

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DISPUTED CITY:  
ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND THE PERFORMANCE OF ARGUMENT IN SCHOLASTIC  
PARIS (C. 1120–C. 1320)

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This dissertation considers the medieval Parisian project of Scholasticism as a concrete, physical phenomenon that took tangible shape in dialogue with the built, visual, and material environment. Focusing on Paris between c.1120–c.1320, I explore how the city shaped intellectual culture and ideologies invested in the pursuit of knowledge and truth, while being itself subject to continuous physical transformation and reimagining. More specifically, I investigate the contributions of particular locales and spaces to the practice of scholastic pursuits and ideals of knowledge; the sights, sounds, and activities that became associated with scholastic learning; and the way architecture and visual representation were involved in the making and performance of the scholastic project writ large. As I argue, the scholastic project was at once realized and reimagined both in and through the spaces it inhabited. Rather than in the controlled settings of the ecclesial schools, Scholasticism took form, above all, in the streets and squares, in constant interaction with its surroundings, fashioning and re-fashioning itself in experimental and innovative ways. Confronting our dematerialized, rarified notion of Scholasticism, I aim to show how the urban arena was a powerful incubator of the intellectual debates and ideological conflicts that defined Parisian Scholasticism—indeed, an entire chapter of medieval intellectual history.

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## List of Abbreviations

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CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols)
DLMBS	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> <a href="http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/online.html">http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/online.html</a>
CUP	Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain (eds.), <i>Chartularium Universitatis parisiensis</i> , 4 vols (Paris: Ex typis fratrum Delalain, 1889–97)
<i>Metalogicon</i> (CCCM)	J. B. Hall and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, <i>Ioannis Saresberiensis: Metalogicon</i> , vol. 98, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991)
<i>Metalogicon</i> (CCiT)	John Barrie Hall and Julian P. Haseldine, <i>John of Salisbury: Metalogicon</i> , Corpus Christianorum in Translation 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013)
PL	J.-P Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , 221 vols, 1844–61

‘You don’t propose to offer an analysis of Scholasticism, then, I take it?’

This question illustrated exactly why Dixon felt he had to keep Michie out of his subject. Michie knew a lot, or seemed to, which was as bad. One of the things he knew, or seemed to, was what Scholasticism was. Dixon read, heard, and even used the word a dozen times a day without knowing, though he seemed to.

– Kingsley Amis, *Lucky Jim*

## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation considers the medieval Parisian project of Scholasticism as a concrete, physical phenomenon that took tangible shape in dialogue with the built, visual, and material environment. Focusing on Paris between c.1120–c.1320, I explore how the city shaped intellectual culture and ideologies invested in the pursuit of knowledge and truth, while being itself subject to continuous physical transformation and reimagining. More specifically, I investigate the contributions of particular locales and spaces to the practice of scholastic pursuits and ideals of knowledge; the sights, sounds, and activities that became associated with scholastic learning; and the way architecture and visual representation were involved in the making and performance of the scholastic project writ large. As I argue, the scholastic project was at once realized and reimagined both in and through the spaces it inhabited. Rather than in the controlled settings of the ecclesial schools, Scholasticism took form, above all, in the streets and squares, in constant interaction with its surroundings, fashioning and re-fashioning itself in experimental and innovative ways. Confronting our dematerialized, rarified notion of Scholasticism, I aim to show how the urban arena was a powerful incubator of the intellectual debates and ideological conflicts that defined Parisian Scholasticism—indeed, an entire chapter of medieval intellectual history.

The dissertation's broad chronological scope allows us to see Paris and Parisian Scholasticism evolve in three distinct periods. The first period, treated in chapters one and two, represents the twelfth-century phenomenon of urban schools when private secular masters and students streamed into Paris to teach or study dialectic. In this period, Paris's scholastic community existed without institutional form; it was supervised and governed by the bishop. The turn of the thirteenth century marked a watershed moment for both the city and its scholars. Philip Augustus II (r. 1180–1223) made Paris the permanent capital of the Capetian monarchy

and significantly drove the expansion of the city to either side of the Seine, protecting it with a new ring of walls. During this time, masters and students loosely organized themselves into a professional association, whence the University of Paris formed, chartered in 1229 through the papal bull *Parens Scientiarum*. The origins of the university quarter on the Left Bank date to this period. The ‘golden era’ of Scholasticism in Paris is often said to have ended in 1277, with the episcopal efforts to police the university under the banner of the persecution of heresy, and the fomentation of a highly contentious atmosphere between the Faculty of Philosophy (Liberal Arts), of Theology, and the bishopric. While chapter three is firmly situated within in the pre-1277 period, chapter four spans the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the final, fifth chapter deals exclusively with the five decades following the episcopal censorship.

Our current understanding of Scholasticism remains profoundly disembodied. Behind the notion of Scholasticism—a vexed post-medieval concept—and attempts to define it lie a deep history reaching back to Renaissance humanists’ polemic against the medieval academic institutions and associated intellectual practices.<sup>1</sup> Since Martin Grabmann’s pioneering work in the early twentieth century, Scholasticism has been broadly conceived as a method of dialectical reasoning and argumentation, based on Aristotelian logic, and inscribed into a faith-based framework of divinely revealed truth.<sup>2</sup> My aim is not to elaborate a new or properly art-historical definition of Scholasticism. To the contrary, I reject here an a priori definition of Scholasticism. Rather, I am interested in how Scholasticism came into being and evolved in a dynamic, contingent, and open fashion, and in a manner that was profoundly embedded in and informative of visual-material culture and the built environment.

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<sup>1</sup> Riccardo Quinto, *Scholastica: storia di un concetto* (Padova: Il poligrafo, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> Martin Grabmann, *Die scholastische Methode im 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1911).



When art historians have taken seriously the intellectual dynamics of Scholasticism, it has been with a focus on architecture—but not the architecture I am concerned with. Perpetuating and cementing the century-old idea of the Gothic cathedral as a scholastic *summa* in stone, Erwin Panofsky famously argued Gothic architecture as the material expression, or emanation, of a medieval intellectual *habitus*. Panofsky’s argument—which he himself felt ambivalent about—became a focal point for architectural historians in particular, who probed, elaborated, and refuted his provocative account.<sup>3</sup> My project, on the other hand, calls into question the categorical, idealistic divisions between material and intellectual, mind and body, and art and knowledge, that are inherent in these debates over the analogue relationship between Gothic architecture and scholastic styles of thought (to use Panofsky’s term). These are problematic binaries entrenched in medieval art history, and perhaps nowhere more powerfully than in the study of medieval art and architecture closely allied to the domains of philosophy and theology.

As both a physical phenomenon and an imagined ideal, medieval Paris was continuously shaped and reshaped by ways in which urban intellectual culture and its competing communities inscribed themselves within and derived their identity from the material surfaces of the city’s streets, bridges, and squares. Inspired by and drawing inspiration from the ancient pagan and biblical exemplars of Athens and Jerusalem, scholastic communities imbued urban space with multiple registers of symbolic meaning, molding it into a potent medium and visionary frame that could buttress their intellectual pursuits. For the medieval scholars and students who populate my account, Paris was at once a fully experienced and creatively imagined scholastic *res publica*, and as such, a continuously evolving experiment.

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<sup>3</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, Pa.: Archabbey Press, 1951).

Virtually the entire cast of what we now term scholastic philosophy once roamed the city of Paris, transforming its streets and squares, public schools, colleges, and convents into a grand stage and intellectual arena for the pursuit of truth and knowledge. This dissertation proposes that the scholastic project cannot be reasonably understood in isolation from the urban world and culture in which it thrived. Indeed, in its concrete, built, and spatial forms, Paris figures centrally in the performance of the scholastic project, as well as in the ideological conflicts underpinning it. Acutely aware of this fact, various scholastic factions mobilized Paris's artistic resources to fashion and promote their own scientific ideals and intellectual values, while contesting those of their rivals. In essence, it was in and through the city and its material-artistic culture that the project of Scholasticism took on a phenomenal and tangible presence that shaped the practice, imaginary, and ultimately—in ways that have not yet been acknowledged—the legacy of an entire era in the history of philosophy. From a methodological standpoint, I seek in the dissertation to develop new ways and means of overcoming the (modern) disciplinary divide between the history of thought, on the one hand, and, on the other, the visual-material culture and the built and lived environment.

I argue that Paris, the physical city, was not simply a stage or backdrop for medieval intellectual life, but that it profoundly shaped the intellectual and political currents that propelled the scholastic enterprise. A network of diverse, multivalent, and dynamic sites and spaces, the city opened doors to all kinds of representational strategies and experiences—visual, auditory, literary, ritual, and even destructive ones—that were variously deployed in the making of scholastic discourse. Place and architecture carried meanings that linked them to the realities and imaginaries that shaped scholastic disputes in profound, albeit sometimes elusive, ways. In the scholarly literature on Parisian scholastic culture, there is little focus on physical sites as venues

of intellectual exchange, each with its own histories, meanings, and identities. Examining these sites through careful attention to their physical forms, uses, representations, and relationships to one another reveals their profoundly influential role in articulating and intervening in the complex dynamics that drove scholastic discourses of truth.

The ambitious reframing of Scholasticism and new modes of inquiries I here propose rest to a considerable extent on the recovery of the material substrata and urban infrastructure of scholastic Paris. The buildings or built spaces I examine no longer exist. The three medieval sites at the heart of my study—the Petit-Pont, the bishop’s palace, and the Street of Straw—can be encountered today only in fragmentary form, gleaned from texts and archival documents. After Haussmann’s modernization of Paris and the loss of entire archives to the vicissitudes of time, the reconstruction of these sites in an archeological sense has become impossible. In combining visual, literary, and archival material, however, it is possible to build up an ekphrastic and kaleidoscopic impression of these sites. Sometimes the smallest and seemingly insignificant detail can tell us as much, if not more, about a place as a physical replica would. For example, the stipulation by the Faculty of Arts that the rules of academic dress at disputations applied not only to the audience inside the lecture hall, but also to those watching through the windows in the street, conjures a vivid scene of a functioning built space in ways that a precise blueprint never could. My dissertation works from these free-floating bits and pieces culled from letters, poems, or legal cases, sometimes no more than a brief reference or a suggestive word, and attempts to link such vignettes into a montage of space-impressions. Almost all of the historical sources I draw upon were gathered and edited by French archivists in the nineteenth century and then mined by generations of historians to write hefty tomes on medieval Paris and its university.

For the intents and purposes of most historians the ordinance about sartorial rules mentioned above would seem useless archival chatter.

For my particular interests, that chatter is all I have, and I have learned to listen and value it on its own terms. It needs to be addressed here that my sources are sometimes of a later period. This again, reflects the very real problem of the immeasurable loss of material remains and archival documentation. Regarding twelfth-century Paris and its urban schools—that is, before the scholastic community developed its institutional and bureaucratic apparatus, i.e. the university—systematic documentary practices were not even in place yet. In the case of the twelfth-century Petit-Pont, the earliest Parisian tax records (*tailles*) dating to the end of the thirteenth century may still hold clues to architectural disposition a century earlier (ch. 2).<sup>4</sup> In the field of prosopography and social history, William Courtenay has produced seminal studies of the Faculty of Arts culled from the earliest significant corpus of documents dating to the early fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The temporal gap between my sources and interest in the architecture and spatial practices is most pronounced in my examination of the schools of the Faculty of Arts in the Street of Straw (ch. 4), which makes extensive use of mid- to late-fourteenth century faculty meeting notes. In this case, it can be reasonably assumed that the street and its architecture did not significantly differ from a century earlier; perhaps a third or fourth floor was added to an older structure, two buildings conjoined, a new house erected on an empty lot, or a derelict one abandoned.

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<sup>4</sup> Richard H. Rouse, and Mary A. Rouse. *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*. Turnhout: H. Miller, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> William J. Courtenay. *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

This dissertation's objective is not to provide a history of medieval Paris, of Scholasticism, or of the University of Paris. I have aspired to be as economical as possible in the presentation of the historical context and specialized subject matters and only delve into the complexities of certain subjects where indispensable for the argument at hand. There are a number of excellent accounts of all facets under consideration here, which I indicate for consultation in the footnotes. To a reader familiar with these topics, there will be some glaring omissions in the chapters that follow. To name but a few: I do not address the university strike of 1229 or the bull *Parens Scientiarum*, the 'founding' document of the University of Paris. There is no discussion of university seals; the modern figurehead of Scholasticism, Thomas Aquinas, goes entirely unmentioned. I touch on the Franciscan and Dominican Orders only in passing. I have taken up the issue of academic dress and sartorial code only selectively and in relation to particular contexts, even though it is an important constituent of how Scholasticism established a visible presence in the public spaces of the city. Conspicuously absent, especially for a study that claims to be about scholastic spaces, are the mendicant studia, the Collège des Bernardins, the Collège de Sorbonne, and other secular colleges, except as foils to my exploration of the non-purpose-built spaces of scholastic activity, as I explain in more detail in chapter 4. To be sure, future iterations of this project will have to address these buildings, sites, and communities with greater care. Similarly, in the future I wish to explore taverns and extra-academic student culture. I had intended to include a chapter devoted to the sounds and soundscapes of Scholasticism, a fascinating and richly documented aspect yet to be explored by scholars but rest contented with selective discussions interspersed throughout the chapters.

The list of omissions is long. But so, too, is the list of things excavated here or brought into a fresh light: Adam of Balsham, a brilliant and once famous philosopher now all but

forgotten, takes centerstage in the first two chapters; the Petit-Pont, which thus far has existed in the deep shadow of the Grand-Pont, is restored to the limelight in my analysis of Paris's twelfth-century topography. Chapter Three brings back into view the graduation ceremonies in the bishop's *aula* and the episcopal prison for professors and students. The most substantial contribution to our understanding of the scholastic landscape is made in Chapter 4, which explores the schools of the Faculty of Arts in the Street of Straw—Europe's center of philosophy for well over a hundred years, yet entirely overlooked in scholarship. In addition, the dissertation assembles, examines, and hopes to bring to broader attention a plethora of visual, textual, and archival material little known and often unpublished or untranslated. The immediate purchase of this approach is a defamiliarization of Scholasticism and, more important, the opportunity to challenge established ideas and narratives, formulate new questions, and seek out new avenues of inquiry.

The dissertation is organized into five chapters that proceed in a roughly chronological order. The first two chapters treat Scholasticism's pre-university period in the twelfth century. A handful of biographical accounts by famous masters, most notably Peter Abelard and John of Salisbury, have largely shaped modern perceptions of the early culture of Scholasticism. As rich and exciting as these writings are, they provide few insights into the issues that lie at the heart of my project: the visual-material culture, spaces of learning, material practices of scholars, and changing urban habitat of Parisian scholars. In other words, I am concerned with what the scholastic project looked like to contemporaries and how its image was variously formed, negotiated, and contested.

To pursue these questions, I turn to Magister Adam of Balsham, who came to Paris around 1120 and established one of the city's—indeed, one of medieval Europe's—leading

schools of dialectic on the Petit-Pont. Chapter One undertakes close study of a single object; a book of logic, belonging to Adam or one of his followers, that is prefaced by a drawing of the personification of Dialectic surrounded by four famous philosophers: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Master Adam. At stake in this exceptional miniature was a bold attempt to articulate, in visual terms, the intellectual self-image of Master Adam, and, implicitly, the incipient scholastic project more broadly, as Adam envisioned it. Twelfth-century dialectic was as much about mastering the Aristotelian logical corpus as it was about re-fashioning it to meet the demands and ambitions of the present. In this sense, then, I examine the drawing not merely a visual frontispiece to a compendium of logical texts, but also a self-conscious prefatory visual summation of the scholastic project as that project was itself coming into intensive focus.

Having outlined the contours of the early scholastic project in the first chapter, chapter Two looks beyond the pages of the Darmstadt manuscript to examine the urban and architectural environment that Adam and his followers inhabited. Taking the reader into the bustling place that was the medieval Petit-Pont, this chapter makes the first attempt to recover and consider Scholasticism in its urban, lived, and experienced forms. In this task, we have to contend with near total lack of documentation of the specific locations of private schools, an empirical problem that is further compounded by the imprecise documentation of the built fabric of twelfth-century Paris. Drawing on an array of previously untapped visual, archival, and literary sources, the chapter sketches a fragmentary but vivid portrayal of the complex spatial and social environment of the Petit-Pont and the imbrication of intellectual pursuits with the quotidian, day to day life supported by the bridge. As I show, Adam's choice to locate his school on the Petit-Pont was deliberate and consequential. The intellectual practice—and, indeed, performance—of Adam's school in the open space of the bridge was an integral component of its identity and self-

image in the mold of Athens's Peripatetics. The chapter further argues that place and thought intersected in the pedagogical practice of illustrating logical concepts by means of *exempla*, which masters invented and deployed to vivify abstract teachings. In Adam's school we discover a highly localized and self-consciously modeled instantiation of Scholasticism, quite different from both the cathedral school and the mobile, even nomadic, school of Peter Abelard, which dominate modern accounts of twelfth-century scholastic culture.

Paris's urban private schools, like Adam's on the Petit-Pont, were, institutionally—if not intellectually—satellites of the great Cathedral School of Notre-Dame located in the bishop's cloister and supervised by the bishop's subordinate, the chancellor of Notre-Dame. In Chapter Three, I shift focus to examine the role of the bishop in his palace complex on the south side of the cathedral, the ecclesial seat of authority over the scholastic community. This chapter occupies a linchpin position in the chronological span of the dissertation, as it marks the transition from the era of the twelfth-century schools to the thirteenth century, when the institution of the University of Paris slowly began to emerge. This period witnessed a profound change in the power of the bishopric in relation to its authority over the masters active in its diocese; over the course of the first decades of the thirteenth century, bishop and school, once the center of scholastic Paris, were pushed to the margins. The aim of this chapter is to situate the bishop's contested scholastic authority—usually attributed to abstract jurisdictional and institutional-historical developments—in the physical site of the episcopal palace and to examine several of its manifest forms, including academic ceremonies, legal trials, and public sculpture. When considered together, the visual, performative, and architectural articulations of episcopal identity reveal a dynamic and disputed site under constant tension, in which dialogue, negotiation, struggle, and conflict between scholars and bishop played out in manifold ways. The



palace, I argue, was the place in which the bishop sought to mediate and amplify special claims or prerogatives over the university. Whether through conciliatory or aggressive modes of representation and mediation, Parisian bishops strove to critique—as well as to impress their vision on—the scholastic project and its actors.

Chapter Four investigates what became the new center of scholastic Paris; the seat of the Faculty of Arts (later, Faculty of Philosophy) in the Street of Straw (*rue du Fouarre*) on the Left Bank. When, in the 1220s, Arts masters and students formed the *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*—an academic guild of sorts—the scholastic center of gravity shifted to the newly urbanized Left Bank. The bishop’s palace, previously the uncontested intellectual and administrative center of Paris’s schools, now found itself on the margins as the Left Bank transformed into the university quarter. It was on the Street of Straw, situated immediately across from the bishop’s palace, that the newly incorporated academic community operated its classrooms and lecture halls within pre-existing residential buildings. Importantly, I argue that it was the urban streets, the interstitial spaces and the connective urban tissue that constituted the thirteenth-century university, facilitating not only movement, commerce, and social interaction, but also enabling a particular mode of academic exchange and scholastic identity. In excavating this hitherto neglected component of the university’s spaces, I show that the ecclesiastics’ anxiety over heterodoxy and the episcopacy’s efforts to police philosophical discourse were directly related to the loose spatial configuration of the Faculty of Arts. In the concluding section, I turn to one of the Faculty’s most notorious masters, Jean de Jandun, in whose encomium of the Faculty of Arts (1323) the Street of Straw is the celebrated, exemplary, and physically realized paradigm of the scholastic project—the poetic culmination of a decades-long

institutional and ideological tug of war over the question of what reason-based philosophy ought to be and what the right forms of the pursuit of truth ought to look like.

In the fifth and final chapter, various themes and insights introduced in prior chapters converge, with a new dynamic, in my examination of the early fourteenth-century *Vie de Saint Denis* manuscript, a luxuriously illuminated life of St. Dionysius made by the Abbey of Saint-Denis for King Philip IV. Through a close analysis of the manuscript's miniatures, I argue that the manuscript presents a revisionist account of the scholastic project, superbly embedded in and mediated through the life of the abbey's patron saint. Focusing on the first volume of the manuscript (BnF, MS fr. 2090), I consider how it refashions Dionysius into a proto-scholastic and model Christian scholar. I then examine the theme of idolatry in relation to faithless philosophy, both as it is depicted in the manuscript's text and illuminations and reprised in contemporary debates over scholastic orthodoxy and dissent. Finally, I situate the *Vie de Saint Denis* within the contemporary atmosphere and events that informed its making and were of crucial importance to the manuscript's intended recipient, the king of France.

CHAPTER ONE  
DIALECTIC IN MAJESTY

The imposing personification of *Dialectica* in a deceptively modest pen drawing presents a proud testimony to the enthusiasm for logic, the object of scholars' passionate fascination in the first half of the twelfth century (fig. 1.1).<sup>1</sup> The drawing is the frontispiece to a compendium of logic made in or near Paris around 1140 (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282).<sup>2</sup> Standing on a bejeweled stool, veiled, crowned, and clad in courtly attire, *Dialectica* cuts the solemn figure of a queen (fig. 1.2). The two curious items she brandishes like royal insignia—a coiling serpent and a logical table wrought into a floral diagram surmounted by a cross—reference, rather than replicate, the traditional attributes ascribed to Dialectic by Martianus Capella. Complementing her regal trappings, the small caption above her head,

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<sup>1</sup> Some medieval authors distinguish logic and dialectic, defining dialectic as a subdiscipline of logic; others use them interchangeably. See P. Michaud-Quantin, “L’emploi des termes *logica et dialectica* au Moyen Age,” in id., *Etudes sur le vocabulaire philosophique du Moyen Age*, Lessico Intellettuale Europeo 5 (Rome, 1992), 59–72. The meaning of logic in Abelard is discussed in Maria Teresa Beonio-Brocchieri Fumagalli, *The Logic of Abelard*, trans. Simon Pleasance, Reprint of the original 1969 edition (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 13–27, esp. 23 n.6. See also Peter Abelard and Lambert Marie de Rijk, *Dialectica. First complete edition of the Parisian manuscript* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), xxiii–xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> See Kurt Hans Staub and Hermann Knaus, *Bibelhandschriften, Ältere theologische Texte*, vol. 4, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979), cat. no. 156, 245–246; *Die Sammlungen des Baron von Hüpsch* (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1964), cat. no. 60. With bibliography until 1985: Anton Legner, ed., *Ornamenta ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, vol. 1 (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1985), cat. A 13, 67–68. The frontispiece is discussed in Laura Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe c.1100-1220*, Boydell Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2016), 109–113. On the (small) corpus of comparable logic books from the twelfth century, see John Marenbon and Catarina Tarlazzi, “Logic,” in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 215–39, with the Darmstadt manuscript mentioned at 217. The manuscript is fully digitized and accessible: <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-2282>

*dial(ecti)ca d(omi)na*, bestows on her a title most commonly associated with Mary, the *domina nostra Dei*, and occasionally applied to Theology, the queen of medieval science who keeps the seven sisters of the liberal arts as handmaids.<sup>3</sup>

In Biblical exegesis, the supreme work of the human mind in the pursuit of truth, the liberal arts were considered an indispensable means for the correct interpretation of scripture, yet never in its own right, but as instruments of theological science.<sup>4</sup> Ultimate truth, it was thought, had been ‘revealed’ in scripture. In fact, however, it had to be culled from its (sacred) pages, in a laborious operation and open-ended process (called *sacra pagina*) in which word after word was turned over with the greatest care, meditated, and its multiple meanings hiding underneath meticulously considered and expounded. Put succinctly, in the twelfth century, with the import of Aristotle into the Latin West, an alternative path presented itself in the pursuit of truth: dialectic—the art and method of logical reasoning and debate—shifted focus to the rational

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<sup>3</sup> Encapsulated in the common phrase “*philosophia ancilla theologiae*.” See Malcolm de Mowbray, “Philosophy as Handmaid of Theology: Biblical Exegesis in the Service of Scholarship,” *Traditio* 59, no. 1 (2004): 1–37. Peter Abelard, the pioneer of twelfth-century logic, proclaimed that the purpose of the study of grammar and dialectics should be to guide us to theology, “as though by servants to their mistress (*domina*).” *Domina* or *dominatrix* are terms that Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus reserve for the divine science (ibid., 20, 25). In Letter 70, Jerome, confessing his admiration for secular wisdom philosophy for the “fairness of her form and the grace of her eloquence,” asked whether it is at all surprising that he desires “to make that secular wisdom which is my captive and my handmaid, a matron of the true Israel? Or that shaving off and cutting away all in her that is dead whether this be idolatry, pleasure, error, or lust, I take her to myself clean and pure and beget by her servants for the Lord of Sabaoth?” On the medieval relationship between theology and the liberal arts, see Bernard McGinn, “Regina Quondam...,” *Speculum* 83, no. 4 (2008): 817–39.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Didascalicon*, most prominently, Hugh of St-Victor, perhaps the most respected theologian and brilliant exegete in Paris in the second quarter of the twelfth century, laid out a detailed systemic program for the proper use of, and coordination between the liberal arts with respect to the work of theology and the interpretation of sacred scripture. See Ivan Illich, *In The Vineyard Of The Text: A Commentary To Hugh’s Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

intellect of the creature of man.<sup>5</sup> As Aristotelian dialectic merged with Christian paradigms of knowledge, human reason was no longer merely critical for its methodological application to the understanding of external reality; as the most perfect likeness of God, the human faculty of rational thought was increasingly appreciated and investigated as a power that contained, within itself, the fundamental principles of reality.<sup>6</sup> Logic and the power of logical reasoning was exclusively found in the human mind, and hence itself a more than worthy, quasi-sacred object of study. This is not to say that the study of God's word was thereby made obsolete—far from it—but it fundamentally changed the terms of engagement, laying the foundations of a Christian-Aristotelian epistemology that expected, indeed demanded of truth and doctrine to accord with logic, for logic, after all, was the tool given to man to apprehend divine verities and, through it, ascend to God. This, then, is what the Darmstadt frontispiece's majestic figure of *Dialectica* presents: a vision of dialectic emancipated from the tutelage of theology—elevated from maid to queen as it were—which forcefully projected the confidence and optimism twelfth-century logicians placed in the revolutionized discipline of dialectic as a novel method of coming to a closer understanding of universal truth.

The vision of dialectic in the Darmstadt frontispiece also engages, and particularizes, the discipline's historical and temporal dimension: at each corner surrounding the central figure of dialectic, philosophers sit casually cross-legged on their chairs. Facing each other in pairs across

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<sup>5</sup> Among the vast literature on this topic, see, for an introduction and overview, Sten Ebbesen, "The Reception of Aristotle in the 12th Century: Logic," in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter*, 2005, 493–512; M. Cameron, "Logica Vetus," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Logic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> See Dominique Poirel, "Scholastic Reasons, Monastic Meditations and Victorine Conciliations: The Question of the Unity and Plurality of God in the Twelfth Century," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Trinity*, ed. Gilles Emery and Matthew Levering (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 166–180.

the page, they are engaged in debate with their opposites, pointing and gesticulating toward each other. Captions identify the upper two as Plato and Aristotle.<sup>7</sup> In the bottom left corner resides Socrates facing the fourth figure labeled *magist[er] ada[m]*. The title of *magister* establishes the figure as a medieval schoolman.<sup>8</sup> No visible traits distinguish them: Adam and Socrates mirror each other in both physiognomy and dress. As a matter of fact, the grouping of a modern master with the triad of antiquity's greatest philosophers is without precedent or progeny in medieval art. More striking still is that the Athenian *auctoritates* have admitted Adam, not as a disciple, but as an equal, into their midst, forming a philosophical quartet. The antique philosophers are rendered not as hieratic emanations of a distant past but are depicted as alive in the here-and-now, engaging in a lively conversation defined in neither time nor space.

The figure labeled *magister adam* represents, almost certainly, Adam of Balsham (c. 1100–c.1155), an English logician who came to Paris around 1120 for the sake of study and became one of the leading Aristotelians of his generation, certainly in Paris.<sup>9</sup> After attaining the title of magister and his license to teach from the bishop of Paris, Adam set up a private school of dialectic on the Petit-Pont (*pons parvus*), the only medieval bridge spanning the Seine to connect the Ile de la Cité and the Left Bank. Because of the location of his school, Adam was accorded

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<sup>7</sup> On medieval representations of Plato and other ancient philosophers, see David Knipp, "Medieval Visual Images of Plato," in *The Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages. A Doxographic Approach*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 373–414.

<sup>8</sup> On the title of *magister* see, Olga Weijers, *Terminologie des universités au XIIIe siècle* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987), 133–160.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of Master Adam of Balsham's life and philosophy, see Raymond Klibansky, "Balsham, Adam of (1100x02?–1157x69?)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37095>; John Marenbon, "Adam of the Petit-Pont," in *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie: Das 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Laurent Cesalli and Ruedi Imbach (Basel: Schwabe, forthcoming). I thank John Marenbon for sharing with me his entry on Adam before its publication.

the toponymical sobriquet *Parvipontanus*, and his students were collectively referred to as *Parvipontani* or *Adamite*. In the modern history of medieval philosophy, his name has fallen into obscurity, and today he is rarely recognized with more than a footnote in relevant literature. By accounts from his own time, however, Adam was a revered teacher and a leading protagonist in the Parisian hub of Scholasticism, and his school, which endured until the end of the twelfth or the early thirteenth century, ranked among Paris's five leading schools of dialectic.<sup>10</sup>

In his treatise *On Dialectic* (1115/1120), Peter Abelard named seven logical treatises essential to the study of dialectic: Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories* and *On Interpretation*, and Boethius's *On Division*, *On Different Topics*, *On the Hypothetical Syllogisms*, and *On the Categorical Syllogism*.<sup>11</sup> Collectively, these works are known as the *Old Logic* (*logica vetus*); they constitute the core of ancient logical treatises available in the Latin West before the end of the twelfth century.<sup>12</sup> The Darmstadt manuscript is one of ten manuscripts of the twelfth century containing the complete *Old Logic* known today.<sup>13</sup> Measuring 261 mm x

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<sup>10</sup> David Bloch deemed its virtual absence from modern surveys of twelfth-century thought "curious": "John of Salisbury, Adam of Balsham and the Cornifician Problem," *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin, Université de Copenhague* 79 (2010): 10 n.17.

<sup>11</sup> John Marenbon and Catarina Tarlazzi, "Logic," in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, 2018, 215.

<sup>12</sup> There is some disagreement over what texts precisely constitute the Old Logic. See M. Cameron, "Logica Vetus," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Logic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 195–219. Cf Alexander Neckam's—a student of Adam's school—description of the canon of the liberal arts: "Then when he [a student] desires to give serious attention to the liberal arts, let him hear the *De syllogismo categorico* published by Boethius, as well as his *Topica* and *Liber de divisione*, Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Sophistical Refutations*, *Prior Analytics*, his *Apodoxim*, and *Topics*, and Cicero's *Topica*, and Apuleius' book *On Interpretation*. Let him look carefully at the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, and at his *Generation and Corruption* and the book *On the Soul*." Quoted after Rita. Copeland and I. Sluiter, eds., *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300 -1475* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 538.

<sup>13</sup> The treatises are: 2r–6r: Porphyry, *Isagoge*; 6r–13v: Aristotle, *Categories*; 13v–18r: Aristotle, *De Interpretatione*; 18r–23r: Boethius, *De divisione*, 23v–33v: Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*;

135 mm, the slim volume comprises sixty-one folios. It is bound in a single piece of goat leather wrapped around the body of the book (fig. 1.3).<sup>14</sup> Lined with a decorative red strip along its edges, the leather cover terminates in a flap that could be folded around the front-edge and there secured with two leather thongs.<sup>15</sup> The historical term for such soft bindings is *sine asseribus* (“without support”).<sup>16</sup> Medieval paperbacks of sorts, manuscripts bound *sine asseribus* formed a distinct type from books outfitted with the more common, bulkier and heavier, wooden stiff-board covers. Rare to survive, the *sine asseribus* type of binding was popular in the scholastic milieu. The leather wrapping offered decent protection and its flexibility had certain advantages, including reducing the risk of warping from exposure to water. Sometimes referred to in medieval library catalogs as *libri ligati more studentium* (“books bound in the manner of students”), manuscripts in limp bindings were, like the Darmstadt manuscript, typically of modest size, light and easily portable.<sup>17</sup> These were the *vademecums* of masters and students, carried around town in all weathers and seasons.

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34r–49r: Boethius: *De syllogismo hypothetico*; 49r–59v: Boethius: *De syllogismo categorico*. In addition, there survive four manuscripts containing six of the seven treatises: John Marenbon and Catarina Tarlazzi, “Logic,” in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 215–39, at 217 and 231.

<sup>14</sup> Hermann Knaus, “Hochmittelalterliche Koperteinbände” *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 8 (1961): 329.

<sup>15</sup> The presence of an earlier set of stitching holes indicates that the current binding is not the original. Yet the similarity of the two stitch patterns attests that the first binding too was of the *sine asseribus* kind. For the binding and ideas about provenance, see Knaus, “Hochmittelalterliche Koperteinbände,” 326–337.

<sup>16</sup> On medieval limp bindings generally, see Janos A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 2007), 285–319; Agnes Scholla, *Libri Sine Asseribus: Zur Einbandtechnik, Form und Inhalt mitteleuropäischer Koperte des 8. bis 14. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden, 2002); eadem, “Early Western Limp Bindings. Report on a Study,” in *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 7*, ed. Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Peter Springborg (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2003), 132–158.

<sup>17</sup> Scholla, *Libri Sine Asseribus*.



I begin this dissertation with the Darmstadt manuscript and its exceptional image of *Domina dialectica* image because it derives from a critical but obscure period of the origins of Scholasticism as it arose in the first decades of the twelfth century. The frontispiece, along with the texts, figured initials, and binding of the Darmstadt manuscript, encompass, in condensed form, some central themes that define this epochal turning point in the intellectual history of medieval Europe; these themes provide a thread that runs through this study. Briefly, to set the scene of the early scholastic movement, let us summon its two principal witnesses who will accompany us in the present and the following chapters: Peter Abelard and John of Salisbury.

The standard bearer of dialecticians, Peter Abelard (1079–1142) arrived in Paris in around 1100, where he first studied at the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame and then started a private school of logic.<sup>18</sup> During the fiery days of his youth, which are vividly portrayed in his *Historia calamitatum*, Abelard propounded some of his most divisive and radical theories on the problem of Universals, and published his infamous *Sic et non*. The rational-critical spirit with which he unscrupulously examined the opinion of Christian authorities caused outrage among traditionalist theologians. The resulting conflict with Bernard of Clairvaux and his companion William of St. Thierry, to which I will return in the present and the following chapter, arguably constitutes the most dramatic episode in the intellectual history of the twelfth century and makes clear the philosophical and religious stakes bound up in the business of dialectic.

Just as Abelard's early work propelled the intellectual project of dialectic, his fame (and notoriety), which he acquired from altercations with his teacher and other scholars, put Paris in the limelight and drew scores of students and masters to the city. John of Salisbury (1120–1180),

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<sup>18</sup> The literature on Abelard is vast. My principal guide to his life and work has been Michael T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1997).

the principal source and commentator of Parisian intellectual life, had studied in Paris the length and breadth of the liberal arts for over twelve years, from 1136 to 1148, and served as Archbishop Thomas Becket's secretary.<sup>19</sup> He is the author of the *Metalogicon*, a sort of guidebook and critical commentary of the discipline and practice of logic in its mid-twelfth century state; it also has a strong biographical component, interlaced with personal experiences and descriptions of his studies in Paris, on which I will draw on occasion.<sup>20</sup>

John mentions Adam on several occasions in the *Metalogicon*. John probably met Adam around 1136–1138, who was twenty years or so his senior. John tells us that he “came to be on close terms of friendship with Master Adam, a man of the most penetrating intellect and, whatever others may think, a man of wide reading, who devoted himself pre-eminently to Aristotle.”<sup>21</sup> John was close to Adam—he affectionately calls him “our friend Adam”—and even though he was not his student, “he was kind enough to impart his knowledge to me, and to confide in me to a considerable degree, something which he did to no one else, or at most to a few pupils of other scholars.”<sup>22</sup> John reports that they had many conversations, exchanging books with each other, and conferring almost daily on philosophical problems. He says he learned a great deal from Adam, but, in the same breath, insists that he disagreed with many of his opinions.<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere in the *Metalogicon*, John expresses his frustration with Adam for clinging too religiously to the

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<sup>19</sup> On John of Salisbury, see Christophe Grellard and Frédérique Lachaud, eds., *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, vol. 57, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Leyden: Brill, 2015).

<sup>20</sup> Its edition and translation have both appeared in the *Corpus Christianorum* series: John B. Hall and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Ioannis Saresberiensis: Metalogicon*, vol. 98, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), henceforth *Metalogicon* (CCCM); John B. Hall and Julian P. Haseldine, *John of Salisbury: Metalogicon*, *Corpus Christianorum in Translation* 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), henceforth *Metalogicon* (CCiT).

<sup>21</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.10, 200.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT), III.3, 255.

letter of Aristotle's *Analytics*, and for being deliberately obscure in his teachings so as to appear subtle, and for wasting his efforts in trying to make sense of every last obscure sentence and word of this convoluted and difficult work.<sup>24</sup>

What light can the Darmstadt frontispiece shed on this period of intellectual ferment and upheaval? As the following pages seek to show, the unprecedented *Dialectica* image is a bold attempt to articulate, in visual terms, the intellectual self-image of Master Adam in particular, and, implicitly, the scholastic project more broadly. The image's strangeness and innovative nature reflect the sense of newness and experimentation that pervaded the community of Paris's dialecticians, and finds clear expression in the opening pages of Adam's major work, the *Ars disserendi*, published in 1132.<sup>25</sup> In this work, it was the author's aim, he declared, to open a new chapter in the study of dialectic and revive the discipline that had flourished antiquity but then had slipped into decline. Adam was among the first of the *moderni*, a label that came to be applied to secular philosophers, to whom Aristotle's Old Logic (the *Organon*) was available in its entirety. The program of revival, as Adam understood it, required mastery of the logical canon and then building on it. The humble submission to Aristotle and Plato that characterized previous centuries gave way to a sense that parity between *antiqui* and *moderni* was possible.<sup>26</sup> The

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<sup>24</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT), IV.3, 290.

<sup>25</sup> Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "The 'Ars Disserendi' of Adam of Balsham 'Parvipontanus,'" *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954): 116–69; Adam Balsamiensis Parvipontani, *Ars Disserendi (Dialectica Alexandri)*, ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, vol. 1, Twelfth Century Logic: Texts and Studies (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956).

<sup>26</sup> On the terms *antiqui* and *moderni* in the context of twelfth-century philosophy, see Peter Godman, *The Silent Masters: Latin Literature and its Censors in the High Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 168–171 esp; Wilfried Hartmann, "'Modernus' Und 'Antiquus': Zur Verbreitung und Bedeutung dieser Bezeichnungen in der Wissenschaftlichen Literatur vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert," in *Antiqui und Moderni*, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 21–39; Elisabeth Gössmann, "'Antiqui' und 'Moderni' im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Antiqui und Moderni*, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974), 40–57; Kent Kraft, "Modernism in the Twelfth Century," *Comparative Literature Studies* 18, no.

*moderni* undertook to continue and correct the work of the ancients.<sup>27</sup> The *Dialectica* drawing's inclusion of a live, contemporary schoolman among the Olympians of classical philosophy strikingly emblemizes ongoing efforts to bring about the renewal of the discipline of dialectic.

The relationship between past and present—threads of continuity and points of transformation—is a theme staged in multifaceted and inventive ways in the Darmstadt drawing. What the drawing depicts is not an intellectual revolution, a rejection of past traditions, or a revolt against the status quo. Rather, it presents Master Adam as an interlocutor with the classical past. In placing Adam in debate with Socrates, it stages the opening of a dialog between twelfth-century and classical knowledge. The cross-temporal dialog even manifests sartorially in the dress worn by *Dialectica*: usually, the personification of dialectic was represented in a classicizing robe connoting her ancient Greek origins. In his *Wedding of Mercury and Philology*,

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3 (1981): 287–95.

<sup>27</sup> A hyperbolic expression of this mood is furnished by Peter the Venerable's epitaph of Peter Abelard which names Abelard "The Socrates of the Gauls, the greatest Plato of the West, our Aristotle; Equal or superior to all other logicians, whoever they may be. Acknowledged prince of worldly studies, subtle, sharp, and diverse in the range of his talents; Best of all in the force of reason and the art of speaking was Abelard. But with far greater distinction as a professed monk of Cluny, He passed over to the philosophy of Christ. Through his long striving, At the end of his life, he won hope of a place with God's philosophers." Mary Martin McLaughlin and Bonnie G Wheeler, *The Letters of Heloise and Abelard. A Translation of Their Collected Correspondence and Related Writings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), letter 19. On Abelard's other epitaphs, see Constant J. Mews and Charles Burnett, "La bibliothèque du paraclet du XIIIe siècle à la révolution," *Studia Monastica* 27 (1985): 31–67.

Compare with Abelard's statement of not wanting to be another Aristotle: "Heloise my sister, once dear to me in the world, now dearest to me in Christ, logic has made me hated by the world. For the perverted, who seek to pervert and whose wisdom is only for destruction, say that I am supreme as a logician, but am found wanting in my understanding of Paul. They proclaim the brilliance of my intellect but detract from the purity of my Christian faith. As I see it, they have reached this judgement by conjecture rather than weight of evidence. I do not wish to be a philosopher if it means conflicting with Paul, nor to be an Aristotle if it cuts me off from Christ." Betty Radice, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), 270. See Jean Jolivet, "Doctrines et figures de philosophes chez Abélard," in *Petrus Abaelardus, 1079 - 1142: Person, Werk und Wirkung*, Trier Theologische Studien 38 (Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 1980), 103–20. See also, *Metalogicon* (CCiT), III.4, 257.

Martianus Capella describes her as “wearing the dress and cloak of Athens.”<sup>28</sup> The maker of the Darmstadt drawing, however, clad her in an unmistakably modern type of dress, a *bliaut gironé*, which in fact became fashionable in French court culture in the 1130s.<sup>29</sup> This change in form, if not in substance, has an echo in Master Adam’s coinage of new logical terms to replace certain

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<sup>28</sup> See below. On the representation of the personifications of the liberal arts, see Michael Stolz, *Artes-liberales-Zyklen: Formationen des Wissens im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: A. Francke, 2004); Michael Evans, *Personifications of the Artes from Martianus Capella up to the End of the Fourteenth Century. I 1* (London, 1970); Michael Evans, “Allegorical Women and Practical Men: The Iconography of the Artes Reconsidered,” in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker and Rosalind M. T. Hill, Subsidia 1 (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1978), 305–329. Jutta Tezmen-Siegel, *Die Darstellungen der septem artes liberales in der bildenden Kunst als Rezeption der Lehrplangeschichte* (Munich: Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1985); Laura Cleaver, “The Liberal Arts in Sculpture and Metalwork and Ideals of Education in the Twelfth Century,” *Immediations*, no. 4 (2007): 57–75; M.-T. d’Alverny, “Le cosmos symbolique du XIIe siècle,” *Archives D’histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire Du Moyen Âge* 20 (1953): 31–81; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, “The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts,” in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, ed. Marshall Clagett, Gaines Post, and Robert Reynolds (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 39–55; Elisabeth Klemm, “Artes Liberales und antike Autoren in der Aldersbacher Sammelhandschrift Clm 2599,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 41, no. 1 (1978): 1–15; Marie-Thérèse D’Alverny, “La sagesse et ses sept filles: recherches sur les allégories de la philosophie et des arts libéraux du IXe au XIIe siècle,” in *Mélanges Félix Grat*, vol. 2, 1949, 245–78; Laura Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe c. 1100-1220*, Boydell Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2016), passim; Michael Masi, “Boethius and the Iconography of the Liberal Arts,” *Latomus* 33, no. 1 (1974): 57–75.

<sup>29</sup> Janet Ellen Snyder writes, “the *bliaut gironé* was made in two pieces with a tight bodice (*cors*) and a skirt (*gironé*) that was finely pleated into a fitted low waistband;” characteristic are also the trumpet-shape sleeves: “From Content to Form: Court Clothing in Mid-Twelfth-Century Northern French Sculpture,” in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress*, The New Middle Ages (New York, 2002), 87. See further Janet Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France: Appearance, Materials, and Significance* (Routledge, 2017). Contemporary representations of the *bliaut gironé* are rare; the jamb figures carved between the 1130s and the 1160s on Northern French cathedrals, in particular Chartres, where many of the sumptuous queens on the west façade are depicted wearing the *bliaut gironé*, are exceptional. Others are found Saint-Denis, Chartres, Bourges, Paris, and Angers. Representations in other media are found in seals of female royalty as Snyder showed. For a critical analysis of the term, see Monica L. Wright, “The Bliaut: An Examination of the Evidence in French Literary Sources,” in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles 14*, ed. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2018), 61–79.

traditional ones, which, he claimed, were ambiguous and prone to cause confusion.<sup>30</sup> The principal achievement and legacy of the medieval scholastics, Michael T. Clanchy maintained, was not so much the translation of ancient Greek works, but the creation of their own language of logic, a project in which Adam was deeply involved and self-consciously invested.<sup>31</sup> Twelfth-century dialectic was as much about mastering the Aristotelian logical corpus as it was about re-fashioning it to meet the demands and ambitions of the present. In this sense, then, I believe that the drawing was to be taken not merely as a frontispiece image to a compendium of logical texts, but equally as much, a prefatory image to the scholastic project as Adam conceived it.

The Darmstadt manuscript is the only visual artifact that can be confidently attributed to Paris's twelfth-century schools of logic over the entire. Whether a unique instance or a lone survivor, the exceptional Darmstadt frontispiece drawing as a visual self-expression of the scholastic movement thus far escaped scholarly notice. Unlike many other art works discussed in this study, the Darmstadt manuscript was not made for a public viewership; it is a personal object that spoke to its owner and his immediate circle, that is, the school of Adam and likely Master Adam himself. In the Darmstadt frontispiece, then, we encounter a unique moment of Scholasticism picturing itself, as it were, an intimate visual manifestation of the intellectual project in its infancy from within one of Paris's leading schools of dialectic.

### The Art of Dialectic

Medieval Christian scholars studied and valued dialectic as one of the three verbal arts of the classical trivium. As first of the arts of the trivium, grammar taught the proper rules and use of

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<sup>30</sup> Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "The 'Ars Disserendi' of Adam of Balsham 'Parvipontanus,'" *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954): 135–136.

<sup>31</sup> Michael T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1997), 99.

(the Latin) language. The art of rhetoric imparted the proper manner and effective technique of verbal discourse. Dialectic instructed its student in how to think and argue according to the principles of logic; in that sense, it was the only of the verbal arts that had particular stakes in the truth value of its content. But to Master Adam and his fellow schoolmen, dialectic held a greater promise: the furnishing of a rule-based methodology for discerning and the establishment of truth.<sup>32</sup> Its adherents professed dialectic as a meta-discipline, a *scientia scientiarum*, a science of sciences.<sup>33</sup> As one anonymous enthusiast proclaimed: “no science can be perfect without [dialectic].”<sup>34</sup>

No one expressed this with greater emphasis than Peter Abelard in his short tract with the

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<sup>32</sup> For an introduction to logic in the twelfth century, I found following surveys helpful: Ian Wilks, “Latin Logic up to 1200,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Logic*, ed. Catarina Dutilh Novaes and Stephen Read (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 94–118; Sten Ebbesen, “The Reception of Aristotle in the 12th Century: Logic,” in *Albertus Magnus und die Anfänge der Aristoteles-Rezeption im lateinischen Mittelalter*, 2005, 493–512; Klaus Jacobi, “Logic: The Later Twelfth Century,” in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 227–51; Christopher J. Martin, “The Development of Logic in the Twelfth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, vol. 1, 2010, 129–45; John Marenbon, “Logic at the Turn of the Twelfth Century,” in *Handbook of the History of Logic: Mediaeval and Renaissance Logic*, ed. Dov M. Gabbay and John Woods (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008), 65–82; Margaret Cameron, “The Development of Early Twelfth Century Logic: A Reconsideration,” in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XIe et XIIe siècles*, 2011, 677–94.

<sup>33</sup> Klaus Jacobi, “Diale[c]tica est ars artium, scientia scientiarum,” in *Scientia und ars im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Albert Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ingrid Craemer-Ruegenberg and Andreas Speer, vol. 1, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia 22* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 307–28.

<sup>34</sup> In a late twelfth-century logical treatise titled *Logica ‘cum sine nostra.’* There it says: “Principium dicitur quia primum est in arte; preceptum quia precipit sic facere; maxima quia maximam habet potestatem; regula quia regit artificem; dignitas quia dignius est in arte.” In classical dialectical fashion, the anonymous author first poses and then refutes the claim that theology is the *scientia scientiarum*, because “nulla scientia perfecte scitur sine illa [*i.e.* dialectic].” Lambert Marie de Rijk, *Logica Modernorum: A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, vol. 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), 417.

telling title *To an Ignoramus in Dialectic* (c.1130).<sup>35</sup> Abelard wrote this impassioned apologia of dialectic against those detractors, who, “since they cannot attain the capacity of dialectical reasoning, curse it in such a way that they reckon all its teachings to be sophisms and deceptions rather than consider them to be forms of reason.”<sup>36</sup> It has been proposed, with good reason, I believe, that behind the epistolary treatise’s nameless *destinataire*—the ignoramus in dialectic—stood none other than Bernard of Clairvaux who, without much understanding of dialectic (as he himself was all but ashamed of admitting), had run a relentless prosecution of Abelard for his logical investigations of the Trinity.<sup>37</sup> In a first step of the apologia, Abelard summoned Augustine and other doctors of the Church, who commended dialectic for the study of Scripture, to his defense. More striking, and provocative, however, is his ensuing argument about the intrinsic relation between Logos and logic: “We will be truer disciples of Christ, who is the truth, by that much more as we attain greater power in the truth of reasoning.”<sup>38</sup> Dialectic, he continues, “seems to relate very much to [Christ],” and “just as Christians seem properly to be so called from Christ, so is logic from *logos*.”<sup>39</sup> Abelard reiterates this point in the *Soliloquium*, where he proclaims that “according to the etymology of the word (*logos*), all those who cling to

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<sup>35</sup> I am using the translation by Jan M. Ziolkowski, trans., *Letters of Peter Abelard, Beyond the Personal* (Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 179–187, with commentary at 175–178. See, further, Peter Abelard and Lambert Marie de Rijk, *Dialectica. First complete edition of the Parisian manuscript* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), xciii–xcv; Constant J. Mews, “Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument,” in *Essays John O. Ward*, 2003, 37–53; Alex J. Novikoff, “Peter Abelard and Disputation: A Reexamination,” *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 32, no. 4 (November 1, 2014): 341–343.

<sup>36</sup> Ziolkowski, trans., *Letters of Peter Abelard*, 179.

<sup>37</sup> Novikoff suggests as much in “Peter Abelard and Disputation,” 341. I believe Michael Clanchy also proposed Bernard as the addressee in *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, but I have been unable to confirm this.

<sup>38</sup> Ziolkowski, trans., *Letters of Peter Abelard*, 183.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 185. See Abelard’s letter to the bishop of Paris, where he calls his former teacher—and accused heretic—Roscelin a pseudo-Christian and a pseudodialectician (*ibid.*, Letter 14, 196).



this true and perfect word through doctrine and love, should truly be called logicians as well as philosophers, and no discipline ought more truly be called ‘logic’ than Christian doctrine.”<sup>40</sup>

Abelard casts logicians as the followers of the Logos, but more sharply still, he declares logic the hallmark of Christian doctrine, because logic directly emanates from God Logos.

In the *Letter to an Ignoramus*, Abelard goes on to argue that the logical nature of Christ is manifest also in the Word’s incarnate state. He points out that Christ not only worked through miracles, but also acted as a logician in his repeated disputations with the Jews, and that, at Pentecost, Christ made his disciples through the gift of wisdom into “highest logicians in disputing.”<sup>41</sup> Finally, Abelard makes the case that because “miraculous signs have now run short,” the opponents of the faith have to be defeated by words, “especially since among people of discernment reasoning carries greater force than miracles.”<sup>42</sup> What Abelard seems to imply here is that a new era has dawned upon Christianity, the era of logic, that is, in which dialecticians have to shoulder the work of persuasion performed by miracles in previous times; those old-fangled minds who still think that the foes of Christianity may be defeated by supernatural proofs are stuck in the miraculous past.

### ***Majestas Dominae***

The Darmstadt image of dialectic presents a very similar line of argument Abelard pursued in his *Letter to an Ignoramus* about logic’s intrinsic connection to Logos. A viewer generally familiar

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<sup>40</sup> “Hinc, et iuxta nominis ethimologiam, quicumque huic vero ac perfecto verbo per doctrinam et amorem coherent, vere logici sicut et philosophi dicendi sunt, nullaue disciplina verius logica dici debet quam Christiana doctrina.” Charles Burnett, “Peter Abelard *Soliloquium*. A Critical Edition,” *Studi Medievali* 25 (1984): 889 (Latin), 893 (English).

<sup>41</sup> Ziolkowski, trans., *Letters of Peter Abelard*, 184–185.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

with medieval art will discern that, for all its unconventionality, the Darmstadt frontispiece is a pastiche-work of medieval sacred iconography. Most conspicuously, the compositional arrangement of an exalted central figure attended by four minor seated figures in the corners is patently modeled on *Majestas Domini* images: Christ enthroned and framed by the figures of the four Evangelists (either in human or symbolic form, or in combination)—an iconic and theologically sophisticated articulation of Christ Logos in the guise of a monarch.

From the Carolingian era to the end of the twelfth century, the *Majestas Domini* was a preeminent theme in religious art, sprawling across media from façade sculpture, apse mosaics, and wall painting, to metalwork, ivory reliefs, and book art, and slightly shifting its meaning as it did so.<sup>43</sup> In evoking the *Majestas* type, the Darmstadt frontispiece appropriated an iconic image of the highest, most sacred order, boldly staging the deification and apotheosis of a secular science with a paganist baggage.

The *Majestas* iconography evolved in illuminated Carolingian and Romanesque Bibles and Evangeliaries.<sup>44</sup> Its visual conception was prompted by Jerome's prologue to the Gospels

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<sup>43</sup> On the *Majestas domini* iconography, see Frederik van der Meer, *Majestas Domini: théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien* (Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1938), esp. 315–351. Anne-Orange Poilpré, *Majestas Domini: une image de l'Eglise en Occident, Ve-IXe siècle* (Editions du CERF, 2005); Michel Fromaget, *Majestas Domini: Les Quatre vivants de l'Apocalypse dans l'art* (Brepols, 2003), complimented by Søren Kaspersen, "Majestas Domini, Regnum et Sacerdotium. Zu Entstehung und Leben des Motivs bis zum Investiturstreit," *Hafnia* 8 (1981): 83–146.

<sup>44</sup> On the evolution of the *Majestas* motif in Touronian Bibles, see Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 36–58. A recent thorough study with up-to-date bibliographies is: Peter Darby, "The Codex Amiatinus *Majestas Domini* and the Gospel Prefaces of Jerome," *Speculum* 92, no. 2 (2017): 343–71. Specifically on the significance of geometry, see Anna C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Amsterdam ; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1978); Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Schnell & Steiner, 2003), 222–260; and Herbert L. Kessler, "Medietas / Mediator and the Geometry of Incarnation," ed. Walter S. Melion and Lee Palmer Wandel, *Image and Incarnation*, 2015, 15–75.

where he demonstrates the authenticity and harmony of the four Gospels by means of the very two passages—the theophanies of Ezekiel and John the Evangelist—that inform the *Majestas* theme.<sup>45</sup> Iconic seals of approval, the *Majestas* frontispieces proclaim the Gospels’ divine imprimatur. In the hands of Carolingian theologians and artists, the *Majestas* came to expand on Jerome, contrived into an artifact of visual theology about the dual nature of Christ, the enfleshed Word. The Gospels frontispiece in the First Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1.), presented to Charles in 849, exemplifies an influential type of *Majestas* as developed in the grand Touronian Bibles in the Carolingian period (fig. 1.4).<sup>46</sup> Set within a figure-eight shaped frame, the enthroned Christ perches on a cosmic disc, holding a book in his left hand and a small circular object—a host—in the fingers between his right.<sup>47</sup> The book that Christ is holding—here pictured open, in other examples closed—stands for his ‘logical’ nature, the “scripture of Truth” (Dan. 10:21).<sup>48</sup> The vision of Christ is flanked by the Evangelist symbols, and joined by four Old Testament prophets placed within the roundels of the great vertical lozenge. The border of the lozenge separates the heavens from the outer earthly sphere, where the Evangelists reside in the corners. Seated on elaborate scribal furniture, equipped with quills and inkhorns, they are penning the Gospels in liquid gold.

In this verbal revelation of Christ Logos through the pens and precious ink of the inspired scribes, the four Evangelists are human conduits in a divine process of self-mediation. Captured

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<sup>45</sup> Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 40–41.

<sup>46</sup> Paul Edward Dutton and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); and Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God’s Invisibility in Medieval Art* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), ch. 7.

<sup>47</sup> See Kessler, “Medietas / Mediator and the Geometry of Incarnation,” 55–65.

<sup>48</sup> See James Finn Cotter, “The Book within the Book in Mediaeval Illumination,” *Florilegium* 12 (1993): 108–117.

in the act of writing, the pictured Evangelists transmit the Word to the page, not as authors in the strict sense but as the secretaries or copyists of Christ, as it were. In this pictured translation of the Word into words, the *Majestas* miniature demonstrates the creation of the Gospels.

In a similar fashion, the Darmstadt philosophers function like “secularized Evangelists,” translating Dialectic in the image’s center into human terms, though with the significant difference that they do so by their own discursive rational power rather than inspired dictation. Gesturing in animated debate they are actors, not human quills.<sup>49</sup> The actualization of the art of dialectic is presented here not as a completed process but an ongoing project spanning historical time and space—from ancient Athens to present-day Paris, from Socrates to Magister Adam.

The power and brilliance of the *Majestas Domini* as frontispiece to Gospel books is rooted in a circle of self-referencing, as it dramatizes the sanctity of the book itself: Christ is simultaneously present in figural representation, the symbol of the book, and the material object that is the Evangeliary.<sup>50</sup> The Darmstadt manuscript picks up and creatively employs this complex scheme of mise-en-abyme to its own ends. The art of dialectic is present figuratively in the allegorical personification of Dialectic; the dialectic method is represented diagrammatically by Tree of Porphyry table; and the lessons imparted by the science is physically present in the compendium of ancient texts of near superhuman intelligence that the manuscript enshrines.

A *Majestas Domini* is also featured in the second volume of the roughly contemporary

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<sup>49</sup> Adolf Katzenellenbogen referred to the philosopher figures of the liberal arts at Chartres as secularized Evangelists. See idem, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), 21.

<sup>50</sup> Ivory panels featuring the *Majestas* set in book covers reified the identification of the physical volume with Christ Logos. See the examples in Robert Berger, *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus in der romanischen Kunst* (Gryphius-Verlag, 1926), figs 27–33.

Chartres Bible (BnF, MS lat. 116).<sup>51</sup> In a large figured initial *O* (f. 19v) Christ is depicted enthroned with a golden book within a mandorla-shaped frame and flanked by the heads of the tetramorph creatures in four corner roundels (fig. 1.5). The *Majestas* initial occurs in an unusual and significant place at the opening of the *Liber Ecclesiasticus*, one of the Biblical books of Wisdom. The initial opens the line *Omnis sapientiae a domino deo est*, exemplifying the identification of Christ in Majesty and Divine Wisdom. On folio 13v of the same manuscript, opening the *Liber Sapientiae*, an initial *D* also significantly follows the *Majestas* template: From each corner a male head peaks out from underneath a stylized leaf gazing at the spectacular figure of Sapientia enthroned in the body of the letter (fig. 1.6). Crowned, veiled, and sumptuously clad, Sapientia appears here in the guise of a queen. On her left leg she balances a hefty tome covered in gold and gems, while, in her right hand, she carries a scepter-like staff culminating in a fleur-de-lys. Her figure's royal attire and the scepter resonate with Dialectic's insignia of the flowering diagram-table, as does the 'gender-bending' of the *Majestas Domini*.

In one crucial aspect, however, the Darmstadt manuscript's figure of Dialectic deviates from its iconographic forebears: unlike Christ or Sapientia, lacking a throne, she stands—oddly—atop a rectangular bejeweled footstool propped up by four short columns (a fifth one on the right in the back seems to be an awkward addition). The motif of the throne, based on the throne's description in Revelation (4:2–3), is indispensable to *Majestas* images; it designates Christ as ruler over Heaven and Earth. Dialectic's ornate footstool feels like a relic of Christ's ceremonial furniture, a symbolic prop of power that stands *pars pro toto* for a monarchic setting.

Neither John's nor Ezekiel's visions of Christ's apocalyptic throne mention a footstool

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<sup>51</sup> The Chartres Bible and its decoration has been only treated in passing by scholars. See, for example, Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2002), 60–62.

(*suppedaneum* or *scabellum*).<sup>52</sup> As in the First Bible of Charles the Bald, and many other *Majestas* compositions, Christ perches on the celestial cosmos, based on Isaiah 66:1 (“Heaven is my throne and earth my footstool”). Footstools are frequently included in *Majestas* pictures.<sup>53</sup> They are equally common in monumental sculptures of Mary, as, for example, in the tympanum of the south portal of Chartres cathedral (fig. 1.7). Another reference to a footstool in Scripture is the golden *scabellum* mentioned in the description of Salomon’s throne.<sup>54</sup> Christian exegesis correlated the Solomonic throne—the seat of wisdom (*sedes sapientiae*)—to the apocalyptic throne of Christ, and significantly also to Mary as the symbolic throne of the incarnate Logos.<sup>55</sup>

Psalm 98:5, “Exalt the Lord our God and worship at his footstool; he is holy,” explains the furniture’s ceremonial and symbolic function as a physical marker of the proper place of veneration, separating and mediating between worshiper and worshiped. It is a peculiar feature of the Darmstadt drawing that Dialectic is shown standing atop her footstool. The representation of figures standing on footstools is endemic to early and middle Byzantine coronation images and imperial portraits; a special variant of this iconography features Christ atop a footstool crowning the emperor, but no equivalent iconographical tradition existed in Western medieval art, and it seems doubtful that the Darmstadt illuminator would have been familiar with such

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<sup>52</sup> On the motif of the apocalyptic throne, see Anne-Orange Poilpré, *Majestas Domini: une image de l’Eglise en Occident, Ve-IXe siècle* (Editions du CERF, 2005), ch. 1.

<sup>53</sup> See Ernst Grube, “Majestas und Crucifix: Zum Motiv des Suppedaneums,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 20, no. 3 (1957): 279–287, who argues that the various supports of Christ’s feet—the *suppedaneum* on the cross, the footstool and world in *Majestas* images, become symbolically conflated.

<sup>54</sup> 2 Chr. 9:18: “Sex quoque gradus, quibus ascendebatur ad solium, et scabellum aureum [...]” See Canciani and G. Pettinato, “Salomos Thron: Philologische und archäologische Erwägungen,” *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 81, no. 1 (1965): 88–108; Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Brill, 2015).

<sup>55</sup> See Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 86–91.

compositions.<sup>56</sup> Regardless, the composition effectively translates the footstool into a statuary plinth, analogous to the footstool demarcating a holy site, and thereby transforming Dialectic from an allegorical figure into a Christomorphic *imago* of a pagan deity—in other words, into a *Majestas Dominae*, and her followers into devotees of dialectic.<sup>57</sup> Thus sanctified, supercharged, and visually reverberating with the multivalent symbolism of the *Majestas* imagery, the Darmstadt drawing stakes its claim as a quasi-sacred text, a veritable Bible of logic.

### The Tree of Porphyry

Medieval iconographic tradition of the personification of Dialectic was established on Martianus Capella's account in Book IV of his fifth-century encyclopedic poem *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*.<sup>58</sup> Martianus Capella describes Dialectic joining her sisters at the celestial wedding

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<sup>56</sup> A handful of ivory plaques of Christ crowning the Byzantine emperor are known to have circulated in medieval Europe, including the central plaque of the Romanos triptych (BnF, Cabinet des Médailles) and the plaque of Christ crowning Otto II and Theophano (Musée Cluny), both dating to the tenth century. On the Romanos triptych, see Anthony Cutler, "The Date and Significance of the Romanos Ivory," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 605–13; idem, "A Byzantine Triptych in Medieval Germany and Its Modern Recovery," *Gesta* 37, no. 1 (1998): 3–12. On the imperial footstool in Byzantium and its iconography, with a discussion of figures standing atop footstools, see Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography 11Th-15th Centuries* (Brill, 2003), 170–173, pls 12, 21–23, 28, 29, 54, 59, 61, 110), including examples of saintly figures, archangels, and the Virgin Mary depicted atop a footstool. See also Hélène Toubert, "Le bréviaire d'Oderisius (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 364) et les influences byzantines au Mont-Cassin," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 83, no. 2 (1971): 229–232. My thanks to Herbert Kessler and Jaś Elsner for drawing my attention to an iconographic tradition of Mary standing on a pedestal in Ascension images. One example is published in Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pl. VI.

<sup>57</sup> On the deification of the Evangelist John in medieval art, including a discussion of *Majestas* images, and the Chartres Bible see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2002), esp. 43–64.

<sup>58</sup> For a textual analysis of the personification of dialectic, see Sabine Grebe, *Martianus Capella*

party:

wearing the dress and cloak of Athens, it is true, but what she carried in her hands was unexpected, and had been unknown in all the Greek schools. In her left hand she held a snake twined in immense coils; in her right hand a set of syllogisms [*formulae*] carefully inscribed on wax tablets, which were adorned with the beauty of contrasting colors, was held on the inside by a hidden hook; but since her left hand kept the crafty device of the snake hidden under her cloak, her right hand was offered to one and all. Then if anyone took one of those patterns, he was soon caught on the hook and dragged toward the poisonous coils of the hidden snake, which presently emerged and after first biting the man relentlessly with the venomous points of its sharp teeth then gripped him in its many coils and compelled him to the intended position. If no one wanted to take any of the patterns, Dialectic confronted them with some questions; or secretly stirred the snake to creep up on them until its tight embrace strangled those who were caught and compelled them to accept the will of their interrogator.<sup>59</sup>

Dialectic's colorful wax tablets—deceptive ‘conversation-starters’—posed a challenge to readers and artists alike. The purpose of the device from the quoted passage is clear enough: to lure and hook Dialectic's prey. But what are the enigmatic *formulae* inscribed on the tablet, and how did medieval artists interpret them? It has been suggested that “the reference may be to inference patterns (schemata), or perhaps to certain attractive-seeming propositions which, when combined with further admissions (the hook), could lead to an opponent's overthrow (the snake).”<sup>60</sup> John of Salisbury specified them as *formulae rationis*, rational formulas, that is, logical propositions or syllogism (*propositum*), for instructing or confuting the wicked in argument.<sup>61</sup>

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“*De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*”: *Darstellung der sieben freien Künste und ihrer Beziehungen zueinander* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1999), esp. 109–212. Michael Stolz, *Artes-liberales-Zyklen: Formationen des Wissens im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: A. Francke, 2004).

<sup>59</sup> Translation by William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vol. 2, *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* 84 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971) 107; see also the commentary in *ibid.*, vol. 1, 104–115.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 107 n.10. See also Grebe, *Martianus Capella*, 120, 128, 130.

<sup>61</sup> “Unde in nuptiis Mercurii et philologiae, dialectica in manu serpentem gestat, et formulas, ut



Medieval illuminators pictured Dialectic's devices in a variety of ways. In a ninth- or tenth-century Milanese manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7900A, f.132v), Dialectic carries a hook with which she grabs a student as her snakes shoot forth from her sleeve toward the helpless victim (fig. 1.8). In her other hand, she holds the *formulae*, a rectangular board filled with abstract scribbles.<sup>62</sup> In the frontispiece of a mid-twelfth-century Priscian manuscript from Bourges (University Library Cambridge Gg ii 32, f. 1r), the *formulae* take the specific form of five roundels attached to strings tied together, which Dialectic grasps like a leashed pack of dogs (fig. 1.9).<sup>63</sup> Each roundel bears the title of a classical logical treatise.<sup>64</sup>

For the ill-defined wax tablets, the Darmstadt frontispiece substitutes an altogether different accessory of fundamental significance to Aristotelian logic, which any medieval student of logic would have immediately recognized as a visually elaborate representation of the Tree of Porphyry (fig. 1.10). The phytomorphic diagram is crowned with a large blossom or acanthus leaf surmounted by a cross. The diagram's descending stem forms five connected, vertically aligned roundels; branching off on either side are pairs of looping vines culminating in a

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astutia serpentis, quae propositum tegit, mordeantur incauti et rudes, aut improbi per rationis formulas erudiantur, aut convincantur." *Metalogicon* (CCCM) III.10, 132. "This is why, in the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, dialectic bears in her hand a serpent and formulae, the former, which conceals the thesis, to bite the careless with its subtlety, the latter, embodying reason, to instruct the inexperienced or to confute the bad." *Metalogicon* (CCiT), III.10, 278.

<sup>62</sup> See Laura Quattrocchi Brancia, "L'originalità iconografica dei disegni delle arti liberali nel ms. BNF Lat. 7900A," *Iconographica* 19 (2018): 9–25, esp. 13–14.

<sup>63</sup> See Margaret Gibson, "A Picture of 'Sapientia' from S. Sulpice, Bourges," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, no. 2 (1973): 126–28.

Laura Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe c.1100-1220*, Boydell Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2016), 59–60, 93.

<sup>64</sup> From left to right, these are: Porphyry's *Isagoge*; Aristotle's *Topica*; Boethius's *De differentiis topicis*; Boethius's *De syllogismis hypotheticis*; and Aristotle's *Categoriae*. The last may also refer to Boethius's *De syllogismis categoricis*. See Margaret Gibson, "A Picture of 'Sapientia' from S. Sulpice, Bourges," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, no. 2 (1973): 128 n.6.

sprouting leaf. The three columns of roundels contain logical terms derived from Aristotle's *Categories*.

In rudimentary diagrammatic form, Tree-of-Porphyry diagrams have accompanied logical treatises since at least the ninth century; occasionally they were added later by readers to the margins of pages of books (fig. 1.11).<sup>65</sup> The Darmstadt version, however, is apparently without parallel: I am unaware of any other examples where a Porphyrian Tree is integrated into an image, or mentioned as an attribute of a personification of Dialectic.<sup>66</sup> What its content meant to twelfth-century logicians, and why it is assigned such prominence in the frontispiece, is key to making sense of the intellectual project as it is visually articulated here. But before turning to these questions, it is necessary to briefly explain the diagram's conception.

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<sup>65</sup> For the visual history of the Tree of Porphyry diagram, see Annemieke Verboon, "'Einen Alten Baum verpflanzt man nicht.' Die Metapher des Porphyrianischen Baums im Mittelalter," in *Visuelle Modelle* (Munich: Wilhelm vFink, 2008), 251–268; eadem, 'Lines of Thought: Diagrammatic Representation and the Scientific Texts of the Arts Faculty, 1200-1500' (PhD dissertation, Leyden University, 2010); eadem, "The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: An Organic Structure of Logic," in *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 95–116; Hermann Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis: Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften* (Wasmuth, 1982); Ian Hacking, "Trees of Logic, Trees of Porphyry," in *Advancements of Learning. Essays in Honour of Paolo Rossi*, ed. John L. Heilbron (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2007), 219–261; Michael Evans, "The Geometry of the Mind," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1980): 32–55, esp. §6.1.

<sup>66</sup> There is one pictorialized representation of the diagram in a late eleventh-century Porphyrian manuscript from Monte Cassino, now in the Vatican Libraries (Vat. Lat. Ott. 1406, f. 11r), which apparently escaped Verboon's notice. In the image, below the logical chart appear the figures of Plato, Socrates, and a third, mysterious figure on horseback labeled *Arfastus*. But, unlike in the Darmstadt frontispiece, the *Porphyrian Tree* in the Monte-Cassino manuscript fills nearly the entire the page, relegating the attending philosophers to the bottom margin. The frontispiece to the manuscript depicts Lady Dialectic. With an insightful discussion of the possible historical circumstances that prompted the making of this highly unusual book, see Eric J. Hobsbawm and Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 114–118. Hermann Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis: Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften* (Wasmuth, 1982), mentions the miniature but reproduces the wrong plate (fig. 22). The manuscript has come too late to my attention to be considered here.

The name of the diagram refers to the Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry, the author of the third-century CE treatise, the *Isagoge*.<sup>67</sup> Every student's departure point for the study of logic in the Greek, Arabic, and Latin world, the *Isagoge* became the introductory guide to Aristotle's *Categories*. The first of Aristotle's six logical treatises, the *Categories* was itself a propaedeutic work: as John of Salisbury wrote, "Aristotle's book entitled *Categoriae* is an elementary one, and in a way captures the infancy of those advancing towards logic."<sup>68</sup> As sort of introduction to the introduction of logic, then, the *Isagoge*—literally meaning "Introduction"—constitutes an eclectic summary of the *Categories*, easing students into the fundamentals of Aristotelian logic.<sup>69</sup> Translated by Boethius into Latin, the *Isagoge* became the standard primer of logic in the West for many centuries.<sup>70</sup> It is the first treatise in the Darmstadt manuscript, and beings on the frontispiece's facing page (f. 2r).

The Tree of Porphyry diagram illustrates the system of classification described in the *Categories*. Based on the idea of a rational order of reality, this system inscribes all things and

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<sup>67</sup> The first documented use of the term 'Tree of Porphyry' (*arbor porphoriensis*) only dates to the early thirteenth century; it is first found in Peter of Spain's *Tractatus: Verboon and Hacking*, "Trees of Logic, Trees of Porphyry," 244.

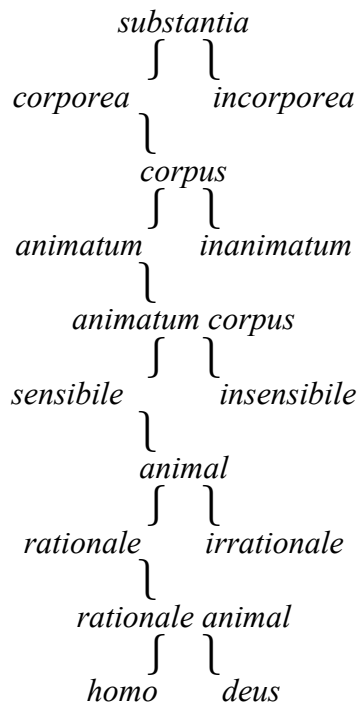
<sup>68</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT) III.2, 243.

<sup>69</sup> There is a debate whether the *Isagoge* was, indeed, an introduction. See Porphyry, *Introduction*, trans. Jonathan Barnes, Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), xv. Barnes argues that the *Isagoge* is not an introduction to Aristotle's *Categories* as is often stated, but to the study of logic more broadly. See Riccardo Chiaradonna, "What is Porphyry's *Isagoge*?" *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 19 (2008): 1–30. John of Salisbury, on the other hand, explicitly called the *Isagoge* an introduction to Aristotle: *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.16, 210.

<sup>70</sup> For Boethius's translation (parallel to the original Greek and a French translation), see Alain de Libera and Segonds Alain-Philippe, trans., *Porphyre: Isagoge. Texte grec et latin, Sic et non* (Paris: Vrin, 1998). Boethius's translation is also published in Adolfus Busse, "Porphyrii. Introductio in Aristotelis categorias a Boethio translata," in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. IV.1 (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1887), 23–51. For context, see John Patrick Casey, "Boethius's Work on Logic in the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor and Philip Edward Phillips (Leiden, Bosten: Brill, 2012), 193–220, 200 esp.

beings—even abstract concepts such as ‘virtue’—into a framework of relationality. The system’s basic structure is hierarchical; it orders reality according to different degrees of generality. At the summit of this ontological pyramid sits *Substance*, the highest-order, most abstractive class of being comprising everything else in nature. As one descends from the summit, the system fans or branches out—hence the arboreal metaphor—into multiple terms, increasing in specificity at each step. The Porphyrian Tree, as seen in the Darmstadt frontispiece, makes the system’s procedure of division concrete, using the example of man:

Table: The Tree of Porphyry from the Darmstadt frontispiece



The category of *substance* occupies the pinnacle of the diagram. It branches out into *corporeal* and *incorporeal*. Man evidently is an embodied being, so we proceed with the term *corporeal* and ignore its counterpart. This gives us the genus of *corporeal* beings, which differentiates into *animate* and *inanimate*. Man possesses a soul, he is therefore *animate*, and accordingly belongs

to *animate bodies*. The genus *animate bodies* splits into *sensible* and *insensible bodies* (plants, for example). Clearly, man possesses the capacity to sense, so we continue with the genus *sensible bodies* and ignore the opposite term *insensible bodies*. Next, *sensible bodies* splits into *rational* and *irrational*. Man possesses reason; we therefore proceed with the genus *rational animal*. Finally, *rational animal* splits into *man* and *god*.<sup>71</sup> Now we have located *man (homo)* in the hierarchy of being, and thereby also defined his essential nature: a corporeal, animate, sensible, (mortal), rational substance. We have also reached the end of line, for *man* can no longer be divided into more specific classes. Of course, human beings are not identical, but all those features that individualize a human being—hair color, age, location, or wisdom, for example—are considered accidents; they are subject to change (and therefore non-essential) and are not common of all human beings.<sup>72</sup>

The *Categories* provided the foundations to logical reasoning. It furnished a specialized language that rectified verbal ambiguities inherent in ordinary speech with great technical

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<sup>71</sup> Note that *god* refers here not to the god of Christianity but pagan deities (Porphyry was a pagan). In this scheme, man and god are distinguished according to mortality and immortality, respectively.

<sup>72</sup> The example of man is provided by Porphyry in the *Isagoge*: “corpus vero species quidem est substantiae, genus vero corporis animati ; et animatum corpus species quidem est corporis, genus vero animalis. Animal autem species quidem est corporis animati, genus vero animalis rationalis, sed rationale animal species quidem est animalis, genus autem hominis ; homo vero species quidem est rationalis animalis, non autem etiam genus particularium hominum, sed solum species.” Quoted after de Libera and Alain-Philippe, trans., *Porphyre: Isagoge*, 6. “Substance is itself a genus. Under it is body, and under body animate body, under which is animal; under animal is rational animal, under which is man; and under man are Socrates and Plato and particular men. Of these items, substance is the most general and is only a genus, while man is the most special and is only a species. Body is a species of substance and a genus of animate body. Animate body is a species of body and a genus of animal. Again, animal is a species of animate body and a genus of rational animal. Rational animal is a species of animal and a genus of man. Man is a species of rational animal, but not a genus of particular men—only a species.” Porphyry, *Introduction*, trans. Jonathan Barnes, *Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 6.

precision. It established a common terminology and method of logical reasoning. Propaedeutic by nature, the terminology was intimately tied to a particular method of truth-finding that predetermined the practice of generating definitions, producing statements, and constructing arguments or propositions, which, further down the road, lead to more complex operations of affirmative or negative proof. The terms introduced in the *Categories*, hence, furnished the basic building blocks of Aristotle's logical system.

The Tree of Porphyry was a formidable teaching device, and it would not be surprising if Master Adam, or any medieval teacher of logic for that matter, routinely drew the diagram with a piece of chalk on a wall or wooden board as visual aid for his listeners. But the didactic function does not exhaust the meaning of the Tree. Significantly, it also harbored a profound philosophical dimension: the Problem of Universals.<sup>73</sup>

The philosophical debate surrounding the problem of Universals requires a brief explanation. Universals, in short, were all those general terms found in the Tree of Porphyry. They were 'universal' in the sense of comprising other classes of being; *man*, for example, is a universal because it describes all human beings, or *animate bodies* is a universal because it represents all *animals*.<sup>74</sup> Julian P. Haseldine states the crux of the Universals problem as follows:

One of the major philosophical questions of the period [i.e the twelfth century] is the sense in which these universals can be said to exist. If the name of an individual object or person indicates or refers to that unique individual or object, then to what does a generic or common term, which describes a group or class of individual things, refer? Thus, for example, the word 'Socrates' refers to an individual, but the generic term 'man' also refers

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<sup>73</sup> See Alain de Libera, *La querelle des universaux: de Platon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Points Histoire 488 (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1996); Roberto Pinzani, *The Problem of Universals from Boethius to John of Salisbury* (Brill, 2018).

<sup>74</sup> Porphyry does not use the term 'universal'; it is only the commentary tradition that applied the term to genera and species. See Porphyry, *Introduction*, trans. Jonathan Barnes, Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 38 n.66.

to Socrates, but not to him alone. So, if ‘man’ does not exist individually in the way that ‘Socrates’ exists, as an individual phenomenon in time and space, in what sense can it be said to ‘exist’?<sup>75</sup>

In rudimentary terms, early scholastics formulated three principal positions on the ontological status of universals: (1) nominalists (including Abelard’s teacher Roscelin) argued that universals were merely words or utterances (*a flatus vocis*, “a wind of the voice”); (2) conceptualists conceived Universals to be mental concepts intrinsic to the operation of the rational intellect (the view held by Peter Abelard); (3) realists maintained that universals had a proper existence, independent of speech or the human mind, comparable to Platonic forms.<sup>76</sup>

The debate over the nature of Universals was the fulcrum of twelfth-century logic, indeed, so much so that John Marenbon divided his survey of early twelfth-century logic into the following two sections: “Universals and...,” and “...everything else.”<sup>77</sup> According to Lambert Marie de Rijk, “the question of the nature of the *universalia* (genus, species, etc.) was a problem which at some time or another had to be faced by every medieval logician-philosopher.”<sup>78</sup> It was, Abelard said, “as if the whole of this art [logic] were contained in that one view, on Universals.”<sup>79</sup> Twelfth-century Paris was so absorbed in debating the intractable problem that it

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<sup>75</sup> John Barrie Hall and Julian P. Haseldine, *John of Salisbury: Metalogicon*, CCiT 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 60.

<sup>76</sup> Of course, the positions are more nuanced and sophisticated. In the longest chapter of *Metalogicon*, John of Salisbury summarized nine contemporary opinions on the Universals, also proposing his own solution: *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.20, 217-236.

<sup>77</sup> Marenbon, “Logic at the Turn of the Twelfth Century,” 65–82.

<sup>78</sup> Lambert Marie de Rijk, *Logica Modernorum: A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, vol. 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), xxvi–xxvii.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted after John Marenbon’s translation of this passage in, “Logic at the Turn of the Twelfth Century,” 74. A master’s career could depend on his dealings with Universals. Abelard relates how, when still a student, he forced his teacher William of Champeaux, master of the Cathedral School of Notre Dame, to change his position on the nature of Universals, a fact that greatly damaged William’s reputation while propelling himself to fame (see *ibid.*).

led John of Salisbury to sneeringly declare that more time had been dedicated to the question of Universals “than the line of the Caesars has consumed in subduing and ruling the world.”<sup>80</sup> And the problem of Universals was not restricted to the musings of the masters either, John lamented; already the young students were exposed to this “most lofty matter” in Paris’s classrooms.<sup>81</sup>

Why did the problem of Universals take on such preeminent importance in twelfth-century philosophy? What was at stake in the debates over the ontological status of the species of the sensible world? The short answer is that the problem held profound implications for theology. In these debates, logic, traditionally one of the verbal arts of the *trivium*, expanded its reach into ontology. The proponents believed that the logical investigation of Universals also applied by analogy to the inscrutable nature of the Trinity; that it constituted the best means to understand—within the limits of human reason—how the Godhead could be one in essence but three separate persons.<sup>82</sup> Contemplating the nature of Universals was a highway to theology. The

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<sup>80</sup> Quoted after Brian P. Hendley, “John of Salisbury and the Problem of Universals,” *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 8, no. 3 (1970): 289.

