

A History of the English Austin Friars

(continuation) *)

2. THE PRIOR PROVINCIALS 1487-1516

Robert Stokes 1487-1493

In the summer of 1487 Penketh was succeeded by Master Robert Stokes. Having obtained the *magisterium* at the university of Cambridge only a year before, Stokes was so puffed up with his new honors that he tried to rule without Rome. He did not pay any assessments during his first term in office, had himself re-elected in 1490 without papal dispensation, submitted the chapter acts a year late, and did not even excuse himself for his absence from the General Chapter held at Rome in 1491. While the Prior General, Anselm Mandestri of Montefalco, sent him a sharply worded rebuke, he seems to have shown too much mercy by sending Stokes the unsolicited permission to continue in office until the next chapter. Stokes seems to have regarded this kindness of the general as a weakness and had himself re-elected in 1493, as we must conclude from the fact that he owed the general 120 ducats by the end of the year. Such continuous disobedience could not be permitted. Mandestri employed Jerome Frescobaldi, a Florentine banker, to collect the whole debt, empowering him to take Stokes to court, if necessary. He also made Master Robert Warner, the excellent prior of Orford, his vicar and charged him to demand proof of Stokes' dispensation from the *Martiniana*. If such proof were not found, he was to depose Stokes. The latter could not produce the dispensation and was, therefore, forced to resign. In his directives for the coming chapter, the Prior General excluded Stokes and his abettors « forever » from future elections.

*) *Augustiniana* 8 (1958), 22-47, 465-496; 11 (1961), 533-563; 12 (1962), 93-122.

The general would scarcely have proceeded with such unwonted vigor had he not received direct orders from Pope Innocent VIII. In 1487 Simon Berengar, the provincial of Toulouse, had obtained a dispensation from the *Martiniana*. The pope recalled it and ordered the general to depose every provincial who had not followed the prescripts of this bull ²²⁴). In addition to this papal command another matter weighed heavily against Stokes. Pressed by many needs for more money he had obtained in 1494, for a large sum, the right to grant a plenary indulgence in his province (D 966). The news of this indulgence caused such excitement that John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, summoned the provincial and all priors before him. Earlier he had written to Alcock, bishop of Ely, that the Austins « with intent to deceive and obtain money under false pretenses have presumed under the guise of a recent papal confirmation of their privileges to publish in the convents of their Order throughout the diocese that they have been empowered to grant plenary indulgence to all who frequent their churches, as also the Franciscans had done recently in Paris, as well as the Benedictines of St Andomer in Picardy until Innocent VIII condemned them. The bishop of Ely is to forbid the Austins to continue the practice until their claims have been examined by him » ²²⁵). The examination, however, proved that the indulgence was not based on an extension of Augustinian privileges but on a new contract approved by Rome and all talk of fraud ceased. Partially due to the opposition of the bishops the indulgence did not bring the expected monetary gain. Stokes then committed the unpardonable mistake of not paying the 1,030 ducats owed to the bank which had made the loan (D 970). The papal treasury could not stand for such irresponsible management which endangered so many similar projects, and, no doubt, prodded the general to take action. The deposition of Stokes, however, did not produce the desired effect; the debt was still unpaid in 1496 (D 970). Stokes' false leadership had grave consequences. His reprehensible scheme of gaining a great deal of money quickly by a method little known in England put the province on

²²⁴) EMPOLI, *Bullarium* 190.

²²⁵) The conditions for this plenary indulgence were probably the same as those under which the plenary indulgence of 1516 was granted (D 1060). This latter grant did not cause a ripple of excitement in official circles. The purchase of plenary indulgences for the sake of making money, so revolting to Abp. Morton in 1494, had become accepted practice within twenty years !

the ruinous financial path which brought impoverishment to all houses, made the break with Rome easier and laid the ground for the lamentable weakness which marks the time of suppression.

Robert Warner 1494-1496 ; William Galion 1496-1502

Robert Warner was elected as Stokes' successor in 1494. His handling of the disagreeable case of his predecessor must have been quite satisfactory to the voters or they would not have chosen him. He seems to have had a special talent for solving difficult questions as the general had discovered in 1493 (D 961). Warner strengthened the good impression by paying immediately the main part of Stokes' debt (D 967). It seems, however, that he died before the end of his term, otherwise « a certain Master Galion » would not have been confirmed as vicar provincial on 19 August 1496*. In the following summer Galion was elected provincial and held office until 1502.

Galion was born about 1450 and entered the friary of Lynn. Since he had taught for twelve years after his ordination the university of Cambridge thought this experience sufficient for the form required to « oppose ». In 1486 he was dispensed from reading the Sentences, in 1487 he was allowed to « incept » and obtained the *magisterium* a year later. Warner on the other hand was still bachelor in 1492 but appears as master in 1493 (D 980, 964).

Galion has been praised as the reviver of classical studies within his province ²²⁶). The truth of such claims is often evident to contemporaries but difficult to prove in later centuries. One fact, however, speaks in its favor : during the last decade of the fifteenth century only three or four Austins are known to have reached the *magisterium* at the two English universities, but between 1510 and 1519 almost four times as many can be counted. The foundation for this increase might easily have been laid by Galion's efforts.

John Galion was succeeded in 1502 by Master John Stokes (I), a name as bewildering in English history of the sixteenth century as that of Henry Friemar in the German annals of the fourteenth century. In both cases at least four bearers of the same name must be distinguished who lived almost simultaneously, held the same

²²⁶) DNB VII, 820. Bishop Kenneth in Lansdowne Ms. 978 fol. 80, Brit. Mus. repeats only what Bale in his *Catalogus* and Wood in his *Athenae* had stated previously.

degrees and in part the same positions. John Stokes I was a preacher well known throughout England and might have become an outstanding superior had he not suffered a stroke which kept him an invalid until his death in June 1508 (D 948).

John Toney (Tuneys) ²²⁷

In July 1505 his classmate John Toney took over the reins of the province. He had entered the house in Norwich but prepared for his ordination in Oxford; it took place on 25 May 1485. For his higher studies he was sent to Cambridge where he obtained the *magisterium* in 1503. The university had graciously allowed him to « incept » together with John Stokes (II) dispensing him from the statute which forbade two friars of the same Order to « incept » in the same year (D 1002).

Amidst a great conflux of brethren Toney was re-elected at Boston in August 1508*, but he had made two serious mistakes: the *magisterium* could not be accepted without permission of the prior general and a second term contradicted the *Martiniana*. The new prior general, Giles of Viterbo, who came from the strict observance of Lecceto would not abide such irregularities. Through the provincial of Cologne, Anthony Raedt ²²⁸), Giles ordered Toney to resign the *magisterium* within eight days and to call a new chapter within two months. During the interim the senior of the province was to be superior. Toney obeyed and John Stokes (II) was elected provincial at the chapter of Northampton in 1510 (D 1004).

In view of such censure it seems strange that Master Toney was appointed « reformer » of the English province in September and again in November 1510*. The general also created for him a new position by making him director of all houses of studies in England. Toney was to be responsible not only for the appointment of regents and professors of the *studia provincialia* but also of the *studia generalia*. Whether this delegation indicates that the two English universities were no longer considered to be of universal but only of provincial importance is debatable but it seems to point in that direction. Toney also had the power to place students where

²²⁷) EMDEN, *Biogr. Reg. Oxford* III, 1884.

²²⁸) Antonius Consilii (alias Raedt) was provincial from 1509-12 and 1517-21: TOMBEUR, *Prov. Belg.* 249.

he saw fit and to force their priors to pay for their sustenance. This directive solved the problem of Capgrave and Bury, both of whom had lacked the means of providing for the students under their care. Giles' order was the only logical and fair way : if a student was to be affiliated with a certain house then that house should also provide for his education. Giles who came from the Observance found the solution of such problems much easier than conventuals would. In the Observance personal property and personal privileges had been abolished, therefore, common funds were available for common needs while outside the Observance each member looked out for himself and little if anything was left for the common good.

Toneys' choice as director of schools was an excellent one. He was much interested in modern ideas. He had studied Greek on his own initiative and became sufficiently versed in it to compose letters in Greek. He also edited a grammar, printed by Pynson, of which Leland saw many copies in the Austin library of London ²²⁹), but none seems to have survived. Toneys did not stay long at his new task. About 1511 a premature death put an end to all his plans.

Giles of Viterbo paid close attention to the English province ; he preferred to anticipate and avoid trouble rather than correct it after it had done its harmful work. In 1513, for example, he reminded Stokes II not to incur papal excommunication by delaying the chapter (D 1012). Stokes obeyed since a Master Hugh [Harley ?] is mentioned as provincial in 1515 (D 1016). A year previously Giles had sent John Moncetto as visitor of France and England granting him far reaching faculties. As a result of his visitor's report he sent a lengthy letter on needed reforms (D 1018) ²³⁰). Reform within the Order was not an empty word to Giles. Since he had opened the Fifth Lateran Council with his magnificent, widely quoted sermon on the need of reform he had to fight almost singlehanded the many and bitter attacks against the mendicants. It was mainly to his steadfast defence that the mendicants emerged triumphant ²³¹). The English prelates had sent seven special complaints against all four Orders of friars stating that

1. they absolve murderers of priests, irregulars and those under interdict.

²²⁹) LELAND, *Collectanea* IV, 54.

²³⁰) The letter is not found in the registers.

²³¹) JEDIN, *Seripando* I, 158-161.

2. they exclude no one from the communion of the faithful or the reception of the Holy Eucharist.
3. they open their churches to those under suspension.
4. they assist at the marriages of strangers whom they do not know and over whom they do not have jurisdiction.
5. they bury such as were excommunicated.
6. they administer in their exempt churches the sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist and Matrimony.
7. in parish churches under their care they refuse admittance to the episcopal vicar nor submit to his visitation and refuse to share the burden [of his travelling expenses].

« Therefore », the memorandum continues, « heresies, schisms and contempt of higher authority gain the upper hand in our midst » ²³²). A more simplified explanation of the steadily growing heretical movements ²³³) could scarcely be imagined. Why should exemptions which had been in practice several centuries suddenly cause so much unorthodoxy ? No, it was the inability to recognize the real cause of the antagonism to the church and the unwillingness to do anything about it which caused the collapse of Catholicism within the next few decades. This is true at least so far as Catholic guilt is in question. The exemptions of the religious did interfere in part with orderly parish life and were rightly abolished by later legislation but they were not the cause of heterodoxy. The admittance of irregulars and of the excommunicated to the sacraments was a vital need in medieval times where, for non-payment of church dues a pastor could and often did exclude parishioners from the reception of the sacraments. In all these cases friars supplied the needed escape from senseless suppression.

3. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER IN SCOTLAND ²³⁴)

Wherever religious life had kept its old standard or endeavored to return to it people esteemed it as highly as in its very beginning. Foundations for members of the Observance were eagerly sought.

²³²) *Hereford, Reg. Mayew* (CYS 27) 50-52.

²³³) HUGHES, *Reformation I*, 127-32.

²³⁴) D. E. EASSON, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (London 1957) 118, 123. The learned author unfortunately died shortly after the publication of his book.

A point in case is the introduction of the Order into Scotland at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the most important event in this period. King James IV had become acquainted with the Reformed Austins and was anxious to have such excellent religious in his realm. His desire seems to have been a spontaneous reaction to their admirable mode of life, since there is no indication that he was approached by the Order. In quick succession he tried to establish them in three different places.

The first establishment was in Linlithgow, county of West Lothian. The only fact known about this settlement is the royal gift of £14 towards its building program during the year 1503 (D 988). It was followed by a foundation in Manuel, located in the same county. There in a lonely spot existed a priory of Cistercian nuns founded and endowed by the Scotch kings. In 1506 King James IV asked Pope Julius II to transfer its nuns to other abbeys of their Order since they were only five in number and led a life contrary to Cistercian rule. In order to make their acceptance by other houses more palatable he promised each nun a pension for life. Julius II granted the request (D 1176) but in 1552 there were still four nuns in the place along with the prioress. This project seems to have failed. The king, therefore, asked the same pope that the hospital of St. Lawrence, Haddington, be converted into a house of Austin Friars. The letter is undated. On 13 October 1511 Julius II fulfilled the king's wish and in the same year the Austin friar James Wyan-yeates took up residence. But a letter of James V to Pope Leo X written in 1513/4 states that no Augustinian had taken up residence and that, therefore, he had conferred it on his chaplain, Walter Ramsey ; he seeks confirmation of this appointment and severance of the incorporation of the hospital to the Austins. D. Easson who published the recited facts for the first time believed that none of the three foundations was ever realized. His surmise cannot be accepted because in 1535 the prior general sent a letter to the vicar provincial of Scotland and his local priors asking them to work diligently for the indulgence which Pope Paul III had announced for the completion of St. Peter's (D 1097). The general would not have written this letter unless the vicariate existed. Nothing further is heard of Augustinian life in Scotland until a century later when the Augustinian William Paterson wrote *The Protestants Theologie* (1620). On its title page he calls himself vicar general of the Order

in Scotland ²³⁵). Whether the title had any substance will have to be investigated. He certainly planned for the re-establishment of Order in Scotland and the names of several Scotchmen are registered among students of the Order in Belgium ²³⁶).

The invitation of King James IV to establish the Order in Scotland shows the high esteem which Observant Austins enjoyed. Observants and Conventuals formed one Order and the good spirit of the Observants could not but influence the conventuals. Wherever true religious took over the leadership of a house — as Capgrave did in Lynn — it fared as well materially and spiritually as any observant monastery. Lynn was not the only place where men were at work in whom the grace of God shone forth and who achieved real spiritual success. Their names are not known but by their fruits we know their spirit. Northampton for example was in dire straits during the second half of the fifteenth century. At its

²³⁵) The title of this extremely rare book is *The / Protestants / Theologie, / containing, / The true solutions, and groundes of Religion, this / day mainteyned, and intreated, betwixt the / Protestants, And Catholicks. / Writen, / By the R. FF. VVillame Patersoune, Religious Priest, / Conuentuall of Antwerpe, Preacher of Gods word, / and Vicar Generall of the holy Order of / S. Augustin, / Through the Kingdome of Scotland. / The I Part. / ... Imprinted. / With Licence. Anno M. DC. XX.* 309 pp. and index. Malines has been suggested as the place of its publication. A. F. ALLISON and D. M. ROGERS, *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English printed abroad or secretly in England, 1558-1640* (Bognor Regis [after 1940 ?]). We have a microfilm of the copy in the British Museum, number 3936, bb. 13. It is written in the style of questions and answers and deserves a detailed study.

The *Liber Professionum*, preserved in the Archives of the Order in Gand writes: « Guilelmus Patersonius, fils de Jean et Joneta Reid, né à Dalkeith en Ecosse (archevêché de St. Andrews) fait profession à Anvers le 8 novembre 1617. Il était déjà prêtre à ce moment. Le général le nommait plus tard vicarius generalis de l'Ordre en Ecosse, où il est mort ». Communication of Father N. Teeuwen.

