, in that they were reduced to simple designations of the divine attributes,--cf. De erroribus Gulielmi de Conchis, PL 180, 333 f. Parent suggests that, in fact, William was endeavoring to be faithful to the inspiration of the Timaeus in which the divine realities intervene not for themselves but in order to explain the formation of the world.--La doctrine de la création, p. 73 This is a plausible suggestion, if one considers that William was not a theologian, per se.

that he is demonstrating the order and harmony among the four elements of the physical universe. The interaction and order among the four elements is seen in a schema of the six days of creation as recounted by Thierry:

1st day--fire communicates its first property, splendor, to the air (this corresponds to the creation of light);

2nd day--fire communicates its second property, heat, to water (the creation of the firmament);

3rd day--fire communicates heat to the earth (appearance of the continents, creation of trees and plants);

4th day--air receives an increase of splendor by reason of the light from the stellar bodies formed by the waters above the firmament (creation of the stars);

5th day--heat produced by the movement of the stars is communicated to water (creation of fish and birds);

6th day--heat produced by the movement of the stars is communicated to earth (creation of terrestrial animals).

Not only is this idea of proportion and order among the elements a thesis of Thierry's, but it is essential to the cosmology of all the Chartrains. In his Philosophia Mundi William of Conches outlined a scheme involving the two extreme elements of fire and earth, with the necessity of inserting two other intermediary elements between them--air and water.⁴⁴ Often enough William confessed himself a Platonist, but one may

⁴⁴Cf. also his Dragmaticon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Ms. lat. 6415, fols. 5-7.

separate his type of Platonism from that of Thierry's through the emphasis on the rational, concrete element as opposed to Thierry's fascination with the Ideal World of Plato and its systematic and arithmetic order. Indeed, William would leave the latter to the area of belief, asserting that an investigation of it was not his job as a philosopher. His is a concern with cosmology and perhaps "anthropology."⁴⁵ If one can point to Thierry's attempt to draw an accord between the *Timaeus* and Genesis as one line of development in the influence of Platonism on early Scholasticism, then another direction is seen in William of Conches' combination of the theories of Plato, Aristotle, and Poseidonius in the educational and cultural development of western Europe.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Werner says that his Platonism consists in his preoccupation with the cosmological and anthropological questions and problems of the traditional Platonic system, but that he was too much of an empiricist to accept the Platonic ideas on matter.--"Die Kosmologie und Naturlehre des scholastischen Mittelalters mit specieller Beziehung auf Wilhelm von Conches," Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, LXXV, 3 (1873), 402.

⁴⁶H. Liebeschütz, "Kosmologische Motive in der Bildungswelt der Frhcholastik," Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg (1923-24), 132.

There are other points to keep in mind. When Latin Christianity wished to learn what antiquity had to say about the visible world, it could seek this knowledge from pagan works written in Latin, or it could study the Fathers of the Church, in particular, St. Augustine. Thus, the authors from pagan antiquity which were in Latin were the ones most widely read by the medievals, viz., Chalcidius, Martianus Capella, and Macrobius. All of these taught a Neoplatonic cosmology.

A poetic and allegorical description of the foregoing material as well as a more detailed treatment of the specific realms and realities of nature is found in Bernard Silvestris' Megacosmos, the first book of his De Mundi Universitate. That it was intended to follow the doctrinal line enunciated by the Chartrain masters and scholars previously described is inferred from the preface wherein Bernard dedicated his work to Thierry, addressing him as doctori famosissimo.⁴⁷ Hence, in the third book of the Megacosmos, having previously shown the work of Divine Providence (Nous) in organizing creation, this poet-philosopher of Chartres and Tours surveyed the heavens populated with stars, and alluded to the signs of the Zodiac and the historical events they had witnessed.⁴⁸ At the same time he showed an awesome acquaintance with a galaxy of classical figures, the second pervading characteristic of Chartrain humanism. To name but a few: Phoroneus, the first king of Greece, the warring Theban brothers, Phaeton, Deucalion, Paris and Hippolytus, Ulysses and Hercules, Cicero and Thales, Virgil and Myron, Plato and Achilles, Nero and Titus. The Virgin Mary and Pope Eugenius III close the list.⁴⁹ In a spirit of

⁴⁷De Mundi Universitate, "Terico salutem."

⁴⁸Ibid., I, iii, 31-72.

⁴⁹The mention of Eugenius III (1145-1153) supplied the evidence to Clerval in 1895 to conclusively separate Bernard Silvestris from Bernard of Chartres, previously identified by

unmistakable exaltation Bernard described the earth in a "poetical catalog"⁵⁰--mountains, animals, enumerated in the order of size. One has to admire his knowledge of the earth's fauna and flora considering that twelfth-century experiences of such were quite limited. It would be difficult to believe it a mere coincidence that the sculpture of the portals of the cathedral of Chartres, constructed at this same period and continuing on into the thirteenth century, graphically portray the creation of the world and the origin of man, and generally, evince the increased awareness of the world that surrounded the sculptor.⁵¹ In an effusion of poetry, and yet with a spirit which betrayed the fundamental hardy attitude of the Chartrains toward nature and toward the chief creation of nature, Bernard

such figures as Victor Cousin, and Barach and Wrobel, the editors of the De Mundi Universitate. Clerval found necrological evidence that Bernard, the brother of Thierry of Chartres, had died long before the pontificate of Eugenius III.

If a gloss on Bodleian Ms. Laud Misc. 515, fol.188v, is authentic (it is found solely in the Bodleian manuscript), which states "In cuius [i.e., Eugeni] presentia liber iste fuit recitatus in Gallia et captat eius benevolentiam," then the dating of the prose-poem may be placed between 1145-48, as the book was read before the Pope when the latter journeyed to France on his way to the trial of Gilbert de la Porrée at the Council of Rheims.

⁵⁰E. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1963), p. 100.

⁵¹A more precise connection between the sculpture of Chartres cathedral and the philosophy of the school will be noted in Chapter IV. See below, p. 140, n. 34.

Silvestris' vision was indeed lavish and limitless. Repeating an emphasis on the unity of all these realms of the heavens, he assented to the mysterious influence of the spheres, "for all things are moved by the vivifying movements of the heavens."⁵² He noted in typical Neoplatonic fashion that creation does not proceed in a one-way continuous progression away from the divine, for all things shall ultimately return to their Creator.⁵³ The means of expression may be quite different from the previously discussed writers, but the themes remain the same.

If they followed the same themes, they also came up against similar dilemmas. What Liebeschütz has said in reference to Thierry's De sex dierum operibus might well be applied to Bernard Silvestris and to William of Conches: "in its pages metaphysics and natural philosophy sit side by side and are never wholly assimilated to each other."⁵⁴ Some later historians of medieval literature and culture (among them, Curtius, Raby, and Helen Waddell) have seen in Bernard Silvestris a kind of pagan humanism contrasting with the

⁵²De Mundi Universitate, I, iv, 1-5.

⁵³Ibid., I, iv, 15-20.

⁵⁴"Kosmologische Motive," 113-114.

Christian ideals of his other Chartrain confrères.⁵⁵ But such an interpretation fails to take cognizance of Bernard's solid foundation in the Augustinian tradition and his unwavering faith in Christian principles.⁵⁶ Moreover, it attributes too much seriousness to poetic and allegorical expression.

In all of these interpretations of nature, where does man fit into the picture? The title given to the second book of Bernard Silvestris' De Mundi Universitate gives the answer in a word: microcosmos. For him, as for all the Chartrains, man is the microcosmos of all that is; he shares in the glory of the fount of life and in his body he shares in the world of all lower nature. Speaking in the context of the relationship between prince and law, John of Salisbury used the same term

⁵⁵Curtius, European Literature, pp. 108-113.

F. J. E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1934), II, pp. 11-13.

Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (Garden City, 1961).

Miss Waddell interprets the lines,

I, Natura, sequar, nec enim vagus indidet error,
Si directa tuis via ductibus, (De Mundi
Universitate, II, iv, 53-55)

"Go, Nature, I follow

For no one goes astray in following thee," as being the bedrock of Bernard's philosophy. "It is a philosophy a good deal more dangerous than that which the University of Paris burned in 1225, yet the Church seems to have ignored it, disarmed perhaps by the utter guilelessness of the philosopher."--p. 127.

⁵⁶Bernard's study of Genesis is clear from the following parallels:

<u>Genesis</u>	1:2	<u>De Mundi Univ.</u> , pp. 9-10
"	1:3-10	" 11-12
"	1:14-18	" 17-20
"	1:20-26	" 20-29

in the fourth book of the Policraticus:

. . . for nature has gathered together all the senses of her microcosm or little world, which is man, into the head, and has subjected all the members in obedience to it in such wise that they will all function properly so long as they follow the guidance of the head, and the head remains sane.⁵⁷

If, among the scholars of Chartres, the concept of "nature" can be taken in a variety of senses, in just so many ways is the microcosmic relationship of man to nature varied. Taken from a metaphysical point of view, nature is seen to be identified with the "Idea" or "exemplar" of created reality. To this end, Thierry of Chartres stated in his De sex dierum operibus that created beings or numbers partake of that divine idea just as every human being partakes of God's eternal concept of the form of man, called humanitas.⁵⁸ This not only reveals how the Chartrains related man to nature, but to the divine Being as well. Here one may note with Père Chenu that in developing a philosophy of the world which tended to be very Platonic in character and thereby to abstract from time and history, the Chartrains ran into their biggest, and in effect, insurmountable problem: the impossibility of reducing

⁵⁷Policraticus, IV, i, p. 3 (Dickinson edition). Because the English translation of the Policraticus has been done by two separate editors, each editing and translating different parts of the work (cf. bibliography reference), subsequent citations will note the respective editor in parentheses.

⁵⁸No. 33.--Cf. Haring's edition in Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire, XXII (1955), p. 195.

Christianity's divine itinerary of man to a cyclical conception of a cosmos with neither beginning nor consummation.⁵⁹

Secondly, the Chartrain writers also placed man in relation to nature in an allegorical sense, i.e., in relation to Natura. In Bernard Silvestris' De Mundi Universitate Nature is personified, as it is in a later work of one of his disciples, the De planctu naturae of Alain of Lille. Nature here holds the position of an intermediate power between God and man. The principal character celebrated by these two authors is Nature, and the principal theme of their involucrum,⁶⁰ where fictitious personages from classical mythology and Christian theology intermingle, is the creation of man--the culmination and synthesis of the universe. Through the mouth of Nous Bernard writes:

Sensilis hic mundus, mundi melioris imago,
 ut plenus plenis partibus esse queat,
 Effigies cognata deis et sancta meorum
 et felix operum clausul, fiet Homo.⁶¹

Bernard Silvestris' account of the relationship of man

⁵⁹Chenu, La Théologie au XII^e siècle, p. 88.

⁶⁰In a short but very erudite article, Chenu has shown the fitness of this literary form (which he describes as that wherein the individual is spoken of as universal) for the purposes of the Chartrain masters who worked at transposing the letter and doctrine of the Timaeus. Because the myth evades history and terrestrial reality, it does not convene well to a faith whose object is the story of God on earth.--"Involucrum, le mythe selon les theologiens médiévaux," Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge, XXII (1955), 75-79.

⁶¹De Mundi Universitate, II. x. 9-12.

to Nature, taken in this allegorical sense, has been construed by some as a deterministic and sometimes fatalistic thing. Silverstein cites the incident in the eleventh chapter of the Microcosmos where the cosmic sisters, Urania, Physis, and Nature, are instructed by Nous (Divine Providence) in the task of forming man. The work being three-fold, Nous gives the three "deities" guides to be used: to Urania is given the Speculum Providentiae, to Physis the not always reliable Liber recordationis, and to Nature the Tabula Fati. From this Silverstein infers that the entire relation between the microcosm (man) and the macrocosm (the universe) is one that is dependent upon the course of the stars that are Fate.⁶² However, this can hardly be the tenor of Bernard Silvestris' mind if one considers not only what follows in the ensuing sections where man comes to dominate the earth, but also what is contained in two other poems attributed to him--the "Mathematicus" and the "De gemellis"⁶³--in which the protagonist clearly has control of his own decisions. Of this more will be noted in connection with the relationship of man to the divinity.

Finally, with respect to man's place in the physical universe, there is little danger of jumping to false conclusions.

⁶²"The Fabulous Cosmogony of Bernardus Silvestris," Modern Philology, XLVI (1948-49), 106.

⁶³Paris, Bib. nat. Ms. lat. 6415.

The Chartrains left no dearth of evidence on how they considered man from this point of view. Once again, Bernard Silvestris' Microcosmos aptly supplies the materials for demonstration. In the creation of man's body, not only matter in general, but the strength and power of the materials of the entire universe are drawn upon.⁶⁴ As an aside, one must note that to extol the beauty of the body, which even in a Christianized Platonic context was previously regarded as a fetter, is something new in the tradition and transmission of Christian cultural values. The beauty of the mind of man and the causes of its action are drawn from heaven, but it is also the destiny of man to search out the secrets of nature. Man's creation, thus, is not an isolated act. If he is to gather strength from the planets, the stars, and the heavens, the latter must cooperate in his formation.⁶⁵ Rightly has Bernard

⁶⁴De Mundi Universitate, II, iv, 43-44.

Even the statuary on the cathedral of Chartres betray a reserved appreciation of the body. They are immobile in feature and yet are not perfectly constrained. Folds in the clothing and expressions on the faces indicate neither a denial of the body nor its complete autonomy. Cf. the analysis in Katzenellenbogen's The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral (Baltimore, 1959), p. 43 ff.

⁶⁵Ibid., II, v, 73-79: "Praesumpto igitur animi robore infecunda Saturni frigora transcurrentes, qua mulcebris et salutaris est Jupiter, restiterunt. Huius regionis. Oyarses adeo praesens, adeo benivulus, ut eum Latinitas Iovem nominaret a iuvando. fidesque est quam certissima per omnia mundi membra indulgentiarum Iovis beneficia permeare."

made Physis look upon man as an alter mundus, destined to venerate heaven by his mind and to till and govern the earth with his body. Drawing from the Hermetic Asclepius, with which he must certainly have been familiar and probably had studied,⁶⁶ Bernard defines man's knowledge of and dominion over the earth. In part, he says, man shall understand the breadth of the land and the causes for physical phenomena.⁶⁷ Beyond

⁶⁶In the De sex dierum operibus of Thierry of Chartres, the author of the Asclepius, Trismegistus Mercurius, is quoted on the relation between matter and spirit. This implies Thierry's own knowledge of the Asclepius, and it is not too presumptuous to infer its presence in the library of Chartres. As a possible student of Thierry's it is reasonable to assert Bernard's acquaintance with the work, too. Cf. the suggestions of Woolsey, "Bernard Sylvester and the Hermetic Asclepius," Traditio, VI (1948), 341.

Professor Raymond Klibansky says that "the fusion in the twelfth century with the Hermetic tradition, represented by the dialogue Asclepius, proved of great moment in shaping the mediaeval Platonists' conception of man as a god on earth, placed in the center of the universe, and of nature as the embodiment of the changeless law, the blind necessity of the Timaeus thus becoming the necessity of a 'law of nature.' This change goes far to account for the surprising fact that the Timaeus could serve as a starting-point for a science of nature."--The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition (London, 1939), p. 33.

⁶⁷Viderit in lucem mersas caligine causas,
 Ut natura nihil occuluisse queat.
 Aerios tractus, tenebrosa silentia Ditis,
 Alta poli, terrae lata, profunda maris
 Viderit: unde vices rerum, cur aestuat aestas,
 Siccatat autumnus, ver tepet, alget hiems,
 Viderit, unde suum Phoebo iubar, unde sorori
 Unde tremit tellus, unde marina tument.
 Cur longis aestiva dies extenditur horis,
 Parvaque contrahitur nox brevior mor.--De Mundi
Universitate, II, x, 35-44

this knowledge, and perhaps flowing from it, is the dominion which man will possess, wherein all is subject to his power--the soil with its fruit, the sea with its fish, the mountains and the forests which shelter the animals.⁶⁸

William of Conches placed man directly in the center of the universe and used a number of arguments to support his position. Arguing from fittingness, he noted that of all creatures described in Sacred Scripture, the Gospel was announced to one in particular--man. Or again, man is called omnis creatura because he has something in common with all created beings. Thirdly, man is the center of the universe because he alone of all creatures possesses a harmonious mixture of the four elements.⁶⁹

Though man draws from all these elements, and therefore might be expected in a certain sense to be inferior to them, Bernard Silvestris nonetheless described him as destined to dominate the earth. Nature can hide nothing from him.⁷⁰ As such, nature is subservient to man. He is to reign over the

⁶⁸Terra sibi fruges pisces sibi nutriat unda,
Et sibi mons pecudes et sibi silva feras.
Omnia subiciat, terras regat, inperet orbi:
Primates rebus pontificemque dedi.--Ibid., II,
x, 47-50.

⁶⁹Philosophia Mundi, I, 23; PL 172, 55-56. Also Commentum in Timaeum; text in Parent, La Doctrine de la création, p. 161.

⁷⁰On the basis of this quotation and considering the

earth, command the world,--Primates rebus pontificemque dedi.

What Bernard Silvestris wished to express through poetry, John of Salisbury similarly enjoined, though in weightier Latin terminology. In responding to the accusation made by the Cornificians against the type of classical and liberal arts education offered by Chartres, he pointed to the order and design in nature, and noted that among all the living creatures upon whom she, nature, had bestowed existence, man alone was elevated above them all through his faculties of reason and speech. Although John's more intellectual concerns left little room for extolling the body as did Bernard Silvestris, neither was there a wholesale condemnation of it. Rather it was something to be surpassed by the awesome activities of the mind.

whole tenor of the De Mundi Universitate's argument, I cannot agree with M. Pierre Michaud-Quantin in his article "La Psychologie dans l'enseignement au XII^e siècle," L'Homme et son Destin. Contrasting Bernard Silvestris with Godfrey (d. 1194), a contemporary from the school of St. Victor, he states: "Chez Bernard, dans le développement de la Création, la Nature enveloppe l'homme; pour Godefroid, elle s'ordonne à lui, et il au point de départ d'une montée vers le Créateur. Le victorin apparaît ainsi comme le tenant d'un réel humanisme, de la mise en place des valeurs proprement humaines dans une speculation équilibrée."--pp. 411-12. I do not deprecate the humanism of Godfrey of St. Victor, but to leave man in Bernard's scheme completely at the mercy of natural forces is to fail to capture the point of the Microcosmos, and therefore to miss a fundamental characteristic of Chartrain humanism in general.

She [Nature] has thus effected, by her affectionate care and well-ordered plan, that, even though he is oppressed and handicapped by the burden of his earthly nature and the sluggishness of his physical body, man may still rise to higher things. Borne aloft, so to speak, on wings of reason and speech, he is thus enabled, by this felicitous shortcut, to outstrip all other beings, and to attain the crown of true happiness.⁷¹

Thus, the opening of their vision to the vastness of nature and to the secrets of the physical world was a healthy phenomenon, not only for the Chartrain scholars, but for the entire scholarly world. Had it remained a dry, unoriented study, a study in meaningless academic distinctions, as was the lot of Scholastic philosophy and theology in the system's senescence, it might well have passed entirely unnoted, and the history of Scholasticism, with its good and bad points, undoubtedly would have taken another direction. Instead Chartrain naturalism was informed, if one may so speak, by a concept of man which vivified its activities and gave direction to the studies of the school. In the religious and literary orientation of its studies, one can say that at Chartres there was a sacramentalism about nature. But at the same time the probing of physical nature produced another current aimed at a desacralization of nature. This current would make itself felt both in social life and in religious life, where less emphasis was placed on the miraculous. And if one is mindful of the

⁷¹Metalogicon, I, 1, p. 9.

multiplication of evangelical groups among the laity in the twelfth century, he may find substance in P. Chenu's observation that this evolution of mind regarding nature and man is paralleled by a certain moral and political anti-clericalism.⁷²

The intellectual optimism so evident at Chartres was at the opposite end of the spectrum from a mechanistic interpretation of the universe, and of philosophy too. For the Chartrains, nature--the cosmos--afforded vast possibilities for intellectual endeavor; man was not only its most important element, but he had a very important role to play within that framework. In Chenu's words, "L'Homme, dans la Nature, est donc nature."⁷³

* * * * *

No one can consider the Chartrain concept of the universe--of man in relation to nature--without at the same time implicitly considering the Author of Nature, the Creator. Indeed, it is not always easy to discern the difference in the Chartrains' means of expression between Nature and the Godhead.

⁷²La Théologie au XII^e siècle, p. 27.

Cf. also Herbert Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter (Lübeck, 1961).

⁷³Ibid., p. 36.

This is not least among the factors which led to the accusation of pantheism. In fact, it is probably among the uppermost, i.e., unfamiliarity on the part of readers with the language used by the writers, and novelty of expression on the part of the scholars to which they often appeared addicted.

Basically, the God described in the theological treatises and commentaries was the same as that of Augustine, and certainly, Boethius. The number of commentaries on the latter's De Trinitate and the number of quotations from the former's De doctrina christiana alone support this.⁷⁴ In defining God, John of Salisbury, Thierry, Bernard of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée, and the other Chartrains whose theological treatises are yet extant or whose theological endeavors have been recounted by their contemporaries, begin with the two attributes of eternity and immutability, two attributes consistently found in the Augustinian system.

A study of theology as it was being formulated at the school of Chartres in the twelfth century is quite a spotty affair. Referring back to what has been said about the endeavor to correlate the Timaeus with Genesis, and thus to arrive at a philosophical explanation of creation acceptable to

⁷⁴A typical example of this is the recommendation of John of Salisbury in the Policraticus (VII, xiv) to those seeking the keys for the understanding of Scripture, to consult this treatise.

reason and to Christian faith as it had been transmitted through eleven centuries of tradition, the metaphysics of the Chartrains (notably William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres) came up with schemes such as the following, when applied to the Trinity and its attributes:⁷⁵

<u>Pater</u>	<u>Unitas</u>	<u>Potentia</u>	<u>Causa efficiens</u>
<u>Filius</u>	<u>Aequalitas</u>	<u>Sapientia</u>	<u>Causa formalis</u>
<u>S. Sanctus</u>	<u>Amor</u>	<u>Bonitas</u>	<u>Causa finalis</u>

Materia primordialis

Forma rerum

Anima mundi

To be sure, these schemes were not original, but were drawn in part from the previously mentioned authorities. Not all of these relationships and averred parallelisms were fully developed in such treatises as William of Conches' Philosophia Mundi. On the other hand, some were too developed as has been noted on the subject of the identification of the Holy Spirit with the anima mundi.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, certain aspects of the schema received comprehensive treatment and typified the kind of approach used

⁷⁵Cf. de Bruyne, L'Esthétique médiévale, II, 265.

⁷⁶Cf. p. 60, n. 43.

at Chartres. In both his commentary on Boethius' De Trinitate (sometimes called Librum Hunc) and his De sex dierum operibus, Thierry called attention to unity, that quality which precedes all, and which he assigned to the Father in the Trinity. From unity proceeds all multiplicity, and without unity or the One, there can be no multiplicity of beings. Hence, on a mathematical basis, Thierry proposed to demonstrate the omnipotence of God. If unity creates number, and numbers have no limit, then no limit can be placed on unity. Identifying number with things, he concludes that unity (the One, or the Creator) is omnipotent in the creation of things, and therefore it must be identified with the Deity.⁷⁷ A similar conclusion is reached by John of Salisbury in his De septem septenis, where he calls upon the authority of the "mathematical philosopher," Pythagoras: Haec est illa trium unitas quam solam adorandam

⁷⁷De sex dierum operibus, #36, p. 196 of Haring's edition. "Quoniam autem unitas omnem numerum creat, numerus autem infinitus est, necesse est unitatem non habere finem suae potentiae. Unitas igitur est omnipotens in creatione numerorum. Sed creatio numerorum, rerum est creatio. Unitas igitur omnipotens est in rerum creatione. At quod est omnipotens in rerum creatione, illud unice et simpliciter omnipotens est. Unitas igitur omnipotens. Unitatem igitur deitatem esse necesse est. Hactenus de unitate."

Otto von Simson, in The Gothic Cathedral (New York, 1956), p. 27, refers to the Chartrains as being "obsessed with mathematics; it was considered the link between God and the world, the magical tool that would unlock the secrets of both Thierry of Chartres hoped to find, with the help of geometry and arithmetic, the divine artist in his creation;"

esse docuit Pythagoras.⁷⁸ This is Chartrain terminology, but the idea comes, of course, directly from Boethius, whose treatise forms the basis for the Chartrain commentary. Remotely, the ideas go back to the Greek speculations on the one and the many, on the One Creator who is the source of the created plurality dependent on him.⁷⁹

This type of speculation was, of course, anathema to a far more outspoken contemporary than most of the masters of Chartres, Bernard of Clairvaux. While the influence of this man in ecclesiastical circles was sufficient alone to instill a caution in Christian scholars, it did not silence them. Even John of Salisbury's avowed impartiality between the Abbot of Clairvaux and Gilbert de la Porrée betrays an independent attitude toward Bernard's exhortations against introducing reason into matters of faith.⁸⁰

⁷⁸PL 199, 961.

⁷⁹These concepts of Thierry's were used by Nicholas of Cusa some three centuries later in his De docta ignorantia. Cf. Paul Sigmund, Nicholas of Cusa and Medieval Political Thought (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 251 ff. A more immediate influence, however, was probably felt in the ground-breaking for the Neoplatonized philosophy of Avicenna which was coming into the West through the increasing pace of the Arab translations.

⁸⁰"But he [Bernard of Clairvaux] had little knowledge of secular learning, in which the bishop [Gilbert de la Porrée], it is believed, had no equal in our own day. Both were keenly intelligent and gifted interpreters of scripture: but the abbot was more experienced and effective in transacting business. And though the bishop had not the text of the Bible quite so

Besides his unity and omnipotence, other attributes of the Creator were investigated or at least implied by the Chartrains. The unity, order, and harmony seen to characterize their notion of the world of nature is authored by a Divine Ordainer. Speaking of God's foreknowledge after having refuted any infringement upon the course of nature resulting from foreknowledge, John of Salisbury extolled this order as arranged by the Creator:

God in his wisdom, that is, in His only begotten Word, arranged from all eternity the system of regulating these things [the course of events]. He created all of them in this eternity at the same time. In due order he set the system working by the agency of a destiny that seems to cause things to surge on the waves of chance, and conducted them each according to a prearranged order.⁸¹

And though this may appear deterministic, there are other references such as the disciple of Thierry who protested against the impiety of those who deny God the power of modifying the course of the laws of nature,⁸² and even John himself concluded that an incident is not inevitable as a result of its omen, and that the judgment of the Lord is capable of being influenced.⁸³ Both sides of the picture were seen at Chartres.