<sup>81</sup> “The nature of universals, however, is set before the young by all teachers, who, contrary to the intention of the author [Porphyry], endeavor to unfold a most lofty matter and one which calls for greater investigation.” *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.17, 211–212. John is referring to the fact that Porphyry explicitly set aside the problem in the *Isagoge*, namely whether “(1) genera or species exist in themselves or reside in mere concepts alone; (2) whether, if they exist, they are corporeal or incorporeal; and (3) whether they exist apart or in sense objects and in dependence of on them.” Porphyry, *Isagoge*, trans. Edward W. Warren, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 16 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 27. See also the commentary on this—seemingly innocuous—passage in Porphyry, *Introduction*, trans. Jonathan Barnes, *Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 37–49. Edward Warren asserted, “the significance of Porphyry’s modest *Isagoge* is determined largely by the controversy over universals that arose during the middle ages and by the metaphysics developed with the aid of Aristotelian logic.” Porphyry, *Isagoge*, trans. Edward W. Warren, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 16 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 11, see also 18–21.

<sup>82</sup> Among the extensive secondary literature on this subject, I found especially helpful following discussions: Christophe Erismann, “The Trinity, Universals, and Particular Substances: Philoponus and Roscelin,” *Traditio* 63 (2008): 277–305, 279–282 esp.; Constant J. Mews, “The Trinitarian Doctrine of Roscelin of Compiègne and Its Influence: Twelfth-Century Nominalism



philosophical debates reformulated the mystery of the Trinity in ways that opened it to logical investigation. In this scheme, the Trinity was conceived as a Universal. As a consequence, it became possible to argue that what was true of the Universal of *donkey*, held true—at least in part—also for the Trinity. Such theorizing about the Trinity had ramification, not least for the dogma of the Incarnation, and the ripple effects such investigations stirred left few theological subjects untouched. Philosophers had to tread lightly in the application of pagan thought to Christian doctrine. Logical forays into the Trinity demanded utmost care. The risk of disturbing the perfect unity of the Godhead was real and bore severe consequences: not a few who publicized their logico-theological ideas about the Trinity were branded as heretics, including Abelard and his teacher Roscelin, and their works condemned by ecclesial authorities in humiliating public acts.<sup>83</sup>

Paradoxically, Porphyry's *Isagoge* was not only an introduction to Aristotelian logic (as intended by its author), but also the object of deep, even obsessive, study, as John of Salisbury noted. Observing the exegetical zeal with which his Parisian colleagues applied themselves to the *Isagoge*, he scoffed at his contemporaries, who, “in order to show off their knowledge, teach their audiences in such a way as to be unintelligible to them, regarding each single letter of the

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and Theology Re-Considered,” in *Languages et Philosophie. Hommages à Jean Jolivet* (Paris: Vrin, 1997), 347–64.

<sup>83</sup> On the heterodox fallacies of Roscelin's Trinitarian theology, see Erismann, “The Trinity, Universals, and Particular Substances,” 295–303. Specifically, on Abelard's application of logic to the Trinity, see Ian Wilks, “Peter Abelard and the Metaphysics of Essential Predication,” *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 36, no. 3 (July 1998): 365–85. For a broader discussion, see Jeffrey E. Brower, “Abelard on the Trinity,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 223–57. The Church's reaction to the Trinitarian debates in the secular schools of Paris, especially Abelard's struggle with Bernard of Clairvaux, will be taken up again in the next chapter.

alphabet as pregnant with the secrets of Minerva.”<sup>84</sup> The *Isagoge*, John declared,

is to be gently shaken, not harshly tortured like a captive until it give up what it did not take in. That master, on the other hand, is excessively severe and unyielding, taking up what has not been laid down and reaping what has not been sown, who compels Porphyry to settle the debts of all the philosophers, and who is only satisfied if Porphyry’s little book teaches everything which is anywhere found written down.<sup>85</sup>

The *Isagoge* constituted an archive of unsolved questions of the highest stakes, which, in the hands of Abelard and his generation, gained a direct bearing not just on natural philosophy and the understanding of the sensible world, but on the very core of Christian doctrine. Ultimately, it is in this light that the inclusion of Tree of Porphyry diagram as one of the attributes of Lady Dialectic in the Darmstadt frontispiece needs to be viewed. In a practical sense, the diagram was a visual device for instruction in the basics of Aristotelian logic. Yet this propaedeutic function alone does not satisfactorily account for its prominence in the frontispiece and its association with the allegory of Dialectic and the transhistorical debate between ancient and modern philosophy.

The problem of Universals, which Porphyry explicitly banished from the *Isagoge*,

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<sup>84</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.17, 211. In III.1, 240, John complements Abelard on this point: “One should not look for an opportunity to introduce difficulties, but rather, at all points, make the matter easy. This, I recall, was the course habitually followed by the Peripatetic of Le Pallet. It was as a result of this, I fancy, and I say it with all due respect to his adherents, that he inclined to a childish view of genera and species, preferring to instruct and advance his pupils in childish things rather than to be less than clear amid the weighty concerns of philosophy.”

<sup>85</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT), III.1, 242. See also Book II.16, where John of Salisbury insists for the *Isagoge* to be taught “in such a way as to confuse and obfuscate those being instructed, or monopolize all their time. It is not right that one should spend his life studying the five categoricals, with the consequence that no time remains to learn those things for which these are taught as preparatory in the first place. Because of its introductory nature, Porphyry’s work is entitled the *Isagoge*. But its very name is contradicted by those who become so engrossed in it that they leave no time for principle essentials, on which the whole significance of the introductory work depends.”

paradoxically overshadowed the treatise's reception and determined its lasting fame. The *Isagoge* showcased how uniquely—and excitingly—intertwined the method and the object of inquiry became in the medieval application of Aristotelian logic. The nature of thought, the structure of reality, and the understanding of God, all appeared to converge in the debates surrounding Universals. Twelfth-century philosophers were *hooked*. Around the time Abelard was preparing his first theological book (the *Theologia summa boni*, notorious, and condemned, for its logical conclusions about the nature of the Trinity), he relates that, in his teaching, he used the secular arts as a hook (*hamum*) to lure (*attrahere*) his students “by the bait of learning to the study of the true philosophy [i.e. theology].”<sup>86</sup> Surely not a coincident, Abelard's wording echoes that of Martianus Capella's description of Lady Dialectic's alluring tablet of *formulae* whose concealed hook (*hamum*) served to catch her unassuming victim and draw it (*trahere*) toward Dialectic's pair of vicious serpents.<sup>87</sup> Even if Abelard does not mention Universals explicitly in this passage, his *Theologia summa boni*, which dates to the early 1120s, makes unmistakably

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<sup>86</sup> “Here, as befitted my profession, I devoted myself chiefly to lectures on theology, but I did not wholly abandon the teaching of the secular arts, to which I was more accustomed, and which was particularly demanded of me. I used the latter, however, as a hook, luring my students by the bait of learning to the study of the true philosophy.” Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum: The Story of My Misfortunes. An Autobiography*, trans. Henry A. Bellows (Saint Paul: Thomas A. Boyd, 1922), 34. “Ubi, quod professioni mee convenientius erat, sacre plurimum lectioni studium intendens, secularium artium disciplinam quibus amplius assuetus fueram et quas a me plurimum requirebant non penitus abieci, sed de his quasi hamum quendam fabricavi, quo illos philosophico sapore inescatos ad vere philosophie lectionem attraherem [...]” Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum. Texte critique, avec une introduction*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Vrin, 1959), 82.

<sup>87</sup> “[...] in dextera formulae quaedam florentibus discolora venustate ceris sollerter effigiatae latentis hami nexu interius tenebantur; sed quoniam eius laeva sub pallio occulebat insidias viperinas, cunctis dextera praebebatur. Denique ex illis formulis siquis aliquam percepisset, mox apprehensus hamo ad latentis anguis virosos circulos trahebatur [...]” Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii et de septem artibus liberalibus*, ed. Ulrich Friedrich Kopp (Frankfurt am Main: F. Varrentrapp, 1836), 328.

clear that the bait he employed to hook and draw his students to Trinitarian theology was, first and foremost, the problem of Universals.

Shaped by the scholastic ambitions of the logical schools of twelfth-century Paris, the Darmstadt frontispiece's vision of dialectic significantly altered its original (pagan) image as derived from Martianus Capella. This is most manifest in the frontispiece's substitution of that deceiving, violent contraption of her *formulae* tablet for the Tree of Porphyry diagram. The substitution perfectly correlates to the 'rediscovery' of logic in early scholastic thought. Twelfth-century logic had undergone a reappraisal from a verbal art into a metascience claimed to originate in the Logos, and, for that very reason, was hailed not merely as a legitimate but, indeed, the divinely ordained method vested in man's faculty of reason for attaining knowledge of natural and divine truth.

It is in the light of logic's new-found theological purpose that the one compositional element of Dialectic's Tree of Porphyry—the cross-surmounted fleur de lis crowning the botanical diagram—not yet addressed should be considered. In an image so carefully calculated and conceived, the stylized blossom should not be dismissed as a decorative element—not least for its very size, but especially not in its combination with the symbol of the cross. Just as the figure of Socrates is deliberately placed beneath the roundel inscribed *homo*, so, I propose, is the cross-flower intentionally placed above *substance*, absolute highest genus of being in Aristotle's ontological system. But whereas the figures of Socrates, a particular of *homo*, 'correctly' completes that universal on the bottom level of the specific individual, *substance* knows nothing higher than itself. By virtue of its place above *substance*, then, the flower is superontological; that is to say it is beyond the extent of the intellect and outside the categories that circumscribe the possibilities of human thought. In other words, this is the order of divine being, a level

Christian philosophy had to graft onto Aristotle's universal model of the structure of the world to make it compatible.

Although the superontological was, *strictu sensu*, unknowable, epistemologically optimistic Christian philosophers found in Universals to ponder God's inscrutable nature in a roundabout way, through means of analogical reasoning. This idea may be very well intimated in the drawing's formal parallels between the three-petaled corolla and the tripartite genus-species roundels below.

### **The Serpent of Dialectic**

In the Darmstadt drawing, Dialectic's second attribute, the serpent, violently coils in her hand, its body twisted two- and threefold, and its head turned toward its unfazed mistress, while the oversized tongue darts menacingly toward her face. As Martianus Capella described it, once Dialectic has hooked her opponent, a venomous serpent shoots forth from underneath her cloak to bite, coil around, and strangle the unwary victim into intellectual submission.<sup>88</sup>

As metaphors for intellectual complexity, knots and ties are an ancient trope, and they also undergird Martianus's image of Dialectic. The first line of Book IV of *The Wedding of Mercury and Philology* introduce Dialectic as "a woman whose weapons are complex and knotty

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<sup>88</sup> But such allegorical figures were flexible in the hands of medieval scholars. John of Salisbury, for one, gave the serpent a different meaning. For John, the snake stands a vice of disputational practice, namely as that type of objectionable type scholar, who favors to conceal the conclusion of his argument, thereby taking an incautious opponent by surprise, with "his intention being that, when his utterance is completed by his conclusion, the reason be to seek. In the interests of concealing the thesis, or rather in order that each of the combatants may more easily attain his desired end, there is much value in a vulgar and straightforward manner of speaking, with each party, that is, so concealing his art as not to be believed to possess it, or to possess it and not be inclined to use it. A parade of art is always suspect; whereas those, on the other hand, who advance along a simple path are more readily admitted." *Metalogicon* (CCiT), III.10, 277–278.

utterances [*contortis effamina nodis*].”<sup>89</sup> The description of her hair, scholars have noted, doubles as an ekphrasis of a logical argument: it is “intricate” and “beautifully curled and bound together [*crines tortuosi decentique inflexione crispatis et nexiles*];” and, in a literal translation, the hair, like a syllogism, “is deduced through certain successive steps [*deducti per quosdam consequentes gradus*].”<sup>90</sup> But every so often, dialectic’s intricate elegance devolves into inextricable confusion. This is precisely what is bound to happen in Dialectic’s long-winded exposition of her art to the wedding party. It’s truly a timeless scene of the anticipating groom courteously but firmly cutting short the drunk relative’s derailing speech: when Dialectic approaches matters “inextricable as they are foggy [*inextrabilia quam caliginosa*],” Mercury steps in to spare the guests the speaker’s never-ending babble, and Dialectic from embarrassing herself by getting entwined in the twists (*implexa tortos*) and twisting multi-knots (*amfractus multinodos*) of her own subject.<sup>91</sup> Martianus’s characterization of Dialectic prefigures the reservations many medieval scholars held for an art perceived as prone to excess, ostentation, and deceitfulness.

In the Darmstadt manuscript, the intellectual twists and knots associated with dialectic find their visual echo in the tortuous forms and serpentine creatures that make up the delicately penned initials prefacing five of the manuscript’s seven treatises.<sup>92</sup> On folio 2r, facing the

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<sup>89</sup> William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vol. 1, *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* 84 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 106.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 107 and n.8.

<sup>91</sup> Mercury interrupts Dialectic’s speech: “The matters that remain are founded on great deceit, and false deception encompasses those who are caught by them, while you prepare your sophisms fraught with guile, or seductively make sport with trickeries from which one cannot get free.” *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> The executed initials are on ff. 2r, 6r, 13v, 18r, and 23v. Boethius’s *De differentiis topicis* and *De syllogismo hypothetico* have been merged into one continuous text, and on ff. 34r and 49r space has been reserved but the initials not executed.

frontispiece, a convoluted figurative initial *C* (*Cum*) opens Porphyry's *Isagoge* (fig. 1.12). The letter is a fantastical knot of interlacing foliar loops. The stroke that forms the upper and lower curve of the letter *C* runs through the heads of two avian beaked creatures. Inside, in the bowl of the initial, a dragon and a bird of prey each bite into the leafy ends of a swirling branch. On folio 18r, opening Boethius's *De divisione*, the dynamic letter *Q* (*Quam*) is made up of a bi-pedal dragon and two basilisk-like creatures (fig. 1.13). In the bowl of the letter, the dragon—its head resembling that of Dialectic's serpent—emerges from the beak of the basilisk, while sprouting from its maw lush swirls coiling through the letter's negative space, wrapping around the neck of the basilisk. The second basilisk, biting its own neck, forms the cauda of the *Q*. The clasp fastening the basilisks' tails (terminating, like the serpent's, in vegetal shapes), evokes metalwork. Similar metallic elements occur in other initials, and also resemble the clasps that link the hoops of the Porphyrian diagram. Another botanical fantasy, marking the beginning of Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*,<sup>93</sup> the capital letter *O* on folio 23v differs from the manuscript's other decorated initials in that it contains a human figure (fig. 1.14). Inside the letter's bowl, a grim-looking young man is helplessly entwined inside the vortex of a foliate creeper, frozen by its tendrils mid-run it seems. A 'creative' slip of the scribe omitted *-mnis* from the text's opening of *(O)mnis racio*, thus joining 'O' and 'racio,' resulting in the word *Oracio*, speech, or the exclamation *O racio, Oh reason!*

Alphabetic knot-work menagerie has a venerable tradition in miniature painting, proliferating in the Romanesque period before slowly petering out at the end of century of thirteenth century. Zoo- and phytomorphic knot-work initials appear especially in the context of

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<sup>93</sup> On this treatise, see Eleonore Stump, trans., *Boethius's De topicis differentiis*, Cornell Classics in Philosophy (Cornell University Press, 2004).

the Sacred Page.<sup>94</sup> Obviously, such intricate decorations elevated the status of the book qua artifact, but, more significantly, they signal and assert the potent materiality of writing and activate the stable text of Holy Writ in somatic ways. In some illuminated psalters, initials figure a *bellum spirituale*, the battle between good and evil, meant to figure and reflect the reader's own moral peril and pious struggles.<sup>95</sup> As visual distractions, they may also interfere with the reading experience, serving as warnings of the dangers and challenges inherent in the meditation on Scripture. In other cases, they promote the spiritual and allegorical interpretation of God's Word and emphasize the hermeneutic labor that the understanding of Scripture demands.<sup>96</sup> Doubtless, the artist of the Darmstadt manuscript, likely trained in an ecclesiastical scriptorium, was well familiar with the functions of decorated initial in the context of the Sacred Page. But what did it mean to transpose the same motifs and formal vocabulary into the secular space of a handbook of logic?

Boethius, in respect to the problem of Universals—the greatest knot of all—spoke of “the knots [*nodis*] of the more lofty questions,” which Porphyry acknowledged but deliberately

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<sup>94</sup> Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>95</sup> See, for example, Heather Pulliam, “Exaltation and Humiliation: The Decorated Initials of the Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 18),” *Gesta* 49 (2010): 97–115.

<sup>96</sup> The literature is vast. For an introduction into these issues, see Laura Kendrick, *Animating the Letter: The Figurative Embodiment of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Ohio State University Press, 1999), esp. ch. 4, 110–146; T. A. Heslop, ““Brief in Words but Heavy in the Weight of Its Mysteries,”” *Art History* 9, no. 1 (1986): 1–11. More recent studies include: Cynthia Hahn, “Letter and Spirit: The Power of the Letter, the Enlivenment of the Word in Medieval Art,” in *Visible Writings: Cultures, Forms, Readings*, ed. Marija Dalbello and Mary Shaw (Rutgers University Press, 2011), 55–76; Ben C. Tilghman, “The Shape of the Word: Extralinguistic Meaning in Insular Display Lettering,” *Word & Image* 27, no. 3 (July 1, 2011): 292–308; Aden Kumler, “Handling the Letter,” in *St. Albans and the Markyate Psalter: Seeing and Reading in Twelfth-Century England*, ed. Kristen Collins and Matthew Fisher (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2017), 69–100 (see n.10 and n.11 for a select bibliography).



passed over in the *Isagoge*.<sup>97</sup> In Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, the protagonist reacts to Lady Philosophy's discourse: "You are playing with me, aren't you, by weaving a labyrinth of arguments from which I can't find the way out. At one moment you go in where you'll come out, and at another you come out where you went in. Or are you creating a wonderful circle of divine simplicity?"<sup>98</sup> Indeed, simplicity and complexity are not always easy to tell apart.

The initials' knotty contortions resonate with descriptions of Parisian debate culture as described by contemporaries: for instance in the disapproving characterization of the "intricacies" and "circumventions" of disputations in Paris in a letter by Abbot Peter of Celle's (1115–1183) to his life-long friend John of Salisbury. In this letter of 1164, the abbot allegorically construes the Book of Life from Revelation (and therefore also associated with the *Majestas Domini* imagery, however in the context of Judgment iconography) in direct opposition to Parisian scholarship, where truth, he claims, is achieved only through toil, muddled with error, and generally drowned in Babylonian confusion and vanity.<sup>99</sup> Expressing his sincere concern for John's soul, Peter prays him to abandon Paris—"Oh Paris how meet you are for seizing and deceiving souls!"<sup>100</sup>—and urges him to flee the city's schools for the school of Christ, and turn to

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<sup>97</sup> Gyula Klima, Fritz Allhoff, and Anand Vaidya, *Medieval Philosophy: Essential Readings with Commentary*, Blackwell Readings in the History of Philosophy 2 (Malden, MA ; Oxford: Blackwell Pub, 2007), 59. "Ait enim se altiorum quaestionum nodis abstinere, simplices vero mediocri coniectura perstringere." Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta*, ed. Samuel Brandt, vol. 48, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna; Leipzig: Tempusky; Freytag, 1906), I.9, 158–159.

<sup>98</sup> Ancius Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Victor Watts (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 81. "Ludisne, inquam, me inextricabilem labyrinthum rationibus texens, quae nunc quidem qua egrediaris introeas, nunc uero quo introieris egrediare, an mirabilem quandam diuinae simplicitatis orbem complicas?" Boethius, *Theological Tractates. The Consolation of Philosophy*, Loeb Classical Library 74 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 304.

<sup>99</sup> This letter is also discussed by Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 87–88.

<sup>100</sup> "O Parisius, quam idonea es ad capiendas et decipiendas animas!" Julian P. Haseldine, ed., *The Letters of Peter of Celle* (Oxford University Press, 2001), Letter 170, 656 (Latin), 657 (English).

the Book of Life in which he would apprehend the eternal verities in their entirety, eye to eye, and not concealed in convoluted sophisms and disputations:

There in the book of life you would discern not characters and letters but divinity and truth itself as it is, eye to eye, without the toil of reading, without the tediousness of seeing, without falsehood or error of understanding, without worry about retaining, without fear of forgetting. O blessed school, where Christ instructs our hearts with the word of His virtue, where without study and reading we apprehend how we ought to live happily in eternity. There no book is bought, no master of scribes is employed; there is no circumvention (*circumuentio*) of disputations, no entanglement (*intricatio*) of sophistries; there is a clear conclusion (*plana determinatio*) of all questions, a complete understanding (*plena apprehensio*) of universal reasons (*rationes*) and proofs (*argumentationes*).<sup>101</sup>

John of Salisbury may not have followed Peter's urging to enlist in the school of Christ, but he harbored reservations of his own against the tortuous debates of Parisian scholars. In the *Metalogicon*, he condemns that type of logician, "who hinders his colleague either by an excess of words or by a twisted response."<sup>102</sup> Such a debater, he asserts, "is not merely a bad associate but manifestly obstinate."<sup>103</sup> 'Bad' dialecticians, he explains, set traps and seek to tie opponents into knots. If the proper protocol of debate is not honored, the purpose of debate is defeated: questions multiply and the discussion runs in circles, "constantly moving but never advancing," and the outcome determined by chance.<sup>104</sup> Good dialecticians, by contrast, pursue the goal of distinguishing between true and false, seek clarification, and simplify. But knots had to be

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<sup>101</sup> "Ibi in libro uite non figuras et elementa sed ipsam sicut est diuinitatem et ueritatem oculo ad oculum cerneret, sine labore legendi, sine fastidio uidendi, sine fallacia uel errore intelligendi, sine sollicitudine retinendi, sine timore obliuiscendi. O beata scola, ubi Christus docet corda nostra uerbo uirtutis sue, ubi sine studio et lectione apprehendimus quomodo debeamus eternaliter beate uiuere. Non emitur ibi liber, non redimitur magister scriptorum; nulla circumuentio disputationum, nulla sophismatum intricatio; plana omnium questionum determinatio, plena uniuersarum rationum et argumentationum apprehensio." Ibid., 656–659 (English and Latin). See also a similar letter (75) from Peter to John in PL vol. 202, 521–522.

<sup>102</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT), III.10, 280.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. Adapted translation: "obstinate" instead of "shameless."

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 282–283.

discerned first, which required a keen eye. John put forward one of his teachers, Alberic, as a laudable knot finder, who was

exact in every respect, found arguments to question at every turn, no surface, however polished, being in his eyes without roughness, nor any *bulrush without knots*, as the saying goes.<sup>105</sup> For there too he would point to a knot that needed untying.<sup>106</sup>

Peter of Blois (c. 1130–c. 1211), educated in the schools of Paris and Chartres, declined to answer a set legal questions in a letter, writing: “Let those who have questions ask them at Paris, where the most intricate knots [*intricantissimi nodi*] of difficult questions are resolved.”<sup>107</sup>

In its overwhelming complexity, the world appeared like a knot, and resolving it—the *resolutio*—was dialectic’s name of the game, so to speak. Wrought from knots, coils, and curlicues and interwoven with beasts, the Darmstadt manuscript’s animated letters formally and symbolically harken back to Lady Dialectic’s floral diagram and coiling serpent with its frond-like tail, and establish a link between the frontispiece miniature and the following treatises.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> “The bulrush (*scirpus*), with which fields of grain are covered, has no knots, whence Ennius (*Satires* 27): ‘They look for a knot, as people say, in a bulrush (*scirpus*).’ And in the proverb, ‘A hostile person looks for a knot even in a bulrush.’” *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), XVII.ix.97, 355.

<sup>106</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.10, 199. “[...] quorum alter ad omnia scrupulosus locum quaestionis inueniebat ubique, ut qua uis polita planities offendiculo non careret, et ut aiunt ei scirpus non esset enodis. Nam et ibi monstrabat quod oporteat enodari.” *Metalogicon* (CCCM), II.10, 71.

<sup>107</sup> “Qui interrogant, interrogant Parisiis, ubi difficultium quaestionium nodi intricatissimi resolvuntur.” PL 207, 69. Translation after John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (CUA Press, 2009), 104. Chapter 3 is of particular interest to the perception of Paris’s school by a secular figure who was a diplomat, poet, theologian, and crusader.

<sup>108</sup> It seems that initials and the frontispiece drawing were executed by one and the same hand. Dialectic’s floral diagram and serpent exhibit the same formal and stylistic traits found in the illuminated initials. Especially the morphology of the fine diagram with its looping vines, budding leaves, and metallic clasps registers the skilled hand of the initial maker. The slightly ‘wooden’ figure of Dialectic and the awkward anatomy and postures of the philosophical quartet reveals that the illuminator, while excelling in the minutia of linear ornament, ventured outside

The visual design of the attributes reflects the good dialectical work of untying knots. The entangled state of the world has been achieved through distinction, simplification, and solution and brought into a state of clarity. The letters' intertwined botanical and zoological forms—a con-fusion of different genera of being—are separated out in the frontispiece: With the serpent in one hand and plant diagram in the other, *Dialectic* presents the genus class of *sensible* and *insensible animate beings* as separate entities. Composed of the very same leaves and vines as the manuscript's decorated letters, the Tree diagram, in its rhythmic linearity, resembles a disentangled vine, transformed from a state of chaos into order.

After first establishing *Dialectica* as the central figure in the Darmstadt frontispiece, this chapter began its examination of the image and its historical context by identifying the four figures who occupy the corners of the page: Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, and Adam of Balsham. This unprecedented grouping of a medieval magister with the three most famous philosophers of antiquity was a critical choice in both the visual presentation of both *Dialectica* and the framing of the content that follows her, and it is one that, seen in larger context of early scholastic learning in Paris, paves the way for the interests and themes of the dissertation at large. Beyond restoring Adam as an important figure in the history of Parisian intellectual life, a close look at the Darmstadt manuscript's images and texts has exposed inevitable links with a larger community of dialecticians, most notably Peter Abelard and John of Salisbury, whose esteem for and identification with classical philosophy and culture accorded with Scholasticism's self-reflexive assertion of its pagan philosophical ancestry. In that vein, the multilayered, startlingly ambitious, and highly provocative image of *Dialectica* staged the relationship between past and

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his comfort-zone in rendering human figures in virtual three-dimensional space—evidence that the frontispiece drawing was, for its maker, an unusual and challenging work.

present as a unstable but powerful site for productive reflection and manipulation of secular and religious iconographies in the visual articulation of the high stakes in the dialectical pursuit of truth. In the following chapter, we will see how Master Adam and his school on the Petit-Pont inserted themselves and performed their philosophical project in the space of the city, in ways that profoundly altered Paris's physical and intellectual landscape.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ON THE BRIDGE OF DIALECTIC

When Adam of Balsham arrived in Paris around 1120, he must have spent several years studying logic in the schools, obtaining the title of magister sometime before 1132.<sup>1</sup> As a licensed teacher, he opened a school on the Petit-Pont, the bridge that spanned the southern arm of the Seine between the Ile de la Cité and the Left Bank (fig. 2.1).

Proliferating in early twelfth-century Paris, urban private schools such as Adam's were very much in and of the world. They emerged in urban centers, embraced dialectics and direct intellectual confrontation, and fostered competition and exchange between each other. For private masters, the situation in Paris approximated an open-market economy: to survive in the Parisian scholastic scene, Adam had to be a popular teacher, capable of attracting a sufficient number of students each year. Moreover, he had to publicly distinguish himself in disputations with other masters and establish a distinct philosophical identity that would be the trademark of his school. To leave his mark and preserve his legacy, he essentially had to foster a dedicated following of disciples that would spread, defend, and develop their master's doctrines.<sup>2</sup> Adam achieved all that, and his school became a veritable institution in Paris that continued to exist on the Petit-Pont until the turn of the thirteenth century.

The Darmstadt manuscript's frontispiece, examined in the previous chapter, visualized Adam's intellectual enterprise divorced from space and time; the figures of Adam, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle hover over the bare page. This, in fact, is how the history of the emergence

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<sup>1</sup> Adam surely had been already a magister when he published the *Ars disserendi* in 1132.

<sup>2</sup> See Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c.1100-1330* (Cambridge, et. al.: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 9–11.

of Scholasticism is often written: with dialectic as an abstract concept or set of practices at the center, drawing medievals into the orbit of classical philosophy and making them into New Aristotles. Yet the idea of the scholastic project as a timeless endeavor of universal truth based on (God-given) reason is innate to its original constitution. In dialecticians' focus on language, discourse, and the logical conception of reality, the concrete world may seem irrelevant to their intellectual endeavors. Yet for the very same scholastic thinkers who espoused the importance of the imagination and immaterial experiences of the intellectual, the lived environment of Paris was an integral part of their project. And their project, in turn, became an integral part of the city. This chapter sets out to fill the visual vacuum around the portrait of Magister Adam by turning to the physical world and the built, material, and visual culture that the manuscript's owner—whether Adam or one of his students—inhabited, but which the designer of the prefatory drawing omitted.

Seen in light of the modern maxim that puts a high premium on location as key to the success of consumer-based businesses—*location, location, location*—, the Petit-Pont was prime real estate. The site of Adam's school was a natural bottleneck and major thoroughfare that funneled people and goods across the Seine. It was also a bustling commercial corridor that was inhabited, and competed over, by various social groups and professions. As a highly trafficked, multi-purpose, and crowded site, the Petit-Pont was the ideal stage for the performance and display of a range of intellectual, social, and economic activities. The bridge hosted the shops of merchants, was the habitat of beggars, a stop on the itineraries of peddlers, a stage for street performers, and a marketplace for the various stationary and ambulatory trades thriving in medieval Paris. This chapter will accordingly consider Adam's school and early scholastic

culture within the urban environment of twelfth-century Paris and examine the dynamics resulting from the merging of civic and scholastic space.

Paris was the locus of the making of a new intellectual culture formed outside of the walled cloisters of the monastic and episcopal schools, in the streets and squares of one of Europe's most vibrant cities. The growing rapport between city and scholastics is a common trope of medieval intellectual history, but the challenge of what that looked like in actuality, what forms it took, and what it meant to the development of scholastic culture has yet to be taken seriously.

This challenge is compounded by the scarcity of sources that speak to these questions. When Jacques Verger wrote that our effort to understand “the nature and functioning” of the urban schools depends on the “literary works of this period, [...] which appear to reflect more or less accurately the educational reality,” he was presumably thinking, above all, of Peter Abelard's and John of Salisbury's autobiographical writings.<sup>3</sup> Vivid as their accounts are, they yield little insight, for example, into the location of schools, the spaces of teaching, the numbers of students, or where disputations took place. Adam's school, by virtue of its master's nickname *Parvipontanus*, is the only private school of Paris whose location can be securely established as within the city.<sup>4</sup> Reconstructing the space of the Petit-Pont, then, permits us to expand our understanding of the “educational reality” with respect to the physical and social environment, and to place the dialectical movement in a concrete relationship with urban life and culture.

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<sup>3</sup> Jacques Verger and P. Demouy, “Les ecoles urbaines,” in *Les laics dans les villes de la France du nord au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 99–100. Jacques Verger, *Culture, Enseignement et Société En Occident Aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles* (Rennes, 1999), 29. See the compiled texts in chapter 2 of Alex J. Novikoff, ed., *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 59–146.

<sup>4</sup> On variations of Adam's name, see Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, “The ‘Ars Disserendi’ of Adam of Balsham ‘Parvipontanus,’” *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies (London)* 3 (1954): 118 n.1.



Dwelling on the Petit-Pont, the Parvipontani became part and parcel of the profane world of commerce, labor, and entertainment. Although at first it may seem counterintuitive for a school to be placed in the humdrum of urban life, I argue that the Petit-Pont constituted a strategic place for claiming a visual and vocal presence in the city for a new model of publicly performed academic discourse. In order to understand just what Adam and his students stood to gain from their immersion in city life, I examine how the Parvipontani engaged with, confronted, and ultimately became an integral part of the urban fabric. I will suggest that they established public fora and transformed the city into an urban stage for intellectual exchange, and I will explore the overlooked contributions scholastics and their schools made to the urban development of medieval Paris. In studying the school in its physical environment and examining its interaction with the social and built space, my aim is to excavate how the material and visual environment of the city shaped an emergent Scholasticism and the intellectual and ideological discourses that accompanied it.

In the twelfth century, a deep ambivalence existed about the city as a space of learning, and urbanite scholars faced at times vehement opposition, in particular from monastics, though bishops and canons chimed in with the chorus of critics. Underpinning their opposition was the realization that the proliferation of private masters, operating outside the institutional network of the ecclesial schools, posed a serious challenge to the virtual monopoly the Church claimed on teaching and the pursuit of truth. In the eyes of critics, the loosening of control led to an erosion of scholarly norms and moral discipline whose guardians they purported to be; they condemned the city as unsuitable for learning which, crucially, was considered a spiritual as much as

intellectual activity since all human study was—or should be—oriented toward and reliant upon God.<sup>5</sup>

Tensions escalated where matters of faith were at stake. The schools of dialectic did not limit themselves to purely secular subjects. In fact, the authors of a fundamental study of Paris's schools fittingly termed them as logico-theological schools.<sup>6</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux's persecution of Peter Abelard for his logical forays into Christianity's sacred mystery of the Trinity correlated with a growing anxiety over philosophers' desires to meld these two intellectual worlds and modes of thought—cast by Bernard and other critics in stark and dramatic terms. This, in itself, is not a new story; but without a sense of the merging of urban and intellectual spheres, however, it remains a story that is only partially understood.

This chapter is organized into three main sections. The first probes the reasons for the particular attraction of Paris for so many masters and students and proceeds to build a portrait of the city and its schools of dialectic as Adam would have found them in the early twelfth century. Section two sets out to build a portrait of the physical and social space of the Petit-Pont. The school's highly particular setting, I seek to show, is revealing of the Parvipontani's imitation of Athenian philosophical life. At stake in the school's urban location was the very identity of Adam's intellectual enterprise. In the third and final section, I consider how the scholastic project was shaped by twelfth-century Paris, and more specifically by the Petit-Pont, and how the city figured into the debates and conflicts that ensued from the urbanization of intellectual life. By turning to the very material and physical conditions of Adam's school and scholasticism writ large, we may begin to acquire a much richer, albeit more complex understanding of the ways

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<sup>5</sup> See Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*.

<sup>6</sup> Yukio Iwakuma and Sten Ebbesen, "Logico-Theological Schools from the Second Half of the 12th Century: A List of Sources," *Vivarium* 30, no. 1 (1992): 173–210.

that the scholastic project interacted with its urban surroundings and assumed concrete forms and material presence in the experiences of both scholastic actors and their audiences. Far from being a passive process that the term ‘formation’ may imply, I propose to consider it as a material performative discourse of representation, both of the self and the other, embroiled in the ideological conflicts over the correct, orthodox practice of truth and knowledge as they played out in twelfth-century Paris.

### **From Balsham to Paris**

In his little treatise *Oratio de utensilibus*, Adam describes how, with his studies completed and now a *magister*, he returned after twelve years to his native village of Balsham.<sup>7</sup> Celebrated with a grand banquet, Adam’s homecoming was a happy reunion of relatives and friends. Adam conjures a bucolic idyll in his depiction of the family castle encircled by a moat and a rampart, surrounded by fields and pastures. At one moment in the narrative, his cousin asks him a question that he had surely confronted countless times before: as an Englishman from Balsham and such a family, “what could you possibly want in Paris? And, do you honestly choose the meager salary of a school master over life on your father’s noble estate?”<sup>8</sup> Adam is amused by

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<sup>7</sup> See Patrizia Lendinara, “The *Oratio de Utensilibus Ad Domum Regendam Pertinentibus* by Adam of Balsham,” in *Ashgate Critical Essays on Early English Lexicographers: Volume 2: Middle English*, ed. Christine Franzen (Routledge, 2017), 357–378; Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England: Texts*, vol. 1 (Boydell & Brewer, 1991), 165–176, and vol. 2, 37–62; Lisa H. Cooper, *Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). 24–32, 26 esp. The veracity of the autobiographical elements in Adam’s *Oratio* warrants a measure of skepticism, and scholars have been leery of taking the text at face value. Doubts arise because the little tract’s primary purpose is lexicographical: it parades a wealth of words, many from Isidore of Seville and other, more obscure sources, exhibiting the author’s erudition. But there is no intrinsic reason to doubt the account either.

<sup>8</sup> “‘Quid ergo’, inquit consobrinorum qui aderant unus, ‘cum sis nascione Anglicus, patria Balsamiensis et genere Bellvacensis, mansione, iam diutior quam voluisse[m], Parisiensis,

his cousin's questions; he jokingly calls them *interrogationes*, drawing a comparison to the professional questioning of scholastic disputations. With an indulgent smile, Adam tells his cousin that he would not attempt to respond to two such demanding questions without deeper consideration. But he leaves his cousin, and the reader, wanting.

Adam's humorous deflection suggests that his cousin's questions are justified; they appear to touch a nerve. The cousin's question finds its echoes in Nigel de Longchamp's *A Mirror for Fools* (*Speculum stultorum*, c. 1180), a social satire of the follies and adventures of Burnel the Ass. Obsessed with obtaining magisterial honors—"Master shall I be, and 'Master' shall precede my name!"—Burnel wastes many years of fruitless study in pursuit of his goal.<sup>9</sup> In the end, finally realizing his intellectual inaptitude, Burnel exclaims with desperation: "What madness drove me here, Parisian schools and foreign lands to see?"<sup>10</sup> Vanity and avarice thought critics of the scholastic phenomenon.

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nu[m]quid alicubi rurale edificium huic simile vidisti? Nonne tibi, si fieri posset, honestius iudicares rure paterno frui quam salarii lucello addictum fuisse? Tunc ego subridens 'Interrogationibus', inquam, 'et duabus et tam longis et p[ro]fuscula meditatione circumvolvendis tam subito reddere non aggrediar'." Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England: Texts*, vol. 1 (Boydell & Brewer, 1991), 175.

<sup>9</sup> Nigel Longchamp and C. S. C. Paul E. Beichner, *A Mirror for Fools: The Book of Burnel the Ass*, trans. J. H. Mozley (University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), 39.

<sup>10</sup> ... reflecting on the wasted days

Of youth and sadly self-accusing, says:

What life is this? What madness drove me here

Parisian schools and foreign lands to see? ...

I left my homeland, crossed the Alpine range

In all its length, saw many a new domain

Far beyond Rhone; now in surroundings strange

(Poor Fool!) at earth's far limit I remain.

What need had I at peril of my life

To see the Schools of Paris [...].

Nigellus Wireker, *A Mirror for Fools; the Book of Burnel the Ass*, trans. John Henry Mosley (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), 53.

Ergo recordatus tandem Burnellus ineptae

The twelfth century witnessed scores of bright and studious young men and boys abandoned their familial home seeking out Paris to obtain a higher education; for the vast majority this was undoubtedly a pragmatic decision, stoked, to be sure, by ambition and an adventurous spirit. Training in the liberal arts, together with the social connections that were to be forged in Paris, promised lucrative and prestigious administrative posts or ecclesiastical careers. Others, however, would spend many years in the schools of Paris, and some, like Adam, their entire adult lives. For them, Paris became a new home, and their scholarly peers a new family.

The way twelfth-century Paris seized the collective scholastic psyche was comparable perhaps to the way Jerusalem loomed in the Christian imagination. What was the particular allure that Paris exerted on fertile and young English minds? What was it about Paris, whether in imagination or in actuality, that so ignited Adam's desire and motivated him to travel far from home? What drew Adam to Paris and kept him there until the end of his life, despite the renunciation of luxury and high status his move entailed? As a boy, he must have been exceptionally intelligent, with ambition as well as an insatiable thirst for knowledge. But to fulfill these gifts, he need not have ventured far. He could have chosen to become a secular master in a cathedral school not far from home—in Ely, for example.<sup>11</sup> Or, if austerity held an

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Damna juventutis se reprehendit ita:

Heu mihi, quid vixi? quis me furor egit, ut istas

Aggrederer partes Parisiique scholas? ...

Alpibus emensis et post mea terga relictis

Stultus in extremis partibus orbis agor.

Ut quid in has partes patriaque domoque relictis

Trans Rodanum veni, regna videre nova?

Quae mihi cura fuit per tanta pericula mortis ...

Nigel De Longchamps, *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. John H. Mozley and Robert R. Raymo (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), 66.

<sup>11</sup> For career paths available to secular clergy, see Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in*

irresistible attraction, he could have taken the path of a scholar-monk in one of England's prestigious abbeys. But for a young man with Adam's intellect and his knack for logic, Paris exerted an almost irresistible magnetism, as it did for other boys with a similar bent.

Part of that attraction, for sure, was the combative atmosphere among Parisian dialecticians. The vita of Goswin (Gossuin) of Anchin (1082–1165) underscores this point.<sup>12</sup> As a young man, before seeking out the schools of Paris, Goswin

had studied [dialectic] prior, and sweated in this art to grasp it, and frequently he sat with his companions in taverns of those who offered [dialectic] for sale: but nowhere was it sold in such plentitude [as in Paris].<sup>13</sup>

Hence Goswin set out for Paris “where now dialectic was taught by so many erudite men with rivalry [*certatim*].”<sup>14</sup> A student in Paris, Goswin enthusiastically participated in this rivalry: as his vita proudly recounts, Goswin challenged Abelard on his home turf in the cloister of the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève like David confronting Goliath, and, to the famed master's embarrassment, defeated him there in an ad-hoc disputation.<sup>15</sup> The battles of the schools, as Abelard related them with glee in his autobiography, enhanced Paris's mythical aura and image

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*England, 1066-1216* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> Goswin became abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Anchin around 1131. See André Boutemy, “Enluminures d'Anchin au temps de l'abbé Gossuin (1131/1133 à 1165),” *Scriptorium* 11, no. 2 (1957): 234–48.

<sup>13</sup> “Studuerat quidem prius, & sudauerat in hac arte capienda, & frequenter cum suis contubernalibus tabernis eorum assederat, qui eam venditabant: sed non alicubi plenitudine tanta vendebatur.” Richard Gibbon, *Beati Gosvini Vita, celeberrimi Aquicinctensis monasterii abbatis septimi* (Ex officina Marci Wyon, 1620), 11.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 11: “Parisius est profectus, ubi tunc a quapluribus eruditissimis certatim Dialectica docebatur. Studuerat quidem prius, & sudaverat in hac arte capienda, & frequenter cum suis contubernalibus tabernis eorum assederat, qui eam venditabant: sed non alicubi plenitudine tanta vendebatur.”

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 12–18. Translated in Novikoff, ed., *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, 92–95. See also Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 15–16.

as a public arena resounding with electrifying disputations and the excitement of cheering crowds.<sup>16</sup>

At the outset of a Parisian education or magisterial career, masters and students awaited a journey of varying duration and hardship; some traveled for a day or two, while for others the journey was a veritable pilgrimage.<sup>17</sup> Taking Adam as a representative of the twelfth-century academic pilgrim, I propose following him on his probable itinerary from Balsham to Paris. This was a kind of rite of passage, which began with the departure from his family and friends and concluded with the initiation into a new social group that shared the collective experience of deracination.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps twenty years Abelard's junior, Adam likely left Balsham in his late teens, sometime around 1120. Before departing, he had to prepare himself materially. The journey would cost a significant sum of money, and he also needed sufficient funds to pay the initial

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<sup>16</sup> See Andrew Taylor, "A Second Ajax: Peter Abelard and the Violence of Dialectic," in *The Tongue of the Fathers: Gender and Ideology in Twelfth-Century Latin* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 14–34; Alex J. Novikoff, "Peter Abelard and Disputation: A Reexamination," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 32, no. 4 (November 1, 2014): 323–47.

<sup>17</sup> On the mobility of scholars in the twelfth century, see Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066-1216* (Oxford University Press, 2014), ch. 10 esp; Jacques Verger, "La mobilité étudiante au Moyen Âge," *Histoire de l'éducation* 50, no. 1 (1991): 65–90; Joachim Ehlers, "Deutsche Scholaren in Frankreich während des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), 97–120; Astrik L. Gabriel, "English Masters and Students in Paris during the XIIth Century," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 25 (1949): 1–51.

<sup>18</sup> Holmes has reconstructed such a journey from Lonodn to Paris in detail based on Alexander of Neckam's writings, complemented by John of Salisbury's account of his travels between England and France. See Urban Tigner Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century: Based on the Observations of Alexander Neckam in London and Paris* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962).

expenses of lodging and food in Paris. In addition, he presumably took books for study with him from the household library, if indeed such existed in the collection.

Like all other English travelers to the European continent, Adam's first destination would have been Dover. Not far from Cambridge, Balsham was conveniently close to a highway that led straight to London. This first leg of Adam's journey would have been quite feasible on horseback and was likely made in the company of a friend or servant who could help protect his possessions. From London he would have taken the road to Canterbury, which would have taken approximately one day, and passed throngs of pilgrims *en route* to the shrine of St. Dunstan at Canterbury Cathedral. Surely Adam paused at the saint's tomb to pray for safe travels, for ahead of him lay the most perilous part of the journey: the crossing of the English Channel, infamous for its volatile weather and rough seas.

Once at Dover, Adam had to secure a spot on a ferry that would take him across the strait to Calais or Boulogne. Having safely reached the Normandy coast, Adam would have made his way south, passing Amiens and also his family's ancestral city of Beauvais. A final obligatory stop, just outside of Paris, was the abbey of Saint-Denis, the religious heart of the monarchy and burial site of kings and queens. The legendary basilica of Saint-Denis was then still in its Carolingian state. Abbot Suger launched the rebuilding of the church's west-front only a few years after Adam passed through the town of Saint-Denis. Indeed, had Adam made his trek to Paris just a few decades later, and had he been willing approach Paris by means of a slightly indirect route, he would have witnessed an extraordinary boom in the construction of Gothic cathedrals. But all the same, Adam surely saw the rebuilt basilica of Saint-Denis after completion of its apse in 1144 and marveled at the great church's radical transformation since his first glimpse of it a quarter-century before.



With Paris, his destination in sight, let us imagine that Adam made a detour to climb Montmartre—the “mount of martyrdom”—where a Merovingian chapel marked the holy spot at which St. Denis was martyred. Then, as today, the view from the summit of Montmartre encompasses the surrounding countryside, the meandering Seine, and, of course, Paris itself, which lay just two miles to the south.

With a population nearing twenty-five thousand in the twelfth century—that is, exceeding London by a third, though slightly smaller than the more populous cities of Flanders—Paris would have been larger than any city Adam had likely ever seen.<sup>19</sup> The majority of its population lived in close-packed quarters on the Ile de la Cité, corralled between the aging Roman walls that ran along the waterfront and butting up west and east against the expansive grounds of the royal palace and the cathedral precinct (fig. 2.2). The budding settlement on the Right Bank had developed in recent decades thanks to a significant upturn in trade and industry as well as an influx of people from the countryside. A manifest sign of Paris’s growing prosperity, this stretch of land would transform over the next several decades into the city’s premier zone of commercial activity. The Left Bank had not yet been significantly affected by Paris’s urban growth. The Mont Sainte-Geneviève and its surrounding lands were mostly rural in character, a patchwork of walled-in vineyards (*clos*) amidst Roman ruins, small settlements, and the three abbeys of Saint-Victor, St. Germain-des-Prés, and Sainte-Geneviève (fig. 2.3).

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<sup>19</sup> For the topography of twelfth-century Paris, see especially Robert-Henri Bautier, “Paris au temps d’Abélard,” in *Abélard et son temps. Actes du colloque international* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981), 21–77; Louis Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers Capétiens (987-1223): étude de topographie historique*, Bibliothèque d’histoire de Paris (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909); Philippe Lorentz, Dany Sandron, and Jacques Lebar, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge: espace urbain, habitat, société, religion, lieux de pouvoir* (Paris: Parigramme, 2006).

## The Schools in the Hills of the Moderns

What set Paris apart from other educational centers—and what drove Adam and Goswin to continue their studies there—was its multitude of masters in dialectic fostering an atmosphere of competition and rivalry.<sup>20</sup> The *Parvipontani* ranked among the five major schools of logic that flourished in twelfth-century Paris.<sup>21</sup> In addition to Adam's school, these were the *Albricani* or *Montani*, the followers of Alberic of Paris;<sup>22</sup> the *Melidunenses* (or *Robertini*), the followers of Robert of Melun;<sup>23</sup> the *Porretani*, the followers of Gilbert of Poitiers; and the *Nominales*, the followers of Abelard.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This point is also made by Richard W. Southern, "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 113–37. See especially the list of masters documented to have been active in Paris in the twelfth century in *ibid.*, 133. See further Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 11–24. Nikolaus Martin Häring, "Chartres and Paris Revisited," in *Essays in Honor of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 268–329; R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe: Foundations* (Wiley, 1997); with a critical response by John Marenbon, "Humanism, Scholasticism and the School of Chartres," ed. R. W. Southern, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6, no. 4 (2000): 569–77.

<sup>21</sup> On the schools, see the documents collected in Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "The 'Ars Disserendi' of Adam of Balsham," 159–168; Iwakuma Yukio and Sten Ebbesen, "Logico-Theological Schools from the Second Half of the 12th Century: A List of Sources," *Vivarium* 30, no. 1 (1992): 173–210; Richard W. Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, II: The School of Ralph of Beauvais," in *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., 1980), 39–94.

<sup>22</sup> Yukio Iwakuma, "Alberic of Paris on Mont Ste Geneviève against Peter Abelard," in *Logic and Language in the Middle Ages: A Volume in Honour of Sten Ebbesen*, ed. Sten Ebbesen and Jacob L. Fink (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 27–47; Egbert P. Bos and Joke Spruyt, eds., *Anonymi Introductiones Montane maiores* (Éditions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, 2017).

<sup>23</sup> Constant J. Mews, "Between the Schools of Abelard and Saint-Victor in the Mid Twelfth Century: The Witness of Robert of Melun," in *L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris. Influence et rayonnement* (Brepols, 2010), 121–38.

<sup>24</sup> Yukio Iwakuma, "Twelfth-Century Nominales The Posthumous School of Peter Abelard," *Vivarium* 30, no. 1 (1992): 97–109; David E. Luscombe, "The School of Peter Abelard Revisited," *Vivarium* 30 (1992): 127–38; David E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period*, vol. 14, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: New Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Ian Wilks, "Peter Abelard and His Contemporaries," in *Handbook of the History of Logic:*

In contemporary sources these schools were sometimes referred to as *sectae* or sects, and appropriately so.<sup>25</sup> Paris's community of dialecticians split into (more or less) discrete 'schools of thought' in their resolutions of those burning questions that the centuries-old tradition of Aristotelian logic had imparted to them. A lively exchange existed between these schools. Not only were they acutely aware of their rivals' teachings and novel opinions, but they also formulated counter positions and engaged publicly in disputations. The intellectual rivalry between the schools (rather than institutions) functioned as the engine that simultaneously powered, and arguably made possible, dynamic philosophical discourse in twelfth-century Paris.<sup>26</sup> In other words, scholastic Paris was a contested space of discourse, an open intellectual arena where truth was not so much passed on from master to student, as fought out between competing factions in a ceaseless *sic et non*.

The autobiographical writings of Parisian scholars provide a vague picture of the topography of the secular schools. Twice in his career Abelard taught publicly in the cloister of the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, likely leading other masters, including Robert of Melun and Alberic of Paris to set up shop on the Mont Ste-Geneviève.<sup>27</sup> Alberic of Paris and his students

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*Mediaeval and Renaissance Logic* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008), 83–156; C.G. Normore, "Abelard and the School of the Nominales," *Vivarium* 30, no. 1 (1992): 80–96.

<sup>25</sup> But cf. William J. Courtenay, "Schools and Schools of Thought in the Twelfth Century," in *Mind Matters: Studies of Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual History in Honour of Marcia Colish*, ed. Cary J. Nederman, Nancy Van Deusen, and E. Ann Matter (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), 13–45.

<sup>26</sup> For an appreciation of the topic of competition in the twelfth-century schools, see Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 9–11.

<sup>27</sup> That Abelard taught in the cloister of St-Geneviève is reported in the vita of St. Goswin: "Tunc temporis magister Petrus Abailardus, multis sibi scholaribus aggregatis, in claustro S. Genovesae schola publica utebatur: qui probatae quidem scientiae, sublimis eloquentiae, sed inauditarum erat inventor et assertor novitatum [...]." Richard Gibbon, ed., *Beati Gosvini Vita*, 12. Translated in Novikoff, ed., *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, 95.

thereby acquired the toponym *Montani*, men of the mount.<sup>28</sup> In an account of his student years, John of Salisbury, who had studied with all three masters—Abelard, Robert of Melun, and Alberic—and since moved on to study theology, thought it a pleasant idea to revisit his former place of study after twelve years and to see those companions he had left behind, “who were still detained by dialectic at Mont Sainte-Geneviève.”<sup>29</sup> In his gloss on the first lines of Psalm 136, Alexander of Neckam, formerly a Parvipontanus, scorned the Mont as the hill of the modern masters (*collis magistrorum modernorum*) who kept their students captive “in the middle of Babylon.”<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> L. M. De Rijk, “Some New Evidence on Twelfth Century Logic: Alberic and the School of Mont Ste Geneviève (Montani),” *Vivarium* 4 (1966): 1–57; Yukio Iwakuma, “Alberic of Paris on Mont Ste Geneviève against Peter Abelard,” in *Logic and Language in the Middle Ages: A Volume in Honour of Sten Ebbesen*, ed. Sten Ebbesen and Jacob L. Fink (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 27–47.

<sup>29</sup> The passage continues: “... and to compare notes with them about our old uncertainties, that by mutual comparison we might measure our respective progress. They were found the same as they had been, and in the same position; they seemed to me not to have advanced so much as a hand’s breadth. To the solution of long-standing problems they had not added even one tiny proposition. The goads with which they used to drive others now drove them. Certainly they had made progress in just this one thing that, having unlearned moderation, they had thereby lost all modesty; so much so indeed that one might well despair of their recovery.” *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.10, 201.

<sup>30</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Bodl. 284, f. 280rb. “Viri etiam magni qui columpne erant ecclesie, qui transierunt iam ad dulcedinem uite claustralium et reliquerunt non pusillos successores laboris eorum, dicere possunt: *organa nostra* scripta sacre scripture quibus utebamur *suspendimus in salicibus* in collis magistrorum modernorum qui sunt in medio Babylonis, ubi et nos quondam fuimus; et tanquam diceretur eis: o uiri magni, quare laborem scholarum reliquistis? Respondent: quia illic scolares *qui duxerunt nos* magistros *captiuos* ad libitum suum utentes nobis imperiose, *interrogauerunt nos uerba cantionum* id est delectabilia tantum.” Quoted after Richard W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 7 n. 32.

“Great men who were columns of the church, who already have crossed over to the sweet life of the cloister and have left behind not a few successors of their labors, can say: *our written harps of Sacred Scripture*, which we enjoyed, *we hung up in the willow trees* in the hills of the modern masters *who are in the middle of Babylon* where indeed we once were; and so one should have said to them: Oh you great men, why have you given up your scholarly labors? They answer: Because there the scholars, who *kept us* masters *captive* at their own will, used us imperiously, and *asked us for songs* that is things just as delightful [*italics indicate reference to Ps. 136:2-3*].”

As leading secular masters congregated on or around the Mont Sainte-Geneviève, somewhat remote from the center of Paris, Adam's choice to set up his school on the Petit-Pont signals a significant change in the relationship between the schools and the city. In order to understand what Adam's choice of place means to his school, how it shaped the image of scholastic learning, and what it meant to the Parisian scholastic project more broadly, it is important to get a sense of the urban situation and the kind of built and lived space the Petit-Pont was.

### The Petit-Pont

The Grand- and the Petit-Pont, medieval Paris's two bridges over the northern and southern arm of the Seine, respectively, constituted a critical section of the ancient Roman network of highways (*cardo*) that spanned northern Gaul (fig. 2.4).<sup>31</sup> Following the original Roman route,

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<sup>31</sup> The bridges are first mentioned by Julius Caesar in *De bello gallico*. In the *Misopogon* Emperor Julian writes of “wooden bridges lead to it [i.e. Ile de la Cité] on both sides” (Wilmer Cave Wright, trans., *The Works of the Emperor Julian* (London: W. Heinemann, 1913, 429). They are again mentioned in the sixth-century on two occasions by Gregory of Tours. See Margorie N. Boyer, *Medieval French Bridges: A History* (Medieval Academy of America, 2013), 18. On the premodern history of Paris's bridges see especially the works by Miron Mislin: “Die überbauten Brücken von Paris, ihre Bau- und stadtgeschichtliche Entwicklung im 12.–19. Jahrhundert” (University of Stuttgart, 1979); idem, “Zur Baugeschichte des Grand-Pont im Mittelalter,” *Alte und moderne Kunst.*, 1980, 16–20; “Paris, Ile de la Cité: Die überbauten Brücken,” *Storia della città.*, 1980, 11–36; idem, “Die überbauten Brücken von Paris: Pont-au-Change,” *Technikgeschichte: Verein Deutscher Ingenieure.* 49 (1982), 1–45; idem, *Die überbaute Brücke, Pont Notre Dame: Baugestalt und Sozialstruktur* (Haag + Herchen, 1982). See also, Guy Lambert, ed., *Les ponts de Paris* (Paris, 1999), especially the essay by Simone Roux, “Les ponts dans la ville médiévale,” 30–43; Jocelyne van Deputte, *Ponts de Paris* (Editions Sauret, 1994), 78–80; Françoise Courbage, “Les ponts de Paris au Moyen Âge,” *Archeologia. Document* 3 (1973): 106–13; Virginia Wylie Egbert, *On the Bridges of Mediaeval Paris: A Record of Early Fourteenth-Century Life* (Princeton, NJ, 1974); Marc Gaillard, *Quais et ponts de Paris: guide historique* (Amiens: Martelle, 1996). For France more broadly see, Margorie Nice Boyer, *Medieval French Bridges: A History* (Medieval Academy of America, 2013); Danièle James-Raoul and Claude Thomasset, eds., *Les ponts au Moyen Âge* (Presses Paris Sorbonne, 2006); Jean Mesqui, *Le pont en France avant le temps des ingénieurs* (Picard, 1986).

the medieval highway crossed the Seine connecting Orléans to northeastern France and was vital to long-distance travel and trade with England and the Low Countries. In medieval Paris, the Roman *cardo* was a defining feature of the urban landscape, the main corridor that divided the city on a north-south axis into two near-equal halves.<sup>32</sup> The southern end of the Petit-Pont coincided with the twelfth-century city limits and was protected by the fortified gate of the Petit-Châtelet.<sup>33</sup> Hence, the Petit-Pont was considered *intra muros*, part of the medieval city proper.

Two of the earliest descriptions of the Petit-Pont, prompted by the disastrous flood of 1206 which greatly damaged the bridge, provide a glimpse of the twelfth-century structure.<sup>34</sup> An eyewitness, the historiographer and monk of Saint-Denis, Rigord, penned a vivid account of the event in the abbey's chronicle: "A flood as had never been heard or seen before," he wrote, swept away the bridge, "ruining three of its arches, overturning plenty of houses there, and causing great suffering in all places."<sup>35</sup> According to Rigord, the river, which continued to wreak

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Still useful or otherwise of historiographical interest: Jacques Du Breul, *Le theatre des antiquitez de Paris* (Paris: Claude de la Tour, 1612), 235–247; Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, vol. 1 (Paris: Charles Moette et Jacques Chardon, 1724), 215–219; Adolphe Berty, "Recherches sur l'origine et la situation du Grand Pont de Paris, du Pont aux Changeurs, du Pont aux Meuniers, et de celui de Charles le Chauve," *Revue Archéologique* 12, no. 1 (1855): 193–220; Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers Capétiens*, 52–57; Charles Duplomb, *Histoire Générale des Ponts de Paris*, (Paris, J. Mersch, imp., 1911).

<sup>32</sup> In near perfect straight line, as Raoul de Prèsles noted in his translation of Augustine's *City of God* Raoul de Prèsles noted in his translation of Augustine's *City of God*. See *Paris et ses historiens*, 110.

<sup>33</sup> See Berty and Tisserand, *Topographie historique*, vol. 6, 363–366; Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers Capétiens*, 56–57; Mislin, "Die überbauten Brücken von Paris," 100.

<sup>34</sup> On the floods Andreas Sohn, "Acqua Alta a Parigi. Percezioni E Reazioni Durante Il Medioevo," in *Le Calamità Ambientali Nel Tardo Medioevo Europeo*, 2010, 277–98; Maurice Champion, *Les inondations en France depuis le VIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Vol. 2, (V. Dalmont, 1859); Jean-Pierre Leguay, *L'eau dans la ville au Moyen Âge* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015).

<sup>35</sup> "...tanta aquarum et fluminum inundatio facta est, quanta ab hominibus illius temporis nunquam visa vel audita a predecessoribus fuerat Parisius; tres arcus Parvi pontis fregit et quamplures domos ibidem evertit, et infinita damna multis in locis intulit." H.-François (Henri-François) Delaborde, ed., *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-*

havoc all along the upper Seine, was only appeased, and the city saved, when the abbot of Saint-Denis led a procession bare-footed to the Seine and blessed the water with relics of Christ's Passion.<sup>36</sup> The chronicler of the abbey of Ste-Geneviève produced a similar account of the flood: "Shocked and shattered by the impact of so much water, the stone bridge [...] was sure to collapse." One could see "the massive bare ruins," "demolished cement," and "stones torn asunder."<sup>37</sup> The two chronicles show that the twelfth-century Petit-Pont—in contrast to what scholars have sometimes claimed—was an imposing stone structure, overbuilt with houses, whose collapse demanded commemoration in the history books.<sup>38</sup>

The chroniclers' accounts of the bridge's destruction today call to mind the view of the smoldering ruins of the Petit-Pont painted by Jean-Baptiste Oudry after a fire had ripped through

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*Auguste* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Loones, successeur, 1882), 165.

<sup>36</sup> Apparently, the same relics that Philip had gifted to the abbey the year before. *Ibid.*, 162–163.

<sup>37</sup> "Pons etiam lapideus, qui respectu majoris pontis eusdem urbis parvus appellatur, tanto impetu aquarum impulsus & conquassatus ruinam promittebat. Videres in ipso ponte apertissimas ruinas & amplissimas, caementum demolitum, lapides disjunctos ab invicem, & ipsum pontem ruinosum & in proximo ruiturum, sicut aquae superficies, quae a vento agitabatur assidua collisione undarum fluminis huc liluc fluitantium." *Gallia christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, vol. 7 (ex Typographia Regia, 1744), 229. Notably, the chronicler of Ste-Geneviève attributed the rescue of Paris not to the abbot of Saint-Denis's procession but instead to the combined effort of his abbey's patron saint and the Virgin Mary. See the description of the Petit-Pont's destruction in 1296: André Vernet, "L'inondation de 1296-1297 à Paris," *Mémoires de la fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 1 (1949): 47–56.

<sup>38</sup> The oft-repeated claim that the Petit-Pont was made of wood appears to originate with an unsubstantiated passage from the seventeenth-century historian Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, vol. 1 (Paris: Chés Charles Moette, 1724), 216. Similarly unfounded is the persistent claim that the Petit-Pont was made of wood until it was rebuilt by Bishop Maurice de Sully in stone in the later twelfth century; as claimed, for example, by Antoine J. V. Leroux de Lincy and Lazare M. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux 13e et 14e siècles* (Paris: Impr. impériale, 1867), 160 n.3. In contrast to what is sometimes written (e.g., Mislin, "Die überbauten Brücken von Paris," 90), Matthew Paris makes no mention that the Petit-Pont was destroyed in the flood of 1196. See Henry R. Luard, ed., *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, vol. 2 (London: Longman & co, 1872), 422.

the bridge and destroyed seventeen houses one April night in 1718 (fig. 2.5).<sup>39</sup> Although the bridge depicted in the painting dated from the late fifteenth century, it would have not been substantially different from its twelfth-century ancestor. The medieval bridge was carried by five semi-circular arches (of which only three and a half are visible in Oudry's painting); an additional arch on either side lifted the bridge deck over the sloped and unfortified riverbank.<sup>40</sup> The arches of the medieval bridge would have rested on massive piers, protruding, like in Oudry's painting, beyond the deck. The piers' tapered ends served as the main support for the bridge's superstructure. Wooden poles planted in the riverbed provided further support. The charred rows of poles seen in the painting give a sense of the considerable depth of the buildings of the bridge as well as the ample space they provided for workshops, stores, and habitation.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> The fire which broke out in the night of April 1, 1718, was caused by a tragic accident. The bark of a woman searching for the body of her son who had drowned in the Seine had collided with another boat filled with hay. Due the impact, the searchlight the desperate mother had mounted on her bark set the pile of hay on fire, and the boat—ablaze—drifted downstream where it got caught between the poles underneath the Petit-Pont. The event, destruction, and rebuilding of the bridge the following year is reported in detail in the *Journal de Barbier: Chronique de la régence et du règne de Louis XV ou Journal de Barbier* (Paris: Charpentier, 1857), 1–7. See also Guillaume Glorieux, *A l'enseigne de Gersaint: Edme-François Gersaint, marchand d'art sur le Pont Notre-Dame, 1694-1750* (Editions Champ Vallon, 2002), 47–53.

<sup>40</sup> On the construction of medieval stone bridges generally, see David Featherstone Harrison, *The Bridges of Medieval England: Transport and Society, 400-1800* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 110–135; Marjorie N. Boyer, "Moving Ahead with the Fifteenth Century: New Ideas in Bridge Construction at Orléans," *History of Technology* 6 (1981): 1–22; Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Pont," *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture Française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: A. Morel, 1875), 220–259.

<sup>41</sup> For example, in 1212 a certain widow Oudarde acquired the right to remodel her house, which was located on the upstream side of the Petit-Pont, so it would extend an impressive six *toises*, nearly twelve meters, over the Seine. It was the bishopric of Paris who conceded the right of "our water"—the bishop owned the river upstream from the bridge—to the widow in the "superior [i.e. upstream] part of the Petit-Pont." Guérard, 1850, 142, no. CLXVII. See also Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, vol. 1, 216. One thirteenth-century workshop on the Grand-Pont was twelfth-meters deep: See Boyer, *Medieval French Bridges*, 77; Mislin, "Die überbauten Brücken von Paris," 90.



The medieval bridge was significantly longer than its present-day counterparts, perhaps measuring some fifty meters. The earliest record of a house on the Petit-Pont dates from 1171.<sup>42</sup> Three other contracts corroborate the presence of businesses and a workshop: a document from 1178 or 1180 lists among the witnesses to a real estate transaction a certain Balduinus, “shoemaker of the Petit-Pont.”<sup>43</sup> In 1202, the house owned by Eude de Saint-Merry on the Petit-Pont is mentioned as being “next to the butcher stalls.”<sup>44</sup> And in 1219, the cloth merchants’ guild acquired a house located “behind” the butcher stalls.<sup>45</sup>

Just north of the Petit-Pont was the busiest economic zone of Paris, the marché Palu, the city’s principal marketplace. Here grain and corn were sold in the Halle de Blés, a covered hall also known as Halle de Beauce because the grain was supplied from the agricultural region of Beauce. It arrived in Paris by boat and was subsequently unloaded at a commercial port near the Petit-Pont.<sup>46</sup> But Parisians could buy much more than grains at the Petit-Pont, as the twelfth-

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<sup>42</sup> A contract witnessed by Bishop Maurice de Sully awarded an annual donation of twenty *solidi* to a charitable institution drawn from the rent “de premio domus Parvi Pontis.” De Lasteyrie (ed.), *Cartulaire général de Paris*, 414, no. 497.

<sup>43</sup> Guérard (ed.), *Cartulaire de l’église Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. 1, 458–459, no. 561.

<sup>44</sup> “Super domum suam de Parvo-Ponte que est juxta stallos carnificium.” Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers Capétiens*, 74.

<sup>45</sup> “...mercatoribus confratribus de draperia Parisius unam domum que fuit Bartholomei de Furcose, sitam retro bucheriam Parvi pontis.” Ibid., 74.

<sup>46</sup> That is, until the latter half of the twelfth century when the majority of commercial activity shifted to the Right Bank, to Les Halles. On the history of Les Halles, see Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Les halles de Paris et leur quartier (1137-1969)*, Études et rencontres (Paris: Publications de l’École nationale des chartes, 2018). In 1183, Phillip II had the grain market moved to Les Halles on the Right Bank, where it was named Halle de la Juiverie in memory of its previous location in the rue de la Juiverie on the Ile de la Cité. Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de la police, où l’on trouvera l’histoire de son établissement, les fonctions et les prerogatives de ses magistrats, toutes les loix et tous les réglemens qui la concernent*. (aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1729), 631. The earliest documentary records of businesses in the rue de la Juiverie are the tax records of 1299 which register no less than twenty-four bread sellers: Adolphe Berty, “Études historiques et topographiques sur le vieux Paris. Trois îlots de la Cité,” *Revue Archéologique* 1 (1860): 202.

century *chanson de geste* *Le moinage Guillaume* makes plain: Bernard de Fossé, one of the poem's characters, is sent to Paris by his master Guillaume (supplied with "deniers à grant plenté") to Paris in order to shop for a veritable feast.<sup>47</sup> Knowing his way around Paris, Bernard heads straight "vers la Petit Pont."<sup>48</sup> He browses the stalls with a discerning eye and acquires a cartload of food and other goods sure to satisfy his master, including geese, figs, partridge, plover, pepper, cumin, cloves, pears, wine, beakers, bowls, and candles.<sup>49</sup> The street was in fact so crowded that in 1153, when Louis VII came into possession of a house in the rue de Petit-Pont (*vicus parvi pontis*), he had it razed in order to widen the street (*ad ampliandam viam*).<sup>50</sup>

At three-hundred meters long, this thoroughfare cutting through the heart of Paris, must have been one of the busiest streets in all of medieval France. Mixing local and long-distance traffic, it offered a mesmerizing panoply of urban life and work, lined with stores, workshops, and places of worship, and creating a never-ending flurry of activity and colorful mix of people: citizens rich and poor, merchants and street vendors, courtiers, clergy, watchmen, and students, as well as scores of pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela.

Urban and intellectual life near the Petit-Pont was further enriched by the Jewish quarter with a population of several hundred.<sup>51</sup> Situated at the corner of the *cardo* and rue de la Draperie,

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<sup>47</sup> Wilhelm Cloetta, *Les deux rédactions en vers du Moniage Guillaume*, vol. 1 (Paris, Firmin-Didot et cie, 1906), 327, also 335. The text also gives a rich description of the construction of a fictional bridge (*ibid.*, 364–365).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 329–330.

<sup>50</sup> The house was formerly owned by the money changer Guerricus: de Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire général de Paris (528–1180)*, 337.

<sup>51</sup> First mentioned in 1119 (*vicus iudeorum*): Adolphe Berty, "Études historiques et topographiques sur le vieux Paris. Trois îlots de la Cité," *Revue Archéologique* 1 (1860): 202. On the Jewish quarter, see Robert Anchel, "The Early History of the Jewish Quarters in Paris," *Jewish Social Studies* 2, no. 1 (1940): 45–60. In 1182, after the expulsion of all Jews from his kingdom, Philip Augustus II leased the vacated houses on the Ile de la Cité to drapers and furriers. The synagogue he gave to Bishop Maurice de Sully to construct there, in its stead, the

the synagogue was at once the literal, geographic center of the Cité as well as a central place of worship and particularly learning in the twelfth century.<sup>52</sup> In his chronicle of Philip Augustus's reign (r. 1180–1223), Rigord of Saint-Denis remarked upon the influx of respected Jewish scholars to Paris.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, in 1173, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela praised the studiousness of Parisian rabbis as well as the hospitality they showed to foreign Jews: "Scholars are there [i.e. Paris], unequaled in the whole world, who study the Law day and night. They are charitable and hospitable to all travelers, and are as brothers and friends unto all their brethren the Jews."<sup>54</sup>

The picture of the Petit-Pont that emerges from this medley of archival and literary sources is fleshed out in the miniatures of the *Vie de Saint-Denis* manuscript (Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 2091–2092), to which I will return in the final chapter.<sup>55</sup> Presented by the abbey of Saint-Denis to King Philip V in 1317, the richly illustrated manuscript tells the life of St. Denis. The

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parish church Sainte-Madeleine: M. H.-Francois Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe-Auguste, roi de France. Années de règne I à XV (1er novembre 1179-31 octobre 1194)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1916), 115–6. After Philip recalled the exiled Jews in 1198, it appears they settled on the Left Bank, immediately south of the Petit-Pont. See Gérard Nahon, "La communauté juive de Paris Au XIIIe siècle: problèmes topographiques, démographiques et institutionnels," in *Études sur l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 1978, 143–56, at 144.

<sup>52</sup> Nahon, "'Didascalî', rabbins et écoles," 26.

<sup>53</sup> "The greater and more learned in the Law of Moses, whom the Jews called *didascalî*, have chosen to come to Paris." Ibid., 18.

<sup>54</sup> Marcus Nathan Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford University Press, 1907), 112.

<sup>55</sup> On the representation of the city in the *Vie de Saint-Denis*, see Charlotte Lacaze, "Parisius - Paradisus, an Aspect of the Vie de St. Denis Manuscript of 1317," *Marsyas. Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1972–73): 60–66; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Paris and Paradise: The View from Saint-Denis," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Aldershot, 2009), 419–64; Camille Serchuk, "Paris and the Rhetoric of Town Praise in the 'Vie de St. Denis' Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 2090-2)," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 35–47; eadem, "Images of Paris in the Middle Ages: Patronage and Politics" (New Haven, Yale University, 1997); Virginia W. Egbert, *On the Bridges of Mediaeval Paris: A Record of Early Fourteenth-Century Life* (Princeton, NJ, 1974); Emily D. Guerry, "A Time and a Place for Suffering: Picturing the 'Vie de Saint Denis' in Paris.," in *Artistic Translations between Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2013), 69–94.

three dozen scenes of the saint's missionary activity and martyrdom set in Paris on the Ile de la Cité famously feature representations of bridges teeming with everyday life. Like an urban encyclopedia, these pontine vignettes present a panoply of citizens of all ranks and trades going about their business (fig. 2.6). In tent-like shops and boutiques lining the bridges, merchants and craftsmen and -women attend to customers or execute their trades, forging vessels, changing money, spinning wool, selling shoes and birds, and cutting hair, while others simply take a nap. Of even greater variety are the people traversing the bridges: men bent under the weight of sacks and baskets haul grain, cloth, and other wares; the more fortunate transport merchandise in horse-drawn carts, some push and drag barrels of wine, while others drive pack animals and livestock across the bridge. Mixed into this panorama of industry and commerce are the rich and poor: noblemen on horses, servants with greyhounds, a carriage filled with noblewomen, clerics, pilgrims, musicians, beggars, and cripples. On the fish-rich waters of the river below, men steer boats filled with cargo or ferry passengers from shore to shore. One miniature shows water mills between one of the bridges' pillars grinding corn.<sup>56</sup>

Such was the Petit-Pont's commercial and industrial life that, in his account of the Seventh Crusade, Jean de Joinville strikingly compared the Petit-Pont to the bazaar of Damascus. Recounting a fire that wreaked havoc on Damascus's magnificent marketplace, he prompted the reader—"God forbid!"—to imagine the Petit-Pont consumed by flames.<sup>57</sup> However far-fetched

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<sup>56</sup> BnF, MS fr. 2092, f.37v. A watermill of the Petit-Pont is already mentioned in 1033 in connection with a royal donation. See de Lasteyrie (ed.), *Cartulaire général de Paris (528-1180)*, no. 87, 116. The spots between the arches were limited; so-called floating mills—imagine a raft with a mill mounted on top—were often tied to piles downstream, but their use is only documented since the seventeenth century, not for medieval Paris. See Marjorie Boyer, "Water Mills: A Problem for the Bridges and Boats of Medieval France," *History of Technology* 7 (1982): 7–10. Mislin, on the other hand, thinks that floating mills existed in medieval Paris: "Die überbauten Brücken von Paris," 71–73, 92.

<sup>57</sup> Jean de Joinville, *Œuvres de Jean Sire de Joinville: comprenant: L'histoire de Saint Louis, le*

this comparison may have been, the fact that Jean de Joinville chose the Petit-Pont—and not the Grand-Pont or Les Halles—to help his readers get a sense of the catastrophic loss of the great bazaar is telling in and of itself, and the comparison demonstrates that the Petit-Pont was—like a bazaar—a crowded, heterogeneous, and flexible architectural ensemble that supported an astounding array of social, commercial, and industrial functions in the tightest of spaces.

### **Peripatetics of the Petit-Pont**

Adam's choice to situate his school on the Petit-Pont signaled a significant break with Paris's pre-existing scholastic topography. The two dominant centers of philosophical activity in Paris during Adam's lifetime—the schools of logic on the Mont Sainte-Geneviève and the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame—were, *de facto*, situated on the margins of the city: The schools of the Mont Sainte-Geneviève were located *extra muros*, separated from the city center by the Seine and vineyards; the Cathedral School—to be discussed in the following chapter—was hidden behind the walls of the cathedral cloister on the Ile de la Cité. To settle on the Petit-Pont, in this most public of places, was doubtless a deliberate choice, symbolic of a new relationship between learning and the city as Adam envisioned it.

The impact Adam's school had on the city is reflected in Gui de Bazoches's description of Paris (c. 1178). The Petit-Pont, Gui noted, is “dedicated to logicians who pass by, roam about, and dispute [there].”<sup>58</sup> However concise, Gui's description of the Parvipontani provides a number of critical insights: the fact that the Parvipontani are mentioned in the letter bespeaks the visibility and prominence that the pontine philosophers attained in the public eye. Further, it

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*Credo et la Lettre à Louis X*, ed. Joseph Noël de Wailly (Le Clere, 1867), 108, 109.

<sup>58</sup> “Pons autem Parvus aut pretereuntibus, aut spatiantibus, aut disputantibus logicis dedicatus est.” CUP I, no. 54, 55).

makes the compelling suggestion that the school was associated, even coterminous with, the Petit-Pont itself. And it attests that the Parvipontani operated in the open, rather than inside any particular building; indeed, it identifies ambulation as the very hallmark of their intellectual practice.

Significantly, both verbs Gui employs to characterize the pontine logicians' perambulation—*spatiare* (roam or move about) and *preterire* (pass over)—also pertain to particular forms of discourse with somewhat opposite meaning: *spatiare* can mean to explicate or discuss at great length; *preterire* to consider briefly or pass over cursorily.<sup>59</sup> In this sense, then, Gui's description conjurs a picture of different forms of verbal engagement taking place on the bridge: brief exchanges, detailed discussions, and debates and disputations, of course.

Gui's deliberate choice of words is also significant and deliberately in their principal sense of physical movement. Both pertain to a particular order of walking; it is not a movement from A to B, but one without a destination—an fitting describing logicians circulating on the bridge in an ambling fashion, where walking has become a function of thinking and discoursing.

The subject of renewed interest among historians, walking has come into view as a cultural practice in dialogue with the physical and social environment.<sup>60</sup> Strolling was an

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<sup>59</sup> See the entries for *spatiare* and *praeterire* in the DMLBS.

<sup>60</sup> See, for example, Silvia Montiglio, *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture* (Chicago ; London : University of Chicago Press, 2005); Timothy M. O'Sullivan, *Walking in Roman Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). For art historical treatment of the subject, see Nancy Forgione, "Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (2005): 664–87. My thinking about pre-modern urban space, movement, and experience generally, and in relation to the Parvipontani in particular, has benefitted greatly from discussions with Niall Atkinson. His publications on urban space and sound have been another source of continuous inspiration: Niall Atkinson, "Sonic Armatures: Constructing an Acoustic Regime in Renaissance Florence," *The Senses and Society* 7, no. 1 (2012): 39–52; idem, "Thinking through Noise, Building toward Silence: Creating a Sound Mind and Sound Architecture in the Premodern City," *Grey Room* 60 (2015): 10–35; and idem,

intellectual activity that intertwined body and mind with the surrounding ambient in creative and culturally determined and socially prescribed ways. In Roman antiquity, it had a performative dimension, associated with social elites. In the history of philosophy, strolling is exemplified most famously with the Peripatetic and Stoic schools of ancient Athens.

The Parvipontani's ambulatory practice was done in conscious and unmistakable imitation of Athens's walking and talking philosophers, be it Aristotle lecturing in peripatetic fashion in the Lyceum or legendary Socrates roaming across the agora in search of a man wiser than him. John of Salisbury calls Adam "our English Peripatetic, in whose footsteps many follow."<sup>61</sup> While we have seen in the previous chapter how Adam and his school identified with Athens's peripatetic philosophers (specifically in the miniature of Master Adam in the company of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle), their daily public performances on the Petit-Pont brought the image of the Peripatetics visibly to life.

The vivid portrait of Master Odo of Orléans composed by one of his students, Herman of Tournai (c. 1090–1147), serves to flesh out this point.<sup>62</sup> Odo was teaching in the school, located in the spacious cloister of Tournai.

Directing that school for nearly five years, [Odo's] fame spread so greatly that throngs of clerics from near (France, Flanders, and Normandy) and far (Italy, Saxony, and Burgundy) poured in daily to listen to him. If you had

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*The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

<sup>61</sup> *Metalogicon* (CCiT) III.3, 114. "[...] noster ille Anglus Peripateticus Adam, cuius uestigia sequuntur multi [...]." *Metalogicon* (CCCM) III.3, 255.

<sup>62</sup> Odo led the cathedral school of Tournai for only eight years, from 1087–1095. Odo also investigated the problem of universals in his *De peccato originale: Odo of Tournai, On Original Sin and A Disputation with the Jew, Leo, Concerning the Advent of Christ, the Son of God: Two Theological Treatises*, trans. Irven Resnick (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994). See . See Odo of Tournai, *On Original Sin and A Disputation with the Jew, Leo, Concerning the Advent of Christ, the Son of God: Two Theological Treatises* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994). And Irven. M. Resnick, "Odo of Tournai, the Phoenix, and the Problem of Universals," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 35, no. 3 (1997): 355–374.

seen the vast numbers of men deep in debate who filled those city streets, you would have concluded that all in that town had abandoned their occupations and devoted themselves entirely to philosophy. Then, if you had approached the school, you would have seen Master Odo here strolling with his students, teaching them like one of the Peripatetics, there sitting and solving problems like one of the Stoics. During the evening hours, you would have seen him in front of the church lecturing late into the night, pointing out to his students with an extended finger the movement of the stars and showing them the difference between the Zodiac and Milky Way. Among the many gifts his students gave him was a gold ring on which was engraved this short line: ‘A golden ring suits Odo of Orléans.’<sup>63</sup>

Where, though, would the Parvipontani have found space to congregate and hold disputations on the bridge? Early modern maps of Paris, like that of Truschet, show the Petit-Pont overbuilt with an uninterrupted row of houses (fig. 2.7). This has led to the false assumption that the bridge was but a narrow corridor for traffic. However, as the tax records of 1296 indicate, the middle arch of the premodern Petit-Pont was devoid of built structures.<sup>64</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>63</sup> Novikoff, ed., *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 79. “[...] scholae eorum magister constituitur, quam fere per quinquennium regens adeo sui nominis opinionem dilatavit, ut non solum ex Francia, vel Flandria, seu Northmannia, verum etiam ex ipsa quoque longe remote Italia, Saxonia atque Burgundia clericorum catervae diversorum ad eum audiendum quotidie confluerent, ita ut si civitatis plateas circuiens greges disputantium conspiceres, cives omnes relictis aliis operibus soli philosophiae deditos crederes jam vero si scholae appropiases cerneres magistrum Odonem, nunc quidem Peripateticorum more cum discipulis docendo deambulantem, nunc vero Stoicorum instar residentem, et diversas quaestiones solventem, vespertinis quoque horis ante januas ecclesiae usque in profundam noctem disputantem, et astrorum cursus digiti protensione discipulis ostendentem, zodiacique seu lactei circuli diversitates demonstrantem, a quibus cum plurimo ei darentur, unus inter caeteros annulum ei dedit aureum, in quo hic versiculus decenter erat sculptus: *Annulus Odonem decet aureus Aureliensem.*” Herimannus Abbas, *Liber de restauratione ecclesiae sancti Martini Tornacensis*, PL, vol. 180, 41a. I have been unable to access the new edition in the CCCM series: Herimannus Abbas, *Liber de restauratione ecclesiae sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. R.B.C Huygens, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 236 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 35–38.