Borghese, cardinal secretary of State, recommends our Augustinian (Padre fra Guglielmo Patersonto) to the nuncio in Madrid in a letter, dated 6 June 1618. He was coming to collect debts from Flemish soldiers and apply the money in aid of the education in Flanders of Scottish aspirants to his Order. *Vatican Archives, Fondo Borghese, Series I vol. 921, ff 543^v-544^r.*

A report on the Church in Scotland by two Minim missionaries, John Brown and Francis Mantellanus, mentions that among 24 Scottish priests living outside of Scotland « unus pater Augustinianus, Guglielmus Patersonus, concionator » was suitable to be sent to Scotland. *Vatican Barb. Latin 8628, f. 85^r*. The two items from the Vatican Archives were sent by Father F. X. Martin.

²³⁶) The same *Liber Professionum* mentions Just Nicolson, professed 5 Oct. 1612, died at Florence in 1633; Benedict Baxter professed 21 May 1612.

turn it is fully recovered and has become a place of pilgrimage. The change had come through devotion to Our Lady of Grace. This devotion became so popular that the local Austins became known « Friars of Our Lady of Grace ». Another place of pilgrimage was Warrington. Here the throng of pilgrims grew so much, that an annex much larger than the church had to be added in order to accommodate the multitude. A third place of pilgrimage was Boston. This house had always been one of the bigger establishments but it lay a considerable distance from the city walls and very few of its records were preserved. Were it not for the accidental remark in the records of the general that pilgrims left their gifts here and the house should therefore contribute more to the education of youth we could not disprove the assertion of the latest historian of that city that the Austins never made their influence felt. The prior of Boston William Wangford was so highly esteemed by his confrères that they elected him prior for life and the prior general consented (D 1004). Whether it was the same devotion to Our Lady of Grace which brought the change to all three places is not known but it may very well have been.

The Austins proved themselves quite up-to-date by using other attractive new religious means. In almost all their churches of East Anglia they had erected a *scala caeli* altar which derived its name from a vision vouchsafed to St. Bernard of a heavenly ladder (*scala caeli*) on which angels were conducting to heaven the souls whom his prayers had delivered from purgatory. Margaret, countess of Pembroke and Richmond and mother of Henry VII, seems to have been the first who obtained papal indulgences granting the same privileges to her son's chapel in Westminster as were attached to the chapel in Rome. The ordinary attraction of monastic churches were, however, the possibility of going to confession and the hearing of good sermons. The latter attracted tremendous crowds and the kings made use of this attraction on more than one occasion. That all this involved a great amount of work is too easily forgotten. The work was doubly hard when insufficient manpower could not supply the needed substitutes.

Whenever good religious service is rendered material progress seems to follow. Lynn reached its very peak under the extraordinary leadership of Capgrave. In the north, William Bewick, ruled the house in York for many years and proved himself so capable that the king made him surveyor of his works in Austin Friars. The

city thanked him for making repairs at his own expense at the Fishergate Postern Tower and along the river Ouse. In return the city fathers granted him the chamber and dovecote over the Postern for 6d per year. When differences had to be settled between the city and its craftsmen the mediators met at Friar Bewick's place. It might be that he exercised some special influence upon the guilds because the carpenters' guild met at the Austin friary and he had signed a highly satisfactory contract with them in 1487*.

Clare prospered through the kind interest of the new earls of Essex, the Bourghchiers. This favor was gained by the excellence of its members, especially Prior Exall and the Masters Bury and Bokenham. Lady Bourghchier and several other high ladies of the land asked Bokenham for rhymed lives of their patron saints, and Bokenham willingly obliged. — In Norwich Sir Thomas Kerdestone gave 300 marks for a chantry in 1446 and Lady Margaret Weatherby built the monastery's new library in 1457. The long line of great lords buried at Austin Friars, London, speaks for the high respect in which this great house was held.

Equally interesting is the fact that in the first decades of the sixteenth century the Austins had more active bishops than during the whole second half of the fifteenth. In 1502 Nehemias Clonin became bishop of Clogher and was followed by the learned Patrick O'Cullen in 1517. Thady O'Reilly occupied the See of Ross in 1511 and Hephardus that of Sodor on the Isle of Man in 1530. William Graunt, whose family had given three sons to the Austins, became auxiliary of Ely in 1513, Vivian Thomas auxiliary of Exeter in 1517 and Thomas Swillington, the son of a London fish monger, to the sees of London and Lincoln in 1533. They must have been men of outstanding ability and learning or they would not have been chosen.

PART II

Intellectual and religious life

Chapter I

INTELLECTUAL TRAINING *)

1. The Novitiate

In harmony with Canon Law the oldest Constitutions of the Augustines demanded that a boy be fourteen years of age before en-

*) Within the last few decades a number of monographs have described the Augustinian system of education during the late Middle Ages. They are:

E. YPMA, *La Formation des Professeurs chez les Ermites de Saint-Augustin de 1256 à 1354* (Paris 1956), 163 pp.

— « Les cursors chez les Augustins », *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 26 (1959), 137-144.

— « Les Statuts pour le Couvent de Paris promulgués par Jérôme Seripando en 1540 », *Analecta Augustiniana* 24 (1961) 262-312. Text is taken from Ms S 3640 of the Archives Nationales, Paris.

— « Le *Mare Magnum*, un code médiévale du Couvent Augustinien de Paris », *AUG.* V (1956) 275-321 and separate in *Cassiciacum* V (1956) with additions pp. 867/70.

— *Les Statuts pour le couvent des Augustins de Paris promulgués au XV^e siècle* (Rome 1959), 49 pp.

The text of the last two papers is taken from Ms. 774 of the Bibl. d'Arsenal, Paris. Denifle overlooked these precious documents in his *Chartulary of the University of Paris*, probably misled by the title *Mare Magnum* for the whole codex, which usually indicates a collection of well-known privileges of the Mendicant Orders. Gwynn had thought them lost (*Engl. Austin Friars* 28, 34). The *Mare Magnum* contains the precepts of the Prior General Thomas of Strassburg imposed about 1345, while the *Statuts* present those of the Priors General Julian Salemi published in 1447 (pp. 11-39) and William Becchi in 1463 (pp. 42-49). We shall use the abbreviations MM for the *Mare Magnum* and *Statuts* for the second publication.

To Ypma's publications must be added the sharp directives of Prior General William de Cremona in 1328: « *Ordinationes Conventus Parisiensis* », *Analecta Augustiniana* IV (1912) 57-65.

tering the religious life ²³⁷). Sixty years later, forced by the consequences of the Black Death, the Prior General Thomas of Strassburg lowered the age requirement to eleven ²³⁸) but even this was not sufficient. In 1385 and the following years the English provincial was allowed to accept boys even younger ²³⁹). Franciscans and Dominicans are known to have received boys at the age of five ²⁴⁰), the lowest found for Austins is ten ²⁴¹). Admission of a boy rested with the local prior who had to obtain the consent of his house and of the prior provincial ²⁴²).

It was expected that a candidate for the priesthood had acquired the rudiments of writing, reading and liturgical singing before entering ²⁴³). All bigger towns offered sufficient opportunities for such

B. MINISTERI, « De Augustini de Ancona († 1328) Vita et Operibus », *Analecta Augustiniana* 22 (1952) 7-56, 148-262 and separate.

N. TONER, *Notes on the early OESA Programme of Studies and some Writers*. Mimeographed. Dublin 1957, 96 pp.

A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine Theologische Erkenntnislehre* (Würzburg 1941), 397 pp.

The above papers consider exclusively conditions in Italy and France and scarcely ever mention England. Despite this lack they do not lose their value for our study because English universities were modeled after that of Paris; they clarify English sources or substitute for them. The English system is treated best in H. RASHDALL, *The Universities of Europe during the Middle Ages*, new edition by F. M. POWICKE and A. B. EMDEN, 3 vols., Oxford 1936.

A. G. LITTLE and F. PELSTER, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. 1282-1302* (OHS 1934).

J. R. MOORMAN, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge 1225-1538* (Cambridge 1952).

The main, though fragmentary, source for the educational system of the English Austins remain the Registers of the Priors General OESA, known as Dd. ²³⁷) « Nullus ad ordinem nostrum recipiatur iunior 14 annis nec aliqua promissione ligetur » (*Constitutiones Ratisponenses*, ch. 16, fol. 22r).

²³⁸) « Circa sextumdecimum capitulum de tempore et qualitate eorum qui ad ordinem recipiuntur, dispensamus, ut puer annorum undecim recipi possit et non minoris aetatis » (*Additiones ad Const. Ratisp.* fol. 41r).

²³⁹) « ... quod iuvenes iuniores [annis] in constitutionibus et additionibus taxatis ad ordinem recipere valeas » (26 May 1388, Dd 3 fol. 69).

²⁴⁰) MOORMAN, *Grey Friars* 106.

²⁴¹) See the cases of William Haydok in 1402 (D 663), Louis Cren in 1424 (D 763) and Nicholas Hyndy in 1499 (D 977).

²⁴²) « ... ut novitii recipi possint ad ordinem pro futuro triennio per priorem localem cum consensu conventus etiam non habita sui provincialis licentia speciali » (Gen. Chapter of Basel 1351, AA IV, 276/7).

²⁴³) « Pro clerico autem nullus novitius recipiatur ad ordinem nisi legere vel

training²⁴⁴). The participation in the Divine Office made liturgical singing so important that children in elementary schools often started with learning the psalter by heart. The Austins laid great stress on this knowledge. Their General Chapter of 1332 declared that a boy could not be sent to a *studium grammaticale* unless he could read distinctly the whole Divine Office²⁴⁵). If not he was expected to learn it within six months and make progress from then on, otherwise he was to lose vote and (clerical) tonsure²⁴⁶).

A candidate had to enter the friary closest to his hometown²⁴⁷). It became his *conventus natus*, which had to provide for his necessities of life as well as for his education.

A time of probation before the novitiate is doubtful²⁴⁸). The

cantare sciverit competenter vel sit docibilis aut aptus ad addiscendum » (*Const. Ratisp.* ch. 16).

²⁴⁴) John Schiphower writes in his *Chronica* p. 121: « Item in octavo anno post mei nativitatem traditus fui in scholis, quas frequentavi usque ad annum XV et eodem anno intravi Ordinem fratrum Eremitarum Divi Patris Augustini in civitate Osnaburgensi [Osnabrück] ». He was born in 1463.

²⁴⁵) « Item definimus, quod nullus frater mittatur ad studium grammaticale nec ad aliquod aliud studium nisi sciat bene legere ac etiam officium convenienter cantare » (AA IV, 110).

²⁴⁶) « Item diffinimus quod priores provinciales inquirent in provinciis suis fratres clericos quasi legere nescientes et eos cogant quod aut infra dimidium annum sciant legere competenter, et postea proficiant in legendo aut ex tunc voce careant aut de cetero non portent tonsuram (clericalem) »: AA III, 151. The word « clericalem » is added to the text in Cc 19, one of the sources. Apparently there was a difference between the tonsure of a friar who was a priest and one who was only a cleric. The latter might be the « prima tonsura » in the Register of Ada de Orleton, bishop of Hereford (CYS V, 329). Lay brothers were not allowed any tonsure (AA III, 56 and VIII, 15). — A friar who could not fulfill the above requirements was apparently put into the state of a lay brother.

²⁴⁷) The old law that a candidate had to join the house, in whose begging district (questa) he was born (D 742) was modified in 1365 to this extent that a candidate who had joined a monastery other than that of his district had to return only when asked to do so within a year after his reception (AA IV, 451). See also D 597. On 25 March 1426 the Prior General Augustine of Rome decreed: « Demum decrevimus et statuimus in provincia [Angliae] decetero observandum ad evitandas lites que oriuntur et fratres a recipiendis noviciis retrahant, ut novicii ad ordinem recipiendi in quacumque quaesta orti sint, eius conventus filii sint, in quo habitum primo susceperint, Constitutionibus et consuetudinibus ordinis nostri non obstantibus quibuscumque. Super quibus quoad illam provinciam dispensamus » (Dd 4, fol. 192r, D 742) — The reasons for this change are given *supra* p. 138 [AUG. VI, 563].

²⁴⁸) The Constitutions do not mention a time of probation. In 1497 the General

candidate immediately received the white habit which distinguished him from the professed clerics who wore black ²⁴⁹). After a year's training he made solemn profession from which there was no redress, unless he had done so against his will. The power of dispensation rested with the general ²⁵⁰). It is hardly necessary to note that in such a system many a boy entered the Order who had neither sufficient understanding of his actions nor a true vocation. In this light we can understand the fugitive friars who tried to shake off a yoke which had become unbearable.

There were no common novitiates, each house trained its own candidates ²⁵¹). Neither is much known about the education of

Chapter of Rome forbade the presence of seculars for more than 15 days and added: « Illi vero qui religionem nostram ingredi novitii vellent, non possint supra mensem in habitu seculari in conventu retineri » (AA VIII, 14).

²⁴⁹) Prior General Giles of Viterbo wrote to the English Provincial John Stokes on 23 Jun 1513: « ut magistri docerent novitios a nigro habitu abstinere quoniam cum induerent habeantur expresse professi » (D 1012).

The best treatise on the subject is by X. SCHIER, *De Albo Habitu* in Codex 7236 of the Palatina Library, Vienna. He writes: « Vestis nostra alba non est proprie habitus sed vestis interior... Domi semper erat huius usus et in ea dormiebatur... Vestis huius albae proprium ab ordine receptum nomen est tunica; nigra vero cappa aut cuculla vocatur, quod in lectione sacrarum Constitutionum bene observandum est ». We hope to publish this short tract shortly. Schier's thesis is confirmed by the Chapter General of Venice (1519): « Extra septam loci absque cappa nigra nulli exire praesument. Qui vero ex paupertate nimia cappam et tunicam [albam] simul habere nequeant potius cappam quam tunicam induant... » (AA IX, 38). See also AA VII, 11. N° 283 of the Mare Magnum also identifies the « cappa » with the chlamis or mantle [= cuculla]. These texts solve the question posed in D 722c.

²⁵⁰) See dispensation of Louis Gren in D 736.

