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TOMB OF A BOLOGNA DOCTOR

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THE

UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

HASTINGS RASHDALL, M.A.
FELLOW AND LECTURER OF HERTFORD COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

SALERNO — BOLOGNA — PARIS

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TO

MY FRIENDS AND LATE COLLEAGUES

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, D.D.

AND

FRANK BYRON JEVONS, D. Litt.

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PREFACE

THE writing of this book is a task in which I became involved through winning the Chancellor's Prize at Oxford for an English Essay in 1883. I entered upon it with no intention of undertaking anything more than such a revision and expansion of my Essay as would justify its publication in book form. The Essay was, of course, written in less than a year: the revision has occupied more than eleven. Twelve years will seem none too much to any one acquainted with the extent and the difficulties of the subject: but it is fair to myself to state that I have been throughout pretty fully occupied in teaching subjects quite unconnected with medieval history.

Part of the difficulty has been occasioned by the rapidity with which materials and literature have of late poured from the press. When I began to work at the medieval Universities, no really critical book had appeared on the subject as a whole or on any large section of it. Much labour was therefore expended in discovering for myself the non-existence of the University of Paris during the greater part of that period of its history which it has taken Du Boullai two bulky folios to chronicle. The publication of Father Denifle's great work, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, in 1885, disclosed to me masses of fresh authorities

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for which I should probably have hunted in vain for myself. Later on, the publication of new documents in the successive volumes of Denifle and Chatelain's magnificent *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (1889, 1891), when I thought that my work was nearly at an end, involved much revision of the Paris chapter, and the addition of references to my citations from already published documents. The third volume came into my hands when most of the sheets had been already printed off. The Bologna octo-centenary of 1888 produced a crop of new literature relating to that University, and in particular Malagola's edition of the Statutes, only partially published before. Fournier's great collection of documents for the French Universities (the three volumes of which were published in 1890, 1891, and 1892 respectively) involved the re-writing of the chapter on the French Universities other than Paris. Statute-books, Matriculation books, Chartularia, and histories of particular Universities have also appeared in rapid succession. Since I began to write, the amount of printed matter demanding notice must have about doubled itself. There are now few Universities of which we have not at least the Statutes in print, while in very many cases all the extant documents have been edited with a completeness which leaves nothing to be desired. Unfortunately this cannot be said with regard to our own Universities.

With this growing mass of printed material before me, I felt that it would be unnecessary to occupy myself to any great extent with MS. sources. To have done so with any thoroughness, I should have had to bury myself for years in foreign libraries and muniment rooms: and even so most of the material would have been printed before my book could have appeared. I have made exceptions to this rule in respect of

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Oxford, Cambridge, S. Andrews, and (to a very limited extent) Paris. At Paris I have not attempted to deal with original documents beyond a slight study of some MS. Registers: the *Chartularium* has now made this unnecessary for the greater portion of the period embraced within this volume: I have, however, read through the important MS. histories of that University preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (see below, vol. I. p. 271). With regard to the British Universities, I have, I believe, made myself acquainted with all the unpublished MS. material which was likely to throw any light upon their history, or upon that of the Colleges so far as the history of the latter is dealt with in these volumes. With regard to Oxford the mass of MS. material is very large indeed. My task has been much facilitated by the transcripts of those indefatigable antiquaries Robert Hare and Bryan Twyne (see below, vol. II. p. 322): but after all I feel the truth of Mark Pattison's remark, 'History cannot be written from MSS.' This is particularly the case with masses of official documents which require to be seen together and to be arranged in chronological order for their full significance to be easily appreciated. It is to be hoped that Oxford will soon cease to be almost the only important University in the world (exclusive, perhaps, of the Spanish Peninsula) whose earlier history cannot be studied in a tolerably complete series of published documents. The work can only be done by the University itself. It is too extensive for private Societies, and in England there is no political capital to be made out of Government aid to scientific undertakings. At Cambridge the amount of unpublished material is smaller, though still considerable.