<sup>64</sup> Friedman and Mislin have both reached this conclusion: Mislin, “Die überbauten Brücken von Paris,” 99, pl. IV; Adrien Friedmann, *Paris, ses Rues, ses paroisses* (Paris, 1959), 397–398. The Grand-Pont’s *faute* was the fourth arch counting from the Ile de la Cité: *ibid.*, 200 n.1; see also Jean Guerout, “Le Palais de la Cité des origines à 1417,” *Mémoires de la fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France* 1 (1949): 194–201. The *faute* of the



one of the arches of the Grand-Pont—the fourth one from the Cité—was not overbuilt. Also, the main arches of both the Petit-Pont and Grand-Pont—in documents sometimes referred to as *grande arche* or *faute*—had no watermills installed between the pillars and were slightly wider than the other arches; at the *faute*, the decks of both bridges were angled upward towards the middle section. These architectural features are also present in the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, built in the 1340s based on a detailed plan of design (fig. 2.8).<sup>65</sup> The outer arches of the Ponte Vecchio were lined by the shops of goldsmiths, while the middle arch formed a pleasant piazza of nineteen by nineteen meters framed by a protective parapet along the deck's edge, which doubled as a place for seating. The area of the square on the Petit-Pont was certainly somewhat smaller than the piazza of the Ponte Vecchio, but it would nonetheless have been spacious enough for people to commune, linger, or even stage disputations, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The square at the mid-point of the Petit-Pont created a felt spatial and symbolic center, as well as an anchor point, for the Parvipontani's ambulation. As an intellectual space the bridge structured and enriched peripatetic practice. Although *trouvé* rather than purpose-built, the Parvipontani's physical setting invites comparison to the monastic cloister where architecture, bodily movement, and mental activity intersected, re-enforced, and enhanced each other in illuminating ways. In starkly simplified terms, the architecturally scripted movement engendered by the typical cloister was rigid and detached from place. A place of silence closed off from the outside world, with sides of equal length and walkways framed by a rhythm of columns, the

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Petit-Pont marked the parish boundaries between St-Séverin, Ste Geneviève-la-Petite, and St German-le-Vieux.

<sup>65</sup> Theresa Flanigan, "The Ponte Vecchio and the Art of Urban Planning in Late Medieval Florence," *Gesta* 47 (2008): 6.

cloister effected a comparatively monotonous, place- and self-effacing experience, aligned with the monastic prescriptions of contemplative life. The Petit-Pont, on the one hand, mirrored the model of the cloister in its creation of a fixed space defined by its very built structure. On the other hand, it contrasted with the claustral paradigm by concentrating and amplifying, rather than shutting out, the presence and experience of urban life.

### The World as Exemplar

Immersed in the city and its activities in such an intense fashion as the Parvipontani were, it begs the question if, and if so, how, their discussions and thinking engaged with their surroundings. I shall propose, in a tentative manner, that twelfth-century dialecticians made situated abstract logical reasoning in the particularity of the world, and specifically in the known and familiar environment. Whereas dialectic dealt principally in universal truths and its methodology, pedagogical practice opened the door for the *particular*, specifically in the creation of examples. As means of applying representing abstract methods of thinking in representation of abstract content Examples illustrating logical arguments and syllogisms were essential to the teaching and practice of dialectic. In service of universal proof, the specifics of particular examples were irrelevant to the issue at large and therefore could be changed at will. In other words, examples were the seasoning, not the meat. Hence it is not surprising that scholarship has passed over this aspect of medieval logic in silence, unless they provided clues to authorship or date.

Medieval scholars, however, paid careful attention to examples; for instance, a note in the margins of Adam of Balsham's *Ars disserendi* manuscript, his handbook of the art of dialectical discourse, approvingly states, "bonum exemplum."<sup>66</sup> It appears that examples supplied in logical

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<sup>66</sup> See Minio-Paluello, "The 'Ars Disserendi' of Adam of Balsham," 116.

treatises varied with regard to the nature and intent of the text. The examples Adam deployed in his *Ars disserendi* are, without exception, of a general kind; they concern astronomy and natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, the Zodiac, planetary motions, comets and stars.<sup>67</sup> This, however, may be owed to the text-book nature of the *Ars disserendi*. In contrast, traces of a propensity to ground examples in the particular local environment and topography are found in *reportationes*: the records of lectures made by students.

A case in point is a gloss on Priscian by William of Conches that survives in two versions: the first version of the gloss contains several references to Chartres and the choir of the cathedral (where William taught).<sup>68</sup> However, in the later revised version of William's gloss, all local references were either edited out or substituted with non-Chartrian references.<sup>69</sup> Some of the *reportationes* of Abelard's lectures on dialectic show that Abelard 'personalized' his lectures by using the name of students or himself as subjects of examples.<sup>70</sup> Because of the critical neglect of this phenomenon in modern scholarship, the extent to which logic teachers deployed individualized examples and references is difficult to appreciate, but the cases adduced here suggest that it was a common practice.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> See Adam Balsamiensis Parvipontani, *Ars Disserendi (Dialectica Alexandri)*, ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, vol. 1, Twelfth Century Logic: Texts and Studies (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956), esp. 108–110.

<sup>68</sup> Karin M. Fredborg, "Some Notes on the Grammar of William of Conches," *Cahiers de l'institut Du Moyen Âge Grec et Latin* 37 (1981): 23. See also Thomas Ricklin, *Der Traum Der Philosophie Im 12. Jahrhundert: Traumtheorien Zwischen Constantinus Africanus Und Aristoteles* (Brill, 1998), 151–152, 424; Édouard Jeuneau, "Deux Rédactions Des Gloses de Guillaume de Conches Sur Priscien," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 27 (1960): 212–47.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> See further below in this chapter.

<sup>71</sup> See the intersection of literary works and logic explored in Virginie Greene, *Logical Fictions in Medieval Literature and Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Another *reportatio* of a gloss on Priscian from the second half of the twelfth century, which has been cautiously attributed to Adam's circle, contains references to Paris and the Seine in four separate instances, and it also mentions the Thermes de Cluny, the Roman Baths on the Left Bank.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, in the opening chapter of the gloss, which expounds on the distinction between the liberal and the mechanical arts, the gloss employs smithery and tanning as representatives of the latter. But instead of employing the common term *artes mechanicae*, it pejoratively calls smithery and tanning "filthy arts" (*artes sordidae*). Although the use of the term *artes sordidae* as a synonym for the mechanical arts has ancient roots, the choice of smithery and tanning appears particularly pertinent to the site of the Petit-Pont (where the gloss probably originated).<sup>73</sup> Both smithery and tanning were, quite literally, 'filthy' crafts, not only sullyng the bodies of workers, but polluting their surroundings as well. Whereas the noisy hammering of blacksmiths reverberated far and wide, the production of leather and parchment was, in the Middle Ages, an extremely vile, nauseating, and odiferous work, whose chemical

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<sup>72</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Laud. Lat. 67, fols 21va, 26ra, 54ra, 75ra. The gloss also includes dozens of Socrates-examples. The reference to the Thermes: "...uel est locus in quo sunt balnea, unde et adhuc Termes dicitur locus quidam Parisius, quia ibi fuerunt balnea." Richard William Hunt, "Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, II: The School of Ralph of Beauvais," in *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., 1980), 55–56. The manuscript has been partially edited by Karin Margareta Fredborg, "Promisimus," *Cahiers de l'institut Du Moyen Âge Grec et Latin, Université de Copenhague* 70 (1999): 81–228, reference to the Seine at 89, to Paris at 109. Fredborg leaves the question of authorship open.

<sup>73</sup> On the term *artes sordidae*, see Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A. G. Rigg, eds., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (CUA Press, 1996), 431–432.

stench wafted through the city.<sup>74</sup> Both these noxious crafts were practiced either on or near the Petit-Pont.<sup>75</sup>

The manner in which medieval masters mobilized everyday activities for the illustration of philosophical concepts left its mark on the design of the historiated initials of a late thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript of Aristotle's *Physics* (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 3469).<sup>76</sup> The initial *Q* marking the beginning of Book III of the *Physics* displays two figures, a laborer and a tonsured clerk, in the body of the letter (fig. 2.9). The laborer stirs the content of a wooden barrel with a large cooking paddle, while the clerk touches, but probably slaps, the man's left cheek with the palm of his right hand.<sup>77</sup> Cartouches identify the clerk with the concept of *action* (i.e. the agent of motion), the laborer with *passio* or the patient (i.e. the thing acted upon), and the stirring of the pot with the effect of motion (*motus*). Historiated or otherwise pictorialized initials referencing textual content are generally assumed to serve as pragmatic finding aids, and,

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<sup>74</sup> See Emma Dillon, "Listening to Magnificence in Medieval Paris," in *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music*, ed. Stephen Jaeger, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 215–41; Atkinson, "Thinking through Noise," 10–35.

<sup>75</sup> 'Sordid' arts became subject to strict regulations; Steven J. Overman, "Medieval Students, Too, Had Battles against Pollution," *The American Biology Teacher* 35, no. 2 (1973): 81–83; Simone Roux, "À Paris, au bord de l'eau," *Médiévales* 18, no. 36 (1999): 63–70, 68 esp.

<sup>76</sup> The manuscript forms a pair with MS 702 at the Bibliothèque Arsenal. It contains the *Metaphysics* in William of Moerbeke's translation, accompanied by Averroes's commentary. Its decorations are attributed to the Parisian illuminator called the 'Mélicin Master.' The illuminated initials have been systematically studied recently in Hanna Wimmer, *Illustrierte Aristotelescodices: die medialen Konsequenzen universitärer Lehr- und Lernpraxis in Oxford und Paris*, Sensus (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Universität Hamburg, 2018), passim, esp. 128–140. See further *L'art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285-1328* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), 268, no. 175. On the Mélicin master with further bibliography, see John Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 113–114.

<sup>77</sup> Hanna Wimmer, *Illustrierte Aristotelescodices: die medialen Konsequenzen universitärer Lehr- und Lernpraxis in Oxford und Paris*, Sensus (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Universität Hamburg, 2018), 132.

sure enough, this particular initial *Q* correctly informs a reader that Book III concerns the question of motion and its causes.<sup>78</sup> What has gone unnoticed, however, is the more obvious, and arguably more remarkable, feature of the witty Mazarine initials: the illustration of theory through ‘real-world’ examples. The concept of “continuous division to infinity,” for instance, is represented by a lumberjack chopping a tree trunk into a myriad of woodchips (fig. 2.10). The most striking of the manuscript’s initials is the letter *O* (*Omne motum*) introducing Book VII on folio 273r (fig. 2.11).<sup>79</sup> The depiction of the torture of a man mysteriously labeled *Iustinianvs* illustrates the four kinds of locomotions discussed in this part of the *Physics*:<sup>80</sup> pulling (*trasio* or *tractio*), represented by the two men pulling Iustinianus with a rope tied around his ankles onto a wooden frame; *pulsio*, the kneeling figure assisting them by ‘pushing’ Iustinianus upward; *vertigo*, figured by the device in the lower left corner—a type of garrote—made up of a metal barrel connected to a rope that loops around Iustinian’s neck and through ‘twisting’ strangles the victim; lastly, carrying (*vectio*), represented by the seated medieval master labeled *Aristoteles* holding a stick (its cartouche has been left blank).

Even if these thoughts on the use of exemplars are speculative, and will remain so without a more systemic study of the (scant) body of lecture reports from the twelfth century schools, it only stands to reason that scholastics drew upon the surroundings in the search and invention of examples to illustrate the abstract theoretical aspects of Aristotelian logic. For Adam’s school, embedded, as it was, in the bustle of urban life, the Petit-Pont would have provided an infinite supply and diversity of objects and activities to be fashioned into examples. We should not think of example-invention as a purely pedagogical necessity. Finding good

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 141–144.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 136–137.

<sup>80</sup> Perhaps a scribal corruption of *iustitatus* as proposed by *ibid.*, 136 n. 383.

examples was a philosophical task in itself, and, I suspect, an area for a master to demonstrate intellectual agility, especially if done without preparation—on the fly, as it were—during disputations. More profoundly, though, it would have demonstrated logic’s power to make sense of a world in a state of apparent disorderly randomness.

## **Gown and Clown**

This section looks at the bridge as a site of public performance and how it generated the image of the Parvipontani and urban scholastic culture more broadly. I will show how monastic critics staged their opposition to ‘street scholastics’ through a critique of the secular urban world, which, by its very nature, was seen antithetical to activities (ideally) tied to understanding God’s creation and the divine truth within it.

The Parvipontani not only shared the space of the bridge with merchants and craftsmen. They also rubbed shoulders with minstrels, jongleurs, and troubadours, who had made the Petit-Pont Paris’s most popular site of street entertainment. Like scholastics, these street performers (who I will refer to collectively as jongleurs) engaged audiences through spoken (or sung) word and bodily performance.<sup>81</sup> Vying for the ears and eyes of the incessant human traffic streaming

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<sup>81</sup> On medieval jongleurs, the classic study is Edmond Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris: H. Champion, 1910). See further de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux 13e et 14e siècles*, 428–438; Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); John W. Baldwin, “The Image of the Jongleur in Northern France Around 1200,” *Speculum* 72, no. 3 (July 1, 1997): 635–63; Silvère Menegaldo, *Le jongleur dans la littérature narrative des XIIIe et XIIIe siècles: Du personnage au masque*, vol. 74, Nouvelle Bibliothèque Du Moyen Âge (Paris, 2005); Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, “Clercs et jongleurs dans la société médiévale (XIIe et XIIIe siècles),” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 34, no. 5 (1979): 913–28; Sandra Pietrini, “Medieval Entertainers and the Memory of Ancient Theatre,” *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, no. 252 (August, 2010): 149–76, esp. 151–155; Andrew Taylor, “Was There a Song of Roland?,” *Speculum* 76, no. 1 (2001): 28–65; Bronislaw Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 159–166. From art

across the bridge, they dealt in the expressive emotions of the public—tears, cries, guffaw—in the hope of converting these sentiments into coins.

Jongleurs stood at the very bottom of the medieval social ladder. As supposedly wayfaring strangers of dubious character, they attracted the suspicion of local authorities who perceived in them the threat of social and political subversion. The church cast the jongleur profession as a kind of moral peril, allied with diabolical forces endangering Christian souls. A foil to social order and morality, *jonglerie* embodied worldly vices and even went one step further: it celebrated those vices as a way of life. Fools and acrobats, they contorted themselves intellectually as well as physically, disfiguring and debasing the divine aspect of humanity, and furthermore incited their audience to sin, religious critics maintained. There was nothing useful in the theatrics, trickery, and deception practiced with great skill in street spectacles.<sup>82</sup> Similar charges were brought, too, against the secular schools and the theatrics of staged disputations.<sup>83</sup> The physical proximity of jongleurs and urban secular scholars dovetails with social parallels and cultural affinities between the professions, which monastic critics seized in expressing their disdain for the performative and worldly culture of dialectic, while also stoking fear over the pollution of doctrine and faith. In the mingling of scholarship and street entertainment, secular scholars walked a tight rope, risking their reputation and legitimacy in the eyes of ecclesial authorities, while promoting their status through popularity and public acclaim.

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historical side: Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Reaktion Books, 2013). John Southworth, *Fools and Jesters at the English Court* (The History Press, 2011); Martine Clouzot, *Le jongleur—mémoire de l'image au Moyen Age: Figures, figurations et musicalité dans les manuscrits enluminés (1200–1330)* (Bern ; New York: Peter Lang, 2011).

<sup>82</sup> Casagrande and Vecchio, “Clercs et jongleurs dans la société médiévale,” 913–28; Menegaldo, “Les Jongleurs et le théâtre en France au XIIIe siècle,” 46–91.

<sup>83</sup> For instance, by Peter the Chanter. See below. For an interpretation of scholastic disputation as a form of theater, see Jody Enders, “The Theater of Scholastic Erudition,” *Comparative Drama* 27, no. 3 (1993): 341–63.



The bridge as a space of public spectacle figures in one of the painted views of Paris in the *Vie de Saint Denis* manuscript (fig. 2.12). The miniature depicts a scene of a crowd of astonished onlookers captivated by the sight of a dancing bear performing tricks in the middle of the bridge. For once in these pontine scenes that are otherwise dominated by the constant flow of people and goods, the traffic on the bridge has come to a halt as spectators gape at the feral acrobat. Kept on a chain by its rod-wielding owner, the bear does a headstand. With her right hand outstretched, a woman—likely the tamer’s associate—solicits donations from the crowd, as a man in a red gown, apparently amused by the performance, reaches into his money purse.

The performance of musicians and jongleurs (and the quadruped companions) on the Petit-Pont was in fact incentivized by a peculiar amendment to customs fees that applied to foreigners entering or leaving the city. At the Petit-Châtelet, or the southern end of the bridge, customs officers collected taxes levied on goods and merchandise brought into or out of the city. The income proceeded into the royal treasury and paid for the upkeep of the bridge.<sup>84</sup> Jongleurs, too, were subject to taxes, according to the *Livre des métiers* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24069), the city’s official compendium of trade regulations and customs, codified by the provost of Paris, Etienne Boileau, in 1268.<sup>85</sup> Yet, as statute 44 in the *Livre des métiers* concerning minstrels and jongleurs stipulated, members of the entertainment profession were exempted from paying taxes on goods if they staged a performance for the toll-men:<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> This was the case until the fifteenth century: Mislin, “Die überbauten Brücken von Paris,” 93. On the complex issue of jurisdiction, divided between king and bishop, see Guérard (ed.), *Cartulaire de l’église Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. 1, lxxx, 125. The bishop also received a certain sum from the income of the levied taxes. *Ibid.*, lxxi.

<sup>85</sup> Étienne Boileau, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, 1879. On Etienne Boileau, see William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance Under Louis IX* (Budapest ; New York: Central European University Press, 2012), 37–70.

<sup>86</sup> Boileau, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, 230–243.

Four *deniers* are owed for a monkey if a merchant is bringing it to sell. But if it belongs to a man who bought it for his own pleasure, it is exempt. If a monkey is owned by a performer, it must perform before the toll man, and for this performance the owner owes no payment on anything he buys for his own use. And similarly jongleurs are exempted for a verse of song.<sup>87</sup>

Many of the statutes recorded in the *Livre des métiers* are accompanied in the outer manuscript margin by doodles that illustrate the statutes' subject, constituting a practical visual reference for consultation.<sup>88</sup> In the margin alongside the jongleur paragraph are depicted three monkeys labeled *singes* (fig. 2.13). On the left is an unfinished demonic caricature, and to the right there is a hybrid creature composed of a sweet-faced child's head, the plump body of a sheep, and rodent limbs. The third attempt at sketching a monkey is the most successful. The sketch of a *vielle* or fiddle and the inscription *jongleur* below the three monkeys indicate the exemption granted in exchange "for a verse of song."<sup>89</sup>

After a jongleur and his or her sidekick's performance, the duo received a lead token (*merellus* or *méreau*) as proof of 'payment.'<sup>90</sup> A number of these tokens, about 20 mm in diameter, were retrieved by the nineteenth-century antiquarian and sigillographer Arthur Forgeais from the sandy banks along the Seine, including from the area around the Petit-Pont.<sup>91</sup> One

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., article XLIV, 236. Translation from Elizabeth Sears, "Scribal Wit in a Manuscript from the Châtelet: Images in the Margins of Boileau's *Livre des Métiers*, BnF, MS Fr. 24069," in *Tributes Lucy Freeman Sandler*, 2007, 159.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 159–160.

<sup>89</sup> Boileau, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, article XLIV, 236.

<sup>90</sup> Jacques Labrot, *Une histoire économique et populaire du Moyen Age: les jetons et les méreaux* (Errance, 1989), 87–92. See also Michel Pastoureau, *Jetons, méreaux et médailles*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, fasc. 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 38–40. For the English context of metal tokens, Michael B. Mitchiner and Anne Skinner, "English Tokens, c.1200 to 1425," *British Numismatic Journal* 53 (1983): 29–77, esp. 33 with references to twelfth-century French guild tokens.

<sup>91</sup> His formidable collection of méreaux is now split between the Musée Carnavalet and the Cluny. It was originally published in Arthur Forgeais, *Collection de plombs historiés trouvés dans la Seine...* (Paris: Aubry, 1862), 224–227.

elaborate, but worn example of a *méreau*, perhaps dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, features a fettered monkey on the reverse, and a depiction of a man with a rampant animal on the obverse (fig. 2.14).<sup>92</sup> It may represent a dog performing a trick, clutching a sword with its front paws. The figure probably represent the jongleur; at least in one example from the Musée Carnavalet (PL 23-47) the man plays a fiddle.<sup>93</sup> The tokens featuring jongleurs and animals that Forgeais assembled attest to the fact that this particular statute was commonly enacted, enough so to merit the making of a material sign.<sup>94</sup> Although the precise function of the *méreau*-system is not known, I surmise these distinct and elaborated material signs may have served the purpose of accreditation and means of control of a profession of vagabonds commonly linked to lowlives and criminals. A *méreau* obtained from local authorities could have been a type of permit that distinguished legitimate jongleurs from those undesirable and harmful elements of society, such as gamblers, tricksters, charlatans, soothsayers, and thieves, who liked to hide under the professional mantle of entertainers. Measures and efforts to police Paris's street singers are well known from the early modern period.<sup>95</sup>

Clerical contempt for jongleurs was, in part, motivated by the competition for a clientele. A thirteenth-century anonymous preacher singled out the Petit-Pont as a notorious site of street theater and reprimanded his lay audience for being more deeply moved by profane storytelling than by preaching:

The voice of the minstrel sitting on the Petit-Pont (*in parvo ponte sedentis*)

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<sup>92</sup> Recently sold by *CGB Numismatique*. Image rights by courtesy of Joel Cornu and CGB Numismatique. [https://www.cgb.fr/rouyer-xi-mereaux-et-pieces-analogues-mereau-pour-le-peage-des-ponts-a-paris-ttb-,fjt\\_089949,a.html](https://www.cgb.fr/rouyer-xi-mereaux-et-pieces-analogues-mereau-pour-le-peage-des-ponts-a-paris-ttb-,fjt_089949,a.html). Accessed November 15, 2017.

<sup>93</sup> Depicted in Jacques Labrot, *Une histoire économique et populaire du Moyen Age: les jetons et les méreaux* (Errance, 1989), 92.

<sup>94</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> See Una McIlvenna, "Chanteurs de Rue, or Street Singers in Early Modern France," *Renaissance Studies* 33, no. 1 (2019): 64–93.

tells how the mighty soldiers of long ago, such as Roland, Oliver and the rest, were slain in battle, then the people standing around them are moved to pity and periodically burst into tears.<sup>96</sup>

Pitting the voice of the minstrel against the word of the preacher, the sermon construes the Petit-Pont as a profane—and, apparently, successful—antithesis to the pulpit.

Public performances were not always amusing or politically innocent; they took on provocative and subversive forms as well. In Andrew de Coutances's *Roman des Franceis* from the late twelfth century, the Petit-Pont is invoked as a site where poetry may provoke violence rather than applause.<sup>97</sup> Written as though a letter to be sent to Paris, the *Roman des Franceis* is an example of the flourishing genre of anti-French satire: its Anglo-Norman author declares that the poem's purpose was to "totally discredit the Frenchman."<sup>98</sup> In the poem, he condemns the character and mores of the English adversaries. The first part of the fictive letter tells the legend of King Arthur humiliating the fat and lazy king of France in a duel. The second part of the letter is a chauvinist mockery of the greed and gluttony characteristic of the Frenchman's dinner

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<sup>96</sup> BnF, MS lat. 3495, f. 192: "Cum voce jocularioris, in parvo ponte sedentis, quomodo illi strenui milites antique, scilicet Rolandus et Oliverius, et cetera, in bello occubere recitatur, populus circumstans pietate movetur et interdum lacrymatur." Quoted and translated after Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 177. A variant of the passage in BnF, MS lat. 14925 (f. 132v) substitutes "in parvo ponte" for "in plateis." See also Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 164 n. 136; Andrew Taylor, "Was There a Song of Roland?," *Speculum* 76, no. 1 (2001): 28–65, esp. 54.

<sup>97</sup> The poem was written likely after 1179, but certainly before 1204. Andrew was a Norman cleric and magister. Based on his professed opinions about the French and his knowledge of Paris, it is possible he studied in Paris: See David Crouch, "The Roman 'Des Franceis' of Andrew de Coutances: Significance, Text, and Translation," in *Normandy and Its Neighbours, 900–1250: Essays for David Bates* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 176–177.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 197, 1.376.

table habits. In the epilogue, Andrew addresses the reader and offers sound advice, namely, to not recite his incendiary verses in public, specifically on the Petit-Pont, for

He who reads it should wait and see  
For the French will go round being fired up,  
If it is recited out on the Petit-Pont  
Whether by blow or by cuff  
The man will have his head broken  
Who reads it out, if he isn't careful  
For his presumption he will be very likely  
To get himself a soaking in the Seine.<sup>99</sup>

In issuing the warning against reciting the subversive anti-French poem in public, Andrew of Coutances may have had in mind English students residing in Paris, such as he himself had perhaps once been, and where many of his countrymen studied.<sup>100</sup>

Scholastics and urban minstrels shared the urban public stage; they also shared common roots, and the cultural and social boundary between scholars and street performers was porous. The twelfth century witnessed the celebration of the poor and bohemian student's life in jocular, satirical, and heavy-hearted chansons and poems, composed in Latin, which were sung or recited by scholars in the streets and taverns across France. Many of these anonymous songs have been gathered in the work entitled *Carmina burana*, and modern scholars have considered the possibility that some of the songs stemmed from Abelard's pen.<sup>101</sup> In his vita, Abelard recalled

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 197, ll.363–370: “Qui la lira seit en stant / Quer Franceis s’iront mout crescant // Sele est sus Petit Pont retraite / Ou de colee ou de retraite / Ara celui la teste fraite / Qui la lira sil ne [se] gait. // Mout sera isnel de prinsaut / Se en Siene ne fet .i. saut.” Parts of the quoted passage are rather obscure, in particular the penultimate line.

<sup>100</sup> For an example of the early modern period of violence and destruction caused by street singers, see Una McIlvenna, “Chanteurs de Rue, or Street Singers in Early Modern France,” *Renaissance Studies* 33, no. 1 (2019): 74.

<sup>101</sup> Among the more recent literature on this topic, see Constant Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France* (New York Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Albrecht Classen, “Dialectics and Courtly Love: Abelard and Heloise, Andreas Capellanus, and the Carmina Burana,” *The Journal of Medieval*

the many love songs he wrote for Heloise, and how “a lot of them are still repeated and sung in many regions, particularly by those whom that manner of life amuses.”<sup>102</sup> Hence, Heloise's name, as she recalled in a letter to her beloved poet-philosopher, was heard everywhere: “You placed your Heloise on the lips of everyone through frequent song: I resounded through every market-place (*platee*), every house.”<sup>103</sup> Like his songs, Abelard's philosophical teachings were circulated, repeated, and discussed in the very same urban spaces.

Abelard obtained the reputation of jokester, who, according to Otto of Freising's critical testimony, excelled “in moving men's minds to jokes,” and, not least because of his light-hearted nature. Abelard found his teachers (Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux), those “very serious men,” intolerable.<sup>104</sup> Similarly, St. Goswin received a warning from his master that Abelard liked to deride other scholars, that he was not a man of disputation (*disputator*), but a scoffer (*cavillator*), as he played the role of a jester (*ioculator*) more than that of a doctor.<sup>105</sup> And indeed, in his classroom, in contrast to his teachers, Abelard cultivated laughter, lacing his lectures on the bloodless abstractions of logic with spontaneous jests.<sup>106</sup> A rare window into classroom humor is provided by a student *reportatio* of one of Abelard's lectures on logic. Although subsequently censored by modern editors of the text, the *reportatio* includes scatological jokes, some of which are integrated into the subject as syllogistic examples, while

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*Latin* 23 (2013): 161–83; David Wulstan, “Novi Modulaminis Melos: The Music of Heloise and Abelard,” *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 11, no. 1 (2002): 1–23; David Wulstan, “Liturgical Drama and the ‘School of Abelard,’” *Comparative Drama* 42, no. 3 (2008): 347–57.

<sup>102</sup> On this aspect of Abelard's life, I am drawing on Michael T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Wiley, 1997), 131–134.

<sup>103</sup> Mews, *The Lost Love Letters*, 6.

<sup>104</sup> Quoted after Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, 132.

<sup>105</sup> Gibbon, ed., *Beati Gosvini Vita*, 13–14.

<sup>106</sup> See Jan M. Ziolkowski, “The Humour of Logic and the Logic of Humour in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, no. 3 (1993): 1–26.

others bear no obvious relation to the content of a lesson. Employing such statements as “Peter has fallen into the toilet” as examples of syllogisms was sure to delight a youthful audience. And Abelard made fun of his students as well as himself. In one instance, he concluded an exposition of a logical problem thus: “And this appeared [true] to all, because Adam farted.” In this instance, he appears to poke fun at a certain Adam.<sup>107</sup> Twice more, this Adam finds his name memorialized in a fart joke. In his lecture on the *De differentis topicis*, Abelard apparently exclaimed: “Peter farted in the presence of Adam and B., surely undeservedly.”<sup>108</sup> In the *reportatio* of another lecture on logic one reads of a raucous outburst among the instructors, “because Adam stepped outside to fart.”<sup>109</sup> Abelard's cultivation of crude humor could not find greater contrast than in the behavioral regime enforced by Odo of Orléans, the cathedral school master and peripatetic of Tournai:

No one presumed to speak to his companion, no one laughed, no one muttered, no one turned his eyes to the left or to the right even the slightest. When someone farted in the choir, you could not have found greater strictness from a Cluniac monk. It is not necessary to speak about abuses, throngs of women or irregularities of hair, dress, and the like, which today we see being practiced here and there. Odo would either have driven such plagues from his school or he would have resigned his mastership of the school.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> For the chronology of his treatises on logic, see Jeffrey E. Brower and Kevin Guilfooy, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 18–19.

<sup>108</sup> Yukio Iwakuma, “Pierre Abélard et Guillaume de Champeaux dans les premières années du XIIe siècle: Une étude préliminaire,” in *Langage, sciences, philosophie au XIIème siècle*, 1999, 95–98.

<sup>109</sup> While impossible to know, it is tempting to think that this is ‘our’ Adam—that is, given he had been in Paris before 1120, Adam surely would not have forfeited the opportunity to attend Abelard's lectures.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted after Novikoff, ed., *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 80.

Jokes and laughter from the mouths of clerics was no laughing matter, but rather blasphemy to Bernard of Clairvaux, the other very serious man in Abelard's life.<sup>111</sup> When, in a letter (c.1140) to a fellow monk, Bernard applied the image of the jongleur to himself and the monastic vocation generally, he did so in a spiritual sense as a self-humbling, self-ridiculing spectacle performed for angels rather than men:

In fact what else do seculars think we are doing but playing when what they desire most on earth, we fly from; and what they fly from, we desire? Like acrobats and jugglers, who with heads down and feet up, stand or walk on their hands, and thus draw all eyes to themselves. But this is not a game (*ludus*) for children or the theater (*theatrum*) where lust is excited by the effeminate and indecent contortions of the actors, it is a joyous game, decent, grave, and admirable, delighting the gaze of the heavenly onlookers. This pure and holy game he plays who says: 'We are become a spectacle to angels and men'. And we too play this game that we may be ridiculed, discomforted, humbled, until he comes who puts down the mighty from their seat and exalts the humble. May he gladden us, exalt us, and glorify us for ever.<sup>112</sup>

Around the same time as he wrote the letter, in 1139 or 1140, Bernard preached to a crowd of students in Paris against the corrupting influence of city life and proselytized for converts among secular students, urging them to "flee from the midst of Babylon! Flee and save your souls! Flock to the cities of refuge where you can do penance for the past, obtain grace for the present, and confidently await future glory."<sup>113</sup> Bernard's fiery sermon titled *On Conversion* brings to the

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<sup>111</sup> Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, 134.

<sup>112</sup> Bruno Scott James, trans., *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (Cistercian Publications, 1998), 135. Letter 87, ad Ogerium §12, in Bernard of Clairvaux, Opera, ed. Leclercq et al., 8 vols. in 9 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977), 7: 224-31, at 231, lines 111-18. Also in PL, Vol. 182, 217. For a discussion of this letter, see Jean Leclercq, "Le thème de la jonglerie dans les relations entre saint Bernard, Abélard et Pierre le Vénérable," in *Pierre Abélard et Pierre le Vénérable. Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975), 671-87. On the jongleur as a religious simile, see also Michel Zink, *Poésie et conversion au Moyen Âge* (Presses Universitaires de France, 2003).

<sup>113</sup> Quoted after John R. Sommerfeldt, *Bernard of Clairvaux: On the Life of the Mind* (Paulist Press, 2004), 88. On the topic of scholars' conversion, see Gillian R. Evans, "A Change of Mind



fore the struggle over education that dominated the twelfth century. By “cities of refuge” Bernard evidently meant the many Cistercian houses that the order had set up in remote locations in keeping with its ideals of withdrawal, enclosure, and solitude, as Bernard proclaimed: “You will find more [wisdom] in forests than in books. Woods and stones will teach you what you cannot hear from professors.”<sup>114</sup> On the day of Bernard’s sermon, we are told in his vita, Bernard’s biographer, that twenty-one students joined the Cistercian Order.<sup>115</sup> They soon left Paris, sent to join a monastic community tucked away in some valley or mountainside, far removed, in any case, from the Babylon of Paris and the enticements and moral depravity scholars were exposed to by dwelling in the city.

John of Salisbury made the polemical analogy of scholars and performers yet more concrete when he derided verbose dialecticians as *nugiloquos ventilatores*, “jugglers of windy words”—literally, those who toss words into the air.<sup>116</sup> John took aim at the troubling performative aspect of secular scholars who were full of hot air in modern parlance. A variant of this jibe occurs in a letter to his friend, the Parisian master (and teacher of Walter Maps) Gerard la Pucelle. Asking Gerard for a copy of Hildegard of Bingen’s “Oracles and Visions,” John contrasts true philosophers to mere *ventilatores verborum*.<sup>117</sup>

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in Some Scholars of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries,” *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 27–38.

<sup>114</sup> Quoted after Sommerfeldt, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, 83.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>116</sup> John uses the phrase twice in *Metalogicon* II.7, 192 and 193 (CCiT): “That the jugglers of windy words must be untaught so as to know;” “They do not even give an honest hearing to Aristotle, the only philosopher whom these jugglers of windy words deign to recognize [...]” The rare term *nugiloquus* apparently relates to *nugalus*, which du Cange translates as “petit jongleur”. *Nugacitas* can mean *falsitas*, while *nugator* means jester or joker. See “Nuga”, in du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. 5, (Niort : L. Favre, 1883-1887), col. 620a.

<sup>117</sup> Joannes Saresberiensis, *Epistolae* (PL, vol. 199), epistola CXCIX, col. 220b.

Juggling as a trope for rhetoric, broadly speaking, appears already in Quintilian's first-century *Institutio oratio*, but there it possesses a positive sense. Quintilian compared the juggler's display of manual dexterity to a rhetorician's eloquence and facility for extemporaneous speech:

It is a similar knack which makes possible those miraculous tricks which we see jugglers (*ventilatores*) and masters of sleight of hand perform upon the stage, in such a manner that the spectator can scarcely help believing that the objects which they throw into the air come to hand of their own accord, and run where they are bidden.<sup>118</sup>

The legerdemain of the tongue that Romans prized in orators, however, was met with contempt by medieval monastics. Accordingly, in his condemnation of Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux was scandalized by how “questions of the highest matters (*quaestiones de altissimis rebus*) are recklessly tossed in the air (*temerarie ventilantur*).”<sup>119</sup> *Res altissimae* were decidedly not made for play, not of the worldly kind anyway.

Notions of the ludic and potentially perilous side of scholastic learning govern the illuminated margins and inhabited initials of a textbook of dialectic, made in France around 1300, featuring logical treatises by Porphyry, Boethius, and Aristotle (New York, Columbia University, MS X88.Ar512).<sup>120</sup> The manuscript's painted initials contain scenes of school life

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<sup>118</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ Pr, 1920), Book X, 139.

[http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio\\_Oratoria/10C\\*.html#7](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/10C*.html#7)  
The term still retains a positive meaning in the context of the practice of law in *Miracles of Saint Edmund* (c. 1100). See John Oastler Ward, “‘Artificiosa Eloquentia’ in the Middle Ages” (University of Toronto, 1972), 367.

<sup>119</sup> Jean Mabillon, e.d., *Sancti Bernardi, Abbatis Clarae-Vallensis: Opera omnia*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gaume Fratres, 1839), epistola 188, 410; Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Epistolae* (PL, vol. 182), Ep. 188, col 353a.

<sup>120</sup> I am hoping to publish a separate study on this manuscript soon. Its provenance is discussed by Xavier van Binnebeke, “Payne & Foss, Sir Thomas Phillipps, and the Manuscripts of San Marco,” *Studi umanistici e medievali*, no. VIII–IX (2010 2010): 16–17.

and are accompanied by a carnivalesque crowd populating the margins of its pages. A merry throng of male, female, and hybridized grotesques—jesters, fools, acrobats, musicians—encroach upon the scholars who inhabit the book’s in the illuminated initials. Not only visually delighting, the minstrels in the margins are equipped with bells, rattles, flutes, horns, and fiddles, evoking the rambunctious atmosphere of medieval taverns, markets, and fairs in the imaginative eyes and ears of the reader-viewer. For example, inside the initial ‘O’ that opens Boethius’ *De differentiis topicis* (f. 58r), a seated master instructs the tonsured student at his feet clasping a book (fig. 2.15). In the adjacent margin, atop the partial bar border, a veiled female juggler with a monstrous and twisted lower body—half-lion, half-dragon—juggles three wooden clubs studded with bells, one of which soars past the initial, threatening to break the letter’s architectural integrity.<sup>121</sup> As is typically the case in medieval marginalia, the meaning of the marginal images remains ambiguous. A viewer might relate or contrast the incomprehensible rattle emitted by the bell-studded club to the utterances from the teacher, the flying clubs to the starry cloud surrounding the student’s head, and the jongleur’s adroit movement of her hands to the masters’ gesticulations. In the left lower corner of the bas-de-page of the same page, the penetrating stares of a green man’s leafy face and an owl, symbol of intellectual blindness, add a darker note to the jocular tenor of the page’s décor.

As copious annotations and interlinear commentaries (stemming from at least two different hands) make clear, the manuscript was once in the possession of ‘serious’ scholars. In

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<sup>121</sup> Theologically, such fantastical figures give visual form to the Church’s condemnation of secular performers who do unnatural things with their bodies for entertainment and profit, epitomizing man’s captivity in a monstrous condition. See Casagrande and Vecchio, “Clercs et jongleurs dans la société médiévale,” 913–28, esp. 924 n. 9; Sandra Pietrini, “Medieval Entertainers and the Memory of Ancient Theatre,” *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, no. 252 (2010): 149–76, esp. 151–55.

addition to these verbal annotations, crude doodles done in silverpoint and ink appear in the margins of a few pages. They include the profile of a student and another human figure engaged in some illegible activity, which is likely testimony that the creator was all but impervious to the buffoonery of the margins and even inspired to add his own, however unskillfully (fig. 2.16).

On the last illuminated page of the manuscript (f. 208v), the formerly clear demarcation of space—initials for ‘serious’ activity, the margins for play—is gone. A magpie, a juggler, and a cutpurse besiege the scholars contained within an historiated letter ‘D’ (fig. 2.17). Inside the letter’s body, a tonsured cleric in a red shirt and a blue cape inspects a bag or container handed to him by a seated figure identified as a fellow student by his cap. The specificity of the portrayed action suggests its relation to a larger narrative, which remains, unfortunately, obscure.

Nonetheless it seems clear that the student has been robbed and the container emptied. Its past contents—a money pouch—is dangled right above the seated student’s head by a pickpocket, who cavorts acrobatically atop the initial. Adding insult to injury, the cut-purse pokes fun at the poor boy: his pointing finger transgresses into the letter’s inner space mimicking the blue-garbed man’s accusatory manica. The figure of the juggler on the top left of the initial is surely complicit in the cutpurse’s scheme. His performance may have served to distract the student while the cutpurse snatched the bag from his victim. Finally, the magpie, a symbol of thievery, sits and (we can presume) screeches below the juggler, leaving no doubt about the double act of street-theater and street-crime performed by the jongleur duo.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> On the magpie’s metaphoric meaning, see for example, Sara Lipton, “The Root of All Evil: Jews, Money and Metaphor in the Bible Moralised,” *Medieval Encounters* 1, no. 3 (1995): 317. In the medieval bestiary tradition, magpies (*picae*) are related to poets (*poeticae*) and the art of imitation for its ability to simulate human speech: Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary: Commentary, Art, Text and Translation* (Boydell Press, 2006), 181.

This curious scene responds to the neighboring opening lines of Aristotle’s *Elenchi* or *Sophistical Refutations* (in Boethius’s translation).<sup>123</sup> In the *Refutations*, Aristotle targets, and shows how to refute, a class of misleading, pseudo-logical (sophistic) arguments that seem true but are demonstrably false. False appearance, Aristotle explains, happens “through a certain likeness between the genuine and the sham.”<sup>124</sup> False beauty, unlike natural beauty, is created through artificial means; for example, an object appearing silver may actually be made of tin. Aristotle also points to the theater as an institution of deception, adducing the example of tribal choruses (groups of boys from the ten Attic tribes dressed as warriors, staging battles, who also perform dance and song, as described by Plato)<sup>125</sup> “blowing and rigging themselves out” to appear physically vigorous.<sup>126</sup> In the realm of dialectic, Aristotle notes, it is the inexperienced who fall into the trap of sophists. He goes on to define sophistry as “the semblance of wisdom

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<sup>123</sup> See Bernardus G. Dod, ed., *De Sophisticis Elenchis*, Aristoteles latinus, VI. 1-3 (Brussels; Leyden: Desclée de Brouwer ; Brill, 1975), 5.

<sup>124</sup> Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, vol. 1, Bollingen Series, 71:2 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 619.

<sup>125</sup> Plato, *The Laws*, II, XXX; VII, XXX. On Greek tribal choruses, see Peter Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: The Chorus, the City and the Stage* (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Arthur Elam Haigh and Sir Arthur Wallace Pickard-Cambridge, *The Attic Theatre: A Description of the Stage and Theatre of the Athenians, and of the Dramatic Performances at Athens* (Arden Media, 1969).

<sup>126</sup> “Et enim habitum alii quidem habent bene, alii autem videntur, tribualiter inflantes et fingentes se, et pulcri alii quidem propter decorem, alii autem videntur, componentes se. Et in inanimatis quoque similiter; nam et horum haec quidem argentum illa vero aurum est vere, alia autem non sunt quidem, videntur autem secundum sensum, ut litargirea quidem et stagnea argentea, felle vero tincta aurea.” Bernardus G. Dod, ed., *De Sophisticis Elenchis*, Aristoteles latinus, VI. 1-3 (Brussels; Leyden: Desclée de Brouwer ; Brill, 1975), 5. “For physically some people are in a vigorous condition, while others merely seem to be so by blowing and rigging themselves out like the tribal choruses; and some people are beautiful thanks to their beauty, while others seem to be so, by dint of embellishing themselves. So it is, too, with inanimate things; for of these, too, some are really silver and others gold, while others are not and merely seem to be such to our sense; e.g. things made of litharge and tin seem to be of silver, while those made of yellow metal look golden.” Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, vol. 1, Bollingen Series, 71:2 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 619.

without the reality, and the sophist is one who makes money from an apparent but unreal wisdom.”<sup>127</sup> The historiated initial, then, engages Aristotle’s analogy between sensorial deceit and philosophical fraud. The artist, however, translated the analogy into insistently contemporary terms, recasting the unseasoned logician as the robbed student, the sophist as the fraudulent jongleur, misleading arguments as theatrical performance, and money acquired through sophistry as thievery.

Not only in the *Metalogicon* John of Salisbury took aim at the sophistic culture bred in the secular schools of Paris. In the *Entheticus Maior*, composed in the mid-1150s, he skewered the Parvipontani for creating mere semblances of truth. He caricatured Adam’s followers as irreverent and ignorant posturers, who ignore classical knowledge only to make a public spectacle verging on intellectual fraud. With biting satire, he ventriloquized one such boastful Parvipontanus, while also changing the name of the *pons parvum* to *pons modicum*, that is, ‘Petty Bridge’ instead of the ‘Little Bridge’:

We do not accept the burden of following the words  
of those whom Greece has and Rome venerates.  
I am a resident of the Petit-Pont (*pons modicum*), a new author in arts,  
And pride myself that previous discoveries are my own.  
What the elders taught, but dear youth knows not yet,  
I swear was the invention of my own bosom.<sup>128</sup>  
A sedulous crowd of young men surrounds me, and thinks

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<sup>127</sup> Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, vol. 1, Bollingen Series, 71:2 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 620.

<sup>128</sup> This verse echoes Bernard of Clairvaux’s scornful portrait of Peter Abelard, the “new inventor of new assertions and new assertor of new inventions,” who seems to be “more eager for novelty than zealous truth, and to be reluctant to think of anything as others do or to speak unless he is either the only one or the first to have so spoken.” Quoted after Conrad Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 131. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola*, 77:7, 77:11, v.7; 189, 192-193. See also Luca Bianchi, “‘Prophanae Novitates’ et ‘Doctrinae Peregrinae’. La méfiance à l’égard des innovations théoriques aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles,” in *Tradition, Innovation, Invention. Fortschrittsverweigerung und Fortschrittsbewußtsein*, 2005, 211–29.

That when I make grandiloquent boasts, I merely speak the truth.<sup>129</sup>

In his haughty ignorance of the Greek *auctoritates*, the Parvipontanus portrayed in John's verses is the antithesis to the vision of Adam in the Darmstadt manuscript's frontispiece. Unlike Adam, whom John regularly consulted about Aristotle, he decries Adam's followers as vain town-criers bathing in self-glory. But aside from John's caustic criticism, his verses evoke a scene of public performance, such as that of the minstrel on the Petit-Pont captivating his audience with his moving stories from the *Song of Roland*, discussed above. On the Petit-Pont, as John saw it, the 'art of discourse'—debased by Adam's students—blurred with its surroundings, chiming with the cacophony of the medieval street.

Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), master of the Cathedral School of Notre-Dame and one of the foremost theologians in Paris during his lifetime, noted resentfully in his *Verbum abbreviatum* how philosophers seek and measure themselves by the ovations they received from audiences:<sup>130</sup>

For what is baser than divine philosophy courting applause (*clamor*)? There should be a difference between the applause of theaters and the applause of schools. Disputations prepared beforehand and spouted to the ears of the people, have in them more noise, but less usefulness. No one can give advice at the top of his lungs. Quiet words enter more easily, and stick in the memory; and we do not need many words, but, rather, effective words. Therefore one should not shout in theological disputations.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> "Non onus accipimus, ut eorum verba sequamur, quos habet auctores Grecia, Roma colit. Incola sum Modici Pontis, novus auctor in arte, dum prius inventum glorior esse meum: quod docuere senes, nec novit amica iuventus, pectoris inventum iuro fuisse mei! Sedula me iuvenum circumdat turba, putatque grandia iactantem non nisi vera loqui." John of Salisbury, *Entheticus Maior and Minor*, ed. Jan van Laarhoven, vol. 1, *Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Brill, 1987), 106–109, ll. 47–54; commentary at 262–265.

<sup>130</sup> On Peter the Chanter, see John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970). Among art and architectural historians, Peter the Chanter is also known for his critical stance toward bishop Maurice de Sully's ambitious renovation of Notre Dame, which Peter found excessively extravagant; see *ibid.*, 66–68.

<sup>131</sup> "Nil turpius coelesti philosophia captante clamores. Sit aliquid inter clamorem theatri et scholae. Disputationes praeparatae et effusae auribus populi, plus habent strepitus, minus

Holding the office of *Cantor* of Notre Dame, the second highest ranking dignitary in the Cathedral Chapter, Peter was in charge of the cathedral's choir and its musical and liturgical performances. Peter's musical expertise made him particularly attentive to the clamor and discord of the schools, not least since such sounds were directly at odds with the musical harmony that was the Cantor's *métier*. In this passage, noise is seen decidedly not as a simple by-product or consequence of dialectic battles; to Peter's consternation, it has become the style of scholastic disputations. Both debaters and audience contribute to the excess of scholastic noise. The success of disputations was measured by the audience's vocal response, and the cheers of the crowd were the sonorous reward of victorious debaters.<sup>132</sup> Concerned for the decorum at debates, Peter tells his reader to heed Seneca's advice not to "stamp one's foot, or toss the arms, or raise the voice," when arguing a point.<sup>133</sup>

The same theme of a corrupt intellectual culture informed the liturgical chant *Artium dignitas*, found in an important collection of medieval polyphonic music compiled at Notre-Dame in Paris (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1, fols. 314r–314v). While

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utilitatis. Nemo consilium clare dat. Submissa verba facilius intrans et haerent: nec multis opus est, sed efficacibus. Non ergo clamandum in disputationibus theologiae." PL, vol. 205, 30c.

<sup>132</sup> One historian has argued that the scholastic disputation was one of the origins of modern theatre. the notion of disputation as theater, see Jody Enders, "The Theater of Scholastic Erudition," *Comparative Drama* 27, no. 3 (October 1993): 341–363. For the dramatic elements in Christian-Jewish debates see Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), ch. 6.

<sup>133</sup> See also a similar passage in the *Verbum Abbreviatum*: "Listen, theologians, and why not you, philosophers? Listen man, to Seneca (alas not a Christian). For what is baser than philosophy courting applause? Even if arguing a point, he says, one should not stamp one's foot, or toss the arms, or raise the voice." PL, vol. 205, 374C: "Non ergo clamandum. Audite, theologi; quidni et vos, philosophi? Audite virum (heu! non Christianum) Senecam Quid turpius philosophia captante clamores? Etiam si disputarem, inquit, nec supplerem pedem, nec manum jactarem, nec attollerem vocem, etc." .



the manuscript was made around 1250, the text of *Artium dignitas* may in fact stem from Peter the Chanter (after 1127–1197).<sup>134</sup> A two-part conductus, *Artium dignitas* decries the decline of the dignity of the liberal arts in present times. According to its text, the arts have become “vile by modern teaching.”<sup>135</sup> Learning has “dissolved under many layers of words, and, so surrounded, rendered itself void.” Modern teaching “creates nothing of certainty anymore.” Modern scholars “babble in the manner of children.” What they desire most is fame (“to be pointed at by the finger of the common people”). And “they celebrate the great quantity of criers on whom rests the fame of learning,” but “what they do not understand they either blaspheme or pass over it.”

### The Trinity at the Crossroads

John of Salisbury also railed against dialecticians “who are shouting at crossroads (*compiti*), and teach at intersections (*trivii*, literally where three roads meet; perhaps a pun on the Trivium), and

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<sup>134</sup> For the dating of the manuscript, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, “Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25, no. 1 (1972): 15.

<sup>135</sup> “The dignity of the arts, which first acquired strength became vile by modern teaching; it dissolves [under] many layers of words, so surrounded it renders itself void, and constructs nothing of certainty. Those who babble/stammer in the manner of children and want to be pointed at by the finger of the common people, straining out a gnat, they swallow a camel [Matthew 23:24]; that which they do not comprehend they either blaspheme or pass over it. They celebrate the great quantity of criers on whom rests the fame of learning; the price/reward is not earned by their learning itself, unless she begged through bribed applause.” A free translation of this conductus into French, together with a short discussion, is given in Anne-Zoé Rillon, “La Musique et Les Débuts de l’Université,” in *Les Débuts de L’enseignement Universitaire à Paris (1200 – 1245 Environ)*, ed. Jacques Verger and Olga Weijers (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 380.

“Artium dignitas que primu(m) viguit moderne vitio doctrine viluit que tot involucris verbor(um) diffluit. tot circuit q(uo)d se destituit . et nichil certum construit. Qui nu(n)c infantiu(m) more balbuciant et vulgi digito mo(n)strari cupiunt . colantes culicem camelum glutiant . que nesciu(n)t vel q(ua)n(d)o? capiu(n)t blasphema(n)t vel transiliunt. Tales concelebra(n)t preconu(m) copia quibus innititur doctrine gl(ori)a nec enim precium meretur p(ro)pria scie(n)tia nisi venalia mendicet p(er) suffragia.” My transcription.

who have worn away, not merely ten or twenty years, but their whole life with logic as their sole concern [...].”<sup>136</sup> John’s polemic would certainly have called the Petit-Pont to the minds of contemporary readers, for the Petit-Pont precisely such a place where learning spilled into the street, philosophers rubbed shoulders with the populace, and those engaged in disputations found themselves competing with shouting and singing peddlers, entertainers, and beggars.

Bernard of Clairvaux would not tolerate discussions about matters of faith outside the walls of the cloister. Appealing to Pope Innocent II, he leveled severe charges against his prime adversary, Peter Abelard, who, he claimed, relied more on his own understanding than on the Church Fathers, urging Innocent to silence the rogue theologian.<sup>137</sup> Bernard asserted that Abelard’s followers, and those inspired by Abelard’s *Theologia*, disputed questions concerning the Trinity and the nature of God everywhere: “in cities, villages, and castles; by scholars not only in the schools but also in public spaces; and not only by those learned and advanced enough but also by boys and the uneducated, and even by fools.”<sup>138</sup> In another epistle, Bernard called to

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<sup>136</sup> “...qui clamant in compitis, et in triuiis docent, et in ea quam solam profitentur non decennium aut uicennium sed totam consumpserunt aetatem. Nam et cum senectus ingruit, corpus eneruat, sensuum retundit acumina, et praecedentes comprimit uoluptates, sola haec in ore uoluitur, uersatur in manibus, et aliis omnibus studiis praeripit locum.” *Metalogicon* (CCM), II.7, 66; it continues: “...do not really possess what they are pretending to teach. Even as old age descends upon them, enfeebling their bodies, dulling their perceptions, and subduing their passions, logic alone still remains the exclusive topic of their conversation, monopolizes their thought, and usurps the place of every other branch of knowledge.” Translation slightly adapted from *Metalogicon* (CCiT), II.7, 88.

<sup>137</sup> For an overview of the controversy, see Constant J. Mews, “Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Abelard,” in *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 25 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 133–68; Anthony N. S. Lane, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Theologian of the Cross* (Liturgical Press, 2013), 80–105; Piero Zerbi, “*Philosophi*” e “*logici*”: *un ventennio di incontri e scontri: Soissons, Sens, Cluny, 1121-1141* (Vita e Pensiero, 2002). On Bernard in the context of the monastic opposition more broadly, see Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 47–92, 59–60 esp.

<sup>138</sup> “Itaque, cum per totam fere Galliam in civitatibus, vicis, et castellis, a scholaribus, non solum intra scholas, sed etiam triviatim; nec a litteratis aut provectis tantum, sed a pueris et simplicibus, aut certe stultis, de sancta Trinitate, quae Deus est, disputaretur.” Mabillon, ed., *Sancti Bernardi*:

action the whole of the Roman Curia against those publicly disputing on street corners about God (*disputantes in triviis de divinis*).<sup>139</sup>

The abbot of Sainte-Geneviève, Stephen of Tournai (1128–1203), echoed Bernard’s outrage in his own acrimonious letter to the Holy See.<sup>140</sup> Residing on top of Mont Sainte-Geneviève, likely imagining a poisonous terrain of evil spaces stretching out below him, Stephen complained how “contrary to sacred customs (*constitutiones*),” disputations are held in public “about the incomprehensible deity”:

Verbose flesh and blood irreverently quarrels about the incarnation of the Word; in the crossroads (*trivii*) the indivisible Trinity is divided and torn to pieces. There are as many errors as there are doctors, as many scandals as there are lecture halls (*auditoria*), as many blasphemies as there are streets.<sup>141</sup>

Stephen saw the discussion of matters of faith spread uncontrollably through the streets of his own fief. His evident anxiety over the city as a hotbed for heterodoxy, a place in which sacred doctrine was defenselessly subjected to the worldly ambition and profane zeal of philosophers,

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*Opera omnia*, vol. 1, epistola 337, 628. Also in Bernardus Claraevallensis. *Contra quaedam Capitula errorum Abaelardi* (PL, vol. 182), Ep. 337, 540 CD. This passage is translated in Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 59–60. Letter 337 is translated in its entirety by Jean Mabillon, *Life and Works of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*, trans. Samuel J. Eales, vol. 2 (London; New York: Burns & Oates ; Benziger, 1889), 867–871.

<sup>139</sup> Mabillon, ed., *Sancti Bernardi: Opera omnia*, vol. 1, epistola 188, 411.

<sup>140</sup> Stephen of Tournai’s abbacy at Sainte-Geneviève lasted from 1176–1192. On his life, see Charles Vulliez, “Études sur la correspondance et la carrière d’Étienne d’Orléans dit de Tournai († 1203),” in *L’Abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor*, ed. Jean Longère, Bibliotheca Victorina 1 (Paris: Brepols, 1991), 195–231.

<sup>141</sup> “Disputatur publice, contra sacras constitutiones, de incomprehensibili deitate; de incarnatione Verbi verbosa caro et sanguis irreverenter litigat; individua Trinitas in triviis secatur et discerpitur : ut tot iam sint errores quot doctores, tot scandala quot auditoria, tot blasphemie quot platee.” Étienne De Tournai, *Lettres d’Étienne de Tournai*, ed. Abbé Jules Desilve (Valenciennes, Paris, 1893), no. 274, 345; see also no. 93, 109. The letter is undated. Perhaps Stephen wrote it after his abbacy of Ste-Geneviève, when he was bishop of Tournai. For a discussion of this letter and for other critical opinions expressed by Stephen of Tournai in his sermons, see Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 269–277, esp. 270–272.

was shared by his contemporaries. Stephen made emphatically clear that the city was not a fitting site for inquiring into matters divine.

Why drag the Trinity into the urban arena of the secular schools at all? Solving the logical problem posed by the Trinity, the mystery of three persons united in one God, was the Holy Grail sought by Abelard and his generation. Dialectical pursuit of the Trinity did not purport to unravel or make intelligible divine truth in absolute terms—God, Abelard stressed, was beyond human cognition—but approached God in terms thought proper to human understanding, i.e. (logical) reason. The modern biographer of Abelard, Michael T. Clanchy, summarizes what was at stake for these scholars of the crossroads:

The perfect analogy for the Trinity seemed on the verge of discovery, rather like the discovery of a new drug in modern science, and then the most fundamental problem of Christian doctrine and belief would be solved. The successful discoverer would achieve the reputation of a Father of the Church, like St. Augustine himself. If the analogy failed, on the other hand, the discoverer might be condemned as a heretic and imprisoned or killed. The stakes were therefore high and Abelard, as the highest player of his time [...], gambled against his soul to solve the mystery of the Trinity.<sup>142</sup>

Abelard first brought logical reasoning to bear on the Trinity in 1119 or 1120 in his *Theologia Summi Boni*.<sup>143</sup> Nevermind that one year later, at the Council of Soissons, his views were condemned and his text burned: in his subsequent *Theologia christiana* (or *De Trinitate*) he doubled down on his logical distinction between the persons of the Trinity. The title ‘*Theologia*’, God-Logic, which Abelard used for his theological works, in itself raised eyebrows. William of St. Thierry found it “monstrous,” but deemed it a fitting title, since Abelard was now “doing in

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<sup>142</sup> Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, 109–110.

<sup>143</sup> Peter Abelard, *Theologia summi boni: Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina = Abhandlung über die göttliche Einheit und Dreieinigkeit : Lateinisch-Deutsch* (Hamburg: F. Meiner, 1988).

divine Scripture what he was accustomed to do in dialectic.”<sup>144</sup> Abelard made himself powerful enemies, most of all Bernard of Clairvaux, who was the recipient of William’s furious letter. In 1140, Bernard tried to involve Cardinal Guido de Castello—the future pope Celestine II—in his crusade against Abelard who, he wrote, “does not approach alone, like Moses, the dark cloud in which was God, but with a large crowd and with his disciples. In streets (*vicos*) and squares (*plateas*) disputations are held about the catholic faith, the birth of the Virgin, the sacrament of the altar, and the incomprehensible mystery of the Holy Trinity.”<sup>145</sup> A year later, Abelard’s doctrines were condemned at the Council of Sens, and the wayward theologian silenced.<sup>146</sup>

Adam of the Petit-Pont did not stir up any theological scandals (that we know of), but he did participate in discussions of the Trinity. He is one of three Parisian *magistri* whose opinions on the nature of the Trinity are cited in a *questio* preserved in a late-twelfth century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlins. C. 161, f. 154r).<sup>147</sup> The *questio* deals precisely with the problem of how to distinguish between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, weighing Adam’s position against those of the other two masters (*R. Polanus*, Robert Pullen, c.1080–c.1146), and a certain

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<sup>144</sup> “...agens in Scriptura divina quod agere solebat in dialectica [...]” Quoted after Jean Leclercq, “Les lettres de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry à Saint Bernard,” *Revue Bénédictine* 79 (1969): 377. On the evolution of the term ‘theology,’ see Mauro Ferrante, “The Word ‘Theology’ from the Presocratics to Peter Abelard: Philosophy and Science. Some Remarks,” *Philosophy and Cosmology* 18 (2017): 219–228.

<sup>145</sup> “Accedit non solus, sicut Moyses, ad caliginem in qua erat Deus, sed cum turba multa et discipulis suis. Per vicos et plateas de fide catholica disputatur, de partu Virginis, de Sacramento altaris, de incomprehensibili sanctae Trinitatis mysterio” Mabillon, ed., *Sancti Bernardi: Opera omnia*, vol. 1, epistola 332, 623–624. My translation differs slightly from the one given in James, trans., *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, no. 244, 324–325. On Abelard’s attraction of crowds, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 239.

<sup>146</sup> Shortly thereafter, however, the cardinal infuriated Bernard after he learned that Guido, even after Abelard’s official condemnation, was sheltering one of Abelard’s followers and chief troublemakers, Arnold of Brescia. See Bernard’s admonishing letter to Guido: James, trans., *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, Letter 251, 331–332. Mabillon, ed., *Sancti Bernardi: Opera omnia*, vol. 1, epistola 196, 423–424.

<sup>147</sup> See Minio-Paluello, “The ‘Ars Disserendi’ of Adam of Balsham,” 168–169.

*Petrus* (perhaps Peter Lombard (c. 1096–1160)). Adam also discussed the issue of Transubstantiation and other theological questions.<sup>148</sup> Although Adam strictly stays within the limits of pure logic in his *Ars disserendi*, these two *questiones* reveal that he did take up the most profound theological subjects of his day. However, when in his career he did so, and to what degree, we do not know. It is likewise impossible to say, whether he ventured into theology with his students on the Petit-Pont, debated the nature of the Trinity with other masters, or authored theological works. But it goes to show that Stephen of Tournai’s diatribe against logicians’ public mincing of the Trinity—literally amidst butchers—was all but unfounded. Not to everyone’s liking, God had been brought into the streets and squares of Paris.

By following multiple storylines, this chapter has endeavored to provide a closeup view—or rather, multiple views—of how early Scholasticism became enmeshed in the fabric and life of Paris. As single threads, the lives and works of individual historical actors and the spaces they occupied may seem only distantly related to one another, and to the various forms and practices of inquiry, argument, and pedagogy today flattened or collapsed under the term ‘Scholasticism’. But pulled together and viewed from an historical distance, these fragments offer an astoundingly rich and variegated representation of scholasticism in the city—as it was truly lived, but also as it conceived of itself and was critiqued—than has previously been presented. The study of Adam’s school in relation to its pontine setting reveals the city as a space of experimentation for, and incubator of, new scholarly practices and a new culture of knowledge. Importantly, it was in collaboration with the urban environment that Scholasticism evolved into a recognizable phenomenon, taking a crisper shape with the development of distinct

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<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

cultural traits that set it visibly (and audibly) apart from the monastic tradition of learning.

The role of medieval Paris comes into even sharper view when the polemical opposition of monastics to Scholasticism is paired with fragmentary accounts and reports of urban schools like Adam's. The established narratives of intellectual history typically frame the early scholastic period as a conflict between personalities and doctrines—Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux, above all—but this chapter has excavated a deeper layer of conflict. For Bernard and others, the aberrant doctrines of the secular *magistri* were not only the result of the irresponsible use of pagan philosophy, but also part of a larger problem: the worldly spaces inhabited by urban scholars that were antithetical to traditional ideals of learning governed by moral discipline, places in which learning took on a theatrical quality, unguarded against the philosophical vice of pride. At stake in this conflict, this chapter has shown, was an urgent need to make sense of this phenomenon, and to define the purpose and place of the new urban scholastic movement within the wider context of overlapping intellectual and theological pursuits.

## CHAPTER THREE

### IN THE COURT OF THE BISHOP

Whereas the previous chapter traced the scholastic phenomenon through Adam of Balsham's school on the Petit-Pont in the public center of Paris, this chapter turns to the ecclesial center of Paris, the court of the bishop. The bishopric played a multi-faceted, critical role in the life of the twelfth-century schools of Paris and in the formation of the University of Paris in the early thirteenth century. But the bishop's court was not just an institutional notion, a *curia*, it was a physical place as well. Located in the cloister on the south side of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, the episcopal palace complex housed, since the second quarter of the twelfth century, the cathedral school, the preeminent school of theology in Paris (fig. 3.1). It was in the palace, in the bishop's great aula, where the bishop or his functionary, the chancellor of Notre-Dame, bestowed upon worthy students in a public setting the *licentia docendi* (the licence to teach)—the originary academic graduation ceremony. The bishop's palace was also the seat of the chancellor, the official who exercised jurisdictional authority over scholars and presided over the trials of scholars.<sup>1</sup> Attached to the complex even was a prison-donjon for academic malefactors, which stood under the control of the chancellor. All these, as well as other, related functions converged in the court of the bishop. The first part of this chapter excavates the material, spatial, and performative components of the scholastic apparatus concentrated in the bishop's court, shedding new light on the dynamic history and fraught relationship between Parisian scholars and the episcopal administration. This also lays the groundwork for the chapter's second part: a

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the office of chancellor, see Olga Weijers, *Terminologie des universités au XIIIe siècle* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987), 194–199; Philippe Delhaye, “L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle,” *Traditio* 5 (1947): 246–250.



reconsideration of the sculptural program of Pierre de Montreuil's bishop's portal (facing the bishop's courtyard and palace hall), and the locus, I argue, of an orchestrated visual intervention in the political and institutional struggles around the middle of the thirteenth century.

This chapter occupies a linchpin position in the chronological span of the dissertation, marking the transition from the era of the twelfth-century schools to the thirteenth century, when the institution of the University of Paris slowly began to emerge. Whereas the episcopal role in the affairs of the schools and, from the thirteenth century onward, the university, has been studied in depth by generations of scholars, the palace complex itself—the site where ‘formal’, institutionalized Scholasticism was enacted and performed—has remained utterly out of view. Through its architecture, sculptural program, and as stage of ceremonies, the palace, I propose to show, asserted episcopal authority and mediated the special claims of the bishopric. It provided a site where the conflicts between the episcopal power and the emerging institution of the university were played out. In this chapter I offer a new account of the institutional politics and ideological forces that shaped the formative period of thirteenth-century Parisian Scholasticism. More significant to the purpose of this study, though, the chapter brings to light the contested image of Scholasticism, a struggle in which representation played a critical role.

The bishop of Paris's palace itself no longer exists today. But on the exterior façade of the cathedral's south transept, flanking the bishop's portal, there remain two weathered bas-relief panels dating to circa 1260, facing into the bishop's courtyard (figs. 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4). Each panel features four figurative scenes set in quadrilobed frames. They have been called “most famous public sculptures associated with the University of Paris,” yet their meaning is

remarkably obscure.<sup>2</sup> Most agree that the reliefs depict subjects or a narrative relating to academic life generally or the university specifically. One quadrilobe, for example, shows a student placing his hand on a book placed open on a lectern, and another student reaching around from behind does likewise (fig. 3.3 D). The man on the left is a master identified by his gown and biretta; with the index finger of his right hand he points at the page while his right hand, now broken off, likely made a gesture of speech. Perhaps this vignette represents a disputation or informal debate, or, as has been suggested, the swearing of an oath.<sup>3</sup> The gabled shape decorated with a trefoil motif in the background may show church façade or the back of a magisterial cathedra. In another scene, the frontal figure of a seated master wearing the doctoral biretta appears lecture to a group of students; the front five figures hold on or lean against a beam that separates them from the master and the two tonsured (?) men left and right (fig. 3.4 D). The quadrilobe immediately to the left shows a group of students engaged in conversation and perhaps other activities no longer identifiable due to physical loss or weather damage; the hooded figure on the right, his back facing the viewer, points at the youth next to him. In the same roundel, opposite on the left, a glimpse of a railing recalls the beam of the previous

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<sup>2</sup> A brief summary of the literature is provided by Christian Heck, “Représentation du pilori et justice épiscopale au croisillon sud de Notre-Dame de Paris,” in *Iconographica. Mélanges Piotr Skubiszewski* (Poitiers, 1999), 115–22. In addition, see Ferdinand de Guilhermy and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Description de Notre-Dame, Cathédrale de Paris* (Paris: Bance, 1856), 85–87; Felix de Verneilh, “Les bas-reliefs de l’université à Notre-Dame de Paris,” *Annales Archéologiques* 26 (1869): 97–106; Adele Fischel, “Die Seitenreliefs am Südportale der Notre-Dame Kirche in Paris,” *Jahrbuch Für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1930, 189–200, 189–200; Henry Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), 2–21; Dieter Kimpel, *Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame zu Paris und ihre Skulpturen* (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Univ., 1971), 123, 275–278; Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Reaktion Books, 2013), 139–141; Sara Morris, “Virtue and Vice: A Nuanced Reading of Notre Dame de Paris’ South Transept Reliefs” (Master’s thesis, University of Alabama Libraries, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> De Verneilh, “Les bas-reliefs,” 97–106

vignette, and, at the top, a partially unfurled blank banderole no longer bears an inscription (fig. 3.4 C ). In yet another scene, a doctor seating in the curve of the frame, his head tilted to the side, appears to touch or hold an elegantly dressed woman by her left arm (fig. 3.3 B).

I do not know of another Gothic public sculptural program that has proved itself so impenetrable in its meaning. Scholars even disagree on such fundamental question as to whether the program is symbolic or narrative in nature, or what the intended order of reading, if, in fact, such an order exists at all.<sup>4</sup> I won't add here to the already published hypotheses, but I will briefly engage Christian Heck's interpretation, because it relates to the larger themes of this chapter. According to Christian Heck, the panels constitute a symbolic, non-narrative series exalting the authority and legitimacy of episcopal justice, and symbolizing the role of the bishop, or the Church, as a guardian of social mores.<sup>5</sup> His reading rests on the only scene whose general subject is clear: the punishment of a pilloried woman tied to a ladder being abused by spectators (fig. 3.3 C).<sup>6</sup> His discussion of the image in context of the bishop's judicial court and episcopal forms of punishment, and relation to the scene of St. Stephen at the court of the Sanhedrin in the tympanum of the portal pointed to a dialogue between the panels and the portal sculptures as well as the legal context of the bishopric. But is difficult to follow Heck in his denial that panels have a significant connection to the university, other than that scholars were subject to the

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<sup>4</sup> A summary of diverging interpretations is provided by Heck, "Représentation du pilori," 115–16. Authorities like Dieter Kimpel, who devoted his dissertation to the transept façade sculptures, capitulated before the task: *Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame zu Paris*, 123, 275-278. Similarly, Charlotte Bauer in her thesis "Visual Constructions of Corporate Identity for the University of Paris, 1200–1500" (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 2007), 11. Viollet-le-Duc thought it depicts some unidentified Marian legend, "dont l'explication se rencontrera quelque jour par hasard": Ferdinand de Guilhermy and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Description de Notre-Dame, Cathédrale de Paris* (Paris: Bance, 1856), 85.

<sup>5</sup> See Heck, "Représentation du pilori," 116–117.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, 115–22.

judicial authority of the bishop, as was any cleric and any inhabitants in the domains of bishopric. Furthermore, it is difficult to accept that each quadrilobe is a self-contained symbolic representation of a particular kind of episcopal authority. Too obscure and complex are the scenes to function like the roundels of *Bibles moralisées* or the representation of Virtues and Vices so common on the church facades and which placed a premium of legibility. Where I broadly agree with Heck is that the program has to be seen in the larger context of the bishop's courtyard and that it is essentially moralizing. The panels therefore appear to highlight the bishop's claimed role of moral oversight of scholars—a fact that will be fleshed out over the course of this chapter. But the more significant point for the argument of this chapter is that the relief panels fundamentally and prominently designate the bishop's courtyard as a scholastic space, and, more so, a space where ideas of the scholastic project were mediated through means of representation. This will become all the clearer when in my close study of the tympanum relief of the bishop's portal in the second half of this chapter.

First, however, I will examine more closely the layout of the palace complex, the Cathedral School, the relation of bishop and his chancellor to the academic community. This period witnesses a profound alteration to the power of the bishopric in relation to its authority over the masters active in its diocese; over the course of the first decades of the thirteenth century, bishop and school, once the center of scholastic Paris, were pushed to the margins. The aim of this chapter is to situate the bishop's contested scholastic authority—usually discussed in relation to abstract jurisdictional and institutional-historical developments—in the physical site of the episcopal palace and to examine several of its manifest forms. When considered in tandem, the visual, performative, and architectural articulations of episcopal identity reveal a dynamic and disputed site under constant tension in which dialogue, negotiation, struggle, and

conflict between scholars and bishop played out in manifold ways. The palace, I argue, was the place in which the bishop sought to mediate and amplify special claims or prerogatives over the university. Whether through conciliatory or aggressive modes of representation and mediation, Parisian bishops strove to critique and impress their vision on the scholastic project and its actors.

### **The Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral School**

On February 14, 1831, under the cry, “Down with the Archbishop, down with the Carlists!” a crowd of revolutionaries opposing Charles X’s royalist party forced its way into the medieval episcopal palace on the southeast tip of the Île de la Cité. Unimpeded, the angry mob raided and devastated the palace, smashing statues, reliquaries, and windows, looting the public halls and private chambers, and carrying off anything movable of value, from table silver and furniture, to art works, tapestries, and even miniatures sliced out of manuscripts. The damage inflicted on the great library was equally thorough: ancient tomes and documents were flung out of windows, piles of books were burned in the courtyard, and what remained of the entire diocesan archive was dumped into the Seine. Finally, to cap the chaos, the rioters set the palace ablaze, and it burned to the ground.<sup>7</sup>

In less than forty-eight hours, a single burst of violence effaced the history of Paris’s bishopric (an archbishopric since 1622) and of the site where it had stood for some twelve hundred years. The destruction was complete. No ruins, indeed, no trace whatever of the former

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<sup>7</sup> Roger Limouzin-Lamothe, “La dévastation de Notre-Dame et de l’archevêché de Paris en février 1831,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 50, no. 147 (1964): 125–134. Viollet-le-Duc sketched the destruction of the palace, see Richard Winston and Clara Winston, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (New York: Newsweek, 1971), 124.

palace, are to be found among the illustrations in Charles Nodier's *Promenade dans les rues de Paris* published seven years after the demolition (fig. 3.5).<sup>8</sup> Ironically, it was the nineteenth-century revolutionaries' destructive actions that cleared the way to today's grand view of the cathedral's southern aspect.

Dating to the late-twelfth century, the medieval core of the architectural complex that had obscured the view of Notre-Dame comprised interconnected buildings. It was a jumble of civil, military, and ecclesiastical architectural elements: an *aula* (great hall), a chapel, a tower, and a treasury, as well as assorted service structures (fig. 3.6). At the ensemble's heart and center, the *aula* stood on axis with the transept of the cathedral and rivaled the great church in scale (fig. 3.7). Supported by buttresses, it was fifty meters long and two stories high, pierced by a series of lancet windows, and crowned with a steep roof framed by crenellations. Its eastern end connected to the bishop's private chapel, also two stories high. From there, a gallery serving as both sacristy and treasury communicated with the church's choir.<sup>9</sup> A crenellated square tower erected within the courtyard and adjacent to the chapel housed the belfry and the episcopal prison. A westward extension of the great *aula*, which contained residential rooms, was added at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Charles Nodier and Christian Pitois, *Paris historique. Promenade dans les rues de Paris. Avec Résumé de l'Histoire de Paris*, (Paris: F.G. Levrault, 1838).

<sup>9</sup> As of 1243, the gallery was used as sacristy and treasury by the cathedral chapter: Thierry Crépin-Leblond, "Le palais épiscopal de Paris," in *Autour de Notre-Dame*, ed. A. Erlande-Brandenburg (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2003), 113.

<sup>10</sup> It was constructed under bishop Simon Matifas de Bucy. It is not clear whether Sully's original palace possessed a residence. Sully resided at St-Victor, where he had a house, a chapel, and a garden: *Ibid.*, 114; Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, vol. 7 (Paris: A. Morel, 1864), 14.

Bishop Maurice de Sully (1120–1196) initiated construction of the palace and financed it as part of a monumental building campaign that remodeled the cathedral and erected, along the southern edge of the parvis, the Hôtel-Dieu (a hospital for the poor).<sup>11</sup> The new episcopal palace was completed in the late 1160s or early 1170s.<sup>12</sup> Access to the palace was gained exclusively through a gate in the western wall that separated the bishop's close from the public parvis. The configuration of buildings enclosed a small, intimate courtyard just ten meters long on the north-south axis, which added to the fortress-like character of the compound and functioned importantly as a spatial nexus connecting episcopal palace, cathedral, parvis, and the bishop's gate with the canons' cloister further to the east.

Maurice de Sully's building campaign, in particular this massive complex, articulated in stone the growing confidence and power of Paris's bishops, who had long been overshadowed by the cathedral chapter.<sup>13</sup> Marking the episcopal see, the grand palace complex established a visible counterpoint to the expansive canonical cloister in the area north and east of the cathedral. The

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<sup>11</sup> Thierry Crépin-Leblond, "Recherches sur les palais épiscopaux en France au moyen âge (XIIe–XIIIe siècles). D'après divers exemples des provinces ecclésiastiques de Reims et de Sens," *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes*, 1987, 63–69; Thierry Crépin-Leblond, "Le palais épiscopal de Paris," in *Autour de Notre-Dame*, ed. A. Erlande-Brandenburg (Paris: Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2003), 111–115; Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, vol. 7 (Paris: A. Morel, 1864), 14–16; Victor Mortet, *Étude historique et archéologique sur la cathédrale et le palais épiscopal de Paris* (Paris: Picard, 1888), 69–77; M. W. Thompson, *The Rise of the Castle* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 31–32; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (Abradale Press; Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1999), 46–48. On bishop palaces in Italy, see Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy*, *Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

<sup>12</sup> Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 46.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

bishop of Paris's palace, especially its *aula*, piqued the envy of other French bishops and became a model widely imitated elsewhere in the thirteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

### The Cathedral School

The cathedral school was the centerpiece in the initiative of educational reform of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-85).<sup>15</sup> To raise the level of education overall and to strengthen literacy among clerics in particular, Pope Gregory had ordered that “all bishops should cause the discipline of letters to be taught in their churches.”<sup>16</sup> Gregory's educational reform required every bishop to establish a school in his jurisdiction and to employ at least one master to offer rudimentary instruction in all branches of learning; students were not to be charged fees. The reform program stipulated the training of theologians and canonists, with the objective of creating a sufficiently lettered clergy, as well as an intellectual elite prepared to enter ecclesiastical service.

Around 1180, Gui de Bazoches (1146–1203), a student in Paris, wrote a rhapsodic letter urging a dear friend—obviously a kindred spirit with a ravenous appetite for study—to hasten to visit him “not only because of my love, but also because of this famous place, in which you can obtain the science of things human and divine, acquaintance of nobles, favor of praiseworthy

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<sup>14</sup> It visibly influenced the episcopal palaces in Meaux, Troyes, Amien, and Chartres: Crépin-Leblond, “Le Palais Épiscopal de Paris,” 115.

<sup>15</sup> On the early history of the cathedral school of Notre Dame, see Gabriel, “The Cathedral Schools of Notre Dame,” 39–64; Southern, “The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres,” 113–37; M. B. Aspinwall, *Les écoles épiscopales monastiques de l'ancienne province ecclésiastique de Sens du VIe au XIIIe Siècle* (Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1904), 53–74.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted after Alan E. Bernstein, “Magisterium and License: Corporate Autonomy against Papal Authority in the Medieval University of Paris,” *Viator* 9 (January 1, 1978): 292. See also Philippe Delhaye, “L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle,” *Traditio* 5 (1947): 240.



men, and friendship of many.”<sup>17</sup> Conjuring a quasi-mythical vision of a scholar’s paradise, Gui’s letter exalts the Île de la Cité as sacral site of wisdom, where

since ancient times, Philosophy has itself set up a royal throne—she who accepts Study (*studio*) as sole companion and alone possesses the perennial citadel of light and of immortality—and treads with her victorious foot upon the arid flower of a world now for a long time senescent. On that island, the Seven Sisters, namely the seven liberal arts, have settled in a perpetual mansion, and, by sounding the trumpet of the more noble eloquence, decretals and law are studied and taught there [too]. There spurts the fountain of salvific doctrine, and as if putting forth from itself three most crystalline rivers to irrigate the gardens of the mind, it divides the spiritual understanding of the sacred page threefold into historical, allegorical, and moral (meanings).<sup>18</sup>

What an apt metaphor for the scholarly island arising in a river that flowed through some of the most fertile acreage in medieval France!<sup>19</sup> Gui’s friend would doubtless have understood the subject of Gui’s encomium to be the cathedral school of Notre-Dame.

Laden with hyperbolic metaphor but hardly rich in practical information, what did Gui’s letter in fact convey? First, and correctly, that the Cathedral School was the leading institution of

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<sup>17</sup> “...venire festinans ad me, tam propter amorem meum, quam propter celebrem locum, in quo possis adipisci rerum divinarum humanarumque scientiam, notitiam nobilium, probabilium gratiam, amicitiam plurimorum.” CUP I, no. 54, 55.

<sup>18</sup> “In hac insula regale sibi solium ab antiquo filosofia collocavit, que sola solo comite contenta studio perhemnem lucis et immortalitatis possidens arcem victorioso pede calcat mundi iam pridem senescentis aridum florem. In hac insula perpetuam sibi mansionem septem pepigere sorores, artes videlicet liberales, et intonante nobilioris eloquentie tuba decreta leguntur et leges. Hic fons doctrine salutaris exuberat, et, quasi tres rivos ex se limpidissimos ad prata mentium irriganda producens, dividit tripliciter intellectum sacre pagine spiritalem in hystoricum, allegoricum, et moralem.” Ibid., 56. Adapted from translations by Gabriel, “The Cathedral Schools of Notre Dame,” 50 and Robert Berger, “Medieval Paris as an Artistic Capital,” in *Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State Press, 1999), 2-3.

