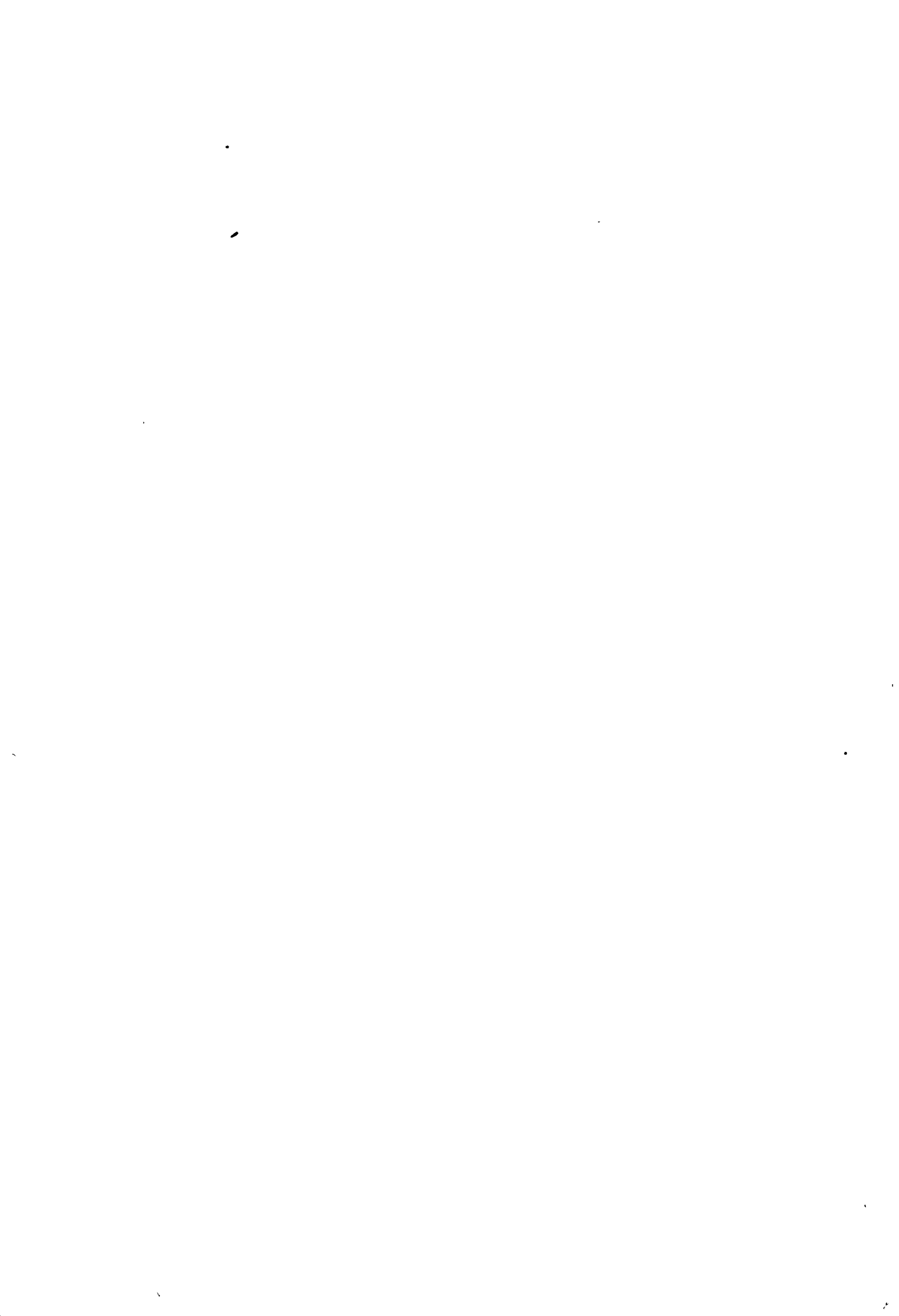


MOTIVATION OF THE FOUNDERS  
AT MEDIAEVAL COLLEGES

by

A. L. GABRIEL

Corresponding Fellow of the French Academy  
des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres



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**Nicht im Handel**

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For Chauncey D. Stillman  
in remembrance  
of my delightful year in 1963/64  
at  
Harvard University