The plan of this book is to describe with tolerable fulness the three great archetypal Universities,—

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Bologna, Paris, Oxford,—and to give short notices of the foundation, constitution, and history of the others, arranged in national groups. Even of the three great Universities, however, I do not profess to have written a history. Exception may possibly be taken to the place assigned to particular Universities. Many of them were, of course, situated in territories which did not then strictly belong to any of the larger divisions of the existing map of Europe, or belonged at one time to one of them, at another time to another. In these cases I have simply endeavoured to assign each University to the group to which it seemed on the whole most naturally to belong.

In endeavouring to cover so large an extent of ground in a work of moderate compass, it was inevitable that many aspects of University history should be dealt with slightly or not at all. The point of view from which I have approached the subject has been primarily that of constitutional history; but I could hardly have hoped to interest any but a few specialists in my subject had I not endeavoured to give some account of the intellectual history of the period. I have, however, touched upon the growth of the Scholastic Philosophy and Theology and the development of legal and medical Science just sufficiently to make intelligible my account of the educational organization of the Middle Ages, and to suggest its historical significance. The condensed treatment of seventy-three Universities in 316 pages has, of course, rendered that part of my work of little interest except for purposes of reference: but to have ignored all but the most famous Studia would have left the reader with a very inadequate impression of the extent and variety of the medieval University system, and of the importance of the part which it played in the making of civilized Europe. Moreover, it would have been

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impossible to write satisfactorily the history of even one University without an acquaintance with the documents of all the rest. The great defect of University histories has been the non-application of the comparative method. As matters stand, even students will probably skip the greater part of vol. II, part i. The 'general reader' will perhaps find most that will interest him in vol. II, part ii.

Nobody can be better aware than myself of the great deficiencies of my work. Many years more might well have been spent in removing them. I could, of course, indicate point after point which demands further investigation. But I felt that the time had come when the book must be published, if I were not prepared to make it the work of a life-time. Ten or twenty years hence it will perhaps be possible to base a history of the medieval Universities upon an almost complete collection of printed materials. Meanwhile, I hope my Essay will be of some use to the now considerable number of students who are at work on portions of the subject.

It is needless to say that such a work as the present owes a great deal to the researches of others. My obligations to the historians of particular Universities are expressed in the bibliographical notices. But I am particularly anxious to state accurately the extent of my debt to Father Denifle, the only modern writer on the subject as a whole to whom I am under important obligations. If I had not had Father Denifle as a predecessor, my work might have possessed more novelty and originality than it can now claim, since there were large masses of traditional error and misconception which must have been dispelled by the first serious modern student who should take up the subject: but it would assuredly have been very much more

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incomplete and inadequate than it actually is. At the same time, in justice to myself, I may perhaps point out the following facts:

(1) I had already reached for myself the most important of the corrections which Father Denifle has made in the hitherto received version of the early history of Paris. Some of them were just indicated or implied in a very slight article on Universities which I contributed to the *Dictionary of English History* in 1884.

(2) The amount of my indebtedness naturally varies with the extent to which Father Denifle has been an original worker. In some cases the history of a minor University has been re-written or discovered for the first time by Father Denifle's researches in the Vatican or other archives. In such cases I could do no more than epitomize his results. But where his work is based on the researches of others or on published documents, I have endeavoured to make an independent use of them. I believe I have read every published document relating to any medieval University which I could succeed in getting hold of; and I have, of course, verified (wherever possible) all citations which I owe to other writers. I am, however, everywhere indebted to Father Denifle for bibliographical information, by no means the least difficult or important part of his work.

(3) Father Denifle's *Entstehung* is only the first of a series which is to extend to five volumes. It deals only with the 'origines' of the Universities founded up to 1400. It does not describe in detail their mature constitution, organization, or history. Here, therefore, I have been without the advantage of Father Denifle's guidance, as also in all that relates to the Universities founded after 1400.

(4) To Oxford Father Denifle devotes only twenty pages, and he does not profess to add anything to our

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knowledge of that University. The view I have taken of its origin and early history is entirely independent of his work.

(5) The whole plan and arrangement of my book is different from Father Denifle's.