<sup>19</sup> Henri de Lubac also draws attention to the medieval topos of the river or the fountain as source of knowledge in his discussion of Gui’s letter: *Medieval Exegesis, Volume 1: The Four Senses of Scripture* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1998), 71. For a wide-ranging discussion of water and knowledge in the twelfth century, see James L. Smith, *Water in Medieval Intellectual Culture: Case Studies from Twelfth-Century Monasticism*, vol. 30, *Cursor Mundi* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018).

study in Paris and far beyond. Second, the besotted Gui indicated the breadth, depth, diversity, and authority of learning to be gained in Paris (not to mention the social advantages). Every discipline of the liberal arts was available for study, as well as the higher disciplines of theology, and canon and civil law (medicine was not yet a recognized science). Indeed, Paris's cathedral school allowed for greater academic variety and specialization than perhaps any other European school at the time.<sup>20</sup> This distinguished the school of Notre-Dame from other episcopal schools, such as those of Chartres and Laon, which focused more narrowly on particular aspects of medieval science. The reputation of cathedral schools in Northern France was often comparatively short-lived, waxing and waning with single influential masters whose academic notions shriveled after the master's departure or death.

In retrospect, at least, it seems that Paris's Cathedral School had virtually burst onto the scene with Guillaume de Champeaux (c.1070–1121), the first chancellor known by name. Guillaume's intellectual genius and charisma as a teacher spread the school's notoriety far beyond Paris. As a consequence of the school's growing prestige, eager and capable students flocked to Paris, in whose wake followed masters who saw the opportunity to make a living, and perhaps more, in the city's thriving scholastic economy. By the last decades of the twelfth century, when Gui penned his letter, the Cathedral School in Paris could boast a stunning roster of great masters.

Unfortunately, far less is known about the Cathedral School's physical form and organization than about its illustrious teachers. In the early twelfth century teaching took place inside the canons' precinct, located north and east of Notre-Dame. The canons' close was bound

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<sup>20</sup> "Les écoles de Paris offrent sans doute le spectacle le plus varié et permettent à l'étudiant zélé de s'y spécialiser tout à son aise." Philippe Delhaye, "L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle," *Traditio* 5 (1947): 261.

by the north-eastern riverbank, while the rue d'Arcole and the rue de la Colombe gave it its Western border, creating the cloister's roughly triangular shape. At its western end the cloister was demarcated by a line of houses, interrupted by three gates that connected the domain of the canons to the city. The fifty or so canons, who lived comfortably in individual houses, rented rooms to students—as canon Fulbert did to the young Peter Abelard—and presumably tutored them as well.<sup>21</sup> The canons' close was not a cloister in the monastic sense, and life inside it had a secular flavor sweetened by a relaxed attitude toward rules.<sup>22</sup>

This situation changed in 1128, when the swelling number of students became a nuisance. Bishop Stephen of Senlis (d. 1142) and the cathedral chapter agreed to ban both external scholars (*scolares extranei*)—presumably this refers to students and masters not 'matriculated' in the Cathedral School—from the canons' close for the sake of peace and quiet.<sup>23</sup> Hence, “so as to avoid the occurrence of trouble and disturbances in the cloister,” outsiders were forbidden both to live there or teach, specifically in the *tresantia*, the passageway connecting the chapter house

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<sup>21</sup> Little is known about the canons' close before the fourteenth-century. The following is based on Bautier, “Paris au temps d'Abélard,” 30–31; Robert Gane, *Le chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris au XIVe siècle: étude sociale d'un groupe canonial*, ed. Claudine Billot, vol. 11, *Travaux et recherches* (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1999), 55–67. Gabriel, “The Cathedral Schools of Notre Dame,” 41–44; Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. 1, cviii–cxiii; Jean Baptiste Michel Jaillot, *Recherches critiques, historiques et topographiques sur la ville de Paris*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1775), 143.

<sup>22</sup> Gane, *Le chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 55–67; Friedmann, *Paris, ses rues, ses parroisses*, 50–55.

<sup>23</sup> In the same document, Bishop Stephen and the cathedral canons also agreed to prohibit the lodging external students in the houses of canons under pain of banishment from the choir and the chapter. See Southern, “The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres,” 120 n.17. On Stephen of Senlis and his reform efforts, see Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (CUP Archive, 1993), 203–210.

with the canons' doorway into the cathedral.<sup>24</sup> Both the bishop and the chapter decreed that the school should be moved south of cathedral, to

a certain place attached to the bishop's palace (*episcopali curia*), through which the students commonly used to enter and exit, [which] has been chosen and covered [roofed?] by the common consent of bishop and chapter, in which the school of the church henceforth shall be located and governed.<sup>25</sup>

This document—the first to mention a physical structure associated with the Cathedral School—has special importance because it indicates that the siting of the school in immediate proximity to the bishop's residence brought it under the bishop's control. That this relocation was a matter of some significance can be gleaned from the eminence of the signatories to the ordinance, in particular, Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis and Gilduin, Abbot of Saint-Victor. (It was perhaps in this building that Master Gilbert of Poitiers was said to have lectured around 1140 to a crowd of some three-hundred students.)<sup>26</sup> The fate of the school building is obscure; it may have disappeared—or been replaced—in the 1160s, when Bishop Maurice de Sully rebuilt the episcopal palace. In any case, from 1127 forward, it appears the canons' close remained

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<sup>24</sup> “[...] evitando molestiam et inquietationem claustro inferri, statuendo concessit, ut neque scolares extranei in domibus claustri ulterius hospitarentur, neque in illa parte claustri que vulgo Tresantie nominatur deinceps legerent neque scole haberentur.” De Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire général de Paris (528-1180)*, vol. 1, 223, no. 220. The exact meaning of *tresantia* is, however, not entirely clear: see Gabriel, “The Cathedral Schools of Notre Dame,” 42.

<sup>25</sup> “[...] quidam locus adherens episcopali curie, per quam introitum et exitum scolares habebant, ex communi assensu episcopi et capituli electus et coopertus est, in quo scole ecclesie deinceps tenerentur et regerentur.” De Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire général de Paris (528-1180)*, vol. 1, 223, no. 220.

<sup>26</sup> According to the *Dailogus Ratii et Everardi*, dating from the 1190s, written by a follower of Gilbert of Poitiers: “Cui Carnoti quartus in lectionem, Parisius in aula episcopi fere tercentesimus assedi.” Quoted after Nikolaus M. Häring, “A Latin Dialogue on the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers,” *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): 252; Nicholas M. Häring, “The Cistercian Everard of Ypres and His Appraisal of the Conflict between St. Bernard and Gilbert of Poitiers,” *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955): 147; Theresa Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers: From Lectio Divina to the Lecture Room* (Brill, 1996), 20; Southern, “The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres,” 120 n.17.

permanently off limits to students and the Cathedral School came under the aegis of the bishop and ‘his’ chancellor.<sup>27</sup>

### The Chancellor of Notre-Dame

In Paris, the bishop appointed the chancellor (*cancelarius*), the highest-ranking dignitary of the episcopal curia. Only men of great erudition and repute, who also displayed administrative talent and political acumen, as well as loyal devotion to the bishop, ever obtained the office. The duties of the office were manifold. Originally, the chancellor was the headmaster (and sometimes the only master) of the cathedral school. He was responsible for teaching the entire curriculum, from grammar and the liberal arts to theology, and canon law. However, at a school of the size and prestige of that of Paris, the chancellor doubtless could count on the assistance of other canons, handing off the minor fields of instruction and study to his fellow masters while concentrating himself on instruction in the supreme science of theology (in the form of *sacra pagina*).

The chancellor was, however, far more than a pedagogue. His responsibilities also involved overseeing the cathedral library and scriptorium, and keeping the seal of the chapter.<sup>28</sup> His administrative role also extended beyond the management of the cathedral school: all masters and students active in the schools of the diocese were subject to his authority. Especially in Paris, with its thriving student population, one of the chancellor’s most sensitive mission was the maintenance of order and peace among his notoriously unruly flock; to this end, he held

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<sup>27</sup> Bishop Stephen’s prohibition was repeated twice more by his successors Thibaud (1144–1158), and by Maurice de Sully (1160–1196). “Additum est preterea tempore domini Mauricii episcopi et communi assensu firmatum, ne quis canonicorum domos claustrales alicui scolari conduceret aut etiam commodaret. Quod si quis forte presumeret, nec in choro nec in capitulo reciperetur ab aliis.” CUP, I, no. 55, 56.

<sup>28</sup> See Weijers, *Terminologie des universités*, 194–199; Delhaye, “L’organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle,” 246–250.

considerable jurisdictional power as set down in the settlement reached in 1213 after a protracted dispute between masters and students on the one side and the chancellor Johannes de Candelis on the other.<sup>29</sup> According to the agreement (witnessed by the bishop of Paris Petrus de Corbolio), the chancellor possessed the right arrest scholars (he had agents to do so, though in special circumstances the city guard could act on his behalf).<sup>30</sup> As judge he presided over the trial of delinquent or felonious scholars; by his authority he could strip scholars of their clerical privileges, fine, and imprison them. Further, although this is not mentioned in the 1213 settlement, he had the power to excommunicate scholars in the diocese.

The chancellor controlled a special donjon or prison reserved for academic malefactors in the bishop's cloister.<sup>31</sup> The jail is possibly pictured in the far distance of Jean Fouquet's mid-fifteenth-century view of Paris from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.2490), the first topographically accurate representation of late medieval Paris (fig. 3.8). Looking over the south branch of the Seine and the Île de la Cité from the tower of the Hôtel de Nesle on the Left Bank, in Fouquet's painting the prison-donjon appears in the center of the urban skyline as a massive round tower, wedged between the cathedral and the bishop's palace. Not only scholars accused of serious 'physical'

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<sup>29</sup> CUP I, no. 16, 75–76; see also no. 17, 76, and no. 18, 77. Translated into French: Pascale Bermon, ed., *La fondation de l'Université de Paris (1200-1260)* (Les Belles Lettres, 2017), 110.

<sup>30</sup> The relation between royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction has shifted over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: See Robert Barroux, "L'évêque de Paris et l'administration municipale jusqu'au XIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 46, no. 143 (1960): 5–17; Gaines Post, *The Papacy and the Rise of the Universities* (Brill, 2017), ch. 6, 127, 134. On scholarly privileges, see Pearl Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages: The Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of Scholars and Universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris, and Oxford*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962).

<sup>31</sup> On episcopal jurisdiction and French universities see Gaines Post, *The Papacy and the Rise of the Universities* (Brill, 2017), ch. 6, 122–157.

crimes—thrift, rape, murder—were locked away in the donjon, but also those charged with heresy and defiance of episcopal authority.<sup>32</sup>

The Paris chancellor's abuse of his powers to exact fees from scholars in exchange for their freedom and to incarcerate those who contested his authority led Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) to intervene. The pope revoked the chancellor's rights and commanded the destruction of the chancellor's prison.<sup>33</sup> Henceforth scholars were to be incarcerated in the bishop's prison (if only for the most serious crimes), but whether the chancellor's prison was indeed demolished is uncertain.<sup>34</sup>

The chancellor of Paris had no say over what was taught or who was a student.<sup>35</sup> He did, however, have control over who could teach in the diocese. Any master wishing to teach first had to obtain a license, the *licentia docendi*, from the chancellor.<sup>36</sup> Preceding the existence of public

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<sup>32</sup> See CUP I, no. 13, 72–73. Clerics were only allowed to be seized for capital crimes by secular authorities.

<sup>33</sup> CUP I, no. 45, 103. Gregory IX's bull *Parens scientiarum* (1231) reiterated the abolishment of the chancellor's prison: "Quod si forte tale crimen commiserit, quod incarceratione sit opus, episcopus culpabilem in carcere detinebit, cancellario habere proprium carcerem penitus interdicto." CUP I, no. 79, 138.

<sup>34</sup> Gaines Post, *The Papacy and the Rise of the Universities*, 138–139. Fouquet's donjon differs starkely from the slender, rectangular tower depicted in Truschet and Hoyau's map of Paris of c. 1550 and in Viollet-de-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné*. The miniature's remarkable topographically accuracy raises the question if the round donjon is, in fact, a depiction of Maurice de Sully's original tower, and the rectangular tower seen in later visual sources was a work of the second half of the fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>35</sup> Masters accepted students at their free will and, in lieu of a matriculation register, vouched for their student-status.

<sup>36</sup> On the *licentia docendi*, see Gaines Post, "Alexander III, the Licentia Docendi and the Rise of the Universities," in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929), 255–77; Delhaye, "L'organisation scolaire," 253–268; Jacques Verger, "Les ambiguïtés de la licentia docendi médiévale. Entre tutelle ecclésiastique et liberté universitaire," *Revue d'histoire des facultés de droit et de la culture juridique du monde des juristes et du livre* 29/30 (2009–2010): 17–28. For Paris in particular, see Gaines Post, "The License-System of the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Papacy and the Rise of the Universities* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2017), 28–73.

degree-granting institutions, the license-system initiated a formalized scholarly accreditation, an ecclesiastical approval of a scholar's fitness to teach. It was the prerogative of the chancellor to evaluate both the master's scholarly and moral competency.<sup>37</sup>

What may sound like a technical matter was, in fact, a matter of great contention between the bishopric and Paris's masters and students.<sup>38</sup> In the twelfth century, the justification of this licensing-system was severely undermined by gross abuse of the system. In Paris, but not only there, chancellors were levying fees from masters for the issuing of licenses. The Holy See saw in this practice a form of simony, which it first condemned at the council of London in 1138. Although opposed, time and again, by a series of popes over the following decades, this widespread, lucrative practice proved exceedingly difficult to root out. In a letter to the bishop of Winchester, Pope Alexander III (1159-81) forbade the English prelate "any exaction or promise of anything from anyone in your diocese for license to teach."<sup>39</sup> The chapter and dean of Châlons-sur-Marne, who were selling licenses while threatening active, but unlicensed masters with excommunication, were the recipients of a similar letter from Rome that ordered them "to permit all clerks in the diocese and especially outside the walls of the city who wished to instruct other in 'scholastic disciplines' to do so freely and without hindrance."<sup>40</sup> Around 1170, Alexander III sent a scolding letter (*Quanto Gallicana*) to all bishoprics in France, ordering them to abolish this "bad and illegal" custom, and demanding that "whatever fit and learned persons

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<sup>37</sup> The 1213 settlement between the chancellor and the University also addresses the *licentia docendi* dispute: CUP I, no. 16, 75–76. Pascale Bermon, ed., *La fondation de l'Université de Paris (1200-1260)* (Les Belles Lettres, 2017), 111–112.

<sup>38</sup> On Abelard and the conflict over the teaching license: Delhaye, "L'organisation scolaire," 255–258.

<sup>39</sup> Original and translation in Arthur F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1909* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 118–119.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted after Post, "Alexander III, the Licentia Docendi," 258.



wish to keep schools of letters (*studia litterarum*) shall be allowed to keep schools without any molestation or exaction, lest learning, which ought to be given freely to all, should henceforth seem to be exposed for sale at a price.”<sup>41</sup> The sale of scholastic licenses was discussed at the Third (1179) and Fourth Lateran Councils (1215), a fact that betrays papal impotence in forcing local reform against the will of the powerful bishops.

In 1210 or 1215, one Parisian master accused the chancellor of Notre-Dame of charging customarily “unam marcam” per license.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes the fee was disguised in the form of material gifts (typically items of clothing, especially gloves and gowns, but rings and other precious objects).<sup>43</sup> Regarded as simony by the papacy, for aspiring masters required to pay for licenses, it amounted to a compulsory form of bribery, particularly in those cases where a chancellor in pursuit of social or political advantage bestowed the license on candidates with spurious qualifications.<sup>44</sup>

Triggered by the professional organization of masters and students at the turn of the thirteenth century, the *licentia docendi* controversy intensified. Control of the promotion of candidates was a capital benchmark of corporate autonomy; in fact, it was a fundamental

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<sup>41</sup> CUP I, no. 4, 4–5.

<sup>42</sup> Vincentius Hispanus wrote that “hoc caput fuit impetratum contra cancellarium Parisiensem, qui a quolibet docente marcam unam exigebat.” Post, “Alexander III, the Licentia Docendi,” 260 n. 23.

<sup>43</sup> See Astrik L. Gabriel, “The Conflict between the Chancellor and the University of Masters and Students at Paris during the Middle Ages,” in *Die Auseinandersetzungen an der Pariser Universität im XIII. Jahrhundert*, ed. Albert Zimmermann, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 10 (Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 119–121.

<sup>44</sup> See the affair of chancellor of Paris John of Candelis, who sold teaching licenses. (CUP, I, no.14).

Gabriel, “The Conflict between the Chancellor and the University,” 111; Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*,” 89–90; Pascale Bermon, ed., *La fondation de l’Université de Paris (1200-1260)* (Les Belles Lettres, 2017), 102, 105–114; Gregory S. Moule, *Corporate Jurisdiction, Academic Heresy, and Fraternal Correction at the University of Paris, 1200-1400* (Brill, 2016), 80–102.

principle and the *raison d'être* of guilds in the first place, and, hence, the fact that the *Universitas Parisiensis* had to rely upon the chancellor for accreditation of scholars constituted its autonomy. Beneath the dispute over licensing between masters and students and the chancellor of Paris was the emerging University's struggle for independence from the local ecclesial authority. This strife for autonomy, which, according to Hastings Rashdall, "threatened to destroy the authority of the ancient Church of Paris over the Masters and scholars," bishopric sought to quell at every turn.<sup>45</sup> The passing of the University's first corporate statutes without the consent of the bishop and chancellor (a right explicitly granted to the Paris's corporation of masters and students by Pope Innocent III in 1209 and again by the papal legate Robert of Courçon in 1215) was, in the view of these episcopal authorities, a sworn conspiracy (*conspiratio, conjuratio*) and a mutiny against their authority.<sup>46</sup> As Rashdall put it, in the eyes of the bishop and chancellor, the University was "an unlawful secret society formed by a certain class of inferior ecclesiastics...for the purpose of resisting their canonical superiors."<sup>47</sup> In a drastic escalation of the conflict, the chancellor collectively excommunicated forty masters and students of the arts who had bonded together by oath to adopt the statutes, and incarcerated some. Pope Honorius III's response to the chancellor's egregious abuse of power was unequivocal: not only did he lift the sentence of excommunication against the scholars who were "fearing the ruin of their scholarly career," but even summoned the chancellor to Rome!<sup>48</sup> If not for the papacy's unrelenting support, the University of Paris likely would have never managed to emancipate itself, at least institutionally, from the control of bishopric.

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<sup>45</sup> Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, vol. 1, 311.

<sup>46</sup> Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges*, 90.

<sup>47</sup> Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, vol. 1, 312.

<sup>48</sup> CUP I, no. 30, 87–88; no. 31, 88–90.

## The Exodus of Masters

The migration of scholars from the Ile de la Cité to the newly urbanized and fortified terrain of the Left Bank from the 1210s onward drew the chancellor into yet another crisis (fig. 3.9). In relocating to the Left Bank, scholars crossed not only natural boundaries (including the river), but also ecclesiastic jurisdictions. Of particular importance, the parts of the Left Bank that became the university's future quarter were exempt from episcopal control because they fell under the aegis of the powerful and independent Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève. Because of ancient royal privileges that afforded the abbey the right of jurisdiction in its seigneurial properties, the abbey and its land on the Left Bank formed an independent religious, financial, and political center of power that rivaled that of the bishop on the Ile de la Cité.<sup>49</sup> By law, the abbot of Sainte-

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<sup>49</sup> See in particular Brianna M. Gustafson, “Genovefa of Paris: The Cult of Saints and the French Monarchy, 451-1314” (M.A., University of Colorado at Boulder, 2009), 104–118. Like Saint-Denis, the abbey and the cult of her patron saint were closely associated with the French Crown since the early Middle Ages. According to legend, St Geneviève converted Clovis, King of the Franks, to Christianity with the help of his wife Clotilde. Clovis, in turn, founded the church which became St Geneviève’s final resting-place. Throughout the Middle Ages, her tomb was a popular site of pilgrimage, and the abbey church one of the most important in all of Gaul. Clovis and his queen Clotilde were both buried there. Numerous donations of money and land furthered the abbey’s wealth over the next few centuries. Among its powerful patrons were Robert the Pious and Henri I, who supplied the abbey with precious privileges. The most important privilege enjoyed by the abbey was its exemption from episcopal interference (*Nullo mediante*)—a privilege that for many centuries was a constant thorn in the bishop’s side and a bone of contention. (The other abbey in Paris independent from the bishop was Saint-Germain-de-Prés, similarly a royal foundation by Clovis.) This exemption allowed the abbey to collect taxes and perform rites in its parishes usually reserved to the bishop. The essential study is Louis Tanon, *Histoire des justices des anciennes églises et communautés monastiques de Paris: suivie des registres inédits de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Sainte-Geneviève, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, et du registre de Saint-Martin-des-Champs* (L. Larose et Forcel, 1883), 229–246. For the financial administration of the abbey’s seigneurial land, see Larry Edward Sullivan, “The Burg of Sainte-Geneviève: Development of the University Quarter of Paris in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries” (Ph.D., The Johns Hopkins University, 1975). The bishops of Paris fiercely contested the abbey’s autonomy, but in 1201 Pope Innocent III issued a bull that denied the bishop of Paris the right to place Ste-Geneviève under interdict: Adrien Friedmann, *Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses du moyen âge à la révolution. origine et évolution des circonscriptions paroissiales* (Paris, 1959), 248. By the thirteenth century, the abbots of Sainte-Geneviève even

Geneviève held jurisdiction over all scholars teaching or studying in the abbey's domains. As a result, the abbot effectively became a second chancellor, with the right to license masters. This development greatly complicated the legal situation, and it inevitably led to strife between the abbot of Sainte-Geneviève and the chancellor of Notre-Dame. The abbot of Sainte-Geneviève came to be referred to as the *cancelarius superius*, and his counterpart, the chancellor of Notre-Dame, as the *cancelarius inferius*.<sup>50</sup>

Philip the Chancellor of Notre-Dame, who governed from 1217 until 1236, sought to halt the exodus of masters to the Left Bank;<sup>51</sup> in particular, he was accused of adjuring theologians “by the chain of oath to teach only between the two bridges [*inter duos pontes*]”—that is, on the Île de la Cité between the Grand- and the Petit-Ponts.<sup>52</sup> In response, the Abbot of Sainte-Geneviève, Herbertus, lodged a complaint with Pope Honorius in 1222.<sup>53</sup> Responding to this dispute, Honorius came down on side of Ste-Geneviève. The pope chastised Chancellor Philip for unduly infringing upon the rights of masters, many of whom, as the papal missive states, were then “already teaching freely by their license in the parish and lands [of the abbey of Ste-

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held the right “to invest new bishops with the insignia of their office and to withhold the episcopal miter and cross from elected bishops who refused to vow publicly to respect the abbey's independence.” Brianna M. Gustafson, “Miraculis Virgo: The Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève and the Cult of Geneviève in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” 4.

<sup>50</sup> For the relations between the abbot of Ste-Geneviève and the Faculty of Arts in the later fourteenth century, see Gray Cowan Boyce, *The English-German Nation in the University of Paris During the Middle Ages* (Saint Catherine Press, 1927), 100–108.

<sup>51</sup> On Philip's life, see Thomas Blackburn Payne, “Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School” (Ph.D., The University of Chicago, 1991), 29–99.

<sup>52</sup> “...abbas et conventus Sancte Genovefe Parisiensis nobis insinuare curarunt, quod cum ad jus eorum pertineat, ut doctores theologie, decretorum ac liberalium artium de ipsorum licentia libere regere valeant in parrochia et terra eorum infra Parisiensium murorum ambitum constituta, tu theologie decretorumque doctores ad regendum inter duos pontes astringis vinculo juramenti.” CUP, I, no. 55, 111; see also no. 56, 112.

<sup>53</sup> See Gaines Post, “The License-System of the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Papacy and the Rise of the Universities* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 41–43.

Geneviève].”<sup>54</sup> But Philip apparently dug in his heels and defied the papal directive: five years later, Honorius’s successor, Gregory IX, found it necessary to renew the orders.<sup>55</sup> The assertion of the abbot’s rights was a victory not only for the Abbey of Ste-Geneviève, but also for the fledgling university, which found in the abbot an advantageous ally willing to support its institutional autonomy and freedom against the efforts of the episcopacy.<sup>56</sup>

At this point, in the third decade of the thirteenth century, the exodus had become unstoppable and irreversible, and the chancellor had to accept the new topographical reality, and the consequential curtailment of his authority and status. The physical transformation of the scholastic landscape went hand in hand, as it were, with the symbolic and political marginalization of the bishop’s palace and, with it, the Cathedral School.

### **Becoming Master: Graduation Ceremonies and Celebrations**

In the same space in which heretics were deprived of their license to teach, the chancellor bestowed the *licentia docendi* upon graduating students. In the subsequent inception ceremony, also held in the aula, the faculty promoted the licensed candidate (*licenciatus*) to the rank of

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<sup>54</sup> CUP I, no. 55, 111.

<sup>55</sup> CUP I, no. 56, 111

<sup>56</sup> The developing bond between the abbey and the academic community was reflected in the abbey’s thirteenth-century liturgy for their patron, St Geneviève, who “saves the renowned city of the Parisians, the principal city of the most Christian kingdom, *all the most erudite masters living there*, and all of Christendom from every peril.” “Et revera dignum est Genovefam laudibus honorari que Parisiorum inclitam urbem regni christianissimi precipuam totiusque christiani incolatus magistram eruditissimam totiens a tantis que periculis liberavit.” Quoted after Brianna M. Gustafson, “Miraculis Virgo: The Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève and the Cult of Geneviève in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 38 (2010): 13. See also Robert Amiet, *Le culte Liturgique de Sainte Geneviève* (Paris, 1984), 35. According to the statutes of 1280, incepting arts masters had to swear that they “will observe and defend the accustomed freedom of examination of Sainte-Geneviève.” Thorndike, *University Records*, no. 46, 104; CUP, I, no. 501, 586–587.

master. The two ceremonies symbolically reflected the institutionally separate powers of chancellor and university: the one expressing episcopal authority, the other a faculty's independent authority.

Both ceremonies took place in the great hall on the upper floor of the *aula* and were attended by the entire faculty: masters, bachelors, and students.<sup>57</sup> The hall was forty meters long and fourteen meters wide. Seven lancet windows pierced the lateral walls, allowing ample light to flood the room. The original single lancet windows were replaced in the thirteenth century by modern double-lancet windows surmounted by oculi.<sup>58</sup> In contrast to the lower level of the *aula* with its seven cross-vaulted double bays carried by a row of columns, partitioning the hall into two naves, the great hall above formed a unified space covered by a paneled ceiling.<sup>59</sup> The fifteenth-century *aula* of the reconstructed episcopal palace in Reims, the *Palais du Tau*, follows the Parisian schema: a columnated hall on the ground floor and a grand hall with a lofty roof on in the story above (fig. 3.10).

In was in the bishop's *aula* that Parisian students received, on separate occasions, the medieval insignia of the magister—the reception of the *licentia docendi* from the hand of the chancellor.<sup>60</sup> The *licentia* was conferred every other year, on the first school day after All Saints Day (November 1).<sup>61</sup> We possess a compressed account of the medieval license ceremony in

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<sup>57</sup> The designation *aula* appears already in a poem from the ninth century: see Victor Mortet, *Etude historique et archéologique sur la cathédrale et le palais épiscopal de Paris* (Paris: Picard, 1888), 69 n. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Crépin-Leblond, “Le palais épiscopal,” 114.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>60</sup> Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, vol. 1, 451–453.

<sup>61</sup> “These years were called the Jubilee Year because it was the year of ‘deliverance’ for the formed bachelors”: Nancy Katherine Spatz, “Principia: A Study and Edition of Inception Speeches Delivered Before the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris ca. 1180-1286” (Cornell University, 1992), 39.

theology; no record or protocol, however, of the ceremony conducted by the other faculties.<sup>62</sup> As detailed in the Theology Faculty's mid-fourteenth-century statutes, the ceremony actually began the day before.<sup>63</sup> In the morning, all masters (regent and ordinary) of the Faculty solemnly congregated outside the house of the chancellor, presumably located in the canons' cloister of Notre-Dame. The candidates, who had taken up their posts outside the house, greeted and thanked the incoming masters. The chancellor invited the masters to enter his house while the candidates withdrew. There, the masters gave the chancellor a list (*cedula* or *signetum*) with the names of the candidates.<sup>64</sup> The masters then confirmed the individual candidates by vote and, in so doing, completed their role in the process; from this point the chancellor took control. It was for the chancellor to approve of the confirmed candidates. As the mid-fourteenth-century statutes emphasize, however, the chancellor's approval was a formality; the chancellor had no right to reject the faculty's approved candidates, at least not without ample deliberation by the Faculty of Theology, and rejection never occurred "unless for [the candidate's] mores." A messenger (*nuntius*) was then sent by the chancellor to the house of each candidate to deliver the official summons to appear at the bishop's palace the following morning.<sup>65</sup> The candidate was to host the chancellor's messenger with "great honor and reverence," serving him food and wine. He also secretly (*secrete*) rendered the *nuntius* a fixed sum of money: the extraction of a fee for the *licentia docendi* never was properly abolished. Afterwards, over the course of the day, the candidate received visits from all bachelors of the faculty and from his friends (*suis amicis*).

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<sup>62</sup> CUP II, no. 1185 (24), 683.

<sup>63</sup> The following summary of the graduation ritual is based on CUP II, no. 1185 (24), 683.

<sup>64</sup> On the list, see *ibid.*, n.3.

<sup>65</sup> The *nuntius* made the announcement to the candidate with the following formula: "M[ultum] h[onorande], veniatis cras hora consueta ad aulam episcopi pro recipienda licencia in sacra theologia." CUP II, no. 1185 (24), 683).

Once more, the candidate acted as host, repaying the throng of visitors by serving wine and food in generous amounts. From among their friends, candidates chose some to visit the regent masters in order to extend gratitude on their behalf. At dusk, candidates sought out the chancellor to reverently thank him in person, thereby completing the ritual prelude to the licensing ceremony.<sup>66</sup>

The following day, all classes of the faculty were suspended. At prime, at the first hour of daylight, the full faculty and crowds of students proceeded to the great aula of the episcopal palace. The ceremony commenced as the chancellor took his seat *in loco suo*, presumably in the east end of the hall. He handed the list (*cedula*) with the names of the candidates to the beadle of the faculty. As the beadle pronounced name by name out loud, the particular candidate rose from his seat to ascend the platform (*scampno*) in front of the chancellor.<sup>67</sup> The chancellor then formally examined the candidate in four points, “included in the privilege [awarded to the chancellor’s office] of Gregory IX:” that is, concerning his life (*vita*), learning and eloquence (*scientia* and *facundia*), his manners and conduct (*propositum*), and prospects of success (*spes proficiendi*).<sup>68</sup> The candidates gave three solemn oaths that speak to the political fragility of the

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<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of the ritual aspects of academic graduations, see Antoine Destemberg, “Un système rituel? Rites d’intégration et passages de grades dans le système universitaire médiéval (XIIIe-XVe siècle),” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, no. 18 (2009): esp. 124.

<sup>67</sup> “Item, sequenti die in primis Nostre Domine conveniunt cancellarius, magistri et licenciandi et omnes bacallarii et ceteri de studio ad aulam episcopi, ubi cancellarius sedet in loco suo et dat cedula[m] bedello, qui licenciandos vocat secundum ordinem scriptum in illa cedula, et sicud vocantur, sic surgunt capientes loca super scampno ante cancellarium posito.” CUP II, no. 1185 (24), 683.

<sup>68</sup> “...precipue quo ad quatuor puncta examinis posita in privilegio Gregorii noni.” See the statutes of 1231 bestowed by Gregory IX (CUP I, no. 79, 137), translated in Thorndike, *University Records*, 37: “But before [the chancellor] shall license anyone, within three months from the time of the petty license, in the presence of all masters of theology in the city and other respectable and learned men by whom the truth can be learned, he shall make diligent inquiry as to the life, knowledge, facility, and also the promise and hope of success and other points which are required in such cases, and, having made such inquiry, according to what seems proper and



university: (1) to serve the honor of the chancellor and his office and to preserve the peace between chancellor and university, (2) to preserve the peace between secular and religious scholars, and (3) not to spend more than a certain sum of money on the graduation festivities (discussed below).<sup>69</sup> The candidates then genuflected before the chancellor, who enjoined them to honor God and the Apostolic See. “By the authority of God, Saints Peter and Paul, and the pope,” the chancellor bestowed upon the candidates the license to “dispute, lecture, and preach, and all the other functions that pertain to the office of a master of theology, here and anywhere in the world (*hic et ubique terrarum*).”<sup>70</sup> The last formula constituted the precious *ius ubique docendi*, the special privilege of Parisian scholars to teach at all universities and studia of Christendom.<sup>71</sup> Therewith the ceremony in the aula concluded. Afterwards, the licensed candidates sought out the regent masters at their homes to once again thank them reverently; if, however, some master was not to be found, the statutes reassuringly note, it should not be cause of worry (*si aliquos non invenerint non cura est*).

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expedient he shall give or deny according to his conscience the license asked for. The masters, moreover, of theology and decretals, when they begin to lecture, shall publicly take oath that they will furnish faithful testimony on the aforesaid points. The chancellor shall also swear that he will in no wise reveal the advice of the masters to their hurt, maintaining in their integrity the Parisian rules, liberty and law which obtain in incepting.”

<sup>69</sup> The oaths are separately listed: CUP II, no. 1185 (25), 684.

<sup>70</sup> “Et ego auctoritate apostolica, qua fungor in hac parte, do vobis et vestrum cuilibet licentiam legendi, regendi, disputandi, determinandi et alios actus scolasticos exercendi [in sacra theologie facultate] *hic et ubique terrarum* [...]”: Ibid., 684.

<sup>71</sup> George L. Haskins, “The University of Oxford and the ‘*ius ubique docendi*,’” *The English Historical Review* LVI, no. 222 (1941): 281–92; Paolo Nardi, “Licentia ubique docendi e studium generale nel pensiero giuridico del secolo XIII,” in *A Ennio Cortese*, ed. Domenico Maffei and Italo Biocchi, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Rome: Il Cigno, 2001), 471–77.

## The Inception Ceremony

Before the licentiate could call himself *magister*, however, he had to partake in the second ceremony, the *inceptio*, which took place sometime within the following months.<sup>72</sup> The *inceptio* was doubtless the more important of the two ceremonies: first, it demonstrated initiation and incorporation into the guild of masters; second, at it the candidate had to give proof of his abilities by publicly disputing a set of questions in the presence of all masters and bachelors, and many students in the prestigious setting of the bishop's aula.<sup>73</sup> The *inceptio* began with the candidate taking the magisterial oath of the Theological Faculty. The presiding master would cite the five vows: (1) to keep peace between regular and secular scholars, (2) to preserve the honor and freedom of the chancellor of Paris, (3) to keep peace between chancellor and the university, (4) to preserve the honor of the Faculty of Theology and not to reveal its secrets, and (5) to dispute two questions. To this recital, the candidate responded: *Ita juro* (So I swear).<sup>74</sup> Then, with his right hand on his heart, the candidate kneeled and gazed up at the presiding master, who declared: "I, in the sign of the magisterial honor and reverence [...], place on you the doctoral biretta in the sacred Faculty of Theology in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."<sup>75</sup> As he pronounced the ritual formula, the master took the biretta and set it on the head

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<sup>72</sup> See the account of the Parisian *inceptio* in Nancy K. Spatz, "Principia: A Study and Edition of Inception Speeches Delivered Before the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris ca. 1180-1286" (Cornell University, 1992), 40–47.

<sup>73</sup> CUP IV, no. 2235, 429–430, from BnF, MS lat. 5494, 29–30, a miscellaneous chronicle of the Collège de Sorbonne. The entry recording the vows is dated to 1424.

<sup>74</sup> On Parisian academic oaths, see Laurent Tournier, "Serments et pratiques juratoires a l'Université de Paris au Moyen Age," in *Serment, promesse et engagement. Rituels et modalités au moyen âge*, Les Cahiers du CRISIMA 6 (Montpellier, 2008), 455–70; Pearl Kibre, "Academic Oaths at the University of Paris in the Middle Ages," in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought: Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 123–37.

<sup>75</sup> CUP IV, no. 2235, 429.

of his genuflecting student.<sup>76</sup> In turn, all masters in attendance put on their own birettas. The symbolic act of the *birettatio* represented the admittance of the newly invested master into their guild.<sup>77</sup> Rising from his knees, with the black round wool cap on his head, the newly biretted candidate had now been elevated from the rank of ‘apprentice’ to that of a master.

Next, the newly-minted master delivered a brief lecture: the so called *principio in aula*.<sup>78</sup> There followed the *disputatio in aula*. The candidate ascended the magisterial cathedra to prove his merit by disputating a set of predetermined questions with the chancellor, the candidate’s master, and other regent masters of the faculty.<sup>79</sup>

Following the conclusion of the inception ceremony, the faculty and students led the new master in procession to his home college or convent. One can reasonably assume that a similar procession took place in Paris. In the case of a secular graduate in the arts, such a procession would have likely led the laureate through the gate of the bishop’s courtyard, across the cathedral parvis down the rue Neuve, over the Petit-Pont, through the Petit-Châtelet, and terminating under jubilation in the Street of Straw.

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<sup>76</sup> The incepting bachelor in the Arts Faculty had to swear that he possessed a new gown for the ceremony: “Item, vos jurabitis quod habebitis cappam novam rotundam, et propriam, non accommodatam, nec conductam, neque alio quocunque simulato seu ficto colore acquisitam, de bono panno, videlicet de bona bruneta nigra, vel de persico nigro, vel meliori alio nigro panno, si vobis placuerit, que sit honorabilis ad portandum coram quibuscunque personis ad honorem totius Universitatis et specialiter facultatis artium, et quod capucium hujusmodi cappe sit satis amplum et longum, forratumque minutis variis vel grossis novis.” CUP II, no. 680 (16).

<sup>77</sup> See Weijers, *Terminologie des universités*, 408 n. 112. In addition to Spatz, “Principia,” see Alan E. Bernstein, “Magisterium and License: Corporate Autonomy against Papal Authority in the Medieval University of Paris,” *Viator* 9 (January 1, 1978): 291–307; Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, vol. 1, 473.

<sup>78</sup> A number of these *principio* lectures in the theology have been edited: three by Spatz, including that of Odo of Chateauroux: Spatz, “Principia,” 218–272. For references to the other edited *principio* lectures, see *ibid.*, 4.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

Back on home turf, graduates staged merry festivities of their own. At this occasion, graduates treated the regent and other masters to a lavish banquet; it also came to be expected that they gave expensive gifts such as “cloths or textiles and other such things” to the masters.<sup>80</sup> Learning of these excesses, Pope Clement V (1305–1314) wrote how amazed he was, and not with disturbance, by the vanity and ignorance (*imperitia*) displayed in the ascendancy to the honor of knowledge (*peritia*) of letters.<sup>81</sup> Clement intervened, decreeing that the expenditures for the festivities and gifts must not exceed 3,000 pounds Turnois.<sup>82</sup> And, indeed, the magisterial candidates swore to obey Clement’s cap on party expenditures as part of their oath to the chancellor.<sup>83</sup>

Celebrations continued deep into the night. Singing, dancing, and drinking formed the core curriculum, to be sure, but students’ unbounded creativity in festive matters elaborated the celebrations with all sorts of outrageous and humorous rituals and folly.<sup>84</sup> These ephemeral spectacles have left little few traces; only those deemed so perilous or unseemly that the Faculty took steps to censor them are referenced in documentary records. The arts statutes of 1275, for instance, explicitly forbade incepting bachelors to lead dances outside their homes.<sup>85</sup> So too the festooning of the Street of Straw with candles or lanterns was explicitly forbidden, no doubt due

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<sup>80</sup> CUP II, no. 709, 170.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>83</sup> “Item, jurabitur, quod si contingat vos incipere, non expendetis in festo vestro ultra valorem trium millium grossorum turon.” CUP II, 684 (25).

<sup>84</sup> The arts faculty censured the custom of graduates furnishing their peers with *potationes* (except for on the first and last day of the graduation proceedings, which could stretch over more than a week): CUP I, 531, no. 461. See also the notorious Feast of Fools as it was celebrated at Notre-Dame in medieval Paris: Gabriel, “The Cathedral Schools of Notre Dame,” 50; Max Harris, *Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2011), esp. 86–93.

<sup>85</sup> CUP I, no. 202, 230; also no. 501, 583; and Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, vol. 1, 453.

to a reasonable fear of fire in a street whose very name derived from a highly flammable material.<sup>86</sup> The dangerously combustible combination of fire and dancing is also referenced in the same statutes of 1275 that prohibit dancing in the street “with or without torches”.<sup>87</sup> Such behavior, the statutes emphasized, was unseemly for students, and “especially for masters.”<sup>88</sup> Even more importantly, the debauched academic festivities caused great shame to the clergy, as one cleric, Pierre de Bar-sur-Aube, decried in a thirteenth-century sermon: “At their graduation, new masters hold great celebrations and allow their *socii* to dance through the streets and squares—but this is to be pitied because they who should be wise and teach others go insane on the very day of their inception.”<sup>89</sup>

### **From Master to Martyr: The Saint-Stephen Tympanum**

The preceding section explored the scholastic spectacle, in ceremonial and judicial forms, as it unfolded in the architectural environment of the episcopal complex. This section turns to the representation of scholastic spectacle on the sculptural decoration of the bishop’s portal, the new centerpiece of the courtyard completed in the early 1260s. The carved tympanum above the portal presents the life of St. Stephen from his ministry to his martyrdom in five scenes: In the bottom tier, the debate in the synagogue, Stephen preaching, and his trial before the Jewish High

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<sup>86</sup> “Statuimus, vt nullus de caetero audeat illuminare Cereos in vico, nec in Domo in die clara, nec illuminare permittat.” CUP I, no. 461, 531. See also Charles Thurot, *De l’organisation de l’enseignement dans l’Université de Paris* (Dezobry, E. Magdeleine, et cie, 1850), 63.

<sup>87</sup> CUP I, no 461, 532.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> “Cum novi magistri, in principio suo, magna faciant solemnitas et permittant socios suos choreas ducere per vicos et plateas, eis compatiendum est quia scire debebant et alios docere ipso die inaeptionis sua insaniunt.” Quoted after Marie-Madeleine Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231: contribution à l’histoire de la prédication médiévale*. (Paris: Vrin, 1931), 112 n.3.

Council; in the middle tier Stephen's execution and burial; at the apex Christ attended by two angels (fig. 3.11).<sup>90</sup> The scenes chosen for this monument and the manner of their rendering are of critical importance to the history of Scholasticism as they are, together, the first images of Scholasticism made incarnate in a Parisian public space. Behind the making of the tympanum, I propose, was the bishopric's desire to steer the visual self-representation of Scholasticism and commandeer its image. Quite significantly, and also of consequence to chapter 5, the south transept's tympanum is an instance where hagiography is mapped onto the imagination of Scholasticism.

In a recent essay, derived from her dissertation on the portal, Kara A. Morrow argued that the tympanum relief needs to be understood in relation to the Trials of the Talmud, orchestrated by the Bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne, in 1241 and again in 1244.<sup>91</sup> Morrow's reading of the tympanum in relation to the trial is suggestive, but the relief sculpture itself, as I see it, does not fully support her argument of an anti-Jewish ideology and xenophobia as the chief determinant of the program. Hostility toward Judaism is written into the life of St. Stephen as told in Acts (6–7). The artistic rendering of Stephen's vita in the carving, however, does not, in

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<sup>90</sup> Stephan Albrecht, "Das Sichtbar Werdende Unsichtbare: Das Südquerhausportal der Kathedrale von Paris," in *Skulptur um 1300 zwischen Paris und Köln*, 2016, 32–57; Stephan Albrecht, "Le portail Saint-Étienne de la cathédrale de Meaux et son prototype parisien: un 'copier-collier,'" *Bulletin monumental Société Française d'Archéologie* 175, no. 1 (2017): 3–20, 91–92; Kara Ann Morrow, "'Ears and Eyes and Mouth and Heart... His Soul and His Senses': The Visual St. Stephen Narrative as the Essence of Ecclesiastical Authority" (Dissertation, Florida State University, 2007); Kara Ann Morrow, "Disputation in Stone: Jews Imagined on the Saint Stephen Portal of Paris Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge. Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, 2008, 63–86.

<sup>91</sup> Morrow, "Disputation in Stone," 63–86; eadem, "'Ears and Eyes and Mouth and Heart... His Soul and His Senses': The Visual St. Stephen Narrative as the Essence of Ecclesiastical Authority" (PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, 2007). On the Trials of the Talmud, see Spencer E. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education and Society, 1215-1248* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), passim.

my view, contribute to or emphasize that aspect. Where I diverge most fundamentally from Morrow's analysis is the question of iconographic models. Morrow proposes the ancient Roman Gemma Tiberiana as a key source, drawing a direct connection between the vanquished barbarians in the lower register of the gem and the Jews, who Stephen "vanquished" in disputation, in the tympanum's second scene.<sup>92</sup>

By contrast, I will argue that the St Stephen tympanum most immediately appropriated the stock-pile imagery of teaching and disputation scenes deployed in scholastic manuscripts. The shaping of the image of Scholasticism is central to the first three scenes occupying the bottom register of the tympanum, specifically St Stephen's debate in the Synagogue of Jerusalem, Stephen preaching, and his trial before the Jewish High Council. The concluding two scenes of Stephen's life in the upper register—his execution and burial—are secondary in this regard. Given the rich scope of Notre-Dame's exterior sculpture, especially profuse on the west façade, my focus on three scenes may seem narrow. But the St Stephen's tympanum, it is worth underscoring, was the sculptural centerpiece of the new south transept, executed by one of the best masons' workshops of the thirteenth century. For the bishop, the south portal was a unique opportunity to propagate a statement that would visually inform the space of his courtyard. Given the constraints of space and the pre-determined narrative, these three scenes I will discuss in the following make virtually every square inch of the carved tympanum matter, layered as they are with references resonant with scholastic viewers that have been largely lost to a modern viewer.

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<sup>92</sup> Morrow, "Disputation in Stone," 81–82: On the Gemma Tiberiana, also known as the Grand Camée de la Sainte-Chapelle, see Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, "Le Grand Camée de la Sainte-Chapelle," in *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 2001), 90–95.

The St Stephen tympanum was a public monument addressing a scholarly audience. It refashions early Christian hagiography in the visual language of medieval academic culture, drawing upon the iconographic staples and motif repertoire of already, if recently established scholastic imagery. This borrowing of visual motifs would have been readily apparent to anyone who had seen the painted scenes of disputations and lectures that fill the initials of more luxurious university books. One can imagine the impact upon the beholder of these generic scenes' sudden appearance on the bishop's portal, the usually diminutive images translated to monumental scale and transposed into a saint's life. The first two reliefs, in particular, deliberately evoke the daily life of the schools: the rhetorical gestures, the performative drama, and the intensity of intellectual confrontations. Realism here is not an artistic end, but instead serves to bridge the seemingly unrelated world of the schools and the biblical story. Bringing these two elements together, the tympanum construes a vision of Christian learning, in particular as put into practice in the world, rather than wasted in the schools: the clerical-scholarly ideal and mission of disputing falsehood, the dissemination of truth, and the total commitment of one's life to the Church and the faith.

### The South Transept

By 1245 or 1250, with the completion of the cathedral's two west towers, Maurice de Sully's project of rebuilding the cathedral of Notre Dame had been substantially realized.<sup>93</sup> But the hammers and chisels in the *chantier* did not rest. Now that the church's western aspect was largely complete, bishop and chapter desired a new transept, on the same spot as the old one and

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<sup>93</sup> Caroline Bruzelius, "The Construction of Notre-Dame in Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 4 (1987): 540–69.



with a similar footprint, but realized according to the taste and style of the present day. For this task they hired master mason Jean de Chelles. Jean completed the north transept (facing the canons' cloister), but died soon thereafter, probably in 1258, with work on the southern arm just begun. Jean de Chelles was succeeded by Pierre de Montreuil who saw the project through to its end within the span of a few years.<sup>94</sup>

Jean de Chelles and Pierre de Montreuil's stupendous transept reconfigured the relationship of church to city (fig. 3.12). The transept façades with their great rose windows respond to recent changes in the city's geography, saluting Paris's newly fortified and incorporated areas on either side of the Seine. Just as the western front faced the old Cité and the royal palace, and the north transept turned toward the merchant bourgeoisie on the commercial Right Bank, so the south transept addressed the Left Bank's population of scholars, craftsmen, and workers.

Before the bishop's palace vanished in the fire of 1831, the south transept was visible from across the river only from the level of the rose upward; with the destruction of the great hall a view was cleared onto the south transept portal. The zones of the rose and portal belonged to very different visual orders: whereas Pierre de Montreuil's rose aspired to metaphysical beauty of geometrical purity and perfect balance, the portal, densely covered with sculpted images and carved ornament, created a lower—earthly—sphere dominated by geometric action and restless figuration.

What the original transept façade before 1250 looked like is unknown. It seems clear that Pierre de Montreuil's work, a paragon of the Rayonnant style, utterly transformed the visual-

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<sup>94</sup> See Kimpel, *Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame*, 71–123, 169–180; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 155–163.

architectural character of the episcopal courtyard. Further, Pierre de Montreuil's design, executed by first-rate sculptors and stonemasons, allotted ample room for images in and around the portal. Given the opportunity for a sweeping visual overhaul of the century-old site, Pierre de Montreuil's lodge—surely answering to the bishop's wishes—conceived and realized a sculptural program centered on St Stephen.<sup>95</sup> The choice may have been motivated by the fact that Stephen had been the patron of Merovingian basilica, before its rededication to Mary. Moreover, in his role of archdeacon and proto-martyr, Stephen held particular significance for the office of the bishop and its place within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>96</sup>

In keeping with the portal's dedication, St. Stephen is represented in the most privileged place of the trumeau (fig. 3.13). Like the trumeau figure of Christ, the *Beau Dieu*, in the Last Judgment portal on the cathedral's west façade, the figure of Stephen fronts the twelve Apostles in the form of six figures in the jambs of the portal and six more set against blind niches on the exterior flanking the portal (the original statues, including Stephen's, have been replaced by nineteenth-century copies).<sup>97</sup> Surrounded by the Apostles and holding a closed book—just like the *Beau Dieu*—Stephen is cast in the transept portal as an *alter* Christus. Stephen's visual Christo-mimesis underscores and justifies his exalted place at the head of the Apostles.

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<sup>95</sup> As was the case with the canons' portal dedicated to the Virgin, the visual program of the south portal associated with St. Stephen was conceived with respect to its users and audience, that is, first and foremost, the bishop, anyone else who had business with the bishop—his entourage, functionaries, and members of the higher clergy—and, specifically, as I argue here, the diocese's academic constituency.

<sup>96</sup> As elucidated by Morrow, “Ears and Eyes and Mouth and Heart.”

<sup>97</sup> The copies made in the process of Viollet-le-Duc's restoration of the cathedral are considered faithfully reconstruction based on the originals' fragments that were found in 1839 and are now in the collection of the Musée Cluny. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Dieter Kimpel, “La statuaire de Notre-Dame de Paris avant les destructions révolutionnaires,” *Bulletin Monumental* 136, no. 3 (1978): 236–237.

## Disputare

Acts 6–7, the source of Stephen’s legend, begins with a dispute between the Hellenistic and the Hebraic communities of Jews in Jerusalem.<sup>98</sup> The Hellenistic Jews alleged that their widows were being shortchanged by the Hebraic Jews in the daily distribution of food. Word of the widows’ grievance soon reached the Apostles. Deliberating what to do, the Apostles concluded it would not be right to suspend their missionary work “in order to wait on tables (Acts 6:2),” that is, ensuring that the widows received their daily bread. Hence, rather than send one of their own to Jerusalem, the Apostles dispatched a delegation led by Stephen and six men elected from among their trusted followers. Upon their arrival in Jerusalem, Stephen was not one to wait tables either; he instead eagerly devoted himself to ministry among the local population. Preaching Christ and performing miracles, the proselytizing stranger soon aroused the ire of members of the Libertine synagogue.<sup>99</sup> The scholars of the synagogue challenged him to a debate in which Stephen—a man “full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom (Acts 6:3)” —triumphed. Resentful over their defeat in debate, the Jews accused him of blasphemy. Fabricating false testimony, the Jews have him tried and convicted and sentenced to death by their High Council, the Sanhedrin.

The tympanum’s initial scene depicts Stephen’s debate with the scholars of the synagogue (fig. 3.14). Dressed in a dalmatic, Stephen is seated on the left. With the supreme confidence of someone inspired by the Holy Spirit, the youthful Stephen faces his opponent, a seasoned scholar

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<sup>98</sup> The version of his life in the *Legenda aurea* largely follows the biblical account; see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 45–50.

<sup>99</sup> Jacobus de Voragine explains that the Libertines are so called “either after the region they came from or because they were sons of people called *Liberti*, i.e., freedmen, men manumitted from slavery and given their freedom.” *Ibid.*, 46.

many years Stephen's senior, garbed in a classicizing toga. His fellow disputant, a bearded man with thick curls of hairs spiraling out from underneath his Phrygian cap, appears to debate Stephen's interpretation of Scripture. With a firm gaze, and his right hand raised in an emphatic rhetorical gesture, Stephen discourses from the open book propped in his lap, pointing with his left hand at particular passage in the text, presumably the Hebrew Bible.

The disputation is attended by five other figures. The young man standing behind Stephen is a visual double of the saint, with the exception of his simple plain garment, and clearly represents one of the saint's companions or followers. The other members of the figural group, four elders with visages framed by magnificently rendered spiraling locks and curling beards, are Jewish scholars belonging to the entourage of Stephen's opponent. Immediately behind the disputants stands an anguished figure who pulls his beard and grasps his hair. Another member of the synagogue is seated on the right with one leg crossed, and behind him appear two standing figures one of whom consults a scroll, the other raising his right arm (the hand has been lost) in a rhetorical gesture.<sup>100</sup> Two of these figures are clad in classicizing togas; the other two are draped in capes over ankle-length dresses belted around the waist. Their physiognomy shows no sign of the anti-Semitic vilifying caricatures popularized in the art of this period, especially in

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<sup>100</sup> On the medieval Jewish culture of beards, see Elliott S. Horowitz and Isabelle Rozenbaum, "Visages du judaïsme : de la barbe en monde juif et de l'élaboration de ses significations," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 49, no. 5 (1994): 1065–90.

France.<sup>101</sup> Nor are these four male figures identified by sartorial attributes as Jews.<sup>102</sup> In this regard, the Phrygian cap should not be mistaken, as it often is, as a categorical identifier of Jews. Although Jews are frequently pictured with Phrygian caps in medieval art, this headwear functioned more broadly as a marker of the non-Christian Other, designating pagans and heretics as well as Jews.<sup>103</sup> The figures of the Jewish scholars also do not correspond to St. Stephen's vita in the *Legenda aurea*, where the savants of the synagogue are described as of "servile stock" (a descriptor that would better apply to Stephen's tormentors in the scene of his execution above). In fact, they rather resemble the columnar statues of the Apostles in the jambs of the portal below.

Defined by their noble profiles, luxurious hair and dress Stephen's antagonists exude scholarly gravitas. The Jewish scholars' overall dignified comportment, however, is disturbed by the dramatically grimacing figure of the man behind Stephen, who, with his mouth half-opened to reveal his teeth, clutches his beard and hair. His aghast reaction betrays the painful realization that the Jewish scholars were "unable to cope with the wisdom and Spirit with which [Stephen] was speaking" (Acts 6:10). In medieval art, the gesture of beard clutching or pulling has a broad

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<sup>101</sup> See, for example, Lyon, BM, 0244, f. 24v, where two Arian heretics wearing Phrygian caps face St. Dominic in an initial introducing Aristotle's *Periermenias* in a contemporary Parisian manuscript. Included in the appendix of Hanna Wimmer, *Illustrierte Aristotelescodices: die medialen Konsequenzen universitärer Lehr- und Lernpraxis in Oxford und Paris*, Sensus (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Universität Hamburg, 2018), 386–387. As Sarah Lipton has shown, the representation of Jews and heretics became blended in thirteenth-century French art; see "Jews, Heretics, and the Sign of the Cat in the 'Bible Moralisee,'" *Word and Image* 8, no. 4 (1992): 362–77; reprinted with minor changes in Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisee* (University of California Press, 1999), 83–111 (ch. 4).

<sup>102</sup> In her insightful study of the tympanum, Kara Morrow has, in my view, overstated the Jewish identity of the "rabbis": see Morrow, "Disputation in Stone," 79–80 esp.

<sup>103</sup> See Lipton, "Jews, Heretics, and the Sign of the Cat," 362–77. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 46.

semantic range. Among these significations, the pulling of the beard was a conventional gesture of mourning or pain. Stephen Albrecht, in an exaggerated reading of the figure as “tearing out his beard and hair,” pointed out a similar figure on the tympanum of Job-Salomon portal (c.1215) of the north transept of Chartres cathedral.<sup>104</sup> There also appears to have existed a visual tradition of heretics clutching or pulling their beards.<sup>105</sup>

The Jewish scholars are assimilated to the visual type of pagan philosophers, such as are found in abundance in painted initials of contemporary scholastic manuscripts. Take, for example, the initial *P* introducing Aristotle’s *Topics* in a deluxe mid- to late thirteenth-century manuscript kept at Balliol College (Oxford, Balliol College, MS 253, f. 92r). Seated on benches, four philosophers face each other in pairs, engaged in debate; a fifth figure is partially cropped by the frame on the left (fig. 3.15). Although they wear doctoral birettas, their curling hair and tufted beards, as well as their togas, identify them as ancient philosophers.<sup>106</sup> The archaizing quality of the philosophers is made all the more clear when compared to other school scenes in the same book. In the initial *Q* opening Andronicus’s *Liber divisione* (f. 80r), for instance, we see a shaven master with two beardless students in medieval university gowns: formulaic figures from innumerable medieval of academic teaching scenes (fig. 3.16).

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<sup>104</sup> Albrecht, “Das sichtbar werdende Unsichtbare,” 40.

<sup>105</sup> Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 18. Zehava Jacoby, “The Beard Pullers in Romanesque Art: An Islamic Motif and Its Evolution in the West.,” *Arte Medievale* 1 (1987): 65–85; Ekaterina Endoltseva and Andrey Vinogradov, “Beard Pulling in Medieval Christian Art: Various Interpretations of a Scene,” *Anastasis Research in Medieval Culture and Art* 3, no. 1 (2016): 88–98. See also the early twelfth-century apologia of beards of Burchard of Bellevallis: R. B. C. Huygens, ed., *Apologiae duae: Gozechini Epistola ad Walcherum. Burchardi, ut videtur, Abbatis Bellevallis Apologia de barbibus*, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 62 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985).

<sup>106</sup> On the philosopher type, see Herbert Kessler, “Christ’s Fluid Face,” in *Theologisches Wissen und die Kunst: Festschrift für Martin Büchsel*, ed. Rebecca Müller, Anselm Rau, and Johanna Scheel (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2015), 237–250.

The scene of Stephen debating the Jewish scholars in the tympanum of the bishop's portal bears the unmistakable mark of a university disputation. By the thirteenth century, ancient and medieval traditions of dialogic discourse had coalesced in the university into a formalized procedure that formed the core method of scholastic learning. As a rule, disputations treated one particular question debated by opposing parties following an established protocol. The conspicuous hand gesture of Stephen's opponent—his middle and index finger of his right hand touching one of the fingers of his left hand—is ubiquitous in medieval representations of academic debates.<sup>107</sup>

This type of digital gesticulation was a non-verbal argumentative practice, closely associated with the protocols of scholastic disputations. Disputations proceeded by splitting a *questio* into its constituent logical parts, which were then debated and determined separately in relation to the larger topic. The individual discursive constituents of disputations—questions, arguments, objections, proofs—were further divided and presented in a numerical order. As disputants laid out their arguments, they represented the discussion's progress by enumerating the series of individual theses or objections with their hands. Such digital enumeration was an efficient way of keeping track of one's position in the disputational process and also of signaling the discourse's structure to the opponent and audiences.

### Praedicare

Following the disputation, the Libertine Jews spread rumors that Stephen had uttered blasphemies and enlisted false witnesses. On account of these charges, Stephen is arrested and

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<sup>107</sup> The typology of classroom gestures is explored in C. O'Boyle, "Gesturing in the Early Universities," *Dynamis* 20 (2000): 249–81, for disputational gestures, in particular, see 277–279.

brought before the Sanhedrin (the Jewish High Council) to plead his case. The trial is pictured on the right hand of the relief's bottom tier; the tympanum, however, interposes another episode between the *Disputation in the Synagogue* and the *Trial of the Sanhedrin*. This inserted episode is neither mentioned in Acts nor in the *Legenda aurea*; similarly it has no known precedent in the medieval iconographic tradition of Stephen's life.<sup>108</sup>

The composition shows the upright figure of Stephen teaching or preaching to a group of five men and a woman nursing a child (fig. 3.17). The men resemble the members of the synagogue of the previous scene, but the mood has changed. Stephen's words no longer provoke scrutiny, counterarguments, or despair. His audience's expressions now convey comprehension and even obeisance. They pay careful attention as they absorb the sermon of the eloquent minister of Christ. The squatting figure of the bearded man seated before the young preacher appears to be deeply pondering his words, while the man standing immediately to the right of Stephen expresses understanding: with his hand placed on his chest, he signals that the saint's speech has penetrated his heart—the presumed seat of the soul, which also provided the power of the human intellect. The sculptors of the tympanum took the physiognomic eloquence and emotional subtlety of figures to an extraordinary height.

Two figures stand out from the audience: first, the balding note-taker on the far right of the group, who appears to be recording Stephen's speech. Acts reproduces Stephen's speech, a theological exposition of Moses and the coming of the Messiah, one of the longest speeches in all of the New Testament (Acts 7:2–53). Writing down lectures and disputations was a routine procedure in the medieval classroom; a designated student typically fashioned a so-called *reportatio* which was later revised by the master and, with his stamp of approval, made publicly

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<sup>108</sup> See Morrow, "Disputation in Stone," 68.



available.<sup>109</sup> *Reportationes* were also made of sermons delivered in the university.<sup>110</sup> In addition, the lateral position and right-ward turn of the note-taking figure also, arguably, connects him to the following figural grouping on the right, casting him in the role of a courtroom clerk recording Stephen's trial at the Sanhedrin.

The second notable figure is the nursing woman. Her presence surprises, not least because of her gender in the tympanum's otherwise all-male lower tier. From an hermeneutic perspective, she is arguably the protagonist of the scene. The motif of the mother with her vigorously suckling infant embodies a long-standing trope for spiritual nourishment and instruction, older than Christianity itself, but eagerly appropriated and widely deployed by Christian authors throughout the centuries.<sup>111</sup>

The *locus classicus* of this trope is found in Paul's pastoral theology, in particular in his admonishing First Epistle to the Corinthians (3:1–2) who were divided by quarrels over leadership: "Brothers and sisters, I could not address you as people who live by the Spirit but as people who are still worldly—mere infants in Christ. I gave you milk, not solid food, for you were not yet ready for it. Indeed, you are still not ready." In other words, Paul says that the Corinthian community has shown itself too immature to grasp God's Wisdom as revealed through Christ.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Weijers, *Terminologie des universités*, 361–365; Jacqueline Hamesse, "'Collatio' et 'Reportatio': deux vocables spécifiques de la vie intellectuelle au moyen âge," in *Terminologie de la vie intellectuelle au moyen âge*, 1988, 78–87.

<sup>110</sup> On *reportationes* of sermons in Paris, see Nicole Bériou, *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière. Sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987).

<sup>111</sup> See John David Penniman, *Raised on Christian Milk: Food and the Formation of the Soul in Early Christianity* (Yale University Press, 2017).

<sup>112</sup> Guy Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism. Second, Revised and Enlarged Paperback Edition*, 2nd ed. (Brill, 2005), 138–142.

Paul also employed the milk-analogy in his Letter to the Hebrews (5:12–14), presumed to be addressed to the Hebrew community in Jerusalem—the very community Stephen was sent to assist:

In fact, though by this time you ought to be teachers, you need someone to teach you the elementary truths of God’s word all over again. You need milk, not solid food! Anyone who lives on milk, being still an infant, is not acquainted with the teaching about righteousness. But solid food is for the mature, who by constant use have trained themselves to distinguish good from evil.

Seen in the light of Paul’s lacteal metaphors, the nursing mother in the carved relief in context of Stephen missionary preaching to the Jews suggests a deeper meaning as the literal embodiment of the Pauline milk and nursing trope. The carving’s allusion to Paul’s Letters concretizes the theme of the depicted scene as one of spiritual teaching, of Stephen nourishing the community with the milk of faith and understanding of God.

Augustine addressed the nature of pastoral work through the Pauline analogy in several of his sermons and exegetical commentaries. He distinguished between two types of lactic knowledge, one coming from Christ, the other from Christian ministers. Drinking milk directly from Christ’s breast signified access to profound mysteries and truths of Christian doctrine (exemplified by John the Evangelist), while milk dispensed by Christian teachers was food for beginners, not yet ready for solid *cibus*.<sup>113</sup> In one sermon, Augustine presents Paul as the exemplar of the good preacher, who ascended to the highest heavens but then descended to give milk like a wet-nurse to the little-ones.<sup>114</sup> “Let [the infant’s] mouth gape hungrily toward the

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<sup>113</sup> On Mary’s milk, see, for instance, Vibeke Olson, “Embodying the Saint: Mystical Visions, ‘Maria Lactans’ and the Miracle of Mary’s Milk,” *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, 2014, 151–58.

<sup>114</sup> Saint Augustine, *Homilies on the Gospel of John 1-40*, trans. Edmund Hill, O.P. (New York: New City Press, 2009), 166–167. In his *Paedagogus*, Clement of Alexandria equated preaching

breast of his mother and he will soon grow,” Augustine wrote in a different homily. This mother, he explains, signifies the church and her breasts the Old and the New Testament.<sup>115</sup> Solid food is only for those mature enough to chew on the Word, the food given through Christ. But since not everyone, indeed most Christians, will ever mature so far as to be able to consume solid food, it is the pastors and teachers who turn solid food into milk suited to the weak constitution of the humble congregation. As Augustine wrote in *On True Religion*, great and spiritual men of the church “do not speak in common language what is not yet appropriate for the time, so that when speeches are given the multitudes understand; instead they urgently pour out plentiful nourishment of milk to the eager masses.”<sup>116</sup> According to Augustine, suckling on the breast of the teacher figures the suspension of reason during the ingestion of doctrine. As Augustine explained in Sermon LXIX, it was in John the Evangelist’s slumber on Christ’s breast during the Last Supper that he received the profound wisdom contained in the famous opening line of his gospel: “In the beginning was the Word.”<sup>117</sup> Holding up John’s somnolent enlightenment up as example of a non-intellectual acquisition of truth, Augustine exhorted his audience to drink, not think.<sup>118</sup>

Augustine also made a place for heretics in the capacious milk-trope: heretics ingest solid food before they have grown teeth;<sup>119</sup> they have been weaned from the breast of the church prematurely: “Until we are strong enough to grasp the Word,” Augustine preached, “let us not

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with breast-feeding: See Dawn LaValle, “Divine Breastfeeding: Milk, Blood, and Pneuma in Clement of Alexandria’s Paedagogus,” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 8 (2015): 322–36.

<sup>115</sup> See Penniman, *Raised on Christian Milk*, 188.

<sup>116</sup> Quoted after *ibid.*, 176.

<sup>117</sup> Quoted after *ibid.*, 188.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted after *ibid.*, 196.

<sup>119</sup> On teeth as symbol of chewing doctrine, see Hannah W. Matis, “Early-Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs and the Maternal Language of Clerical Authority,” *Speculum* 89, no. 2 (2014): 369, 371

withdraw from the milk of our faith. However, there are those heretics who desire to debate what they are not able to grasp.”<sup>120</sup> Nefarious teachers that they are, heretics feed others poisoned food.<sup>121</sup> The milk of the church protects against the false teachings resulting from the reasoning of those who should rather be imbibing milk than consuming solid food.<sup>122</sup>

Wrought into Christianity’s literary core repertoire by Augustine and many others, the application of the copious conglomerate of lactic and maternal metaphors to institutions of teaching was but a short leap. While the formula *Alma Mater* (a Marian topos) appears to be of late medieval origins, an early Parisian use of the image of the university as nourishing mother appears in a sermon of Philip the Chancellor. On April 6, 1230, Philip addressed the striking students of Paris, many of whom had found a temporary home in the nearby university town of Orléans.<sup>123</sup> In his speech to the Parisian students, Philip rendered thanks to Orléans, the sister of Paris, for nourishing her dispersed children; they would soon, he hoped, be returned to their proper mother.<sup>124</sup> Philip exploits the metaphor at length; among other Old Testament stories, he cites the infant Moses’s refusal of the breast of an Egyptian woman (according to Acts 7:21–22, St. Stephen invokes this episode too in his speech before the Sanhedrin).<sup>125</sup> Significantly, in

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<sup>120</sup> Quoted after Penniman, *Raised on Christian Milk*, 192.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>122</sup> One of the most influential medieval authors who developed the allegorical image of breastfeeding (if, however, with recourse to the Song of Songs) was Bernard of Clairvaux; see Caroline Walker Bynum, “Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 70, no. 3/4 (1977): 257–84.

<sup>123</sup> Paris’s university community had disbanded the previous year in protest over the unpunished slaying of students by the city guard.

<sup>124</sup> Marie-Madeleine Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231: contribution à l’histoire de la prédication médiévale*. (Paris: Vrin, 1931), 169.

<sup>125</sup> “When he was placed outside, Pharaoh’s daughter took him and brought him up as her own son. Moses was educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and was powerful in speech and action (Acts 7:21–22).”

calling the audience of students his sweet sons (*fili dulces*), Philip made himself into a loving parent.<sup>126</sup>

The carved figure of the nursing mother in the tympanum of the bishop's portal functions like a signpost that leads the viewer to a 'meaningful' destination in contemplating the tympanum relief. The milk/food trope—milk, solid food, and poisoned food—relates the relief to pastoral theology, particularly concerning the revelation and intermediation of divine wisdom.

The tympanum's first two scenes work in tandem; they illustrate right and wrong kinds of intellectual nutrition. The premature ingestion of solid food—that is, the application of reason to faith before the mind has sufficiently grown through the milk of Scripture—is given narrative form in this scene. The Jewish scholars in the disputation vignette figure the tooth-less, even harmful, mastication of the solid words of Scripture by those lacking the proper tools for its ingestion. It is Stephen's pastoral task to change the ill-becoming diet of the constipated scholars from solid to liquid food. Mirroring the Apostles who delegate the petty task of feeding the Hebraic widows to their subordinates at the beginning of Acts 6, in the preaching scene, Stephen is depicted in the role not of "a waiter of tables," but of souls, as it were.

Nourishment of souls held an important place in the life and mission of the medieval university.<sup>127</sup> *Praedicare* was one of three core tasks of the university master; the *licentia*

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<sup>126</sup> Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens*, 169.

<sup>127</sup> The literature on university sermons is vast. For an excellent introduction with overview of the historiography and sources see: Sita Steckel, "Universitätspredigten," in *Universitäre Gelehrtenkultur vom 13.–16. Jahrhundert. Ein interdisziplinäres Quellen- und Methodenhandbuch* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018), 539–558. Critical works include Charles H. Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," *The American Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (1904): 1–27; Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens*; Harold S. Snellgrove, *The 'De conscientia' of Robert de Sorbon: A Translation and Study of the Sermon as a Source for the History of the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century* (Duke University, 1940); P. Glorieux, "Sermons universitaires Parisiens de 1267–1268," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 16 (1949): 40–71.

*docendi*, discussed above, bestowed the right not only to dispute and lecture, but also to preach.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, preaching appears as the ultimate scholarly goal in the papal bull *Parens scientiarum* (1231)—sometimes referred to as the founding document of the University of Paris—which allegorizes the university as a metallurgical workshop of wisdom where the armory of preachers is forged from iron and copper, in order to defeat “the aerial powers” and to resound more strongly with the praises of Christ.<sup>129</sup> Although there was no specific course of study dedicated to preaching, it nonetheless constituted an essential part of a theological education.

There was, however, a pervasive sense among thirteenth-century ecclesiastics that students exhibited little interest in ministry and the care of souls. Less than a training ground for highly educated preachers and ministers, the university turned out to provide a permanent home for scholastics. Critics took issue with the fact that many students pursued an academic career rather than applying themselves to worthy tasks that would benefit mankind. John represents the

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<sup>128</sup> According to the definition propagated by Peter the Chanter, master of the cathedral school of Notre-Dame in the late twelfth century: “The practice of studying the Bible consists in three exercises: reading, disputing, and preaching. . . . Reading is like the foundation or basement of what follows, since through it the others are prepared. Disputation is like the wall in this study and building, since nothing is fully understood or faithfully preached unless first chewed by the tooth of disputation. Preaching, which the others support, is like the roof, sheltering the faithful from the heat and the wind of the vices. One must preach after, not before, reading Holy Scripture and investigating doubtful things through disputation;” quoted after Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 199; see also *ibid.*, 198–206; John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 106–116.

<sup>129</sup> “Ibi ferrum de terra tollitur, quia dum terrena fragilitas fortitudine solidatur, lorica fidei, gladius spiritus et cetera inde fit christiane militie armatura, potens adversus aereas potestates. Et lapis calore solutus in es vertitur, quia corda lapidea Sancti Spiritus afflata fervore dum ardent, incendunt et fiunt predicatione sonora preconantia laudes Christi.” CUP, I, 136–139; translated in Thorndike, *University Records*, no. 19, 36. For an excellent discussion of the bull’s rhetoric, see Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 102–108.

dominant critical chorus of voices who maintained that study was a means to an end, and that end was Christianity generally, and the service of the church in particular.<sup>130</sup>

“Keep your studies brief because life is brief,” John advocated the following year.<sup>131</sup> Study was a means to an end, significant tasks awaited scholars outside the world of the schools.<sup>132</sup> John warned scholars who benefitted from church prebends not to abandon their parishes for too long. As a cautionary tale, John adduced the example of Moses, who had climbed the mount Sinai and been made a *discipulus* of God, and found his people lapsed into idolatry after only forty days, despite having left them in the capable care of his brother Aaron and Hur.<sup>133</sup> John impressed upon his audience that, at the Last Judgment, every scholar will have to answer to God for his intellectual conduct, responding to five quite specific questions.<sup>134</sup> I paraphrase: (1) How have you studied, and to what end? For money and honor? (2) How have you taught?—for rarely do scholars teach fideliter. (3) How have you preached?—for many profess to know God, but do not perform his works. (4) How have you held yourself in disputations? Have you vainly debated to excess?, (5) And how with how much zeal have your

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<sup>130</sup> See the Dominican Master General Humbert of Romans’s circular letter to his order, written from Paris in 1256, exhorting ‘lazy preachers’ to join the effort against Cathar heretics despite tribulations and dangers: see Caterina Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 125–127.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 292

<sup>132</sup> See also William of Auvergne’s similar statements, Spencer E. Young, “A Workshop of a Pomp of Satan? Critics Reform at the University of Paris,” in *Universität - Reform. Ein Spannungsverhältnis von Langer Dauer*, 2018, 56.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 289, also 93–94.

<sup>134</sup> See Snellgrove, *The ‘De conscientia’ of Robert de Sorbon*. For views justifying the scholarly life, see Ian P. Wei, “The Self-Image of the Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46, no. 3 (July 1995): 398–431; Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, 174–184; Elsa Marmursztejn, *L’autorité des maîtres: scolastique, normes et société au XIIIe siècle*, Histoire (Belles Lettres (Firm)); (Paris: Belles lettres, 2007); Elsa Marmursztejn, “A Normative Power in the Making,” in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Thirteenth Century*, 2006, 345–402.

pursued your studies? For damned are those who waste their entire lives in the schools and produce nothing useful; Jesus, indeed, studied for only three days and taught no more than three and a half years.<sup>135</sup>

### Martyrizare

In the final, right hand scene, in the bottom tier of the bishop portal's tympanum, Stephen is led by an eye-catching African soldier before the religious tribunal of the Sanhedrin, where he is compelled to respond to the charge of blasphemy (fig. 3.18). The result of the trial is pictured above in the tympanum's middle tier: on the left, we see Stephen's martyrdom, on the right, his entombment. At the apex of the relief panel, Christ appears from a bank of clouds, attended by two angels. This is a reference to the heavenly apparition Stephen was awarded during his trial.<sup>136</sup>

Neither Stephen nor the judge (who is seated on the right)—the nominal protagonists of the last scene of the bottom register—command special attention. Instead it is the figure of the African soldier harshly grabbing Stephen by a tuft of hair, who takes the spot in the limelight.<sup>137</sup> Following Greco-Roman or Byzantine models, his magnificent armor—a scale shirt ending in pteryges (the protective lappets around the hip and upper arms) and a plated harness protecting shoulder and breast—is a work of superb design and execution in the medium of relief-sculpture. Equally striking are the two bird wings affixed in reverse direction to the sides of the soldier's head. Examples of this Greco-Roman motif were available through ancient coins, and the motif

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>136</sup> But Stephen, full of the Holy Spirit, looked up to heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God. "Look," he said, "I see heaven open and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:55–56).

<sup>137</sup> On the figure of the African executioner, see Morrow, "Disputation in Stone," esp. 83–84 .



gained some currency in medieval iconography.<sup>138</sup> In medieval Christian usage, such extravagant types of avian headgear were occasionally featured in representations of pagan, savage, and demonic figures, emblemizing the alien and frightening Other—an effect that in the tympanum relief accents the heathen foreignness of the dazzling African soldier. The soldier’s presence has some importance, because he alone communicates to the viewer that the represented narrative—otherwise devoid of specific geographical or cultural markers—takes place in a distant or foreign land. What is more, the soldier’s visible Otherness implicates, by association, the court of the Sanhedrin, in whose service the soldier apparently stands in. Yet more importantly, by leaving no room for misconceptions about the Sanhedrin’s blinded nature and anti-Christian bias, the tympanum relief’s depiction of the Jewish High Court offers a pointed foil to the episcopal court (in the *aula*)—Paris’s citadel of orthodoxy—which once faced it across the courtyard.

Representations of scenes from Stephen’s life other than his stoning are rare in medieval art. Stephen was (and is) venerated as the first martyr of the Christian cause; the reason for his death—his scholarly defense and promulgation of Christian doctrine—has, however, hardly shaped his saintly image. Yet the ideal of martyrdom, seemingly so remote from the academic existence of Parisian scholars, was not out of place at the university, as a thirteenth-century sermon by the theologian John of Saint-Giles demonstrates. On the occasion of his entrance into the Dominican Order (a highly controversial move that secured John a coveted chair in theology), John preached on September 22, 1230, the feast day of St. Maurice, to the assembled

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<sup>138</sup> See Ruth Mellinkoff, “Demonic Winged Headgear,” *Viator* 16 (1985): 367–405, esp. 370–371.

Dominican friars at the convent of Saint-Jacques.<sup>139</sup> As theme of the sermon, John appropriately chose the martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion. John structured his sermon around the martyrs' fateful commitment to the Christian God and refusal to betray their beliefs. In what may seem like a long stretch today, John managed to draw a moral lesson from Maurice's story relevant that applied to the university friars: Who of those present, he thundered, would truly give their life for God's cause? "We are not as strong in faith as Maurice and his legion none of whom had fled from death," John scorned the room of armchair scholars. "Indeed, I believe that anyone of you, in a similar situation, would seek to avoid death." John then exhorted his listeners to join the campaign of the Church militant, to become soldiers of Christ, and be made strong in spiritual war.

The year before John's sermon, the French Crown had concluded its merciless crusade against the Cathars—a Christian Manichean dualist sect—who flourished in Lombardy, in northern Italy, and the Languedoc, in southern France.<sup>140</sup> A wave of anxiety over the successful and appealing Cathar movement had swept through the Catholic church and held it in a state of

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<sup>139</sup> BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 338. The Mauritius sermon, together with four other sermons by John of St-Giles is published in Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens*, 271–298. On John's preaching, see Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*, passim. See also idem, "A Workshop of a Pomp of Satan?," 55–56. On John's role in the institutional controversies surrounding the strike of 1229, see Andrew G. Traver, "Rewriting History? The Parisian Secular Masters' Apologia of 1254," *History of Universities* 15 (1997–1999): 9–45. On the growing cult of Mauritius in medieval Paris and its surrounds, see Anne E. Lester, "Confessor King, Martyr Saint: Praying to Saint Maurice at Senlis," in *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan*, Later Medieval Europe 11 (Brill, 2013), 203–207.

<sup>140</sup> The modern literature on the military and ecclesial campaigns against the Cathars is voluminous and steadily growing; among the recent important contributions I refer to following studies: Claire Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249* (Boydell & Brewer, 2005); Caterina Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Beverly M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Boydell & Brewer, 2001).

suspension, even after France's military campaign against the dissenting Cathars had officially ended with the Treaty of Toulouse brokered by Queen Blanche of Castile in 1229. The treaty included the foundation of a university in Toulouse, whose principal mission was to propagate catholic dogma and fully extinct Catharism, which had withdrawn into the underground.<sup>141</sup> Although the crusading armies inflicted great damage and suffering on the Cathars, they were not fully vanquished. The specter of Catharism haunted the Catholic church well into the fourteenth century, not least among Paris-trained theologians, the papacy's legion of elite scholastic warriors.<sup>142</sup> For preachers with a thorough education in theology, the crusade against Catharism made martyrdom a genuine possibility within the borders of thirteenth and fourteenth-century France.<sup>143</sup> From Avignon to Toulouse, only a few-days ride from Paris, venturesome missionaries could emulate St. Maurice, or follow in the footsteps of St. Stephen, and even find a path to sainthood, as the example of Dominican Peter of Verona, assassinated by Lombardian Cathars in 1252, demonstrated.<sup>144</sup>

Catharism was not exclusively a Dominican concern.<sup>145</sup> In the first third of the thirteenth century, Philip the Chancellor—no friend of the Dominicans—was also whipping up Parisian scholars in his sermons to render their due service to the church against Catharism, signs of which could be already found in the royal heartlands not far north of Paris.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Marie-Humbert Vicaire and Henri Gilles, "Rôle de l'université de Toulouse dans l'effacement du Catharisme," in *Effacement du Catharisme?*, 1985, 257–76.

<sup>142</sup> See the bull *Parens Scientiarum* of 1231.

<sup>143</sup> See Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Boydell & Brewer, 2001).

<sup>144</sup> St. Francis sought martyrdom but failed: John V. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (OUP Oxford, 2009).

<sup>145</sup> It is worth recalling that the Dominican Order's founding and studious presence in Paris was an immediate response to Catharism.

<sup>146</sup> See David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition in Northern France, 1235–1236," *Viator* 37 (2006): 241–54.