Faithful to the Augustinian tradition, the Chartrains

⁸¹Policraticus, II, xxi, p. 104 (Pike edition).

⁸²Liber de eodem secundus. Edited in Parent, p. 213.

⁸³Policraticus, II, xxv-xxvi (Pike edition).

emphasized the eternity of God. William of Conches' Philosophia Mundi devoted a section to time, and affirmed that it did not exist before the creation of the world, and by tacit implication, that God exists and has always existed in an eternal Now. Once again the paucity of experience with a fixed philosophical terminology limited an adequate verbal or written discussion of this subject. Still one might say that sculpture and allied artistic expressions helped to fill in the gap. Just as Bernard Silvestris' outburst of emotion through poetry could say what philosophy could not, so the sculpture of the western facade of Chartres cathedral, under construction at the height of its episcopal school, was able to convey such abstract ideas as the eternity of God and His role in the ordering of the universe. As an historian of medieval art, Otto von Simson, has noted, "The medieval cosmos was theologically transparent. The Creation appeared as the first of God's self-revelations, the Incarnation of the World as the second."⁸⁴ The Christ-in-Majesty which dominates the central door of the royal portal evinces not only his victory over death and his salvific act,

⁸⁴The Gothic Cathedral, p. 36.

Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, Commentaria in hierarchiam caelestem, I, 1 (PL 175, 926): "Duo enim simulacra erant proposita homini, in quibus invisibilia videre potuisset: unum naturae et unum gratiae. Simulacrum naturae erat species hujus mundi. Simulacrum autem gratiae erat humanitas Verbi."

but also his eternity as the Word of God.⁸⁵ And in the Chartrain writings it is not uncommon to find the image of the architect in depicting God as a master builder.⁸⁶ Similarly, Alain of Lille, a disciple of Bernard Silvestris, saw God as the elegans architectus who builds the cosmos as his royal palace.⁸⁷

The foregoing can be described as the speculative aspect of the Chartrain view of God--in more familiar terms, the "official line." In employing Neoplatonic terminology and concepts of the world, the impression created is a kind of static universe and a distantly removed operating agent. Not only does the Creator appear removed from his product, once He has bestowed existence upon it, but the whole systematic explanation appears removed from the vitality which inspired most of the Chartrain writing noted earlier. But if these speculations appear withdrawn from day-to-day reality, there is a much more convincing attitude on what one might call the practical course. The practical course, as its name implies, consists in man's relation to the Creator and attainment of

⁸⁵Cf. the descriptions in both Marcel Aubert's Cathédrale de Chartres (Vichy, 1957), p. 21 ff.; and Titus Burckhardt's Chartres und die Geburt der Kathédrale (Olten, 1962), p. 65.

⁸⁶Cf. the observations of Simson on the effect of Chartrain cosmology on the fate of Gothic architecture, p. 27 ff.

⁸⁷De planctu naturae, PL 210, 453.

beatitude.

Common to all the masters and pupils of Chartres was the principle that philosophy, so dexterously manipulated and "made to fit" at the school, had for its end the love of God:

Whoever then by the agency of philosophy acquires or spreads charity has attained his aim as a philosopher All that has not this aim in the arts and in literature is not philosophic doctrine but the idle fable and pretext of those over whose impiety the wrath of God is revealed from heaven.⁸⁸

Such is John of Salisbury's admonition, but he merely echoes what can be found in the others,--Philosophus amator Dei est. This idea, too, is most graphically taught in the sculpture to be found on the royal portal of the cathedral of Chartres. The influence between the contemporary directions of thought at the school on the artistic "message in stone" of the cathedral is eloquent. In the tympanum of the right door are sculptured figures of the seven liberal arts, signifying human wisdom, arranged around the Virgin seated in majesty--here portrayed under the title of "Seat of Wisdom." Hence, human wisdom is related to the Divine not merely as an image of it, but as a means directed to it.⁸⁹ Perhaps it is true here that

⁸⁸Policraticus, VII, xi, p. 256 (Pike edition).

⁸⁹Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs, p. 15.

The facade depicting the liberal arts and the relationship between human and divine wisdom parallels verbatim the Heptateuchon of Thierry of Chartres. Thierry was chancellor of the cathedral at the time of the facade's construction and it is more than likely that it was his

sculpture is a better revelation of the spirituality of a people than literary or philosophic forms.

That the Creator was not intended by the Chartrain masters to remain removed from the scene of what He produced, but rather that men were ordained to return to Him, is clear from Thierry's Commentary on the De Trinitate of Boethius.--

For faith, it is said, is the union of the human mind with the Spirit of God, i.e., which unites man to God, and unites men among themselves. For the union of the human mind is twofold: one is with God, which is the first union, the other with all other men . . . This union is called Christian religion.⁹⁰

In this respect he seems to touch on what Bernard of Clairvaux urged in contrast to the use of reason in matters of religion. Still one must not forget that the author of these lines is the same one who sought to explain the universe secundum physicas rationes.

Thus, in spite of the formalities which were developing in the nascent science of theology, the spirituality of Chartres was in tune with cultural currents of the mid- and later twelfth

suggestion that was accepted by the master architect of Chartres (Cf. below, Ch. IV, p. 140). In addition, the Bishop of Chartres at this period was the outstanding Geoffrey of Lèves, who was closely involved in the intellectual and spiritual currents of the day, as well as in the art of Chartres. Cf. R. Merlet, Dignitaires de l'église Notre-Dame de Chartres (Chartres, 1900), p. 233.

Cf. also, von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral, pp. 146-153.

⁹⁰#36, in Haring's edition, Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire, XXV (1958), p. 132.

century.⁹¹ It bespoke a phenomenon shifting from an impersonal to a personal relationship with the Divine. To be sure, it was not too far advanced, but it did represent and reflect a shift and evolution in psychological emphasis--sustained, one may add, by the shift in the attitude toward the physical universe and its Creator.

⁹¹Although no direct evidence can be cited to show how the intellectual currents of the philosophers of Chartres filtered down into popular spirituality, one may infer it indirectly. Geoffrey of Leves, Bishop of Chartres (cf. above, n. 89), was an intimate of Bernard of Clairvaux, and invited him to preach at Chartres in 1146, thus indicating his connection with that aspect of twelfth-century spirituality.-- Cf. V. Fisquet, La France pontificale: Chartres (Paris, n.d.), p. 88. Cf. also E. Lépinois, Histoire de Chartres, I, 99 f.

Geoffrey's appointments of the three great chancellors of the school, Bernard, Gilbert, and Thierry, indicate to what extent he was in tune with the intellectual current of that time and locale.

CHAPTER III

THE "INDIVIDUAL" AND "SOCIETY" AT CHARTRES

To the mid-twentieth-century mind, the terms "individual" and "individual liberty" conjure up very specific, and at times even passionate ideas. These are concepts with meanings peculiar to this era, and with forms even more peculiar to the individual nations in which they are embodied. It is one thing to manipulate such terms in a contemporary context, but it is quite another to transfer them to a society eight hundred years its senior. Particularly is this so when one considers that the twelfth century, especially northern France in the twelfth century, saw the peak of feudalism in Europe. The word "liberty" in this context must therefore be considered with caution, for as Sidney Painter has noted, "when liber or any of its derivatives are found in a medieval document the proper form of 'privileged' will render the meaning better than will 'free.'"¹ If "Feudal institutions were restricted to a particular class of society--the warrior aristocracy,"² then this is not how the twentieth century would translate libertas.

¹Feudalism and Liberty, Articles and Addresses of Sidney Painter, ed. Fred A. Cazal, Jr. (Baltimore, 1961), p. 247.

²Ibid., p. 1.

On the other hand, one must be careful to distinguish between political or social liberty and individual liberty, i.e., that freedom preached by the Church as intrinsic to human nature, based on the equality of all men before God. It is in this latter sense that most of the schoolmen of Chartres spoke of liberty, and therefore the way in which it will be considered in the following pages. But this distinction is not always as neat as it appears. In the second half of this chapter there will be occasion to mention certain institutions such as religious chivalry, John of Salisbury's Policraticus being one of the earliest known expositions of its essential features. Contemporary with the Policraticus was Stephen of Fougère's Livre des manières, in which he stated that a knight must be born a freeman, i.e., a member of the feudal class.³ As this manifestly conflicted with the equality of men preached by the Church, the question would remain a subject of debate with later ecclesiastical writers on chivalry.⁴ It is true that this was

³Estienne von Fougieres' Livre des Manieres, ed. Josef Kremer (Marburg, 1887).--

CXLVII, 585: Haute ordre fut chevalerie
 Mes or est ce trigalerie.
 Trop aiment dance et balerie
 Et demener bachelerie.
 CXLVIII, 589: Franc hom de franche mère nez,
 S'a chevalier est ordenez,
 Peiner se deit, s'il est senez
 Qu'il ne seit vils ne degenez.

⁴Cf. Painter, Feudalism and Liberty, p. 94.

not said by a scholar of Chartres; yet, as Painter has noted, it would hardly be conceivable that Stephen would not have been acquainted with the Policraticus, written only eleven years earlier and in very close geographical proximity to him. Mentioning it at this point is done simply by way of background, to at least show some of the currents in which the Chartrain discussions were held.

Given this feudal situation with all its attendant courtly institutions and customs, attention is here turned to what can still be justifiably called a renewed interest, or perhaps even a novel emphasis on the individual human person, as it was manifested in what we today term the humanistic writings of twelfth-century Chartres. Reference has been made earlier to the pursuance, whether conscious or not, of the Socratic dictum: "Know thyself." In searching out the capabilities of human nature within an enlarged global context, it is not surprising to find a concomitant interest in the individual human person. Neither is it surprising to find developing considerations about the relations between persons, i.e., development of a theory of society and of society's encompassing institution, the State. These two aspects of Chartrain humanism are therefore examined in this chapter, in addition to placing them within the contemporary political situation in which they were formulated.

The independent spirit manifested by the leading lights at Chartres can be described from a four-fold point of view. The first, that of a novel but growing emphasis on the individual, has been alluded to above. The feudal sense of personal worth was reflected in philosophical and theological discussions,⁵ as well as in the literature of contemporary romancers and lyric poets. An innovator in the new science of theology (second probably only to Abelard), Gilbert de la Porrée, did some reconsideration of the accepted concepts and explanations of individuality.⁶ Though certain Platonists of his era uncompromisingly adhered to the philosophic explanation that individuals differed from one another by reason of certain accidental properties, Gilbert took the view that properties of substance were responsible for the distinction.⁷

⁵Maurice DeWulf, Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages (New York, 1953), p. 55.

⁶Chancellor of Chartres from 1126 to 1133/4. This is the date given by the Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres, ed. E. Lépinos and Lucien Merlet (Chartres, 1862-65), I, 142. The Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Père, ed. M. Guérard (Paris, 1840), II, 506, gives the date 1136 as the close of his chancellorship, succeeding Bernard of Chartres and preceding the latter's brother, Thierry, in that post.

⁷In librum de Trinitate, PL 64, 1256: "Est enim proprium naturalium quod sicut numero diversorum proprietates diversae sunt, ita quoque subsistentiae numero sint diversae, et quod una singularis subsistentia non nisi unum numero faciat subsistentem: ut Platonis et Ciceronis non solum accidentales proprietates, verum et substantiales, quibus ipsi sunt, verbi gratia, vel deversa corpora, vel diversi homines, diversae sunt, et quaecumque singularis proprietas Platonem corpus esse, vel

The distinction of individual from individual was thereby given a more real status. Whether or not this type of abstract philosophical maneuvering made a profound effect on Gilbert's immediate students is most difficult to prove, since the Porretani were not always faithful to his principles. But it does indicate and reflect the concerns which preoccupied the scholarly world of his day and area.

Analysts of Gothic architecture have seen this same concern for an affirmation of individuality.⁸ Unfortunately,

⁸Katzenellenbogen (The Sculptural Programs, pp. 43-44) and Panofsky (Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism [Latrobe, Penn., 1951], p. 6) both base their remarks concerning the animation and the incipient humanization of the sculptural figures on the facade of Chartres on William Koehler's "Byzantine Art in the West," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, I (1941). The latter's statements refer specifically to Chartres, since it is the earliest of the great examples of Gothic architecture and probably its purest representative. However, he subsequently generalizes his findings to apply to all Gothic: "But in Chartres it is different. Here an individual is staring at you, with a slight twist of the face, a little superciliously apparently--with a very personal expression at all events, flesh and blood like ourselves and somebody to be talked to Thus, about the middle of the twelfth century two revolutionary ideas--that of the articulated body and that of the animated figure--are carried by the crest of the Byzantine tidal wave to northern France, where a great creative genius makes them the cornerstones of a new style, the Gothic."--p. 84.

The "king" of authorities on Gothic architecture, Viollet-le-Duc, made the same affirmation some seventy-five years before the above in his Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française (Paris, 1867-68), t. VIII, p. 118, but confined it to Chartres: "Les masques des autres statues [de Chartres] de ce portail ont tous un caractère individuel; l'artiste ou les artistes qui les ont sculptés ont copié autour d'eux et ne se sont pas astreints à reproduire un type uniforme. Ce fait mérite d'autant mieux d'être observé, que vers la fin

nothing short of a detailed graphic display of the sculpture of Chartres' facade suffices to adequately illustrate what Katzenellenbogen has outlined as the intentional blueprint of this twelfth-century cathedral's chief architect--the theme of which bears remarkable resemblance to Gilbert's philosophical reasoning. Referring to the individuality of the statues, he notes:

The jamb statues are differentiated not merely by variations in the shapes of their heads or in the design of their hair and beards. He [the chief architect] achieved his aim primarily by giving them singular inner attitudes, properties in substance.⁹

A second manifestation of an incipient spirit of independence at Chartres was based on the matter of authority. Up to this time there was an "inner circle" of authorities, outside of the Biblical authors, upon whom medieval scholars were dependent--either for material upon which to write a commentary or for support for original treatises. Such figures as Augustine, Boethius, and Gregory were continually quoted and they achieved an almost untouchable status. But this subservience to accepted authority underwent an evolution in the

du XII^e siècle, ainsi que nous le démontrerons tout à l'heure, la statuaire admet un type absolu qu'elle considère la perfection, et ne se préoccupe plus de l'individualisme des personnages."

⁹Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs, p. 44.

twelfth century, particularly in the second half; the attitude of those at Chartres is a leading example of this. Such is the case of William of Conches, whose Dragmaticon (ca. 1136-1141), is filled with newly inserted passages from Seneca's Quaestiones naturales. As his biographer has noted, it would appear that William rewrote his treatise simply to insert passages from a work of which he had only recently become aware.¹⁰ Though this was not the reason for its recomposition (recall the clash with William of St.-Thierry),¹¹ the willingness to draw upon authors not previously on the traditional Christian canon is noteworthy.

Assimilation of Arabic science confirms this acceptance of new authorities in the twelfth century, as well as an independent attitude toward the traditional standard-bearers. Although Adelard of Bath apparently was not a student of Chartres, he did travel to the schools of northern France--in particular, Tours, and later, Laon--in order to absorb some of the Arabic studies that had either been acquired by them

¹⁰Clotilde Parra, "Guillaume de Conches et la Dragmaticon philosophiae, étude et édition" (Paris: École nationale des Chartres--Position des thèses, 1943), 181.

¹¹Cf. Ch. II, p. 60, and n. 43.

William of Conches revised the Philosophia mundi in response to William of St.-Thierry's accusations, and probably at the behest of his patron, Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, renaming it the Dragmaticon, and omitting his previous identification of the World-Soul with the Holy Spirit.--Text in Paris, Bib. nat. Ms. lat. 6415.

or were actually being taught.¹² Inasmuch as the schools of Tours and Chartres were in such close cultural and educational affinity,¹³ the program at Tours can be taken as indicative of the type of inquiry taking place at Chartres. There he undoubtedly found that the system of Heracleides, known through the translations of Scotus Erigena, which the Chartrains had used to resolve the problem of the origins of the world, had been replaced by that of Ptolemy. The latter, we have noted, had come to the West via the Arabs and the translations of Plato of Tivoli and John of Spain.¹⁴ And because a goodly portion of this Arabic science was based on Aristotelian treatises, Aristotle himself came to receive the status of an

¹²Des Adelard von Bath Traktat De eodem et diverso, ed. N. Willner, Bd. IV, 1 of Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, ed. Cl. Bäumker (Münster, 1908), 4: "Erat praeterito in anno vir quidam apud Turonium, tum sapientia tum moribus grauis, adeo ut eo tam uulgares quam philosophi uterentur."

In another tract of Adelard's, the Quaestiones naturales (ed. M. Müller, Bd. XXXI, ii of the same series [Münster, 1934], 4), is found the following information: "Meministi, nepos [quod], septennio iam transacto, cum te in Gallicis studiis paene puerum iuxta Laudidunum una cum caeteris auditoribus meis dimiserim, id inter nos convenisse, ut Arabum studia ego pro posse neo scrutarer, tu vero Gallicarum sententiarum inconstantiam non minus acquirereres."

¹³The schools of Chartres, Tours, and Orléans are frequently referred to as the "Chartrain schools"; witness the case of Bernard Silvestris dedicating his De Mundi Universitate to Thierry of Chartres as to a master.

¹⁴Augustin Fliche, La Chrétienté médiévale (Paris, 1929), pp. 479-480.

honorable authority. His reception prior to this had not been too cordial;¹⁵ in the latter part of the thirteenth century he was to be similarly disavowed, due to the interpolation of some Arabic unorthodoxy in the process of translation. Nevertheless, at Chartres he was accorded much respect, despite their overall penchant for Platonic and Neoplatonic interpretations. John of Salisbury's commendation that he considered Aristotle to be unsurpassed in logic,¹⁶ as well as his subsequent request during the period when he was preoccupied with attempts to reconcile Thomas Becket and Henry II to have certain of Aristotle's books sent to him,¹⁷ was probably the most positive assertion of the shifting attitude toward authorities, and the growing affirmation in the reliability of their (the scholars!) own powers of discernment.

¹⁵Contrary to Haskins' assertion of the medieval preference for Aristotle in his Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, p. 342.

¹⁶This is evident throughout the entire Metalogicon, but especially in Book II, ch. 16: "That all other teachers of this art [of dialectic] acknowledge Aristotle as their master."

Cf. also Martin Grabmann, "Aristotle im zwölften Jahrhundert," Mediaeval Studies, XII (1950), 138-142.

¹⁷Ep. 211, PL 199, 235: Ad Ricardum Constantiansem Archidiaconum (ca. 1167): "De caetero jam a multo tempore porrectas itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis excribi, et notulas super Marcum, meis tamen sumptibus, quaeso, in hac re nulla ratione parcatis. Precor etiam iterata supplicatione, quatinus in operibus Aristotelis ubi difficilior fuerint, notulas faciatis, . . ."

Closely allied to this aspect of the independent spirit of Chartres and representative of its assertion of individual liberty is the progressive movement toward what Chenu has termed for the thirteenth century the "autonomy of the forms of nature, of the ways of the spirit, and of the laws of society."¹⁸ For the present the "way of the spirit" is of concern; that of society will follow shortly. The previous chapter focused on the discovery of nature, the cosmos, and on man's role in nature. Apparently it was this same mood of inquiry which encouraged the independent activity of "the spirit." It was not an intellectual antiquarian curiosity which sparked frequent citation of the classics, but a certain avidity for knowing the why's and wherefore's of reality here and now. Some have referred to the Chartrain preoccupation with the natural sciences as a satisfaction of natural tastes, rather than commitment to general principles.¹⁹ To the extent that Chartrain independence was a spontaneous phenomenon--spontaneous, that is, in the absence of a superimposed system or structure within which they worked--such a statement can be

¹⁸Chenu, La Théologie au XII^e siècle, p. 86.

¹⁹Reginald L. Poole, Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning (2nd ed. rev.; New York, 1960), p. 148.

affirmed. To the extent that it was a deliberate shunning of theology, as Poole seems to have implied,²⁰ then it would be extremely difficult to justify in view of the numerous theological commentaries which came out of Chartres at the same period.

If the acceptance of different ancient authorities was one manifestation of the spirit of independence at Chartres, so too was the acceptance of their contemporaries in an authoritative capacity an indication of the intellectual liberty encouraged. Otto of Freising, a student of Gilbert de la Porrée at Chartres, paid tribute to his former master for his reliance on the abilities of his more contemporary authorities: "For Gilbert from his youth subjected himself to the instruction of great men and put more confidence in the weight of their authority than in his own intellect; such men as, first, Hilary of Poitiers; next, Bernard of Chartres; finally the brothers Anselm and Ralph of Laon."²¹ In like manner, though John of

²⁰Ibid., based on a condescending quote from the De Mundi Universitate: "si theologis fidem praebeas argumentis," II, v, 40.

²¹The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow and Richard Emery (New York, 1953), I, c. 52, p. 88. That refraining from relying on his own intellectual powers did not remain a stalwart principle of Gilbert's is clear from his actions after the Council of Rheims trial in 1148. He had promised Eugenius III that he would correct whatever errors could be found in his commentary on the Trinity. His conviction that he was right persisted and instead of making corrections, he ended up writing a new preface to justify

Salisbury is frequently dubbed "the greatest classicist of his time," he did not hesitate to state his equal admiration for the intellectual accomplishments of his own contemporaries. In the Prologue to the Metalogicon he affirms:

I have not been ashamed to cite moderns, whose opinions in many instances, I unhesitatingly prefer over those of the ancients. I trust that posterity will honor our contemporaries, for I have profound admiration for the extraordinary talents, diligent studies, marvelous memories, fertile minds, remarkable eloquence, and linguistic proficiency of many of those of our own day.²²

The fourth and final aspect of independence is the frequent defense of the freedom of man. Basic to this liberty is the philosophical fact of freedom fundamental to any system of ethics. To John of Salisbury, such a freedom was exercised in the present order only in the "sphere . . . of iniquity," but that did not make it any less real.²³ In an era rampant with magical beliefs, when there was little or no distinction between astronomy and astrology, John seems to have held his own against those who posited the irreversible power of omens and astrological signs. Engaging in this type of activity was

himself.--Preface to De Sancta Trinitate, ed. N. M. Haring, in Nine Medieval Thinkers, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto, 1955), pp. 32-34.

²²Metalogicon, p. 6.

²³Policraticus, II, xx, p. 100 (Pike edition): "The only sphere in which he [man] now exercises freedom of will is in that of iniquity and he rises to goodness only when fore-stalled and aided by God's grace."

decried by him as one of the "follies of courtiers" downgraded in the Policraticus.²⁴

Bernard Silvestris supplied another striking example of this conviction surrounding human freedom. Some commentators have used his poem "Mathematicus," or "De Parricida," to supply proof of a basically pagan bent of mind, swayed by pagan determinism. The verses relate the story of a young Roman at the height of his fame who learns that astrologers at his birth have foretold that he would commit parricide. In order to escape from this forecast he persuades the Roman Senate to grant him a favor. The favor is granted, although blindly, since the Senate subsequently learns that it has given the young king permission to commit suicide, rather than be responsible for the death of his father.

Pono citus trabeam, vestrum citus exuo regem,
Liber et explicitus ad mea vota meus.

I put aside my robe, I put off my regal vesture,
Free am I to accomplish my desires.²⁵

²⁴Bk. II, chs. 23-28. Nevertheless, there was evidence of some taint, as is seen from his subsequently composed Historia Pontificalis. He did not entirely remove himself from the "many thinking men" when he described the accidental spilling of the consecrated wine at a Mass of Eugenius III in 1148: "In spite of this many thinking men were deeply alarmed; for the prevailing belief was that such a thing [spilling of the wine] could never happen in any church unless some serious evil threatened it; . . . And indeed this belief did not err."--Memoirs of the Papal Court, ch. v, p. 11.

²⁵Bernard Silvestris, Mathematicus, et Pierre Riga, Passio Sanctae Agnetis, ed. B. Haureau (Paris, 1895), ll.842-54.

He is free to die the death of his own choosing. Human freedom, and what the twentieth century would call self-determination, are given in these lines a strong avowal, an affirmation of human leadership, and a rejection of a judicial astrology--a victory of the Platonic-Christian view over a Stoic-Arabic fatalism.²⁶

Proceeding from this four-fold aspect of individual independence as developed at Chartres to a more specific analysis of the human person, the factors of human psychology come to the fore. On this subject, the masters of Chartres assuredly had much to say. As with nature, both physical and metaphysical, they used the writings of the ancients, particularly Plato and Aristotle, as springboards for their own tracts. Medical science, developed at Salerno, Montpellier, and among the Arabs, combined forces with that already present at Chartres, and contributed to a broader psychology of man than had been known in previous centuries.

²⁶In this respect I fully concur with Liebeschütz' suggestion that the use of an astrological framework, as well as the use of similar terminology in his commentary on the first six books of Virgil's Aeneid, was merely a rhetorical and literary device employed by Bernard Silvestris along with other symbols for Roman power and the freedom of man.-- "Kosmologische Motive," 143.

These rhetorical and literary devices were simply the equipment of a poet, and to interpret them too literally is to miss the poet's message. Recall what was said with respect to Helen Waddell's pantheistic interpretation of Bernard's lines on Nature, Ch. II, p. 65, n. 55.

Body-soul. Basic to the development of any psychology, not in the sense of a system, but in line with the "Know thyself" dictum, is the concept of the body-soul relationship. A goodly amount of descriptive activity on the nature of this relationship took place in the twelfth century, with almost as many "solutions" as there were authors. The cathedral school of Chartres was no exception. A hint of Bernard Silvestris' conception of this relationship is found prior to his specific and extensive coverage of man in the second part of the De Mundi Universitate when he considers the Megacosmos, the world, as a manifestation of the soul. Since the soul is the living principle of all that is, even the world in a sense is an animal--i.e., it has anima. He insists that without a soul there is no true substance at all: mundus quidam est animal . verum sine anima substantiam non invenias animalis [sic].²⁷ To this poet-philosopher of Chartres and Tours it would be unthinkable that the wise Creator of all insensate matter did not establish in it the foundations of a living source of being.²⁸ This would indicate a leaning on his part toward

²⁷De Mundi Universitate, I, iv, 68.