The English Universities form the only part of the subject in which Father Denifle has left scope for much originality to his successors, so far at least as the all-important question of 'origines' is concerned. On details I have sometimes ventured to differ from him. But, as he has been severely criticized and unjustly disparaged by several writers on the same subject, I feel it a duty to give expression to the admiration with which a careful comparison of his book with the authorities upon which it is based has filled me, not merely for the immensity of his learning and for the thoroughness of his work, but for the general soundness of his conclusions. In particular, I think it right to add that, though Father Denifle is a Dominican and Under-Archivist of the Holy See, I have hardly ever discovered any ground for the insinuation of an ultramontane bias.

Throughout the work I have received an amount of help from my friends which I have been almost ashamed to accept, and which it is difficult for me adequately to acknowledge. My greatest debt is perhaps to the constant advice and assistance of Mr. Reginald Lane Poole, Ph.D., Lecturer in Jesus College, Oxford, whose great learning in everything that relates to the Middle Ages has always been accessible to me, and who has kindly read through nearly the whole of my proofs. My proofs have also been read by Mr. T. Tout, Professor of History in Owens College, Manchester, whose wide knowledge of general history has constantly supplied the deficiencies in mine, and by Mr. C. H. Turner, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who has generously devoted an

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immense amount of labour to the final correction for the press of a book on a subject quite remote from his own studies. These volumes owe more than I can easily explain to the accuracy and diligence of his revision. My thanks are also due for kind assistance with portions of the revision to my colleague, Mr. S. G. Hamilton, Fellow of Hertford, to Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Fellow of All Souls, and to the Rev. Andrew Clark, late Fellow of Lincoln, who has often helped me with his unrivalled knowledge of the materials for Oxford history.

The nature of my task has necessarily compelled me to touch upon many subjects with which I could not aspire to more than a very second-hand acquaintance. If I have escaped serious error in dealing with the history of medieval Law and Medicine, I owe it largely to the kindness of Professor Maitland, of Cambridge, and of Dr. J. F. Payne, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Physician of S. Thomas' Hospital, who were good enough to read through the portions of my proofs relating to their respective subjects. I have also to thank Lord Acton for several valuable suggestions in regard to chap. v, § 6. I have to acknowledge the great assistance which I have at all times received from all the authorities of the Bodleian Library, especially from Mr. F. Madan, Sub-Librarian, and Fellow of Brasenose, to whose help in matters bibliographical and palæographical I am under great obligations. I am indebted to the Society of Antiquaries for access to the Smith MSS. in their Library. I must acknowledge the never-failing courtesy with which the Rev. T. Vere Bayne, Student of Christ Church and Keeper of the Archives at Oxford, has met my, I fear, somewhat troublesome applications for the use of documents under his charge. I must also express my gratitude for similar

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assistance to the late Rev. Dr. Luard, formerly Registrary of the University of Cambridge, and to his successor, Mr. J. W. Clark; to Mr. E. J. H. Jenkinson, Librarian of the University of Cambridge; to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Librarian, Mr. Kershaw; to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln and his Secretary, Mr. S. S. Smith; to the Lord Bishop of Ely and his Registrar, Mr. W. J. Evans; to the Venerable Archdeacon Chapman, of Ely; to the Rev. C. Leeke, Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral; and to Mr. J. M. Anderson, Registrar and Librarian of the University of S. Andrews, who was kind enough to facilitate my researches by allowing me to make free use of the transcripts which he had made for his work on that University. For the invariable courtesy which I have met with from the Librarians and other authorities of Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge to whom I have applied for access to MSS. or for information on various points, I must ask them to be kind enough to accept this general acknowledgement. Some of these obligations are mentioned in the notes or bibliographical notices. I must not, however, omit to thank Father Denifle and Monsieur Chatelain, Librarian of the Sorbonne, for their kindness in answering enquiries which I have occasionally ventured to address to them.

To my friend and former pupil the Rev. S. Holmes I owe a large part of the Index.

The lists of authorities which are prefixed to each University do not pretend to anything like bibliographical completeness.

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