²⁵¹) The *Constit. Ratispon.* ch. 17 had prescribed that at the annual provincial chapters two or three houses be set aside to serve as novitiates. This demand did either not prove practical or had fallen into oblivion, because the Roman Province planned these houses only in 1338 (AA IV, 184; TONER, *Notes* 23) and in 1519 each province was obligated to set aside one place to which each house (if able) had to send one novice, « ubi cerimonias, Grammaticam, Musicam condiscant » (AA IX, 36). The study of grammar and philosophy is also confirmed in other regulations. The Statutes of Seripando (n°s 102-123) add some otherwise unknown details for the Parisian novitiate. All novices had to live in one section of the house which was kept locked and which only a few persons were allowed to enter. A novice master or director of morals gave the instructions on the religious life, while three or four instructors taught literature (litteras bonas), in addition to grammar and logic, physics and ethics. When such teachers started a new book, the novices had to pay not more than five Turonese shillings [!!]. All novices had

novices. Chapter 16 of the Ratisbon. Constitutions states only that a novice was to be educated « in psalmodia, et cantu et alio divino officio ». Not a single book of instructions composed or used by an English novice master has come down to us. We have, however, the interesting letter of William Flete written in 1380 to the prior provincial, in which the saint of Lecceto stresses two points. First the novices should not be allowed to leave the cloister except in cases of extreme necessity. Never for profit. Otherwise the saying would come true : one day they enter, the next they wander about in town. Secondly they should not be engaged in higher studies, no matter how gifted they were. The study of the laws of regular observance, of grammar and chant should suffice. By going out they became seculars in their inner attitude (*in mente*). Scriptures called this returning to their vomit. If allowed to study and have too much contact with the professed they became so proud and arrogant that in later years they would not care about any discipline. On the other hand they should be treated well in all houses and have the necessities of life without trouble. They should possess, however, nothing of their own nor keep anything in trust of seculars ²⁵²). — On lieu of a guide for the education of novices we have the religious play, *The Miraculous Bread of St. Nicholas of Tolentine*, written by the Frenchman Geoffrey Pierre OSA and printed in 1510 at London for the benefit of novices throughout the province. We shall speak of its importance under Authors. What interests here is the long discourse on bad women ; every passage of Holy Scriptures on evil women is quoted by a young friar until St. Nicholas stops him. Such passages were favorite means of impressing upon religious the need of keeping proper distance from women. Austin educators were children of their times and used the means of their age.

2. *The Schools of the English Province*

A description of the educational system must clearly distinguish between candidates destined for only saying mass and reciting the

to sleep in one large dormitory; they were allowed to speak Latin only, never French, except in case of necessity. Since novices had to give up so much they were also to partake in the festivities of the house and five times a year they were to have a picnic at some distant place.

²⁵²) AA XVIII, 319.

Divine Office and candidates selected for graduate work at the university. The superabundance of rules available in the Registers of the Priors General for « students » (= professors) has misled some historians to ascribe the same training for both groups. Father Kuijters took strong exception to this false conclusion. « For becoming a priest, for attending public recitation of the canonical hours and for saying mass it was sufficient to have studied only grammar »²⁵³). His point is well taken and applies throughout the Middle Ages. The constant insistence by the General Chapters on a knowledge of Latin for the years before the Black Death is not indicative of a thorough academic training. A scarcity of vocations ensuing in its wake brought about a considerable lowering of standards. The Chapter of Basel in 1351 allowed — against the rules of the Order — to receive into the priesthood even those who knew no Latin but were otherwise well disposed²⁵⁴). This dispensation was to be valid for three years only but was repeated by chapters until 1362²⁵⁵). After 1388 the Order tried to regain the former standard by binding provincials under pain of deposition from office to restrain from saying Mass those priests who could not read well. As late as 1519 nothing else seems to have been required for ordination but the legal age and the ability to read distinctly and sing correctly²⁵⁶).

²⁵³) AUG. IV, 170. Twentyone was the usual age of ordination after the middle of the fifteenth century. The 24th year was prescribed in 1287 (AA II, 277) and the 22nd in 1343 (AA IV, 233).

²⁵⁴) AA IV, 277. In 1359 this was to be permitted only in small houses that is houses with less than 12 men, but not in eremitical houses (AA IV, 379).

²⁵⁵) « Item confirmamus diffinitiones in multis capitulis confirmatas, tam de dispensatione privationis vocis cum prioribus qui non fecerunt omnes horas canonicas cantari, quam etiam quod fratres possint ad sacras ordines promoveri etiam si nesciant loqui latinum, et quod sacerdotes XXV annorum alias ydonei possint audire confessiones secularium personarum » (AA IV, 428).

²⁵⁶) « Item diffinimus et presenti diffinitione mandamus omnibus prioribus provincialibus sub pena privationis officii, quatinus diligenter perquirere debeant de nescientibus legere in breviario pariter et in missali; et si quos sacerdotes repererint distincte legere nescientes, ut prefertur, a sacerdotali officio deponantur quousque perfecte legerint et distincte, ut merito tenentur » (Gen. Chapt. 1388, AA V, 76).

« Nemo ordinetur ad sacros ordines, nisi sit aetatis legitimae et sciat distincte legere et recte cantum firmum. Si contra fiat, ordinatus suspendatur et voce et officio careat per decennium; ordinator, vero, seu prior seu provincialis officio privetur » (General Chapter 1519, AA IX, 34).

A reform which brought about the modern standard of education came only with the Council of Trent.

One point, however, has been overlooked in the discussion of standards, namely that preaching and hearing of confessions rested with priests of some academic training²⁵⁷) not with the so-called mass-priests. The number of Austins who studied theology without any intent of passing through the whole curriculum was, therefore, considerably higher than a list of masters would imply. In York, for example, 25 priests were licensed between 1348 and 1350, of whom three were masters and one a bachelor, but the others were newly ordained priests (D 394). Since no one could be proposed for confessor unless he had the necessary training we must surmise that they had heard grammar, philosophy and at least one year theology. The occasionally sharp language of the General Chapters did not apply in equal measure to all provinces. Standards differed then in various countries as they do to-day.

The reform decree, issued by William of Cremona in 1326²⁵⁸), placed all young religious after their profession under a master until the age of twenty. They had to obey him like novices their master and he had to give them a weekly instruction on religious principles. This decree apparently signifies the coming of the master of scholastics. It is not a directive for studies but concerns only the proper supervision of the young after classes.

Studium Grammaticale.

At the end of his novitiate the young cleric was sent to Grammar School. « There the rudiments of classical education, started in the novitiate, were imparted in much the same way as at present. Priscian, Donatus and Alexander Villadieu were the grammars. After some of the psalms had been learned (this was taught in the

²⁵⁷) Prior General Gregory of Rimini wrote to the English Provincial William on 20 Jan. 1358: « Precepimus insuper tibi per obedientiam salutarem quatenus in provincia tua non permittas fratrem aliquem verbum dei populo publice predicare vel secularium confessiones audire, nisi fuerit examinatus et approbatus et sibi licentia commissa talia faciendi iuxta formam privilegii apostolici... (Dd I, p. 385 (fol. 194). See also Dd 2, fol. 65; AA VII, 425; VIII, 13. The Gen. Chapters of 1486 and 1491 demanded that a confessor of seculars had at least the book which begins: *Defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio*, also known as *Antonina*, or another book which treats the matter of confession (AA VII, 345, 422).

²⁵⁸) AA IV, 31.

most elementary schools of all) Cato served Delectus, after which the boy might be put into Ovid and possibly Virgil. In the absence of dictionaries the master no doubt literally « read » the book to pupils, i. e. construed it to them and afterwards required them to do the same. In England books were construed in French as well as English. Questions were asked in parsing and exercises set in prose and verse. Disputations in grammar — perhaps something after the fashion in which candidates for the King's Scholarships at Westminster used to challenge each other with hard questions — were also a favorite institution » ²⁵⁹).

Each province was expected to set aside two houses for academic beginners: one for logic and one for grammar ²⁶⁰). They were also called *grammaticales superiores* and *inferiores* ²⁶¹). This distinction in the registers of the priors general must probably be understood in the light of Priscian's grammar. His first sixteen books were known as *Priscianus Maior* or *Ars Maior*, while the last two books comprising a quarter of the whole were called *Priscianus Minor* or *Ars Minor*. Only one year of grammar school was prescribed though both the course in logic (dialectics) and that in grammar lasted one year. From an analogy with the course in philosophy we must surmise that the missing course was taught at the next higher *studium* or had been anticipated in the novitiate.

The two types of Grammar School are often mentioned in the acts of the Roman Province, but in England each house seems to have taught the rudiments of Latin and dialects to its own candidates. Fourteen boys are mentioned for Thetford in 1424 (D 733) though this friary is not known to have housed any of the prescribed schools. Lynn had sixteen boys in 1446 (D 807) despite its school of theology ²⁶²). The *studium* in Huntingdon recorded in 1472 (D 902) must have been a grammar school because it alone would fit into the English educational system.

²⁵⁹) RASHDALL, *Medieval Universities* III, 351/2.

²⁶⁰) « Diffinimus et ordinamus, quod quilibet provincia habeat duo studia grammaticalia in quibus studentes per totum annum morentur et eorum magistri per totum annum legere teneantur » (General Chapter of Padua 1315, AA III, 177).

²⁶¹) « Grammaticales Superiores » are mentioned in 1326 (AA IV, 34).

²⁶²) The presence of 20 *pueri* in the *studium generale ordinis* of Paris is mentioned in YPMA; *Statuts* 20. See also D 1095 where children are mentioned for London.

Studium Particulare or School of Philosophy.

After completing at least one year in Grammar School a boy was sent to a *studium particulare* which could be called a school of philosophy in elementary form ²⁶³). The General Chapter of 1326 desired two such schools in each province ²⁶⁴). It seems that they did not have everywhere an independent existence before that time. England far exceeded the desire of the Chapter. Following the principle that their limits were larger than most Italian provinces they erected a *studium particulare* for each limit : for the limit of Lincoln in Leicester, for Oxford in Bristol, and for Cambridge in Norwich ²⁶⁵). None is mentioned for York. There remains, of course,

²⁶³) The only request for a transfer from the local convent to a higher school has been found so far on fol. 89 of Ms. 49 of the Stadt Bibliothek of Windsheim (Bavaria): « Petimus omni devotione, quatinus karissimos fratres nostros ac filios nostri conventus Henricum dictum Gostenhofer ac Hermannum de Lapide in aliquod studium provincie locare dignemur (?), quos in suis puerilibus scienciis sufficienter instructos et expertos et disciplinatos bonisque moribus ac religionis fulgentes... » (E. STAHLER, *Die Handschriften der Augustiner Eremiten ... in der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Windsheim*, Diss. Würzburg, 1960). On Hermannus de Lapide see AUG. V, 292 n. 12.

²⁶⁴) « Item volentes utilitati ordinis diligenter intendere quantum possumus quoad studia, diffinimus et mandamus, quod in qualibet provincia nostri ordinis ordinentur duo loca, si ad hoc sint duo apta, in quorum uno sit studium naturalis philosophie et in alio studium loyce ita ut lector qui leget philosophiam teneatur infra triennium naturalem philosophiam perficere; lector vero qui leget loycam similiter teneatur per triennium perficere totam loycam. Studentes vero qui ordinati fuerint per provincias ibidem studeant per triennium; post triennium possint mitti at studia generalia, interim vero nullatenus possint mitti ». If a province should have but one suitable house then both courses may be held there but exactly as outlined above. « Volumus nihilominus quod lectores in huiusmodi *particularibus studiis* legant per totum annum assidue sicut faciunt lectores generalium studiorum; et si per totum annum non continuaverint lectiones ipso facto sint sua provisione annuali privati » (AA IV, 6).

²⁶⁵) LEICESTER. « Fecimus studentem fratrem Egidium Ywenis de Brugis in *studio particulari* in nostro conventu Lacestrie provincie Anglie » (27 Dec. 1390, D 604). TEEUWEN-MEIJER n° 127, note 106 explain Ywenis as Iwonis, not as Juvenis.

BRISTOL. On 18 Dec. 1385 Prior Provincial Henry Teesdale was allowed to install John Huel as « lectorem principalem per tres annos in conventu Bristollie cum exemptionibus et gratiis quibus uti et gaudere solent huiusmodi principales lectores » (D 574). On 29 April 1423 the general wrote « Reposuimus fratrem Joannem Broxmowth, lectorem provincie Anglie, pro lectore in conventu Bristollie » (D 728).

NORWICH. Our contention that Norwich was only a school of philosophy cannot be doubted by the fact that foreign students were sent there (D 605, 606)

the possibility that other houses were used as schools, if only for a while.

In one of the two schools, required in 1326, the Old and New Logic had to be taught in three years while in the other the whole natural philosophy had to be imparted within the same period ²⁶⁶). Since two lectors were assigned to these schools, both courses could be absolved easily within three years, if they were given in the same house. If the chapter, however, had ordered a different locality for each school then the course took six years and consequently part of the philosophical course had to be taken at the university or at the *studium generale*. The textbooks for Old Logic were the Isagoge of Porphyrius, the Categories or *Praedicamenta* of Aristotle and his *Perihermeneias*, all of them in the translation of Boethius. The New Logic comprehended in particular the teaching of syllogisms as propounded in *Topica*, *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora* of Aristotle. For natural philosophy served the four books of the Ethic of Nicomachus, and the short treatises of Aristotle on astronomy (*de Caelo*), physics (*De Genere et Corruptione*), Psychology (*De Anima*) and others. The Austin library in York was well stacked with these books. In the explanation of these works Augustinian lectors had to follow in their schools the works of their own masters, especially the commentaries of Giles of Rome and Paul of Venice ²⁶⁷).

since the same is true of Leicester which is expressly called a particular study. The general never uses an expression like « reading the sentences » in any of his comparatively frequent appointments to Norwich. The transfer of John Methon [Metham ?] from Lynn, which then flourished as school of theology also speaks in our favor (D 619), likewise the interesting passage of 24 May 1388: « Concessimus fratri Alexandro de Wellis, quod annus iste quem in officio colatoris [studii] Narwyci [transegit ?] stet sibi pro anno in universitate ita quod eo tempore [possit] lectorari quo fuisset lectoratus si anno predicto in universitate stetisset dummodo ad hoc habuerit assensum diffinitorum precedentis capituli provincialis » (D 591, where the translation was corrupted without our fault). For further texts see D 559, 713, 1167. Our suggestion in D 1167 that Middlgh might stand for Middleburg does not seem acceptable, because Teeuwen-Meijer did not include him in their publication.

²⁶⁶) A lector was to be appointed by the provincial chapter for three continuous years. He had to teach in such a way « quod infra triennium idem lector tractatus cum tota loyica nova et vetera perficere teneatur » (AA IV, 178).

²⁶⁷) « Item, ut iuvenes nostre religionis sub scientia clarissimorum [doctorum] nostre religionis erudiantur, precipimus quod in studiis nostris non possint legi

No one could teach philosophy unless he had heard it for five years and had studied theology for a whole year at the university or at least at a *studium concursarium*²⁶⁸). No one could be promoted to a *studium generale* unless he had attended the school of philosophy for at least three years²⁶⁹).

Studia Generalia.