## MOTIVATION OF THE FOUNDERS OF MEDIAEVAL COLLEGES

By A. L. GABRIEL

Before trying to penetrate into the psychological and spiritual attitude of the founders of colleges when they established colleges, I would like to clarify my terminology. A college was an autonomous or semi-autonomous community of men, invested with certain rights and privileges, living in an endowed building, and engaged in learning under the government of a duly elected or appointed head, who governed according to certain rules or regulations called statutes, which had been approved by the founder or his executors or ecclesiastical authorities. A founder was someone who intended to bring into being such an institution, not merely to set up a student hospice or to donate a house or to establish *bursae*. I shall not discuss the attitude of the founders of religious colleges (Canons of Prémontré, Dominicans, Franciscans, etc.) and cathedral-chapter colleges (Upsala, Linköping, Skara), because the founding of such colleges resulted from community decisions.

### I. Social Background of the Founders

Examination of the social background of the founders shows that they can be divided into prelates, university-trained ecclesiastics, many of whom were also outstanding civil servants, members of royal families, members of the lay aristocracy, and a very small group of lay people<sup>1</sup>.

One of the most important motives of the founders of colleges was their love of country, *patria*, place of origin, diocese, or parish. They were led by a fervent desire to raise the spiritual and intellectual standards of their own provinces, cities, or bishoprics. Local patriotism was thus very important in the initiating and carrying out of their plans in founding their colleges.

But even more important, at the very root of every foundation was the founder's good heart and his desire to practice charity. The twelfth century witnessed the founding of several eleemosynary institutions that cannot properly be called colleges, if we use the

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<sup>1</sup> A. L. GABRIEL, *The College System in the Fourteenth-Century Universities*; in: *The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. F. L. UTLEY, Columbus, 1961, 84—86; also reprint, Baltimore, 1962, 6—8.

terminology of the late thirteenth and following centuries. However, the establishing of these student hospices greatly influenced the founders of later colleges.

During the last decades of the twelfth century and the early years of the thirteenth century there began a movement in Paris to alleviate the social conditions of poor students, who, as Rutebeuf said, were helplessly abandoned in Paris:

Par tout regarde, par tout muze  
Ces argenz faut et sa robe uze<sup>2</sup>.

The author of the *De disciplina scholarium*, a school manual written around 1230/1240, wisely advocated that a good master should not only teach but make sure that the practice of scholarly virtues of his students should not be hindered by poverty and misery. The author went so far as to devote several pages to the successful management of a student hostel or *pedagogia*<sup>3</sup>.

The *De disciplina scholarium* certainly had great influence on many later founders, because it was one of the most frequently commented-upon elementary books, with which new students became acquainted on entering the Faculty of Arts.

The thirteenth-century founders were inspired by such examples as that of Jocius de Londoniis, who provided fifty-two pounds for eighteen poor scholars and clerks in the Hotel-Dieu of Paris (1180)<sup>4</sup>. These scholars formed later on the Collège des Dix-Huit.

The motivation of the early founders was pure charity. They did not give any instructions concerning studies or scholastic duties. Count Robert de Dreux, the founder of the *College* of Saint Thomas de Lupara (or Louvre) that was really called *hospitale*, and Stephen Berot, citizen of Paris and founder of the Collège des Bons-Enfants in Paris, imitated in this their predecessor, Jocius de Londoniis. Pope Urban III summed up very well their intention in his letter of confirmation of the *House* (domus) of Saint Thomas (1186—87): "The princes of this world are applying some of their goods to pious purposes" (*aliqua de bonis suis piis usibus applicant*)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> RUTEBEUF, *Li diz de l'Universitei de Paris*, ed. H. H. LUCAS, *Poèmes concernant l'Université de Paris (French Classics)*, Manchester-Paris, s. d., 31, lines 29—30; edd. E. FARAL-J. BASTIN, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, Paris, 1959, I, 375, no. XV, lines 29—30:

Partout regarde, partout muze;  
Ses argenz faut et sa robe uze.  
(*Li diz de l'Universitei de Paris*)

<sup>3</sup> *De disciplina scholarium*, ch. IV, *PL*, 64, 1230—1233; with commentary: *Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, ed., S. E. FRETTE, Paris, 1875, apud L. VIVÈS, vol. 26, 621—642.

<sup>4</sup> H. DENIFLE-AE. CHATELAIN, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* [abbreviated hereafter as *Chart. Univ. Paris*], I, 49, no. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *IBID.*, 11, no. 14.