²⁸Ibid., 63-67: "Vivit Noys, vivunt exemplaria, sine vita non vivit, et rerum species aeviterna. Praejacebat yle, praejacebat in materia, praejacebat in spiritu vivicitatis aeternae. Neque enim credibile est sapientem opificem insensatae materiae nec viventis originis fundamina praelocasse."

emphasis on an intimate bond between matter and spirit, if one had its source in the other. One will recognize in this Bernard's reading of Chalcidius' translation and Neoplatonic interpretation of the Timaeus. Transferring these general principles to humanity, it is not the intimacy of the bond that is stressed so much by Bernard as its beauty. The dignity of the process and product of man's creation is summarized in a poetic climax of the tenth and twelfth chapters of the "Microcosmos." The creature, man, has become a true likeness to his otherworld exemplar; he is the fitting culmination to the works of Divine Providence. From a kind of eternal beginning (this is to be understood as an ideal, not a real pre-existence) man is in the mind of the Creator. But from this abode he is drawn to the body that he may live on earth; this is fitting, for the bond which unites mind and body is exceedingly pleasing:

Divus erit, terrenus erit, curabit utrumque
Consiliis mundum, religione deos.²⁹

Bernard Silvestris' disciple and perhaps one-time confrère, Alain of Lille, pursued these same lines, but in an ambiance even more liberal than that of the author of the "Microcosmos." His Anticlaudianus (1182 or 1183) depicts the creation of a perfect man. In the same spirit of Bernard Silvestris he introduced Platonic ideas, causes, and

²⁹Ibid., II, x, 19-20.

terminology, in addition to drawing from the prominent figures of classical and mythological literature such as Adonis, Odysseus, Cato, and Ovid--each in some form contributing to the creation of the perfect man. After describing the creation of the perfect human soul, resplendent in its moral beauty, and the body, equally beautiful with all its physical graces, Alain comes to the union of the two. Like Bernard Silvestris' concept of the body-soul relationship, Alain sees the bond as firm and stable, not one begrudgingly made in a sort of Platonic tension.³⁰ The union is effected by Concordia who in turn calls upon Number and Proportion for assistance in order to better achieve her work.³¹ In the previous chapters, the mathematical strain at Chartres has been noted--e.g., Thierry of Chartres' demonstration of creation according to mathematics. The same Chartrain penchant is thus found in this disciple of Chartres, this time transferred to the creation of the unified

30". . . et stabili connectit dissona nexu,
composito simplex, habeti subtile, ligatque
foedere complacito; carni divina maritat
sic nocti lucem connectit et aethera terrae
sic diversa tenent pacem, sic dissona litem
deponunt propriam."--Anticlaudianus, PL 210, 550.

31"Ut melius concludat opus Concordia, virgo
quae nobis numeri doctrinam spondet, et illa
quae monstrat vocum nexus et vincla sonorum,
assistunt operi coepto formantque duorum
connubium numerique ligant."--Ibid.

and totally integral being known as man. Alain viewed the resulting product, through the eyes of Nature, as the term of evolution.³²

Finally, on the psychological matter of the body-soul relationship, one may briefly allude to two other figures from this period--one a non-Chartrain; the other, William of Conches. Representative of the contemporary and geographically proximate Victorine school was Hugh of St.-Victor. To this figure of the more mystically inclined school the body was still considered an appendage of the soul.³³ But to William of Conches the soul could not be active solely from an extrinsic point of view if the unity of man was to be retained. Such a unity was, of course, essential to the spirit of Chartres. The soul, he said, must be more active from within man than from without, and

³²William of Conches used this same phraseology, i.e., man as the "term of evolution" in drawing from Scotus Erigena. From the fourth book of the De Divisione Naturae, he drew the following quotation: "Introducitur homo velut omnium conclusio ut intelligeretur quod omnia quae ante ipsum condita narrantur, in ipso universaliter comprehenduntur."--PL 122, 782, and rewrote it as follows:

"Unde est quod homo in divina pagina vocatur omnis creatura, quia videlicet res omnis vel est homo vel propter hominem creata. Idcirco cum omnis creatura propter hominem esset facta, quasi aequaliter medius . . . medium locum, i.e. terram quae in medio est, occupavit."--Cf. complete text in Parent, p. 128. (Italics mine.)

³³On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis), trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), I, vi, 1--"Why God made man of body and soul."

therefore cannot be something appended to the body.³⁴ Parallel to this are the architectural statues on the twelfth-century portal of the cathedral of Chartres which bear this same imprint of animation from within.³⁵

The foregoing examples have been enumerated to demonstrate the attitude at Chartres that man was an integral being, not simply a soul using a body, or a soul fallen into a body by default. He was a unified being. Though minute in detail and seemingly proper only to the realm of philosophy, these considerations are necessary to determine and demonstrate the contribution and character of humanism at Chartres, and the milieu in which it was developed. Chartres is thus seen in a compromising situation wherein Platonic terminology and concepts are used at the same time that a humanism, increasingly devoid of a disdain for matter and the spirit's contact with matter, is developing.

Though philosophically oriented, members of the school of Chartres were far from indifferent to psychological questions, properly so called. Typically medieval and typically Chartrain was William of Conches' parallelism of the four temperaments

³⁴Dragmaticon, Paris: Bib. nat. Ms. lat. 6415, fol. 22r and v. Cf. also H. Flatten, Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches, p. 162, n. 958.

³⁵W. Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," 85 f.; and above, p. 86, n. 8.

with the four physical elements, the four seasons, and the four properties attributed to the two: moisture, dryness, cold, and heat.³⁶ But the greater number of psychological treatises are concerned with the soul and its faculties and functions. The type of Aristotelian commentary or "De anima" monographs which abounded in the thirteenth century found predecessors at Chartres, but with certain characteristic differences. Several differences, it is true, were due to the lack of refinement of expression or precision in terminology; others can perhaps be traced with a degree of accuracy to the emphasis at Chartres on the unity of man--a unity almost inimical to the academic surgery of later decades which left the concept and reality of man in a series of thoroughly analyzed but not altogether convincingly related parts. Gilbert de la Porrée's De discretione animae is probably the closest Chartrain writing to the numerous thirteenth-century De-anima-type analyses.³⁷ A close second is John of Salisbury's commentary on and support of the Posterior Analytics.³⁸

³⁶Dragmaticon, passim. Predecessors for such a classification were Bede and Isidore of Seville.

³⁷Ed. N. M. Haring, Mediaeval Studies, XXII (1960), 174-191.

³⁸Metalogicon, IV, 9-20.

Cognitive life of man. Whether or not the Aristotelian orientation of John of Salisbury and Gilbert de la Porrée was responsible for the apparent similarities to a thirteenth-century Albert or Thomas Aquinas, as opposed to the varying degrees of Platonic orientation in the other Chartrain writers, cannot be definitively answered. Still it is fair to affirm that in the area of cognition the ideas of Aristotle were representative of the school as a whole. Sensation, as described by John of Salisbury in the Metalogicon, is really nothing more than a factual statement of Aristotle--i.e., it is at the basis of cognition, and as such, it is "the foundation of every branch of philosophy."³⁹ From another point of view, that of Bernard Silvestris, sensation is but one avenue of expression by which the unity and uniqueness of man can be illustrated. In his poetic enthusiasm he attempts to show that what a man is and what he is capable of can be effectively learned by such simple descriptions of sight and sound as:

Non aliter sensus alios obscurit honore
 Visus, et in sole lumine totus homo est.

The sense of sight obscures all others in dignity,
 and through it the whole man is enlightened.⁴⁰

³⁹Metalogicon, IV, 9.

⁴⁰De Mundi Universitate, II, xiv, 43-44.

Quicquid Roma legit, quicquid studuistis Athenae,
 Quicquid Chaldaei dogmatis Indus habet,
 Quicquid Aristoteles divino pectore sensit
 Cumque Platonistis Pythagorea cohors,
 Quicquid ad elenchos arguto disputat ore
 Gallus et in medica incitat arte Ligus
 Cessit ab auditu: docilis prudensque periret
 Littera, si surdis auribus esset homo.

Whatever Rome has ordained, whatever you have learned
 of Athens,
 Whatever the Indian has learned of the Chaldean
 doctrines,
 Whatever Aristotle has felt in his enflamed breast,
 And the Pythagoreans along with the Platonists,
 Whatever syllogistic proofs the Gaul has argued
 And the Ligurian has inspired in the science of
 medicine,
 All this yields to hearing: all literature would
 disappear
 If man, capable of learning and distinguishing, were
 deprived of hearing.⁴¹

In the realm of rational life per se, the student of
 Chartres meets up with transitional figures like John of
 Salisbury, bridging the span between Anselm of Canterbury and
 the thirteenth-century Scholastics. This is one case where
 John did not epitomize the school which he represented but
 formed the link between what was typical of Chartres and what
 was typical of the University of Paris in the following century.
 While the functions and activities of rational life will be
 considered more thoroughly in the following chapter on the
 educational program at Chartres, the point on the purpose of
 philosophy as it was conceived at Chartres and forthrightly

⁴¹Ibid., 63-64.

declared by John of Salisbury is apropos to this discussion. Far from regarding philosophy as an end in itself, and themselves as philosophers for philosophy's sake, the Chartrains directed this science away from the theoretical and toward the practical end of love of God. "Whoever then by the agency of philosophy acquires or spreads charity has attained his aim as a philosopher. Consequently this is the true and unvarying rule of philosophers, that each one busy himself in all that he reads or learns, does, or abstains from doing, with advancing the cause of charity."⁴² Thus the activities of thinking, willing, and doing are, in effect, conceived in terms of a whole "thought-act" more so than as separate acts following in succession.

To most of the men at Chartres--certainly to one of its early twelfth-century pupils, Abelard--reason could stand on its own two feet and not at the same time endanger the faith. To a Bernard of Clairvaux, such a bent of thinking was most dangerous. To a William of Conches, there was no honor in refusing to allow oneself to be called a Christian philosopher:

What is more pitiable than to say that a thing is, because God is able to do it, and not to show any reason why it is so, nor any purpose for which it is so; just as if God did everything that he is

⁴²Policraticus, VII, c. 11, p. 256 (Pike edition).

able to do! You talk like one who says that God is able to make a calf out of a log. But did he ever do it? Either, then, show a reason why a thing is so, or a purpose wherefore it is so, or else cease to declare it so!⁴³

Confidence in the rational activity of man is evident in another rejoinder of William's, this time in reference to the opposition placed by the Cornificians and the "men of the cloister," Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St.-Thierry, wherein he (William of Conches) retorts that his opponents wish to wallow in their own ignorance, at the same time that they decry the interference of reason in matters of faith.⁴⁴ One cannot underestimate the force of the accusations hurled by these men; in the face of them William felt sufficient pressure to put aside his teaching career at Chartres and Paris, and returned to Normandy where he was employed as tutor for the sons of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy.

⁴³Philosophia mundi, I, xxiii; PL 90, 1139 (Incorrectly attributed in the Migne edition to Bede), as cited and translated by Andrew Dickson White, A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom (London, 1896), I, 328.

⁴⁴" . . . nihil quippe de philosophia scientes, aliquid se nescire confiteri erubescerent, suae imperitiae solatium quaerentes, ea quae nesciunt, nullius utilitatis minus cautis praedicant Sed quoniam ipsi nesciunt vires naturae, ut ignorantiae suae omnes socios habeant nolunt eos aliquid inquirere, sed ut rusticos nos credere, nec rationem quaerere. . . . Sed isti . . . maluntque nescire, quam ab alio quaerere; et si inquirentem aliquem sciant, illum esse haereticum clamant, plus de suo capitis praesumentes, quam sapientiae suae confidentes."--Philosophia mundi, PL 172, 56 (here incorrectly attributed to Honorius of Autun).

The above psychological observations, as well as the emphasis on the individual, indicate that Chartres was no exception to the overwhelming influence of Boethius on medieval intellectual life. Individuality applied to a human being is called "personality" and Boethius' definition of a person as an "individual substance of a rational nature" received wholehearted affirmation at Chartres, even when not explicitly stated as such.

Passing from the intellectual life of the individual to his moral activity--analyses of which were indeed abundant at twelfth-century Chartres--a number of characteristic elements contribute to the outlook of the school's members. To begin with, the device of allegory, applied most frequently in the twelfth century to Biblical exegesis, was used by Bernard Silvestris in his commentary on the first six books of the Aeneid.⁴⁵ Following the lead of Fulgentius, Bernard held that Virgil wrote the Aeneid on two levels--one natural, one contrived: the natural one being the story of the founding of Rome, the artificialis being the story of the six ages of man

⁴⁵Commentum Bernardi Silvestris super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii, ed. Guglielmus Riedel (Griefswald, 1924).

Cf. also Maurice Demimuid, De Bernardo Carnotensi grammatico professore et interprete Virgilii (Paris, 1870). Demimuid incorrectly identifies Bernard Silvestris with Bernard of Chartres.

from infancy to his return to the nether-world.⁴⁶ The former has the function of narrating a tale; the latter of teaching a moral: the moral that man's life is a series of stages in which he recognizes his past errors and realizes he may reach the so-called Elysian Fields only by another course. (Here Bernard introduces an independent digression of his own on the seven liberal arts--apparently the "other course" leading to the heavenly Latium.⁴⁷ But of this, more later.) In this is to be noted the unified direction of all activities in the school of Chartres, the motivation behind their varied literary and philosophical activity. Even development of what are called the "humanities" in today's university circles was not to be done for its own sake, according to the Chartrain spirit.

Perhaps because of the heavily Platonic orientation of the school, there are frequent allusions in the discussions of the moral conduct of man and the ideals to which he aspired, to a quasi-innate sense of goodness in man. It would understandably follow that such goodness is best preserved or recaptured, or at least cultivated, through knowledge. The point that virtue is the aim of all knowledge, and most

⁴⁶This position was also summarized by John of Salisbury in Policraticus, VIII, 24.

⁴⁷Commentum . . . super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii, Bk. VI, p. 30.

especially philosophy, is almost a hallmark of Chartrain manuscripts. Not that this is not voiced elsewhere; Hugh of St. Victor had his own particular form of it.⁴⁸ At the basis of this relationship was the Chartrain's implicit identification of virtue and wisdom: "Virtue and wisdom, which perhaps, as Victorinus believes, differ in name rather than in substance, rank first among desiderata, but eloquence comes second,"⁴⁹ although John of Salisbury adds later that "scientific knowledge by the nature of things, must precede the practice and cultivation of virtue, which does not 'run without knowing where it is going.'"⁵⁰ In this somewhat on-the-fence-attitude, John is again seen as a kind of transitional link between what was

⁴⁸However, Jerome Taylor, in the introduction to his edition of the Didascalion, states: ". . . in contrast to the belletristic humanism of a John of Salisbury, a Bernardus Silvestris, or a Matthew of Vendôme; in contrast to the concern with a Platonized quadrivium and physics of the Chartrain masters, or the absorption in dialectic of an Abaelard . . . the Didascalion set forth a program insisting on the indispensability of a whole complex of the traditional arts and on the need for their scientific pursuit in a particular order by all men as a means both of relieving the physical weaknesses of earthly life and of restoring that union with the divine Wisdom for which man was made."--p. 4. This statement would be acceptable had he substituted the phrase "consistent with" in place of "in contrast to." This hardly takes into consideration the liberal arts program described by John of Salisbury in the Metalogicon, or outlined by Thierry of Chartres in the Heptateuchon. As for the scientific pursuit of the disciplines, the frequent statements heretofore quoted from Thierry or from William of Conches supply sufficient tools for refutation.

⁴⁹Metalogicon, I, 7, p. 27.

⁵⁰Ibid., I, 23, p. 64.

essentially Chartrain and what would follow in thirteenth-century Scholasticism.

In the matter of what guides were to be followed in the development of sound morals and growth in virtue, the Chartrains relied on the traditional Christian masters: Biblical exegesis of the New Testament analyzed the Gospels and Epistles; homilies and commentaries of the Fathers were likewise heavily drawn upon. But there was no fear in selecting what was considered applicable from non-Christian and classical authors. Among the most important sources of Platonism and interest in science in the Latin West was Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. But not so common and certainly not as a source for Christian ethics was this non-Christian African's Saturnalia. Nevertheless it was John of Salisbury who quoted at great length moral recommendations from Macrobius.⁵¹ John also used and praised the moral doctrines of such pagan classical writers as Pythagoras,⁵² Horace,⁵³ and Seneca.⁵⁴ The

⁵¹Cf. Policraticus, VIII, chs. 6, 8, 10. (Pike edition.)

⁵²"For in moral doctrine he [Pythagoras] is unimpeachable. And in this opinion I acquiesce the more readily, since even the Apostle of the gentiles, while preserving his faith and religion intact, yet became all things to all men to the end that he might win all."--Ibid., V, 4, p. 78 (Dickinson edition).

⁵³Horace is called the "ethical poet" in Ibid., V, 8.

⁵⁴"I readily agree that Quintilian was the greater scholar and excelled in kennness and weight of diction, but Seneca was more subtle and he was as far superior to

latter was also used extensively by William of Conches in his "anthology" or collection of moral directives from classical and Christian authors, De honesto et utili.⁵⁵ One classical philosopher whom John of Salisbury may or may not have avoided in the field of ethics was Aristotle: ". . . he should be regarded as a [learned] master of argumentative reasoning, rather than of morals, and he should be recognized as a teacher whose function is to conduct the young on to more serious philosophical studies rather than [directly] to instruct in ethics."⁵⁶

One final consideration in the matter of man's moral activity is that with which this chapter opened, namely, liberty. Sidney Painter's caution to translate the word libertas when found in medieval documents by privilege can be further refined by the discussion which Gerd Tellenbach devoted to it in his Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest. In his first chapter he notes:

When the point has been grasped that to the middle ages libertas simply means subjective right, and that law is nothing more than the sum of all individual libertates, the meaning of a privilege as the reduction to writing of this right becomes fully

⁵⁵PL 171, 1007-56.

⁵⁶Metalogicon, IV, 27, p. 244. There is no indication on available library lists that John could have been acquainted with a Latin translation of Aristotle's Ethics.

comprehensible. A privilege does not--as one might suppose from the modern use of the term--create exceptions to a generally prevailing law; rather it is the precise formulation of an actual and concrete subjective right, that is, of a libertas.⁵⁷

Further on he adds:

Thus we see that there were two kinds of order: the eternal order of all creatures round God, and the earthly order of men and things. The inner relationship between them is unmistakable To have a standing before God and the law was the positive meaning of libertas, and implied taking the place assigned to the individual by the first law of creation: "to each his own." If a definite connection between religious and legal libertas did not exist from the very beginning, it was easily forged, as a natural corollary to the relationship between life eternal and the sensual world.⁵⁸

With this explanation in mind it is also clear that the medievals saw a distinction between individual and political liberty, even though they theoretically insisted upon a relationship between the two. Strictly speaking, it is in the sense of man's individual liberty that John discusses the topic in his Policraticus, although as has been noted above,⁵⁹ the clear-cut distinction between the two cannot be certainly affirmed. "Liberty," John says, "means judging everything freely in accordance with

⁵⁷Trans. R. F. Bennet (Oxford, 1940), p. 21.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁹Cf. p. 84.

. . . one's individual judgment, and does not hesitate to reprove what it sees opposed to good morals. Nothing but virtue is more splendid than liberty, if indeed liberty can ever properly be severed from virtue. For to all right-thinking men it is clear that true liberty issues from no other source But virtue can never be fully attained without liberty, and the absence of liberty proves that virtue in its full perfection is wanting. Therefore a man is free in proportion to the measure of his virtues, and the extent to which he is free determines what his virtues can accomplish; . . .⁶⁰

John shows himself in this passage to be truly a disciple of Augustine who wrote in one of his letters:

And what can we more worthily make the object of our love than God? Let him who rejoices in freedom strive to be free from the love of transitory things, let him who takes pleasure in ruling become subject to God, the rule of all, and love Him more than himself. For this is full righteousness, to love the higher more than the lower.⁶¹

For both men, virtue is based on love, and love produces a dependency on its object. Therefore, one is virtuous and free insofar as one loves. Later there will be occasion to note that when he applies the concept of liberty beyond the individual, John of Salisbury will have in mind only the liberties of the Church.

Recapping, then, the total concept of the individual in terms of the unified context in which the Chartrains considered

⁶⁰Policraticus, VII, 25, p. 323 (Dickinson edition).

⁶¹Ep. 155, 13, PL 199, 148.

him, it might be said--and with a certain degree of justification--that this chapter has worked contrary to the spirit of Chartres. It has broken up the unity of the individual and of his position within a larger cosmological context for the sake of analysis. And yet, if the concept and the spirit are to be described in their essence, such forms of analysis cannot be avoided, necessary evils though they may be. In the preceding pages man's psychological, rational, and moral areas of activity have been set forth. To such men as Thierry of Chartres, Bernard Silvestris, John of Salisbury, and William of Conches, these spheres of human activity are not to be considered apart from what has previously been discussed about nature and the Creator. In the words again of Père Chenu, "[at Chartres] moral life is a particular case of universal life; the universe of liberty presupposes the universe of nature, indeed is at the summit of it."⁶² The mystery of movement was a common topic of interest to both the "physicist" and the moralist. The will, as a vivifying force, is a movement attaching itself to its object of satisfaction and, in the moralist's over-all scheme, to the Eternal. Finally, man as master of himself is directly parallel to man as master of nature. The Chartrains may have been loathe to specialization and systematization, but they were fairly

⁶²La Théologie au XII^e siècle, p. 36.

successful in unconsciously constructing a fluid system which encompassed the universe of knowledge as they knew it. That such a system, however, did not coincide with the cultural currents of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is clear from Chartres' passage into quasi-oblivion by 1200.

* * * * *

If the individual as an entity was important in a humanistic framework to the twelfth-century school of Chartres, and consequently to the history of thought, it follows a fortiori that the relations of individuals toward individuals in a humanistic social context would demand similar, if not equal attention. To the history of thought these considerations reveal cultural patterns and currents of the high middle ages. And when they are organized into systems of political thought comprising the whole of society and its institutions, the consequences are of even greater import. Fortunately, the collections of Chartres have left extant a major treatise on society and the state which will be at the basis of the remainder of this section. But to call the Policraticus of John of Salisbury typically Chartrain from the point of view of social and political theory is strangely enough not a safe assumption, owing to the lack of further written evidence or treatises, with one small exception, from that school. Since, however, the philosophic ideas which underlie the

Policraticus are consistent with those of Chartres, one may at least infer the tacit approval of the other masters.

The first half of the twelfth century saw the peak of feudalism in France, and while, as Dickinson claims in the introduction to his edition of the Statesman's Book, John of Salisbury left little or no trace of feudalism in terms of a contractual theory,⁶³ it is still true that he was imbued with

⁶³John Dickinson, The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury, being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books, of the Policraticus, (New York, 1963), p. xviii.

I agree with Dickinson that there is no development of contractual feudal theory in the Policraticus, which is to interpret the term "feudal" in its strictest application. Dickinson attributes this to the fact that John represented the standpoint and theory of the Church and not of purely secular politics. However, to argue, as do John Bowle (Western Political Thought [London, 1947], p. 189) and R. Lane Poole (Illustrations of Medieval Thought and Learning, p. 204), that "the outlook of the Policraticus is foreign to the feudal world," or that "there is not a trace even of the terminology of feudalism," is to misread the work. Dickinson himself notes three places where feudal doctrine is mentioned in the Policraticus: one where public offices are said to be transmissible by descent like private property (Bk. V, c. 6); another where the prince and his subjects are related in terms of the oath of fealty (Bk. VI, c. 25); and a third where the right of tyrannicide is denied to those who are bound to the tyrant by fealty (Bk. VIII, c. 20).

While agreeing that there is no development of a contractual theory in the Policraticus, Charles Petit-Dutaillis (Feudal Monarchy in France and England [London, 1936], p. 122) observes that although the basic element in the feudal system was the contract between lord and vassal, yet as the regime became systematized, the "feudal pyramid" had to have a summit, and therefore the feudal system included a king (p. 2). Hence, John's theory of monarchy was not especially foreign to the feudal world. In fact his theory, developed understandably

the feudal sense of hierarchy and with institutions peculiar to the feudal society which is evident throughout the Policraticus. The world in which he wrote his well-known treatise was a world whose official circles were very familiar to him. A brief summation of the political and ecclesiastical situations of the mid-twelfth century will place the significance of the Policraticus in greater relief and clarity.

The years which provided the immediate material for John of Salisbury's Policraticus and his Historia Pontificalis were decisive years in the organization and policy formation of English law--John's native law. They were years when Stephen and Henry II occupied the throne of England, although the assizes for which Henry's reign is remembered were issued well after the completion of the Policraticus in 1159. They were also the years when Theobald and Thomas Becket were occupants

from a churchman's point of view, admitted the importance of a monarch only in proportion to the latter's ability to maintain respect for the divine law.

Finally, Sidney Painter's discussion of the Policraticus as an ecclesiastical exposition of the place of knighthood in society (an institution of feudal society), would disprove the statement that the book was foreign to the feudal world. Painter notes that John "made the most of the fact that the Latin word miles designated both the Roman soldier and the mediaeval knight," and that he found the term "prince" "a convenient term to cover the confusion of feudal sovereignty" (p. 93). Hence, his concentration on Roman history and institutions was not so much a glorification of the past as a literary device expounding the Church's view on institutions within his own society.

of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and as secretary to both of these archbishops, John's knowledge of English Church-State relationships was not an outsider's. Examples of his own involvement in these often awkward and conflicting situations abound in his correspondence in particular.⁶⁴ In the ecclesiastical sphere, these were the years of Eugene III's and Adrian IV's pontificates. Engaged in the papal service between 1148 and 1153, and a close friend of the English Pope Adrian IV,⁶⁵ John's knowledge of ecclesiastical procedures, as well as the principles of canon law on which they were based, was thus practical and first-hand.