Three kinds of *studia generalia* must be distinguished : the *studium generale provinciae* which was entirely under the control of the provincial ; the *studium generale ordinis* which was directed by the prior general, and the *studium concursorium*, an intermediary type which seems to have existed only for a limited period. The main *studia* were placed in the towns from which the limits took their names, viz. Oxford and Cambridge, York and Lincoln. The first two were *studia generalia ordinis*, the latter two *studia concursoria*. *Studia provinciae* are found in Lynn for the limit of Cambridge, in London for that of Oxford and in Stamford for Lincoln²⁷⁰). None is known for the limit of York.

nisi opera doctorum nostrorum, et precipue Egidii, Gerardi [Senensis], Thome de Argentina et Pauli de Venetiis et aliorum; et hoc sub pena privationis graduum ipsis legentibus et studii audientibus » : Gen. Chapter of Pamiers 1465 (AA VII, 110) confirmed at Bologna in 1470 (AA VII, 169), Rome 1491 (AA VII, 425) and 1497 (AA VIII, 13). See also Würzburg 1391 (AA V, 99 and TONER, *Notes* 8 sq.).

²⁶⁸) « ... et quod in provincia memorata [Angliae] nullus de cetero ad legendam philosophiam difiniatur vel ordinetur antequam per quinque annos philosophiam audierit, et deinde per annum integrum in altera universitatum vestrarum vel studio concursorio in theologia studens fuerit (23 Sept. 1359, Dd 1, fol. 107 [p. 213].

²⁶⁹) *Addit. ad Constit. Ratispon.* to chapter 36.

²⁷⁰) LONDON. When speaking about his years of teaching Capgrave writes : « Audiavi enim... Londoniae... et tunc studens ibi eram in quarto anno vel quinto ex quo ad sacerdotium promotus sum » : *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* 127. London is often mentioned as a school of theology in the Registers of the General, e. gr. : « Concessimus fratri Guilelmo Gormechestre provincie Anglie ut legere possit sententias tertio anno Londoniis [Ms: laudon'] sicut annis duobus fecit, dummodo provincia alium non ordinaverit » (18 March, 1420, Dd 4 fol. 17v; D 713, 716). — « Concessimus patribus conventus Londoniarum, quod possint retinere et recipere septem fratres de provincia, tres ad utilitatem studii, quatuor autem ad alia oportuna in conventu expedientia » (15 Dec. 1433, Dd 5 fol. 20). — « Fecimus cursorem fratrem Joannem de Columberiis provincie Aquitanie in nostro conventu Londoniarum ad quem si non posset accedere fecimus ipsum cursorem in altero conventu Colonie vel Brugis quibus [cursibus] lectis fecimus ipsum studentem in

Somewhat difficult to judge is the status of London both as school and convent. From all indications it seems to be a *conventus generalis*, though not a single document calls it by that name. Its priors and other officials, freely chosen by the house, were confirmed by the prior general, not the provincial; neither could they be deposed without the general's permission (D 956). This certainly makes it a *conventus generalis*. Since the prior general had full jurisdiction over London, he naturally appointed also the regent of its *studium*. This, however, does not make London a *studium generale ordinis* nor a *studium concursorium* — at least it is never called

conventu Londoniarum vel Oxoniensi pro gradu lectoris sub magistro regente consequendo de gratia speciali » (16 June 1387, D 588).

LYNN. Capgrave's report to King Henry VI in 1446 leaves no doubt that Lynn housed a school of theology (D 807). It is not mentioned as such in the Registers of the General, and might, therefore, have a late origin.

STAMFORD. « Fecimus studentem Fr. Laurentium Ruston provincie Anglie in nostro conventu et studio Eboracensi aut si ipsum non posset retinere facimus studentem in studio Linconiensi [sic] sive Stamford, aut in alio qui in tota provincia sua velit eum retinere. Dedimusque ei licentiam visitandi limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli » (29 August 1420, D 716). Since Stamford is equalled to York and Lincoln, its *studium* must have been like theirs, a *studium theologicum*. The heading in D 619 should therefore be changed. Interesting might be the fact that York and Lincoln are no longer called *studia concursoria*.

LINCOLN. « Concessimus fratri Williermo [sic] Langwat inceptor et Johanni Asthum lectori provincie Anglie quod possint conventui Lincol[n]ie providere de regente nisi provincia providisset cui nolumus pro tunc preiudicari »: (18 March 1420, D 716).

« Concessimus fratri Johanni Whetleay provincie Anglie, ut ex quo complevit omnes cursus suos et actus fieri in sua provincia solitos ante gradum lectorie, possit pro libito suo lectorari in universitate Oxoniensi aut Cantabrigensi. Item ut possit legere sentencias in con[c]ursorio Eboracensi aut Linco[l]niensi per triennium cum alio lectore vel legente. Item ut possit ducere duos iuvenes quos se ad ordinem introduxisse dicit, scilicet fratrem Johannem Meyklarus et Robertum Fontans in cursorio [sic] Eboracensi, in quo volumus ut possint stare triennio pro studentibus (22 Nov. 1421, D 720).

YORK. In a letter which gives John Erghome the right to be prior and master regent at the same time, the general adds: « Et ne dictus conventus Eboracensis, in quo sunt continue duo magistri, videlicet frater Richardus Brothertum et frater Johannes Erghome, nimia magistrorum multitudine in posterum gravetur, volumus et ordinamus quod nullus alius magister in eodem conventu ponatur nisi de assensu magistrorum supradictorum et seniorum patrum de conventu dummodo vicarius noster et diffinitores capituli provincialis tue provincie in hiis praebeant assensum (D 565). Two masters were allowed only in Paris, Oxford, Cambridge and Lyon according to the General Chapter of Milan in 1343 (AA IV, 236).

by either name — it remained a *studium generale provinciae* as far as the curriculum was concerned. That it excelled all other schools of its kind within the province seems to be without question. It was always directed by master.

Exact data for the beginning of all these schools have not come to light. Oxford and Cambridge were firmly established by 1318 when they are mentioned in the acts of the General Chapter of Rimini ²⁷¹); of all other schools not a single notice has been found before the last quarter of the fourteenth century, though they were of an earlier origin.

The great number of houses for theology might be surprising. Smaller schools, however, were preferable for obvious reasons: students were accommodated more easily, long trips could be avoided and budding professors had many more opportunities to complete their required courses in record time. Neither did the schools suffer from a lack of proper direction, because there was more than a sufficiency of masters.

The whole theological course consisted of four years divided between the study of the Bible and Sentences ²⁷²). Three of these years had to be passed at a theological school of the province before an Austin could be sent to a *studium generale ordinis*. In the provincial school of theology at least two lectors had to read continuously logic, philosophy and theology ²⁷³). The teaching of philosophy even at the highest level has been doubted, but the registers of the priors general leave no doubt. In 1389, for example, William of Gloucester was made student of philosophy in the convent and *studium* of Oxford (D 604) and in 1421 John Jr. of Orford was sent as student of philosophy to the university of Cambridge for three years (D 720).

Little is known about the *studia concursoria*. The name seems

²⁷¹) In 1318 the Gen. Chapter of Rimini demanded the constant presence of two masters and two bachelors at Paris so that the Order would always have a master regent at the university. « Hanc constitutionem volumus ad magistros et baccalarios studiorum Ossoniensis et Cathabrigiae [sic] simili modo extendi. » (AA III, 224).

²⁷²) RASHDALL, *Med. Univ.* III, 158.

²⁷³) « Ordinamus insuper quod quelibet provincia habeat unum studium generale in quo sint ad minus duo lectores qui lectiones loicae, philosophiae et theologiae continuent secundum nostri ordinis instituta » (*Constit. Ratispon.* ch. 36; YPMA, *Formation* 150).

to imply that students of other limits could be sent there ; it is also evident that they ranked higher than the mere provincial houses of theology and in some instances they are equalled to the universities in attaining academic degrees ²⁷⁴). In 1359 Prior General Matthew of Ascoli decreed « for all times » that no one could be appointed lector at a *studium concursorium* in England unless he had attended the entire course of philosophy (three years), studied four years theology, of which at least three years had to be passed at a university and, for the time being, no one could be promoted to the lectorate unless he had passed the courses prescribed for teaching at a *studium concursorium* ²⁷⁵).

Cambridge and Oxford.

Until 1360 the doctor title in theology, better known as the *magisterium*, could be obtained only at the universities of Paris, Cambridge and Oxford ²⁷⁶). A foundation in these cities was, therefore, of vital necessity if the Austins really regarded sound theological training as the foundation of their Order ²⁷⁷). The English Province excelled the entire Order in this endeavor, by coming to Oxford as early as 1267. True, Paris had been founded in December 1259 ²⁷⁸) but it was an endeavor of the whole Order not a single province, while Oxford is entirely the work of its native Austins.

Medieval universities were composed of various « colleges »

²⁷⁴) « ... ubi non est studium generale [ordinis] aut aliud studium sollempne » (Gen. Chapter of Siena 1338, AA IV, 180). The *studium sollempne* can refer only to the *studium concursorium*. See also note 193 where the *concursorium* can be substituted for the university. TONER, *Notes* 32 tried to separate the functions of the various *studia generalia*, an almost impossible task considering our meager sources. It seems that a partial solution could be found by taking the ephemeral character of the *studia cursoria* into greater consideration.

²⁷⁵) AA V, 107.

²⁷⁶) A decree to that effect was edited by Pope Innocent VI in 1355 (D 422). Toulouse was added by Urban V in 1365 (AA V, 121). Some universities which had received the right of promotion before 1355 (like Naples in 1253, Florence 1349 and Salamanca) had not made use of their grant. Salamanca lists but one master in 1355, but began to flourish after its privileges had been renewed in 1411. Padua received the papal privilege of promotion to the *magisterium* in 1363, Bologna in 1364, Perugia in 1362 and Siena in 1408 (RASHDALL, *Med. Univ. passim*).

²⁷⁷) *Constit. Ratispon.* ch. 36.

²⁷⁸) DENIFLE, *Chartul. Univ. Paris.* I, n° 358.

which formed a self-governing, independent corporation. The various monastic schools of theology formed part of this corporation and were fully recognized as long as they were directed by acknowledged masters and fulfilled other requirements of the university. With its establishment as « college » the Augustinian *studium generale* became part of the university. Therefore, not only their own students but also outsiders could fulfill the requirements for higher academic degrees by attending their lectures and disputations. As in Paris so at Cambridge and Oxford, the Austins could, however, not have an accredited « college » of their own until they could staff it with teachers who had attained the *magisterium*. The early Austins, therefore, either hired such a master or attended lectures in other schools. Since both universities made extensive use of their buildings, the early Austins might easily have come to an advantageous financial arrangement with the theological faculties which permitted them, at least in Oxford, to remain within the monastic precinct while attending lectures.

The first known Augustinian master at Oxford was William of Hexham (D 109) who was regent of the university in 1292, just five years after Giles of Rome had obtained the *magisterium* at Paris, the first Augustinian to reach this distinction²⁷⁹). In 1290 *studia generalia Ordinis* were prescribed for each province²⁸⁰). The promotion of Hexham probably enabled England to execute this order within two years.

At Oxford the Austins found a well established theological faculty in which the secular masters prevailed ; but when they came to Cambridge in 1290 they were confronted with a rather young theological faculty in which friars played almost as important a role as on the continent. Franciscans seem to be the founders of this faculty and were together with the Dominicans the dominant force. Secular masters had been in the minority and worked at first hand in hand with the friars. Trouble started in 1303 when the university

²⁷⁹) The testament of Giles reads: « ... [Conventus Parisiensis] de cuius uberibus a pueritia nutritus fuit ... in quo disponente Deo adeo profecit quod inter fratres eius Ordinis magisterium in S. Theologia primus Parisius obtinuit » (DENIFLE, *Chartul. Univ. Paris.* II, n° 716).

One could object that Giles' becoming the first master in Paris would not eliminate the possibility that someone preceded him in England but the whole tradition of the Order rejects this hypothesis.

²⁸⁰) *Constit. Ratispon.* ch. 36.

tried to impose the will of the masters regent upon all important points touching the common welfare of the university. If successful, this constitution would have taken away the power from the individual faculties and since the mendicants held the upper hand in theology they opposed this move. The Franciscans and Dominicans even appealed to Rome, basing their complaint not on the real issues but on a new statute which forced everyone of their bachelors to preach before their inception at St. Mary's instead their own churches as heretofore. During this dispute the first master regent of the Austins at Cambridge, John of Clare, made his appearance. He sided with the university against his mendicant confrères for which he was bitterly attacked. It is quite possible that his cooperation obtained not only his own quicker promotion but also the early approval of the Augustinian « college » ²⁸¹).

In Oxford the Austins were not faced with the type of problems which confronted them in Cambridge. Here similar difficulties between friars and secular masters had been settled about 1251/2. A dispute had arisen when the university passed a statute that « each college of religious » would have to be content with one master and one school (the Franciscans had two) and no bachelor was to be admitted to the *magisterium* unless he had lectured in the school of one of the masters recognized by the university. The friars protested against this interference with their work and liberties, but they could not expect to enjoy the privileges of membership in the masters' college without submitting to its authority. Slowly the university had imposed its will ²⁸²).

In both English universities the Austins were closely linked with the theological faculties in material ways. In Oxford their friary was located in the immediate neighborhood of the main body of university buildings and from the very beginning their church, chapter house and refectory were used for lectures. Grammar was taught exclusively within the friary, but its teachers were not recruited from the Austins as had been believed; they came from the faculty of arts. The Austins supplied only the buildings and were paid for their use. In 1326 the university passed a statute that every bachelor of arts should dispute once and respond once each year at Austin Friars (D 244). This became known as « doing the

²⁸¹) MOORMAN, *Grey Friars* 35 sqq.

²⁸²) MOORMAN, *op. cit.* 25 sqq.

Austins », an expression which lasted until the nineteenth century. The school of theology also used the friary for its lectures though under the direction of the university and by a staff of secular masters. Thus it happened that Wyclif was teaching at Austin Friars when the condemnation of 1381 reached him. He was not employed by the Austins nor did he teach in their school. In Cambridge both church and monastery were often used for university acts but the friary did not become as closely united with the university as at Oxford.

One of the principal differences between continental and English *studia generalis ordinis* lay in the selection of candidates for graduate work. When the General Chapter of Montpellier reserved in 1430 the promotion to the baccalaureate to the prior general or the diffinitors of the chapter, Gerard of Rimini quickly explained that this should not apply to England²⁸³). Here each limit proposed its own candidates for the various degrees after all masters, priors and bachelors of the limit had made the required deposition as to the good behavior and capabilities of the candidate. The provincial chapter accepted or rejected the proposed names and sent them to the prior general together with the other capitular acts²⁸⁴). The general was not bound by this choice²⁸⁵), and, therefore, no candidate could proceed until he had received the *littera studii* or *littera promotionis*, the *littera lectorandi* or *magistrandi* or whatever the written permission called for. The limit also determined the sequence

²⁸³) « Item declaravimus diffinitionem de baccalariis promovendis non nisi per generalem vel diffinitorium capituli generalis nuper in capitulo generali factam non intelligi de provincia Anglie » (D 760).

²⁸⁴) « Item diffinimus quod singuli limites provincie Anglie habeant liberam electionem de personis eorum promovendis pro locis limitum suorum sicut fuerat antiquitus consuetum » (General Chapter of Verona 1377, D 529).