The founding of the College of Navarre (1373) by Jeanne de Navarre, Countess of Champagne, was motivated only by charity. She stated in her will (1304) that she wished to help students who were oppressed by poverty and, because of their indigence (*paupertatis inopia supressi*)<sup>6</sup>, would not otherwise be able to take up higher studies.

In Heidelberg, in founding the Dyonisianus (1396), Gerlach of Homburg, master of schools at Mainz, was also inspired by the intention of helping poor students (*für arme Schüler*)<sup>7</sup>.

Certain English founders, such as John Alcock, bishop of Ely, in memory of the first ideally poor Christian society, composed of Our Lord and the twelve disciples, fixed the number of fellows at thirteen<sup>8</sup>.

The idea of establishing a college only for poor students was present even as late as the Renaissance, when the motivation had already turned towards the promotion of certain humanistic disciplines. Jerome of Busleiden, the founder of the *Collegium Trilingue* (1517) in Louvain, intended to populate his institution with really poor students (*vere pauperes*)<sup>9</sup>.

## II. Collegiate Spirit of Friendship — In caritate amici

Charity, as Saint Bernard said, is the mother of friendships (*Caritas . . . quae amicitiarum matrem se novit*)<sup>10</sup>. The thirteenth-century founders of colleges profited by the many treatises on friendship (*amicitia*) and dreamed of a collegiate comradeship as suggested by Saint Augustine: "conversations and jokes together, mutual rendering of good services, the reading together of sweetly phrased books, the sharing of nonsense and mutual attentions"<sup>11</sup>.

The idea of togetherness inspired the founders of colleges to reconcile two systems, namely the concept of the boarding-house or hospice and scholastic devotion to learning and disputation. They brought together (*collegere*) a group of scholars from a certain region or of common interest ready to engage in scholastic learning

<sup>6</sup> P. FERET, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*, Paris, 1896, III, 600.

<sup>7</sup> J. F. HAUZ-K. A. FREIHERR VON REICHLIN-MEIDEGG, *Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg*, Mannheim, 1864, II, 363.

<sup>8</sup> A. GRAY-F. BRITAIN, *A History of Jesus College, Cambridge*, London, Melbourne, Toronto, 1960, 23—24.

<sup>9</sup> F. NÈVE, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues* [*Mémoire Royale de Belgique*] 28 (1856), 376.

<sup>10</sup> BERNARD, *Epist.* XI. 2. Ad Guigonem priorem . . . Cart. Majoris religiosos, *PL*, 182, 109C.

<sup>11</sup> AUGUSTINUS, *Confessiones*, L. 4, c. 8. "Conloqui et conridere et uicissim beniuole obsequi, simul legere libros dulciloquos, simul nugari et simul honestari": ed. P. KNÖLL, in: *CSEL* 33, sect 1. pars 1, 74—75; V. J. BOURKE, trans. *Saint Augustine. Confessions*, in: *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation* New York, 1953, 84.

with the intentions of helping one other and discussing material and intellectual problems together. The saying of Aelred de Rievaux in the twelfth century that "in every act, in every study, in certitude, in doubts . . . everywhere friendship is dear"<sup>12</sup> was in the mind of founders along with the suggestion of Saint Augustine: "teaching and learning together" (*docere aliquid invicem aut discere ab invicem*)<sup>13</sup>.

The spirit of this friendship was best expressed by Walter of Merton, who desired that "peace and unity, and the bond of charity be above all observed with all effort and force"<sup>14</sup>. The intention of that founder was echoed more than a half century later by an outstanding scholar of this college, Thomas Bradwardine, who, in a letter to his fellow Mertonians, wrote: "all the fellows should be disciples devoted to studies, friends in charity, and converted to Christ"<sup>15</sup>.

in doctrina discipuli  
in caritate amici  
in Christo conversi

This strong desire for one heart and one mind persisted through the centuries in the minds of college founders. An excellent expression of it can be found in the first rubric of New College in the words of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester in 1400:

[the fellows] by their good lives, pleasing to God,  
their hearts set on fire by the rays of divine love,  
may more quickly and fervently be united in the warmth  
of brotherly love and sweetness of mutual charity<sup>16</sup>.