Finally, the situation in France--from an "external" point of view in the relations of Normandy and the other French holdings of the Plantagenets with England, and "internally" in

⁶⁴Ed. W. J. Millor and H. E. Butler, rev. C. N. L. Brooke (London, 1955). Letter #19, e.g., written in the autumn of 1156 to Peter, abbot of Celle, refers to John's having incurred King Henry's displeasure over the form of the grant of Ireland to Henry from the Pope--a grant which John had arranged, but in the form of an hereditary fee from the Pope.-- p. 31.

⁶⁵"I remember that I once journeyed to Apulia to visit the pontiff, Lord Adrian the Fourth, who had admitted me to his closest friendship, and I sojourned with him at Beneventum for almost three months. We often conversed in the way of friends concerning many things, and he asked me confidentially and earnestly how men felt concerning himself and the Roman Church. I was entirely frank with him, and explained without reserve the abuses which I had heard of in the different provinces."-- Policraticus, VI, 24, p. 252 (Dickinson edition).

the relations between the Capetian monarchy and the counts of Blois and Champagne--deserves and warrants at least summary consideration. Politically, the town of Chartres in which John spent most of his educational years and whose diocese he was to serve as bishop from 1176 to 1180, was under the jurisdiction of the count of Blois, who was also the overlord of Champagne. On the other side of the coin was the episcopal diocese of Chartres which during the eleventh century was one of the bulwarks in support of the Capetian kings of France. In the first half of the twelfth century Thibault the Great (IV), grandson of William the Conqueror and hence link between England and Normandy, was at the helm in Chartres, Blois, and Champagne--a ruler who proved to be no small contender to the plans of Louis VI of France.⁶⁶ The commentary of a student and political observer such as John of Salisbury on the desirability or non-desirability of a nation-state "co-existent" with an all-encompassing spiritual society, the Church, could well have been influenced by the conflicts of interest up to the mid-twelfth century. This is more apparent in his letters written after the publication of the Policraticus and up to his death, when relations between the counts of Chartres-Champagne and the French King Louis VII reversed to amicability through a series

⁶⁶Suger, Abbé de St. Denis, Vie de Louis VI le Gros, ed. et trad. M. Waquet (Paris, 1929), pp. 185-201.

of marriages between the two families and the appointment of John's immediate predecessor in the see of Chartres, William of Champagne (brother of Count Thibault V of Chartres).⁶⁷ The position of the ecclesiastical overseer of a diocese was at no time in the Middle Ages insignificant to monarchs of the nascent nation-states, a generalization made graphic by the relations of Paris with Chartres in the twelfth century, reaching its climax in the France of Philip Augustus.⁶⁸

The inside story of these courtly and ecclesiastical circles provided much grist for the mill of a Christian critic familiar with their routines and intrigues. John of Salisbury's secretarial and diplomatic activities in both England and France placed him in a position to criticize with first-hand information and to formulate an opinion which, while it may have been somewhat theoretically and idealistically expressed, was in no case divorced from contemporary reality. The tenor of his "Enthetic" or introduction to the Policraticus, written in the

⁶⁷E. Lépinos, Histoire de Chartres, I, 103 ff.

⁶⁸The monarchy and house of Chartres reached the zenith of their bond when in 1188 Philip Augustus left for the Holy Land after having appointed a regency council consisting of his mother, Alix of Chartres, his uncle, Cardinal William of Champagne and former Bishop of Chartres, and his half-sister, Adele, countess of Chartres and daughter of Louis VII and his former wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Another political link between the two locales is evident from the frequent number of times that the Curia regis was held in Chartres.

form of an exhortatory letter to Thomas Becket to whom the entire treatise was dedicated, is indicative of his judgment on these official circles, severally expressed throughout the Policraticus and his correspondence. The essence of that judgment was that courtly life--noble, royal, or even ecclesiastical--was no place to cultivate virtue, at least in the manner in which he saw that these courts were actually conducting themselves. And in the fifth book of the Policraticus specific reference is made to the state of ecclesiastical justice:

But others [ecclesiastical officials] conduct themselves as if Thesephone or Megera were sent from the underworld to stir up Thebes to wickedness. For the most part such men have been promoted by the court to the offices of the church against the unanimous wishes of the faithful. In the eyes of these men

Judgment is nought but public merchandise.

And the knight who judges a case gives whatsoever decision is bought and paid for. (Petronius, Saturnalia, c. 14).

They decide in favor of the unjust in return for bribes, they exult in the worst wickedness, rejoice when evil is done,

And can scarce restrain their tears when they see nought to provide tears. (Ovid, Metamorphoses, ii, 796). Verily they feed on the sins of the people and are clothed therein, and luxuriate therein in manifold ways, these respectors of persons, and as it were hammers of the good; for this way they have learned from those who chose them.⁶⁹

On this passage two observations are worthy of note. The first will be dealt with at greater length in the following chapter--

⁶⁹Policraticus, V, 16, p. 153 (Dickinson edition).

namely, the candid use of Ovid's Metamorphoses by a professed and committed Christian writer. The second concerns the last line of the quote: "for this they have learned from those who chose them," clearly casting the burden of responsibility on the pragmatic designs of secular authorities, for it was the monarch who appointed the bishops. The entire passage also parallels the type of cynicism and criticism which came from another social movement of the twelfth century, the Goliardic poets. What abuses were outlined and anathematized by the third Lateran Council in 1179,⁷⁰ were parodied and paraded in satirical sarcasm, such as the tongue-in-cheek "Gospel according to the Silver Mark."⁷¹ These latter condemnations provide supplementary evidence in support of the Policraticus' claims.

With this somber picture of political life before his eyes, it is no wonder that John of Salisbury urged a solution on the basis of Biblical wisdom more than on classical treatises on political and social theory. In the words of a contemporary historian of medieval culture, Maurice de Gandillac, if John had known the Laws of Plato, his liberal spirit would have only

⁷⁰Cf. H. J. Schroeder (ed.), Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils, Text, Translations and Commentary (St. Louis, 1937), p. 218 ff.

⁷¹Cf. excerpt and translation in Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, pp. 162-63.

half appreciated the rigorism of the last Platonic city, but that the political picture of his own times demanded that he refer temporal princes to assiduous reading of the Pentateuch, and specifically, of the book of Deuteronomy.⁷² Although the author was familiar with classical texts, but admittedly not with the prominent ones of Plato and Aristotle which did not appear in Latin translation in the West until the end of the twelfth century and even in the thirteenth century, he still chose the Scriptures to illustrate the principles of men's relationships with one another, on both private and public levels. The Policraticus has been called the first study of the State since the City of God, and it is not unusual to find it following Augustinian lines. John wrote and developed his social theory not as first and foremost a diplomatic official, but as a Churchman. Society is thus conceived in an ecclesiastical context. Such a conception demonstrates what can broadly be termed a medieval sense of hierarchy, this time not in the feudal manner of private contract, but in the sense of an ordered progression of submission to authority culminating in the one supreme authority, the Church. (A parallel gradation

⁷²Maurice de Gandillac, "Le Platonisme au XII^e et au XIII^e siècles," Actes du Congrès Budé de Tours et Poitiers (Paris, 1954), p. 280.

Cf. Policraticus, IV, 6, p. 24 (Dickinson edition): "And rightly is the Deuteronomy inscribed in a book in the sense that the prince turns over in his mind the meaning of this law so that it never recedes from before his eyes."

is seen in the orientation of the core of studies at Chartres, the seven liberal arts, to the study of theology.)

Within this framework of twelfth-century France, England, and Rome, and bearing in mind the overall objective of society as envisioned by John of Salisbury, an analysis of some of the elements of this social theory can be more thoroughly appreciated. One of the most effective devices employed in the Policraticus to describe the essence of the political and social relationship between the members of a state is the analogy of the body politic to a natural organism, the so-called "organic analogy."⁷³ Examples of this device were prolific among political theorists in the centuries to come, most impressively developed in the De concordantia catholica of Nicholas of Cusa. John of Salisbury is most frequently accredited as its originator. However, it could well have been that he adopted it from Bernard Silvestris' Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid--a work which appeared before the Policraticus. And J. Reginald O'Donnell has suggested that Bernard drew his source from Apuleius' Dogmate Platonis.⁷⁴

⁷³Bks. V and VI; especially V, 2.

⁷⁴"The Sources and Meaning of Bernard Silvester's Commentary on the Aeneid," Mediaeval Studies, XXIV (1962), p. 243.

In the third book of the Aeneid, Bernard asserted, Virgil, in the capacity of a philosopher, was describing the nature of adolescence. In the city of Aeneas (in the analogy, Aeneas = soul; the sea = body), were diverse mansions and orders of men. The first mansion is the fortress where wise men dwell; likened to the human body, it is the head or citadel of the body. The second mansion of the city is the soldiers' quarters; this is the mansion of courage in the heart. The third is the dwelling of the cupedinarii--in the body, the seat of cupidity. On the outskirts of the city are the suburbia, the homes of the farmers; these are likened to the hands and feet.⁷⁵

In the Policraticus, this same analogy is developed even further, but on the level of the community. "Those things which establish and implant in us the practice of religion and transmit to us the worship of God . . . fill the place of the soul in the body of the commonwealth"⁷⁶--an obvious reference to

⁷⁵"Prima civitatis mansio est arx, quam sapientes incolunt. Itaque in corpore humano, prima et eminentior mansio et arx corporis est caput, in quo sapientia sedem habet. Secunda civitatis mansio est militum. Ita secunda corporis est mansio animositatis in corde. Tertia civitatis mansio est mansio cupedinariorum. Ita tertia in corpore mansio est cupiditatis; haec autem de renibus. In ultimo civitatis est suburbium, sedes agricolarum. Ita in extremo corporis sunt manus et pedes ad agendum. Ideoque civitas corpus dicitur. Hujus civitatis incendium est primae aetatis fervor naturalism quo relicto, vertitur in Antandron."--Commentum super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii, p. 10.

⁷⁶Policraticus, V, 2, p. 64 (Dickinson edition).

the clergy. On the other hand,

The place of the head in the body of the commonwealth is filled by the prince who is subject only to God and to those who exercise His office and represent Him on earth, even as in the human body the head is quickened and governed by the soul⁷⁷

In a later chapter John elaborated even more on the "feet of the commonwealth," including among their numbers not only husbandmen, but all those occupied with "humbler offices"-- cloth-makers, workers in wood, iron, bronze, and all other menial but necessary occupations.⁷⁸ Admitting their importance stressed the interdependence in this analogy of all the members of society, and it led directly to an affirmation of the psychological bond which Augustine, following Cicero, had called essential to the true res publica--i.e., a union of wills around a common object of love. John phrased it thus:

There can be no faithful and firm cohesion where there is not an enduring union of wills and as it were a cementing together of souls. If this is lacking it is vain that the works of men are in harmony, since hollow pretence will develop into open injury unless the real spirit of helpfulness is present But

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 65. The analogy is attributed by John to Plutarch's letter of instruction to Trajan. No such work is extant and opinion is divided as to whether the source was a Latin translation of a compilation of Plutarch's writings or an original Latin work falsely attributed to Plutarch. Cf. Dickinson's introduction, p. xxi; also Schaarschmidt, Johanes Saresberiensis (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 123-24; C. C. J. Webb, ed., Johannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici (Oxford, 1909), vol. I, 280.

⁷⁸Ibid., VI, c. 20 (Dickinson edition).

the solidest union is that which is cemented with the glue of faith and love, and stands wholly upon the foundation of virtue.⁷⁹

Due to the predominance of Platonism at Chartres, Dickinson is persuaded that this concept of the State, despite the "organic analogy," was a static one where every individual remained "a mere unit in that universal organization whose design was implicit in the eternal law."⁸⁰ Granted that there was no thought of progress or advancement into higher social classes, this still seems to create an artificial consistency with a philosophical system not entirely warranted by available texts. Very different in character from the impersonal rule over the world by Plato's Justice is the following quotation:

Law is the gift of God, the model or equity, a standard of justice, a likeness of the divine will, the guardian of well-being, a bond of union and solidarity between peoples, a rule defining duties, a barrier against the vices and the destroyer thereof, a punishment of violence, and all wrong-doing. The law is assailed by force or by fraud, and, as it were, either wrecked by the fury of the lion or undermined by the wiles of the serpent. In whatever way this comes to pass, it is plain that it is the grace of God which is being assailed, and that it is God himself who in a sense is challenged to battle.⁸¹

⁷⁹Ibid., V, c. 7, pp. 95-96 (Dickinson edition).

⁸⁰"Introduction" to his edition of the Policraticus, p. xxiv.

⁸¹Policraticus, Bk. VIII, c. 17, p. 335 (Dickinson edition). Gilson, in his Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy, pp. 331-41, discusses at length the superficial likenesses of the Platonic world order which rules and defines the moral order, and the Christian scheme of Providence. At even

This is hardly as static and impersonal as Dickinson would suggest. Far more convincing and consistent with the stress on the individual is the application of the Boethian definition of personality--"an individual subsistence of a rational nature"--to the State, thereby rendering it living and human.⁸²

In order to implement the reception of this theory of society based on a concept of man and of his relationship to others as well as to his Creator, certain broad philosophical principles were brought into play. For the most part, these principles stem understandably enough from John's predecessor and, one might say, pioneer in Christian political thought--Augustine. Of these, natural law plays a fundamental role. In order to justify human legislation designed to establish or maintain order in the temporal sphere, the bridge linking the Eternal Law, to which all legislation was referred, and the temporal order, is natural law. Natural law is in turn identified by John of Salisbury with "equity." It must be kept in mind that the writing of the Policraticus was taking place precisely at the period when the study of Roman law was being

greater length he notes the fundamental differences, however, between the system which depends on a Supreme Author and legislator and one whose "universe is not wholly penetrated with intelligibility because it is not wholly dependent upon its author."

⁸²Cf. E. F. Jacob, "John of Salisbury and the 'Policraticus,'" The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers, ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw (London, 1923), p. 83.

revived, refined, updated, and elaborated upon into an effective tool for late medieval and early modern society. It is no surprise, then, that John's identification or equation of "equity" with the natural law, and his designation of lex as the interpreter of the natural law, is derived from a work now ascribed to a student in Bologna ca. 1150.⁸³

Adhering closely to the Augustinian juxtaposition of law and love, it follows that the above elements--natural law, equity, justice--must be informed by love in a Christian commonwealth. Without distinctly answering the question of how, in the concrete, individual activity relates to social activity, John of Salisbury resorts to the City of God and bridges the gap with the moral solution that love, the "soul" of society, is the promoter of justice. "But the solidest union is that which is cemented with the blue of faith and love, and stands wholly upon the foundation of virtue."⁸⁴ If one were to

⁸³"Equity . . . is the harmonizer of cases, combining everything in a rational equality and supplying the lack of equivalent laws for equivalent cases" is a quotation from the Summa Trecensis, now attributed to Martinus of Bologna's pupil, Rogerius. Cf. introduction to Millor's edition of John of Salisbury's Letters, p. xx.

⁸⁴Policraticus, V, 7, p. 96 (Dickinson edition); cf. supra, p. 119.

The Augustinian position has been penetratingly recognized by Père Chenu in a conference delivered to the first International Congress on Medieval Philosophy in 1958: "Il y faut, en sous-oeuvre, les déterminismes de la nature, dont l'objectivité des rapports de justice est l'humaine répercussion, donnât pour ainsi dire un corps à la vie sociale,

combine this concept of social life with the respect for the individual presupposed by the author of the Policraticus when he considered the love and pursuit of liberty,⁸⁵ it is almost possible to say that John of Salisbury was opting for a "democracy of the spirit"--a humanism of the individual in society.

In light of continually referring legal and ethical matters to an Eternal Law and to all-embracing moral principles, it is not unlikely to find the temporal State regarded simply as a convenience. To attempt a decision on the relative merits of an encompassing Empire as opposed to a number of small independent states per se was not a matter of prime importance to the school of Chartres--at least from what can be gathered from extant texts. But it is immediately a different story to discuss these two state-forms in relation to the Church--that body politic with which John of Salisbury and, in the last analysis, all of the Chartrains were interested. In fact, a simple reading of the Policraticus reveals only sparse information on

là où l'amour serait l'âme. Le passage de l'amour--intersubjectif--à la justice--avec son objectivisme social--est l'opération caractéristique du progrès social; la civilisation se mesure à l'établissement de droits, droits dont le sujet n'est pas seulement la personne, mais le corps social, en tant que tel, au delà du contrat des individus et de la liberté des amours. Il reste que l'amour est le promoteur de la justice." Reprinted in L'Homme et son Destin, p. 48.

⁸⁵Ibid., VII, 25; also supra, p. 108.

Church-State relationships as they actually existed in twelfth-century Europe, if one is only interested in what is said about Pope and Emperor. John paid little heed to the Church-State dualism of Charlemagne's theocracy and even less to the possibility of reviving the old Roman Empire. Neither is there developed a theoretical existence of a Christian Roman Empire, in which one single prince stands above all other princes next to the Pope. Noteworthy, too, is the lack of any mention of the possible cultural contributions of an Empire in which, for example, crusades were undertaken under the leadership of an Emperor with the avowed intention of achieving the expansion of a Christian mission program. All of this reinforces the position that for John of Salisbury the State is simply a sociological phenomenon; it is not something existing in and for itself, or representing a higher historic or philosophical idea, as the Church. It is placed in the category of a convenient tool useful in dealing with human social life.⁸⁶ With this purely pragmatic function of guaranteeing security of life in which the individual pursues and cultivates truth and virtue,⁸⁷ it is no wonder that one does not find clearly defined

⁸⁶Cf. the finely detailed discussion of John of Salisbury's Church-State theory in Johannes Spörl, "Humanismus und Naturalismus: Johannes von Salisbury," Grundformen hochmittelalterlicher Geschichtsanschauung (München, 1935), p. 95 ff.

⁸⁷Policraticus, VII, 25, p. 323 (Dickinson edition).

distinctions between state-forms and political powers--feudal, royal, or imperial. Apparently it did not matter. Perhaps his most telling statement in this regard is to be found following a metaphorical description of a philosophic banquet and its relationship to a civil banquet--the point being that there can be and is a mutual influence between philosophy and moral living. Taking this a step further to the relationship, or as John saw it, to the ultimate unification of spiritual and temporal living, he drew up a chapter on the rules for civility that may be derived from Sacred Scripture, and in turn, the civility of virtue. Herein he states: "Although this appears to be a religious edict rather than one governing civility, I myself do not recognize a division between the civil and the religious, as nothing is more characteristic of civility than perseverance in the pursuit of virtue."⁸⁸ That this was an ideal to be strived for but not yet attained, the one-time secretary to Thomas Becket must have been only too aware.

How then to achieve this universal spiritual kingdom? If one must live in society and society must operate through institutions, the question of a state-form could not be avoided. The opposition of small independent states to a world-state or empire was not far removed from the eyes of the twelfth-century

⁸⁸Ibid., VIII, 9, p. 341 (Pike edition).

citizen of western Europe, with the threat of Frederick Barbarossa present. John of Salisbury's later letters betray this awareness, and it is in them that the reader finds his leaning toward the smaller individual states. Branding the defeat of the imperial army in 1167 as Frederick's punishment for creating schism in the Church is but one example of this tendency.⁸⁹ In other words, the ideal of the medieval Orbis pax, unitas, and ordo cannot be achieved by an imperial world-state,⁹⁰ but will only be realized in the spiritual realm. It exists here and now in the realm of the spirit, and as such, is guaranteed by the Church, not by a universal State. In the secular sphere it is not the Emperor but the individual princes and kingdoms, the regna, which protect peace and bestow protection upon the Church.

To conclude the eighth book of the Policraticus summarizes in somewhat utopian fashion the ideal of the reign of virtue. Because of the interdependence of liberty and virtue the Orbis pax is seen as the ultimate fulfillment of the individual, besides being the ideal state in which individuals live in community and complete the universal design of the Creator. When John of Salisbury spoke of the "Christian commonwealth" he

⁸⁹Ep. 228, PL 199, 256-59.

⁹⁰Ep. 167, PL 199, 157-58; cf. also Spörl, pp. 100 ff.

affirmed the Chartrain position as well as his own conviction about the "unity of civilization, of reason, and of God."⁹¹

⁹¹Webb, John of Salisbury (London, 1932), p. 172.

CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND GOALS
OF THE SCHOOL OF CHARTRES

Thus far the philosophical and psychological aspects to Chartrain humanism have been considered. It was noted at the outset that the very notion of "humanism" as an historical tag has been bent strongly in the direction of classicism, a tendency which has resulted largely in a one-sided view. In order, then, to veer from the accusation of swinging the pendulum to the opposite extreme, the educational activity of twelfth-century Chartres, with its marked literary emphasis on the Trivium, must be placed in proper perspective. There can be no doubt that the training received in the school itself--molded, as it were, according to the philosophy of its greater masters--was responsible for, or at least at the basis of their concepts of man in himself, in relation to society, to the whole of created nature, and ultimately to God.

Apropos to the presentation of any educational program is a brief account of the administrative aspects of the school which directs and implements the program. In the case of the medieval cathedral schools such administration was understandably interwoven with that of the cathedral chapters and of the diocese which the chapter, in turn, administered. The Cartulaire de

Notre Dame de Chartres has left much pertinent information affirming the philosophical religious solidarity which linked the scholars of the school with the canons and clerics of the cathedral, dating from at least the time of Fulbert.

In the hierarchy of administrative officers the first in rank was, of course, the bishop of Chartres. It is not a mere coincidence that the height of the school's importance and influence in the Middle Ages corresponded to that period when the diocese was headed by highly educated and very capable bishops. It has been noted that the legends built up around the pedagogical activities of Bishop Fulbert at the beginning of the eleventh century have been exaggerated and aggrandized by both his contemporaries and his biographers. Nevertheless this detracts nothing from his justifiable reputation as an episcopal administrator of the first rank. The cathedral school could not help but benefit by such leadership. Contemporary references contained in the first five appendices of MacKinney's study of Bishop Fulbert, though in certain instances sufficiently effusive in character to cast doubt on their total objectivity, at least affirm that his administrative ability was the controlling factor in firmly establishing Chartres as a leading educational center.¹

¹Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres,
pp. 49-54.

The letters of Yves of Chartres² attest to the prosperity that the Chartrain schools continued to enjoy during his bishopric, and which was continued and enhanced by his own administration and legal reputation.³ Succeeding bishops in the twelfth-century such as Gosselin (1148-55), Cardinal William of Champagne (1164-1176), and certainly John of Salisbury (1176-1180) were men of scholarly and artistic inclinations who used their resources and influence to support and encourage eminent men of letters.⁴

The chief link, however, between the episcopal offices of Chartres and the cathedral school, the most prominent position having immediate influence on members of the school, was that of chancellor. Such an officer exercised not only a kind of rectorship over the school, but was also the most eminent member of the cathedral chapter. Called in other dioceses scholasticus, this dignitary occupied the highest place in the choir when the chapter was in session. As a capitular officer his duties were

²Ed. Lucien Merlet, Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartres, 4th ser. I (1855), 443-471; Cf. also Correspondance, ed. Jean Leclerq, T. I: 1090-1098.

³In Bibliothèque Nat. Ms. lat. 15172, f. 103v, the following lines from an epitaph of Yves are found:
 Istius urbis apex memorandus episcopus Ivo
 Hac situs expectat adventus iudicis urna.
 Cf. also Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres, ed. Lépinos et Merlet, I, xxxvi.

⁴Cf. Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres, III, 32 f.; Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres, p. 274 ff.; and Histoire littéraire de la France, XV, 505 ff.

to write up the acts of decision, affix them with the seals of the bishop and of the chapter; he further directed the notaries, scribes, clerks and other officers of the chancery. The custody of the archives and library also fell to him.⁵ The list of twelfth-century chancellors of Chartres is weighted by the names of the most formidable producing scholars of the school, whose works have hitherto been cited: Vulgrin (d. 1119), Bernard of Chartres (1119-1124), Gilbert de la Porrée (1126-1141), Thierry of Chartres (1141-1150), Bernard of Quimper (1159-1167), Robert (1167-1173), and Bouchard (d. ca. 1187). Beneath these men during their chancellorships were the masters or teachers of the various liberal arts. To enumerate the prominent ones would, for the most part, be simply a relisting of the chancellors of the twelfth century.

Curriculum and texts. If the caliber of the instrumental causes rendered an impressive reputation to twelfth-century Chartres, so too did the material causes, if one may loosely use this terminology. The reference is, of course, to the make-up of the curriculum and the method of presentation. Several similar, though not identical, divisions or schemas of the liberal arts were proposed by different members of the school, according as

⁵Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres, I, lxxxij. Gilbert de la Porrée is recorded as correcting and improving manuscripts. Ibid., III, 167.

they followed one or other of the classical authorities. Of Boethian origin, and this in turn somewhat Aristotelian, is the outline elaborated by William of Conches in his commentary on the Consolatione Philosophiae.⁶ Boethius had defined philosophy etymologically as the love of Wisdom, and then proceeded to break this down into speculative or theoretic and practical wisdom and their respective elements, according to the outline given in Appendix II.⁷ William of Conches followed it in essence, though some simplifications are to be noted. According to him human knowledge is to be divided into eloquentia, comprising grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and sapientia, divided into theoretica and practica. William's sapientia-practica corresponds to Boethius' category of the same name and is divided into ethica, economica, and politica. Sapientia-theoretica also follows the Boethian classification, although he classifies the Quadrivium--arithmetica, musica, geometrica, and astronomia--under mathematica, whereas Boethius had made them subdivisions of physica.⁸ William counselled that the student begin with the study of ethics and finish with theology. According to him, practical science should precede the theory and lead up to it;

⁶Jourdain, "Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicolas Triveth," 74.

⁷Page 202. Cf. In Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta, PL 64, 11-12.

⁸Appendix II, p. 203. Cf. Jourdain edition, p. 74.

and among the theoretic sciences, the science of bodies which is acquired through mathematics and physics is the natural antecedent to the study of incorporeal beings, which in turn leads us directly to the Creator studied in the science of theology. A similar classification and counsel is described in his commentary on Macrobius.⁹

Of Ciceronian origin is the schema unfolded by Bernard Silvestris in his Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid. The introduction of this theory of learning he effected somewhat abruptly and in a rather contrived manner. Commenting on Book VI where Aeneas lands near Cumae and sets out with his companions for the temple of Apollo and the cave of the Sybil, passing through the sacred grove of Trivia,¹⁰ Bernard seizes the word Trivia, recalling the word trivium, and uses the opportunity to introduce his own classification of the arts, his own rendition of the Trivium and Quadrivium. The Trivium is the pursuit of eloquence through the three arts of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric.¹¹ As is obvious from the succeeding division, these three are instruments of knowledge, and not primarily a component part of scientia.