Paris's thirteenth-century bishops and chancellors partook, at times prominently, in anti-heretical campaigns.<sup>147</sup> A case in point is bishop William of Auvergne (1180/90–1249, r. 1228–1249) and Odo of Chateauroux, chancellor of the University of Paris from 1238–1244. A Parisian master and the author of the monumental *Magisterium divinale et sapientiale*, William was a highly respected theologian.<sup>148</sup> Bishop William, today most infamous for the Trials of the Talmud he organized in 1241 and 1244, was an ardent persecutor on all fronts.<sup>149</sup> In the pages of the *Magisterium*, William explicitly proclaimed that one of the goals of his work as “the destruction of errors about the universe,” particularly those that turn one from “the ways of truth and path of rectitude through which one comes to [...] the end of true philosophizing.”<sup>150</sup> As Roland Teske explained, the errors William sought to destroy were those “opposed to the glory of God, for example, by maintaining a second first principle, as the Manicheans of William’s days, namely, the Cathar did, or by denying the creator’s providence, as some Aristotelians did.”<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid.; Franco Morenzoni, “Hérésies et hérétiques dans la prédication parisienne de la première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *1209 - 2009, Cathares. Une histoire à pacifier?*, 2010, 91–108.

<sup>148</sup> William of Auvergne had studied at the university of Paris. At an exceptionally young age, he embarked on a distinguished scholarly career, became a master in the faculty of arts, and by 1225—perhaps not even 35 years of age—he was a professor of theology. On William, see Roland J. Teske, “William of Auvergne,” in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy between 500 and 1500*, 2011, 1402–5.

<sup>149</sup> On the trials, see John Block Friedman, Jean Connell Hoff, and Robert Chazan, eds., *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240*, vol. 53, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* (Toronto, 2012). See further Yossef Schwartz, “Authority, Control, and Conflict in Thirteenth-Century Paris: Contextualizing the Talmud Trial,” in *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-Century France*, The New Middle Ages (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2015), 93–111. Lesley Smith, “William of Auvergne and the Jews,” *Studies in Church History* 29 (1992): 107–17; Saadia R. Eisenberg, “Reading Medieval Religious Disputation: The 1240 ‘Debate’ between Rabbi Yehiel of Paris and Friar Nicholas Donin” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2008).

<sup>150</sup> Teske, “William of Auvergne,” 281.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

Chancellor Odo (c. 1190–1273) was Chancellor of the university of Paris when he became bishop-cardinal of Tusculum and papal legate to France in 1245.<sup>152</sup> Before attaining the chancellorship, Odo had studied and taught in the Faculty of Theology at Paris.<sup>153</sup> In 1226, he preached the Albigensian crusade together with Philip the Chancellor.<sup>154</sup> Certainly in quantitative terms, Odo was one of the foremost preachers of the thirteenth century: his oeuvre comprises more than 1,200 sermons; as one modern scholar noted: Odo “never forgot that one of the principal activities of a master in theology consisted in preaching.”<sup>155</sup> Odo had copies of his collected sermon collection, in particular his anti-heretical sermons, sent to Paris sometime before 1261.<sup>156</sup> Some of his sermons against the Manichean Cathar heretics, Odo staged as disputations, playing both the part, that of the heretic and his Christian opponent.<sup>157</sup> In these sermons, whatever argument *manicheus* makes, the *catholicus* refutes with typical scholastic formulas, such as *ad primum dicendi*, *ad secundum*, and so forth.<sup>158</sup> In one sermon, Odo issued the following warning:

The bear resembles man except for his head and speech. Just so heretics resemble Catholics in the sacraments and works. In speech and faith,

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<sup>152</sup> In 1248 he joined Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade, and returned in 1255 to the Curia in Rome.

<sup>153</sup> For a biographical study of the complicated documentary evidence, see Alexis Charansonnet, “Du Berry en Curie, la carrière du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?-1273) et son reflet dans sa prédication,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 86, no. 216 (2000): 10–20.

<sup>154</sup> See Nicole Bériou, “La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d’Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226,” in *La prédication en Pays d’Oc*, 1997, 85–109.

<sup>155</sup> On Odo’s university sermons, see Charansonnet, “Du Berry en Curie, la carrière du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux,” 6.

<sup>156</sup> BnF, MS lat. 15948 and lat. 15964. Franco Morenzoni, “Les sermons ‘Contra haereticos’ du Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux († 1273),” *Sacris Erudiri* 54 (2015): 276 n. 36. The dating of Odo’s anti-heretical sermons is problematic. Morenzoni reasons that Odo composed them either 1230–1248 or 1255–1261. *Ibid.*, 277, 296–298. From 1248–1255, Odo was in the Holy Land. The sixteen sermons have been edited in *ibid.*, 306–408.

<sup>157</sup> See, for instance, the excerpts of sermon II, in *ibid.*, 280.

<sup>158</sup> See *ibid.*, 278.

however, they are dissimilar. They have three modes of speech: they suppress truth, add falsehoods, and promote ambiguities.<sup>159</sup>

But Parisian scholars did not have to look beyond the city to find heretics. According to Matthew Paris, Cathars clandestinely came to Paris: In his *Chronica maiora*, the English chronicler wrote that the Cathars “sent capable students to Paris from nearly all Lombard and from some Tuscan cities. There some studied logic, others theology, with the aim of strengthening their own error and overthrowing the Catholic Faith.”<sup>160</sup>

Over the course of the thirteenth century, the bishop’s palace had become a significant place of judgment, which had turned some intellectual dissenters into martyrs. In addition to student delinquencies or serious crimes committed by clergy, the offices of bishop and chancellor assumed a critical role in the prosecution of heterodox scholars and heretics. Thirteenth-century evidence or documentation of juridical procedures and cases that dealt with suspect opinions and heresy—a crucial legal distinction—is scarce.<sup>161</sup> But the inquisition and censorship of scholars was far from a rare occurrence in Paris at this time.<sup>162</sup> The great majority of cases that concerned suspect opinions—that is, probably wrong but not evidently heretical opinions—was handled in

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<sup>159</sup> “Ursus ualde assimilator homini preterquam in capite et ore. Sic heretici assimilantur catholicis in sacramentis et operibus. In verbis autem et fide sunt dissimiles. Tres ordines habent in ore: verum supprimunt, falsa addunt, ambigua opponent.” Quoted after Morenzoni, “Les sermons ‘Contra haereticos,’” 272 n.22.

<sup>160</sup> Quoted after Anne A. Davenport, “The Catholics, the Cathars, and the Concept of Infinity in the Thirteenth Century,” *Isis* 88, no. 2 (1997): 269.

<sup>161</sup> On the particular question of when and how cases were documented, and how they were publicized, see William J. Courtenay, “The Preservation and Dissemination of Academic Condemnations at the University of Paris in the Middle Ages,” in *Les Philosophies Morales et Politiques Au Moyen Âge*, vol. 3, 1995, 1659–67, at 1663–64. See further Luca Bianchi, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l’Université de Paris: (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)*, Ane d’or 9 (Paris: les Belles lettres, 1999).

<sup>162</sup> William J. Courtenay, “Inquiry and Inquisition: Academic Freedom in Medieval Universities,” *Church History* 58, no. 2 (1989): 168–81.

internally by a panel of theology masters headed by the chancellor of Notre-Dame (that is, unless the accused was a member of the regular clergy, then jurisdiction was in the hand of the relevant order's superiors).<sup>163</sup> Most cases were resolved by this body in one of two ways: either the accused recanted publicly or he was acquitted. In either case, the process operated without archival documentation. However, if the accused refused to recant a heterodox or heretical opinion, and the internal commission had exhausted its limited disciplinary authority, then the case was passed on to the court of the bishop, and only then it received documentation.

Two such cases from the mid-thirteenth century provide a rare glimpse into judicial proceedings against university heretics in Paris.<sup>164</sup> In 1247, formerly chancellor of the University of Paris, now papal legate, Odo of Châteauroux presided over two heresy trials at the episcopal court. Odo deputized for Bishop William of Auvergne (who excused himself because of illness.) The first trial concerned John of Brescian, a master of logic. It was not the first time the accused had faced inquisition; he was a repeat offender, which explains why his case was tried at the bishop's court. The trial record states that, in the presence of thirty masters, John had publicly "dogmatized" (*dogmatizare*) a certain Arian opinion about the creation of light. In the aftermath, John claimed he had been misunderstood, for, in fact, he had argued the opinion in question *sub alio intellectu*, "in a different sense." This excuse did not satisfy Odo of Châteauroux, who took particular issue with the fact that John had failed to seek absolution. In order to be absolved from his academic sins, John would first have to renounce the erroneous opinions under oath, and then demonstrate their fallacy in a public disputation; something he had initially agreed to do, but then

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<sup>163</sup> See Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy*," 42; see also the overview of primary sources at *ibid.*, 162–169.

<sup>164</sup> CUP I, no. 176, 206–208. From BnF, MS lat. 9960, f. 161. See Bianchi, "'Prophanae Novitates' et 'Doctrinae Peregrinae,'" 211–29, at 218–219; Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie comme science au XIIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque thomiste 33 (Paris: Vrin, 1969). 26–32.

balked at.<sup>165</sup>

In his verdict, Odo of Châteauroux asserted that John's sordid errors had to be expunged so they would not taint the *puritas* of the studium. The papal legate sentenced Master John to life-long exile from the city and the diocese, and banned him permanently from teaching, both in public and private. In the written account, Odo also presents John as a symptom of a larger problem; namely of the philosophical presumption of scholars who mingle theology with logic, "without grasping neither what they say nor what they speak about." He criticized how, in their disputations, "theologians act like logicians and logicians like theologians," unafraid of mixing and confusing those things of God that they inherited.<sup>166</sup>

The second case heard by Odo concerned a certain Master Remundus. Worse than John of Brescian, Remundus was not just reluctant to recant, but unrelenting in his stance, even though he had been already incarcerated—presumably in the bishop's or chancellor's prison—for unnamed heresies in the past. He stubbornly refused to recant his views (left unspecified in the document). After his release from prison, the same old charges were brought against him: according to witnesses, Master Remundus continued to spread his heretical venom (*virus*). Remundus was not present at the trial and the papal legate Odo ordered that Remundus, if seized by authorities, be returned to prison and further prohibited any conversation with the heretic under pain of excommunication, *in domo, mensa, or doctrina*.

Bishop William of Auvergne and chancellor Odo's struggle against heterodoxy in Paris

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<sup>165</sup> See the case of Nicholas of Autrecourt: *His Correspondence with Master Giles and Bernard of Arezzo : A Critical Edition from the two Parisian Manuscripts with an Introduction, English Translation, Explanatory Notes, and Indexes* (Brill, 1994), 207.

<sup>166</sup> "...quandoquidem logici theologice et theologi philosophice in suis disputationibus sicut nobis relatum est procedentes, contra preceptum legis sortes Dominice hereditatis miscere et confundere non formidant." CUP I, no. 176, 207.



did not focus on individuals only, but also took the form of censorship. On January 13, 1241, they published a list of ten theological errors undersigned by all the regent masters in theology.<sup>167</sup> The fifth error of the list targeted the fundamentals of Manichean dualist belief in Good and Evil as coequal principles.<sup>168</sup> Each condemnation was also a measure of protection. The epigraph to the list declared that “All professors of orthodox faith have to guard themselves from these detestable errors against the catholic truth.”<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Deborah Grice, *Church, Society and University: The Paris Condemnation of 1241/4* (Routledge, 2019).

<sup>168</sup> CUP I, no. 128. 170–171. See Odo’s sermon on the sacrament of marriage, which in substance and wording resembles the 1241 list of errors. Franco Morenzoni, “Les Sermons Contra Haereticos Du Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux († 1273),” *Sacris Erudiri* 54 (2015): 268.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE STREET OF STRAW

The Street of Straw (*rue du Fouarre*), the original seat of the Faculty of the Liberal Arts, was a narrow and dark alley in the Latin Quarter of medieval Paris (fig. 4.1). Named for straw-covered floors on which students sat to listen to Europe’s preeminent masters of philosophy, it is difficult today to imagine that such humble material and such a bustling street was the intellectual heart of the University of Paris, the nerve-center of scholastic debate, teeming with hundreds of students who continually flocked there. According to Jean de Jandun, master of the Faculty of Arts in the early fourteenth century, “the most pleasant brightness of philosophical light” and “the sweetest fragrance of philosophical nectar,” would have overwhelmed anyone passing through the Street of Straw and distracted them from its dim squalor and discordant noise.<sup>1</sup> In this dingy, yet intellectually fragrant and illuminated street, the medieval visitor would have witnessed a scholastic spectacle: scholars “rushing through the marvelous mysteries of the heavens,” “scrutinizing the most occult matters of nature,” and “revealing infallible principles of mathematics.”<sup>2</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Parisian historian Edouard Fournier somberly described the *rue du Fouarre* as “a lost street, which awaits, like its neighbors, demolition.”<sup>3</sup> Under George-Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891), the street—like much of its historic neighborhood—had been slated for destruction (fig. 4.2).<sup>4</sup> Charles Marville, official

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<sup>1</sup> De Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>3</sup> “une rue perdue, qui attend, comme des voisines, la démolition”: Edouard Fournier, *Chroniques et légendes des rues de Paris* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1864), 6 n.1.

<sup>4</sup> Only the block around the church of Saint-Julien le Pauvre, deemed of historical value by the

photographer for the city of Paris from 1862, documented the unprepossessing street in his photographic campaign of Old Paris (fig. 4.3).<sup>5</sup> Although the Street of Straw survived Haussmann by about a decade, it ultimately met its fate in 1900 or 1901 during the last phase of Haussmann's radical modernization of Paris. Its destruction explains only in part why this side street has been entirely overlooked in the scholarship of the University of Paris. Another reason for its scholarly neglect has to do with the fourteenth-century transformation of the university into a sprawling network of semi-independent education institutions dominated by secular colleges: purpose-built structures bearing the names of famous patrons and religious orders. Because of this expansion and fragmentation of the university, the street became all but invisible in the scholastic landscape. The college model has shaped the post-medieval scholarly perception of the university in ways that have made us insensitive to how urban streets—the interstitial spaces and the connective tissue that facilitated movement, commerce, and social interaction—also facilitated and maintained the particular modes of academic inquiry, exchange, and culture that are known today as Scholasticism.

Whereas the purpose-built structures of colleges and monastic *studia* constitute the early architectural organization of learning at the University of Paris as a concrete, physical phenomenon, the earlier multi-purpose spaces of bridges and streets represent a more elusive and ephemeral network of the spatialized production of knowledge. However, after university

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*Commission historique*, was spared Haussmann's hammers. On the growing public movement for the preservation of Old Paris in the nineteenth-century in response to the Haussmannization, see Ruth Fiori, *L'invention du vieux Paris: naissance d'une conscience patrimoniale dans la capitale* (Editions Mardaga, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> See Sarah Kennel, ed., *Charles Marville: Photographer of Paris* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2013).

learning retreated into cloistered architectural settings, the legacy of the Street of Straw remains a persistent, if faint, reminder that the early university was constituted by gestures, acts, and verbal exchanges in a variety of publicly practiced spaces. It was an urban phenomenon inserted directly into the city's mobile networks and this would have lasting effects on the way academic knowledge was produced, traded and consumed. Lacking a built profile, the university constituted itself wherever its masters and students gathered, wherever intellectual activity took place, wherever students flocked to listen to masters lecture and debate, the university came into being.

In order to excavate the contours of this lost, ephemeral university, this chapter begins with a bird's-eye view of the university in its late medieval urban state at the turn of the sixteenth century. My purpose is to familiarize the reader with the patchwork of colleges and *studia* that constituted the scholastic landscape of the Left Bank. In its spatial and material configuration, the street and its windowed classrooms were outward-looking, permeable to the sights and sounds of the urban environment, while, at the same time, revealing scholastic 'workshops' to the eyes and ears of ordinary citizens. By contrast, the architecture of colleges and religious *studia* were turned inward; their architectural designs isolated and protected the pursuit of knowledge from the urban surround while silencing the urban voice of its enclosed community. By contrasting these two diametrically opposed paradigms of space, the epistemic and ideological stakes of 'street versus college' become especially evident.

With its spaces of vibrant exchange, the city of Paris served not only as the backdrop to Scholasticism's dramatic performance, but also as a protagonist in defining its methods, molding its contents, and shaping the character of its relationship to social life. More than the spectacles of politics, it was the day-to-day spaces and events, the urban materiality and dynamic social

fabric that conditioned academic life and thought. Historical scholarship with a more positivist bent typically presents the emergence of the university as an organic development—implying, it seems, that the apparent random- and messiness of the conditions on the ground does not warrant, or else defies closer scrutiny. But it is precisely the topographical randomness and diffuse architectural nature of the early university within in its urban environment that this chapter foregrounds in order to show how the University of Paris over the course of the thirteenth century was established as a series of internal, fixed spaces of private discussion. The university's identity and image were deeply linked to the pre-existing urban fabric it inhabited and helped shape—physically and socially—in lasting ways.

The following reconstruction of the Street of Straw and its urban context will take a comprehensive approach. First, I will look at the genesis of the university quarter, specifically the neighborhood between the parish church of St. Julien-le-Pauvre and the Place Maubert where the academic community began to settle in the early thirteenth century. I examine the neighborhood around the schools of the Faculty of Arts to provide a more detailed picture of the residential and commercial environment and the living conditions experienced by masters and students. The chapter then moves to the Street of Straw itself. Exploiting faculty meeting minutes as well as other sources, we will be able to get a sense of what the schools looked like, how they were furnished, used, surveilled, and policed. In the following section, I show how questions of intellectual control and policing directly affected the schools of the Faculty of Arts. In the concluding section, I turn to one of the faculty's most notorious masters, Jean de Jandun, whose encomium (1323) celebrates the Faculty of Arts the Street of Straw as the exemplar and physically realized paradigm of the scholastic project. Jean de Jandun's vision of the Street of Straw was the poetic culmination of a decades-long institutional and ideological tug of war over

the questions of what reason-based philosophy ought to be and what the proper forms of the pursuit of truth ought to look like.

### **388 Steps: The University Quarter from Above**

Over the last third of the twelfth century, Paris's masters consolidated themselves into a formal, corporate association in the manner of urban guilds.<sup>6</sup> By 1200, this entity also included students, and, through a combination of internal reform efforts and external pressure, produced, in the first third of the thirteenth century, the institutional structures and organized communities whose traces remain visible today.<sup>7</sup>

Gathering all teachers and students under the umbrella of a single professional association bound by oath and statutes, the university disrupted the loose twelfth-century organization of private, cathedral, and monastic schools.<sup>8</sup> As with other urban guilds, its members possessed legal standing in a community and could therefore elect representatives to act on their behalf, as a corporate body in court, negotiate rights and privileges collectively, exercise self-governance, condone or sanction members' actions, and, of course, organize their professional operations.<sup>9</sup> Also like some medieval craft and trade guilds, the university

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<sup>6</sup> Gaines Post, "Parisian Masters as a Corporation, 1200-1246," *Speculum* 9, no. 4 (1934): 421-45; Pearl Kibre and Nancy Gillian Siraisi, "The Institutional Setting: The Universities," in *Science in the Middle Ages*, 1978, 120-44.

<sup>7</sup> The central claim of Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*. See also Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris*..

<sup>8</sup> On the concept of *universitas* as a form of social organization, see Pierre Michaud Quantin, *Universitas: expressions du mouvement communautaire dans le Moyen Âge Latin* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1970; Jacques Verger, "Des écoles à l'université: la mutation institutionnelle," in *La France de Philippe Auguste*, 1982, 817-46; Jacques Verger, "A propos de la naissance de l'université de Paris: contexte social, enjeu politique, portée intellectuelle," in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen, 1986), 69-96.

<sup>9</sup> Pearl Kibre, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages: The Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of Scholars and Universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris, and Oxford*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval

functioned democratically through the election of officials and dignitaries, whose tenures were restricted to short periods so that they regularly changed hands. Again, as with guilds, the university regulated and formalized the training of apprentices (i.e. students) and the accreditation of persons who qualified as masters: all fundamental innovations with respect to the situation in the twelfth century. For the first time ever in Paris, educational standards were defined by a fixed curriculum that set down the requirements for obtaining degrees in each branch of study, including the minimum period of study, the nature of exams, core courses, and essential textbooks.<sup>10</sup> These were administered by three faculties: Liberal Arts (later Philosophy), Theology, and Canon Law. The Faculty of Medicine came into being in the fourteenth century).

The reign of King Philip Augustus II (r. 1180-1223) wrought remarkable physical changes upon the city of Paris. Assessing such changes and their impact upon intellectual culture is crucial to understanding why the foundation of the University of Paris was as much a product of the city itself, as it was of intellectual dynamics and socio-political change. Philip II made Paris the *de facto* capital of the Capetian realm.<sup>11</sup> Under his governance, and with his adept intervention, the city prospered both economically and culturally even as it underwent extensive expansion and transformation. At the beginning of Philip II's reign, Paris numbered around 25,000 inhabitants, a figure that doubled by the time of his death.<sup>12</sup> Such urban growth was, of

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Academy of America, 1962).

<sup>10</sup> First specified in the statutes of Cardinal Robert of Courçon in August 1215: CUP I, no. 20, 78–80. See also the French translation and commentary in Bermon, ed., *La fondation de l'Université de Paris*, 115–138.

<sup>11</sup> See John W. Baldwin, *Paris, 1200* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010); Jacques Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris: De la fin du siège de 885-886 à la mort de Philippe Auguste*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Association pour la publication d'une histoire de Paris, 1997); Simone Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); *Paris sous les premiers Capétiens*.

<sup>12</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century, the population reached, by most estimates, 200,000: Philippe Lorentz, Dany Sandron, and Jacques Lebar, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge: espace*

course, not without certain deleterious effects. Such a rapid increase in population caused strain on the aging infrastructure of the Île de la Cité. Overcrowding, together with soaring rent and food prices, left large portions of Paris's poor struggling to feed themselves, not least its impoverished scholarly community. The English master John of Garland's declaration, "This expensive town is ruining me," voiced the woes of many of his impoverished fellows.<sup>13</sup> Philip's response was to initiate an urban renovation. He effected the construction of a ring of massive walls and towers encircling large swaths of unbuilt land on either side of the River Seine, more than doubling Paris's urban surface area, creating much needed space for the city's expansion (fig. 4.4).<sup>14</sup>

Construction of the fortifications on the Left Bank began in 1200 and were completed by 1215. Before construction got underway, this soon-to-be circumscribed area on the slope of Mt. Ste-Geneviève was sparsely populated, home to a few hundred or so people. Philip's interventions, however, triggered rapid growth and soon the city spilled out across the Petit-Pont and into that part of the Left Bank that ultimately would become the quarter synonymous with the university. At Mont-Sainte-Genviève, where Peter Abelard and John of Salisbury had once

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*urbain, habitat, société, religion, lieux de pouvoir* (Paris: Parigramme, 2006), 68.

<sup>13</sup> Traugott Lawler, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 45. On academic poverty of medieval scholars, see Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Cornell University Press, 2005); Sarah B. Lynch, "Rich Master, Poor Master: The Economic Standing of Schoolteachers in Late Medieval France," in *Approaches to Poverty in Medieval Europe*, 2016, 207–28; Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "Cardinal Albinus of Albano and the 'Digesta pauperis scholaris albinus': Ms. Ottob. Lat. 3057," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 20 (1982): 7–49.

<sup>14</sup> On Philip Augustus's walls, see Béatrice de Andia and Laetitia Bonnefoy, *Les enceintes de Paris* (Action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2001); John W. Baldwin, *Paris, 1200* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010); Renaud Gagneux, Denis Prouvost, and Emmanuel Gaffard, *Sur les traces des enceintes de Paris: promenades au long des murs disparus* (Parigramme, 2004); Guy Le Hallé, *Les fortifications de Paris* (Horvath, 1986).



roamed among vineyards and hamlets, royal and ecclesiastical landholders now began developing areas for habitation.

The best view of the medieval university district was to be had from the south tower of Notre-Dame cathedral, three hundred eighty-eight steps above the level of the parvis. Upon his arrival in Paris on March 9, 1494, the German humanist Hieronymus Münzer climbed to the summit of the tower.<sup>15</sup> It was a clear day, he wrote in his account of the visit, ideal for viewing the city from above.<sup>16</sup> From Notre-Dame's south tower, overlooking the Left Bank, Münzer observed the university quarter. The Left Bank made a great impression on the German visitor; he noted that, by itself, it was much larger than the city of Nuremberg (fig. 4.5). The building frenzy, which began in the thirteenth century, had consumed the former vineyards and boroughs covering the gentle slope of the Mont Ste-Geneviève, and, in their stead, had been erected churches, religious convents, and private palaces (*hôtels*) of royalty, counts, cardinals, and bishops.<sup>17</sup> By Münzer's testimony, 15,000 students lived across the Seine, 9,000 of whom were foreigners. He counted more than ninety secular colleges of varying size; the smallest lodged about dozen fellows (*bursarii*), the largest close to one hundred—not nearly enough to house all these students, but a staggering number, nonetheless. What Münzer saw, and described in some

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<sup>15</sup> Having worked with Hartmann Schedel on the Nuremberg Chronicle in the years prior to his visit, Münzer was adept at surveying and describing cities with a sober penchant for the factual. Similar to modern guide books, his descriptions present overviews of a city's noteworthy monuments and sights, condensed to names, numbers, and other bits of information which he learned from local cicerones. See Christoph Reske, *Die Produktion der Schedelschen Weltchronik in Nürnberg* (Otto Harrassowitz, 2000), esp. 164.

<sup>16</sup> "Ascendentes autem altissimam turrim maioris ecclesie B. Virginis, que habebat gradus 388 et latitudo ipsius quadra circa pinnaculum 24 passus, contemplantur situm civitatis; clara enim dies erat." E. Ph. Goldschmidt, "Le voyage de Hieronimus Monetarius à travers la France II," *Humanisme et Renaissance* 6, no. 2 (1939): 211.

<sup>17</sup> Simone Roux, *La Rive gauche des escoliers (XVe siècle)* (Paris: Editions Christian, 1992); Simone Roux, "L'effacement de la campagne sous la poussée urbaine: la rive gauche de Paris au XIIIe siècle," in *Études Jean-Marie Pesez*, 1998, 637–46.

detail, was the urban profile and built topography of the university in its late medieval state: an agglomeration of buildings and architectural complexes tightly packed together into the area corralled by Philip Augustus's new walls.

Independent structures of varying sizes and isolated from the urban environment, the colleges have decisively informed the modern image of the medieval university of Paris.<sup>18</sup> The most prestigious and largest secular college in Paris was the Collège de Navarre. This College drew Münzer's special attention.<sup>19</sup> At her death in 1305, Queen Jeanne de Navarre bequeathed in her will one of her residences—the Tour de Nesles—to fund the foundation of a college in her name.<sup>20</sup> The chosen site was situated in the southeastern part of the university district. Bounded by streets on all sides, its premises occupied a large trapezoidal block within the urban fabric (fig. 4.6). The college structure incorporated town houses that had been built on the site. The street-facing houses enclosed the property. Münzer noted the surrounding high walls that filled any gaps in this ring of residential and commercial buildings.<sup>21</sup> A single, strong fortified gate opened into the interior. Three square courtyards were assigned to three distinct student groups: a quadrangle for the college's grammar students (*cour de grammairiens*) forty-eight meters per side; adjoined by the Court of Arts Students (*cour des artiens*), half the size; and the smaller,

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<sup>18</sup> Aurélie Perraut, *L'architecture des collèges Parisien au Moyen Age*, vol. 46, Cultures et civilisations médiévales (Paris: PUBS, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Goldschmidt, "Le voyage de Hieronimus," 212–213.

<sup>20</sup> Nathalie Gorochov, *Le Collège de Navarre: de sa fondation (1305) au début du XVe siècle (1418): histoire de l'institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement* (Paris: H. Champion, 1997), 146–150; Aurélie Perraut, "L'implication royal dans les chantiers des collèges parisiens au Moyen Age," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, no. 132 (2005): 10.

<sup>21</sup> Goldschmidt, "Le voyage de Hieronimus," 212.

irregularly shaped courtyard of theology students.<sup>22</sup> Each courtyard featured a residential building for its respective students, while a magnificent chapel and a cloister equal in size to the Grammarians' quadrangle stood at the center of the college complex. The geometric layout of these spaces reveals the effort to impose a logical order onto the irregular footprints of the sites and the pre-existing structures, thereby creating a tension, evident in many medieval Parisian colleges, between pre-existing urban fabric and the new collegiate design logic.<sup>23</sup>

Walled-off from its surroundings, the college complex constituted an inconspicuous, but effective bulwark designed to sequester its community within the city. The plan of the Collège de Navarre, as Michael T. Davis emphasizes, “orchestrates a measured retreat from the bustle of the city in concentric zones [...]”<sup>24</sup> This collegiate architecture of seclusion realized, within the urban fabric, the collegial ideals of pedagogy: principles that persisted unchanged into the early modern period. In 1517, the reformer Robert Goulet advocated for colleges to be remote from neighboring houses and called for the construction of sufficiently high walls to ensure quietude for study.<sup>25</sup> As well, the architecture of Paris's colleges was designed to discipline their

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<sup>22</sup> Michael T. Davis, “A Gift from the Queen: The Architecture of the Collège de Navarre in Paris,” in *Medieval Women and Their Objects*, ed. Jennifer Adams and Nancy Bradbury (University of Michigan Press, 2017), 71–96, at 79.

<sup>23</sup> See the insightful architectural analysis by Davis, “A Gift from the Queen,” 71–96.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence, Dignity, and Excellence of the University of Paris in the Year of Grace 1517*, trans. Robert Belle Burke (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928), 100–101.

“Advertat quisquis hoc tale et tantum opus complere desiderat quo eligatur bonus et saluifer situs in loco eminenti vel saltem propicio satis remotus ab urbanis domibus. Commodius eternim in secessu/ quete/ residentia/ placabilitate animi/ magnus concrescit doctrine acquirende thesaurus. Subinde opus est bonum et amplum non vetustum sed stabile ac spaciosum habere domicilium undiquaeque muris satis altis circumdatum in quo viginti aut triginta camere suis cum bibliothecis saltem pro regentibus et pro puectoribus discipulis.” Quoted in Michael Kiene, “Die Grundlagen der europäischen Universitätsbaukunst,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46, no. 1 (1983): 77 n.78.

communities. In accordance with Queen Jeanne's wishes, strict regimentation, control, and discipline of the immured student body was enforced by architectural means at the Collège de Navarre. The realized college complex, Davis observed, displayed "strategies of monastic planning that reflect Jeanne's insistence on a cloistered life within the college and restricted contact with the outside world."<sup>26</sup>

Despite the size of the premises, access to the college was restricted to a single gate. Navarre's statutes detailed who would be granted permission to enter, when, and for how long. The college's students were not allowed to attend classes at other colleges or visit the schools of the Faculty of Philosophy in the Street of Straw. Reports of rebellious fellows breaking holes into windowless walls in order to escape and join in the university quarter's nocturnal escapades betray that these concerns were—unsurprisingly—justified.<sup>27</sup>

The architecture of Parisian secular colleges, such as the Collège de Navarre, subscribe to the fundamental monastic ideal of seclusion and tranquility, manifest on a large scale by the thirteenth-century mendicant houses of Franciscans and Dominicans (Jacobins), as well as the Cistercian studium (Bernardins).<sup>28</sup> Münzer called the Collège de Bernardins the most beautiful of all the colleges—and most would agree.<sup>29</sup> Renovated in 2008, its great hall and sacristy—the only extant parts of the convent—evinced the former magnificence of the Cistercian establishment

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<sup>26</sup> Davis, "A Gift from the Queen," 78.

<sup>27</sup> Aurélie Perraut, *L'architecture des collèges parisiens*, 169. See Astrik L Gabriel, *Student life in Ave Maria College, mediaeval Paris: history and chartulary of the college* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1955), 101. See a similar incident at the Thomas-du-Louvre college: CUP I, no. 60.

<sup>28</sup> Panayota Volti, *Les couvents des ordres mendiants et leur environnement à la fin du Moyen Âge* (CNRS Éditions, 2016); Laura Zanini, *Les ordres mendiants dans l'histoire de l'urbanisme de Paris: Les couvents médiévaux de la rive gauche* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1999); Eugène Bernard, *Les dominicains dans l'Université de Paris; ou, Le grand couvent des Jacobins de la rue Saint-Jacques* (Paris: E. de Soye et fils, impr., 1883).

<sup>29</sup> Goldschmidt, "Le voyage de Hieronimus," 213.

(fig. 4.7).<sup>30</sup> Situated in the eastern district of the Left Bank, bordering on the city wall, it occupied (for an urban convent) a considerable swath of land, comparable to the plots of the Dominicans and Franciscans colleges, and second in size only to the abbey of Ste-Geneviève. These three religious *studia*, the most important in Paris, all date to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. From humble beginnings, with the support of ecclesiastical and royal patrons, they rather quickly expanded their land holdings and started building great churches, libraries, and residences for increasing numbers of students. Their architecture made few, if any, concessions to the urban fabric and life outside their walls, while inside they created, as best they could, ideal circumstances for the *vita contemplativa*. As Münzer writes: “And all these colleges [i.e. convents], have the most beautiful chapels, atria, gardens where they pass time in pleasant condition.”<sup>31</sup> By contrast, secular colleges, often for a lack of funds, could at best aspire to the monastic model. With few exceptions, such as the Collège de Navarre, they had to make do with whatever building(s) or property they received from their benefactors.<sup>32</sup>

### Invisibility and Oblivion

The panorama Münzer sketched in his travel report, which closely resembles the picture of the University of Paris drawn in schematic form in modern accounts, is that of a network of colleges and convents scattered across the Left Bank, all containing academic micro-communities.

Parisian colleges and convents have remained a focus for scholarship in a fashion that has

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<sup>30</sup> Vincent Aucante, *Le Collège des Bernardins* (Paris: Collège des Bernardins, 2008); Michael T. Davis, “Cistercians in the City: The Church of the Collège Saint-Bernard in Paris,” in *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture*, ed. Terryl Nancy Kinder, *Studia et Documenta* 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 223–234.

<sup>31</sup> Goldschmidt, “Le Voyage de Hieronimus,” 213.

<sup>32</sup> See Émile Durkheim, *The Evolution of Educational Thought: Lectures on the Formation and Development of Secondary Education in France* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 119.

obscured the multiple topographies of the university and hindered historical understanding of the physical and architectural conditions that powerfully shaped the university over the course of the thirteenth century; that is, in its formative period. The predominance of studies focused on the religious and secular colleges rather than the streets, hostels, workshops, and inns inhabited and frequented by Paris's academic community has effectively switched the roles of center and periphery. As a consequence, the urban context—the very sites and spaces in which the university evolved socially and culturally, and first assumed its paramount international intellectual profile—has been marginalized and virtually effaced from both the city's topography and its intellectual history.

Hoyau and Truschet's map exemplifies the 'invisibility' of the Street of Straw (fig. 4.8). The map, which so diligently marked the university's colleges and convents, banished the Street of Straw to a nameless existence.<sup>33</sup> It schematically renders the neighborhood of the street as a handful of generic white houses with terracotta-colored roofs, divided north-south by three short, parallel streets. Toward the Seine the neighborhood is bounded by two larger streets (the *rue Bûcherie* and, opposite by the *rue Galande*). None of the streets that frame the (invisible) Street of Straw receive identifying names in Hoyau and Truschet's map. Only the parish church of St-Julien-le-Pauvre, labeled *.S.IVLIEN* and distinguished by its arched portal and cross-bearing steeple, rises above the anonymous and summarily delineated neighborhood.

I would like to take Münzer's distant view of the college-and-convent landscape as a frame for a critique of the historical and historiographical reasons that make seeing the university from a street-level perspective exceedingly difficult. Such a perspective is especially revealing

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<sup>33</sup> Jean Derens, "Plan de Paris par Truschet et Hoyau (1550)," *Cahiers de La Rotonde*, no. 9 (1986): 17–88; Germain Hoyau and Jean Dérens, eds., *Le plan de Paris par Truschet et Hoyau 1550, dit Plan de Bâle* (Zürich: Seefeld, 1980).

for the thirteenth century, before the university was slowly fragmented by the rise of the colleges. These semi-independent sequestered micro-communities gradually and effectively displaced the fluid and dynamic spatial topography of intellectual culture that characterized the university's formation in the first place. Before walls were raised around the purpose-built pedagogical institutions of colleges, the university was part and parcel of the city fabric. Modern scholars have been largely silent on the configuration of the university in its pre-purpose-built form. The lack of a fixed architectural form or spatial definition for the early university, that is, spaces designed exclusively for university events, has rarely been tackled as a productive avenue of inquiry; its very ephemeral nature has been, *ex silentio*, taken as proof of its unimportance. Before the 'era of colleges,' the university was practically invisible within the cityscape, as some scholars have claimed. This retrospective assessment, however, compounds its current invisibility as a historiographic problem with the lack of any distinct physical remains. As a social phenomenon firmly ensconced in urban space, the university was perfectly visible and audible to its contemporaries. The challenge, then, is to develop alternative archaeological methods to excavate Parisian Scholasticism in its urban, architecturally embedded form, and thus rescue it from its modern oblivion.

Another reason for the invisibility of the early university's vibrant presence within the spaces of medieval Paris is the predominance in historiography of the university's institutional history. Well documented and featuring dramatic events and conflicts that make for good stories, the institutional formation of the University of Paris over the thirteenth century appears to fully account for the university as a historical phenomenon. Yet the very notion of 'institutional formation' may be misleading. It needs to be stressed that what stands in reality behind this notion is a struggle for legal protection and the rights of self-organization. As we have seen in

the previous chapter, in the early 1200s the bishopric viewed the efforts for gained full corporate status as an act of conspiracy. In short, the driving factor in this process were the conflicts between students and civic, royal, or ecclesial authorities, and not efforts to realize some preconceived vision of an academic institution. I will now turn my attention to this early phase of the university when the academic community inserted itself into the urban spaces of the Left Bank.

### In Garlandia

As we have seen in the previous chapter, masters of the liberal arts arrived on the Left Bank in the second decade of the thirteenth century, while the bishopric still sought with all its might to retain at least the theologians within its jurisdiction on the Ile de la Cité.<sup>34</sup> They settled in and around the area known as Clos Garland and Clos Mauvoisin, two vineyards (*clos*) covering the area between Place Maubert and the rue St Jacques, bordered on the south and east by the parish church of St-Julien-le-Pauvre. The Clos Garland had been slated for development when it came into the possession of the abbey of Ste-Geneviève in 1202.<sup>35</sup> A clause in the contract of the transferal of ownership from the Garland family to the abbey stipulated that the abbey was to construct hostels or lodgings in the Clos.<sup>36</sup> The same year that Ste-Geneviève acquired the Clos Garland, the bishop sold the adjacent vineyard, the Clos Bruneau, the future site of the schools of the Faculty of Law, to the chapter of Saint-Marcel, with a similar proviso, namely, that the

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<sup>34</sup> See Heinrich Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1885), 666–667.

<sup>35</sup> On the Clos Garlande, see Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1729), 358–359.

<sup>36</sup> *CUP*, I, 61, no. 2. See Michel Félibien, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, vol. 1 (Chez G. Desprez et J. Desessartz, 1725), 166–168.



vineyard be replaced by buildings and hostels (*in augmentum vero praedictae parochiae*).<sup>37</sup> It is impossible to say why masters and students of arts settled in this area; a much later document, a royal decree from the mid-fourteenth century, mentions that the Street of Straw had been “assigned” (*assignatus*) to the arts scholars, suggesting that the king (Philip Augustus II presumably) had designated this area for the scholars.<sup>38</sup>

As the land was subsequently divided into building lots and the vineyards gave way to houses and hostels, foot paths turned into alleys, roads into proper streets. At its most south-eastern point, the emerging arts-quarter bordered the Place Maubert (fig. 4.9). It was bounded on the north-west by the rue du Petit Pont, where the fortified gatehouse of Petit-Châtelet guarded the bridgehead and controlled traffic in and out of the Cité (see chapter 2). The longer sides of the irregularly shaped area were bounded by the rue de la Bûcherie<sup>39</sup> and rue Galande<sup>40</sup>—the latter being one of the few streets on the Left Bank that, still even today, follows its medieval (and Gallo-Roman) curving route within the Haussmannian network of rectilinear streets and boulevards. At least since the later thirteenth century, a chapel or oratory dedicated to St. Blaise

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<sup>37</sup> “In augmentum vero praedictae parochiae dedit episcopus ad habitandum vineam suam de Brunello, ita ut omnes qui in loco illo habitaverint cum aliis parochianis de Monte a presbytero parrochiae supradictae divina percipiant sacramenta, et ad episcopum et archidiaconum pleno jure pertineant, similiter et illi qui habitabunt in clauso quod dicitur mali vicini, si quando illud inhabitari contingat.” *Gallia christiana*, vol. 7, Instr. XII, 226, quoted after Adrien Friedmann, *Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses du moyen âge à la révolution. Origine et évolution des circonscriptions paroissiales* (Paris, 1959), 246–247 n.4. Interestingly, this contract claims for the bishop the jurisdiction of both the Clos Bruneau and the Clos Mauvoisin: Henri Sauval, *Histoire Et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1729), 360–361.

<sup>38</sup> “[...] certus vicus ultra Parvum Pontem vocatus gallice la rue du Feurre eisdem magistris ad legendum, scolaribus vero [ad] audiendum et proficiendum fuerit assignatus [...]” CUP III, 53, no. 1238. I have not found this claim repeated elsewhere.

<sup>39</sup> Berty and Tisserand, *Topographie historique*, vol. 6, 24–29. On the schools of medicine in that street, see *ibid.*, 37–44.

<sup>40</sup> On the rue Galande, see *ibid.*, 156–169. Its various designations and spellings are discussed on page 157.

existed in the rue Galande, close to St-Julien.<sup>41</sup> A handful of side streets and alleys cut through the former clos: the rue du Fouarre, the rues des Rats, des Trois Portes, de St. Julien-le-Pauvre. Gloomy courtyards and dead ends completed the aspect of one of the poorest neighborhoods of Paris.<sup>42</sup>

In the midst of this clutter of houses and humble dwellings stood St-Julien-le-Pauvre (fig. 4.10). Rebuilt around 1170, the three-aisled church, close to thirty meters in length, was the artists' quarter's only notable structure.<sup>43</sup> One of the oldest churches of Paris, it served the parish of the small burgh that had grown around the gate of the Petit-Chatelet at the southern end of the Petit-Pont. In the apse of the church stood a miraculous well whose water was said to have healing powers.<sup>44</sup> In accordance with the mission of its patron saint, Julien the Hospitaller, the church's chapter house as well as nearby hostels and inns accommodated travelers and pilgrims.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 164–166.

<sup>42</sup> For the distribution of wealth and poverty in late thirteenth-century Paris, see Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris*; Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, ch. 3, esp. 76. The *taille* (tax records) of 1297, on which Geremek draws, does, however, not include members of the university since they were exempt from paying taxes. Nevertheless, the small amount of taxes collected in the parish of Ste-Geneviève, especially around the Place Maubert, indicate that this neighborhood was comparatively poor, populated by minor craftspersons, such as shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters. For the *taille* of 1296, see Karl Michaëlsson, ed., *Le livre de la taille de Paris l'an 1296* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1958). See, further, William J. Courtenay's excellent *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>43</sup> See Armand Le Brun, *L'église St-Julie -le-Pauvre d'après les historiens et des documents inédits tirés des archives de l'assistance publique* (R.P. Kateb, 1889).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>45</sup> Its image of Saint Julian and his wife ferrying a man (i.e. Christ) across a river dates to the latter half of the fourteenth century. See Michael Camille, "Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the Bible Moralisée," *Word & Image* 5, no. 1 (January, 1989): 111–29.

This was where the newly urbanized and diminutive world of Paris's masters and students of arts made their home. In reference to the name of the principal street of the neighborhood, they named their quarter *Garlandia*, a name that echoed the imaginary bucolic idyll of Arcadia—perhaps not without a sense of irony.<sup>46</sup> One of the Left Bank's most renowned teachers declared himself a 'native' of this *Garlandia* (and he was by far not the only one to have done so).<sup>47</sup> "Because the name of my street/district (*vicus*) is *Garlandia*, Paris has bestowed upon me this flowery surname."<sup>48</sup> English by birth but Parisian at heart,<sup>49</sup> this was the arts master John of Garland (c. 1190–c. 1270).<sup>50</sup> In a chapter of what is today his best known work, the *Dictionarius* (a forerunner of the modern dictionary, but in narrative form, c.1230), John included a detailed description of his house and garden to furnish young students with a basic daily vocabulary of domestic, architectural, and vegetative terms.<sup>51</sup> His gardener, he writes,

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<sup>46</sup> See Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten*, 667 n.47.

<sup>47</sup> In various spellings: see the list in the index in Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. 4, 263.

<sup>48</sup> "Parisius vici cum sit Garlandia nomen, Agnomen florens contulit illa mihi." Edwin Habel, "Die Exempla honestae vitae des Johannes de Garlandia. Eine lateinische Poetik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Romanische Forschungen* 29, no. 1 (1911): 142.

<sup>49</sup> "Anglia, processi de te, cui cesserat orbis, Angelus accessi Parisiusque fui." Ibid., 142.

<sup>50</sup> On his life and work, see Yves Dossat, "Les premiers maîtres à l'Université de Toulouse: Jean de Garlande, Hélinand," in *Les universités du Languedoc au 13e siècle*, 1970, 179–190; Anne Grondeux and Elsa Marguin, "L'œuvre grammaticale de Jean de Garlande (ca 1195-1272?), auteur, réviseur et glosateur : un bilan," *Histoire épistémologie langage* 21, no. 1 (1999): 133–63.

<sup>51</sup> Barbara Blatt Rubin, *The Dictionarius of John de Garlande and the Author's Commentary* (Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1981). The *Dictionarius* follows a lexicographical genre going back to Isidore of Seville. See Olga Weijers, *Dictionnaires et répertoires au moyen âge: une étude du vocabulaire* (Turnhout, Belgique: Brepols, 1991), 47–49. See Frédérique Lachaud, "La première description des métiers de Paris : le Dictionarius de Jean de Garlande (vers 1220-1230)," *Histoire urbaine* 16, no. 2 (2006): 97. In the twelfth century, Adam of Balsham and Alexander Neckam wrote similar treatises, although not in relation to Parisian urban life. On Adam's treatise, see chapter 2. On Alexander Neckam's treatise, see Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century*. See also Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister*; Tomas Zahora, *Nature, Virtue, and the Boundaries of Encyclopaedic Knowledge: The Tropological Universe of Alexander Neckam (1157–1217)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

cultivates all kinds of species of plants in his garden, just as in his orchard grow all kinds of trees and fruits; his house sparkles with elaborate decoration and architectural features and it contains an eclectic hoard of different types of furniture.<sup>52</sup> The eminent scholar of the history of Paris university, Astrik Gabriel, took these passages of the *Dictionarius*, this picture of suburban comfort and ideal of tranquility, to reflect reality. Gabriel thought *Garlandia* to be “a lovely section on the other side of the Seine,” and that “from John of Garland’s description of his garden, one can understand why the students left the old streets of the *Cité* to lodge in this delightful *quartier*.”<sup>53</sup>

However, taking this little pedagogical exercise in fabricating a detailed vocabulary of the domestic environment as direct evidence of actual conditions may misconstrue what is likely a comprehensive and ideal assemblage and miss entirely the rhetorical irony embedded in the text: there was, in truth, no garden, no orchard, no forest, no house with “coffered ceilings,” “columns,” and “cornices.”<sup>54</sup> In the late thirteenth-century, the poet Guillot joked about the misnomer that was the *rue de Gallande*, “Où il n’a ne forest ne lande.”<sup>55</sup> A lover of satire and a devoted pedagogue, John, too, was always good for a joke; one can well imagine his youthful pupils scoffing delightedly at the fanciful description of their teacher’s mansion, while they crouched before their master on the dusty floor of some decrepit room that was likely John’s humble abode.

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<sup>52</sup> Rubin, *The Dictionarius of John de Garlande*, 76–79.

<sup>53</sup> Gabriel, “The Cathedral Schools of Notre Dame,” 53. Gabriel titled his collection of essays *Garlandia*.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>55</sup> Guillot de Paris, *Le dit des rues de Paris (1300)*, ed. Edgar Mareuse (Paris: Librairie Générale, 1875), 24.

For the vast majority of arts masters and students, life in Paris was far from pleasant, and for many, indeed, it was a harsh existence.<sup>56</sup> In fact, John of Garland tells us as much in another treatise, the *Morale scolarium*, an advice-book of academic etiquette and other student matters, written around 1240. Although it is prone to exaggeration, John wrote it in great sympathy with and for the direct benefit of students, while repeatedly digressing to express a scathing critique of the torments and wretched misery that plague university and academic life. “It is an iron age,” he wrote, “that holds scholars of liberal arts in contempt.”<sup>57</sup> “If you are a real scholar you are thrust out in the cold. Unless you are a money-maker, I say, you will be considered a fool, a pauper. The lucrative arts, such as law and medicine, are now in vogue, and only those things are pursued which have a cash value.”<sup>58</sup>

In the face of this widespread misery, he implores Christ to come “to the assistance of poor scholars, you who have pity on the poor [...]. O Christ, with supernal power, take away from us the persecutions of the world, visit the humble lodgings of harried students [...]. The poor scholar is overcome by study, not deprived of virtue; moreover, the rich man, who does not study and who lives in his high houses, gives poor scholars the heehaws and even blows.”<sup>59</sup> In outright contradiction to the *Dictionarius*, he continues, “I eat sparingly in my little room, not high up in a castle; I have no silver money, nor do the Fates give me estates. Beets, beans, and

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<sup>56</sup> On the financial situation of scholars, see Serge Lusignan, “Les pauvres étudiants à l’Université de Paris,” in *Le petit peuple dans l’occident médiéval*, 2003, 333–46; Sarah B. Lynch, “Rich Master, Poor Master: The Economic Standing of Schoolteachers in Late Medieval France,” in *Approaches to Poverty in Medieval Europe*, 2016, 207–28; Jacques Paquet, “Recherches sur l’universitaire ‘pauvre’ au Moyen-Âge,” *Revue belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 56, no. 2 (1978): 301–353.

<sup>57</sup> Henri d’Andeli and John of Garland, *Two Medieval Satires on the University of Paris: La bataille des VII ars of Henri D’Andeli, and the Morale Scolarium of John of Garland*, trans. Louis John Paetow (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1927), 167.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 162; 212 for the Latin and the gloss.

peas are here looked upon as fine dishes, and we joke about meat which is not on our menu for a very good reason. The size of the bottle of wine on the table depends on the purse which is never larger.”<sup>60</sup>

### **Department of Heresy: Secret Gatherings and 1277**

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the thirteenth-century bishops and chancellors of Paris sought to guard the city from heresy by policing masters and their teachings for suspicious and heterodox content. In the 1270s, under Bishop Stephen of Tempier's tenure, the conflict between this rash bishop and the Faculty of Arts escalated, leading to the famous condemnation of 1277, discussed below. But even before this broadside against their overzealous colleagues in philosophy by the bishop and his entourage of conservative theologians, the university was taking steps to rein in its students and masters. On September 2, 1276, in response to mounting pressure, the rector of the university led a full assembly of the university at the Collège des Bernardins to forestall the bishop intervening in their dearly held academic freedom as he had done a few years before.<sup>61</sup> In that assembly the university addressed concerns about scholars gathering “in secrecy” in places that were outside the public view. All teaching, the university ordained, was henceforth to be done in public places; *loci privati* were explicitly forbidden for such purposes:

Hence it is that we, noting that secret conventicles (*occulta conventicula*) for teaching are forbidden by canon law and hostile to wisdom (whose professors we are), [...] wishing for the sake of the common good to check the presumption of certain malignant persons, by common consent decree and likewise ordain that no master or bachelor, of whatever faculty he may be,

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> The rector was the head of the university. He represented the entire community of scholars. The office was held by the procurator of the Gallican Nation, elected among the regent masters of the Faculty of Arts.

shall henceforth agree to lecture in private places [*locis privatis*] on texts because of the many dangers which may result therefrom, but in common places (*locis communibus*) where all can gather and give faithful report (*reportare fideliter*) of what is taught there, excepting only grammatical and logical texts in which there can be no presumption.<sup>62</sup>

While making exceptions for courses in grammar and logic because they dealt with neutral or innocuous subjects that bore no heretical potential, the assembly decreed a prohibition on private spaces for the teaching of all other subjects.<sup>63</sup> Invoking canon law and comparing academic *loci privati* to *occulta conventicula*—a rare term derived from the Decretals’ chapter *Laici non praedicent*—the decree speaks volumes about an atmosphere of mounting tensions in the months leading up to 1277.

The chapter in the Decretals treats unauthorized preaching to secret gatherings of lay people, something strictly forbidden under canon law.<sup>64</sup> The pretext for this law was not transgressions on the part of schools or university, but the religious heresies that spread through southern and northern France in the first third of the thirteenth century. Whether consciously dissenting from orthodox belief, or simply unschooled in correct doctrine, lay preachers fueled the spread of heresies. These heretics, the Decretals states, work in the shadows, they hold secret

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<sup>62</sup> “Nos suo magisterio edocet, quid in consimilibus facere debeamus. Hinc est, quod nos attendentes occulta conventicula ad docendum sacris canonibus interdicta et inimica sapientie (cujus professores existimus), que mentes hominum illuminans tenebras detestatur, communi utilitate pensata presumptioni quorundam malignantium obviare volentes de communi consensu statuimus ac etiam ordinamus, quod nullus magister vel bachallarius cujuscumque fuerit facultatis, legere decetero acceptent in locis privatis aliquos libros propter multa pericula, que inde emergere possunt, sed in locis communibus ubi omnes possint confluere, qui ea que ibi docentur valeant reportare fideliter, exceptis dumtaxat libris gramaticalibus ac logicalibus, in quibus nulla presumptio potest esse.” CUP I, 539, no. 468. Translation adapted from Thorndike, *University Records*, 102–103, no. 45

<sup>63</sup> But see Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Kilwarby’s condemnation of grammatical and logical errors: CUP I, 558 no. 474.

<sup>64</sup> *Decretals*, liber 5, tit. 7, c. 12. [http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0833/\\_P19A.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0833/_P19A.HTM) (accessed July 21, 2020).

conventicles and mock the priesthood. The Decretals goes on to contrast the occult work of heretics with the Apostles who were sent into the world to preach the Evangelium, for, as Jesus said to them according to Matthew 10:27, “What I tell you in the dark, speak in the daylight; what is whispered in your ear, proclaim from the roofs.”<sup>65</sup> God is the light of truth, and, hence, to teach in the dark is against the nature of truth. Darkness belongs to the wicked, for he “who wishes to do evil, hates the light, and does not step into the light so as not to expose his works.” The proper manner of preaching is public and the proper place for it the church.<sup>66</sup>

The university assembly evidently borrowed the distinction made in the Decretals between public and secret meeting places for their own differentiation of “communal” and “private” places. Communal places are defined by their openness to the (academic) public; therefore, they are doctrinally ‘safe’, since all who wish can gather there and “give faithful report” of whatever transpires in lectures or other academic exercises. In the sprawling scholarship on Tempier’s Condemnation, it has not been recognized, to my knowledge, how the university’s attempt to contain academic teaching in sanctified, controllable spaces is intimately tied to the episcopal censorship of the following year; and, as I will argue, anticipated the very method by which the articles of heterodox or heretical teachings were assembled by Tempier’s collaborators.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.: “Deus enim lux vera, quae omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum illuminat, in tantum odit opera tenebrarum, ut Apostolos suos in mundum universum praedicaturos evangelium omni creaturae missurus, eis praeceperit, aperte dicens: “Quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine, et, quod in aure auditis, praedicate super tecta.”

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.: “per hoc manifeste denunciatis, quod evangelica praedicatio non in occultis conventiculis, sicut haeretici faciunt, sed in ecclesiis iuxta morem catholicum est publice proponenda. Nam iuxta testimonium veritatis omnis, qui male agit, odit lucem, et ad lucem non venit, ne eius opera arguantur.”



The Faculty of Art's spatial consolidation of scholastic activity played into the notorious event that took place on March 7, 1277. This day marked a historic turning point for the University of Paris and, as is often claimed, for the history of medieval philosophy *tout court*. On that day, Bishop Stephen Tempier published his second, greatly expanded syllabus of errors—condemning 219 propositions deemed erroneous or heretical—the result of an inquisitory proceeding against the Faculty of Arts.<sup>67</sup> The Condemnation represented a reactionary assault on academic freedom and on the entire philosophical edifice, splitting the university along ideological lines. It set in motion the escalation of the struggle between faith and reason and would poison the intellectual climate for decades to come. To make sense of the roots of anti-pagan and anti-philosophical polemics of the *Vie de Saint Denis* manuscript, it is this event and its aftermath we must turn to.

In the lead-up to the Condemnation, Tempier received a letter from Pope John XXI, inquiring about circulating rumors of heresy at the University of Paris.<sup>68</sup> The fountain of wisdom, the pope impressed upon Tempier, should not be polluted by wrong teachings that imperiled Catholic faith, and he authorized the bishop to investigate the charges. Tempier set about his mission with patent fervor. Within a matter of days, Tempier had installed a commission of sixteen masters of theology to investigate the matter, and in less than a month's time the panel presented the fruits of its work to Tempier. Tempier clearly acted on a papal mandate in

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<sup>67</sup> Bishop Tempier published the first list of suspect opinions on December 10, 1270: CUP I, 486–487, no. 432.

<sup>68</sup> On the two letters by Pope John XXI, see Johannes M. M. Hans Thijssen, "What Really Happened on 7 March 1277? Bishop Tempier's Condemnation and Its Institutional Context," in *Texts and Contexts in Ancient and Medieval Science: Studies on the Occasion of John E. Murdoch's Seventieth Birthday* (Brill, 1997), 84–114. The first letter is published in CUP I, no. 471, the second letter in A. Callebaut, "Jean Pecham et l'Augustinisme: aperçus historiques," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 18 (1925): 459–60.

launching the investigation, yet, in publicly condemning the Arts Faculty and defining orthodox doctrine, Tempier noticeably overstepped his authority.

His scathing preface to the syllabus of errors lays out reasons for this egregious interference with university matters. He had received “frequent reports,” he wrote, “inspired by zeal for the faith, on the part of important and serious persons to the effect that some *studentes*<sup>69</sup> of the arts in Paris are exceeding the boundaries of their own faculty and are presuming to treat and discuss, as if they were debatable in the schools, certain obvious and loathsome errors, or rather *vanities and lying follies* (Ps. 39:5).”<sup>70</sup> The letter proceeds to accuse the perpetrators of hypocrisy and of adducing pagan writings in support of their errors (“shame on their ignorance!”). What is more, “they say that these things are true according to philosophy but not according to the Catholic faith, as if there were two contrary truths and as if the truth of Sacred Scripture were contradicted by the truth in the sayings of the accursed pagans.”<sup>71</sup> These accusations hark back to a previous ordinance that requires all bachelors and masters of arts to

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<sup>69</sup> There has been a discussion over the precise meaning of *studentes* in the context of the letter, specifically whether it refers to both, students and masters, or students only. Luca Bianchi argued convincingly that the term is to be understood in reference to the entire body of students *and* masters of the Faculty of Arts that *studentes*: “Students, Masters, and ‘Heterodox’ Doctrines at the Parisian Faculty of Arts in the 1270s,” *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 76 (2009): 94.

<sup>70</sup> Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, eds., “Condemnations of 219 Propositions,” in *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 337. For the original Latin see, CUP I, no. 473, 542–555. For a new Latin edition and French translation, see David Piché, *La condamnation parisienne de 1277. Texte latin, traduction, introduction et commentaire*, Paris, 1999.

<sup>71</sup> Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, eds., “Condemnations of 219 Propositions,” in *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 337). The idea of Double Truth, scholars now broadly agree, was not a theory held by any medieval master, but rather originated as a post-medieval polemical defamation of scholastic philosophy. Yet this does not negate the fact that, as testified in this passage from Tempier’s statement, Double Truth was wielded as criticism against arts masters. See, for instance, Andreas Speer, “The Double Truth Question and the Epistemological Status of Theology in Late 13th Century Debates at Paris,” *The Modern Schoolman* 89, no. 3 (2012): 189–207.

swear an oath not to treat theological questions, and that, should a debated problem hold any kind of theological implications, it will be determined in accord with faith.<sup>72</sup> Those who taught or defended the condemned errors, or even listened to them, were threatened by Tempier with excommunication unless they revealed themselves to the bishop or the chancellor within seven days. The publication of the syllabus of errors of 1277 represented a fleeting triumph for the bishop and the Faculty of Theology's reactionary guard.

How the commission conducted the investigation has remained an open question. The general assumption held by scholars is that the team of theologians consulted a sweeping selection of the works of arts masters, extracting what seemed contrary to Church doctrine. But only a fraction of the 219 articles has been located in the works of contemporary arts masters.<sup>73</sup> Scholars have taken the haste of the commission's operation and a lack of coordination among its members to account for the list's arbitrary ordering of propositions and inconsistencies.<sup>74</sup> I

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<sup>72</sup> CUP I, no. 441, 499. On the subject of oaths against heretical teachings, see William J. Courtenay, "The Registers of the University of Paris and the Statutes against the Scientia Occamica," *Vivarium* 29, no. 1 (1991): 13–49.

<sup>73</sup> William J. Courtenay makes the point that almost all inquiries were directed against the Arts Faculty, none against the Faculty of Theology: "Inquiry and Inquisition: Academic Freedom in Medieval Universities," *Church History* 58, no. 2 (1989): 168–81. The literature on Tempier's two condemnations is vast. For an introduction and bibliography, see John F. Wippel, "The Parisian Condemnations of 1270 and 1277," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, 2003, 65–73. General discussions of heresy at the University of Paris include William J. Courtenay, "Inquiry and Inquisition: Academic Freedom in Medieval Universities," *Church History* 58, no. 2 (1989): 168–81; J. M. M. H. Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Luca Bianchi, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'Université de Paris: (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)*, vol. 9, Ane d'or (Paris: les Belles lettres, 1999); Mary M. McLaughlin, *Intellectual Freedom and Its Limitations in the University of Paris in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Arno Press, 1977).

<sup>74</sup> "In the relatively short period of three or four weeks, this commission apparently surveyed a large number of suspect writings and drew from them the list of articles that the bishop condemned on March 7 on his own authority. The lack of any general organizing principle in the original list of articles has often been noted, and the hurried nature of the commission's work may account for this. But the fact that different members may have been asked to investigate different works could also partially explain it, if their results were then loosely assembled in the

propose an alternative explanation. What, to the best of my knowledge, has not been noted in the scholarly literature, is that March 7 was the fourth Sunday of Lent, marking the end of the forty-day period when masters engaged in public *quodlibetal* disputations.<sup>75</sup> This was the highlight of the academic calendar, during which the university suspended all teaching. It is therefore possible to surmise that, rather than perusing the writings of arts masters, the commission gathered its material—whether first-hand or through witnesses—at these same public events. Likely, the ongoing investigation was kept secret, and one can imagine the shock and outrage among the arts masters when they were presented with the indiscriminate report as a *fait accompli*. Not only had the Faculty of Theology colluded with the external authority of the bishop, but also it had collected its incriminating material by methodically spying on the *quodlibetal* disputations—an irreparable breach of trust and an offense against academic freedom—even denying the Arts Faculty the possibility of self-defense, as had been the custom in the past.<sup>76</sup> The intellectual consequences and aftermath of Tempier’s condemnation will be discussed in the following chapter.

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final listing. Repetitions abound and at times inconsistencies are found in the sense that mutually exclusive propositions are condemned.” Wippel, “The Parisian Condemnations of 1270 and 1277,” 67–68. See also Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris*, 51.

<sup>75</sup> My thinking about Tempier’s condemnations and the following point about the assembly of condemned theses has benefited immensely from discussions with Thomas Gruber. For a brief introduction to quodlibetal disputations, see Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation*, esp. 141–47. For an in-depth study of the topic: Olga Weijers, *La “disputatio” à la Faculté des Arts de Paris: (1200 - 1350 environ) ; esquisse d’une typologie*, vol. 2, *Studia artistarum* (Turnhout, 1995); and further Olga Weijers, *La “Disputatio” dans les facultés des arts au Moyen Âge*, vol. 10, *Studia Artistarum* (Turnhout, 2002); Christopher Schabel, ed., *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages: The Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols., Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>76</sup> See chapter 3. On academic freedom and 1277 see, Johannes M. M. Hans Thijssen, “Academic Heresy and Intellectual Freedom at the University of Paris, 1200-1378,” in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 217–28; Mary Martin McLaughlin, “Paris Masters of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries and Ideas of Intellectual Freedom,” *Church History* 24

## A Window into the Schools of the Faculty of Arts

The schools of the Faculty of Arts were concentrated in the Street of Straw. A plan of the Street of Straw is included in Tisserand's 1897 *Topographie historique du vieux Paris* (fig. 4.11).<sup>77</sup> The plan outlines the building plots and gives the dimensions of each house, and in some instances the number of stories as well as the exact measurements of the street. As such, this plan provides an empirical grounding and the best starting point for working out the spatial and architectural nature of the street of Straw. A second plan by Tisserand, which reflects the situation of fourteenth-century Paris, labels each house with its name and use when known (fig. 4.12). When studied in tandem, the maps collectively provide the viewer with a keen sense of the spatial configuration of the Street of Straw and its buildings in the fourteenth century. We can at once consider the dimensions of individual buildings but also their respective uses and, in one instance at least, the owner.<sup>78</sup>

The Street of Straw measured eighty-five meters in length and spanned about five to seven meters in width. Turning onto the Street of Straw from the Rue de la Bûcherie, the medieval

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(1955): 195–211; Peter Classen, "Libertas Scolastica – Scholarenprivilegien – akademische Freiheit im Mittelalter," in *Classen, Studium und Gesellschaft*, 1983, 238–84; Luca Bianchi, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'Université de Paris*; Francisco León Florido, "La censura académica y los límites de la libertad en la universidad medieval. En torno a las consecuencias de la condena de 1277," *Ciencia Tomista* 141 (2014): 121–46.

<sup>77</sup> In the unpaginated appendix volume with oversized plans of Adolph Berty and Lazare-Maurice Tisserand, *Topographie historique du vieux Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, n.d.).

<sup>78</sup> In the plan, only the north-eastern part of the street is left vague. On a historic photograph by Marville it appears that in this line of houses was a large gap where a building had been torn down. It seems that this part of the street including the two adjacent houses to which no house numbers were assigned posed a problem for the cartographers. Since four house numbers are missing (2, 4, 6, 8) it seems that four houses had been lost in the north-western part of the street. These four missing houses, however, are included in the reconstructive plan of fourteenth-century Paris.

viewer would have seen a long expanse of houses and schools along either side of the road.

Walking southward, one would have encountered the following buildings on the right-hand (or western) side of the street:

M[ais]on du Cigne couronné et de l'im[age] S[aint]. Pierre  
M[aison] de l'im[age] S[ain]t Nicolas  
Escolles à la Nation d'Angleterre  
Esc[olles] à la Nation de Picardie / M[aison] de Buridan<sup>79</sup>  
M[aison] de la Soulche et de la Bannière de France  
[passage leading to Maison du Lyon Ferré]  
Grandes Ecoles de Normandie  
Grandes Ecoles de France  
Petites Ecoles de France  
M[aison] du Château de Vicestre

And all the while, on the opposite (eastern) side, still facing south, the medieval viewer saw:

Maison de \*  
Maison de l'Aigle d'or  
Escolles à la Nation de Normandie  
C Escolles  
[alley opening to rue de Raz]  
M[ais]on des Sept Arts / Grans Escolles à la Nation d'Angleterre  
Ecoles du Cheval Rouge à la Nation de Picardie  
Esc[olles] à la Nation de Picardie / M[aison] de la Roe de Fortune et de la  
Corne de Cerf

As Tisserand's second map makes clear, the schools of the four nations prominently line the Street of Straw. They are arguably the focal point of the street; even neighboring houses are

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<sup>79</sup> The house, it is reported, belonged to the fourteenth-century English arts master John Buridan, who bequeathed it in 1358 to the Picard Nation; mentioned in César E. du Boulay, *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 4 (Paris: F. Noel-P. de Bresche, 1665), 997. That Buridan, indeed, lived in the Street of Straw he suggests in his treatise on dialectic, where he supplies the following example a contingent supposition: "Gerardus est cum Buridano; ergo ipse est in vico Straminum." John Buridan, *Summulae de dialectica*, trans. Gyula Klima (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), I.7.3.

named after the schools' corresponding image or sign.<sup>80</sup> But what of the actual sizes of each of these locales?

The first of Tisserand's maps helps us identify the approximate size of each of the fourteen homes, roughly five to ten meters in width. Although we cannot ascertain from either map the precise location of the back wall of each house, we might surmise—particularly when studying the size of the street corner of Fouarre and Galande—that the maximum length of house no. 18 (as identified on Tisserand's first map), which buttresses up against house no. 40, is approximately eight meters. If the average depth of the buildings in the street of Straw was indeed eight meters, then we might presume that the houses were square or slightly oblong in shape, with the smallest home measuring approximately forty square meters, and the largest around one hundred square meters. An exception to this hypothesis, however, is house no. 19, which was perhaps originally two separate houses that were at some point merged, thus covering about twice the surface area as its neighbors.

We must not forget, however, that many, if not all of these homes, were multi-story. A typical Parisian townhouse in the thirteenth century was two-stories or three-stories high. With the increase in population and density of habitation in the fourteenth century, houses often received additional floors, reaching up to four stories, excluding the attic.<sup>81</sup> Tisserand's plan of the street of Straw details the number of stories for five houses (nos. 10, 12, 14, 16, 18): two have four stories, another two three stories, and one two stories, all of which were solidly constructed of stone.

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<sup>80</sup> A complete list of house signs of the Left Bank is provided in Simone Roux, "Le quartier de l'université à Paris du treizième au quinzième siècle: étude urbaine" (Dissertation, Paris 10, 1989).

<sup>81</sup> Simone Roux, "L'habitat urbain au Moyen Âge. Le quartier de l'Université à Paris," *Annales* 24 (1969): 1202–1203.

This is a story about the street, but it is really about all the spaces and activities that make it the street it is. Several times a month, the Faculty of Arts as a whole—as well as its sub-bodies, the four Nations—gathered at the parish church of St-Julien-le-Pauvre (fig. 4.13).<sup>82</sup> These meetings were held inside the church and concerned, above all, internal affairs: handling financial matters and day to day business, elections of its officials, distributing administrative responsibilities, and ensuring the orderly operation of its schools. The meetings were also a forum for individual requests, the settlement of disputes, and all other matters of collective concern. The meetings had a certain ceremonial character. According to seventeenth-century rector and historian of the university, César-Egasse du Boulay, at general meetings of the faculty the procurators of each Nation were seated on chairs in the middle of the church, while the regent masters and other officials of the Nations sat on rows of four benches in each corner of the nave.<sup>83</sup> It was not uncommon for the various assemblies that the Faculty of Arts held at St-Julien to move to and conclude the meeting, at a tavern.<sup>84</sup> During the cold season, at daybreak, the hour of prime, St-Julien must have made for an uncomfortable place for prolonged administrative discussions. And since the surplus income of the English-German Nation was to be spent on drinking and celebrations, tavern-visits on the dime of a Nation would have been a welcome extension of the meetings in a damp and drafty church. Beginning in 1333, the year from which records first survive, the faculty of the English-German Nation visited sixty different taverns, with such evocative names as *Ad barbam auream* (To the Golden Beard), the *Campana blavea* (The Blue Bell), *Ad gallum et gallinam* (To the Cock and the Hen), or the *In tribus candelabris*

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<sup>82</sup> See Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, vol. 1, 402–405.

<sup>83</sup> Du Boulay, *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 3, 260.

<sup>84</sup> *Auct.* I, lii–lviii. See, for instance, 430, 432–433.



(To the Three Chandeliers).<sup>85</sup> In that regard, taverns were not just the haunts of young rambunctious students or pretentious *bon vivants* for dissolute celebrations and debauchery, as is often represented, but were also serious places of business and deliberation that offered a lively and warm conviviality to the tedious proceedings of faculty meetings.<sup>86</sup>

The schools, however, were not administered by the Faculty of Arts itself, but by its sub-corporation of *nationes*.<sup>87</sup> The four Nations, recorded since at least the late twelfth century, divided the academic community along geographical origins: The French, the Picard, the Norman, and the English, the latter comprising the students and masters from England, Germany, and northern Europe.<sup>88</sup> Each Nation oversaw the operations of its particular community: each had its own calendar, collected fees and controlled its budget, made pay-roll for its regent masters, owned or rented property, possessed a corporate seal, and was governed by its own statutes.<sup>89</sup> Only in matters that concerned all four Nations did they come together to act as a single body, that is, the Faculty of the Liberal Arts.

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<sup>85</sup> For a complete list of taverns frequented by the English-German Nation, see Pierre Champion, “Liste de tavernes de Paris d’après des documents du XVe siècle,” *Bulletin de La Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France*, no. 39 (1912): 3–11. See also Émile Chatelain, “Notes sur quelques tavernes fréquentées par l’Université de Paris aux XIVe et XVe siècles,” *Bulletin de la Société historique de Paris et d’Ile-de-France*, no. 25 (1898): 87–109.

<sup>86</sup> Taverns and student debauchery occupy a notorious place in the early history of the University of Paris. The famous university strike of 1229 resulted from a brawl between students and a tavern owner—the prelude to Gregory IX’s bull *Parens scientiarum*.

<sup>87</sup> First mentioned in 1222: Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 14–16.

<sup>88</sup> Before 1367, the Nation is called *natio anglicana*; after 1367 it is renamed *natio almanica* or *natio almannorum*. For a socio-historical analysis of the English-German Nation, see Mineo Tanaka, *La nation anglo-allemande de l’Université de Paris à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Diffusion, Klincksieck, 1990). For the English Nation’s calendar: Paul Perdrizet, *Le calendrier de la nation d’Allemagne de l’ancienne Université de Paris* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937).

<sup>89</sup> *Auct.* I, lviii.

Each Nation kept a *Liber nationis* in which its procurator kept records of the faculty deliberations, accounts, expenses, donations, and other administrative concerns. The extant records of the English-German Nation date back to 1333, earlier than those of the other Nations, and run near continuously to 1406.<sup>90</sup> These documents record such things as the rent and distribution of classrooms, the upkeep and repairs of buildings, raising of money for construction, property disputes with neighbors and other Nations, and the furnishing of classrooms—in short, they give detailed insights into the day to day workings and pedagogical spaces of the Street of Straw.<sup>91</sup>

Before the start of the school year, each Nation deliberated and assigned each of its masters to a classroom for his lectures.<sup>92</sup> A single or multiple classrooms contained in one and the same building and belonging to one Nation are often referred to as “school” (*scole*, always in the plural), though this distinction seems to blur at times.<sup>93</sup> Classrooms differed in size. In 1401, the Nation planned to divide the capacious upper level lecture hall of its *scole magne Allemanorum* into two smaller auditoria, which were to hold “thirty or more students each”.<sup>94</sup> This would suggest that the larger classrooms in the Street of Straw could accommodate well over sixty students. Although the records of these proceedings, found in the *disposicio scolaram*, are far from complete, they produce a precious inventory of classrooms and masters in the service of the English-German Nation. These schools were 1) the *nove scole*, divided into a ground and upper floor (*super terram/inferiores* and *superiores*), located at the corner of the rue

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<sup>90</sup> Many of the sources discussed in this section are also examined in the excellent and thorough study of the English-German *liber nationis* by Gray C. Boyce, *The English-German Nation in the University of Paris During the Middle Ages* (Saint Catherine Press, 1927).

<sup>91</sup> See Boyce, *The English-German Nation*, 113–140; also *Auct.* I, xxvi–xxviii.

<sup>92</sup> *Auct.* I, 504 and 593 record the longest list of schools.

<sup>93</sup> *Auct.* I, 625–626.

<sup>94</sup> *Auct.* I, 835.

da la Bûcherie (*in cono vici straminis versus sequanam*); 2) the *parve scole versus sequanam* (the small school near the Seine); 3) the *scole magne allemanorum* (the great school of the Germans); and 4) the *scole ad septem artes* (School of the Seven Arts), of which the Nation owned the ground floor (*super terram*). At times, the English-German Nation also rented from the Norman Nation two classrooms in the *scole ad longum introitum*.<sup>95</sup> It also possessed a hostel for poor students, the *domum allmanorum pauperum scolarium*, in the via Pavée.<sup>96</sup>

Classrooms were identified by the name of the school building and the floor. The *parve scole*, belonging to the English-German Nation, had classrooms on three floors: *super terram* (ground floor), *mediae* (second floor), and *supremae* (third floor).<sup>97</sup> (If a school had only two floors, it seems that the upper floor was called *superiores*). In 1382, the Nation assigned Magister Jordanus de Clivis the lecture hall on the ground level (*inferiores*) of the *nove scolae*; Magister Johannes Hoklem was to teach on the upper level (*superiores*) of the same; Paul of Galria was assigned the ground floor of the School of the Seven Arts; three other masters could each choose one of the remaining schools. The rest of the masters were to find their own place to teach, at the Nation's expense.<sup>98</sup>

On September 12, 1372, just before the start of the new school year, the Nation assembled at the church of the Mathurins for the *disposicio scolarum*.<sup>99</sup> That year only five regent masters were registered to teach in the Nation (often it was more than ten), so every master was assured a room in the Street of Straw. At that meeting, Magister Thomas de Clivis

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<sup>95</sup> In 1339, the Nation paid 40 *solidi* for each of them (*Auct.* I, 39).

<sup>96</sup> *Auct.* I, xviii.

<sup>97</sup> *Auct.* I, 593.

<sup>98</sup> *Auct.* I, 625–26.

<sup>99</sup> For a reconstruction of the Mathurin church, see the website of the *Paris Past and Present* digital project: <http://paris.cdh.ucla.edu/the-mathurins/>

expressed the wish that, in case he had more listeners than Wilhelmus Wadenoye, Wilhelmus should move his lecture to the school assigned to magister Marcilius; but the matter was not taken up because Thomas and Wilhelmus promised to resolve the matter amongst themselves in an “amicable manner.”<sup>100</sup> On multiple occasions, the Nation stipulated that not the eldest but those who had served longest as regent masters owned the privilege of choosing the schools before other junior colleagues.<sup>101</sup>

Empty coffers and insufficient teaching space were the perennial worries voiced at the faculty meetings. For the year of 1441, records of the English-German Nation (whose faculty was then diminished to just two masters) give a summary account of the Nation’s properties.<sup>102</sup> In the Street of Straw, the Nation owned “two houses, in which there are eight schools.”<sup>103</sup> One of the houses was named *magne scole* (with an outstanding debt or tax of thirty *solidi* owed to the abbey of Ste-Geneviève); the other house was the already mentioned School of the Seven Arts. The same record also mentions the Red Apples (*pomi rubei*), perhaps a hostel, which the Nation owned in the rue Galande.<sup>104</sup> Jacob Winthorst, one of the Nation’s two masters, rented out a room facing the Seine in the Red Apples for six *solidi* per annum.<sup>105</sup> In order to establish the rents that were due, and that fees or taxes were owed for the Red Apples, “we will have to speak to the inhabitants,” the document notes.

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<sup>100</sup> *Auct.* I, 415. Wilhelmus is also mentioned in *Auct.* I, 363 and 430 in context of the distribution of lecture halls.

<sup>101</sup> See *Auct.* I, 668, 785, 870.

<sup>102</sup> See also Charles Jourdain, “Un compte de la nation d’allemagne, de l’Université de Paris, au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen âge* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1888), 365–384, esp. 367.

<sup>103</sup> Charles Jourdain, *Index chronologicus chartarum pertinentium ad historiam Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1862), 267–268.

<sup>104</sup> It did not belong to the English-German Nation, but to the Danish community, a sub-group of the English-German Nation; *ibid.* 267.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

At times, the English-German Nation faced a shortage of classrooms in the Street of Straw, necessitating some of its professors to find lecture rooms elsewhere.<sup>106</sup> Occasionally, the *disposicio scholarum* registers the discontented voices of masters pleading that the Nation “at least provide them with schools outside the Street of Straw,” and that the Nation would furnish the rent.<sup>107</sup> Another master rented the hall of the *domus Barbitonsoris* (House of the Barber), “because he did not have a school in the Street of Straw.” He asked the Nation to supply him with a pulpit (*cathedra*), which his improvised class room lacked, but the Nation denied his request, stating it was not their custom to furnish the schools *extra vicum*.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, if class rooms were not in use, they could be rented out to one of the other Nations.<sup>109</sup>

Renting classrooms outside the Street of Straw could be a costly enterprise, however, and was therefore strictly regulated. The Nation deemed that masters teaching outside the Street of Straw without the permission of the Nation should be held in contempt.<sup>110</sup> It therefore denied payment to Master Gherardus because it had become known that Gherardus had been secretly holding his lectures in his own house without the Nation’s permission—it seems he tried to fraudulently get reimbursed for rent he never paid.<sup>111</sup> The Nation, however, granted the request by one Johannes of Austria to tutor students during feast days—during which all lectures were usually suspended—in Euclidian geometry in *domu sua*.<sup>112</sup> In 1376, a certain Magister Johannes Lubberti de Davantria asked the Nation to be reimbursed for the considerable annual rent of 56 *solidi* for the hall of the Wheel of Fortune (*aula ad rotam fortune*), presumably named after a

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<sup>106</sup> *Auct.* I, 786.

<sup>107</sup> *Auct.* I, 527.

<sup>108</sup> *Auct.* I, 505. See Boyce, *The English-German Nation*, 134 n.4

<sup>109</sup> *Auct.* I, xxviii.

<sup>110</sup> *Auct.* I, 726.

<sup>111</sup> *Auct.* I, 712.

<sup>112</sup> *Auct.* I, 627.

physical sign or painted image featuring a wheel of fortune on the façade of the house.<sup>113</sup> This building may well be identical to a house of the same name, mentioned by Tisserand, on the eastern corner of the Street of Straw and the rue Galande.<sup>114</sup>

In 1328 the Gallican Nation lamented that “a great part of the money of our Nation had been squandered,” for certain *aulae* outside the Street of Straw, “in which many masters lectured or were accustomed to lecture.”<sup>115</sup> But the Gallican Nation was concerned not only about the high cost of these rented halls, but also about “many frauds which might be committed in this connection.” It therefore stipulated that only those masters who could demonstrate to the Nation, “that he lectures in such a place because of a great number of scholars, and that he has made a diligent effort to procure suitable classrooms in the said street of Straw” would be reimbursed for their rent in full.<sup>116</sup> Similar legislation was passed by the other Nations.<sup>117</sup>

Struggling just to provide enough adequate teaching spaces to its professors, the faculty was in no position to consider the ideal interior architecture and decoration for its schools. What little money the arts faculty managed to collect from its students, or to raise in donations, hardly sufficed to finance the most urgent repairs. Sources concerning the physical state of the arts schools stem primarily from the accounts of the English-German Nation, where they generally paint a bleak picture indeed of the Street of Straw. The case of one master, who declared at a faculty meeting that he would no longer lecture in the School of the Seven Arts for fear of the building collapsing during his lecture, speaks to the desperate situation overall.<sup>118</sup> The precarious

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<sup>113</sup> *Auct.* I, 506.

<sup>114</sup> Tisserand, *Topographie historique*, vol. 6, 167.

<sup>115</sup> CUP II, 308, no. 872. Translation after Thorndike, *University Records*, 171.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>117</sup> See the 1329 statutes of the Picard Nation: CUP II, 324, no. 890; see also no. 897 and the 1347 statutes of Norman Nation, which specifies the kinds of frauds committed: CUP II, 604-5.

<sup>118</sup> *Auct.* I, 728, also 683, and xxvi.

state of this particular school—and the lack of funds to fix it—occupied the faculty for many years.<sup>119</sup> It should be kept in mind, however, that the latter half of the fourteenth century was a particularly harsh time for Paris, which was ravaged by the plague and racked by both economic distress and social unrest from France’s war with England.