The thirteenth-century founders knew as well as did their predecessors that charity leads to God. But they went a step further. Besides helping the poor, they, animated by the words of Isaias (33, 6), "wisdom and knowledge are the richness of salvation", tried to bring into harmony moral discipline and scholastic knowledge by

<sup>12</sup> AELRED DE RIEVAULX, *L'amitié spirituelle. Présentation, traduction et notes* ed. J. DUBOIS, in: *Bibliothèque de Spiritualité Médiévale* Bruges-Paris, 1948, II, 1, 1, 54—55. "In omni actu, in omni studio, in certis, in dubiis, in quolibet eventu, in fortuna qualibet, in secreto et publico, in omni consultatione, domi forisque, ubique amicitia grata, amicus necessarius."

<sup>13</sup> AUGUSTINUS *Confessiones*, L. 4, c. 8, *CSEL*, vol. 33, 75; V. J. Bourke, transl. *Saint Augustine. Confessions*, 84.

<sup>14</sup> Pax et unitas et caritatis vinculum totis affectibus et viribus super omnia conservetur: *Statutes of Merton College* (1270), in: *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford with Royal Patents of Foundation Injunctions of Visitors*, London, 1853, I, 14 [abbreviated hereafter as *Oxford Statutes*].

<sup>15</sup> W. A. PANTIN, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1955, 138.

<sup>16</sup> *Statutes of New College* (1400), in: A. F. LEACH, *Educational Charters and Documents 598—1909*, Cambridge, 1911, 354—355.

admitting the right type of poor students. Conditions for selecting students had been laid down by Hugh of Saint Victor in his *Didascalicon*:

Three things are necessary for those who study:  
Natural endowment, practice and discipline<sup>17</sup>. (Bk. 3, ch. 6)

The thirteenth-century founders were also inspired by the evangelical ideal of sharing their wealth. But they did not hesitate to demand that the *escoliers* who benefited by their hospitality make profitable and visible progress in studies (*quod apparenter proficient*), as William of Sâone, treasurer of the Cathedral of Rouen, expressed it in his Statutes dated 1280. Fellowship depended not only on the poverty of the students but also on their assiduity in scholastic studies: (*veris et puris pauperibus assidue studentibus*)<sup>18</sup> as the College of the Treasurer prescribed it:

We have no intention of providing for the perverse and unstudious and ribald and gamesters or haunters of whores and taverns, but for good and true scholars<sup>19</sup>.

### III. Support of Theological Studies

The founders of the later centuries always felt the necessity of supporting theological studies. Robert de Eglesfield, chaplain of Queen Philippa, consort of Edward III, founder of Queen's College (1341), stated that good theologians strengthen Catholic faith, adorn the universal Church, and give peace to Christian people. Teaching of theology leads to the right worship of God (*Dei honorem*) and to the profit of the Church (*Ecclesiae profectum*). It cannot be entrusted to anyone (*non omnibus christicolis*), only to well-trained scholars (*sed viris ecclesiasticis et profectis scholasticis*), because theology is the rule that directs toward the discovery of truth, shows the principles of justice, and mirrors the norm of Sanctity:

regula veritatis,  
forma equitatis  
norma sanctitatis<sup>20</sup>.

The original idea of providing for only the scholars who were making progress and promoting the study of major disciplines was born in the

<sup>17</sup> *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor. A Mediaeval Guide to the Arts*, Transl. J. TAYLOR, New York-London, 1961, Bk. III, ch. 6, 90.

<sup>18</sup> *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 585, no. 499.

<sup>19</sup> L. THORNDIKE, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages*, in: *Records of Civilization*, no. 38), New York, 1949, 77.

<sup>20</sup> *Statutes of Queen's College (1340)*, in: *Oxford Statutes*, I, 5.

heart of a great moralist, Robert of Sorbon<sup>21</sup>. His college was firmly established around 1258. He tried to offer to the secular clergy the same facilities that were already enjoyed by religious communities. His Statutes (1274), given to the poor masters of Arts studying in Theology, were marked by the founder's charity. He was minutely solicitous to assure enough "peas, beans, spices" for the Lenten period<sup>22</sup>, but his ideal was, nevertheless, the well-progressing scholar. Robert of Sorbon seriously warned the members of the college that unless they progressed in giving sermons, making meditations, holding disputations, and giving lectures, they would be deprived of their fellowships. He warned them, also, not to venture to deliver lectures unprepared and without sufficient research and thorough investigation<sup>23</sup>.