⁹Vatican Ms. Urb. lat. 1140, fol. 3r.

¹⁰"Jam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta."--Aeneid VI, 13.

¹¹"Grammatica est initium eloquentiae, dialectica dicitur proventus, rhetorica perfectio."--Commentum super sex libros Eneidos Vergilii, p. 31.

Virgil's "golden roofs" (cf. n. 10) are explained by Bernard as the four arts which contain the whole of philosophy: "quatuor artes matheseos in quibus philosophia que per aurum intelligitur continetur." These four he lists as sapientia, eloquentia, poesis, and mechania. Mechanics is the lowest in this hierarchy, as it comprises those professions which Cicero's De Inventione classified as artes illiberales: cloth-making, architecture, navigation, hunting, farming, theater, and medicine. Next comes poesis, which Bernard divided into metric poetry and prose; then eloquentia which is derived through a study of the authors, i.e., the poets; and finally philosophia, whose study includes theology.¹² It is in this final division that Bernard makes his distinction between theorica and practica, although it does not correspond to the Aristotelian or Boethian division. For him Philosophia-theorica deals with incorporeal things, i.e., first of all with God, His Wisdom, the world-soul, etc.; secondly, with mathematics, and thirdly, with philosophy. The practica has to do with human activities and mechanical arts. Being of a poetic bent, it is not surprising to find him stating that all knowledge of philosophy is to be begun through a study of the poets: "Sunt namque poetae ad philosophiam introductorii, unde volumina eorum cunas natriidum vocat Macrobius."¹³ This, in spite

¹²Ibid., p. 35.

¹³Ibid., p. 36.

of the hundred entrances to the cave of the Sybil (intelligentia) which Bernard claims were Virgil's veiled description of the teachings of the Stoics, Platonists, Pythagoreans, and other philosophies enumerated by Macrobius.

Simpler yet is the division of Thierry of Chartres as seen in his manual of the seven arts to which he gave the Greek title Heptateuchon. The enumeration he states in his Prologue¹⁴ is drawn from Varro, from Pliny the Elder, and especially from Martianus Capella. So dependent on the latter is Thierry that his avowed purpose of joining in a metaphorical marriage the Trivium and the Quadrivium¹⁵ is a simple restatement of the substance of Martianus' book, De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. Accordingly, Thierry notes that two things are necessary in order to philosophize--the mind and its expression. The mind is illumined by the subject matter of the Quadrivium--arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy; its dignified, rational, and ornate expression is nourished by the Trivium. Whence it is clear that the seven arts are the proper and unique instrument for the

¹⁴Chartres Mss. 497-498. Cf. schema in Appendix II, p. 203. These manuscripts were lost in the 1944 fire at Chartres, but were fortunately microfilmed previously by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto. The Prologue to the Heptateuchon has been edited by M. Ed. Jeauneau, Mediaeval Studies, XVI (1954), 171-175; hereafter cited as "Prologus ad Heptateuchon."

¹⁵Cf. Jeauneau, "Un représentant du platonisme au XII^e siècle: maître Thierry de Chartres," Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, XX (1954), 2.

whole of Philosophy. For to Thierry, as to Boethius, philosophy is the love of wisdom, and wisdom is the total understanding of the truth of things which are, a comprehension which one can only obtain on the condition of loving. No one is wise unless he be a philosopher.¹⁶

Before examining this work of Thierry's in detail, since it represents in sum the "core curriculum" of Chartres at the height of the school's reputation, note must be taken of the evolution through which the liberal arts, especially the Trivium, had passed since their enunciation as a program of studies. Since the texts which the Chartrains relied upon, as for that matter did all the medieval schools, were mainly drawn from what we today call the classical authorities, such transitions as were made not only demonstrate changes in the content or methodology of one or another discipline, but they also indicate what the later medievals were seeking in the authors they consulted and the goals they sought to realize in the study of each discipline. The evolution is clearly seen in the study of grammar--for the

¹⁶"Nam, cum sint duo precipua phylosophandi instrumenta, intellectus eiusque interpretatio, intellectum autem quadriuium illuminet, eius uero interpretationem elegantem, rationabilem, ornata triuium subministret, manifestum est eptatheucon totius phylosophye unicum ac singulare esse instrumentum. Phylosophya autem est amor sapientiae; sapientia uero est integra comprehensio ueritatis e rum que sunt, quam nullus uel parum adipiscitur nisi amauerit. Nullus igitur sapiens nisi phylosophus."--Prologus.

medieval, the sine qua non of all learning. For Plato and Aristotle grammar was fundamentally "skill in letters," in the art of reading and writing. The Hellenistic period saw the explication of poets added, so that a basic source for medieval schoolmen such as Quintilian would consider grammar as the study of correct speech and the interpretation of the poets. It is apparent that this broadening of grammar could easily lead to clouding the line between grammar and the traditional concept of rhetoric.¹⁷ Such, in fact, occurred in the transition of this discipline from the ancients to the masters of the cathedral schools. The twelfth century was an age which respected the Logos, the "word," very highly, both as a secular and as a religious concept. Hence the importance of grammar in relation to skill and precision in definition, and in an even more particularized use, to Biblical exegesis.¹⁸

The line between grammar and dialectic also lost its sharpness as the latter came progressively into the fore from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. Aristotle himself, in the

¹⁷Curtius, European Literature, p. 42.

¹⁸Chenu has pushed this to its ultimate conclusion in probing what might be called a philosophy of life at Chartres. Grammar, he says, performs one of its most important functions in what it has to say about the tense of a verb: the sense of a proposition varies essentially according to the past, present, or future of the action which it expresses (cf. Metalogicon, IV, 32). Similarly the tidings of salvation conform this law, in that whether they are applied to the past, to the present, or to the future, they nevertheless affirm that the eternal salvation of humanity is realized within history, i.e., within time.--
"Situation Humaine," p. 39.

Categories, had dealt with notions common to both grammar and logic.¹⁹ The course of the translations, teaching, and application of both disciplines eventually led to the "speculative grammar," or as some call it, "verbal logic," of the thirteenth century. For example, the Greek grammarians, and later on Priscian,²⁰ taught that to properly distinguish the parts of speech, it was necessary to consider attentively that attribute of each part which pertained to each in its entirety, to the exclusion of all other attributes. On the other hand, the logicians of the twelfth century (e.g., Abelard) were led to the same consideration by another avenue, the debate on universals, which questioned the "meaning of meaning much more than . . . what is meaningful in the nature of things."²¹ Another example of this at the school of Chartres is found in Bernard of Chartres who in his presentation of grammar taught the usefulness of derivative words as helping to define something akin to a concept of the analogy of being, i.e., "that things are predicated at times absolutely, and at other times in an approximate manner."²²

¹⁹The post-Boethian scholar might readily have referred to him as the Logician in the same vein that Aquinas would later call him the Philosopher.

²⁰Cf. below, p. 141.

²¹Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy, p. 160. Cf. also Ch. Thurot, "Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen-âge," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, XXII, 2 (1868), especially 149-170. E. K. Rand has called this an unsurpassed history of medieval grammar.

²²Metalogicon, III, 2, p. 152.

One must recognize, then, that dialectic in the twelfth century comprised not only logic, but metaphysical and ethical questions as well--in a sense, the totality of what we today call philosophy. Questions originating in theology opened the field to logic. Finally, the shift in the content of dialectic is alluded to in the emphasis it received relative to the other disciplines of the Trivium. In the words of Professor Baldwin, "At the fall of Rome the Trivium was dominated by rhetorica; in the Carolingian period, by grammatica; in the high middle ages, by dialectica."²³ Indeed, after the advent of the nova logica of Aristotle about the mid-twelfth century, dialectic began to eclipse both grammar and rhetoric as both a sophisticated art of convincing and persuading and an applied art, useful in both theology and civil law.²⁴

A final word before taking up the second of the liberal arts must be made in reference to the inclusion of ethics in the study of grammar.²⁵ Since it was to the grammaticus that the task

²³Charles S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (New York, 1928), p. 151.

²⁴The thirteenth-century Henri d'Andeli's poem, "Battle of the Seven Arts," tells how Logic at Paris vanquished Grammar whose fortress was Orléans, and that Aristotle overthrew Priscian in the battle.--Ed. Louis J. Paetow (Berkeley, 1914).

²⁵On this question see Philippe Delhaye, "Grammatica et Ethica au XII^e siècle," Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, XXV (1958), 59-110.

of commenting on classical poets was confided, and to the rhetoricus that of the prose-writers, the two together were to take care to explain the ethical content of the texts under consideration. But in the twelfth century this became the task of the grammarian alone, since, as will be noted below, the discipline of rhetoric came more and more to be confined to literary composition. And, as Delhaye observes, this coupling of ethics with grammar was not simply the fruit of evolution, but it corresponded to a deep desire to justify themselves in the study of pagan authors. It is thus that the moral aspect of the texts being studied in the twelfth century bore a much greater importance than it did with the ancients.²⁶

Finally, with respect to rhetoric a similar change and development had taken place. To the ancients rhetoric was the "craft of speech," the ability to construct a discourse artistically. Not all ancients were agreed on the position of rhetoric in learning: Plato rejected both it and poetry on philosophical and pedagogical grounds, while Aristotle included them both in his philosophical investigation of the arts.²⁷ Cicero transmitted this study of style which had begun in Greece after the Persian Wars in his two treatises, Rhetorica ad Herennium (ca. 85 B.C.) and the De Inventione. The art was soon

²⁶Ibid., 71.

²⁷The development of rhetoric is taken up in great detail by Curtius, European Literature, pp. 62 ff.

transferred to areas of literature other than discourse, viz., to poetry via Ovid, to the tragedies of Seneca, and to Lucan's epic. By the end of the first century of the Empire, rhetoric had gained everywhere and was to be capped by Quintilian's Institutio oratoria (ca. A.D. 95).²⁸ Here the ideal man is the orator, for speech is bestowed on man alone. Eloquence as a study stands far above astronomy, mathematics, etc. In the early medieval period rhetoric was extended even further as allegory was applied to Biblical exegesis in Augustine and to the service of politics in Cassiodorus. In the eleventh century rhetoric began to take on the hue of stylistic letter-writing, the ars dictaminis, which it continued into the twelfth century, in addition to reacquiring at this period its former antique ideal, i.e., rhetoric as the integrating factor of all education. The shift in emphasis to letter-writing is quite understandable in view of the growing wealth, organization, and sophistication of society in the twelfth century.²⁹ In France the center reknowned for the ars dictaminis was Orléans, a school, as has been seen,

²⁸It is surprising that Thierry did not include this work in his Heptateuchon, for we know he was acquainted with it by a reference to it in his Commentary on Cicero's De Inventione.

²⁹In Italy, even the study of grammar had a utilitarian purpose as an annex to the study of law. Further, the rise of the professional class of Italian dictatores to help people with their correspondence, is indicative of the regard for a certain elegance and formalism in the art of writing letters.

closely affiliated with Chartres.³⁰ That rhetoric was considered extremely important at Chartres itself is clear from the fact that Thierry of Chartres went to the trouble of commenting on Cicero's De Inventione, and Bernard Silvestris felt it warranted an aside in his Commentary on the Aeneid. The assimilation of philosophy to rhetoric or eloquence as a classical ideal found expression in John of Salisbury's Entheticus: Whoever knows perfectly the art of eloquence will be an expert in whatever area of learning he serves; from his youthful studies he may pass into a variety of professions, all of which tend to one end if governed by philosophy and her servant, eloquence.³¹

As for the Quadrivium, one does not find an evolution similar to that which grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric had

³⁰Geoffrey Vinesauf, a contemporary of Innocent III, wrote that the prominent centers for medicine, law, liberal arts, and the explication of authors were respectively Salerno, Bologna, Paris, and Orléans:

In morbis panat medici virtute Salernum
 Aegros. In causis Bononia legibus armat
 Nudos, Parisius dispensat in artibus illos
 Panes unde cibatur robustos. Aurelianis
 Educat in cunis auctorum lacte tenellos.

Poetria nova, in Historia poetarvm et poematvm medii aevi decem, ed. Polycarp Leyser (Halae Magdeb., 1791), p. 920, vv. 1009-1013.

³¹PL 199, 973:

Eloquii si quis perfecte noverit artem,
 Quodlibet apponas dogma, peritus erit.
 Transit ab his tandem studiis operosa juvenus
 Pergit et in varias philosophendo vias,
 Quae tamen ad finem tendunt concorditer unum,
 Unum namque caput Philosophia gerit.

undergone. To be sure, additions were made to the canon of authors on whom they drew, and in that sense the Quadrivium may be said to have widened its perspective. This is especially true in the case of geometry, where Latin translations of Euclid were made from Arabian texts throughout the twelfth century.³² Up until this time the books of Boethius and Gerbert, as will be seen in Thierry's Heptateuchon, monopolized a sizeable portion of the geometric texts.

The Heptateuchon must command a central position in evaluating the curriculum at Chartres and the ends to which it was directed. Little doubt can be held that the texts included by Thierry in his manual of the arts, composed about the middle of his chancellorship (ca. 1150), were exhaustive of those consulted by the masters in their exposés, but they would probably correspond to the modern college course's list of required texts.³³ The door was apparently left wide open to supplementary reading, as is evident from some notable omissions with which Thierry indicated elsewhere he was familiar. When one notes that out of the 595 folios of the manuscript, slightly less than two hundred are devoted to the first of the seven arts

³²Both the Englishman Adelard of Bath in 1120, and Gerard of Cremona in 1188 had made translations of Euclid.

³³Cf. Appendix II, p. 205, for an outline of the Heptateuchon as taken from Clerval.

alone, it is almost belaboring the obvious to repeat Thierry's estimation that grammar was the cornerstone of philosophical learning. In metaphorical language, grammar is depicted as a matron, severe in appearance as well as in manner.³⁴ She imparts to the young principles of correct writing and speaking, of translating from one tongue to another, and claims an exclusive right over the explication of authors whose works come under consideration in the course of studies. Her venerable age puts her above having to argue or demonstrate rules.³⁵ As is to be

³⁴"Prologus ad Heptateuchon," p. 172. The editor, Abbé Jeauneau, has remarked here on another connection with the cathedral sculpture in directing attention to the Royal portal of Chartres, where on the arches of the right door one may see this austere matron of whom Thierry speaks, directly above the carved figure of Priscian the grammarian. In one hand she holds an open book and in the other a sheaf of rods. At her feet are two children, one of whom seems about to receive some chastisement.--Ibid., n. 7.

Katzenellenbogen, Aubert, and other historians of Gothic art have noted that it is at Chartres, on this twelfth-century facade, that the liberal arts have for the first time been incorporated into sculpture. They are represented as women carrying symbols of their respective arts and each assisted by one of the prominent sages of antiquity: Grammar and Priscian, Rhetoric and Cicero, Dialectic and Aristotle, Arithmetic and Boethius, Geometry and Euclid, Music and Pythagoras, and Astronomy and Ptolemy. Katzenellenbogen (The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral, p. 19 ff.) also has drawn a fairly tight case for positing Thierry as the one who suggested this representation of the liberal arts, basing his assumption on Thierry's position as chancellor of Chartres ca. 1150, and on his reputation as a vigorous investigator of the arts (Metalogicon, I, 5).

³⁵Pueros conuovat, rationes recte scribendi recteque loquendi prescribit, ydiomata linguarum decenter transumit, expositionem omnium auctorum sibi debitam profitetur; quicquid dicit auctoritati eius committitur. Canities enim matrone

expected, the two dominant sources for medieval grammar, Donatus and Priscian, are the two cited by Thierry. The treatise by Donatus (mid-fourth century), De octo partibus orationis liber, was chosen for its simplicity, conciseness, and subtle exposition; its method of presentation by question and answer was considered fitting for beginners. A second edition of the same treatise, which includes an added selection of dialogues, fables, sentences in prose and verse which were to be learned by heart, is included in the Heptateuchon. Thierry remarks that this second book is intended for superior students in that it is based on a more involved method of teaching, viz., that in which the masters affirm conclusions only after a long process of research.³⁶ Of this second part of Donatus only two sections are reprinted by Thierry.

On the other hand, over 182 folios are devoted to Priscian, of which 150 comprise his Institutiones grammaticae in eighteen books. This is a fair indication of the popularity which Priscian enjoyed at that time. William of Conches is known to have glossed the Institutiones early in his career as a grammarian, about 1120.³⁷ Unfortunately, owing to the incompleteness of the

³⁶Ibid., fol. 8r: ". . . in quo post diutinam inquisitionem tenenda ponuntur, quem modum idem greci analecticismum dicunt."

³⁷Extracts of this gloss are to be found in Paris, Bib. Nat. Ms. lat. 14065, fols. 61r-64r. A complete text has been uncovered by Klibansky at the Biblioteca Laurenziana of Florence,

Heptateuchon manuscript, Thierry's specific reasons for incorporating Priscian are not recorded. Two and a half blank columns precede the Institutiones grammaticae which were apparently intended to be used for an introduction and/or commentary by Thierry, but it is presumed that he died before the completion of his famed manual. In addition to the Institutiones other works of Priscian are also included in the Heptateuchon under the division of grammar, viz., a short treatise on weights and measures, another on comic verses, a book on accents, a collection of twelve lyric songs of Virgil, and a book on declensions.³⁸ The section on grammar concludes with a treatise by Donatus, De barbarismo.

Five works are listed as indispensable to the study of rhetoric, but others are alluded to in commentaries on these works by the Chartrains. Leading them is the De Inventione of Cicero. Thierry considered it important enough to merit a separate commentary. Having taught rhetoric both in Paris and at Chartres, this is not too surprising for him, although internal evidence in the commentary indicates that it was composed at a later date in his life, perhaps when his teaching

Ms. San Marco 310. References to William's gloss are discussed by R. W. Hunt in "Studies in Priscian in the Twelfth Century," Medieval and Renaissance Studies, II (1950), 1-56, which contains excerpts from Oxford, Bodleian Lib. Ms. Laud lat. 67; Oxford, Christ Ch. College Ms. 250; and British Museum Ms. Add. 16380.

³⁸Bib. Nat. Ms. lat. 497, fols. 157v-188.

career was nearing an end.³⁹ Thierry's intention, quite understandable for a teacher of rhetoric, was to vindicate Cicero's opening statement that rhetoric was a good art, as opposed to Plato who said that it was no art at all, and against Aristotle who held that it was an art but a bad one. In the introduction to his Commentary on the De Inventione Thierry asks ten questions about rhetoric: its genus, definition, matter, duty, end, parts, species, instrument, who the orator is, and why the art is called rhetoric.⁴⁰ In short, he assigns rhetoric to the genus of civil science, says that it is not a part of logic, and

³⁹In an article comparing the Commentum de Inventione with the De Divisione philosophiae of Gundissalinus (Mediaeval Studies, XXVI, 1964, 278 f.), N. Haring cites the preface to Thierry's commentary as evidence that it came from the hand of a disappointed, disillusioned and elderly man brooding over the criticism and attacks he had received from the outside as well as from within the school:

"As Petronius says, we masters shall be left alone in the schools unless we flatter the multitude and trap them into listening,"--

and again--

". . . prodded by Envy, Fame begins to spread her wings, makes more noises, and guided by Envy, travels through cities and countries, fills them with rumors, accuses Thierry everywhere, calls him ignominious names."

Such vicissitudes may account for Thierry's retirement to a monastery about 1155 (cf. Epitaph in Chapter II, p. 58, n. 41.

⁴⁰Because these questions are identical to those asked by Thierry's younger contemporary, Dominicus Gundissalinus, in a treatise probably composed before Thierry's Commentary, both Haring (Ibid., 275) and McKeon ("Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," in Critics and Criticism, Ancient and Modern, ed. R. S. Crane, Chicago, 1952), p. 278, suggest that Thierry may have lifted this from the twelfth-century translator at Toledo. There are also some suggestions in the latter's De Processione mundi which point to a possible contact with Thierry.

that its matter is hypothesis.⁴¹ To these questions are added two more, viz., the intention of Cicero in writing the De Inventione, and the utility of the work. These are answered briefly as the intention to teach that part of rhetoric called inventio (comprising five parts of the judicial oration: introduction, narrative, evidence, refutation of opposing opinions, and the conclusion). The book's use is somewhat redundantly stated, i.e., the acquisition of the science of rhetorical oratory.⁴² His lengthy exposé of the De Inventione, coupled with the frequently repeated statement in the treatise that "eloquence without wisdom is nothing," is eloquent in itself of the type of man Thierry sought to produce. But of this more will be said later.

In addition to the De Inventione, the Heptateuchon includes four other manuals to be covered in the study of

⁴¹Item secundum Boetium genus artes rhetoricae est quod ipsa est facultas i.e. facundum efficiens quod est maiorem partem civilis scientiae . . .

Non est autem dicendum rhetoricam aut logicam esse aut eius partem idcirco quod logica circa thesin i.e. circa generaliter proposita tantummodo versatur, rhetorico vero circa hypothesin solam i.e. circa particulariter proposita tantummodo versatur . . . --Nicholas M. Haring, "Thierry of Chartres and Dominicus Gundissalinus," Mediaeval Studies, XXVI (1964), #6.

⁴²Intentio Tullii in hoc opere est unam solam partem artes rhetoricae, scilicet inventionem, docere. Utilitas vero libri est scientia inveniendi orationem rhetoricam.--Ibid., #22.

rhetoric: Cicero's Rhetoricum ad Herennium and his dialogue on the divisions of oratory, the Syntomata ac precepta artis rhetoricae of Julianus Severus, and the fifth book of Martianus Capella's De rhetorica. It is tantalizing to speculate on what the chancellor of Chartres sought in this selection, but again the lacunae in the manuscript place this out of reach for the modern historian, and the latter must simply be content with assuming that these were the common stock of the schools of the period.

Recalling the place which dialectic, in relation to grammar and rhetoric, occupied from the twelfth century onwards, and recalling also that this was the period when the Aristotelian corpus was being completed in Latin translation, one expects to find the section on logic in the Heptateuchon monopolized by an Aristotelian-Boethian combine. Indeed, of the fourteen works listed therein, only two are not directly authored by these two. The first is in fact a Boethian interpretation of Porphyry;⁴³ the second, the De logica oratio, seu de philosophia rationali is the presentation of Aristotle's Peri hermeneias by Apuleius. Thierry also enjoyed a reputation as a dialectician and his fame

⁴³Bib. nat. Ms. lat. 497, fols. 280-284. An indication of the import to Porphyry's work is gleaned from the blank column preceding it (fol. 280)--again apparently intended for an introduction by Thierry--at the foot of which, written in very large script, are the words: "Cum sit necessarium."

in teaching and interpreting the works of Aristotle persisted beyond his death. The epitaph cited earlier placed him first among his contemporaries in this field, and leaves open the possibility that he may have taught the Analytica and Sophistici elenchi even before Abelard.⁴⁴ Aristotle's "Old Logic" (that which was known to the Latin West up to the twelfth century through Boethius) comprised the Isagoge of Porphyry (or Introduction to the Aristotelian Categories), the Categories, and the treatise on Interpretation. The "New Logic" came in through the Aristotelian Organon, i.e., the Prior and Posterior Analytics, the Topics, and the Sophisms. Thierry's list in the Heptateuchon mentions all of these except the Posterior Analytics.⁴⁵ The remainder of the works listed for the curriculum in dialectic came from Boethius, and thus lent both an Aristotelian and Platonic character to the interpretation of the Chartrains. They included an Introduction to the book of the Categorical Syllogisms, the second book of the Hypothetical

⁴⁴Cf. Ch. II, p. 58.--Vernet, "Epitaph inédite . . . ," vv. 25-28:

Dissolvens Logice nodos penetravit ad illa
 Que non adtigerent tempora nostra prius:
 Primus Analecticos primusque resolvit Helenchos,
 E Gallis grecas accumulavit opes.

⁴⁵Although he may not have been familiar with it, the Posterior Analytics was in circulation in the Latin West by 1159, so that Chartrain scholars must have been studying the entire Organon from the mid-twelfth century.

Syllogism, one on the Topics of Cicero, another on Different Topics, and finally On Division and On Definition.

The final quarter of the Heptateuchon is devoted to the Quadrivium. Standard works in use in the Latin schools since the Carolingian period and possibly before fill its ranks. Boethius was the standard authority for arithmetic, as his place on the facade of Chartres cathedral attests. The approach taken by Boethius in his Institutio Arithmetica, the first title listed by Thierry under arithmetic, is quite consistent with what was sought from the other disciplines. The work is not one of operational rules of arithmetic, but rather one which enumerates the endless properties and variety of numbers. As such, its use by the Chartrains was likely to be intended for quasi-philosophical or even theological purposes. One need only recall the Pythagorean elements in Thierry's De sex dierum operibus.⁴⁶ Boethius' arithmetical study was followed by a work of Martianus Capella, De Arithmetica, and an anonymous three-book study of the same name. Clerval noted that the last two studies listed under Geometry (Boethius' De geometria, and the De abaco of Gerland) contribute a great deal of arithmetical information. He has even suggested that their position in the Heptateuchon casts doubt on the Arabic origin of the present decimal system which we use, and

⁴⁶Cf. Chapter II, pp. 58-59.

also of what we call Arabic numerals. Since Thierry is supposed to have copied these works from Boethius into the Heptateuchon, Clerval argues that these systems were taught by Boethius and the older Latin schools.⁴⁷ Finally, the catalogue of the Bibliothèque de Chartres reveals that Chartres was in possession in the eleventh century of Gerbert's letter to a certain Constantius on the abacus.⁴⁸

The teaching of music at Chartres (or rather, the art of singing), was the object of a specific study made by Clerval at the turn of the last century.⁴⁹ Little is gleaned from the study with respect to music's position in the cathedral school as opposed to the cathedral choir. One may conclude that singing or instrumentation was only of secondary importance to this element of the Quadrivium. This becomes clear from a perusal of the sole text which Thierry included in the Heptateuchon under music, viz., Boethius' De Musica. Such a perusal reveals that a knowledge of a theory of numbers, of ratios in musical harmony, was far more important to the student of music than the art's

⁴⁷Les Écoles de Chartres, pp. 237-38.