### Lecturing in the Street of Straw

The daily schedule of public lectures generally followed the canonical hours, announced by the toll of the Carmelite’s bells.<sup>120</sup> The liturgical chiming also called students and masters to individual classes, the first lecture of the day taking place early in the morning at Prime.<sup>121</sup> Academic rules and customs often only appear in writing once they were broken. In 1367, for example, the rector of the university summoned the faculty of arts at the hour of Prime to address the widespread habit of teachers starting their classes at a later hour than customary. This tardiness of teachers was a grave matter in the eyes of the rector—a “new disease” as it was named in the sources—because it not only threw the overall lecture schedules into disarray, but also gave the arts faculty a bad reputation. Some teachers, it was claimed, entered the classroom only at the time when the Carmelites’ bell rang for second mass, at which time the first lecture should have already been finished. In doing so they harmed themselves, for those arts masters

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<sup>119</sup> See the detailed summary of the Nation’s efforts and frustrations to obtain the funds in Gray C. Boyce, *The English-German Nation*, 130–33.

<sup>120</sup> See Thurot, *De l’organisation de l’enseignement dans l’Université de Paris*, 66–67.

<sup>121</sup> The early fourteenth-century University calendar stipulated for March 4: “Note that bachelors giving ordinary lectures in the Street of Brunellus ought during Lent to lecture until the bell in the cathedral ceases ringing for Prime, but at all other times they should dismiss their classes immediately the bell begins to ring.” Thorndike, *University Records*, 178. For the regulations of bell ringing at the University of Bologna, see *ibid.*, 163–164, also 74, 83, 88, 92, 117, 155. On the scheduling of lectures, see Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, 426–427.

who were studying for a higher degree (theology, for instance) would thus miss the lectures in the higher faculty, which started later in the day. Worse, still, the slothfulness of teachers caused “injury [to the students] because they spent the best part of the day sleeping, leading our faculty to great discredit and complaint.” At the end of the meeting, the assembled masters swore to uphold “the praiseworthy ancient customs of our faculty” by starting lectures promptly at Prime when the bell of the Carmelites in the Place Maubert rang for the first mass of the day, “and to guard against new diseases [i.e. academic vices] by useful preservations, as our oath binds us and each one of us.”<sup>122</sup>

The street took its name—*vicus straminis* (also: *stramineus*, *straminum*) or *rue du Fouarre*—from the custom of covering the floor of the schools with straw. Following the tradition of the faculty of arts, straw, or perhaps bails of straw, substituted for proper seating—except for the master, who was seated on the traditional cathedra. Guillot and Conrad of Megenberg inform us that straw was sold at either end of the street.<sup>123</sup> The arts faculty levied two *solidi*<sup>124</sup> from students at their degree examination for the purchase of straw.<sup>125</sup> An essential commodity of classroom furnishings, straw was also subject to theft, as with the humorous case the English-German procurator, Wilhelmus Wadenoy. One morning, in 1371, when Wilhelmus entered his school in the Street of Straw, he discovered all his straw had been stolen during the night. Wilhelmus informed his colleagues, requesting that the Nation install a lock on the door to

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<sup>122</sup> Thorndike, *University Records*, 248. CUP III, 160–161, no. 1334.

<sup>123</sup> “en celle rue, ce me semble, vent-on et fain et feurre ensemble.” Conrad of Megenberg writing in the mid-fourteenth century says that straw is sold on either end of the street. Quoted in *University Records*, 213. Also, Benvenuto in his lecture on Dante: “idest Parisius in contrata ubi leguntur omnes scientiae et artes quae appellatur ‘vicus straminum’, quia ibi venduntur etiam stramina, sicut fenum.” Entry “vico” in

Umberto Bosco, ed., *Enciclopedia dantesca*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1970).

<sup>124</sup> The equivalent of one quart of good wine, according to the statutes.

<sup>125</sup> CUP II, no. 1012, 475. See also Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities*, 102 n. 223.



this school— most school doors had a lock—to prevent intruders, and the faculty gave its consent.<sup>126</sup> The theft of straw from the classrooms was perhaps one of the witty pranks that adolescent students devised in order to punish their professors.

For students to be seated on the floor was a lesson in humility. By 1340, however, the English-German Nation had adopted a lax attitude toward this tradition. At one meeting, the faculty debated whether it should install benches (*scampna*) in its arts schools.<sup>127</sup> In 1346, the procurator asked if he himself should procure seats, benches, and doors with locks for one of their schools.<sup>128</sup> Twenty years later, this departure from the custom of seating on the floor in the Arts faculty was denounced by the curia at the bidding of the university chancellor and some masters. In the revised statutes for the Faculty of Arts drawn up in 1366 at Pope Urban V's court in Avignon by two cardinals, the chancellor of Paris, and some university masters, it is said that “students hearing their lectures [in that faculty] should sit on the ground before their masters, not on seats or benches raised above the ground, so that opportunities for the display of pride may be withheld from the young.”<sup>129</sup> At a meeting of the English Nation in 1370, the procurator relayed the complaint of “many masters and the beadle”<sup>130</sup> about the squalid conditions in the Nation's new schools, where constant sweeping failed to remove the dust and dirt from the dirt floor. It was scandalous that students should sit in “so much dust.” The situation deteriorated so much that students threw straw, stones, and dirt—apparently whatever they could find on the floor—

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<sup>126</sup> *Auct.* I, 405.

<sup>127</sup> *Auct.* I, 40.

<sup>128</sup> *Auct.* I, 102.

<sup>129</sup> “Scholares Universitatis Parisiensis, audientes suas lectiones, sedeant in terra coram Magistris non scamnis nec sedibus elevatis a terra, ut occasio superbie a juvenibus secludatur.” CUP III, no. 1319, 145. Cardinal Touteville refers to this statute: CUP IV, 727.

<sup>130</sup> At the university of Bologna, the beadle was responsible for the upkeep and cleaning of the schools. He acted as a kind of “janitor or superintendent.” Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities*, 59.

into the “face and eyes” of the beadle of the English-German Nation.<sup>131</sup> As a result, it was decided that the floor should be paved with clay or plaster, but the Nation did not possess the necessary funds, so the proctor offered to pay for the repairs out of his own pocket.<sup>132</sup> As pope Urban V’s successor ascended to the papal throne, the Faculty of Arts made another request in 1387 for permission to install benches in the lecture halls of the Street of Straw. The Faculty claimed that many wealthy and noble men quit the studium of the arts prematurely out of embarrassment for having to squat on the floor.<sup>133</sup> In contrast to the Faculty of Arts, the higher faculties of Law and Theology did have benches in the class rooms, as well as a hierarchical seating arrangement. Their statutes specified that “at disputations, reviews, lectures on solemn decretals, set *harengae* [i.e. inception speeches by students of canon law] and feasts of doctors, [the students] shall be required to defer to those of older grade and greater importance in seating themselves, so that henceforth the students in such cases shall leave the first and second rows’ of benches vacant for persons of such grades and others above mentioned, just as is the custom in the Faculty of Theology.”<sup>134</sup>

Teachers must not start their lectures too early in the morning. The statutes of the Law Faculty forbade lecturing at candlelight (*cum candela*), “even in winter”; one had to wait until natural light in the class room was sufficient to read a book without the help of artificial

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<sup>131</sup> CUP III, 474.

<sup>132</sup> *Auct.* I, 367–368.

<sup>133</sup> Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities*, 91.

<sup>134</sup> CUP III, 642. Quoted after *University Records*, 194. See also, William J. Courtenay, “Ockham, Ockhamists, and the English-German Nation at Paris, 1339–1341,” in *Ockham and Ockhamism: Studies in the Dissemination and Impact of His Thought*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 99 (Leyden: Brill, 2008), 165. On *harengae*, see Nancy K. Spatz, “Principia: A Study and Edition of Inception Speeches Delivered Before the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris Ca. 1180-1286” (Cornell University, 1992), 22.

illumination.<sup>135</sup> This rule was disregarded by a certain magister Amelius de Brolio, who liked to start his lectures before the break of dawn.<sup>136</sup> The faculty objected to his use of candles, but Amelius countered at the assembly that it was not at all inconvenient for him. However, the principal concern with candlelight had to do with the oral delivery of the lecture. It was already difficult enough for lecturers to decipher the minuscule and abbreviated script of university books in daylight; candlelight made this task even more difficult and thus was thought to slow down the pace of lectures. The faculty further voiced their concern over a certain Beaublé (apparently an acolyte of Amelius), who, in his five years of teaching, had never read *cum candela*, but now, to their dismay, had started doing so “in honor [i.e. in imitation] of Amelius.”<sup>137</sup>

The proper method of lecturing in the Faculty of Arts was set down in the statutes of 1355: Masters were expected to utter “their words rapidly so that the mind of the hearer can take them in but the hand cannot keep up with them.”<sup>138</sup> The alternative method, *legere ad pennam* (literally, lecturing to the pen), was found—“after diligent examination” and by the “consensus of opinion”—pedagogically less effective than lecturing to the ear. The rector and masters of the four Nations who undersigned the statutes expressed that they “do not mean by this statute to exclude dictation of any determination, notable treatise, or exposition which youths sometimes write in the street of Straw on feast days,” and that such dictations may only take place in the Street of Straw.<sup>139</sup> Transgressors of this rule would be barred for one year from the faculty and all teaching. Incepting bachelors and masters henceforth were required by oath to heed this rule,

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<sup>135</sup> CUP III, 642 (17).

<sup>136</sup> Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, vol. 1, 561.

<sup>137</sup> See CUP III, 426, 429-430, 436.

<sup>138</sup> Thorndike, *University Records*, 237. CUP III, 39.

<sup>139</sup> Thorndike, *University Records*, 238.

which, however, seemed to have been highly controversial. Anticipating, dissent, even violent revolt, from the students, who apparently preferred professors lecturing to their pen than their ear, the Faculty extended the punishment of expulsion also to those “listeners who oppose the execution of this our statute by clamor, hissing, noise, throwing stones by themselves or by their servants and accomplices [...]”<sup>140</sup>

As the use of candles was prohibited, the presence of natural light was a critical architectural feature, one that reoccurred in the English Nation’s frequent deliberations about the repair and building of schools. The French Nation decided to raise the attic of a building in the Street of Straw and install six-foot tall windows in the walls. These windows were to be barred with iron grills, and the windows on the lower floor were to be easily convertible into seats.<sup>141</sup> In negotiations over the renovation of the School of the Seven Arts, the English-German Nation decided to raise the lecture platform by one foot to ensure sufficient light for the teacher (“ut cathedra ipsorum in scolis suis haberet satis de lumine”).<sup>142</sup> s

One of the more dramatic window episodes took its beginning in June of 1374, when the English-German Nation faced the loss of the windows in its *nove scole*. The owner of a neighboring lot, doctor Gilbertus (regent master in the Medical Faculty and physician to the king), undertook to erect a building that directly abutted the school’s rear wall, Gilbertus’s construction threatened to obstruct all of the school’s rear windows, depriving it of light (*privando nos lumine ingredi solito per fenestras posteriores scholarum*) and rendering the entire

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 237.

<sup>141</sup> Patrick Verrier, “Autour de Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre: Etude topographique, humaine, économique et sociale sur cinq rues de Paris au Moyen-Age : les rues de la Bûcherie, du Petit-Pont, Galande, du Fouarre et Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre” (Mémoire de maîtrise, Paris, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1984), 53.

<sup>142</sup> *Auct.* I, 754–758. See Boyce, *The English-German Nation*, 127–128.

rear part of the school useless.<sup>143</sup> The Faculty deliberated on how to prevent Gilbertus from building his wall, but to no avail. No supplications to authorities, even to the king, bore fruit. The Nation had no legal power to dictate the design of Gilbertus's new home. In the end, one of the windows was to remain unobstructed in what appears to be a compromise—or cynical gesture of the eminent doctor's good will.<sup>144</sup> In any case, the conflict carried over into the next year. By April of 1375, the school's windows had been sealed with plaster, leading the Nation to consider more extreme measures. An increasing number of frustrated masters thought it better to be *actores* than *defensores*, urging the Nation to break through the plaster wall without permission. The *actores* camp eventually won the argument and the following week all masters of the Nation agreed that the plaster should be removed as soon as possible, and that however often Gilbertus was to renew the cursed wall, every time it must again be demolished.<sup>145</sup> This is the last mention of the matter in the procurator's book.<sup>146</sup>

Windows illuminated the interior, but they also prompted passers-by to look inside the schools. Shops turned classrooms revealed the scholastic workshop to the outside world. The pierced walls effectively extended the classroom into the space of the street. When lecture halls were overcrowded, apertures allowed an external audience to perceive the event in the interior. Shortage of space was a perennial problem, but in particularly at *quodlibetal* disputations, the highlight of the university life held during the time of Lent and before Christmas. An addendum to the statutes of the English Nation issued in 1361 stated that the rule of dress applied not only

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<sup>143</sup> See a similar legal case recorded in Jacques d'Ableiges, *Le Grand Coutumier de France*, ed. Éd. Laboulaye and R. Dareste (Paris, 1868), 562–564. On the laws and customs regulating the building and ownership of walls between neighboring houses, see *ibid.*, 82–88, also 355.

<sup>144</sup> *Auct.* I, 456–457. See Boyce, *The English-German Nation*, 121–22.

<sup>145</sup> *Auct.* I, 467–468, 470.

<sup>146</sup> *Auct.* I, 467.

to the assembly inside, but also those “standing at the windows, listening to the lectures of masters.”<sup>147</sup> As shown here, the sound of learning transgressing the architectural threshold attests to the spatial permeability, indeed fluidity of non-purpose built academic spaces in the ground floors of ordinary townhouses; it further reveals how the street itself was conceived of as an ad-hoc extension of the scholastic space, in which the proper sartorial code had to be adhered to.

### The Decline and Near-Revival of the Street of Straw

By the sixteenth century, the University of Paris had been fractured into dozens of semi-independent rivalrous colleges, creating an unmanageable and bloated institutional apparatus that desperately demanded reform. The solution, it seemed to the Parisian professor Peter Ramus (1515–1572), was the revival of the Street of Straw. Ramus, who had taught at the University of Paris for almost his entire career, presented King Charles IX (r.1560–1574) with a detailed reform program titled *Advertissements sur la reformation de l'université de Paris* (1562).<sup>148</sup> In the prologue, Ramus decried the “barbarity reigning in all arts and sciences,” while teachers, classes, and colleges were embroiled in permanent feuds.<sup>149</sup> Ramus focuses especially on the dire

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<sup>147</sup> Auct. I, 268: “In primo facta congregatione facultatis die et loco ut supra ordinatum erat concorditer, quod quaedam littera ibidem ordinata, de modo scilicet intrandi disputationes magistrorum et scolarium cum habitu decenter, de magistris et scholaribus legentibus private; necnon de scolaribus in vico Straminis scolarum fenestris astantibus lectiones magistrorum audiendo, in vico Straminis legeretur.”

<sup>148</sup> On Peter Ramus and the university reform see James Veazie Skalnik, *Ramus and Reform: University and Church at the End of the Renaissance* (Truman State Univ Press, 2002). See further André Tuilier, “Ramus, lecteur royal, et l’enseignement Universitaire à Paris au milieu du XVIe siècle,” in *Les origines du Collège de France (1500-1560)* (Collège de France, Klincksieck, 1998), 375–90. See also chapter 3 in Gabriel Compayré, *Histoire critique des doctrines de l’éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Hachette, 1879).

<sup>149</sup> “La profession de la philosophie n’est pas du tout abandonnée, mais en lieu de celle qui faisoit publiquement et ordinairement aux écoles publiques, elle se fait aujourd’hui en privé par chacun des collèges, y estant introduite contre les statutz tant généraux de l’Université.” Petrus Ramus, *Advertissements sur la reformation de l’Vniuersité de Paris, av Roy* (Paris: De

situation of the Faculty of Arts. According to his analysis of the decline, the arts the system had been compromised by a college system that had caused the arts to be taught predominantly in these private institutions rather than the public schools. Each of the twenty-five colleges that taught the philosophical curriculum employed four masters, totaling about one hundred, not all of the first water, he diagnosed.<sup>150</sup> This “infinity of masters,” he deplored, consumed an “infinite of funds,” depleting students’ resources.<sup>151</sup> It further fractured the teaching of philosophy at the university and, moreover, stood in violation of its ancient statutes.<sup>152</sup> Before long, he feared, the last public lecture in philosophy will have been given.<sup>153</sup> The solution he suggested to the king was to revive the schools of the Street of Straw and appoint eight professors of philosophy on the pay-roll of the Crown, who—“conforming to ancient statutes and praiseworthy customs of the Faculty of Arts, which are to be upheld, unless there is a legitimate impediment in day or time to those philosophy professors—must take themselves to the Street of Straw to read there.”<sup>154</sup> He concludes with the plea to the king:

Sire, awaken the good nature of your generous spirit to this faculty that is the first of the University of Paris; command that the schools of philosophy be public and situated in the most fitting site of the entire university [i.e. the Street of Straw]; and command the public and royal lecturing of a legitimate philosophy and that it might be regulated to the profit and good of human life.<sup>155</sup>

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l’imprimerie d’André Wechel, 1562), 5. Reprinted in modern French in L. Lafaist and Jean Louis Félix Danjou, *Archives curieuses de l’histoire de France depuis Louis XI jusqu’à Louis XVIII*, .sér.1, vol. 5 (Paris: Beauvais, 1834), 118-165, at 119.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 119 and 136.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>153</sup> “Et n’a pas longtemps qu’un décéda qui a esté le dernier lecteur public en philosophie et a faict profession publiquement [...]” Ibid., 134.

<sup>154</sup> “*Item* nous advertissons les susdictz régentz que, se conformans aux anciens statutz et louables coustumes de la faculté des artz, qui sont à garder, s’il n’y avoit quelque légitime empeschement, aux jours et heures à ce dédiez [les professeurs de la philosophie] ayent à se transporter à la rue du Feurre, pour y lire [...]” Ibid., 133–134.

<sup>155</sup> “Sire, révéillez la bonne nature de vostre généreux esprit en ceste faculté ’qui est la première

Ramus's proposed reform fell victim to the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century—like Ramus himself, a protestant convert, slain in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre on August 26, 1572.

### **The Beautiful, Light-Filled, Fragrant, Sweet Street of Straw**

In 1323, approaching the age of forty, the Parisian master of arts Jean de Jandun (c. 1285–1328) penned the “earliest significant encomium of Paris,” the *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* (henceforth *TdlP*), with which I have opened this chapter.<sup>156</sup> Jandun first appears in the records as master of the Liberal Arts in 1310; in 1316, he became a professor at the prestigious Collège de Navarre.<sup>157</sup> His sojourn in Paris ended the following year when Pope John XXII (before their relations soured) awarded him a canonship in Senlis. He had to flee France in 1326, together

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del'Université de Paris; commandez que les escolles de philosophie soyent publiques et assises au lieu plus à propos de toute l'Université; ordonnez la lecture royale et publique d'une legitime philosophie, et quiisoit reiglée au proufit et commodité de la vie humaine.” Ibid., 139.

<sup>156</sup> Preserved in two manuscripts: BnF, MS lat. 14884, ff. 170ra–176rb, and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 4753, ff. 196r–211r. It is published alongside a French translation in de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, 11–18. Tisserand and de Lincy based their edition on the BnF witness. The *TdlP* has received attention from a variety of disciplines, for instance, Erik Inglis, “Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean de Jandun's ‘Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius’ (1323),” *Gesta* 42, no. 1 (January 2003): 64–65. More recent discussions are Gustavo Fernandez Walker, “Reasons for Pleasure and the Pleasures of Reason. The Philosophical Background of John of Jandun's De Laudibus Parisius,” *Revista Cultural e Intellectual*, no. 15 (2014): 15–37; Jacques Verger, “Thèmes majeurs, lieux communs et oublis dans le Tractatus de laudibus Parisius de Jean de Jandun (1323),” in *Retour aux sources: Textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse*, ed. Sylvain Gougouenheim, 2004, 849–57; Emma Dillon, “Listening to Magnificence in Medieval Paris,” in *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music*, ed. Stephen Jaeger, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 221–229.

<sup>157</sup> Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “La mort, les testaments et les fondations de Jeanne de Navarre, reine de France (1273-1305),” in *Une histoire pour un royaume, XIIe-XVe siècle* (Perrin, 2010), 124–41; Gorochoff, *Le Collège de Navarre*.



with his close acquaintance Marsilius of Padua,<sup>158</sup> the author of the heretical *Defensor pacis*, to the court of Louis of Bavaria to escape the wrath of Pope John XXII. Both, Jandun and Marsilius, were excommunicated, and Jandun died in exile the following year.<sup>159</sup>

Jean's description of Paris is divided into three parts corresponding to Paris's tripartite physical topography of the Left Bank, Ile de la Cité, and the Right Bank. But Jean also says that the structure reflects a hierarchy of sites and monuments, beginning with those "leading in honor and dignity." Part one treats the four faculties of the University: the Faculty of Arts in the Street of Straw, the Faculty of Theology in the Collège de Sorbonne, the Faculty of Canon Law in the rue Clos-Bruneau, and lastly the medical schools near the Petit-Pont.<sup>160</sup> Best known is part two of the *TdP* for its detailed observations and suggestive impressions of Paris's masterworks of Gothic architecture: the "radiant belt of chapels" around the choir of Notre-Dame Cathedral, the Sainte-Chapelle whose "pure transparency of the stained glass that shines on all sides," or the great hall of statues in King Philip IV's palace. Part three describes the great market *Les Halles des Champeaux*, the city's artisans and crafts, and concludes with a summary praise of the moral and physical character of Parisians, Parisian cuisine and wine, and the river Seine. As Erik Inglis wrote, Jandun conceived the treatise "primarily with his fellow scholastics in mind."<sup>161</sup> Indeed,

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<sup>158</sup> Marsilius was rector of the University of Paris 1312–1313. See Gerson Moreno-Riano, ed., *The World of Marsilius of Padua* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

<sup>159</sup> On his eventful life and political views, see Ludwig Schmugge, "Johannes von Jandun, 1285/89-1328: Untersuchungen zur Biographie und Sozialtheorie eines lateinischen Averroisten" (Hiersemann, 1966), 1-44.

<sup>160</sup> On the question of the location of schools of medicine, see de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, 43 n.2.

<sup>161</sup> The *TdP* was the product of a correspondence between Jean de Jandun and a "friend" arguing over the superiority of Paris and Senlis, respectively. For a discussion of this exchange, see Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic," 64–65. Fernández Walker concludes similarly: "All this support the claim that we are dealing with the work of a scholar, that begs to be considered as such." Walker, "Reasons for Pleasure," 17–20.

as Aden Kumler has recently shown, Jandun embroidered his excited description of the market of *Les Halles* with scientific terms genuine to contemporary cognitive and epistemic debates.<sup>162</sup>

Delving with unbridled enthusiasm into Paris's cornucopian world of sights, scents, and sounds, Jandun treats the city as an aesthetic subject of overwhelming complexity and delight.<sup>163</sup> Indeed, his restless gaze bears comparison to Georg Simmel's characterization of the psychological effects of the modern metropolis, which consumes the consciousness "by the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions."<sup>164</sup> The treatise's attention to embodied experience and its affects is surely not a coincidence given that the treatise's author was a leading scholar of sense perception and cognitive theories.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Aden Kumler, "Periculum and Peritia in the Late Medieval 'Ars Market,'" *Codex Aquilarensis* 35 (2019): 157–78, esp. 173–176.

<sup>163</sup> For a general discussion, see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>164</sup> Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," 1903.

<sup>165</sup> See, for instance, his treatises on the agent sense (*De sensu agente*) or his influential commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*. Jean de Jandun, *Quaestiones in duodecim libros metaphysicae: Venedig 1553 ; Super libros Aristotelis de anima : Venedig 1587*, ed. Marco Antonio Zimara and Girolamo Scotto (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966). There is no modern critical edition. Jandun argues his theories of perception and cognition in several treatises; see, for instance, John of Jandun, *Sophisma de sensu agente, Tractatus de sensu agente, Quaestio de sensu agente*, ed. in A. Pattin, *Pour l'histoire du sens agent: la controverse entre Barthélemy de Bruges et Jean de Jandun, ses antécédents et son évolution: étude et textes inédits* (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1988), 118–165, 166–222, 223–234. For a summary of Jandun's philosophical oeuvre, see: James B. South, "John of Jandun," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jorge Gracia and Timothy Noone, Blackwell Companions to Philosophy 24 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 372–76; Armand Llinarès, "Un averroïste déclaré: Jean de Jandun," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 4 (1967): 393–402. Jandun's participation in contemporary debates is presented in Charles Joseph Ermatinger, "John of Jandun in His Relations with Arts Masters and Theologians," in *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie Au Moyen Age: Montréal 1967*, vol. (IVe Congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Paris: G.-J. Vrin, 1969), 1173–84; Further, see the excellent monograph by Jean-Baptiste Brenet, *Transferts du sujet. La noétique d'Averroès selon Jean de Jandun, Sic et Non* (Paris, 2003); still useful is Stuart MacClintock, *Perversity and Error: Studies on the "Averroist" John of Jandun*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956).

I will closely examine here Jandun's ecstatic vision of the Street of Straw, with which he opens the treatise:

Beginning therefore with the good things that lead in honor and dignity, I hold that in Paris, the city of cities, in the street called the Street of Straw (*uicus straminum*), not only are there practiced the seven liberal arts, but even more: the most pleasant clarity of the full light of philosophy sincerely diffusing rays of truth illuminates the souls capable of receiving it. There also the sweetest fragrance of philosophical nectar delights the scent of those who are able to perceive such a delicate emanation.

In this place, the great works of divine principles, the secrets of nature, astrology, mathematics, and the wholesome means of virtuous morals are made manifest. There, the able masters come together to send forth/teach not only logic but also the knowledge of all its supportive components. There accordingly flourish eminent doctors who rush through the mysteries of inferior natures and the virtues of the heavens with the speed of a trained mind; they give all the more thanks to the creator (*conditor*) of nature, seeing [*perspicere*: seeing with the intellect] not only that part [of nature] which is visible (*publica*), but have penetrated the more hidden things [of nature]. In addition, there, eminent wise men are glorified, who with regard to the principles divided by motion and magnitude, which they call intelligences,<sup>166</sup> scrutinize whatever occult matters, knowing well that reason is not fulfilled with what is plainly manifest, but that its greater and more beautiful part is in hidden things.

Incipiens itaque a genere bonorum honorabilitate atque dignitate priorum dico quod in urbe urbium Parisius, in vico vocato Straminum, non solum septem artes liberales exercitantur, sed et totius philosophici luminis jocundissima claritas, veritatis sincere diffusis radiis, animas sui capaces illustrat. Ibidem quoque philosophici nectaris suavissima fragrantia tam subtilis diffusionis susceptivos olfactus oblectat.

Quippe divinorum principiorum magnalia, nature secreta, astrologia, mathematica, virtutumque moralium salubria media inibi propalantur. Ibi

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<sup>166</sup> In medieval cosmology, intelligences (*intelligentiae*) designate the forces that move the celestial spheres. The mention of *intelligentiae* as an object of study might be seen in connection to Jandun's rejection of the Thomist' position that intelligences cannot be known by the rational intellect (and therefore are precluded from philosophical examination). See Edward P. Mahoney and John F. Wippel, "Themes and Problems in the Psychology of Jean de Jandun" (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1987), 286.

etenim confluunt magistri ydonei, qui non solum logices sed et totius adminiculative partis documenta premittunt. Ibi siquidem vigent doctores insignes qui et naturarum inferiorum celestiumque virtutum archana exercitate mentis velocitate percurrunt, et eo ampliores conditori nature gratias agunt, quanto non solum eam ex parte prospiciunt que publica est, sed cum secretiora ejus intrarunt. Adhuc autem ibidem glorificantur sapientes excelsi qui de principiis a motu et magnitudine separatis, que intelligentias vocant, utcunq; scrutantur occulta, scientes bene quod ratio non impletur manifestis; major enim et pulchrior ejus pars in occultis est.<sup>167</sup>

Jandun's Street of Straw is truly ablaze with philosophy; the frenzy of scholars and their magnificent intellectual feats transform the street into a veritable Cockaigne of knowledge—the glorious work of the ingenuity of human intellect in revealing the secrets of nature. In a sense, Jandun fashions the street into a kind of metaphysical place that rivals Paris's physical monuments. The beauty of this brilliant work of human reason, Jandun emphasized perceptible only to those “who are receptive to such a delicate emanation.” We may assume he was not thinking of the non-scholastic civilian here, but rather of the narrow-minded detractors of the Arts Faculty's pandemonium of scholastic activity that he found so entrancing.

This kind of beauty was independent of the street's physical appearance. It was the discovery of truth and the utterances that embellished the place. What made the Street of Straw so exciting, literally, was the intellectual pursuit, the activity of mind—but not in (monastic) isolation but in a frenzy and medley that could only be achieved in community. But medieval aesthetics would not support a categorical separation of material beauty, as epitomized by the Sainte Chapelle, and the spiritual beauty of Street of Straw. They were only distinct from another insofar as they were understood as different aspects of the same philosophical concept. Not just things—like a human body or an artefact—could be beautiful, but also acts—like charitable

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<sup>167</sup> *TdLP*, in De Lancy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, 34–36.

deeds—were in medieval understanding essentially aesthetic manifestations. With this in mind, we can begin to understand how, for Jandun, the pursuit of truth situated and embedded in an open, communal space contributed in its unique ways to the beauty of the city.

In addition to the perception of the Street of Straw as a beautiful place, the passage is of special interest for the fact that it aestheticizes the philosophers' search for truth. Jandun's literary rendition of the pursuit of knowledge is related here in an experiential perspective, which, in effect, rivals his sensual descriptions of the aesthetic effects produced by Gothic art and architecture. Seen in relation to the passages on the Sainte Chapelle or the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the Street of Straw and the work of its prodigious philosophers acquires a monumental quality that, on its own terms, held a powerful, palpable presence in the city.

At stake in Jandun's encomium of the Street of Straw, I suggest, is the contested question of the status of philosophy in the scholastic order of science. Jandun was a champion of the notion of philosophy as an autonomous discipline, which he considered a virtuous and meaningful pursuit in itself; this conviction applied, too, to the Faculty of Arts, which he idealized to be an intellectual community, not an institutional element of the university. He hints at this in the conclusion to the encomium of the Street of Straw, where he retracts his use of the term *facultatis artium* stating that "in fact, more correctly" it is a Faculty of Philosophy.<sup>168</sup> The motivation behind this renaming was that the term Faculty of Arts foregrounds the propaedeutic function assigned to the study of the trivium and quadrivium; the term Faculty of Philosophy, in contrast, elevated it to the same status as the Faculty of Theology. What is more, his claim that

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<sup>168</sup> "Hec itaque pro Facultatis artium, quin imo philosophie, laudibus ad presens sufficiat [...]." *TdLP*, in De Lancy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, 36.

the Faculty of Philosophy was “leading in honor and dignity” must have felt like a smack in the face to any theologian.

For the purpose of this chapter, the encomium of the Street of Straw not only offers a unique literary representation of what was then the premier pedagogical center and international stage of European philosophy, stemming from the steadfast and defiant pen of the Arts Faculty’s both celebrated and condemned master, but it also furnishes a special lens for understanding how the scholastic project aligned itself intellectually and ideologically with urban society and culture, and entered into a multifaceted dialog with the built and social world of late medieval Paris. The treatise carries the imprint of Jandun’s convictions that the philosopher should be an integral part of the urban socio-political organism, a valuable member of the *civitas* as well as the scholastic *communitas*, working for truth, the common good, and the perfection of the self and mankind, as I discuss in the following section.<sup>169</sup>

### Philosophy and Place

As Jean de Jandun’s description of the entrancing spectacle unfolds, his emphatic use of spatial markers, such as in this place, there, in this street, brings the reader’s enraptured mind back to earth. For him, the Street of Straw is first and foremost a firm basis for intellectual sociability, a place where the able masters come together.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> See the passage on moral philosophy in the encomium of the Street of Straw: “What can we say further about the benevolent guidance of moral philosophy, by means of which a single man can improve his behavior by himself, then improve the conduct of the household members, distinguish the best order for the multitude of citizens from others [orders], and teach through it the preservation of the foremost arrangements.” The contrasting conceptions of the city in medieval philosophy have been explored by Joel Kaye, *A History of Balance, 1250-1375: The Emergence of a New Model of Equilibrium and Its Impact on Medieval Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. 257 with references to Jandun and Marisilius of Padua.

<sup>170</sup> See in particular Jacques Verger, “Thèmes majeurs, lieux communs et oublis dans le

Jandun's account brings to mind that "workshop of wisdom" by which pope Gregory IX referred to the University in his bull *Paris scientiarum*; conjuring a sense of overwhelming intellectual industry, the hustle and bustle in the schools, the description's rapid listing of scholastic triumphs and audacious advances into the secrets of nature has the reader hard pressed to follow as with each new sentence, each turn of the head, wondrous new mysteries are confronted and revealed.

The impression of scholarship we get from Jandun seems far from the idea of the systematic and coordinated enterprise of Scholasticism is commonly defined as from a modern point of view. Rather than the objective, distanced view adopted by modern interpreters, Jandun supplies an internal perspective that conjures a messy though enthusiastic vision of learning verging on the chaotic. Indeed, there is nothing negative about it. On the contrary, it strikes as a sign of healthy creativity, a scholarly spirit driven by a common love and desire for knowledge.

At the time he composed the treatise, Jandun, as regent master, would have been lecturing and debating in the Street of Straw. In other words, he was in the midst of this fertile scholastic frenzy he so vividly described. This celebration of industrious learning is anchored in deeper philosophical or ideological convictions. Beneath the surface of the celebration of the Street of Straw, perhaps its very motivation, is a belief in the communal nature of learning. Jandun's idea and ideal of scholastic community can be gleaned in fact from his own philosophical writings.<sup>171</sup>

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Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius de Jean de Jandun (1323)," in *Retour Aux Sources: Textes, études et Documents D'histoire Médiévale Offerts à Michel Parisse*, ed. Sylvain Gougouenheim, 2004, 849–57; Erik Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean de Jandun's 'Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius' (1323)," *Gesta* 42, no. 1 (January 2003): 63–85. For a general discussion of medieval communities of learning see the conference papers in C. J. Mews and John N Crossley, *Communities of Learning: Networks and the Shaping of Intellectual Identity in Europe, 1100-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

<sup>171</sup> The discussion of this draws in particular on Bénédicte Sère, "La disputatio dans l'université médiévale: Esquisse d'un usage public du raisonnement ?," in *L'espace public au Moyen Age*.

A radically different foil against which to measure Jandun's views on community is the monastic model, the *vita contemplativa*, which, prevalent in the Western tradition for centuries, regarded study principally as a solitary activity. That such thinking would even persist in scholastic circles is well illustrated by the Dominican and master at Paris Albert the Great (1206–1280).<sup>172</sup> While he cherished philosophical friendship, his attitude towards any larger form intellectual exchange was skeptical at best. According to Albert, it was advisable, if not indispensable, to seek from time to time intellectual company for discussion, but no more than that of two or three friends. And one should by all means avoid the tumult of the masses, because friendship, so Albert, doesn't bear great numbers.<sup>173</sup> Undoubtedly, for someone like Albert, the Street of Straw was just such a tumultuous place best to be avoided.

A very different strand of thought on this matter, one that had its basis in Averroes's interpretation of Aristotle, and one associated with Latin Averroists such as Jandun, held philosophy to be a collective endeavor with a fundamentally political and social function. Taken to its extreme, it saw philosophy's, indeed mankind's, essential task, its *raison d'être* as the actualization of the potential intellect (the *intellectus possibilis*), or, put in other words, the production of knowledge from a state of potency. This is clearly argued with all its political implications by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) in his *Monarchia* (esp. Book I. 3–8).<sup>174</sup> The

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*Débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron and Nicolas Offenstadt, 2011, 251–262, esp. 256–261.

<sup>172</sup> Albert's community was that of *socii*, a small group with according religious and intellectual views, collaborating on projects. On Albert and also Thomas Aquinas, and the Dominican idea of collaboration and intellectual community, see the excellent study by Yves Congar, "In dulcedine societatis quaerere veritatem". Notes sur le travail en équipe chez S. Albert et chez les Prêcheurs au XIIIe siècle," in *Albertus Magnus Doctor Universalis 1280-1980*, ed. Albert Zimmermann and Gerbert Meyer (Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1980), 47–57.

<sup>173</sup> Albert the Great quoted after Sère, "La disputatio," 257-258.

<sup>174</sup> This is explored by Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton University Press, 1957), ch. 8, esp. 471–475.



parameters for the perfect government, which Dante defines there, hinge on the political responsibility to create the ideal conditions—i.e. peace and stability—for bringing knowledge into actuality. The perfect political organization, for Dante, is mankind united in a single world-monarchy. One might even say, that, in this sense, Dante suspends, or rather transcends, the idea of community altogether, by envisioning mankind as a single entity. Compensating for the individual's incapacity for attaining perfect knowledge, only such a social order would facilitate the realization of the *intellectus possibilis* in its entirety:<sup>175</sup>

It is evident, then, that the specific potentiality of *humanitas* is a potentiality, or capacity of the intellect. And because that potentiality cannot wholly and simultaneously (*tota simul*) be reduced to actuation by one man alone, or by one of the ... particularized communities, the human race is necessarily a compound of many (*multitudo*) through whom the entire potentiality can become actuality.<sup>176</sup>

As already argued by Averroes, the imperfect state of knowledge and thus the necessity for a collective philosophical ambition is owed to the fragmentation or parceling of knowledge across a politically divided mankind.<sup>177</sup> Scholars have read and interpreted Dante's thought on philosophy through Jandun's commentaries on Averroes and Aristotle.<sup>178</sup> The two students of Averroes certainly shared views on the role of philosophy within society, but to what degree has been a matter of debate—just as there are differing opinions on each's respective originality,

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<sup>175</sup> Ruedi Imbach, *Dante: La philosophie et les laïcs: Initiations à la philosophie médiévale*, Vestigia 21 (Fribourg, 1996), esp. 174–189.

<sup>176</sup> Dante, *Monarchia*, quoted after Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 472.

<sup>177</sup> Jean-Baptiste Brenet, "Perfection de la philosophie ou philosophe parfait? Jean de Jandun lecteur d'Averroès," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 68 (2001): 330.

<sup>178</sup> Brenet, *Transferts Du Sujet*. See further Stuart MacClintock, *Perversity and Error: Studies on the "Averroist" John of Jandun*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956); Luca Bianchi, "Noli Comedere Panem Philosophorum Inutiliter: Dante Alighieri and John of Jandun on Philosophical 'Bread,'" *Tijdschrift Filos. Tijdschrift Voor Filosofie* 75, no. 2 (2013): 335–336.

accordance or agreement with (or even misreading of) Averroes's position on these issues.<sup>179</sup> This is further complicated by the inconsistencies in Jandun's treatment of these questions.<sup>180</sup> It is not even clear how Dante and Jandun's abstract ideas about philosophy as communal effort would translate into a more practical view of the intellectual life, as in Paris, for instance, and the institution of the university. They both remain silent on these issues. On the other hand, however, in their political writings, Dante and Jandun see philosophers as integral part of the city for the instruction of the sovereign and the benefit of the people. Given the difficulties of interpretation in the scholarship on Jandun's philosophical works, we should try to understand his thought on communal philosophy through the *TdlP*, rather than vice-versa.

The concluding section of Jean de Jandun's celebration on the Street of Straw picks up this last theme of the political role of the philosopher and drives home the point of the communal benefit for the city of moral philosophy, which prescribes "the best order for the multitude of citizens."

O glorious God, what sign of your love have you given mankind, as you have provided mankind the means to learn the celestial movement through your fixed periods, the distances from the center, the magnitudes of the [celestial] spheres, the position of the poles, the virtues of the star signs and the order of the planets. What can we say further about the benevolent guidance of moral philosophy, by means of which every man can improve his behavior by himself, and then improved the conduct of the household members, distinguished the best order for the multitude of citizens, and taught through it the preservation of the foremost arrangements. Isn't it true that one drinks from that unfailing river the salutary wisdom, as is customary?<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> See Brenet, "Perfection de la philosophie," 310–49; Bianchi, "Noli Comedere Panem," 335–336.

<sup>180</sup> As argued by Brenet, "Perfection de la philosophie," 331 n.58.

<sup>181</sup> "O gloriosissime Deus, quantam fecisti humane creature tui amoris notitiam, cum eidem celestium motuum per te statutas peryodos, distancias centrorum, magnitudines orbium, situs polorum, Signorum virtutes ac Planetarum dignitates innotescere prebuisti! Rursus philosophie moralis directio gratiosa, per quam unius hominis regimen in se ipso melioratur, et domestice multitudinis dispensatio prosperatur, totiusque civilis pluralitatis optimus ordo distinguitur ab aliis, et docetur per sua convenientia principia conservari. Nonquid ex illo sapientie salutaris

Viewed in light of the Averroist principles and ideals of the actualization of the intellect, which remain theoretical and abstract in the philosophical tradition, Jean de Jandun's Street of Straw is an paradigmatic though of course idealized example of communal philosophy realized in concrete place within and as part of the socio-political frame of the city.

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indeficiente fluvio hauritur, ut solet?" *TdIP* in de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, 36.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DIONYSIUS AND THE DISPUTED CITY

This dissertation, which began with a twelfth-century logic textbook, will conclude in this chapter with another, if vastly different, manuscript: the *Vie de Saint Denis* (today split into four volumes: BnF, MS fr. 2090–2092 and MS lat. 13836; henceforth *Vie*). A celebrated masterwork of French Gothic book illumination, the *Vie* manuscript was intended as a gift by the abbey of Saint-Denis for King Philip IV (1268–1314).<sup>1</sup> Yet Philip IV did not live to see the work completed. The manuscript was finished three years after his death and presented by abbot Gilles de Pontoise to Philip’s newly crowned son, King Philip V in 1317. Counting seventy-seven splendid full-page miniatures and other decorations, the work comprises a newly composed vita of Dionysius, a summary account of the Dionysian Corpus (which had been attributed to Dionysius since the ninth century), and a voluminous history of the Frankish monarchy.

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography until 2009, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Paris and Paradise: The View from Saint-Denis,” in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Aldershot, 2009), 419 n.1. In addition to Brown’s, significant studies of the *Vie*’s miniatures over the past two decades are Camille Serchuk, “Paris and the Rhetoric of Town Praise in the ‘Vie de St. Denis’ Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 2090-2),” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 35–47; Cornelia Logemann, *Heilige Ordnungen: Die Bild-Räume der »Vie de Saint Denis« (1317) und die französische Buchmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Auflage: 1 (Köln: Böhlau Köln, 2007); Emily D. Guerry, “A Time and a Place for Suffering: Picturing the ‘Vie de Saint Denis’ in Paris,” in *Artistic Translations between Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, 2013, 69–94; Joel Kaye, *A History of Balance, 1250-1375: The Emergence of a New Model of Equilibrium and Its Impact on Medieval Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). See together with Eamon Duffy’s review, “A Great, Ignored Transformation?,” *The New York Review of Books*, May 26, 2016, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/05/26/great-ignored-transformation/>; and Eamon Duffy and Joel Kaye, “The Wonder of Paris,” *The New York Review of Books*, September 29, 2016, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/09/29/wonder-of-paris/>.

As the abbot of the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, Gilles of Pontoise was closely affiliated with the royal court, and perforce involved in the politics of his time. He was a member of the *grand chambre* of the French *Parlement*.<sup>2</sup> He was designated co-executor of Queen Jeanne de Navarre's will, and therefore one of the men responsible for the foundation of the Collège de Navarre and the drafting of its statutes.<sup>3</sup> When, to finance his war with Flanders, Philip IV imposed heavy taxes on the clergy, including the abbey of Saint-Denis, Gilles managed to strike a deal with the king that considerably lessened the financial burden for his abbey and its priories.<sup>4</sup> When Philip escaped from grave danger in battle, he attributed his rescue to St. Denis, and bestowed on the abbey an annual donation of 100 *livres* from the royal treasury.<sup>5</sup> Returning the king's goodwill, Gilles complied with Philip's bold, even irreverent, request to render the remains of newly canonized Louis IX for burial in the Sainte Chapelle, thereby depriving the abbey, the traditional burial site of French royalty, of one of its most treasured and prestigious possessions, much to the chagrin of his own community.<sup>6</sup> Rare and eclectic as these glimpses of Gilles de Pontoise's political life are, they suffice to draw a picture of a man whose responsibilities and loyalty were divided between his abbey and the Crown.

The *Vie* manuscript will strike many readers as an odd choice for the final chapter of this study. The manuscript was a luxurious work of scribal and pictorial art commissioned by a non-

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<sup>2</sup> F. Aubert, "Nouvelles recherches sur le Parlement de Paris: Période d'organisation (1250-1350) (Suite)," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 40 (1916): 236, 238.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "La mort, les testaments et les fondations de Jeanne de Navarre, Reine de France (1273-1305)," in *Une histoire pour un Royaume, XIIe-XVe Siècle* (Perrin, 2010), 124–41, esp. 138; Alain Provost, "La carrière de Simon Festu : un clerc au service de l'État monarchique sous le règne de Philippe le Bel," *Revue historique*, no. 683 (August 28, 2017): 523–525.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (Frederic Leonard, 1706), 262.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Philippe Le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis," in *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, vol. 3, 1991, 175–82.

scholastic patron for a non-scholastic audience and dedicated to a subject as ‘unscholastic’ as the *vita* of an early Christian missionary martyr. Yet, as I will explore in this chapter, the visual and textual program of the *Vie* is occupied with the Parisian scholastic project, a topic the manuscript’s images take up in a profound, and profoundly revisionist mytho-historical manner. The *Vie*’s treatment—indeed its transformation—of its ostensibly saintly subject, Saint Dionysius or Denis (in the vernacular)—was inspired by the wide-spread trope of *translatio studii*. Literally “the transfer of learning,” this was a medieval historiographical idea that saw wisdom segueing through history from people to people and city to city in a preordained manner.<sup>7</sup> First, wisdom was held by the Egyptians, whence it moved to the Greeks, then to the Romans, and reached its final destination in France. Significantly, in this last step it transformed from pagan to Christian wisdom. In the Dionysian iteration, wisdom takes a shortcut, following Dionysius directly to Paris from Athens, leapfrogging Rome in the process. As compiled and elaborated in the *Vie*, the *translatio studii* topos provided a potent framework for the narration of how Dionysius, on his Apostolic mission to Gaul, brought the virtues of *sapientia* and *scientia* from Athens and planted this seed of wisdom in French soil. The *Vie* asserts, in both word and image, that it was

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<sup>7</sup> Among the numerous studies on the *translatio studii* trope, see especially Ulrike Krämer, *Translatio imperii et studii: zum Geschichts- und Kulturverständnis in der französischen Literatur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Bonn: Romanistischer Verlag, 1996); Herbert Grundmann, “Sacerdotium-Regnum-Studium: Zur Wertung der Wissenschaft im 13. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 34 (1951): 5–21; Edouard Jeuneau, *Translatio Studii: The Transmission of Learning. A Gilsonian Theme* (Toronto, Ont., Canada: Pontifical Inst of Medieval, 1995); David L. Gassman, “‘Translatio Studii’: A Study of Intellectual History in the Thirteenth-Century” (Ph.D., United States -- New York, Cornell University, 1973); Serge Lusignan, “L’université de Paris comme composante de l’identité du royaume de France. Etude sur le thème de la *translatio studii*,” in *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Age à l’époque moderne*, ed. Rainer Babel and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), 59–72; Adriaan Gerard Jongkees, “*Translatio Studii*: Les Avatars d’un thème médiéval,” in *Miscellanea Jan Frederik Niermeyer*, 1967, 41–51; Franz Josef Worstbrock, “*Translatio Artium*” 47, no. *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (1965): 1–22.

Dionysius's inaugural apostolic teaching in Gaul that planted a divinely inspired germ of intellectual knowledge that eventually grew into the University of Paris.

In the images and text of the *Vie*, this reframing of the life and charisma of the apostle to Gaul and the kingdom of France's first martyr by means of the *translatio studii* topos is given palpably 'actual,' contemporary form. Promoting Dionysius as the founding father of the Parisian studium, the *Vie* elaborates what is effectively a pre-history of Scholasticism. In reaching back to Patristic times the manuscript both makes the mythic past newly relevant and critically engages with contemporary debates over the guiding principles of the scholastic project. In this chapter, I argue that *Vie* advances nothing less than an early fourteenth-century counter-genealogy of Scholasticism in which the Aristotelian legacy of discursive reasoning is disciplined, and ultimately supplanted by, a Neoplatonic Dionysian speculative theology.

To this end, the *Vie de Saint Denis's* author, Yves of Saint-Denis, and the team of illuminators responsible for the manuscript's remarkable series of full-page paintings, deployed the abbey of Saint-Denis's time-honored historiographical strategy of embedding claims to the present in the past—the medieval locus of identity, authority, and legitimacy *par excellence*.<sup>8</sup> The *Vie* refashions the narrative of Dionysius and Dionysian origin of Paris's studium in ways that mirror the Apostle Peter's role in the Catholic Church, rooted in tradition, continuity, and orthodoxy, as well as the eternal battle against heretics and schismatics. At the core of the *Vie's* imagining of Dionysius, I argue, is a strong conception of Dionysius as the original, perhaps even the paramount exemplar of the Christian scholarly pursuit of truth. By extension, the *Vie*—and most forcefully, the manuscript's images—mount a sophisticated and pointed argument for

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<sup>8</sup> Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch," *History and Theory* 14, no. 3 (1975): 314–325.

understanding the scholastic project and the studium of Paris as both inaugurated by, and perfectly embodied in Dionysius, the abbey's patron saint.

In its pictorial strategy of time-warping past and present and, in particular, in the refashioning of an early Christian saint as a modern-day school master, the *Vie* acutely recalls the bishop portal's tympanum of St. Stephen examined in Chapter 3. However, the *Vie* executes this scheme with greater verve and complexity, as one preliminary pictorial example will make clear. In this example—one of the very first miniatures of the pictorial cycle—Dionysius presides over the civic council on the Areopagus in Athens (fig. 5.1). Whereas the speech scrolls suggest a trial over unpaid debts, the composition effectively presents a typical scene of a university disputation.<sup>9</sup> Dionysius cuts the figure of a medieval master, perched on a gilded cathedra ornamented with Gothic design raised on a platform.<sup>10</sup> His left hand rests on the open codex propped on a lectern before him, while his right hand points in the direction of two standing men, one of whom wears the doctoral biretta. On the far right, a seated bearded man with a book participates in the debate. Below, a crowd of sages or philosophers with flowing beards huddle at the feet of Dionysius—a scene reminiscent of students at the feet of a master depicted in countless painted initials of scholastic manuscripts, such as in this Parisian copy of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (fig. 5.2).

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<sup>9</sup> The inscribed banderoles suggest we are witness to a trial, a dispute over an unpaid debt. In rhyming couplets, Dionysius steers the legal proceedings, while defendant and plaintiff state their claims:

[Dionysius]: *Huic testes sedi p(ro)duc si uis t(ibi) credi .*

Produce/Present witnesses to this chair if you want to be believed.

[Man 1, center]: *Iudex iust(us) eris si marca(m) soluat hic eris*

You [Dionysius] will be a just judge if he here [Man 2] pays back the mark [money].

[The second, redundant “eris” may be have been supplied solely for creating a Leonine rhyme.]

[Man 2, right]: *Eris pond(us) ego q(uo)d petit iste nego*

You [Dionysius] will be the authority, but what this man [Man 1] requests I deny.

<sup>10</sup> See Chapter 4, for a reference to a platform to the raise the magister's cathedra.



In the *Vie*, the visual transformation of Dionysius into a proto-scholastic operates in close collaboration with the textual representation. Strikingly, in the *titulus* below the miniature, Dionysius is called not only a *doctor doctorum*, but also *rector* (the official title of the head of the University of Paris), and a cleric (*prelatus*)—even though, at this point in the narrative, Dionysius is still a pagan philosopher.<sup>11</sup> The image of a scholastic is further honed in the text of the chapter, concluded by the image that ostensibly treats Dionysius’s governmental role on the civic council, but de facto resembles an encomium (or epitaph) of a medieval master, describing the (future) saint as

more noble than the most noble, first among the first, the most learned among the learned, a treasure of knowledge, a spur of eloquence; he drew out sublime things of logical matters, and equally profound, sophisticated, and syllogistic stings of universal learning, which were inserted in him through clarity, his own genius, diligence, attentive listening, and through fervent exercise; he established eloquence like a sweet flowing fountain in the treasure chest of his heart; and, vested in the toga of philosophy, with all citizens of Athens and from everywhere streaming together to this studium, he poured forth in the manner of an overflowing river.<sup>12</sup>

The first section of this chapter concerns the part of Dionysius’s life taking place in Athens, as recounted in the first volume of the *Vie* (MS fr. 2090). It is important, here, to recall that Dionysius was not only France’s holiest, but also most complex saint. For just as the abbey church was augmented and embellished over the centuries, so was the story of the man buried

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<sup>11</sup> *Doctor doctoru(m) dionysius et uia morum . / Fulsit athenar(um) lux . primas . rector earum . / Hiis prelatus erat quos magna sophia repleat / Totaq(ue) gaudet ali patrono grecia tali . / Cui fuit in cura cu(n)ctis sua reddere iura .*

<sup>12</sup> “nobilior nobilissimis moderamina disponebat . at(que) inter primos primus . inter doctores doctissimus . scientiarum thesaurus . facundie stimu-lus rerum logicarum tractabat sublimia . pariter et profunda . sophisticaq(ue) et silogistica uniuersalium doc-trinarum acumina que indita sibi claritate . prop(ri)q(ue) ingenio atq(ue) industria . audituq(ue) sedulo . feruentiq(ue) excercitio cordis conderat armariolo eloquentie fonte manans lacteo . infulatus toga philosophica athena-rum ciuib(us) atq(ue) undiq(ue) ad id studium confluentibus inundantis more fluuii profundebat.” MS fr. 2090, f. 39v.

and venerated there. The Dionysius we meet in the pages of the *Vie* is an early medieval historiographical fabrication, spun from the lives of three different Dionysiuses: the third-century missionary to Gaul and first bishop of Paris, whose bones were interred at the abbey; a certain Dionysius (“a member of the Areopagus”) converted by the Apostle Paul (mentioned in Acts 17:34), who reputedly was also bishop of Athens; and, last, the sixth-century Christian Syriac neo-Platonic theologian and author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (a lengthy summary of which is included in the *Vie de Saint Denis*), today known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The latter was added to the mix, when, in the ninth century, two manuscripts of the *Corpus* were gifted by the Byzantine emperor to the abbey where they were translated into Latin and subsequently attributed to the abbey’s patron saint.<sup>13</sup> The triune Dionysian persona thus merged the missionary of Gaul and first bishop of Paris; a disciple of Paul who became the first bishop of Athens; and the author of the Dionysian Corpus.<sup>14</sup>

In the first section of this chapter, I explore how the first dozen miniatures of the *Vie de Saint Denis* programmatically act out the evolution of Dionysius from a pagan philosopher to a

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<sup>13</sup> Cecily J. Hilsdale, “Translatio and Objecthood: The Cultural Agendas of Two Greek Manuscripts at Saint-Denis,” *Gesta* 56, no. 2 (2017): 151–78. Hilduin established the triplex Dionysius in the saint’s first vita, the *Passio S. Dionysii*. See Michael Lapidge, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis: The Passio S. Dionysii in Prose and Verse* (Brill, 2017). While disputed already by the irreverent Peter Abelard, the myth of the triune Dionysius forged and vigorously defended by the abbey’s historiographers proved extraordinarily tenacious. The *Vie de Saint Denis* contains a passage defending his triplex identity: MS fr. 2092, f. 84r (Latin), f. 97r (French); see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Paris and Paradise: The View from Saint-Denis,” in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Aldershot, 2009), 443. The myth was definitively debunked only in 1895: David E. Luscombe, “Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite in the Middle Ages from Hilduin to Lorenzo Valla,” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften* 33 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1988), 133.

<sup>14</sup> I prefer to use his Latinized Greek name, as does the *Vie*, also because it emphasizes the Athenian origins and the etymology of Dionysius: from *elevatus*, “raised,” namely from Greek philosophy to the heavens as explained in MS fr. 2090, ff. 75v-76r.

Christian theologian. As I retrace Dionysius's intellectual biography through the cycle, the manuscript, I will argue, promoted a pointed, even polemical paradigm of Christian scholarship—embodied by Dionysius—against the foil of pagan pseudo-philosophy. Having established Dionysius as the exemplar of a good Christian scholar, the second section considers the conceptual wedding of 'bad' philosophy and idolatry, a theme that runs like a thread through the Athenian portion of the *vita* but is especially prominent—and sophisticatedly elaborated—in the visual program. In tracing the source of the *Vie's* discourse on philosophical idolatry to Bonaventure's attacks on the Aristotelian-Averroists at the University of Paris, it becomes clear the extent to which the polemics of the *Vie* were resonant with the theological conflicts of its time. The third and final section shifts from the manuscript itself to the politics that informed its making. Conceived with the French king Philip IV in mind, the *Vie* manuscript was, in part, an effort to shape the king's views by presenting him with a revisionist account of the scholastic project centered on the figure of Dionysius. It presented to the king a pointed vision of what good Christian philosophy and theology look like, how true wisdom exceeds discursive reasoning, and how a reason-centered 'paganizing' form of philosophy inevitably falls into heresy and endangers Catholic truth. To show how the king was perceived as a critical figure in this struggle over the scholastic project, we turn to the philosopher Ramon Llull who pursued a private crusade against Averroists in Paris in the early 1300s and personally petitioned Philip IV for his support in purging the University of Paris of heresy.

### ***Ex Philosopho Theologus Est Effectus: The Making of Dionysius***

The *Vie de Saint Denis's* transformation of Dionysius into a proto-scholastic and theologian, which I will explore in this section, contends with a complex hagiographic legend. To briefly

summarize Dionysius's life as it was authoritatively established in the ninth-century *vita Passio S. Dionysii* by Abbot Hilduin of Saint-Denis: Born in Athens around the time of Christ, of noble descent, the virtuous Dionysius excelled as a philosopher and was elected head of the Areopagus civic assembly. Dionysius converted when the Apostle Paul came to Athens and delivered his famous speech on the Areopagus. Paul subsequently installed Dionysius as the first bishop of Athens. Following Paul's martyrdom in Rome, Dionysius departed for Rome where the pope charged him the mission to Christianize Gaul. Preaching and working miracles in Paris, converted large swaths of its population and was made the city's first bishop. Drawing the ire of the city's Roman prefect he was subsequently tortured and famously decapitated on Montmartre.<sup>15</sup>

Leafing through the first volume of the *Vie de Saint Denis* (BnF, Ms. fr. 2090), one is struck by the great number of images—sixteen *in toto*—illustrating the Athenian portion of Dionysius's *vita*, a chapter of his life that has only rarely been the subject of artistic representation.<sup>16</sup> Hence, virtually all of these full-page miniatures are iconographic 'firsts.'<sup>17</sup> In

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<sup>15</sup> Michael Lapidge, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis: The Passio S. Dionysii in Prose and Verse* (Brill, 2017).

<sup>16</sup> The most significant artistic predecessor to the *Vie* is BnF, MS n.a. fr. 1098, made around the middle of the thirteenth century. The manuscript is best known for its series of over thirty miniatures, arranged vertically in pairs on the page, dedicated to Dionysius's life and posthumous miracles. It has been suggested that this work served as a sort of guidebook for visitors to the abbey. The passage concerning Athens takes up less than four folios (ff. 1r-4r). His life in Athens before his conversion is compressed into two scenes depicting the miraculous eclipse and the altar of the Unknown God. See Leopold V. Delisle, "Notice sur un livre à peintures exécuté en 1250 dans l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, Lettre à M. Le Duc de La Trémoille," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 38 (1877): 444–76. Text edited by Charles Joseph Liebman, *Étude sur la vie en prose de Saint Denis* (Geneva, N.Y.: The W.F. Humphrey Press Inc., 1942), 1–142. For Dionysius's place in French medieval art, see Ingeborg Bähr, *Saint Denis und seine Vita im Spiegel der Bildüberlieferung der französischen Kunst des Mittelalters* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1984).

<sup>17</sup> Excluding the presentation miniature and the author miniature, which precede the section.

this chapter I will not analyze the visual program in its entirety; rather I wish to show how the picture cycle, in collaboration with the text, distills from the saint's vita an intellectual biography, highlighting Dionysius's trajectory from a philosopher to a theologian. It is worth emphasizing at the outset that the images I will examine are hardly illustrations of *Vie's* textual narrative; rather, they operate independently from the text, and often exhibit greater sophistication—and place greater intellectual demands on the viewer—than the text.

### The Erroneous Eclipse

I begin with the extraordinary representation of the Good Friday eclipse which Dionysius reportedly witnessed during his studies of astronomy in Heliopolis (fig. 5.3). The image on folio 43r is a unique hybrid of an astronomical diagram and a figural-narrative scene. Unpacking the logic of the composition is an exacting but greatly rewarding exercise, revealing both the ingenuity of the image's designer and the unique and remarkable challenges that the image presents to the viewer. Inscribed into the center of a colorful astronomical diagram, Dionysius (on the left) and his *con-philosopher* and friend Apollophanes (on the right) are seen standing on an abstract earthen semicircle furnished with a small tree and tower. Sort of mirror-images of each other, they gaze and gesture upward where the grayish disc of the moon has moved in front of the golden disc of the sun.

The red star inside the solar disc may, in fact, relate to a solar eclipse that occurred in 1309. Guillaume de Nangis, a monk of Saint-Denis, described it in the abbey's chronicle, noting the unusual reddish light that colored the sky during the eclipse.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> “Ultima die mensis januarii post meridiem, per unam horam et viginti quatuor minutas visa est eclipsis solis in sui media sita, scilicet quod centrum lunae fuit iuxta centrum solis, et tunc fuit conjunctio solis et lunae iuxta vicesimum Aquarii gradum. Duravit autem ista eclipsis a principio

The inscribed scrolls express the men’s surprise—and terror—at the sight of the ‘unscheduled’ astronomical event: “The world is dissolved or else a god is *grasped by death*,” proclaims Dionysius, while his companion exclaims, “This that I see is divine working.”<sup>19</sup> In the upper left corner, visible to the viewer, but not to the astronomers, an exquisite, minute image of Christ on the cross hovers against the reticulated coral-colored background, advertising the efficient cause of the celestial anomaly.

The accompanying chapter of the *Vie* recounts the event as a cosmic drama: “Trembling at the death of its lord,” the sun was no longer able “to bear its own work and that of the universe,” so concealing its rays, plunged “the regions of the world into shadowy darkness.” Simultaneously, the full moon, “with compassion for its Creator,”

arrived from the northern parts through the east up to the sun,  
and, serving Christ who was hanging on the cross for us,  
positioned itself between the sun and the impious men, so that the impious,  
who tried to extinguish Christ, the true light of all,  
would not be able to enjoy the brightness of this very sun.<sup>20</sup>

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usque in finem per duas horas naturales et amplius, qua in hora eclipsis aer croceivel rubei coloris apparuit. Hujus causam assignabant astronomi, dicentes quod in puncto eclipsis Jupiter dominium inter tunc croceo fulgore vel aureo collocavit.” Hercule Géraud, ed., *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300: avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368.*, vol. 1 (Paris: J. Renouard, 1843), 375.

<sup>19</sup> The left figure’s banderole reads: “Mundus solvet(ur) deus aut a morte tenet(ur).” The particular phrase “morte tenetur” is a citation of Priam’s death in Book II of the Aeneid. The other banderole reads: “Est hec quam video res operante deo.”

<sup>20</sup> MS fr. 2090, ff. 32v–33r:

...et sol sui domini mortem pauesce(n)s  
et quasi non ferens suum et uniuersitatis opifce(m)  
ad tempus carne occumbentem . mortisq(ue) pro nobis  
gustantem poculum . die medio lucis sue radios  
occultans in terre noctis mutauit horrorem . atq(ue)  
orbis climata tenebraru(m) textit caligine . lunaq(ue) tu(n)c  
plena creatori suo compatie(n)s a septemptrionis partib(us)  
p(er) orie(n)tem ad solem usq(ue) peruenit . pendentiq(ue) xpo p(ro) nob(is)  
in cruce seruiens . int(er) solem et impios se opposuit . ne  
impii ip(s)ius solis claritate ualere(per)frui . qui u(er)am  
omnium luce(m) xpm extinguere conabantur.

This poetic description is not, however, the inspiration for the miniature.<sup>21</sup> The key source for the Good Friday eclipse stems from one of Dionysius's letters, which describes how the paschal moon moved across the sky from its original position westward, that is, counter to its natural trajectory, and placed itself between the earth and the sun; after three hours, it reversed its track to re-assume its proper place in the course of the heavens, restoring order to the cosmic clockwork.<sup>22</sup>

This eclipse, the letter made clear, was out of the ordinary, both for *when* it occurred, and because of *how* it unfolded. Medieval commentators, theologians, and astronomers were fascinated with Dionysius's account of the eclipse inasmuch as it raised deeper questions about the reliability of the super-terrestrial spheres. Celestial bodies were thought incorruptible, turned by angelic force, which were no less than the source of space and time of the sublunar realm. A cosmic malfunction, such as that described by Dionysius, was unsettling. It impelled Parisian scholars to debate such questions as whether the devil had the power to interfere with celestial

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<sup>21</sup> The synoptic Gospels report a great darkness that started at noon and lasted for three hours. Luke is the most discursive of the three, writing "darkness was made all over the world...and the sun obscured." Mark 15:33: "et facta hora sexta tenebrae factae sunt per totam terram usque in horam nonam."

Luke 23:44-45: "erat autem fere hora sexta et tenebrae factae sunt in universa terra usque in nonam horam et obscuratus est sol." Matthew 27:45: "a sexta autem hora tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram usque ad horam nonam."

<sup>22</sup> See Dionysius's letter to Polycarp. The letter is included in MS. fr. 2091.

"Say to him [Apollophanes] however, "What do you affirm concerning the eclipse, which took place at the time of the saving Cross?" For both of us at that time, at Heliopolis, being present, and standing together, saw the moon approaching the sun, to our surprise (for it was not appointed time for conjunction); and again, from the ninth hour to the evening, supernaturally placed back again into a line opposite the sun. ... to our surprise, the contact itself beginning from the east, and going towards the edge of the sun's disc, then receding back, and again, both the contact and the re-clearing, not taking place from the same point, but from that diametrically opposite."

mechanics, and alter, for example, the natural course of the sun.<sup>23</sup> The Good Friday eclipse posed the problem differently: Thomas Aquinas, for one, treated it under the heading “Is it fitting that Christ should work miracles in the heavenly bodies?” His answer: No—however, if it did not affect the seasons, and afterwards the heavens were to resume operation as usual, such an inconsequential disturbance would be within the bounds of the permissible. Medieval scholars debated the apparent cosmic malfunction at length, seeking explanations that would neither upend the belief in the perfection of the superlunary spheres nor discredit Dionysius’s testimony.<sup>24</sup>

The illuminator of the *Vie* manuscript found an ingenious solution to visualize the astronomic anomaly. Around the astronomer are two slightly eccentric overlapping circles. The upper one represents the orbit of the moon. We see the moon’s lunar phases, from full moon at the bottom to new moon at top. These phases need to be read as a continuous motion at the moment of the crucifixion: from its natural position at bottom the moon rises along the “eastern arc” and comes to a halt in front of the sun. The representation of the moon’s motion derives from diagrams of the lunar phases, widely available by the thirteenth century in astronomical manuscripts. (fig. 5.4).

The second eccentric circle represents the solar ecliptic; that is, the apparent path the sun traces relative to an earthly observer. The eccentricity of these two circles has to be understood in a spatial sense. As rendered in a modern diagram, the sun and moon do not orbit the earth on the

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<sup>23</sup> The problem of the Good Friday eclipse, according to Michel-Marie Dufeil, “obviously belonged among the assignments in a young bachelor’s biblical studies. Michel-Marie Dufeil, “Obscure clarté,” in *Le soleil, la Lune et les étoiles au Moyen Âge*, 1983, 128; quoted after B.B. Price, “Interpreting Albert the Great on Astronomy,” in *A Companion to Albert the Great*, ed. Irven Resnick (Brill Academic Publishers, 2012), 421.

<sup>24</sup> See Aquinas’s treatment of the question in the *Summa Theologiae* 3.44.2. Also, Albertus Magnus and John of Sacrobosco glossed the question *in extenso*.



same plane (fig. 5.5). The moon's orbit is slightly inclined (by about 5°) to that of the sun. The sun and moon's orbital planes, however, intersect at two points. In medieval astronomy these points of intersection were known as the *caput draconis* (Dragon's Head) and the *cauda draconis* (Dragon's Tail) and they were often represented by two dragons forming a circle (fig. 5.5).<sup>25</sup> Marking the intersections of solar and lunar orbital planes, the *caput* and *cauda draconis* designate the only positions where an eclipse may occur *naturaliter*; namely, upon those rare occasions when (speaking from a geocentric perspective) sun and moon pass each other at either of these nodes at the same time.

The designer of the *Vie*'s eclipse image evidently borrowed from diagrams of the lunar phases and regular solar eclipses to engineer the scientific portion of the painting.<sup>26</sup> What is remarkable is how the illuminator combined these two diagrams: they never appear in one and the same figure (though they often appear in the same manuscripts). That is to say, the illuminator took two unrelated diagrams and worked them into a single composite image. Moreover—and this is the pivotal point—in the *Vie* image they are brilliantly manipulated in order to picture a counter-natural eclipse. First, the lunar cycle depicted in the *Vie* manuscript differs from the model type in that it shows the stages of the moon on only half of the lunar orbit. The illuminator pictured only half of the lunar cycle to account for the paschal moon's counter-natural behavior precisely as it was described in Dionysius's letter: at the end of the eclipse, Dionysius reported, the moon again assumed its proper place, *not* by continuing to travel along

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<sup>25</sup> Bonaventure describes it thus in Collatio 22 n. 41-42 of *Collationes in Hexaemeron*. “And note that the moon suffers an eclipse in the head or in the tail of the dragon: for there are two intersections in the sky on the ecliptic, through which the moon passes, and which are called the head and tail of the dragon[...].”

<sup>26</sup> These two types of eclipse- and lunar-phase diagrams are distinct, independent of each other. They never appear in one and the same figure. Yet, here, the artist has integrated them into a composite image.

its orbital ring, but instead by returning on its initial path in a reverse motion. The second alteration in the *Vie* image concerns the location of the eclipsing moon: it is placed between—not on—the intersections of the lunar and solar orbits. In ‘correct’ medieval solar eclipse diagrams, the moon is always positioned on either the *caput* or *cauda draconis*. In the *Vie* image, however, the illuminator placed it at an equal distance between these nodes: a deliberate deviation designed to make visible the errant eruption of the Good Friday eclipse in the scheme of cosmic order.

Within a medieval Christian framework, the Good Friday eclipse could be satisfyingly explained as a divine miracle. The explanation that sprang to Dionysius’s mind, however, was the imminent break-down of the world machine.<sup>27</sup> Though it strikes one as pocalyptic or prophetic sounding, this is, nevertheless, the reasoned assessment of a technical thinker. For if the principal wheels of the cosmos start spinning out of control, one would reasonably suggest that the machine is indeed breaking down. To the philosopher’s mind there remains the task to diagnose the cause. But how to account for the impossible, for what lies beyond reason’s explanatory grasp? Dionysius “illuminated like a prophet by divine light,” will have to “transcend all human sciences.”<sup>28</sup>

This brings us finally to the figure of the crucified Christ included in the *Vie* eclipse painting. Contrary to compositional conventions, the diminutive crucifix is crammed into the upper left corner, with Christ's big toe edging on, but not transgressing, the black line of the solar orbit. It is significant that it is placed just outside the natural order of things, if still ‘touching on’

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<sup>27</sup> “aut deu(m) nature pati. aut munda nam machinam debere dissolvi.“ MS fr. 2090, f. 37r.

<sup>28</sup> “O viru(m) acceptissimu(m) et ad ap(osto)lice lucis et laudis susceptionem ydoneum qui etiam omnem humanam transce(n)de(n)s scie(n)tiam et quod factum fuerat previdenti intelligens a(n)i(m)o cordisq(ue) recogitans intimo quasi sp(irit)u illustratus prophetico dixit lucem perpetuam e(ss)e venturam.“ MS fr. 2090, f. 34v.

the compass of the scientific-rational world model. Present yet unseen by the two puzzled philosophers, the crucifix invokes Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, "Christ Crucified is God's Power and Wisdom. [...] Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" In other words, unfettered by time and place, the mysteries of Christ's life—Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection—transcend pure reasoning. Contemplating an inexplicable eclipse, Dionysius has arrived at a dead-end of natural philosophy, and, as he intuited, stands at the threshold of another kind of truth, one that appears to subvert—and makes look foolish—all previously held beliefs.

Looking ahead to the discussion of the miniatures that follow, it is significant that the figure of Christ Crucified, lacking attending figures and even the mount of Golgotha, is not included as narrative image of the historical crucifixion, but rather an image of a crucifix; that is, as an image (or polychromed sculpture) of the crucifixion. In this fashion, the illuminator subtly touches upon the question of how God is made known to human beings, and by what means we may seek to reach an understanding of the divine in the eclipse image; a point taken up and forcefully explored in the images that follow.

#### The Unknown God and the Beginnings of Theology

Dionysius's observation of the miraculous eclipse sets up the stage in the telling of his legend for the collision between the supernatural, on the one hand, and natural reason, on the other.

Dionysius is confronted with the dilemma that philosophy has to contend with after the Christian God's Incarnation: to dismiss the supernatural—the path his friend Apollonphanes chooses—or to call into question absoluteness of human reason. Dionysius follows the latter path. As his medieval lives report, he inferred that there must be a god greater than all the other gods, a god

yet unknown. The highest truth obtainable by natural philosophy is the realization of the limits of knowledge in the face of divinity.

Following his observation of the eclipse in Heliopolis, Dionysius returned to Athens. Drawing the inferences from his experience in Heliopolis, he climbs the sacred hill of the Areopagus to set up an altar dedicated to the Unknown God.<sup>29</sup> If from a philosophical perspective, this might be viewed as an intellectual surrender, from a Christian perspective, Dionysius's confession of the limits of rational knowledge is an act of epistemic heroism.

In the *Vie* manuscript, the erection of the altar to the Unknown God is pictured on folio 37 verso (fig. 5.6).<sup>30</sup> The linen-draped altar appears at the center of the image atop a brownish hill representing the Areopagus. Dionysius is shown on the right side of the altar, employing a pen to write the phrase *Deo ignoto* on the banderole that rises from the altar itself. Its appearance in the midst of the Athenian pantheon seems to surprise the vivacious quintet of naked golden homunculi. The startled statue of Mars, relegated by the new altar to the secondary peak of the Areopagus, twists around to glimpse the faceless newcomer.

Although it is depicted as a physical object within the image, the banderole is rendered by non-pictorial means through the parchment of the page. The banderole functions as an aniconic placeholder for the eclipse-crucifix, a scriptural proxy of the crucifix's referent. With its

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<sup>29</sup> On the Deo Ignoto altar, see Pieter Willem van der Horst, "The Altar of the 'Unknown God' in Athens (Acts 17:23) and the Cults of 'Unknown Gods' in the Graeco-Roman World," in *Hellenism, Judaism, Christianity: Essays on Their Interaction*, 2nd ed. (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1998), 165–202; further, Albert Heinrichs, "Anonymity and Polarity: Unknown Gods and Nameless Altars at the Areopagos," *Illinois Classical Studies* 19 (1994): 27–58.

<sup>30</sup> The titulus below the miniature reads: "That father of ours [Dionysius] commands the Unknown God to be numbered among the gods, so that he is venerated by the assembly with equal mind." "Diis pater iste deum iubet ignotum numerari / ut ueneretur eum concio mente pari."

undulating shape, the banderole may be said to mimic the idols that surround it within the composition.

The figure facing Dionysius must be his friend Apollophanes: just as in the eclipse miniature, they mirror each other in appearance and dress. Both are wearing the doctoral biretta. With its distinctive shape and the upright tassel, the biretta was the most conspicuous sartorial sign of the medieval master bestowed—as discussed in Chapter 3—during the graduation ceremony in the bishop's aula at Notre-Dame. Apollophanes makes the typical digital gesture of a disputator. His argumentative gesture signals his opposition to Dionysius's altar dedication. The frowning figure standing behind the figure of Apollophanes—pointing emphatically at the new altar—supports this reading. Emphasizing the opposition of Dionysius and these two disputants, the image evokes the epistolary correspondence between Dionysius and Apollophanes, in which Dionysius seeks to convince his reluctant friend and colleague to recall the divine miracle of the eclipse and convert to Christianity.

#### The Apostle Paul's Areopagus Speech and his Debate with Dionysius

The identity of the Unknown God is finally revealed to Dionysius through the Apostle Paul. Provoked by the rampant idolatry he found among the Jews and gentiles of Athens, Paul took himself to the synagogue and the agora to preach against image worship and to spread the message of Christ. Because he was illicitly promoting a foreign deity, the Areopagus Council (presided over by Dionysius) summoned Paul to answer for his actions. This is the occasion for the famous speech he delivered on the Areopagus, recounted in Acts 17:16–34. His opening address would certainly have captured Dionysius's attention: "People of Athens!," Paul proclaimed, "I see that in every way you are very religious. For as I walked around and looked

carefully at your objects of worship, I even found an altar with this inscription: to an unknown god. So you are ignorant of the very thing you worship—and this is what I am going to proclaim to you (Acts 17:22-23).”

The corresponding miniature in the *Vie* manuscript (f. 45r) presents Paul’s address as a sermon (Fig. 5.7). From a Gothic stone pulpit, elevated above the richly clad assembly designated *philosophi*, the haloed Apostle admonishes the bearded crowd, “I see that you philosophers are superstitious,” reads the first line of the banderole that ascends from Paul’s left hand. As the Apostle directs his gaze to the figures of the idols, the banderole continues: “As long as you don’t know any divinity (*numen*) you worship *there*.”<sup>31</sup>

The falsehood of the simulacra is specifically addressed in the report of Paul’s Areopagus speech in Acts 17:29, where Paul declares: “We should not think that the divine being is like gold or silver or stone—an image made by human design and skill.” In the *Vie* painting, Paul’s speech causes agitation among the man-made gods; one bellicose idol armed with a javelin even takes aim at the apostolic posterior. The response to Paul’s critique from the standing group of male figures labeled *philosophi* isn’t favorable either. One in their midst, clad in a red cape and a gold undergarment, is depicted as enumerating counter-arguments, like Apollophanes in the previous miniature, while the banderole held by another protests: “You spread new words and seek to enwrap us as you speak of some crucified man (*crucifixum*) sent down from heaven.”<sup>32</sup> Paul’s didactic sermon does, however, appear to resonate with one figure, the beardless man distinguished by his doctoral biretta, raising his right hand with its palm facing outward to signal

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<sup>31</sup> “Cerno ph(ilosoph)os uos esse supersticiosos . Du(m) quod nescitis numen ibi colitis.”

<sup>32</sup> “Tu noua uerba seris et nos i(n)uolu(er)e queris.” “De celo missum narra(n)s que(m)da(m) crucifixum.”

his agreement: clearly meant to represent Dionysius.<sup>33</sup>

Following Paul's speech, according to the *Vie*, Dionysius engaged the apostle in direct debate over the Unknown God, a scene portrayed in the subsequent miniature. (Fig. 5.8) The monumental figures of the debaters are differentiated in both apparent age and their outward appearance. Distinguished by a bald pate and a magnificent flowing gray beard, Paul, one bare foot just peeking out beneath his toga, is an embodiment of the Socratic type.<sup>34</sup> Dionysius, on the other hand—shod, clad in an ermine gown, and sporting the doctoral biretta—presents a formidable example of a university master.<sup>35</sup> The painting stages a climactic moment: the meeting between two great philosophers, one Christian, the other pagan. More, the image dramatizes the meeting of two distinct types of knowledge: Dionysius's acquired through philosophical reasoning; Paul's revealed through divine inspiration.

At the center of the composition, a small crowd of listeners has huddled together on the ground, eagerly following the debate at the feet of the disputants. Both standing figures hold inscribed scrolls that unfurl upwards in gentle curves; their gesticulating hands evoke, again, gestures conventionally associated with scholastic debate. Paul, pointing directly at the altar of the Unknown God, addresses Dionysius: "Oh teacher of the gentiles, what do you perceive in this god (*numen*)?" Dionysius responds with an ambiguously phrased profession of the Incarnation and Resurrection: "I hold the belief that god and man will become one and the same (*idem*)."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> O'Boyle, "Gesturing in the Early Universities," 275–276.

<sup>34</sup> See Heinz Pflaum, "Sortes, Plato, Cicero: Satirisches Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts," *Speculum* 6, no. 4 (1931): 499–533.

<sup>35</sup> See John Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers: The Problem of Paganism from Augustine to Leibniz* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 30.

<sup>36</sup> *Paul*: O "doctor gentis quid i(n) isto numi(n)e se(n)tis. *Dionysius*: Ha(n)c ego seruo fide(m) q(uo)d fiet homo deus ide(m)."

## The Vision of the Celestial Hierarchy

Leaping forward over several miniatures that narrate Paul's ministry and Dionysius's baptism and ordination as bishop of Athens, the pictorial cycle of the first volume of the *Vie de Saint Denis* manuscript culminates in a dazzling finale (fig. 5.9). The resplendent miniature is pictorial diagram of *Celestial Hierarchy* (henceforth *CH*), the most important and studied work of the *Dionysian Corpus*. The *CH* describes heaven as a series of nine celestial spheres, each occupied by a particular order of angels in a vertically ascending hierarchy. In the lowest circle reside ordinary angels, in the second lowest archangels, and so forth; the two uppermost circles (eighth and ninth) belong to Cherubim and Seraphim, respectively. The representation of the angelic orders occupies the majority of the pictorial field. Inhabiting the archivolt-like bands is a flurry of angels, some praying, some bearing crowns, others playing musical instruments or swinging liturgical censers. Above the celestial spheres, in a glorious loggia, the figures of the Holy Trinity appear against a tooled gold ground. At the bottom center of the image, Dionysius—now haloed and wearing the episcopal miter—is seated in a golden cathedra, composing the *CH* with pen and knife in the open book resting on the desk before him. Craning his head back to gaze at the celestial spheres above, this depiction of Dionysius contrasts suggestively with the figure of Dionysius contemplating another, prior heavenly vision—the Good Friday eclipse—at the beginning of the pictorial cycle. Whereas Dionysius was depicted inspecting the eclipse with bodily vision, in this subsequent image he is emphatically represented as contemplating things above and beyond the material heavens by means of inspired spiritual vision. In this culminating

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*Titulus*: “Iste deus quid erit uel sit paulus modo querit / Uisus ait uates non est inter deitates . / Non erit hic solu(m) deus aut homo . fiet utru(m)q(ue) / Uenturo(que) solum seclo reget ille . polumq(ue).”



miniature, Dionysius is no longer a stargazing astronomer, but a pre-eminent *speculator* of the divine.

The image makes abundantly clear that, in contrast to astronomy, theological speculation, relies on divine inspiration. The Holy Spirit, so prominently displayed in the loge at the top of the composition, appears a second time in the bottom of the pictorial field, seen approaching Dionysius in-flight from the left. This vignette of a mitred bishop-author inspired by the Holy Spirit may recall medieval representations of the miracle-legend of the Spirit-dove secretly dictating into Gregory the Great's ear.<sup>37</sup> In the *Vie* miniature, by contrast, the Paraclete is not Dionysius's ghost writer; it is not an act of dictation that is represented here.