To produce good theologians (*ad gradum magisterii assequendum*) for the diocese of Rouen was also the motivation of William of Sâone, founder of the College of the Treasurer. The college was opened around 1266 for poor students who would devote their life entirely to Theology (*ex toto vacet theologie*).<sup>24</sup>

Raoul d'Harcourt, archdeacon of Coutances and Rouen, the founder of the Collège d'Harcourt in 1280, was inspired by Sorbon's ideal of a House for Poor Scholars. He offered not only good government, service, and tranquility (*regimen, utilitatem et tranquillitatem*) to those studying theology but admitted students from the Faculty of Arts<sup>25</sup>. For admission it was not enough to be poor; the theologians had to attain to a good knowledge of the Bible and the Sentences; the Artists had to obtain a satisfactory licentiate<sup>26</sup>.

From then on, the path broken by Robert de Sorbon, William of Sâone, and Raoul d'Harcourt was followed by many others. The founder of the College of Upsala, Andrew, provost of Upsala, intended to recruit students "desiring to exert themselves for acquiring good learning and knowledge"<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> A. L. GABRIEL, *Robert de Sorbonne*, in: *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, 23 (1953), 473—514; P. GLORIEUX, *Les origines du Collège de Sorbonne*, in: *Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education*, no. VIII, Notre Dame, Ind., 1959, 17—23.

<sup>22</sup> *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 512, no. 448; THORNDIKE, *University Records*, 96.

<sup>23</sup> *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 507, no. 448.

<sup>24</sup> Statutes of 1280: *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 585, no. 499; cf. *ibid.*, 458, no. 411; THORNDIKE, *University Records*, p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> H. L. BOUQUET, *L'ancien Collège d'Harcourt et le Lycée Saint-Louis*, Paris, 1891, 70, 580.

<sup>26</sup> Statutes of 1311: *ibid.*, 586.

<sup>27</sup> Statutes of 1291 promulgated by Johannes Adolfi, archbishop of Upsala: A. L. GABRIEL, *Skara House at the Mediaeval University of Paris. History, Topography and Chartulary with Résumés in French and Swedish*, Notre Dame, Ind., 1960, 25.

#### IV. How to Assure the Loyalty of Civil Servants and Legists towards the Church

However, the thirteenth-century founders' policy of favoring the admission of theologians into colleges at the expense of the legists and decretists showed very soon some harmful effects.

In the quarrel between Boniface VIII (1285—1314) and Philip the Fair (1285—1314) many outstanding legists, led by Pierre Plote and Guillaume de Nogaret, sided with the King against the Pope. Some founders remarked that the Roman Law had appeared on the scene to replace the moral directives of theological thinking; a pagan notion of power superseded the Christian theory of the State<sup>28</sup>.

It was impossible for the founders not to witness the growing anticlericalism of brilliant lawyers and counsellors — civil servants — whose career in the Church was hindered by the lack of adequate benefices, scholarships, and prebends. The struggle between the Pope and the King led many founders of colleges to establish as many *bursae* or scholarships as possible in canon and civil law, in order to train clerics and legists who would be equally devoted to the King and the Pope, to the State and the Church, to *ecclesia* and *respublica*. The sad experiences that resulted in the appeal of the Council of 1303 convinced founders that the upcoming class of legists possessed every arm of propaganda. They saw that the jurists were able to use the intellectuals of the University for their purposes. An evident proof was the adhering of the masters of the University of Paris to Philip the Fair regarding the summoning of the General Council on June 21, 1303: "appellationi prefati domini regis adheremus"<sup>29</sup>.

The Pope himself observed that the King tried to incite to revolt the masters, doctors, bachelors, and scholars of the University of Paris<sup>30</sup>. The fourteenth-century founders tried to solve the problems by fostering a trustworthy class of civil servants. The colleges founded after the struggle between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair all assured large fellowships to the legists and decretists admitted to their colleges. The Colleges of Bayeux (1309), Aicelins-Montaigu (1314), Narbonne (1317), Duplessis (1321), and Boissy (1358, Statutes 1366) all reserved fellowships for students studying civil or canon law<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> A. LATREILLE-E. DELARUELLE-J. R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Catholicisme en France sous les rois très chrétiens*, Paris, s. d. [1960] 76.

<sup>29</sup> *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, II, 102, no. 634.

<sup>30</sup> *IBID.* 104, no. 636.