« Item dimictebamus vicario nostro et diffinitoribus auctoritatem consuetam promovendi promovendos hac conditione, quod promovendi prius examinarentur per provincialem et unum alium magistrum quorum conscientias strictissime agravabamus » (23 April 1463, D 871).

²⁸⁵) « Quantum vero ad petitionem diffinitorum provincie tue super confirmatione diffinitionis facte de promovendis in eadem provincia, ut transire debeant per depositionem magistrorum, taliter respondemus, quod nobis non videtur expediens; si enim utilis est et bona, eam subsequentes officiales provincie non mutabunt, et nos, cum casus emergeverit (sic) volumus ipsam infringere posse, non obstante confirmatione quacumque, quia de iure possumus super constitutiones nostras plenarie pro libito dispensare » (Prior General Gregory of Rimini to the English Provincial in 1358, AA V, 124).

in which its own candidates were to be promoted while the provincial chapter determined the succession of all its approved candidates at the university ²⁸⁶).

Each limit could send four students to both Oxford and Cambridge and the convents of these two friaries could add two more ²⁸⁷). If everyone of the five limits filled its quota, then each of these *studia* was attended by 22 English and Irish scholars. Each foreign province could send one member according to the Constitutions of the Order (« de jure ») and the general could add three more as a favor (« de gratia nostra speciali »). In 1329 the Order numbered 24 provinces. If each of these and the general had filled their quota not more than 50 students would have attended. This number, however, was seldom if ever reached, because few of the Italian and French provinces sent students. The average total of students at each university seems to have been 25 to 30 ²⁸⁸). This seems like a small number but it was large in view of the prevailing laws of all universities, which permitted only one promotion to the *magisterium* every two years for each mendicant Order ²⁸⁹). Percentage-wise the English province was given a tremendous advantage over the remaining provinces. Its members were assigned the first two places while Italy was given the third and the remaining provinces the fourth ²⁹⁰). Counting both English universities, this distribution gave to each of the thirteen Italian provinces but one master every 39 years. Keeping students in England seemed a thankless waste of money. Foreign provinces made, therefore, little use of the English

²⁸⁶) [Thomas Whytwell] « qui habet locum sibi a provincia sua in ipsa universitate assignatam » (D 739).

²⁸⁷) AA V 36.

²⁸⁸) This number seems, for example, verified by the presence of 49 men at Cambridge in 1377 (not 40 men as stated in D 532): LITTLE, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 19 (1926) 820.

²⁸⁹) D 1002 under Tonys. In Toulouse each Mendicant Order could obtain a master only every third year (AA V, 122).

²⁹⁰) « Item diffinimus et ordinamus quod in universitatibus Anglie fratres nostri citramarini [= Italians] tertium locum obtineant de cetero opponendo, Sententias et Bibliam legendo et Magisterium consequendo (Chapter General Wien 1362, AA IV, 429). On 2 October 1359 Italy is clearly mentioned « presertim cum bachalarii promotio in eadem universitate partem ytalicam nunc tangat ». (Dd I, fol. 111v (p. 222)). The fourth part, for the other continental provinces, is not mentioned in the records but is evident from Parisian customs. See YPMA, *Formation* 100-102.

universities except during the Great Schism. Only the nearby provinces of Cologne and Saxony sent a considerable number of scholars because their countries were closely connected with England either by annexation or commerce. Firm rules kept order not only between the native and continental students but also between the various provinces ; each province had to wait its turn. The general had the power to grant special favors but the English chapters took a firm stand against too many exceptions ²⁹¹). Relief from the unbearably slow process of promotion came to Parisian students through papal dispensations ; such are extremely rare in Oxford and Cambridge, probably because they did not regard themselves as papal foundations. Neither seem the English universities themselves to have been eager of making exceptions for friars. Only towards the middle of the fifteenth century can we find an occasional exception to its strictly enforced rule (D 927, 954 etc).

In the appointment of students the priors general used three technical terms : « in universitate Oxoniensi » (or « Cantabrigensi »), « in studio nostro Oxoniensi », « in conventu nostro Oxoniensi ». The latter expression is as a rule combined with one of the first two ; it was an important distinction. If a student was made a temporary member of the convent he had certain obligations but had also all the advantages of a member : free room and board, wood for his stove, certain monetary returns. His obligations consisted in preaching when commanded by the local prior and go abegging two or three times a month if sufficient food was not available ²⁹²). If a student was only appointed « in studio nostro », then his expenses had to be paid by his mother province ; he also taught

²⁹¹) « Ut ea que in quattuor capitulis vestris provincialibus pro transeuntibus ad gradum maturius ordinastis efficacius consequantur effectum, auctoritate nostra confirmavimus et ratificavimus statutum — fratris Dyonisii [Restani of Modena, prior general 1343/4] predecessoris nostri non obstante quacumque definitione aut ordinatione alias in contrarium facta — ac etiam omnes et singulas diffinitiones seu ordinationes in capitulo Jeremute celebrato noviter editas aut ibi confirmatas, [1] prohibentes concursus ad gradum infra universitates anglie [2] Insuper prohibentes accelerationes aut expeditiones contra formam et ordinationem provincie prelibate. [3] Confirmavimus insuper cum predictis et ratificavimus litteram provincialis in conventu Cantabrigie confectam de non petendo gratiam in eadem universitate sine consensu magistrorum et maioris partis bacchalariorum, ipsam quoque extendo ad universitatem Oxonie ». These regulations were to remain in force until recalled by letters patent (13 Oct. 1390, Dd 3 fol. 135v).

²⁹²) *Constit. Ratispon.* ch. 36.

or studied only in the school of the Order, not at the university. If his letter of promotion read « in universitate Oxoniensi », then he partook in the life of the university through lectures and other scholastic exercises. Foreign students had to pay 8 florins for room and board. For their expenses connected with the Biblical lecture they were allowed 25 florins, and for that on the Sentences 50 florins ²⁹³).

Paris will always be superior to Oxford and Cambridge in Augustinian history because the fame of the Order in scholastic theology stems from Paris, « the fountain of all knowledge » ²⁹⁴. The works of Parisian masters are found in comparatively large numbers in English libraries, not so those of natives. Ambrose Masari de Cora who published the first printed chronicle of the Order mentions but one English master: Thomas Penketh. Officially, however, these three *studia generalia ordinis* were put on an equal

²⁹³) Mandavimus vicario et diffinitorio capituli provincie Romandiole..., quatenus debeant dare fratri Matheo de Podiolo quinquaginta florenos pro subsidio lecture sue in Anglia » (Dd I, fol. 150v (or p. 300)); March 1360). This price had been fixed the year previous at the Gen. Chapter of Padua in 1359: « Item diffinitum quod fratres extanee nationis ordinati in Anglia ad lecturam Sententiarum pro predicta lectura a suis provinciis recipiant L. florenos tantum, et pro lectura bible XXV et similiter ad minus fiat ad predictas lecturas Parisius destinatos [destinatis] ». AA IV, 377.

« Item, confines [confratres] nostri citramarini in dictis universitatibus [Anglie] expediendi a conventibus earundem universitatum nichil recipiant nec libertates aliquas habeant, nisi prout fratres Anglicani consueverunt in dictis universitatibus promoti » (Gen. Chapt. of Vienna 1362, AA IV, 430).

« Fecimus fratrem Matheum de Padua de Sancto Bartholomeo studentem in nostro studio Oxoniensi de gratia nostra speciali mandantes singulis patribus et fratribus dicti conventus et anglicane provincie ut in nullo te amplius gravare presumant quam suos studentes intraneos et precipue in obedientiis et solutione prefato conventui annuali (Ms. annuallu) consueta fieri per studentes » (D 572).

« Item innovamus diffinitionem capituli Vyennensis de extraneis promovendis in universitatibus Anglie, et quod quilibet, stans in universitate Anglie in eo statu, in quo Parysius solveret XII florenos, ibidem solvet VIII, annuatim, sic tamen quod habeat vitam communem a conventu, et, nichil plus contribuere teneantur » (Gen. Chapter of Cologne 1374, AA V, 14).

²⁹⁴) « Locum Parisiensem, mare utique copiosum, unde omnia scientiarum flumina exire dinoscuntur » (Vfr. XXV). « Quis umquam in nostro Ordine probatus fuit Theologus qui ex Parisiensi Academia non prodierit? Ea certe Aegidium Romanum, Gregorium Ariminensem, Michaellem Massanum, Gerardum Senensem, Thomam Argentinam aliosque nonnullos qui doctrinae et probatis maiora quaedam lumina in nostra republica extiterunt peperit ». Statutes of Seripando (ed. YPMA, p. 268).

basis. As early as 1318 the General Chapter of Paris determined that two masters and two bachelors should always be present at each of these three theological schools. In 1359 it was ordained that England, despite its tremendous advantage over other provinces could send students to Paris like any other province and that its students should also be entitled to 50 florins from the common fund on condition that they actually obtained the *magisterium* (D 441). When the fame of Bologna and Padua surpassed that of the three older universities, and other Italian universities became their equals, ambitious English students attended in ever greater numbers these Southern centers of learning but few attained the *magisterium*. A Johannes de Anglia obtained it in Bologna about 1370 ²⁹⁵), Robert Malpas at Rome in 1439 (D 791), Robert Stocton and John Halam at Naples in 1456 (D 839).

3. Academic degrees

To have well-trained, recognized teachers was of vital necessity for the Order. It spared, therefore, neither effort nor expense to enable gifted members reach the highest academic degree, the *magisterium in sacra theologia*. The various steps of the long, arduous climb were known as student, cursor, lector, bachelor, inceptor and magister. Some of these names did not only gain various subtitles but are also at times elusive in their exact meaning, because they could be used in their strict technical term or in their wider connotation. The lower degrees could be obtained at any *studium generale* of the Order but the baccalaureate and mastership only at a university which had the papal permission to grant the *licentia ubique docendi*, which constituted the main privilege of a master in theology.

Student.

The word student is used for almost all courses except the final one but in strict terminology it designates an ordained priest ²⁹⁶)

²⁹⁵) EHRLE, *Statuti... Bologna* 103, n° 18. This John of England is probably John Erghome. See note 136 *supra*.

²⁹⁶) That only priests were sent to *studia generalia* is not clearly defined and there were exceptions to the rule as in the case of Paul of Venice (D 605). It is

destined to become a professor of theology. He could not begin his studies until he had received from the prior general the « *littera studii* », which alone made him a « *studens pro forma* ». Since we do not have a single detail for the life of academic beginners in England we must rely on Parisian customs to gain some insight. There the newly arrived candidate was examined by two bachelors who had to inquire whether he knew Latin sufficiently, not in a colloquial way but according to the rules of grammar ; whether he understood the essentials of logic and philosophy and was so acquainted with theological terminology that he gave promise for real progress during his stay at Paris ²⁹⁷).

Each student was assigned a cell in the dormitory (dorter in England) with a round hole in its door ²⁹⁸). The simple furniture consisted of a bed, a chair and a table, but a stove was not permitted. A *magister studentium*, elected from among the bachelors, supervised the order of the day and the academic exercises. The usual chores : librarian, infirmarian, procurator etc. were distributed among the students. Each man had a week « on the wine cellar » and when the wine was taken out both he and the master of students had to be present. At the end of the week he had to indicate to all in the refectory either before or after the meal, at exactly what height in the barrel the wine was at the beginning of the week and where it then stood. All students were to be present when the bursar (*bursarius*) gave his monthly account ²⁹⁹). Like a university within a city thus an Augustinian *studium generale* formed within the monastery a self-constituted, independent body.

The curriculum comprised usually three lectures a day : the *lectio ordinaria* on Holy Scripture by the Magister, after Prime ; the lecture of the *Baccalaureus Sententiarius* on the Sentences of the Lombard, after Terce ; and a literal explanation of the Bible by the *Baccalaureus Biblicus*, after midday. With this last lecture was con-

however, evident from the fact that only priests could be sent to the *Studium Curiae* (AA III, 470) ; that Thomas of Strasbourg requires of Parisian students to say mass at least three times a week (YPMA, *Mare Magnum* 282) and also from the Statutes of Seripando n° 125.

²⁹⁷) YPMA, *Mare Magnum* 311. We shall use the abbreviation MM.

²⁹⁸) MM 302. The cells were numbered because the turn of students at disputations was determined by the number of their cells. « Et vadat ordo inter studentes respondentes vel arguentes secundum ordinem cellarum » (MM 310).

²⁹⁹) MM 292-300.

nected the daily disputation ³⁰⁰). The main task of the student was to take his turn in arguing or responding to the *questio* (or *disputatio*) *ordinaria*, also called *sabbatina* because it took place on Saturday. The penalties for neglecting it through one's own fault were severe. For the first failure the student had to take his meals on the bare floor for eight days, the second time for fifteen days and the third time for a month. In addition he was given only bread and water on Monday, Wednesday and Friday and also received the public discipline on these days. If he refused to submit to these penalties he was sent home ³⁰¹).

A student continued not only his theological but also his philosophical training and, therefore, the *magister studentium* who was always a *bachalarius formatus* had to read a book on ethics or metaphysics if the majority of students wished it ³⁰²). According to the Statutes of Julian of Salemi, even the master regent had to teach arts in addition to theology ³⁰³).

Being a student did not excuse one from choir duty, since the service of God was the first and principal aim of the Order. Choir was always said in common but not always together with the convent ³⁰⁴). It might be that students only recited the office while the convent had to chant it. We may also presume that students were not bound to extra choir duties like the office for the dead and the many additional prayers imposed by last wills.

The ordinary stay at any *studium generale* was three years and could not exceed five ³⁰⁵). The province of a student was bound to pay for the first three years, but the two extra years had to be defrayed from his own pocket. One of the sources of income for foreign students in England must have been the preaching and

³⁰⁰) « ... in cothidianis disputationibus, quae fiunt post prandium » (MM 311).

³⁰¹) MM 311.

³⁰²) MM 309.

³⁰³) YPMA, *Statuts* 33.

³⁰⁴) MM 284. That the whole Divine Office was sung is evident from the dispensations after the Black Death (note 225 *supra*). Liturgically interesting is the prescription in MM 283: « ... tempore quo debet cantari in medio chori, nullus audeat manere in stalis suis; magistris, baccalariis et fratribus senioribus et infirmitate gravatis exceptis ».

³⁰⁵) This addition to chapter 36 of the Ratisbon Constitutions had been decreed at the General Chapter of Siena in 1338 (AA IV, 178). It was repeated in 1456 with the injunction that a longer stay forfeited ipso facto all further study (AA VII, 109).

hearing confessions of their compatriots. The house in London catered especially to the Lombards and Flemings ; the aid of Italian and German student priests was, therefore, most desirable ³⁰⁶).

The Order waged a constant battle against incompetent or lazy students. Students who did not show any progress after two or three years were sent home ; their chances for an academic career ended thereby ³⁰⁷). Lectors, bachelors and students who did not live up

³⁰⁶) For German and Flemish Sermons:

[1388] « Concessimus fratri Egidio de Praga, studenti Oxonie, ut tempore quadragesimali et vacationum possit stare Londonis, quousque studens in Anglia remanebit, ibidem Alamanis predicando et ipsorum confessionibus audiendo » (D 599). Same in 1391 to Theodoric of Erfurt (D 1167).