The dove's speech scroll invests Dionysius with a special theological mandate: "Before all others, I grant you alone to write about the marvels (*mira*) of the celestial vault."<sup>38</sup> The emphasis placed on Dionysius's exceptionality in the Paraclete's address—"before all others," "to you alone"—conjures the episode of the Annunciation, and carries overtones of liturgical chants and prayers in honor Mary as well as exegetical commentaries that emphasized the primacy of the Mother of God before all others. Bonaventure, to whom I will turn to below, conceived of a threefold generation of truth corresponding to the three divine persons of the Trinity. God was the Uncreated Word, Christ the Word Incarnate, and the Holy Spirit the Word Inspired.<sup>39</sup> In Bonaventure's formulation, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit is indeed another kind

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<sup>37</sup> See for example the miniature in the Hartker Antiphonal, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 390, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> "scribere mira poli pre cunctis do tibi soli." See the discussion of the term *mirabilia*—i.e., "extraordinary but nevertheless explicable phenomena"—in contradistinction to *miracula*, in Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 21.

<sup>39</sup> John F. Quinn, "The Role of the Holy Spirit in St. Bonaventure's Theology," *Franciscan Studies* 33 (1973): 282

of Incarnation of divine knowledge manifesting itself in the mind of men and translated through the work of theology. In the vignette's echoes of the Annunciation, Dionysius's work, then, is strongly framed by the image as a sapiential Incarnation: The Word birthed through the pen of the inspired theologian.

The key to the miniature, I suggest, is its representation of the Trinity; more specifically, the dominating presence of the spread-wing dove of the Holy Spirit within the Trinity at the apex of the composition (fig. 5.10). The only fully frontal and symmetrical figure in the entire composition, the dove, with its upright stance and full extension of its wingspan, is presented in an almost heraldic pose.<sup>40</sup> This is a highly unusual configuration. Often, in laterally arranged images of the Trinity, Father and Son sit close together with the spirit-dove hovering between or above their heads. Here, however, the dove is uniquely represented 'standing' between Father and Son. What is more, its outspread wings push the first and second persons of the Trinity far to the sides of the grouping. Further, in this image the dove is proportionally larger (in relation to the anthropomorphic members of the Trinity) than in any other medieval depiction known to me, giving the Holy Spirit clear preeminence among the divine persons depicted at the top of the composition. Less unusual but also significant is its resemblance to an eagle, an oblique visual evocation of the Evangelist John that serves to conjoin the idea of the man-eagle who soared upward to God with the spirit-dove who descends from heaven.<sup>41</sup>

Iconographically, the most poignant feature of this depiction of the dove of the Holy

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<sup>40</sup> The closest comparison is The Coronation of the Virgin panel by Enguerrand de Quarton. The classic study of medieval Trinitarian iconography is François Boespflug and Yolanta Zaluska, "Le dogme trinitaire et l'essor de son iconographie en Occident de l'époque Carolingienne au IVe concile du Latran (1215)," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 37 (1994): 181–240, see 204 n. 131.

<sup>41</sup> See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2002).

Spirit, however, is how its wing tips touch the lips of Father and Son.<sup>42</sup> The fraught theological underpinnings of this motif are too complicated to relate here except in the most rudimentary form. Fundamentally, this artistic choice resonates powerfully with the idea of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit. This central Trinitarian dogma of the Western Church holds that the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from Father and Son (*ab utroque*) in a single divine breath or spiration.<sup>43</sup> The Holy Spirit is thus identified as the unifying principle *of*—and the bond of the mutual love and knowledge *within*—the Trinity. Accordingly, Bernard of Clairvaux influentially interpreted the Holy Spirit as a kiss between the Father and the Son. In turn, according to Bernard, a kiss conferred by the Holy Spirit upon a soul constitutes the highest form of divine revelation to man.<sup>44</sup> Interpreted in light of Bernard’s influential Trinitarian theology, the *Vie* miniature can be seen to picture both of the Holy Spirit’s kisses: the first-order kiss takes the form of the upper rendering of the dove touching the lips of the Father and the Son; the second-order kiss passed on to the human soul is represented here in the dove’s annunciation of divine love and election to Dionysius, a mandate that, in turn, inspires the inspired theologian’s revelatory account of the divine hierarchy.

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<sup>42</sup> My reading is indebted to Nicolas J. Perella’s discussion of the image of Trinity in the Cambrai Missal. See, *The Kiss Sacred and Profane. An Interpretative History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religio-Erotic Themes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 253–259.

<sup>43</sup> The inscription running on both sides of the loggia is an original formulation of the mystery of the Trinity.

<sup>44</sup> Francesca Pullano, “The Bridegroom’s Kiss in the Song of Songs. The Commentaries of Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry,” *Doctor Virtualis* 15 (2019): 61–92, 75 esp.; Isaac Slater, *Beyond Measure: The Poetics of the Image in Bernard of Clairvaux* (Liturgical Press, 2020), 11–14. For a broader overview, see Dominique Poirel, “Scholastic Reasons, Monastic Meditations and Victorine Conciliations: The Question of the Unity and Plurality of God in the Twelfth Century,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Trinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 175.

The epistemic principle of love as the supreme form of human knowledge of God figured centrally in the latter half of the thirteenth century, specifically in the reception of Dionysian theology at the University of Paris. Its Neoplatonic interpretation offered a counterpoint to scholastic Aristotelianism. The groundwork to the thirteenth-century surge in Dionysianism was laid in the twelfth century by Hugh and Richard of St-Victor, whose commentaries on the Dionysian oeuvre proved highly influential for subsequent exponents.<sup>45</sup> Among these, most significantly, were the Dominicans Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, the Franciscan Bonaventure, and the Victorine Thomas Gallus.<sup>46</sup>

Scholarship distinguishes between two strands of scholastic Dionysianism: Albert and Thomas fostered intellectualist Dionysianism,<sup>47</sup> while Bonaventure and Thomas Gallus

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<sup>45</sup> Paul Rorem, “The Early Latin Dionysius: Eriugena and Hugh of St. Victor,” *Modern Theology* 24, no. 4 (2008): 601–614.

<sup>46</sup> On thirteenth-century revival of Dionysianism at the University of Paris, see Hyacinthe François Dondaine, *Le corpus Dionysien de l’Université de Paris au XIII siècle*, Storia e letteratura (Edizioni di storia e letteratura); 44 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1953). And the following major studies and colloquia in the past years, for instance: Tzotcho Boiadjiev et al., *Die Dionysius-Rezeption im Mittelalter: Internationales Kolloquium in Sofia vom 8. bis 11. April 1999*, Rencontres de philosophie médiévale 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Ysabel de Andia, *Denys l’Aréopagite: tradition et métamorphoses*, Bibliothèque d’histoire de la philosophie. Nouvelle série (Paris: Jvrin, 2006). Ysabel de Andia, *Denys l’Aréopagite et sa postérité en orient et en occident: actes du colloque international, Paris, 21-24 septembre 1994*, Collection des études augustinienes. Série Antiquité; 151 (Paris: Institut d’études augustinienes, 1997). For a critical engagement with modern diverging interpretations of the thirteenth-century reception of the Dionysian corpus, see Ty Monroe, “In Excess of Yourself and All Things: Metaphysics and Epistemology in Dionysius the Areopagite and Thomas Gallus,” *Archa Verbi*, no. 14 (2017): 38–72.

<sup>47</sup> Declan Lawell sought to complicate our dichotomous picture of the Dionysian reception but without denying the overt differences between intellectualist and affective traditions: see “Ecstasy and the Intellectual Dionysianism of Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great,” in *Thomas Aquinas. Teacher and Scholar*, ed. James McEvoy, Michael Dunne, and Julia Hynes, vol. 2 (Four Courts Press, 2012), 155–83; see also David B. Burrell and Isabelle Moulin, “Albert, Aquinas, and Dionysius,” in *Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite*, ed. Sarah Coakley and Charles M. Stang (John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 103–20; Bernhard Blankenhorn: *The Mystery of Union with God: Dionysian Mysticism in Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas* (Thomistic ressourcement series, 4), Washington, D.C., 2015. Boyd T. Coolman, “The Medieval Affective

propagated an affect-based interpretation of Dionysian theology.<sup>48</sup> As I will explore, it is the latter model of a love-inspired theology—favoring *affectus* over reason (*intellectus*)—that underpins the conception and iconography of the *Vie* miniature.

The Dominican intellectualists, although far from disputing the importance of love to draw the soul to God, saw love not as an independent epistemic principle but as a *function* of the intellect. In contrast, the affective tradition construed love as a separate—and superior—epistemic power; proponents of the affective tradition held that man’s desire or love for God, while collaborating with reason, ultimately transcended the intellect, allowing the mind to cognize God in a super-intellectual manner.

The earliest of the four masters, Victorine Thomas Gallus (1200–1246), took the lead in the affective interpretation of Dionysius. In his commentary on Dionysius’s *Mystical Theology* he criticized Aristotle, “the pagan philosopher,” for assuming that “the highest cognitive power (*vis cognitiva*) is the intellect (*intellectum*),” while failing to notice that “there is another [cognitive power] which exceeds the intellect...[that is,] principal affection (*principalis affectio*).”<sup>49</sup> It was Gallus who introduced the notion of *affectus* (which does not appear in the Dionysian corpus in a comparable manner) into the discussion of Dionysian theology. He

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Dionysian Tradition,” *Modern Theology* 24 (2008): 615–32.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Gallus’s Dionysianism has been treated extensively by Boyd Coolman, most recently in *Knowledge, Love, and Ecstasy in the Theology of Thomas Gallus* (Oxford University Press, 2017), featuring a comprehensive bibliography. Thomas, who had until recently been overlooked by scholars (if not maligned for his ‘distorted’ reading of Dionysius), was brought to broader attention and restored to his proper place in the history of medieval thought and spirituality by Bernard McGinn, “Thomas Gallus and Dionysian Mysticism,” *Studies in Spirituality*, 8, (1998), 81–96. [Other relevant studies by Coolman Boyd Taylor Coolman are, “Magister in Hierarchia: Thomas Gallus as Victorine Interpreter of Dionysius,” in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, 2018, 516–46; id., “The Medieval Affective Dionysian Tradition,” in *Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite*, 2009, 85–102; id., “The Medieval Affective Dionysian Tradition,” *Modern Theology* 24 (2008): 615–32.]

<sup>49</sup> Quoted, with slight modifications, after Coolman, *Knowledge, Love, and Ecstasy*, 162.

claimed that it is love for God that lifts the mind outside itself (*ecstasis*) and leads it up the last steps to the divine summit.<sup>50</sup> Gallus held that ecstatic love for God “raises the peak of affection” above all intellectual knowledge. Love is the wisdom of Christians, Gallus wrote, which is “incomparably in excess of being and unity and all *intellectual* wisdom.”<sup>51</sup>

Gallus applied the distinction between love and reason directly to the *CH*, the eighth sphere corresponding to intellectual cognition and the ninth and highest sphere to affect-based cognition. The estimation of love as a separate, indeed superior, mode of knowing is the crux of his epistemology and its defining difference to Aquinas or Albert the Great: “For the intellect and the affect are drawn at the same time, and walk together (*coambulant*), so to speak, up to the final failure of the intellect, which has its high point in the order of the Cherubim.”<sup>52</sup>

Thomas Gallus is, in fact, mentioned by name in the *Vie*’s summary of Dionysius’s writings. The *Vie* commends his “lucid” exposition of the *Celestial Hierarchy*, an honor not bestowed upon any of the other commentators referenced in the *Vie*.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, we discover the imprint of Gallus’ love-based Dionysianism in the miniature of the *Celestial Hierarchy* itself, specifically in the critical zone of the two upmost celestial spheres. While the eighth sphere—home to the Cherubim—is identified with lucid cognition (*lucentia cognitione*) by an inscription, it is burning love (*flagrantia zelo*) that reigns in the highest.

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<sup>50</sup> A translation of Gallus’s gloss on Dionysius’s *Mystical Theology* has been made available by James McEvoy (ed.), *Mystical Theology: The Glosses by Thomas Gallus and the Commentary of Robert Grosseteste on «De Mystica Theologia»* (Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 3). Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 2003.

<sup>51</sup> Lawell, “Ecstasy and the Intellectual Dionysianism,” 167.

<sup>52</sup> From Thomas Gallus’s commentary on the Song of Songs; quoted after Coolman, *Knowledge, Love, and Ecstasy*, 139.

<sup>53</sup> MS fr. 2090, f. 97r: “Hanc autem ierarchie . id est sacri principatus descriptionem alia quedam scilicet *abbatis uercellensis* super hunc libru(m) editio aliquantum lucidius explicat ita dicens.” (Thomas Gallus was abbot of the Victorine house in Vercelli.)

While Thomas Gallus centered upon the notion of love in his interpretation of Dionysian epistemology, Bonaventure (1221–1274) organized his conception of theology around the work of the Holy Spirit, whose role was to teach divine truth as its constituting force.<sup>54</sup> Theological knowledge, for Bonaventure, possesses a trinitarian character.<sup>55</sup> He posited three forms of knowledge proper to theology: (1) the science of Scripture; (2) the science of theology; (3) the wisdom of faith. The Holy Spirit is central to all three of these forms of knowledge, according to Bonaventure. In the first, the Holy Spirit authorizes the interpretation of Scripture. In the second, the Holy Spirit transforms the truths obtained through discursive reasoning by faith and leads the mind back to the original source of Truth. The third form of theology, reliant on the Holy Spirit’s gift of wisdom, rests in the wisdom of faith and leads to the loving contemplation of God. These three forms of theology were conjoined by the Holy Spirit. Writing on the role of *affectus* in Bonaventure’s understanding of the Holy Spirit in relation to theology, Elizabeth Dreyer notes, “the Holy Spirit’s role, then, is to unite all forms of theological knowledge in the bond of charity and to order it to the delights of union with God in mystical contemplation. The Holy Spirit

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<sup>54</sup> Although Bonaventure never produced a commentary on any of Dionysius’s works, his philosophy is suffused with concepts of the soul’s ascent to heaven and union with God as a supreme way of knowing divine realities. See Robert Glenn Davis, “The Seraphic Doctrine: Love and Knowledge in the Dionysian Hierarchy,” in *The Weight of Love, Affect, Ecstasy, and Union in the Theology of Bonaventure* (Fordham University, 2017), 30. Further on Bonaventure’s relation to Dionysius, see, for instance, Charles-André Bernard, “Saint Bonaventure lecteur de Denys dans l’Itinerarium Mentis in Deum,” *Studies in Spirituality* 1 (1991): 37–56; Jacques-Guy Bougerol, “St Bonaventure et le Ps.-Denys l’Aréopagite,” in *Saint Bonaventure: Etudes Sur Les Sources de Sa Pensée* (Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1989).

<sup>55</sup> I am drawing here on Elizabeth Dreyer, “‘Affectus’ in St. Bonaventure’s Theology,” *Franciscan Studies* 42 (1982): 5–20; John F. Quinn, “The Role of the Holy Spirit in St. Bonaventure’s Theology,” *Franciscan Studies* 33 (1973): 273–84; Robert Glenn Davis, *The Weight of Love: Affect, Ecstasy, and Union in the Theology of Bonaventure* (Fordham Univ Press, 2016).

operates in the contemplation or perfection of knowledge and elevates the mind beyond every form of knowledge to experience the hidden mysteries of God in a rapture of ecstatic love.”<sup>56</sup>

In conclusion, the revelation of the Celestial Hierarchy and the apprehension of the Trinity mark the endpoint and ecstatic summit of Dionysius’s pursuit of truth. Converted by Paul “from the error of paganism and the cult of idols to the true way and the right *scientia* of Christian faith [...],” he was made “from the highest philosopher into the highest theologian.”<sup>57</sup> Dionysius’s transcendent journey—whose milestones, starting with the Good Friday eclipse, are given subtle and sophisticated form in the full-page paintings of the *Vie* manuscript—culminates in the fabulous vision of the Celestial Hierarchy presented to the manuscript’s reader-viewer.

### **Sculptured Arguments: The Idols of Philosophy**

As I have explored in the preceding section, many of the *Vie* manuscript’s images celebrate Dionysius’s evolution from model philosopher to model theologian. In this section I turn to another subset of the manuscript’s series of images that collectively address the defining aspect of Scholasticism’s inner struggles: faith versus reason. This opposition may seem radically reductive and modern, but it had real currency in the polemics and polarizing discourse beginning in the second half of the thirteenth century. The struggle of faith versus reason—or, to be more precise, faith-based versus faithless philosophy—is worked into the *Vie de Saint Denis* in the guise of idolatry. Central to my reading of the manuscript’s visual engagement with idols

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<sup>56</sup> Dreyer, “‘Affectus’ in St. Bonaventure’s Theology,” 10.

<sup>57</sup> MS fr. 2090, f. 93r: “[...] a beato paulo ap(osto)lo ab errore paganorum et cultu ydolorum ad uiam u(er)itas et recta(m) fidei xpiane scientiam conuersus est ab eoq(ue) atheniensium ciuitatis ordinatus antistes : ex philosopho su(m)mo eodem paulo docente su(m)mus theologus est effectus.” Hugh writes: “Dionysius Areopagites ex philosopho Christianus effectus theologus.” Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Super ierarchiam Dionisii*, ed. Dominique Poirel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 405.



is a concept of philosophical idolatry, inchoate in Hugh of Saint-Victor's commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* and significantly elaborated upon by Bonaventure in his attacks on the Latin Averroists of the Parisian Arts Faculty in the late 1260s. The idea of vain worldly philosophy as, essentially, a false worship of the mind's self-delusions in the wayward pursuits of truth, which I examine in this section, adds a new chapter to Michael Camille's analysis of "Gothic Idols."<sup>58</sup> Rather than a critique of particular doctrines, the concept of philosophical idolatry effectively constitutes a pathology of philosophical transgression against the Second Commandment. I will show that it is this concept that looms behind the visual discourse of idols in the *Vie de Saint Denis*.

Idols proliferate in the first volume of the *Vie de Saint Denis*. They form a paratext surrounding or embedded within the manuscript's hagiographic narrative. All but three of the fifteen miniatures constituting the Athenian portion of the image cycle dedicate half of their pictorial fields to the figures of these golden homunculi, despite the fact that only in three of these images do idols play a part in the narrative scene. Like the Chorus in Greek theater, idols react to and comment on the actions taking place below them within these images. But as the hagiographic 'drama' progresses, the chorus of idols becomes drawn into the dramaturgical action: first at the introduction of the Unknown God, at which they exhibit surprise; they subsequently respond with alarm and enmity toward Paul as he conducts his missionary work and converts Dionysius; and, finally, the idols succumb to desperation as Dionysius becomes the leader of Athens's Christian community.<sup>59</sup> Ordained by Paul as bishop of Paris, Dionysius seeks

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<sup>58</sup> Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge, 1989).

<sup>59</sup> As has already been noted by Emily D. Guerry, "A Time and a Place for Suffering: Picturing the 'Vie de Saint Denis' in Paris.," in *Artistic Translations between Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, 2013, 69–94.

to purge the city of idols and to protect his flock “against the brutality of idolatry, against the tyranny of old enemies, against most vain and worldly sophists, against more savage rhetoricians.”<sup>60</sup> As I will explore, idols in the *Vie* are never simply pagan images, belonging to the apostolic and patristic past. In the *Vie*’s paintings, the theme of idolatry is persistently explored and condemned as a form of philosophical opposition to Christian faith.<sup>61</sup>

The struggle between Dionysius and the idols culminates in the final miniature of the Athenian picture cycle (fig. 5.11). Having swapped the scholar’s gown for episcopal vestments, Dionysius appears preaching from a pulpit to Athens’s community of philosophers. Compositionally, the miniature harks back to the previously discussed image of Paul’s speech on the Areopagus (fig. 5.7). In fact, the two miniatures form a sort of (spatially attenuated) diptych that emphasizes how Dionysius continues and brings to completion Paul’s ministry and mission in Athens. Where Paul’s condemnation of idolatry was met with stern opposition and even mockery from the philosophers in the sequentially prior image, in the painting of Dionysius preaching on folio 85v the Athenian *philosophi* are now an acquiescent lot huddled together at the feet of Dionysius as they hang on to his every word. As the legend below the image states: “Through a clear sermon with deeds and reasoning, Dionysius draws that people to Christ.”<sup>62</sup> The saint’s banderole issues the command to, “Destroy the idols, those (of you) who follow the

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<sup>60</sup> MS fr. 2090, f87r: “Sed et gregis rationalis nuper geniti regimen optinens . contra ydolatrie immanitatem . et hostis antiqui ty-rannidem . contraq(ue) sophos mundi uandissimos . et re-theores bestiis immaniores.”

<sup>61</sup> The classic study of idols in medieval art is Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge, 1989), which contains some brief remarks about the *Vie de Saint Denis*. More recently, Beate Fricke, *Fallen Idols, Risen Saints: Sainte Foy of Conques and the Revival of Monumental Sculpture in Medieval Art*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

<sup>62</sup> “Claro sermone cum factis et ratione / attrahit ad xpm p(o)p(u)l(u)m dyonysius istu(m).”

doctrine of life!”<sup>63</sup> On the right, two men—one a gray-bearded scholar wearing a doctoral biretta—execute Dionysius’s orders: with gaffs they pull down two of the idols while the remaining three homunculi appear to hurl themselves from the altars of their own accord. In the corresponding passage of the *vita* (f. 88r), Dionysius commands his followers “to topple the superstitious altars of the gods and the temples, to burn the cast and detestable statues, and to crush the *sculptured arguments of faithlessness*.”<sup>64</sup> The notion of *argumenta sculptilia* and its implied association of (unilluminated) pagan philosophy with idolatry underlies much of my following discussion of the larger aims of the *Vie*’s visual and textual program.

If we turn to another miniature from the second volume of the *Vie* (MS fr. 2091), the notion of *argumenta sculptilia* comes into even sharper focus (fig. 5.12). Divided into two registers, the miniature on folio 89r pictures, in its lower register, Dionysius followed by a cohort of missionaries stepping ashore at Arles, their first stop on the apostolic tour of Gaul. In the upper zone of the image, Dionysius miraculously destroys an idol.<sup>65</sup> Garbed in episcopal vestment, the saint kneels in prayer in front of a shrine housing a golden statue of Mars.<sup>66</sup> “Without any work of men (*nullo hominum labore*),” Dionysius’s prayer breaks the horned idol into pieces. In the image, the idol’s severed limbs and arms are scattered about, while its upper

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<sup>63</sup> “ydola destruite secta(n)tes dogmata uite.”

<sup>64</sup> “Fideles quoq(ue) qui salutari eius predicat(i)one coti-die conu(er)tebantur ad xpm rationib(us) compellebat aras deorum superstit(i)osas et fana subuertere . statuasq(ue) conflare fusiles . & abhominanda atq(ue) infidelitatis argumenta co(m)minuere sculptilia . seseq(ue) transscribere et transferre ad dei piissimu(m) cultu(m) . et s(upe)rnu(n)-[f. 88v]-dane sapientie eruditionem . tradens et edocens diuino-rum sermones dogmatum.” MS fr. 2090, ff. 88r–v.

<sup>65</sup> On the destruction of idols, see Dmitriy Antonov and Mikhail Maizuls, “Ruina Idolorum. Iconography of Christian Idoloclasm: East and West,” *IKON* 11 (January, 2018): 249–60; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge, 1989), 115–128, esp. 123.

<sup>66</sup> Compare with Trinity Apocalypse, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 16.2, f. 29v. On idols of Mars, see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge, 1989), 103.

body seems to submit to the saint in a yielding bow. Dionysius's heavenward gaze at God's hand emerging from a band of clouds, above, points to the divine cause of this acheiropoietic idoloclast miracle.

Opposite the shrine, Dionysius and his haloed, tonsured flock of co-missionaries faces a colorful throng of pagan philosophers recalling the Athenian sages in the preceding miniatures discussed above.<sup>67</sup> Two men grab each other by the hand, others strain their necks to catch sight of the toppling idol; they recall the audience of critical philosophers in the image of Paul's Areopagus speech. Here, witnesses to a miracle, the cast of incredulous philosophers embody the skeptical, rationalist attitude identified with pagans. But such attitudes were also found among scholastics who began to critically inquire the miraculous, seeking rational means of understanding miracles, and develop methods and standards of proof to this end.<sup>68</sup> To opponents, the critical approach to the miraculous taken by scholastic was an excess and fallacy of logical reasoning and a symptom of a lack in faith.<sup>69</sup>

The leftmost figure clad in a coral-colored ermine-lined robe is the apparent leader of the philosophers. Once again, like Apollophanes in the *Deo ignoto* miniature, his disputational

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<sup>67</sup> There is, in the context of this image, more to the contrasting representation of an ordered assembly versus a disorderly crowd, as suggested by Bonaventure: "Bonaventure identifies theology as an ecclesial task, speech addressed to the assembly (*convocatio*). However, the *ecclesia* is not simply that community identified structurally and bureaucratically with the Roman See; it is identified practically, i.e., through shared practices (observance of the law, peacemaking, and praise). This *ecclesia* (assembly) he contrasts, in a lamentably all-too-common trope of medieval Christian discourse, with its antithesis *synagoga*, which he translates as "gathering," inferring into the terms a distinction between an ordered assembly (*con-vocatio*) and a gathered herd (*congregatio gregum*)." Kevin L. Hughes, "St. Bonaventure's Collationes in Hexaëmeron: Fractured Sermons and Protreptic Discourse," *Franciscan Studies* 63 (2005): 117.

<sup>68</sup> For the critical framework constructed around the concept of miracles in scholastic theology, see Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 19–29; Keagan Brewer, *Wonder and Skepticism in the Middle Ages* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>69</sup> See Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*.

gesture—the index finger of his left hand placed on the thumb of his open and outward facing right—signals that he makes the rational counterarguments of faithlessness. More, his pointed golden biretta and his golden tunic link his figure to the golden idol of Mars. It is an act of self-delusion, rooted in pride, amounting to self-worship: the idolizing of one’s own intellect. In the confrontation between Dionysius and the philosophers, the scene poignantly stages the failure of faithless reasoning when confronted by faith in God. The idol’s severed right hand, which ominously echoes the gesture of the gold-clad scholar, presages the fate of philosophical resistance. The dismembered idol embodies the vacuity of a philosophical argument or doctrine not based in faith—never mind its ornate exterior. In the painting, idolatry, more broadly, is cast as the outward sign of man’s intellectual arrogance.

The theological underpinnings of the *Vie*’s condemnation of philosophical idolatry are themselves founded upon a position given powerful expression in Hugh of St-Victor’s prologue to his commentary on Dionysius’s *CH*.<sup>70</sup> In the opening chapter, under the heading “Jews search for signs, the Greeks for wisdom,”<sup>71</sup> Hugh distinguished between two kinds of wisdom: that “invented by the world,” and true wisdom.<sup>72</sup> The former, confined to knowledge drawn from the senses, is clouded by the sin of pride: through natural reasoning, pursued as an end in itself, “the

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<sup>70</sup> For an introduction to Hugh’s commentary *Super ierarchiam Dionisii*, see Paul Rorem, *Hugh of Saint Victor* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 167–176; David Edward Luscombe, “The ‘Commentary’ of Hugh of Saint-Victor on the ‘Celestial Hierarchy,’” in *Die Dionysius-Rezeption im Mittelalter*, 2000, 159–75, at 170–175. For a detailed discussion of Hugh’s Dionysianism, see Dominique Poirel, *Des symboles et des anges: Hugues de Saint-Victor et le réveil dionysien du XIIIe siècle*, vol. 23, Bibliotheca Victorina (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), esp. 448–452. The work was likely written at the request of Louis VII and enjoyed great popularity with over one-hundred known manuscript copies.

<sup>71</sup> Quotation from 1 Corinthians 1:22.

<sup>72</sup> Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Super ierarchiam Dionisii*, ed. Dominique Poirel, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 178 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 399.

world puffs up and swells,” and considers itself great.<sup>73</sup> Philosophers build ladders from created things in order to ascend to the *invisibilia* of the Creator, but lacking a pure heart, they eventually fall from the ladder of truth, plunging into the lies of their figments (*mendacia figmentorum*).<sup>74</sup> Thus caught in the web of created things, they confuse the *visibilia* of the natural world for *simulacra* of the divine things.<sup>75</sup> “Natural theologians” preach the worship of these “simulacra of errors” through vanities and deception.<sup>76</sup> Higher truth, Hugh goes on to argue, is not found in contemplating things of *this* world, except through Christ; any *theologia* unilluminated by Christ stands, therefore, in servitude to the simulacra of errors.

A century after Hugh’s commentary, the link between heretics and idolatry, between pride and lies, surfaces in the London-Oxford-Paris copy of the *Bible moralisée*.<sup>77</sup> Dating to the

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<sup>73</sup> “Et inuenit mundus sapientiam illam, et inflari cepit, et tumuit, magnum se estimans in ea.” *Ibid.*, 399.

<sup>74</sup> “Et ascendit et eleuatus est ut ad alta corde perueniret, et fecit sibi scalam speciem creaturae, nitens ad inuisibilia creatoris. Tunc quae manifesta erant Dei ad illuminationem processerunt, et nota facta sunt ut probarentur corde non puro. Nam illa quae uidebantur nota erant, et erant alia quae nota non erant; et per ea quae manifesta sunt, putauerunt ire in illa quae abscondita fuerunt, et corruerunt mente ultra possibilem ueritatem in mendacia figmentorum suorum, ubi non est inuentum amplius quod apprehenderent.” *Ibid.*, 399–400.

<sup>75</sup> Nam ibi corruere ceperunt in mendacia figmentorum, et assumpserunt species uisibiles simulachra diuinorum, ut inuisibilia uiderent per ea quae uidebantur. *Ibid.*, 401.

<sup>76</sup> Haec sunt simulachra errorum quae theologia—sic enim ipsi uocauerunt studium quo diuina scrutari crediderunt—uanitatis eorum et deceptionis predicat ueneranda. *Ibid.*, 402.

<sup>77</sup> The fundamental work on the *Bibles moralisées* is John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, 2000). Idolatry in the London-Oxford-Paris Bible is insightfully discussed by Michael Camille in Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge New Art History and Criticism (Cambridge, 1989). Important for my interests, too, are Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (University of California Press, 1999); François Boespflug, “La dénonciation des clercs luxurieux dans la Bible Moralisée à la lumière de la ‘Bible de Saint Louis’ (Vers 1230),” *Revue Mabillon* 25 (2014): 135–64; Katherine H. Tachau, “God’s Compass and Vana Curiositas: Scientific Study in the Old French Bible Moralisée,” *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (1998): 7–33; Anna Sapir Abulafia, “Theology and Education in Medieval Discourses between Christians and Jews,” in *Theologie Und Bildung Im Mittelalter*, Archa Verbi - Subsidia 13 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2015), 93–109.

1230s, the manuscript, like the *Vie*, was made for a royal audience. In the volume kept in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 11560), in the section on the Book of Isaiah, the upper right roundel on folio 121r shows a carpenter with an axe—the accompanying gloss calls him an *artifex*—kneeling in front of a shrine framing an image of a seated young man holding a sword (fig. 5.13).<sup>78</sup> The carpenter’s right hand extends toward the idol and their gazes are interlocked in an almost loving manner. The role of the bearded man wearing a Phrygian cap raising his right hand remains ambiguous; perhaps he is meant to represent Isaiah. The roundel illustrates the prophet’s sermon against the making of idols (Isaiah 40:6–23); the roundel’s gloss paraphrases line 13: “The wood sculptor (*artifex*) has stretched out his rule, and he has made an image (*ymago*) of a man (*uir*) as it were a beautiful man (*homo*) dwelling in a house.” Hence, the man with the axe is the maker of the idol, and he is worshipping his own creation. The idea of a *speciosus homo* evidently guided the illuminator’s design of the idol: unlike other idols depicted in the manuscript, it is virtually identical to figures of ‘real’ humans, only slightly reduced in scale. There is a sense of wonder about the work’s craftsmanship, having been fashioned from a block of wood with such a crude tool as the man’s axe. Reminiscent of the Pygmalion topos, the scene suggests that the devotion of the *artifex* to his idol is stirred by the physical beauty of the figure, itself product of the maker’s artistry.<sup>79</sup>

The pendant roundel below shows bearded sage wearing a head scarf as he instructs a group of obedient men, two of whom carry lambs in their arms. The men have their gaze fixed on an open book, covered in illegible scribbles, that their instructor displays to them. The accompanying moralizing gloss explains the meaning of the scene: “This symbolizes that the

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<sup>78</sup> “*Artifex lignarius ostendit normam et fecit ymaginem uiri quasi speciosum hominem habitantem in domo.*”

<sup>79</sup> On Pygmalion, see Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 316–318.

leader of heretics places in his heart the figments (*figmenta*) of his proofs/teachings (*documenta*), and this particular error is not sufficient for him unless it/he should deceive the common people.”<sup>80</sup> With remarkable pictorial economy, this pair of roundels condenses and conveys Hugh of Saint-Victor’s notion of philosophical idolatry. It likens the idol’s niche to the heretic’s heart and the enshrined idol to the figments. But in its stress on the *artifex* as idol maker enamored—and deceived—by his own creation and skill, the roundels significantly push the association of philosophy and idolatry a step further, anticipating Bonaventure’s development of the concept of philosophical idolatry about three decades after the making of the London-Oxford-Paris Bible.

In March of 1267, Bonaventure, then Master General of the Franciscan Order, delivered at the Franciscan convent in Paris a series of twenty-three lectures (*collationes*) on the *Ten Commandments*.<sup>81</sup> Like Hugh, Bonaventure postulated that idols need not be tangible objects or

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<sup>80</sup> “Hoc significat q(uod) princeps hereticorum disponit incorde [sic] suo figmenta documentorum . et proprius error non sufficit ei nisi decipiat simplices.” The term *princeps hereticorum* appears in Hrabanus Maur as epithet for the devil: Hans-Werner Goetz, “Was wird im frühen Mittelalter unter ‘Häresie’ verstanden? Zur Häresiewahrnehmung des Hrabanus Maurus,” in *Die Wahrnehmung Anderer Religionen Im Früheren Mittelalter*, 2012, 83. It was also been applied to the Cathar bishop Vigoroso de Baconi who was burned in 1233: Claire Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249* (Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 231.

<sup>81</sup> Translation: Paul J. Spaeth, trans., *St. Bonaventure’s Collations on the Ten Commandments*, Works of Saint Bonaventure 6 (St. Bonaventure, New York: The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 1995). Original: Saint Bonaventure and Collegium S. Bonaventurae (Rome, *Opera Omnia: Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae*, vol. 5 (Ad claras Aquas (Quaracchi) : Ex typographia Colegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882), 510–515. *Collationes* designates a particular genre of evening sermon (or conference) traditionally performed within monastic communities. This practice was introduced at the University of Paris in the study houses of the mendicant orders in 1231, and its rules set down in the Franciscan and Dominican statutes. See Hammond’s introduction to Bonaventure, *Conferences on the Six Days of Creation: The Illuminations of the Church*. See also Weijers, *Terminologie des universités*, 372–378; also Jacqueline Hamesse, “‘Collatio’ et ‘Reportatio’: Deux vocables spécifiques de la vie intellectuelle au Moyen Âge,” in *Terminologie de la vie intellectuelle au Moyen Âge*, 1988, 78–82; Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon*



material images. Although he addresses all types of idolatry, Bonaventure's principal aim in these *collationes* is to show how 'bad' philosophers violated God's Commandment against the worship of graven images (*sculptile*). Invoking Jeremiah (10:14), Bonaventure argues that

everyone has been made a fool for the sake of knowledge from one's own excessive philosophizing.<sup>82</sup> 'Every artisan is put to shame by his own idol [...] They are vain work and of ridiculous worth, and in the time of their visitation they will perish.' Therefore we must hold to what the lights of the faith teach, and whatever is opposed to this we should abhor as a graven image.<sup>83</sup>

A philosopher unmoored from Catholic truth, according to Bonaventure, "weakens the fount of wisdom and makes an idol, like an Angel, into a God, [which is] much worse than someone who makes a stone a God."<sup>84</sup>

In the lectures, Bonaventure distinguishes between three kinds of idolatry: first, the

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*Structure*, Medieval Academy Books ; no. 114 (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 107–109.

<sup>82</sup> See also St. Bonaventure, *Collations on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, trans. Zachary Hayes, Works of St. Bonaventure 14 (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2008), 93: "Anyone who relies on philosophical knowledge and esteems himself highly because of it and believes himself to be better has become a fool. This happens when he believes he has grasped the Creator through this knowledge without any further light."

<sup>83</sup> Spaeth, trans., *St. Bonaventure's Collations on the Ten Commandments*, 42. Compare with Bonaventure's similar statement in his *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus Sancti*: "Suppose that a person possesses natural and metaphysical science which reaches to the highest substances, and suppose that this person strives to reach that point and there come to rest. This is impossible without falling into error unless this person is aided by the light of faith by which the person comes to believe that God is one and three, most powerful, and the best with respect to the ultimate influence of goodness. If you believe otherwise, you do not have a healthy understanding of God. *That which is proper to God you attribute to another, thus becoming a blasphemer and an idolater*, as when a person attributes the simplicity of God to another being. Therefore, this knowledge has darkened and debased the philosophers because they did not have the light of faith." St. Bonaventure, *Collations on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, trans. Zachary Hayes, Works of St. Bonaventure 14 (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2008), 94.

<sup>84</sup> Conference II.10 of Kevin L. Hughes, "St. Bonaventure's Collationes in Hexaëmeron: Fractured Sermons and Protreptic Discourse," *Franciscan Studies* 63 (2005): 107–29 "Now we are in the true light (*luce*); so not like those who sleep (*somniant*), those who accept the false as true, as an idol for God." Conference VII.13.

adoration of created things (e.g. celestial bodies) or material objects (e.g. statues); secondly, the worship of intellectual creatures (such as demons or angels); thirdly, and most significantly for my purposes, the veneration of “figments of the human mind.”<sup>85</sup> As we have seen, the figment-idol analogy was already made in the *Bible moralisée*. Bonaventure made the point that, of these three forms of idolatry, the veneration of mental figments constitutes “the highest perversity, that one should bow to adore one’s own imaginings and so glory in this adoration.”<sup>86</sup> In other words, the perversity of the worship of the figments of the mind—which Bonaventure associates with misguided philosophy—is effectively worship of the self and most despicable for being an act of pride.<sup>87</sup>

The phrase “figments of the mind” (*figmenta mentis*) employed by Bonaventure already repeatedly appears in Augustine’s *De trinitate* in opposition to divine truth that comes from God.<sup>88</sup> It is a broad term for both material and immaterial (or mental) images, invested with generally negative connotations, including association with sorcery. According to the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, the term *figmentum* comprises the meanings of idol, figment, fiction, illusion, and deceit. In the sense of philosophical falsehood, we find it, for example, employed by the Franciscan theologian Roger Marston rejecting a particular proposition as a *figmentum philosophicum*.<sup>89</sup> Roger Marston had studied in Paris around 1270, and, one may presume, attended Bonaventure’s lectures in person. The Franciscan theologian John Duns Scotus, who studied and taught in Paris at the turn of the fourteenth century,

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<sup>85</sup> *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, 513.18.

<sup>86</sup> Spaeth, trans., *St. Bonaventure’s Collations on the Ten Commandments*, 38.20.

<sup>87</sup> Pride as the chief of philosophers is an important theme in Augustine. see John Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers*, 30–31, 101, 177.

<sup>88</sup> For instance, PL vol. 42, 887.

<sup>89</sup> *Fr. Rogeri Marston, O.F.M., quaestiones disputatae: De emanatione aeterna, De statu naturae lapsae et De anima*, (Ad Claras Aquas, 1932), 186.

employed the turn of phrase, *ergo est figmentum*, as a final verdict on a faulty opinion. A *figmentum*, in Scotus' usage, was a *non-sequitur*, a logical dead-end: "for nothing follows from [it], because it corresponds to nothing outside itself."<sup>90</sup> This, of course, is the standard medieval theological definition of an idol. For as Paul proclaimed in 1 Cor. 8:4: "We know that an idol is nothing in the world."

Idols have no extramental reality to them.<sup>91</sup> Whence, Bonaventure argued, God placed the figments of the human mind "among the objects of idolatry, [even though such] creations have nothing real about them,"<sup>92</sup> since the only value of an idol—whether mental or material—lies in "the value one attributes to it."<sup>93</sup> This is a significant qualification of the all-idols-are-nothing trope. It grants idols a reduced existence resulting from an epistemic error of the mind of the philosopher-idolater.

I will return briefly to the London-Oxford-Paris *Bible moralisée*, and to that section of the manuscript kept at the British Library (Harley MS 1527). Camille has drawn attention to the curious case of unfinished idols in this royal Parisian manuscript.<sup>94</sup> Throughout the manuscript, we find idols that were either left unpainted or (as in two cases) expunged later with white paint. The "ghostly vellum outlines" of false gods, Camille proposed, were anti-images that were denied representation by the illuminators visualizing the nothingness of idols.<sup>95</sup> But, as Camille also noted, there are plenty of finished or outlined idols in the Bible, a fact which he attributed to

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<sup>90</sup> "...universale est ab intellectu, et cum dicitur 'ergo est figmentum', dico quod non sequitur, quia figmento nihil correspondet in re extra." ("figmentum," in *DMLBS*).

<sup>91</sup> Michael Camille explores this point in his discussion of love and idolatry in *The Gothic Idol*, ch. 7, esp. 307.

<sup>92</sup> Spaeth, trans., *St. Bonaventure's Collations on the Ten Commandments*, 37. *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, 513.19.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 37. *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, 513.19.

<sup>94</sup> Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 20–22, see also 28.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

the different workshops involved in its making. But how to explain the presence of both a finished and an unfinished idol in parallel positions in one and the same opening (ff. 26v–27r)? I suspect that the images distinguish between idols that are venerated and therefore endowed with ‘being’ and those that have been abandoned and hence turned into a nothing. In the roundel on folio 27r, a group of young men pray to the little statue—its features clearly outlined—in a shrine carried by a column (fig. 5.14). On the facing page (f. 26v), the two idols are lightly sketched onto the bare parchment—faint ghosts of anthropomorphic simulacra. Even though a group of worshippers is also depicted here, the theme of the scene is Christ healing the idolaters who rescind their belief in the false gods and therefore void their existence (5.15).<sup>96</sup>

According to Bonaventure, to accept what is false as true, is to accept an idol for God.<sup>97</sup> Bonaventure argued that the Mosaic prohibition of images applied to “all false and superstitious fabrication of error.”<sup>98</sup> “Every error is nothing more than a fiction of the mind. The imagination makes an error by obscuring reason and making something appear to exist which does not exist.”<sup>99</sup> Three causes lead to the fabrication of error, according to Bonaventure: misdirected philosophical investigations, incorrect understandings of the Sacred Scriptures, and “disordered appetites of the carnal human nature.”<sup>100</sup>

Doubtless, Bonaventure’s audience at the Franciscan convent in Paris would have well understood the targets of his condemnation of faithless philosophy. These were the so-called

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<sup>96</sup> The visual combination of finished, worshipped idols and unfinished, abandoned idols appears to be a fairly consistent pattern in the manuscript and warrants further scrutiny, something I would like to pursue in the future.

<sup>97</sup> See also Bonaventure, *Conferences on the Six Days of Creation*, coll. VII.13: “Now we are in the true light (*luce*); so not like those who sleep (*somniant*), those who accept the false as true, as an idol for God.”

<sup>98</sup> Spaeth, trans., *St. Bonaventure’s Collations on the Ten Commandments*, 40.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

Latin Averroists, masters like Siger of Brabant and Boethius of Dacia who took Ibn Rushd, the great Arabic commentator of Aristotle known as Averroes, as an indispensable guide to Aristotle's natural philosophy.<sup>101</sup> Towards the end of his second lecture, Bonaventure recalled how his "heart began to be disturbed," when, as a student, he first learned of Aristotle's belief that the world was eternal and "the reasons and arguments which were given to prove this."<sup>102</sup> But now, he proclaimed in the *collationes*, he understands that this opinion is indubitably wrong, and, furthermore, that it violates the Second Commandment, which—he argues—prohibits "all erroneous investigations of the unholy and superstitious things." Around the time of Bonaventure's lectures, questions concerning the eternity of the world and other Averroist propositions were still debated, and more fervently than before. Anticipating the Tempier's crack-down on erroneous or heretical propositions, in the *collationes* Bonaventure polemically argues that not only those who devise such claims, but also those who defend and imitate them, are committing idolatry.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> For Bonaventure's struggle with Latin Averroism see, Robert J. Roch, "The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure – a Controversy," *Franciscan Studies Ser. NS* 19 (1959): 209–26.

<sup>102</sup> Saint Bonaventure, *St. Bonaventure's Collations on the Ten Commandments*, 42. Many of the same themes appear also in Bonaventure's *De donis spiritus*, for example in, coll. IV 475-76 and coll. VIII 16-20 against Averroists.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 40. See also Bonaventure's refutation of the principal errors of Aristotelianism in: *Conferences on the Six Days of Creation*, VI. 4. See also Thomas Aquinas's collation *Attendite* from July 26, 1271, preached against false prophets: "Those who follow human reasoning speak from their own spirit. People such as these speak according to platonic principles which cannot reach the truth; namely, they are *like those who say that the world is eternal*. We find that others, who study philosophy and advance some things which are not true according to the faith, who when told that this is repugnant to the faith, respond by saying that they themselves do not assert this, but rather they are only repeating the words of the Philosopher. Such a person is a false prophet or a false teacher, for it is the same thing to instill doubt and not to resolve it, as it is to affirm the doubt." Quoted after <https://dhsprory.org/thomas/Serm14Attendite.htm>. For a discussion of Aquinas's view on prophecy, see Brian FitzGerald, *Inspiration and Authority in the Middle Ages: Prophets and Their Critics from Scholasticism to Humanism* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 109-150.

Bonaventure, then, cast his net more widely than Hugh of Saint-Victor. Not only does he condemn erroneous philosophizing as a form of idolatry, he also stigmatizes the mere investigation of a dubious subject as an idolatrous act. Bonaventure took Hugh's more cursory remarks about philosophical idolatry and elaborated and tailored them to fit those Parisian masters he judged to philosophize in bad faith by paying lip-service to the articles of faith even as they overstepped the boundaries of philosophy in their debates over such absurdities as whether the world was eternal or not. What made philosophical erring in divine matters more "perverse" (to use Bonaventure's term) than other forms of idolatry was that it collapsed creator, idol, and worshipper all into one. The intellectual heretic produced his *figmentum* through a lapsus of reason. Having given this false idea existence, the heretic's mind is blind to truth; chained to, and deluded by the absurd beauty of its own creation.

Bonaventure's very sophisticated, theologically grounded attack on vain philosophy targeted not only, or primarily, the substance of thought—as did Tempier, for example—but rather argued the wickedness of the underlying act of faithless philosophizing. Although we cannot prove that the makers of the *Vie* were familiar with either the *Bible moralisée*'s or Bonaventure's discourse on idolatry, the *Vie*'s ideological critique of faithless philosophy clearly followed in the same vein. Just the coining of the phrase "sculptured arguments"—which in its particular wording invokes the Mosaic prohibition against images—evinces as much. But it is the images of the *Vie* that built the critique into the narrative of Dionysius's intellectual biography.

### **In the Den of Aristotle: Purging Pagan Paris**

These unmitigated attacks on Averroism by the Minister General of the Franciscan Order, one of the most powerful men of Christendom, must have rattled the University of Paris. They presaged

the escalation of scholastic conflicts in the 1270s that culminated in the Bishop of Paris, Étienne Tempier's Syllabus of Errors (1277). Given the absence of comparable major public disputes or new condemnations during the following decades one might surmise that the tension and outright debates about errant philosophizing and philosophical idolatry had eased in the wake of Tempier's 1277 condemnation.<sup>104</sup> This was, however, not quite the case. Tempier's landmark condemnation continued to reverberate throughout the following decades, emboldening the suppression of academic freedom and fueling the animosity between the philosophical and theological faculties.

To reconstruct, if only partially, the immediate intellectual-political context of the *Vie* manuscript and its sustained visual commentary on the theological project as embodied through—and defended by—Dionysius, I turn now to Ramon Llull (1232–1316) who embarked on a campaign against Averroist heretics in Paris in the early 1300s.<sup>105</sup> By any standards—medieval or modern—Llull was an eccentric figure who flaunted his singularity, calling himself the *doctor phantasticus*.<sup>106</sup> The vociferous crusader against scholastic heresy, zealous missionary, almost-martyr, who impressed upon popes and kings the urgent need for radical reform and swift action to save Christendom from threats within and without, Llull must have struck his contemporaries as a counter-model of Paris's new-fangled *magistri*, a raw, primal

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<sup>104</sup> The intellectual climate of the early 1300s at the University of Paris has received comparatively little attention by historians.

<sup>105</sup> For an introduction and the state of research on Llull, see Amy M. Austin, Mark D. Johnston, and Alexander Ibarz, eds., *A Companion to Ramon Llull and Lullism* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), esp. part I.

<sup>106</sup> For a brief overview, see Mark D. Johnston, "Ramon Llull, ca. 1232–1316," in *A Companion to Ramon Llull and Lullism*, ed. Amy M. Austin, Mark D. Johnston, and Alexander Ibarz (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 3–17. The principal source of his life is the autobiographical *Vita coetana*: Ramon Llull, *Vita Coetanea / A Contemporary Life / Vida Coetànea / Vida Coetània* (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017).

Christian philosopher.

Born in Majorca, Llull probably never received a formal education. He dedicated most of his life to the conversion of Muslims and Jews, for which purpose he devised an idiosyncratic philosophical system—called the *Ars*—to demonstrate the truth of the Christian faith through pure reasoning and to destroy all philosophical errors, be they Christian, Arabic, or Jewish. Although, for most of his life, Llull pursued the conversion of infidels in the Iberian peninsula and North Africa, by 1309 (and perhaps before), his focus shifted from the borders of Christendom to the University of Paris, specifically to the Averroists among the Faculty of Arts. Llull was in Paris four times between 1289 and 1311 (in 1289, 1297–1299, 1306, 1309–1311).<sup>107</sup> During these Parisian sojourns he sought—and gained—approval of the orthodoxy of his philosophy and worked to promote his *Ars* to the masters at the University of Paris. During his fourth and final stay from 1309-1311, his overriding objective was to stamp out the Parisian Averroists, because (to paraphrase his own explanations) these imitators of the heretic Averroes held many ugly errors against the faith, and, what was worse and more dangerous, because they err in many and diverse matters. According to Llull, it was both ugly and shameful for Christians to assert that faith is contrary to reason.<sup>108</sup> As Coralba Colomba noted, Llull’s scolding

was not addressed in particular to one or more Averroist philosophers, but to what the Averroist Aristotelianism represented for Christianity: i.e. the collapse of the

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<sup>107</sup> J. N Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 47.

<sup>108</sup> “[...] libros et dicta Auerrois expelleret et extrahi faceret de Parisiensi studio, taliter quod nullus de cetero auderet allegare, legere uel audire ; quia multos errores turpissimos continent contra fidem, et, quod est deterius et periculosius, dictos errores frequenter generant in pluribus et diuersis. Et est turpe et dedecus dicere christianis, quod fides magis est improbabilis, quam probabilis uel apparens ; quod dicunt et asserunt Auerroim haereticum imitantes.” *Liber natalis*, CCCM XXXII, op. 169, 69. (Llull engages the topics of eternity, infinity, and unity of the intellect in that treatise at 46, 49, 52-54).



primacy of theology, and of the possibility to prove *rationaliter* the whole reality, both human and divine.<sup>109</sup>

Of particular importance for understanding the intellectual-political ambient of the *Vie* manuscript, and its visual elaboration of both the acme and nadir of intellectual activity in relation to faith, are Lull's efforts to drum up support in Paris and to enlist King Philip IV—the original *destinaire* of the *Vie* manuscript—in his anti-Averroist campaign.<sup>110</sup> Significantly, Llull identified Philip IV—not the bishop of Paris or the pope—as the man to purge Paris from philosophical heresies. Llull impressed upon Philip the need for action. Between 1309 and 1311, he dedicated to Philip IV no less than seven literary treatises on heresy and philosophical error.<sup>111</sup> They furnish not only a unique outsider's perspective on Paris's contentious intellectual atmosphere at the turn of the century, but also show that the king was considered a promising ally in the fight against dogmatically suspect currents at the University.

Finally, we know that Llull and the abbot of Saint-Denis, Gilles de Pontoise, crossed paths at the Council of Vienne in 1311-12, approximately six years before Gilles would present the *Vie* manuscript to Philip IV's son, King Philip V. All this goes to show that the claims about

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<sup>109</sup> Coralba Colomba, "Ramon Lull at the Council of Vienne (1311-1312): The Last Anti-Averroistic Fight for the Demonstrability of the Faith," *«Mediaeval Sophia» Studi et Ricerche Sui Saperi Medievali*, no. 13 (2013): 49.

<sup>110</sup> There is a rich body of literature surrounding Llull's crusade against Parisian Averroism. See Colomba, "Ramon Lull at the Council of Vienne, 44–45; Ruedi Imbach, "Lulle face aux Averroïstes Parisiens," in *Raymond Lulle et Le Pays d'Oc*, 1987, 261–82; Imbach, "Der unmögliche Dialog," 102–31; Constantin Teleanu, "La Réforme de l'Universitas Magistrorum et Scholarium Parisiensium Selon Raymond Lulle," *Educació i Història* 28 (2016): 67–92; Constantin Teleanu, "Averroes et Averroista Christianus: Deux Adversaires de Raymond Lulle à l'Université de Paris," in *En Torno a Ramon Llull. Presencia y Transmisión de Su Obra*, 2017, 71–95; Antonio Bordoy Fernandez, "Ramon Llull and the Criticism of the Parisian Aristotelism of Late Thirteenth Century: On the Question of Plurality," *Revista de Hispanismo Filosófico*, no. 14 (2009): 25–41; Constantin Teleanu, *Philosophia Conversionis* (Schola Lulliana, 2014).

<sup>111</sup> Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, 112, 114–116; and Imbach, "Der unmögliche Dialog," 115.

theology and philosophical error pursued in the pictorial and textual program of the *Vie de Saint Denis* were percolating also on the scholastic periphery, as it was understood that reform had to be imposed from the outside.

In 1298, en route to Paris for his second stay, Llull authored a comprehensive commentary on Bishop Tempier's catalog of errors; he was the first to do so.<sup>112</sup> Llull gave his commentary on Tempier's "syllabus" the form of a disputation. In it, Llull staunchly defends each point of the Condemnation and corroborates the validity of Tempier's judgment. He refutes any objections made by his debate-partner, a straw man-opponent the author named Socrates.<sup>113</sup> Llull's alter ego asserts that ancient philosophers had a limited comprehension of certain philosophical principles, just as "some new philosophers, who are followers of the ancients, are the cause of dissent that exists between you and me, oh Socrates."<sup>114</sup> The main part of the book takes up all 219 propositions condemned by Tempier in order to demonstrate their fallacy in the teeth of the fictional Socrates's opposition.

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<sup>112</sup> The full title of the commentary is *Declaratio Raimundi aliquorum philosophorum et eorum sequacium opiniones erroneas et damnatas a venerabili patre domino episcopo Parisiensi*. Ramon Llull, Cécile Bonmariage, and Jean-Michel Counet, *Lulle et de la condamnation de 1277: la déclaration de Raymond écrite sous forme de dialogue* (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2006); Giulio Bonafede, "La condanna di Stefano Tempier e la 'Declaratio' di Raimondo Lullo," *Estudios Lulianos* 4 (1960): 21–44; Hillgarth, 248–252; Antoni Bordoy, "Ramon Llull and the Question of the Knowledge of God in the Parisian Condemnation of 1277," in *Knowledge, Contemplation, and Lullism*, *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 67 (Brepols Publishers, 2015), 65–87.

<sup>113</sup> The Declaratio is edited in *CCCM LXXIX*, 80, 253–401. Translated into French, with a historical introduction and critical apparatus: Cecile Bonmariage, *Lulle et La Condamnation de 1277: La Déclaration de Raymond Ecrite Sous Forme de Dialogue*, trans. Jean-Michel Counet and Michel Lambert (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters Publishers, 2006). As with some of his later Anti-Averroist treatises, Llull wishes the bishop of Paris, the chancellor, the rectors of the University, and the faculties of theology and philosophy to inspect the *Declaratio Raimundi* for possible errors and contradictions. *Declaratio*, *CCCM LXXIX*, 80, 401.

<sup>114</sup> "Et ideo aliqui noui philosophi, qui sunt sequaces antiquorum, sunt causa dissensionis, quae est inter me et te, o Socrates." *Declaratio*, *CCCM LXXIX*, 80, 256.

During his last stay in Paris, in February 1311, Llull composed the *Lamentatio philosophiae*, in which Lady Philosophy complains to Llull about the torture she has suffered from the heresy reigning in Paris:

I am as if totally perverted, because in Paris my discourse is in [mere] opinions,<sup>115</sup> and therefore what can I say? My light should [shine] through clarity and truth, but it is obfuscated and darkened through the false errors of philosophers, who suffocate me so greatly, that I can hardly have breath and power/virtue. I do not see another remedy, unless God helps me through the king of the Franks, and soon, for errors grow and truths are suffocated. Paris however is the foundation, because it is widely known that I am greater there than in any other city.<sup>116</sup>

She goes on to announce that the injuries inflicted by Parisian Averroists may be healed by relaying her distress to the king (Philip IV).<sup>117</sup> In parting words at the end of the treatise, Lady Philosophy charges Llull with embarking on his Parisian anti-Averroist campaign: “May you be neither timid nor sluggish, but confident and audacious, and proclaim philosophically what you have heard about my principles, in churches, schools, and streets [...], may you be confident ... when you shall dispute and preach.”<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> See a similar passage in *CCCM LXXVIII*, 190, 18.

<sup>116</sup> “Ego sum quasi totus perversus, cum Parisius sit meus discursus in opinionibus, et ideo quid dicere possum. Meum lumen debet esse per claritatem et veritatem, sed est offuscatum et tenebrosus per falsos errores philosophorum, qui tantum me suffocant, quod vix possum habere anhelitum et virtutem. Aliud remedium non video, nisi quod Deus per regem Francorum me iuvet, et in brevi, quia errores crescunt et veritates suffocantur. Parisius autem est fundamentum, cum sit fama, quod magis sum in ipsa, quam in aliqua alia civitate.” *Lamentatio Philosophiae*, *CCCM XXXII*, 170, 88. See discussion of this and related passages in Constantin Teleanu, *Raymundista et Averroista* (Paris, 2014), 65-72.

<sup>117</sup> “Et ideo rogo vos, quantum possum, quod ea, quae audiulistis, reportetis serenissimo domino Philippo regi Francorum, quod mihi sic satisfaciat de iniuria mihi facta, sicut satisfacit sanctae fidei catholicae, cum sit pugil uerus et legalis.” *Lamentatio Philosophiae*, *CCCM XXXII*, 170, 125.

<sup>118</sup> “Tu autem non sis timidus neque lentus, sed confidens atque audax et praedica philosophice ea, quae audiuisti de principiis meis, in ecclesiis, scholis et plateis, habeas confidentiam [...], quando disputabis et praedicabis.” *Lamentatio Philosophiae*, *CCCM XXXII*, 170, 126.. A couple of lines earlier Llull says to Lady Philosophy: “Tu autem, cuius est negotium, impetres cum

While in Paris, Llull lodged in the heart of the University Quarter, in the rue de Bûcherie along the Seine, which bordered on the rue du Fouarre and the schools of the Arts Faculty. Although he was an outsider, Llull nevertheless managed to capture the attention of the scholarly community.<sup>119</sup> Llull wrote, lectured, and debated tirelessly. In February 1310, a select panel of no fewer than forty masters from all faculties inspected Llull's work and publicly testified in Llull's house that his *Ars* was "good, useful, and necessary," and that "nothing in it is against the faith," but rather "much for the sustenance of it."<sup>120</sup> By Llull's own account, "in the time of chancellor Bertoldus (1288-?)," he lectured on his *Ars* "in the chancellor's aula [...] on the specific command of the chancellor."<sup>121</sup> Llull's public reading of his *Ars* and other works was attended,

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serenissimo Francorum rege, quod ad hoc teneat manum uiriliter et deuote, et etiam cum magistris et baccalariis in diuina Scriptura, et *cum illis artistis, quibus tibi magis uidetur esse expediens, in tanto quod inter te et Theologiam non sit dare aliquo modo contrarietatem, sed puram et meram concordantiam*, te existente ancilla et Theologia domina tua, com sit tuus finis, eo quia Deus est suum subiectum." Ibid., 125–126.

<sup>119</sup> For Llull's contact with the University during his first stay in Paris, see Josep E. Rubio, "La présentation de l'Art Lullien en milieu universitaire : Paris 1289," in *Les formes laïques de la Philosophie*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 81 (Brepols Publishers, 2018).

<sup>120</sup> "Premissa autem facta, et acta ac etiam testificata ab ipsis magistris et baccalareis, ut prefatum est, coram prefatis clericis juratis nostris fuerunt in domo, quam ad presens inhabitat idem magister Raymundus Lull, in vico Buccerie Parisiensis ultra Paruum pontem versus Sequanam, prout ipsi jurati nostri nobis retulerunt oraculo vive vocis." CUP II, 140-41 no. 679. See also ibid., 148-149, no. 691; Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, 155.

<sup>121</sup> "VENIENS ergo Raimundus Parisius tempore cancellarii Bertoldi, legit ibidem in aula sua commentum *Artis generalis* de speciali praecepto cancellarii." *Vita coaetanea*, CCCM XXXIV, 283, see also 294, 296. Bertold (Bertoldus, Bertaut, Berthaud) of St. Denis (d. 1307) was elected chancellor in 1288. Later he became bishop of Orléans. At his death he is called a "vir subtilis et in multis scientiis expertus et famosus." See Riedlinger in ROL V, 114-115. In 1303, Bertold preached in the gardens of the royal palace to the king and many noblemen, archbishops, bishops, and abbots against the heresies of Boniface VIII, followed by a lecture on Dionysius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchies*. It is possible that Gilles de Pontoise was among the audience. The account is published in Ch.-V. Langlois, "Une Réunion publique à Paris sous Philippe le Bel (24 juin 1303)," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de paris et de l'ile de france*, 1888, 130–34; see also Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, 153 n. 16. On Bertold's contested chancellorship, see Jacques Verger, "Le chancelier et l'Université de Paris à la fin du XIIIe siècle," in *Les universités françaises au Moyen Âge*, Education and society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 7 (Brill, 1995), 78-85. Bertold was accused by the University over

he reported, by “a multitude of both masters and even students. To them he not only presented with philosophical reason the fortified [improved] doctrine, truly he even brought forward wisdom strengthened in a wonderful manner through the high principles of the Christian faith.”<sup>122</sup> He engaged masters of the Faculty of Arts in disputations, and, as several scholars suggested, also with Jean de Jandun, the author of the encomium of the Street of Straw discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>123</sup>

Llull also enjoyed access to the king, who received him on at least three separate occasions.<sup>124</sup> Philip IV must have been intrigued by this colorful specimen of philosopher, who had earned the nickname *barba floridus*, his appearance more resembling contemporary images of Old Testament prophets than the conventional ideal of a clean-shaven and fittingly dressed schoolman.<sup>125</sup> King Philip IV equipped Llull (almost eighty-years old then) with a letter of recommendation attesting to the goodness and righteousness of his character as well as the

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mismanagement and corruption; among his lesser infractions was his habit to call students “stinking ass” (*asinus fetidus*) during examinations. As a consequence of public complaints made by the University, the Holy See set up a commission to investigate the accusations. See CUP II, nos. 569 and 577 (translated into German in Ludwig Hödl, “Berthold von Saint-Denys († 1307). Ein weltgeistlicher Anwalt der Mendikanten in der Auseinandersetzung mit Heinrich von Gent,” in *Ecclesia et Regnum. Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kirche, Recht und Staat Im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Franz-Josef Schmale zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Bochum, 1989), 241).

<sup>122</sup> “[...] Parisius iter arripuit. Vbi et *Artem* suam publice legit, et alios libros quam plurimos, quos fecerat temporibus retroactis. ADFVIT autem lecturae suae tam magistrorum quam etiam scholarium multitudo. Quibus non solum philosophicis rationibus exhibebat roboratam doctrinam, uerum etiam altis principiis fidei christianae mirum in modum confirmatam sapientiam proferebat.” *Vita coaetanea*, CCCM XXXIV, 189, 302.

<sup>123</sup> *Disputatio Petri et Raimvndi*, RLOL, vol. 190, 17–18. See Colomba, “Ramon Lull at the Council of Vienne,” 52 n.20.

<sup>124</sup> On Llull’s relationship to Philip IV and the royal court, see Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, ch. 2, at 49. For his influence on Philip’s educational policies: Richard Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz’ VIII.* (F. Enke, 1903).

<sup>125</sup> See Alison Stones, “Le débat dans la miniature: Le cas du Breviculum de Thomas Le Myésier,” in *Qu’est-ce que nommer ? L’image légendée. Actes du colloque du RILMA, Institut Universitaire de France (Paris, INHA, 17-18 Octobre 2008)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 194.

orthodoxy of his doctrinal philosophy.<sup>126</sup> The philosopher, in turn, praised Philip IV throughout his later writings with such glowing epithets as the “strenuous and unconquerable champion and defender of the Catholic faith.”<sup>127</sup>

In his later treatises Lull petitioned the king to support his cause by disseminating his books so that Parisian heresies might be rooted out.<sup>128</sup> Pledging to defeat heterodox opinions in debate in such a manner that human intellect cannot possibly negate his arguments, Lull sought equally resolute action from Philip IV.<sup>129</sup> In his *Liber de Natalis*, for example, Lull exhorted the French king to purge the University of Paris of Averroist teachings “in such a way that no one from henceforth shall dare to cite [them], read them, or hear them read, for they contain many most vile errors against the Faith.”<sup>130</sup> Lull, it seems, expected Philip to be a new Tempier, the agent who would successfully complete the Anti-Averroist campaign launched by Tempier in 1277.

Lull’s lifelong labors of religious conversion and defending the project of theology culminated at the Church Council of Vienne, which opened in October of 1311.<sup>131</sup> Significantly, for my present purposes, the abbot of Saint-Denis, Gilles de Pontoise, was among the

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<sup>126</sup> “Notum facimus, quod nos, audito magistro Raymundo Lull exhibito presenti, ipsum esse virum bonum, justum et catholicum reputamus, et ad confirmationem ac exaltationem fidei catholice fideliter insistentem. Quapropter nobis placet, quod ipse ab omnibus orthodoxe fidei cultoribus, et precipue subditis nostris tractetur benigniter, ipsique favor benevolus impendatur, quem gratum habebimus et acceptum.” CUP II, 144 no 648; dated 1310. See Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Llullism*, 118–119.

<sup>127</sup> Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Llullism*, 114.

<sup>128</sup> *De diuina unitate et pluralitate*, CCCM XXXII, 173, 211–212.

<sup>129</sup> *Contra errores averrois*, CCCM XXXII, 174, 246.

<sup>130</sup> “libros et dicta Averrois expelleret et extrahi faceret de Parisiensi studio, taliter quod nullus de cetero auderet [eos] allegare, legere vel audire, quia multos errores turpissimos continent contra fidem . . .” *Liber de Natalis*, quoted after Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Llullism*, 115.

<sup>131</sup> The standard monographic studies on the Council is Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne 1311-1312: seine Quellen und seine Geschichte* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934); and Joseph Lecler, *Vienne, Histoire des conciles œcuméniques* 8 (Paris: Éditions de l’Orante, 1964).

ecclesiastical dignitaries attending the Council.<sup>132</sup> We don't know if Abbot of Saint-Denis Gilles of Pontoise met Ramon Llull in person or heard him speak at the Council of Vienne.

Undoubtedly, though, Gilles would have been well informed of Llull's presence and activities in the capital over the past two years; his audiences with the king, his lectures at the university, and his disputations with Arts masters. The exotic figure of the octogenarian philosopher who called himself *doctor phantasticus* could not have escaped the abbot's notice.

The Council had been called by Pope Clement V—under tremendous pressure from Philip IV—to address, among other burning issues, the political fallout caused by the king's feud with Clement's predecessor, Boniface VIII, and Philip's unrestrained persecution of the Knights Templar.<sup>133</sup> Llull, a layman, played an eminent role at Council.<sup>134</sup> It was Llull's last chance to agitate for his great plans for reform. Llull wrote several treatises that explicitly detailed his vision and plans for the Council; he even composed a poem about the Council (in Catalan). Some of these works, including his autobiographical *vita*, appear to have circulated among the more than hundreds of prelates and secular lords who attended the Council.<sup>135</sup>

Llull's ambitions for the Council of Vienne were wide-ranging, but he gave priority to

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<sup>132</sup> Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (Frederic Leonard, 1706), 264. Not one year between Gilles's abbatial election and Philip IV's death passes in the annual record of the chronicle of Saint-Denis that does not report on these events: See Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300: avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368.*, ed. Hercule Géraud (Paris: J. Renouard, 1843), 341–415.

<sup>133</sup> Charges brought at Vienne ascribed to Boniface VIII “the most challenging ideas about religion denounced both by Giles of Rome in his treatise against the “Errors of the Philosophers” and by bishop Tempier in his list of the “execrable errors” supposedly taught by the *studentes in artibus*.” Specifically, he is said to have denied religion to contain revealed truth, instead arguing for it to be a human invention. See Luca Bianchi, “Nulla lex est vera, licet possit esse utilis. Averroes' ‘Errors’ and the Emergence of Subversive Ideas about Religion in the Latin West,” in *Irrtum - Error - Erreur*, ed. Andreas Speer and Maxime Mauriège (Berlin, 2018), 345.

<sup>134</sup> Colomba, “Ramon Llull at the Council of Vienne,” 44–64; Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, 126–129.

<sup>135</sup> Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, 126.

three issues in particular: the reformation of the military orders and the recuperation of the Holy Land; the establishment of language schools in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac for the training of missionaries;<sup>136</sup> and last, but not least, the eradication of Averroism.<sup>137</sup> In the *Liber de ente*, which Llull composed en route to Vienne, he wrote that false philosophers and schismatics “philosophically disapprove of the holy Catholic Faith,” because it exceeds what may be sensorially perceived or imagined, “and therefore faith suffers.”<sup>138</sup> Reinforced by the ancient authority of the pagan philosophers, he continues heresies spread far and wide: “The suffering is multiplied, because many Christians doubt the very same to be true, for the ancient philosophers argued many things against the Faith.” Llull petitioned the council’s participants to declare “that no philosophy should be read against theology, and only that natural philosophy, which concords with theology.”<sup>139</sup> “Those who have ears should listen,” he wrote, “those who don’t should have remorse (Matthew 11:15).”<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Berthold Altaner, “Raymundus Lullus und der Sprachenkanon (Can. 11) des Konzils von Vienne (1312),” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 53 (1933): 190–219. Llull approached the University of Paris with the same request already in 1298; see CUP II, 83, no. 611.

<sup>137</sup> See Colomba, “Ramon Lull at the Council of Vienne,” 44–64.

<sup>138</sup> *Liber de ente*, CCCM XXXIV, 188.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 188, 242–243.



## CONCLUSION

On its most general level, this dissertation has attempted to think against the grain of an enshrined division in the Western tradition of thought, one with a long and complicated intellectual genealogy: the severance of the material from the ideal. Parsing this genealogy, even in the most schematic terms, would amount to nothing less than a history of modern Western philosophy itself. Descartes, Kant, and Hegel aside, the roots of this division reach deeper still, into the strata of medieval thought. The thesis takes acute form in the scholastic period, not because there is any sort of challenge to this dualist paradigm then—far from it—but rather because Scholasticism witnessed the confluence of different and contradictory philosophical models of the separation of mind and matter—Neoplatonic, Aristotelian, Augustinian, to name but the most important. For the purpose of this conclusion, there is no benefit to delving more deeply into the philosophical history of this paradigm, but it needs flagging to make clear the stakes in the subject of my dissertation and the methodological and historiographical obstacles it faces more broadly.

The dissertation project forcefully poses some large scale questions about the way we conceive the relation of the intellectual and the material world. Most fundamental and pragmatical, why is it so hard to argue the influence of the physical world of matter on philosophical thought, whereas the reverse is so easy and seems to come naturally? To flesh out this point, let me for a moment return to Panofsky, not to make a strawman of him (which would be all too easy to do), but rather to recall that he already raised this question in passing in his 1948 Wimmer Lecture *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*—something that has gone to the best of my knowledge unmarked in the scholarly reception and discussion of this short but

influential work. Quoting Thomas Aquinas, Panofsky suggested that the bodily senses—“a kind of reason as is every cognitive power” (Aquinas)—play a role in configuring the habits of the mind, and consequently in the acoustic and visual articulation of scholastic thought.<sup>1</sup> That, however, was not the line of inquiry Panofsky was interested in pursuing any further. It fell to the historian of science David Lindberg, the pioneer of the history of medieval optics, to prepare the ground for new approaches in medieval studies across the division of mind and matter by applying medieval sense theory to questions of art and vision. But whereas the thinkers brought to the study of exploration of medieval visuality and sense-based epistemology were essentially scholastic (Roger Bacon, John Peckham, Peter of Limoges), Scholasticism itself was not part of the scholarly debate; once again, it served as the source while itself escaping scrutiny.

I adduce here one further case to highlight a persistent, often unmarked tendency among historians and art historians to separate the history of ideas from the history of culture, or those who think from those who make. In her 2011 essay *What has Gothic to do with Scholasticism?*, Katherine H. Tachau—whose great contribution to scholarship was to situate medieval sense theory in the broader frame of epistemology and whence to venture into the study of medieval art—revisited with critical rigor Panofsky’s thesis, calling out the *zeitgeistian* underpinnings which patently loomed behind Panofsky’s notion of *habitus*. The remedy she proposed was thoroughly empiricist and historicist:

...by looking at sources that come from precisely the time and place in which a work of medieval art or architecture was produced, we improve the likelihood that the iconological meanings we read are those that the planners and creators of the work expected viewers to comprehend. ...Such

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<sup>1</sup> The lecture is published in its original form in Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*. Latrobe, Pa.: Archabbey Press, 1951, 38.

examinations, to my mind, are far more precise than searching out a *Zeitgeist* in formal elements or structures, as a means to understanding past eras.<sup>2</sup>

It is ironic, but revealing, that in the body of her essay, Tachau—referring to Winston Churchill (“We shape our buildings; thereafter they shape us”)—suddenly and unprompted slips in the radical suggestion of reversing the relation of the Gothic to Scholasticism: “That is, we might think about how the architectural spaces influenced the masters and students singing, praying, working, and living in them.”<sup>3</sup> This proposition of a total reversal of Panofsky’s approach is left hanging, and Tachau returns to making her case for sharpening the iconological reading of Gothic art and architecture in light of the multitude of sources that have become available through editing of medieval scholastic works since the 1950s. Thus, both, Panofsky and Tachau, put forward the idea of reversing the terms of engagement with Scholasticism, but just as quickly abandoned it—the question is why.

The question takes on greater significance in light of the discipline of medieval art history’s default position of defending art and art-making vis-à-vis the primacy of the written word, a position that is underwritten by a subconsciously felt, or feared, inferiority of art vis-à-vis the mind (and, followingly, medieval art’s intellectual inferiority vis-à-vis the arts of other periods). Gregory the Great’s dictum that images are substitutes for words, serving the illiterate, has weighed on the psyche of the discipline. As Guglielmo Cavallo put it forcefully, Gregory’s views—while conceived as a Christian defense of image usage—amounted, in fact, to “the crushing of the image into the functions performed by texts and books.”<sup>4</sup> It is reflected in the

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<sup>2</sup> Katherine H. Tachau, “What Has Gothic to Do with Scholasticism?,” *Gothic Art et Thought in the Later Medieval Period* / Ed. by Colum Hourihane., 2011, 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted after Peter Brown, “Images as a Substitute for Writing.” In *East and West: Modes of Communication*, Leyden: Brill, 1997, 18.

various attempts to contextualize and abate this hurtful claim—or, thinking of Michael Camille, to take it as proof of the anxiety-inducing, subversive, and irrational power of art, and ecclesial elites' respective need to subordinate art's status and function.<sup>5</sup>

What, then, about Tachau's proposal to consider the impact of architectural spaces on the masters and students "singing, praying, working, and living in them"? The questions of the architectural or spatial conditions of thought has occupied me for a long time, and frustratingly so; the inability to formulate a satisfying answer has gnawed at my belief in the basic premise of the dissertation project. How *did* the Street of Straw condition the scholastic minds of masters and students in the Faculty of Arts? I would similarly be at a loss at answering how the spaces I have studied and lived in shaped my work and thinking, though I do not doubt they did and continue to do so in inexplicable and profound ways. It seems clear enough that Panofsky's posited cause-effect relation between the structure of thought and art and architecture is irreversible. Doing so would be a fall-back into an apologetics of art.

Instead of trying to unravel the mystery of the mind's inner life, I have sought to consider Scholasticism for what it concretely was: a discourse unfolding in a particular time and place. To think of Scholasticism—or the Enlightenment, or any other comparable intellectual formation for that matter—as somehow able to function independently from its material and cultural frame misses the larger picture. Rather than arguing for the impact of the environment on thought itself,

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<sup>5</sup> Camille's first essay on the relationship between image and text identifies its ultimate target to be not Gregory, but the modern Gregories, as it were, concluding with this assertion by E. R. Curtius: "The book is more real by far than the picture. Here we have a truly ontological relationship and real participation in an intellectual entity. To understand Pindar's poems requires severe mental effort—to understand the Parthenon frieze does not. The same relation obtains between Dante and the Cathedrals. Knowing pictures is easy compared with knowing books." Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8, no. 1 (1985): 44.

the chapters of this dissertation have shown that this discourse operated not through words and reason alone, but was productively and self-consciously involved in local culture in its most material, architectural, urban dynamics. My objective has been to think the two compartmentalized registers of matter and ideal together as a dynamic unity, that is, more specifically, to understand how something as abstract and dematerialized as philosophy comes to be informed and then transform a built environment and its visual-material culture.

In that sense, Scholasticism was an artifact produced under, and individuated through the imprint of Paris. The crucial step is to recognize visual-material culture and environment as constitutive of an expanded field of intellectual discourse. Throughout the chapters, we have seen the scholastic project articulated, performed, and transformed in a variety of visual media and material cultural practices. This aspect is critical to the functioning of discourse. Recall, for instance, the case of the twelfth-century schools of dialectic in Paris. They were an intellectual community conversing in a highly technical and, to outsiders, unintelligible language—indeed, in the face of which Bernard of Clairvaux (the anonymized addressee of Abelard’s *Letter to an Ignoramus in Dialectic*) was just as illiterate as a Parisian fishmonger. The larger stakes of their intellectual project become clear, however, in their performances and self-representation, as in perambulating like Peripatetics through the streets of Paris; in turn, they could be interpreted and engaged with by ‘outsiders’ in the culturally specific language of that time and place (for example, the jongleur-scholar analogy, or the *Vie de Saint Denis* manuscript). It would be a mistake to consider this material form of discourse as second-order to verbal discourse. Instead I would propose to see it functioning in a mutually reinforcing way. It is in this expanded field of discourse, I believe, where material culture finds analytical traction in the debate over the ‘impact’ of the outside world on the workings of the mind.