⁴⁸Extract from the Bibliothèque de Chartres, in Maitre, Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident, pp. 287-89.

⁴⁹L'Ancienne maîtresse de Notre Dame de Chartres (Chartres, 1899).

more practical aspects. It is on this point that the student of twelfth-century Chartres sees a consistent relationship with the type of activity going on in the fields of cosmology and theology. The conception of the cosmos in terms of Pythagorean tetractys was not at all foreign to Thierry's theology (De sex dierum operibus) nor to William of Conches' cosmology, which conceived the ordering effect of the Holy Spirit on matter as a musical consonance.⁵⁰

Listings in the Heptateuchon for geometry, both theoretical and practical, received a large share of attention and were taken for the most part from medieval authors. Geometric theory relied upon its master, Boethius, until the early part of the twelfth century. Thierry does not mention Adelard of Bath's translation of Euclid from the Arabic text (ca. 1120), although it is known that the Chartrains were in possession of these books at the time of Thierry's writing.⁵¹ In addition to Boethius, the episcopal schools also looked to Gerbert of Rheims (later Pope Sylvester II) as an authority. His work, De mensuris, apud agrimensores romanos, is found in the Heptateuchon. It,

⁵⁰For the correlation of these aspects of music with the theory behind the contemporary architecture as demonstrated by the cathedral of Chartres, cf. von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral, p. 28 ff.

⁵¹Extract in Maitre, Les Écoles épiscopales . . . , pp. 287-89.

along with two other works cited--the De mensuris agrorum of Isidore of Seville, and the De rustica of Columella (1st century)--shows to what extent scholars were dependent upon Roman land-surveyors and to what use they put these latter treatises. Not mentioned here, though known to the Chartrains, was Gerbert's De constructione sphaerae.⁵² The works of Boethius and Gerbert as authorities were superseded by the end of the twelfth century with the Euclidian translations of Adelard of Bath and later by Gerard of Cremona in 1188, and by the trigonometry tables of al-Khwarizmi which Adelard also brought to the West in 1126.

In addition to these texts the Heptateuchon also lists a work by Frontinus (end of the 1st century), the De mensuratione superficierum; three anonymous treatises: Definitiones geometriae per interrogationem, De mensuris in lineis, in superficiebus, in solidis, in liquidis, in ponderibus, in temporibus, and Geometriae nonnullae definitiones.⁵³ The last (actually the first on Thierry's list), De corporibus regularibus, is now believed to be part of the geometry of pseudo-Boethius (Gundissalinus), although it was cited by Clerval as a work by

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Chartres Ms. 498, fols. 142-43, 148-49r, 151v-153r.

Adelard.⁵⁴

To the last of the liberal arts, astronomy, Thierry's Heptateuchon assigned three texts, although several others were consulted by scholars of the twelfth-century school. A Latin source, the Poeticon astronomicon of Hyginus (1st century B.C.) was a massed collection of fables regarded as worthless by both John of Salisbury and William of Conches. Of Ptolemaic authorship were the Precepts and Tables. Omitted from the Heptateuchon but obviously known to the Chartrains was the Planisphere of Ptolemy, since it was translated into Latin by a former student of Chartres and dedicated to Thierry.⁵⁵ An introduction to a Latin translation of Alkabizi's Ad judicium astrorum is listed in the catalogue of the library for the twelfth century, as are two works on practical astronomy, i.e., concerning calculations made with the astrolabe. Finally, reference is made by M. Chanoine Yves Delaporte, archivist of the library of Chartres before the 1944 fire, to a manuscript collection (#214) of treatises on astronomy and mathematics, presumably newly arrived in the

⁵⁴Haskins (History of Medieval Science, p. 91, n. 52) gives credit for this discovery to N. Bubnov, Gerberti Opera Mathematica (1899 f.), p. xxiv f.

⁵⁵Bib. Nat. Ms. lat. 7377 B, fol. 73v: "Quo secundum est principaliter ut non aliter quam aureis culmis cererem maturo palmve bachum unum de latine studium patrem [i.e. Thierry] astronomie primitiis donandum iudicare."

twelfth century in translation from Arabic texts.⁵⁶

Besides the liberal arts of Thierry's manual, other disciplines were taught at Chartres, but these have already been alluded to in the course of the first and second chapters. Medicine, which was so prominent at Chartres in the eleventh century, continued in practice, if the letters of Yves and the Galenic commentaries of William of Conches can be taken as indications. Natural sciences and natural philosophy intermingled indiscriminately, as in Thierry's intent to explain the creation of the world secundum physicas rationes, or in William of Conches' Philosophia mundi, or in allegorical fashion in Bernard Silvestris' De Mundi Universitate. Those aspects of theology which were not taken up in the chapter on God and Creation will be considered in the immediately succeeding sections on methodology and the goals of education. As for law, there are numerous indications that the scholars and masters were well read in it, but no explicit reference is to be found regarding its presentation in a formal course.⁵⁷ Beyond this little can be

⁵⁶Les Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres (Chartres, 1929), p. 25.

⁵⁷John of Salisbury's Policraticus, especially chapters IV, V, VI, and VIII, makes extensive use of the texts on Roman law.

Also, the Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres, III, 206, registers the obituary of Thierry and the contents of the library he donated to the cathedral of Chartres. Among these are the Institutes of Justinian, the Novella, and the Digests.

said definitively. On the other hand, tomes could result from speculations on the diversity and meaning of interests represented by this curriculum.

Methodology. Because of the dual literary and philosophical character of Chartrain humanism, the methodology in presenting the Trivium is of particular import in defining the ends of the educational program, and by inference, the concept of man inherent in the program. That methodology found its most complete recounting in the Metalogicon of John of Salisbury wherein he described his former master, Bernard of Chartres, teaching the first of the arts--grammar.⁵⁸ But before assessing the main features of Bernard's method, an equally telling aspect of the latter's teaching ought to act as preface. That is what John of Salisbury lists as his "keys of knowledge . . . which open the traveler's way for those studying philosophy with the hope of gazing upon the vision of the truth: . . .

⁵⁸There is some contention about the dates of John of Salisbury at Chartres, one position contending that John could never have had Bernard for a teacher, but only knew of the latter's methods through reputation. For example, Clerval (Les Écoles de Chartres) places Bernard's death in 1130 and John's entrance to the school in 1136 (this second date coming from John's own statement: "When still but a youth, I first journeyed to Gaul for the sake of study, in the year following the death of the illustrious King of the English Henry [I], 'the Lion of Justice,' . . ."). The question has never been completely closed. However, because John's account of Bernard seems too detailed to have come second-hand, I would opt with Hauréau ("Mémoire sur quelques chanceliers de l'Église de Chartres," p. 92) in placing Bernard's death no earlier than 1136 or 1137.

A humble mind, the zeal to learn, a life of quiet,
 The silent search, a lack of wealth, a foreign land,
 These are the keys that open when we read,⁵⁹
 The doors to light our night of ignorance.

John's own sympathetic comments on Bernard's keys in some fashion are a commentary on his own condition as a penurious scholar at Chartres and Paris,⁶⁰ and later of a man caught between two loyalties wherein time to follow philosophical pursuits was non-existent, as his correspondence amply testifies.⁶¹ To those keys John added a seventh, taken from Quintilian, viz., love for one's teacher:

. . . and accordingly instructors are to be loved and respected as parents are; for as the latter are creators of the bodies, so the former are the creators of the souls of their listeners (not generating of themselves the substance of spirit but engendering as it were wisdom in the minds of their listeners by making over their nature for the better.⁶²

He further made allusion to the keys for understanding Scripture enumerated by Augustine in De Doctrina Christiana, but said that all of them--Bernard's Augustine's, and Quintilian's--were reduced to one: "zeal in investigation embraces all of them."⁶³

⁵⁹Policraticus, VII, 13, p. 265 (Pike edition).

⁶⁰Cf. Metalogicon, II, 10, p. 98.

⁶¹Cf., e.g., Letter 28 (ca. Dec.-Jan., 1156-7) to Thomas Becket in Letters of John of Salisbury, ed. and trans. W. J. Millor and H. E. Butler (London, 1955).

⁶²Policraticus, VII, 14, p. 271 (Pike edition).

⁶³Ibid., p. 272.

Bernard of Chartres' method in teaching grammar and rhetoric contained elements which in subsequent accounts have become identified as peculiarly Chartrain from a literary and educational point of view, even though superficially they resemble the general teaching of the liberal arts in other cathedral schools. Equipped with the qualitative and environmental instruments mentioned above, the student was engaged from the beginning in reading classical authors, both Christian and pagan, as Bernard proceeded with his multi-faceted method. It is in the phrases "reading the authors" and "multi-faceted commentary" that the key to Chartrain methodology and to the literary aids of its humanism lies. For the authors studied in Grammar were approached with at least three purposes in mind, besides the obvious one of acquiring the wisdom and philosophy contained therein. The importance of extensive and discriminate reading was emphasized over and over by John of Salisbury. When he quoted Quintilian on the love and respect owed to one's teacher, he did not thereby identify this with slavery to one's teacher.⁶⁴ Rather, the student's assiduous formation by a master during his youth is only put to advantage if he supplements, and

⁶⁴"He who becomes the slave of his teacher's point of view is prepared to argue even the question of goat's wool, regards as incredible anything he has not heard before, and is deaf to reason."--Policraticus, VII, 9, pp. 243-44 (Pike edition)

continues this education by a broad scope of reading. Quoting one of the classics of uncertain authorship, he adjoined: "Read much but having read keep reading much."⁶⁵ But though copious reading was counselled, and John counted himself among those who believed that a man could not be called literate without a knowledge of authoritative men in history, oratory, mathematics, etc., nevertheless a sharp rein of caution was urged which at one point sounded not a great deal unlike his contemporary, Bernard of Clairvaux. "Just so in books," he stated,

. . . there is something profitable for everybody provided, be it understood the reading is done with discrimination and that only is selected which is edifying to faith and morals There is scarcely a piece of writing in which something is not found either in meaning or expression that the discriminating reader will not reject. The safe and cautious thing to do is to read only Catholic books[!]⁶⁶

In fairness to him it must be added that he did agree that a training in both Christian and pagan literature could be very useful to those who were already safely within the fold: ". . . for accurate reading on a wide range of subjects makes the scholar; careful selection of the better makes the saint."

The first of the approaches to the authors may be broadly termed stylistic and technical. The Metalogicon states that in

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 247.

⁶⁶Ibid., VII, 10, p. 253.

reading the authors Bernard of Chartres "would point out . . . what was simple and according to rule," what were notable "grammatical figures, rhetorical embellishment, and sophistical quibbling."⁶⁷ In other words, in the best representations of Latin literature the applications of grammatical rules and the techniques of style were sought. Imitation of the classical stylistic figures, without going so far as plagiarism, and conformity to the rules derived from the reading of the authors was then urged in the student's composition works. A favorite author for this type of study throughout the medieval school period was Virgil, so much so that Virgil and grammar, aside from the manuals of Priscian and Donatus, all but became synonymous.⁶⁸ Thus, as one scholar of the period has noted, the Latin of the twelfth century was much closer to classical models than was the language coming from the schools of the following centuries,⁶⁹

⁶⁷Metalogicon, I, 24, p. 67.

⁶⁸This may be a convenient point to caution against reading too much into the seemingly inexhaustive capacity of men like John of Salisbury to quote from and allude to classical authors (note the over fifty authors enumerated in McGarry's introduction to the Metalogicon). It must be recalled that the handbooks of Priscian and Donatus were in effect anthologies of examples drawn from the classics to demonstrate and illustrate one or another grammatical rule. Thus one cannot positively credit the medieval schoolman with having directly read all of the authors whom he quotes. The quotations may well have come from his grammar textbook.

⁶⁹Maurice de Gandillac, "Le platonisme au XII^e siècle," p. 276.

and the contemporaries of John of Salisbury were in general far more sensitive to the beauties of the Greco-Latin civilization than were the contemporaries of Thomas Aquinas.⁷⁰ On this quite utilitarian purpose for reading the classics of Rome and what of Greece they had in Latin translation, John of Salisbury wrote these words of counsel to the grammarian:

Let him [the grammarian] "shake out" the authors, and, without exciting ridicule, despoil them of their feathers, which [crow fashion] they have borrowed from the several branches of learning in order to bedeck their works and make them more colorful. One will more fully perceive and more lucidly explain the charming elegance of the authors in proportion to the breadth and thoroughness of his knowledge of various disciplines.⁷¹

A second purpose for "reading the authors" was both literary and at times philosophical in character. It was generally classified as allegory, and was advocated much more by the Chartrains as an instrument in the explication of classical writing, and occasionally for Biblical interpretation, than as a model for their own works, although Chartrain examples of the latter may be found. The fundamental theory of this antique allegoresis as interpreted by a Chartrain of the twelfth century is found in another of John of Salisbury's works:

⁷⁰Etienne Gilson, La philosophie au moyen-âge (2nd ed. rev.; Paris, 1944), p. 339.

⁷¹Metalogicon, I, 24, p. 66.

Insist that Philology be the companion of Mercury, not in order that reverence shall be paid to false divinities; but under the veil of words truths lie hidden. Truths lie hidden under the various forms of things, for common law forbids sacred things to the vulgar.⁷²

It was this veiling of truths which was at the basis of Bernard Silvestris' commentary on the Aeneid, the preface of which outlined the approach one was to follow in explaining Virgil both as a poet and as a philosopher. To interpret him correctly one must ask unde, what was the purpose of the author; qualiter, how did the author carry out his purpose; and cur, why he chose this particular way.⁷³ In the case of the Aeneid Bernard answered unde as Virgil's intention to write about the nature of life; qualiter, as the actions of the human spirit temporarily encased in a body, but described sub integumentum, i.e., under the veil of allegory; cur is answered as the realization of self-knowledge. The term integumentum (or its synonym in the twelfth century, involucrum) appears frequently in the Chartrain literature of the period. Bernard defined it in the Commentum super libros Eneidos as "genus demonstrationis sub fabulosa narratione, veritatis involvens intellectum; unde et involucrum

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. . . insta,

Ut sit Mercurio Philologia comes,
Non quia numinibus falsis reverentia detur,
Sed sub verborum tegmine vera latent.

Vera latent rerum variarum tecta figuris,

Nam sacra vulgari publica iura vetant. -- Entheticus,
de dogmata philosophorum, PL 199, 969.

⁷³Commentum . . . super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii (ed. Riddel), p. 1; cf. also O'Donnell, 237-240.

dicitur"--a type of demonstration disguised in the form of a fable, involving the apprehension of truth.⁷⁴ This essentially Platonic device was especially used by those Chartrains who endeavored to correlate the Timaeus with Genesis. William of Conches used it at almost every turn in his glosses on Boethius, Juvenal, and the Timaeus. For the grammarian of Conches, as Édouard Jeauneau notes, Integumentum or allegory was the sole means to adapt the Timaeus to a Christian context, the sole means of removing the suspicion of heresy from Plato.⁷⁵

Allegory made its way into Biblical exegesis and theology as well. One innovation which made its appearance in the twelfth century was the extension of the list of authorities beyond the Biblical writers and Fathers of the Church to pagan authors-- Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, etc.--through the use of allegory, as for example in William of Conches and Abelard. Others, such as John of Salisbury, used to greater advantage the four-fold distinction of the senses of Scripture as declared by Augustine, and later taken up by Bede and Rabanus Maurus, viz., historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical.⁷⁶ Finally, in the

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁵"L'Usage de la notion d'integumentum à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches," Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge, XXIV (1957), 55.

⁷⁶"I would perhaps concede that the Holy Scriptures whose every title is filled with holy signs, should be read with such solemnity for the reason that the treasure of the Holy Ghost by whose hand they have been written cannot be entirely plumbed. For although on the face of it the written word lends itself to one meaning only, manifold mysteries lie hidden within, and from the same source allegory often edifies faith and character in

development of theology the grammarian in the twelfth century found his role confirmed, as gradually the discernment of the literary genres of the Bible came to be regarded as good theology.⁷⁷

Before turning to the third characteristic of Bernard of Chartres' pedagogic method, and generally speaking, of the Chartrain approach to the literature of the ancients and authoritative medieval sources, there is one final feature which could justifiably act as a link between the purposes for allegory and the philosophic and religious aims of the scholars. That is the role of poetry. It has been previously noted that Bernard Silvestris, following Cicero, divided scientia into four parts--mechanics, poetry, eloquence, and philosophy. As for the specific role of poetry in this scheme, the poet-philosopher of Tours called it the introduction to philosophy.⁷⁸ In conceiving of poetry in this fashion Bernard helped to reinforce the notion present in other twelfth-century poets (e.g., Baudri of Bourgueil, Walter of Chatillon), that poetry and philosophy were to be equated with one another. John of Salisbury even said that the poet's myths served the purpose of divulging the truth.⁷⁹

various ways. Mystical interpretation leads upwards in manifold ways, so that it provides the letter not only with words but with reality itself."--Policraticus, VII, 12, p. 264 (Pike edition).

⁷⁷Chenu, La théologie au XII^e siècle, p. 100.

⁷⁸Commentum . . . super sex libros Eneidos, p. 36.

⁷⁹Policraticus, III, 6, p. 167 (Pike edition).

Perhaps because of its economy of words, or its effective use of metaphor, or its subtle cloaking of truths, poetry at times was placed on a higher pedestal than that given to a methodical piece of philosophic prose. Indeed, Bernard Silvestris, assessing Virgil as both poet and philosopher, agreed that the poet could often teach a lesson or bring home a truth far more effectively than a philosopher. For sometimes philosophers by the severity of their expressions or colorless vocabulary deter men's minds, while the poet, in the midst of favors and pleasantries, attracts others to himself through his cultivated eloquence.⁸⁰ John of Salisbury would even go so far as to pardon the grammatical faults of the poet "in whose case, because of the requirements of rhythm, so much is overlooked that their very faults are termed virtues."⁸¹

After recounting the events of a typical day in the life of any one of Bernard of Chartres' students, John of Salisbury described the closing of the day in the following manner:

Since, however, it is not right to allow any school or day to be without religion, subject matter was presented to foster faith, to build up morals, and to

⁸⁰Commentum . . . super sex libros Eneidos, p. 2; cf. also Demimuid, De Bernardo Carnotensi grammatico professore et interprete Virgilii, p. 21.

On other twelfth-century positions regarding the relationship of poetry to philosophy, cf. McKeon, "Poetry and Philosophy in the 12th Century," Modern Philology, XLIII (1945-46), 217-234.

⁸¹Metalogicon, I, 24, p. 66.

inspire those present at this quasi-collation to perform good works. This [evening] "declination," or philosophical collation, closed with the pious commendation of the souls of the departed to their Redeemer, by the devout recitation of the Sixth Penitential Psalm and the Lord's Prayer.⁸²

The religious and moral orientation of one's studies, then, is the third aspect to Bernard's method, and one meets it over and over in the twelfth-century Chartrains.

A final point on the use of allegory which has been deferred until now for consideration, since it is most aptly applied in a moral context, is that of the myth. For a man like William of Conches,⁸³ the pagan divinities, demi-gods, and heroes sung by the ancients are simply allegories which hide this or that moral truth. Thus Hercules, the destroyer of monsters, is the wisdom which triumphs over vice; Tantalus, dying of starvation before the food and drink which neither his hands nor his lips can reach, is the image of the avaricious man whose treasures are useless to him; the Giants, sons of the earth, who pile Mt. Pelion on top of Mt. Ossa in order to climb the heavens and drive the gods away but who are shamefully repelled to the lower regions, are to be interpreted as our bodies, formed from

⁸²Ibid., p. 68.

⁸³See his commentary on Boethius, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, XX, 2 (1862).

the earth, which revolt against the soul in besetting it with pride-filled desires, but which are in turn subdued through the power of reason. Confronting the problem of the will, William considered the myth of the Judgment of Paris in which he insisted on the determination of Jupiter not to enter into a debate in which the solution belonged entirely within the provenance of human free-will. Hence, the reading of the pagan fables, the integumenta Ovidii, Virgilii, etc., was justified on the basis of their moral content. Or so went the reasoning of these scholars.

Aside from allegorizing the myths, however, a simple mature reading from the "greats" of literature, be they Augustines or Ovids, for examples of human excellence or for authoritative quotations to support an ethical theme was quite candidly pursued. The twelfth-century's inclusion, mentioned at the outset of this chapter, of ethics within the scope of poesis, is a conclusive illustration of this. There is but little evidence of the uneasiness expressed, for example, in a Hugh of St. Victor,⁸⁴ or a Bernard of Clairvaux, or a William of St. Thierry, as if somehow they might be violating a "No Trespassing"

⁸⁴Didascalion, III, 4: "The appendages of the arts, however, are only tangential to philosophy. What they treat is some extra-philosophical matter. Occasionally, it is true, they touch in a scattered and confused fashion upon some topics lifted out of the arts, or, if their narrative presentation is simple they prepare the way for philosophy. Of this sort are all the songs of the poets--tragedies, comedies, satires, heroic verse and lyric, iambics, certain didactic poems, fables, and histories, and also the writings of those fellows whom today we commonly call "philosophers" [prose writers] and who are always

sign. John of Salisbury did not apologize for his frequent citation of Ovid when he found something of value either to support positively something he wished to say, as in--

An idle man is especially under the dominion of his desires since idleness is a foe of the soul and banishes from it all interest in virtue. The moralist proclaims:
 "Dost see how sloth corrupts the idle frame;
 How waters motionless become defiled?"⁸⁵

or to indirectly credit him with seeing truth even in those passages for which Ovid had previously been scorned. For example, when speaking of the vice of flattery he noted that--

Ovid, who filled not the city but the world with his poetry of wanton love, says in his instructions to the seducer and lascivious lover:

"Be lavish with thy promises, for they
 Can do no harm; with them we all can play
 The rich man's part."⁸⁶

In sum, one must agree with the conclusions of M. Philippe Delhaye when he said that the Chartrain attitude toward the classics was analogous to that adopted toward the Old Testament:

taking some small matter and dragging it out through long verbal detours, obscuring a simple meaning in confused discourses-- who, lumping even dissimilar things together, make, as it were, a single "picture" from a multitude of "colors" and forms. Keep in mind the two things I have distinguished for you--the arts and the appendages of the arts."

⁸⁵Ovid, Ex Ponto, I, vv. 5-6, in Policraticus, I, 8, p. 37 (Pike edition).

⁸⁶Ovid, Ars Amatoria, vv. 443-44, in Ibid., III, 11, p. 187.

a preparation for Christianity just as the Old Testament prepared for the New.⁸⁷ They saw in ancient ethics a value which Christianity could profitably assume. The Chartrain frequent persistence in referring to pagan moralists shows that for them the latter represented an authentic rapport with a Christian humanistic ethic.

* * * * *

From all of this, what did the Chartrains expect to derive? If education was regarded as the development of the highest in man, can any more precise ideals be limned as they were envisioned by these men throughout the twelfth century? And if so, in what way was the educational program at Chartres designed to achieve these ideals?

Assuming that such ideals did exist, and one need not

⁸⁷"Grammatica et Ethica au XII^e siècle," 109.

The Chartrains were not unique in this use of profane literature of antiquity to support ethical themes or statements. Recognizing the beginnings of the science of ethics, Hugh of St. Victor states in the Didascalion that "The originator of ethics was Socrates, who wrote twenty-four books on it from the point of view of positive justice. Then Plato, his disciple, wrote the many books of the Republic, from the point of view of both kinds of justice, natural and positive. Then Tully set forth in the Latin tongue the books of his own Republic. Further, the philosopher Fronto wrote the book Strategematon, or Concerning Military Strategy --Bk. III, 2, p. 84.

Godfrey of St. Victor, like John of Salisbury and William of Conches, added Seneca to this list of ethical authorities.

search far before meeting a plethora of statements to this effect, they may best be handled in a distinction between immediate and remote, or at least more general goals. Of the former, the development of one's natural talents receives its verbalization and encouragement from John of Salisbury. He approached his subject by way of the necessity of helping nature by use and exercise, basing it on the former counsel of Bernard of Chartres which defined three kinds of natural capacities or personalities:

The first flies, the second creeps, the third takes the intermediate course of walking. The flying one flits about, easily learning, but just as quickly forgetting, for it lacks stability. The creeping one is mired down to earth, and cannot rise, wherefore it can make no progress. But the one that goes to neither extreme, both because it has its feet on the ground so it can firmly stand, and because it can climb, provides prospect of progress, and is admirably suited for philosophizing.⁸⁸

To this John adds his own comment, "Nature, I believe, has provided in the latter a basis for the arts," and goes on to insist upon the diligent cultivation of natural talents:

If natural ability is properly trained and exercised, it will not only be able to acquire the arts, but will also find direct and expeditious short cuts for the accomplishment of what would otherwise be naturally impossible, and will enable us quickly to learn and teach everything that is necessary or useful.⁸⁹

And as for those arts which most effectively accomplish this end,

⁸⁸Metalogicon, I, 11, p. 35.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 36.

he concludes: "While there are many sorts of arts, the first to proffer their services to the natural abilities of those who philosophize are the liberal arts. All of the latter are included in courses of the Trivium and Quadrivium."⁹⁰

Earlier reference has been made to the caution placed against enslaving oneself to his teacher's point of view. A second immediate goal, then, of the studies at Chartres was the development of an educated opinion. "It is certain that the pious and wise reader who spends time lovingly over his books always rejects errors and comes close to life in all things."⁹¹ Abelard, for one, may have gotten himself into theological trouble, but it was not the school of Chartres that repudiated its former pupil on the basis of non-conformism.

Thirdly, the curriculum and methodology at Chartres strongly asserted the continuity of the classical tradition up to and through this century. The classical ideals, particularly of moderation and of eloquence, received affirmation upon affirmation in the Chartrain writings. John of Salisbury's and William of Conches' works manifest the attempt to blend the classical ideals of frugality and justice with the Christian

⁹⁰Ibid., I, 12, p. 36.