Bachelor John Frederici was allowed in 1427 to go during lent and vacation time to London, « ut theois [= theutonicis] et flamingis predicationibus et confessionibus serviat » (D 747).

For Italian sermons:

[Paul Francis of Venice in 1390] « insuper ei concessimus quod tempore vacationum et quadragesimali, ac quotiens ab Ytalicis fuerit requisitus, possit libere in Londonis morari ibi verbum Dei predicare et confessiones audire » (D 605); same permission in 1388 to Fr. Louis of Modena (D 595) and in 1425 to Jerome of Viterbo (D 739). Jerome, like Bernardus de Angeleriis of Florence in 1388, could also go to Bruges (D 571).

The Statutes of Seripando permit an absence of three months each year to make such preaching possible for Parisian students: « dando eis duos menses pro tempore quadragesimae, et unum mensem pro tempore adventus et non alias, ut praedicationibus vacent et caeteris actibus virtuose incumbant » (nº 163). They had, however, to make up for the time lost in their studies (nº 210). The Statutes of Julian of Salemi added in 1447 that he prior of Paris should not grant this permission « nisi aliquid modicum vel satis pro conventu procurare promittant » (ed. YPMA, p. 22). Prior General Julian wanted to re-introduce the common life in Paris which had ceased 25 years earlier « cum conventus summa paupertate esset detentus » (p. 20). He, therefore, used every available means to get contributions for the common fund.

³⁰⁷) « Item si convinci possit aliquem recitatorem phylosophie non sollicite sed negligenter suos scolares informare, ipsum sic convictum, studio et omni promotione scolastica ulterius habenda privamus ipso facto. Idem intelligimus de artistis, si scolares theologie ipsos habere contigerit, et simili modo fuerint negligentes.

Item quod nullus prior emitere possit studentem scolarem tempore studii ad impedimentum notabile studentis nisi pro necessitate conventus et ordinis evidenti » (23. Sept. 1359, AA V, 107). See also AA VII, 424: General Chapter of Rome 1491 for dismissal of students and note 311 *infra*.

Time and again it is stated that students should not have any graces, yet in 1388 Berthold Puchhauser was appointed student to Oxford with the right to make use of all graces and exemptions enjoyed by English students (D 591). He

to their obligations were to be deprived of their private rooms and other privileges and treated like ordinary brethren. This regulation of 1463 shows the will to revive the zeal which must have been lacking in some places.

Cursor in Theology.

In Augustinian usage the word *cursor* does not appear in the acts of the priors general until 1362 when it clearly defines the first academic advancement and is made an essential prerequisite for obtaining the lectorate ³⁰⁸). During the following decades this office gained in importance as is evident from the Statutes of the University of Bologna which made the cursor a member of the college of teachers ³⁰⁹). In 1497 the General Chapter of Rome determined that no one could be promoted to cursor unless he had been a student for four years ³¹⁰). This was a year more than the previous century had required.

While pursuing his own studies the cursor had also to lecture both on the Bible and Sentences. Henry of Colchester, for example, was assigned in 1388 as cursor to Cambridge for three years; he became *socius* of Fr. Roger Stokes during that period and was excused from choir duty while reading the Sentences (D 591). This reading was known as « perlegere cursus suos » or « facere cursus », expressions from which the cursor derived his name ³¹¹). The lectures were also known as « cursus probationis », which means, that the young

might, however, have been lector when he came to this university because six years later he became master in Bologna.

³⁰⁸) YPMA, *Cursores* gives all relevant earlier texts.

³⁰⁹) « ... et eodem modo lectores biblicos et cursores, quos omnes et singulos, quos omnes graduatos vocamus, prefatae nostrae universitati eo ipso incorporatos censemus... » (EHRLE, *I Più Antichi Statuti*, 10/11).

³¹⁰) « Item statuimus, ut nullus mitti possit ad studium aliquod nisi distincte et expedite legere sciat latinum; factus autem studens non promoveatur ad cursoratum nisi quartum in studio exegerit annum; ad lectoratum vero nonnisi post tres annos a cursoratu suo; ante quod tempus, scilicet lectoratus, nulli studenti liceat nec predicare, nec confessiones audire; bacchalarii vero sic transigant, ut ante decimum annum ab ingressu studii nullo modo insignia magisterii suscipere possint... Studentes vero, qui exacto quarto anno reperti fuerint insufficientes vel inepti, statim priventur studio et ad sua loca remittantur sive per visitatores sive per priorem generalem » (AA VIII, 13).

³¹¹) « Chargés de cours (cursus) ces deux personnages [Augustine of Ancona and John Bonus of Padua] reçoivent le nom cursores » (YPMA, *Cursores* 138).

teacher had to prove his knowledge and ability to lecture or his academic career would be ended then and there. In addition to lecturing he had to preach at least one sermon and partake in various scholastic acts. At the end of three years he had to pass an examen and, if successful, was called *cursor formatus* and licensed to become a lector ³¹²).

Lector.

The degree of lector was held in high esteem ³¹³). It was both the most common and the most necessary degree because it enabled the bearer to be a licensed professor of either philosophy or theology in all schools of the Order ³¹⁴) with the exception of the *studium generale Ordinis*. There only bachelors and masters could teach, though they are often called only *lectores*.

In order to become a *lector formatus* five requirements had to be fulfilled :

1. The candidate had to undergo a strict examination after his years as cursor had come to an end ³¹⁵).
2. If he passed this examen successfully he needed another three years of training in both philosophy and theology ³¹⁶). During

³¹²) YPMA, *Cursores* 141, 143. See also the interesting Latin text for John of Colombiers in de Meijer-Teeuwen, n° 72 (D 588).

³¹³) « Et quia gradus lectorie magne reputationis fuit et esse in ordine debet et sicquidem merito, quoniam solum ipsum gradum ordo conferre complective potest et perfecte » (YPMA, *Statuts* 34).

³¹⁴) The General Chapter of Siena decreed in 1335: « quod nullus frater nostri ordinis promoveatur ad officium lectorie nisi sit sufficienter instructus in loyca et philosophia ac etiam theologia, ita quod in qualibet dictarum facultatum possit alios instruendo ordini famulari » (AA IV, 179).

³¹⁵) The examen was prescribed in the Ratisbon Constitutions ch. 36. See TONER, *Notes* 44.

³¹⁶) Prior General Matthew of Ascoli, who was well acquainted with English conditions, gave in 1359 the following statutes « ad perpetuam rei memoriam » :
« Et quod in provincia memorata [Anglia] nullus de cetero ad legendum philosophiam diffiniatur vel ordinetur, antequam per quinque annos integros philosophiam audierit, et deinde per annum integrum in altera universitatum vestrarum, vel studio concursorio in theologia studens fuerit.

Item quod nullus ponatur lector sententiarum in aliquo studio concursorio, nisi prius integram philosophiae lectionem fieri consuetam perfecerit, deinde annos quatuor in theologia compleverit, quorum tres ad minus in universitate vel universitatibus habere teneatur.

Item quod magistri universitatum nullum de cetero ad gradum lectorie pro-

this time he taught the Sentences and the Bible as well as some philosophy and pursued his own studies. The three years could be shortened by dispensation of the general and towards the end of the fourteenth century they were frequently granted ³¹⁷). The three years constituted the required form.

3. The approval (*depositio*) of all masters had to be obtained. Since this could easily prove a stumbling block, the total could be

moveant, nisi formam philosophie et theologie ad gradum legentium Sententias in studiis concursoriis requisitam audiendo prius compleverit et legendo.

Item declaramus quod hactenus lectorati Oxonie et Cantabrigie per Magistros regentes pro lectoribus in omnibus teneantur, sicut ibidem pro futuro lectorandi, dummodo aliunde sufficientes fuerint et ydonei et secundum formam ordinis lectorati » (AA V 106-107). This last privilege was extended in 1365 by the General Chapter of Siena to Toulouse, Bologna, Florence and Padua: « et eiusdem gradus sint et honoris, ac si fuissent lectorati Parysius ». The same Chapter prescribed:

« quod nullus diffiniatur ad gradum lectorie, nec mittatur Parysius vel ad aliam universitatem pro consequendo predicto gradu, nisi predicare sciat Dei verbum, et ad minus sufficienter coram populo decem vicibus predicaverit in vulgari » (AA IV, 450).

³¹⁷) The actual observance of these statutes can be gleaned from the dispensations granted by the prior general, because dispensations always prove the ordinary practice.

« Concessimus fratri Stefano Denham provincie Anglie cursori ut ommissa lectura logicalium quam ex promotione sue provincie in suo conventu nativo [name not given] complere tenebatur, super qua nostra auctoritate cum ipso dispensamus. Completoque anno lecture Naturalium possit in principio lecture Metaphysicalium gradum lectoris adipisci, in qua voluerit universitate provincie, habita depositione quattuor magistrorum » (Dd 4, fol. 191v, 21 March 1426).

If the wording of this dispensation states a general fact and not an individual case then each house had a *studium logicale*.

« Concessimus fratri Johanni Machelyn [Macklin] eiusdem provincie quatenus post lecturam trium annorum in logica et philosophia possit stare in conventu Oxoniarum per triennium studens in theologia, infra quod spatium possit lectorari, quandocumque videbitur maiori parti patrum illius studii, de gratia speciali » (Dd 4, fol. 47, 5 Dec. 1420). MARTIN, *Ir. Mat.* overlooked this passage, but gives on p. 86 the one for Macklin's inception in 1428.

« Dispensavimus de uno anno cum fratre Johanne Qowtushale [Knowseley] quo tenetur pro forma lectorie philosophiam legere facientes ipsum studentem in conventu Cantabrigensi quousque aliam formam compleverit ad gradum lectoris requisitam (Dd 3, fol. 66, 25 May 1388).

« Concessimus fratri Alexandro de Wellis quod annus iste quem in officio colatoris Narwyci [word missing] stet sibi pro anno in universitate, ita quod eo tempore possit lectorari quo fuisset lectoratus si anno predicto in universitate stetisset dummodo ad hoc habuerit assensum diffinitorum precedentis capituli generalis (Dd 3, fol. 64, 24 May 1388).

limited to four or six masters by special dispensation of the prior general.

4. His limit had to propose him to the provincial chapter whose president and diffinitors had to approve the choice. The candidate, however, could not proceed further until the prior general also had given his consent by the *littera lectorie*.

5. He had to be declared *lector formatus* officially in a solemn function ³¹⁸) during which the insignia of his new dignity were presented. For both the final examination and the final solemnity details are only known for the Parisian house ; one is described in the *Mare Magnum* ³¹⁹) of 1354 and the other in the Statutes of 1447 ³²⁰).

In his energetic way Thomas of Strasburg binds the examiners under pain of excommunication to proceed firmly in their questioning of the candidate. They had to inquire :

1. Whether he had been examined at this arrival in Paris ?
2. Whether he had responded to the *questio ordinaria* (= *sabbatina*) every week ?
3. Whether he had studied three full years in Paris ?
4. Whether he had performed the prescribed penance in each case of failure ?

If the answers were negative he could not be licensed. If they were in the affirmative a further inquiry followed into his moral fitness and academic standard. To probe his knowledge, he had to undergo an examination which lasted several days. He was allowed one day of preparation for the special questions assigned in logic and philosophy and three days for the theological question to be disputed. All the professors of the school had to be present at this disputation and afterwards had to make their deposition. Unless this procedure was followed in its entirety the licence for the lecture was null and void. With the licence the candidate was called *lector* but reached the full status of this name only when he became

³¹⁸) Item diffinimus, ordinamus et mandamus, quod nullus promotus ad lectorie gradum in aliquo studio habeatur pro lectore aut acceptetur, nisi primo solemniter et cum solempnitatibus lectionum et disputationum ac pientantie (*sic*) receperit a magistro regente eiusdem studii gradum. The same applies to bachelors. « Quod si secus fecerint, sint tali studio et conventu ac promotione privati infra mensem ab inceptione principiorum cuiuslibet studii et universitatis intelligentes... ». Chapter Gen. Siena 1486 AA VII, 350.

³¹⁹) MM 312.

³²⁰) YPMA, *Statuts* 35.

lector formatus. This title was conferred four years after the examination in a solemn ceremony described in the Statutes of Paris.

On the day set for the promotion the whole house in Paris, novices included, assembled in the lecture hall, where opposite the chairs of the masters a platform had been erected. Upon a chair in its centre sat the prospective lector and gave the third instruction of the day which was followed by a disputation. At its end the master regent asked the assembled fathers for the customary consent to the promotion and having obtained it gave a talk on the long years of hard study which had prepared the candidate for his new dignity, and in the name of the prior general declared him officially *lector formatus*. He then gave him the insignia of the new office consisting of a book, a seal and the auricular biretta. The book was placed into his hands first closed then opened to convey the meaning that formerly he could not teach its contents with lawful authority, while, by the strength of his promotion, he now could. The seal distinct from any other, was to be for his exclusive use. The « biretum auriculare », so-called from its ear flaps, was reserved for lectors and bachelors, while the « biretum rotundum » could be worn only by masters ³²¹). A festival dinner (*pittancia*) for the entire house concluded the celebration.

After his solemn reception the new *lector formatus* was assigned to one of the schools of the Order. Whether the assignments followed a certain pattern of advancement from a lower to a higher teaching position or whether the stay was decided by personal inclination and talents is not known. According to the Ratisbon Constitutions, chapter 36, lectors had to teach twice a day (at least in the lower schools) and were to be deprived of their provisions if they did not teach a minimum of four hours per week. In the same chapter 36 at least two lectors were demanded for each *studium generale*. They were known as *lector principalis* and *lector secundarius*. The first read Holy Scripture and held the prescribed disputations at the appointed times in addition to directing the whole *studium*. He could also give a course in philosophy if necessary. This position could be held only by one who had been *lector secundarius* for three years after his return from Paris and had read all

³²¹) Provincials should see to it « aliquem fratrem, cuiuscumque conditionis et gradus existat, non magistrum, portare biretum rotundum, quod solum magistri deferre possunt, sed dicerni (sic) a biretis rotundis magistrorum » (Gen. Chapt. of Perugia 1482, also Rome 1486, AA VII, 278, 346; Statutes of Seripando, n° 133).

four books of the Sentences. The secondary lecturer explained the Sentences and, if necessary, gave a course in logic and philosophy. The Additions to this chapter of the Constitutions wanted the Sentences completed within two school years, the school year lasting from the end of September to the feast of St. Paul, June 30. These rules applied not only to provincial schools of theology, but also to those for the whole Order with this difference, however, that the principal lecturer was a master and the secondary reader a bachelor. These titles were in the course of time also extended to non-theological schools, otherwise John Huel would not have been appointed in 1385 principal lector for three years in Bristol which was only a school of philosophy (D 574).