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FIGURES



Fig. 1.1 Dialectic and Philosophers, Initial C, Compendium of Logical Texts (Paris?, c. 1140), 261 x 135 mm, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282, ff. 1v-2r



Fig. 1.2 Dialectic and Philosophers, Compendium of Logical Texts (Paris?, c. 1140), 261 x 135 mm, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282, f.1v



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<http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-2282/0001>  
Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt

Fig. 1.3 Manuscript Binding, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Latin 1

Fig. 1.4. *Majestas Domini* Frontispiece, The Bible of Charles the Bald (Tour, 849), 495 x 345 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1, f. 329v

cxxxvi Laus ieremie. cxxxvii Laus symonis.  
 cxxxviii Oratio iesu filii sirac. cxxxix Oratio salomonis. Cxl caritola.  
**INCIPIT LIBER ECCLESIASTICI**



**O**mnis  
 sapientia  
 a dño deo  
 est. & cū  
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 maris. &  
 pluuiæ  
 guttas.  
 & dies

sc̄i. quis dinumerauit. Altitudinem celi. &  
 latitudinem t̄re. & pfundum abyssi. quis  
 mensus. ē. Sapientiam dei p̄cedentem om̄ia

Fig. 1.5. *Majestas Domini* Initial O, Bible (Chartres, 1145–1155), 525 × 365 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 116, f. 19v

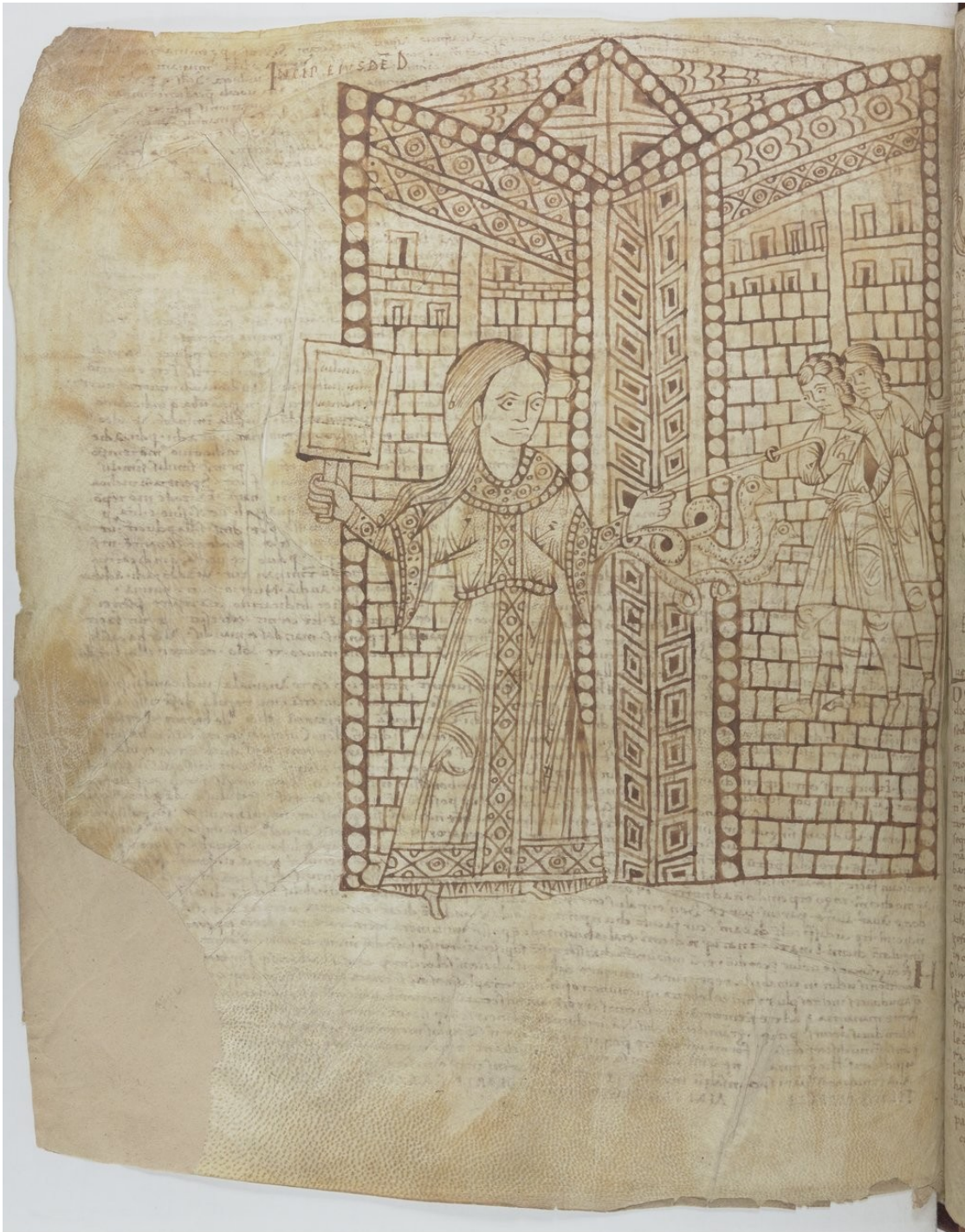


Fig. 1.6. *Sapientia* Initial *D*, Bible (Chartres, 1145–1155), 525 × 365 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 116, f. 13v





Fig. 1.7. Throne of Wisdom, c. 1150, South Portal Tympanum, Chartres Cathedral



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Latin 7900A

Fig. 1.8 Dialectic, Milan, 10th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 7900A, f. 132v



Fig. 1.9 Christ, Grammar, Dialectic, mid-12th century, Cambridge (UK), University Library, Gg ii 32, f. 1r

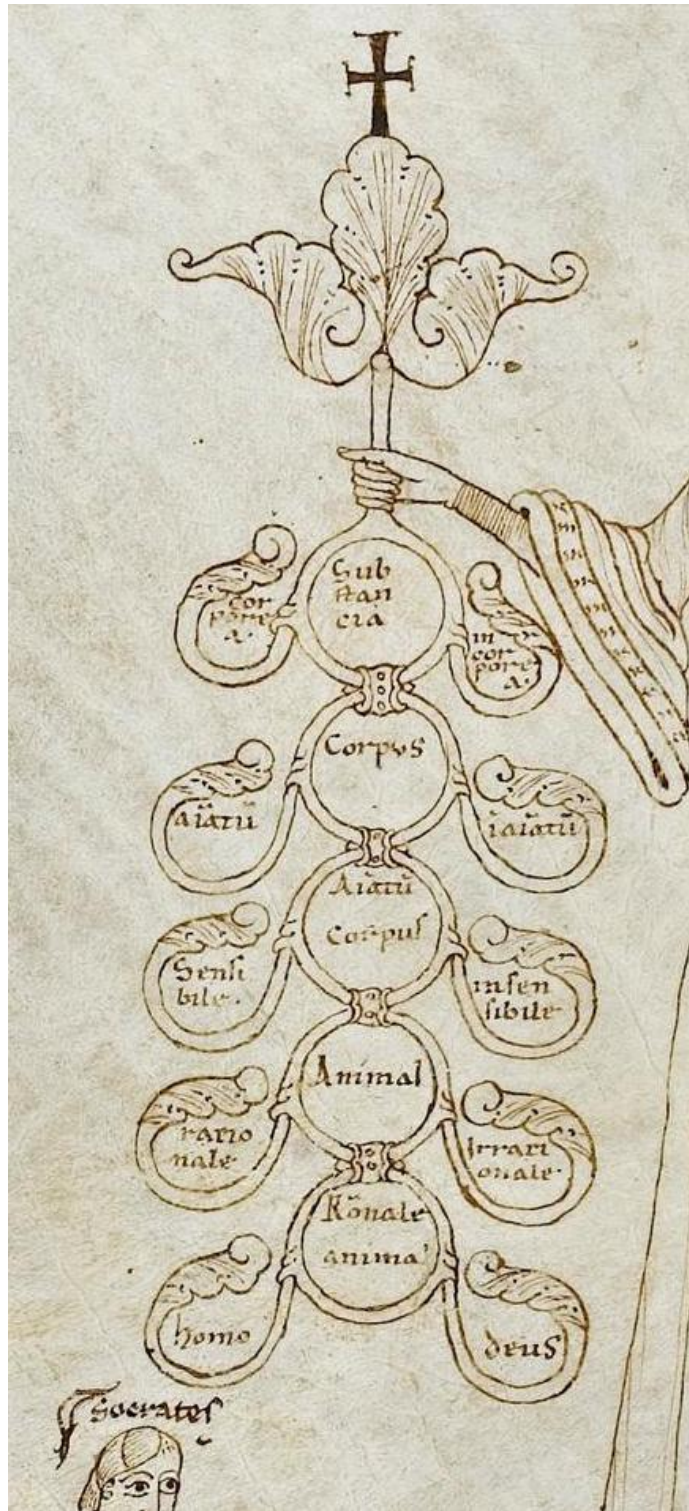


Fig. 10. Dialectic and Philosophers (detail), Compendium of Logical Texts (Paris?, c. 1140), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282, f. 1v



Fig. 1.11. Tree of Porphyry (detail), 9<sup>th</sup> century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 12949, f. 47r

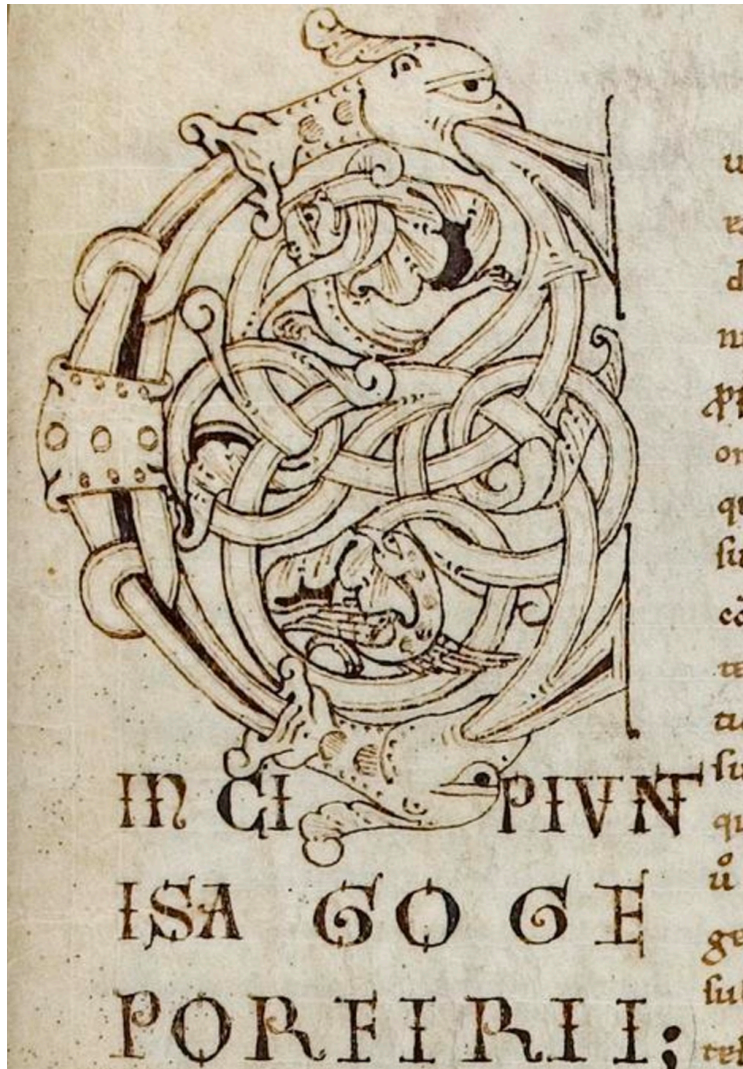


Fig. 1.12. Initial C, *Compendium of Logical Texts* (Paris?, c. 1140), 261 x 135 mm, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282, f. 2r

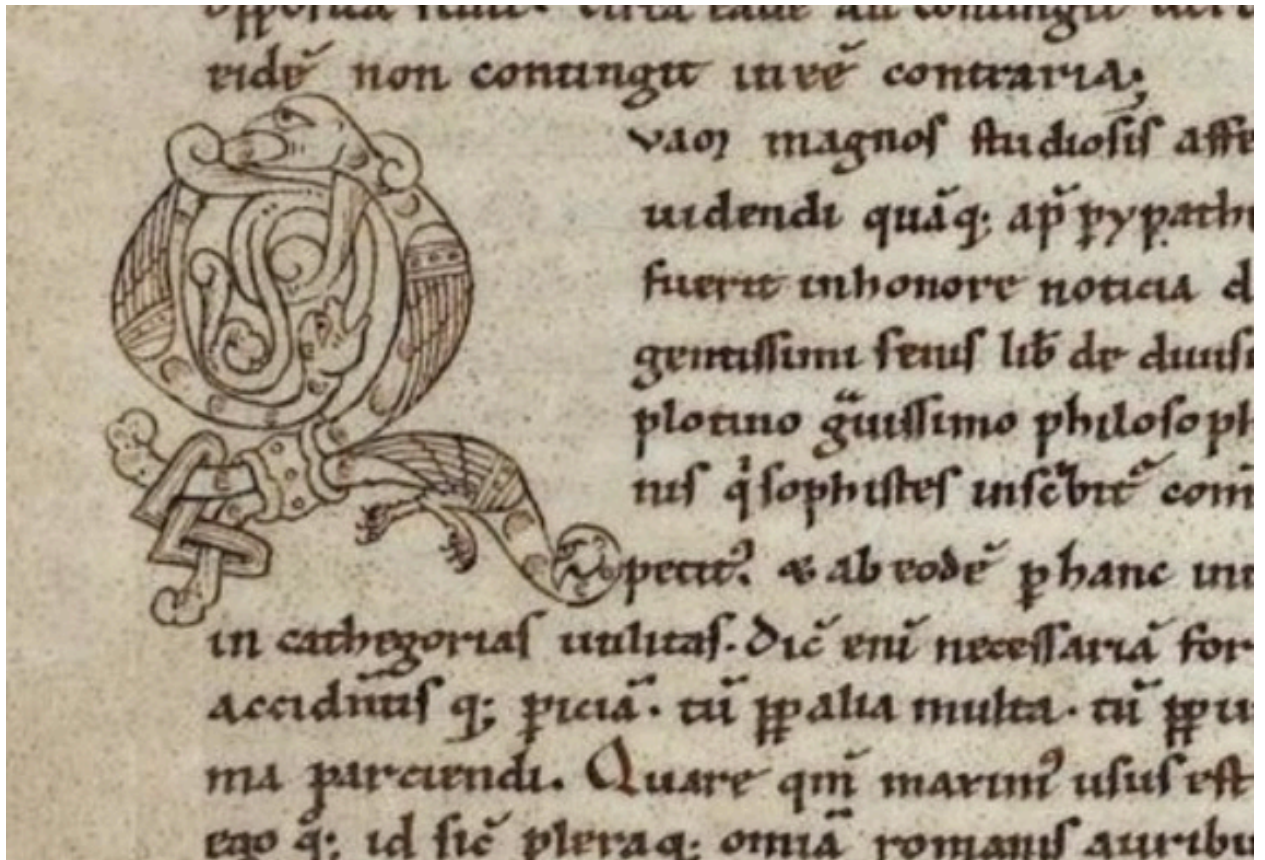


Fig. 1.13. Initial *Q*, *Compendium of Logical Texts* (Paris?, c. 1140), 261 x 135 mm, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282, f. 2r



Fig. 1.14. Initial O, Compendium of Logical Texts (Paris?, c. 1140), 261 x 135 mm, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, MS 2282, f. 23v





Fig. 2.1 The Petit-Pont (detail), Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau, *La Ville, Cité et Université de Paris*, 1552–1559, colored woodcut, 795 x 600 mm, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Gr A 68





Fig. 2.3 Map of the Ile de la Cité and Left Bank in the early 12<sup>th</sup>-century

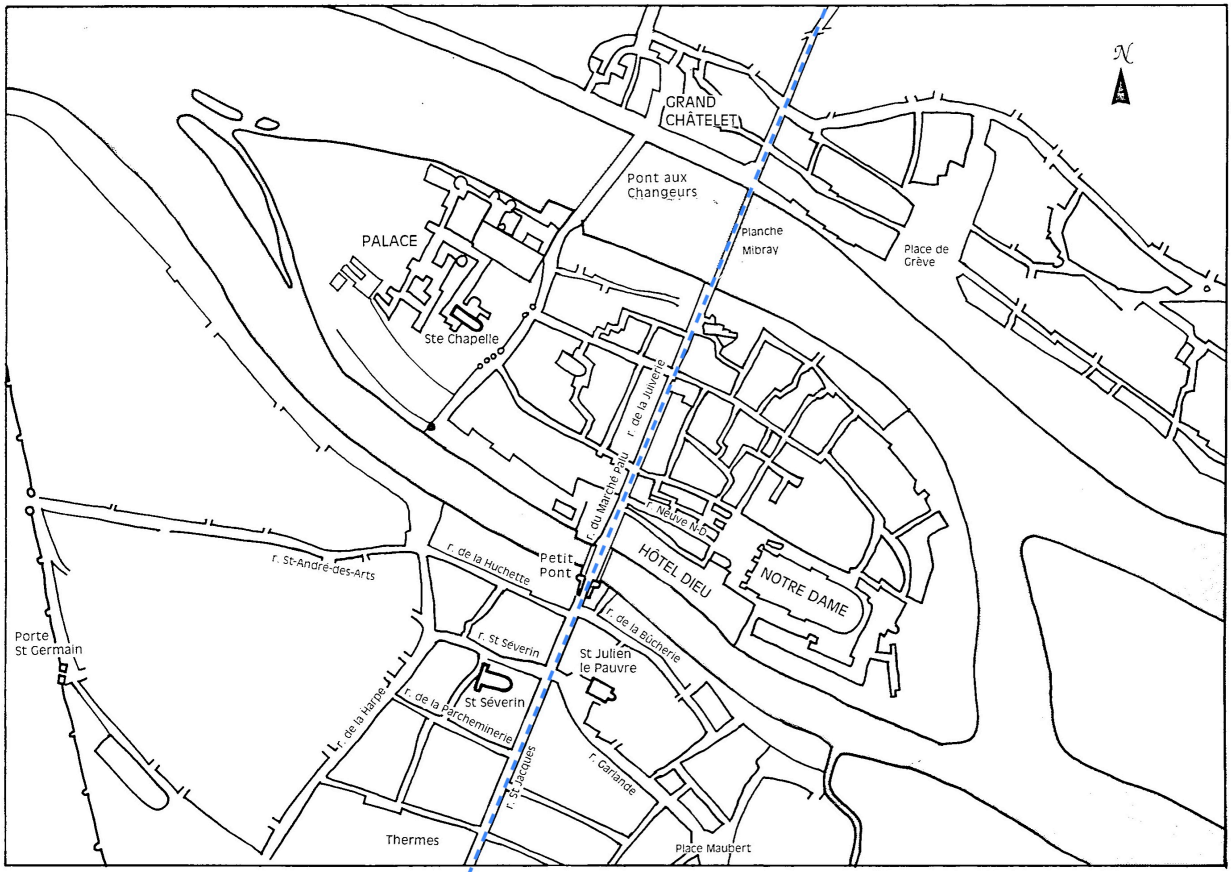


Fig. 2.4 Map of 12th-century Paris (the dotted blue line marks the path of the Roman *cardo*)



Fig. 2.5 Jean-Baptiste Oudry, The Petit-Pont After the Fire of 1718, 1718, Paris, Musée Carnavale



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Français 2091

Fig. 2.6 Activities on the Bridges, *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 2091, f.111r and detail

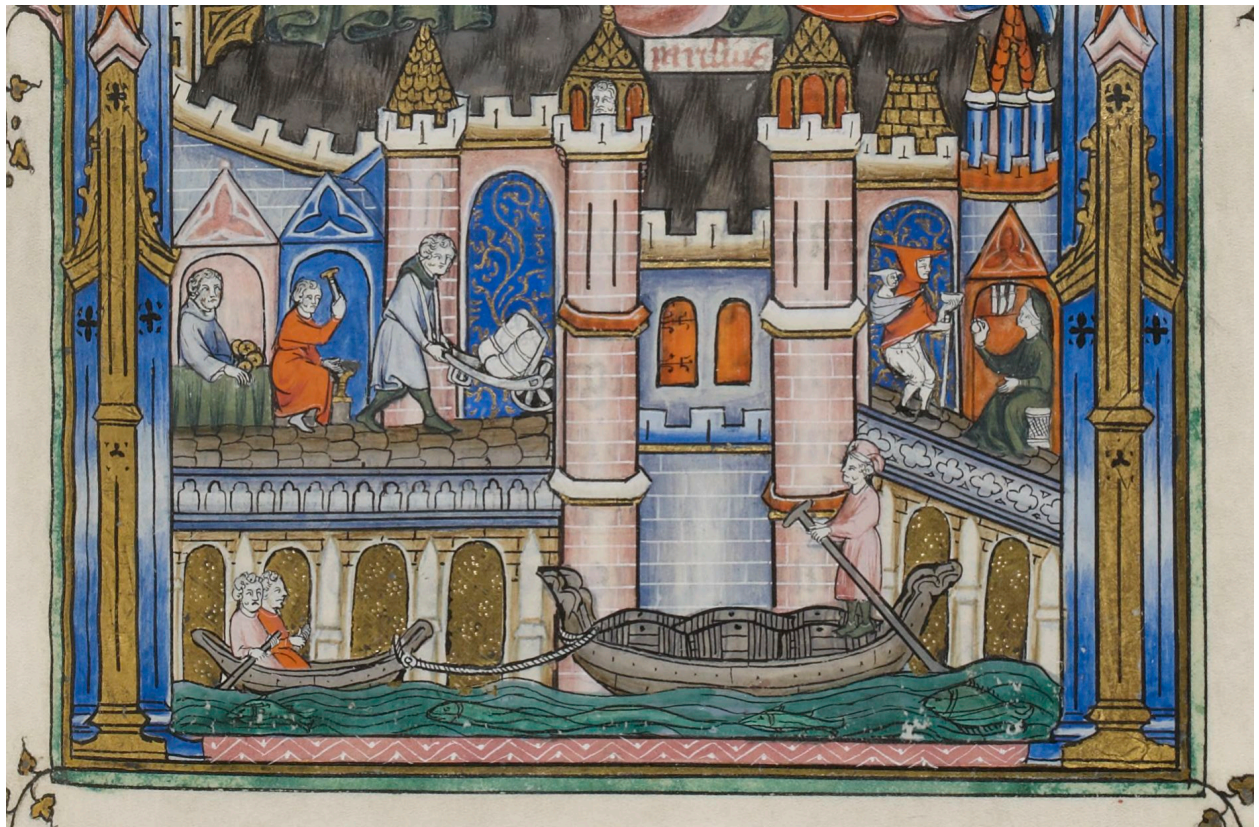






Fig. 2.8 The Piazzale on the Ponte Vecchio





Fig. 2.9 Méliacin Master, Initial *Q*, *Physica*, late 13th-century, 425 × 266 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 3469, f. 75r



Fig. 2.10 Méliacin Master, Initial *S*, Aristotle, *Physica*, late 13<sup>th</sup>-century, 425 × 266 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 3469, f. 227r



Fig. 2.11 Méliacin Master, *O*, Aristotle, *Physica*, late 13<sup>th</sup>-century, 425 × 266 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 3469, f. 273v



Fig. 2.12 Dancing Bear (detail), *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 33v

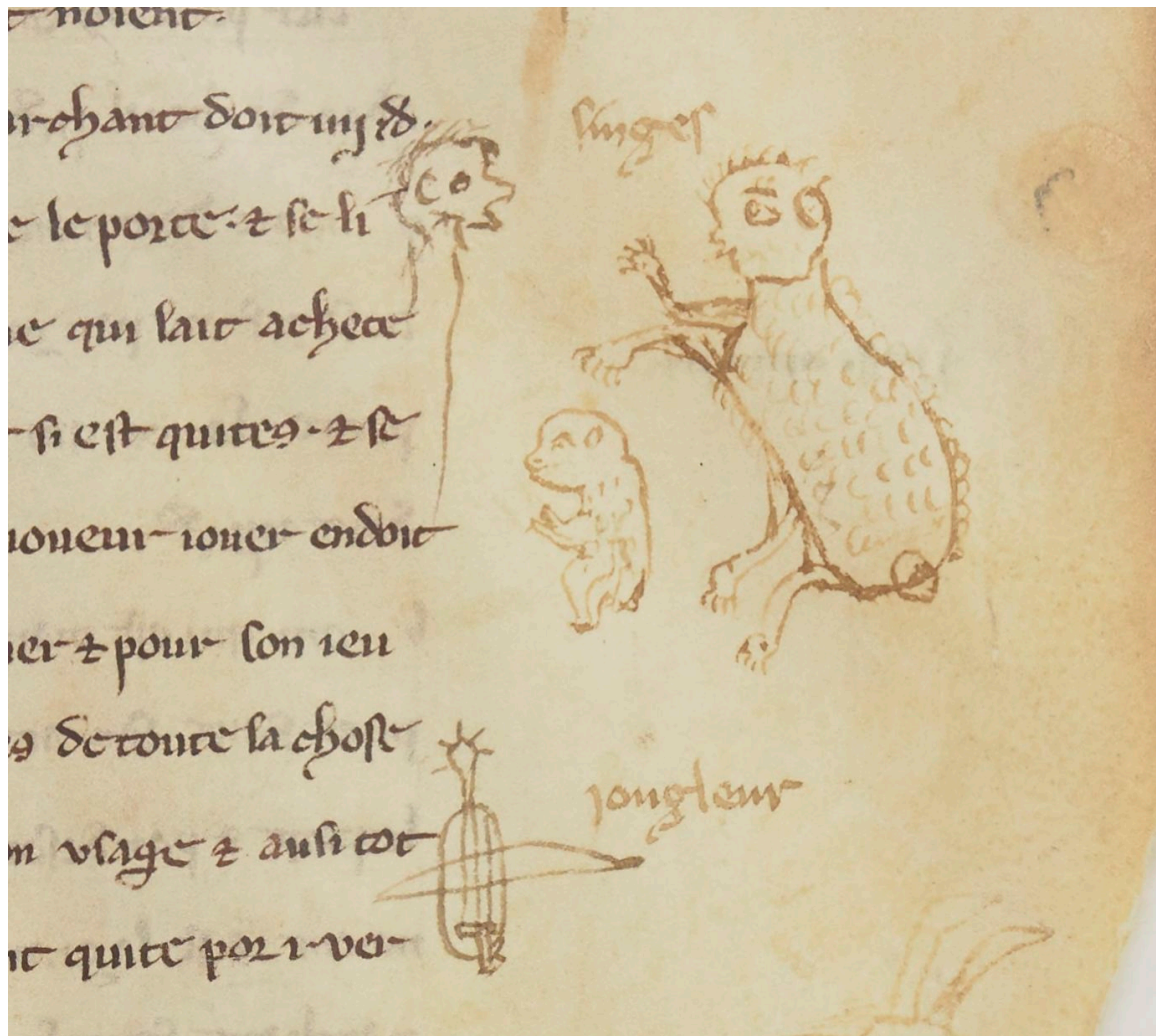


Fig. 2.13 Three monkeys, a Fiddle (detail), Étienne Boileau, *Règlements sur les arts et métiers de Paris*, 1268, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 24069, f. 204r



Fig. 2.14 Chained Monkey, Man and Dog, Méreau, 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century, Paris



Fig. 2.15 Initial O, Teacher, Student, Grotesque Jongleur, Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*, c. 1300, 320 x 220mm, New York, Columbia University, MS X88.Ar512, f. 58r

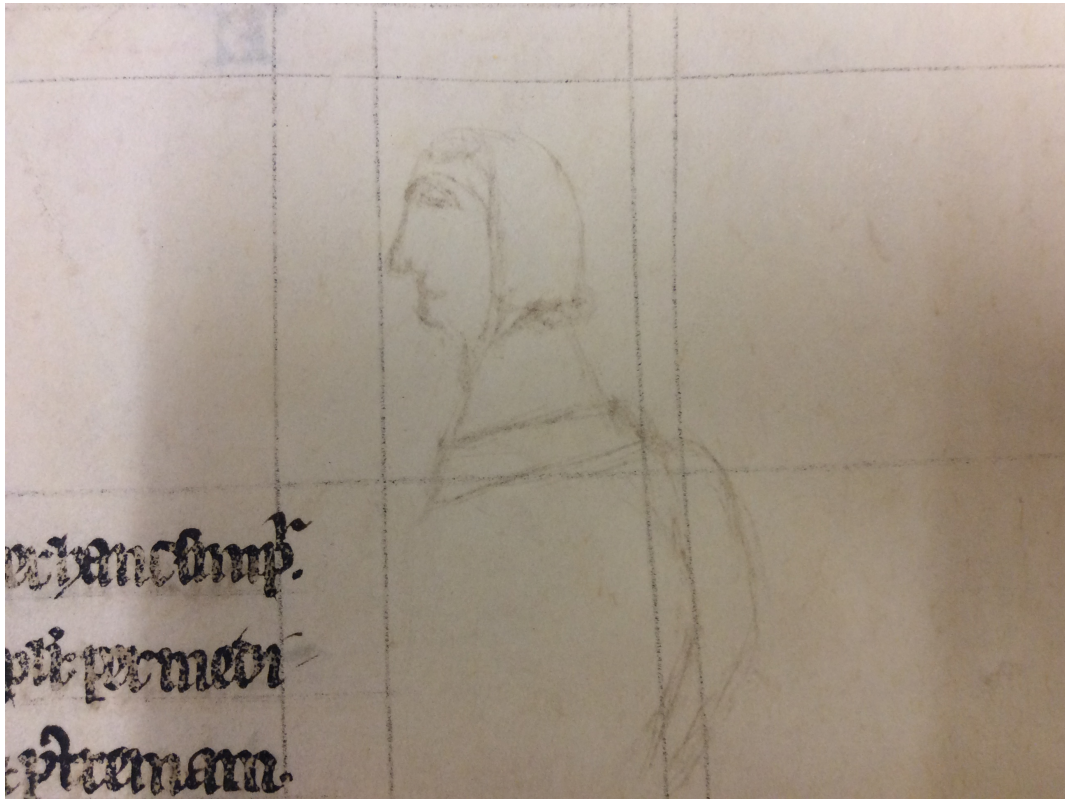


Fig. 2.16 Doodles, Boethius, *De differentiis topicis*, c. 1300, 320 x 220mm, New York, Columbia University, MS X88.Ar512, f. 212r





Fig. 2.17 Initial *D*, Aristotle, *Elenchi*, c. 1300, 320 x 220 mm, New York, Columbia University, MS X88.Ar512, f. 208v



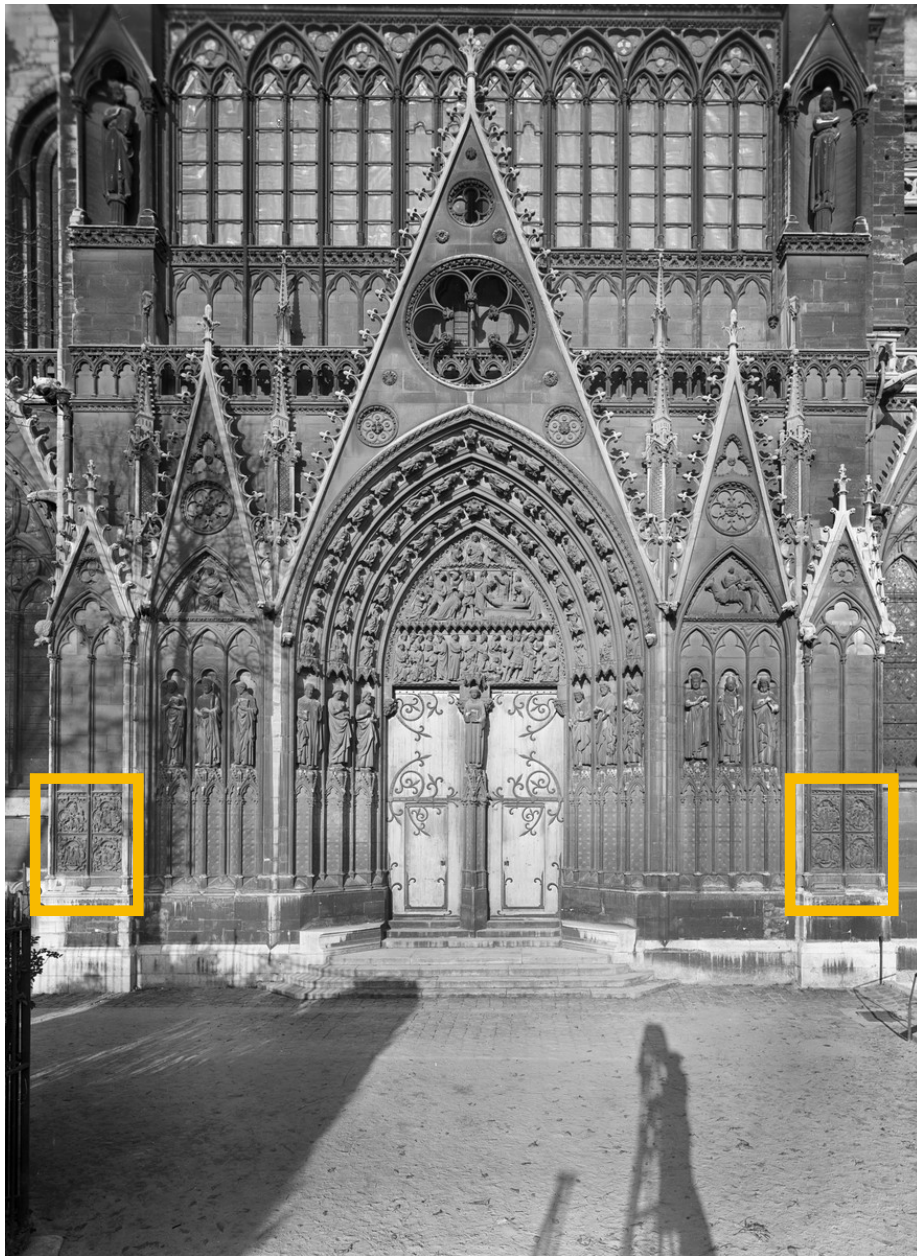


Fig. 3.2 Bishop's Portal (Student Relief Panels Highlighted), Notre-Dame Cathedral, South Transept Façade, Paris, 1260s



Fig. 3.3 Left Panel of the Student Reliefs, 1260s, Notre-Dame Cathedral, South Transept Façade, Paris



Fig. 3.4 Right Panel of the Student Reliefs, 1260s, Notre-Dame Cathedral, South Transept Façade, Paris



Fig. 3.5 *Rue du Fouarre*

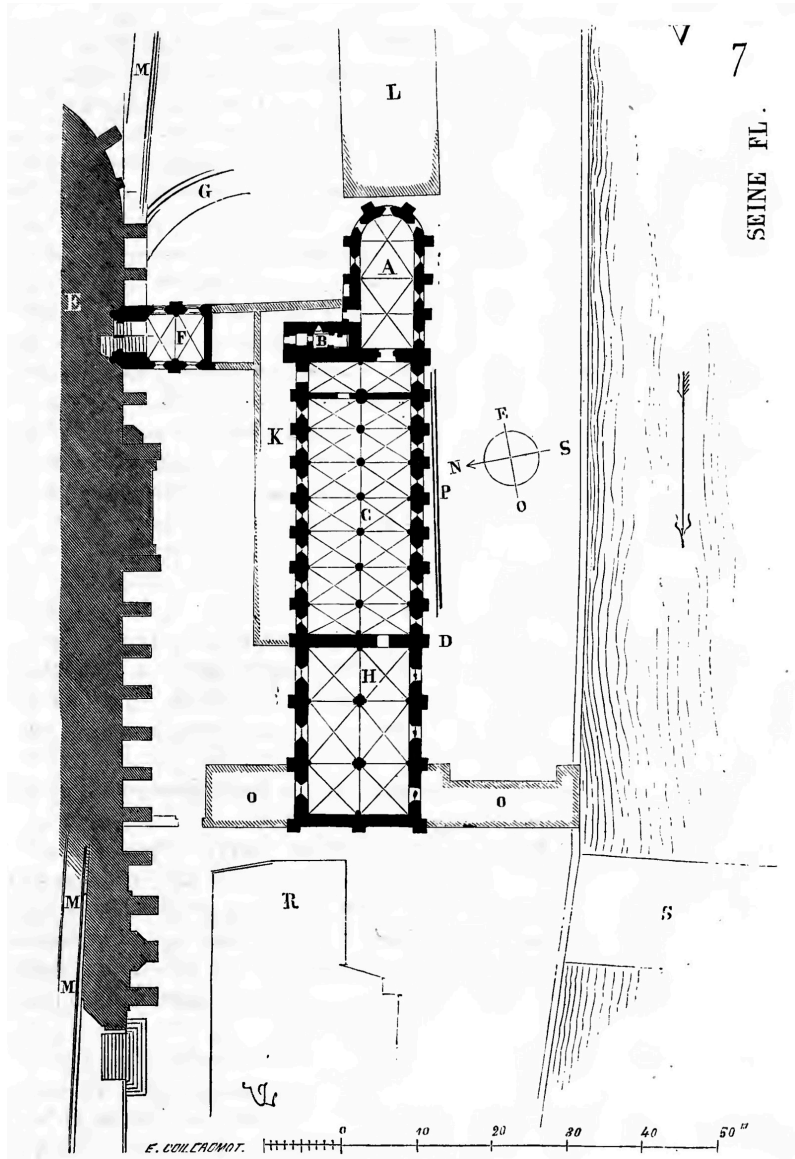


Fig. 3.6 Ground Plan of the Episcopal Palace

A = chapel

B = tower

C = hall

F = portal into choir, sacristy, and treasury

H = late thirteenth-century annex

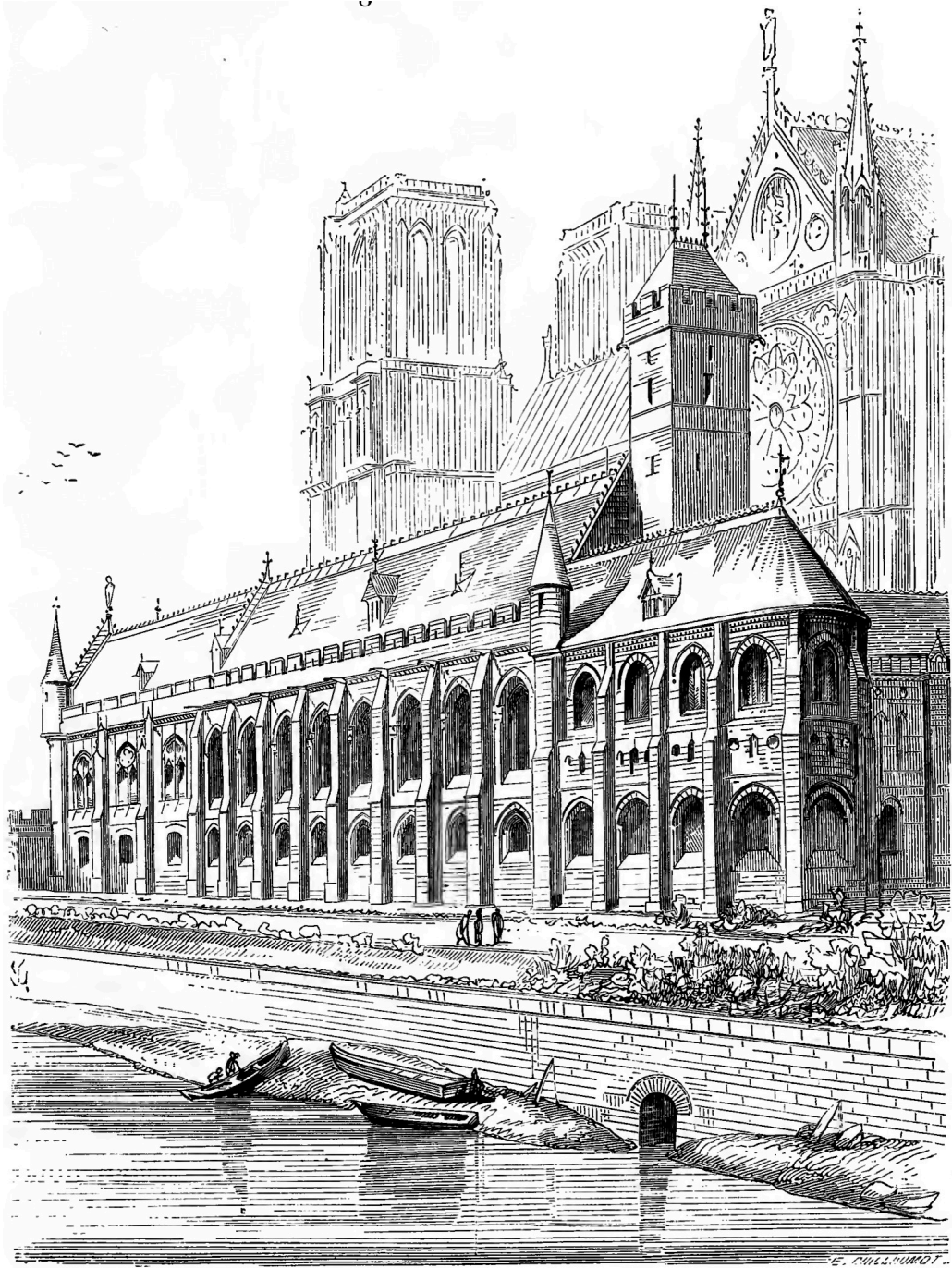


Fig. 3.7 The Episcopal Palace





Fig. 3.8 The Right Hand of God Protecting the Faithful against the Demons. Jean Fouquet, The Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier, ca. 1452–1460, tempera and gold leaf on parchment, 194 x 146 mm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.2490



Fig. 3.9 Map of the Ile de la Cité and Left Bank around 1200



Fig. 3.10 Salle du Festin, Palais du Tau (Palace of the Archbishop of Reims), 13<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, Reims



Fig. 3.11 The Life of St. Stephen, 1260s, Tympanum, Bishop's Portal, Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris

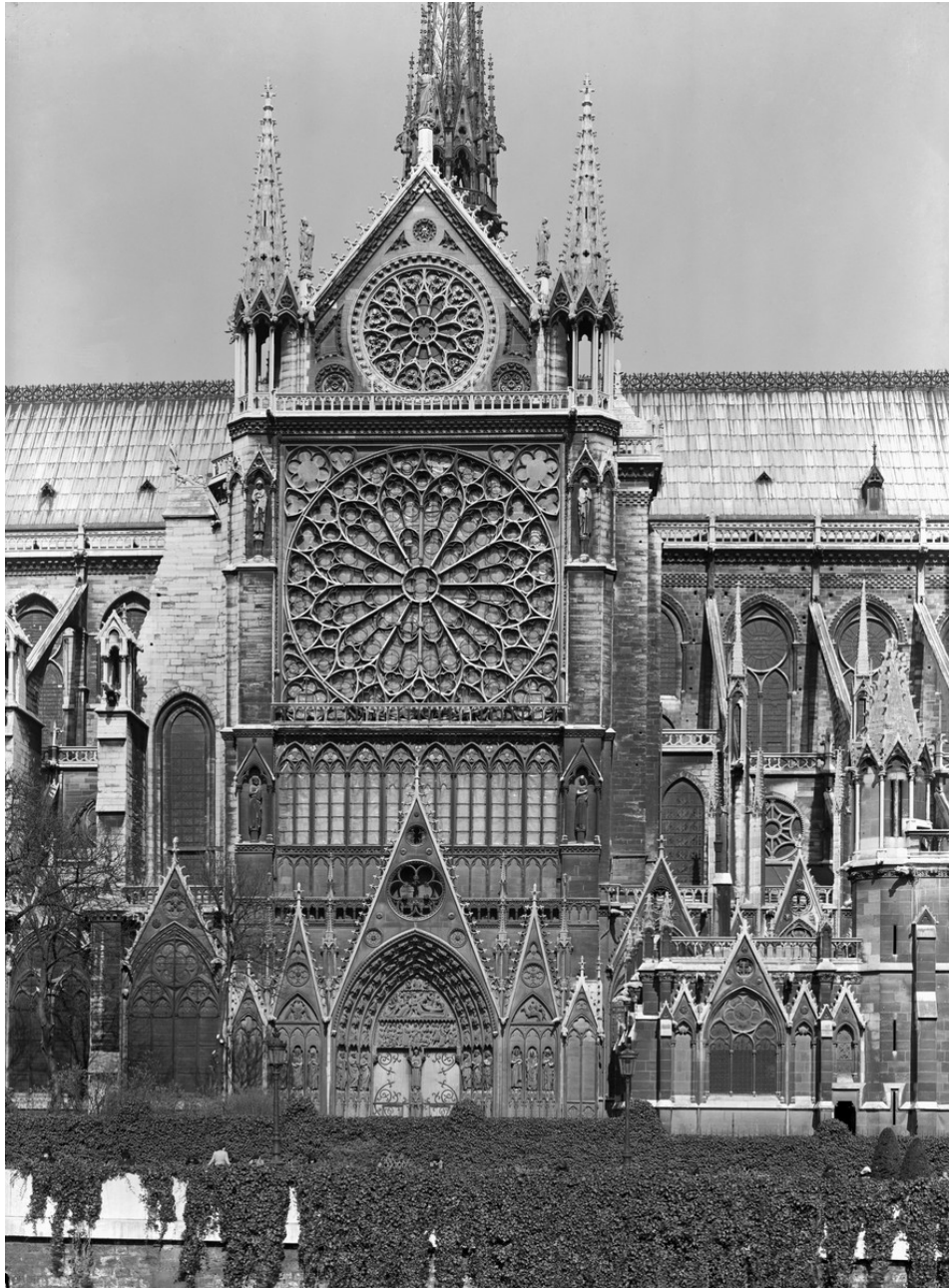


Fig. 3.12 South Transept, 1260s, Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris



Fig. 3.13 Bishop's Portal, 1260s, Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris

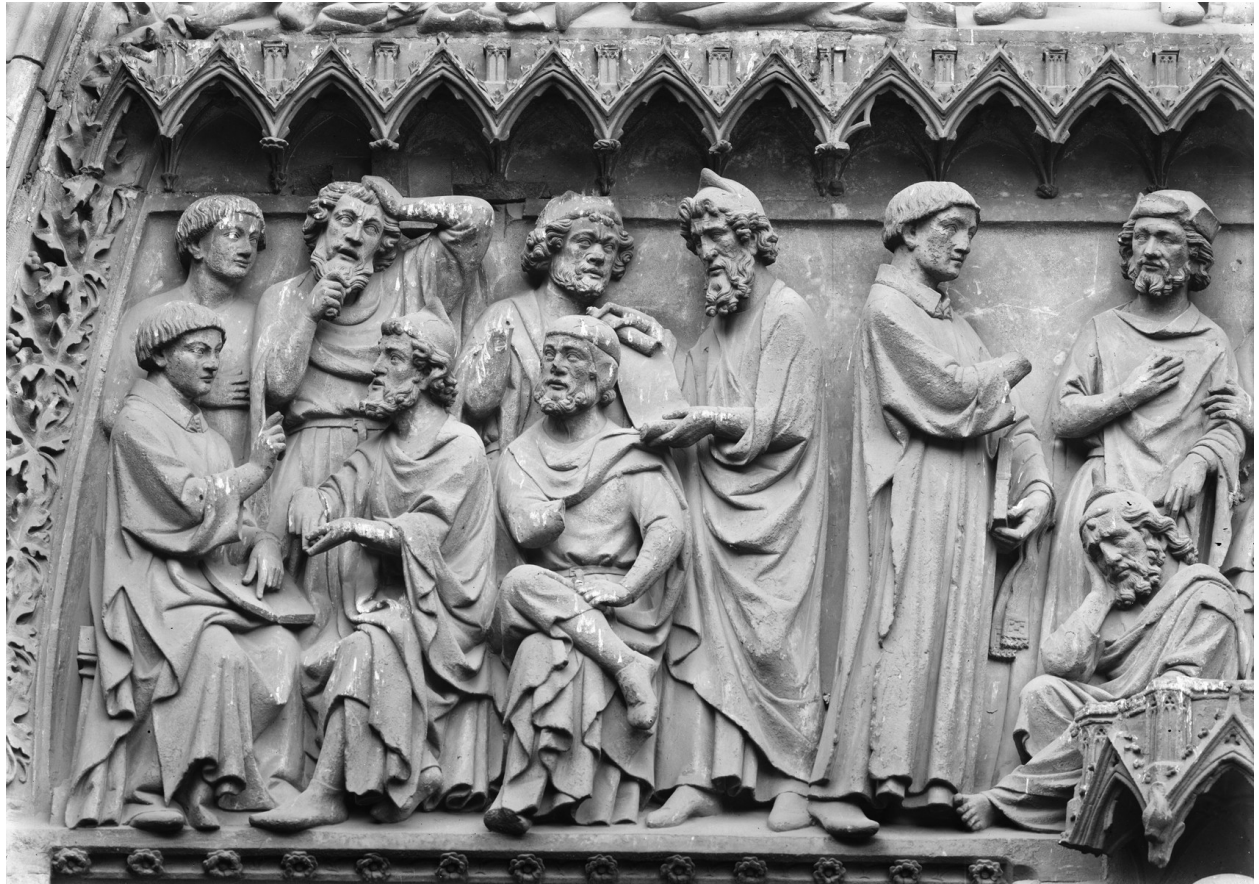


Fig. 3.14 St. Stephen Disputing, Tympanum, The Bishop's Portal, 1260s, Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris



Fig. 3.15 Initial *P*, Disputing Masters, Compendium of Aristotelian Texts, c. 1250, Oxford, Balliol College, MS 253, f. 92r





Fig. 3.16 Initial Q, Teaching Scene, Compendium of Aristotelian Texts, c. 1250, Oxford, Balliol College, MS 253, f. 80v



Fig. 3.17 St. Stephen Preaching, Tympanum, Bishop's Portal, 1260s, Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris



Fig. 3.18 The Sanhedrin, Tympanum, Bishop's Portal, 1260s, Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris



Fig. 4.1 *Rue du Fouarre*

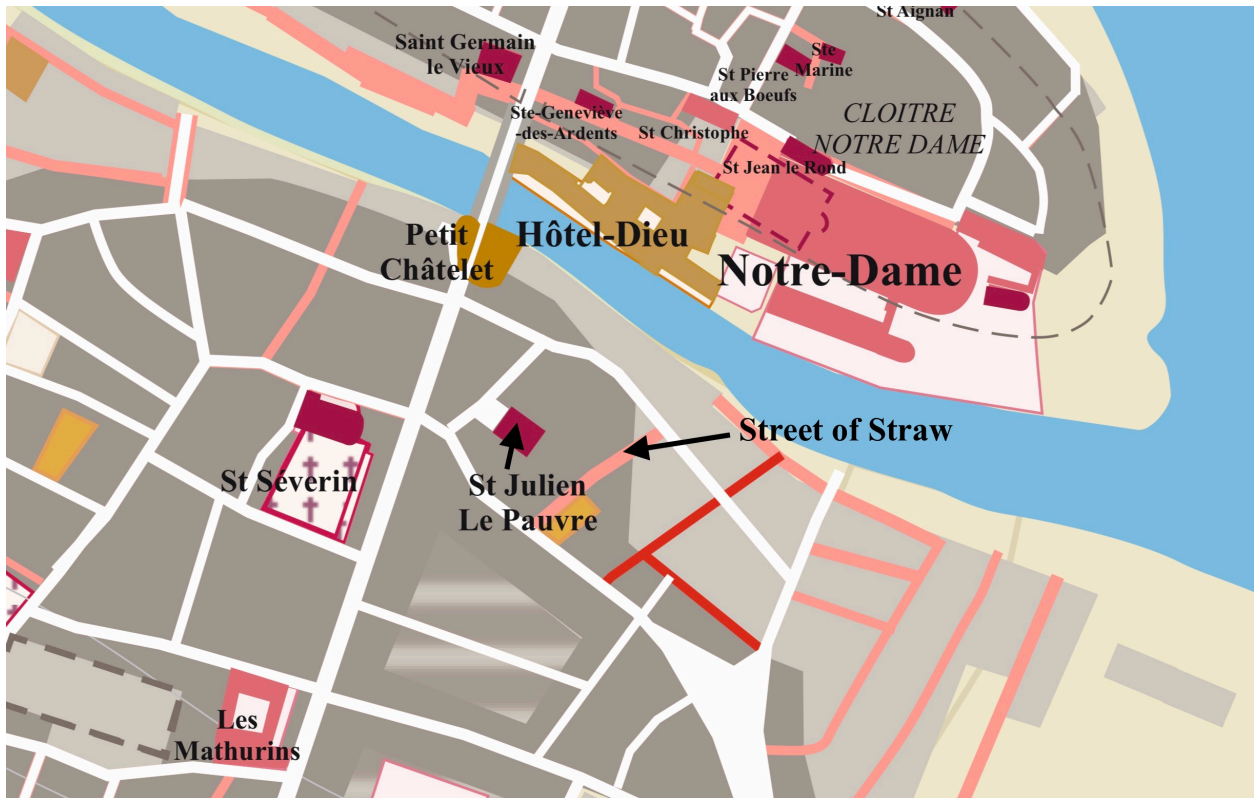


Fig. 4.2 Map of the Left Bank showing the Street of Straw



Fig. 4.3 Charles Marville, Rue du Fouarre seen from the quai de Montebello, c. 1866, Musée Carnavalet

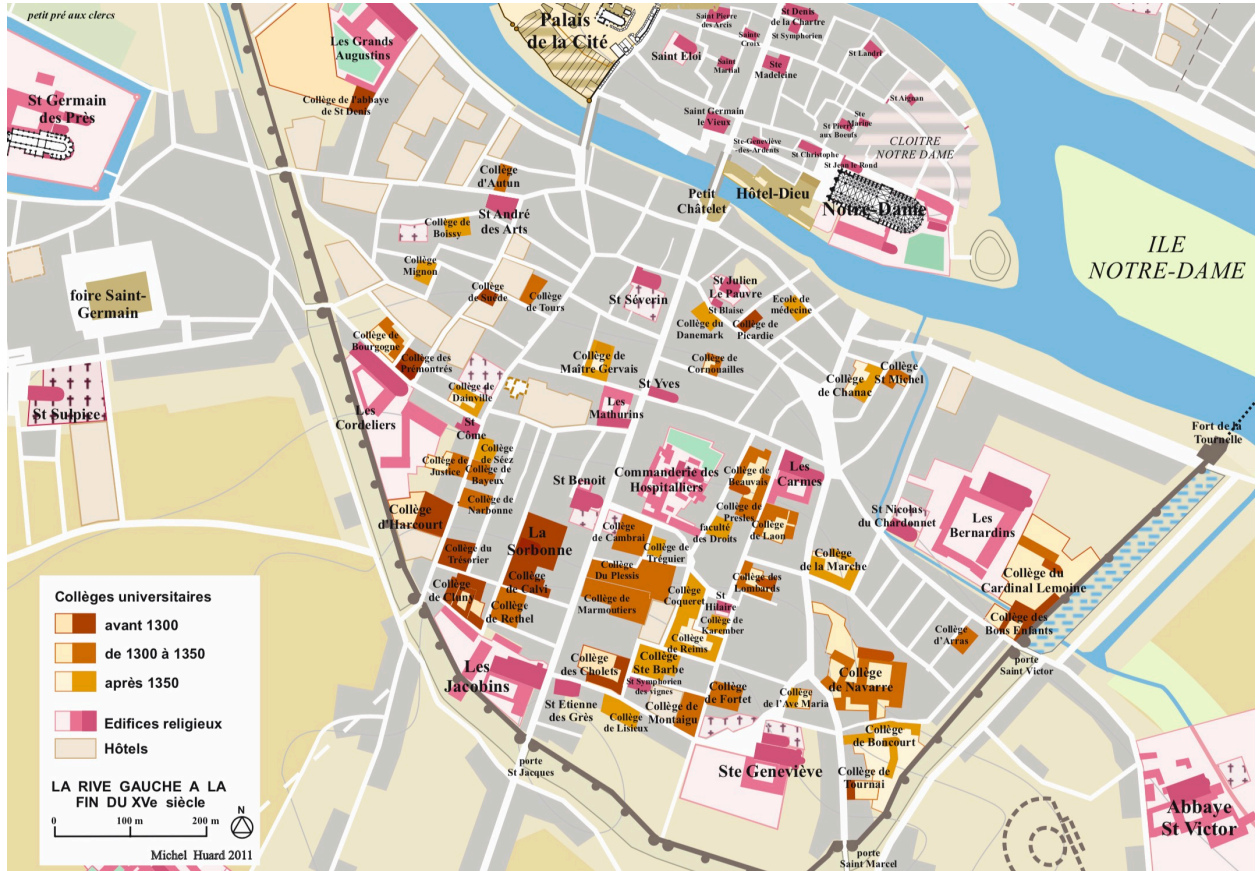


Fig. 4.4 Map of the Left Bank and its Secular Colleges and Religious Studia

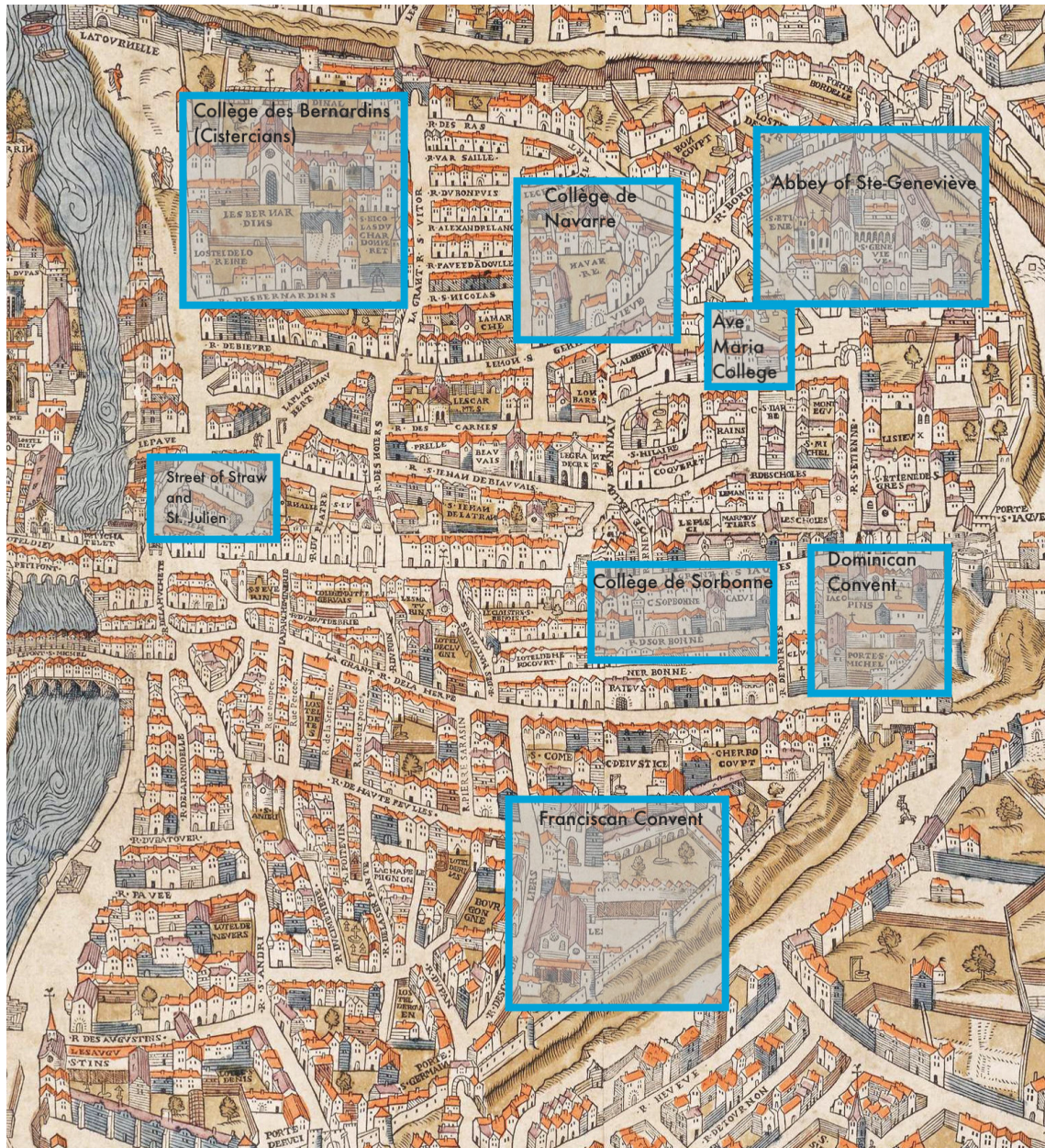


Fig. 4.5 The Left Bank, Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau, *La Ville, Cité et Université de Paris* (detail), 1552–1559, colored woodcut, 795 x 600 mm, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Gr A 68



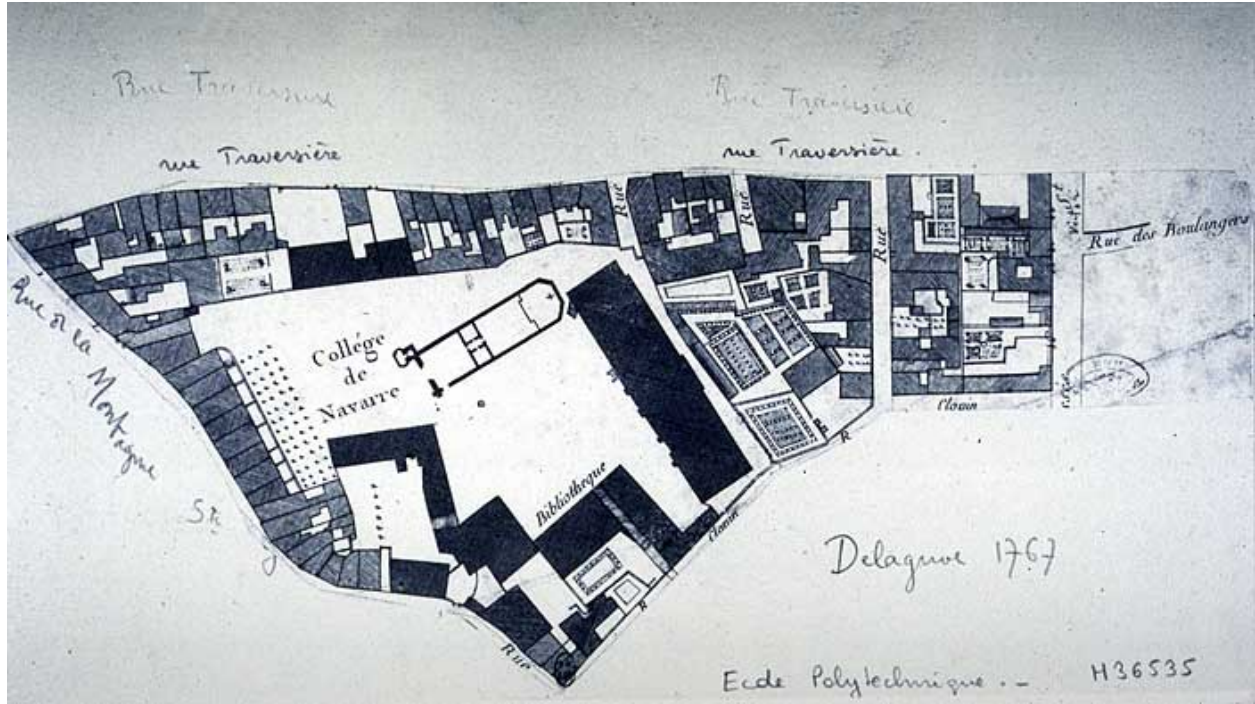


Fig. 4.6 Collège de Navarre, Plan of 1767



Fig. 4.7 Interior and Exterior of the Refectory, Collège des Bernardins, begun 1248, Paris

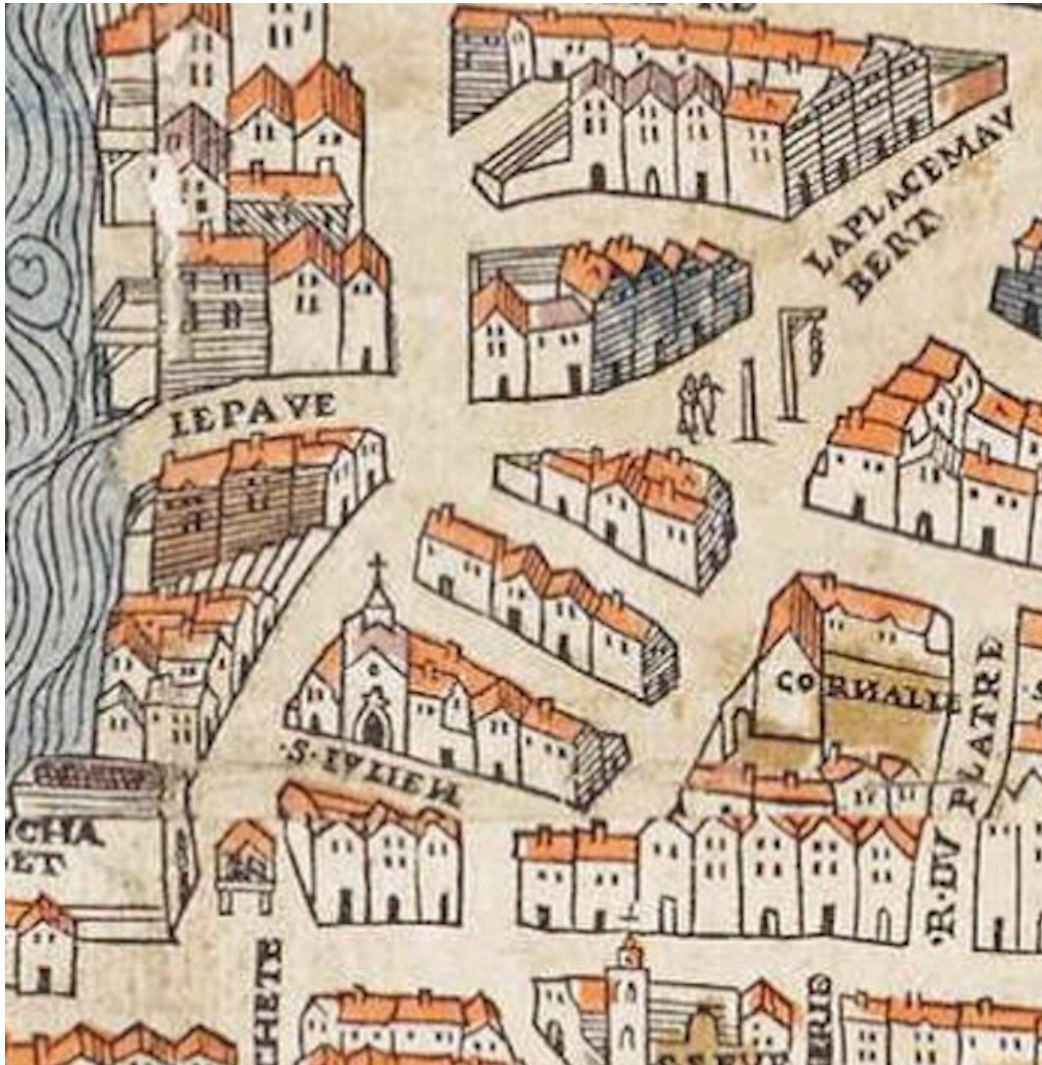


Fig. 4.8 The Neighborhood of St-Julien-le-Pauvre, Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau, *La Ville, Cité et Université de Paris* (detail), 1552-1559, colored woodcut, 795 x 600 mm, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Gr A 68

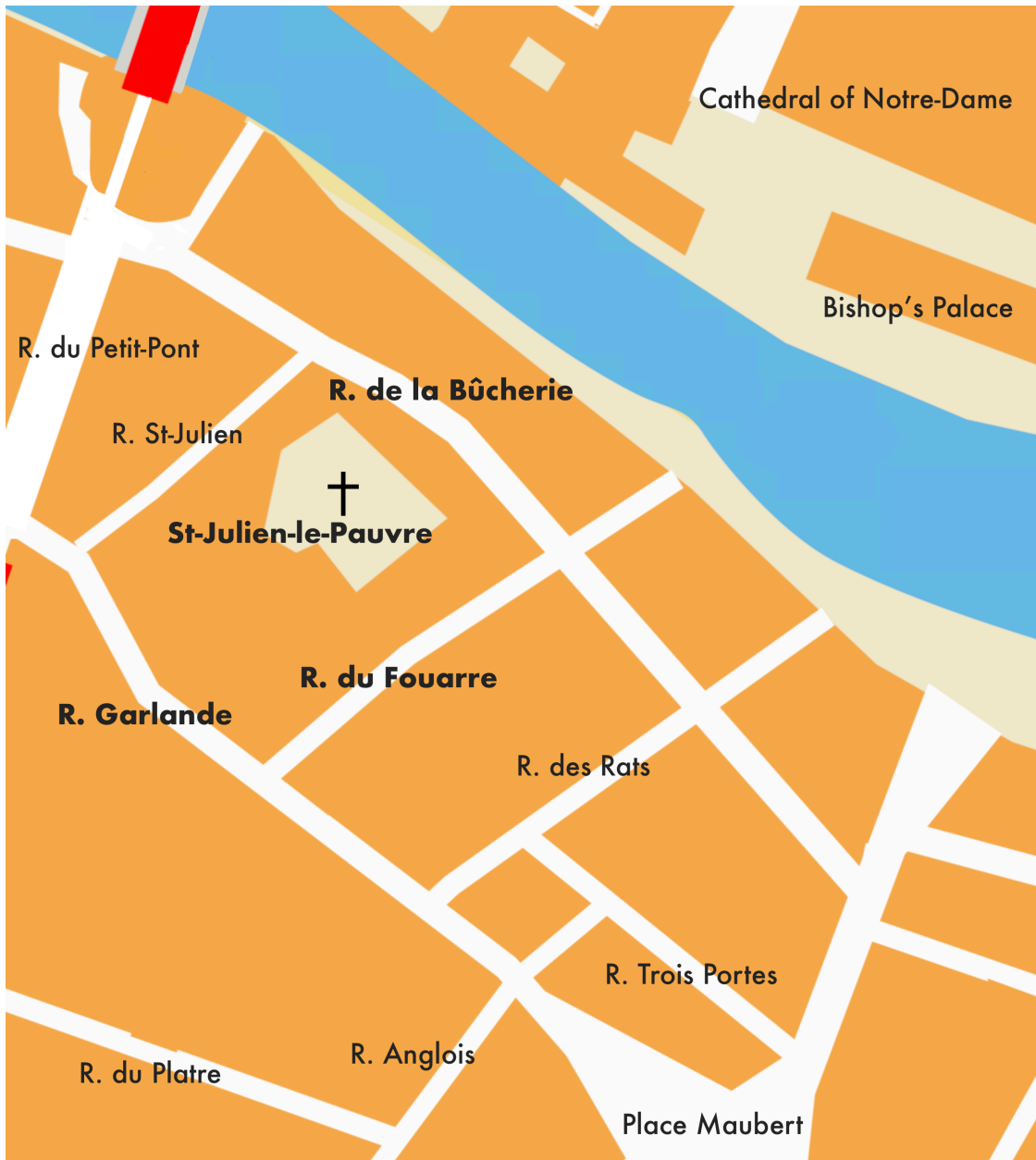


Fig. 4.9 Street Map of the Neighborhood around St-Julien-le-Pauvre

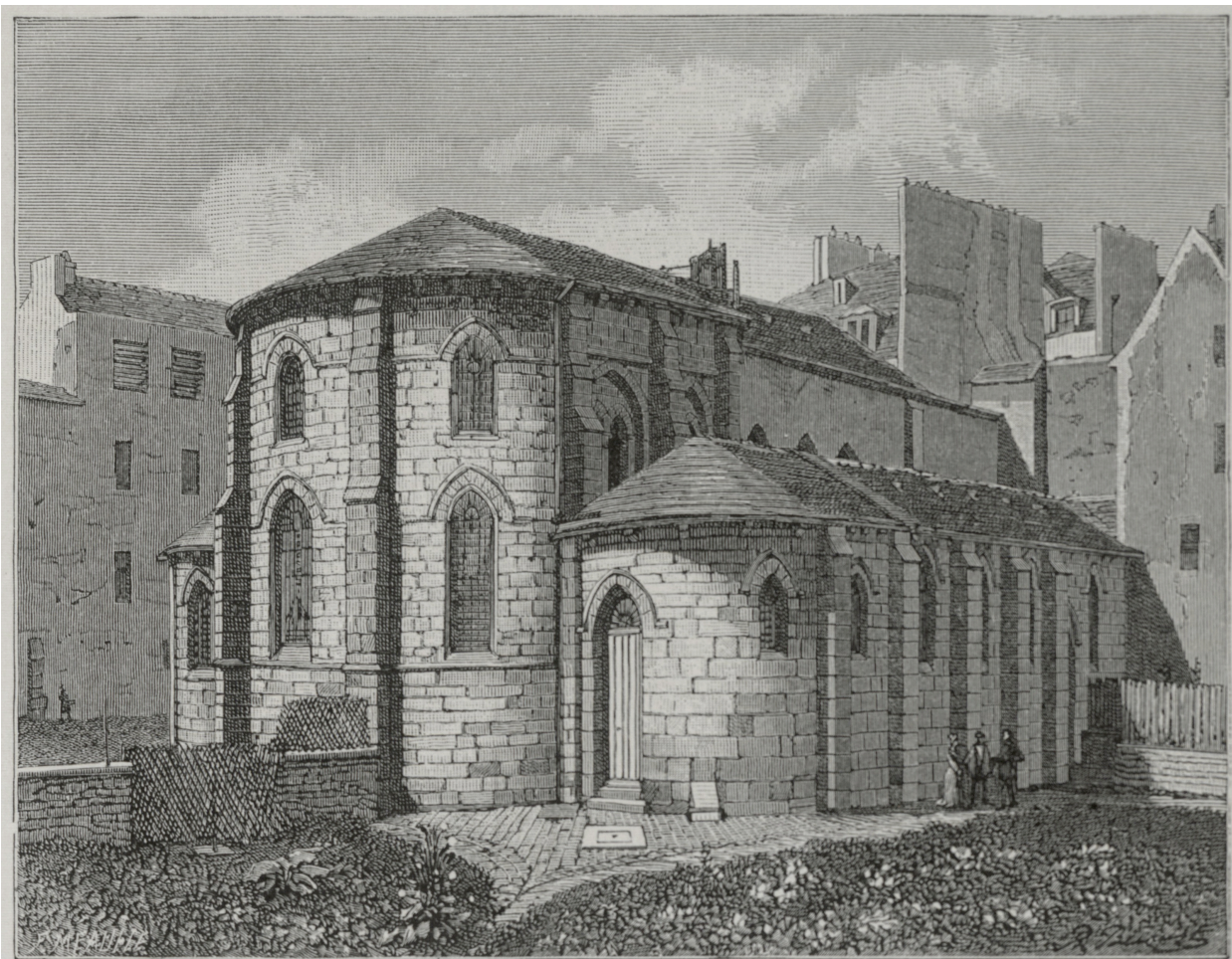


Fig. 9. — Extérieur de Saint-Julien le Pauvre, côté du nord.

Fig. 4.10 St-Julien-le-Pauvre, 12th century, Paris



Fig. 4.12 Survey Plan of the Street of Straw

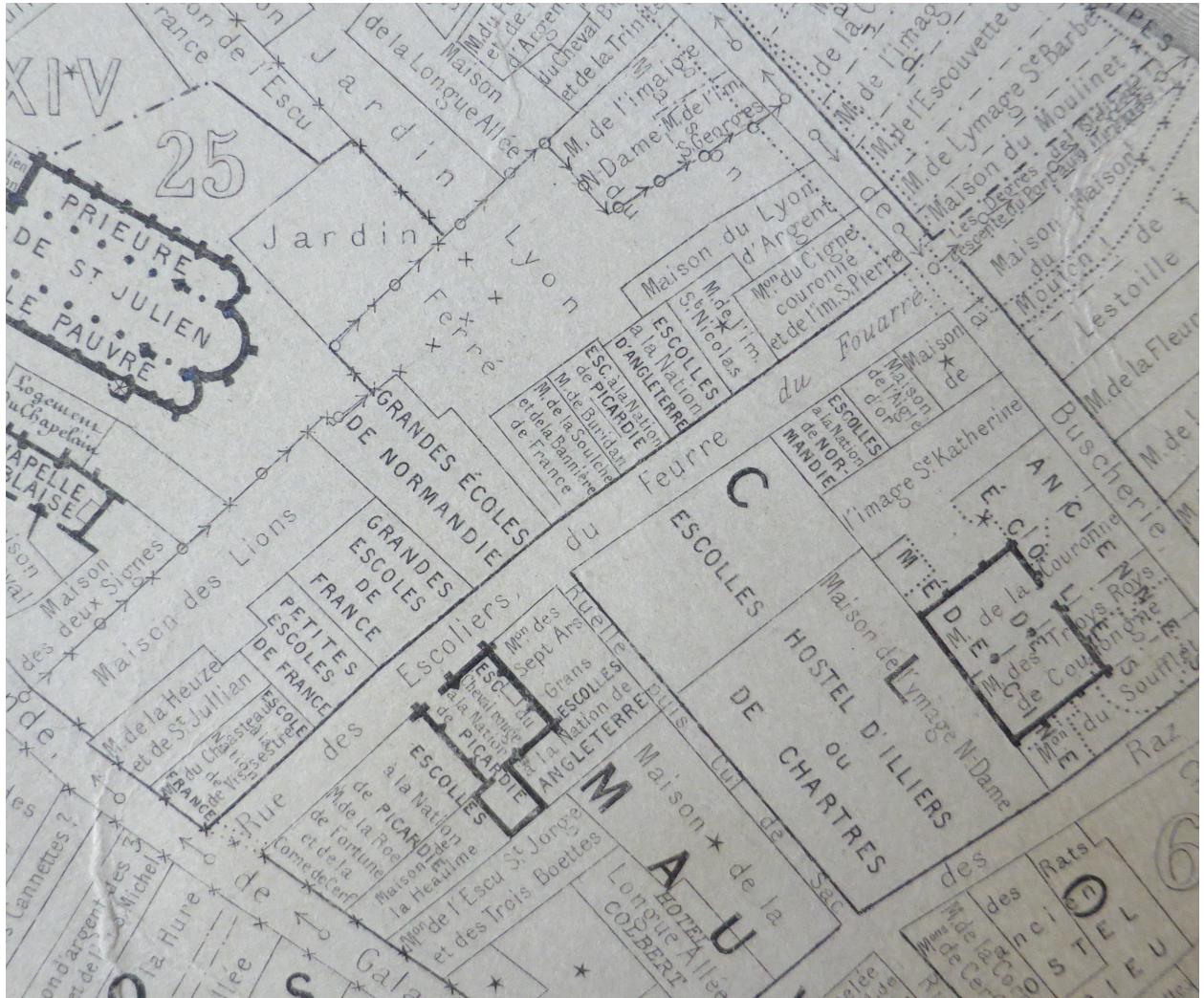


Fig. 4.11 Map of the Street of Straw



Fig. 4.13 St-Julien-le-Pauvre, 12<sup>th</sup> century, Paris





Fig. 5.1 Dionysius Presiding Over the Areopagus, *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 35v



Fig. 5.2 Initial C, Aristotle, *Physica*, 1280–85, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 3467, f. 1r



Fig 5.3 The Good Friday Eclipse, *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 34r

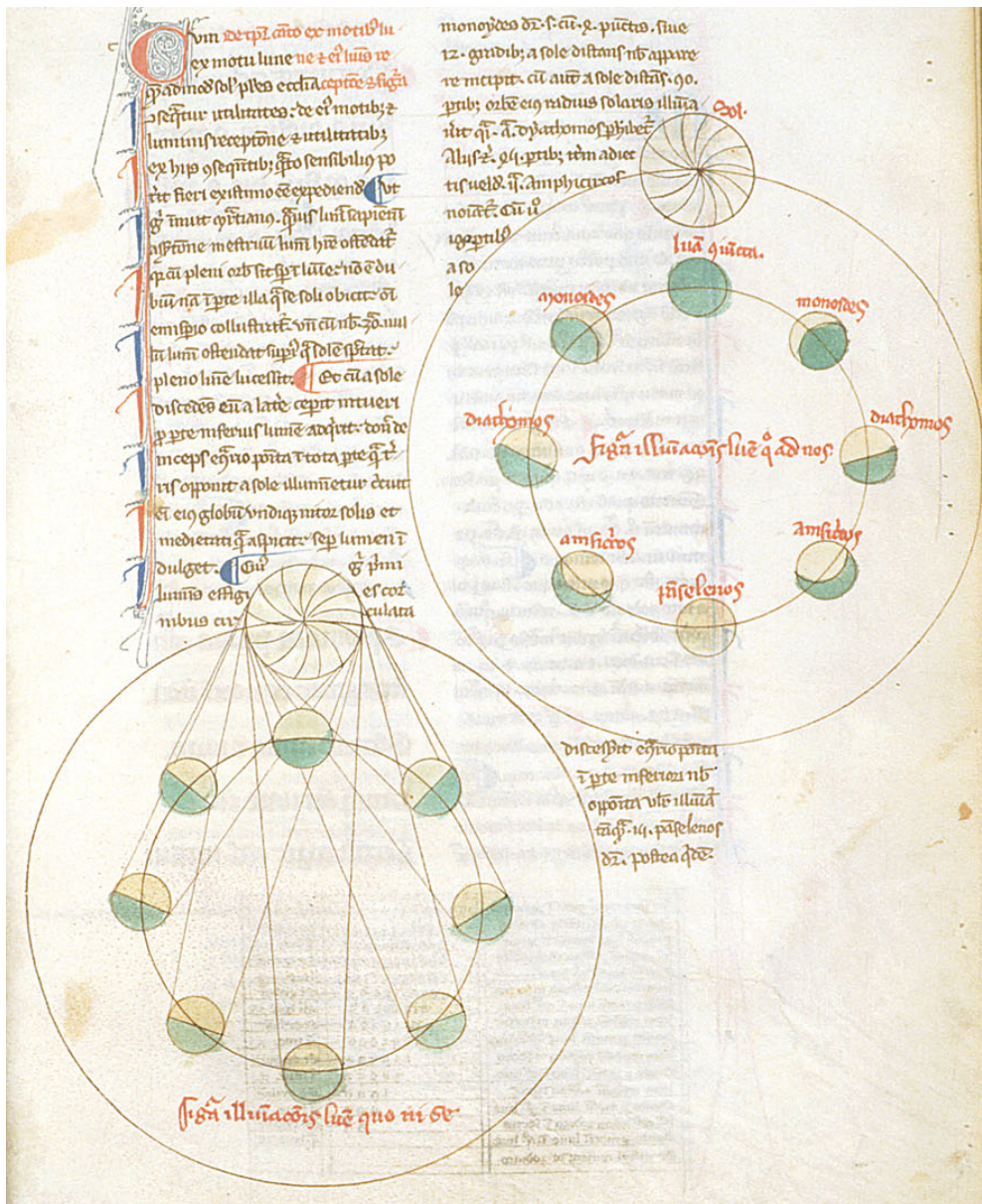


Fig. 5.4 Lunar Phases, London, British Library, Harley MS 3647, f. 45v

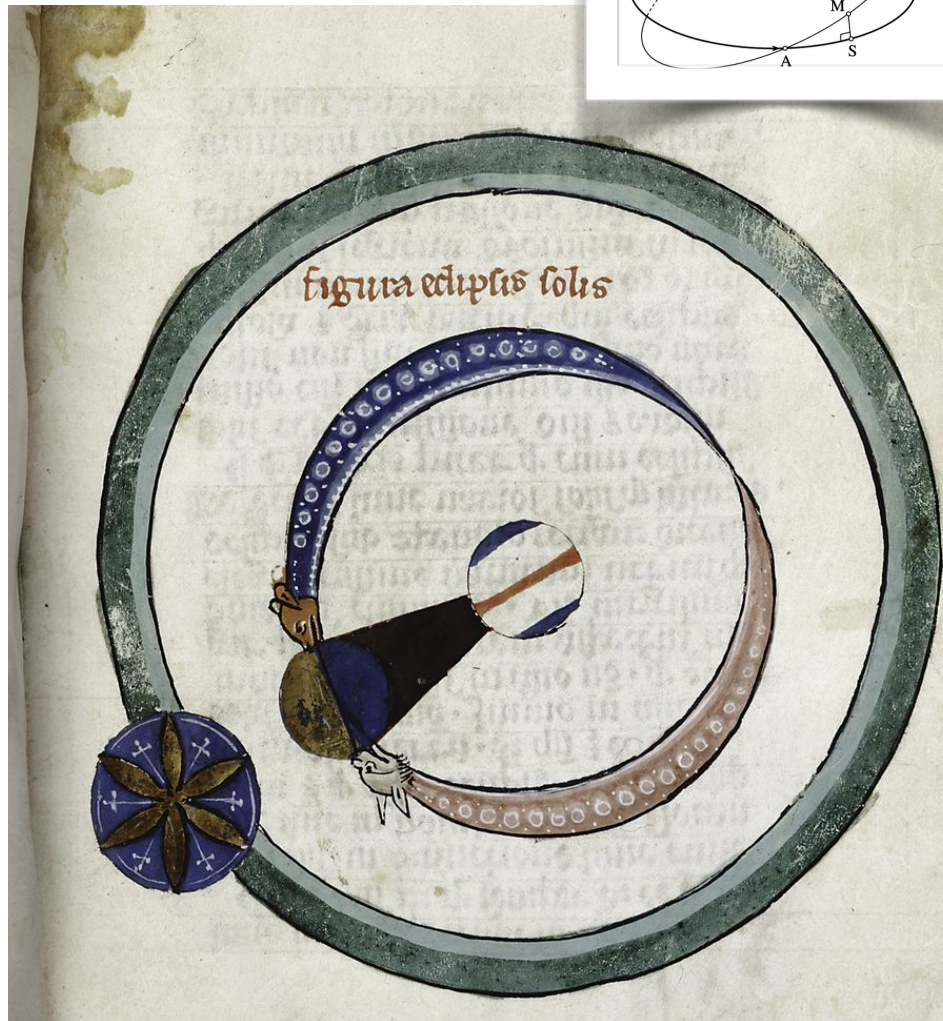


Fig. 5.5 Solar Eclipse Diagram, John of Sacrobosco, *De Sphaera*, c. 1260, New York, New York Public Library, MA 069, f. 113v



Fig. 5.6 The Altar to the Unknown God, *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 37



Fig. 5.7 Paul's Areopagus Speech, *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 45r



Fig. 5.8 Paul and Dionysius. *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 46v







Fig. 5.10 Dionysius's Vision of the Celestial Hierarchy, *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 107v



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 5.11 Destruction of Idols. *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2090, f. 107v



Fig. 5.12 Dionysius Preaching to the People of Arles (bottom); The Destruction of the Idol of Mars (top), *Vie de Saint Denis*, 1317, 235 x 150 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 2091, f. 89r



Fig. 5.13 Bible Moralisée (Paris, 1225–1245), 400 x 275 mm, London, British Library, Harley MS 1527, f. 77r



Fig. 5.14 Bible Moralisée (Paris, 1225–1245), 400 x 275 mm, London, British Library, Harley MS 1527, f. 27r



Fig. 5.15 Bible Moralisée (Paris, 1225–1245), 400 x 275 mm, London, British Library, Harley MS 1527, f. 26v