<sup>31</sup> M. FÉLIBIEN-G. LOBINEAU, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, Paris, 1725, College of Bayeux: v. 2, pt. 3 [VII], 626; College of Montaigu: v. 2, pt. 3 [VII], 679a; College of Narbonne: v. *ibid.*, 663a; College of Duplessis: v. 2, pt. 1 [IV], 372b; College of Boissy: FERET, *Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, III, p. 612. (Certain copies of FÉLIBIEN-

## V. Nostalgia in Paris for the Peace and the Learning of the Previous Century

During the fourteenth century, many founders, saddened by the calamities of war and the decline of fervor in studies, thought with nostalgic remembrance of the great traditions of learning at Paris. Many, with the founders of the College of Laon (1313), Gui de Laon, Treasurer of Sainte Chapelle, and Raoul de Presle, Clerk of the King of France, dreamed of restoring "the praiseworthy learning of the University of Paris" (*doctrina laudabilis Parisiensis*)<sup>32</sup>, and asked: "Where are the good scholars of the past century?" (*venerabile Parisiense studium . . . viros tales ab olim producere consuevit*)<sup>33</sup>.

Even founders of colleges of religious orders agreed with secular dignitaries that the original vocation of the University must be restored, namely the instruction of the ignorant, the strengthening of the weak, the growth of virtue to an ever higher degree of perfection, in order to help the faithful for the profit of the universal Christian world<sup>34</sup>.

This generation of founders, afflicted by the woes and miseries of fatal battles, such as Crecy (1346) and Calais (1347), wished to see the University of Paris freed of disturbance and litigations (*a litigiis et discordiis evitari*). For example, the founder of the College of Mignon (1343), Jean Mignon, master of accounts in Paris<sup>35</sup>, yearned for the flourishing of the University in peace and tranquility (*in pace et tranquillitate*)<sup>36</sup>.

Pierre Fortet of Aurillac, Canon of Notre Dame, established his fellows in Paris because the Almighty had chosen this studium as a shady retreat for those who were tired of the miseries of the world (*quietis umbraculum tribuit sub mundana miseria fatigatis*).<sup>37</sup>

Girard Cardinal Montaigu's wish (1339) was to see his students live "libere, pacifice et quiete", and to found a college where the students

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LOBINEAU were bound in seven volumes, others in five. In order to help readers who use the seven-volume edition, I give those volume numbers in brackets.)

<sup>32</sup> M. FÉLIBIEN-G. LOBINEAU, *Statutes of the College of Laon (1313)*, op. cit., v. 2, pt. 1 [IV], 325a.

<sup>33</sup> Foundation Deed of the College of Du Plessis (1322): FÉLIBIEN-LOBINEAU, op. cit., v. 2, pt. 1 [IV], 373b.

<sup>34</sup> "Deus Scientiarum Dominus . . . venerabile Parisiense studium ad hoc pia ineffabilis divini consilii miseratione constituit ut . . . rudes erudiens, debiles efficiens virtuosos, et de virtute in virtutem ad altiora provector extollens, cunctis fidei orthodoxae cultoribus, universis reipublicae christianae profectibus, fructuosum divino munere redderetur": Foundation Deed of the College of Marmoutier (1329): FÉLIBIEN-LOBINEAU, op. cit., v. 2, pt. 1 [IV], 391.

<sup>35</sup> THORNDIKE, *University Records*, 442.

<sup>36</sup> FÉLIBIEN-LOBINEAU, op. cit., v. 2, pt. 3 [VII], 656b.

<sup>37</sup> R. BUSQUET, *Etude historique sur le Collège de Fortet (1394—1764)*, in: *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France*, 34 (1907), 143.

would grow into free men in well-disciplined surroundings and leisurely peace of mind<sup>38</sup>.

## VI. Freedom of Opinion Assured

The college founders did not try to promote any philosophical school or political trend in their Statutes. No forcing of nominalism or realism upon the students can be found in them. Even Henricus of Gorkhem, a realist, the founder of the *bursa Montana* or *Bursa Montis* (1420) in Cologne<sup>39</sup>, did not impose realism, that is, the *via antiqua*, on his fellows.

In Heidelberg, the members of the *bursae* or student hospices were left free to follow the lectures of any masters they desired<sup>40</sup>.

The only wish of the founders was that the colleges not become hotbeds of heresies. For example, the Statutes of Queen's College (1475) in Cambridge ordered that no heretical proposals be defended during college disputations, except for debate<sup>41</sup>.

## VII. Alleviate the Shortage of Teachers

Many founders during the Hundred Years' War were moved to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow-men by compassion (*desolationi compatiennes*) and sadness.