⁹¹Policraticus, VII, 10, p. 255 (Pike edition).

virtues of humility and love. Both Bernard of Chartres and John sought the rules of good taste in the ancients--especially in Quintilian.⁹² John also urged moderation in describing the philosophic banquet,⁹³ but put it into practice even more so when he allied himself with Ciceronian skepticism, fearing the results of rash judgment and decision more than cautious hesitancy: "In statements made from time to time in regard to providence, fate, freedom of the will, and the like, I am to be regarded as a disciple of the Academy rather than as a dogmatic exponent of that which is still a matter of doubt."⁹⁴

The position of honor held by rhetoric also indicates to what extent the classical ideal of eloquentia was defined for the Chartrain scholar as one of his goals. John of Salisbury praised eloquence when he noted that "virtue and wisdom, which perhaps, as Victorinus believes, differ in name rather than in substance, rank first among desiderata, but eloquence comes second."⁹⁵ Thierry stressed its importance for

⁹²Ibid., VIII, 13: "Even Quintilian himself regards frugality as among the great and special blessings, and is so emphatic in his testimony that his word alone seems to be sufficient."

Also, Julius Caesar's frugality is held up as a model for emulation in ch. 7 of the same book.

⁹³Ibid., ch. 8.

⁹⁴Ibid., I, Introduction.

⁹⁵Metalogicon, I, 7, p. 27.

his pupils by assigning Cicero's De Inventione as a text and then by writing a commentary on the same. His avowed purpose of "uniting in marriage" the Quadrivium and Trivium, knowledge of things with the art of speaking well, has been called his particular brand of humanism,⁹⁶ but it is more fittingly seen in relation to the type of scholar or "savant" Chartres intended to produce. In retracing the steps which Cicero had directed in the De Inventione and more fully in the De Oratore as leading to the doctus or perfect orator, Thierry defended the necessary bond between science and eloquence, the balance between thought and word, but this time in the formation of the litteratus, the philosopher. Running parallel to the activities of Thierry was William of Conches.⁹⁷ Both did not spare the polemics against those contemporary currents which denied the autonomous value of an education based on the belles-lettres but which endeavored to cover the whole scope of human knowledge, those currents which argued only utilitarian and professional purposes for the schools.⁹⁸

⁹⁶Edouard Jeuneau, "Un représentant du platonisme au XII^e siècle: Maître Thierry de Chartres," 2.

⁹⁷See how William achieved these same ends in the monograph by Tullio Gregory, Anima mundi: la filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres (Firenze, 1955), ch. 5: "Gli Ideali Culturali della Scuola di Chartres," pp. 247-280.

⁹⁸Note what John wrote about the Cornificians, in Metalogicon, I, chs. 1-6; and William's fate at their hands, Ibid.,

From a long range point of view, three other educational ideals for Chartres emerge after reading their accounts. They have been mentioned in the course of this and the preceding chapters and need only a simple recall here. The first is the acquisition of the totality of Christian wisdom. Here the schemas drawn up on the divisions of philosophy come into play, and as has been noted, they remain not simple tidy divisions, but working hypotheses around which the school organized its programs.

Secondly, the historian continually meets up with the words of Socrates: Know thyself--if not explicitly said, certainly expressed in motivation. The concept of the micro-cosmos-megacosmos relationship, of man being a miniature world in himself, is present in the outline of the curriculum as well as in the cosmological writings of some of the more scientifically inclined members of the school. Furthermore, in coming to know God through his works, and of ordering and subordinating all studies to that of theology, a third factor in this humanistic ratio is introduced: in knowing the universe, one comes to know oneself, but in knowing the universe as a work of God, one comes to know the Creator.⁹⁹

I, 24, p. 71.

⁹⁹Cf. Thierry's De sex dierum operibus.

A third and final ratio comprises the ideals of knowledge, virtue, and liberty. Philosophy, or wisdom, has its proper end in virtue, specifically in the virtue of charity. To follow the precepts learned and taught is the consummation of philosophical activity. John of Salisbury drew these three factors together in two letters which he wrote, one to Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury concerning his impressions upon arrival in Paris; the other to Peter the scribe, again concerning the dispositions of France to scholarship. In the first is marked his enthusiasm for the atmosphere which fostered respect for clergy and students and which cultivated the varied activities of philosophy: "Truly the Lord is in this place and I did not realize it."¹⁰⁰ In the second, though decrying the adverse effects which wars and sedition were having on scholarship in France, he added, "For God is there where liberty is found," and he has blessed the place (Paris) which is given to studies undertaken with purity of soul, sacrificing vanities to the true conditions of intellectual work.¹⁰¹ Thus, if the end of knowledge is the love of God and acquisition of virtue, and virtue and liberty

¹⁰⁰Cited in H. Denifle (ed.), Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris, 1889), I, 17-18, #19. The same letter is cited in Stephen d'Irsay's Histoire des universités francaises et étrangères à nos jours (Paris, 1933), I, 61, but with incorrect page references to Denifle.

¹⁰¹Recorded in Ibid., I, 20-21, #20. D'Irsay's page citation of Denifle is again incorrect.

are indispensable to one another, the three must dovetail into a unified whole if the educational goals of Chartres were to be realized. It is in this strain that the school of Chartres approached the medieval ideal of unity.

CHAPTER V

EVALUATION OF THE CHARTRAIN CONCEPT OF MAN

When Henry Adams wrote his now famed book, Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres, and sought on his fictitious journey the ideal cathedral, he made a rueful observation concerning any attempted consensus on Gothic architecture in general, or the selection of Chartres as its perfect representative. He warned the reader that once he had settled on and established his own reasons for selecting Chartres,

. . . you will never find an antiquarian to agree with you; the architects will probably listen to you with contempt; and even these excellent priests, whose good opinion you would so gladly gain, will turn from you with pain, if not with horror. The Gothic is singular in this; . . . No two men think alike about it, and no woman agrees with either man. The Church itself never agreed about it, and the architects agree even less than the priests . . . It is so simple and yet so complicated; . . . ¹

It is not difficult to understand why one would have a similar reaction and apprehension about attempting an evaluation of what the students of the same cathedral's school thought of themselves and their fellow members of the human race. To interpret a motivating concept based on educational interests as varied as were the Chartrains' of the twelfth

¹Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres (New York, 1905), p. 94.

century is to run the almost certain risk of encouraging disagreement. In point of fact, it is a large order to expect consensus on the results of such an undertaking, if the results are anything more than a generalization.

In the preceding chapters the chief areas of investigation to which the scholars of Chartres devoted themselves have been examined. The assumption has been that these areas would reveal what the Chartrains sought for themselves as humanists, and what, in turn, they sought to impart as transmitters of the Christian educational tradition, situated as they were between the monastic schools and the universities of the high Middle Ages. Because this is an investigation in intellectual history, an evaluation of the concept of man at Chartres, synthesized from these specific topics, stands a greater chance of taking on flesh and blood if placed in its own historical context, in terms of what preceded it and what it led into. It will be the task of the remaining pages to effect this "incarnation."

Attitude Toward Man and Nature.--Accordingly, the Chartrain attitude toward nature, both physical and metaphysical, has come under scrutiny; next, man's relation to nature under the same two aspects. Lack of precision in terminology can account in large part for what sometimes appears in the twelfth century as floundering in the realm of metaphysics. Not until the Aristotelian corpus in Latin translation was complete can one

see any progress toward a defined science of metaphysics, or a precise metaphysical discussion of nature. A presentation of man as a product of nature is found at Chartres, though in a limited sort of way. William of Conches' Philosophia Mundi and his Quaestiones naturales, and parts of John of Salisbury's Metalogicon are examples of this type of exposé.² Although these were novice efforts compared to what would come out of Paris in the thirteenth century, they do represent an advance, or at least a new approach not taken by scholars of previous centuries. Part of the reason for the paucity of attention directed to man as a product of nature is due, Walter Ullmann suggests, to the fact that

. . . the philosophic scene was wholly dominated by Pauline and Augustinian doctrines which focused their attention upon the re-born, regenerated man. Man with his natural attributes and appetites counted for little and only indirectly came within the purview of philosophers in so far as these attributes were to be nullified by the efficacy of grace in the Christianus.³

Certainly this is true of what has been noted of the pure

²Chapter II, pp. 51-58.

³"Some Observations on the Medieval Evaluation of the 'Homo Naturalis' and the 'Christianus,'" L'Homme et son Destin (Louvain/Paris, 1960), p. 146.

Although I cite Ullmann for this observation, I do not wish thereby to give whole-hearted approval to his entire article. The general tenor of it leaves the reader with the impression that Thomas Aquinas' synthesis of Homo naturalis and Christianus had no precedent whatsoever.

monastic ideal and of what has briefly been noted of Anselm's position in the medieval intellectual tradition. A more precise comparison of Anselm's heritage with the writings of twelfth-century Chartres will be noted below with respect to man as an individual.

To judge man's relation to nature in a metaphysical sense at Chartres is to speak of him in terms of his participation in the exemplar, Man, or in the more oft-repeated phrase, in the divine Idea of man. This, as we have seen, was Thierry of Chartres' explanation in the De sex dierum operibus.⁴ That there are precedents for this is amply seen from the Platonic and Neoplatonic traditions which the early medievals made their own and baptized through Augustine and Boethius. What Chartres added was its willingness to express this relationship to an Idea in Platonic metaphysical terminology, without making an explicit translation into Christian terms--this, in spite of the over-all spirit of the school which never lost sight of its ladder of values, with religion and spirituality at the top. Distinguished from Parisian realism of the second half of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, the Chartrain form is a realism of the universal.⁵ Perhaps this is simply an

⁴Chapter II, p. 59.

⁵A. Forest, "Gilbert de la Porrée et les écoles du XII^e siècle," Revue des cours et conférences, XI (1934), 644-47.

insignificant question of terminology, but one must admit that it is easier to reconcile with traditional Christian teaching than a realism of universals.

A more revealing approach to the concept of man at Chartres is derived from the study of nature in its physical connotations. Clearly this point of interest would seem to derive from Aristotle, and perhaps Thierry of Chartres' picture in the De sex dierum operibus of the world unfolding without any direct intervention by God, save for the creation of matter--fire--in the first instant, is a reflection of the Physics of Aristotle. If so, it is the earliest evidence of this Aristotelian treatise in Latin Scholasticism,⁶ and it argues for an even earlier date for recognizing the Arab impact on Western culture. John Scotus Erigena is another source for interest in the physical origins of the world, in that he was the intermediary who made known the system of Heracleides Ponticus, adopted by Martianus Capella, and used by the medievals until the introduction of Ptolemy by Plato of Tivoli and Jean de Luna in the twelfth century.⁷

⁶P. Duhem, Le Système du monde, III, 187-88.

⁷Augustin Fliche, La Chrétienté médiévale, pp. 479-80. Cf. Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae, 449, 26; cf. also, Duhem, Systeme du Monde, III, 44-162.

Of interest to us is the place of man in nature. In one respect he is at the center of the universe. By his very composition he stands midway between the physical and spiritual worlds; thus Bernard Silvestris and John of Salisbury. He is a microcosm of the universe. Taking "nature" to mean reality, then man is enveloped by nature. Taking it to denote the physical world, all nature is subordinated to man--

Omnia subiciat, terras regat, inperet orbi
Primatem rebus pontificumque dedi.⁸

Being a harmonious mixture of the four elements, man has something in common with all created beings.⁹ For the most part all of nature is described in terms of man, giving further evidence to the historian of a lack of academic specialization at this period.

The counsel of Socrates to "Know thyself" has been frequently referred to in the course of the previous chapters. And it has been related almost as frequently to the consideration at Chartres of man as a microcosm. In probing the origins and secrets of the universe, the megacosmos, man comes to know himself, for he is a miniature world, and in knowing

⁸De Mundi Universitate, II, 10, 11, 49-50.

⁹Angelology does not figure into this description of the world, even to show the relation of man's mind to the spiritual world; that is accounted for by the divine.

himself and the universe, he comes to know his and the universe's Creator. Socratism and Aristotelian physicisism found an accord at Chartres and were combined. This is an interesting diversion from Augustinian thought, which elsewhere has been seen to pervade the school. Augustine counselled that one need not go out of oneself to arrive at Truth, and thus to know God. Immutable and eternal truth is known through divine illumination. And, as Gilson noted in his Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy,

In the Socratism of Socrates, and in the Socratism drawn out of it by the Fathers of the Church or the mediaeval philosophers, there remains in fact a common element of anti-physicisism. Neither the one nor the other condemns the study of nature as such, but everyone agrees that it is much more important for man to know himself than to know exterior things.¹⁰

But this is not entirely true at Chartres, for here these scholars are noted for studying the universe in terms of cosmology, in order to know themselves and ultimately to know the Creator.

One finds a similar change with respect to the prevailing outlook of monasticism. Despite his affirmation of the primacy of man and of the subordination of the universe, there were no consequences in the secular order, according to Peter Damian. If the world of the four elements was considered, or man as a microcosmos, it was to develop some point of religious instruction through analogy. The theory of the

¹⁰ (New York, 1940), p. 213.

microcosm provided an excellent link metaphorically between God's governance of the world and the soul's governance of the body in the moral order.¹¹ There is nothing anthropological about its use, nor the slightest encouragement to investigate nature for itself. A modern observer has summarized the intellectual consequences of this attitude toward nature: in defining the nature of beings solely by their relationship to the will of God, one is condemned to a certain agnosticism of the universe, nature being nothing more than something whose origin we know, but of whose constitution we are ignorant; we catch hold of it by its efficient cause, but we do not penetrate it.¹² Note, on the other hand, the attitudes of Thierry of Chartres and William of Conches, who considered the world secundum physicas rationes. Such an approach contrasts in large manner with the introspection of monasticism. Man is still the object of interest, but man in himself as well as in his place within the divine plan.

If Chartrain studies of nature differed from their predecessors, so too did they differ from what the thirteenth

¹¹Peter Damian, Liber Dominus vobiscum, Op. XI, PL 145, 239-240; also Sermon LXXI, PL 144, 907; also De brevitae vitae pontificum, Op. XXIII, 3, PL 145, 476-477.

¹²J. Gonsette, Pierre Damien et la culture profane (Louvain, 1956), p. 53.

century would present. Passing acquaintance with Aristotelian physics (if, indeed, they knew much of it) may have sparked its consideration at Chartres, but it was the dominant element in the thirteenth-century studies of men like Albert and Roger Bacon. It contrasts also with later explanations of the universe in its scope; the De sex dierum operibus and the Philosophia mundi are much more encyclopedic in content and approach. Later philosophic treatments of nature will evidence a nascent scientific specialization. If this is true of the subject of nature in itself, it is equally true of man's position and role in nature. With the restoration of the Greek intellectual world through the Arabic translations Chartres in the twelfth century was placed, as it were, in the position of being among those first to be reacquainted with it, with little or no time for objective organization. This would come in the university era.

Attitude Toward Man and God.--Chapter Two summarized the Chartrain approach to the Creator as being essentially Augustinian. The attributes of God stressed by Augustine, eternity and immutability, were seen to be reflected in the teaching of Bernard of Chartres:--

For he [Bernard] admitted the eternity of divine providence, wherein God has jointly established all things at one and the same time, determining each and everything that was or is or come to be in time, or to endure throughout eternity.¹³

¹³Metalogicon, III, 35, p. 260.

and in the writings of John of Salisbury:--

God in his wisdom, that is, in His only begotten Word, arranged from all eternity the system of regulating things. He created all of them in this eternity at the same time. In due order he set the system working by the agency of a destiny that seems to cause things to surge on the waves of chance, and conducted them each according to a prearranged order from the birth which brought them into being; . . .¹⁴

and those of Thierry of Chartres:--

But mutability comes from immutability. Matter is truly mutability Thus is evident the error of them who say that matter is coeternal with God. For matter comes from God and God creates it, i.e., God is its cause and principle. Simplicity, which God is, can therefore be eternal, because it is without matter.¹⁵

Man's relation to God through providence remains at Chartres a restatement of the Augustinian position, and is in complete accord with the unity of Christian thought, particularly on the point of providence, which existed between Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.¹⁶

In the development of a science of theology, one may generally say that Chartres was on the side of the trend which blossomed into full bloom in the century of the Summae, even

¹⁴Policraticus, II, xxi, p. 104 (Pike ed.). This bears strong resemblance to Augustine's "seminal reasons."

¹⁵Cf. Latin text in Haring's edition of the "Lectures of Thierry of Chartres on Boethius' De Trinitate," Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge, XXV (1958), #25, p. 160.

¹⁶Gilson, "Christian Providence," The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy, pp. 148-167.

though a precise science of theology was lacking to it. Man's role enters into this development with the application of human reason to Revelation; whence enters the question or problem of the relationship between reason and faith. For the twelfth century, with a man like Bernard of Clairvaux as prominent as he was, a cut-and-dried answer was not at hand. Three men with associations at Chartres--Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, and William of Conches--are outspoken examples of the spirit of intellectual inquiry into the principles of faith encouraged at Chartres and dominating in the following century. But their conflict with a powerful mystical and voluntarist current of spirituality in the persons of Bernard and William of St. Thierry bears witness to a certain climate of fear which surrounded the early efforts of Scholasticism.

If one adds together the elements thus far presented--philosophical, theological, psychological, and physical--, one can arrive at a definition of the spirituality which must have been common, at least in its generalities, to the scholars of Chartres. We have noted the prevalence of Platonic terms and concepts, according to which philosophy man is a soul serving in a body. Expressed in the verses of Bernard of Chartres--

I say that the cause of particular existences is to
be found,

Not in the intimate union of matter and form,
 But rather in the fact that one of these [the form]
 perdures,
 Being called by the Greek "Idea," even as he called
 matter hyle.¹⁷

We have also noted the use of Aristotle, where he was available, according to whom man is a composite in which body and soul form a unique and integral substance.¹⁸ This notion of man in the concrete is paralleled by the desire to investigate creation from the point of view of its physical constitution. Brought into the realm of theology and spirituality, the result is a relationship between Creator and creature, between Redeemer and redeemed, which is quite different from what preceded the twelfth century. The living and resurrected Christ becomes a prevalent form or object of devotion,¹⁹ along with the Virgin, of whom it has been said that the twelfth century was her century, and that the cathedral of Chartres "was built to be peculiarly and exceptionally her delight."²⁰

¹⁷Metalogicon, IV, 35, p. 259.

¹⁸Cf. e.g., Gilbert de la Porrée, Commentaria in Librum De Trinitate, PL 64, 1273:

Homo est et corpus et anima. In parte igitur una non est id quod est in altera, scilicet, aliud numero saltum est esse partis unius, a quo compositum quoque aliquid est, et aliud alterius partis esse, a quo similiter ipsum compositum est, et conjunctim sive disjunctim esse aliquid dicitur.

¹⁹Cf. the Christ-in-Majesty sculpture on the twelfth-century West portal of Chartres' facade.

²⁰Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, p. 97.

Man, concretely conceived, is an individual, and this too is expressed in both writing and in sculpture. Providence must then recognize him as an individual, and it is on this basis that one may perceive a spirituality characterized by a more personal relationship with the divine. Taking into account the sociological changes occurring throughout the twelfth century, the spirituality at Chartres must reflect the relationship of man in the world to his Creator, as opposed to man in the cloister. Clearly, this development is only in an infant stage at Chartres, but it is nonetheless discernible, if one is willing to admit that the movements of philosophy, theology, and art paralleled one another. It will be most explicitly revealed in the thirteenth century.²¹

Evaluation of Man in Himself.--Using these same psychological and philosophical principles which were responsible for the shift in emphasis in spirituality, an evaluation of the Chartrain attitude on the individual in himself, as opposed to his relationship either to others or to God, can logically be made at this point. Indeed, this is perhaps out of sequential order, in that a knowledge of self seems basic to a knowledge of the relations which that self may have to others, including God. In

²¹M. H. Vicaire, "Les Porrétains et l'Avicennisme avant 1215," Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques, XXVI (1937), 'Le complex théologique,' 475-482.

the third book of his Policraticus, John of Salisbury devotes a chapter to man's aspiration for wisdom, and summarizes what may be recognized elsewhere as a pervading Chartrain quest for self-knowledge:

The first task of man aspiring to wisdom is the consideration of what he himself is: and what is within him, what without, what below, what above, what opposite, what before, and what after.

Next perhaps comes that which those whose task it was to hand down to posterity the first principles of philosophy thought ought to be investigated; . . .²²

Quoting from Persius' Saturnalia (iii, 66-72), he adjoined:

There is an oracle of Apollo which is thought to have come down from the skies; Noti seliton, that is, Know thyself. With this in mind, the moralist writes:
 Learn, puny beings, to know the cause of things;
 Why we are born and what our lives should be;
 What course we have to run in life;
 How just to miss the danger of the turn;
 What limit should be placed upon our wealth;
 What prayer we may address to God above;
 What use to make of gold acquired in mart;
 How much to spend on country and on kin;
 What role has been assigned to you by God,
 For you to play upon the stage of life.²³

Results of this investigation of self at Chartres have been enumerated in Chapter Three. Among the most obvious is the confidence in man's rational activity. Within its twelfth-century milieu, such confidence was neither entirely rejected nor entirely accepted. William of Conches' outspoken reaction

²²Policraticus, III, ii, pp. 155-56.

²³Ibid., p. 156.

to the arguments of mystically inclined theologians, who feared that application of reason and philosophical principles to matters of Revelation was somehow tampering unlawfully with matters properly divine and quite untrustworthy, has been noted.²⁴

One cannot simply categorize the fear as monastic, even though in the twelfth century its loudest exponents were Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St. Thierry. For both Abelard and Thierry of Chartres ended up in monasteries. Furthermore, it bore the stamp of the early scholastic activities of Anselm of Bec. On the other hand, these two opposing factors were united at Chartres in that the confidence in man's rational activities was supported only insofar as such activity was at least remotely and ultimately directed toward a religious end.--

. . . [T]his is the true and unvarying rule of philosophers, that each one busy himself in all that he reads or learns, does, or abstains from doing, with advancing the cause of charity.²⁵

Considering man in himself from a moral point of view, one may attempt an integration with the cosmic outlook at Chartres which is recognized in other areas of philosophy. Here again, upon the degree of Aristotelianism known at any one time by a given Chartrain will depend one's judgment on Chartres and

²⁴Chapter III, p. 102.

²⁵Policraticus VII, xi, p. 256 (Pike edition).

the cathedral schools as a bridge between the monastic cultural milieu and the scholasticism of the universities. In the tradition of St. Augustine, as elaborated by St. Anselm, the doctrine of the person and of moral liberty is addressed to those who were consciously striving toward the perfection of the Christian life; and while being above all both a theology and a spirituality, it maintains a real philosophic character.²⁶ Indeed, it involves an essentially philosophical problem, that of human destiny, which nevertheless could not be fully resolved by the medievals without reference to the Faith. It is to this position that those who followed in the suite of Augustine always returned. On the other side of the picture were those who followed the Aristotelian approach, which, as has been noted, is in definite evidence in the discussions of Thierry of Chartres and William of Conches. These men will begin their philosophical investigations with questions of physics and rational psychology and insist upon the peculiar value of philosophy. Hence, the problem of the will, its quality of freedom, and its role in human destiny must be evaluated as Aristotelian or Augustinian according to its importance as a problem in philosophy or theology. The objective observer must admit to

²⁶Francois-Joseph Thonnard, "La personne humaine dans l'Augustinisme médiéval (Saint Anselme et Saint Bonaventure)," L'Homme et son Destin, p. 171.

both approaches in the cathedral school of Chartres, the more Augustinian of the scholars probably being John of Salisbury. But the methods of Thierry's De sex dierum operibus, Gilbert de la Porrée's De sex principiis, and William of Conches' Philosophia mundi or Dragmaticon lean strongly in the direction of the Aristotelian scholasticism which would prevail under Thomas Aquinas.

Chartres is no exception to the general trend of the twelfth century in which a consideration of ethics is made an explicit part of the study of man, of the infant study of psychology.²⁷ With the advent of Latin translations of Aristotle's De Anima and his Ethics, and ensuing thirteenth-century commentaries, psychology and ethics will become separated as studies. In sum, let it be noted that if man's supernatural condition was the particular aspect which occupied such theologians as Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux in their approach to the study of man, at Chartres it was his role in an organized universe or cosmos to which he was linked in harmony. This is very near to the Aristotelian position which was slowly but perceptibly gaining ground, viz., that man is one of the objects of a scientific study of Nature of which he is a part.²⁸

²⁷Pierre Michaud-Quantin, "La Psychologie dans l'enseignement au XII^e siècle," L'Homme et son Destin, p. 413.

²⁸Ibid., p. 414.

And in the particular expression which some of the Chartrains gave it, it also bordered closely on determinism, which they managed to neatly sidestep, although how they did it is not always too neatly demonstrated to the reader.

Chartres on Social and Civic Relations.--In the discussions on the individual and society, substantial stress has been placed on the notion of freedom or liberty at Chartres. And it has been noted, even in the analysis of the Policraticus, that the Chartrains generally referred to individual liberty by reason of the nature of man when they used the term, rather than what we today conceive of as political liberty. At least one must make that distinction if he is to take John of Salisbury in good faith when he says, as has been quoted above:

Liberty means judging everything freely in accordance with one's individual judgment, and does not hesitate to reprove what it sees opposed to good morals. Nothing but virtue is more splendid than liberty, if indeed liberty can ever properly be severed from virtue. For to all right-thinking men it is clear that true liberty issues from no other source.²⁹

and again,

Charity . . . cannot be contained, for where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty.³⁰

But whether conceived in a political sense or not, freedom--as a

²⁹Policraticus, VII, xxv, p. 323 (Dickinson edition).

³⁰Letter 225, to Peter the Scribe, PL 199, 251.

distinguishing characteristic of man--was based on an evident respect for the individual personality. And it was this same respect, at least theoretically, which formed the basis for relations between man and man, and between man and social institutions.