On the continent the majority of students ended their graduate work with the lectorate since it established them as qualified teachers of either philosophy or theology and granted them many privileges. A *lector formatus*, for example, could vote at provincial chapters. When in 1324 their numbers had increased to such an extent that the privilege proved cumbersome it was restricted to « *lectores actu legentes* »³²²), but two years later it was granted for life to any lector who had taught three years each at a house of philosophy and theology³²³). The office carried also some financial advantages to active teachers. The amounts are not given for England but in the Roman Province lectors received four florins per year for clothing while the ordinary friar was given but two. They were also given half a « *turonensis* » per week³²⁴), the equivalent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d*³²⁵). Lectors at a house of philosophy received the same amounts as bachelors at a house of theology³²⁶). Privileges increased with the advancing years of a lector. John Astham, for example, was granted in 1420 that against his will he could not be burdened with any monastic office and could even refuse his election to a priorship. He could select a companion (*socius*) as often he deemed this useful, could ride, come

³²²) AA III, 466. This decree was added to chapter 36 of Ratisbon Constitutions.

³²³) AA IV, 6. By 1427 masters, bachelors and all graduates were allowed to vote and provincials forbidden to deprive them of it (Dd 4, fol. 224v).

³²⁴) AA III, 225.

³²⁵) The value of this coin is variously given as 10 Turonenses grossi = 1 gold florin in 1293 (AA II, 347, n. 13) and $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d* in 1540 (« *unum scutum regis triginta quinque solidos turonenses valens* »: Statutes of Seripando n° 112).

³²⁶) AA IV, 85.

to Rome with a companion without a special permission and could give away to confreres such things as had been granted to him by the Order (D 716).

These privileges proved so attractive that towards the end of the fifteenth century the lectorate was quite often granted to deserving members who had not passed the required form and were, therefore, called *lectores honoris* ³²⁷). Since the houses where the bachelor lived had to meet half of the expenses, with the province meeting the other half, a multiplication of such appointments soon proved burdensome and caused a sharp reaction against them ³²⁸).

The Baccalaureate.

Though the prior general had the power to create bachelors of theology ³²⁹) this degree was as a rule obtained at a university. English Austins enjoyed a decided advantage in this matter over their continental brethren. Before a continental lector could apply for the baccalaureate he had to give proof that he had been lector at a *studium generale* for six years and had read the entire Sentences at least twice. Englishmen, however, were not bound by this rule prescribed by the General Chapter of Siena in 1365 ³³⁰). Foreigners were subject to another restriction. In 1386 the University of Cambridge demanded that they had to attend the university a full year before they could apply for opponency (D 579). This proved a great hardship and the prior general was rightly indignant but to no avail.

An English Austin could be presented to the university after he had been declared *lector formatus*. If accepted he could start at once his year of opponency (*annus oppositionis*) which extended

³²⁷) Lectors of honor were for example John Cosyn and William Albon in 1471 (D 897), Thomas O'Connelly in 1475 (MARTIN, *Ir. Mat.* n° 78) and John Gristun in 1476 (D 913). Provincial Warner received permission in 1496 to create four lectors of honor (D 970). On 3 Febr. 1456 the prior general granted the honorary lectorate to all brethren who had paid for the upkeep of three professed clerics until their priesthood (D 839).

³²⁸) AA VII, 279.

³²⁹) Capgrave and Bokenham were made « *bacchalarii Ordinis nostri* » by the prior general. See note 350 *infra* and de Meijer in AUG. V, 410. How these appointments can be harmonized with the statement in note 313 *supra* will have to be left to further investigations.

³³⁰) « *Item diffinimus quod nullus legat Sententias in universitate, preter Anglicos in universitatibus Anglie, nisi in generali studio Sententias legendo integraliter bis compleverit et sex annis lector fuerit studii generalis* » (AA IV, 449).

over the chief part of an academic year and involved taking part in no less than sixteen disputations³³¹). The university could be very strict in enforcing this rule. In 1396 an unnamed Irish Austin was refused admittance to the baccalaureate because he had missed a single disputation in the year of his opponency³³²). This difficult year was followed by two years of lectures on the Sentences and one year on the Bible³³³). In Paris the opposite order prevailed: the Bible was read first and the Sentences last. While reading the Sentences the bachelor was known as *Baccalarius Sententiarum* and while reading the Bible as *Baccalaureus Biblicus*. The Sentences had to be read in their entirety, while the explanation of only one book of the Bible was required at Oxford. An examinatory sermon at St. Mary's, eight responsions to non-graduate opponents, a dispu-

³³¹) Where we give no special source, we follow RASHDALL, *Mediev. Univ.* III, 158/9.

³³²) H. ANSTEY, *Munimenta Academica... Oxford* (Oxford Record Soc. 1888) I, 236 and D 893. In later years dispensations (= graces) were granted with ease. See for example D 893 etc.

³³³) « Item bachalarii lecturam Sententiarum hoc ordine prosequuntur, videlicet, quod duos libros Sententiarum legant in primo anno, alios duos in sequentibus, et Bibliam cursorie, ante vel post lecturam Sententiarum, legant per unum annum, ut Parisius et Anglie studiis extitit consuetum; et antequam ad licentiam et facultatem theologie devenerint ad minusque quinque magistris, ad hoc per ipsum cancellarium specialiter deputatis, de questione ordinaria respondere debeant in diversis temporibus, ita quod tanto tempore immorari eos contingat in dicta universitate quanto Parisius et in Anglia consueverunt, ad minus, scilicet, per quinque annos antequam gradum magisterii adipisci debeant » (AA V, 146).

The above text is not found in this comprehensive form in EHRLE, *Statuti*. It was, therefore, based on special information and as an official communication transcribed into Dd 3, fol. 195v. On 15 Nov. 1384 the general speaks of these statutes as « nuper edita » which indicates either the year 1382 or 1383.

The editor in the AA adds that *cursorie Bibliam legere* meant according to the Parisian usage to explain two books of the Bible in one year, while *ordinarie Bibliam legere* meant the explanation of the whole Bible. Austins in Paris had to read at least half the Bible in one year before starting on the Sentences (AA IV, 12).

In addition to *legere cursorie* and *ordinarie* the expressions *sententialiter* and *magistraliter* are used. A bachelor could read *sententialiter*, that is, he did not have to read the whole book of Sentences but could select certain questions and explain them in greater detail using for this purpose either his own or someone else's commentary. The master read — *magistraliter*. He could, if he so desired, take up but one problem and develop it in all its ramifications. One famous professor of Paris in explaining the book Genesis had not completed the first chapter after several years!

tation (as opponent) with every master of divinity at the university and the Vespers completed the required form which constituted the candidate as *Baccalaureus Formatus*.

The introductory lecture to the Bible or the Sentences was called *Principium*. A great deal of time and effort was spent on its literary perfection and its completion was a cause for rejoicing. The *Mare Magnum*, therefore, permitted any *Baccalarius Biblicus* or *Sententiarius* to expend ³³⁴⁾ sixteen florins on these occasions for feasting professors and friends. To spend more was forbidden even if relatives or patrons were willing to defray a higher amount.

The multitude of aspirants at the universities would have rendered complete courses by all bachelors a physical impossibility. The whole lecture, therefore, often consisted only of the formal introductory discourse on one book ³³⁵⁾. The explanation of the book itself was not given, at least not at the university. In England only one examinatory sermon ³³⁶⁾ was required not six as in Paris. Copies of these sermons had to be furnished to the university eight days after their delivery. Only the university sermons of Hegham, Herdeby and Capgrave are still extant.

To oppose and respond in the public disputations was the main task of the bachelor. When a disputation was completed the master regent formulated the correct answers; these constituted the *Determinationes* ³³⁷⁾. During the thirteenth century the favorite form of

³³⁴⁾ Richard Owenby was appointed in 1389 « ad oppositionem pro dicto tempore sive anno et consequenter ad lecturas Sententiarum et Biblie et ad singula peragenda in dicta universitate [Oxford] pro gradu magisterii finaliter consequendo secundum morem dicte universitatis ac nostri ordinis instituta » (D 608). In 1392 the prior general shortened the reading of Sentences by one year (D 570). The university accepted such dispensations (D 927). Interesting is also the note for Cornelius Kilney of Ireland who was allowed in 1477 to become master after he had read publicly all four books of the Sentences « cum commentariis » (MARTIN, *Ir. Mater*, n° 91).

³³⁵⁾ MM 288/9. For Responsions bachelors were allowed to spend two florins (*ibidem*).

³³⁶⁾ The sermon was assigned by the Chancellor and two secular bachelors who had to give 40 days notice. All sermons were preached at St. Mary's. Collations or eve sermons were not known at Oxford or Cambridge: LITTLE-PELSTER, *Oxford Theology* 172/4. See also OWST, *Preaching* 224.

³³⁷⁾ Most of the following information on the various academic papers was received from Father Damasus Trapp whose wide knowledge in this field guarantees its reliability. See also his instructive article « The Portiuncula Discussion

reporting the results of a disputation was the *Quolibet*. It lost its appeal during the fourteenth century, probably because the disputant bachelor played therein a minor role — Dante called it a subdued and frightened role — while the master excelled. In its place the *Responsiones* came to the foreground in which the editing bachelor used to bring his ideas before the reader with a great deal of erudition while pushing the arguments of the master regent into the background. The published *Responsiones*, therefore, did not follow the original procedure of the disputation but reported only what suited the editor. In the second half of the fourteenth century public disputations were carefully prepared. Opponents were selected from those candidates who had started their training with the disputant and were, therefore, called *socii*³³⁸). The disputant sent his numbered conclusions to a few selected *socii*. Each *socius* selected six of these conclusions, opposed them in writing and sent them back to the disputant. Thus both sides were well prepared when the day of disputation came. It had to take place on days set aside for this purpose (*dies legibilis*) and the master as well as the other graduates of the school had to participate. Members of other schools could attend. If a master did not preside over the proceedings or if the disputation was not announced to all schools of theology by two bedels of the university it did not count as public academic act³³⁹).

Neither *Principia* nor *Quolibets*, neither *Responsiones* nor *Determinationes* of English Austins have been preserved. Bale assigned the various types of scholastic writings to some of our authors but gives no incipits, a sure sign that he did not see any. He might have found the titles in the library catalogues of the Order of which he inspected several. Of late a short question of Master Adam Payn has been discovered.

As an interesting side light, completely unknown from other sources, we add here the list of bachelors assigned by the *Mare Magnum*, n° 285 to the *studium* in Paris.

1. One *Praesentatus*. He was officially presented to and ac-

of Cremona (ca 1380) », *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 22 (1955) 79-94.

³³⁸) These *socii* who held equal rank with the disputant must of course be distinguished from the *socii* whom the Order supplied as *amanuenses*. The latter were as a rule taken from among the students.

³³⁹) LITTLE-PELSTER, *op. cit.*, 37.

cepted by the university for the mastership. Any interference with his graduation was severely punished ³⁴⁰).

2. Two *Praesentandi*. They had completed their lectures on the Bible and the Sentences. One only was to be the next *praesentatus* but as a precaution two were held in readiness.

3. An unidentified number of *Baccalarii Formati* who had completed the required number of lectures and scholastic acts.

4. One *Magister Studentium* ³⁴¹). He preceded the bachelor *actu legens*, was in charge of the discipline of the college, supervised and arranged the various courses of study, especially the weekly disputations. He also had to read Metaphysics if the students desired it.

5. The bachelors *actu legentes*, men who had not yet completed the prescribed lectures on Bible and Sentences.

6. The bachelors *immediate lecturi*, also called *destinati*. The bachelor next destined to lecture on the Sentences was allowed to stay one year free of charge, while the one destined to read the Bible could stay free of charge for but six months.

Other expressions are the *baccalaurei non formati* or *non legentes*. These could fall into any of the last two categories. How far the English system coincided with the Parisian arrangement is not known, but we may presume that it was quite similar.

The privileges of a baccalaureus were very much like those of a master. He was entitled to a chamber and a servant, he could vote at provincial chapters and while teaching he was not only supplied with room and board, but received also some monetary remuneration ³⁴²).

³⁴⁰) « Precepimus omnibus fratribus nostri ordinis sub penis taxatis in nostris constitutionibus contra impediētes bachalarios presentatos quas contrafacientes incurrunt »... (25 May 1388, Dd 3, fol. 68).

³⁴¹) These *magistri studentium* seem to be identical with the *collatores studii* mentioned in D 788 for Cambridge and in note 317 *supra* for Norwich.

³⁴²) « ... Quod in cella seu camera que sibi ut bacalario debetur et assignabitur cum uno socio unoque famulo vel servitore possit refici » (Dd 3, fol. 76, 30 July 1388 for Bernard de Angeleriis de Florentia who had been procurator general). Non-Englishmen destined for the baccalaureate could bring a *socius* with them who did not have to pay more for his keep than native students: « Item diffinitus, quod quilibet baccalaureus ad Angliam diffinitus de alienigenis, possit secum unum studentem ducere ad contributionem communem intraneorum; et in casu quod talis baccalaureus non accesserit, quod pater noster generalis possit illic unum studentem ad consimilem contributionem subrogare » (Chapt. Gen. of Verona 1377: AA V, 35).

Inception and Magisterium.

No one could apply for the *magisterium* unless all masters present at the provincial chapter had given their consent ³⁴³). He also had to gain at least one novice for his Order and in lieu of it pay XI s. p. a. for the sustenance of one until he reached the priesthood ³⁴⁴).

At the university itself a pawn (*caucio*) had first to be deposed guaranteeing the fulfillment of all obligations especially those of a financial nature. This pawn could consist in a manuscript or chalice, precious tapestry or money ³⁴⁵). It was returned when all debts were paid. The academic requirements consisted in the deposition of the masters of the theological faculty, the licence of the chancellor and the inception proper. The masters of the university had to be satisfied that all prescribed studies had been completed, that the candidate was of good repute and sound body. If their deposition was favorable the licence of the chancellor followed. Its formula is preserved and reads : « Ad honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ac beate Virginis et omnium sanctorum et ad profectum sacrosancte ecclesie et studii, auctoritate mea et tocius universitatis do tibi licentiam incipiendi in tali facultate, legendi et disputandi, et omnia faciendi que ad statum magistri in eadem facultate pertinent, cum ea com-

³⁴³) « Item diffinimus et presenti diffinitione statuimus et ordinamus, quod nullus de cetero de partibus Anglie nostri Ordinis frater ad lecturam Sententiarum pro forma ad magisterium consequendum possit quovis modo promoveri, nisi de consensu magistrorum omnium nationis prefate in capitulo provinciali existentium. Quibus magistris singulis mandamus, sub pena inobedientie prioris generalis, quatinus in depositione huiusmodi se nullus debeat absentare, per hoc tamen nolentes quod eorum quisquam deponat nisi quod cuilibet recta ratio indicabit » (Chapter General of Würzburg 1391, AA V, 102). Exceptions, however, were granted, e. gr. D 576 (Gisburn), 594 (Gunwardby).