One of the unfortunate consequences of the Hundred Years' War was the shortage of teachers. Some college founders wished to fill up the ranks of the clerics that had been depleted by plagues, wars, and other miseries of the war. Concern for competent masters was voiced both in France and in England. Philip, bishop of Evreux, who drew up the Statutes of the College of Montaigu in 1402, expressed the will of the second founder of the College, Pierre de Montaigu, that promoting learning is the duty of everyone in the Church, particularly during periods of trial and suffering, when, alas, there is a shortage of teachers and pupils (*ex defectu docentium et addiscentium*)<sup>42</sup>.

The same complaint, in almost the same words, was made some twenty-five years earlier by Master Gervais Chrétien, physician of

<sup>38</sup> J. VIARD, ed., *Documents parisiens du règne de Philippe VI de Valois (1328—50)*, Paris, 1900, II, 99.

<sup>39</sup> H. KEUSSEN, *Die alte Universität Köln. Grundzüge ihrer Verfassung und Geschichte. Festschrift zum Einzug in die neue Universität Köln*, Köln, 1934, 344.

<sup>40</sup> "Scolares sint liberi ad audiendum exercicia a quocunque magistro": J. F. HAUZ-K. A. v. REICHLIN-MEIDEGG, op. cit., II, 396.

<sup>41</sup> "Haereses vel errores Anabaptistarum et Libertinorum . . ." could not be defended ". . . nisi tantum eruditionis gratia": *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, London, 1852, III, 34 [abbreviated hereafter as *Cambridge Colleges*].

<sup>42</sup> FÉLIBIEN-LOBINEAU, op. cit., v. 2, pt. 3 [VII], 679a.

Charles V, King of France, who, in his Statutes of 1378, expressed his worries about the lack of teachers (*ex defectu docentium et addiscentium*) almost everywhere (*in plerisque mundi partibus*)<sup>43</sup>.

In England, the Statutes of King's College in Cambridge (1441) also deplored the scarcity of clerics<sup>44</sup>.

Henry Chichele, the founder of the College of All Souls in 1443, was also moved by the sight of destitution in the ranks of the clergy (*verae compassionis oculis considerantes*) caused by the Hundred Years' War<sup>45</sup>.

### VIII. Restoration of the Splendor of Studies. New Disciplines

The deeper we penetrate into the educational history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the more frequently do we see college founders thinking not only of the support of individuals but of the general improvement of the intellectual standards of the universities to which the colleges were attached. In a word, their motivation was to better the general state of studies.

Conrad von Gelnhausen, provost of Worms, chancellor of the University of Heidelberg, founder of the College of Artists (1390) (*Collegium Artistarum*), and Ruprecht II, the "second" founder (1391), thought no longer of poor students but of twelve worthy masters who would promote the reputation of the university (*studio et schulen*). They were thinking of the fame and lustre of the studium where the College of Artists would be instituted (*daz davon grosz gnade, gotzdinst, ere und seligkeit komen mag*)<sup>46</sup>.

One of the leading intentions of William Wykeham in 1400 was the fervent desire to better Liberal Arts and Sciences (*liberaliumque artium, scientiarum et facultatum augmentum*)<sup>47</sup>. He tried to reinstate the proper order of learning, starting with the learning of grammar, which in his language meant the study of classics. Wykeham was right in saying: "By the knowledge of grammar justice is cultivated and the prosperity of the estate of humanity is increased"<sup>48</sup>. Learning the texts of civil law did not always teach how to remain

<sup>43</sup> P. FERET, *Statutes of the College of Maître-Gervais (1378)*, in: *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, III, 633.

<sup>44</sup> *Cambridge Colleges* II, 482.

<sup>45</sup> Statutes of All Souls College (1443), in: *Oxford Colleges* I, 1.

<sup>46</sup> E. WINKELMANN, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Universitaet Heidelberg*, Heidelberg, 1886, I, 50, no. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Statutes of New College (1400), in: *Oxford Statutes* I, 1.

<sup>48</sup> "Per litterarum scienciam iusticia colitur et prosperitas humane condicionis augetur": A. F. LEACH, *A History of Winchester College*, in: *English Public Schools*, New York, 1899, 65; LEACH, *Educational Charters*, 321.



just, but the patient learning of quotations from the classics prepared future lawyers to understand the inner nature of justice.

The college founders were certainly thinking of an elite such as the one pictured in the preamble of the Statutes of the Faculty of Law at the University of Grenoble (1339). To populate their colleges with scholars "who would prolong the length of the day and shorten the nights, vigilant and exhausted, [desirous] to acquire a learned soul and tongue and thus to become bright stars in the sky of Our Lord's Church"<sup>49</sup>.