The ideal of the free spiritual individual also constituted a criterion for an evaluation of historical events and personalities which John of Salisbury enumerated, particularly in the fourth and fifth books of the Policraticus. Since these books are concerned with describing the ideal prince, many of John's examples have been drawn from the period of the Roman Empire. Though some have consequently been led to conclude that such an admiration for Roman antiquity betrays a latent desire to see the return of the Empire to the medieval stage, this was not the case among the Chartrains. Examples can be drawn where they are applicable, without acceptance of the system in which they functioned. The type of ideal ruler who emerges from the conglomerate of virtues and qualities might be characterized as a learned ascetic, who, if need be, is guided by the counsel of men of letters:

If, nevertheless, out of consideration for other distinguished virtues, it should chance that the prince is illiterate, it is needful that he take counsel of men of letters if his affairs are to prosper rightly. Therefore let him have at his side men like the prophet Nathan, and the priest Sodoch, and the faithful sons of the prophets, who will not suffer him to turn aside from the law of God; and since his own eyes do not bring it before his mind, let these men, the

scholars, make a way for it with their tongues into the opening of his ears.³¹

As for the one who is already literate, one who has already "a knowledge of the authors," the advice is "Read much but having read keep reading much."³² Nobility and the ruling class will moderate their governance through the acquisition of wisdom and philosophy.

At Chartres, as among all the medievals, all rulers had to be submissive to the law, in particular the law of God-- "Especially is he who receives power from God the slave of the laws and the servant of right and justice" ³³ It is in this respect that a direct link may be made with the concept of the State or society as an organism, in both Bernard Silvestris and John of Salisbury. It also reveals the contemporary threat which John saw in the designs of Frederick Barbarossa. "Who," he asked in a letter to Randulf of Serris, "has established the Germans as judges over other lands?" ³⁴ An organism is made up of many parts, each performing a particular function. Should one part become hyperactive and begin to interfere with the functions

³¹Policraticus, IV, vi, p. 28 (Dickinson edition).

³²Ibid., VII, ix, p. 246 (Pike edition).

³³Ibid., III, xv, p. 211.

³⁴Letter 59, PL 199, 39.

of another, the balance of the organism is upset. The system becomes inoperative because the order and harmony inscribed in it by nature have been upset.

Transferred to the spiritual realm, which was really John of Salisbury's concern in the composition of the Policraticus, the terms pax, iustitia, and ordo, while not used in an apocalyptic or eschatological sense, are not conceived as capable of being achieved by a temporal state, and certainly not by a universal state.³⁵ Catholic unity, the highest ideal conceived by men of this period, can only be achieved in and through the Church, and it is for this reason that John uses the terms he does in his sharp criticism of Barbarossa. The Germans were for him "barbarians"--spiritually and politically incapable. He refers to the gens Teutonicorum as suspecta, and as getting on the Pope's nerves!³⁶ One must read this with the understanding that barbarus is taken at this period as almost synonymous with schismaticus, and in this context refers to one who has no feeling of responsibility for Christian unity. Somewhat wiser from the Investiture controversy, their attitude is that the kingdom comes from God and that no prince has the right

³⁵Policraticus, VIII, xxiii (Dickinson edition).

³⁶Memoirs of the Papal Court, trans. Marjorie Chibnall (London, 1956), xxxii, p. 66.

to usurp the functions of other members of the organism.

Placed within the cultural currents of the period, the political and social theory of Chartres, as represented by John of Salisbury and briefly by Bernard Silvestris, represents a close interpretation of Augustine's City of God, at the same time that it evinces a certain secularization and a turning in the direction of naturalism. There is a greater appreciation--and this may be a by-product of Aristotle's presence--and attention given to created factors, to the causae secundae of historical events and relations among men. There is no flight into an eschatological ideology, no heavenly Jerusalem. Social situations and problems are considered with caution and moderation; not with the attitude that the final conflagration is the only solution, but with a hope of correcting earthly events with concrete and rational means.³⁷ A universal Christian unity, just like the harmony inscribed in Nature, can be maintained without a universal temporal state, and indeed is best preserved in a simpler aggregate of men whose national interests provide more certain ground for peace and unity.

Concept of Man and Education.--Typically Chartrain is the statement in John of Salisbury's Metalogicon, based on Bernard

³⁷Johannes Spörl, "Humanismus und Naturalismus: Johannes von Salisbury," p. 95.

of Chartres' analysis:

Nature, I believe, has provided in the latter [the personality who has his feet on the ground and yet can climb, the personality best suited for philosophizing] a basis for the arts.³⁸

To schoolmen who saw in Nature an order, a harmony, and a model of laws governing man's varied activities--social, political, educational, even religious,--this represents a humanistic emphasis which is not very clearly or widely seen in previous approaches to Christian education. In this framework it is not at all unusual to find such thoughts as

If nature is propitious, it should be industriously cultivated, rather than neglected, so that its fruits may be readily harvested. On the other hand if nature is unbenign, it should still be nursed even more carefully, so that, with the aid of virtue, it may more happily and gloriously grow strong.³⁹

Contrast this with the monastic attitude toward the secular arts which were pursued for themselves, and not directed toward the end of comprehending the Scriptures. Contrast this emphasis on nature with the fears, both contemporary to the twelfth-century schoolmen and prior to them, that a natural and scientific interpretation of revealed truth involved a danger to the Faith. It manifests not a begrudging attitude toward the liberal arts, but one which is in line with and augments the Augustinian

³⁸I, xi, p. 35.

³⁹Ibid., viii, p. 31.

position that the liberal arts and philosophy are essential to Christian doctrine and to Scriptural interpretation.

If the natural science approach to Christian wisdom was present at Chartres, Chapter Four has described the literary approach. Considering the Trivium as the means of expressing wisdom and the Quadrivium as the content expressed, and considering the seven arts together as constitutive of philosophy which is essential to Christian wisdom, then one may see a penetrating insight in the summary of M. Edouard Jeauneau when he says that this "marriage" of the Trivium with the Quadrivium⁴⁰ was, in fact, the humanism of Chartres.⁴¹ If such is true, then the place of the classics and of poetry⁴² is of utmost significance in the Chartrain man's program of learning. Bernard of Chartres, Thierry of Chartres, Bernard Silvestris, and John of Salisbury

⁴⁰Thierry of Chartres, Heptateuchon, Bibliothèque de Chartres Ms. 497 (Cf. Toronto microfilm), fol 2r: Nos autem non nostra sed precipuorum super his artibus inuente doctorum quasi in unum corpus uoluminis apta modulatione coaptauimus et triuium quadriui ad generose nationis phylosophorum propaginem quasi maritali federe copulauimus.

⁴¹"Un représentant du platonisme au XII^e siècle: maître Thierry de Chartres," 2.

⁴²The concept of poetry, defended by Bernard Silvestris in his Commentary on the Aeneid as being able to pierce the core or essence of its subject, is a key to the aesthetic activity of Chartres. It will later be found in almost identical form in the thinking of Boccaccio and Petrarch.

clearly expressed their views of the necessity of reading the authors, because this was the practical introduction to philosophy--via the first of the liberal arts, grammar. Compared with the educational centers which preceded the twelfth-century cathedral school, the selection of authors at Chartres is seen to be wider, and the attitude toward their reading appears to be much more objective, though cautious.⁴³ The literary activity thus represents a continuity of the classical tradition, which lessens the claims of those who in the suite of Burckhardt would make the Renaissance of the Quattrocento so radically distinct a phenomenon from all that had preceded it.

While respect for classical authors remained strong at Chartres, the respect for and confidence in their own contemporaries is something which is not so readily met in the writings of earlier monastic spiritual writers. In his Metalogicon John of Salisbury forthrightly declared:

Something that is true in itself does not melt into thin air, simply because it is stated by a new author. Who, indeed, except someone who is foolish or perverse, would consider an opinion authoritative, merely because it was stated by Corsicus, Bryso, or Melissus? All of the latter are alike obscure, except the same sort of person, will reject a proposition simply because it has been advanced by Gilbert, Abelard, or our own Adam [du Petit-Pont]? I do not agree with those who spurn the good things of their own day, and begrudge recommending their contemporaries to posterity.⁴⁴

⁴³Policraticus, VII, ix (Pike edition).

⁴⁴III, Prologue, p. 144.

It is this equal openness to the writers of the classics, to the Fathers of the Church, and to their own contemporaries for authoritative statements, coupled with the endeavor to adapt the Biblical narrative to their own cosmology, and not vice versa, which has suggested to Nicholas Haring an hypothesis for the decline of Chartres at the end of the twelfth century. He observes the Chartrain tendency "not to disregard the tendency of the past, but to integrate Christian and non-Christian thoughts and to propose them in a largely new and more scientific form." And he goes on to argue,

It is obvious that in theology where the authentic voice of tradition is more important than the author's philosophical presentation, the scholastic method of Chartres was bound to be superseded by a method in which ecclesiastical tradition, presented in its original form, kept its place as an indispensable tool for a proper approach to the revealed faith. This, no doubt, was one reason why the school of Chartres soon yielded to the greater fame of the school of Paris.⁴⁵

This is a plausible hypothesis in view of the orientation of Chartres' studies, i.e., toward theology, the ultimate in Christian wisdom, and in view of Paris' subsequent reputation in theology.

A final observation to be made with regard to the concept

⁴⁵"The Creation and Creator of the World according to Thierry of Chartres and Clarenbaldus of Arras," Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire, XXII (1955), 180-81.

of man and education at Chartres is that of the Chartrains' inherent opposition to the scholasticism of the infant universities. The opposition was caustically expressed by John of Salisbury, for one, in the Policraticus:

Consider the leading teachers of philosophy of our own day, those who are most loudly acclaimed, surrounded by a noisy throng of disciples. Mark them carefully; you will find them dwelling on one rule, or on two or three words, or else they have selected (as though it were an important matter) a small number of questions suitable for dispute, on which to exercise their talent and waste their life. They do not however succeed in solving them but hand down to posterity for solution by their disciples their problems, with all the ambiguity with which they have invested them.⁴⁶

and again,

He however who has spent his time in learning by heart a few facts and is so hampered by his restricted vocabulary that should you deprive him of one or two of his words he would be tongue-tied and more silent than any statue [Horace, Ep. II, ii, 83], will nevertheless be the first to contradict and will prove quite stubborn in his opposition.⁴⁷

This is an opposition to specialization in the academic world, a specialization which manifestly runs counter to the enlarged vision of the Chartrains described in the chapter on the cosmology at Chartres and again in that devoted to its educational program. At least according to their ideal, the

⁴⁶VII, ix, p. 244 (Pike edition).

⁴⁷Ibid.

Trivium would impart, besides the mechanics of expression, the whole of philosophy. This, combined with the Quadrivium, would impart the whole of human wisdom. And combined with Theology, to which all these studies were directed, the scholar at Chartres would be well-versed in that which pertained to God, to the universe, and to himself. If "education of the whole man" is not specifically a medieval phrase, this ideal is one of its closest medieval counterparts. It is not inconceivable to relate the opening up of the intellectual world, with the acquisition of Arab, Jewish, and Greek sources, to an opening up of the psychological horizons which the twelfth century would find man capable of filling. This breadth of vision, however,-- whether it be applied to man's place in the entire creation, or to the avenues of knowledge which he was capable of pursuing-- would not hold its strength when confronted with the necessity of specialization in the subsequent universities. What John of Salisbury criticized was a narrowing of education into technical disciplines divorced from the whole of human learning, especially from literature and the arts. Once Aristotelian dialectic took over as a basis for the achievements in theology and philosophy, the disciplines of theology, philosophy, and the other arts would become defined, and a literary education based on "the authors" would become a thing of the past. One may broadly generalize on what has preceded, and call twelfth-century Chartres an example of a literary culture. The "ratio"

culture of organization and specialization would come in the thirteenth century.

* * * * *

The question has often been put as to why Chartres faded out so soon after the peak of its fame. One reason has been offered above by Haring who suggested that the Chartrain penchant for integrating Christian and non-Christian ideas and expressing them in philosophical terminology did not effectively meet the theological current which was becoming rooted at Paris. Others have suggested that mastery of the whole of learning as derived from a basic program of the liberal arts could not stand long in the face of a drive--prompted by the acquisition of the "New Logic," the Ethics, and the Physics of Aristotle--to define the "sciences" of philosophy and theology. Still others have proposed that the ribald poetry and lyrics of the Goliards damaged the Chartrain program of imitating the classical Latin of Virgil and Cicero. It is not within the scope of this thesis to decipher all the factors which led to Chartres' eclipse, except insofar as they bear on the position of the school in the course of intellectual and cultural history. It may have been noted throughout the foregoing presentation that the Chartrain literature and program, probably unconsciously, was moving in the direction of the University of Paris, especially as the Aristotelian corpus became more and more complete. One is

tempted to think that Chartres simply yielded ground to that toward which it was oriented.

In summarizing and evaluating the concept of man at twelfth-century Chartres, one is impressed by the character of its humanism as one of life and not of books. Philosophy at Chartres was an art of living much more than a science of reasoning; it cannot be considered aside from Chartrain humanism. Nowhere among their writings is this more clearly seen than in the "Microcosmos" of Bernard Silvestris' De Mundi Universitate. Bernard, like his Chartrain confrères, regarded man as an alter mundus, who, by reason of his spiritual character, shares in the glory of the Fount of life. His humanism must, therefore, be one of life because man is so intimately associated with the source of all living, with the God who said to Moses on Sinai: "I am Who am."

Because of this very positive outlook on life, the Chartrains were obviously not prophets of doom. Man was not in the world because of a fall, but because he had a place and a role in the world. The "world" in Peter Damian was placed in opposition to the monastery.⁴⁸ With the Chartrains, it is life lived in the concrete. Quoting Terence, John of Salisbury

⁴⁸Op. LII, 14, PL 145, 775: Et quid hic tigris, nisi diabolus debet intelligi? Tigridi itaque catulum rapimus, cum de mundo, qui est cubile diaboli, conversum quemlibet hominem ac sanctitatis habitum provocamus.

voiced a position quite contrary to that of the monastic ideal:

Philosophers have, however, already raised the question whether anything which pertains to man is foreign to him. Progress in virtue has solved this difficulty, since the great comedian [Terence, Hauton.; Tim. 77] thinks that nothing human is alien to man, and our Heavenly Master teaches that man shall love his neighbor as himself. Hence it is clear that the disciple who does not rejoice with the truth and whose wrath does not blaze against enemies of the public weal is unworthy of the Great Teacher.⁴⁹

Applied to day-to-day living, this observation of life and men would make him, and those of like mind, wise and understanding in their judgment of human deeds. For proof that this, indeed, was the case, one need only refer to the perceptively drawn biographical and character-sketches of John of Salisbury's teachers and his descriptions of Gilbert de la Porrée, Bernard of Clairvaux, Arnold of Brescia, Thomas Becket, and Popes Eugenius III and Adrian IV.

One may look also to these scholars' participation in social and ecclesiastical life outside the walls of the cathedral school for proof that theirs was not an ivory-tower existence, nor were their ideas abstracted from the concrete. With the development of towns and the rise of men of commerce, there was a corresponding cultural development outside of the monastery schools. A greater number of men were escaping feudal bonds, greater numbers tasted liberty with the

⁴⁹Policraticus, III, Prologue.

establishment of guild and confraternity bonds. Thus, as Père Chenu notes, the ways and means of influence of the monasteries would no longer meet the needs of souls, and at the same time, prelates and abbots were revealed for the most part to be insensitive to the tremendous changes taking place before their eyes.⁵⁰ On the contrary, one need only look at the extra-scholastic activities of an Ives of Chartres, a John of Salisbury, or a William of Conches to understand how Chartres met its times.

Allied to this recognition of man in the concrete is the idea of man as an active factor in the shaping of history. This is not consistently clear throughout the entire corpus of Chartrain documents, as some at times came very close to determinism in their means of expression. But it is found for the most part in the later scholars at Chartres, and particularly in the writings of John of Salisbury. For example, in the description of the State, one does not find a metaphysical idea of the Kingdom of God or of a theocracy, but rather another motif: man as a responsible member within an organism. Or again, in contrast to the philosophy of history geared along Augustinian lines, in which man as an active factor is somewhat excluded, John of Salisbury accentuated the importance of "personality." Hence, to evaluate humanism at Chartres one

⁵⁰La doctrine de la création dans l'École de Chartres,
p. 112.

cannot divorce it from the "world view" of the Chartrains taken collectively. It is for this reason that reference must constantly be made to Chartrain cosmology and to the role of man within its framework. In contrast to the monastic Weltanschauung, the school of Chartres in the twelfth century regarded the individual personality as the representative of historical progress within the Church.

Parent has suggested that the historian of Chartres will recognize the role of its scholars if he is much more attentive to the spirit of their work than to its doctrinal content.⁵¹ It is precisely this spirit which the present thesis has attempted to define, based on the assumption--it is hoped at this point that the assumption has been sufficiently substantiated by documentation--that this spirit is ultimately to be identified with the school's concept of man and his role in the whole of creation. But in so defining this spirit, access must be continually made to its expression in the doctrinal treatises of Chartres. Access must also be made to other currents which together made up twelfth-century society and culture. Here one faces the question of the interaction of the school with its own culture. Was it the directing force or did it assimilate the currents already present in the culture and simply lend them expression? In the case of Chartres the action was mutual. The

⁵¹La doctrine de la création dans l'École de Chartres, p. 112.

incorporation in symbolic form of the seven liberal arts into sculpture for the first time on the right portal of the facade of Chartres is plausibly ascribed to the influence of the school whose reputation at the same period was due to its teaching of the liberal arts. On the other hand, its emphasis on the individual is also expressed elsewhere in contemporary songs and lyric poetry, in the expressions of courtly love whose breviary was the Ars amandi of Ovid,⁵² in the Aristotelian philosophy of men like Avicenna, and in the new forms of social structure offered by the growth of towns. A two-way street existed between Chartres and its society, at least for the period between 1100 and 1180.

If Bernard Silvestris could glory in the mind of man who must share in all the powers of the universe because of his role in this changing world, John of Salisbury could explain that same admiration, speaking with the consensus of the other members of Chartres, as he summed up the ideals of the school to his readers:

Public welfare which fosters the state and its individual citizens consists in sanctity of life, for life is man's most cherished possession and its sanctity his greatest blessing This seems to me the only real safeguard of life: that the mind, by the life-giving power of the spirit, be illuminated for the acquisition of knowledge and be inspired with the love of honor and zeal for virtue

⁵²Chenu, La Théologie au XII^e siècle, p. 20.

Therefore the recognition of truth and the cultivation of virtue is the general and universal safeguard of the individual, of the state, and of rational nature.⁵³

⁵³Policraticus, III, i, pp. 153-155.

APPENDIX I

MAJOR FIGURES OF THE SCHOOL OF CHARTRES:

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

- A. Bernard of Chartres. Of Breton origin. Master of the school of Chartres, and later assistant deacon and chancellor between the years 1119-1124. John of Salisbury described him as the foremost Platonist of his time in France. Clerval (Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge) produced evidence from which he concluded that Bernard died before 1130; Hauréau ("Mémoires sur quelques chanceliers de l'Église de Chartres," Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XXXI, 2)
- B. Thierry of Chartres. Brother of the above Bernard. Master of students at Chartres in 1121; he later taught in Parisian schools. In 1142 he was made archdeacon of Notre-Dame de Chartres and chancellor of the cathedral and school. He was present at the Council of Rheims in 1148 in the defense of Gilbert de la Porrée; his death is placed between 1148 and 1153. Author of the Hepta-teuchon (a manual of the seven arts), the De sex dierum operibus, and several commentaries on Boethius.
- C. Bernard Silvestris of Tours. The precise nature of his connection with Chartres is uncertain, whether that of student or colleague. He dedicated his most famous work, the De Mundi Universitate, to Thierry of Chartres. Other works from his hand are a commentary on the first six books of the Aeneid, and a number of smaller poems. Flourishing in the mid-12th century, he is frequently confused and sometimes incorrectly identified with Bernard of Chartres.
- D. William of Conches. Another Breton; a student of Bernard of Chartres between 1110-1120. His reputation in teaching grammar at Chartres and at Paris attracted many to the school. Changing his interests to science, he authored the Philosophia mundi, glossed the Timaeus and a number of treatises by Boethius. After being denounced by William of St.-Thierry to Bernard of Clairvaux as a

disciple of Abelard, he quit his official teaching and became the tutor to the two sons of Geoffrey Plantagenet of Normandy (count of Anjou, 1144-1151), one of whom later became Henry II of England.

E. John of Salisbury. A student at Chartres and Paris between 1136-1145, under Abelard, Thierry, William of Conches, Gilbert de la Porrée, Richard l'Evêque, and others. Between 1148 and 1153 he was in the papal service, an account of which is found in his Historia Pontificalis. In 1154 he was received into the household of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and continued in a secretarial post under Theobald's successor, Thomas à Becket. In 1176 he was elected bishop of Chartres and remained in that post until his death in 1180. Called the most learned classical scholar of his day, he was the author of the Metalogicon, the Policraticus, the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum, the Historia Pontificalis, lives of Anselm and Becket, and numerous letters.

The definitive biography is that of C.C.J. Webb (London, 1932). His complete works are found in Migne, PL 199.

APPENDIX II

SCHEMATIC DIVISIONS OF PHILOSOPHY

Boethius (In Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta, PL 64, 11-12)

[English terminology is that adopted by Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, p. 97 f.]

Wisdom = A. Speculative (divided according to the objects known)

1. Intellectibles--exist outside of matter ---
Theology
2. Intelligibles--intellectibles which have
fallen into matter--- Psychology
3. Natures --forms are inseparable from
matter--- Physiology
(Physics, or
the science of
natural bodies)
 - a. Arithmetic
 - b. Astronomy
 - c. Geometry
 - d. Music

B. Practical (divided according to the acts to be accomplished)

1. How to conduct oneself by the acquisition of virtues.
2. Administration of these virtues in the State.
3. Administration of domestic society.
4. Grammar
5. Rhetoric Trivium, concerned less with acquisition of knowledge than with its method of exposition.
6. Logic

William of Conches (Commentary on the Consolatio Philosophiae
of Boethius), Bibliothèque Nat. lat. 6406)

	Arithmetica
	Musica
Mathematica	Astronomia
	Geometrica
Theorica	Physica
	Theologia
<u>Sapientia</u> (Philosophia)	Ethica
	Practica
<u>Scientia</u>	Economia
	Politica civilis
	Grammatica
<u>Eloquentia</u> (Logica)	Rhetorica
	Dialectica

Thierry of Chartres (Heptateuchon, Chartres Ms. 497;
borrowed from Varro, Pliny the Elder, and
Martianus Capella, De Nuptiis)

	Arithmetica
	Geometrica
Intellectus	Astronomia
	Musica
<u>Philosophia</u>	
	Grammatica
Interpretatio	Rhetorica
	Dialectica

Bernard Silvestris (Commentum super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii)
ed. Riedel, p. 31.)

Scientia: -- A. Philosophia

1. Theorica -- considers incorporeal things

- a. God, His Wisdom, angels, world-soul,
- b. Mathematics etc.
- c. Philosophy

2. Practica -- human activities,
mechanical arts

B. Eloquentia -- acquired through the auctores

C. Poesis

1. Metric poetry

2. Prose

D. Mechania

1. Textiles

2. Architecture

3. Navigation

4. Hunting

5. Farming

6. Theater

7. Medicine

APPENDIX III

SYNOPSIS OF THE HEPTATEUCHON

of THIERRY Of CHARTRES

(As outlined by Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, pp. 222-223; and "L'Enseignement des arts libéraux à Chartres . . .", Congrès scientifique internationale des catholiques . . . Paris, t. II, 281-282.), with a few minor corrections.

<u>Prologus M. Theoderici in Eptateuchon</u>		fol. 1
	1 Donati De octo partibus orationis liber edicio Ia cum prologo Theoderici . . .	1
	2 --- De octo . . . edicio IIa, cum prologo Theoderici (1 ^{um} et 2 ^{um} cap.) . . .	8
Grammatica	3 Prisciani Institutionum grammatica- rum lib. 18	11 -157v
	4 --- De ponderibus et mensuris	157 -160v
	5 --- De versibus comicis . . .	160v-162
	6 --- De accentibus liber . . .	162 -166
	7 --- De 12 carminibus Virgilii	166 -183
	8 --- De declinationibus . . .	183v-188
	9 Donati De barbarismo	188 -190
	10 Ciceronis De inventione rhetorica libri 2	191 -229v
	11 --- Rhetoricorum ad Herennium libri 4	230 -257
Rhetorica	12 --- De partitione oratoria dialogus.	257 -265
	13 J. Sever- Syntomata ac precepta iani artis rhetoricae. . . .	265 -269v
	14 Capellae De rhetorica libri 5. . .	269v-279
	15 Porphyrii Boetio interprete Institutio	280 -284
	16 Aristot- elis	
	--- Categoriae	284v-292
Dialectica	17 --- Perihermeneiae . . .	292 -296
	18 --- Analyticorum priorum l. I	296 -318
	19 --- Topicorum l. 8	319 -349

	20	Aristot- elis	Boetio interprete Elenchorum I.2	1 -11
	21	Boetii	Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos	11 -21
	22	---	De syllogismo categorico liber	21 -33v
	23	Apuleius	Perihermenie	33v-37
Dialectica (contin- ued)	24	Boetii	De syllogismo hypothetico lib. 2	37 -52
	25	---	Ciceronis Topica	52r-68
	26	---	De differentiis topicis l. 4	68 -73
	27	---	De divisione	73 -78
	28	---	De diffinitione	78r-85
	29	Boetii	Arithmeticae lib. 2	86 -114
Arithmetica	30	Capellae	De Arithmetica lib. 1	114v-122
	31	Anonymi	De arithmetica lib. 3	122 -125
Musica	32	Boetii	De musica	125 -140
	33	Pseudo- Boetii	De corporibus regularibus fragmentum	141r-141v
	34	Isidori H.	De mensuris agrorum (origi- num lib. xv, cap. 15)	141r-141v
	35	Anonymi	Definitiones geometriae per interrogationem	142 -143
	36	Frontini	De mensuratione super- ficierum	143 -147v
	37	Anonymi	De mensuris in lineis, in superficiebus, in solidis, in liquidis, in ponderi- bus, in temporibus	148 -149r
	38	Columellae	De re rustica (lib. vus: De mensuratione agrorum)	149 -151v
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ABBREVIATIONS

- AHDL Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge.
- PL Migne, Jacques (ed.). Patrologiae, Cursus completus. Series latina prior. Paris, 1844-80.
- RSPT Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques.
- RTAM Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Sister M. Carol Sullivan, O.P. has been read and approved by members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 7, 1967
Date

Paul J. Leahy
Signature of Adviser