³⁴⁴) « Insuper cum noviciorum educationem et receptionem in ipsa provincia neglectam cognoverimus, mandamus his in meritum obedientie salutaris, ut inter ceteras diffinitiones quas facturi sunt, hoc quoque statuant sub astringentibus penis, ut quilibet frater ipsius provincie in aliqua universitatem incepturus primo recipiat unum novicium ad ordinem in conventu nativo aut conferat saltem XI solidos pro recipiendis, qui in nullos alios usus deputentur » (1434, D 730).

³⁴⁵) See for example D 893, 927, 954, 980, 1031.

The Order decided for the same reason : « Item quia status Cathedre magistratus nullius infamie debet macula denigrari, diffinimus et presenti diffinitione firmamus, quod nullus frater in nostro ordine carceratus ad lecturam Sententiarum vel Biblie possit de cetero promoveri » (General Chapter of Treviso 1321, AA III, 246).

pleveris, que ad talem pertinent sollempnitatem. In nomine Patris et Filli et Spiritus Sancti. Amen » ³⁴⁶).

From that moment on the inceptor was called doctor ³⁴⁷), a title which in the later Middle Ages differed from that of master. The legality of the licence, however, was conditioned on the candidate's fulfilling all necessary requirements. They were primarily two disputations called the *Vesperiae* and the Inception proper. The latter was called *Aula* in Paris, because it took place in the bishop's hall. John Waldeby describes the ceremony in one of his sermons : « When the master in theology has to incept, first he is put into a chair, then a pillion [biretta] ³⁴⁸ is placed on his head and at length he reads one lecture and after the lecture will dispute one question » ³⁴⁹). With this ceremony he was master in theology or *professor in sacra pagina*.

Before a candidate was admitted to the licentiate he had to swear an oath of allegiance binding him not to have recourse to any secular or religious power save that of the university in all questions concerning the university. This oath which was required in Bologna from all graduates beginning with the cursor incorporated him into the university ³⁵⁰).

³⁴⁶) LITTLE-PELSTER, *Oxford Theology* 42 sqq; RASHDALL, *Mediev. Univ.* III, 158/9.

³⁴⁷) D 980 (Lovermore), D 1002 (Hen, Stokes, Tonys).

³⁴⁸) The conferring of the biretta is described in DENIFLE, *Chartul. Univ. Paris*. IV, n° 2235. On the round biretta of the master see note 321 *supra*.

³⁴⁹) OWST, *Literature and Pulpit* 31.

³⁵⁰) Note 309 *supra*. Thus the permission of the prior general must be understood, granting Osbern Bokenham the right to be incorporated in Cambridge. Since the whole passage is of some importance for the lives of Capgrave and Bokenham, we quote it in full: « Fecimus fratrem Osbernum Bokenham lectorem provincie Anglie, *Bachallarium nostri Ordinis auctoritate nostra* confirmantes ei locum iamdudum per patres sui limitis in universitate Cantabrigensi assignatum, atque eum de novo, si opus est ei assignantes et conferentes. Concedentes eidem ut in ipsa universitate incorporari possit et iuxta eius consuetudinem omnes actus facere et perficere usque ad gradum magisterii inclusive cum omnibus libertatibus, subsidiis et immunitatibus consuetis. Testificantes quoque eundem fratrem Osbernum renunciasse iam dudum *in presentia nostra* iuri suo quod per astrictionem antea per nos factam fratri Johanni Capgrave ut patet in folio 75 videlicet quod deberet commutare cum hoc fratre Osberno, idque frater Osbernus ob hoc solum fecit ut in loco sibi per patres sui limitis assignato remaneret, etc. (21 March 1423, Dd 4, fol. 107, Italics ours). Bokenham is mentioned as master in a testament of 1427 (*Canterb., Reg. Chichele* II, 369). One year for reading the Bible and

The inception had to take place in the same university where a candidate had opposed and had received the baccalaureate ³⁵¹). The registers of the priors general mention but one case in which dispensation was granted. William Wells II not being able to be promoted without the help of his parents and friends was allowed in 1393 to transfer to Cambridge and incept there instead of Oxford (D 629).

As is evident from this dispensation the expenses connected with the final act, the inception proper, were very high. They consisted of special gratuities to the rector of the university and a banquet for all professors of the theological faculty. English masters were allowed 67 florins for this occasion while in Paris only 40 florins could be expended ³⁵²). After a long struggle the mendicants were finally given the privilege to pay ten marcs to the college of professors instead of serving a banquet ³⁵³).

The English Province had a greater number of graduates than any other province within the Order (D 1042). This was not due to a lower standard of studies but to the greater number of chances their two universities offered. They gave the province two masters every

two for the Sentences plus one for inception, would make him master in 1427, but he words *incorporari* might mean the immediate inception and he could have been master in 1424, if accepted by the university. — « In presentia nostra » indicates that the prior general had gone to England for a canonical visitation, probably to establish fullest unity after the divided election of 1419. Bokenham visited Italy at least twice but scarcely before his baccalaureate.

³⁵¹) Item diffinimus quod in universitatibus Oxonie et Cantabrigie baccalarii eo ordine incipiant in theologia, quo opposuerunt et gradum baccalarii sunt adepti » (Gen. Chapter of Florence, 1371, D 509).

³⁵²) « Volumus etiam quod observari facias diligenter diffinitionem factam in generali capitulo Perusino de expensis fiendis, cuius diffinitionis tenor talis esse dignoscitur: Item diffinimus quod nullus frater incepturus in theologia in universitatibus Anglie, in sua inceptione expendat ultra LXVII florenos. Nec bachalarius pro introitu Sententiarum ultra VIII florenos, vestimentorum provisione excepta, sub pena, quam reverendus pater noster generalis [Thomas de Strasburg] alias in Anglia personaliter visitans transgressoribus decreverit affligendam » (20 Jan. 1358, Dd I, fol. 194). This definition is not found among the published acts of the Chapter General of Perugia held in 1354 (AA IV, 307-310) and was, therefore, added only to the copy for the English Province. The *Mare Magnum* 288 permitted Parisian masters only 40 florins for licence and *aula*, and 8 florins for *Vesperiae*.

³⁵³) ANSTEY, *Munim. Academ. Oxford* I, 353 for the year 1478; but the arrangement was considerably older, because John Gudwin, prior of the Oxford Austins, paid the same sum in 1447 (*ibidem* II, 564).

four years while all Italian provinces could get only and the rest of the provinces another. English scholars who took their studies seriously reached, therefore, the *magisterium* within a reasonable time while on the continent many of our most famous authors obtained it only after years of waiting. Within the six years of 1387-1393 the Registers of the General mention for England the names of 17 masters, 4 bachelors, 14 lectors and 4 students who received permission to become lectors. For the years 1419 to 1428 we know the names of 31 masters, 5 bachelors and 21 lectors and in 1419 a total of 24 masters attended the chapter of Winchester (D 710). These figures prove a sufficiency of teachers and an acceleration of studies by needless dispensations was, therefore, rightly rejected by the province. When the increase of universities on the continent put an end to the long delays of graduation, England's students were even more favored because they could take the places of continental students, whose attendance dwindled to practically nothing in the fifteenth century. English students proceeded therefore with great rapidity to the *magisterium*. The fastest promotion on record is that of John Capgrave, the author, who obtained the *magisterium* ten years after his ordination and just within the prescribed time limit.

As in Paris the new master became immediately master regent at the university and stayed at this task for two years. As such he had to partake in the official academic functions, check credentials, examine candidates, sit in council and perform whatever administrative work was assigned to him. He also taught most probably in the school of his Order. He then returned to his province to teach and preach ³⁵⁴) and enjoy the many privileges which his Order bestowed upon its masters. At a time when their number was still small the General Chapter of Florence (1326) went so far as to grant a master retiring from teaching not only free choice of residence in any convent of his province but also the right to determine the prior of this house and its membership ³⁵⁵). These extraordinary

³⁵⁴) MM 306 exhorts senior masters in Paris, « ut in predicationibus et aliis actibus utilibus pro conventu sollicite laboret ».

³⁵⁵) « Item cum a Reverendis Magistris in theologia, tamquam a principalibus membris Ordinis honor et status nostre religionis singulariter oriatur pariter et conservetur, propter quod ipsos merito debemus honorare... concedimus, quod cum contigerit aliquem Magistrorum vacare a lectionibus, possit sibi in sua provincia, unde est oriundus, eligere unum conventum, in quo non sit studium gene-

privileges disappeared, of course, as more and more men attained the prized degree, but too many remained. All masters had the right to vote at provincial chapters, and two senior masters even at general chapters³⁵⁶). With permission of the prior general they could have a *socius* and even a *famulus*. The latter could be a laybrother or layman and at times even a scholastic. The master could be excused from religious exercises, received special food³⁵⁷) and was entitled to a regular salary. Such privileges and exceptions may have been valuable and even necessary for the energetic pursuit of teaching and writing. Once these concessions became nothing but

rale, in quo loco seu conventu ad ipsius requisitionem et instantiam provideatur de capite et familia » (AA IV, 10). See D 546.

³⁵⁶) The Additions to chapter 36 of the Ratisbon Constitutions stated: « Volumus quod preter officiales provincie Anglie duo magistri in sacra pagina antiquiores ipsius provincie, qui erunt in capitulis generalibus tam in electione generalis prioris quam in diffinitorio eiusdem generalis capituli sicut magistri Parisienses in omnibus admittantur et vocem habeant cum effectum; quodque cum predicti magistri ad capitula generalia (iverint) expensas habeant a provincia in qua morantur » (fol. 43v). The ink was scarcely dry on this decree when certain, now unknown, difficulties arose. The Gen. Chapter of Vienna, therefore, added in 1362: « Item diffinimus, quod diffinitio dans duobus magistris senioribus de Anglia vocem in capitulo generali, in suo vigore maneat, sub hac conditione [ut] nullo magistro Anglico de cetero huiusmodi concedatur; et tales magistri seniores intelligantur, qui per provinciam Anglie ad generalia capitula fuerint destinati » (AA IV, 430). This text, however, was not precise. It is better expressed in the Gen. Chapter of Siena, 1365: « Item diffinimus quod nullus nostrorum provincie Anglie magistrorum admittatur pro diffinitore capituli generalis eiusdem provincie ratione diffinitionis in capitulo generali Padue facte, in capitulo Viennensi confirmate; per hoc tamen non intendimus quin illi magistri dicte provincie sint diffinitores perpetui capitulorum generalium et provincialium, quibus hoc specialiter et nominatim per generale capitulum est concessum » (AA IV, 449). At the same chapter the right of Parisian masters to vote at general chapters was abolished (*Loc. cit.*) Unfortunately the definition of the Gen.-Chapter of Padua is no longer extant. — An individual call to the general chapters was made for example to Master John Comirt in 1390 (D 607). — Whether it was for such individual calls that expenses had to be met by the province or whether English masters continued to vote at general chapters is not clear from the directive of the prior general to Provincial Thomas Winterton to pay at once the expenses incurred by the masters who had attended the general chapter (D 593). The chapter was probably that of Gran (Hungary) held in 1385, not that of Imola in 1388.

³⁵⁷) The master received five ribs of meat at dinner and supper; the *baccalarii actu legentes et formati* and the *praesentatus* received double portions, the rest a single one (MM 284). See the many privileges for Master Richard Frank in 1425 (D 719n).

a licence for an easy, comfortable life, they proved time and again one of the main causes of laxity. The only remedy then seemed to be the revocation of all privileges, but the masters held the reins of the Order and of the province and seldom were they the first to approve the abolition of their hardgained advantages.

The *magisterium* was the highest teaching position a man could reach during the Middle Ages. Its prestige and privileges derived from its importance to the Order. For about two hundred years mendicant friars were practically the only professors of systematic theology, while the Canons excelled in the study of ecclesiastical and civil law. The friars, therefore, were the principal exponents of dogmatic, moral and biblical theology and books on these subjects were written almost exclusively by them.

Since the works of English Austins became a prey to the fury of Reformation a presentation of the English *Schola Aegidiana* or *Augustiniana* cannot be given. One false impression, however, can be corrected. The Prior General Gregory of Rimini who took a lively interest in England has been accused of having broken with the *Schola Aegidiana* because of his adherence to Occam, but Father Trapp has clearly proved that Gregory's Occamism is a late invention of Aventinus. Leading Occamists like Ceffons hated him because he with two other theologians was the principal cause of their condemnation in 1347³⁵⁸). One vital change though is due to Gregory: the Order became the standard bearer of St. Augustine's teaching. There is scarcely a man in medieval times who can match his knowledge of St. Augustine. The works of the few remaining English authors overflow with quotations from the works of their founder and the library of York contained every work of St. Augustine and the more important works in several editions. It also contained a very great number of *tabulae* or indices to make the saint's writings more accessible to students.

An examination of the remaining sources reveals a thriving intellectual life and a constant striving after the heights of theological knowledge. English Austins had more than enough schools and trained personnel to supply their gifted members with the best education. Some of the foremost men in the history of the Order drank from this fountain of knowledge and returned to help in the foun-

³⁵⁸) D. TRAPP, « Peter Ceffons of Clairvaux, » *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 24 (1957) esp. pp. 146-154.

dation of universities, to represent the Order at General Councils and to influence the development of thought and letters. Masters of the English Province taught from Lisbon to Prague, from Bruges to Padua and Naples. They educated royal princes and the children of mighty noblemen as well as those of common citizens but there is no indication that they opened schools for the general public. On the continent it was tried but for some unknown reasons the Order frowned upon it ³⁵⁹).

THE AUGUSTINIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

A Summary

Elementary schooling in public schools of home town.

Entrance into the Order at age of 14, novitiate lasting one year, followed by solemn profession.

Grammar, Logic	1 year at a <i>studium grammaticale</i> or <i>logicale</i>
Philosophy	3 years at a <i>studium particulare</i>
Theology	1 [2 ?] years at a <i>studium generale provinciae</i>
Ordination	at the age of 22

Higher Education

Student	3 years at <i>studium generale ordinis</i> or a <i>studium concursorium</i>
Cursor (= teacher)	3 years at various schools of the province
Lector (= teacher)	4 years, ending with installation as <i>lector formatus</i>
Opponency	1 year
Baccalaureate	3 years (two years for Sentences, one year for Bible)
Inception	1 year (Licence, Vesperiae, Inception proper granting <i>magisterium</i>)
Master Regent at University	2 years

F. ROTH, O. S. A.

(To be continued).

³⁵⁹) « Item definimus et ordinamus, ut nullus frater religionis nostrae, etsi magister in religione fuerit, audeat tenere scholas grammaticae, sive cantus, sive alterius doctrinae, ad quas accedant seculares, sub poena privationis suorum graduum ipso facto et annuae suae provisionis; Prior quoque, qui id permiserit, sit ipso facto officio prioratus absolutus » (General Chapter of Rome 1497, AA VIII, 14).