In England, with the appearance of Lollardism, the founders came to realize that the Church needed, besides trained theologians, good popular teachers to make the fruits of the Gospel available to all men in a language intelligible to everyone. John of Rotherham's intention in founding Jesus College (1481) in Rotherham was to educate good men "to preach the Word of God in the parish of Rotherham"<sup>50</sup>.

The Statutes of Cardinal Wolsey, who established Cardinal College (1527), expressed the desire to educate scholars who could better reach the common people in their sermons<sup>51</sup>.

Master Gervais, the founder of the College Maître-Gervais, insisted not only on the study of theology but on the furthering of medicine and the Liberal Arts (ad promovendum igitur huiusmodi scienciarum studia). He had a motive we've not seen before, namely the introducing of mathematics as a new science into his college. He provided for two masters for this task (scolares regis pro legendo de scienciis mathematicis): one to lecture in the schools of the Faculty of Arts in Rue Fouarre, the other to lecture in the main aula of the Artists of his College (in aula artistarum dicti collegii)<sup>52</sup>. Master Gervais' great innovation was very close to the idea of the humanists.

Jerome Busleiden, the founder of the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain (1517), followed this new approach when he prescribed that three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, be taught in his college. The college not only supported poor students but paid the professors well. This founder insisted on a higher remuneration for the masters because of the novelty of the material they were teaching (ad quod majus stipendium statuendum me induxit rei novitas)<sup>53</sup>. From then on, more and more discipline appeared within college walls, a manifest sign of the dawn of humanism.

<sup>49</sup> "Hii quidem sunt, qui pro affectu sciencie et profectu in bonis dies suos trahentes et noctes plerumque deducentes insomnes, semetipsos exinaniunt, ut, animabus primum et linguis postmodum eruditis, in Ecclesia Dei, velut splendor prefulgeant firmamenti": *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier (1181—1400)*, Montpellier, 1890, I, 296, no. 65.

<sup>50</sup> A. GRAY-F. BRITAIN, *Jesus College*, 23.

<sup>51</sup> "Fidem Christi salvatoris simplicioribus animis commendare et confirmare. queat": *Oxford Statutes II*, 11.

<sup>52</sup> P. FERET, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, III, 633, 635.

<sup>53</sup> NÈVE, *Collège des Trois-Langues*, 377.

## IX. Résumé

There is definite evolution in the motivation of mediaeval college founders. From the pure charity of the twelfth-century hospices there developed a well-defined policy of carefully selecting students for their colleges. The founders dreamed of scholars who would become stars in the sky of learning, to the greater glory of God and His Church.

The thirteenth-century college system sought to strengthen theological studies. The founders wanted to carry out the intentions of the Popes, to make the universities citadels of Faith. But the theologians had to be well-versed in moral and natural philosophy also.

During the fourteenth century, the founders of the Parisian colleges, observing the decline of studies and remembering the glorious tradition of their youth, tried in their foundations to refurbish the aging face of their *Almae Matres*.

In Paris, the cruel lesson given to the Papacy by Philip the Fair and his legists in 1303 moved the founders to shower their wealth on those who would be willing to take up the study of civil and canon law. Their unspoken intention was to educate a class of reliable civil servants that would be ready in case of conflict to uphold the rights of the Papacy.

At the end of the Hundred Years' War, particularly in Oxford and Cambridge, several founders endeavored to alleviate the shortage of teachers caused by the lack of competent masters, victims of ravaging plagues and the misfortunes of war.

The sorrows and miseries of the recent tribulations moved them to offer peaceful surroundings to scholars.

With the coming of humanism the founders introduced new disciplines, such as mathematics and languages. They ruled that not only disciplinary training but also teaching be done in the colleges. The Renaissance made the idea triumphant by bringing teaching almost entirely within the college walls.

No philosophical trend or school of thought was ever prescribed by the founders for the colleges and fellows. We cannot find any instructions in the Statutes recommending either nominalism or realism, *via antiqua* or *via moderna*. The fellows were free to frequent any master's lecture. They were left, as Girard Cardinal Montaigu wonderfully expressed it, "in peace, quiet, and freedom" (*libere, pacifice et quiete*). It is no cause for wonder, then, that this spirit made it possible for Erasmus, Calvin, and Saint Ignatius of Loyola to find homes in colleges\*.

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